LANGAUGE SHIFT IN DIR KOHISTAN

 A CASE STUDY OF VILLAGE PATRAK AND BARIKOT

 BY

 HIDAYAT ULLAH

 AND

 DR. MAIN SHAH BACH

SHEED BANAZEER BATTO UNIVERSITY SHERINGAL DIR UPPER

 KHYBER PAKHTON KHWA PAKISTAN

­­­­­­­­­­­**Abstract**

This research paper is centered on the shift of mother tongue in the two villages of Dir Kohistan. The language under study is Kohistani language; the mother tongue of Dir Kohistani people. The researchers illustrates that the marriage pattern, non-intergenerational transmission and attitude of the people toward their mother tongue have been played key role in the process of language shift in the area.

Keywords

Language shift, Dir Kohistan, Patrak, Barikot, Kohistani, language Domain

**Introduction**

 Gawri and Bashkari both are historical names. It can be found in the Vedas (Rgveda), and in the work of Panini (late 5th or early 4th century BC) and other Indian sources. In 327 or 326 BC, the Gauraioi (also called Gretai). In the work of Ptolemy (c. 150 AD), this region near the Swat river is called Goryaia (schwartzberg, 1992). Bashkar, Bloch (1965) highlights that it is a relic of the Vedas and “no doubt the same as that of the school, which preserved the Rgveda.” The native speakers of this language called him Kohistani but actually those people who lived in the plain area used Kohistani for the people who lived in the mountainous area of Dir (Biddulph, 1971). Very recently, the name Gawri has gained some popularity among those who associated with Kalam cultural society, which was founded in Kalam in 1996(zaman, 1996). The name Gawri is more specific than Kohistani (there are several other languages that are also commonly called Kohistani) and more succinct than Kalam and Dir Kohistani or just Kalam Kohistani (a defect of the latter is that it excludes Dir Kohistan). Moreover, the name Gawri appeals to these people because of its old historical roots. However, in this research paper the researchers will use Kohistani to denote the pre- dominant language of Dir Kohistan.

 **Historical Background**

 Long ago, Gawri speaking people lived in the more fertile parts of Dir. Mahmud of Ghazni conquered this area in the 11th century A.D and the Gawri speaking people who were the original inhabitants of the area was forced to leave the area. Thus, they went to the remote and mountainous parts of the Panjkora valley i.e. Dir Kohistan and from here some groups of Gawri speaking people passed over across the mountain passes and settled in the Utrot, Kalam, and Ushu valleys what is now Swat, and some stayed in the upper Panjkora valley i.e. Dir Kohistan. In the 14th century, the yusufzai Pathans invaded and capture the lower parts of swat and Dir many Pathans who were settled there went toward the mountainous areas of swat and Dir. History shows that in15th century Pashto language entre to this area. Due to the influence of these Muslim immigrants, the Kalam and Dir Kohistanis converted to Islam, probably in the 15th or 16th centuries

 Thus, Kohistani language enter to the area from Dir side and spread towards kalam and other adjoining areas of northern Parts of Khyber pakhtoon khwa  **Language Shift Studies**

 Language shift occur in bilingual or multilingual community due to several factors such as bilingualism, migration, economic and social factors, political factors demographic factors and attitude of speakers toward their mother tongue. The language shift usually occurs in bilingual or multilingual community. As Fishman (1991:1)states that the shift and desertion of a language start when its speech community don’t transmit it to the next generation or their language is threatened by this .It is clear that language shift can be seen by the less of users of the native language and it become less using in the next generation.

 Language shift according to Fasold, (1984) refers to change in languages use among community of speakers such as when a community starts to use one language in a domain in which its members had previously used another language.

 According to Weinreich (1968) language shift as the change of the native language habitually. This shift according to Crystal (1997) gradual or sudden move from one language to another. According to Romain (2000) language shift is become possible when there is competition of two languages in a community.

 Whereas, Holmes (2001) says that language shift is a process in which one language take the place of another in a speech community. It is refers to the shift of a weak language to a dominant language. Language shift occurs when many speech communities of certain language have chosen another language instead of their mother tongue. This phenomenon generally found in the younger generation. Conklin & Lourie (1983) mention that the use of mainstream language first start in the public domains, which are restricted for that language and then move toward the family interaction.

 According to Holmes(2001:65)the less domain of language use the more potential language shift occur, vice versa the more domain of language use ,the more potential language maintain. The ongoing language shift also can be seen when the usage of the dominant language in the family domain become unavoidable. Language shift is different with language change .language shift is a move from certain language in the domain to another dominant language while language change is the manner in which the phonetics, morohological, sementice and other features of language are modified over time.From the above definitions, it becomes clear that language shift is a phenomenon by which a minority language in a speech community is replaced or shifts to a dominant language. When the usage of dominant language becomes dominant in every domain and this is a signed of language shift and desertion. Family domain is the last defense against the influence of the language of wider society.

 **Language shift inducing factors**

 Several factors motivate language shift however, the most fundamental is the bilingualism and the pattern of marriage.Fasold (1984) states that bilingualism can ultimately lead to language shift in a community and often become a leading force in intergenerational switching of the language.Grieson says that is the marriage pattern of these people of minority language which induces language shift. Along with bilingualism and marriage, many other factors responsible for language shift. They are migration, social factors, economic factors, political factors, demographic factors and attitude and value factor. Those factors are described in the following sub heading

 **Marriages Pattern**

 It is intercultural marriage or different ethnic marriage. This is also supported by Romaine (1995) that extent of exogamous marriage is a factor of language shift. Mother tends to influence language change to her children.The pattern of marriages is one of the common motivating factors for language shift. When in a community most of the people marry with wives, whose languages are different, thus the death of mainstream language in that house start. It is one of the most important shift-inducing factors in village Patrak and Barikot. The people of patrak and Barikot prefer to marry with Pashto speaking wives while the people of other four villages prefer to marry within their own community. According to the research participants the Pashto speaking wives are more developed and educated as compared to Kohistani speaking wives, thus an educated wife takes better care of children. This change have been started with some “pioneer “who first marry with Pashto speaking wives, after it with passage of time more and more people follow them and in this mixed family children speak the language of their mother rather than the language of their father.

 Many kohistani families even the influential families of kohistan such as that of Malik Abdul ahad khan(late) of Patrak,the head of Sulimanoor family in Patrak and Malik juma khan( late) of Barikot,the head of Kaches khel family in Barikot have intercultural marriage i.e. ,married with Pashtoon wives and their next generation replaced the Kohistani language with Pashto

 **Bilingualism**

 Weinrich (1968:1) gives the shortest definition of bilingualism “the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called bilingualism” Wigglesworth (2007) also considered bilingualism as the alternative use of two or more languages by the same individual. It can be concluded that bilingualism is the usage of two languages equally in order to communicate with other people alternatively.Bilingualism is always a necessary precursor of language shift.

 Bilingualism also happens in Dir Kohistan.the dominant language in this case Pashto language replaced the use of Kohistani language. Pashto language priory use in the education and now become the language of everyday conversation and expand into family and friendship domain.

 **Demographic Factors**

According to Holmes (2001), there are three demographic factors which are relevant in motivating or accelerating of language shift such as urbanization. Urbanization tends to making language shift be faster. Improved roads, buses, TV, telephone, internet are agents of language shift. Radio broadcasting is the only means of information and it is entirely in the Pashto language, so the new generation of Kohistani language especially that of Patrak and Barikot is totally shifts towards Pashto. Rapidly modernizing societies are undergoing language shift from a vernacular language to an official or language use in the wider societies.

 **Migration**

 The potential factor for Language shift to occur among vernaculars in kohistan is relate to migration that encourages the use of language of wider society and the consequent loss in proficiency in the original mother tongue. Many people who come from other area to Kohistan and settle there they also become a possible cause in language shifting in Dir Kohistan and those people who migrate from Kohistan to other settle area of Khyber Pakhton khawa their school going children to school also do not maintain their mother tongue .

**Social and economic Factoe**

 The social and economic needs of a person in a community is very important for speeding of language shift and maintenance.As Holmes (2001) states that “obtaining work is the most obvious economic reason for learning another language”. Owing to economic value of Pashto language as the language of wider society and traders coming from outer areas are mostly thepashtoons, so the people slowly shift from Kohistani to Pashto.

 Furthermore, Holmes (2001) also states that the shift of a language occurs when people of a community think that the learning of second language is very necessary for success. The same is the case with Kohistani language.

 Moreover, no attempt is made to safeguard their own mother tongue and they developed a hatred for their own mother tongue, which is really a potential factor for language shift and desertion.

 According to Romain (2000), many factors are responsible for language shift for example government policies concerning vernacular language and education.pashto language is the means of instruction in almost all educational institutions, political campaign .There is also a lack of commitment to develop Kohistani language as a media of communication

  **Attitudes and Values**

 Attitude and values is also a crucial factor influencing language shift. Holmes (2000) points out, some aspects contribute language shift; not highly valued of the language, and language is not seen as the symbol of ethnic identity. He also assumes that positive attitudes of speakers support language maintenance while negative attitude accelerate language shift.

 Language is an important marker of ethnic identity; ethnic identity is the way in which the expression through a particular language attachment to language is as strong as people regard of themselves as social group. When the group describes its language as useless and silly then the group had no need to learn finally, the ethnic group does not use its mother tongue in variety of domains and shift to the language which they considered prestigious in the society.

 Consequently, when speakers are more loyal to their mother tongue than there are less chance of language shift while weaker loyalty of the speakers with a language becomes cause of language shifts of that particular language.

 The researcher observes that many Kohistanies (Patrak and Barikot) speakers feel ashamed of being Kohistani. They are less aware to efforts for the maintaining of their mother tongue by learning and using it in communication, responding to the interview conducted by researcher, young kohistani said proudly that I could not speak Kohistani language.They are ashamed of their own mother tongue.

 In conclusion, seven factors are used to analyze the kohistani language shift. Firstly, bilingualism: the language of wider society in the family domain replaces the vernacular. Secondly, demographic; the use of living in the urban, the influence of television, radio, and intercultural marriages ,the third factor, is migration or the monolingual speaker become bilinguals as the result of contact group in the community. The fourth, is economic factor, in order to find a good job or be a professional. Fourthly,social factor people choose the dominant language to make them easily to fit in the society. Next factor is political factor; there is a force from friends, teacher, at school and people in public service to speak, the dominant language. The last factor is the value and attitude; people are not valued their vernacular. Due to dominancy of the Pashto language the Kohistani is being affected very negatively

**The Kohistani situation**

 Fishman (1965) says that family domain is the last defense of a language and from this is derived the language choice and preference of a speech community, whether language is maintained or shifted. It is the family domain, which helps us to know about the motivation and inclination of a speech community toward their language. Family domain also predicts about the future of a language. If a language is maintained in the home and it is a medium of communication among the family members, then, it is Likely to move on to the next generation as well. Speaking one’s native language in the family domain serves as the last defense against the influence of a dominating and powerful language. Research from the United States, Australia and Canada proves that the languages that are spoken in the family domain are likely to be maintained and transmitted to the next generation ( Clyne, 2001). The most important and dominant theme regarding home language reveals that apart from one, all of the research participants from research site speak Pashto language in their homes. No one use Kohistani language for communication in the entire village of patrak .In Barikot village of Kohistan only a few families use Kohistani language in their home for day-to-day conversation

 After analyzing, the responses of the research participants from the selected area reveal that Kohistani is not the medium of communication in their homes. In the words of sherin, a research participant,

 **(۱)ذه کوهستانی يم زما ‌پلار نيکه کوهستانی وو،ښو زه پی نه پو هيګم.بس يو سو ٹکي راته ياد دي،زما چی ياد شی مونږ په کور کښی پښتو ؤایو**

 [I am a kohistani, my four father were Kohistani but I don’t know Kohistani, I know only a few words according to my knowledge I never here Kohistani language conversation in my home]

 When I asked how can say you that I am Kohistani if you don’t know Kohistani language .he replied in very sorrowful mood,

 **مونږ بغیرتو خپله ژبه پریښه،خپل ریواجونه ام پريښه*(۴.)***

 *[*We careless people have forgotten our own language, culture and ritual.]

 The very first person reveals the fact that language is the repository of customs and culture. He gets no chance to speak Kohistani because no one speaks this language in the entire village of Patrak

**که چا له کوهستانی ورڅی نو چا سره ي واي،زمونږ مشرانو له ورڅی ښو د ویلو سوګ نشته**(.۳)

 [If anyone knows Kohistani with whom he speaks because no one speaks in Kohistani, our elder know kohistani but it is no more in daily use.

Another research participant Banoo said that,

**(۴)مونږه کوهستانی یو ښو زمونږ نیکه له صرف کوهستانی ورڅی،مونږ په کور کښی زکه کوهستانی نه وایو زکه چی زموږ مور پښتنه ده**

 [We are Kohistani but only our grandfather know Kohistani language we don’t speak Kohistani in our home because our mother is belong to Pashto community]

‘*’***زما نیا او نيکه به په کوهستانو کښی خبری کولي ده هغیو نه می یو سو ټکی یاد کړی دی** "

[My grandmother and grandfather spoke in Kohistani from i learn some words from him]. She categorically mentions the reason of their native language lost in their home, she told.

**ده پښتنو ښڅو سره ده ودونو نه پس زمونږ ده کورونو نه نيکني ژبه ختمه شوا**”

[It is due to marriage with pashtoon girls that the language of our forefather is no more in our home]

During my interview from the participants I asked one of the oldest person of the area about kohistani language he said,

**(۵)بچی سه سر به دی ښوږ کم ښو دا وسنو ځوانان په خپل ژبه او قومیت هم شرمیګی**

[Let me not bother you, my son, about our Native Kohistani language but new generation feel ashamed of their own language and culture].

Ferman another research participant from Barikot area said that,

**نو دا سه ژبه ښو نه ده ،نه پکښی کتابونه شته او نه باهر دنیا کښی استعمالیګی**

 [This is neither a language of books nor medium of expression which is used for wider conversation in other contexts]

about local culture and customs one participant told that,

**(۴.۶)هغه پښوانی ستار او منږي وس چرته دۍ،په اشرونو کښی به ډول وو،په واده کښی به ډول او سرنی وو وس زمانه بدله شوه،ژبه بدله شوه**

**[**Where is the time, when there used o be music, drum beating in wedding, they are no more

as time has changed even language and culture have changed

 From the above views of the research participants, we came into conclusion that Kohistani language is no more in use in Patrak village of Kohistan .it is totally shifts toward Pashto in the family domain too. The shift of language is quite visible and it is not a positive indicator for the future of Kohistani language because the family domain is the last defense for the maintenance of a language. a language is considered from the suppression of powerful languages when it is maintained in the family domain. Along with language local culture, costume of traditional music and traditional way of life has been washed out with language shift.

Kohistani language. In whole village of Patrak, no one use Kohistani language for their communication even the elders of the village stopped its speaking and their children stop its learning, they don’t considered it their mother tongue. There are uncertainties about the future of Kohistani language.

**Socio-economic Status of Kohistani Language** It become clear from the responses of the research participants that Kohistani language has a very weak economic position as compared to Pashto, due to this reason the native speaker do not want to transfer it to their next generation. They preferred the use of Pashto language as medium of communication in their family. Some of the research participants believed that without written shape and books, the Kohistani language has no value in society. Some said that there is no reason to learn a language, which has no books and no prestige in the wider society. They strongly support that Pashto should be the medium of communication because the majority of people in pakhtoon khwa uses this language for communication.

 The above discussion clearly reveals and highlight that the people of Patrak and Barikot considered Kohistani language very powerless and stagnant, they were of the opinion that Kohistani language is not a valuable language it is a main hurdle in the way of development. They told that those who leave this language become developed and modern and those who are still using this language are ledge behind.

 This theme highlights the standing value of Kohistani language in the society. The people of the selected areas do not want to maintain the language. Some of them believed that it is impossible for them to maintain Kohistani language because most of our children do not want to speak it in a social gathering.

 **Medium of Instruction**

 The medium of instruction in educational institutions play a pivotal role in the survival and maintenance of a native language. As Skutnabb- Kangas (2001) clearly states, “Languages are today being murdered faster than ever before in human history … the media and the educational systems are the most important direct agents in language murder.”

 Most the participants considered English, Urdu and Pashto better for the bright future of their children; they are in favor of English as a medium of instruction across Pakistan

 In the words of Asad:

**نو مونږ به سه کړی وو چی په کوهستانو ژبه سه علم نه وو،ده خبرو کول ( (۷**

 **زریعه وا،داسی ښو ځناور ه**

[There is no books in Kohistani language,nor a medium of instruction in school it is only a medium of communication like animal communication Kohistani language was also limited to Kohistan as modern education enter to this area this language also deserted by people]

 The above view clearly highlights one of the main cause and factor of minority language shift in Pakistan .The government gave no attention toward this side, if these minority languages are included in the curriculum for local people, it can be saved from dying away. Linda (2005) conducted same type of study, in her study she wants to explore whether there is language shift and desertion in Paraguay among Mennonites. During her study, she focused on the role of parents and school in the process of language shift and desertion in Paraguay. The outcome of her research is that the parents’ wanted to raise their next generation in Spanish because for them Spanish was a valuable language as compared to their native language. Apart from this she also highlight that as the younger generation moving away from their native language they also move from their history ,tradition and values. The survival of culture and traditions is closely related with maintenance of native language (Hume, 1998) .

 Apart from educational institutions, mass media also plays key role in the maintenance and shift of a language. The shift of a language is controld, if the information is broadcast in it. Through mass media a specific language can be encouraged and its desertion can be controld. Many regional and minority languages such as Quinchua and Shuar in Ecuador have been maintain through mass media by broadcasting program in these language through radio and television (Iñiguez and Guerrero (1993) as mentioned in Lenk, 2007)

 Kohistani language has no books, no alphabets, and no written shape in any form so its survival in this scenario is impossible. (Aziz, 2002)

 **Intergenerational Language Transmission**

 According to Fishman (1991:113) “without intergenerational mother tongue transmission ….no language maintenance is possible” the expert of UNESCO also considered intergenerational language transmission a key factor in language endangerment and death. They say that a language should be considered endangered if it is not transmitted to the next generation.

 The interpretation of the collected data highlights that there is no intergenerational transmission in Patrak and Barikot area of Dir Kohistan.The people of the selected areas have very weak affiliation with their language. They were totally shifts from Kohistani language toward Pashto; even some of them do not considered Kohistani language as their native language. A language is on its way to death and extinction if it is not passed on to the next generation as a lack of intergenerational language transmission triggers and accelerates the process of language shift and language desertion.

 The research participants of this research work are not in favors of Kohistani language when it comes to transferring the language to the future generation as they do not want to transfer their native language to next generation even some of them don’t considere it their mother tongue. Asad says

**دا سنګه زمونږ مورني ژبه ده مونږ ښو چی پیدا شوي يو نو مونږ دا(۸)**

 **ژبه نه ده اوريدلي.**

[How can this be our mother tongue, as we have not heared it sense our birth]

In terms of intergenerational language transmission Bano says,

**(۹)زمونږ په کور کښی سوږ هم کوهستانو نه وائ،مونږ ټول پښتو وايو،همیشه مونږ خپل بچو ته ده کوستانو وییلو نه دی ویيلي.**

[Inour home no one speak Kohistani language, we always speak Pashto we never preach our children to speak Kohistani

According to sardar,

**(۱۰)کوهستانو زمونږ نیکني ژبه وه،مورني نه ده،زمونږ مور پښتنه ده پلار ام کوهستاني وو،ده مور ده وجي مونږ په کوهستانو نه پوهيګو**

 [Kohistani was the language of our ancestor but not our mother tongue our mother was from Pashtoon family due to this reason we do not know Kohistani]

The same idea echoes in shezad’s response,

**زمونږ نيکه ښو کوهستاني وو ښو زمونږ نيا ده ) ۱۱(**

 **ډوګدري وّ او پښتنه وَ په دي وجه پي زمونږ پلار هم نه پوهيدو،او مونږ ښو په يو ټکي هم نه پوهيګو،بيا زمونږ رشتي هم په پښتنو کښي وشوي نو په دغه وجه ده ژبه زمونږ کور کلي کي ښتمه شوه**

*[*Our grandfather was kohistani while our grandmother belongs to doag dara and she was from Pashto family due to this reason our father also do not know this language and we also do not know a word of this language.**]**

 The language practices and language preference of the selected research participants of selected areas of Dir Kohistan in term of intergenerational transmission and homes language shows that situation of Kohistani language in these areas of Dir Kohistan is severely endanger. It is limited only to grandparental group the new generation are totally shifted toward Pashto they are no more in position to considered Kohistani as their mother tongue

About this Sardar expressed his opinion in the following line.

**(.۱۲)مونږ ته چا دا ژبه نه ده ويلي نو سنګه ورته علاقاي ژبه اويو،زمونږ ماشومان په يو ټکښي هم نه پوهيګي.**

*[*No one had spoken this language with us, how we can accept it our native language, if you asked from me about it future our children do not know even a single words of it]

 The negative attitude of the family members of the selected research participants raises serious concern and accelerates language shift in the area.

 **Usage of Language in Formal and Informal Setting**

 The outcome of the finding highlight that the Kohistani people in the selected area do not use kohistani language in informal domain. It is not their home language and not use it for internal communication in the family gathering.

 It either is mosque, madrasa or school we never use kohistani language for our communication. Either female or male gathering we never use kohistani for communication,about this sardar share his thought in the following words;

 **(۱۳) زمونږ په ټول کلي کښي خلق پښتو واي که په بازار کښي او که په جومات،او که ده لوبو په زګي کښي،او په سکول کښي مونږ وسه پوري کوهستاني نه ده ويلي**

*[*In our whole village people speak Pashto if either in bazaar, in mosqueor in place of playing, upto now we never speak kohistani in school all the shopkeeper are pashtoon they don’t know kohistani. In Barikot area a family use kohistani in their family domain but in they don’t use it while shopping.

Asad echo his opinion in the following words;

*‘***’که په کور کښي اويو نو په بازار او محله کښي ښو سوګ هم نه واي نو بس مونږ هم پريخه****(۱۴)**

 *[’*if we speak it in home still no one speak it in bazaar so why we also left it speaking]

 During a general discussion in a public gathering the researcher, observed the following openions of the people about Kohistani language in the area of patrak.

**(۱۵)بس په ده کوهستانو نه واوری نوري خبري کوي دا خلق کم حد ته ورسيده او تاسو وس هم په کوهستانو پوري نښتي ي.**

[Forget about Kohistani language, world become modern, you are still speaking about Kohistani language, hell on Kohistani you cannot speak it in a social setting because it is just like beating of drums.

 The above views of participants highlight the negative attitude of the people towards their native language. In village Patrak and Barikot, no one use Kohistani language in both formal and informal setting. The researcher did not observe the usage of kohistani language throughout his fieldwork. Nevertheless, most of them voted in favors of using Pashto in the formal domains while declaring it the language of educated and refined people. They feel proud of themselves to shift from kohistani to Pashto.

 Following Fishman’s proposition, Greenfield (1972) stated in his research work about the Rican community in New York City that Spanish language is still dominant medium of communication among the community members and in the home while English is use in informal domain.

 Parasher (1980) conducted similar study in India and confirmed that most of the people in India use their native language in informal domain whereas they use English as a medium of instruction as well as for official works.

 The above opinions of the research participants also highlight the fact that Kohistani language is no more in formal as well as informal setting, according to Fishman when the usage of a language ends in formal and informal domain, than it becomes severely endangered language. Thus, Kohistani language in Patrak and Barikot areas of Dir Kohistan is not only shifted but is also severely endanger.

  **Factors and Start of this Shift**

 Language shift and language death is interrelated; in most of the cases language shift leads to language death (cf. Campbell 1994: 1960ff.). When the phenomenon of language shift lasts for long period of time and covers the whole community, then the minority language banish from the surface of earth with the passage of time. There are some additional factors for the assessment of endangered and shift affected languages, through these factors a meaningful statement can be given about the death and endangerment of a language. All these factors are closely related to each other, these factors are the social and economic environment of the speakers, their marriage practices, their educational level, their religious affiliation, their settlement patterns and many others. Through these factors, one can assess the speaker inclination and internal value system about the language. If the majority of people in the community have positive attitude toward their native language and use it for all most all communication purpose than it is a positive signed for the development and maintenance of a language. It is the attitude of the speaker that decides to maintain the language or to shift toward another language (cf. Winter 1993: 313ff.). The Kohistani people in village Patrak and Barikot have shared their views about the start of language shift in their areas and said that it is the marriages of these people with pashtoon wives and the arrival of the pashtoon that play a crucial role in language shift in the area.

 It is one of the most important shift-inducing factors in both these villages. The people of patrak and Barikot prefer to marry with Pashto speaking wives while the people of other four villages such like Beyar, Kalkot, Lamotia and Thal prefer to marry within their own community. According to the research participants, the Pashto speaking wives are more developed and educated as compare to kohistani speaking wives thus an educated wife take better care of children

 This shift of langauge have been started with some “pioneer “who first marry with Pashto speaking wives after it with passage of time more and more people follow them and in this mixed family children speak the language of their mother rather than the language of their father.

 About the Kohistani language shift the research participant have the same opinions Sherin share his view in the following manner;

*‘***(۱۶) په کومه ورڅ چي اولني پښتنه دي علاقی ته راغله په هغه ورځ ده کوهستانو ختميده شروع شول**

[When first pashton entre to this area the shifting of this language started on that day]

Fahime expressed his opinion in the following words:

‘**’(۱۷) چی ده کوهستانو کور ته پښتنه خځه راغله نو ده کوهستانو ختمیده شروع شول،پښتنۍ مور به خپل بچي ته پښتو وییل،خاوند به هم خپل خځي ته پښتو وييل.بس په دغه تريقه داژبه اول ده کور نه او بيا ده کلي نه ختمه شوه**

**[**Kohistani man married pashtoon woman the decline of this language strated, because the Pashtoon mother converse with their children in Pashto not in Kohistani.the husband also speak Pashtoo with their wife so through this way the Kohistani language come to an end first in our home and than from our village]

One of the oldest and most influential person of the areaexpress his openion about the drastic situation of kohistani language in his village in the following words;

**(۱۸)زمونږ په علاقه يو پښتون هم نه وو،ټول ده يوي ژبي خلق وو ښو بيا ده سوات نه،باجوړ نه او ډوګ نه تجارت ده پاره،زمينداري ده پاره راغله،دي خلقو زمونږ بچو له خپلي جنکي ورکړي،بس کوهستانو ده کورونونه ختمه شوه.**

*[* First there was no pashtoon in our area,we all were monolingual but with passage of time people from different areas such like Swat ,Bajaur and from Doag dara come to this area for the purposes of trade and forming and settle here,our boys like the girls of these pashtoon people because of their beauty and they married with these pashtoon girls and due thes pashtoon wives Kohistani language died away in our home as well as in our village.**]**

The shopkeeper of Patrak village echo about this shift in the following manner

**( 19) چا هم دا ژبه بار علاقو کښي نه پيڅنده**

*[*No one knows this language out of our area*.*]

Fahim says that,

 **(۲۰ ) چی خلق**

 **تعلیم یافته شول نو دا ژبه ي پريخه او ده پاتراک او بريکټ خلق په غونډ کوهستان کښ تعلیم یافته دی.**

[Whenpeople become educated so they left this language.in Dir Kohistan the people of patrak and Barikt are more educated in whole Kohistan so why in both these villages this language become shift]

 In the light of above interview from the participants of the selected area, it is reveal that the shift of language from both of these villages is due to social, economical and as will as political reason.

 Biddulph (1880:158) stated that the main factor, which accelerate language shift, is bilingualism. In his research work, he argues that first the monolingual communities become bilingual and with passage of time totally shifts toward the language of wider society and cease to speak their native language. He gives the example of Dard tribes of swat and kooner where people speak Pashto along with their local language .Meanwhile with passage of time the people of these areas considered their own language worthless and preferred to use Pashto for their daily communication and conversations. These languages have no books and written literature thus fall into disuse and die away.

**Future of Kohistani**

 The research participants have different views about the future of Kohistani language some said that its future is dark because of its weak position and some are optimistic and said that government need to take some measure for the survival and maintenance of this language. Some of the elder of the area expressed their wish to see it being promoted in different domains of life for its bright future. They strongly underlined the importance of giving attention toward this alarming situation of kohistani language. In 1980s, in many West African countries, it was required for the government

*“*Employees to be able to comprehend, read, speak and write at least one local language”actually this initiative was took for the promotion and empowerment of regional languages by being making them attractive (Karan, 2008)

Shezad believe that it is imperative to promote kohistani language in different domains for its survival. He says:

**(۲۱)زمونږ ده قوم مشرانو ته پکار دی چي راجمه شي او خپلي ژبي ده پاره سه وکښي ښو خیل نه کوم چی دا ژبه به ژوندۍ شي**

*[*it is necessary for our elder to take some positive measure for re- birth of their language, but I think that the new generation cannot learn it because its learning is more difficult for them than learning English

Fahim, which belong to Barikot village, express the same view,

**(۲۲) او حکومتۍ غړو ته پکار دي چی ده دي ژبي ده څوندی کولو ده پاره ګامونه پورته کښي ته مشرانو قامدهزمونږ**

 **۱ )په نصاب کښی شامل کړي ۲)په لکلو کښي راولي۳)او په خلقو کښی ده خپلي ژبي باره کښي بيداري پيدا کړي**

*[*I think Kohistani language in our village is die away it is the mistake Both of our elder as well as young generation, only the people of upper Kohistan villages maintain their language.]

 All the participants from both villages have the different views about the future of Kohistani language. The people of Barikot are still hopeful because the shift of language is not on a large scale only in some families language shift has noticed while most of the people know it but do not use as a vehicle of communication. While in Patrak area, 0.2% knows Kohistani language but no one uses it in his or her home for daily conversation. The people of Patrak have no hope about the revitalization of the language in the area.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of people who only know Kohistani language in Barikot area on the basis of their ages

Figure4.2: Percentage of people who only know kohistani language in Patrak area on the basis their age

 **CONCLUSION**

 The detail analysis and interpretation of data revealed that Kohistani language in the selected area is totally shift to Pashto language; in Patrak village, the researcher cannot find only a single family which speak kohistani language in their home. While the researcher noticed some families in Barikot area who still speak Kohistani language in their home in spite of strong opposition of Pashto language. It has been stated in the second chapter of this work that there are two major families or tribes in Barikot area and these tribes in the turn divided into sub- section. The researcher noticed language shift in Berya kheel while kaches kheel still maintain their language.

 There are divers’ opinions about the maintenance of Kohistani language some of the participants wish to maintain its native language particularly the old people while the younger generation does not considered it important, as they no longer see its future in the area. They thought that one day this language would die away from whole Kohistan because there is no planning for its maintenance and revival. The people of Patrak and Barikot considered it only a part of their cultural heritage, but their daily communications are not in Kohistani language. Due this negative attitude Kohistani language become an archaic, stagnant and consciously deserted language in village Patrak and Barikot areas of Dir Kohistan.  **References**

Anna, B. (2000). *The process and factors of Lnguage shift and maintenence.*

Appel, R. M. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism.* London.

Asif, A. (2005). *A Sociolinguistic Study of language Desertion.* Lanchister university ,UK.

Azejan. (1998).

Baart, L. (1997). *The sound and tone of Kalam Kohistani.* National institute of Linguistic

Islam abad. Baart, J. L. G. (2003), “Sustainable Development and the Maintenance of

 Pakistan’s Indigenous Languages”, Proceedings of the Conference on the State of the Social

Sciences and Humanities, Islamabad.

Babbie. (1995). *the practice of social research.* wadsworth publishing company.

Baker. (2005).

Benjamin, B. (2002). *Language,Race,And Netotiation of identity:Astudy of Dominican American.* New york: LFB Publishing.

Benjamin, B. (2001). *The language of multiple identity Among Dominican.*

Bentahila. (1992). *Convergence and Divergence two cause of Language shift in Morocco.* Amesterdom: john Benjamin Publishing Company.

Berg, C. h. (2001). *Shaping The Climate for Langauge shift.*

Biddulp. (1880).

Biddulph, J. (1880). *Tribes of Hindukush.* Master.

Blanc, H. a. (1989).

Bloch, j. (1965). *indo iranian.*

Blommaert, j. (2006). *Lnguage Policy and National Identity.*

Bruker, B. *Language Attitude and identity in taiwan.* Pittsburgh.

C, B. (1992). *Atttude and language.* Avon.

C, B. (1998). *Encylopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education.* Clevedon.

C.Glesne. *Becoming qualitative research:an introduction.* New York: 1999.

Chakshuraksha, N. (2003). *The Home domain and Minorty languages;a sociolinguistic view of three Black Tai Families.*

Crystal, D. (2003). Lnaguage Death. New york: oxford publisher.

Davis, j. (1994). the mothe tongue,how human creat language. New york: Birch publisher.

De Klerk, V. (2000). Language shift in Grahamstown. *international journal of sociology of language* , 87-110.

 Decker, K. D. (1992a), Languages of Chitral (Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan 5), Islamabad.

 Decker, K. D. (1992b), Factors Affecting Language Maintenance and Shift in Chitral, Pakistan, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.

Decker, S. J. (1992), “Ushojo”, C. R. Resch, J. D. Decker, D. G. Hallberg (eds.), Languages of Kohistan (Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan 1), Islamabad: 65-82

Dension, N. (19977). language Death or suicide. *international journal of sociology of language* .

E.William. (1998). *investigating Bilingual Literacy.* London: DFID.

Eckert, k. (2000,2000,2002).

Eskert. (2000).

Estman. (1975). *Aspect of language and culture.* San Francisco: chandler.

Fashman. (1992). *language shift and maintenance .*

Fisheman, J. (1965). *who speak what language to whom and what.* london press.

fishman. (1992).

Fishman. (1966). *Language loyality in the united states.* the hagu: mounton.

Fredrik. (1956). *indus and Swat kohistani an ethnographic survey.* oslo.

George. (1919). Linguistic survey of india. *working paper* , 507.

H.Giles, A. a. (1998). *Understanding language attitude.*

H.Gils. (1982). *Toward language variation.*

H.Long. (1999). Language mobility in Hon kong. *Language teaching and researh* , 56-62.

Hendrika. (2004). *Langugae Attitudes,Medium of instruction.* University of cape town.

Hoare. (2001). An integrative approach to language Attitude. *journal of sociolinguistic* , 73-84.

Hoffman. *An introduction to Bilingualism.* london: Longman.

Holliday. (2002). *Doing Qualititive research.* sage.

Holmes. (2001).

Holmes&Conklin. (1983).

J.Holmes. (1992). *introduction to socialinguistics .* London.

jans, M. (2002). Language death and language maintenance,theoritical,practical and discriptive approach. *philadephia* .

jupp, V. (2006). *the sage Dictionary of social research Method.* London: sage publication.

kershwa, G. (1996). *the developing Roles of native speakes and non native speakers teachers.*

Krauss, M. (1996). *stabalizing indegenous Language.* AROZINA.

L.G, J. B. (2001). *Bibliograohy of languages of nothren pakistan.*

Leane.Hinton. (2009). *involuntary language loss amon immigrant.*

Linda.Hiebert. (2005). *Language Shift Among Mennonites in Paraguay.* University of Dalara.

Longman. (1992). *Dictionary of Aplied linguistic.*

M.Guardado. (n.d.). Loss and maintenence of first langauge skill. *Canadian Modern Langauge Review* .

Mark.E.KERN. (2008). The importance of motivation in lanaguge revitalization. *Language Development language revitalization.* Bengkok.

Muysken, A. a. (1987).

N.C.Dorian. (1999). *linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork.* 0xford unversity press.

N.Dorian. (1982). *language loss and maintenence in langauge contact in situations.*

Pakistan, S. D. (1998). *census Report Of pakistan.*

philip, D. (1995). *Language policy in African Education,a background to social history.* Cape Town.