

# The Language of the Qureshis of Kundal Shahi in Azad Kashmir

Khawaja A. Rehman and Joan L.G. Baart

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## Introduction

In this paper we present some preliminary notes on the language spoken by the Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi, a village in the Neelam valley of Pakistani-administered Kashmir. To our knowledge, this language has until now not been recorded in the published linguistic literature.

The first formal linguistic research effort on the Kundal Shahi language that we are aware of was made by three members of the team of the *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*. In January 1989, Mr. Muhammad Arif, Mr. Peter Backstrom, and Mr. Ken Decker visited Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, in order to learn more about the languages spoken in northern Azad Kashmir. During interviews on this trip, several men from Authmuqam in the Neelam valley mentioned the existence of a language in Kundal Shahi, near Authmuqam, called “Rowri”. This language was reported to be spoken by 100 to 400 people and was not intelligible to other people.

In April 1989, the same survey team members obtained a three-day permit from the Home Secretary in Muzaffarabad and travelled up the Neelam valley to Kundal Shahi. Upon their arrival there they began to inquire about the languages spoken in the area. Initially, people responded that Urdu was the language spoken in that area. After probing deeper the people would hesitantly respond that their own language was Pahari or Hindko. Upon further questioning if anybody spoke a language different from Pahari or Hindko, they began to get reports of “Shina” being spoken in the area. No one had ever heard of “Rowri”. Eventually, the survey team members found some ten men who spoke “Shina” and considered it their best language. A number of these men were interviewed, and a wordlist was collected of 210 words as well as two short stories (K.D. Decker, personal communication, September 3, 2003).

Due to a shortage of time and an abundance of other pressing duties, the materials collected in Kundal Shahi in 1989 were not included in the published report of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (O’Leary 1992), and in fact have remained unpublished until the present day.

The first author of the current paper, Mr. Khawaja Rehman, is a native speaker of Kashmiri, who was born and raised and is still residing in the Neelam valley, in village Khawaja Seri near Sharda. With an MA degree in English language and linguistics from the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Rehman developed a keen interest in the existence within the borders of his native district of the hitherto undescribed language of Kundal Shahi. Starting in April 2002, he began to make regular visits to the village and to collect language data there, under the guidance of Raja Nasim Akhtar, chairman of the English department at the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

In December 2002, Rehman was introduced through the services of Pakistani linguist Tariq Rahman to Mr. Joan Baart in Islamabad, the second author of this paper. Baart is a descriptive linguist with SIL who has been working on several languages of Pakistan for a number of years. From that time on, Rehman and Baart have been working on the Kundal Shahi language together, and the current paper is a first product of this cooperation. As a resident of the area, Rehman has relatively easy access to Kundal Shahi village and the speakers of the language, and continues to make regular fieldwork visits. The information presented in this paper was collected by him. Rehman and Baart have been working jointly on transcription and analysis of the data, as well as on the writing of this paper.

In the paper, we use a standard orientalist transcription for representing Kundal Shahi language data (see tables 3 and 6 below for explanation). Long vowels, however, are written with a double vowel symbol, rather than with the customary macron above the vowel (e.g. *baal* ‘hair’ instead of *bā*).

### **Geographical location**

Kundal Shahi (*kunḍal śai*) is a village (or, rather, a scattered settlement area) that is located in the Neelam valley, at an elevation of approximately 1,350 meters above sea level, at the point where the Jagran Nallah (*jaagraa~ naala*) joins the Neelam River (also called Kishanganga). Bates’ gazetteer of Kashmir (Bates 1873:174) listed its geographical location as lat. 34°33' N., long. 73°53' E. (the place name shown in the gazetteer is *Darral*; the location corresponds to a *mohalla* of present-day Kundal Shahi that is actually called *dulaṛ*). Settlements belonging to the village of Kundal Shahi are found on both sides of the Jagran Nallah, at a few minutes walking distance from the Neelam valley highway. The distance from Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, to Kundal Shahi is some 74 kilometers by road.

Between, roughly, Tithwal and Sharda, the Neelam valley runs parallel to the Kaghan valley in the West, and is separated from it by a range of high mountains, some peaks of which reach an altitude of over 4,000 meters above sea level. The Line of Control (LoC), which separates the Indian-administered part of Kashmir from the Pakistani-administered part, runs through, or close to, the Neelam valley, at some points right along the river and at other points across the mountains on the left side of the river. At Kundal Shahi, the LoC is removed by a few kilometers from the bank of the Neelam River. This makes Kundal Shahi a relatively safe place as far as cross-border shelling is concerned, and for this reason the *tehsil* headquarters, formerly in Authmuqam 10 kilometers up the valley, have been shifted in recent years to Kundal Shahi.

On the right bank of the Jagran Nallah in Kundal Shahi, a small hydro-electric power station has been built. Also on the right side, an area of dense forest stretches down towards the bank of the stream.

### **Name of the people and the language**

The language under study in this paper is spoken by an ethnic group in Kundal Shahi called Qureshi. They make up the majority of the population of Kundal Shahi village, probably around 90 percent. The tribal name *Qureshi* as such is widespread in Pakistan. As Wikeley (1915:87) reported, “Koréshis are found throughout the Punjáb, they are most numerous in the Rawalpindi, Multán and Jhang districts [...] The Koréshis claim descent from the tribe to which the Prophet belonged [...] The tribe is respected by Muhammadans for its sanctity.” The language that is being described in this paper seems to be unique to Kundal Shahi and is not associated with the Qureshis in general.

There are families of some other tribes in the village as well, including Sheikhs, Mughals, and Sayyids, but these constitute only a small minority of the population. All these other tribes speak Hindko as their native language. (We use the name “Hindko” in this paper, which seems to be the more common name among the people of the Neelam valley; whether the variety spoken in the Neelam valley is actually more closely related to the Hindko of the Kaghan valley, or to varieties of the Pahari of the Murree hills and the Pothwari of the plains of district Rawalpindi, is something that remains to be determined.)

The people of the Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi do not have a specific name for their language. They may refer to it simply as *apii~ bööl* ‘our own speech’. Hindko-speaking outsiders may refer to the language as *kunḍal śai dii zabaan* ‘language of Kundal Shahi’, or as *raawṛii*. The latter term is regarded as pejorative. According to our understanding, it was originally used by Hindko speakers to refer to the Pashto language and then consequently its use was extended to include some other non-Hindko languages as well.

In this paper we refer to the language as the *Kundal Shahi language*, and simply as *Kundal Shahi* (abbreviated *KS*) in contexts where there is no potential confusion as to whether we are talking about the language or the village.

## **Linguistic environment**

As stated above, the Qureshis in Kundal Shahi share their village with Hindko-speaking tribes, although within the village area these latter are only a small minority. All the villages surrounding Kundal Shahi are Hindko-speaking. In the upper parts of the Jagran Nallah, permanent settlements of Gujars are found.

Hindko is the predominant language of the Neelam valley. Kashmiri, too, is spoken in several villages of this area. In some of these villages, the Kashmiri speakers live among the Hindko speakers. A few other villages are entirely Kashmiri. Also in the main Neelam valley, both settled and nomadic Gujars are found. In the highest inhabitable parts of the valley on the Pakistani side of the LoC there are two villages where Shina is spoken (Phulawai and Taobat). Pashto is spoken in two villages of the Neelam valley that are located on the LoC, Dhakki and Changnar (Chaknot).

## **Speakers**

The Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi comprises approximately 1,500 to 2,000 people. Some fifty years ago, all members of the tribe would use the Kundal Shahi language actively on a daily basis. However, in more recent years a process of language shift has been taking place, so that the newer generations (roughly, people under twenty years old) do not learn to speak their ancestral language anymore and learn Hindko instead as their native language.

According to our interviewees, at the current time only some 20 percent of the members of the tribe still use the language actively on a daily basis. A much larger group (more than 50 percent) can still understand the language even though they do not use it in daily conversation. The younger children do no longer fully understand the language, although they usually know at least some words and phrases.

Among the other tribes living in Kundal Shahi, there are some people who have learned the language of the Qureshis to some extent. However, this is not very common, as Hindko is the language that is normally used in interaction between the Qureshis and other tribes.

## **History**

According to a local tradition (related to the first author by Mr. Jalal-ud-Din, currently one of the oldest members of the community), the ancestor of the Qureshis in Kundal Shahi was a man called Kamaal Khan. He lived in a village in Kashmir called Tijjar, located to the north-west of the town of Sopore. Approximately three hundred years ago, Kamaal Khan left Tijjar and traveled to Muzaffarabad, where he lived for a while. After a power struggle with one of his grandsons, Kamaal Khan was forced to leave Muzaffarabad. He surveyed several places in the Neelam valley, and then chose the location of Kundal Shahi and settled there.

Two sons of Kamaal Khan, Sikandar Khan and Hyder Khan, went with him to Kundal Shahi. There was also a third brother, whose name was Hatim Khan. He settled in Kian Sharif, higher up in the Jagran valley. His son, Shah Gul, moved with his family from there to the Kaghan valley. At first he was not allowed to settle there, but he went back and got a letter of introduction from the ruler of the Neelam valley, Raja Sher Ahmad. With this letter, he was able to settle in Andhera Bela in Kaghan. From Andhera Bela, the sons of Shah Gul proceeded to Babusar, and from there to a place called Gosher in the Chilas area. Their descendants are still found there today. In Chilas, this community is known by the name of *Timre*. Also, a group stayed behind in Andhera Bela in the Kaghan valley and their descendants are still there until the present day.

Mr. Jalal-ud-Din reports that of the two clans (Sikandar Khan and Hyder Khan) that stayed behind in Kundal Shahi, the clan of Hyder Khan developed a pattern of frequent intermarriage with other tribes, taking wives from other tribes and giving their daughters in marriage to men of other tribes. The clan of

Sikandar Khan have always married within the tribe. The *nambardars* (village headmen) of Kundal Shahi used to come from the clan of Hyder Khan.

### **Socio-economic conditions**

Traditionally, the people of Kundal Shahi are subsistence farmers, combining agriculture and animal husbandry. The main crops nowadays are maize and wheat. As to animals, the people mainly keep cattle and chickens. Hardly any of them keep goats or sheep. In the winter, cows are kept in the village. In the summer, the families take their cattle to the summer pastures and stay there for a period of two months.

Additional income is earned from employment in government jobs, while some people run shops in the bazaar. Some people go to the major cities of Pakistan to find employment, and a few even go to the countries of the Gulf region to work there. Some wealth came to the village due to the presence of a Swedish firm, Skanska, who carried out a hydro-electric power project in the Jagran valley and hired many people from Kundal Shahi at lucrative salaries.

The village has a few Urdu-medium primary schools (including one for girls), a high school for boys, and recently a degree college for boys was shifted from Authmuqam to Kundal Shahi for security reasons. A number of English-medium private schools have also started to operate in the village. Most of the village boys and some of the girls are attending school in Kundal Shahi.

The hillsides of the Jagran valley are covered by a dense forest, which is being managed by the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It is said that the best quality of deodar in all of Azad Kashmir is found in the Jagran valley. The people of Kundal Shahi are sometimes employed in forestry work, but the community does not have ownership rights over the forest, nor do they receive forest royalties.

### **Political conditions**

Some one or two hundred years ago, the people of Kundal Shahi invited a religious authority to come and live with them for the purpose of imparting religious education to them and to be the prayer leader in their mosque. The descendants of this religious teacher are still there and are popularly known as Mians. Although they are no longer religious leaders, the Mian family still provides political leadership to this community and also in the wider region. One man, Mian Ghulam Rasul (now deceased) was a minister in the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and was elected four times to the AJK Legislative Assembly. The Qureshis of Kundal Shahi still regard this family as their leaders. The Mians of Kundal Shahi speak Hindko as their mother tongue, but some of them, including Mian Ghulam Rasul, could also speak the KS language. In elections, the people of Kundal Shahi usually vote overwhelmingly in favor of the Mians, who are aligned with the Pakistan People's Party (Azad Kashmir). Other political parties hardly get any support in Kundal Shahi.

One man from the Qureshi tribe has served as a Union Council chairman, and he, too, is regarded as a local leader.

The area has been deeply affected by the division of Kashmir. Before 1947, the people of the Neelam valley related to Srinagar as the capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and as its administrative, judicial, educational, employment, and trading centre. After the division of Kashmir these ties were cut off and people had to relate primarily to Muzaffarabad and the areas beyond Muzaffarabad (Hazara, Rawalpindi) for all these purposes. Only in the 1960s and 1970s a road was constructed from Muzaffarabad to places like Kundal Shahi and other villages higher up in the Neelam valley.

As a result of the frequent hostilities between the Pakistani and Indian armies, travel from Kundal Shahi to Muzaffarabad may be hazardous and time-consuming. If one travels along the main road, there is a stretch of approximately twenty kilometers that can often only be traveled by foot. The road in that area runs right

along the LoC and in times of increased tension between the two countries the Indian army does not allow vehicular traffic there. The alternative is to take a by-pass through Leswa village. This increases the distance to be traveled by thirty kilometers.

## **Religion**

The majority of the people of Kundal Shahi belong to the Barelvi sect of Sunni Islam. This sect also runs a *madrassa* in the village. Interestingly, the orientation of the Mian family (mentioned above) is Deobandi rather than Barelvi. Some people of the village go to Muzaffarabad and the Punjab to study in Barelvi madrassas. According to many of our interviewees, the people of Kundal Shahi regard Saadat Ali Shah, the current *pir* of Choorā Sharif in Attock district, as their spiritual leader.

In the Jagran valley there is a shrine of a saint in the village of Kian Sharif, located higher up on the hillside, several kilometers from Kundal Shahi. This shrine attracts visitors from all over the Neelam valley and Muzaffarabad as well.

## **The sociolinguistic situation**

All members of the Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi, male and female, are fluent speakers of Hindko, which is the language of wider communication in the area. According to our interviewees, some twenty or thirty years ago most of the women of the tribe could only speak the KS language and hardly understood any Hindko, but nowadays the women, too, are bilingual in Hindko.

As stated above, the KS language is used actively on a daily basis by only some 20 percent of the Qureshi tribe. Mostly these are people over forty years of age. Younger children usually do not speak the language and will understand only some words and phrases of the language. In between there is a whole group of people who do not use the language actively but who do understand it fully.

Educated people of the tribe speak Urdu in addition to Hindko and KS. A few highly educated people know English as well.

The KS language is primarily used in the homes and with other speakers outside of the home when no Hindko speakers are participating in the conversation. In the schools the language is not used. Urdu is the language of education and informally Hindko may be used for classroom explanation.

In May 2003 the first author interviewed eleven male members of the Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 25 to 75 years old. All were born, raised, and are currently residing in Kundal Shahi. The interviewees were asked about the first language of their father, the first language of their mother, the language that their parents used with them, the language that currently feels easiest to them, the language that they use with the women in their house, and the language that they use with the children in their house. The responses to these questions are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1: Use of KS and Hindko as reported by 11 male members of the Qureshi tribe

No.	Age	Father's first language	Mother's first language	Raised in which language	'Easiest' language	Language used with women	Language used with children
1	25	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
2	31	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
3	39	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
4	39	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
5	42	KS	Hindko	both	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
6	50	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	Hindko
7	53	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	Hindko
8	55	KS	KS	KS	both	KS	Hindko
9	62	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS
10	62	KS	Hindko	both	both	Hindko	Hindko
11	75	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	both

All respondents report that their father's first language is KS. Eight respondents also have a KS-speaking mother, whereas three have a Hindko-speaking mother. Two of the respondents that were born in mixed families were raised in both languages: their fathers would use KS with them and their mothers Hindko. The youngest of the respondents born in mixed families was raised in Hindko only. As a matter of fact, all respondents under forty years of age report that they have been raised in Hindko only. They also report, not surprisingly, that Hindko is the easiest language for them. Almost all respondents report that they use Hindko with the children in their house. The reason they give is that children do not understand the KS language well enough. Among the respondents, only one man reports that KS is still being used as the first language with the children of his household.

What table 1 illustrates, then, and what is confirmed by numerous informal conversations with members of the community, is a change in the Qureshi community of Kundal Shahi that started around forty years ago and that spread very rapidly across almost the entire community, namely that parents started to exclusively use Hindko with their children at the expense of KS. This happened in families where the mother is a Hindko speaker, but also in families where both parents themselves are KS speakers.

Even though the KS language is under tremendous pressure from Hindko, which surrounds it from all sides and is the predominant language of the area, and even though many speakers of the KS language are shifting to Hindko as their first language, it is nevertheless the case that a majority of the Qureshis have a positive attitude towards the idea of language preservation. They do not want the KS language to become extinct, and they would like to see it documented and written.

However, as the number of active speakers of the language is shrinking and the language is no longer being transmitted to the younger generations, the future of the language is very much in question. Unless efforts are undertaken to reverse language shift in Kundal Shahi, the language may become extinct in another sixty years or so, when the last speakers will have passed away.

### Lexical similarities with neighboring languages

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

On the basis of these recordings (which provided seven renderings of each item in the list), broad phonetic transcriptions were made of the words in the list. The KS wordlist with broad phonetic transcriptions is presented in appendix 1.

Subsequently, these transcriptions were compared with the wordlists for Shina, Hindko, Gujari, and Indus Kohistani as found in O’Leary 1992. Also a comparison was made with a Kashmiri wordlist. The Kashmiri wordlist was based on the speech of the first author, who is a native speaker of this language.

For the purpose of these comparisons, we looked in particular at the Shina wordlists recorded in Astor and Jalkot, at the Hindko wordlist recorded in Balakot, at the Gujari wordlist recorded in Subri in northern Azad Kashmir, and at the Indus Kohistani wordlist recorded in Jijal.

The criteria for lexical similarity used in this study were the same as those used for the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan as described in O’Leary 1992. In scoring lexical similarity, we used a simple binary classification for each pair of items, namely *similar* vs. *not similar*.

The results, given as percentages of similar lexical items, are presented in table 2.

TABLE 2: Lexical similarity scores between KS and neighboring languages in percentages

<i>Kundal Shahi</i>	
49	<i>Shina (Astor and Jalkot)</i>
47	<i>Hindko (Balakot)</i>
45	<i>Kashmiri (Khawaja Seri, AJK)</i>
40	<i>Gujari (Subri)</i>
34	<i>Indus Kohistani (Jijal)</i>

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

This conclusion is corroborated by what the neighboring communities themselves are reporting about the intelligibility of the KS language. The conclusion is further corroborated by local traditions among the Qureshis of Kundal Shahi, which speak about the use of the language for conveying secret messages. For instance, under the Dogra *maharajas*, the slaughtering of cows and the eating of beef were prohibited. The people of Kundal Shahi, who are Muslims, would continue these practices notwithstanding the prohibition. When the police or other officials came, suspecting that the people were hiding beef somewhere, the people would call to one another in the KS language to convey warnings and instructions regarding the illegal beef, much to the frustration of the officials as they could not understand this language.

A second conclusion to be drawn from the table is that the KS language may be genealogically more closely related to Shina than to the other languages used in the comparison. The KS vocabulary shows a somewhat closer affinity with Shina, Hindko and Kashmiri, as opposed to Gujari and Indus Kohistani. However, while the similarity scores for Hindko and Kashmiri are not drastically different from those for Shina, the influence of Hindko and Kashmiri on KS can easily be explained from extended periods of language contact. In its previous location in what is now Indian-administered Kashmir, the community would have been in close contact with Kashmiri, the predominant language of the Kashmir valley. After their migration to Kundal Shahi, ties with the Kashmir valley continued to exist up to 1947. In its current location in Kundal Shahi, the community is surrounded by Hindko, the language of wider communication for much of the Neelam valley and for a large area to the West of that.

On the other hand, in neither of these two locations was or is intensive contact with Shina likely, or would Shina be a language of high utility or prestige. The relatively high lexical similarity scores between KS and Shina may therefore point to a closer genealogical relatedness of the two, rather than to a period of intensive language contact in the not-too-distant past.

## Notes on the Kundal Shahi sound system

### Consonants

Table 3 presents a preliminary chart of consonant phonemes of KS. It appears from the chart that KS does not have a series of voiced aspirated stops (*bh, dh, ḍh, ḷh, ḡh*), and neither does it have retroflex fricatives and affricates (*ʃ, ʒ*, etc.). The loss of voiced aspirates is consistent with developments in many of the so-called “Dardic” languages (cf. Schmidt 1981:18). On the other hand, many of the Dardic languages do have retroflex fricatives and affricates, which are missing in KS. Kashmiri, though, is another, closely-related language that does not have these sounds. In our limited data, the sound *ŋ* almost always occurs immediately before *g*, where it could be the result of place assimilation. (We have one example that might point to independent phonemic status for *ŋ*, namely *śiiŋ* ‘horn’.)

TABLE 3: Consonant chart for Kundal Shahi

	<i>labial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<i>plosives</i>	ph p b	th t d	ṭh ṭ ḍ		kh k g	
<i>affricates</i>				čh č ǰ		
<i>fricatives</i>	f	s z		š	x	h
<i>nasals</i>	m	n	ṇ		(ŋ)	
<i>laterals</i>		l				
<i>flaps</i>		r	ɽ			
<i>semivowels</i>	w			y		

Table 4 illustrates the occurrence of the KS consonants in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions. At this point no overly firm conclusions can be drawn from the fact that certain cells in the table are empty, as at least in some cases this may be due to the limited amount of data that we have collected thus far. The occurrence of the semivowels *y* and *w* in word-final position is flagged with a question mark. At this time we do not know enough about the language to be certain that these sounds are to be interpreted as consonantal rather than vocalic.

TABLE 4: Consonant distribution in initial, intervocalic and final positions

	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
ph	phitḡəl ‘broken’		
p	pan ‘leaf’	kapuɽ ‘cloth’	šap ‘wild onion’
b	buṭ ‘all’	khíbak ‘lightning’	gub ‘heavy’
th	thuun(i) ‘pillar’		nath ‘nose’
t	too-l ‘rice’	katii ‘where’	raat ‘blood’
d	daan ‘tooth’	gudaam ‘rope’	nad ‘river’
ṭh	ṭhuul ‘egg’	kaaṭhoo ‘wood’	koṭṭh ‘house’
ṭ	ṭax ‘button’	baṭoo ‘stone’	muṭ ‘tree’
ḍ	ḍaak ‘back of body’		kand ‘thorn’
kh	khíbak ‘lightning’	bekhin ‘elbow’	mukh ‘face’
k	kuɽ ‘boy’	kikiir ‘chicken’	ak ‘today’
g	goor ‘path’	sígal ‘sand’	driig ‘long’



	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
čh	čhet̪ ‘wind’	mačhar ‘mosquito’	bičh ‘cow’
č	čunu ‘small’	kučur ‘dog’	mæɛ~č ‘man’
ǰ	ǰib ‘tongue’	kwaj̪i ‘mortar’	raaj̪ ‘rope’
f	fæš ‘leg’		
s	saz ‘sister’	basɔɔ ‘calf’	tus ‘you (pl.)’
š	šo ‘head’	dašan ‘right’	aš ‘eye’
x	xumuš ‘evening’		ʈax ‘button’
h	hiɾ ‘bone’		
z	zaral ‘spider’	razaa~ ‘feces’	diiz ‘day’
m	mukh ‘face’	lumuʈ ‘tail’	gudaam ‘rope’
n	noor ‘fingernail’	pàan̪i ‘water’	yuun ‘moon’
ɳ		kaɳak ‘wheat’	khabɔɳ ‘left’
ŋ			šiinj ‘horn’
l	leel ‘broom’	piluul ‘ant’	juuil ‘meat’
r	ramaa~dond ‘rainbow’	kareɛ ‘when’	war ‘belly’
ɾ		hateɛɾi ‘hammer’	nikhiɾ ‘arm’
w	wæɛji ‘ring’		seow ? ‘bridge’
y	yàá ‘brother’		day ? ‘ten’

KS has retained Old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters of stop + *r* in initial as well as non-initial positions. It also has final sibilant + stop and nasal + stop clusters. Examples of KS words with such clusters are given in table 5.

TABLE 5: Consonant clusters in KS

traa	‘three’	mutraa~	‘urine’	yand <sup>ɔ</sup> r	‘mill’
kraam	‘work’	puut <sup>ɔ</sup> r	‘son’	aa~šʈ	‘eight’
dr̪i ǰ	‘long’	lat <sup>ɔ</sup> r	‘bad’	mišʈ	‘good’
graa~	‘village’	ad <sup>ɔ</sup> r	‘wet’	kanʈ	‘thorn’

## Vowels

Table 6 presents a chart of the vowel sounds that we have come across in our data thus far. It is too early to draw firm conclusions about the phonemic status of each of these. The data include several examples of nasalized vowels (not listed in table 6). In this paper these are written with a vowel and a following tilde, as in *aa~šʈ* ‘eight’ and *too~l* ‘rice’. The words presented in table 7 suggest that there is a phonemic vowel length contrast for *i*, *u*, and *a*, and also for the mid vowels *e* and *ɔ*. There are a few examples indicating the possibility of a contrast between *ee* and *ɛɛ*. These examples are also included in table 7.

TABLE 6: Oral vowel sounds in Kundal Shahi

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

TABLE 7: Examples of vowel contrasts in KS

i vs. ii	kin ‘black’ jib ‘tongue’	šiiŋ ‘horn’ driig ‘long’
u vs. uu	buṭ ‘all’ kuṭ ‘boy’	buuṭ ‘shoe’ suuṭ ‘ash’
a vs. aa	saz ‘sister’ šal ‘cold’	maaz ‘month’ saal ‘year’
e vs. ee	čheṭ ‘wind’	leel ‘broom’
ɔ vs. ɔɔ	čhoṭ ‘few’ yɔk ‘one’	kɔɔṭh ‘house’ pɔɔš ‘flower’
ee vs. eε	teel ‘palm’ mèél ‘mother’	tεel ‘oil’ mèěš ‘buffalo’

It is interesting, furthermore, to observe the presence of the rounded front vowels *ü*, *üü* and *öö*, illustrated in table 8. It looks like these may be the intermediate result of a still ongoing process of vowel change. For instance, the KS word for ‘girl, woman’ must have been derived from an earlier form *kúri* (which occurs as such, for example, in Hindko and Punjabi) with subsequent place assimilation (or, alternatively, total assimilation) of the first vowel to the final vowel, in turn followed by loss of the final vowel. The forms *kúri*, *kür*, and *kiṭ* seem to co-exist in the current stage of the language.

TABLE 8: Rounded front vowels in KS

ü	kür / kúri / kiṭ ‘girl, woman’
üü	aŋgùúṭh / aŋgüüṭhí ‘ring’
öö	khööṭ / khwööṭ / khweeṭ ‘cap’ pööṭ ‘ladder’ bööli / bööl ‘speech’

## Tones

Whereas a majority of the words in our data are spoken with a falling pitch, there are quite a few examples of words that are spoken with a distinct rising pitch. These are presented in table 9. In this paper, the acute accent (´) marks a phonetic high pitch, the grave accent (`) marks a low pitch, and contour pitches are indicated by a combination of these, as in *báán* ‘dish’, which has a rising pitch (low pitch followed by high pitch).

TABLE 9: Words with rising tone

aššó	‘walnut’	drì íg	‘long’	hì í~	‘snow’	mèél	‘mother’
báán	‘dish’	dùúr	‘far’	jěéṭ	‘she-goat’	mèěš	‘buffalo’
báán(d)	‘big’	ḍḍól	‘fireplace’	koàár	‘axe’	thùún	‘pillar’
bì í	‘twenty’	gàáz	‘grass’	lùú	‘red’	yàá	‘brother’
dì í	‘daughter’	gḍḍṭ	‘horse’	màál	‘father’		

The words in table 9 contrast with falling-pitch words such as *báal* ‘hair’, *béêṭ* ‘field’, *díiz* ‘day’, etc. An example of a minimal pair for tone is *màál* ‘father’ vs. *máál* ‘livestock’. Another near-minimal pair is *gḍḍṭ* ‘horse’ vs. *gḍḍṭ* ‘path’.

Pending further investigation of the KS tone system, our current conjecture is that KS tone is similar to Shina tone, involving a contrast between two surface tones (high-falling vs. low-rising), the occurrence of which is limited to long vowels. Shina has been analyzed as featuring *mora accent*, with accent within a

word falling either on a short vowel, or on the first or second part (mora) of a long vowel. Accent in Shina, and presumably also in KS, is phonetically realized as high pitch, and second-mora accent on a long vowel produces the distinct low-rising tone that is heard in words such as the ones in table 9 (for Shina tone see Schmidt and Kohistani 1998:125-134, Radloff 1999:83-88; for an overview of tone systems in the languages of northern Pakistan see Baart 2003).

## Nouns

KS nouns have inherent grammatical gender (masculine vs. feminine), which can most readily be told from the form of an agreeing verb or adjective, as in *díiz thu* ‘it is a day’ (masculine) and *dukáan thi* ‘it is a shop’ (feminine), where *thu* and *thi* are present-tense forms of the copular verb, or *ćínu yaá* ‘younger brother’ and *ćíni saz* ‘younger sister’, where *ćínu* and *ćíni* are forms of the adjective meaning ‘small’.

Nouns are inflected for number (singular vs. plural) and case (nominative vs. oblique). However, for an entire range of words, only the oblique plural has a distinct form. It is created by attaching the suffix *-an* to the noun stem. The quality of the suffix vowel assimilates to the quality of the preceding vowel in the stem (usually *a* after a back vowel, *i* after a front vowel), and when the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix vowel usually deletes. In the oblique plural, accent often remains on the stem. However, when the last vowel of the stem has second-mora accent, accent shifts to the suffix in the oblique plural. All this is illustrated in table 10.

TABLE 10: Examples of regular noun inflection

a) without accent shift:

		<i>Nom Sing</i>	<i>Nom Plur</i>	<i>Obl Sing</i>	<i>Obl Plur</i>
‘hair’	masc.	báal	báal	báal	báalan
‘path’	fem.	góɔr	góɔr	góɔr	góɔran
‘dog’	masc.	kučúr	kučúr	kučúr	kučúran
‘day’	masc.	díiz	díiz	díiz	díizin
‘maize’	fem.	makéy	makéy	makéy	makéyin
‘knee’	masc.	kuɫ	kuɫ	kuɫ	kúɫan
‘girl, woman’	fem.	kür	kür	kür	kúrin

b) with accent shift:

‘dish’	masc.	baán	baán	baán	baanán
‘horse’	masc.	gɔɔr	gɔɔr	gɔɔr	gɔɔrán

There is an interesting set of nouns ending in an accented long vowel *-íi*. These nouns have a truncated nominative singular form, where the final vowel is either shortened to *-i* or deleted altogether; in the latter case the preceding syllable receives a rising tone (second-mora accent) or even a low tone if its vowel is short (in which case we would have to call that form unaccented or, perhaps better, post-accented). These truncated nominative singular forms often also show umlaut (vowel assimilation), see table 11.

TABLE 11: Nouns with truncated nominative singular forms

		<i>Nom Sing</i>	<i>Nom Plur</i>	<i>Obl Sing</i>	<i>Obl Plur</i>
‘cupboard’	fem.	alméerí / alméér	almaaríi	almaaríi	almaaríin
‘ring’	fem.	aŋgüüthí / aŋgüüth	aŋguuṭhíi	aŋguuṭhíi	aŋguuṭhíin
‘ring’	fem.	wæjǐ	waaǐi	waaǐi	waaǐin
‘pillar’	fem.	thuún	thuuníi	thuuníi	thuuníin
‘lamp’	fem.	betí / bêt	batíi	batíi	batíin
‘river’	fem.	nad	nadíi	nadíi	nadíin
‘chair’	fem.	kürsí	kursíi	kursíi	kursíin

Table 12 presents a further set of nouns with interesting behavior. These are nouns that shift the accent onto the oblique plural suffix (and also onto a postposition when this follows the singular form of the noun), even though their stems do not bear a rising tone (second-mora accent). We do not yet have an explanation for these cases.

TABLE 12: Post-accenting nouns

		<i>Nom Sing</i>	<i>Nom Plur</i>	<i>Obl Sing</i>	<i>Obl Plur</i>
‘button’	masc.	ʈax	ʈax	ʈàx	ʈaxán
‘face’	masc.	mukh	mux	mùx	muxón
‘plough’	masc.	hal	hal	hàl	halán
‘ox’	masc.	daan	daan	dàan	daanán
‘shoe’	masc.	buuʈ	buuʈ	bùuʈ	buuʈón

The accent shift phenomena seen in KS noun inflection fit into a wider pattern; very similar phenomena have been observed for Gilgiti Shina by Radloff (1999:90ff), for Indus Kohistani by Hallberg and Hallberg (1999:59-75) and C.P. Zoller (personal communication, October 4, 2002), and for Palula by H. Liljegren (personal communication, September 19, 2003).

Postpositions usually follow the oblique form of the noun. Examples are, *mùx mé~* ‘in the mouth’, *muxón me~* ‘in the mouths’, *almaaríi laa* ‘next to the cupboard’, *almaarín laa* ‘next to the cupboards’, *waajíi čel* ‘on the ring’, *waajín čel* ‘on the rings’, *kúúr sam* ‘with the woman’, *kúúrín sam* ‘with the women’, *makey sa~ mind* ‘maize bread’ (lit. ‘bread of maize’).

The agentive case marker is *-an*, which attaches directly to the noun stem, as in *zamaan-an mind kheegin* ‘Zaman [agentive] ate the food’. The dative case of singular nouns is marked by the form *-as* attached directly to the noun stem (*-is* after a front vowel in the preceding syllable), while the form *-an* (or *-in*) marks dative case with plural nouns, see *dukaandaar kiṛ-is čaadar pašaaso* ‘The shopkeeper is showing chadors to the woman [dative singular]’ and *ustaad kiṛ-in pašaaso* ‘The teacher is teaching the girls [dative plural]’. In the plural, then, there is a single form *-an* (or *-in*) that marks agentive, dative, as well as general oblique case.

### Pronouns and demonstrative adjectives

Like other languages of the area, KS has first person and second person pronouns, while demonstrative adjectives double-function as third person pronouns. The demonstratives express three degrees of distance, namely proximal, distal (within sight), and invisible. Table 13 presents forms collected thus far.

TABLE 13: Pronouns and demonstrative adjectives

		<i>Nom</i>	<i>Agentive</i>	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Gen (sm, sf)</i>	<i>Obl</i>
1sg	‘I’	ma~	míi	máan	meá~, maí~	máa(n)
1pl	‘we’	beét	asó~	asán	asé~	asán
2sg	‘you’	tu	tu	táan	teá~, tuí~	táan
2pl	‘you all’	tus	tusó~	tusón	tusé~, tusí~	tusón
proximal sg.	‘this’	a~y	ejí~	is(í)	isá~, isí~	is
proximal pl.	‘these’	a~y	ejó~	ejín		ejín
distal sg.	‘that’	(h)áa	ají~	esí	asé~, esí~	is
distal pl.	‘those’	(h)áa	ajó~	ajín		ajín
invisible sg.	‘that’	so	tají~	tis	tesá~, tesí~	tis
invisible pl.	‘those’	so				tejín

### Verbs

Finite verb forms occur in at least the following tenses: Future, Present, Past Imperfective, Simple Past, Present Perfect and Past Perfect. The existential/copular verb ‘to be’ (see table 14) is used as an auxiliary

verb in the formation of the Past Imperfective, the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect (see table 15 for Past Imperfective). There appears to be no distinction between a Habitual and a Present Continuous tense.

The conjunctive participle is formed with a suffix *-ti* following the stem, as in *par-ti* ‘having read’.

TABLE 14: Present-tense and past-tense forms of ‘to be’

<i>Present</i>			<i>Past</i>		
1sm	‘I [m] am’	ma~ thus	1sm	‘I [m] was’	ma~ asús
1sf	‘I [f] am’	ma~ this	1sf	‘I [f] was’	ma~ asís
2sm	‘you [sm] are’	tu thus	2sm	‘you [sm] were’	tu asús
2sf	‘you [sf] are’	tu this	2sf	‘you [sf] were’	tu asís
3sm	‘he is’	so thu	3sm	‘he was’	so asú
3sf	‘she is’	so thi	3sf	‘she was’	so así
1pm	‘we [m] are’	bæet thot	1pm	‘we [m] were’	bæet asót
1pf	‘we [f] are’	bæet thiót	1pf	‘we [f] were’	bæet asiót
2pm	‘you [pm] are’	tus thot	2pm	‘you [pm] were’	tus asót
2pf	‘you [pf] are’	tus thiót	2pf	‘you [pf] were’	tus asiót
3pm	‘they [m] are’	so tho	3pm	‘they [m] were’	asó
3pf	‘they [f] are’	so thió	3pf	‘they [f] were’	asió

TABLE 15: Four tenses of the verb ‘to laugh’

<i>Future</i>		
1sg	‘I will laugh’	ma~ haz-o~
2sg	‘you will laugh’	tu haz-ís
3sg	‘he/she will laugh’	so haz
1pl	‘we will laugh’	bæet haz-o~t
2pl	‘you all will laugh’	tus haz-ínə
3pl	‘they will laugh’	so hez-ín
<i>Present</i>		
1sm	‘I [m] laugh’	ma~ haz-ó~sos
1sf	‘I [f] laugh’	ma~ haz-ó~ses
2sm	‘you [sm] laugh’	tu haz-sós
2sf	‘you [sf] laugh’	tu haz-sés
3sm	‘he laughs’	so haz-só
3sf	‘she laughs’	so haz-sé
1pl	‘we laugh’	bæet haz-ó~set
2pl	‘you all laugh’	tus haz-ínset
3pl	‘they laugh’	so haz-ínse
<i>Simple Past</i>		
1sm	‘I [m] laughed’	ma~ haz-ús
1sf	‘I [f] laughed’	ma~ haz-ís
2sm	‘you [sm] laughed’	tu haz-ús
2sf	‘you [sf] laughed’	tu haz-ís
3sm	‘he laughed’	so haz-ú
3sf	‘she laughed’	so haz-í
1pm	‘we [m] laughed’	bæet haz-ót
1pf	‘we [f] laughed’	bæet haz-iót
2pm	‘you [pm] laughed’	tus haz-ót
2pf	‘you [pf] laughed’	tus haz-iót
3pm	‘they [m] laughed’	so haz-ó
3pf	‘they [f] laughed’	so hez-ió

#### Past Imperfective

1sm	‘I [m] was laughing’	ma~ haz-á asús
1sf	‘I [f] was laughing’	ma~ haz-á asís
2sm	‘you [sm] were laughing’	tu haz-á asús
2sf	‘you [sf] were laughing’	tu haz-á asís
3sm	‘he was laughing’	so haz-á asú
3sf	‘she was laughing’	so haz-á así
1pm	‘we [m] were laughing’	bæet haz-á asót
1pf	‘we [f] were laughing’	bæet haz-á asiót
2pm	‘you [m] were laughing’	tus haz-á asót
2pf	‘you [f] were laughing’	tus haz-á asiót
3pm	‘they [m] were laughing’	so haz-á asó
3pf	‘they [f] were laughing’	so haz-á asió

### Negation

Negative clauses are formed by means of the particle *-an* (just *-n* when it follows a vowel), which occurs immediately following the last verb in the clause. Compare *ma~ bazaar tilo~sos* ‘I am going to the bazaar’ and *ma~ bazaar tilo~sos-an* ‘I am not going to the bazaar’, and also *so ak šaár go thu* ‘He has gone to the city today’ and *so ak šaár go thu-n* ‘He has not gone to the city today’. In Kashmiri, too, the negative particle (*-na*) is placed after the verb, whereas in other languages of the region the negative particle is placed before the verb.

### Conclusion

From the evidence that we have seen, it appears that the speech form described in this paper is to be regarded as a distinct language in its own right. It is not mutually intelligible with any other language, and phonologically, grammatically and lexically it seems too far removed from any other speech form in order for it to be called a dialect of another language.

The language has undergone a strong influence from Kashmiri, and also from Hindko, but according to our current conjecture it is genetically most closely related to Shina.

Influences from Kohistani and other North-West Indo-Aryan languages are also clearly visible. For instance, the forms of the present tense of the verb ‘to be’, such as *thu* and *thi*, are similar to those used in, e.g., Indus Kohistani, Gawri (Kalam Kohistani) and Torwali (on the other hand, the common KS verb for ‘to do, to make’ is based on a root *th-*, as in *tho~sos* ‘I am doing’ and *theegin* ‘he/she did’, and this again agrees with Shina, rather than with the Kohistani languages, which use the root *kar-*). The KS word for ‘bad’ (*láf̣r*) is not found in Shina, but has cognates in a range of Kohistani languages, including Gawri (*laʔ*), Torwali (*laʃ*), Chillisso (*laʧu*), Gowro (*laʃ*), and Bateri (*laʧ*). See also Kalkoti *laatr*. (Kalkoti is probably related to Palula, which implies a classification under the Shina group; however, it is spoken in a predominantly Gawri-speaking area and has undergone strong influence from that language.) The KS word for ‘excrement’ (*razaa~* or *rizzaa~*) is similar to Kalasha and Khowar *riç*. The KS word for ‘belly’ (*war*) also occurs in Gawar Bati (*war*), Dameli (*war*), and Indus Kohistani (*weri*). A curiosity is the word for ‘path’ (*goor*), which to our knowledge also occurs in Kangri, a Punjabi-related language in Himachal Pradesh, India, but not anywhere else in the region.

The language is tonal, and our preliminary investigations suggest that its tone system is similar to that found in Shina, Indus Kohistani, and Palula, rather than to the tone system found in Punjabi, Hindko and Gujarī (cf. Baart 2003). Not much is known at the moment about how these Shina-type tone systems developed and spread, and the KS language may contribute important additional data to the solution of this puzzle.

The picture that emerges, then, is that of a language that has descended from an archaic form of Shina, that has undergone significant influence from Kashmiri, Hindko, and Indus Kohistani, while traces of contact

with languages further to the West (Swat, Dir, and Chitral) are also visible. A frequent and long-standing practice of intermarriage with other tribes (bringing women from other language communities into the group), as reported especially for the Hyder Khan clan of Kundal Shahi (see above), may well provide an explanation for this rather mixed character of the Kundal Shahi language.

### Abbreviations

1pf	first person plural feminine	3sf	third person singular feminine
1pl	first person plural	3sm	third person singular masculine
1pm	first person plural masculine	fem, f	feminine
1sf	first person singular feminine	Gen	genitive case
1sg	first person singular	masc, m	masculine
1sm	first person singular masculine	Nom	nominative case
2pf	second person plural feminine	Obl	oblique case
2pl	second person plural	pf	plural feminine
2pm	second person plural masculine	Plur, pl	plural
2sf	second person singular feminine	pm	plural masculine
2sg	second person singular	sf	singular feminine
2sm	second person singular masculine	Sing, sg	singular
3pf	third person plural feminine	sm	singular masculine
3pm	third person plural masculine		

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## Appendix 1: Word List

Note: SSNP = Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. The number listed in between the square brackets refers to the number of the entry in the standard wordlist used by the SSNP, see O'Leary (1992). The section in square brackets also includes the data as collected and transcribed by the SSNP team in Kundal Shahi in 1989.

adər	wet. <i>Variant: sijgal.</i> [SSNP: 132 <i>adar</i> ]	deki	near. [SSNP: 140 <i>deki</i> ]
ak	today. [SSNP: 123 <i>ak</i> ]	di re	give! [SSNP: 190 <i>dirē</i> ]
am	mango. [SSNP: 067 <i>aam</i> ]	dil	heart. [SSNP: 021 <i>dil</i> ]
añjaar	fire. [SSNP: 055 <i>añaar</i> ]	dì í	daughter. [SSNP: 112 <i>dii</i> ]
asmaan	sky. [SSNP: 043 <i>aasmaan</i> ]	diiz	day. [SSNP: 117 <i>diiz</i> ]
aš	eye. [SSNP: 005 <i>aš</i> ]	dooy	yesterday. [SSNP: 122 <i>doi</i> ]
ay	cloud. [SSNP: 048 <i>jár</i> ]	draal di're	you lie down! [SSNP: 188 <i>draal de</i> ]
a~y	this; these. [SSNP: 171; 173 <i>ai~</i> ]	drì íg	long. [SSNP: 134 <i>driig</i> ]
àá	that. [SSNP: 172 <i>aa</i> ]	dud	milk. [SSNP: 091 <i>dudh</i> ]
aaluu~	potato. [SSNP: 072 <i>aalu~</i> ]	duii	two. [SSNP: 152 <i>dui</i> ]
aa~št	eight. [SSNP: 158 <i>aa~št</i> ]	dùmáa~	smoke. [SSNP: 056 <i>dhumaa</i> ]
banj	handle. [SSNP: 032 <i>muzul</i> ]	dupeer	afternoon. [SSNP: 120 <i>dupēr</i> ]
banjgaa~	eggplant. [SSNP: 073 <i>banjgaa~</i> ]	dùúr	far. [SSNP: 141 <i>duur</i> ]
baraabar	same. [SSNP: 175 <i>yok čiiz</i> ]	eeaa~	šačgi be thirsty. [SSNP: 186 <i>aayaa~</i> <i>šečgi</i> ]
ba'too	stone. [SSNP: 052 <i>ba'ot</i> ]	εηgil	finger. <i>Variant: añgal.</i> [SSNP: 016 <i>ingil</i> ]
bay	twelve. [SSNP: 162 <i>baai</i> ]	fatéeε	skin. <i>Variant: phatéeε.</i> [SSNP: 019 <i>fataao</i> ]
baajra	barley. [SSNP: 070 <i>bajro</i> ]	feeš	leg. [SSNP: 018 <i>feš</i> ]
baal	hair. [SSNP: 003 <i>baal</i> ]	garm	hot. <i>Variant: tapgal.</i> [SSNP: 136 <i>tapgal</i> ]
bàán	big. <i>Variant: bàánd.</i> [SSNP: 142 <i>baand</i> ]	gàrwaal	husband. [SSNP: 113 <i>garwaa</i> ]
bàán yàá	elder brother. [SSNP: 107 <i>baandiaa</i> ]	gàrweel	wife. [SSNP: 114 <i>garvel</i> ]
baariš	rain. <i>Variant: ay.</i> [SSNP: 045]	gobi	cabbage. <i>Variant: geeb.</i> [SSNP: 081 <i>bandgobi</i> ]
bèén	saz elder sister. [SSNP: 109 <i>bheu saz</i> ]	goor	path. [SSNP: 053 <i>gor</i> ]
bekhin	elbow. [SSNP: 014 <i>koiñi</i> ]	graa~	village. [SSNP: 025 <i>graa~</i> ]
bey kurə	you sit! [SSNP: 189 <i>bei kor</i> ]	gub	heavy. [SSNP: 144 <i>gup</i> ]
bèét	we. [SSNP: 207 <i>bet</i> ]	gudaam	rope for tying animals. [SSNP: 036]
bičh	cow. [SSNP: 089 <i>bič</i> ]	haftə	week. [SSNP: 125 <i>haftu</i> ]
bì í	twenty. [SSNP: 163 <i>bií</i> ]	hateeri	hammer. <i>Variant: teeři.</i> [SSNP: 033 <i>hatoro</i> ]
bol	you speak! [SSNP: 199 <i>bol</i> ]	haa	those. <i>Variant: aa.</i> [SSNP: 174]
booš	šačgi be hungry. [SSNP: 184 <i>buš</i> ]	hiř	bone. [SSNP: 020 <i>heř</i> ]
buř	all. [SSNP: 181 <i>but</i> ]	hor	different. [SSNP: 176 <i>hor hor</i> ]
čal	many. [SSNP: 180 <i>čal</i> ]	ıđriigo	fly. [SSNP: 194 <i>ıđre</i> ]
čaa~	above. <i>Variant: čaal.</i> [SSNP: 146 <i>če</i> ]	jèēt	goat (fem.). <i>Variant: g<sup>y</sup>eet.</i> [SSNP: 094 <i>jií</i> ]
'čičal	mud. [SSNP: 058 <i>čičal</i> ]	jīb	tongue. [SSNP: 010 <i>jib</i> ]
činiik	child. [SSNP: 104 <i>činiik</i> ]	juu	body. <i>Variant: jus.</i> [SSNP: 001 <i>jus</i> ]
čoor	four. [SSNP: 154 <i>čor</i> ]	juul	meat. <i>Variant: jiiil.</i> [SSNP: 084 <i>juiil</i> ]
čuni	saz younger sister. [SSNP: 110 <i>čuni saz</i> ]	kand	thorn. [SSNP: 064 <i>kañđ</i> ]
čunu	small. [SSNP: 143 <i>čunu</i> ]	kañak	wheat. [SSNP: 069 <i>kañak</i> ]
čunu yàá	younger brother. [SSNP: 108 <i>čuno</i> <i>yaa</i> ]	ka'pə	cut. [SSNP: 183]
čhet	wind. [SSNP: 051 <i>čiř</i> ]	'kapuř	cloth. [SSNP: 039 <i>kapar</i> ]
čhot	few. [SSNP: 179 <i>čuř</i> ]	karèè	when. [SSNP: 168 <i>kare</i> ]
dajáa	burn. [SSNP: 191 <i>dajaaare</i> ]	katií	where. [SSNP: 167 <i>kati</i> ]
dar	door. [SSNP: 028 <i>dar</i> ]		
dašan	right. [SSNP: 138 <i>da'san</i> ]		
day	ten. [SSNP: 160 <i>dai</i> ]		
daan	tooth. [SSNP: 009 <i>daant</i> ]		



kaače knife. [SSNP: 034 *kaačij*]  
 kaan ear. [SSNP: 006 *kaaŋ*]  
 kaaṭhoo wood; firewood. *Variant: kaaṭšeer.*  
     [SSNP: 029 *kaaṭo*]  
 keelá banana. [SSNP: 068 *kela*]  
 kikiṛ chicken. [SSNP: 087 *kükür*]  
 kin black. [SSNP: 149 *kin*]  
 kini what. [SSNP: 166 *kini~*]  
 kiṛ woman. [SSNP: 103 *kurü*]  
 kiṛ girl. [SSNP: 116 *čunii kiir*]  
 kiti how many. [SSNP: 169 *kiti*]  
 koo which one. [SSNP: 170 *kini čiiž*]  
 kóò who. [SSNP: 165 *koo*]  
 kooṭh home; house. *Variant: ándar, énder.*  
     [SSNP: 026 *ander*]  
 kučur dog. [SSNP: 095 *kučur*]  
 kuṛ boy. [SSNP: 115 *koṛ*]  
 kwaṛi mortar. [SSNP: 031 *liṅgir*]  
 kwaar axe. *Variant: kweer.* [SSNP: 035  
     *kohaar*]  
 kha eat. [SSNP: 182 *miind kha*]  
 khaboṅ left. [SSNP: 139 *kabar*]  
 khar below. *Variant: dan.* [SSNP: 147 *dal*]  
 khíbak lightning. [SSNP: 049 *kidak*]  
 latər bad. [SSNP: 131 *latar*]  
 laar you run! [SSNP: 196 *laar*]  
 leṛ roof. [SSNP: 027 *čat*]  
 leel broom. [SSNP: 030 *le*]  
 leedár turmeric. [SSNP: 076 *leder*]  
 lumuṭ tail. [SSNP: 093 *lumaṭ*]  
 lut light. [SSNP: 145 *loth*]  
 lùú red. [SSNP: 150 *luu*]  
 mačhar mosquito. [SSNP: 098 *mačar*]  
 marč chilli. [SSNP: 075 *maráč*]  
 ma~ I. [SSNP: 202 *ma*]  
 màál father. [SSNP: 105 *maal*]  
 maaree ru killed. [SSNP: 193 *maaree*]  
 maaz month. [SSNP: 126 *maaz*]  
 mèél mother. [SSNP: 106 *me*]  
 me fat. [SSNP: 085 *me~*]  
 meché fish. [SSNP: 086 *mičhi*]  
 méo fruit. *Variant: méwa.* [SSNP: 066 *mewu*]  
 mergo he died. [SSNP: 192 *miribre*]  
 mēšš buffalo. [SSNP: 090 *me~š*]  
 mee~č man. [SSNP: 102 *meč*]  
 mišṭ good. [SSNP: 130 *mišṭ*]  
 mit dust. [SSNP: 059 *duudur*]  
 mukamal whole. [SSNP: 177 *koro*]  
 mukh face; mouth. [SSNP: 004; 008 *mux, muk*]  
 muṅphil groudnut. [SSNP: 074 *muṅpe*]  
 mutráa~ urine. [SSNP: 023 *mutraa~*]  
 muṭ tree. [SSNP: 061 *muṭ*]  
 muul root. [SSNP: 063 *muul*]  
 nad river. [SSNP: 047 *nad*]  
 nath nose. [SSNP: 007 *nath*]  
 naa~ name. [SSNP: 101 *naa*]  
 nikhiṛ arm. [SSNP: 013 *nikhiir*]  
 nínder sleep. *Variant: to seii be ‘you sleep!’*  
     [SSNP: 187 *soa~ be*]  
 noor fingernail. [SSNP: 017 *nor*]  
 noow new. [SSNP: 129 *nau*]  
 noo~ nine. [SSNP: 159 *nao*]  
 nuu~ salt. [SSNP: 083 *ṅuu~*]  
 pan leaf. [SSNP: 062 *paṅ*]  
 pàanii water. [SSNP: 046 *paaṅii*]  
 pašaak clothes. [SSNP: 039]  
 pa~z monkey. [SSNP: 097 *pa~z*]  
 paa~j five. [SSNP: 155 *paa~j*]  
 pilúul ant. [SSNP: 099 *piluu*]  
 pii you drink! [SSNP: 185 *pii*]  
 pooš flower. [SSNP: 065 *phul*]  
 puraan old. [SSNP: 128 *puraan*]  
 puutər son. [SSNP: 111 *puutar*]  
 phiṭgel broken. [SSNP: 178 *puṭgul*]  
 phulgobi cauliflower. [SSNP: 079 *phulgobi*]  
 rakə / rak look! [SSNP: 201 *rakə*]  
 ramaa~dónd rainbow. [SSNP: 050 *ramaadond*]  
 ramáa~gan tomato. [SSNP: 080 *remaa~gan*]  
 razáa~ feces. *Variant: rizáa~.* [SSNP: 024  
     *rezaa~*]  
 raade~y morning. [SSNP: 119 *redh*]  
 raaṅ rope. [SSNP: 036 *raasu*]  
 raat blood. [SSNP: 022 *raat*]  
 raat night. [SSNP: 118 *rataa~*]  
 reed tomorrow. [SSNP: 124 *redh*]  
 rupul pretty. [SSNP: 130]  
 sat seven. [SSNP: 157 *saat*]  
 saz sister. [SSNP: 109; 110]  
 saagar snake. [SSNP: 096 *saagar*]  
 saal year. [SSNP: 127 *beriz*]  
 sígal sand. [SSNP: 054 *sigal*]  
 siina breast. [SSNP: 011 *siina*]  
 so he. [SSNP: 205]  
 sóono gold. [SSNP: 060 *soṅo*]  
 sui~ needle. [SSNP: 038 *sui~*]  
 suur sun. *Variant: siir.* [SSNP: 041 *diiz*]  
 suuṛ ash. [SSNP: 057 *sur*]  
 ša six. [SSNP: 156 *šah*]  
 šad hundred. [SSNP: 164 *šad*]  
 šal cold. *Variant: šii.* [SSNP: 137 *šal*]  
 šap onion. [SSNP: 078 *šap*]  
 šiiṅ horn. [SSNP: 092 *šiiṅ*]  
 šit white. [SSNP: 148 *šit*]  
 šok dry. *Variant: šuk.* [SSNP: 133 *šak*]  
 šoo head. *Variant: šo.* [SSNP: 002 *šo*]  
 šoṅ / šan you listen! [SSNP: 200 *šoṅ*]  
 taar star. [SSNP: 044 *taar*]  
 taa~d thread. *Variant: tand.* [SSNP: 037 *taand*]

teel palm of hand. [SSNP: 015 *tɛl*]  
 tɛel oil. [SSNP: 082 *tɛl*]  
 tɪl you walk!; you go! [SSNP: 195; 197  
*tɛlan*]  
 tu you (sg.). [SSNP: 203 *to*]  
 tus you (pl.). [SSNP: 204; 209 *tus*]  
 too~l rice. [SSNP: 071 *to~l*]  
 traa three. [SSNP: 153 *traa*]  
 thuum garlic. [SSNP: 077 *thuum*]  
 ʈhuul egg. [SSNP: 088 *ʈhuul*]

war belly. [SSNP: 012 *var*]  
 wɛɛʝi ring. [SSNP: 040 *vɛʝi*]  
 xaʈuuʈ short. [SSNP: 135 *čuʈu*]  
 xumuš evening. [SSNP: 121 *kumaš*]  
 yagáy eleven. [SSNP: 161 *yagaai*]  
 yàá brother. [SSNP: 107; 108]  
 ye you come! [SSNP: 198 *yɛh*]  
 yok one. [SSNP: 151 *yok*]  
 yɔɔn moon. *Variant: yuun.* [SSNP: 042 *yon*]  
 zarál spider. [SSNP: 100 *bambuuo*]

## Appendix 2: Texts

*Indian shelling story, narrated by Noor Alam of Kundal Shahi on April 27, 2003;  
 recorded by Khwaja A. Rehman*

- (1) maaz agast doi hazaar mei~ inđia se~ gool doi baʝe šačo  
 month August two thousand in India of shells two o'clock engaged  
 'In the month of August 2000 at two o'clock shelling from India started.'
- (2) eʝin goolan sam ase~ graa~ sa~ khasar nuksān duluug  
 these shells with our village of much damage happened  
 'Because of these bombardments a lot of damage was done to our village.'
- (3) ai~ feeriŋ takriban doi ganʈa šača kuriig  
 this firing about two hours engaged stayed  
 'This firing went on for about two hours.'
- (4) ase~ graa~ se~ buʈ loog koʈan si~ xuŋgul ugi ge  
 our village of all people Kuttan of direction run went  
 'All the people of our village fled to Kuttan.'
- (5) kuṇḍal šai mei~ inđia si~ xuŋ thi takriban doi ganʈa šača kuruug  
 Kundal Shahi in India of direction from about two hours engaged stayed  
 '(The firing) into Kundal Shahi from out of India went on for about two hours.'
- (6) eʝin goolan si~ waʝa thi doi kooṭh deʝ ge  
 these shells of cause from two houses burn went  
 'Because of this shelling, two houses were burnt down.'
- (7) eʝin goolan sam doi mee~č saxt zaxmi duluug  
 these shells with two men seriously injured became  
 'In the shelling, two men got seriously injured.'
- (8) eʝin goolan sam asa~ yok karibi rištadaar maar go  
 these shells with our one close relative die went  
 'In the shelling, one of our close relatives was killed.'
- (9) tesa~ naa~ anaitul asú  
 his name Inayatullah was  
 'His name was Inayatullah.'
- (10) tesi~ umar čapeer saal así  
 his age forty years was  
 'His age was forty years.'
- (11) anaitul apii~ dukáan čin asú  
 Inayatullah own shop on was  
 'Inayatullah was in his shop.'

- (12) jis wakt meir̃ gool šačo taji~ dukaan band theegin  
 which time in shells started he shop closed did  
 ‘When the shelling started, he closed his shop.’
- (13) so apii~ čaniikan sam pat thea ender til go  
 he own children with behind do home go went  
 ‘He went home to look after his family.’
- (14) ačaanak tesi~ ender gool šaču  
 suddenly his house shell hit  
 ‘Suddenly his house was hit by a shell.’
- (15) tis goole sam so šahiid duli go  
 this shell with he martyr become went  
 ‘This shell killed him.’ (Lit. ‘With this shell he became a martyr.’)

*Seasonal activities, told by Noor Alam of Kundal Shahi on April 27, 2003;  
 recorded by Khwaja A. Rehman*

- (1) beet bazand meir̃ hal maaro~set  
 we spring in plough we.beat  
 ‘We plough (our fields) in Spring.’
- (2) patam is bia dugun hal maaro~set  
 after them again twice plough we.beat  
 ‘After that we plough them a second time.’
- (3) patam ise boo~set  
 after them we.sow  
 ‘After that we sow them.’
- (4) binti patam đeera bekan meir̃ nuu~set  
 having.sowed after household pastures in we.take  
 ‘After sowing, we take our household to the summer pastures.’
- (5) juun se~ maaz meir̃ geđi thoo~set  
 June of month in digging we.do  
 ‘In the month of June we dig and repair (our fields).’
- (6) bekan meir̃ đeera doi maaz suro~set  
 pastures in household two months we.keep  
 ‘We keep our households in the summer pastures for a period of two months.’
- (7) makeyis garmian meir̃ paanii šago~set  
 to.maize summer in water we.put  
 ‘In the summer we irrigate our maize fields.’
- (8) is thi patam gaaz kapo~set  
 this from after grass we.cut  
 ‘After this we cut the grass.’
- (9) doi maaz đeer sureti patam beet bia apii~ graa~ đeer haro~set  
 two months household having.kept after we again own village household we.bring  
 ‘Having kept our households for two months (in the summer pastures), we take them back again to the village.’
- (10) aktuubar se~ maaz meir̃ beet gaaz kapo~set  
 October of month in we grass we.cut  
 ‘In the month of October we cut the grass.’

- (11) is thi patam beet kaṅak boo~set  
 this from after we wheat we.sow  
 ‘After this we sow the wheat.’
- (12) šaare se~ mosme mei~ beet kaṅhoo te gaaz ši lital baṅal thoo~set  
 autumn of season in we wood and grass cold for collect we.do  
 ‘In Autumn we collect firewood and grass for the winter.’
- (13) ele ši saxt duleset zōr sen duleset  
 here cold hard becomes power with becomes  
 ‘Here the cold (in winter) becomes very severe.’
- (14) or hii~ jī poso  
 and snow also it.falls  
 ‘And snow falls, as well.’
- (15) kaṅak beet bazand kapo~set  
 wheat we spring we.cut  
 ‘We harvest the wheat in Spring.’