
Pahari and Pothwari: A sociolinguistic survey

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Ken and Sandy Decker began a survey of the Pahari language of Pakistan in 1988 but were unable to complete it because they had to fulfill other responsibilities. Their journals, wordlists, and notes helped orient us to the area and the language. I, Michael, had the opportunity to interview Ken in 1998 as we were making preparations for our own research work.

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Contents

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

1.1 Geography

1.2 Language classification

1.3 Background

1.3.1 Historical summary

1.3.2 Population

1.3.3 Prominent family groups and way of life

1.3.4 Development and promotion of Pahari and Pothwari

1.4 Goals of the survey

1.5 Summary of findings

1.6 Organization of this report

2. Data and Methodology

2.1 Lexical similarity

2.1.1 Wordlist collection and analysis methodology

2.1.2 Locations of wordlist collection

2.2 Comprehension of recorded speech

2.2.1 Recorded Text Test (RTT) methodology

2.2.2 Locations and data for RTT

2.3 Participant intuitions and opinions from interviews:

Methodology and data collection locations

3. Lexical similarity and intelligibility

3.1 Lexical similarity

3.2 Intelligibility

3.2.1 Recorded Text Tests

3.2.2 Dialect intuition from questionnaire

3.3 Dialect attitudes

3.4 Summary

4. Language use, vitality, and attitudes

4.1 Language use

4.2 Language vitality

4.3 Language attitudes

4.3.1 Attitude toward speaking Pahari

4.3.2 Attitude toward reading Pahari (literacy attitude)

4.4 Summary

5. Language area

5.1 Introduction and analysis methodology

5.2 Travel patterns and language contact

5.3 Central Pahari areas

5.3.1 Places where Pahari is understood and respected

5.3.2 Places where Pahari is considered the same

5.4 Borderline Pahari areas

5.4.1 Places where Pahari transitions to a new language

5.4.2 Places where Pahari is not understood, respected, or spoken well

5.5 Summary

6. The view from Pothwari areas

6.1 Goals

6.2 Methodology and locations for data collection

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Attitude toward mother tongue

6.3.2 Language use and vitality

6.3.3 Attitudes toward mother-tongue literacy and literature

6.3.4 Attitudes toward dialects

6.4 Summary

7. Summary and recommendations

7.1 Pahari language survey

7.1.1 Pahari language attitudes and vitality

7.1.2 Languages and dialects related to Pahari

7.2 Pothwari language survey

7.2.1 Pothwari language attitudes and vitality

7.2.2 Pothwari speakers' attitudes toward other dialects

Appendix A. Background and methodology

A.1 Maps

A.2 Methodology

A.2.1 Wordlist collection

A.2.2 Procedure for counting lexical similarity

A.2.3 Phonetic symbols used in the survey

A.2.4 Standard wordlist items in English and in Urdu

A.2.5 Recorded Text Test (RTT)

Appendix B. Pahari survey data

B.1 Wordlists

B.2 Recorded Text Tests for intelligibility

B.3 Questionnaire**B.4 Demographic information**

B.4.1 Demographic summary for orally administered questionnaires

B.4.2 Demographic information about wordlists

B.4.3 Demographic information about RTT storytellers

B.4.4 Demographic information about RTT participants

Appendix C. Pothwari survey data**C.1 Questionnaire****C.2 Demographic summary*****References*****“Lahndi”****Some publications in Pahari and Pothwari**

1. Introduction

Northern Pakistan boasts a rich variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Much has been learned about the sociolinguistic situation of this part of the world through recent research, such as the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (O'Leary 1992). Cultural societies in various language communities are supporting mother-tongue literacy and production of vernacular literature as a means of preserving the rich ethnic heritage of this area.

The Punjabi dialect chain in the Indo-Aryan language family includes millions of speakers in northern Pakistan. This is one area where the sociolinguistic situation has not been investigated. Understanding the composition of this chain is a large task. Many questions arise as researchers attempt to come to a clear picture of the language situation. How many people use a certain language variety? Is it a dialect or a language? How does the use of and the attitude toward the mother tongue compare to that of the national language or other regional languages? What is the vitality of languages used in a given area?

The answers to these questions are significant to the development of vernacular literature and the promotion of mother-tongue literacy. Choosing a well-respected and widely understood dialect for development of printed and oral materials is an important factor in literacy and literature development. Knowledge about language vitality and domains of use is important for language planners who make decisions about future education and training.

We are privileged to share with you this snapshot of the Pahari-Pothwari language complex. We address questions of dialect versus language and the number of dialects through synchronic, descriptive means rather than a historical, phonological comparison. We have used oral interviews, questionnaires, wordlists, comprehension testing, and our own observation from the two and a half years we lived in Murree, Pakistan. We are grateful to the many people who shared their knowledge of their language and their lives with us. We hope this study will provide more understanding and recognition of

the value of their language. We also hope that it will stimulate further research and development of Pahari and Pothwari.

The Pahari-Pothwari language complex includes three major but mutually intelligible dialects: Pahari, Pothwari and Mirpuri. Those speaking the latter, Mirpuri, also refer to their language as Pahari. The actual names used have some variation among speakers, but we will begin by defining the area covered by each dialect.

1.1 Geography

Pahari, which means “mountainous,” is primarily spoken in the Murree *tehsil* of the Rawalpindi District in northern Pakistan. Masica (1991) sometimes labels this dialect as *Dhundi-Kairali*, coming from the name of a prominent tribe settled there. However, the people themselves call their dialect *Pahari*. The Pahari area ranges in altitude from about 1,000 feet above sea level to over 9,000 feet. This Pahari area is often referred to as the *galliat*, which is the plural of a Hindko word that means [mountain] pass. The *galliat* area is steep and mountainous and the land gradually flattens to the west in the gently sloping hills around Abbottabad. The Murree dialect of Pahari ends at the Jhelum River, but another dialect of the same language, also called Pahari as well as *Chibhali*, extends into Azad Kashmir. As one travels from Murree to Abbottabad, one passes through a transitional region between Ayubia and Nathiagali, where the language gradually changes from Pahari to Hindko.¹

Pothwari is spoken in the plateau south of the Pahari dialect area. Its southern border is formed by the Salt Range; from there the area runs northward to Rawalpindi and eastward to the Jhelum River. As one travels from Rawalpindi to Murree, the language transitions

¹ Masica (1991) points out that Hindko (which means language of the Indians as opposed to the language of the Pathans) is a name used to describe several language varieties. It has been used to refer to Siraiki dialects, Peshawari Hindko, Hindko spoken in Attock, as well as languages spoken in Hazara. For the purposes of this survey, Hindko is the language spoken in Hazara (with a center around Abbottabad and Mansehra). Hindko is the term used by those who live in this area.

from Pothwari to Pahari around Bharakao, approximately where the Murree Hills begin.

Mirpuri is spoken in the district of Mirpur in Azad Kashmir. People who live in this area refer to their language sometimes as Mirpuri but also as Pahari. Hundreds of thousands of those living in this district have immigrated to the UK and other countries (Lothers and Lothers 2003).

The administrative units considered in this survey include primarily two districts: Rawalpindi and Abbottabad. Districts that may be mentioned to a lesser extent are Islamabad and Mansehra. While Pahari is also spoken in Kashmir, it is difficult to obtain information about this area. However, districts referenced there include Muzaffarabad, Bagh, and Mirpur.

Districts are broken down into smaller units called *tehsils*. Each *tehsil* is composed of *qanungo halqas*. Every *qanungo halqa* is composed of *patwar* circles. Within *patwar* circles are village councils which are made up of about 10 to 20 villages. Maps showing administrative divisions are included in appendix A.

1.2 Language classification

In linguistic literature, Pahari and Pothwari are classified with some other Indo-Aryan languages in a group called “Lahnda.”² Grierson gave this name “Lahnda” to Western Punjabi. “Lahnda” is the Punjabi word for “western.” Other linguists preferred the Indo-Aryan convention of using feminine forms for languages so they called it “Lahndi.” However, only linguists have used the terms “Lahnda” or “Lahndi” (Shackle 1979). In this report, “Lahndi” will only be used when it refers to the cluster of languages that includes Pahari, Pothwari, and closely related languages.

Nigam (1972) has two groupings for Indo-Aryan languages: the central-northern group and the eastern group. The central-northern classification is shown in figure 1 (page 4). Pahari and Pothwari

² We follow the convention of Masica (1991) and put “Lahnda” in quotes. While linguists use this label, the speakers of the languages categorized by this label do not use it.

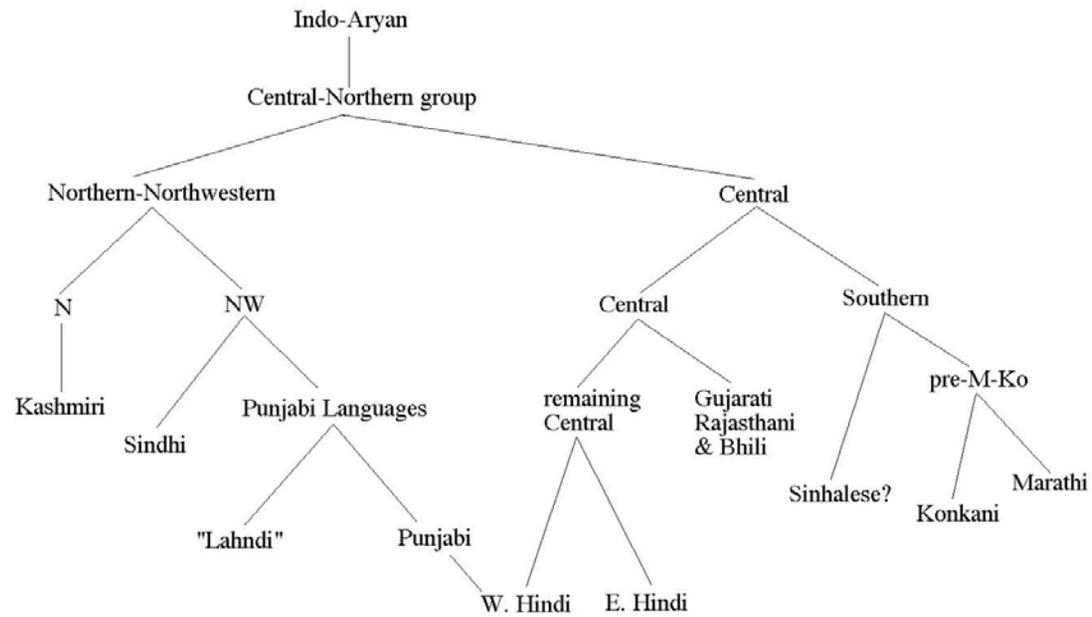


Figure 1: Nigam's (1972) classification of the Indo-Aryan languages (central-northern group).

are included within “Lahndi” under “Punjabi Languages” in figure 1. The eastern group is not a concern of this survey. It consists of languages spoken far east of Pakistan including Bihari, Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese.

This classification leaves some questions still unanswered. What is “Lahndi”? What is grouped together with Pahari under the name “Lahndi”?

“Lahndi” is divided into two sections by the Salt range. Southern Lahndi consists of the languages spoken south of the Salt Range. Masica (1991) includes Riyasati, Bahawalpuri, Multani, Jhangi-Jatki, and Thali in Southern “Lahndi.” Northern “Lahndi” (which includes Pahari and Pothwari) consists of the languages north of the Salt Range.

The classification of the northern “Lahndi” cluster has been problematic. Masica (1991:18) writes, “In the broken hill country to the north of the Salt range are the more diverse dialects of ‘Northern Lahnda’, Grierson’s pioneering subclassification of which most experts agree is particularly unsatisfactory.” For instance, Grierson’s classification does not show the close relationship between Punjabi and Pahari (or “Lahndi”).

Figure 2 shows how the languages have been described in relation to one another. The tree is derived from Masica’s (1991) discussion of Northern Lahndi. *Dhundi-Kairali* is the language spoken in the Muree hills or *galliat*. It covers the south-eastern area of the Abbottabad District as well as the north-eastern area of the Rawalpindi District. In the Rawalpindi District section of the *galliat*, the language is called *Pahari* and in the Abbottabad District section, it is often called *Hindko*. However, the *Hindko* spoken in the Abbottabad District part of the *galliat* is not a main dialect of *Hindko* but more of a transitional dialect as the language changes toward central Pahari as spoken in the Muree Hills. *Chibhali* is the dialect spoken to the west and south of the Pir Panjal Mountains in Azad Kashmir, east of the Jhelum River. However, *Chibhali* is not a commonly used term. Most of these people refer to their language simply as *Pahari*.

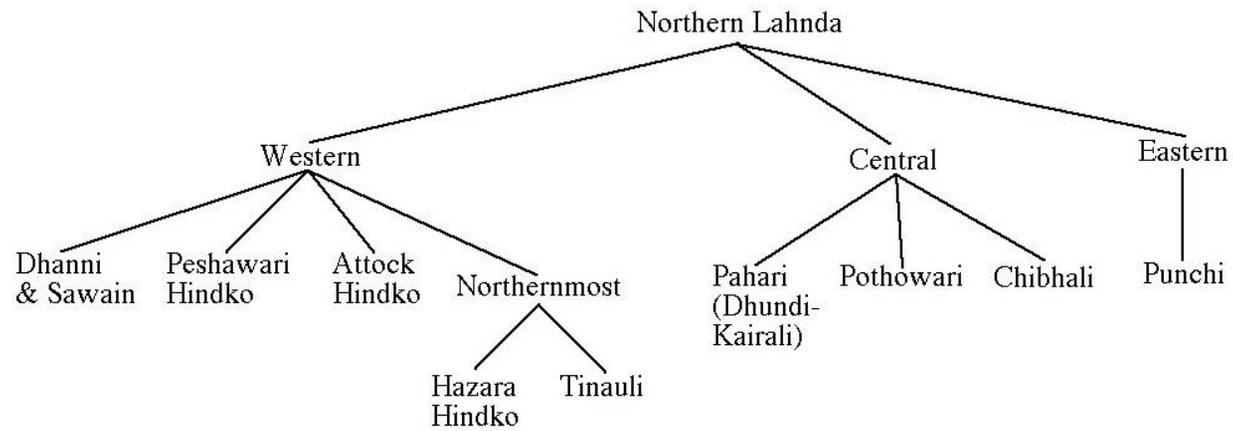


Figure 2: Modified classification of Northern Lahnda^a

^aThis classification tree of Northern “Lahnda” was derived from Masica’s (1991) discussion of “Lahnda” on pages 17–19 and through the classification of each language found in Appendix I: Inventory of NIA languages and dialects. The one difference is that we group Dhundi-Kairali with Pothwari and Chibhali rather than with Hazara Hindko and Tinauli.

Table 1 provides further information on the language grouping shown in figure 2. Table 1 lists the language name and the grouping within the classification of Northern Lahnda or “Lahndi” (NW for Northwestern, NC for North Central, NE for Northeastern). If any alternate names are used for the languages, they are included under the “Alternate Names” column. The area where the language is spoken is indicated under the “Location” column.

There are still some dialects with unconfirmed classification. For instance, Grierson (LSI VIII.1: 450ff) formulated 12 distinguishing characteristics between northern and southern “Lahndi.” However, in his phonology of Awankari, Bahri (1962) attempts to prove 11 of these 12 distinguishing characteristics as incorrect. Shackle (1979) confirms that Bahri’s arguments are valid and calls Grierson’s classification into question.

Bahri actually sought to prove that Awankari is more closely related to the southern “Lahndi.” dialects of Thali and Shahpuri. Earlier Grierson had claimed that Awankari and Pothwari were closely related. If Bahri’s assertions are correct, then he has proven that the Salt Range is not a rigid border between northern and southern “Lahndi”. Shackle (1979:91) summarizes the “Lahndi” classification problem as “one [which] has all the ingredients for confusions which are sufficient to cast a dense fog over the area for those who are not specialists, and a fairly thick haze for quite a few who are!” While an interesting area of research, answers to these classification problems are beyond the scope of this report. Instead, we focus on sociolinguistic questions concerning three language varieties within northern “Lahndi”: Pahari, Pothwari, and Hindko.

Before we proceed, let us once more clarify our nomenclature for these language varieties. While the dialect of the Murree hills is sometimes called Dhundi-Kairali in the literature, for the purposes of this report it will be called *Pahari*. People who speak it most often call their dialect Pahari. *Pothwari* is a closely related variety spoken in the plateau south of Pahari-speaking areas. *Hazara Hindko* is a language variety related to Pahari and Pothwari, which will be referenced in this report. *Hindko* will be used for the sake of brevity. Should another Hindko dialect/language be referenced, then its full name would be used (i.e., Peshawari Hindko or Attock Hindko).

Table 1: Northern “Lahndi” languages and groupings

<i>Language Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Alternate Name(s)</i>	<i>Location</i>
Chibhali	NC	Pahari	Jammu NW border to Murree and Muzaffarabad
Dhanni	NW	—	Western Jhelum District
Dhundi-Kairali	(NW) NC ^a	Pahari (variety spoken in Murree <i>tehsil</i> of Rawalpindi District)	Murree Hills, Rawalpindi District
Hindko, Attock ^b	NW	Hindko, ^c Hindko Proper (Shackle 1979)	Attock District
Hindko, Hazara	NW	Hindki (Grierson 1927), Kagani (Bailey 1938)	Hazara and Kaghan Valley
Hindko, Peshawari	NW	Hindko	Peshawar City
Pothwari	NC	Pothwari (Grierson 1927), Pothohari, Potohari	Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts
Punchi ^d	NE	Punchhi, Poonchi	Punch District
Sawain ^e	NW	Sohain	Sohan River Valley
Tinauli	NW	—	Hazara

Source: Masica (1991) and others.

^aWe would categorize Dhundi-Kairali (Murree Pahari) as NC instead of NW.

^bThere are four dialects of Attock Hindko: Awankari, Ghebi, Chachhi, Kohati (Masica 1991).

^cHindki is considered to be pejorative (Shackle 1980).

^dKashmiri has had a large influence on Punchi.

^eSawain is considered to be closely related to Dhanni (Masica 1991).

1.3 Background

1.3.1 Historical summary

Many different civilizations have left their mark in the area inhabited by Pahari and Pothwari speakers. Although the vast majority of the population today is Muslim, Hindus and Buddhists have left historical landmarks, and the names of places continue to be

affected by them to the present day. From Alexander the Great's invasion in 326 BC to the fifth century AD, most of the Pahari-Pothwari area was part of the Taxila empire. Portions of the area were under control of kingdoms based in Kashmir, especially around the seventh century AD. Later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the northern portion of the Punjab was under the Timurid Empire. From 1526 until British control in 1849, several powers rose and fell including the Moghuls, the Sikhs, and Dogras. The British ruled until the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947.

1.3.2 Population

A conservative estimate of the total number of Pahari and Pothwari speakers today is well over 2.5 million. Using the 1998 District Census Reports of Abbottabad and Rawalpindi as a guide, there are over one million Pahari or Pothwari speakers living in District Rawalpindi and District Abbottabad. If we include populations in the districts of Bagh, Kotli, and Mirpur in Azad Kashmir, as recorded in <http://www.gharib.demon.co.uk/ajk/ajk.htm>, the figure increases with another 1.5 million. In the UK alone, there are over half a million immigrants from this language group, mostly from District Mirpur. See Lothers and Lothers (2003) for more details on this immigrant population.

1.3.3 Prominent family groups and way of life

Several family groups are prominent in the area. In the Murree area especially, the Dhund family group is very influential. Common surnames in the Dhund family group are Abbasi and Qureshi. The Dhunds, along with Mughals, typically earn their living through farming. Some earn extra income through apple orchards, growing potatoes, or through poultry and dairy farms. Another prominent family group is Suttee. They, along with Mathwals and Awans, are known for their involvement in civil and military service. A common practice among many families is working overseas and sending money home. People in Mirpur, many of whom would call their language *Pahari*, are especially well known for exporting labor overseas.

1.3.4 Development and promotion of Pahari and Pothwari

Movements toward language development already exist among the Pahari and Pothwari language groups. One such movement has begun in England for Pothwari. They have developed an Urdu-based script, primers, literature, and a magazine named *Chitka*, which was first published in December 1993 (Rahman 1996, Lothers and Lothers 2003). Pahari and Pothwari books have also recently been published in Pakistan including those by Chahal (2002), Karbali (2003), and Rizwi (2003). A radio program is broadcast out of Muzaffarabad, and people within range of the station listen to it. See section 4.1 for a discussion of the question “Do you listen to Pahari radio?” for more details.

A poetry book, *Devan-e-Akash*, was quite popular in Murree. The author, Masood Akash, is a lawyer in the Murree area. Another author in the Murree area asked us to arrange a poetry program where this book was highlighted. The date was set in October 2000 and about 20 people came. The poetry was sung, recited, and enthusiastically received by the people who came.

1.4 Goals of the survey

The original survey began with Pahari and sought to answer the following questions:

- *What is the most central dialect, if any?* What is the most respected dialect? Before language development begins, a central and respected dialect should be identified. The perceptions of Pahari and Pothwari speakers through questionnaires provided interesting opinions regarding respected dialects (see section 5.3).
- *Are other related language varieties understood in the Murree area besides Pahari?* An underlying question concerning these other language varieties is whether they are to be seen as different dialects of the same language or as representing one or more different languages. Several methods were used to answer this question: wordlists were used to compare lexical similarity among villages. Recorded Text Tests (RTT) were used to evaluate comprehension. Participants’ responses to questions

regarding perceived similarity of the stories they heard helped us to interpret the significance of the RTT results (see section 3.2).

- *Where are Pahari dialects spoken?* Formal questionnaires helped explore people's perception of language boundaries (see chapter 5). Gathering wordlists and Recorded Text Tests helped determine differences in lexical items and comprehension, respectively (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 for a discussion of regional dialects).
- *What is the vitality of the Pahari language?* To measure vitality of Pahari a formal questionnaire was used to evaluate some domains where the language is used. Questions also focused on the speakers' own views regarding the future of Pahari (see section 4.2).
- *What is the attitude of Pahari speakers toward their language and toward Pahari literacy?* To measure the attitude of Pahari speakers toward their own language, the questionnaire was used to explore their attitude toward using their own language orally and for writing (see section 4.3).

The original survey began with the understanding that Pahari was to be viewed as a separate language. This idea grew out of conversations with Pahari speakers in informal interviews that indicated that the border of Pahari was, generally, limited to the Murree *tehsil*. However, as the results for the survey of Pahari emerged, it became clear that Pahari and Pothwari are very closely related to one another. While speakers of both dialects perceive the other as somewhat different, comprehension between the dialects is high.

Consequently, we saw that more survey was necessary in Pothwari areas. The goals of this added phase of the survey were concerned with the vitality of the Pothwari dialect as well as with Pothwari speakers' attitudes toward their own language and toward mother tongue literacy. (See chapter 6 for more details.)

1.5 Summary of findings

What is the most central dialect of Pahari, if any? What is the most respected dialect?

Murree emerged as the central and most respected area for the Pahari dialect according to participants from the Murree *tehsil* and eastern areas of the Abbottabad *tehsil*. Residents of Azad Kashmir do not identify strongly with Murree, except in a few cases.

After the first phase of this survey, it became apparent that Pothwari dialect attitudes should also be investigated. In a follow-up survey, we investigated a central Pothwari dialect as well. Among the Pothwari-speaking cities of Rawat, Mirpur, and Gujarkhan, Gujarkhan was the most respected. Participants also thought it was easy to understand but, naturally, thought dialects from their own area were the easiest to understand.

How well are other related language varieties besides Pahari understood in the Murree area?

Central Pahari locations (see chapter 3) showing the highest lexical similarity are compared with Hindko and Pothwari locations in figure 3. Mirpuri and Pothwari are more lexically similar to each other than to Pahari.

The two dialects of Hindko group together. The Abbottabad and Mansehra dialects have 86% lexical similarity. However, similarity with Hindko is 80% or less for the other language varieties, that is, for Pahari, Pothwari and Mirpuri.

Hindko (Mansehra)	
86 Hindko (Abbottabad)	
72 75 Pahari (inner group)	
72 80 81 Pothwari (Mandra)	
74 77 79 84 Mirpuri (Mirpur)	

Figure 3: Lexical similarity matrix (averaging scores for central Pahari locations)

In the initial survey, we tested Hindko and Pothwari language dialects among Murree participants using Recorded Text Tests. Pahari-speaking men score better than 93% comprehension on

Pothwari and Hindko. Pahari-speaking women score equally well on Pothwari comprehension but average 85% or lower on Hindko comprehension. Women travel less and have less contact with speakers of other dialects so their ability to comprehend would more likely come from inherent intelligibility. This leads us to believe that Pahari displays more inherent intelligibility with Pothwari than Hindko. (See section 3.2 for more details.)

Where are Pahari dialects spoken?

The central Pahari dialect area includes the Murree *tehsil* and the Bagan and Lora Nara *qanungo halqas* of the south-eastern Abbottabad District.

The language boundaries expand when Pothwari is grouped with Pahari. The southern border goes toward the Salt Range, the eastern border is the Jhelum River and the northern border may extend to the Pir Panjal Mountains in Azad Kashmir.

What is the vitality of the Pahari language?

The vitality of Pahari is strong as measured by participants' answers regarding children's use of Pahari and their own attitudes about that. Urdu is stronger within the public sphere, since it is necessary in work and education, but it seems that Pahari will continue to be spoken in homes.

What is the attitude of Pahari speakers toward their language and toward Pahari literacy?

Attitudes toward their own language were largely positive, as evidenced by participants' views about speaking Pahari and answers which revealed a strong solidarity among language speakers. Attitudes toward Pahari literacy were mixed, with about half of the responses positive in the informal questionnaire interviews.

1.6 Organization of this report

This report is organized as follows: in chapter 1 we have defined the language of focus for this survey, described the survey goals, and summarized the findings. In chapter 2, we summarize the methodology used and the locations for data collection, along with the numbers of questionnaires and comprehension tests administered.

In chapter 3, we explore the areas of lexical similarity and mutual intelligibility, using wordlists and results from Recorded Text Tests. In chapter 4, we discuss the results of a sociolinguistic questionnaire where participants answered questions related to language use, language attitudes, and language vitality. Chapter 5 includes the discussion of participants' perceptions regarding language and dialect boundaries. In chapter 6, we present the results of a follow-up survey in Pothwari areas. Finally, in chapter 7, we summarize our conclusions and offer some recommendations for further work.

2. Data and Methodology

In this chapter we present an overview of the methodology used in this survey as well as the data collection locations used for each methodology. Three methodologies were used in this survey: wordlists, Recorded Text Tests, and a sociolinguistic questionnaire. Wordlists provide a measure of lexical similarity. Recorded Text Tests provide a measure of comprehension between dialects. The sociolinguistic questionnaires provide an indication of participants' perceptions regarding language boundaries as well as language and literacy attitudes, language vitality, and language use patterns.

2.1 Lexical similarity

2.1.1 Wordlist collection and analysis methodology

Lexical similarity between two locations was investigated by comparing a wordlist collected in each location. This 217-item wordlist was elicited independently from two speakers for each location, with the second elicitation functioning as a check on the first (see Appendix b1).

Wordlists were collected by the authors in cooperation with a research assistant. The assistant took lists independently when access by foreigners to an area was restricted (i.e., foreigners were not allowed without special permission). All lists were tape recorded and their transcription was checked (by both authors) against the tape recording. We chose to delete the first person exclusive plural pronoun (#208 in Rensch, Hallberg, and O'Leary 1992). According to Masica (1991:251), Dravidian languages distinguish between first person inclusive and exclusive pronouns. He only identified a few Indo-Aryan languages (Marathi, Gujarati and the Rajasthani dialects of Marwari, and Harauti) which follow this typically Dravidian distinction.

Additional items in the wordlist (#208 to #217) were taken from a set of sentences we elicited. We hoped to elicit different structures of negation and pronoun forms to determine if different dialects or languages could be distinguished by these grammatical differences.

Some of these items are the same in Urdu but the Pahari dialects do distinguish between these different semantic meanings.³

The sentences elicited are (with the word of interest and the corresponding wordlist item in bold):

You do **not** [210] give **me** [208] **his** [209] book.

I **live** [212] **near** [211] Ghora Gali.

Why did they buy bread **from** [213] that store?

We were **not** [215] taking food **from** [214] the children.

She **washes** [217] dishes **with** [216] cold water.

Word order of the sentences in Urdu (with the exception of item 215) determined the order of the item numbers. While the elicited forms did exhibit interesting differences among the surveyed dialects, these forms did not seem to distinguish dialects. That is, dialects did not appear to consistently use one or the other of these different forms.

We analyzed the wordlists in terms of phonetic similarity. Blair (1990) describes the methodology used to determine synchronic lexical similarity. (See appendix A.2 for more details.) We did not investigate historical cognates among language varieties.

2.1.2 Locations of wordlist collection

We determined locations for wordlist elicitation through informal interviews. People would indicate where their language was different, and then we would collect at least two wordlists from that location. We summarize the locations ordered, generally, from northwest to southeast. (See maps in the appendix for the location of

³ For example, items 213, 214 and 218 are all [se] in Urdu, but these post-positions are often distinct in Pahari. Two negatives are also elicited (210 and 215) because negation is more complex in Pahari than Urdu. The negative in Pahari sometimes changes according to the gender, number, and person of the subject—or according to the gender and number of the noun phrase in ergative case.

these villages. More detailed demographic information is provided in appendix B.)

	<i>Location</i>	<i>Map in Appendix A.1</i>
1.	Mansehra	Map 1
2.	Abbottabad	Map 1
3.	Thandiani	Map 4
4.	Muzaffarabad	Map 1
5.	Dungagali (Mulach)	Map 4
6.	Nilabutt, Bagh, AK	near Bagh in Map 1
7.	Kohala (on the Jhelum)	Map 4
8.	Dewal	Map 3
9.	Osia	Map 3
10.	Ayubia	Map 4
11.	Mosyari	Map 3
12.	Ghora Gali	Map 3
13.	Lora	Map 4
14.	Bharakao	Map 1
15.	Gujarkhan	Map 1
16.	Mirpur	Map 1

The MANSEHRA and ABBOTTABAD wordlists were provided to us through Mark and Lara Robinson who are working in Hindko language development. They provided us with a list as well as an audio recording. As with all of the wordlists, both authors listened to the wordlists as we compared the transcription with our own. Rensch, Hallberg, and O'Leary (1992) was also a helpful resource.

The THANDIANI lists came from villages close to Thandiani, which itself is a mountain resort to get away from the heat. Year-round residents are in the surrounding villages. A student at the Kanthiali Government High School gave the Thandiani wordlist. The head master selected him to give the wordlist. He was in his last year of study at the school and he was from a village near Thandiani called Maseena. The wordlist checks were from another small village near Thandiani from a cloth-maker along with his 13-year-old nephew.

With travel restrictions to Muzaffarabad, the first MUZAFFARABAD wordlist came from someone who was working in

Murree but who had been born in Muzaffarabad. Our language assistant, Asim Abbasi, took the other list from Muzaffarabad.

The wordlist from DUNGAGALI came from a village called Malach. Dungagali is about at the halfway point on the road running between Murree and Abbottabad. Malach is a village below the road. A wordlist gathered by Ken Decker (personal communication, 1998) served as a check for the list.

The wordlist from NILABUTT-BAGH, AK came from a shopkeeper who had been working in Murree for seven years. He returned to his home about two times in a month. Someone else, whose extended family lives in Bagh, provided a check for the wordlist.

The wordlist from KOHALA, a village on the Murree side of the Jhelum River as the road goes to Muzaffarabad and Bagh, was elicited in the bazaar in Kohala. The person giving the wordlist was from lower Bakot. Someone from Moolia, a village on a hill above Kohala, provided the check for the wordlist.

Several wordlists were taken at the Government Degree College in Murree from students who commuted there. Two villages, DEWAL and OSIA, are close together, but people identified them as areas where people spoke Pahari differently. We were able to get only one list from Dewal, but the student giving the list seemed to understand what was expected and gave synonyms during elicitation. Two wordlists came from students who commuted from Osia.

AYUBIA is a few miles southeast of Dungagali. It is another area tourists visit during the summer months. People reported to us that those who live in the surrounding villages spoke a different form of Pahari. The man from whom the wordlist was elicited did not have any education but he seemed to catch on to the wordlist procedures quickly.

The MOSYARI wordlists were elicited and checked on the Mall Road in Murree. Mosyari is one of the nearest villages to Murree. It is a short walk directly below the town of Murree. Both of the men giving the wordlist walked to Murree daily for their work. A younger man (age 25) provided the check and he thought some of the words given by the other man (age 55) were no longer used.

The GHORA GALI wordlist was elicited from someone at Ghora Gali. Ghora Gali is a town on the Murree Road about five miles down from Murree. Ghora Gali was frequently mentioned as a place where the Pahari language was spoken differently. The check for Ghora Gali came from two cousins who lived in a village called Nimb, about 1 kilometer south of Ghora Gali below the Murree Road.

The LORA NARA wordlist was elicited in a village called Dheri Kyalah, close to the town of Lora. The check for the wordlist was from the bazaar at Lora Nara. Both people were from Dheri Kyalah. Lora Nara is in the south-eastern Abbottabad District about 25 kilometers south of Murree on a road running from Ghora Gali to Haripur.

The BHARAKAO list was elicited in the bazaar at Bharakao. Participants often mentioned Bharakao as a place where Pahari ended and Pothwari began. As one travels towards Rawalpindi, it is located where the Murree Hills end. The man giving the list did have some ties back to Lora Nara so, in that sense, it is not an ideal wordlist.

The GUJARKHAN wordlist was elicited and checked from villages close to the town of Gujarkhan. People in this area speak Pothwari. The first participant giving a list was born in Barki Badhal and the one giving the check was born in Mandra—both villages are close to Gujarkhan. Gujarkhan is located on the Grand Trunk Road between Rawalpindi and Lahore.

The MIRPUR wordlist was elicited and checked in New Mirpur, about 25 kilometers from the Grand Trunk Road. People here call their language a variety of names: Pahari, Mirpur Pahari, Mirpuri, or Pothwari. Over 100,000 of the people from the Mirpur District were displaced with a dam building project in the 1960s. Since the creation of the Mangla Reservoir, several hundred thousand people from this district live overseas, primarily in England. Both lists were taken in Mirpur, but the one giving the check was from the Kotli District (north of the Mangla Reservoir). Even though the check was from a village farther away, the lists were quite similar.

2.2 Comprehension of recorded speech

Comprehension testing with recorded speech provides a measure of comprehension between spoken varieties of a language. As a rule of thumb, when the lexical similarity is above 85%, comprehension testing is not necessary. A given percentage of comprehension between two varieties may reflect the interplay of at least two factors. It may indicate how inherently intelligible two speech varieties are (because of linguistic and cultural similarity). It might also indicate how much intelligibility the participant has acquired through contact with speakers of other language varieties.

2.2.1 Recorded Text Test (RTT) methodology

The Recorded Text Test (RTT) methodology provides a metric for spoken language intelligibility. If a speaker of one dialect or language is able to answer (or not able to answer) questions about a short oral story in a different dialect, this provides a general indication of how well he or she understands the dialect in question. The general methodology used in this survey is based on the method described by Casad (1974) and Blair (1990).

In this methodology, a short story is elicited and recorded on tape. For this survey, we requested stories about memorable experiences or travel, or most frightening or life threatening experiences—stories that would not have predictable content. Then questions are written about the content of the story. During a so-called “hometown test,” speakers from the area where the story is recorded listen to the story and answer the questions. If mother-tongue speakers of the same variety can provide correct answers to the RTT questions, this helps to ensure that the test is a fair test of intelligibility. (See appendix A.2.5 for more detailed information on this methodology.) A text is tested on at least ten participants in each location.

In this survey, after each story the test participant also answered another question: Is this your language, a little different language, or a completely different language? This helped us see how different they perceive the language variety in each story to be from their own.

2.2.2 Locations and data for RTT

Four text locations were selected as dialect centers for testing recorded texts: Murree, Abbottabad, Mansehra, and Gujarkhan.

The first text, the MURREE text, represents Pahari. It comes from the village of Aliot, which is about halfway on the road between the town of Murree and Kohala. Aliot is a village in the Murree *tehsil*, located within the geographical boundaries of the inner group of the central Pahari cluster. See section 3.1 Lexical similarity. The storyteller is about 60 years old. He recounts a story his father told as he remembered the time of the partition in Pakistan. During this time the storyteller's father worked for the British army, and he tells the story of one time when he saw a ghost in the middle of the night while he was away without leave.

The second text represents the ABBOTTABAD dialect of Hindko. The storyteller comes from Nawanshahr, a community on the east side of Abbottabad city. She recounts a personal experience where she and her aunt were cleaning the house and had an accident where they barely survived electrocution.⁴

The third text represents the MANSEHRA dialect of Hindko. The 42-year-old storyteller comes from the city of Mansehra, located north of Abbottabad. He reported that he has two years of education and, besides Hindko, he speaks Urdu and a little Sindhi and Pashto. In his story, he recounts an accident that he had with a truck while he was driving a passenger van. He and many of the others on board were severely injured, but the truck driver fled the scene of the accident.

The fourth text represents POTHWARI as it is spoken in Gujarkhan. The storyteller comes from Mandra, which is close to Gujarkhan. He recounts a school outing where he and his young classmates went swimming in a river. The swift current carried him away and he nearly drowned. His classmates and family were convinced he had drowned, but someone found him and took him home the next day.

⁴ Participants made no apparent reaction to the speaker being female.

2.3 Participant intuitions and opinions from interviews: Methodology and data collection locations

Besides data from wordlists and Recorded Text Tests, we also collected formal questionnaires, which were administered orally from a questionnaire written in Urdu. These questionnaires explored the intuitions that participants have about where language varieties are spoken. Their opinions were also helpful as we explored questions of language vitality, language use, language attitude, and attitudes toward literacy and literature. (The full text of the questionnaire translated into English is in appendix B.3.)

We collected 161 interviews from the following general areas. The focus of the survey at the beginning was the MURREE area from which we have 77 interviews. From the *galliat* in the Abbottabad District (such as DUNGAGALI and NATHIAGALI) we have 29 interviews. From BHARAKAO, at the base of the Murree Hills in the Islamabad District, we have 12 interviews. From MIRPUR, we have 15 interviews and from MUZAFFARABAD, we have 14 interviews.

The sample does not equally represent the full population because of logistical issues. The typical interview participant was a male between 18 and 40 with more than a primary education. The difficulty (or inappropriateness) of interviewing women is illustrated by the fact that men comprise 93% of the interviews (150 of 161). 78% (126 of 161) of the participants are from 18 to 40 years of age. Only 18% (29 of 161) are older than 40. Participants with more than a primary education seemed much more comfortable with answering the questions. (Further demographic information is detailed in appendix B.4.)

3. Lexical similarity and intelligibility

In this chapter, we explore the boundaries of Pahari, as revealed through lexical similarity percentages, and we explore the question of whether Pahari is a distinct language from the Hindko and Pothwari dialects surrounding it. We initially examined Pahari in relation to Hindko and Pothwari through wordlists. Our wordlist was similar to the list suggested by Blair (1990) and used in Rensch, Hallberg, and O’Leary (1992). (For a complete wordlist, see appendix A.2.4. For the details of wordlist additions and deletions, see section 2.1.1.)

Analysis of wordlist similarity indicated a central cluster of Pahari varieties around Murree. They also showed a similarity of 70-80% to dialects of Abbottabad and Mansehra Hindko. Lexical similarity between Pahari and Pothwari areas is higher, above 80%. We used Recorded Text Tests to determine comprehension and intelligibility of these dialects for Pahari speakers.

Along with the RTTs, we asked listeners to rate the stories they heard as being identical to their language, somewhat different, or completely different. Their ratings reveal a strong self-identification with their own Pahari dialect and showed they saw somewhat of a distinction between the Pahari dialect and the Hindko and Pothwari dialects.

We also address participants’ intuitions regarding dialect boundaries in several questions on the questionnaire. (See chapter 5 for these results.) Participants’ responses regarding which area is easy to understand and their attitudes toward Pahari-speaking areas also factor into this discussion of regional dialects.

3.1 Lexical similarity

The lexical similarity matrix is shown in figure 4. The village locations are generally ordered from north to south. However, the dialect matrix could be considered as a continuum running from the northwest in Mansehra to the southeast in Mirpur (and even farther

south). Lexical similarity values above 85% are in *italics*. Locations with 85% similarity or above are considered to represent the same language variety, thus further testing to determine closeness is not required. Lexical similarity values of 90% or above are represented in **bold**.

The locations in the inner square have above 90% similarity with two or more other locations. The locations in the outer square have similarity above 85% with two or more locations.

Mansehra

86 Abbottabad

78 79 Thandiani

73 79 82 |Muzaffarabad

74 76 83 |84 Dungagali (Mulach)

70 74 81 |84 83 Nilabutt, Bagh, AK

73 78 84 |85 86 88 |Kohala (on the Jhelum)

71 73 80 |83 84 87 |**91** Dewal

71 73 82 |88 85 86 |**93** 89 Osia

72 76 82 |84 88 86 |**95 92 91** Ayubia

71 77 82 |84 84 86 |**92 91 89 91** Mosyari

72 76 82 |83 83 86 88 89 85 89 **91** Ghora Gali

74 81 84 |84 86 82 **90** 85 88 89 87 87 Lora

71 72 82 81 81 79 85 82 84 84 83 83 84 Bharakao

72 80 79 81 79 77 82 81 80 81 82 81 84 78 Gujarkhan

74 77 78 78 78 78 80 79 77 77 80 78 82 79 84 Mirpur

54 51 55 59 59 60 54 55 55 55 56 60 55 61 51 57 Urdu

Figure 4: Wordlist similarity matrix

The lexical similarity counts for the 18 wordlists help divide the locations into different groups: *inner Pahari group*, *central Pahari group*, *transitional Pahari groups*, and the *Hindko* and *Pothwari/Mirpuri* dialects. Averaged values for each location within the two squares provide another indication of the grouping for each location. As a check for the inner and central Pahari groups, an average of 85% or above would corroborate membership in the central Pahari group. An average above 90% with central Pahari dialects would corroborate membership in the inner Pahari group.

First, we will look at the central Pahari group included within the outer square in figure 4. Following each location is its average lexical similarity with other members within this outer square. From north to

south, approximately, these locations are Muzaffarabad (84.3%), Dungagali (84.7%), Nilabutt-Bagh (85.3%), Kohala (89.8%), Dewal (87.9%), Osia (88.2%), Ayubia (89.4%), Mosyari (88.3%), Ghora Gali (86.8%), and Lora (86.4%). The first two locations, Muzaffarabad and Dungagali, have averages slightly below 85% indicating that one could possibly classify them as transitional or borderline Pahari areas rather than as central Pahari areas. The discussion for question 5 (“*In what nearby areas do they speak exactly like you?*”) in the sociolinguistic questionnaire suggests that Muzaffarabad participants identified more with Hindko-speaking areas—especially Mansehra. (See chapter 5 for more details.)

Second, we will look at the inner Pahari group included within the inner square in figure 4. The averaged lexical similarity percentages of each location with these other locations is more than 90%. The averages for these locations are Kohala (92.75%), Dewal (90.75%), Osia (90.5%), Ayubia (92.25%), and Mosyari (90.75%). The high average similarity is confirmation of their membership in the inner Pahari group. This cluster of core locations is spoken primarily in the Murree *tehsil* up to the AJK border at Kohala on the Jhelum River. One location, Ayubia, is close to the Murree *tehsil* in the Abbottabad District.

As the circle widens geographically, the lexical similarity decreases. Among the ten locations of the Central Pahari group, Lora and Nilabutt share the lowest lexical similarity of 82%. Because Lora is on the opposite boundary of the Central Pahari area from Nilabutt, it should be expected that they would have slightly less similarity. However, because both Lora and Nilabutt share a high degree of lexical similarity with all the other locations, they fit best within this grouping.

Now we will look at borderline areas around Pahari. We could classify them as falling within a window of 80 to 85% lexical similarity. Thandiani seems to fit this criterion. When averaged with the ten central Pahari locations, Thandiani has an average lexical similarity of 82.2%. When averaged with the five inner Pahari locations, it has a value of 82%. Likewise, Bharakao has an average lexical similarity of 82.6% when averaged with the central Pahari locations and 83.6% average lexical similarity with the five inner

locations. As noted earlier, one could also classify two members of the central Pahari group, namely Muzaffarabad and Dungagali, as borderline areas of Pahari. However, when averaged with the inner Pahari group both these locations are very close to the 85% threshold. Muzaffarabad has an average lexical similarity of 84.8% and Dungagali is actually over the 85% threshold (85.4%) when averaged with only the inner Pahari group. In both of these locations, people tend to call their language Hindko rather than Pahari, but the wordlists from these two locations seem closer to Pahari than Hindko.⁵

What languages or dialects are spoken beyond these Pahari border locations? Pothwari is spoken beyond Bharakao to the south and west. Beyond Muzaffarabad to the north, the language shifts toward Hindko and Shina. Beyond Dungagali and Thandiani, the language to the west is Hindko.

Two wordlists are from established Hindko dialect locations: Abbottabad and Mansehra. These two areas have 86% lexical similarity with each other. The Pahari and Pothwari locations are lexically similar to Abbottabad Hindko by 73 to 81% and to Mansehra Hindko by 70 to 78% or less. Similarity with Urdu is, not surprisingly, even less. For an extensive survey of the Hindko-speaking areas, see Rensch, Hallberg and O'Leary (1992).

Two wordlists are from Pothwari locations: Gujarkhan and Mirpur. Gujarkhan and Mirpur are more lexically similar to each other at 84% than to most wordlist locations. However, Pothwari wordlists have a higher degree of similarity with the wordlist from central Pahari locations than the Hindko wordlists. Lora has a lexical similarity to Gujarkhan of 84% and Mirpur of 82%. The central Pahari locations are lexically similar with Gujarkhan by a range of 77 to 82% and Mirpur by a range of 77 to 80%. Gujarkhan appears to have closer lexical similarity to the Pahari areas than Mirpur, probably due to its geographic proximity as a midpoint between Bharakao and Mirpur.

⁵ See table B60 in appendix B.4 for a summary of the questionnaire participants' reported mother tongue.

The Urdu wordlist was used as a baseline for comparing all the dialects. Similarity between Urdu and the other varieties was between 51 and 70%.

Of the language varieties surrounding Pahari, Pothwari seems to be more similar to Pahari than to Hindko. Combining lexical similarity with data on inherent intelligibility between Pahari and Pothwari (see section 3.2), we consider them to be very closely related. In view of the greater linguistic and cultural differences, we consider Hindko to be a somewhat more distant variety, though still closely related to both Pahari and Pothwari.

3.2 Intelligibility

We wanted to determine how well Pahari speakers understood Pothwari and two dialects of Hindko. We used Recorded Text Tests (RTT) to do so.⁶ We also asked the participants about their perception of these RTT stories. They told us if they thought it was their own language, a slightly different language, or a completely different language. Berger (1999) discusses a similar technique as a measure of dialect comprehension and language identity.

The RTT provides a measure of spoken intelligibility between Pahari and languages or dialects bordering Pahari to the west (Hindko) and to the south (Pothwari). We tested two dialects of Hindko. One Hindko story was elicited from Abbottabad and the other from Mansehra. The Pothwari story was elicited near Gujarkhan in a village called Mandra. The Pahari story was elicited from Aliot in the Murree *tehsil*, a village located within the geographical boundaries of the inner group of the central Pahari group.

Male and female participants in the central Pahari group listened first to the Murree text, and answered questions about its content. All of the participants were from villages within a four-mile radius of Aliot. For the Hindko RTT, 8 of 12 of the men and 9 of 10 of the women taking the test were from within a two-mile radius of Aliot.

⁶ Recorded text testing between multiple Pahari locations was unnecessary because of the high lexical similarity among them.

For the Pothwari RTT, all nine of the men were from within a two-mile radius of Aliot and 7 of 13 of the women were within a two-mile radius.

3.2.1 Recorded Text Tests

First, we will look at the results of the RTT. Specifically, what percentage of the questions could the participants answer in response to texts in their own and in different dialects? Second, we will look at how the test participants perceived the different dialects. That is, how did the test participants perceive the stories from different dialect areas?

3.2.1.1 Intelligibility summary

We begin with a summary of the Recorded Text Test results shown in table 2. The RTT *mean* is the average of all the scores.⁷ The *standard deviation* is a measure of deviation within each sample, such that if all participants scored similarly on the RTT, the standard deviation is small. The *count* represents the number of participants, or sample size, for each RTT. Note that the Murree Pahari RTT has a larger sample because not only was it evaluated as a hometown test, but this RTT also provided a benchmark for a study of Pahari speakers' comprehension of Hindko and Pothwari. In table 2, the *confidence interval* is an estimate, given the size of the sample and the standard deviation within the sample, of how the total population would score on the RTT. A confidence interval cannot be calculated for the Abbottabad Hindko hometown test because there is no variation in the sample of RTT scores.

⁷ Note that the testing method requires that some scores be excluded. See Casad (1974) and Blair (1990). If someone is unable to score 90% or above on an RTT in their own variety, then their RTT scores for other varieties will not be a reliable measure of intelligibility.

Table 2: Summary of scores on Recorded Text Tests

Text		Location of Testing			
		Murree	Gujarkhan	Abbottabad	Mansehra
Murree (Pahari)	RTT Mean	97%			
	Conf Interval	94–96%			
	Stand Dev	4.6			
	Count	58			
Gujarkhan (Pothwari)	RTT Mean	94%	95%		
	Conf Interval	92–98%	92–98%		
	Stand Dev	7.3	5.3		
	Count	22	10		
Abbott- abad (Hindko)	RTT Mean	90%		100%	
	Conf Interval	90–100%		NA	
	Stand Dev	11.9		0	
	Count	23		7	
Mansehra (Hindko)	RTT Mean	90%			98%
	Conf Interval	90–100%			92–98%
	Stand Dev	12.6			4.6
	Count	23			8

In table 3, we divide the RTT scores of the sample into men and women to show an interesting pattern in the variation. As we compare the standard deviation for men's and women's scores for the Hindko RTTs, the variation in the women's sample is much higher. For the Abbottabad Hindko RTT, the standard deviation in the women's scores is 15.1 versus only 6.6 in the men's scores. For Mansehra Hindko, the standard deviation in the women's RTT scores is 12.9 versus only 6 in the men's RTT scores. We posit that the women have a higher variation in their RTT scores for Hindko because they have less consistent contact with Hindko speakers.⁸ As we look at the standard deviation for the Pahari and Pothwari RTT scores, the standard deviation is about the same for both men and

⁸ Note that when we selected our sample, we did ask if the participants traveled frequently to or lived in language areas that we were testing. If they reported that they did, we did not use their RTT scores in our sample.

women. This could indicate either a high level of inherent intelligibility between the two varieties, a more widespread pattern of contact for both men and women, or both.

Table 3: Summary of Pahari Men's and Women's RTT scores for Pothwari and Hindko texts

<i>Text</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Murree (Pahari)	RTT Mean	98%	96%
	Conf Interval	93–97%	93–97%
	Stand Dev	4.289	4.99
	Number	22	23
Gujarkhan (Pothwari)	RTT Mean	93%	94%
	Conf Interval	90–100%	91–99%
	Stand Dev	7.1	7.7
	Count	9	13
Abbottabad (Hindko)	RTT Mean	95%	85%
	Conf Interval	91–99%	86–104%
	Stand Dev	6.6	15.1
	Count	13	10
Mansehra (Hindko)	RTT Mean	98%	81%
	Conf Interval	92–98%	87–103%
	Stand Dev	6.0	12.9
	Count	13	10

While it appears from the RTT scores that there is high inherent intelligibility with Hindko, some intelligibility is acquired through contact. In the following two sections, 3.2.1.2 Intelligibility with Hindko and 3.2.1.3 Intelligibility with Pothwari, we more closely examine Pahari speakers' comprehension of Hindko and Pothwari. We will consider men's and women's samples separately for both Hindko and Pothwari, although we can see in table 3 that there is not much difference between Pahari men's and women's comprehension of Pothwari.

3.2.1.2 Intelligibility with Hindko

The RTT scores for the Hindko texts in table 4 show different intelligibility patterns between men and women. For men, there was

little difference in comprehension between Pahari and the Abbottabad and Mansehra dialects of Hindko. While the 13 male Pahari-speaking test participants did not live in Hindko-speaking areas, they had more contact with Hindko, as people from surrounding areas come to work in the Murree area. The low standard deviation for men for both texts may reflect their more uniform contact with Hindko speakers.

While their scores were still quite high, the 10 Pahari-speaking women had more difficulty understanding spoken Hindko. They probably do not have as much contact with Hindko speakers as do Pahari-speaking men. Travel for women commonly includes Rawalpindi (an area on the border of the Pothwari language area) but not Hindko-speaking areas. The higher standard deviation for women for texts in the Hindko dialects may be an indication of limited contact with Hindko speakers among the sample of women.

Table 4: Pahari Men's and Women's Recorded Text Test (RTT) intelligibility scores with Hindko

<i>Text</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Count</i>
Murree	98%	3.8	13	96%	5.2	10
Abbottabad	95%	6.6	13	85%	15.1	10
Mansehra	97.5%	6	13	81%	12.9	10

In table 5 and table 6 we summarize the perceived language similarity metric—that is, how similar Pahari-speaking RTT participants thought each of the texts was to their own language. We summarize the percentage of participants who see the language of the RTT as the same, a little different, or very different. At the end of every story, we asked the question: What do you think about this story—is it in your language, a little different language, or a completely different language? This question was recorded at the end of the cassette tape in the central Pahari dialect. Their response to the question was coded as: 1=same language, 2=a little different language, 3=different language. Sometimes the test participant would say something like, “It’s approximately in our language.” In this case, 1.5 was assigned to their response. Looking at Table 5, the column labeled “Average” contains the average response for

participants. The columns labeled 1, 1.5, 2, and 3 show the percentage of test participants who thought the story was in their language, approximately in their language, a little different language, or a different language, respectively.

Table 5 summarizes the language perceptions of Pahari men as they listened to the stories included in the Hindko RTTs as compared to their hometown text. All recognized the Murree story as their language except for one participant, who thought it was different. However, this one participant's RTT scores do not corroborate his assessment of the Murree text. This participant scored 100% on the Murree text, 90% on the Abbottabad text, and 80% on the Mansehra text. All of the participants regard both the Hindko texts as different compared to their own dialect.

Table 5: Pahari Men's perceptions of language similarity with Hindko

		<i>same language</i>	<i>about same</i>	<i>some different</i>	<i>very different</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Average</i>	1	1.5	2	3
Murree	1.17	9 (75%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	—
Abbottabad	2.25	—	—	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
Mansehra	2.33	—	—	8 (67%)	4 (33%)

Table 6 summarizes the language perceptions of Pahari women as they listened to the stories included in the Hindko RTTs as compared with their hometown text. All of the women identified the Murree story as their own dialect except one. Most of the test participants identified the language of the Hindko texts as a little different or even as a completely different language. One test participant said that the Abbottabad story was in her own language; however, she scored 50% on the RTT (the lowest score). This woman and one other also said that the Mansehra story was in their language. While both of these women scored 100% on the Murree story, they scored 80% on the Mansehra story.

Table 6: Pahari women's perceptions of language similarity with Hindko

		<i>same language</i>	<i>about same</i>	<i>some different</i>	<i>very different</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Average</i>	1	1.5	2	3
Murree	1.2	9 (90%)	—	—	1 (10%)
Abbottabad	2.3	1 (10%)	—	5 (50%)	4 (40%)
Mansehra	2.2	2 (20%)	—	4 (40%)	4 (40%)

To determine the degree to which these responses are significant, we used a statistical procedure called the Student's t-test. The null hypothesis that we are testing is that Pahari-speaking participants will perceive the Hindko language varieties as the same as their own language (less than '2' on the scale). The alternative hypothesis is that they perceive these speech varieties to be different (equal to or greater than '2'). The responses of the men and women are combined so that there is a larger sample size ($n = 22$). The results are summarized here in table 7.

Table 7: Significance of perception of difference between Hindko and Pahari

<i>Text</i>	<i>t-Score</i>	<i>t-Distribution</i>	<i>Sample Size</i>
Murree	-8.05		22
Abbottabad	2.32	1.51%	22
Mansehra	2.03	2.78%	22

The participants considered both Hindko dialects to be different from their own. At better than the 2% significance level, we can reject the null hypothesis and *accept* an alternative hypothesis that Pahari speakers would consider the Abbottabad Hindko dialect to be different from their own language. At better than the 3% significance level, we can reject the null hypothesis and *accept* an alternative hypothesis that Pahari speakers would consider the Mansehra dialect to be different from their own language.

However, although the participants were distributed somewhat across the Murree *tehsil* area (across approximately a four-mile radius from Aliot, the hometown test village), the participants overwhelmingly considered the Murree story to be in a dialect very similar to their own.⁹ The *t-Score* for the participants' perception of the Murree story is -8.05—a significant indication that the story is perceived as their own dialect, since the *t-Score* is negative.

3.2.1.3 Intelligibility with Pothwari

Unlike the Hindko RTT scores, there is not very much difference between the scores of the men and the women Pahari-speakers with the Pothwari RTT. (See table 8.) The similarity of scores could indicate one of at least two factors: (1) there is more inherent intelligibility between Pahari and Pothwari, or (2) contact between people in Pahari-speaking areas and Pothwari-speaking areas is more common than contact between people from Pahari-speaking areas and people from Hindko-speaking areas. Perhaps there is truth in both factors. It is certainly true that finding men or women in the Murree area who have not been to Rawalpindi or other Pothwari-speaking areas is difficult. We had to go to more remote villages in order to try to find enough participants who did not regularly travel to Rawalpindi.

Table 8: Summary of Pahari Men's and Women's RTT scores for Pothwari

<i>Text</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Count</i>
Murree	96.7%	5	9	96.1%	5.1	13
Gujarkhan	93.3%	7.1	9	93.8%	7.7	13

Table 9 summarizes the language perceptions of men in Murree as they listened to the Murree and Gujarkhan stories used in the RTT. All of the men identified the Murree story the same, or about

⁹ In order to get enough participants, the data were gathered from different towns within the Murree *tehsil* that were considered central Pahari areas. This was an issue of finding different people who were willing and able to help.

the same, as their own village. All of them identified the language of the Gujarkhan story as at least a little different. However, only one of the nine said that the Gujarkhan story was in a completely different language. He identified the language as one which is spoken beyond Rawalpindi. His score was 80% on the Gujarkhan story and 100% on the Murree story. All the other male participants scored 90% or better on the Gujarkhan story.

Table 9: Pahari Men's perceptions of language similarity with Pothwari

		<i>same language</i>	<i>about same</i>	<i>some different</i>	<i>very different</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Average</i>	1	1.5	2	3
Murree	1.06	8 (89%)	1 (11%)	—	—
Gujarkhan	2.11	—	—	8 (89%)	1 (11%)

Table 10 summarizes the language perceptions of women in Murree as they listened to the Murree and Gujarkhan stories used in the RTT. One third of the women thought that the Murree story (from Aliot village) was in a little bit different language. (For this RTT, the women participants were from villages scattered within a four-mile radius from Aliot, rather than from Aliot itself.) However, these women performed well on the RTT. Perhaps the women perceived the language of the text as a little different because they do not travel as much—and they do not have as much contact with other varieties of their language as the men.

Table 10: Pahari Women's perceptions of language similarity with Pothwari

		<i>same language</i>	<i>about same</i>	<i>some different</i>	<i>very different</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Average</i>	1	1.5	2	3
Murree	1.42	7 (54%)	1 (8%)	5 (38%)	—
Gujarkhan	2.23	—	—	10 (77%)	3 (23%)

As with the Hindko RTT, we will now look at the significance of the language perception of Pahari speakers with Pothwari in table 11. Men and women are combined for a total sample size of 22. The null hypothesis is that Pahari speakers will consider Pothwari to be the same as the language of their own area. The result of the significance test is shown in table 11.

Table 11: Significance of perceived difference of Pothwari

Text	t-score	t-distribution	Sample Size
Murree	-7.95		22
Gujarkhan	2.16	2.12%	22

As with the language perception of Pahari speakers with Hindko, Pahari speakers consider Pothwari to be different from their own language. At better than the 3% significance level, we can reject the null hypothesis and *accept* an alternative hypothesis that the Pahari speakers would consider the Gujarkhan dialect of Pothwari to be different from their own.

The Pahari speakers' perception of the dialect of their own area is similar to their response to the Hindko RTT. In this case, the t-Score for the participants' perception of the Murree story is -7.95 —still a significant indication that they perceive the story as their own dialect.

By way of comparison, from our research among Mirpuri immigrants in the UK (in Lothers and Lothers 2003), it seems that there is little perceived difference between the Gujarkhan variety of Pothwari and Mirpur Pahari. When we played portions of the story from Gujarkhan, we had a positive reaction. Some laughed when they heard the recording. When we asked them why, they said it struck them as funny to hear their language recorded. Others originally from Mirpur thought that the language was from their own area and commented that they speak that same way.

3.2.2 Dialect intuition from questionnaire

Q19. Which area's language is the most easily understood?

As we look at the *tehsil*-level summary for question 19 presented in table 12, most participants thought that the language spoken in

their own area was the most easily understood. Notably, of the Murree, Bagh, and Mirpur residents who responded with a place name, all of them identified only villages in their own *tehsil* as areas which were the most easily understood. It is not surprising that they prefer their own dialect.

Participants from Bharakao (Bhar) and Muzaffarabad (Muz), however, did not generally identify areas inside their own *tehsil*. Those who live in Bharakao only identified villages in the Abbottabad area (Abbottabad *tehsil* and Hazara, in general) and in Murree. In the Bharakao responses, the areas in the south-eastern Abbottabad District, which they identify, are all ones which border Murree.

At least two factors could be at work here: (1) the participants who were in Pahari borderline areas do not see their dialect as the most central; (2) the participants were responding about a language which they do not consider their own. Those from Bharakao would commonly identify themselves as Pothwari speakers. Those in Muzaffarabad identify themselves as Hindko speakers.

The remainder of the participants identified villages inside and outside their *tehsil*. The Abbottabad *galliat* (AG) participants, many of whom lived fairly close to the Murree *tehsil*, identified areas in both south-eastern Abbottabad District and around Murree. The participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* live in an area that is largely a borderline area for Pahari.

Table 12: Q19. Which area's language is the most easily understood?^a

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	9 (31%)	—	2 (13%)	—	—	—	11 (7%)
	*Hazara	—	—	1 (7%)	—	—	—	1 (1%)
Punjab	Murree	7 (24%)	49 (64%)	3 (20%)	—	—	3 (21%)	62 (37%)
Azad	*Bagh	1 (3%)	—	—	7 (39%)	—	—	8 (5%)
Kash- mir	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	11 (65%)	—	11 (7%)
	Muzaffar- abad	—	—	—	—	—	1 (7%)	1 (1%)
Other	Own area	1 (3%)	3 (4%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2%)
	All areas	4 (14%)	4 (5%)	2 (13%)	—	—	1 (7%)	11 (7%)
	Languages	7 (24%)	19 (25%)	7 (47%)	10 (56%)	6 (35%)	9 (64%)	58 (34%)
	Arabic	—	—	—	1 (6%)	—	—	1 (1%)
	English	—	—	—	1 (6%)	—	—	1 (1%)
	Hindko	5 (17%)	—	—	—	—	6 (43%)	11 (7%)
	Pahar	2 (7%)	10 (13%)	2 (13%)	6 (33%)	5 (29%)	1 (7%)	26 (15%)
	Pothwar	—	2 (3%)	4 (27%)	—	—	—	6 (4%)
	Punjab	—	1 (1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (1%)
	Urdu	—	6 (8%)	1 (7%)	2 (11%)	1 (6%)	2 (14%)	12 (7%)
	No comment	—	1 (1%)	—	1 (6%)	—	—	2 (1%)
	Other	—	1 (1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (1%)
	Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	15 (100%)	18 (100%)	17 (100%)	14 (100%)	169 (100%)

^aThe numbers in the tables do not total 161 because it is a summary of responses, not questionnaires. Some participants gave more than one response to the question. The abbreviations used in the columns of table 12 are AG (Abbottabad *galliat*), Bhar (Bharakao), and Muz (Muzaffarabad).

Some participants preferred to give a language name to this question rather than a village location. Since languages can be quite different from area to area, this might not provide the best indication of the language/dialect of choice. For example, people in Abbottabad and Mansehra and Muzaffarabad alike would call their language Hindko although there are differences in their speech varieties. However, this may provide some insight into what people would call their own language. Looking at this in Table 12, participants in the Abbottabad *galliat* and Muzaffarabad said Hindko. Participants in Bagh, Murree and Mirpur most commonly reported Pahari. The participants in Bharakao most commonly reported Pothwari.

3.3 Dialect attitudes

Q21. Are there positive or negative things said about Pahari speakers from different areas?

The answers given for this question point to strong solidarity for the language area. In general, the participants were hesitant to single out a specific language area for a negative response. For example, common negative responses were:

- There is nothing interesting to say.
- There are some things, but I cannot say.
- I do not know.
- Only older people know about them.

Table 13 shows a summary of the positive or negative responses.

Table 13: Q21. Are there positive or negative things said about Pahari speakers from different areas?

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>
<i>Positive</i>	30.5%	49
<i>Negative</i>	69%	111
<i>No Comment</i>	0.5%	1
<i>Total</i>	100%	161

Those comments which were positive were not usually very specific, although people from one village were characterized as being patient. Negative comments usually referenced a village,

which was thought to be known for fighting. Several villages were mentioned in connection with fighting, but only once or twice for each location, so there is not enough frequency to draw any conclusions.

3.4 Summary

We will conclude this chapter by presenting some dialect groupings. According to our analysis of wordlist and questionnaire data, the surveyed regions may be grouped into three: (1) a central Murree dialect of Pahari, (2) Hindko, and (3) Pothwari. The borderline areas are in the *galliat* (between Hindko and Pahari) and around Bharakao (between Pahari and Pothwari). The Pahari dialect also extends into Azad Kashmir beyond Bagh. The survey cannot clearly define an eastern boundary, although one probably exists within Azad Kashmir—perhaps as far as the Pir Panjal Mountains.

There is a high degree of comprehension of Pothwari for both Pahari men and women. There is also a high degree of comprehension of Hindko for Pahari men. The fact that women understand less Hindko indicates that our comprehension figures to some extent reflect acquired rather than inherent intelligibility.

Perception of linguistic identity is another factor that could cause us to group Pahari and Pothwari areas separately from Hindko. While Pahari speakers do perceive Pothwari to be somewhat different, at least some of them perceive Hindko to be more different. Here, too, Pahari and Pothwari appear to be more closely related to one another, and slightly less closely related to Hindko.

4. Language use, vitality, and attitudes

Dass (1987) did a study among the “Lahndi” speech community in India with a primary focus on language shift and maintenance. Before the partition of India, the “Lahndi” speech community was monolingual; the partition put the “Lahndi” speech community more in contact with other languages—primarily Punjabi and Hindi. Dass’s impression was that the “Lahndi” speakers’ attitude was not so positive toward their own language. There did seem to be a shift to Hindi in formal domains and preference for Punjabi with Punjabi-speaking neighbors. Even so, he did expect the “Lahndi” language to be maintained in more informal and intimate domains.

In this chapter, we will see that the Pahari and Pothwari language attitude is more positive. Like the speech community Dass studied, there is a preference for the national language (Urdu) in formal domains. However, Pahari and Pothwari do not seem to be competing with another vernacular language.

An orally administered questionnaire helped explore language use patterns and the language attitude of speakers to their own language. (See appendix B.3 for the complete questionnaire translated into English from Urdu.) The answers to questions in section 4.1 address the use of language for biographies, religious writing, singing, school, politics, and oral stories. The status and influence of Urdu as the national language is clear in the results. Urdu is preferred for biographies, school, politics, and for religious stories and traditions. The prominence of Arabic within religious life also emerges. However, the vernacular languages of the region are usually preferred for songs and oral stories.

4.1 Language use

The answers to the questions on language use gave insight into the place of the national language, Urdu, and the place of the vernacular. The influence of Urdu as a national language in the public sphere is strong. These questions also revealed the strong vitality of Pahari and other vernacular languages in the private

sphere. The future interest for Pahari literature and language development is promising, although interest in oral materials may be more promising.

Q15. Which area's language is best for biographies, religious traditions, and religious sayings?

Only 19 responses indicated a specific area for this question. Table 14 summarizes the responses. Note that some participants responded with more than one area or more than one language, so that more than one response may be summarized for each of the 161 participants. Participants from Murree provided the most responses with specific area names. They primarily chose areas within their own *tehsil*. The other participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* and Bagh did not so clearly define specific places close to their own area. There are not enough responses to make strong conclusions.

Most of the responses (145 of 174 or about 83%) were for a particular language or languages. Overall, the preferred language was Urdu with 38.5% (67 of 174) of the responses—51 of these 67 responses did not reference another language besides Urdu for this question. Urdu is followed by Arabic, which accounts for about 17% (30 of 174) of the responses. Arabic was probably the preferred language, especially for religious traditions and sayings. Of the seven times it was specified along with another language, it was always with Urdu. In one case, it was mentioned with Urdu and some vernacular languages. While individual vernacular languages come in third, if we were to combine them (Hindko, Pahari, Pothwari, and Punjabi), one out of four participants reference a vernacular language. That is, 43 out of 161 participants or 48 out of 174 responses mentioned vernacular languages. For vernacular languages, which do not have a strong written tradition, this shows at least some interest among participants in vernacular language development.

Some of the answers could not be categorized as a language or place. One participant said that the preferred language would depend on the language and traditions in a given place. For many participants, the best languages for traditions included the national language, Urdu, and the language of religious tradition, Arabic. The mother tongue was mentioned by all the participants who mentioned

a vernacular language except for one. The only participant who claimed Gujarati as his mother tongue in our sample thought Punjabi and Urdu would be the best language for biographies and religious traditions.

Table 14: Q15. Which area's language is best for biographies, religious traditions, and religious sayings?^a

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Havelian	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Kotli	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjab	Sattian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Murree	1 (2.9%)	15 (18.8%)	—	—	—	—	16 (9.2%)
Azad Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Other	All areas	2 (5.7%)	2 (2.5%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2.3%)
	Language	30 (85.7%)	58 (72.5%)	13 (100%)	12 (85.7%)	17 (100%)	15 (100%)	145 (83.3%)
	Arabic	9 (25.7%)	15 (18.8%)	—	5 (35.7%)	—	1 (6.7%)	30 (17.2%)
	Hindko	2 (5.7%)	—	—	—	—	3 (20%)	5 (2.9%)
	Pahari	7 (20%)	12 (15%)	1 (7.7%)	1 (7.1%)	5 (29.4%)	—	26 (14.9%)
	Pothwar	—	2 (2.5%)	4 (30.8%)	—	—	—	6 (3.4%)
	Punjab	1 (2.9%)	2 (2.5%)	2 (15.4%)	—	5 (29.4%)	1 (6.7%)	11 (6.3%)
	Urdu	11 (31.4%)	27 (33.8%)	6 (46.2%)	6 (42.9%)	7 (41.2%)	10 (66.7%)	67 (38.5%)
	No language	2 (5.7%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	No answer	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Other	—	3 (3.8%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.7%)
	Total	35 (100%)	80 (100%)	13 (100%)	14 (100%)	17 (100%)	15 (100%)	174 (100%)

^aThis is a *Tehsil*-level summary, with percentages by home area of each participant.

Q16. Which area's language is the best for songs?

As with some of the previous questions, some of the participants preferred to name languages rather than areas, so there is not a large sample of language areas. Some of the participants gave multiple responses to question 16, so the summary of the responses in table 15 represents responses given rather than the number of participants. Of all areas, only Murree participants clearly indicated that they prefer songs in the dialect of their area (or a nearby area). Sixty-one percent of them indicated areas within the Murree *tehsil*. Of the participants in the Abbottabad *galliat*, most preferred villages in Abbottabad District. Those from Lora, a *qanungo halqa* within south-eastern Abbottabad District, generally preferred their own area. There are not enough responses referencing a particular area from Bharakao, Bagh, Mirpur, and Muzaffarabad participants to make a conclusive statement.

Most of the remainder of the responses mentioned a specific language name. Of the Murree participants who responded with a language name, 82% (9 out of 11) preferred Pahari and Pothwari. The influence of Gujari and Kashmiri is evident for the responses from Azad Kashmir. Of the nine Bagh participants indicating a specific preferred language for songs, seven preferred Gujari. Kashmiri was the favorite of Muzaffarabad participants. Six of the ten mentioning specific languages preferred Kashmiri. Kashmiri is preferred equally with Punjabi for participants in Mirpur. It is difficult to know whether Punjabi indicates Punjabi spoken farther south in the plains or the language spoken in Mirpur, since some participants in Mirpur call their mother tongue Punjabi. Urdu is also mentioned in the responses from each area, except Mirpur. However, using the vernacular for songs remains a favorite with 40 out of the 49 (81%) of the responses that referenced a language.

Some of those who gave responses made comments that may be helpful as we interpret the data. One of those who said Urdu said that he had never heard music in Pahari (his mother tongue) before. Perhaps if he did hear music in his mother tongue, his preferred language would change to his mother tongue. However, some negative comments were also made about the mother tongue. One Pahari speaker said that he did not want Pahari because that would

be a mistake—but he did not specify a language that would be suitable for singing. Another who named Urdu said that it would be better than Pahari.

Some participants made comments regarding their preferred use of a vernacular language. Someone from Bharakao said that for poetry they prefer Pothwari (their reported mother tongue). Someone else from Muzaffarabad, who reported a mother tongue of Hindko, preferred Kashmiri for folk songs in particular.

Q16b. I sing in...

Overall, the preference for singing did not seem to be in the vernacular, as summarized in table 16. For this question, it was possible to represent every participant's response only once. More than a third said that they preferred to sing in Urdu. Another third said that they did not sing in any language at all. About 20% said that they preferred to sing in the vernacular or in both the vernacular and Urdu.

Some of the comments participants gave along with their answer may prove instructive. One participant said that he did not sing in any language. Along with that, he stated that he does not do "dirty work," although he does prefer Urdu for songs. For some religious traditions, singing may be offensive, which may explain many participants' response of 'no language'. Others said that they, in fact, like to listen to songs but do not sing themselves.

Of those who did sing, some specified where they would sing. One said that he sang in Urdu but only at weddings. Another participant said that he sang in Pahari but that people sing in Urdu at weddings. From other contacts, we also know that sometimes people sing in Pahari at weddings as well. One time while we were near Dungagali, a boy going into the seventh class came up to us and offered to sing a song to help raise money for his school books. He sang a wedding song in Pahari. In addition, when Laura told a woman in Murree that she was interested in learning Pahari, the woman sang a wedding song for her in Pahari.

Table 15: Q16a. Which language is the best for songs?^a

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	12 (37.5%)	2 (2.6%)	1 (7.7%)	—	2 (11.8%)	—	17 (10.1%)
	Haripur	2 (6.3%)	—	1 (7.7%)	—	—	—	3 (1.8%)
	Hazara	1 (3.1%)	8 (10.4%)	3 (23.1%)	—	—	2 (14.3%)	14 (8.3%)
	Lora	4 (12.5%)	—	—	—	—	—	4 (2.4%)
	Mansehra	3 (9.4%)	—	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	4 (2.4%)
Punjab	Murree	2 (6.3%)	47 (61%)	—	—	—	—	49 (29.2%)
	Gujarkhan	—	—	—	—	1 (5.9%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	Rawalpindi	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	—	—	1 (7.7%)	—	2 (11.8%)	—	3 (1.8%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (5.9%)	—	2 (1.2%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	—	—	2 (13.3%)	—	1 (7.1%)	3 (1.8%)
Other	Unknown area	—	—	—	—	1 (5.9%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	Language	5 (15.6%)	11 (14.3%)	7 (53.8%)	9 (60%)	7 (41.2%)	10 (71.4%)	49 (29.2%)
	Vernacular	2 (6.3%)	5 (11.7%)	6 (46.2%)	7 (46.7%)	7 (41.2%)	5 (64.3%)	40 (23.8%)
	Gujari	—	—	—	7 (46.7%)	—	1 (7.1%)	8 (4.8%)
	Hindko	2 (6.3%)	—	1 (7.7%)	—	—	—	3 (1.8%)

(TABLE 15, CONTINUED)

Response	Home area of participant						
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	Total
Kashmiri	—	—	1 (7.7%)	—	3 (17.6%)	6 (42.9%)	10 (6%)
Pahari	—	4 (5.2%)	—	—	1 (5.9%)	—	5 (3%)
Pothwari	—	5 (6.5%)	2 (15.4%)	—	—	1 (7.1%)	8 (4.8%)
Punjabi	—	—	2 (15.4%)	—	3 (17.6%)	1 (7.1%)	6 (3.6%)
Urdu	3 (9.4%)	2 (2.6%)	1 (7.7%)	2 (13.3%)	—	1 (7.1%)	9 (5.4%)
No language	1 (3.1%)	2 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.8%)
No comment	—	2 (2.6%)	—	2 (13.3%)	2 (11.8%)	—	6 (3.6%)
Other	2 (6.3%)	4 (5.2%)	—	—	1 (5.9%)	—	7 (4.2%)
Total	32 (100%)	77 (100%)	13 (100%)	15 (100%)	17 (100%)	14 (100%)	168 (100%)

^aPercentages are by home areas of participants.

Table 16. Q16b. I sing in... (comparing vernacular versus national language use)

Answer	Home area of participant						
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	Total
Vernacular	3 (10.3%)	8 (10.4%)	—	—	2 (13.3%)	—	13 (8.1%)
Vernacular and Urdu	6 (20.7%)	12 (15.6%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (6.7%)	—	22 (13.7%)
Urdu	8 (27.6%)	27 (35.1%)	3 (25%)	8 (57.1%)	7 (46.7%)	8 (57.1%)	61 (37.9%)
No Comment	—	7 (9.1%)	—	3 (21.4%)	—	—	10 (6.2%)
No Language	12 (41.4%)	23 (29.9%)	8 (66.7%)	1 (7.1%)	5 (33.3%)	6 (42.9%)	55 (34.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

However, as we look at the distribution of specific languages from the different areas, as summarized in table 17, we see an interesting pattern. In the Abbottabad *galliat*, mother-tongue languages mentioned included Hindko and Pahari but not Pothwari or Punjabi. In Murree, Pahari and Pothwari were mentioned but Hindko was not mentioned at all. These differences in language name labels may simply reflect what people would call their mother tongue. In each area, at least 25% of the participants preferred Urdu. About 50% of the Azad Kashmir participants, including those from Bagh, Mirpur, and Muzaffarabad, preferred Urdu to the vernacular. For whatever reason, most of the Bharakao participants said that they do not sing at all.

Table 17. Q16b. I sing in... (Distribution of specific languages mentioned)

Response	Home area of participant						Total
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Hindko Urdu	1 (3.4%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Hindko Urdu Pashto	2 (6.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
Kashmiri Urdu	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Pahari	3 (10.3%)	7 (9.1%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	11 (6.8%)
Pahari Urdu	3 (10.3%)	11 (14.3%)	—	2 (14.3%)	—	—	16 (9.9%)
Pothwari Urdu	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjabi	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjabi Urdu	—	—	1 (8.3%)	—	1 (6.7%)	—	2 (1.2%)
Urdu	8 (27.6%)	27 (35.1%)	3 (25%)	8 (57.1%)	7 (46.7%)	8 (57.1%)	61 (37.9%)
No Comment	—	7 (9.1%)	—	3 (21.4%)	—	—	10 (6.2%)
No Language	12 (41.4%)	23 (29.9%)	8 (66.7%)	1 (7.1%)	5 (33.3%)	6 (42.9%)	55 (34.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Q17. Which language is best in school?

In all areas surveyed, the answer for this question is overwhelmingly Urdu—or Urdu and English—as summarized in table 18. Since the responses are so strongly in favor of these languages, it will not be helpful to look at how the participants were different in different *tehsils*. However, it would be beneficial to examine the reasons that people gave for their answer.

Table 18: Q17. Which language is best in school?

<i>Language</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>
Arabic	1%	2
Hindko	1%	1
Pahari	1%	1
Punjabi	1%	1
Urdu	83%	134
Urdu English	11%	18
Urdu Arabic	1%	2
Own language	1%	2
Total	100%	161

First, we will begin with non-mother tongue answers: Urdu, English and Arabic. Most participants who indicated Urdu (134 of the 161) said that Urdu should be used in school because it is the national language. Sixteen said that the books, the syllabus, and/or teaching are in Urdu. Others said that Urdu is understood and used throughout the country and that children need to learn it. They thought that Urdu, along with English, would be necessary for a good future and for etiquette. Learning English would help people be able to work outside the country. The two who said Arabic was best said that it was needed to read the Koran and because Pakistan is close to Arabic-speaking countries.

Second, we will look at reasons why a few participants said that local languages would be best for education. They thought that local languages should be used along with Urdu in primary school. Because of the level of education in some villages, children do not speak Urdu well enough when they enter. The children's mother tongue would be the most easily understood language. They also

thought that it would help the status of their language for children to be educated in their mother tongue.

Q18. Which language is best for politics?

Overall, participants thought that Urdu was the best language for politics with more than half of the participants giving this response, as summarized in table 19. In Murree and Bharakao, for political discussions, nearly as many preferred the vernacular as preferred Urdu. In Muzaffarabad, there was a very strong preference for Urdu with all participants including Urdu in their response (and one adding English as well). In Mirpur, a majority of participants preferred the vernacular.

Table 19: Q18. Which language is best for politics? (comparing vernacular versus national language use)

Response	Home area of participant						Total
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Vernacular	6 (20.7%)	36 (46.8%)	5 (41.7%)	4 (28.6%)	10 (66.7%)	—	61 (37.9%)
Vernacular and Urdu	3 (10.3%)	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	4 (2.5%)
Urdu (and English or Arabic)	20 (69%)	37 (48.1%)	7 (58.3%)	9 (64.3%)	3 (20%)	14 (100%)	90 (55.9%)
All languages	—	3 (3.9%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	4 (2.5%)
Other	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	2 (1.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table 20 summarizes the responses to question 18 showing all the vernacular languages given in the responses. As we observe the responses area by area, the vernacular languages referenced generally reflect the label participants would give for their mother tongue in each area. The preference for English is less than it was for Urdu. One possible explanation for this is that in education,

Table 20. Q18. Which language is best for politics?

Response	Home area of participant						Total
	AG	Murree	Bha	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Hindko	2 (6.9%)	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	3 (1.9%)
Hindko Urdu	2 (6.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
Pahari	3 (10.3%)	26 (33.8%)	—	3 (21.4%)	3 (20%)	—	35 (21.7%)
Pahari Urdu	1 (3.4%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Pothwari	—	—	4 (33.3%)	—	—	—	4 (2.5%)
Punjabi	—	1 (1.3%)	1 (8.3%)	—	1 (6.7%)	—	3 (1.9%)
Punjabi Urdu	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Urdu	20 (69%)	36 (46.8%)	7 (58.3%)	8 (57.1%)	3 (20%)	13 (92.9%)	87 (54%)
Urdu Arabic	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Urdu English	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	1 (7.1%)	2 (1.2%)
All Languages	—	3 (3.9%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	4 (2.5%)
Own area's language	1 (3.4%)	9 (11.7%)	—	—	6 (40%)	—	16 (9.9%)
Other	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	2 (1.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

knowing English could meet a felt need for obtaining better employment whether in Pakistan or abroad. However, in politics, the felt need might be national identification and communication with the entire constituency. Like English, Arabic is not as preferred in the domain of politics as it is in education.

Q20. Which language is the best for telling stories?

For this question, we will examine two summaries. The first summarizes the opinions of people from different language areas. The second summarizes the participants' answers by their age. The purpose of these two summaries is to examine the possibility of shift in language attitude in the younger generation. The question examined here is: "Does the younger generation think differently about their mother tongue from the older generation?" Note that the older generation are those who are 30 and over, because most of the participants are quite young.

First, however, we will look at the preferred language for storytelling by the area of the participants in table 21.

The participants from certain areas tended to prefer Urdu for storytelling. In Bharakao and Bagh, more than half of the participants preferred Urdu for storytelling. In Muzaffarabad, a high percentage (43%) also preferred that stories be told in Urdu.

Participants in other areas seemed to prefer the local languages. In Murree, the most common response was Pahari. Abbottabad *galliat* (AG) participants commonly reported Hindko and Pahari—about a third each responded with Hindko, Pahari, and Urdu. Most likely, they gave these two language names since participants from the surveyed area in the Abbottabad *galliat* are on the borderline: some call their mother tongue Pahari and some call it Hindko. In Mirpur, there is a clear preference for Punjabi (47%).

Table 21. Q20. What language is the best for telling stories? (summarized by home area of participant)

Response	Home area of participant						Total
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Gujari	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Hindko	7 (24.1%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	3 (21.4%)	11 (6.8%)
Kashmiri	1 (3.4%)	—	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	2 (1.2%)
Pahari	8 (27.6%)	35 (45.5%)	—	5 (35.7%)	3 (20%)	1 (7.1%)	52 (32.3%)
Pahari Urdu	1 (3.4%)	4 (5.2%)	—	—	—	—	5 (3.1%)
Pothwari	—	1 (1.3%)	3 (25%)	—	—	—	4 (2.5%)
Pothwari Urdu	—	—	1 (8.3%)	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjabi	4 (13.8%)	10 (13%)	—	—	7 (46.7%)	2 (14.3%)	23 (14.3%)
Punjabi Urdu	—	—	—	—	3 (20%)	—	3 (1.9%)
Siriaki	—	—	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	1 (0.6%)
Urdu	8 (27.6%)	22 (28.6%)	8 (66.7%)	8 (57.1%)	1 (6.7%)	6 (42.9%)	53 (32.9%)
Urdu English	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
No Comment	—	3 (3.9%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	4 (2.5%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

There is one question to answer from this table: Does the language preference change for participants of different ages? Is there a language shift away from the vernacular and toward the national language by the younger generation? We divided the sample into two groups: under age 30, and age 30 and over, since more than half of our sample is under 30.

As we look at the preferred language for telling stories by grouping all the vernacular languages together, as in table 22, we can observe that more than half of both age groups prefers that stories be told in the vernacular. Those in the '30 and over' age group prefer the vernacular somewhat more than the 'under 30' age group. The 'under 30' age group also prefers Urdu slightly more. Not many participants take a middle ground and list both the vernacular and Urdu.

Table 22. Q20. What language is the best for telling stories? (summarized by age and vernacular versus non-vernacular)

Response	Age group		Total
	Below 30	30 and Over	
Vernacular	54 (56.3%)	40 (61.5%)	94 (58.4%)
Vernacular and Urdu	6 (6.3%)	3 (4.6%)	9 (5.6%)
Urdu	35 (36.5%)	19 (29.2%)	54 (33.5%)
No Comment	1 (1%)	3 (4.6%)	4 (2.5%)
Total	96 (100%)	65 (100%)	161 (100%)

Q26. Do you listen to Pahari radio?

Those who are within the broadcast range of Pahari radio tend to listen to it. One of the radio broadcasts is from Muzaffarabad—and all of the participants from Muzaffarabad are listeners. Participants in nearby areas also listen. The majority of participants in the Abbottabad *galliat* and Bagh listen to Pahari radio. Between 30% and 40% also listen in Mirpur and in Murree. In areas farther from

Muzaffarabad, such as Bharakao, only one participant reported that he listened to Pahari radio.¹⁰ (See table 23.)

Table 23. Q26. Do you listen to Pahari radio? (summarized by home area of participant)

Response	Home area of participant						Total
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Yes	20 (69%)	22 (28.6%)	1 (8.3%)	12 (85.7%)	6 (40%)	14 (100%)	75 (46.6%)
No	9 (31%)	54 (70.1%)	11 (91.7%)	1 (7.1%)	9 (60%)	—	84 (52.2%)
No Comment	—	1 (1.3%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	2 (1.2%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

¹⁰ In Muzaffarabad, there is a radio station that broadcasts programs in vernacular languages as well as Urdu and English. The table below summarizes the current program schedule that Asim Abbasi compiled in a visit to the radio station in September 2003.

Language	Program Name	Timing (Daily except as noted)
Pahari	saʃri sawer	9:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.
	azad watʌn	5:05 p.m. to 6:05 p.m.
Kashmiri	phʌlvan gaš	8:05 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.
	no bʌhar	6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Gujari	paʃyaro des	4:04 p.m. to 5:04 p.m.
Urdu	awaz-e-haq	9:05 a.m. to 9:30 a.m.
	neelam kanare	10:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.
	pasban	3:35 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.
	hamari awaz	7:00 p.m.
	mehfle sab	10:05 p.m. to 11:05 p.m.
English	Voice of Kashmir	Thursday, 9:15 p.m. to 9:45 p.m.

Q27. What language do you speak with your children?

Some people within the main town of Murree mention that a trend in Pahari-speaking areas is for parents to speak Urdu with children. They do this to prepare their children for school and to provide opportunities for further advancement. Table 24 and table 25 summarize the responses of the participants to this question. In table 25, the participants are divided into those who have children and those who do not have children. Those with children probably report a better picture of language use patterns as they occur in practice. Those without children may provide a picture of how they think language use patterns should be. Table 24 also groups vernacular language name labels together to see the patterns more clearly.

However, use of Urdu—especially exclusive use of Urdu—does not seem to be a widespread practice. Less than 15% report that they use only Urdu with their children. For those with children, about 64% use their mother tongue. Overall about 59% (95 of 161) say they use—or would use, if they had children—only the mother tongue with their children. Of the parents, 22% (and 24% overall) report that they use their mother tongue along with Urdu. This reflects the importance of Urdu as a national language, but there is a larger percentage of speakers who would use only their mother tongue.

Table 24. Q27. What language do you speak with your children? (summarized by those with and without children and grouping vernacular languages together)

<i>Response</i>	<i>With children</i>	<i>Without children</i>	<i>Total</i>
Vernacular	44 (64.7%)	51 (54.8%)	95 (59%)
Vernacular and Urdu	15 (22.1%)	24 (25.8%)	39 (24.2%)
Urdu	9 (13.2%)	12 (12.9%)	21 (13%)
No Comment	—	6 (6.5%)	6 (3.7%)
Total	68 (100%)	93 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table 25 specifies which of the vernacular languages participants report using with their children. Only those without children report

using English (along with Urdu). Only those without children declined to respond to this question.

Table 25: Q27. What language do you speak with your children? (summarized by those with and without children)

<i>Response</i>	<i>With children</i>	<i>Without children</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gujari	1 (1.5%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Hindko	12 (17.6%)	10 (10.8%)	22 (13.7%)
Hindko Urdu	3 (4.4%)	2 (2.2%)	5 (3.1%)
Pahari	25 (36.8%)	36 (38.7%)	61 (37.9%)
Pahari Pothwari	—	1 (1.1%)	1 (0.6%)
Pahari Urdu	11 (16.2%)	22 (23.7%)	33 (20.5%)
Pothwari	4 (5.9%)	2 (2.2%)	6 (3.7%)
Punjabi	2 (2.9%)	2 (2.2%)	4 (2.5%)
Punjabi Urdu	1 (1.5%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Urdu	9 (13.2%)	10 (10.8%)	19 (11.8%)
Urdu English	—	2 (2.2%)	2 (1.2%)
No Comment	—	6 (6.5%)	6 (3.7%)
Total	68 (100%)	93 (100%)	161 (100%)

Q28. What language do your children speak to each other?

According to the participants, a slightly larger percentage of the children speak their mother tongue to each other than parents do to their children. Table 26 groups the vernacular languages together so that the overall patterns emerge more clearly. About 68% of parents (47 out of 69) report that their children use the mother tongue with each other. Overall, 64% of participants with and without children report children used the mother tongue with each other. Eighteen percent of those with children (13% overall) reported that their children only use Urdu with each other. As we look at the line labeled “Vernacular and Urdu” of table 26, 13% (about 19% overall) reported a mix between Urdu and the mother tongue. A higher percentage of those without children report children using both their mother tongue and Urdu than those who have children. One interesting result is that parents more frequently report that their children use Urdu exclusively than those without children. However,

the overall trend with both groups is that the majority of both report that children speak the vernacular together.

Table 26. Q28. What languages do your children speak with each other? (summarized by those with and without children and grouping vernacular languages together)

<i>Response</i>	<i>With children</i>	<i>Without children</i>	<i>Total</i>
Vernacular	47 (68.1%)	55 (59.8%)	102 (63.4%)
Vernacular and Urdu	9 (13%)	21 (22.8%)	30 (18.6%)
Urdu	12 (17.4%)	10 (10.9%)	22 (13.7%)
No Comment	1 (1.4%)	6 (6.5%)	7 (4.3%)
Total	69 (100%)	92 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table 27 includes the names of languages that children reportedly use with each other. The one who reported use of Gujari is from Mirpur. As in table 25, English is only listed among those who do not have children (but only by one participant).

Table 27. Q28. What languages do your children speak with each other? (summarized by those with and without children)

<i>Response</i>	<i>With children</i>	<i>Without children</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gujari	1 (1.4%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Hindko	12 (17.4%)	9 (9.8%)	21 (13%)
Hindko Urdu	1 (1.4%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Pahari	28 (40.6%)	42 (45.7%)	70 (43.5%)
Pahari Urdu	7 (10.1%)	21 (22.8%)	28 (17.4%)
Pothwari	4 (5.8%)	2 (2.2%)	6 (3.7%)
Punjabi	2 (2.9%)	2 (2.2%)	4 (2.5%)
Punjabi Urdu	1 (1.4%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Urdu	12 (17.4%)	9 (9.8%)	21 (13%)
Urdu English	—	1 (1.1%)	1 (0.6%)
No Comment	1 (1.4%)	6 (6.5%)	7 (4.3%)
Total	69 (100%)	92 (100%)	161 (100%)

4.2 Language vitality

The questions from the questionnaire that formed a measure of language vitality are numbers 12 and 13a. These questions are:

Q12. Do young people happily speak Pahari?

Q13a. Will children grow up to speak Pahari?

First, we present the results for these individual questions for all of the participants.

12. Do young people happily speak Pahari?			
Yes	136	84%	
No	25	16%	
Total	161	100%	

13a. Will children grow up to speak Pahari?			
Yes	127	79.0%	
No	33	20.5%	
No Comment	1	0.5%	
Total	161	100.0%	

The responses to these questions show positive language attitude as well as language vitality.

Table 28 combines the responses to these two questions as one measure of language vitality. For this measure of language vitality, four categories are possible: positive, negative, ambiguous, and insufficient data. The reported language vitality is definitely positive if both answers to these questions are positive. However, if the participant answered one question with “yes” and the other question with a “no,” then the language vitality measure is ambiguous. The final category, insufficient data, is returned if the participant did not answer one of the two questions.

Overall, participants report strong language vitality. The majority (75% or 120 of 161) of participants indicated that they thought the Pahari language has a future: they report that young people happily speak it and that the next generation will speak it. Eleven percent (18 of 161) of the participants thought that Pahari does not have a future. For 15% (or 23 of 161) of the participants, who answered the questions differently or who did not answer one of the questions, a

clear measure cannot be determined (marked *insufficient data* or *ambiguous*).

Table 28: Language vitality summary

<i>Language vitality</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Positive	120	74.5%
Negative	18	11%
Ambiguous	22	14%
Insufficient Data	1	0.5%
Total	161	100%

4.3 Language attitudes

4.3.1 Attitude toward speaking Pahari

Three questions on the questionnaire were intended to measure the participants' attitude toward speaking Pahari.

Q13a. Will children grow up to speak Pahari?

Q13b. Is it good that this will happen (that children will—or will not—grow up to speak Pahari)?

Q14. Is it good to speak your language?

First, we present the results for these individual questions for all of the participants. The answers do seem to indicate a positive language attitude. In response to question 14, 83% of the participants said that it was a good thing to speak their language.

13a. Will children grow up to speak Pahari?

Yes	127	79.0%
No	33	20.5%
No Comment	1	0.5%
Total	161	100.0%

13b. Is this good (that children do/don't grow up to speak Pahari)?

Yes	132	82.0%
No	28	17.5%
No Comment	1	0.5%
Total	161	100.0%

14. Is it good to speak your language?		
Yes	134	83%
No	26	16%
No Comment	1	1%
Total	161	100%

However, taken individually, the questions may be difficult to interpret. Overall, 79% said that children would grow up to speak Pahari. In response to question 13b, 83% said this was a good thing—but what does this mean? If the participant said ‘yes’ to question 13b, did they think it was a good thing that children would grow up to speak Pahari—or did they think it was a good thing that children would not grow up to speak Pahari?

We need to consider the answers to questions 13a, 13b, and 14 together to find out what they really mean. Another reason to do so is that a negative answer to question 13a might actually indicate a positive language attitude. For example, someone might answer questions 13a and 13b this way: “Children will not grow up to speak Pahari, but this is a bad thing.” If we just looked at the overall ‘No’ tallies, this might seem to be indicating a negative language attitude. However, it is really an indication of a positive language attitude: this participant wants the next generation to speak Pahari but fears they will not.

This participant’s answer could also become ambiguous. After answering question 13a “Children will not grow up to speak Pahari” and question 13b “This is not good,” their response to question 14 could be: “However, speaking Pahari is a bad thing.” Their answers to questions 13a and 13b exhibit a positive language attitude, and yet their answer to 14 exhibits a negative language attitude. Therefore, we cannot clearly classify this participant either as someone who has a positive or a negative language attitude toward Pahari.

Every ambiguous possibility is represented in the 161 participants’ responses. However, only 14 participants gave ambiguous answers:

- Eight people gave answers just described like the scenario to questions 13a, 13b, and 14: “Children will not grow up to speak

Pahari and this is bad [POSITIVE ATTITUDE]. However, speaking Pahari is bad [NEGATIVE ATTITUDE].”

- One said, “Children will grow up to speak Pahari and this is good [POSITIVE ATTITUDE]. However, speaking Pahari is bad [NEGATIVE ATTITUDE].”
- Three people said, “Children will grow up to speak Pahari and this is bad [NEGATIVE ATTITUDE]. However, speaking Pahari is good [POSITIVE ATTITUDE].”
- Two people said, “Children will not grow up to speak Pahari and this is good [NEGATIVE ATTITUDE]. However, speaking Pahari is good [POSITIVE ATTITUDE].”

Classifying these ambiguous answers separately strengthens the confidence in the answers that are not ambiguous. Likewise, only considering the answers separately leaves doubt about each participant’s language attitude.

We will now look at the measure of language attitude summarized in table 29 as we consider measures of positive and negative attitude. An *ambiguous* language attitude indicates that the participants’ responses did not provide a consistent measure to categorize their response as either positive or negative. *Insufficient data* indicates that the participant did not respond to one or more of the questions. Two participants did not answer both questions and so fall into this category.

Overall, the majority of participants (80% or 128 of 161) had an unambiguously positive attitude toward speaking Pahari. That is, both their answers to questions 13 (a and b) and to question 14 indicated a positive language attitude. Only 11% (17 out of 161) had a clearly negative attitude toward speaking Pahari. For 9% (14 of 161) of the participants, we could not clearly determine from their answers if they had a positive or a negative language attitude. These participants, whose four different answers are summarized in the previous list, were classified as ambiguous.

Table 29: Language attitude summary

<i>Language Attitude</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Positive	128	80%
Negative	17	11%
Ambiguous	14	9%
Insufficient Data	2	1%
Total	161	100%

We also divided results by age groups for all of the language attitude questions. This grouping did not reveal any significant difference for those over age 30 and those under age 30. The positive language attitude does not seem to be on the decline in the younger generation.

4.3.2 Attitude toward reading Pahari (literacy attitude)

Q23. Is it good to read Pahari?

Q24. Would you want your children to read and write Pahari?

A measure of literacy attitude was not as positive as the attitude toward speaking Pahari. Perhaps the economic, educational, or other benefits of learning to read Pahari are not as clear—as opposed to learning Urdu. Perhaps since mother-tongue literacy is not as clear of an option now, it is not seen as necessary. However, for question 23, about 60% (96 of 161) thought that reading Pahari would be of some benefit. For question 24, fewer participants (about 55% or 88 out of 161) wanted their children to read Pahari. This could be because they saw mother-tongue literacy in opposition to Urdu literacy. Rensch, Hallberg and O’Leary (1992) found a similar response.

The participants’ answers to these two questions are summarized as follows.

23. Is it good to read Pahari?		
Yes	96	59.5%
No	64	40.0%
No Comment	1	0.5%
Total	161	100.0%

24. Would you want your children to read and write Pahari?		
Yes	88	54.7%
No	72	44.7%
No Comment	1	0.6%
Total	161	100.0%

The measure of an attitude toward Pahari literacy is simpler than the measure for language attitude, as shown in table 30. If the participant answered “yes” to both questions 23 and 24, their literacy attitude was positive. If the participant answered “no” to both questions 23 and 24, their literacy attitude was negative. Their literacy attitude was considered ambiguous if both “yes” and “no” were given as responses to these two questions. If they did not respond to one or both questions, their literacy attitude was classified in the row as insufficient data (*Insuff. data*) to determine their literacy attitude.

Table 30: Literacy attitude summary

<i>Literacy attitude</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Positive	83	51.5%
Negative	59	37%
Ambiguous	18	11%
Insuff. data	1	0.5%
Total	161	100%

The attitude toward literacy is not as clearly positive as the attitude toward speaking Pahari (table 30). More than half of the participants (51% or 83 of 161) have an unambiguously positive attitude toward Pahari literacy. However, a large percentage (37% or 59 of 161) have an unambiguously negative attitude toward Pahari literacy. The ambiguous answers generally are because parents would not want to see their children become literate only in the

mother tongue.¹¹ They see that to be in competition with literacy in Urdu or other languages which offer a better future for employment opportunities.

Q22. Have you seen anything written in your language?

Forty percent of the participants said they had seen something written in their language. Many people mentioned the poetry book by Masood Akash, which was published in 2000. This also shows an interest in vernacular literature, despite the fact that it is not commonly available in bookstores. Besides this poetry book, some said that they had seen “*mahye*” (poetry used at weddings) and letters.

The summary of participants’ responses to question 22 follows:

22. Have you seen anything written in your language?

Yes	64	40%
No	96	59.5%
No Comment	1	0.5%
Total	161	100%

Q25. What kind of things would you like to see written in your language?

Participants gave a wide range of materials, which indicated an interest in vernacular literature. Most commonly listed were traditional and oral stories, as these options were given in the survey question. However, they also gave other answers. Answers that people came up with on their own include religious literature, poetry, and lists of items which are included after the following table. Those who showed little or no interest in vernacular literature did not elaborate, or they simply said they preferred Urdu.

The following summarizes the expressed interests of people to the question:

¹¹ Of the 18 participants giving an ambiguous response, nine were parents. Only one of these said they themselves preferred their children learn how to read Pahari but that they would prefer not to read it. Eight out of 9 said that they wanted to learn how to read Pahari but did not want their children to learn.

25. What kind of things would you like to see written in your language?

Both traditional and oral stories	13	8%
Traditional stories	68	42%
Oral stories	28	17%
Religious literature	8	5%
Poetry	6	4%
Other	14	9%
Nothing	16	10%
No Comment	5	3%
Prefer Urdu	3	2%
Total	161	100%

The “Other” category represents responses that were given within the context of a list of items. If something was mentioned by more than one participant, then the number of times it was mentioned follows that item in parentheses in the list below. This list included:

- articles
- essays
- everything
- stories: oral, traditional (6), about Pahari language, unspecified (2)
- letters
- poetry (5)
- religious literature (4)
- regional information
- songs

4.4 Summary

The questions on the formal questionnaire relating to language use within a few domains showed some areas where Urdu was preferred over the vernacular or vice versa. Urdu is generally preferred in some public domains, notably school and politics. However, vernacular languages were clearly preferred for storytelling. The high popularity of Pahari radio for those within the broadcast range is a good indicator that there is an interest in non-print media.

The outlook for printed media is less defined. About half of the answers indicated a positive response to printed media. The negative responses could be explained by several reasons: Participants may see Pahari literature as potentially in competition with Urdu. They may believe that their language is too difficult to write.

The overall attitude toward speaking Pahari and to the children's use of Pahari was quite positive—about 80%. This agrees with another measure of language vitality—reported language use. The vernacular language is used with children and among children much more often than Urdu.

The 13 questions on the formal questionnaire relating to language and literacy attitude and language vitality and use revealed that Pahari is well regarded in the home and will continue to be used in the future. The influence of Urdu in education, print and mass media was clear in these responses—and will most likely continue. However, the interest in Pahari radio and literature indicates positive potential for Pahari literacy and language development.

It should be noted that these results are the reported perceptions of the participants. While a relatively large number of people responded to the questions (161) caution must be used when extrapolating from the sample to the population as a whole.

5. Language area

5.1 Introduction and analysis methodology

In this chapter, we investigate the intuitions of participants about language boundaries. We use their observations about the language boundaries along with other indications: lexical similarity and comprehension testing with Recorded Text Tests. The existing literature about the languages in this survey has not been clear or definitive, so we thought it would be helpful to corroborate the results of lexical similarity and comprehension testing. Most of the questions used to explore language area boundaries were adapted from Showalter (1991). Because one dialect melds into another, the results from the questionnaire are not always as clear as one would prefer. However, it does provide some insights into the language situation. The formal survey questionnaire had 11 questions regarding language area. It included questions regarding the participants' understanding of where Pahari is spoken, where it is spoken well, and where it is spoken differently from their own language. The results of these responses help us understand better the intuitions of mother-tongue speakers about the boundaries of their language.

The discussion that follows presents the results of the first part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. See appendix B.3 for the full text of the questionnaire. We analyzed responses grouping them by the home area of each participant. The locations of the participants are: the Abbottabad *galliat* (AG); Murree; Bharakao (Bhar), which is between Islamabad and Murree; and in the following locations in Azad Kashmir: Muzaffarabad (Muz), Bagh, and Mirpur. The participants mentioned over 300 locations in the results, so it became necessary to group the locations and report the results in terms of

larger geographical areas.¹² We generally chose established political boundaries to define the groups of villages. The responses are reported in terms of both *tehsils* and smaller political units (*qanungo halqas*, or QHs) if further breakdown served to clarify the results. Only Abbottabad District and Murree answers are reported at the QH levels. This is because QH information was not available for Azad Kashmir, and only small parts of Islamabad District needed to be considered—primarily areas around Bharakao.¹³

We collected 161 questionnaires. The numbers in the charts are higher than this because of a choice we needed to make in tallying the responses. Every participant gave at least one answer for each question. However, participants often listed several villages for one answer. In that case, each village was counted as a separate response unless all of the village locations were within one administrative unit.

The following conventions are used with the tables in this chapter. The indented and italicized rows in tables represent *qanungo halqas* (QHs) or *tehsils* that are totaled into larger areas. The shaded rows contain the totals for a particular *tehsil* or district. For example, the Murree and Charhan QHs, if present in a table, are indented under a shaded Murree *tehsil* row. The Murree *tehsil* row would be in italics and indented under the shaded Rawalpindi District row—along with any other *tehsils* that might be totaled under the Rawalpindi District (such as the Rawalpindi or Gujarkhan *tehsils*). The Azad Kashmir districts do not have a breakdown of smaller QH locations because detailed village information was not available.

5.2 Travel patterns and language contact

The patterns of participants' answers often became clearer with an understanding of frequent language contact between the areas covered in the survey. The way that we chose to examine this was

¹² Sometimes locations for answers were mentioned only once or twice. In these cases the reported location was often questionable (for example, England). Responses such as these were included in the 'miscellaneous area' count.

¹³ For lack of information about specific village locations, data from Kotli were combined with Mirpur.

primarily through travel patterns. We will highlight the most frequent travel patterns for each area and refer back to the relevant ones as we look at the questionnaire responses.

Travel can expose people to other languages, thus frequent travel to an area increases the likelihood of some knowledge of that area's language. For example, travel to Murree or within the *galliat* would expose people to different speech varieties of Pahari, as well as provide potential for contact with transitional varieties in the areas around the Pahari hills. Travel to areas such as Islamabad or Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Jhelum, and Gujranwala would bring them into contact with Pothwari varieties. Punjabi is the dominant language of Lahore, and Hindko the language of Abbottabad and surrounding areas. Karachi has people from all parts of Pakistan, so people could have contact with a wide variety of languages there.

The participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* (south-eastern Abbottabad District) most frequently traveled to Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Seventy-two percent of the participants (21 of 29) traveled to these cities more than three or four times a year. Twenty-seven percent of these Abbottabad *galliat* participants (8 of 29) traveled to Abbottabad city more than three or four times a year. Seven of the participants (25%) traveled more than twice a month to Murree or other *galliat* villages. Forty-one percent of the participants (12 of 29) traveled to the larger cities like Lahore, Karachi, and Peshawar once a year.

The largest group of participants was from the Murree *tehsil*. Many of the participants live in villages close to the town of Murree, and 23% (18 of 77) of them estimated that they travel to Murree on a daily basis. Furthermore, Fifty-five percent (43 of 77) travel to Rawalpindi or Islamabad frequently. However, they did not specify if that is weekly or monthly. Eleven percent (7 of 77) of the participants reported occasional travel to cities such as Lahore, Abbottabad, and Muzaffarabad.

Bharakao participants often mentioned travel to Murree or Lahore. Eight (two-thirds) of the 12 participants from Bharakao near Islamabad traveled more than once a month to Murree. Five of the Bharakao participants (41%) traveled to Lahore once a year.

The Bagh participants often mentioned areas inside of Azad Kashmir. Half of the participants from Bagh (7 of 14) travel daily to Dhirkot, a larger city within Bagh. The other participants listed larger cities including Muzaffarabad, Mirpur, and other cities outside Azad Kashmir. However, they did not report a frequency, so it is hard to draw conclusions from their responses.

The travel patterns for Mirpur participants did not tend to include other Pahari-speaking areas. Most of their travel is south and west to areas which would be broadly characterized as Punjabi-speaking or perhaps Pothwari-speaking areas. In addition, 11 of 15 (73%) travel frequently to other areas in the Punjab such as Lahore, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Jhelum, and Gujranwala. Only one person in 15 mentioned travel in parts of Azad Kashmir north of Mirpur. The one participant travels to Muzaffarabad weekly and to Kotli twice a week. Three Mirpur participants said they only traveled locally.

Most of the Muzaffarabad participants reported travel to larger cities. Seventy-one percent (or 10 of 14) travel at least once a month to Rawalpindi. Like the Abbottabad *galliat* residents, a large proportion (64% or 9 of 14) list yearly travel to Lahore, Karachi, and Peshawar.

5.3 Central Pahari areas

5.3.1 Places where Pahari is understood and respected

Q1. Where is Pahari understood?

The responses to this question are summarized below in table 31.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, a common trend from the variety of answers is that participants consider villages from their own area to be places where Pahari is understood. This gives us another indication of the size of the area where Pahari speakers live.

¹⁴ The indented and italicized rows in tables represent *qanungo halqas* (QHs) or *tehsils* that are sub-totals of larger areas. The shaded rows contain the totals for a particular *tehsil* or district.

Table 31: Q1. Where is Pahari understood?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	15 (33.3%)	1 (1.2%)	9 (47.4%)	—	—	1 (4.5%)	26 (12.1%)
	Abbottabad	4 (8.9%)	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	1 (4.5%)	6 (2.8%)
	Bagan	7 (15.6%)	—	3 (15.8%)	—	—	—	10 (4.7%)
	Bakot	3 (6.7%)	—	3 (15.8%)	—	—	—	6 (2.8%)
	Lora Nara	1 (2.2%)	—	3 (15.8%)	—	—	—	4 (1.9%)
	Hazara	2 (4.4%)	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.4%)
	Mansehra	1 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	7 (15.6%)	75 (87.2%)	7 (36.8%)	1 (4.0%)	1 (5.6%)	2 (9.1%)	93 (43.3%)
	Rawalpindi	—	3 (3.5%)	—	—	1 (5.6%)	—	4 (1.9%)
	Murree	7 (15.6%)	72 (83.7%)	7 (36.8%)	1 (4.0%)	—	2 (9.1%)	89 (41.4%)
	Murree	7 (15.6%)	69 (80.2%)	7 (36.8%)	1 (4.0%)	—	2 (9.1%)	86 (40.0%)
	Charhan	—	3 (3.5%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.4%)
Azad Kashmir	Azad Kashmir	3 (6.7%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (5.3%)	5 (20.0%)	1 (5.6%)	6 (27.3%)	18 (8.4%)
Kashmir	Bagh	1 (2.2%)	—	—	9 (36.0%)	—	—	10 (4.7%)
	Dhirkot	—	—	—	3 (12.0%)	—	—	3 (1.4%)
	Mirpur	—	1 (1.2%)	—	3 (12.0%)	12 (66.7%)	—	16 (7.4%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	—	—	2 (8.0%)	—	7 (31.8%)	9 (4.2%)

(TABLE 31, CONTINUED)

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
	Punch	1 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
Other	All Areas	5 (11.1%)	—	1 (5.3%)	—	—	1 (4.5%)	7 (3.3%)
	Misc Area	—	—	—	—	2 (11.1%)	2 (9.1%)	4 (1.9%)
	Other	9 (20.0%)	4 (4.7%)	—	—	2 (11.1%)	—	15 (7.0%)
	Range	1 (2.2%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (5.3%)	2 (8.0%)	—	3 (13.6%)	9 (4.2%)
Total		45 (100%)	86 (100%)	19 (100%)	25 (100%)	18 (100%)	22 (100%)	215 (100%)

One-third of the responses from the Abbottabad *galliat* (AG) mentioned villages within their own south-eastern Abbottabad District (15 of 45 or 33.3%). In addition, 11 of these 15 villages were within QH areas in that south-eastern part of District Abbottabad that border Murree: Bagan, Bakot, and Lora Nara. Only four of the 15 simply gave Abbottabad city, a Hindko-speaking location, as their answer. This also reflects the differences seen in the wordlists from these areas: Dungagali and Ayubia are part of the Central Pahari group, while Abbottabad Hindko is less similar to these areas (76%) than to Mansehra Hindko (86%).

The remainder of responses made by Abbottabad *galliat* participants for this question are less focused. Seven of their 45 responses (15%) were locations in the Murree *tehsil*. Five participants (11%) indicated “all areas.” Nine participants (20%) gave responses that were difficult to classify geographically; these answers included phrases like “rural areas,” “Pahari areas,” “my own area,” “surrounding areas,” “northern areas” (three), “all Pothowar areas” and the “Kashmiri language.” Although each comment represents a small portion of the total number of responses, taken together, these comments reflect the idea that people see the place of the Pahari language in the villages of the wider *galliat* region.

Responses from the Murree *tehsil* group together more clearly. Eighty-three percent of the reported villages where Pahari is understood were located in the Murree *tehsil* (72 of 86). The villages of the Murree QH figure prominently in the responses from Murree participants as areas where Pahari is understood. In the “Other” category, three participants simply said “Pahari areas.” Since “Pahari” also refers to mountainous areas, this may indicate that they were thinking of the hilly area, which geographically begins in the Margalla foothills and rises to the Himalayas.¹⁵

Although Bharakao is in the borderline area between Pahari and Pothwari, the participants confirmed the greater *galliat* area as the area where Pahari is understood. Nearly half of the locations

¹⁵ We leave the responses from the Murree area with one final common comment from participants, which sometimes seems to express the language situation: “Some don’t understand it, but the rest do.”

named (47% or 9 of 19) were in the *galliat* region of the south-eastern Abbottabad District. Another 36% (7 of 19) were locations in the Murree section of the *galliat*. Therefore, the majority of Bharakao answers to this question support the definition of the central Pahari area derived from wordlist data. These responses do not include Bharakao or any Islamabad District villages as areas where Pahari is understood.

As reported in appendix B in table B60, only 3 of the 12 Bharakao participants (25%) reported their mother tongue was Pahari, while eight (66%) reported Pothwari and one (8%) reported Punjabi. Nevertheless, their travel patterns reflect a high degree of contact with Murree. Eight of the twelve participants travel to Murree frequently (between twice a week to twice a month). This high level of contact may explain why so many Bharakao residents recognized villages within the Central Pahari area as places where Pahari is understood.

Azad Kashmir participants from Bagh and Muzaffarabad had a similar set of responses to this question. Participants from both areas commonly reported locations in their own area as areas where Pahari is understood (Bagh: 9 of 25 or 36% and Muzaffarabad: 7 of 22 or 32%). Another common group of responses includes locations within Azad Kashmir in general. The answers from other Azad Kashmir areas for Bagh are 13 of 25 or 52%, and for Muzaffarabad 6 of 22 or 37%). These responses seem to indicate that they view Pahari as a part of their own area as well as the wider area of Azad Kashmir. A very small number of participants from Azad Kashmir report locations within the Punjab or NWFP. This may be indicative of a lack of contact with these areas.

Azad Kashmir participants from Mirpur described a somewhat different Pahari area. While a majority of the locations they report are also in their home area (12 of 18 or 67%), only one location out of the total responses is in the area of Azad Kashmir outside of Mirpur. Another participant from Mirpur said that Pahari is understood in “all mountainous areas,” which would also probably refer to an area wider than Mirpur. The fact that the rest of Azad Kashmir receives little mention in their responses is probably due to a lack of contact. The Mirpur participants travel primarily south and

west to larger cities in the Punjab. Section 5.2 gives more background on their travel patterns.

Nine Mirpur participants gave ranges to describe the areas where Pahari is spoken (as shown in table 32). All of these ranges included the Murree area. The last column indicates if the participant includes their own area in their response, that is, if they consider their own area to be Pahari-speaking. Five of these eight participants included their home area in the range.¹⁶ In earlier informal interviews used to help choose wordlist locations, people indicated that Pahari was spoken up to the Jhelum River (at Kohala). Those who live in Azad Kashmir tend to include Azad Kashmir in the range. However, the Murree residents generally included areas closer to Rawalpindi in their ranges. The extent of these ranges and the areas where they overlap are helpful in describing the area where Pahari is spoken.

¹⁶ In table B60, 10 of the 15 respondents called their mother tongue Pahari, while 3 of the remaining 5 called their language Punjabi. This could be a factor in their naming their own area as Pahari-speaking or not.

Table 32: Where is Pahari understood? (Answers from Mirpur participants giving specific ranges)

<i>Range of Pahari</i>	<i>Home area of participant</i>	<i>Own area</i>
Bharakao to Abbottabad	Nathiagali, Bagan QH, Abbottabad District	Yes
Chattar ^a to Kohala	Bharakao, Islamabad District	No
Murree to Muzaffarabad	Muzaffarabad, AK (2 participants)	Yes
Murree to Domel ^b	Muzaffarabad, AK	No
Murree to Muzaffarabad to Rawalakot	Dhirkot, Bagh, AK	Yes
Bharakao to Kohala	Dhirkot, Bagh, AK	No
Ghora Gali to Kohala	Murree	Yes
Spectrum (from central Pahari to borderline areas): Murree to Ghora Gali, Ghora Gali to Charpani, Charpani to Bharakao	Murree	Yes

^aChattar is a village about six miles from Bharakoh. This response came from a young man interviewed in the Barakoh bazaar who identified himself as a Pothwari speaker.

^bAccording to the participant, Domel is a village beyond Kohala, just across the Jhelum. This older Muzaffarabad resident described himself as a Hindko speaker, as did most participants from Muzaffarabad.

Q3. Where is Pahari especially respected?

As in question 1, some participants reported locations within their own home areas. This confirms again the size of the area where Pahari is spoken. It also confirms the esteem people have for their own dialect.

The number of people who reported “all areas”¹⁷ was usually equal or greater than those who indicated their home area. This is another positive indicator of the level of esteem that Pahari speakers

¹⁷ This was an open-ended question—that is, participants responded freely and did not choose from a list.

have for their language when the largest proportion of the total responses (59 of 165 or 35%) indicate that Pahari is respected in all areas. The two areas where participants most commonly reported Pahari was respected in all areas were in Bharakao (8 of 12 or 67%) and Muzaffarabad (10 of 14 or 71%).

The participants from Bharakao and Muzaffarabad certainly travel through Pahari-speaking areas, so they could respond “all areas” from their contacts in Pahari areas, as shown in table 33. As mentioned earlier in section 5.2, 8 of the 12 Bharakao respondents travel regularly to Murree. The area which Muzaffarabad participants would travel through includes many Central Pahari locations as they travel south to larger cities.

Fewer responses indicated specific places as shown in table 33. However, more than half of the Murree responses indicated Murree (46 of 77 or about 60%). Almost a third of the responses from the Abbottabad *galliat* were in Abbottabad *tehsil*.

5.3.2 Places where Pahari is considered the same

Q5. In what nearby areas do they speak exactly like you?

Generally, respondents identified villages within their own area, in their answers as seen in table 34. This is similar to the pattern already seen in questions 1 and 3: “Where is Pahari understood?” and “Where is Pahari respected?” Not surprisingly, the most common responses of participants identified villages within their own *tehsil*: 48% (or 21 of 43) from the Abbottabad *galliat*, 53% (or 48 of 90) from Murree, 67% (or 14 of 21) from Bagh, and 60% (or 12 of 20) from Mirpur.

The Bharakao participants (see table 34) most commonly reported locations in their surrounding area and in Rawalpindi District—a total of 80% (17 of 21). By way of comparison, Bharakao participants did not give locations in their own area as places where Pahari was understood. This is one place where the results for similar questions vary. This may be one indication that Bharakao residents perceive themselves as somewhat different from Pahari speakers, that is, as Pothwari speakers. Interestingly, however, six of these answers were specifically in the Murree area (29% of the total), and a few even identified the language in Abbottabad to be

identical to their own. This indicates that some mother-tongue speakers may not sense differences in the language that we have observed in the wordlists.¹⁸

The only exception where a group of participants did not list a larger number of locations in their own district was in Muzaffarabad. Only 6 of 17 reported locations that were located in the Muzaffarabad area. Another six of the reported locations were in Mansehra and two in Abbottabad city, so that a total of 47% of the Muzaffarabad responses were in the NWFP. This suggests a stronger identity with Hindko than Pahari for Muzaffarabad respondents. Many of the Muzaffarabad participants identified their mother tongue as Hindko. However, the identification of Muzaffarabad respondents with Hindko or Pahari is not perfectly clear. In response to question six, an equal number of Muzaffarabad participants said that Murree is a place where their language is spoken only slightly differently.¹⁹

¹⁸ This may be a reflection of the linguistic sensitivity to these differences. We have seen a great variety in this throughout the course of the survey.

¹⁹ It is likely that there are communities of both Hindko and Pahari speakers living in Muzaffarabad. Further research into the linguistic makeup of that area is called for.

Table 33: Q3. Where is Pahari especially respected?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	9 (29.0%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	11 (6.7%)
	Abbottabad	5 (16.1%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	7 (4.2%)
	Bakot	2 (6.5%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Havelian	1 (3.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Lora Nara	1 (3.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Haripur	1 (3.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Hazara	—	—	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	1 (0.6%)
	Mansehra	4 (12.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	4 (2.4%)
Punjab	Murree	5 (16.1%)	46 (59.7%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	53 (32.1%)
	Murree	5 (16.1%)	43 (55.8%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	50 (30.3%)
	Charhan	—	3 (3.9%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.8%)
	Bharakao	—	—	1 (8.3%)	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Lahore	—	2 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Punjab	—	4 (5.2%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2.4%)
Sindh	Karachi	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Azad	Bagh	—	—	—	3 (20.0%)	—	—	3 (1.8%)
Kashmir	Mirpur	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	7 (43.8%)	—	8 (4.8%)

(TABLE 33, CONTINUED)

		Home area of participant						
Response		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	Total
	Muzaffarabad	—	—	—	5 (33.3%)	—	2 (14.3%)	7 (4.2%)
	Punch	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Other	All Areas	11 (35.5%)	20 (26.0%)	8 (66.7%)	3 (20.0%)	7 (43.8%)	10 (71.4%)	59 (35.8%)
	No Areas	1 (3.2%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Misc Area	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Other	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Language	—	1 (1.3%)	2 (16.7%)	—	2 (12.5%)	—	5 (3.0%)
	<i>Pahari</i>	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	<i>Punjabi</i>	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	<i>Gujari</i>	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)
<i>Pothwari</i>	—	—	2 (16.7%)	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)	
Total		31 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	14 (100%)	165(100%)

Table 34: Q5. In what nearby areas do they speak exactly like you?

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
NWFP	Abbottabad	21 (48.8%)	8 (8.9%)	4 (19.0%)	2 (9.5%)	1 (5.0%)	2 (11.8%)	38 (17.9%)
	Abbottabad	2 (4.7%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (0.9%)
	Bagan	11 (25.6%)	—	1 (4.8%)	—	—	—	12 (5.7%)
	Bakot	6 (14.0%)	6 (6.7%)	—	—	—	2 (11.8%)	14 (6.6%)
	Havelian	—	—	—	—	1 (5.0%)	—	1 (0.5%)
	Lora Nara	2 (4.7%)	2 (2.2%)	3 (14.3%)	2 (9.5%)	—	—	9 (4.2%)
	Hazara	—	2 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	2 (0.9%)
	Mansehra	—	—	—	—	—	6 (35.3%)	6 (2.8%)
	NWFP	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	9 (20.9%)	48 (53.3%)	9 (42.9%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (5.0%)	—	68 (32.1%)
	Rawalpindi	—	2 (2.2%)	1 (4.8%)	—	—	—	3 (1.4%)
	Murree	5 (20.9%)	44 (48.9%)	6 (28.6%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (5.0%)	—	61 (28.8%)
	Murree	6 (14.0%)	38 (42.2%)	5 (23.8%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (5.0%)	—	51 (24.1%)
	Charhan	3 (7.0%)	6 (6.7%)	1 (4.8%)	—	—	—	10 (4.7%)
	Kahuta	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	1 (1.1%)	2 (9.5%)	—	—	—	3 (1.4%)
	Pothowar	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)

(TABLE 34, CONTINUED)

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
	Islamabad	—	3 (3.3%)	8 (38.1%)	—	—	—	11 (5.2%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	1 (2.3%)	4 (4.4%)	—	—	3 (15.0%)	—	8 (3.8%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	14 (66.7%)	—	—	14 (6.6%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	12 (60.0%)	—	12 (5.7%)
	Muzaffarabad	1 (2.3%)	—	—	—	—	6 (35.3%)	7 (3.3%)
Other	All Areas	5 (11.6%)	17 (18.9%)	—	2 (9.5%)	—	—	24 (11.3%)
	Misc Area	—	—	—	1 (4.8%)	3 (15.0%)	2 (11.8%)	6 (2.8%)
	No Comment	3 (7.0%)	2 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	5 (2.4%)
	Other	3 (7.0%)	4 (4.4%)	—	1 (4.8%)	—	1 (5.9%)	9 (4.2%)
Total		43 (100%)	90 (100%)	21 (100%)	21 (100%)	20 (100%)	17 (100%)	212 (100%)

Those participants who gave responses represented in the “Other” section of table 34 had several comments. Of the responses from Abbottabad *galliat*, one mentioned that the language changes 15 kilometers from Lora, and another said that “the words are only a little different” in languages of surrounding areas. In Murree, the responses from four participants are classified as “Other.” Three participants said the language was the same in “surrounding villages” and one Murree participant gave a range for an answer, “Kahuta and the Hazara area from Lora to Kohala.”

Q10. Is there a place close to or far from your village where they speak exactly like you do?

As expected, the responses to this question, as summarized in table 35, agree with the responses to question 5—people generally reported their own area. This was true for participants from the Abbottabad *galliat*, Murree, Bharakao, Bagh, and Mirpur.

Twenty-three percent of the total response was “All Areas” speak the same. This is one indication that, for a number of participants, Pahari is seen to be homogeneous. A slightly higher proportion of Murree participants (30% or 27 of 90) and Abbottabad *galliat* participants (29% or 10 of 34) said “all areas.” By contrast, only one Bharakao and one Mirpur participant said “all areas.”

Those participants whose answers are represented in the “Other” category for Murree and Bagh gave comments that were more general such as “many villages.” The “Other” category for this question also includes a number of participants who simply answered “yes” and did not give a specific location. The “yes” responses in Murree represent a relatively small part of the Murree answers (5 of 90 or 6%). However, the four who answered “yes” from Muzaffarabad represent 28% of the total (4 of 14). This makes it more difficult to draw conclusions from the small Muzaffarabad sample for this question.

5.4 Borderline Pahari areas

5.4.1 Places where Pahari transitions to a new language

Questions 6, 7, 8, and 9 are designed to provide a perceived spectrum of difference between the participants’ language and where

it transitions to a new language. Question 6 identifies a slight difference in language variety, and leads to question 9, which identifies a different language. However, most people did not identify a different language.

By observing how the percentages change from question to question, the following conclusions may be made:

- Bharakao, Abbottabad *galliat*, and Muzaffarabad participants perceive the Murree Pahari dialect to be a slightly different variety of their own language.
- Muzaffarabad participants generally perceive the Bagh area as a slightly different variety of their own language. They consider the Mirpur dialect different enough that it is difficult to understand.²⁰

Q6. In what areas do they speak a little bit differently from you?

As shown in table 36, participants, in general, primarily identified villages in their own *tehsil* as a bit different. Participants notice a slight variation from village to village. This is reflected in two comments from Murree participants who said that the language changes about every 10 miles. Three participants from Murree said that every village is different. Some people are more sensitive to linguistic degrees of difference, with some respondents indicating an adjacent village. Others, however, list distant places like Karachi or Baluchistan as having a slightly different spoken language. These faraway places are included in table 36 as “Other.”

²⁰ These two locations are at the extreme north and south of the Pahari-speaking area.

Table 35: Q10. Is there a place close to or far from your village where they speak exactly like you do?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	15 (44.1%)	8 (8.9%)	4 (30.8%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (7.1%)	30 (16.0%)
	Abbottabad	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	2 (1.1%)
	Bagan	6 (17.6%)	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	7 (3.7%)
	Bakot	7 (20.6%)	6 (6.7%)	—	—	—	—	13 (6.9%)
	Havelian	—	—	—	—	1 (5.0%)	—	1 (0.5%)
	Lora Nara	2 (5.9%)	—	4 (30.8%)	1 (5.9%)	—	—	7 (3.7%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	5 (14.7%)	40 (44.4%)	4 (30.8%)	—	3 (15.0%)	—	52 (27.7%)
	Kharian	—	—	—	—	2 (10.0%)	—	2 (1.1%)
	Murree	5 (14.7%)	35 (43.3%)	2 (15.4%)	—	1 (5.0%)	—	47 (25.0%)
	Murree	4 (11.8%)	30 (33.3%)	2 (15.4%)	—	1 (5.0%)	—	37 (19.7%)
	Charhan	1 (2.9%)	9 (10.0%)	—	—	—	—	10 (5.3%)
	Rawalpindi	—	1 (1.1%)	1 (7.7%)	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	Gujarkhan	—	—	1 (7.7%)	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Islamabad	—	1 (1.1%)	4 (30.8%)	—	—	—	5 (2.7%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	—	—	—	—	2 (10.0%)	—	2 (1.1%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	10 (58.8%)	2 (10.0%)	—	12 (6.4%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	8 (40.0%)	—	8 (4.3%)

(TABLE 35, CONTINUED)

		<i>Home area of participant</i>						
<i>Response</i>		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	<i>Total</i>
	Muzaffarabad	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	4 (28.6%)	5 (2.7%)
Other	All Areas	10 (29.4%)	27 (30.0%)	1 (7.7%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (5.0%)	3 (21.4%)	45 (23.9%)
	No Areas	2 (5.9%)	5 (5.6%)	—	2 (11.8%)	—	—	9 (4.8%)
	Misc Area	1 (2.9%)	—	—	—	3 (15.0%)	2 (14.3%)	6 (3.2%)
	Other	1 (2.9%)	8 (8.9%)	—	1 (5.9%)	—	4 (28.6%)	14 (7.4%)
Total		34 (100%)	90 (100%)	13 (100%)	17 (100%)	20 (100%)	14 (100%)	188 (100%)

Table 36: Q6. In what areas do they speak a little bit differently from you?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	17 (43.6%)	26 (27.1%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.3%)	—	2 (9.5%)	47 (22.3%)
	Abbottabad	7 (17.9%)	3 (3.1%)	—	—	—	—	10 (4.7%)
	Bagan	4 (10.3%)	1 (1.0%)	—	—	—	—	5 (2.4%)
	Bakot	5 (12.8%)	21 (21.9%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.3%)	—	2 (9.5%)	30 (14.2%)
	Havelian	1 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Lora Nara	—	1 (1.0%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Haripur	1 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Hazara	—	8 (8.3%)	—	—	—	2 (9.5%)	10 (4.7%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	12 (30.8%)	33 (34.4%)	14 (70.0%)	1 (5.3%)	1 (6.3%)	6 (28.6%)	67 (31.8%)
	Rawalpindi	1 (2.6%)	4 (4.2%)	—	—	—	—	5 (2.4%)
	Kahuta	—	1 (1.0%)	3 (15.0%)	—	—	—	4 (1.9%)
	Kharian	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.5%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	3 (3.1%)	3 (15.0%)	—	—	—	6 (2.8%)
	Murree	11 (28.2%)	25 (26.0%)	8 (40.0%)	1 (5.3%)	—	6 (28.6%)	51 (24.2%)
	Murree	10 (25.6%)	19 (19.8%)	8 (40.0%)	1 (5.3%)	—	6 (28.6%)	44 (20.9%)
	Charhan	1 (2.6%)	6 (6.3%)	—	—	—	—	7 (3.3%)
Islamabad	—	5 (5.2%)	2 (10.0%)	—	—	—	7 (3.3%)	

(TABLE 36, CONTINUED)

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
	Punjab	—	2 (2.1%)	—	—	—	—	2 (0.9%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	5 (12.8%)	6 (6.3%)	—	—	—	—	11 (5.2%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	8 (42.1%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (4.8%)	11 (5.2%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	2 (10.5%)	11 (68.8%)	—	13 (6.2%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	4 (4.2%)	—	5 (26.3%)	—	7 (33.3%)	16 (7.6%)
	Punch	—	1 (1.0%)	—	1 (5.3%)	—	—	2 (0.9%)
Other	All areas different	—	3 (3.1%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.4%)
	No Area	3 (7.7%)	1 (1.0%)	1 (5.0%)	—	1 (6.3%)	2 (9.5%)	8 (3.8%)
	Misc Area	—	1 (1.0%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.3%)	1 (6.3%)	—	4 (1.9%)
	Other	1 (2.6%)	6 (6.3%)	1 (5.0%)	—	—	1 (4.8%)	9 (4.3%)
Total		39 (100%)	96 (100%)	20 (100%)	19 (100%)	16 (100%)	21 (100%)	211 (100%)

Answers outside the participants' own *tehsil* tend to be scattered, although Murree was the most common response. Twenty-six percent of the participants from Murree (25 of 96) and 40% of the Bharakao participants (8 of 20) and 28% of the participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* (11 of 39) included Murree in their response. Murree was the second most common response for Muzaffarabad (33% or 6 of 21). This is one indicator that participants from other areas recognize Murree as a place where their language is also spoken.

Q7. In what areas do people speak your language differently—however, if they say something they are understood?

Many participants perceive a difference of language in areas close to home, as summarized in table 37. This is not surprising when we consider the fact that literature and mass media do not provide a strong standardizing force within the language. In addition, participants are most familiar with the areas close to home.

Participants from Bagh and Mirpur noted the most differences within their home region. Participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* also noted a number of differences within the Abbottabad *tehsil*; however, half of these responses were within the Abbottabad QH, rather than their own areas. This indicates that roughly one-fifth of the Abbottabad *galliat* participants perceived Hindko-speaking areas to be a bit different from their own. A slightly smaller group of Abbottabad *galliat* respondents gave locations in the Murree area as slightly different from their own. Grouped in the "Other" category were three Abbottabad *galliat* participants who reported multiple language names: Pothwari, Punjabi, and Peshawari Hindko.

Responses from Murree area participants appear to be the most varied. Their answers were scattered around the greater Pahari-speaking area, with a slightly higher concentration in the Murree *tehsil*. Between 15 and 17 participants identified the surrounding areas of the south-eastern Abbottabad District, the Rawalpindi *tehsil* outside Murree, and Azad Kashmir as areas where people spoke their own language a little differently, but understandably. Two Murree responses were language names which are grouped in the "other" category as Pothwari and Kohistani. Another participant replied, "The areas are not that different."

Participants seem to primarily note some differences in their home areas. Therefore, when an area away from home appears in their answer, this provides interesting clues as to how closely these areas might be related.

Participants from Bharakao (57% or 8 of 14) most commonly identify Murree as an area where people speak their language a little differently, but understandably. Muzaffarabad participants (59% or 13 of 22) most commonly identify Bagh as an understandable variety of their own language.

Q8. In what areas do they speak the same as you, but when they speak quickly you do not understand them?

Many participants thought there was no area where fast speech was difficult to understand. More than one-third of the participants from every area except Muzaffarabad gave this reply, as shown in table 38. This is one indication that participants generally perceive the speech of all Pahari-speaking areas to be understandable. This intelligibility may be inherent, or it could come from contact through travel.

More languages other than Pahari or Pothwari were mentioned in answers to this question than questions 6 or 7. Five of the responses from Muzaffarabad indicated locations in Bagh (28%, or 5 of 18). This is a decrease in Muzaffarabad participants who responded with Bagh in question 7—from 60% down to 28%. Question 7 asked about where their language was different, yet still understandable. Wordlist data indicate that Muzaffarabad is as nearly similar to Bagh (84%) as it is to most other Pahari areas. This decrease seems to indicate that Muzaffarabad participants perceive the Bagh variety to be different, yet intelligible. However, Muzaffarabad participants seem to identify more in other ways with Hindko. Thirteen of the Muzaffarabad participants (93%) identified themselves as mother-tongue Hindko speakers. So there may be some factors, which the wordlist does not measure, which would lead them to differentiate their own speech from the variety of Pahari used in Bagh.

Table 37: Q7. In what areas do people speak your language a little differently, but if they say something, they are understood?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpu	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	13 (38.2%)	15 (15.2%)	1 (7.1%)	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (4.5%)	31 (15.5%)
	Abbottabad	7 (20.6%)	2 (2.0%)	—	—	—	—	9 (4.5%)
	Bakot	5 (14.7%)	12 (12.1%)	1 (7.1%)	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (4.5%)	20 (10.0%)
	Lora Nara	2 (5.9%)	1 (1.0%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.5%)
	Hazara	—	6 (6.1%)	—	—	—	—	6 (3.0%)
	Mansehra	3 (8.8%)	—	—	—	—	1 (4.5%)	4 (2.0%)
	Kohistan	1 (2.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	6 (17.6%)	39 (39.4%)	9 (64.3%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (4.5%)	58 (29.0%)
	Kahuta	—	1 (1.0%)	1 (7.1%)	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	2 (2.0%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	Murree	6 (17.6%)	30 (30.3%)	8 (57.1%)	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (4.5%)	46 (23.0%)
	Murree	6 (17.6%)	22 (22.2%)	8 (57.1%)	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (4.5%)	38 (19.0%)
	Charhan	—	8 (8.1%)	—	—	—	—	8 (4.0%)
	Rawalpindi	—	3 (3.0%)	—	1 (6.3%)	—	—	4 (2.0%)
	Gujarkhan	—	3 (3.0%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	4 (2.0%)
	Galliat	—	3 (3.0%)	—	1 (6.3%)	—	—	4 (2.0%)
Pothowar	—	1 (1.0%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)	

(TABLE 37, CONTINUED)

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpu	Muz	
	Islamabad	—	2 (2.0%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (6.3%)	—	—	4 (2.0%)
	Punjab	—	1 (1.0%)	—	1 (6.3%)	—	—	2 (1.0%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	2 (5.9%)	15 (15.2%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	18 (9.0%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	6 (37.5%)	—	13 (59.1%)	19 (9.5%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	6 (40.0%)	—	6 (3.0%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	8 (8.1%)	—	1 (6.3%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (13.6%)	16 (8.0%)
	Punch	—	2 (2.0%)	—	1 (6.3%)	—	—	3 (1.5%)
Other	No Area	3 (8.8%)	2 (2.0%)	—	—	—	1 (4.5%)	6 (3.0%)
	All Areas	1 (2.9%)	—	2 (14.3%)	1 (6.3%)	—	—	4 (2.0%)
	Misc Area	2 (5.9%)	—	—	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (9.1%)	7 (3.5%)
	Other	3 (8.8%)	5 (5.1%)	1 (7.1%)	—	1 (6.7%)	—	10 (5.0%)
Total		34 (100%)	99 (100%)	14 (100%)	16 (100%)	15 (100%)	22 (100%)	200 (100%)

Table 38: Q8. In what areas do they speak the same as you, but when they speak quickly, you do not understand them?

		<i>Home area of participant</i>						
<i>Response</i>		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	<i>Total</i>
NWFP	Abbottabad	5 (16.7%)	10 (11.8%)	1 (9.1%)	—	—	1 (5.6%)	17 (9.6%)
	<i>Abbottabad</i>	1 (3.3%)	2 (2.4%)	—	—	—	1 (5.6%)	4 (2.3%)
	<i>Bagan</i>	1 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	<i>Bakot</i>	2 (6.7%)	6 (7.1%)	—	—	—	—	8 (4.5%)
	<i>Lora Nara</i>	1 (3.3%)	2 (2.4%)	1 (9.1%)	—	—	—	4 (2.3%)
	Haripur	—	—	—	—	—	2 (11.1%)	2 (1.1%)
	Hazara	—	3 (3.5%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.7%)
	Mansehra	3 (10.0%)	—	—	—	—	2 (11.1%)	5 (2.8%)
	Kohistan	2 (6.7%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	NWFP	—	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	—	11 (12.9%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	12 (6.8%)
	<i>Kotli Sattian</i>	—	2 (2.4%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	<i>Murree</i>	—	5 (10.6%)	—	—	—	—	5 (5.1%)
	<i>Murree</i>	—	5 (5.9%)	—	—	—	—	5 (2.8%)
	<i>Charhan</i>	—	4 (4.7%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2.3%)
	<i>Rawalpindi</i>	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Pothowar	—	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)

(TABLE 38, CONTINUED)

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
	Islamabad	—	—	2 (18.2%)	1 (7.1%)	—	—	3 (1.7%)
	Lahore	—	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Azad Kashmir	Azad Kashmir	2 (6.7%)	12 (14.1%)	—	—	—	—	14 (7.9%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	1 (1.2%)	—	1 (7.1%)	4 (21.1%)	5 (27.8%)	11 (6.2%)
	Mirpur	2 (6.7%)	—	—	1 (7.1%)	1 (5.3%)	1 (5.6%)	5 (2.8%)
	Muzaffarabad	1 (3.3%)	6 (7.1%)	—	2 (14.3%)	2 (10.5%)	—	11 (6.2%)
	Punch	—	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	2 (11.1%)	3 (1.7%)
Other	No Area	7 (23.3%)	36 (42.4%)	7 (63.6%)	5 (35.7%)	9 (47.4%)	3 (16.7%)	67 (37.9%)
	Misc Area	2 (6.7%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	No Comment	—	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Language	6 (20.0%)	2 (2.4%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (15.8%)	2 (11.1%)	16 (9.0%)
	<i>Gujari</i>	2 (6.7%)	—	—	—	3 (15.8%)	—	5 (2.8%)
	<i>Hindko</i>	1 (3.3%)	1 (1.2%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	<i>Kashmiri</i>	1 (3.3%)	—	1 (9.1%)	—	—	2 (11.1%)	4 (2.3%)
	<i>Punjabi</i>	1 (3.3%)	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	2 (1.1%)
	<i>Pashto</i>	1 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	<i>Urdu</i>	—	1 (1.2%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	2 (1.1%)
Total		30 (100%)	85 (100%)	11 (100%)	14 (100%)	19 (100%)	18 (100%)	177 (100%)

Table 39: Q9. Is there any nearby village where people speak a completely different language?

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bha	Bagh	Mirpu	Muz	
NWFP	Abbottabad	3 (10.0%)	5 (6.6%)	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	—	10 (6.0%)
	Abbottabad	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Bakot	3 (10.0%)	3 (3.9%)	—	—	—	—	6 (3.6%)
	Havelian	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	Lora Nara	—	2 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Hazara	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	NWFP	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	—	5 (6.6%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	10 (6.0%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	1 (1.3%)	3 (20.0%)	—	—	—	4 (2.4%)
	Murree	—	4 (5.3%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	6 (3.6%)
	Murree	—	3 (3.9%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	5 (3.0%)
	Charhan	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Islamabad	—	—	5 (33.3%)	—	—	—	5 (3.0%)	
Azad	Azad Kashmir	1 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	2 (1.2%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (1.2%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)

(TABLE 39, CONTINUED)

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bha</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpu</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
Other	No Area	22 (73.3%)	60 (78.9%)	6 (40.0%)	12 (80.0%)	11 (73.3%)	9 (56.3%)	120 (71.9%)
	Misc Area	1 (3.3%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	2 (13.3%)	—	4 (2.4%)
	Language	2 (6.7%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	3 (18.8%)	6 (3.6%)
	<i>Kashmiri</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	1 (0.6%)
	<i>Gujari</i>	2 (6.7%)	—	—	—	—	2 (12.5%)	4 (2.4%)
	<i>Punjabi</i>	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Other	1 (3.3%)	—	—	1 (6.7%)	—	2 (12.5%)	4 (2.4%)
Total		30 (100%)	76 (100%)	15 (100%)	15 (100%)	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	167 (100%)

Q9. Is there any nearby village where people speak a completely different language?

More than half of the respondents, or 120 out of 161 or about 72%, said that there is no place close by where a completely different language is spoken. Overall, respondents consider nearby areas to be Pahari. The remaining responses are also shown in table 39, but it is hard to draw clear conclusions from such a small subset of the data.

It was common for the few who gave an answer to mention one family in an area very close to them. Perhaps a better question for this would have been, “Is there any nearby village where everyone speaks a different language?” However, there were some villages identified as Gujari-speaking. Aliabad (near Kohala and Moolia on the Jhelum River) and Tami areas were singled out as Gujari settlements.

5.4.2 Places where Pahari is not understood, respected, or spoken well

Q2. Where is Pahari not used?

Murree participants primarily mention areas in the Punjab south of Bharakao as places where Pahari is not used: Rawalpindi, the Pothwar, Islamabad, Lahore, and the Punjab (43 of 93 or 46%). Those who commented added: “areas far from Murree or outside Murree.” Only one man said that Pahari was not used in the town of Murree but only in villages surrounding Murree. We believe this may reflect the influence of outside tourists on the town, who come primarily from the Punjab and cannot speak Pahari. These summaries are seen in table 40.

More than 20% of the participants from the Abbottabad *galliat*, Bagh, Mirpur, and Muzaffarabad replied “no area” in answer to this question. This answer reflects the belief of these participants that the Pahari language is widely used and perhaps is well regarded.

Further, as shown in table 40, when participants from the Abbottabad *galliat* report locations within the Abbottabad District as being “completely different,” they primarily mention the city of Abbottabad, a characteristically Hindko-speaking area. This also supports conclusions from the wordlist data, which led us to group

Mansehra and Abbottabad Hindko separately from the Central Pahari areas.

Nearly half of the Bagh responses indicate that Pahari is not used in Mirpur. This perception seems to reflect the wordlist data, which leads us to group Bagh more closely with the Central Pahari group, rather than Mirpur Pahari or Pothwari.

What is more puzzling is that half of the Mirpur responses indicate that Pahari is not used in towns and villages in Mirpur. We suspect that this might reflect the high degree of ambiguity in Mirpur regarding the language names commonly used there. Of those who indicated that Pahari was not used in Mirpur, three identified their mother tongue as Punjabi, and one said his mother tongue was Gujarati. The remainder of the participants from Mirpur identified their mother tongue as Pahari.

The largest groups of Muzaffarabad participants said that Pahari is not used in Bagh or gave the answer “No Area” (4 of 15 or 27% for both answers). This is the third time where Muzaffarabad participants indicate some degree of difference between their own area and Bagh, an adjacent area in Azad Kashmir. (See also the results for questions 8 and 9 in table 38 and table 39.)

Table 40: Q2. Where is Pahari not used?

Response	Home area of participant						Total	
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz		
NWFP	Abbottabad	10 (26.3%)	8 (8.8%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (7.1%)	—	—	20 (10.3%)
	Abbottabad	7 (18.4%)	5 (5.5%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	13 (6.7%)
	Bagan	1 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Bakot	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	Lora Nara	1 (2.6%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (5.9%)	—	—	—	4 (2.1%)
	Haripur	1 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Hazara	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Mansehra	1 (2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Peshawar	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	2 (5.3%)	20 (22.0%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (5.0%)	—	29 (13.8%)
	Rawalpindi	—	10 (11.0%)	—	—	—	—	10 (5.1%)
	Kharian	—	—	—	—	1 (5.0%)	—	1 (0.5%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	1 (1.1%)	2 (11.8%)	—	—	—	3 (1.5%)
	Murree	2 (5.3%)	7 (7.7%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (7.1%)	—	—	11 (5.6%)
	Gujarkhan	—	2 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	Pothowar	—	2 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	Islamabad	5 (13.2%)	2 (2.2%)	7 (41.2%)	—	—	—	14 (7.2%)
	Lahore	—	6 (6.6%)	—	—	—	—	6 (3.1%)
	Punjab	—	12 (13.2%)	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	13 (6.7%)
The plains	—	9 (9.9%)	—	—	—	—	9 (4.6%)	
Azad Kashmir	2 (5.3%)	4 (4.4%)	—	—	2 (10.0%)	—	8 (4.1%)	
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	—	4 (26.7%)	4 (2.1%)	

(TABLE 40, CONTINUED)

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
	Mirpur	—	—	—	6 (42.9%)	10 (50.0%)	2 (13.3%)	18 (9.2%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	—	—	—	—	2 (13.3%)	2 (1.0%)
Sindh	Sindh	—	3 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.5%)
	Karachi	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
Other	Outside Murree	—	5 (5.5%)	—	—	—	—	5 (2.6%)
	All Areas	—	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (0.5%)
	No Areas	8 (21.1%)	4 (4.4%)	2 (11.8%)	3 (21.4%)	6 (30.0%)	4 (26.7%)	27 (13.8%)
	Misc Area	—	—	—	2 (14.3%)	—	1 (6.7%)	3 (1.5%)
	No Comment	—	3 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.5%)
	Other	2 (5.3%)	9 (9.9%)	4 (23.5%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (5.0%)	—	17 (8.7%)
	Language	5 (13.2%)	3 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	8 (4.1%)
	<i>Kashmiri</i>	—	2 (2.2%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	<i>Punjabi</i>	2 (5.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	2 (1.0%)
	<i>Pothwari</i>	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
<i>Hindko</i>	3 (7.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	3 (1.5%)	
Total		38 (100%)	93 (100%)	17 (100%)	14 (100%)	20 (100%)	15 (100%)	197 (100%)

Table 41: Q4. In what areas is Pahari not well thought of?

		<i>Home area of participant</i>						
<i>Response</i>		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	<i>Total</i>
NWFP	Abbottabad	7 (24.1%)	11 (13.8%)	4 (28.6%)	—	—	—	22 (13.1%)
	Abbottabad	1 (3.4%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Bagan	5 (17.2%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	—	6 (3.6%)
	Bakot	1 (3.4%)	11 (13.8%)	3 (21.4%)	—	—	—	15 (8.9%)
	Lora Nara	—	2 (2.5%)	2 (14.3%)	—	—	—	4 (2.4%)
	Hazara	—	—	—	—	—	1 (6.7%)	1 (0.6%)
	Mansehra	1 (3.4%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Gilgit	—	3 (3.8%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.8%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	3 (10.3%)	18 (22.5%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	—	—	24 (14.3%)
	Murree	3 (10.3%)	16 (20.0%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	—	—	22 (13.1%)
	Murree	3 (10.3%)	14 (17.5%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	—	—	20 (11.9%)
	Charhan	—	2 (2.5%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Kahuta	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
	Galliat	1 (3.4%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)
	Islamabad	—	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
Punjab	—	2 (2.5%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.2%)	

(TABLE 41, CONTINUED)

Response		Home area of participant						Total
		AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Azad	Azad Kashmir	—	5 (6.3%)	1 (7.1%)	—	—	—	6 (3.6%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	3 (21.4%)	—	1 (6.7%)	4 (2.4%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	Muzaffarabad	—	—	—	4 (28.6%)	—	—	4 (2.4%)
	Punch	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)
Other	No Area	13 (44.8%)	35 (43.8%)	7 (50.0%)	2 (14.3%)	11 (68.8%)	11 (73.3%)	79 (47.0%)
	All Areas	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)
	Misc Area	1 (3.4%)	2 (2.5%)	—	1 (7.1%)	—	—	4 (2.4%)
	No Comment	1 (3.4%)	1 (1.3%)	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	3 (1.8%)
	Language	2 (6.9%)	2 (2.5%)	—	2 (14.3%)	1 (6.3%)	2 (13.3%)	9 (5.4%)
	<i>Gujari</i>	2 (6.9%)	1 (1.3%)	—	2 (14.3%)	—	2 (13.3%)	7 (4.2%)
	<i>Hindko</i>	—	1 (1.3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6%)
<i>Punjabi</i>	—	—	—	—	1 (6.3%)	—	1 (0.6%)	
Total		29 (100%)	80 (100%)	13 (100%)	14 (100%)	16 (100%)	15 (100%)	169 (100%)

Table 42: Q11. In what areas is Pahari not spoken well?

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murre</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
NWFP	Abbottabad	9 (27.3%)	22 (25.0%)	5 (33.3%)	1 (5.6%)	—	—	37 (20.1%)
	Abbottabad	4 (12.1%)	5 (5.7%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (5.6%)	—	—	11 (6.0%)
	Bagan	3 (9.1%)	—	1 (6.7%)	—	—	—	4 (2.2%)
	Bakot	1 (3.0%)	11 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	—	13 (7.1%)
	Havelian	1 (3.0%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Lora Nara	—	6 (6.8%)	2 (13.3%)	—	—	—	8 (4.3%)
	Haripur	1 (3.0%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Hazara	—	6 (6.8%)	—	—	—	—	6 (3.3%)
	Mansehra	3 (9.1%)	—	—	—	—	—	3 (1.6%)
Punjab	Rawalpindi	4 (12.1%)	21 (23.9%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	—	26 (14.1%)
	Kahuta	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Kotli Sattian	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
	Murree	3 (9.1%)	17 (19.3%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	—	21 (11.4%)
	Murree	3 (9.1%)	13 (14.8%)	1 (6.7%)	—	—	—	17 (9.2%)
	Charhan	—	4 (4.5%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2.2%)
	Rawalpindi	1 (3.0%)	2 (2.3%)	—	—	—	—	3 (1.6%)
	Galliat	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)

(TABLE 42, CONTINUED)

<i>Response</i>		<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>AG</i>	<i>Murre</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
	Islamabad	—	2 (2.3%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (5.6%)	—	—	5 (2.7%)
	Punjab	—	1 (1.1%)	—	1 (5.6%)	—	—	2 (1.1%)
Azad	Azad Kashmir	—	4 (4.5%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2.2%)
Kashmir	Bagh	—	—	—	4 (22.2%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (13.3%)	8 (4.3%)
	Mirpur	—	—	—	5 (27.8%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (6.7%)	10 (5.4%)
	Muzaffarabad	1 (3.0%)	1 (1.1%)	—	4 (22.2%)	—	3 (20.0%)	9 (4.9%)
Sindh	Sindh	—	1 (1.1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5%)
Other	No Area	13 (39.4%)	20 (22.7%)	6 (40.0%)	1 (5.6%)	7 (46.7%)	8 (53.3%)	55 (29.9%)
	Misc Area	1 (3.0%)	2 (2.3%)	1 (6.7%)	—	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	7 (3.8%)
	No Comment	1 (3.0%)	5 (5.7%)	—	—	—	—	6 (3.3%)
	Other	—	3 (3.4%)	—	1 (5.6%)	—	—	4 (2.2%)
Total		33 (100%)	88 (100%)	15 (100%)	18 (100%)	15 (100%)	15 (100%)	184 (100%)

Q4. In what areas is Pahari not well thought of?

The most common response to question 4 is “no area.” As seen in table 41, 79 participants, or 47% of the total 161, said that there was “no area” where Pahari was not well thought of. The main conclusion we can draw from this question is the overall high regard for Pahari, since participants do not readily name an area where Pahari is not well thought of.

Q11. In what areas is Pahari not spoken well?

Similar to responses from previous questions, a large number of respondents do not mention a specific area. Fifty-five (or 30%) say there is no area where Pahari is not spoken well. ‘No area’ comprises the largest group of answers for every area except Bagh. The responses from Bagh are mixed. Four participants reported locations in Bagh (22%), and 9 of the participants (50%) responded with locations within Azad Kashmir, but outside of Bagh, for example, in Mirpur and Muzaffarabad. Still one older man from Dhirkot in Bagh said that, “All people speak well.”

5.5 Summary

Responses from question numbers 1, 3, 5, and 10 help to describe further the boundaries of the Pahari-Pothwari language complex through the intuitions of the questionnaire participants. These results generally agree with conclusions from wordlist data and comprehension testing.

Question 1: “Where is Pahari understood?” Participants generally chose villages within their own area as places where Pahari is understood. This is true for participants from Abbottabad *galliat*, Murree, Bagh, Muzaffarabad, and Mirpur. The only area, which was an exception, was Bharakao, where participants chose locations within the Murree *tehsil* and Abbottabad *galliat*. This supports our characterization of Bharakao as a borderline area between Pahari and Pothwari.

Question 3: “Where is Pahari especially respected?” Similar to the first question, participants either chose a village within their own area or commonly responded “all areas.” These responses point to the fact that Pahari speakers have a high esteem for their language,

since many recognize it as respected in their home area or in all areas.

Question 5: “In what nearby areas do they speak exactly like you?” Participants from most areas gave the majority of responses within their own area. Muzaffarabad was the only exception to this, where 35% of the responses (6 of 17) each were located near Muzaffarabad or Mansehra. Eight or 47% of the responses were within the NWFP. This provides evidence that many in this dialect borderline area may identify more with Hindko.

Question 10: “Is there a place close to or far from your village where they speak exactly like you do?” Generally, participants gave a location within their own home area. “All areas” was also a frequent response (24% of the 188 responses), which would indicate that these participants perceive the general speech of the area as homogenous.

The geographic area encompassed within the survey seems to be considered by participants from these areas to be primarily Pahari-speaking (that is, in the Abbottabad *galliat*, Murree, Muzaffarabad, Bagh, Mirpur, and Bharakao). Some exceptions have been noted in the Bharakao and Muzaffarabad responses.

The next group of questions (questions 6 to 9) were selected to help describe what differences might lie within the continuum of Pahari-Pothwari varieties.

Question 6: “In what areas do they speak a little bit differently from you?” Participants generally named areas closer to their own home district perhaps because these would be the most familiar. When they reported another area, Murree was mentioned prominently by participants from Bharakao, the Abbottabad *galliat*, and Muzaffarabad. (Since these three areas are geographically adjacent to the Central Pahari area, this seems to support wordlist findings.)

Question 7: “In what areas do people speak your language a little differently—however, if they say something they are understood?” The answers to this question were very similar to the previous one. Most participants named locations within their home area. A majority of Bharakao participants again mentioned Murree.

For this question, a majority of Muzaffarabad participants mentioned Bagh.

Question 8: “In what areas do they speak the same as you, but when they speak quickly, you do not understand them?” The most common response to this question was “no area”, which may indicate that participants from most of the areas surveyed see Pahari-speaking areas as homogeneous. Muzaffarabad participants again mentioned Bagh, although it was a smaller part of the response than in question 7.

Question 9: “Is there any nearby village where people speak a completely different language?” A large majority (72%) answered that there was no area nearby where a completely different language was spoken. When participants gave location names, they would often refer to a particular family in the village that spoke a different regional language rather than the entire village. This indicates to us that pockets of different languages are rare within the greater Pahari-speaking area.

The final group of questions in this chapter attempted to define where Pahari is not used, respected, or spoken well. This takes the opposite perspective of questions 1, 3, 5, and 10.

Question 2: “Where is Pahari not used?” Participants from each area tended to choose another geographically adjacent area where another regional language is used or some difference had been noted earlier. For instance, Murree participants frequently mentioned Punjabi-speaking areas in the plains. Abbottabad *galliat* residents mentioned the Hindko-speaking town of Abbottabad. Bagh residents frequently mentioned Mirpur—an area which does show some degree of difference in the wordlists. In addition, Mirpur is geographically in the plains below Bagh. “No area” was also a common response for Abbottabad, Bagh, Mirpur, and Muzaffarabad, indicating that Pahari (or a similar language) is used everywhere they travel.

Questions 4 and 11: “In what areas is Pahari not well thought of?” and *“In what areas is Pahari not spoken well?”* The most common answer to both of these questions was “no area.” This seems to indicate a positive level of respect participants have for their

language. In addition, the fact that they do not characterize other areas as places where Pahari is spoken poorly indicates a level of solidarity within the language group.

As a group, these 11 questions related to dialect intuition add weight to the evidence of the wordlists in defining the area surveyed as primarily Pahari-speaking. An area that seems to differ is Bharakao, which seems to identify more with Pothwari or Punjabi. Muzaffarabad is also different, in that, despite its lexical similarity to Central Pahari, there is some evidence of a stronger identification with Hindko. In this survey, Pahari also seems to be seen as a homogeneous and well-respected language variety.

The participants from districts in Azad Kashmir perceive differences and/or comprehension difficulties in the other Azad Kashmir speech varieties. Responses show that the language from Bagh and Mirpur in Azad Kashmir is perceived differently. Muzaffarabad residents tend to characterize their language as Hindko rather than Pahari.

6. The view from Pothwari areas

With the high comprehension between Pahari and Pothwari described earlier in section 3.2, we began more survey in Pothwari areas. Our co-worker gathered the data for this survey while we were out of the country. We designed a simplified questionnaire from the Pahari areas sociolinguistic questionnaire. Like the survey in the Pahari areas, we examined language and literacy attitudes as well as language vitality. We also examined attitudes about four areas where Pothwari is spoken, as well as attitudes towards a story told in the Murree dialect of Pahari.

6.1 Goals

This research was intended to supplement findings in the Murree Pahari survey. We had four goals as we surveyed in Pothwari areas. We wanted to:

- Learn about the attitude Pothwari speakers have toward their own language and toward future generations using it.
- Learn which of the Pothwari speech varieties was well respected and easy to understand.
- Understand the participants' attitudes toward Pothwari literacy and literature development.
- Learn what the Pothwari participants' response would be to hearing a Murree Pahari story. Would they feel it was intelligible and closely identify with it?

6.2 Methodology and locations for data collection

Informal interviews were used to collect this data. The participants were asked nine questions concerning mother-tongue attitude, language use and vitality, attitude toward mother-tongue literacy and literature, and dialect attitudes questions (see appendix C for an English translation). After these nine questions were asked in an orally administered questionnaire, a short audio text from the Murree *tehsil* (the village of Aliot) was played on a tape recorder, and participants answered questions regarding the speaker and place

of origin. The text was a personal narrative, about two minutes in length, told by a Murree Pahari speaker from the village of Aliot. This study gives feedback only on one text. It would have been helpful to have a story from one of the Pothwari areas to assess the differences in how participants perceived the two speech varieties.

We selected four locations for gathering the language information to represent Pothwari: Rawat, Gujarkhan, Jhelum, and Mirpur. The first three of the points are along the Grand Trunk Road between Rawalpindi and the Jhelum River. We did not select Rawalpindi because it is a melting pot of different languages and many people settle there just for work. Rawat is a town south-east of Rawalpindi in the Pothwari area. Jhelum is a town on the language border of Pothwari and Punjabi. However, there were logistical problems gathering data there, so responses from that area are not represented in this survey. Gujarkhan is a large town, which is about halfway between Rawalpindi and Jhelum. Mirpur is in Azad Kashmir, and differences had been reported to us regarding the language varieties used there. We wanted to see Mirpuri speakers' perspective on the language issues in this survey.

6.3 Results

There were 30 questionnaires gathered for this survey: ten each from Gujarkhan, Rawat, and Mirpur. Most of the participants were male. More than half had attained a matric level or higher education. The majority of the participants were married and had children. (See appendix C.2 for a demographic summary.)

6.3.1 *Attitude toward mother tongue*

In assessing the potential for language and literature development in the Pothowar Plateau, one of our goals was to find out the attitude of Pothwari speakers toward their mother tongue. A positive attitude toward the mother tongue is an important indicator that further language and literature development might be well received. The responses to the questions in table 43 are indicators of a positive attitude toward the mother tongue. The first row of data in table 43 is from responses to question 3:

Q3. Is it a good thing to use Pothwari? Yes or No

Ninety percent of the participants (27 of 30) gave a favorable response to question 3. This indicates a strong positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Three participants gave additional comments: that their language was sweet, that it was easily understood, and that a nation is recognized by its language.

The second row of data in table 43 summarizes responses to question 4:

Q4. Do you want your children to grow up to speak Pothwari? Yes or No

Eighty percent of the participants (24 of 30) gave a favorable response to question 4. This is a smaller majority than the previous question, but it is an indicator of commitment on the part of the parents to their children's future. One participant added that he would like his children to speak Urdu in addition to Pothwari. Another said, "Yes, but it depends on the environment." These additional comments point to the influence of Urdu as the national language and the role that it plays in the media and other public domains.

Table 43: Pothwari language attitude

Question	Response			Total
	Yes	No	Other	
3. Is it good to speak Pothwari?	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	—	30 (100%)
4. Do you want your children to grow up to speak Pothwari?	24 (80%)	5 (17%)	1 (3%)	30 (100%)

6.3.2 Language use and vitality

A second goal of the survey was to measure the vitality of the Pothwari language. We wanted to know if it is used in the home and if it will continue to be used in the home by today's generation of children. The answers to questions 5 and 6 show that the majority of the participants use the mother tongue as an important part of family life. Table 44 summarizes the responses to these questions. The first line of data in table 44 summarizes the answers to question 5:

Q5. What language do you speak with your children?

This question measures the status of Pothwari in the home. Pothwari, or the combination of Pothwari with Pahari or Mirpuri, was preferred by 73% of the respondents (23 of 30). Another 7% of the respondents (2 of 30) chose Pothwari and Urdu. More than half of the participants (17 of 30) have a matric (high school) education or higher (see appendix B.4). Because of this level of education, we would expect that many of the participants have high Urdu proficiency. However, the majority are using Pothwari with their children. This is a strong indicator that Pothwari has an important place in the home, despite the higher status of Urdu in public domains.

The second line of data in table 44 summarizes the answers to question 6:

Q6. What language do your children (or children in your family) speak with each other?

Question 6 points toward the vitality of Pothwari in the home. Similar to the response for question 5, Pothwari, or the combination of Pothwari and Pahari or Mirpuri, was preferred by 67% of participants (20 of 30). Five participants (17%) indicated that children use Pothwari in combination with Urdu. This is slightly higher than their response to question 5.

Table 44: Language use by language name

Language used...	Response						Total
	Pothwari	Pahari/ Pothwari	Pothwari/ Mirpuri	Mirpuri	Pothwari/ Urdu	Urdu	
5. with children	19 (63%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)	30 (100%)
6. among children	17 (57%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	5 (17%)	3 (10%)	30 (100%)

Participants in the different areas surveyed used different labels for their mother tongues. Table 45 combines all the different mother-tongue names under a general mother tongue (MT) heading to give a clearer picture of how many respondents use their mother tongue

when speaking to children. This shows us, then, that 87% of the participants (26 of 30) report using their mother tongue or a combination of their mother tongue and Urdu. A slightly larger group (90% or 27 of 30) reports that their mother tongue or a combination of their mother tongue and Urdu is used by children talking with each other.

Table 45: Language use (grouping mother-tongue language names together)

<i>Language used...</i>	<i>Response</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>MT</i>	<i>MT/Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
5. with children	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)	30 (100%)
6. among children	22 (73%)	5 (17%)	3 (10%)	30 (100%)

Comparing the name of the language given by each participant to questions 5 and 6, the impact of the adult use of the mother tongue is shown in table 46. Eighty-seven percent of the children use the same language with other children as the participant reports using with them. Not surprisingly, the language used at home is a strong determining factor in predicting what language children will use with each other. Because only a few report using Urdu or any other language, we do not expect any marked shift away from Pothwari towards Urdu in the coming generation.

Table 46: Language use differences (the language each participant uses with children versus language used among children)

<i>Among themselves, children use...</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
the same language as the questionnaire participant uses with them.	26	87%
more Urdu.	2	7%
more of their MT.	1	3%
a different minority language.	1	3%
Total	30	100%

6.3.3 Attitudes toward mother-tongue literacy and literature

In evaluating the potential of a vernacular literacy program, it is important to assess the community's attitude towards mother-tongue literacy and literature. The answers to questions 7 to 9, as summarized in table 47, indicate that the participants' attitude toward Pothwari literacy and literature is very positive. The first row of table 47 summarizes the responses to question 7:

Q7. Would you like to see Pothwari materials written? Yes or No

Eighty percent of the participants answered this question affirmatively. One person who answered "yes" added that it is more understandable than Urdu. Three participants who elaborated on a "no" answer said that they preferred Urdu or English and felt that it is too difficult to write in Pothwari.

The second row of table 47 summarizes the responses to question 8:

Q8. Would you like to learn how to read Pothwari? Yes or No

An equal number of participants answered this question affirmatively, indicating a positive outlook for mother tongue literacy efforts.

The last row of table 47 summarizes the responses to question 9:

Q9. Would you like your children to learn how to read Pothwari (in addition to Urdu)? Yes or No

A slightly smaller number of participants (77% or 23 of 30) indicated that they would like their children to learn how to read in

Pothwari as well as in Urdu. Those who gave comments along with their positive answers said that they would like it because it is their own language. Those who gave a comment along with their negative answer said that they would like to read and write in Urdu and that it is impossible to write Pothwari.

It is interesting to compare the difference between the opinions given about children learning to read Pothwari and the results of questioning Pahari-speaking parents about their children learning to read Pahari, as earlier discussed in chapter 4. Among Pothwari speakers, the number of adults who wanted their children to read is close to what the adults gave for themselves and significantly higher than that found among participants for Murree Pahari (55%) and in Lothers and Lothers (2003) for Mirpur Pahari (55%). The question used in this sociolinguistic questionnaire is different from the ones used in those surveys, because it specifically states “in addition to Urdu.” This follows the hypothesis given in Rensch, Hallberg and O’Leary (1992) that the interest in mother tongue literacy for children was lower because it was perceived to be in competition with Urdu. When that factor was removed, the adults who participated in the Pothwari survey show a higher degree of interest for their children in mother-tongue literacy.

From these comments and statistics, we believe that a Pothwari literacy program, which is promoted as a bridge to literacy in the national language, would be effective. There is already a growing body of literature in Pahari and Pothwari and of literacy materials. Becoming literate in the mother tongue will make Urdu literacy more attainable.

Table 47: Attitudes toward mother-tongue literacy and literature

Question	Response			Total
	Yes	No	Other	
7. Would you like to see Pothwari materials written?	24 (80%)	5 (17%)	1 (3%)	30 (100%)
8. Would you like to learn how to read Pothwari?	24 (80%)	6 (20%)	—	30 (100%)
9. Would you like your children to learn how to read in Pothwari in addition to Urdu?	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	—	30 (100%)

6.3.4 Attitudes toward dialects

One important decision in evaluating the potential for vernacular language development is deciding which area is the best choice for a widely respected and easily understood speech variety. We selected the four cities in these questions because they represent large population centers in the Pothwar Plateau or, in the case of Rawat, because it is a geographic midpoint between Rawalpindi and Gujarkhan. The answers to question 1, as summarized in table 48, indicate the home area of the participant as well as the Pothwari area they prefer.

6.3.4.1 Pothwari dialect attitudes

The responses to question one on the questionnaire are summarized in table 48. Question 1 is:

Q1. In which area do they speak the best Pothwari? Select one: Rawat, Jhelum, Gujarkhan, Mirpur... Or in which other area do they speak the best Pothwari?

If each of these areas had equally high status for the participants, we might expect that the 10 participants from Rawat, Gujarkhan, and Mirpur would select their home areas as being the best. This was the case in Gujarkhan. Participants from other areas tend to prefer their home area as well. Forty-six percent of the responses (6 of 13) from Mirpur indicated that the Mirpur dialect is the best, and 33% of the responses (6 of 18) from Rawat indicated that the Rawat dialect is the best. However, 33% of the responses from Rawat participants

also indicated that the Gujarkhan dialect is the best. In Mirpur, Gujarkhan is mentioned in 38% of the responses (5 of 13).

The fact that Gujarkhan participants unanimously preferred their area and that many residents of Rawat and Mirpur mention Gujarkhan as well could indicate that it may be the variety of Pothwari which is most widely respected.

Table 48: The location of the best Pothwari

<i>The best Pothwari is spoken in...</i>							
<i>Participants are from...</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Gujarkhan</i>	<i>Jhelum</i>	<i>Rawat</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total Responses</i>	<i>Total Participants</i>
Rawat	1 (6%)	6 (33%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	1 (6%)	18 (100%)	10
Gujarkhan	—	10 (100%)	—	—	—	10 (100%)	10
Mirpur	6 (46%)	5 (38%)	—	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	13 (100%)	10
All areas (composite)	7 (17%)	21 (51%)	4 (10%)	7 (17%)	2 (5%)	41 (100%)	30

Two participants mentioned areas other than Mirpur, Gujarkhan, Jhelum, and Rawat. One participant from Rawat identified Rawat as the best place along with several other smaller villages.²¹ One participant from Mirpur identified Dudial in addition to Gujarkhan and Mirpur. Dudial is on the opposite side of the Mangla Reservoir from Mirpur.

Table 49 summarizes the participants' responses to question 2:

Q2. In which area is the Pothwari easiest to understand? Select one: Rawat, Jhelum, Gujarkhan, Mirpur... Or in which other area is the Pothwari easiest to understand?

As for question 2, participants from each area prefer their own home area as the easiest to understand. Other trends are less clearly defined. Rawat is the second choice for Mirpur residents, but it receives only 26% of the responses (4 of 15). Gujarkhan is the

²¹ Besides Rawat, the participant mentioned Kottla, Pind, Chattla, Thatha, Taraya, Lahtrari, Dadir, Dahala, and Chontra.

second choice for Rawat residents, but with only 22% of the responses (3 of 14). No area emerges as a clear favorite from the composite of these three areas, with Gujarkhan receiving 32% (12 of 40) of the mentions overall and Rawat receiving 35% (14 of 40) of the mentions.

Table 49: The location of the most easily understood Pothwari

<i>The most easily understood Pothwari is spoken in...</i>							
<i>Participants are from...</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Gujarkhan</i>	<i>Jhelum</i>	<i>Rawat</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total Responses</i>	<i>Total Participants</i>
Rawat	—	3 (22%)	2 (14%)	9 (64%)	—	14 (100%)	10
Gujarkhan	—	8 (73%)	—	1 (9%)	2 (18%)	11 (100%)	10
Mirpur	7 (47%)	1 (7%)	2 (13%)	4 (26%)	1 (7%)	15 (100%)	10
All areas (composite)	7 (17.5%)	12 (30%)	4 (10%)	14 (35%)	3 (7.5%)	40 (100%)	30

Three participants also mentioned other areas in addition to the four areas listed. One participant from Gujarkhan mentioned Chak Dollat. Another Gujarkhan participant mentioned Rawalpindi. One participant from Mirpur, in addition to mentioning all four areas, mentioned Chakwal, which is southwest of Gujarkhan and just north of the Salt Range.

On the basis of the first question, we would predict that Gujarkhan would be more suitable than Mirpur or Rawat in terms of the respect it receives from participants in other areas. The results of the second question do not clearly confirm or deny this conclusion.

6.3.4.2 Pahari dialect attitudes and perception

Attitudes for the Pahari dialect were taken from participants' responses to a taped story told by a resident of the Murree Tehsil. Table 50 summarizes the response of participants to the Murree story as they answered question 11:

Q11. What do you think of this story?

The majority of the positive responses to the story were simply that it was “good.” Additional comments were that it was about real life and that it was told in a natural way. Four of the participants (13%) indicated that they could not understand the language well or were negative about the language. There were a large number of positive responses, but it is hard to know if the participants were referring to the content or the language of the story.

Table 50: Attitude toward Murree Pahari story

<i>Participant's response was...</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Positive toward story	20	67%
Positive toward language	2	7%
Negative about language	1	3%
That they could not understand	3	10%
Other	4	13%
Total	30	100%

Table 51 summarizes the responses of the participants to the storyteller's ability as expressed in question 12:

Q12. Did the storyteller speak well?

The positive answers to this question were that the story was told in a good style, or with the best language. Two of the participants indicated that they could understand the story well. Another participant said that he could not understand the story well, but praised the language.

Table 51: Response to Murree Pahari storyteller

<i>When asked about the storyteller's ability, the participant's response was...</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
positive.	26	87%
about their comprehension of the story.	3	10%
about the language.	1	3%
Total	30	100%

Table 52 summarizes how well the participants could identify the origin of the story. If they are able to identify the dialect, this could be an indication of contact with people from the Murree area. If they thought that the origin of the story was close to their own area, it might indicate that they see the language as being very similar to their own language.

Q10. Where do you think the storyteller is from?

The largest group of participants (12 of 30) identified the storyteller's origin as being from Murree. Only a few of the participants thought the storyteller was from their home area. One man from Rawat identified the story as Pothwari, and another from Gujarkhan said that it was from his district. The others who gave answers such as Mirpur, Gujarkhan, and Rawat were not from those areas themselves. Probably the most significant fact about this wide range of answers is that the participants identified the storyteller with an area that was away from their home area. This suggests that they would probably not identify it with their own speech variety. The fact that a number of participants answered that the storyteller was from Murree also indicates that enough interaction occurs with speakers from the Murree area for them to have a concept of Murree Pahari as a distinct speech variety.²² When asked about where they themselves traveled, only two respondents listed Murree specifically, although nine said that they traveled to Rawalpindi. Rawalpindi is a large urban center where more interaction with people from Murree might take place. Many Murree residents spend a portion of the winter in Rawalpindi to avoid the cold.

A few of the participants thought that the story was from a Pothwari area: four mentioned Gujarkhan, two named Rawalpindi, and one named the Pothwari language. The responses are listed in table 52. These seven responses (about 23% of the group) thought the language of the Murree story was very similar to their own.

²² The fact that Mr. Asim Abbasi, who gathered the language data, is also from Murree *tehsil*, may have had an impact on their answers here.

Table 52: Summary of perceived location of storyteller

<i>Where is the storyteller from?</i>	
Murree	12 (40.0%)
Mountains	2 (6.7%)
Rawalpindi	2 (6.7%)
Mirpur	2 (6.7%)
Gujarkhan	4 (13.3%)
Kashmir	1 (3.3%)
Rawat	1 (3.3%)
Kahuta	2 (6.7%)
Muzaffarabad	1 (3.3%)
Pothwari	1 (3.3%)
Pahari	1 (3.3%)
No response	1 (3.3%)
Total	30 (100%)

Table 53 summarizes how different the participants viewed the language of the Murree Pahari story as they responded to question 13:

Q13. Was the storyteller's language just like yours, a little bit different, very different?

Most of the participants (22 or 73%) said that the storyteller's language was a little different from their own. Twenty percent of the participants (6) said that the language was very different. This means that 93% of the participants sensed some degree of difference between their own language and the language of the storyteller. Only one participant said that their language was the same as that used in the story.²³ It would have been helpful also to have their response to

²³ Interestingly, these results are very similar to the results of the same question when participants from Murree were asked about the Gujarkhan story (see section 3.2.1.3). In that survey, all of the women and all of the men thought that the Gujarkhan story was either a little different or very different from their own language. This was the case despite a very high degree of comprehension in the RTT tests.

another story told in an area closer to their home village, but these responses are not currently available.

Table 53: Language perception of Murree story

	<i>Language perception</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Same</i>	<i>A little different</i>	<i>Very different</i>	<i>Other</i>	
Murree story	1 (3%)	22 (73%)	6 (20%)	1 (3%)	30 (100%)

In summary, questions 10 and 13 are concerned with the storyteller's home area and the similarity of the language use. The answers indicate that the participants generally regard the language used in the Murree story as being in a somewhat different speech variety than their own.

Table 54 is a summary of participants' responses to question 14:

Q14. Would children in your village understand this story?

The answers to this question indicate that most participants expect that children could understand this story. Of those who answered "no," one participant indicated that the children would understand after some years. This indicates that adults might be expected to comprehend a broader spectrum of speech varieties than children. It also points to the high degree of interaction between (and similarity to) neighboring speech communities, as many of the adults expect their children to understand a language they perceive as somewhat different from their own.

Table 54: Anticipated comprehension by children in participants' village

<i>Question</i>	<i>Response</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	
14. Would children in your village understand this story?	25 (83%)	5 (17%)	30 (100%)

6.4 Summary

The responses to the questionnaire indicate that language vitality and attitude is strong and that a language development effort could

be well accepted. Young people are reported to enjoy speaking their language, and participants reported that they believe children will grow up speaking Pothwari. Pothwari language use in the family (to and among children) indicates a strong vitality as well. The majority of Pothwari speakers are also interested in literacy. Most wanted materials written in Pothwari and wanted to learn how to read.

The response to the Murree Pahari story suggests that Pahari and Pothwari are quite similar and that the speech communities are well connected. More than 20% of the participants thought the story might have come from a Pothwari-speaking area. Forty percent of the participants correctly identified the story as coming from the Murree area, which suggests that some of the Pothwari participants have contact with Murree speakers.

Among the dialects of Pothwari investigated, the Gujarkhan dialect seems to be the “best.” All participants from Gujarkhan selected their own dialect as the best—and many from other areas also selected the Gujarkhan dialect over their own. As far as the most easily understood dialect, it is not surprising that most participants chose their own.

7. Summary and recommendations

7.1 Pahari language survey

7.1.1 Pahari language attitudes and vitality

As we considered the potential for, and interest in, further Pahari language development work, we wanted to determine the attitude of Pahari speakers toward their own language and toward the prospect of Pahari language development. Language attitude and vitality were found to be high, and we believe that Pahari speakers will be enthusiastic about further language and literature development—both oral and written. This is substantiated by the results of the formal questionnaire and by community response to a Pahari poetry program.

Those interviewed in the community appear to hold a mixed attitude toward Pahari literacy, though this may improve with greater exposure to written Pahari. On the basis of this research, we believe the language community would desire more development of oral materials, films, tapes, and radio broadcasts. The high percentage of those who listen to Pahari radio wherever the broadcast is available is one indication of the interest in oral materials.

7.1.2 Languages and dialects related to Pahari

Other considerations for the need for further Pahari language development in this survey include comprehension testing and language identity. The instrument for comprehension testing in this survey was Recorded Text Tests (RTT). The RTT scores were high for Pahari men in both Pothwari and Hindko stories. While the RTT scores for Pahari women were high for Pothwari, they were not as high for Hindko. Women do not generally travel as much as men and therefore do not have much contact with surrounding language varieties. This suggests that, for Pahari speakers, there is more inherent intelligibility with Pothwari than with Hindko.

One measure of language perception (or identity) was a question regarding how similar or different each language variety tested in the RTT was from each participant's own variety. The Hindko language

sample was perceived as slightly more different than Pothwari. However, Pahari speakers seem to perceive both Hindko and Pothwari as somewhat different languages.

Language identity, in terms of how speakers identify with the speech variety of a given geographic area, was also measured in the formal questionnaire. From these questions, we can also see that the Murree area speakers regard the varieties spoken in Abbottabad and Islamabad Districts as different from their own. This is another indication of a linguistic identity, which is distinct from surrounding speech varieties.

Although Pahari speakers perceived the Gujarkhan speech variety as somewhat different from their own, the high degree of intelligibility found in testing the recorded text indicates that language and literature development in the Gujarkhan dialect of Pothowari might well be appreciated by Murree Pahari speakers.

Small samples of the language variety spoken in Azad Kashmir and a sampling of opinions by people from there lead us to make tentative conclusions about the status of language varieties there. Wordlist data would lead us to group most of that region with the Murree area on the basis of lexical similarity. The current political situation makes further survey difficult. We believe that literature written in the Gujarkhan or Murree varieties could be tested and reviewed with small groups of people in (or from) Azad Kashmir.

7.2 Pothwari language survey

High comprehension between Pahari and Pothwari would suggest standardizing language research and development in one of these dialects—probably Pothwari. Nevertheless, further research could be conducted on several questions: How do Pothwari speakers perceive Pahari? Do they see it as the same language (and as respectable)? How different are they grammatically?

7.2.1 Pothwari language attitudes and vitality

The Pothwari speakers who participated in this survey have a positive attitude toward their language and toward this generation of children using it. Sixty-three percent of the adults surveyed use Pothwari with their children, and an additional 17% report using

Pothwari in combination with another related dialect or with Urdu. We also found a high degree of similarity (87%) between the reported mother tongue of the participants and the languages they report children are using amongst themselves. Both the attitudes expressed and the language use patterns reported by participants suggest that the Pothwari language has a high vitality and that it will continue to be used in coming generations.

Eighty percent of the participants (24 of 30) would like to see Pothwari materials written and would like to learn to read Pothwari. Seventy-seven percent of the participants would like their children to read in Pothwari in addition to Urdu. This is a higher number than has been reported in surveys of related areas. We believe it is because the question was phrased in such a way that the adults did not feel a need to choose between Urdu and Pothwari for their children's education.

7.2.2 Pothwari speakers' attitudes toward other dialects

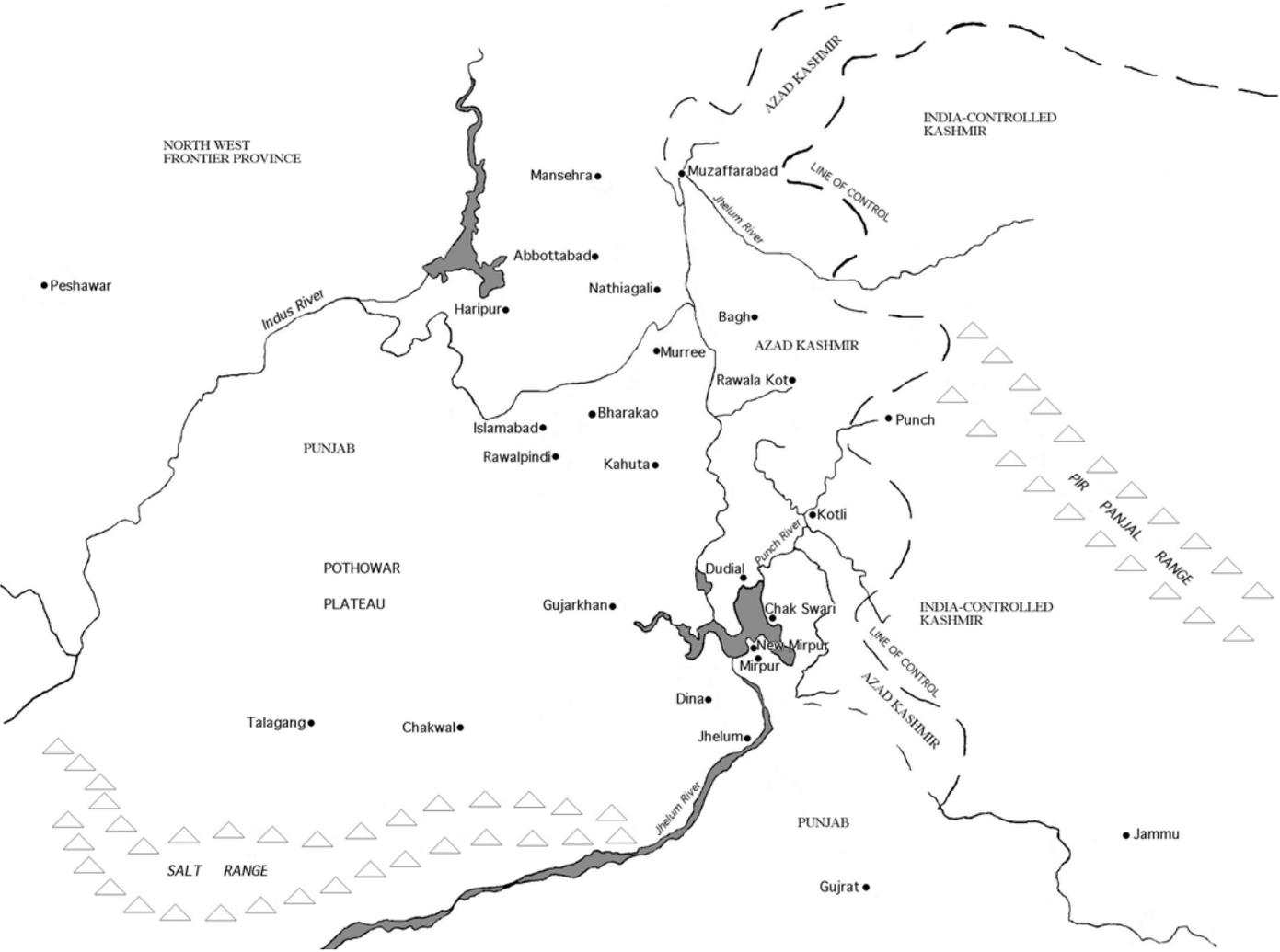
The most respected Pothwari dialect among the participants from three different general locations was that of Gujarkhan. The most easily understood dialect was not as well defined with Rawat and Gujarkhan receiving 38% and 32% of the responses, respectively.

Most of the responses to the Pahari story and the storyteller by the Pothwari questionnaire participants were positive. A majority of the speakers also believe that their children would understand the story. However, most participants perceive that the variety used in the story is somewhat different from their own, and several of them could indicate what area it was from.

We recommend that currently developed Pothwari literature be tested with both Murree Pahari speakers and Mirpur Pahari speakers, since the current research involved only audio materials. Such pilot testing of literature, along with comparative grammar studies of the varieties spoken in these areas, could lead to decisions about standardizing an orthography and a dialect for language and literature development efforts.

Appendix A. Background and methodology

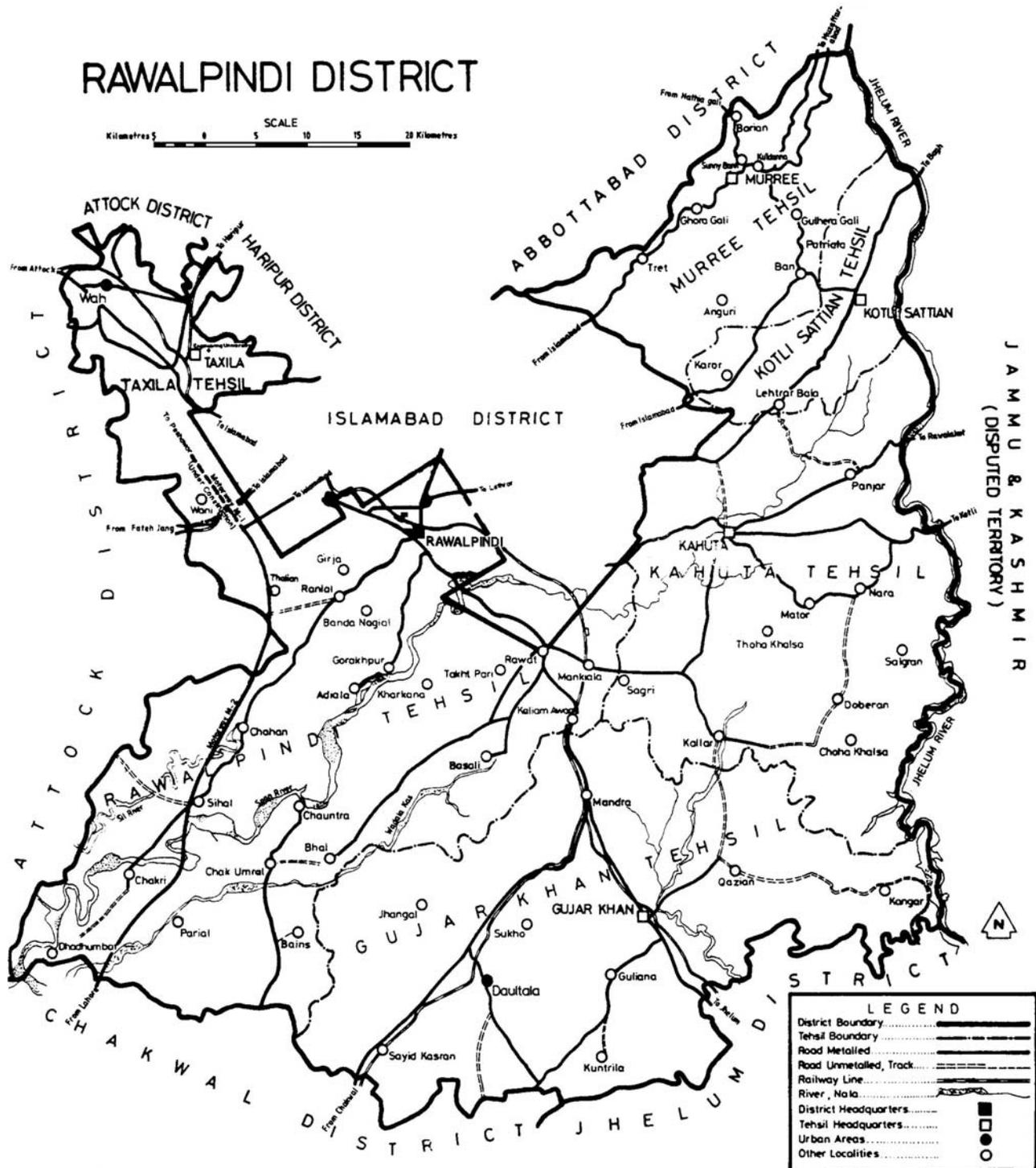
A.1 Maps



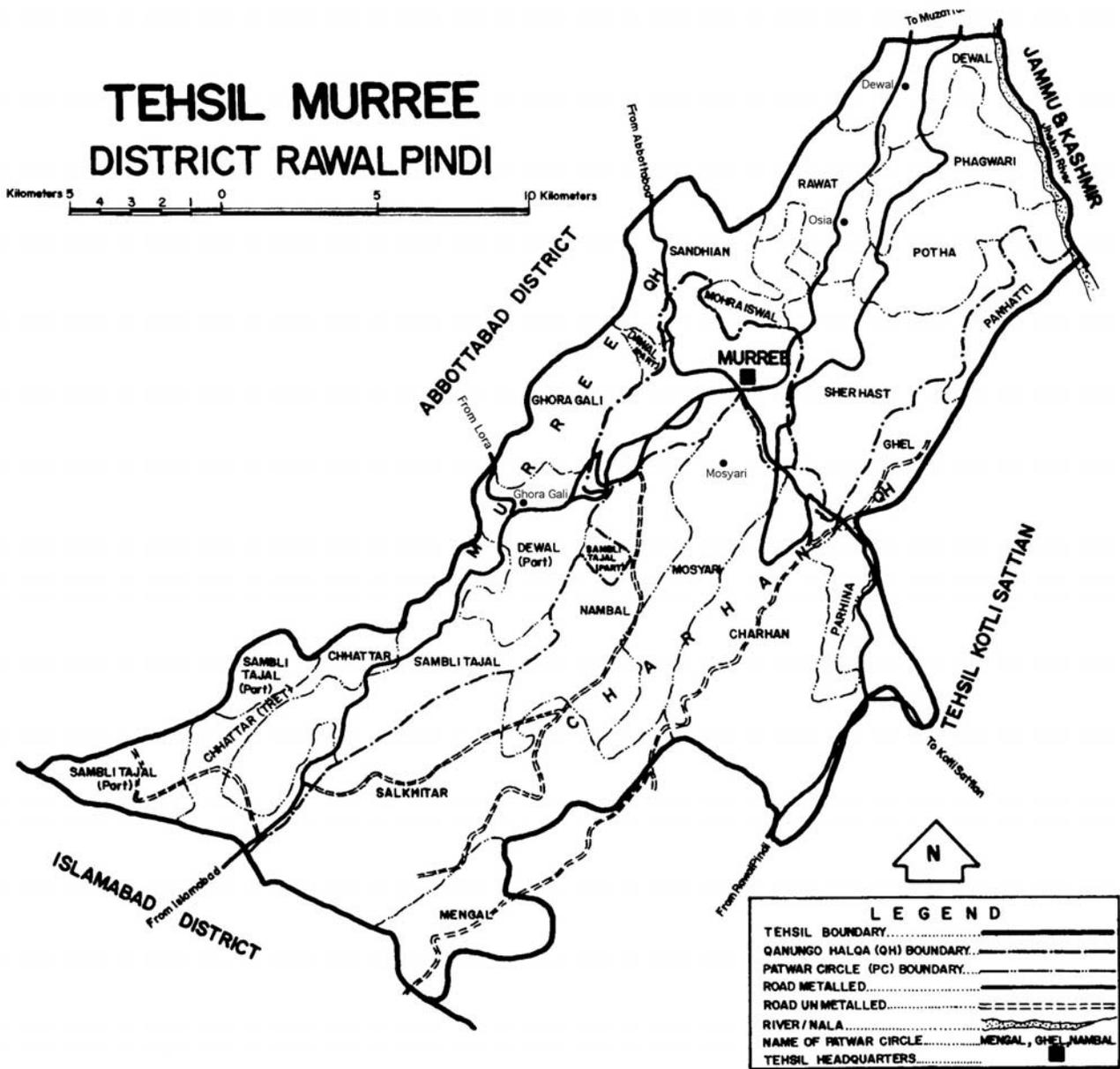
Map 1: Language area, adapted from Nelles Maps (Himalaya: including Tibet, Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan. 1998. München, Germany: Nelles Verlag)

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT

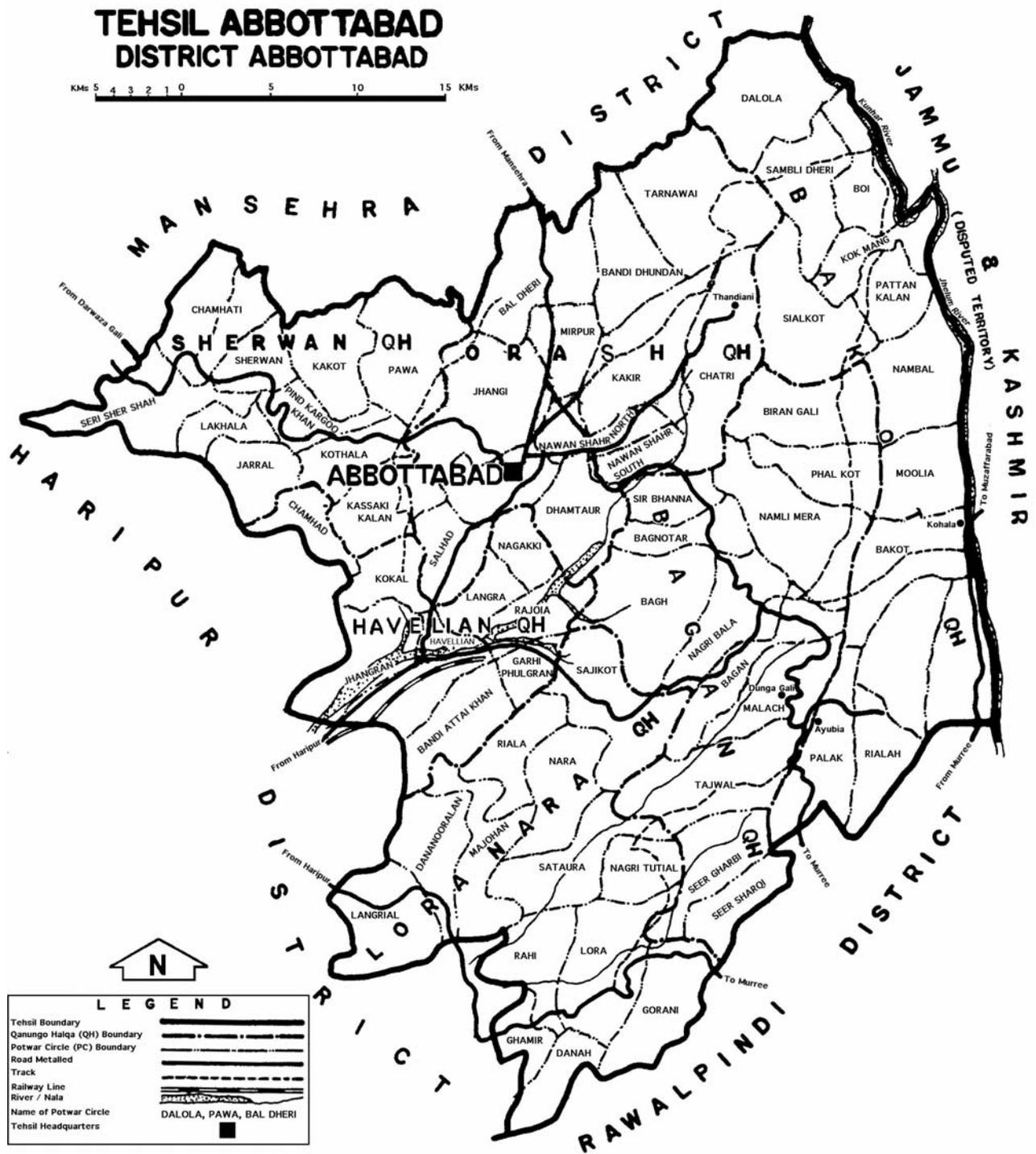
SCALE
Kilometres 5 10 15 20 Kilometres



Map 2: District Rawalpindi, showing administrative divisions (from the 1998 District Census Report of Rawalpindi)



Map 3: Tehsil Murree, showing administrative divisions (adapted from the 1998 District Census Report of Rawalpindi)



Map 4: District Abbottabad, showing administrative divisions (from the 1998 District Census Report of Abbottabad)

A.2 Methodology

A.2.1 Wordlist collection

We elicited one wordlist from each location chosen through informal interviews and research about the area. The wordlist was elicited from someone who was born in that location and whose parents were born in that location whenever possible. The same list was elicited from a second person from that location. Where items differed, we tried to rule out unnecessary Urdu loan words and multiple synonyms.

The wordlist was transcribed in Indological script and tape-recorded. Then the transcription was checked again by another linguist. Any differences in the transcription were resolved with the help of a Pahari speaker who was also trained in transcription.

Each list has a reliability code assigned to it as either 'A' or 'B'. A list which is assigned 'A' has been independently checked with another elicited list and/or through published wordlists. In addition, the wordlist has a clear tape recording so that the transcription could be checked by two researchers. The wordlist informant also demonstrated bilingualism in Urdu, the language that was used to elicit the wordlist items. The wordlist informants also were born in the location that they represented. Wordlists coded as 'B' may have only been based on one informant, were transcribed by research assistants, or were supplemented for some items from secondary research.

We compared the items in the wordlist for all the locations using the procedure described in the next section.

A.2.2 Procedure for counting lexical similarity

We used the following criteria, which is described in Blair (1990) and Rensch, et al. (1992) for counting lexical similarity.

All pairs of phones in two words being compared were classified into one of the three categories shown below.

Category One includes the following possibilities:

- Exact matches (e.g., [b] occurs in the same position in each word.)
- Vowels which match exactly or differ by only one phonological feature (e.g., [i] and [e] occur in the same position in each word).
- Phonetically similar segments of the type which are frequently found as allophones and seen to correspond in three or more word pairs.

Category Two consists of the following:

- Those phonetically similar non-vocalic segments which are not attested in three pairs.
- Vowels which differ by two or more phonological features (e.g., [a] and [u]).

Category Three includes the following possibilities:

- All corresponding segments which are not phonetically similar.
- A segment which corresponds to nothing in second word of the pair; for example, the final [a/#] correspondence in [pa:^hr] and [pa^hra].

Pairs of words are classified as similar if at least half of the segments are the same (Category One) and at least half of the remaining segments are similar. For a word of six segments, at least three segments must be category one and two segments must be category two.

The program WORDSURV developed by John Wimbish (1989) was very useful for streamlining the counting process once we made the initial similarity judgments for all the pairs of words in the lists.

A.2.3 Phonetic symbols used in the survey

Indological Phonetic Script

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
	ɪ		ʊ
Mid	e	ə	o
	ɛ	ʌ	
Low	æ	a	ɔ

[t^h] aspiration

[a:, a'] lengthening

[ã] nasalized vowel

[a̤] breathy vowel

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo./Palatal	Retro-flexed	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p		t		ʈ	k	q	ʔ
	b		d		ɖ	g	ɢ	
Fricatives	ɸ	f	θ			x		h
	β	v	ð			ɣ		
Grooved Fricatives			s	š	ʂ			
			z	ž	ʐ			
Affricates			ts	č	ć			
			dz	ǰ	ǰ̣			
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ		
Laterals			ɭ		ɮ			
Flaps			r		ɽ			
Trills			rr̄					
Semi-vowels	w			y	ɣ			

A.2.4 Standard wordlist items in English and in Urdu

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
1. body	ǰism
2. head	sar
3. hair	bal
4. face	čehra
5. eye	ank ^h
6. ear	ek kan
7. nose	nak
8. mouth	mūh
9. teeth	ek dāt
10. tongue	zaban
11. breast	č ^h ati
12. belly	peṭ
13. arm/hand	bazu
14. elbow	kohni
15. palm	hāt ^h eli
16. finger	uṅgli
17. fingernail	naxun
18. leg	ṭaṅ
19. skin	ǰild
20. bone	hād ⁱ
21. heart	dil
22. blood	xun
23. urine	pešab
24. feces	paḵana
25. village	gaū
26. house	g ^h ar/makan

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
27. roof	č ^h Λt
28. door	dΛrwazΛ
29. firewood	ǰΛlane wali lΛkri
30. broom	ǰ ^h aɾu
31. mortar	masala pisne wali gol čiz/lΛɾi
32. pestle	dΛsta
33. hammer	hΛt ^h ɔɾa/-i
34. knife	čaqu/č ^h uri
35. axe	kulhara/-i
36. rope	rΛs'i
37. thread	d ^h age
38. needle	sui
39. cloth	kΛpɾa
40. ring	Λɾɟuɾ ^h i
41. sun	surΛǰ
42. moon	čand
43. sky	asman
44. star	ek tara/sɪtara
45. rain	bariř
46. water	pani
47. river	dΛrya
48. cloud	badΛl
49. lightening	bǰli ki čΛmΛk
50. rainbow	kose kΛza ^h
51. wind	hΛwa
52. stone	pΛt ^h Λɾ
53. path	rasta
54. sand	ret

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
55. fire	aq
56. smoke	d ^h uā
57. ash	rak ^h
58. mud	kičar
59. dust	miṭṭi
60. gold	sone
61. tree	dʌrʌxt/peṛ
62. leaf	paṭʔa/-i
63. root	dʌrʌxt ki ek jʌṛ
64. thorn	kaṭa
65. flower	p ^h ul
66. fruit	phal
67. mango	am
68. banana	kela
69. wheat (husked)	gehū/gʌndum
70. barley	baṛa
71. rice (husked)	čawʌl
72. potato	alu
73. eggplant	begʌn
74. groundnut	muṅ p ^h ʌli
75. chili	mirč
76. turmeric	hʌldi
77. garlic	lehsʌn
78. onion	piaz
79. cauliflower	p ^h ul gobi
80. tomato	ṭmaṭʌr
81. cabbage	bʌnd gobi
82. oil	tel

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
83. salt	nʌmʌk
84. meat	gošt (khane ke lie)
85. fat (of meat)	čerbi (gošt ka hissa)
86. fish	mʌčhli
87. chicken	moryi
88. egg	ʌṇḍa
89. cow	gae
90. buffalo	b ^h ēs
91. milk	dudh
92. horns	siṅg
93. tail	ḍom
94. goat	bʌkri
95. dog	kutʼa
96. snake	sā:p
97. monkey	bʌndʌr
98. mosquito	mʌč ^h ʌr
99. ant	čiūṅṅi
100. spider	mʌkri
101. name	nam
102. man	admi/mʌrd
103. woman	ʒʌt
104. child	bʌčʼʌ
105. father	bap
106. mother	mā
107. older brother	bʌṛa b ^h ai
108. younger brother	č ^h oṭa b ^h ai
109. older sister	bʌri bʌhen/baji
110. younger sister	č ^h oṭi bʌhen

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
111. son	beṭa
112. daughter	beṭi
113. husband	šohar/xawand
114. wife	bivi
115. boy	larḱa
116. girl	larḱi
117. day	dm/roz
118. night	rat/šab
119. morning	subah
120. noon	dopəher
121. evening	šam
122. yesterday	(guzara) kal
123. today	aḱ
124. tomorrow	(ainda) kal
125. week	ek hafṭa
126. month	mahina
127. year	sal/baras
128. old	purana (čiz)
129. new	nea (čiz)
130. good	lačḱa (čiz)
131. bad	xarab (čiz)
132. wet	bḱiga
133. dry	xušk / sukḱa
134. long	lamba
135. short	čḱoṭa
136. hot	garām (čiz)
137. cold	ṭḱarḱa / sarḱi (čiz)
138. right	dač / dačḱa

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
139. left	baē / baēʷa
140. near	qarib / nazdik
141. far	dur
142. big	bara
143. small	č ^h oṭa
144. heavy	b ^h ari / wazni
145. light	halka
146. above	upar
147. below	niče
148. white	sufed
149. black	kala
150. red	lal
151. one	ek
152. two	do
153. three	tin
154. four	čar
155. five	pāč
156. six	č ^h e
157. seven	sat
158. eight	aṭ ^h
159. nine	nalo
160. ten	das
161. eleven	gyara
162. twelve	bara
163. twenty	bis
164. one hundred	ek so
165. who	kon
166. what	kya

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
167. where	kiɖ ^h ʌr / kahã
168. when	kʌb
169. how many	kitne
170. which	kɔnsʌ
171. this	ye
172. that	wo
173. these	ye (sʌb)
174. those	wo (sʌb)
175. same	ek hi / bʌrʌbʌr
176. different	muxtʌlɪf
177. whole	mʊkʌmʌl / sʌlɪm
178. broken	ɽɽʌ
179. few	t ^h oɽʌ / kuʃ / kʌm
180. many	ziʌɖʌ
181. all	sʌb
182. he eats	vo k ^h ʌtʌ he
183. the dog bites	kutʌ kʌɽtʌ he
184. he is hungry	us ko b ^h uk ^h ʌɽti he
185. he drinks	vo piʌtʌ he
186. he is thirsty	us ko piʌs ʌɽti he
187. he sleeps	vo soʌtʌ he
188. he lies down	vo leɽtʌ he
189. he sits	vo beɽ ^h tʌ he
190. he gives the book	vo kiʌtʌb deʌtʌ he
191. he burns (the wood)	vo ʌkɽi ʃʌlʌtʌ he
192. he died	vo mʌr geʌ
193. he kills the birds	vo ʃiɽiʌ ko mʌrtʌ he
194. the birds flies	ʃiɽiʌ uɽti he

<i>English</i>	<i>Urdu</i>
195. he walks	vo čel̥ta he
196. he runs	vo dor̥ta he
197. he comes	vo ata he
198. he goes	vo j̥ata he
199. he speaks	vo bol̥ta he
200. he listens	vo sun̥ta he
201. he sees	vo dek ^h ta he
202. I	māē
203. you (singular, informal)	tu
204. you (plural, formal)	ap
205. he	vo
206. we (inclusive)	h̥am
207. you (plural, informal)	tum
208. You don't give me his book.	ap muj ^h e us ki k̥atab nah̥i dete
209. I live near Ghora Gali.	mē gh ^h oṛa gal̥i ke naz̥dik re ^h ta hū
210. Why did they buy bread from that store?	unhō ne roṭiā us dukan se kiyū x̥iridē?
211. We weren't taking food from the children.	h̥am b̥āčō se k ^h ana nah̥i lete t ^h e
212. She washes dishes with cold water.	vo ṭhan̥ḍe pani se b̥artan dhoti he

A.2.5 Recorded Text Test (RTT)

The amount of comprehension shared between speakers of two dialects can be studied through means of a Recorded Text Test (RTT).²⁴ It is possible for speakers of one variety to demonstrate understanding of a narrative text²⁵ in another variety through their answers to questions regarding the content of the text. From such a group of scores, the amount of inherent intelligibility can be extrapolated.

The types of texts preferred for an RTT are short personal-experience narratives, which help to ensure that the content would not be predictable as a folktale would be. A personal experience narrative is recorded, preferably from someone who is judged a good storyteller by members of the community. It needs to be at least three minutes long in order to have enough material to construct suitable questions. The story should not be longer than five minutes, because the test participants may lose interest. This may particularly become a problem if the RTT process includes a series of three or four stories.

A story of suitable length and content matter is then transcribed, and a set of comprehension questions is prepared based on the various semantic domains shown in the text. This initial set of questions should be larger than the target of ten questions. If the hometown test participants do not understand some of the questions, the questions are unsuitable for use and need to be eliminated.

During the hometown test, speakers from the area where the story is recorded listen to the story and answer the questions. Any question that they consistently answer incorrectly should be discarded at this

²⁴ See Casad 1974 for further details and Blair 1990 for an elaboration on the methodology.

²⁵ There is also a difference in the degree of a complexity between a simple narrative and a complicated expository text. One limitation of the RTT method is that the predictions of comprehensibility are based on simple narrative. While this serves to limit the focus of the testing situation to the language at hand, it may not accurately predict how well speakers of one variety might understand more complicated text structures of another variety.

point. If mother-tongue speakers of the same variety can provide correct answers to the RTT questions, this helps to ensure that the test is a fair test of intelligibility.

The questions for each story should always be recorded in the language of the area where the story would be tested. Each participant could, then, hear the questions in their mother tongue. This helps to ensure that any comprehension difficulty is coming from material within the story rather than the form of the questions about the story.

Care should be taken so that the testing process will not be unnecessarily daunting to the participants. The amount of hardware used by the researchers in terms of headphones, wires, and tape recorders can be intimidating. To help participants feel at ease as they listen and become familiarized with the process, we constructed a short practice test story of four sentences with three questions. If these questions were answered successfully, we continued with the hometown test and then any other language varieties that we were testing.

The test tape contained a short introduction to the test process, a short practice test, the hometown text, and then the hometown text with questions dubbed into it. If other varieties were also being tested, the full text of a story in each variety was followed by the same text with questions dubbed into it. A brief closure thanking each participant for his or her help was also recorded on the tape.

Sometimes it became necessary to eliminate the scores of participants from the final analysis—or to administer just part of the RTT. Before the RTT, we would ask the participant some questions about their background. If they lived in or even traveled to an area where a tested language is spoken, we would not consider their score. Another reason for not using a score would be if a listener performed well on the practice test but did not perform as well on the full length hometown test.²⁶ We did not consider these scores based on the assumption that other factors unrelated to the

²⁶ In this survey, we disregarded scores for any subjects with hometown tests below 90%.

comprehensibility of the text might be skewing these results. (See Casad (1974) and Blair (1990).) Among other things, these factors might include hearing difficulty or unfamiliarity with the question and answer format.

The comprehensibility matrix includes not only the average RTT score from the sample, but the standard deviation, the size of the sample, and the confidence interval. The standard deviation is a measure of variability in the sample. One cause of variability would be language contact. If part of the sample had contact with other speakers of the tested language, their scores would tend to be higher than for those who had no contact. A low standard deviation might indicate that the sample had more uniform contact (whether uniform contact was little or much). However, contact is only one variable that may cause variability within a sample.

Using the sample size and standard deviation, the confidence interval provides an estimated range of where 95% of the entire population would be expected to score on the RTT. If the sample size is large and the standard deviation is low, the confidence interval can be narrow. Conversely, if the sample size is small or the standard deviation is high, the confidence interval will be broader.

Because it is impossible to control all external factors completely, the results of an RTT test should be interpreted along with the results from wordlists and dialect opinion questionnaires. Travel patterns and other significant contact information should be analyzed to aid in interpreting the results.

Appendix B. Pahari survey data

B.1 Wordlists

Code	Village (Alternate Language Name)	Reliability Code
MOS	Mosyari, Rawalpindi District	A
GHO	Ghora Gali, Rawalpindi District	A
DEW	Dewal, Rawalpindi District	B
AYU	Ayubia, Abbottabad District	A
KOH	Kohala, Rawalpindi District	A
NIL	Nilabutt, Bagh, Azad Kashmir	B
THA	Thandiani, Abbottabad District	A
LOR	Lora, Abbottabad District	A
OSI	Osia, Rawalpindi District	A
MUZ	Muzaffarabad, Muzaffarabad District	B
DUN	Dunga Gali, Abbottabad District	A
BHA	Bharakoh, Islamabad District	B
ABB	Abbottabad, Abbottabad District (Hindko)	B
MAN	Mansehra, Mansehra District (Hindko)	B
MIR	Mirpur, Mirpur, Azad Kashmir (Mirpuri)	B
GUJ	Gujarkhan, Rawalpindi District (Pothowari)	B

An asterisk by the number for wordlist items indicates that the word was not included in the lexical similarity calculations. It is common to exclude about 10% of the words in an analysis. Typically, a word is not included if it has many synonyms. In the case of synonyms, the different words do not indicate dialect differences but the word choice of the wordlist informant.

1.	body	3.	hair
MOS	bʌdn	MOS	bal
GHO	bʌdn	GHO	bal
DEW	bʌdn	DEW	bal
AYU	bʌdn	AYU	bal
KOH	bʌdn	KOH	bal
NIL	bʌdn	NIL	bal
THA	bʌdn	THA	bal
LOR	bʌdn	LOR	bal
OSI	bʌdn	OSI	bal
MUZ	ʃism	MUZ	bal
DUN	ʃism	DUN	bal
BHA	bʌdn	BHA	bal
ABB	ʃism	ABB	bal
MAN	ʃism	MAN	bal
MIR	ʃisam	MIR	bal
GUJ	bʌdn	GUJ	bal
2.	head	4.	face
MOS	sar	MOS	čɛɾʌ
GHO	sir	GHO	mũ
DEW	sar	DEW	mũ
AYU	sar	AYU	mũ
KOH	sir	KOH	mũ
NIL	ser	NIL	čɛɾʌ
THA	sir	THA	mũ
LOR	sir	LOR	mũ
OSI	sir	OSI	mũ
MUZ	sir	MUZ	mũ
DUN	sir	DUN	čɛɾʌ
BHA	sir	BHA	mũ
ABB	ser	ABB	mũ
MAN	ser	MAN	mũ
MIR	sir	MIR	mũ
GUJ	sir	GUJ	mũ

5.	eye	7.	nose
MOS	ʌk ^h	MOS	ɲʌk
GHO	ʌk ^h	GHO	ɲʌk
DEW	ʌk ^h	DEW	ɲʌk
AYU	ʌk ^h	AYU	ɲʌk
KOH	ʌk ^h	KOH	ɲʌk
NIL	ʌk ^h	NIL	ɲʌk
THA	ʌk ^h	THA	ɲʌk
LOR	ʌk ^h	LOR	ɲʌk
OSI	ʌk ^h	OSI	nʌk
MUZ	ʌk ^h	MUZ	nʌk
DUN	ʌk ^h	DUN	ɲʌk
BHA	ʌk ^h	BHA	ɲʌk
ABB	ʌk ^h	ABB	nʌk
MAN	ʌk	MAN	nʌk
MIR	ʌk ^h	MIR	nʌk
GUJ	ʌk ^h	GUJ	nʌk
6.	ear	8.	mouth
MOS	kʌŋ	MOS	mũ
GHO	kʌŋ	GHO	mũ
DEW	kan	DEW	mũ
AYU	kʌŋ	AYU	mũ
KOH	kʌŋ	KOH	mũ
NIL	kʌŋ	NIL	mũ
THA	kʌŋ	THA	mũ
LOR	kʌŋ	LOR	mụ̃
OSI	kʌŋ	OSI	mụ̃
MUZ	kʌŋ	MUZ	mũ
DUN	kʌŋ	DUN	mụ̃
BHA	kan	BHA	mụ̃
ABB	kan	ABB	mũ
MAN	kan	MAN	mũ
MIR	kʌŋ	MIR	mũ
GUJ	kʌŋ	GUJ	mũ

9.	teeth	11.	breast
MOS	dʌnd	MOS	č ^h ati
GHO	dʌnd	GHO	č ^h ati
DEW	dʌnd	DEW	č ^h ati
AYU	dʌnd	AYU	č ^h ati
KOH	dʌnd	KOH	č ^h ati
NIL	dʌnd	NIL	č ^h ati
THA	dʌnd	THA	č ^h ati
LOR	dʌnd	LOR	č ^h ati
OSI	dʌnd	OSI	č ^h ati
MUZ	dʌnd	MUZ	č ^h ati
DUN	dʌnd	DUN	č ^h ati
BHA	dʌnd	BHA	č ^h ati
ABB	dʌnd	ABB	č ^h ati
MAN	dʌnd	MAN	č ^h ati
MIR	dʌnd	MIR	č ^h ati
GUJ	dʌnd	GUJ	č ^h ati
10.	tongue	12.	belly
MOS	ǰiːv	MOS	ʈeɖ
GHO	ǰiːv	GHO	ʈeɖ
DEW	ǰiːv	DEW	ʈeɖ
AYU	ǰiːv	AYU	ʈeɖ
KOH	ǰiːv	KOH	ʈeɖ
NIL	ǰiːv	NIL	peʈ
THA	ǰiːv	THA	ʈeɖ
LOR	ǰiːv	LOR	peʈ
OSI	ǰiːv	OSI	peʈ
MUZ	ǰiːv	MUZ	peʈ
DUN	ǰiːv	DUN	peʈ
BHA	ǰiːv	BHA	peʈ
ABB	ǰiːb	ABB	ʈeɖ
MAN	ǰiːb	MAN	peʈ
MIR	ǰiːv	MIR	peʈ
GUJ	ǰiːv	GUJ	ʈeɖ

13.	arm	15.	palm
MOS	bā	MOS	tɔli
GHO	bā	GHO	tɔli
DEW	bā	DEW	tɔli
AYU	bā	AYU	tɔli
KOH	bā	KOH	tɔli
NIL	bā	NIL	tɔli
THA	bā	THA	tɔli
LOR	bā	LOR	tɔli
OSI	bə	OSI	teɭi
MUZ	bḗ	MUZ	tɔli
DUN	bḗ	DUN	tɔli
BHA	bḗ	BHA	hɔtʰ
ABB	bā	ABB	tɔli
MAN	bā	MAN	tʰɛli
MIR	bḗ	MIR	hɔtʰ
GUJ	bḗ	GUJ	tɔli
14.	elbow	16.	finger
MOS	kṽni	MOS	ɔŋgli
GHO	kṽni	GHO	ɔŋgli
DEW	kʰūni	DEW	ɔŋgli
AYU	kʰuŋi	AYU	ɔŋgli
KOH	kʰuni	KOH	ɔŋgli
NIL	kʰuni	NIL	uŋgli
THA	kʰuŋĩ	THA	ɔŋgol
LOR	kʰuŋĩ	LOR	ɔŋgol
OSI	kʰuŋĩ	OSI	ɔŋgli
MUZ	kʰuŋĩ	MUZ	ɔŋgli
DUN	kʰuŋĩ	DUN	ɔŋgli
BHA	kʰuŋi	BHA	uŋgli
ABB	kuɭi	ABB	ɔŋgɔl
MAN	kuɭi	MAN	ɔŋgɔl
MIR	arɔk	MIR	ɔŋgol
GUJ	arɔk	GUJ	ɔŋgɔl

17. fingernail
 MOS nũ
 GHO nũ
 DEW nũ
 AYU nũ
 KOH nũ
 NIL nũ
 THA nũ̃
 LOR nũ
 OSI nũ
 MUZ nũ
 DUN nũ̃
 BHA nũ̃
 ABB nũ
 MAN nũ
 MIR nũ
 GUJ nũ̃

18. leg
 MOS lat
 GHO jʌŋ
 DEW lat
 AYU jʌŋ
 KOH jʌŋ
 NIL lat
 THA jʌŋ
 LOR jʌŋ
 OSI jʌŋ
 MUZ jʌŋ
 DUN jʌŋ
 BHA jʌŋ
 ABB tʌŋ
 MAN tʌŋ
 MIR lat
 GUJ jʌŋ

19. skin
 MOS čʌmɽi
 GHO čʌmɽi
 DEW čʌmɽi
 AYU čʌmɽi
 KOH čʌmɽi
 NIL čʌmɽi
 THA čʌmɽi
 LOR čʌmɽi
 OSI čʌmɽi
 MUZ čʌmɽi
 DUN čʌmɽi
 BHA čʌmɽi
 ABB čʌmɽi
 MAN čʌmɽa
 MIR čʌmɽa
 GUJ čʌmɽa

20. bone
 MOS haɖʌi
 GHO haɖʌi
 DEW haɖʌi
 AYU haɖʌi
 KOH haɖʌi
 NIL haɖʌi
 THA haɖʌi
 LOR haɖʌi
 OSI haɖʌi
 MUZ haɖʌi
 DUN haɖʌi
 BHA haɖʌi
 ABB haɖʌi
 MAN haɖʌi
 MIR haɖʌi
 GUJ haɖʌi

21.	heart	23.	urine
MOS	dil	MOS	mutar
GHO	dil	GHO	mutor
DEW	dil	DEW	mutar
AYU	dil	AYU	mutor
KOH	dil	KOH	mutor
NIL	dil	NIL	mutor
THA	dil	THA	mutor
LOR	dil	LOR	mutor
OSI	dil	OSI	mutor
MUZ	dil	MUZ	mutor
DUN	dil	DUN	mutor
BHA	dil	BHA	pišab
ABB	dil	ABB	mutar
MAN	dil	MAN	mutar
MIR	dil	MIR	mutor
GUJ	dil	GUJ	mutor
22. *	blood	24.	feces
MOS	xun	MOS	gũ
GHO	xun	GHO	gũ
DEW	xun	DEW	gũ
AYU	xun	AYU	gũ
KOH	xun	KOH	ṭaṭi
NIL	xun	NIL	ṭaṭi
THA	xun	THA	gũ
LOR	xun	LOR	gũ
OSI	xun	OSI	gũ
MUZ	xun	MUZ	ṭaṭi
DUN	xun	DUN	gũ
BHA	xun	BHA	bol
ABB	xun	ABB	ṭaṭi
MAN	xun	MAN	ṭaṭi
MIR	xun	MIR	ṭaṭi
GUJ	rat	GUJ	bol

25.	village	27.	roof
MOS	grã	MOS	č ^h At
GHO	grã	GHO	č ^h At
DEW	grã	DEW	č ^h At
AYU	grã	AYU	č ^h At
KOH	grã	KOH	č ^h At
NIL	grã	NIL	č ^h At
THA	grã	THA	č ^h At
LOR	grã	LOR	č ^h At
OSI	grã	OSI	č ^h At
MUZ	grã	MUZ	č ^h At
DUN	grã	DUN	č ^h At
BHA	grã	BHA	č ^h At
ABB	grã	ABB	č ^h At
MAN	grã	MAN	č ^h At
MIR	grã	MIR	č ^h At
GUJ	grã	GUJ	č ^h At
26.*	house	28.	door
MOS	k̄ar	MOS	dAr
GHO	k̄ar	GHO	dAr
DEW	k̄er	DEW	dAr
AYU	k̄Ar	AYU	dAr
KOH	k̄Ar	KOH	dAr
NIL	k̄Ar	NIL	dAr
THA	k̄Ar	THA	bua
LOR	k̄Ar	LOR	bua
OSI	k̄er	OSI	der
MUZ	k̄ar	MUZ	dAr
DUN	koṭ ^h a	DUN	dAr
BHA	kAr	BHA	bua
ABB	k ^h ar	ABB	darwaza
MAN	k̄ar	MAN	bua
MIR	k̄ar	MIR	bua
GUJ	k̄Ar	GUJ	bua

29.	firewood	31.	mortar
MOS	lukri	MOS	lan̄gri
GHO	lakri	GHO	lan̄gri
DEW	lukri	DEW	lan̄gri
AYU	lucoṛ	AYU	lan̄gri
KOH	lukri	KOH	lan̄gri
NIL	lukri	NIL	lan̄gri
THA	lukri	THA	lan̄gri
LOR	lakri	LOR	lan̄gri
OSI	lukri	OSI	lan̄gri
MUZ	lukri	MUZ	lan̄gri
DUN	lukri	DUN	lan̄gri
BHA	lukri	BHA	lan̄gri
ABB	lakar	ABB	lan̄gri
MAN	lakar	MAN	lan̄gri
MIR	lakri	MIR	lan̄gri
GUJ	lakri	GUJ	lan̄gri
30.	broom	32.	pestle
MOS	pari	MOS	dasta
GHO	pari	GHO	dasta
DEW	pari	DEW	dasta
AYU	pari	AYU	dasta
KOH	pari	KOH	dasta
NIL	pari	NIL	dasta
THA	pari	THA	kuṭka
LOR	bari	LOR	dasta
OSI	pari	OSI	dasta
MUZ	bari	MUZ	dasta
DUN	pari	DUN	dasta
BHA	pari	BHA	dasta
ABB	bari	ABB	slata
MAN	bari	MAN	slata
MIR	bari	MIR	dasta
GUJ	bari	GUJ	dasta

33.	hammer	35.	axe
MOS	hatoꝛa	MOS	kuwaꝛi
GHO	hAt ^h oꝛa	GHO	kuwaꝛi
DEW	hAt ^h oꝛa	DEW	kuwaꝛi
AYU	hAt ^h oꝛa	AYU	kuwaꝛi
KOH	hAt ^h oꝛa	KOH	kuwaꝛi
NIL	hAt ^h oꝛa	NIL	kuwaꝛi
THA	hAt ^h oꝛa	THA	kuwaꝛi
LOR	t ^h oꝛa	LOR	kuwaꝛi
OSI	hAt ^h oꝛa	OSI	kuwaꝛi
MUZ	hAt ^h oꝛa	MUZ	ka ^h waꝛi
DUN	hAt ^h oꝛi	DUN	kuwaꝛi
BHA	hAt ^h oꝛa	BHA	kuwaꝛi
ABB	toꝛi	ABB	kohaꝛi
MAN	hatoꝛa	MAN	kohaꝛi
MIR	t ^h oꝛa	MIR	kowaꝛi
GUJ	t ^h oꝛa	GUJ	kuwaꝛi
34.	knife	36.	rope
MOS	č ^h uri	MOS	ra ^s i
GHO	č ^h uri	GHO	ra ^s i
DEW	č ^h uri	DEW	ra ^s i
AYU	č ^h uri	AYU	ra ^s i
KOH	č ^h uri	KOH	ra ^s i
NIL	č ^h uri	NIL	ra ^s i
THA	č ^h uri	THA	ra ^s i
LOR	č ^h uri	LOR	ra ^s i
OSI	č ^h uri	OSI	ra ^s i
MUZ	č ^h uri	MUZ	ra ^s i
DUN	č ^h uri	DUN	ra ^s i
BHA	kač ^h u	BHA	ra ^s i
ABB	č ^h uri	ABB	ra ^s i
MAN	č ^h uri	MAN	ra ^s i
MIR	č ^h uri	MIR	ra ^s i
GUJ	č ^h uri	GUJ	ra ^s i

37. thread
 MOS taga
 GHO taya
 DEW taya
 AYU taya
 KOH taya
 NIL taya
 THA taya
 LOR taya
 OSI taya
 MUZ taya
 DUN taya
 BHA taya
 ABB taga
 MAN taga
 MIR taga
 GUJ taga

38. needle
 MOS sui
 GHO sui
 DEW sui
 AYU sui
 KOH sui
 NIL sui
 THA sui
 LOR sui
 OSI sui
 MUZ sui
 DUN sui
 BHA sui
 ABB sui
 MAN sui
 MIR sui
 GUJ sui

39. cloth
 MOS kɔpɾa
 GHO kɔpɾa
 DEW kɔpɾa
 AYU kɔpɾa
 KOH kɔpɾa
 NIL kɔpɾa
 THA kɔpɾa
 LOR kɔpɾa
 OSI kɔpɾa
 MUZ kɔpɾa
 DUN kɔpɾa
 BHA kɔpɾa
 ABB kɔpɾa
 MAN kɔpɾa
 MIR kɔpɾa
 GUJ kɔpɾa

40. ring
 MOS čʰaɾp
 GHO čʰaɾp
 DEW čʰaɾp
 AYU čʰaɾp
 KOH čʰaɾp
 NIL čʰaɾp
 THA ʌŋguɬʰi
 LOR čʰaɾp
 OSI čʰaɾp
 MUZ ʌŋguɬʰi
 DUN čʰaɾp
 BHA čʰaɾp
 ABB mundri
 MAN ʌŋguɬʰi
 MIR čʰaɾp
 GUJ čʰaɾp

41.	sun	43.	sky
MOS	dē	MOS	ʌsman
GHO	dē	GHO	ʌsman
DEW	dē	DEW	ʌsman
AYU	dē	AYU	ʌsman
KOH	dē	KOH	ʌsman
NIL	diū	NIL	ʌsman
THA	dī	THA	ʌsman
LOR	dē	LOR	ʌsman
OSI	dḗ	OSI	ʌsman
MUZ	dī	MUZ	ʌsman
DUN	dḗ	DUN	ʌsman
BHA	dḗ	BHA	ʌsman
ABB	dī	ABB	ʌsman
MAN	surʌj	MAN	ʌsman
MIR	dḗ	MIR	ʌsman
GUJ	diū	GUJ	ʌsman
42.	moon	44.	star
MOS	čʌṇ	MOS	tara
GHO	čʌṇ	GHO	tara
DEW	čʌṇ	DEW	tara
AYU	čʌṇ	AYU	tara
KOH	čʌṇ	KOH	tara
NIL	čʌṇ	NIL	tara
THA	čʌṇ	THA	tara
LOR	čʌṇ	LOR	tara
OSI	čʌṇ	OSI	tara
MUZ	čʌṇ	MUZ	tara
DUN	čʌṇ	DUN	tara
BHA	čʌṇ	BHA	tara
ABB	čʌṇ	ABB	tara
MAN	čʌṇ	MAN	tare
MIR	čʌṇ	MIR	tare
GUJ	čʌṇ	GUJ	tara

45.	rain	47.	river
MOS	bʌdʌl	MOS	dʌrya
GHO	bʌdʌl	GHO	dʌrya
DEW	bariʃ	DEW	dʌrya
AYU	bʌdul	AYU	dʌrya
KOH	bʌdʌl	KOH	dʌriya
NIL	bʌdʌl	NIL	dʌrya
THA	bʌdʌl	THA	dʌrya
LOR	bʌdʌl	LOR	dʌrya
OSI	bʌdʌl	OSI	dʌriya
MUZ	bʌdʌl	MUZ	dʌriya
DUN	bʌdʌl	DUN	dʌriya
BHA	bʌdʌl	BHA	dʌriya
ABB	bʌdʌl	ABB	dʌriya
MAN	bariʃ	MAN	dʌrya
MIR	bariʃ	MIR	dʌriya
GUJ	bʌdʌl	GUJ	dʌrya
46.	water	48.	cloud
MOS	paŋĩ	MOS	bʌdʌl
GHO	paŋĩ	GHO	bʌdʌl
DEW	paŋĩ	DEW	bʌdʌl
AYU	paŋĩ	AYU	čʰʌrʰ
KOH	poŋĩ	KOH	čʰʌr
NIL	poŋĩ	NIL	bʌdʌl
THA	paŋĩ	THA	čar
LOR	paŋĩ	LOR	čar
OSI	pani	OSI	bʌdʌl
MUZ	paŋĩ	MUZ	bʌdʌl
DUN	paŋĩ	DUN	čar
BHA	panĩ	BHA	bʌdʌl
ABB	pãŋĩ	ABB	čar
MAN	pãŋĩ	MAN	čar
MIR	paŋĩ	MIR	bʌdʌl
GUJ	paŋĩ	GUJ	bʌdʌl

49.*	lightning	51.	wind
MOS	bijli ki čamak	MOS	hawā
GHO	badal guḥukna	GHO	hawā
DEW	bijli čamakni	DEW	hawā
AYU	bijli ki čamak	AYU	hawā
KOH	čamak kaḥakna	KOH	hawā
NIL	čark	NIL	hawā
THA	kaḥakna	THA	va
LOR	bijli čamkni	LOR	hawā
OSI	bijli čamkni	OSI	hawā
MUZ	čamak	MUZ	hawā
DUN	čamkni	DUN	vā
BHA	čamki	BHA	hawā
ABB	gaḥuk	ABB	hawa
MAN	čamak	MAN	hawā
MIR	čamkri	MIR	hawā
GUJ	čamkri	GUJ	hawā
50.*	rainbow	52.	stone
MOS	lamtan	MOS	baṭa
GHO	piṅ	GHO	paṭ ^h ar
DEW	sat raṅgi	DEW	baṭa
AYU	sat raṅgi	AYU	paṭ ^h ar
KOH	tir	KOH	baṭa
NIL	raṅtaṅ	NIL	baṭa
THA	tar	THA	gaṭa
LOR	piṅ	LOR	baṭa
OSI	kose kaṣa	OSI	paṭ ^h ar
MUZ	lamtaṅ	MUZ	paṭ ^h ar
DUN	čol	DUN	paṭ ^h or
BHA	piṅ	BHA	paṭ ^h or
ABB	piṅ	ABB	baṭa
MAN	piṅ	MAN	baṭa
MIR	laen	MIR	baṭa
GUJ	piṅg	GUJ	baṭa

53.	path	55.	fire
MOS	ra	MOS	ag
GHO	ra	GHO	ag
DEW	ra	DEW	ag
AYU	ra	AYU	ag
KOH	ra	KOH	ag
NIL	ra ^{sta}	NIL	ag
THA	ra	THA	ag
LOR	ra	LOR	ag
OSI	ra	OSI	ag
MUZ	ra ^{sta}	MUZ	ag
DUN	ra	DUN	ag
BHA	ra	BHA	ag
ABB	ra	ABB	ag
MAN	ra	MAN	ag
MIR	ra	MIR	ag
GUJ	ra	GUJ	ag
54.	sand	56.	smoke
MOS	ret	MOS	tua
GHO	ret	GHO	tua
DEW	ret	DEW	tua
AYU	ret	AYU	tua
KOH	ret	KOH	tua
NIL	ret	NIL	tua
THA	ret	THA	tua
LOR	ret	LOR	tua
OSI	ret	OSI	tua
MUZ	ret	MUZ	tua
DUN	ret	DUN	tua
BHA	ret	BHA	tua
ABB	ret	ABB	tua
MAN	ret	MAN	t ^h ua
MIR	ret	MIR	tua
GUJ	ret	GUJ	tua

57.	ash	59.	dust
MOS	sawaya	MOS	miṭ'i
GHO	sawaya	GHO	miṭ'i
DEW	sawaya	DEW	miṭ'i
AYU	sawaya	AYU	miṭ'i
KOH	sawaya	KOH	miṭ'i
NIL	suwava	NIL	miṭ'i
THA	ra ^h k	THA	miṭ'i
LOR	suwaya	LOR	miṭ'i
OSI	suwaya	AUS	miṭ'i
MUZ	suwaya	MUZ	miṭ'i
DUN	suwaya	DUN	miṭ'i
BHA	suwaya	BHA	miṭ'i
ABB	č ^h ai	ABB	miṭ'i
MAN	č ^h ai	MAN	miṭ'i
MIR	saĵi	MIR	miṭ'i
GUJ	suwaga	GUJ	miṭ'i
58.*	mud	60.	gold
MOS	čikoṛ	MOS	sona
GHO	gara	GHO	sonā
DEW	čikaṛ	DEW	sana
AYU	gara	AYU	sona
KOH	čikaṛ	KOH	sona
NIL	gara	NIL	sona
THA	gara	THA	sona
LOR	gara	LOR	sona
AUS	čikaṛ	AUS	sona
MUZ	gara	MUZ	sona
DUN	gara	DUN	sona
BHA	kičar	BHA	sonā
ABB	čikur	ABB	sona
MAN	čikaṛ	MAN	sona
MIR	gara	MIR	sona
GUJ	čikoṛ	GUJ	sona

61.	tree	63.	root
MOS	buṭa	MOS	ḷaṭ
GHO	buṭa	GHO	ḷaṭ
DEW	buṭa	DEW	ḷaṭ
AYU	buṭa	AYU	ḷaṭ
KOH	buṭa	KOH	ḷaṭ
NIL	buṭa	NIL	ḷaṭ
THA	buṭa	THA	ḷaṭ
LOR	buṭa	LOR	ḷaṭ
AUS	buṭa	AUS	ḷaṭ
MUZ	buṭa	MUZ	ḷaṭ
DUN	buṭa	DUN	ḷaṭ
BHA	buṭa	BHA	ḷaṭ
ABB	buṭa	ABB	ḷaṭ
MAN	buṭa	MAN	ḷaṭ
MIR	buṭa	MIR	ḷaṭ
GUJ	buṭa	GUJ	ḷaṭ
62.	leaf	64.	thorn
MOS	paṭar	MOS	kaṇḍa
GHO	paṭar	GHO	kaṇḍa
DEW	paṭar	DEW	kaṇḍa
AYU	paṭar	AYU	kaṇḍa
KOH	paṭar	KOH	kaṇḍa
NIL	paṭar	NIL	kaṇḍa
THA	paṭor	THA	kaṇḍa
LOR	paṭor	LOR	kaṇḍa
AUS	paṭa	AUS	kaṇḍa
MUZ	paṭa	MUZ	kaṇḍa
DUN	paṭor	DUN	kaṇḍa
BHA	paṭa	BHA	kaṇḍa
ABB	paṭor	ABB	kaṇḍa
MAN	paṭar	MAN	kaṇḍa
MIR	paṭar	MIR	kaṇḍa
GUJ	paṭor	GUJ	kaṇḍa

65.	flower	67.	mango
MOS	p ^h ul	MOS	am
GHO	p ^h ul	GHO	am
DEW	p ^h ul	DEW	am
AYU	p ^h ul	AYU	am
KOH	p ^h ul	KOH	amb
NIL	p ^h ul	NIL	am
THA	p ^h ul	THA	am
LOR	p ^h ul	LOR	am
AUS	p ^h ul	AUS	am
MUZ	p ^h ul	MUZ	am
DUN	p ^h ul	DUN	am
BHA	p ^h ul	BHA	am
ABB	p ^h ul	ABB	am
MAN	p ^h ul	MAN	am
MIR	p ^h ul	MIR	amb
GUJ	p ^h ul	GUJ	am
66.	fruit	68.	banana
MOS	p ^h al	MOS	kela
GHO	p ^h al	GHO	kela
DEW	p ^h al	DEW	kela
AYU	p ^h al	AYU	kela
KOH	p ^h al	KOH	kela
NIL	p ^h al	NIL	kela
THA	p ^h al	THA	kela
LOR	p ^h al	LOR	kela
AUS	p ^h al	OSI	kela
MUZ	p ^h al	MUZ	kela
DUN	p ^h al	DUN	kela
BHA	p ^h al	BHA	kela
ABB	p ^h al	ABB	kela
MAN	p ^h al	MAN	kela
MIR	p ^h al	MIR	kela
GUJ	p ^h al	GUJ	kela

69.	wheat	71.	rice
MOS	kʌŋk	MOS	čawɔl
GHO	kʌŋʌk	GHO	čawɔl
DEW	kʌŋk	DEW	čawɔl
AYU	kʌŋk ^h	AYU	čawɔl
KOH	kʌŋk	KOH	čawɔl
NIL	kʌŋk	NIL	čawɛl
THA	kʌŋk	THA	čawɔl
LOR	kʌŋk	LOR	čawɔl
OSI	kʌŋk	OSI	čawɔl
MUZ	kʌŋʌk	MUZ	čawɔl
DUN	kʌŋk	DUN	čawɔl
BHA	kʌŋk	BHA	čawɔl
ABB	kʌŋʌk	ABB	čawɔl
MAN	kʌŋʌk	MAN	čawɔl
MIR	kʌŋk	MIR	čawʌl
GUJ	kʌŋʌk	GUJ	čawʌl
70.	barley	72.	potato
MOS	baŋra	MOS	alũ·
GHO	baŋra	GHO	alũ·
DEW	baŋra	DEW	alu
AYU	baŋra	AYU	alũ
KOH	baŋra	KOH	alu
NIL	baŋra	NIL	alu
THA	baŋra	THA	alũ
LOR	baŋra	LOR	alu
OSI	baŋra	OSI	alu
MUZ	baŋra	MUZ	alu
DUN	baŋra	DUN	alu
BHA	baŋra	BHA	alu
ABB	baŋra	ABB	alu
MAN	baŋra	MAN	alu
MIR	baŋra	MIR	alu
GUJ	baŋra	GUJ	alu

73.	eggplant	75.	chili
MOS	beɣan	MOS	maɾč
GHO	beɣan	GHO	maɾč
DEW	beɣan	DEW	maɾč
AYU	beɣan	AYU	maɾč
KOH	beɣan	KOH	maɾč
NIL	beɣan	NIL	maɾč
THA	beɣan	THA	maɾč
LOR	beɣan	LOR	maɾč
OSI	beɣan	OSI	maɾč
MUZ	bæŋɣan	MUZ	maɾč
DUN	beɣan	DUN	maɾč
BHA	beɣan	BHA	maɾč
ABB	bæŋɣan	ABB	maɾač
MAN	bæŋan	MAN	maɾič
MIR	beŋɣan	MIR	maɾč
GUJ	beŋɣan	GUJ	maɾč
74.	groundnut	76.	turmeric
MOS	mũ p ^h ali	MOS	haldi
GHO	mũ p ^h ali	GHO	haldi
DEW	mõ p ^h ali	DEW	hardul
AYU	mũ p ^h ali	AYU	haldi
KOH	mũ p ^h ali	KOH	hardul
NIL	mũŋ p ^h ali	NIL	haldi
THA	mũŋ p ^h ali	THA	hardul
LOR	mũ p ^h ali	LOR	hardul
OSI	mũ p ^h ali	OSI	haldi
MUZ	mũ p ^h ali	MUZ	haldi
DUN	mũ p ^h ali	DUN	hardol
BHA	mũ p ^h ali	BHA	haldi
ABB	mom p ^h ali	ABB	haldal
MAN	p ^h ali	MAN	haldar
MIR	mũ p ^h ali	MIR	haldi
GUJ	mũ p ^h ali	GUJ	haldi

77.	garlic	79.	cauliflower
MOS	t ^h ũm	MOS	p ^h ul gobi
GHO	t ^h ũm	GHO	p ^h ul gobi
DEW	t ^h ũm	DEW	p ^h ul gobi
AYU	t ^h ũm	AYU	p ^h ul gobi
KOH	t ^h ũm	KOH	p ^h ul gobi
NIL	t ^h ũ	NIL	p ^h ul gobi
THA	t ^h ũm	THA	p ^h ul gobi
LOR	t ^h ũm	LOR	p ^h ul gobi
OSI	t ^h u'm	OSI	p ^h ul gobi
MUZ	t ^h ũm	MUZ	p ^h ul gobi
DUN	t ^h ũ	DUN	p ^h ul gobi
BHA	t ^h ũm	BHA	p ^h ul gobi
ABB	t ^h ũm	ABB	p ^h ul gobi
MAN	t ^h ũm	MAN	p ^h ul gobi
MIR	t ^h ũm	MIR	gobi nã p ^h ul
GUJ	t ^h ũm	GUJ	gobi nã p ^h ul
78.	onion	80.*	tomato
MOS	piaz	MOS	č ^h eγan
GHO	piaz	GHO	č ^h eγan
DEW	piaz	DEW	č ^h eγan
AYU	piaz	AYU	č ^h eγan
KOH	piaz	KOH	č ^h eγan
NIL	piaz	NIL	čeyan
THA	piaz	THA	ɬamaɬar
LOR	piaz	LOR	ɬamaɬar
OSI	piaz	OSI	ɬamaɬar
MUZ	piaz	MUZ	ɬamaɬar
DUN	piaz	DUN	ɬamaɬar
BHA	piaz	BHA	ɬamaɬar
ABB	piaz	ABB	ɬamaɬar
MAN	piaz	MAN	ɬamaɬar
MIR	piaz	MIR	ɬamaɬar
GUJ	piaz	GUJ	ɬamaɬar

81.	cabbage	83.	salt
MOS	bʌnd gobi	MOS	lũŋ
GHO	bʌnd gobi	GHO	lũn
DEW	bʌnd gobi	DEW	lũŋ
AYU	bʌnd gobi	AYU	lũn
KOH	bʌnd gobi	KOH	lũn
NIL	bʌnd gobi	NIL	lũŋ
THA	bʌnd gobi	THA	lũŋ
LOR	bʌnd gobi	LOR	lũn
OSI	bʌnd gobi	OSI	lũn
MUZ	bʌnd gobi	MUZ	lũŋ
DUN	bʌnd gobi	DUN	lũŋ
BHA	bʌnd gobi	BHA	lũŋ
ABB	bʌnd gobi	ABB	lũl
MAN	bʌnd gobi	MAN	lũl
MIR	bʌnd gobi	MIR	lũŋ
GUJ	bʌnd gobi	GUJ	lũŋ
82.	oil	84.	meat
MOS	tel	MOS	gošt
GHO	tel	GHO	gošt
DEW	tel	DEW	gošt
AYU	tel	AYU	gošt
KOH	tel	KOH	gošt
NIL	tel	NIL	gošt
THA	tel	THA	gošt
LOR	tel	LOR	gošt
OSI	tel	OSI	gošt
MUZ	tel	MUZ	gošt
DUN	tel	DUN	gošt
BHA	tel	BHA	gošt
ABB	tel	ABB	gošt
MAN	tel	MAN	gošt
MIR	tel	MIR	gošt
GUJ	tel	GUJ	gošt

85.	fat (of meat)	87.	chicken
MOS	červi	MOS	kukoṛ
GHO	červi	GHO	kukoṛ
DEW	červi	DEW	kukoṛ
AYU	červi	AYU	kukoṛ
KOH	červi	KOH	kukoṛ
NIL	červi	NIL	kukoṛ
THA	červi	THA	kukoṛ
LOR	červi	LOR	kukoṛ
OSI	červi	OSI	kukoṛ
MUZ	červi	MUZ	kukoṛ
DUN	červi	DUN	kukoṛ
BHA	červi	BHA	kukoṛ
ABB	čerbi	ABB	kukaṛi
MAN	čerbi	MAN	koḱaṛ
MIR	červi	MIR	kukṛi
GUJ	červi	GUJ	kukṛi
86.	fish	88.	egg
MOS	maḱ ^h i	MOS	ḱṛṭa
GHO	maḱ ^h i	GHO	ḱṛṭa
DEW	maḱ ^h i	DEW	ḱṛṭa
AYU	maḱ ^h i	AYU	ḱṛṭa
KOH	maḱ ^h i	KOH	ḱṛṭa
NIL	maḱ ^h li	NIL	ḱṛṭa
THA	maḱ ^h i	THA	ḱṛṭṛa
LOR	maḱ ^h i	LOR	ḱṛṭa
OSI	maḱ ^h i	OSI	ḱṛṭa
MUZ	maḱ ^h i	MUZ	ḱṛṭa
DUN	maḱ ^h i	DUN	ḱṛṭa
BHA	maḱ ^h li	BHA	ḱṛṭa
ABB	maḱ ^h i	ABB	ḱṛṭa
MAN	maḱ ^h i	MAN	ḱṛṭa
MIR	maḱ ^h i	MIR	ḱṛṭṛa
GUJ	maḱ ^h i	GUJ	ḱṛṭṛa

89.	cow	91.	milk
MOS	gã	MOS	dud
GHO	gã	GHO	dud
DEW	gã	DEW	dud ^h
AYU	gã	AYU	dud ^h
KOH	gã	KOH	dud
NIL	gã	NIL	dud
THA	gã	THA	dud ^h
LOR	gã	LOR	dud
OSI	gã	OSI	dud
MUZ	gã	MUZ	dud
DUN	gã	DUN	dud
BHA	gã	BHA	dud
ABB	gã	ABB	dud
MAN	gã	MAN	dud
MIR	gã	MIR	dud ^h
GUJ	gã	GUJ	dud
90.	buffalo	92.	horns
MOS	manj	MOS	sing
GHO	manj	GHO	sing
DEW	manj	DEW	sing
AYU	manj	AYU	sing
KOH	manj	KOH	sing
NIL	manj	NIL	sing
THA	manj	THA	sing
LOR	manj	LOR	sing
OSI	manj	AUS	sing
MUZ	manj	MUZ	sing
DUN	manj	DUN	sing
BHA	manj	BHA	sing
ABB	manj	ABB	sing
MAN	manj	MAN	sing
MIR	manj	MIR	sing
GUJ	manj	GUJ	sing

93.	tail	95.	dog
MOS	dumʌɾ	MOS	kuʔa
GHO	dumoɾ	GHO	kuʔa
DEW	dumoɾ	DEW	kuʔa
AYU	dumʌɾ	AYU	kuʔa
KOH	dumbʌɾ	KOH	kuʔa
NIL	dumoɾ	NIL	kuʔa
THA	dumoɾ	THA	kuʔa
LOR	dum	LOR	kuʔa
AUS	dumoɾ	AUS	kuʔa
MUZ	dumoɾ	MUZ	kuʔa
DUN	dum	DUN	kuʔa
BHA	dumboɾ	BHA	kuʔa
ABB	dum	ABB	kuʔa
MAN	dum	MAN	kuʔa
MIR	dum	MIR	kuʔa
GUJ	puʕʰoɾ	GUJ	kuʔa
94.	goat	96.	snake
MOS	baʔkri	MOS	sap
GHO	baʔkri	GHO	sap
DEW	baʔkri	DEW	sap
AYU	baʔkri	AYU	sap
KOH	baʔkri	KOH	sap
NIL	baʔkri	NIL	sap
THA	baʔkri	THA	sap
LOR	baʔkri	LOR	sap
AUS	baʔkri	OSI	sap
MUZ	baʔkri	MUZ	sap
DUN	baʔkri	DUN	sap
BHA	baʔkri	BHA	sap
ABB	baʔkri	ABB	sap
MAN	baʔkri	MAN	sap
MIR	baʔkri	MIR	sap
GUJ	baʔkri	GUJ	sap

97.	monkey	99.	ant
MOS	buja	MOS	pele
GHO	buja	GHO	pele
DEW	buja	DEW	pele
AYU	buya	AYU	pele
KOH	buya	KOH	pila
NIL	buja	NIL	pila
THA	buja	THA	pila
LOR	bujna	LOR	pele
OSI	buya	OSI	pili
MUZ	buja	MUZ	pele
DUN	buya	DUN	pela
BHA	buja	BHA	pele
ABB	buja	ABB	pela
MAN	buja	MAN	pila
MIR	bujo	MIR	pele
GUJ	bujo	GUJ	p ^h ili
98.	mosquito	100.	spider
MOS	mΛč ^h Λr	MOS	bΛboya
GHO	mΛč ^h Λr	GHO	ba ^o wa
DEW	mΛč ^h Λl	DEW	ba ^l wa
AYU	mΛč ^h Λl	AYU	bΛbua
KOH	mΛč ^h Λr	KOH	bauwa
NIL	mΛč ^h Λr	NIL	ba ^o wa
THA	mΛč ^h Λr	THA	bΛbua
LOR	mΛč ^h or	LOR	bΛboa
OSI	mΛč ^h or	OSI	bowə
MUZ	mΛč ^h Λr	MUZ	bΛbua
DUN	mΛč ^h Λl	DUN	bΛbua
BHA	mΛč ^h or	BHA	mΛkri
ABB	mΛč ^h Λr	ABB	bΛbua
MAN	mΛč ^h Λr	MAN	bubua
MIR	mΛč ^h Λl	MIR	bΛmboa
GUJ	mΛč ^h Λr	GUJ	bΛboa

101.	name	103.	woman
MOS	nā	MOS	kuṛi
GHO	nā	GHO	kuṛi
DEW	nā	DEW	kuṛi
AYU	nā	AYU	kuṛi
KOH	nā	KOH	kuṛi
NIL	nā	NIL	kuṛi
THA	nā	THA	kuṛi
LOR	nā	LOR	kuṛi
OSI	nā	OSI	kuṛi
MUZ	nā	MUZ	kuṛi
DUN	nā	DUN	kuṛi
BHA	nā	BHA	kuṛi
ABB	nā	ABB	kuṛi
MAN	nā	MAN	kuṛi
MIR	nā	MIR	kuṛi
GUJ	nā	GUJ	zmani
102.	man	104.*	child
MOS	bānda	MOS	nika
GHO	bānda	GHO	bāč'a
DEW	bānda	DEW	nika
AYU	ǰāṇa	AYU	nika
KOH	ǰāna	KOH	nika
NIL	bānda	NIL	nika
THA	ǰāṇa	THA	bāč'ā
LOR	ǰāna	LOR	nika
OSI	ǰāna	OSI	nika
MUZ	ǰāṇā	MUZ	nika
DUN	ǰāṇa	DUN	nika
BHA	ǰāṇā	BHA	nika
ABB	bānda	ABB	bāč'a
MAN	ǰāḷā	MAN	nika
MIR	ǰāṇa	MIR	bāč'ā
GUJ	bānda	GUJ	bāč'a

105.	father	107.	older brother
MOS	λba	MOS	baɾa pɾa
GHO	pio	GHO	baɾa pɾa
DEW	λba	DEW	baɾa pɾa
AYU	pe	AYU	baɾa pɾa
KOH	pe	KOH	baɾa pɾa
NIL	peo	NIL	baɾa pɾa
THA	pe	THA	baɾa pɾa
LOR	pe	LOR	baɾa pɾa
OSI	pe	OSI	baɾa pɾa
MUZ	peo	MUZ	baɾa pɾa
DUN	pe	DUN	baɾa pɾa
BHA	pe	BHA	baɾa pɾa
ABB	pio	ABB	baɟa pɾa
MAN	pe	MAN	baɟa pɾa
MIR	λba	MIR	vaɟa pɾa
GUJ	pio	GUJ	vaɟa pɾa
106.*	mother	108.	younger brother
MOS	dide	MOS	č ^h oɟa pɾa
GHO	dide	GHO	č ^h oɟa pɾa
DEW	λmi	DEW	nika pɾa
AYU	dide	AYU	nika pɾa
KOH	dide	KOH	nika pɾa
NIL	mā	NIL	nika pɾa
THA	mā	THA	nika pɾa
LOR	dide	LOR	nika pɾa
OSI	mā	OSI	nika pɾa
MUZ	dide	MUZ	nika pɾa
DUN	mā	DUN	nika pɾa
BHA	λmi	BHA	nika pɾa
ABB	λmi	ABB	nika pɾa
MAN	mā	MAN	nika pɾa
MIR	λmā	MIR	č ^h oɟa pɾa
GUJ	ma	GUJ	nika pɾa

109.	older sister	111.	son
MOS	baŋi pɛn	MOS	putor
GHO	baŋi pɛn	GHO	putor
DEW	baŋi pɛn	DEW	putor
AYU	baŋi pɛn	AYU	putor
KOH	baŋi pɛn	KOH	putor
NIL	baŋi pɛn	NIL	putor
THA	baŋi pɛn	THA	putor
LOR	baŋi pɛn	LOR	putor
OSI	baŋi pɛn	OSI	putor
MUZ	baŋi pɛn	MUZ	putor
DUN	baŋi pɛn	DUN	putor
BHA	baŋi pɛn	BHA	putor
ABB	baɗi pael	ABB	putor
MAN	baɗi pael	MAN	putar
MIR	baŋi pɛn	MIR	putor
GUJ	vaɗi pɛn	GUJ	putor
110.	younger sister	112.	daughter
MOS	niki pɛn	MOS	tɪˈ
GHO	ɕʰoŋi pɛn	GHO	tɪˈ
DEW	niki pɛn	DEW	tɪˈ
AYU	niki pɛn	AYU	tɪˈ
KOH	niki pɛn	KOH	tɪˈ
NIL	ɕʰoŋi pɛn	NIL	niki
THA	niki pɛn	THA	tɪˈ
LOR	niki pɛn	LOR	tɪˈ
OSI	niki pɛn	OSI	tɪˈ
MUZ	niki pɛn	MUZ	tɪˈ
DUN	niki pɛn	DUN	tɪˈ
BHA	ɕʰoŋi pɛn	BHA	tɪˈ
ABB	niki pael	ABB	tɪˈ
MAN	niki pael	MAN	tɪˈ
MIR	ɕʰoŋi pɛn	MIR	tɪˈ
GUJ	niki pɛn	GUJ	tɪˈ

113.*	husband	115.	boy
MOS	ķeṛela	MOS	nika
GHO	xΛsm	GHO	lɑṛka
DEW	xΛsm	DEW	nika
AYU	ķeṛela	AYU	nika
KOH	xΛsm	KOH	nika
NIL	xΛsm	NIL	nika
THA	xΛsm	THA	ǰΛndk
LOR	xΛsm	LOR	ǰatok
OSI	xΛsm	OSI	nika
MUZ	kΛsΛm	MUZ	ǰatok
DUN	xawΛn	DUN	nika
BHA	ǰΛna	BHA	ǰatok
ABB	xawΛnd	ABB	ǰatok
MAN	xΛsΛm	MAN	nɪṇḍa
MIR	ķeṛela	MIR	muṛa
GUJ	kΛṛela	GUJ	ǰatok
114.*	wife	116.	girl
MOS	tΛbri	MOS	niki
GHO	rΛṇ	GHO	kuṛi
DEW	kuṛi	DEW	niki
AYU	kuṛi	AYU	niki
KOH	kuṛi	KOH	niki
NIL	ķeṛwali	NIL	niki
THA	ķeṛeli	THA	kuṛi
LOR	ṭΛbri	LOR	kuṛi
OSI	kuṛi	OSI	niki
MUZ	kerewali	MUZ	bΛčči
DUN	kerewali	DUN	niki
BHA	kerewali	BHA	kuṛi
ABB	kerewali	ABB	kuṛi
MAN	trimΛt	MAN	kūḷi
MIR	ǰΛṇāni	MIR	kuṛi
GUJ	zinani	GUJ	bΛč'i

117.	day	119.	morning
MOS	tɛ̃ara	MOS	fɛ̃ri
GHO	tɛ̃ari	GHO	subah
DEW	tɛ̃ari	DEW	fʌdri
AYU	tɛ̃ara	AYU	fʌdri
KOH	tɛ̃aɾ	KOH	fɛ̃ri
NIL	tɛ̃ra	NIL	subah
THA	tɛ̃ara	THA	sʌvera
LOR	tɛ̃aɾ	LOR	sʌvera
OSI	tɛ̃ara	OSI	fʌdri
MUZ	tɛ̃yaɾ	MUZ	subah
DUN	tɛ̃yaɾ	DUN	sʌvelʌ
BHA	tɛ̃yara	BHA	sʌvelʌ
ABB	deala	ABB	fʌzʌɾ
MAN	deʌ	MAN	fʌzʌri
MIR	de'aɾ	MIR	sʌvele
GUJ	deara	GUJ	sʌvera
118.	night	120.	noon
MOS	rat	MOS	ʌdi tɛ̃ar
GHO	rat	GHO	peši
DEW	rat	DEW	peši
AYU	rat	AYU	duper
KOH	rat	KOH	doper
NIL	rat	NIL	doper
THA	rat	THA	doper
LOR	rat	LOR	doperʌ
OSI	rat	OSI	tɛ̃yaɾ
MUZ	rat	MUZ	peši
DUN	rat	DUN	doper
BHA	rat	BHA	dʌper
ABB	rat	ABB	duper
MAN	rat	MAN	doper
MIR	rat	MIR	doper
GUJ	rat	GUJ	doper

121.	evening	123.	today
MOS	nΛvašã	MOS	Λĵ
GHO	nΛvašã	GHO	Λĵ
DEW	šami	DEW	ai
AYU	nΛmašã	AYU	ai
KOH	nΛmašã	KOH	ai
NIL	šam	NIL	ai
THA	šami	THA	Λĵ
LOR	nΛmaša	LOR	Λĵ
OSI	šami	OSI	ai
MUZ	šami	MUZ	Λĵ
DUN	sΛnyΛvele	DUN	ai
BHA	šam	BHA	Λĵ
ABB	nΛmašã	ABB	Λĵ
MAN	šam	MAN	aĵ
MIR	šammĩ	MIR	Λĵ
GUJ	pešĩ	GUJ	Λĵ
122.	yesterday	124.	tomorrow
MOS	kΛl	MOS	kΛl
GHO	kΛl	GHO	kΛl
DEW	kΛl	DEW	kΛl
AYU	kΛl	AYU	kΛl
KOH	kΛl	KOH	kΛl
NIL	kΛl	NIL	kΛl
THA	kΛl	THA	kΛl
LOR	kΛl	LOR	kΛl
OSI	kΛl	OSI	kΛl
MUZ	kΛl	MUZ	kΛl
DUN	kΛl	DUN	kΛl
BHA	kΛl	BHA	kΛl
ABB	kΛl	ABB	kΛl
MAN	kΛl	MAN	kΛl
MIR	kΛl	MIR	kΛl
GUJ	kΛl	GUJ	kΛl

125.	week	127.	year
MOS	hʌfta	MOS	sal
GHO	hʌfta	GHO	sal
DEW	hʌfta	DEW	sal
AYU	hʌfta	AYU	sal
KOH	hʌfta	KOH	sal
NIL	hʌfta	NIL	sal
THA	hʌfta	THA	sal
LOR	hʌfta	LOR	sal
OSI	hʌfta	OSI	sal
MUZ	hʌfta	MUZ	sal
DUN	hʌfta	DUN	sal
BHA	hʌfta	BHA	sal
ABB	afta	ABB	sal
MAN	hafta	MAN	sal
MIR	b̄ar	MIR	sal
GUJ	b̄ar	GUJ	sal
126.*	month	128.	old
MOS	maina	MOS	purāṅā
GHO	maīna	GHO	purāṅā
DEW	mīna	DEW	purāṅā
AYU	mīna	AYU	purāṅā
KOH	maina	KOH	ṗaraṅā
NIL	maina	NIL	ṗurana
THA	maina	THA	purāṅā
LOR	mina	LOR	ṗaraṅā
OSI	miṅṅ	OSI	ṗaraṅā
MUZ	miṅṅ	MUZ	ṗraṅā
DUN	miṅṅ	DUN	ṗraṅā
BHA	maina	BHA	ṗraṅā
ABB	mʌina	ABB	ṗiraṅa
MAN	mina	MAN	ṗurāṅa
MIR	miṅṅ	MIR	ṗaraṅā
GUJ	miṅṅ	GUJ	ṗaraṅā

129.	new	131.	bad
MOS	nāvā	MOS	xarab
GHO	nāvā	GHO	xarab
DEW	nāvā	DEW	xarav
AYU	nāvā	AYU	xarab
KOH	nāvā	KOH	xarav
NIL	nāvā	NIL	xarab
THA	nāvā	THA	xarab
LOR	nāvā	LOR	xarab
OSI	nāvā	OSI	manda
MUZ	nāvā	MUZ	manda
DUN	nāvā	DUN	xarab
BHA	nāvā	BHA	xarab
ABB	nāvā	ABB	xarab
MAN	nāvā	MAN	xarab
MIR	nāvā	MIR	xarab
GUJ	nāvā	GUJ	xarab
130.	good	132.	wet
MOS	čarḡa	MOS	sijya
GHO	ac ^h a	GHO	sijya
DEW	čarḡa	DEW	sija
AYU	čarḡa	AYU	sija
KOH	čarḡa	KOH	sijya
NIL	ac ^h a	NIL	gila
THA	ac ^h a	THA	sij ^ʔ a
LOR	čarḡa	LOR	sij ^ʔ a
OSI	čarḡa	OSI	sija
MUZ	čarḡa	MUZ	sijya
DUN	čarḡa	DUN	sijya
BHA	čarḡa	BHA	sijya
ABB	čarḡa	ABB	sije
MAN	ac ^h a	MAN	sije
MIR	čarḡa	MIR	sija
GUJ	čarḡa	GUJ	sijya

133.	dry	135.	short
MOS	suk'a	MOS	nika
GHO	suka	GHO	nika
DEW	suka	DEW	loka
AYU	suka	AYU	č ^h oṭa
KOH	suka	KOH	nika
NIL	suka	NIL	nika
THA	suk ^ʷ a	THA	nika
LOR	suka	LOR	nika
OSI	suka	OSI	nika
MUZ	suka	MUZ	nika
DUN	suka	DUN	loka
BHA	suka	BHA	nika
ABB	suk ^h a	ABB	nika
MAN	sukeda	MAN	nika
MIR	suki	MIR	ginḍa
GUJ	suk'a	GUJ	nika
134.	long	136.	hot
MOS	lɔmã	MOS	gɔɾɔm
GHO	lɔmã	GHO	gɔɾɔm
DEW	lɔmã	DEW	tɔtɔ
AYU	lɔmã	AYU	gɔɾm
KOH	lɔmã	KOH	gɔɾɔm
NIL	lɔmã	NIL	gɔɾm
THA	lɔmã	THA	gɔɾm
LOR	lɔmã	LOR	gɔɾm
OSI	lɔmã	OSI	tɔtɔ
MUZ	lɔmã	MUZ	tɔtɔ
DUN	lɔmɔ	DUN	gɔɾm
BHA	lɔmã	BHA	gɔɾm
ABB	lɔmã	ABB	gɔɾɔm
MAN	lɔmɔ	MAN	tɔpeda
MIR	lɔmã	MIR	gɔɾm
GUJ	lɔmã	GUJ	gɔɾɔm

137.	cold	139.	left
MOS	tʰʌɖa	MOS	kʰʌba
GHO	tʰʌɖa	GHO	kʰʌba
DEW	tʰʌɖa	DEW	kʰʌba
AYU	tʰʌɖa	AYU	kʰʌba
KOH	tʰʌɖa	KOH	kʰʌba
NIL	tʰʌɖa	NIL	kʰʌba
THA	tʰʌŋɖa	THA	kʰʌba
LOR	tʰʌɖa	LOR	kʰʌba
OSI	tʰʌɖa	OSI	kʰʌba
MUZ	tʰʌɖa	MUZ	kʰʌba
DUN	tʰʌɖa	DUN	kʰʌba
BHA	tʰʌŋɖa	BHA	kʰʌba
ABB	tʰʌŋɖa	ABB	kʰʌba
MAN	siala	MAN	kʰʌba
MIR	tʰʌɖa	MIR	kʰʌba
GUJ	tʰʌɖa	GUJ	kʰʌba
138.	right	140.	near
MOS	sʌʃa	MOS	neɾẽ
GHO	sʌʃa	GHO	kol
DEW	sʌʃa	DEW	neɾẽ
AYU	sʌʃa	AYU	niɾẽ
KOH	sʌʃa	KOH	neɾẽ
NIL	sʌʃa	NIL	neɾẽ
THA	sʌʃa	THA	neɾẽ
LOR	sʌʃa	LOR	kol
OSI	sʌʃa	OSI	neɾẽ
MUZ	sʌʃa	MUZ	neɾẽ
DUN	sʌʃa	DUN	naʌzdik
BHA	sʌʃa	BHA	neɾẽ
ABB	sʌʃa	ABB	niɾẽ
MAN	sʌʃa	MAN	nʌɾẽ
MIR	sʌʃa	MIR	neɾẽ
GUJ	sʌʃa	GUJ	neɾẽ

141.	far	143.	small
MOS	dur	MOS	nika
GHO	dur	GHO	nika
DEW	dur	DEW	nika
AYU	dur	AYU	nika
KOH	dur	KOH	nika
NIL	dur	NIL	nika
THA	dur	THA	nika
LOR	dur	LOR	nika
OSI	dur	OSI	nika
MUZ	dur	MUZ	nika
DUN	dur	DUN	loka
BHA	dur	BHA	nika
ABB	dur	ABB	nika
MAN	dur	MAN	nika
MIR	dur	MIR	nika
GUJ	dur	GUJ	nika
142.	big	144.	heavy
MOS	baṛa	MOS	paṛ
GHO	baṛa	GHO	paṛa
DEW	baṛa	DEW	paṛa
AYU	baṛa	AYU	paṛa
KOH	baṛa	KOH	paṛa
NIL	baṛa	NIL	paṛa
THA	baṛa	THA	paṛa
LOR	baṛa	LOR	paṛa
OSI	baṛa	OSI	paṛa
MUZ	baṛa	MUZ	paṛ
DUN	baṛa	DUN	paṛa
BHA	baṛa	BHA	vazni
ABB	baḍa	ABB	p ^h a'ra
MAN	baḍa	MAN	vazni
MIR	vaḍa	MIR	paṛa
GUJ	vaḍa	GUJ	paṛa

145.	light	147.	below
MOS	loka	MOS	buŋ
GHO	loka	GHO	buŋ
DEW	loka	DEW	buŋ
AYU	loka	AYU	buŋ
KOH	loka	KOH	buŋ
NIL	loka	NIL	buŋ
THA	loka	THA	tʌle
LOR	loka	LOR	buŋ
OSI	hʌlka	OSI	buŋ
MUZ	loka	MUZ	buŋ
DUN	ola	DUN	tʰʌle
BHA	loka	BHA	tʌle
ABB	loka	ABB	tʰʌle
MAN	hʌlka	MAN	tʌla
MIR	ola	MIR	bun
GUJ	loka	GUJ	bun
146.	above	148.	white
MOS	upʌr	MOS	čitʰa
GHO	upʌr	GHO	čitʰa
DEW	opʌr	DEW	čitʰa
AYU	opʰʌr	AYU	čitʰa
KOH	upʌr	KOH	čitʰa
NIL	uper	NIL	čitʰa
THA	ute	THA	čitʰa
LOR	ʌpor	LOR	čitʰa
OSI	upʌr	OSI	čitʰa
MUZ	upʌr	MUZ	čitʰa
DUN	ʌpor	DUN	čitʰa
BHA	upʌr	BHA	čitʰa
ABB	ute	ABB	čitʰa
MAN	uta	MAN	čitʰa
MIR	ʌpar	MIR	čitʰa
GUJ	ute	GUJ	čitʰa

149.	black	151.	one
MOS	kala	MOS	hek ^h
GHO	kala	GHO	ek
DEW	kala	DEW	hek
AYU	kala	AYU	ek
KOH	kala	KOH	ek
NIL	kala	NIL	ek
THA	kala	THA	ek
LOR	kala	LOR	hek
OSI	kala	OSI	ek
MUZ	kala	MUZ	ek
DUN	kala	DUN	ek
BHA	kala	BHA	ek
ABB	kala	ABB	hek
MAN	kala	MAN	hek
MIR	kala	MIR	ek
GUJ	kala	GUJ	ek
150.	red	152.	two
MOS	rʌta	MOS	do
GHO	rʌta	GHO	do
DEW	rʌta	DEW	do
AYU	rʌta	AYU	do
KOH	rʌta	KOH	do
NIL	lal	NIL	do
THA	rʌta	THA	do
LOR	rʌta	LOR	do
OSI	rʌta	OSI	do
MUZ	rʌta	MUZ	do
DUN	rʌta	DUN	do
BHA	rʌta	BHA	do
ABB	rʌta	ABB	do
MAN	rʌta	MAN	do
MIR	sua	MIR	do
GUJ	rʌta	GUJ	do

153. three
 MOS tre
 GHO tre
 DEW tre
 AYU tre
 KOH tre
 NIL tre
 THA tre
 LOR tre
 OSI tre
 MUZ tre
 DUN tre
 BHA tre
 ABB tre
 MAN tre
 MIR tre
 GUJ tre

154. four
 MOS čar
 GHO čar
 DEW čar
 AYU čar
 KOH čar
 NIL čar
 THA čar
 LOR čar
 OSI čar
 MUZ čar
 DUN čar
 BHA čar
 ABB čar
 MAN čar
 MIR čar
 GUJ čar

155. five
 MOS pɔŋj
 GHO pɔŋj
 DEW pɔŋj
 AYU pɔŋj
 KOH pɔŋj
 NIL pɔŋj
 THA pɔŋj
 LOR pɔŋj
 OSI pɔŋj
 MUZ pɔŋj
 DUN pɔŋj
 BHA pɔŋj
 ABB pɔŋj
 MAN pɔŋj
 MIR pɔŋj
 GUJ pɔŋj

156. six
 MOS č^he
 GHO č^he
 DEW č^he
 AYU č^he
 KOH č^he
 NIL č^he
 THA č^he
 LOR č^he
 OSI č^he
 MUZ č^he
 DUN č^he
 BHA č^he
 ABB č^he
 MAN č^he
 MIR č^he
 GUJ č^he

157.	seven	159.	nine
MOS	sat	MOS	nō
GHO	sat	GHO	nō
DEW	sat	DEW	no
AYU	sat	AYU	no
KOH	sat	KOH	no
NIL	sat	NIL	no
THA	sat	THA	nō
LOR	sat	LOR	no
OSI	sat	OSI	no
MUZ	sat	MUZ	nō
DUN	sat	DUN	no
BHA	sat	BHA	nō
ABB	sat	ABB	nō
MAN	sat	MAN	nō
MIR	sat	MIR	nō
GUJ	sat	GUJ	nō
158.	eight	160.	ten
MOS	Λ _ɿ ^h	MOS	dAs
GHO	Λ _ɿ ^h	GHO	dAs
DEW	Λ _ɿ ^h	DEW	dAs
AYU	Λ _ɿ ^h	AYU	dAs
KOH	Λ _ɿ ^h	KOH	dAs
NIL	Λ _ɿ ^h	NIL	dAs
THA	Λ _ɿ ^h	THA	dAs
LOR	Λ _ɿ ^h	LOR	dAs
OSI	Λ _ɿ ^h	OSI	dAs
MUZ	Λ _ɿ ^h	MUZ	dAs
DUN	Λ _ɿ ^h	DUN	dAs
BHA	Λ _ɿ ^h	BHA	dAs
ABB	Λ _ɿ ^h	ABB	da
MAN	Λ _ɿ ^h	MAN	dAs
MIR	Λ _ɿ ^h	MIR	dAs
GUJ	Λ _ɿ ^h	GUJ	dAs

161.	eleven	163.	twenty
MOS	yarā	MOS	vi
GHO	yarā	GHO	vi
DEW	yarā	DEW	vi
AYU	yarā	AYU	vi
KOH	yarā	KOH	vi
NIL	yarā	NIL	vi
THA	yarā	THA	bi
LOR	yarā	LOR	vi
OSI	yarā	OSI	vi
MUZ	yarā	MUZ	vi
DUN	yarā	DUN	ḥi
BHA	yarā	BHA	vi
ABB	yarā	ABB	bi
MAN	yarā	MAN	bi
MIR	yarā	MIR	vi
GUJ	yarā	GUJ	vi
162.	twelve	164.	one hundred
MOS	barā	MOS	so
GHO	barā	GHO	so
DEW	barā	DEW	so
AYU	barā	AYU	so
KOH	barā	KOH	so
NIL	barā	NIL	so
THA	barā	THA	so
LOR	barā	LOR	so
OSI	barā	OSI	so
MUZ	barā	MUZ	so
DUN	barā	DUN	so
BHA	barā	BHA	so
ABB	barā	ABB	so
MAN	barā	MAN	so
MIR	barā	MIR	so
GUJ	barā	GUJ	so

165.	who	167.	where
MOS	kuṇ	MOS	kudor
GHO	kuṇ	GHO	kudor
DEW	kuṇ	DEW	kudor
AYU	kuṇ	AYU	kuder
KOH	kuṇ	KOH	kur
NIL	kuṇ	NIL	kur
THA	kōṇ	THA	kur
LOR	kuṇ	LOR	kudor
OSI	kuṇ	OSI	kur
MUZ	koṇ	MUZ	kur
DUN	kō	DUN	kudor
BHA	kaṇ	BHA	kudor
ABB	koṇ	ABB	kiṭ ^h e
MAN	koṇ	MAN	kiɖaɾ
MIR	kuṇ	MIR	kud ^h ur
GUJ	koṇ	GUJ	kuṭ ^h e
166.	what	168.	when
MOS	kɛ	MOS	kaɖū
GHO	kya	GHO	kaɖū
DEW	kɛ	DEW	kaɖū
AYU	kɛ	AYU	kaɖū
KOH	kɛ	KOH	kaɖū
NIL	ke	NIL	kaɖū
THA	ke	THA	kaɖū
LOR	kɛ	LOR	keɛɛ
OSI	kɛ	OSI	keɛɛ
MUZ	kɛ	MUZ	kaɖū
DUN	kɛ	DUN	kaɖū
BHA	kɛ	BHA	kiɾi veɛɛ
ABB	ke	ABB	kaɖū
MAN	ke	MAN	kaɖū
MIR	kɛ	MIR	kaɖū
GUJ	kɛ	GUJ	kaɖū

169.	how many	171.	this
MOS	kitne	MOS	yo
GHO	kitne	GHO	yo
DEW	kitne	DEW	yo
AYU	kitne	AYU	yo
KOH	kitne	KOH	yo
NIL	kitne	NIL	yo
THA	kitne	THA	e
LOR	kitne	LOR	ɛ
OSI	kitne	OSI	yo
MUZ	kitne	MUZ	ɛ
DUN	kitne	DUN	e
BHA	kitna	BHA	yo
ABB	kitna	ABB	e
MAN	kitne	MAN	e
MIR	kitne	MIR	e
GUJ	kitne	GUJ	ɛ
170.	which	172.	that
MOS	kɪɾa	MOS	o
GHO	kɪɾa	GHO	o
DEW	kɪɾa	DEW	o
AYU	kɪɾa	AYU	o
KOH	kɪɾa	KOH	o
NIL	kɪɾa	NIL	o
THA	kɪɾa	THA	o
LOR	kɪɾa	LOR	o
OSI	kɪɾa	OSI	o
MUZ	kɪɾa	MUZ	o
DUN	kɔn	DUN	o
BHA	kunsa	BHA	vo
ABB	kɪɾa	ABB	o
MAN	kɪɾa	MAN	o
MIR	kɪɾa	MIR	o
GUJ	kɔn	GUJ	o

173.	these	175.	same
MOS	e	MOS	ek ^h hi
GHO	ye	GHO	ek hi
DEW	yo	DEW	hek æ
AYU	yo	AYU	ek ʃe
KOH	yo	KOH	ek ε
NIL	yo	NIL	ek hi
THA	e	THA	ek hi
LOR	ɛ̃	LOR	ekε ʃe
OSI	e	OSI	ek ɛ̃
MUZ	e	MUZ	ek i
DUN	e	DUN	ek ye
BHA	yo	BHA	bʌrabʌr
ABB	e	ABB	hek ʃe
MAN	e	MAN	ek
MIR	e	MIR	bʌrabʌr
GUJ	e	GUJ	ekε ʃe
174.	those	176.	different
MOS	o	MOS	rʌŋ prʌŋi
GHO	o	GHO	muxtʌlif
DEW	o	DEW	horhor
AYU	o	AYU	muxtʌlif
KOH	o	KOH	muxtʌlif
NIL	o	NIL	muxtʌlif
THA	o	THA	mʌxtʌlif
LOR	o	LOR	mʌxtʌlif
OSI	o	OSI	mʌxtʌlif
MUZ	o	MUZ	muxtʌlif
DUN	o	DUN	lada lada
BHA	o	BHA	muxtʌlif
ABB	o	ABB	muxtʌlif
MAN	o	MAN	moxtalif
MIR	o	MIR	muxtʌlif
GUJ	o	GUJ	ɪlədʌ lɛdʌ

177.	whole	179.	few
MOS	pura	MOS	t ^h oɾa
GHO	pura	GHO	t ^h oɾa
DEW	pura	DEW	t ^h oɾa
AYU	pura	AYU	t ^h oɾa
KOH	pura	KOH	t ^h oɾa
NIL	pura	NIL	t ^h oɾa
THA	pura	THA	t ^h oɾa
LOR	sara	LOR	t ^h oɾa
OSI	pura	OSI	kaɫ
MUZ	pura	MUZ	t ^h oɾa
DUN	pura	DUN	t ^h oɾa
BHA	pura	BHA	t ^h oɾa
ABB	sara	ABB	t ^h oɾa
MAN	salim	MAN	kaɫ
MIR	pura	MIR	t ^h oɾa
GUJ	pura	GUJ	t ^h oɾa
178.	broken	180.	many
MOS	pʌʃa	MOS	ziada
GHO	pʌʃa	GHO	baõ
DEW	pʌʃa	DEW	baõ
AYU	truɫa	AYU	baõ
KOH	pʌʃa	KOH	baõ
NIL	pʌʃia	NIL	baõ
THA	pʌʃia	THA	ziada
LOR	pʌʃa	LOR	baõ
OSI	pʌʃa	OSI	baõ
MUZ	pʌʃia	MUZ	ziade
DUN	pʌʃa	DUN	baõ
BHA	pʌʃna	BHA	ziada
ABB	pʌʃe da	ABB	baõ
MAN	trorɫe ɟa	MAN	muč
MIR	tuɫea	MIR	baõ
GUJ	tuɫea	GUJ	baõ

181.	all	183.	bite (dog)
MOS	sare	MOS	k ^h a
GHO	sare	GHO	k ^h a
DEW	sare	DEW	k ^h a
AYU	sara	AYU	k ^h a
KOH	sare	KOH	k ^h a
NIL	sara	NIL	k ^h a
THA	sare	THA	k ^h a
LOR	sare	LOR	k ^h a
OSI	sare	OSI	k ^h a
MUZ	sare	MUZ	k ^h a
DUN	sare	DUN	k ^h a
BHA	sarā	BHA	k ^h a
ABB	sare	ABB	čʌk mar
MAN	sare	MAN	čʌk pag
MIR	sare	MIR	biŋ
GUJ	sare	GUJ	lʌŋ
182.	eat	184.	(he is) hungry
MOS	k ^h a	MOS	pʌk
GHO	k ^h a	GHO	pʌk
DEW	k ^h a	DEW	pʌk
AYU	k ^h a	AYU	pʌk
KOH	k ^h a	KOH	pʌk
NIL	k ^h a	NIL	pʌk
THA	k ^h a	THA	pʌk
LOR	k ^h a	LOR	pʌk
OSI	k ^h a	OSI	pʌk
MUZ	k ^h a	MUZ	pʌk
DUN	k ^h a	DUN	pʌk
BHA	k ^h a	BHA	pʌk
ABB	k ^h a	ABB	pʌk
MAN	k ^h a	MAN	b ^h ʌk
MIR	k ^h ā	MIR	puk ^h
GUJ	khā	GUJ	puk ^h

185.	drink	187.	sleep
MOS	pi	MOS	se
GHO	pi	GHO	su
DEW	pi	DEW	su
AYU	pi	AYU	su
KOH	pi	KOH	se
NIL	pi	NIL	su
THA	pi	THA	se
LOR	pi	LOR	su
OSI	pi	OSI	se
MUZ	pi	MUZ	su
DUN	pi	DUN	su
BHA	pi	BHA	se
ABB	pi	ABB	sæ
MAN	pi	MAN	sea
MIR	pi	MIR	se
GUJ	pi	GUJ	se
186.	(he is) thirsty	188.	lie down
MOS	tre	MOS	leṭ
GHO	tre	GHO	leṭ
DEW	tre	DEW	leṭ
AYU	tre	AYU	leṭ
KOH	tre	KOH	leṭ
NIL	tre	NIL	leṭ
THA	tre	THA	leṭ
LOR	tre	LOR	leṭ
OSI	tre	OSI	leṭ
MUZ	tre	MUZ	leṭ
DUN	tre	DUN	leṭ
BHA	tre	BHA	leṭ
ABB	tre	ABB	leṭ
MAN	tre	MAN	lɒma
MIR	tre	MIR	leṭ
GUJ	tre	GUJ	leṭ

189.	sit	191.	burn (the wood)
MOS	be	MOS	bal
GHO	beɬ ^h	GHO	bal
DEW	beɬ ^h	DEW	bal
AYU	be	AYU	bal
KOH	be	KOH	saɾ
NIL	beɟ	NIL	bal
THA	biɟ	THA	bal
LOR	be	LOR	saɾ
OSI	be	OSI	saɾ
MUZ	be	MUZ	saɾ
DUN	bæɬ ^h	DUN	bal
BHA	be	BHA	bal
ABB	be	ABB	saɾ
MAN	beɬ ^h	MAN	baɭ
MIR	beɬ ^h	MIR	bal
GUJ	beɬ ^h	GUJ	bal
190.	give	192.	die (man)
MOS	de	MOS	maɾ
GHO	de	GHO	maɾ
DEW	de	DEW	maɾ
AYU	de	AYU	maɾ
KOH	de	KOH	maɾ
NIL	di	NIL	maɾ
THA	de	THA	maɾ
LOR	de	LOR	maɾ
OSI	de	OSI	maɾ
MUZ	de	MUZ	maɾ
DUN	de	DUN	maɾ
BHA	de	BHA	maɾ
ABB	de	ABB	maɾ
MAN	de	MAN	maɾ
MIR	de	MIR	maɾi
GUJ	de	GUJ	maɾi

193.	kill (the bird)	195.	walk
MOS	mar	MOS	ʈur
GHO	mar	GHO	ʃul
DEW	mar	DEW	gʌʃ
AYU	mar	AYU	ʈur
KOH	mar	KOH	ʈur
NIL	mar	NIL	ʃul
THA	mar	THA	ʃul
LOR	mar	LOR	ʈur
OSI	mar	OSI	ʈur
MUZ	mar	MUZ	ʈur
DUN	mar	DUN	ʈʌr
BHA	mar	BHA	ʃel
ABB	mar	ABB	ʈur
MAN	mar	MAN	tor
MIR	mar	MIR	ʃʌl
GUJ	mar	GUJ	ʈur
194.	fly (bird)	196.	run
MOS	uɖʌr	MOS	doɖ
GHO	uɖʌr	GHO	doɖ
DEW	uɖʌr	DEW	nas
AYU	uɖʌr	AYU	nas
KOH	uɖʌr	KOH	doɖ
NIL	uɖʌr	NIL	doɖ
THA	ʌɖɾ	THA	doɖ
LOR	uɖʌr	LOR	doɖ
OSI	uɖʌr	OSI	doɖ
MUZ	ur	MUZ	doɖ
DUN	uɖʌr	DUN	doɖ
BHA	uɖʌr	BHA	doɖ
ABB	uɖ	ABB	doɖ
MAN	udur	MAN	doɖ
MIR	uɖ	MIR	doɖ
GUJ	uɖ	GUJ	doɖ

197.	come	199.	speak
MOS	ʌš	MOS	bol
GHO	ʌš	GHO	bol
DEW	ʌš	DEW	bol
AYU	ʌš	AYU	bol
KOH	ʌš	KOH	bol
NIL	a	NIL	bol
THA	ʌš	THA	bol
LOR	ʌš	LOR	bol
OSI	ʌš	OSI	bol
MUZ	a	MUZ	bol
DUN	ʌč	DUN	bol
BHA	ʌš	BHA	gʌlā ba
ABB	a	ABB	bol
MAN	a	MAN	bol
MIR	a	MIR	bol
GUJ	ʌs	GUJ	bol
198.	go	200.	listen
MOS	gʌš	MOS	sun
GHO	gʌš	GHO	sun
DEW	gʌš	DEW	sun
AYU	gʌš	AYU	sun
KOH	gʌš	KOH	sun
NIL	ʃul	NIL	sun
THA	ʃul	THA	suŋ
LOR	gʌš	LOR	sun
OSI	gʌš	OSI	sun
MUZ	ʃul	MUZ	sun
DUN	ʃul	DUN	sun
BHA	gʌš	BHA	sun
ABB	ʃul	ABB	sun
MAN	ʃul	MAN	soŋ
MIR	ʃa	MIR	sun
GUJ	gʌs	GUJ	sun

201.	see	203.	you (sing. informal)
MOS	dɛk ^h	MOS	tũ
GHO	dɛk ^h	GHO	tũ
DEW	dɛk ^h	DEW	tu
AYU	dɛk ^h	AYU	tũ
KOH	dɛk ^h	KOH	tũ
NIL	dɛk ^h	NIL	tũ
THA	dɛk ^h	THA	tũ
LOR	dɛk ^h	LOR	tũ
OSI	dɛk ^h	OSI	tũ
MUZ	dɛx	MUZ	tũ
DUN	dɛk ^h	DUN	tũ
BHA	dɛk ^h	BHA	tũ
ABB	dɛx	ABB	tũ
MAN	dɛx	MAN	tũ
MIR	tɔk	MIR	tũ
GUJ	tɔk	GUJ	tũ
202.	I	204.	you (plural informal)
MOS	mẽ	MOS	tusã
GHO	mẽ	GHO	tus
DEW	mẽ	DEW	tusã
AYU	mẽ	AYU	tus
KOH	mẽ	KOH	tusã
NIL	mẽ	NIL	tus
THA	mẽ	THA	tus
LOR	mẽ	LOR	tusã
OSI	mẽ	OSI	tus
MUZ	mẽ	MUZ	tus
DUN	mẽ̃	DUN	tu
BHA	mẽ	BHA	tusã
ABB	mẽ	ABB	tusi
MAN	mẽ	MAN	tusi
MIR	mẽ	MIR	tusã
GUJ	mẽ	GUJ	tusã

205.	he	207.	you (plural informal)
MOS	o	MOS	tusã
GHO	o	GHO	tusã
DEW	o	DEW	tusã
AYU	o	AYU	tusã
KOH	o	KOH	tusã
NIL	o	NIL	tusã
THA	o	THA	tũ
LOR	o	LOR	tusã
OSI	o	OSI	tus
MUZ	o	MUZ	tus'ã
DUN	o	DUN	tus
BHA	vo	BHA	tusã
ABB	o	ABB	tusi
MAN	o	MAN	tusi
MIR	o	MIR	tũ
GUJ	o	GUJ	tus'ã
206.	we (inclusive)	208.	to me
MOS	ʌsã	MOS	miki
GHO	ʌsã	GHO	miki
DEW	ʌsã	DEW	mi
AYU	ʌs	AYU	miki
KOH	ʌsã	KOH	miki
NIL	ʌs	NIL	meka
THA	ʌs	THA	mĩ
LOR	ʌsã	LOR	miki
OSI	ʌs	OSI	miki
MUZ	ʌs	MUZ	mã
DUN	ʌs	DUN	miki
BHA	ʌsã	BHA	mĩ
ABB	ʌsi	ABB	mã
MAN	ʌsi	MAN	muko
MIR	ʌsã	MIR	miki
GUJ	ʌsã	GUJ	miki

209.	his	211.	near
MOS	usni	MOS	kol
GHO	usni	GHO	ko
DEW	usni	DEW	kol
AYU	usni	AYU	kol
KOH	usni	KOH	neṛẽ
NIL	usni	NIL	kol
THA	usni	THA	kol
LOR	usni	LOR	kol
OSI	usni	OSI	kol
MUZ	usti	MUZ	nal
DUN	usni	DUN	kol
BHA	usni	BHA	kolo
ABB		ABB	
MAN		MAN	
MIR	usni	MIR	kol
GUJ	usni	GUJ	kol
210.	don't	212.	to live
MOS	nĩ	MOS	re
GHO	nĩ	GHO	re
DEW	neo	DEW	re
AYU	nea	AYU	re
KOH	neo	KOH	re
NIL	neo	NIL	re
THA	neã	THA	re
LOR	neã	LOR	re
OSI	neo	OSI	re
MUZ	ne	MUZ	re
DUN	ne	DUN	re
BHA	neã	BHA	re
ABB		ABB	
MAN		MAN	
MIR	neo	MIR	re
GUJ	neo	GUJ	re

213.	from (store)	215.	not
MOS	tī	MOS	nei
GHO	ara	GHO	nei
DEW	hara	DEW	nasiã
AYU	opra	AYU	nasiã
KOH	ra	KOH	nasiã
NIL	ã	NIL	nasiã
THA	to	THA	neã
LOR	arũ	LOR	nusã
OSI	řã	OSI	nasyã
MUZ	Aprĩ	MUZ	ni
DUN	opra	DUN	nasiẽ
BHA	opra	BHA	neã
ABB		ABB	
MAN		MAN	
MIR	to	MIR	nã
GUJ	opra	GUJ	nĩ
214.	from (children)	216.	with
MOS	kola	MOS	nal
GHO	kolo	GHO	nal
DEW	kola	DEW	nal
AYU	kola	AYU	nal
KOH	kola	KOH	nal
NIL	kola	NIL	kme
THA	kolo	THA	nal
LOR	kolu	LOR	nal
OSI	kola	OSI	nal
MUZ	kolu	MUZ	nal
DUN	kolo	DUN	nal
BHA	kolo	BHA	nal
ABB		ABB	
MAN		MAN	
MIR	kolũ	MIR	nal
GUJ	kolũ	GUJ	nal

217.	wash
MOS	t̥
GHO	t̥
DEW	t̥
AYU	t̥
KOH	t̥
NIL	t̥
THA	t̥
LOR	t̥
OSI	t̥
MUZ	t̥
DUN	t̥
BHA	t̥
ABB	
MAN	
MIR	t̥
GUJ	t̥

B.2 Recorded Text Tests for intelligibility

Pahari from Murree Ghost story

1. ek vaqea mē tusā ki sunā. saḷe valad sa^hb te saḷe
one event I you to should_tell our father sir and our
I should tell you about one event. My father and
2. grāē nē ek ṭ^hekedar ṭoppe britiṣ armi ič kaḷm kerne
village of one contractor toppa British army in work do
a contractor from our village were working in the British toppa army.
3. hune esse it^hē gore ut^hē maṣ na kaḷm kerne esse.
been were here English there canteen of work do were
The British were here. They were working in a canteen there.
4. [Question-1] te ṭ^hekedar ge pinḍi soda xiridne ḷste.
* *and contractor went Pindi supplies buying for*
[Question-1] And the contractor went to Pindi to buy supplies.
5. [Question-2] o tre ḍm bad muṛi ae. [Question-3]
* *he three days after return came **
[Question-2] He came back after three days. [Question-3]
5. te saḷe valad sa^hb or ṭ^hekedar sa^hb ni ḍiskḷaṣ laḡi.
and our father sir and contractor sir of discuss began
And our father and the contractor began to talk.
6. unā axea ḡi ḷḡ mē ka^hr jaṣā maḷe valad sa^hb
he (HON)²⁷ said sir today I house will_go my father sir
The contractor said, "Today I will go home."
7. axea mē jaṣā. axor ṭ^hekedarā ke kitta ke ṭ^hekedar
said I will_go at_last contractor what did that contractor
My father said, "I will go." At last what did the contractor do?

²⁷ HON stands for honorific.

8. ut^hũ thĩ bune ʈoppe oli te č^hʌpi te kʌ^hr čʌle
there from lower toppa descend and hide and house back
 The contractor from the lower toppa went down and secretly returned
9. ae. maɽe valʌd sa^hb sočea ke ba^hi ʈ^hekedar
came my father sir thought that brother contractor
 home. My father thought that the contractor
10. axsan ke mē tui axya sa mē kʌ^hr gesā is
will_say that I to_you said was I house will_go this
 would say, “I had told you I would go to my house.” For
11. vastē mē ya bazi ʈitni^h maɽe valʌd sa^hb ke kitta. ke
for I this risk win my father sir what did that
 this reason I should take a chance. What did my father do?
12. ut^hũ mas vič axirla gora dʌs baɽe aya_ē. us ki
there canteen in last English ten hour came of_him to
 The last Englishmen came into the canteen at ten o'clock. My father gave
13. saɽor dei ut^hũ thi gore is ni^h sekol k^holi raṭi
food give there to English this his cycle open night
 them food, and then he unlocked the bicycle of an Englishman and came
14. kʌ^hr ae [Question-4] te ʌpne valʌd sa^hb ki axea
*house came * and own father sir to said*
 home at night. [Question-4] My father said to his father,
15. nē ke ε qal i ke mas niā čabiā maɽe kol yā.
did that this matter is that canteen of keys my with are
 “The problem is that I have the keys to the canteen.
16. [Question-5] ʌgar miki ʈayai saɽko te mē itne
 * *if to_me awoke can and I this_much*
 [Question-5] If you can wake me up, then I should arrive at the
17. baɽe mas vič počna. nēi to gore mi^h qed
o'clock canteen in arrive not then English to_me prison
 canteen in time. If not, then the English certainly will

18. kerai šoršan. [Question-6] rat nē kiše ayām ič unā
*have_done will_do * night of some time in they*
 imprison me.” [Question-6] Sometime during the night,
19. nē valad sa^hb sei ye. te jis vāqot jag ai nē
of father sir sleep went and when time awake came did
 his father went to sleep. And when he awoke his father
20. te unā foran axea ba^hi der hunie gač^h do baļe
and he(HON) suddenly said brother late be go two o'clock
 quickly said to him, “Brother, are you late! You should go.” At two o’clock
21. saře valad sa^hb it^hū thi pedal tūri te kašmiri bazar
our father sir here from on_foot walk and kashmiri bazar
 my father left from there and went to the Kashmiri bazar by foot.
22. ge. ut^hū čokidare axea ba^hi ke gal i? tū rati
went there watchman said brother what matter is? you night
 There the watchman said, “What’s the matter? Why are you wandering at
 night?”
23. kiyā p^hirnaē? ut^hū sekol kinni is vāqot kasor bagle ge.
why wander there cycle take when time Kasor bagla went
 From there he took the bicycle to Kasor Bagla.
24. te kasor bagle thi čandnī rat essi. [Question-7] te
*and Kasor Bagla from moonlit night was * and*
 And from Kasor Bagla on it was a moonlit night. [Question-7] And
25. us vič dek^hne ke ek orot jeři baŗa xubsurat labas
that in see that one woman who very beautiful dress
 in the moonlight he saw a woman who wore a very
26. laga va zavor laga va ε o č^hankar č^hankar kerni
wear is jewelry wear is and she jingle jingle do
 beautiful dress and a lot of jewelry. And she jingled as she
27. tūri. [Question-8] innā sočea kiše ni orot aliai.
*walk * he thought anyone of woman came_out*
 walked. [Question-8] He thought, “Someone’s wife has come out.

28. te čelo isi puč^hã. sekol doṛai nē te jṛtnã
and okay to_her should_ask cycle race did and as_much
 And, okay, I should ask her. As far as he had sped on the bicycle—the same
29. vākfa pe^hle ḷsa itnã ε vākfa uski. fir innã
distance before was this_much this distance to_her then he
 distance was between him and her. Then he said,
30. axea ke nēi, sekḷe opra olt^he, oli sekol haḷ^he
said that not cycle from_above descend descend cycle hand
 “No.” He climbed off the bicycle. He held the bicycle with his hand
31. vič poṛi te k^helte. te fir o k^hali gei. jis vḷqot
in catch and stand and then she stand went when time
 and stood. And then she stopped. When he went
32. ḷgē ge te innã sočea e gaḷ koi or i e.
ahead went and he thought this matter some other is this
 ahead, he thought, “This woman is not what she seems. She is
33. koi dui čiz i. fir saṛe valad sa^hb surat yasin paṛi
some another thing is then our father sir surat Yasin recite
 something else (i.e., a ghost.) Then my father began to recite Surat Yasin.
34. šeru kitti. tre dḷfa surat yasin paṛi te us ki dḷm
start did three times surat Yassin recite and her to breath
 He recited Surat Yasin three times and breathed on her.
35. kitta nē. te čikagali nē orle moṛ opra č^heṛ muṛi
did did and Jhikagali of this_near bend on slowly return
 Then on the turn near Jhikagali, she slowly
36. te bun oli gei nē. [Question-9] čikagali ut^hũ
*and below descend went did * Jhikagali there*
 descended below. [Question-9] He went from Jhikagali,
37. thi ge gač^hi, ṭoppe maḷ vič do kenṭe sei te
from went going toppa canteen in two hours sleep and
 slept two hours in the Toppa canteen, and then

38. sobah goreã aste safor teyar kitta nẽ. [Question-10]

*morning English for food prepare did did **

he prepared food for the Englishmen. [Question-10]

Questions for Pahari Ghost Story
(English translations)

1. Where were my father and the village contractor working?
2. Why did the contractor go to Pindi?
3. After how many days did the contractor return?
4. What did he do to the bicycle?
5. What did my father have?
6. What will the Englishmen do to my father if he doesn't arrive in time?
7. What was the night like?
8. What was the lady wearing?
9. Where did the lady go?
10. How long did my father sleep?

Hindko from Abbottabad

Electric shock story

1. ek dafa ke hunda e. mẽ te meri čači kA^hr
one time what happened is I and my paternal_aunt house
Once it happened that I and my aunt (father's younger brother's wife)

2. di safai kernẽ da, asi program kerneã. [Question-1]
*of cleaning were_doing of we program doing **
planned to clean our house. [Question-1]

3. kΛ^hr de baki lok ba^hr kire gædin. or ʌsi
house of remaining people outside where had_gone and we
 The rest of the people had gone outside. And we were
4. axneã ke kΛ^hr da kafi ʌman or
say that house of enough household_goods and
 saying that there were many household goods and
5. kʌbkʌbaɾ baŋēda e. te pe^hle kΛ^hr di ʌfai
waste_material made is and before house of cleanness
 junk in the house. And first we began cleaning the house.
6. kerneã. sare kʌmreã diã kundiãlake dʌrwaze bʌnd kʌr
are_doing all rooms of bolts doors shut do
 We bolted all of the the doors shut.
7. ke. [Question-2] or ɣusʌlxane bič bʌõ zeada simʌɾ diã
*and * and bathroom in very much cement of*
 [Question-2] And in the bathroom there were many bags of
8. boriã or čadrã iã. te ʌsã sočea pe^hle ɣusʌlxane ã
bags and sheets were and we thought before bathroom to
 cement and sheets. And we thought, First, we will clean
9. saf kerã. baki kʌmre bad bič kʌrsã. ɣusʌlxane bič
clean do remaining room after in will_do bathroom in
 the bathroom. Then later we will clean the remaining rooms. We went into
10. ane ã te uthu mã čači meri axdi e tũ ute šʌlfã
come are and there to_me aunt my said is you on shelves
 the bathroom, and my aunt said, “You sit on the
11. te be. [Question-3] te mẽ tũda tʌlõ čadrã desã. tũ
*on sit * and I you below sheets give you*
 shelves. [Question-3] And I will give you the metal sheets from below. You
 should
12. čadrã kinni. mã ʌč^ha mẽ mẽ axea ɾ^hik e. mẽ ute
sheets take to_me good I, I said right is I on
 take the sheets.” I said, “Okay.” I climbed

13. čarņiā šalfā te. mē ute čarņiā te o mā čadrā
climb shelves and I on climbed and they to_me sheets
 on the shelves and she began to give me metal sheets.
14. deō lāgin te čadlā mā pakrādīn. te čadlā mere hat^h
give began and sheet to_me caught and sheet my hands
 And she gave me the sheets to hold. And the metal sheet
14. ičū č^hoṭ ke te biļi di tar e. [Question-4] us
*from fell that and electric of wire was * that*
 fell from my hands and there were electric wires. [Question-4]
15. nal jūl ťakrai e. te dexniā itni šola baṅ gei e.
with go touch is and look so_much flames made went was
 The metal sheets touched the wire. And I looked at how many flames there were.
16. itna o sari āg hi āg nāzār andi e.
this_much that total fire everywhere fire sight came was
 I saw that the fire was everywhere.
17. čāči mere hat^h bičō č^hoṭ gei e. or āg baṅi di mere
aunt my hands from fell went is and fire made of my
 My aunt... The sheet fell from my hands. And I had the flaming sheet in
18. hathe bič pakri di e. te mere hathe bičō č^hoṭ gei e. tāle
hand in held of is and my hand from fell went is below
 my hands—but it fell from them. Below
19. čāči de pēr te lāgi e te maṭlab e pēr zaxmi ho gea
aunt of foot on hit is on mean is foot injure happen went
 my aunt's foot was hit by the sheet. Her foot was injured.
20. e. [Question-5] fir o behoš mē dexniā o tāle
*was * then she unconscious I see she below*
 [Question-5] Then--she was unconscious—I saw that she was
21. leṭedīn. leṭedīn te unā mē axniā e ke ho
lying_down lie_down and they I say this what happen
 lying down below. She was lying down and I thought, What has

22. gea e. mē čixā marni ā. čači vi tle lete
went is I scream let_out am aunt too below laying
 happened? I was screaming. My aunt was unconscious
23. behoš pædm. hun ke kārā. kafī ḷda^h g^henṭa
unconscious put now what do enough half hour
 and lying down. Now what would I do? For about half an hour
24. mē čixā mardiriā. mardiriā. ba^hr
I scream am_letting_out am_letting_out outside
 I kept screaming, and screaming. Outside,
25. kiseā koi pata nī člida. or fir mere zehni vič
someone_to any know not run and then my mind in
 no one knew. And then something came to my mind.
26. ai e. hun mē tle le ke darwaza kise tarā
came is now I below descend and door any like
 Now I would go down and somehow open the door.
27. k^holā. [Question-6] tle ḷt^hiā šlfe tō.
*should_open * below descending shelf from*
 [Question-6] I began descending from the shelf.
28. darwaza kholneā. tle ḷt^hiā dexniā tle vi
door open below descended looking below too
 I opened the door. I descended below and I saw that
29. fārše bič kārṇṭ e. jid^har raxniā fārše bič
floor_infl in current is anywhere put floor_infl in
 there was a current in the floor. Anywhere I put my foot
 on the floor,
30. kārṇṭ e. lekin šukar e mā xuda samaj ditti e.
current is but thanks is to_me God understanding give is
 there was a current. But thanks to God that he has given me this
 understanding:

31. ke aɣar biʃli da ya kɫaɫɫ da koi ʃakɫar hove te o
*that if electric of or current of some case ** and that*
 That in case electricity or a current is flowing, then
32. lɫaɫ da mtezam huna ʃaida e. lɫaɫ nal ni andi.
wood of arrange happened should is wood with not came
 wood should be used. Electricity does not affect wood.
33. mē lɫaɫā pɫaɫɫdi daɾwazeā pɫaɫɫe. [Question-7] fir us
*I wood catch doors caught * then that*
 I held onto some wood and the doors. [Question-7] Then
34. tō bad khiɾki andi e. usā pɫaɫɫa e. fir ɫmari
from after window came is to_that caught is then cupboard
 after that there was a window, and I held onto that. Then there was a
 cupboard—
35. e hek lɫaɫ di. usā pɫaɫɫdi, pɫaɫɫdi mē gelri tak
is one wood of to_that grab grab I hallway while
 a wooden one. I kept holding onto that and then arrived in the
36. pōčičiā. or ʃis vaqot mē ʃ^hoɾniā mā ʃ^hɫka zurur
arrive and which time I free to_me shock certainly
 gallery. And I didn't hold onto wood,
37. laɣda e biʃli da. [Question-8] lekɫɫ ʃis vaqot pɫaɫɫniā
*feel is electric of * but which time catch*
 a shock would certainly hit me. [Question-8] But when I held onto wood
38. us vaqot mē kuʃ taɫɫali siɾ, aɾeā taɫɫali te
that time I some satisfaction of self_to satisfaction of
 at that time I had some relief.
39. me^hsus kɫɾniā taɫɫali bič. fir usā pokoɾne pokoɾna
feel do satisfaction in then to_that catch catch
 I felt some relief. Then holding that,
40. mē daɾwaza k^hole gelri da. fir meriā čixā niɫliɫɫ,
I door opened hallway of then my scream came_out
 I opened the door to the hallway. Then I let out a scream.

41. marian. te ute klmē vale ā avaz ai e te o
let_out and there work one to sound came is and they
 Some workers heard my screams and then
42. dorde aen. o dexdm. mā puč^hdm. ke hoya e
run came they saw to_me asked what happened is
 came running. They saw. They asked me, “What happened
43. tusā. mē axniā, asā hothō pata ni klanṭ lge a.
*you I say we from_there know not current *** is*
 to you?” I said, “I don’t know if we had been hit by a current from there.”
44. andar tar jeriā čadrā iā. o lq bṇi dlan. te
inner wire which sheets were they fire make are and
 Inside are wires—where the (metal) sheets were. “The
 metal sheets are hot, like fire. And
45. mā ni pata ke ho gea e. samanṭ ni
to_me not know what happen went is understanding not
 I don’t know what has happened. I don’t understand.
46. lqdi. jidhor jūlnia mā klanṭ hi lqda e. te
attach where go to_me current everywhere feel is and
 Wherever I go, I am shocked.
47. čači vi andar behoš pēdm. o doṛm, unā pata
aunt too inner unconscious put they ran they know
 And my aunt is lying unconscious inside.” They ran.
48. čel gea ε ke inā koi biḷi da hi
move went is that to_them some electric of everywhere
 They found out if there was an electrical problem.
49. čakar ε. unā mensuč bṇd kitta e. mensuč bṇd
case is they main_switch shut did is main_switch shut
 They shut off the main switch. They shut off the main switch
50. kar ke fir o aen. čači meri ā ča ke beḍ ute
do that then they came aunt my of pick and bed on
 and then they came. They picked up my aunt and laid her on

51. *paya ne. una đaktar kol k^hre ne. [Question-9] fir lay_down did they doctor with take did * then the bed. They took her to the doctor. [Question-9] Then*
52. *uthe kuđ đavāia vaera unā milyan. te unā there few medicine_pl etc to_them obtain and they she had some medicine, etc., there. And they*
53. *k^hr anda ne, đaktar ditiān. te k^hr ande ne te house brought did doctor give and house take did and brought her to the house. The doctor gave (medicine to her) my aunt*
54. *fir k^hr ale baki vapas aen. te unā Ńukar then house ones remaining return came and they thanks back home. The rest of the people of the house also came back. And they thanked*
55. *xuda da kitte ke Ńukar e tusi bač geio. or aenda is God of did that thanks is you safe went and future this God: "Thank God that you were saved." And in the future*
56. *kisam di safai k^hr đarwaza band kar ke type of cleanness house door shut do and don't do this type of cleaning with the door*
57. *na keryo. [Question-10] not do * closed." [Question-10]*

Questions for Abbottabad Hindko electric shock story
(English translations)

1. What were she and her aunt doing?
2. What did she do to all of the doors?
3. What did her aunt tell her to do?
4. What happened to the (metal) sheet?

5. What happened to her aunt's foot?
6. Why will she get down?
7. What did she do with the wood?
8. What would happen to her when her hand left the wood?
9. Where did they take her aunt?
10. What advice did they give her for the future?

Hindko from Manshra²⁸

Accident Story

1. gAl IS tArã di e ĵi ke mArã aksidAnt da ek vaqea
matter this like of is sir that my accident of one event
This is how my accident happened.
2. hoya e. te us vič is tArã hoya e [ke ek
happened is and that in this like happened is (that one
It happened this way (that one
3. dIn] mē sobha sAvere uṭ^hne da adi sã. [Question-1]
*day) I morning early arise of habit was **
day—) I had the habit of getting up early. [Question-1]
4. sAvere uṭ^hne da adi sã. te mē ek deare ke hunda
early arise of habit was and I one day what happened
And one day it happened
5. e ke ačanAk rati ĵul ke sena te usi vele kidre
*is that suddenly night go that sleep and at_that time ****
that I quickly went to sleep, and it seemed that

²⁸ “Wagon is Pakistani English for “van.”

6. thoṛi j̄ei der guzri e te maṛi ak^h k^hul gei. mē
little very time passed is and my eye open went I
 very little time passed when my eyes opened.
7. sam̄jea j̄eldi uṭ^hra ḷssa te mē ḷj̄ leṭ ho geā.
understand early get_up was and I today late happen went
 Everyday I get up early in the morning but now I was late.
8. mē ḷpne daṛō zehne vič e sočea ke leṭ ho geā
I own from mind in this thought that late happen went
 I was thinking that I was late.
9. mē ḷaṭofḷṭ uṭ^he ā kaḷbra ke na kaṛi dek^hi na
I immediately stand are confuse with not watch see not
 I got up immediately with confusion. I did not see the clock
10. hor kuṅ. mē j̄i o ḷpni čadaṛ vaḷera kinni ḷssi.
more few I sir that own shawl etc take was
 or anything else. I took my own chadar, etc.
11. [Question-2] beḷi beḷi ke mē doṛ ke ayā te gaḍḍi ṣṭaṭ
 * *wrap etc and I run and came and car start*
 [Question-2] Wrapping myself in a chadar, I raced out and started the car.
12. kitti. gaḍḍi ṣṭaṭ kaṛ ke te mē ṭem noṭ kitta e. koi do
did car start do that and I time note did is some two
 As I started the car, I noticed what time it was. The time was
13. ṭai baḷje da ṭem essa. yani [Question-3] mē
*two_and_half o'clock of time was that_is ** I
 2:00 or 2:30. [Question-3] That is,
14. ḷpne ze^hne vič e sočda sā ke leṭ ho geā.
own mind in this thought was that late happen went
 I was thinking that I was late,
15. haḷānke leṭ na ḷsā mē baḷke suta i thoṛa ja ḷsā. te
even late not was I rather sleep is few very was and
 even though I was not late. I really had only slept a little while. And

16. mē a geā mē sočea hun muṛ ke na senda. hun
I come went I thought now return and not sleep now
 I came. I thought I would not go back to sleep. Now
17. uṭ^h geā a geā ḷde bič is jle počēā ji te o
stand went come went stand in this time arrive sir and that
 I got up and I came to the (wagon) stand. That
18. čunke o deaṛa maṛi baḍ_kismati da teaṛa ḷssa.
because that day my unlucky of day was
 was my unlucky day.
19. [Question-4] is aste mē mo saṃaṛj na ai. mē
 * *this for I to_me understanding not came I*
 [Question-4] But I didn't understand this. I
20. ḷde bič a geā. aṇ ke k^hḷl geā. jis ele
stand in come went come that stand_up went which time
 came to the stand and stopped there. When I
21. thoṛi der k^hḷta mē te xuda di e jei šan ke
*little late stand_up I and God of this ** glory that*
 stayed a little bit, only God knows that
22. ḷčanak o ek do admi e je jeṛe jḷdi uṭ^h ke
*suddenly that one two men ** ** who hurry stand and*
 suddenly two men that were in a hurry
23. a ge. [Question-5] or maṛe kol jeṛi gaḷḍi ḷssi
*come went * and my with who car was*
 came. [Question-5] And the car I had
24. tyoṭa haies gaḷḍi ḷssi saṃariā ali. haṛipur tu
toyota hiace car was passengers one Haripur from
 with me was a Toyota Hiace (wagon)—one for passengers. The route of the
 car was from Haripur
25. kaṃan ruṭ ḷssa us gaḷḍi da. te mē us vaqot
Kaghan route was that car of and I that time
 to the Kaghan (Valley). And I was

26. hɹipur ʒulnā ʌssā o admi do ʒɹldi a ge. o vi
Haripur go was they men two hurry come went they too
 going toward Haripur at that time. The two men came in a hurry
27. hɹipur ʒulna čannde ʌsse te āṅ ke gɹḍḍi bič beṭ^h
Haripur go want were and come and car in sit
 and they wanted to go to Haripur. And they sat in my wagon,
28. ge. halāke rat di tariki ʌssi. ʌnnera ʌssa.
went even night of darkness was dark was
 even though it was in the middle of the night. It was dark.
29. lo na hoi ʌssi paṛ unā axea ʒi ʌsi vi ʒɹldi
light not is was but they said sir we too hurry
 There was not light. But they said, “We are in a hurry.”
30. uṭ^h ke a geā te hun člo tusā di gɹḍḍi vič ʒeṛa
stand and come went and now okay you of car in who
 “We rose and came. And, okay, now we will pass the
31. ṭem guzarneā, guzarneā. [Question-6] te us tu bad ʌla^h
*time pass pass * and that to after Allah*
 the time in your car.” [Question 6] And after that by Allah’s
32. kitta ʒi maʒid ʌʌvariā ayā mē unā ko beṭ^halya kin
did sir further passengers came I they to sit take
 ‘hand’ more passengers came. I had them sit. I took them
33. ke hɹipur pānč geā. hɹipur pānč geā te kudurti
and Haripur arrive went Haripur arrive went and heavenly
 and arrived in Haripur. (I arrived in Haripur.) As heaven is
34. ʌge e tusā ki vaqea sunāna. ke hɹipur paṅčēā mē te
front this you to event listen that Haripur arrive I and
 my witness, I tell you this. I arrived in Haripur, and
35. e ʒei koi xuda di šan e ke hɹipure bič vi gɹḍḍi
*this ** some God of glory is that Haripur in too car*
 by God’s glory, there weren’t any wagons in

36. koi na si. [Question-7] moko dasti ut^hū savariā
*any not was * to_me by_hand there passengers*
 Haripur. [Question-7] My van quickly filled with passengers.

37. mil geiḷn. mē kiṅ ke manse^hre čla geā. manse^hre
obtain went I take and Mansehra go went Mansehra
 I took them to Mansehra. (I arrived in

38. ayā ji te ḷge balakoṭ ḷsda. it^he vi gḷḷḍiā šaṭ
came sir and front Balakot came here too car few
 Mansehra) and on ahead was Balakot. Here also there were very few wagons.

39. ḷsiā. maṭḷab e kudurti ḷmaḷ ḷsa halāke ḷge pič^he so
were mean is heavenly matter was even before after 100
 I mean it was unbelievable. Every other time, there were 100

40. gḷḷḍi hune de bavjud us deaṛe gḷḷḍiā šaṭ ḷsiā. ba^hrhal mē
car were of besides that day cars few were afterall I
 wagons besides mine. That day wagons were in short supply. After all, as
 soon as

41. uthū jis ele paṛi^he gḷḷḍi te balakoṭ ḷsti nikleā te
there which time full is car and Balakot for left and
 I arrived there, the wagon was full, and we left for Balakot.

42. gḷṛiḷbibula^h de maḷkam ute ek jai mē počeā uthū
GhariHabibullah of place there one place I arrive there
 I arrived in a place called Gari Hubibulah

43. guṭṛimor tarimor axḍm. uthā maṛa te eki^h ṭḷḷake
name_of_place TariMor said there my and one truck
 in a place called TaraMor. It was there that I had a head-on collision

44. da amnasamna hoyā e [Question-8] baḷ is ič e
*of face_to_face happened is * at_last this in is*
 with a truck. [Question-8] After all this,

45. hoyā e ke mē haṣpaṭal di naḷar ho geā. haṣpaṭal
happened is that I hospital of see happen went hospital
 I went to a hospital.

46. di nAZAR ho geã. maŕa xeal e maŕe nal č^he sat admi
of see happen went my idea is my with six seven men
 (I saw a hospital.) I think that there were six or seven more

47. hor vi zAXmi hoe. [Question-9] mē vi zAXmi hoyã.
*more too injure were * I too injured came*
 people injured with me. [Question-9] I also was injured.

48. maŕi ŕAŋ vi pAĵ gei. sire bič vi laŋ gei kaŕi
my leg too break went head in too attach went much
 My leg was broken. There were plenty of injuries on my head

49. sari ba^hrhal ŕake da đarevor moke tu fARar
complete somehow truck of driver situation from fled
 also. Somehow the truck driver managed to flee from

50. ho gea e. [Question-10]
*happen went is **
 the scene of the accident. [Question-10]

Questions for Mansehra Hindko accident story
 (English translations)

1. What was his habit?
2. What did he take?
3. What time was it when he started his car?
4. What kind of day was this for him?
5. Who came to him?
6. Where did the passengers spend their time?
7. What did he see in Haripur?
8. What did he come face to face with?
9. How many people were injured?
10. What did the truck driver do?

Pothwari from Gujarkhan

Drowning accident story

1. ʌnč^ha ʌsā nɪke nɪke hune seã, sʌkul pʌrɲe hune seã te
well we little little be were school read be were and
 When we were very little children, we studied in school. And
2. maʃtor ʌsā ki āne tusā ki ser vastɛ k^hʌrɲeã
teacher we to said you to sight_seeing for taking
 the teachers said, “We are taking you on an outing.”
3. [Question-1] ʌsā ɪ ser vastɛ kinni ɣe. te o
 * *we to sight_seeing for take went and that*
 [Question-1] They took us on an outing. And we
4. nɪke bʌčče seã te ʌsā ki pāni tʌk^hi na ʌtʌk dʌryae
little children were and we to water see not Attock river
 were little children—we saw the water in Attock river,
5. na te ʌsā ki dɪl a gea ʌsā axea naneã.
of and we to heart come went we said should_bathe
 and we wanted to play in the river.
6. [Question-2] sʌrɪ ser ali gʌdɖi sari park ič
 * *our sight_seeing one car total park in*
 [Question-2] Our car was parked at that time
7. k^hʌlti rɛi. bʌčče sare park ič p^hɪrɲe rɛe. te
stand remained children all park in wander remained and
 the park. All of the children were wandering in the park. And
8. ʌsā pʌɲ č^he jatok jɛɾa na dʌryae ič nane vastɛ čʌle geã.
we five six boys who not river in bathe for back went
 five or six of us boys went to play in the river.
9. jɛle dʌryae ič nane vastɛ geã. te mɛ o čumi ŝumi
when river in bath for went and I that dive etc
 When we went in the river to play, I was interested

10. marne na tʰarʰki sã. [Question-3] itʰe banniã
*hit of interested was * here swimming_hole*
 in diving. [Question-3] We were bathing
11. ič nane hune seã. te čumiã marne hune seã. te utʰe
in bath be were and dive hit be were and there
 in a swimming hole (pool along the bank of the river). (And
12. vi gačʰi te čumi mari te o pani sa zeade te
too went and dive hit and that water was mostly and
 we were diving.) And when I went and dove there, the water was very deep,
 and
13. mẽ us pãniẽ vič đubi yeã. baki jatok jeře
I that water_infl in drown went remaining boys who
 I went under the water. The rest of the boys
14. se o utʰe kanare opor nane se. utʰũ baʰr nikli
were they there edge on bath were there outside draw
 were playing there along the bank. From there, they got out
15. kʰli tɔxna širu kari ditta ne, ke baʰi o vapos lã
stand see start do give did that brother he back now
 of the water and began to see that I did not
16. niklea niʰ baʰr. mẽ o pãni zeade si. te
draw_out not outside I that water much was and
 come out of the water. (I) There was very deep water. And
17. pãniẽ nal agẽ čla geã. kafĩ dur čla geã. te
water_infl with ahead go went enough far go went and
 I was carried along with it. I went pretty far. And
18. pičʰe o jatok jeře san baki sare o kafĩ
behind that boys who were remaining all they enough
 back at the riverbank, all the rest of the boys searched for me for a while, but
19. loņe ree te na milea ne. te mẽ kafĩ sara pul
search remain and not found did and I enough all bridge
 they didn't find me. I went under several bridges,

20. karas kar ke na te agē ek nal loka ĵea grā ve.
*cross do and not and ahead one with small *** village are*
 and ahead there was one very small village.
21. ut^hē gač^hi sir ba^hr kaḍea pānie ču. te
there went head outside draw water_infl from_out and
 I went there and pulled myself out of the water.
22. vapsi na mēnū rasta na nazar ave. kidor ĵana kidor
returning of to_me way not sight come where go where
 And I couldn't see how to return home, where I should go, or where I should
23. nei. te kafī der ma^hra intezar karne ree sare
not and enough late my wait do remain all
 not. They waited for me for quite some time—all my
24. maštār vi te ĵatak vi. [Question-4] te us tū bad
*teachers too and boys too * and that you after*
 teachers and the boys too. [Question-4] And after that
25. o a ree. unā ač^hi ka^hr dasea. mē ut^hū
they come remain to_them came house told I there
 they went back. They told everyone at my house.
26. raī šam na tem si te us ĵis grā e na
night evening of time was and that which village is of
 It was now in the evening, and I met a man from
27. banda milea us axea ĵi han tusi rati kale ni^h a
man found he said sir now you night alone not come
 that village. He said, sir, "You can't go alone at night."
28. sakneo. č^hoṭe č^hoṭe bačče sā te us axea ba^hi rati
can little little children were and he said brother night
 We were very little children. And he said, "Brother, stay the night
29. it^hei revo. te soba^h č^hoṭ asā. mē baṛi zid kitti
here stay and morning leave will_come I very persist did
 here. And in the morning we will leave for your house." I really insisted that I
 should

30. ba^hi rati mēnū poča kīse tarīke nal. us xer
brother night to_me arrived some method with he after_all
 return to my house that night somehow or another. In the end,
31. ni^h an ditta rati ut^hei reeā. suba^h us matlob ε
not coming give night there remained morning he mean is
 he didn't allow me to go. I spent the night there. In the morning,
32. gaḍḍi vič beṭ^haya mē nū nal te ka^hr le aya. aḡē
car in sit I to with and house take came ahead
 he put me in a car and took me to my house. When we
33. aeā te sara rola baneā pea si. [Question-5]
*came and all desperation make ** was **
 returned to the house, everyone was desperate. [Question-5]
34. puri bāradri kaṭ^hi hoi pei. daryae ič dub ke pata ni^h
*full family gather is *** river in drown with know not*
 All the extended family was gathered together. They did not know if I
35. mar gea kidor gea. sari matlob ε ke talaš ič
dead went where went complete mean is that search in
 had drowned in the river or where I had gone.
36. koi ade bānde talaš ič širu ho ge aṭok daryae
some half men search in start happen went Attock river
 Half of the men started the search—they went to the
37. i ge. te kaṭi rola šola bane pea si.
*to went and enough desperation *** made *** was*
 Attock River. There was plenty of desperation.
38. [Question-6] jis ele mē ayā te nal o bānda vi
 * *which time I came and with that man too*
 [Question-6] Then I came, and that man was with me.
39. si. pe^hle te bānde yaqin i na kaḡan pa^hi e daryae
was first and men believe is not doing brother he river
 At first, the people didn't believe how I could

- 40.čũ kis tʌrɛ vapos a gea. [Question-7] te fir us
*into how like back come went * and then that*
 have come back from the river. [Question-7] And then that
- 41.bʌnde tʌsʌli šʌsʌli ditti pa^hi vaqei e ut^he sʌrɛ
*man satisfaction *** give brother really he there our*
 man convinced them that he really had come out of the water near
- 42.pɪŋd kola a ke nɪklea si. te ʌsʌ is nũ rat
town from come with draw_out was and we him to night
 our village. And we did not let him go back
- 43.nũ ni an ditta. subah is ki lɛ ke mɛ it^hɛ ayã.
to not came give morning him to take and I here come
 at night. “In the morning, I took him and came here.”
- 44.te kafi mʌtlʌb ɛ hal pʌrɛšan rea. sʌkul ič
and enough mean is situation worried remain school in
 And everyone was worried in my house. All the children
- 45.bʌččɛ sare vi mʌtlʌb ɛ jɪtniã unã niã femiliã essiã
children all too mean is as_many they of families were
 in the school—meaning, as many families as there were—
- 46.o vi sʌrɛ kʌ^hr ale pase rux kitta va ne. ba^hi
that too our house ones side face did that did brother
 they all came to see our family, because their son
- 47.dʌryae ič unã na nɪka đub ke te mʌr gea kɪdre.
river in they of child draw that and dead went somewhere
 drowned in the river and died some place.
- 48.ut^he jɛlɛ ae sare jɛlɛ mi^h tʌk^hea ne ke pahi
there when came all when to_me saw did that brother
 When they all came there, and they saw me, they said
- 49.e t^hik t^hak e. te kafi mʌtlʌb ɛ ke pʌrɛšan šʌrɛšan
*he right *** is and enough mean is that worried ****
 “He is all right.” And, I mean, they were plenty

50. hoe. te us tū bad dālasa šālasa de ke te mē
*were and that from after patted *** give that and I*
 worried. After that, they patted me on the back, left me,
51. nū vapos čale ge. [Question-8] fir sakul jis tem
*from back run went * then school which time*
 and went back. [Question-8] Then when I
52. geā te ustad vi sare pārešan apni jāgha pehle i
went and teachers too all worried own place before is
 went to school, at first all of the teachers were very worried about their
53. pārešan san. te mē nū tākēa ne ke bāč geā tusi
worried were and I from looked did that safe went you
 positions. And then they saw me, that I was saved.
54. mē č^hoṛ ke mē nū ut^he i a ge so. čāṅgi tusā
I leave with I from there is come went were good you
 “You left me there and came (back here). It was good that you
55. ser karan k^hāreā si. mere k^hr aleā sareā nū
sight_seeing do take was my house ones all to
 took us on an outing. [But] this made a problem
56. pārablam bāna sātṭi e. mē axeā jera xārča hoyā
problem create throw is I said which expense happened
 for my family.” I said, “Whatever expense
57. mere k^hr mē maštrā nū keā mē e sara tusi
my house I teachers_infl to said I this all you
 my family had,” I said to the teachers, “You will give
58. deso. [Question-9] te o anē yar šukor
*will_give * and they said my_dear thanks*
 all of it.” [Question-9] And they said, “Dear,
59. alxāmdulilah ba^hi tū bāč te geā ē na. te
thanks_be_to_God brother you safe and went am not and
 thank God that you are safe.”

60.us tū bad mē daryae ale pase ke am pani ε
that from after I river ones side what common water is
 After that I didn't go to the river bank, and I also quit playing

61.nal vi nana č^hor ditta nata i na kide. [Question-10]
*with too bath leave give bath is not ever **
 in common water—I never did it. [Question-10]

Questions from Pothwari drowning accident story
 (English translations)

1. What did the master say he would do with the kids?
2. What did the little children want to do?
3. What was this one boy interested in doing?
4. While he was gone, what did the master and students do?
5. What did the boy want to do?
6. When he arrived at his house, what did he see?
7. What did the people not believe?
8. What did they do when they saw that he was okay?
9. What did the boy say his teachers will do?
10. After this happened, what did the boy stop doing?

B.3 Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is an English translation of a questionnaire, which was written in Urdu:

Questions about the Pahari language

Demographics

Mother tongue: _____ Village Name: _____
 Gender: Male or Female Marital status: Married or Unmarried
 Number of children: _____ Level of education: _____
 Age: _____ Family: _____
 Can you read? Yes No In which languages: _____
 Number of years (for each): _____
 Home village: _____
 Place(s) lived: _____ Time spent in each: _____
 Where have you traveled? (weekly, monthly, yearly, etc)

Questions

1. In which areas is Pahari understood?
2. Where is Pahari not used?
3. Where is Pahari especially respected?
4. In what areas is Pahari not thought of well?
5. In what nearby areas do they speak exactly like you?
6. In what areas do they speak a little bit differently from you?
7. In what areas do people speak your language differently; however, if they say something they are understood?
8. In what areas do they speak the same as you, but when they speak quickly you do not understand them?
9. Is there any nearby village where people speak a completely different language?
10. Is there a place close to or far from your village where they speak exactly like you do?
11. In what areas is Pahari not spoken well?

12. Do young people happily speak Pahari?
- 13a. Will children grow up to speak Pahari?
- 13b. Is this good (that children do/don't grow up to speak Pahari)?
14. Is it good to speak your language?
15. Which area's language is best for biographies, religious traditions and religious sayings?
- 16a. Which area's language is the best for songs?
- 16b. I sing in...
17. Which language is best in school?
18. Which language is best for politics?
19. Which area's language is the most easily understood?
20. Which language is the best for telling stories?
21. Are there positive or negative things said about Pahari speakers from different areas?
22. Have you seen anything written in your language?
23. Is it good to read Pahari?
24. Would you want your children to read and write Pahari?
25. What kind of things would you like to see written in your language?
26. Do you listen to Pahari radio?
27. What language do you speak with your children?
28. What languages do your children speak to each other?

B.4 Demographic information

B.4.1 Demographic summary for orally administered questionnaires

We gathered 161 questionnaires from five different areas. Twenty-nine questionnaires were gathered in the Abbottabad *galliat* (AG) which includes the mountains in the south-eastern Abbottabad District between the towns/cities of Murree and Abbottabad. Much of the Abbottabad *galliat* is a transitional area between Pahari and Hindko. Seventy-seven questionnaires come from the Murree *tehsil*—a central location for Pahari. Twelve questionnaires come from Bharakao (Bhar), which is in the Islamabad District on the road between Murree and Rawalpindi just where the Murree Hills begin. It is a borderline area between Pahari and Pothwari. Bagh and Muzaffarabad (Muz), both in Azad Kashmir, were the source of 14 questionnaires each. The dialect of Pahari in this area has been described in the literature as *Chibhali* (Masica 1991), although the speakers generally call it Pahari in Bagh and Hindko in Muzaffarabad (see table B60: Mother tongue summary). Fifteen questionnaires also come from Mirpur, which is south of Bagh in Azad Kashmir. Mirpur is unique because an estimated half of the population now lives overseas. Thousands and thousands of people were displaced from their land by the construction of the Mangla Dam and Reservoir. Many settled in England because of an acute need for textile workers in the 1960s. See Lothers and Lothers 2003 for more details.

Ideally, it would be best to have both genders represented more equally. As we look at table B55: Gender summary, we can see that this was not the case. Collecting questionnaires from women was difficult. Women were often not available to help arrange for questionnaire collection, except in areas close to our home area in Murree. Two male national co-workers were able to travel, and they gathered questionnaires in Azad Kashmir. One collected them from Bagh and the other collected them from Mirpur and Muzaffarabad (as well as from Bharakao). This explains the fact that men represent the majority of the participants in the questionnaires.

The most common level of education for the participants was matric (see Table B56: Education summary). More educated

people seemed more willing to participate, so the education level represented here might not be the same as the population. The level of education in Murree was higher than other areas, in part, because many contacts for surrounding villages could be made from the Government Degree College in Murree.

Table B55: Gender summary of questionnaire participants

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
Male	28 (97%)	69 (90%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	12 (86%)	150 (93%)
Female	1 (3%)	8 (10%)	—	—	—	2 (14%)	11 (7%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table B56: Education summary of questionnaire participants

	<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
None	1 (3%)	3 (4%)	—	—	—	—	4 (2%)
Primary	2 (7%)	4 (5%)	—	—	3 (20%)	—	9 (6%)
Under matric	5 (17%)	3 (4%)	3 (25%)	4 (29%)	4 (27%)	1 (7%)	20 (12%)
Matric	12 (40%)	23 (30%)	5 (42%)	7 (50%)	1 (7%)	6 (43%)	54 (34%)
FA	7 (23%)	19 (25%)	3 (25%)	1 (7%)	4 (27%)	1 (7%)	35 (22%)
BA	1 (3%)	23 (30%)	1 (8%)	2 (14%)	3 (20%)	4 (29%)	34 (21%)
MA	1 (3%)	1 (1%)	—	—	—	2 (14%)	4 (2%)
Doctor	1 (3%)	—	—	—	—	—	1 (1%)
Total	30 (100%)	76 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table B57 and table B58 summarize the age of the questionnaire participants. Most of the participants are under the age of 40 because it was more reasonable for our co-workers (both around the age of 20 at the time of the survey) to ask questions of their peers. Murree has a higher number of participants under the age of 25 because many participants came from the Government Degree College in Murree.

Table B58 summarizes statistics about the ages of the participants from the different areas. The first row is the minimum age of the participants. Our first co-worker gathered a questionnaire from a ten-year-old boy, because he seemed to have good insights. However, this is uncharacteristically young. All the other participants are the age of 16 or older. The oldest participant comes from Bagh at 72 years of age. The median age is the age in the sample at the 50 percentile—half of the participants are older than this age and half are younger. Overall, the median age is 26. The mode is the most common age, which is 22 among the participants. The overall average age is 30.5. Not surprisingly, the highest standard deviation of age is in Bagh with the youngest and the second oldest participants, which also contained a relatively small sample.

Table B57: Age summary of questionnaire participants

Age Group	<i>Home area of participant</i>						Total
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Below 25	9 (31%)	40 (52%)	2 (17%)	7 (50%)	2 (13%)	7 (50%)	67 (42%)
25 to 39	13 (45%)	24 (31%)	6 (50%)	4 (29%)	8 (53%)	5 (36%)	60 (37%)
40 to 59	6 (21%)	10 (13%)	4 (33%)	2 (14%)	3 (20%)	2 (14%)	27 (17%)
60+	1 (3%)	3 (4%)	—	1 (7%)	2 (13%)	—	7 (4%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table B58: Age statistics of questionnaire participants

Statistic	<i>Home area of participant</i>						Overall
	AG	Murree	Bhar	Bagh	Mirpur	Muz	
Youngest	16	16	20	10	22	18	10
Oldest	60	69	49	70	72	45	72
Median	27	24	33	24	36	24.5	26
Mode	27	20	26	21	36	20	22
Average	31.3	28.8	33.6	28.9	39	27.8	30.5
Standard Deviation	11	12.2	9.39	15.4	14.8	8.49	12.3
Count	29	77	12	14	15	14	161

Table B59 summarizes the marital status of the participants. Except for participants from Murree and Bagh, most of the participants were married. Our second co-worker, who worked with us more in the Abbottabad *galliat*, Bharakao, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad areas, interviewed more married participants probably because he found older participants.

Table B60 summarizes the reported mother tongue of the questionnaire participants. Since language lines are fluid, the reported mother tongue does not necessarily indicate black-and-white language boundaries, but it does provide some useful information. In the Abbottabad *galliat* (AG), two-thirds of the participants call their language Hindko. Almost all of the Muzaffarabad (Muz) participants refer to their language as Hindko as well. In Murree, Bagh, and Mirpur, most participants refer to their language as Pahari. In Bharakao (Bhar), most refer to their language as Pothwari.

Table B61 summarizes the languages which participants report they can read. All, except a few, report that they can read Urdu. In addition to Urdu, more than half of them reported that they could read English as well. About 11% (18/161) report that they can read Arabic or a vernacular language like Hindko, Pahari or Punjabi.

Table B59: Marital status summary of questionnaire participants

<i>Status</i>	<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
Married	19 (66%)	27 (35%)	9 (75%)	6 (43%)	11 (73%)	8 (57%)	80 (50%)
Unmarried	10 (34%)	50 (65%)	3 (25%)	8 (57%)	4 (27%)	6 (43%)	81 (50%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table B60: Mother tongue summary of questionnaire participants

<i>Mother tongue</i>	<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpur</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
Gujari	—	—	—	—	1 (7%)	—	1 (1%)
Hindko	19 (66%)	—	—	—	—	13 (93%)	32 (20%)
Pahari	10 (34%)	74 (96%)	3 (25%)	14 (100%)	10 (67%)	1 (7%)	112 (70%)
Pahari-Pothwari	—	2 (3%)	—	—	—	—	2 (1%)
Pahari-Urdu	—	1 (1%)	—	—	—	—	1 (1%)
Pothwari	—	—	8 (67%)	—	—	—	8 (5%)
Punjabi	—	—	1 (8%)	—	3 (20%)	—	4 (2%)
Not reported	—	—	—	—	1 (7%)	—	1 (1%)
Total	29 (100%)	77 (100%)	12 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	161 (100%)

Table B61: Literate language summary of questionnaire participants

<i>Literate language(s)</i>	<i>Home area of participant</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>AG</i>	<i>Murree</i>	<i>Bhar</i>	<i>Bagh</i>	<i>Mirpu</i>	<i>Muz</i>	
Hindko-Urdu	1 (3%)	—	—	—	—	1 (7%)	2 (1%)
Pahari-Urdu	1 (3%)	1 (1%)	—	1 (7%)	2 (13%)	—	5 (3%)
Punjabi-Urdu	—	—	—	—	6 (40%)	—	6 (4%)
Urdu	7 (24%)	17 (22%)	—	3 (21%)	4 (27%)	6 (43%)	37 (23%)
Urdu-English	19 (66%)	55 (71%)	9 (75%)	10 (71%)	2 (13%)	6 (43%)	101 (63%)
Urdu-Arabic	—	1 (1%)	3 (25%)	—	—	1 (7%)	5 (3%)
No language	1 (3%)	3 (4%)	—	—	1	—	5 (3%)
Total	29(100%)	77(100%)	12(100%)	14(100%)	15(100%)	14(100%)	161(100%)

B.4.2 Demographic information about wordlists

The following two tables, table B62 and table B63, summarize the demographics for each person who gave a wordlist. The code used designates the village where the list came from and whether it was the first or second list from that location. For example, two lists were taken from Mosyari (Mos.1 and Mos.2). In table B62 the last year of education attained by the participant is in the column labeled "Education." After the level of education is a language or languages in parentheses; this indicates the language medium that was used when they went to school.

In table B63 "Places lived" is a list of the different villages where the person has lived, followed by the number of years in each place. The most recent place lived is listed first. "Travel patterns" is a list of the places where the person travels on a regular basis. If the participant could offer a frequency, then this is included in parentheses after the place name. Finally, the last column indicates whether the person is married or not. If the person is married, then the village where his wife came from is included immediately afterward.

Table B62: Wordlist demographics for age and education

<i>Code</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education</i>
Man.1	—	Mansehra	—	—
Abt.1	—	Nawanshahr (Abbottabad)	—	—
Than.1	10/21/00	Maseena Batangi ^a	18	In last year of Matric
Than.2a	10/21/00	Darar ^b	24	FA. Now working to make thread, cloth (Urdu and Pahari among students)
Than.2b	10/21/00	Darar	13	In the 6 th grade
Muz.1	11/25/00	Muzaffarabad	20	Under-matric (Urdu)
Muz.2	2/2/01	Muzaffarabad	23	Primary (Hindko)
Dun.1 ^c	1/11/01	Dungagali (Malach)	21	Matric
Bhar.1	1/18/01	Bharakao	44	Matric
Bagh.1 ^d	10/18/00	Nilabutt, near Dhirkot in Bagh	23	Matric (Urdu but Pahari among students)
Koh.1	10/12/00	Lower Bakot, Kohala	18	Studying BA (1 st year) (Urdu but Pahari among students) ^e
Koh.2	1/9/01	Kohala (Moolia)	50	Matric
Dew.1	9/15/00	Upper Dewal	21	FA ^f (Urdu)
Osia.1	11/15/00	Osia	18	BA (Urdu) (in third year)
Osia.2	11/20/00	Osia	19	Matric (working on a BA—3 rd year) (Urdu and Pahari)
Ayub.1	9/28/00	Ayubia	25	Matric (Urdu and sometimes Pahari)
Mos.1	9/4/00	Mosyari	55	5 th grade (Urdu & Pahari)
Mos.2	9/4/00	Mosyari	25 ^g	None

B.4 PAHARI DEMOGRAPHICS

239

(TABLE B62, CONTINUED)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education</i>
Ghor.1	9/7/00	Ghora Gali	25 ^h	8 th grade (Urdu & Pahari)
Ghor.2	9/11/00	Ghora Gali	18	Matric, 1 year of FA
Ghor.3	9/15/00	Nimb (Ghora Gali)	23	5 th grade (Urdu & Pahari)
Lora.1	10/25/00	Lora (Dheri Kyalah)	24	FA (Urdu but spoke Pahari (Hindko) w/ teachers after class)
Lora.2	10/25/00	Lora (Dheri Kyalah)	17	Matric (Urdu)
Guj.1	3/29/01	Barki Badhal (Gujarkhan)	52	Matric
Guj.2	3/29/01	Barki Badhal (Gujarkhan)	40	FA
Mir.1	2/9/01	Mirpur	23	BCom (Commerce) (Urdu)
Mir.2	2/10/01	Mirpur	50	Under Matric (Urdu-Pahari)

^aA village near Kanthiali (close to Thandiani). Wordlist was taken from the Kanthiali Government High School.

^bVillage near Chumiali. (Near Thandiani on other side of mountain from Kanthiali). Wordlist taken in Chumiali.

^cSee questionnaire #134 for more information. Some words from this wordlist were checked from Ken Decker's wordlists. These items include #: 10, 15, 18, 102, 103, 105, 112, 130, 134.

^dThe composite wordlist for Dhirkot/Nilabutt was determined using Bagh.1 and another wordlist. This other wordlist came from a resident of Murree, although she has roots in Dhirkot and travels back there. However, in the sentences, the grammar is quite different. Some of the words were taken from her because: (1) Bagh.1 used an Urdu word instead of a Pahari word, (2) an uncommon word, (3) or a word that was a synonym but did not have the right sense. Perhaps at some point another check may be necessary. These are wordlist items where words from Bagh.1 were not used: 15, 17, 19, 31, 33, 38, 46, 60, 66, 73, 80, 89, 97, 100, 105, 179.

^eIt is generally true that students talk among themselves in Pahari. When this list was taken, I had only heard of one place where talking in Pahari was forbidden at school. If they did talk in Pahari, then they were sent home. This school was near Bhurban.

^fHe's working on a BA in Urdu and wants to get an MA.

^gHe was not sure of his age.

^hHe did not seem to be certain of his age, but he looked to be about the age of 25.

Table B63: Wordlist demographics regarding residence, travel patterns, and marriage

<i>Code</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Places lived</i>	<i>Travel patterns</i>	<i>Married? Spouse from...</i>
Man.1	Mansehra	—	—	—
Abt.1	Nawanshahr (Abbottabad)	—	—	—
Than.1	Maseena Batangi	Maseena Batangi (12 years) Peshawar (5–6 years)		No.
Than.2a	Darar	Darar (17 years) Swari (6 months) Peshawar (7 years: 1992–1998)	Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Islamabad/Rawalpindi	Yes. Darar
Than.2b	Darar	Darar (13 years) Peshawar (2 months)	Abbottabad, Lahore	No.
Muz.1	Muzaffarabad	Muzaffarabad (13 years) Murree (7 years)	Bagh, Azad Kashmir (in-laws live there)	Yes. Bagh, Azad Kashmir
Muz.2	Muzaffarabad	Ghoarabad, <i>Tehsil</i> Hatiabala, District Muzaffarabad (23 years)	Hatiabala, Rawalpindi (weekly) Karachi, Peshawar, Lahore (yearly)	Yes. Ghoarabad.
Dun.1	Dungagali (Malach)	Mulch (from birth)	Rawalpindi (weekly) Abbottabad (monthly) Lahore (yearly)	Yes. —
Bhar.1	Bharakao	Bharakao (from birth) Summakraga ^a (village his parents are from)	Rawalpindi (weekly) Murree, Abbottabad (monthly) Dubai (after two years)	Yes. Summakraga

<i>Code</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Places lived</i>	<i>Travel patterns</i>	<i>Married? Spouse from...</i>
Bagh.1	Nilabutt, near Dhirkot in Bagh	Nilabutt (23 years). However for 7 years, he has worked in Murree going back for a weekend every 2 weeks.	Rawalpindi (every 2 months) Dhirkot, Muzaffarabad, Bagh	Yes. Dhirkot
Koh.1	Lower Bakot, Kohala	Kohala (16 years) Barian (2 1/2 years) starting around 1993, 1994	Lahore, Rawalpindi, Muzaffarabad, Bagh (Relatives are in the last two locations)	No
Koh.2	Kohala (Moolia)	Moolia (50 years)	Azad Kashmir (weekly) Rawalpindi (monthly) Peshawar, Lahore (yearly)	Yes. Moolia ^b
Dew.1	Upper Dewal	Upper Dewal (20 years) Rawalpindi (1 year)	Rawalpindi, Murree, Lahore	No
Osia.1	Osia	Osia (18 years)	Rawalpindi (once every 3 or 4 days) Abbottabad (once/week) Multan and Muzaffarabad (once in life). Dhirkot (5 times/life)	No.
Osia.2	Osia	Osia (19 years)	Murree (daily) Dewal Rawalpindi (once/month)	No.

(TABLE B63, CONTINUED)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Places lived</i>	<i>Travel patterns</i>	<i>Married? Spouse from...</i>
Ayub.1	Ayubia	Ayubia bazaar (25 years)	Rawalpindi (2x a month), Lahore (once/year), Karachi (every 2 to 2 1/2 years): relatives are in these locations	No
Mos.1	Mosyari	Lower Mosyari (55 years)	Rawalpindi and Lahore (regularly)	yes. Mosyari
Mos.2	Mosyari	Lower Mosyari (25 years) However, family goes to Rawalpindi (Shamsabad) for 3 months in the winter.	Murree, Rawalpindi, Islamabad (no where else)	no
Ghor.1	Ghora Gali	Ghora Gali (25 years)	Murree and Rawalpindi (at least once a month)	yes, Ghora Gali
Ghor.2	Ghora Gali	Ghora Gali (18 years)	Murree	no
Ghor.3	Nimb (Ghora Gali)	Nimb (Ghora Gali) (23 years)	Rawalpindi (once/week) Lahore (once/year) Muzaffarabad	yes. Nimb.
Lora.1	Lora (Dheri Kyalah)	Dheri Kyalah (22 years) Saudi Arabia as an electrician (2 years) within last 4 years	Murree, Abbottabad, Muzaffarabad, Karachi. Rawalpindi (daily for electric work)	No.
Lora.2	Lora (Dheri Kyalah)	Dheri Kyalah (17 years)	Rawalpindi, Murree, Beruit, Abbottabad	No.
Guj.1	Barki Badhal (Gujarkhan)	Barki Badhal from birth	Rawalpindi (monthly) Libya (for one year)	Yes. Gujarkhan

(TABLE B63, CONTINUED)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Places lived</i>	<i>Travel patterns</i>	<i>Married? Spouse from...</i>
Guj.2	Barki Badhal (Gujarkhan)	Sukho (Mandra) (first 15 years) Barki Badhal (last 25 years)	Rawalpindi (weekly) Murree (2x year) Lahore (every 2 years)	Yes. Sukho
Mir.1	Mirpur	Sector C4, <i>Tehsil</i> Mirpur	Murree, Islamabad, Peshawar (yearly)	No.
Mir.2	Mirpur	Choroi, <i>Tehsil</i> Kotli, District Kotli (50 years)	only locally	Yes. Choroi.
^a Summakraga is near Lora.				
^b Moolia is above Kohala and near Bakot.				

B.4.3 Demographic information about RTT storytellers

The people who told the stories used in the RTT represent four different language varieties. The demographic information is summarized in table B64. The storyteller from Aliot speaks Muree Pahari. Some stories that we elicited from him also include memories of the partition of India and Pakistan. The storyteller who lives in Nawanshahr speaks Abbottabad Hindko. She is the only female storyteller. The storyteller who speaks Mansehra Hindko is a truck driver. The Pothwari story was told by a man from Gujarkhan.

B.4.4 Demographic information about RTT participants

We conducted two main sets of recorded text tests (RTTs). Both were conducted with Pahari speakers to check their comprehension of two dialects of Hindko (from Abbottabad and Mansehra) and Pothwari (from Gujarkhan). As a baseline for the RTT scores, all Pahari RTT participants also did an RTT in Pahari. All of the four texts used were hometown tested before we used them to test how well Pahari speakers understood Hindko and Pothwari.

We conducted the RTTs with both men and women. The Pahari women did have lower comprehension with the Hindko dialects than the Pahari men did (suggesting that the difference may have been because men tend to travel more than women and may have had more contact with Hindko speakers). However, the results of the Pahari men and women with Pothwari was about the same.

Our goal was about 10 participants per RTT allowing for some results that had to be eliminated. The main reason for eliminating a score was if the participant was not able to score at least 90% on the hometown test. Other reasons for eliminating scores were if they were not able to hear because of equipment failure (for example, headphones not working properly) or because of hearing loss.

Another reason for not accepting a RTT score (or even taking an RTT in the first place) was a participant's travel patterns. If the participant frequently traveled to (or lived in) an area where people speak the dialect we were testing, we had to eliminate their score. We would not be able to know if their scores reflected inherent

intelligibility or acquired intelligibility through contact with the tested dialect.

Table B64: Demographic information about RTT storytellers

<i>Language</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Travel</i>	<i>Married</i>
Pahari	19-Feb-01	Aliot	60	Primary	Aliot	Bharakao, and previously to Mirpur, Shinkiri...	yes
Abbottabad Hindko	28-Mar-01	Nawan-shahr	35	Matric	Nawan-shahr (but grew up slightly north of Abbottabad)	Occasionally to Karachi to visit family	yes. From village just north of Abbottabad
Mansehra Hindko	29-Mar-01	Mansehra ^a	42	2 years	Mansehra	Truck driver (travel mostly in Hazara)	yes. From Mansehra.
Pothwari	7-Jun-01	Gujarkhan	38	Matric	Gujarkhan (also spent some time in Dubai)	NWFP (yearly) Lahore (6x/year) within Gujarkhan	yes. From Kalar-saidyan (near Rawat in Gujarkhan <i>tehsil</i>)

^aHe also speaks Urdu, a little Sindhi and Pashto.

For the Hindko RTT among Pahari speakers, none of the participants frequently traveled to or lived in Abbottabad or Mansehra. More than half of the men and 90% of the women reported that they traveled to Rawalpindi. Probably more of the men traveled to Rawalpindi as well. Some men reported that they went to farther places, like Peshawar, Quetta, and Multan. In general, women seemed to mention specific places that were closer and within the Murree *tehsil*, while men mentioned places farther away. This could be explained by observing that women do not travel as much. Men would travel to the same nearby places as women but only report places farther away where they travel. Men did not regard nearby places as significant enough to mention.

For the Pothwari RTT among Pahari speakers, none of the participants traveled to Gujarkhan, where the Pothwari text was taken. The ideal sample would be if it did not include anyone who traveled to Rawalpindi, since people there speak a dialect of Pothwari as well. In practice, it is very difficult to find someone in Muree who does not travel to Rawalpindi. However, besides Rawalpindi, the sample did not report traveling to Pothwari-speaking areas.

Table B65 summarizes the educational level of the participants. Only one woman and one man had an educational level below matric. We tried conducting the RTT with people with lower educational levels, but the question and answer format was too unfamiliar to obtain valid tests. The most common level of education for RTT participants, whose scores we could use, was matric.

Table B66 presents some statistics about the age of the participants. The age of the participants ranges between 16 and 35 for men, and 13 and 40 for women. This relatively narrow age range is also reflected in the standard deviation, which is low overall: 5.7 years.

The median, mode, and average ages also show how young the participants are. The median age, that is the age at the 50th percentile is 23 overall. The mode (most common age) is 20. The average age, overall, is 23.2. It was our preference to include older participants as well, but the type of testing seemed less familiar to older participants. The fact that the RTT scores came from a younger sample should not affect their validity as a measure for comprehension of other dialects or languages.

Table B67 summarizes the age of the participants within certain age ranges from below 18 to above 35.

Table B65: RTT participants' education summary

Level	Pahari-Hindko			Pahari-Pothwari			Total
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	
None	1 (8%)	1 (10%)	2 (9%)	—	—	—	2 (5%)
Primary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Undermatric	2 (17%)	2 (20%)	4 (18%)	2 (22%)	2 (15%)	4 (18%)	8 (18%)
Matric	3 (25%)	3 (30%)	6 (27%)	5 (56%)	6 (46%)	11 (50%)	17 (39%)
FA	4 (33%)	4 (40%)	8 (36%)	2 (22%)	3 (23%)	5 (23%)	13 (30%)
BA	2 (17%)	—	2 (9%)	—	2 (15%)	2 (9%)	4 (9%)
Total	12(100%)	10(100%)	22(100%)	9(100%)	13 (100%)	22(100%)	44(100%)

Table B66: Statistics on RTT participants' age

Statistic	Hindko RTT participants			Pothwari RTT participants			Overall
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	
Youngest	16	17	16	21	13	13	13
Oldest	30	40	40	35	35	35	40
Median	21	22.5	22	25	20	23	23
Mode	19	17	17	23	16	22	20
Average	21.8	23.5	22.9	25.7	22.1	23.5	23.2
Standard Deviation	4.1	7.1	5.6	4.3	6.6	5.9	5.7
Count	12	10	21	9	13	22	43

Table B67: RTT participants' age summary

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Pahari-Hindko</i>			<i>Pahari-Pothwari</i>			<i>Overall</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Both</i>	
Below 18	2 (17%)	3 (30%)	5 (23%)	—	3 (23%)	3 (14%)	8 (18%)
18 to 25	7 (58%)	5 (50%)	12 (55%)	5 (56%)	6 (46%)	11 (50%)	23 (52%)
26 to 35	3 (25%)	1 (10%)	4 (18%)	4 (44%)	4 (31%)	8 (36%)	12 (27%)
Above 35	—	1 (10%)	1 (5%)	—	—	—	1 (2%)
Total	12 (100%)	10 (100%)	22 (100%)	9 (100%)	13 (100%)	22 (100%)	44 (100%)

Appendix C. Pothwari survey data

C.1 Questionnaire

The following is an English translation of the questionnaire used in the Pothwari survey; it was written in Urdu.

Questions about the Pothwari language

Demographics

Mother tongue: _____

Gender: Male or Female

Number of children: _____

Age: _____

Can you read? Yes No

Place(s) lived: _____

Village name: _____

Marital status: Married or Unmarried

Education level: _____

Family: _____

In which language(s)? _____

How much time spent there: _____

Where have you traveled? (And how often: weekly, monthly, yearly, etc):

Questions

1. In which area do they speak the best Potowari?

Select one: Rawat, Jhelum, Gujar Khan, Mirpur... or in which area do they speak the best Pothwari?

2. In which area is the Pothwari easiest to understand?

Select one: Rawat, Jhelum, Gujar Khan, Mirpur... or in which area is the Pothwari easiest to understand?

3. Is it a good thing to use Pothwari? Yes or No

4. Do you want your children to grow up to speak Pothwari?

Yes or No

5. What language do you speak with your children?

6. What language do your children (or children in your family) speak with each other?
7. Would you like to see Pothwari materials written? Yes or No
8. Would you like to learn how to read Pothwari? Yes or No
9. Would you like your children to learn how to read Pothwari (in addition to Urdu)? Yes or No

(Some more questions after they listen to a story from Murree)

10. Where do you think the storyteller is from?
11. What do you think of this story?
12. Did the storyteller speak well?
13. Was the storyteller's language just like yours, a little bit different, or very different?
14. Would children in your village understand this story?

C.2 Demographic summary

Most of the participants who gave responses to the questionnaire were men (see table C68). Only three (10%) were women.

Table C68: Gender summary

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Male	27	90%
Female	3	10%
Total	30	100%

Most participants were able to talk about children's language use from their experience as parents. About two-thirds of the participants were married (see table C69), and all of the married participants had at least one child. The average number of children among married respondents was more than four (4.52), and the most common number of children (mode) was five.

Table C69: Marital status of participants

<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Married	21	70%
Single	9	30%
Total	30	100%

The participants came from a broad range of educational backgrounds, as shown in table C70. Matric was the most common level of education. However, every level from no formal education to a Ph.D. level is represented among the participants.

Table C70: Summary of educational background

<i>Education</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
None	4	13.3%
Primary	5	16.7%
Middle	4	13.3%
Matric	10	33.3%
FA,FSc	5	16.7%
BA	1	3.3%
PhD	1	3.3%
Total	30	100%

The range of ages spans 50 years from 20 years of age to 70 (see table C71). There is a fairly even distribution across age groups. About a third of the participants (9) are less than the age of 30, a third (10) are between the ages of 30 and 50, and about a third (11) are over the age of 50.

Table C71: Summary of participants' ages

<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Years</i>
Minimum	20
Maximum	70
Mean	41.5
Standard Deviation	16.2

The participants generally reported Pothwari as their mother tongue, as seen in table C72. This is, perhaps, a more consistent response than we have received in other surveys. However, a quarter of the participants gave other language names for their mother tongue.

Table C72: Summary of participants' mother tongues

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Pothwari	22	73.3%
Pahari (Mirpur)	2	6.7%
Mirpuri	1	3.3%
Pahari/Pothwari	1	3.3%
Mirpuri/Pothwari	1	3.3%
Pahari	3	10%
Total	30	100%

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