

## Dawarwola Pashto in the state of migration

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### Abstract:

Pashtun tribal system consists of multiple subdivisions and sub-subdivision where, a variety of their language, Pashto, which a tribesman speaks, is a powerful indicator to disclose his identity. If one remains true to this allegiance, i.e. tribal affiliations remain intact, in the classification of Pashto dialectology, one's ethnicity is a strong identity marker. Based on this ethnicity, Karlanri tribes of Pashtuns form a heterogeneous group of varieties manifesting shared phonological, morphological and lexical features. Nevertheless these varieties also differ from one another that give them distinction too. The prominent feature of the Karlanri varieties is the vowel shift where this phenomenon can be partially compared with some other languages of the world. But the present scenario might endanger the existence of these varieties. Key factors that bring forth homogenization in the region are schooling of children and the notion that Karlanri varieties are non-standard. However, migration of Pashtun-tribes is the decisive element that is tantamount to dialectocide and vanishing of various varieties of Pashto. These movements of tribes can be categorized as local and non-local migrations. The former may result in dialectocide (dialect-killing) whereas the latter in lingocide (language-murder). In this paper, a case study of Dawar tribe showcases impact of local move on their variety.

**Key words:** Migration, Pashto, Dialects, Areal-linguistics, Karlanri.

### 1. Transliteration table

Phoneme	Name of the letters	Grapheme	Phoneme	Name of the letters	Grapheme
/a/	Zabər	اَ	/ā/	alif	ا
/b/	Be	ب	/p/	pe	پ
/t/	Te	ت	/t̪/	ṭe	ټ
/g̃/	Ĝim	ج	/č/	če	چ
/h/	He	ح	/x/	xe	خ

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/d/	Dāl	د	/d/	ḍāl	ډ
/r/	re	ر	/r/	ṛe	ړ
/z/	ze	ز	/ž/	že	ژ
/g/	ge	ج	/s/	sin	س
/š/	šin	ش	/ʾ/	ain	ع
/ɣ/	ḡain	غ	/f/	fe	ف
/k/	kāf	ک	/g/	gāf	گ
/l/	lām	ل	/m/	mim	م
/n/	nun	ن	/n/	ṇur	ڼ
/o/	maḡhul wāw	و	/u/	maruf wāw	و
/ə/	zwarakái	ۀ	/i/	mārufa ye	ي
/e/	maḡhula ye	ي	/ai/	prata ye /tazkīrī ye	ے/ی
/əi/	fe'li ye/ tānisi ye	ی/ئ	/w/	semi-vowel	و
/y/	semi-vowel	ي			

## 2. Introduction:

Pashtun, Pashto-speaking-people both in Pakistan and Afghanistan, are Indo-Aryan and their language belongs to the eastern stock of Indo-Iranian sub-family tree. In the modern age where almost all nations are living in the safe borders and under wide and vast sky of nation-states, Pashtun, politically speaking, still are divided into two parts by Durand line stretching between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Ironically, on the eastern side, towards Pakistan, they are once again deprived of centrality on administrative ground, e.g. Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Baluchistan, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)<sup>2</sup> and Frontier Regions (FR). These divisions and sub-divisions, result in lack of a standard variety and a unanimous script for Pashto keeping in view pure linguistic foundations.

<sup>2</sup> Now, efforts are being made for the merger of FATA in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, but it is needed yet decided as when the merger will take place.

Apart from political factors, the gigantic and bulky size of Pashtun is based on tribal structure, even in the post-era of nation states. It is quite difficult to count the stratum and parallel horizontal layers, called *Khels* and *Zai*, of their tribal-structure therefore, the claim carries some weight that Pashtuns have developed the world's largest tribal society (Glatzer 2002). Whatever may be harm if they believe in strict adherence to any stratum of the tribal affiliation<sup>3</sup>, but it has bestowed diversity on the dialectal situation of their language, Pashto. Unless the tribal affiliations remain intact, in the classification of Pashto dialects, ethnicity will be an identity marker (NEVP 2003). This diversity reaches to culmination in the almost central regions of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, e.g. Bannu and Lakki districts and western areas adjacent to it e.g. South and North-Waziristan, where Karlanri people – descended from their progenitor named Karlan – reside. Bannuchi, Wazir, Dawar, Maseed, Khattak etc. do belong to this group according to the traditional genealogical trees. The variety these tribes speak manifests the famous four-tier vowel shift (Khan 2017) and in this regard, the region is the “center of radiation” (Morgenstierne 1932). In Pashto dialectology, from the early twentieth century till date, the varieties of the region have attracted the concentration of linguists and scholars, including foreigners and local, despite the fact that these are being reckoned as non-standard varieties. But what is relation between their variety and the tribe or sub-tribe to which they are attached is discussed below.

### 3. Tribesmen and identity:

Language has multipurpose usage and therefore it has primary as well as additional functions. It is not only a means of communication through which we express our complex thoughts, but it is also a strong source of identity. By the same token, a variety of a language provides additional identification to its speaker within the same community. Pashtun tribal structure, for instance, paints a vivid picture of its inhabitants as a whole, but the divisions and sub-divisions of this system further deepens the sketch of identity. Though Pashto language boasts many varieties, yet the Karlan region, whether in Pakistan or in Afghanistan, is home to the greatest variations. Taking Pashto speaking areas of Pakistan, there is top class homogeneity in the North-East and South-East Pashto, but on the contrary, the middle region or Karlanri territories depict heterogeneity due to the each and every layer or stratum gives identification to the tribesmen. In other words, the variety a tribesman speaks is an identity-marker for him. As long as he is glued to any specific locality (geographical factor) along with tribal affiliation, his belonging to a tribe or a sub-branch of a tribe provides an ample proof for his identification. For this reason, now variety formation is based on geo plus tribal adherence as far as the aforementioned region is concerned (Khan 2017). This is why dialect-switching is very rare and even people mind it.

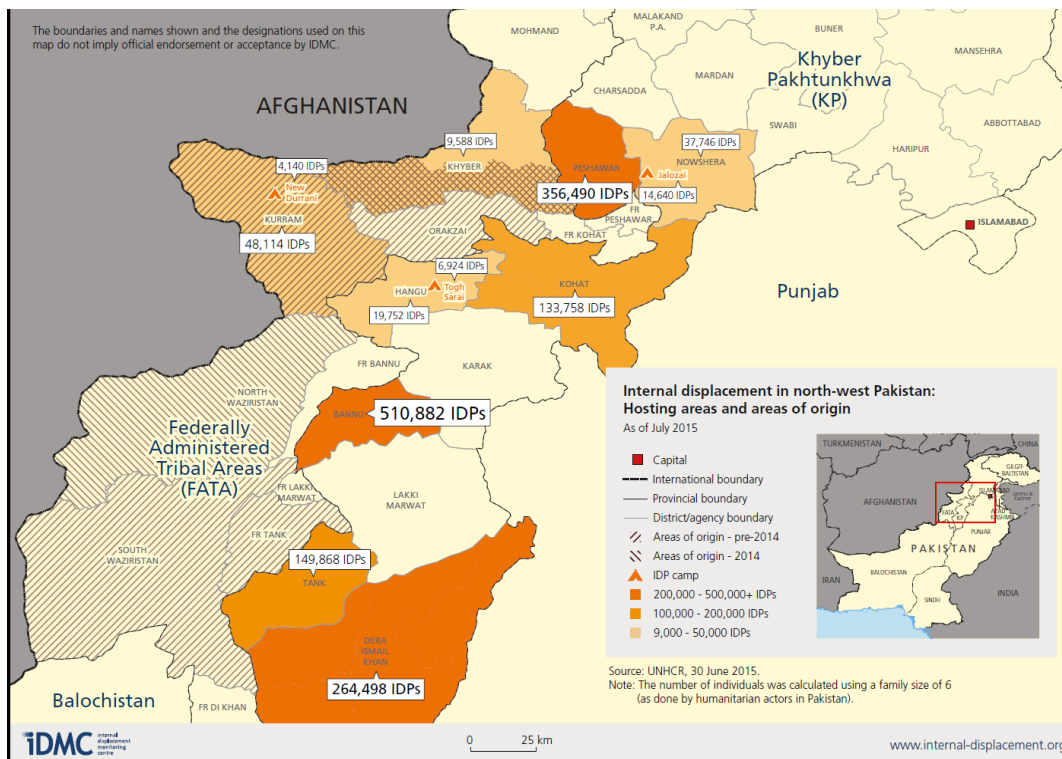
### 4. Tribal migration:

<sup>3</sup> A century ago, Muhammad Iqbal, the national poet of Pakistan, had to say about the scattered strength of Pashtun (Afghan):

قبائل ہون ملت کی وحدت میں گم «» کہ ہو نام افغانیوں کا بلند

“Tribes should merge their existence in *MILLAH* so that their name earns fame for them”.

In the history of Pakistan, the first two decades of 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed the greatest international and national migrations due to war-like situation in the country that shattered its settlers badly. Owing to these unavoidable circumstances, people had to flee from their abodes in search of safe shelter, but it is not needless to say that Pashtun-community is affected hundred times more than others. They were given no option but to move locally and across the international borders to settle for the time being or permanently. In the affectees, among others, the whole Dawar tribe<sup>4</sup> had to transform into internally displaced people (IDPs) called *mutasereen* -in Pashto and they had to move either towards the adjacent areas of Khyber<sup>5</sup> متاثرين Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan) or Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, their destination was Khost area of Paktia whereas in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, they inhabited with the Bannuchi and Khattak, with whom they share their ancestor, of district Bannu and district Karak respectively in large number and with Marwat, a Non-Karlanri tribe, in Lakki Marwat in less number. However, they moved to other parts of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa as well, e.g. Peshawar, Dera Ismael Khan etc. The map in figure-1 depicts the movement of Dawar tribe during the Zarb-e-Azab army operation towards the above-mentioned territories.



**Figure 1.** Map showing movement of IDPs of North Waziristan (IDMC 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Utmanzai Wazir of North-Waziristan outnumbers Dawar tribe and they had also to vacate their homes, but here the linguistic peculiarities of the later are brought to light and hence focus is only on the tribesmen who belong to Dawar tribe of North-Waziristan.

<sup>5</sup> It is plural of *mutaser* 'affectee' but here it is used for singular and plural alike and the use of copula determines its number.

It is somehow interesting that in all directions of North-Waziristan, Pashto is spoken, but IDPs settled in the territories having some sort of similarities with their speech. What kind of similarities they share with other Pashtun? So, briefly, in the middle of the twentieth century, Olaf Caroe had to remark that these people have “something in common” regarding their language (Caroe 1958), but as hinted above that this commonness of language is the well-known vowel-shift that causes a lot of variations in the Karlanri region in Pashto speaking areas of Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan. The prominent feature of the Karlanri varieties, on both sides of Durand line, is the vowel shift where this phenomenon can be partially compared with some other languages of the world e.g. Albanian and Northern Californian English (Miller 2014). In this new situation the range of the influence of the language is discussed in the forthcoming section.

### **5. Context induced language changes:**

Before going ahead, it seems important to say some words about the nature of migration of the Dawari tribe as there are ‘definational problem’ with the lexeme. However, according to Lewis (1982) the agreed parameters of migration include space, time, motivation and socio-cultural factors (Kerswill 2006). In the light of these parameters, the collective movement of Dawar tribe involves a local move to urban and rural areas within the same political administration towards their destination of mutually intelligible varieties; a short period of time spanning over four years; forced evacuation by Pak-Army from their place of origin; half-hearted and slow participation in activities arranged by the host society, an apathy to children education, somehow reluctant attitude to hold marriages etc., compelling us to term it an internal migration.

When an individual or a group of people migrate due to one or other reason from their place of birth, he/they has/have to carry a lot of things with them. The asset of migrant/migrants is not restricted to physical things only, but the inventory encompasses mental asset too. Among others, their native language also travels with its speakers. Though, language is the birth child of continuous movements, displacements and migrations and it has direct relation with them:

“Language and migration constitute two of the characteristics of Homo sapiens. In the same way that our ability to communicate through a complex symbolic system distinguishes us from other animals, including our closest evolutionary relatives, our propensity to migrate, most notably exemplified by the great human migration out of Africa about 80,000 years ago, distinguishes us from other hominid species, all now extinct. It has been argued that it is precisely the combination of language and migration that has resulted in the globally dominant position of our species (Gugliotta, 2008) (Piller 2016)”.

However, less attention has been paid to the mutual correlation of language and migration. Scholars often study languages at rest but they are the very “product of motion” i.e. language change occurs even at rest, that is, if they don’t migrate from their original place, due to time

factor on one hand, and the change gets extra-momentum when speakers of a language migrate from one region to another. Therefore, it is right to say that language is always like flowing fresh water whose disposition abhors stagnation that necessitates drawing a colorful picture of mobilized language or “sociolinguistics of mobility” (Piller 2016).

In migration, a language finds itself in a totally different contact-situation which forms new language ecology for that language where the principle of give and take – two ways traffic – reigns. Dawari variety of Pashto, in migration perspective, was surrounded by Baniswola, which is close to it linguistically, and Waziri which shared dialectal-continuum with them in North Waziristan as well, but here they confronted with another version of Waziri – Wazirwola of district Bannu. It should also be mentioned here that despite the fact that all the three varieties constitute first group of Karalnri varieties<sup>6</sup>, but they differ considerably from one another. The Dawari tribe made a brief stay<sup>7</sup> in Bannu and the question of what their language lent to others and, in response, what it borrowed from these two varieties is yet to be answered because to shed mutual effect on one another in contact situation, a huge span of time is needed. Nevertheless, a short span of time does not go futile i.e. it also results in language variations though not to a great extent. With these points in mind, when we look at the interaction of Dawari variety with Baniswola or Wazirwola of district Bannu, the domain of cognitive aspect of linguistics got influenced many times. Cognitive aspect of linguistics has something to do with mental development, especially here in linguistic/dialect-contact, of speakers in terms of mutual intelligibility directly related to exposure to other varieties or languages:

“Mutual intelligibility will also depend, it appears, on other factors such as listeners’ degree of exposure to the other language, their degree of education and, interestingly enough, their willingness to understand. People, it seems, sometimes do not understand because, at some level of consciousness, they do not want to (Chambers and Trudgill 1998)”.

So, the displacement of 2014 has provided an opportunity for these speakers of various varieties to intermingle with one another and to have a better understanding of their corresponding varieties on phonological, morphological, syntactical and even on lexical ground. As mentioned above, this understanding is not one way, but it is beneficiary for both parties and the graph of intelligibility rises for the new comers and the settlers equally which lays the foundational stone for the ‘give and take’ phase. Nearly two decades ago, on the basis of mutual intelligibility there were four groups of Pashto dialects: Northern group, middle settled/tribal group, central group,

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<sup>6</sup> Baniswola, Waziri, South Khattak, and Maseedwola form first group of Karalnri varieties, whereas Bangash, Afridi, Orakzai, Tori etc., also called ‘transit group’, belong to the second group of Karalnri varieties Khan, Y. (2009). Linguistic Study of the Bannuchi dialect. Pakistani languages and literature. Islamabad, Allama Iqbal Open University. **MPhil**: 209.

<sup>7</sup> In June 2014, they had to leave their place of birth and in 2017, they started to return, but till now this process is going on and it seems that it will take another year as government allows a specific number of families per day.

and southern group. The Karlan first group comprised of the people of Karak, Lakki Marwat<sup>8</sup>, Bannu, Miran Shah, and Wana. Talking about one of the localities, Wana, Hallberg writes:

“The conclusion that might be drawn about this Central Pashto group is that it is a much looser clustering than either the Northern group or the Baluchistan group. Generally there is a higher degree of similarity amongst these five locations than there is between these five and other locations. This higher degree of lexical similarity is, however, not as high as in the other two more distinct groupings previously mentioned (i.e., Northern Group and Baluchistan Group). It is also important to note that South Waziristan could be viewed as a variety of Pashto apart from any other. It does share 87 percent similarity with North Waziristan, but with every other location in the Central group of five, the similarity count is 80 to 82 percent. Many similarity counts between Wana and locations outside of the Central group were 70 percent or below (Hallberg 1992)”.

Now, that a lot of water flowed under the bridge of time, if a fresh research work is being undertaken regarding mutual intelligibility, drastic changes are expected because this migration caused to strengthen the bond of closeness between these Karlanri varieties. A new alarming situation is also there, that is, the cloud of dialect homogenization is hovering over the sky of dialect-formation (dialectology) of Pashto in the heterogeneous Karlan region due to migration, globalization and urbanization, but this danger of dialectocide (dialect-killing) can be ignored easily as the period of stay of Dawar tribe is too brief to pose any danger. Nevertheless, some examples of the process of understanding in the field of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicology are given below<sup>9</sup>.

In the domain of phonology, though Dawar tribe shares four-tire-vowel-shift with Banisi and Utmanzai Wazir, but sometimes their favor goes in one or other Karlanri tribe and sometimes they go, though irregularly, on their own path. For instance:

Dawar	Wazir	Banisi	Remarks	Meanings
<i>xež</i>	<i>xwož/ xož</i>	<i>Xwež</i>	no cluster of /xw-/	sweet
<i>yer</i>	<i>yeṛ</i>	<i>ywoṛ</i>	omission of /yw-/ cluster	oily
<i>yēž</i>	<i>yež</i>	<i>yōž/ywōž/ywēž</i>	omission of /yw-/ cluster	ear
<i>teṗār</i>	<i>ṭipār/teṗār</i>	<i>ṭapār</i>	vowel variation	turnip
<i>be</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>We</i>	consonant change of /w/ and /b/	particle of futurity
<i>dāna</i>	<i>dāra</i>	<i>Derma</i>	omission of /m/	so much/many
<i>sena</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>Semra</i>	omission of /m/	how much/many

<sup>8</sup> On linguistic ground The Marwat have nothing to do with the varieties spoken by Karlanri people. Moreover, in the traditional genealogical trees, The Karlanri and The Marwat have not descended of a common progenitor.

<sup>9</sup> These examples have been gleaned from the stock of daily conversation with Internally Displaced People (IDPs) or local migrants from Dawar tribe.

Similarly, some features related to the field of morphology were also found. For example, like Waziri people, Dawar also use feminine morpheme /-əi/ [cf. /-iye/ in Baniswola] e.g. *ṭepəi* ‘cap’; *miləi* ‘radish’ etc. Contrary to Banisi, but like Wazir, they use the unreduced or complete form of nouns, adjectives and verbs ending in unstressed /-ai/ e.g. *kəlai* ‘village’; *taṛəlai* ‘fastened’; *day təlai dai* ‘he has gone’ etc. The lexeme *čāi* ‘tea’ has masculine usage with them whereas it is feminine with Banisi and Wazir, e.g. *čāi xež dai* [cf. *čāi xwaža do* in Baniswola] ‘tea is sweet’. Another glaring feature of Dawar tribe is the usage of attached pronominal suffix for third person singular (masculine) /-o/ in past tense with all verbal stems. Ponder over these examples:

*melma parin roylo* [cf. *melma parin royai* in Baniswola and Wazirwola and *melma parun rāye* in Peshawari variety] ‘the guest came yesterday; *də ām wəxwərelo* [cf. *də ām wəxwəṛə* in Baniswola; *də ām wəxwəṛ/ də ām wəxwəṛə* in Wazirwola and *də ām wəxwəṛai* in Marwatwala variety] ‘he ate a mango’ etc.

As compared to morphology, the domain of lexical items is quite rich of Dawar variety, but isoglosses of lexemes often cross tribal lines, hence there is strong possibility of their existence in other varieties which share boundaries with them in this geographical area. However, these lexemes were also found in the colloquial speech of Dawar tribe. Some examples are as under:

Vocabulary	Meanings	Vocabulary	Meanings
<i>mangəs</i> [cf. <i>myāsa</i> in Baniswala]	Mosquito	<i>laṭeri</i> [cf. <i>čupri</i> in Baniswala]	licking sweets for kids
<i>pəi</i> [cf. <i>šnembe</i> in Baniswola and <i>šumle</i> in Peshawari variety]	Buttermilk	<i>deg-buxār</i>	pressure-cooker
<i>baboza</i> [cf. <i>beza</i> in Baniswola and <i>babozai</i> in Waziri]	Fan	<i>nalkəi</i> [cf. <i>geṛiye</i> in Baniswola]	reel of thread
<i>kləi</i> [cf. <i>nisa</i> in Baniswowa]	Key	<i>daṛa</i> [cf. <i>tambə</i> in Baniswowa]	door
<i>klup</i> [cf. <i>kunği</i> in Baniswowa]	Lock	<i>yorāt</i> [cf. <i>tang</i> in Baniswowa]	bored
<i>wəryā</i> [cf. <i>ləre</i> in Baniswowa]	Far	<i>galandori</i> [cf. <i>mrəč</i> in Baniswowa]	pepper
<i>təštedəl</i> [cf. <i>pāredəl</i> in Baniswowa]	to run	<i>wer</i> [cf. <i>bārom</i> in Baniswowa]	rain



## **6. Further recommendations:**

These are only few examples that have been collected without proper methodology, but to explore all dimensions of this gorgeous variety, its differences and similarities with neighboring varieties, a scientific, organized and well-systematic procedure is needed. May be, a methodological research work, based on experimental assignments of fieldwork, on MPhil or PhD level under a competent supervisor is required for achieving the desired results. Moreover, focusing on mutual intelligibility, another fresh study is needed to measure the intelligibility rate among the central group of dialects.

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