

Reversing Language Loss through an Identity Based Educational Planning: The Case of Torwali language

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Abstract

Educational planning in the indigenous minority linguistic communities needs a holistic approach, wherein it is ensured that the people of the particular speech community or communities can integrate development of their language(s) with the general development of their communities. In Northern Pakistan over two dozen languages are spoken by the various ethno-linguistic communities. In a half of dozen of these speech communities work on the development of their languages started early 2002 which led to incorporating these languages in mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education programs in the respective communities. This paper presents an overview of one of these initiatives; the mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education in the Torwali language that is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the upper beautiful parts of the Swat Valley in northwestern frontier province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan. The paper is an endeavor to look into this program which accompanied mother tongue education planning with a strengthening of identity; and overall social development of the Torwali speech community.

Keywords: Torwali, Swat, IBT, Language loss, mother tongue based multilingual education, Challenges, Indigenous languages and people, identity

Torwali language: Introduction and Background

According to Ethnologue (Hess, 2016) there are around 7,097 languages currently spoken in the world. Linguists estimate that by the end of this century, more than half of these 7000 plus spoken languages will go extinct resulting in loss of valuable scientific and cultural information.

UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger¹, categorizes 2,473 languages into five levels of endangerment:

Vulnerable – not spoken by children outside the home; Definitely Endangered – children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home; Severely Endangered – language is spoken by grandparents and older generations, while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves; Critically Endangered – the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently; and Extinct.

One of the 27 highly endangered languages of Pakistan listed in the same Atlas, is the language called Torwali, which because of not having written tradition and the fast “language shift” towards the predominant language Pashto in the areas, is rated definitely endangered.

Torwali is a Dardic language of Indo-Aryan family mainly spoken in the Bahrain and Chail areas of District Swat in Northern Pakistan. The level of its endangerment can also be assessed by its small community of speakers which is approximately 80,000 (Wayne, 2001). A recent survey by Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT), however, found that a majority of 60 % of the respondents of the Torwali people count themselves more than 120,000 (Respondents, 2014). Close to half its speakers have migrated permanently to the bigger cities of Pakistan where their language is either being replaced by the national language Urdu, or by other languages of wider communication such as Pashto or Punjabi.

The language Torwali is said to have originated from the pre-Muslim Dardic communities of Pakistan (Alian & Inam-ur-Rahim, 2002). The people or community speaking

this language is called Torwalik or Torwal (Grierson, 1929). Like other Dardic communities the Torwalik have no idea of their origin, most of them relate themselves to either Arabs or Pashtuns. This can be due to the fact that no credible research has been done on the history of the Dardic people.

Past research on Torwali language: There have been numerous surveys done by some national and international organizations on Pakistan's endangered languages such as Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (Calvin, Sandra, & Daniel, 1992) and Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson A. G., 1928).

Grierson's book "Torwali: an account of a Dardic language in Swat-Kohistan" is perhaps the first book singly published on Torwali language in 1929. The book based on the field data collected by Auriel Stein, who visited Swat-Kohistan in 1926 has some of the Torwali text written in phonetics with English translation; and a couple of folktales of the Torwali community. Before that, in 1885, Col John Biddulf has dedicated a short chapter of his book "Tribes of Hindu Kush" to Torwali lexicon. Mention of Torwali is, however, found in many books written mostly by the British writers during the colonial period in order to map the areas and their inhabitants.

Recent research: Wayne A. Lunsford; Wayne published his book 'An overview of linguistic structures in Torwali' in 2001 as a thesis for his master degree in linguistics from the University of Texas, USA. In 2008 Zubair Torwali wrote a Torwali alphabet book under the supervision of Wayne A. Lunsford. Same year, a team of language activists associated with Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) designed the primer in Torwali under expert guidance of linguists and educationists of Summer Institute of Linguistics—SIL International. This team also wrote a number of booklets of short stories in Torwali for children. In 2010, Inam Ullah published the first ever Torwali-Urdu dictionary. In 2011 Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) published, Inaan, a book of folk poetry of Torwali with Urdu translation under the supervision of Zubair Torwali. In the year 2015 a team of researchers associated with IBT published three books. Aftab Ahmad compiled the first Torwali-Urdu-English dictionary while Mujahid Torwali wrote a trilingual daily usage conversation book. The third member of the team, Rahim Sabir, collected fifteen of the Torwali folktales and published them with Urdu and English translation. Earlier in

2015 Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) published a paper, Vestiges of Torwali culture, by Zubair Torwali.

Torwali shares the same challenges and threats which its sister languages and others spoken in Northern Pakistan, from Chitral to Gilgit-Baltistan via the Indus Kohistan and including Dir and Swat, face. Some of these challenges worth mention here.

Challenges to the indigenous languages spoken in northern Pakistan

Khowar, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Torwali, Gawri, Palula, Kalasha, Dameli, Gawar-bati, Bateri, Chiloso, Dumaki, Brushaski, Ushojo, Balti, Wakhi, Yidgha et al. are the known indigenous languages spoken in northern Pakistan.

All of these languages are ‘endangered’ according to the UNESCO’s Atlas of the World’s languages in danger. These languages are endangered because of a number of challenges/threats the languages and their speakers face. Crucial among these challenges/threats are:

Lack of a writing tradition: These languages don't have ‘widely’ used writing tradition. Although scripts have been designed for Khowar, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Torwali, Gawri, Brushaski and Palula but these are not widely used within the respective communities. Among these languages, especially Torwali, Gawri and Palula, Indus Kohistani, and Khowar the situation became better over the years since 2008 because of the early childhood multilingual education initiatives undertaken in these communities with the support of Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and Forum for Language Initiative (FLI). Among them the literacy among the Torwali community is spreading a bit faster because of a number of literacy programs, for both adult and children, recently carried out by Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT), a local civil society organization working for education and development. The working scripts these languages have are based on Arabic.

These languages are not recognized by the government of Pakistan to be used in schools as medium of instruction or subjects. Khowar and Indus Kohistani along with Saraiki, Hindko and Pashto were recognized to be gradually taught in the state owned primary schools by the

previous provincial government by passing a law called the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion of Regional Languages Authority Act 2012 (International Crisis Group, 2014) in the northwest frontier province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but the succeeding government has not taken the initiative further.

Suffering a marred identity: Since the state education in Pakistan usually discourages lessons in course books on the cultural diversity of the society; and since these communities have no effective political say in the country, therefore, majority of ordinary educated Pakistanis don't know about the indigenous status and identity of these communities. And as the successive invaders dismantled their centers of powers of these communities in the past, these communities have lost their unique identity; and consequently suffer a marred one. This is the reason that majority of these communities relate themselves either with Arabs or with the dominating communities they live with. And since no credible research on the history of these people has so far been done hence their identity is not known to the outside world. The communities have thus woven a number of myths around their cultural and ethnic roots. For example, the Kalash people, the only non-Muslim Dardic community of about 4,000 people in Chitral, are often considered descendants of the Alexander The Great, which they are not. Similar myths about their ethnic identity are found even among the sub-clans of the Dardic communities including Torwali.

Onslaught of globalization—cultural and religious: Globalization has affected every community in Pakistan whether large or small but the impacts of it are fatal on these already suppressed communities as they are triply influenced by it: internationally, nationally and provincially or locally. The globalization has affected them in two areas the worst: their languages and cultures. Majority of them regard their languages and cultures as hurdles in the way to development. This is the reason many of them shift not only their culture but also the language. The affluent families among them feel pride in speaking Urdu with their families. Their cultures and languages are also threatened by the popular Urdu dominated media—both electronic and print. Similarly the global revival in religious fundamentalism/fanaticism, especially in the form of a politically charged puritanical version of Islam, has badly affected the cultures of these communities. They cannot observe their folk traditions in music or rituals. Of course, these new phenomena have affected the larger society as well but these indigenous

communities cannot survive the onslaught being less in number, weak both politically and economically, socially stigmatized; and historically brutalized.

Living in hard terrains: All of these communities live in gorges in mountains. Many of them living in the northern Pakistan share the same history, ancestry and culture but cannot unite being scattered in hard valleys in the mountains of the Hindu Kush, Karakorum, Himalaya and Pamir. They are thus locked in gorges and valleys; and consequently cannot connect with their sister communities. Thus the Shina or the Khowar community of Gilgit and Chitral don't know that their sister communities live in Swat or in Dir. Even the Khowar community in Chitral, where it is dominant, feels shy about being identified with the Kalash, Palula or Dameli communities living in Chitral, too.

The aforementioned cultural, political, linguistic and ecological milieu adds to the 'language and cultural shift' among these communities. Notwithstanding these toughest challenges, there are some good initiatives carried out in these communities that are focused on reversing the language and cultural loss by documenting the languages and cultures in question, transmitting the languages and cultures to the coming generation; and by trying to make the languages relevant in pedagogical setting.

Few of the initiatives in language development of these communities

1. Gawri Multilingual Education Program in Gawri community in Swat by Gawri Community Development Program (GCDP)
2. Palula Multilingual Education Program in southern Chitral by Palula Community Welfare Program (PCWP)
3. Kohistani Multilingual Education Program in Indus Kohistan by Initiative for People in Need (IPN)
4. Khowar Multilingual Education Program in Chitral by MIER
5. Mother tongue based multilingual education project in Hindko
6. Language Communities Resource Project (LECP), Mashal-e-Rah and Initiative for Language Education Advocacy and Development (I-LEAD) by Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI) based in Islamabad.

GCDP has been engaged in the development of the Gawri language spoken in Kalam in Swat and in Thal, Lamuti etc. in Upper Dir. It has established a mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education project in Kalam in 2008 (Gawri Community Development Program). Since then GCDP has been writing books in the Gawri language for adults and general readers as well.

PCWP is the community-based organization engaged in the development of the Palula language spoken in southern Chitral. They, too, started an early childhood multilingual education project in 2008 (Naseem, 2016).

The community based organization; Initiative for People in Need (IPN), has established the mother tongue based early childhood education in 2015. It teaches the children in their native language, Kohistani (Initiative for People in Need, 2015)

Khovar is the largest language spoken in the district of Chitral. A number of voluntary and community based endeavours have been carried out in documenting and promoting the Khovar language. It has a considerable number of books in and on it (Mumtaz, 2016). The mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education project in Khovar was started in 2015 under the community-based organization, Mother-tongue Initiatives for Education and Research (MIER).

A similar mother tongue based early childhood education project was also started in Hindko based in Abbottabad. The program was started in 2015 and, according to the program manager; it is going very well (Raja, 2016)

Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI) is a non-for profit organization based in Islamabad. It is a resource center for training and facilitating the minority language communities of north Pakistan for the documentation and preservation of their languages (Forum for Language Initiatives, 2003). It has implemented two projects in the past wherein it trained the various language activists and researchers. Currently it is implementing another project titled Initiative for Language Education Advocacy and Development wherein it trains the language activists of the various languages in developing curriculum in their languages. It also trains the teachers of

the various mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education projects in north Pakistan.

Among such initiatives, one is the 'identity based educational planning in Torwali language' generally referred to as *Torwali Language Development Initiative or Identity based educational planning for Torwali Language*

Designing the orthography: Torwali had no writing tradition till 2007. In 2005 work on developing orthography i.e. alphabet book and primer, started under the leadership of Zubair Torwali and with the support of experts associated with SIL International.

Later on, in March 2007, this scribe and the other youth formed a formal organization *Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) i.e. institute for education & development* in order to carry on the work on the development and promotion of the Torwali language along with a wider mission of "transforming the most neglected sections of Pakistani society especially the marginalized ethnic groups living in northwest Pakistan into developed communities by the active participation of people without any gender, racial and religious discrimination' (IBT, 2015). After a research of two years a curriculum for the early childhood multilingual education program was developed in Torwali. The course books included graded reading stories, reading and writing primers, listening stories, big books, children rhymes in Torwali, basic mathematical concepts in Torwali, cultural and ethical studies and counting books. A teacher guide in Torwali was translated from English which was developed by Susan Malone, PhD, the UNESCO and SIL International consultant on literacy and education.

Initiating a mother tongue based education program: When the course books in Torwali were ready for the pre-school kids Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT), in August 2008, established the first ever Torwali based early childhood multilingual education school in Bahrain, the main semi urban hub of the Torwali community. To date 08 similar schools have been established in different locations of the Torwali people. About 445 children have so far been benefited from these schools by starting their early education in the language they speak at home, Torwali. Owing to the overwhelming importance given to English and Urdu these schools initially could not attract large number of children as their parents, having grown in a linguistic milieu where their language was considered an inferior speech by the dominant language

communities, were reluctant to send their children to these schools. The main excuse the parents would make was ‘their children already know Torwali. Therefore, they need not to learn it at schools (Parents, 2008).’ It was obvious that the parents were not literate themselves and they had no idea what language proficiency actually meant. Similarly, it seemed that the ‘loss of their language’ was no concern for the majority of its speakers. Obviously the main concerns that could move the community were others like economic and social development; and betterment in these they see in learning English and Urdu.

Adopting a holistic approach to identity based community development

After two years of the Torwali school IBT learnt that ‘mother tongue development program in the indigenous communities don't work well in isolation’. It, therefore, needs to be integrated with the community development. Given the lessons learnt IBT adopted a holistic approach to community uplift in all its spheres: language, education, culture, identity and the physical development. Unless and until a sense of confidence in and towards their languages and culture within the people is fostered, the fast language shift is difficult to slow down.

In order to achieve this end IBT broadened its scope to all people: children, adult women and men. A few but robust initiatives were designed and implemented which worth mention here:

Celebration of culture: Language is not operated in isolation. It is very much embedded in the culture. This way language and culture are very much connected with the world around the community. It is often seen that the indigenous people often disregard their languages and cultures, not because that the languages and cultures deserve that, but owing to other factors which are linked with economic opportunity, power dynamics; and most importantly the treatment of these languages and cultures by the state and the dominant communities. Since culture is very much associated with a society's aesthetics so it can bring change in the community inside out, regarding the language and identity. In many contexts of the indigenous communities their language endangerment is not considered a problem at all. When planned in isolation many good attempts on language development fail because the communities do not own it. So to bring a change in the attitude an inside-out development strategy needs to be

initiated. And as the Hangzhou Declaration on 'Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development' suggests integrating culture within all development policies and programs (Smith & Wiseby, 2013) IBT devised its plan to keep celebrating culture for strengthening identity within Torwali community. Celebration of their own inherent culture can help develop self-esteem in the community.

Holding of cultural festivals: For ethno-linguistic communities who suffer a marred identity the cultural festivals can reaffirm their identity giving them opportunity to voice it within and outside (Smith & Wiseby, 2013). Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT), therefore, started holding of cultural festivals in the Torwali community. A large indigenous culture festival was held in July 2011 in Bahrain with the name *Simam*, meaning celebration and dignity in Torwali. Over 9,000 people participated in this festival during its three days and took part in their folk music, traditional games and dances. The festival revived the traditional games abandoned six decades ago. The poets in the festival sang songs of pride in their identity and culture.

Promotion and rejuvenation of the folk music: Given the onslaught of the popular media, particularly the television channels, the folk music of the indigenous communities cannot survive because the new generations become used to the 'world of colour and light' where modern music is played with all its attractions. Realizing this fact Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) undertook the innovative task of promoting the Torwali melodies (The Friday Times, 2016). Local concerts were held with the poets and singers. A local cable TV channel was sponsored so that the Torwali music could be broadcasted for a larger audience sitting at homes. And recently Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT) produced a DVD containing Torwali melodies with state of art technology wherein the originality is not compromised yet gave a modern touch to it with the help of modern musical instruments and video shooting. The video is named *Manjoora*, gift in Torwali. This DVD became so popular that almost 90 percent of the Torwali population watched it.

Strengthening identity: When people have a clear sense of who they are and the ability to express their identity within their own environment and outside they can establish more confident relationship within the community and with the people outside it. With this confidence in expressing their identity the people of the particular community can perform better within a

larger social environment whether at educational institutions or in markets. The Torwali community didn't have an idea who they really were. Most of the Pushtuns regarded them as 'guest community'; and it seemed the Torwali community had taken it for granted. The researchers and activists associated with IBT began to voice their identity aggressively within and outside the community because of the research they have been doing on the indigenous communities. This scribe, for the first time in 2006, began to write Torwali with his name. There was a time when we were afraid to show who we were during of our college education as the colleges were in the dominant community hubs. After IBT's assertion of the Torwali identity now the Torwali youth form Torwali students unions at these colleges. Now hundreds of youth proudly write *Torwali or Kohistani* as their names on social media. They can now proudly voice their identity; and whenever anybody mocks their language they teach him/her that their language is an advantage for them. One such story is reproduced here. When his fellows mocked Nisar Akassh Torwali, a Torwali student at the Quad-e-Azam University, in the federal capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, over his different language he confidently called a meeting of them. He asked them how many languages they could speak. The answer was three—their mother tongue (Pashto/Punjabi), Urdu and English. Nisar Akaash told them that he could also speak these three languages but he had one advantage over his fellows and that was his mother tongue, Torwali. He told them he could speak four languages while they could speak three (Akaash Torwali, 2014).

Mother tongue based adult literacy: IBT has been running the aforementioned 08 schools known as mother tongue based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) schools for the children but it is evident that any attitude in the children reflects their parents' attitudes. So IBT realized that for an effective mother tongue based early education it is imperative to change the 'language attitude' in the child's home. In this regard IBT started weekly literacy sessions for the mothers at the MTB-MLE schools, later named as Innovative Learning Model Schools. The mothers would come for two hours and learn how to read and write their own language along with some basic Urdu. On a larger scale IBT designed and implemented a bilingual—Torwali and Urdu—literacy program for 2,000 adult women in the community in 2013 with the support of United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This project has greatly

changed the language attitude among the women along with giving them opportunity to learn Urdu and get aware of social issues.

Right-based approach to the development of the Torwali community: Unfortunately the Pakistani constitution doesn't recognize any indigenous groups in Pakistan despite being signatory to some of the international conventions regarding indigenous people and their rights. The only minorities the Pakistani constitution recognizes are the religious ones. But the fact remains unaltered that communities like the Torwali are the least developed in human development, as the governments in Pakistan have not thought about them, as they deserve. This has triggered poverty, ignorance and disintegration within these communities. Our organization started advocacy in the community so as to get more and more access to education, to protect forests and land; and to advocate conservation of natural resources. IBT launched a campaign for the formal education in the area. It has organized the people using the traditional platform of Jirga (The News International, 2015) or *Yarak*² IBT mobilized and organized the people in a Swat-Kohistan Qaumi Jirga i.e. Swat-Kohistan National Council for the purpose of advocating and lobbying for an integrated development of the people. IBT is continuously holding large Jirgas (councils) with the people and mobilize them over the issues they face and their rights to hold the government accountable for the neglect and apathy. These Jirags have also further strengthened the unity among the people. Since its organization the Jirga meets with the right holders and demands education and social development for their area, Swat-Kohistan (The News International, 2016).

Promotion of Torwali literature and music on social media: With the recent emergence of social media among the Torwali living in the area or elsewhere in Pakistan or abroad IBT has been using the social media particularly Facebook for the purpose of promoting the literacy of the Torwali language, its culture and music; and for strengthening the identity. A number of pages are run on Facebook (Literature and Music of Torwali, 2013) and YouTube (YouTube, 2015) wherein the Torwali speakers are sensitized about their language; and also on the overall development of their area. A number of Torwali poets and writers have begun to write their poetry on Facebook. Recently when IBT shared video songs of Torwali on these pages the songs got thousands of views and hundreds of shares. In addition to the social media the team IBT regularly writes articles in the English and Urdu dailies in Pakistan on the

indigenous languages of Northern Pakistan, cultures, general issues; and on Torwali literature. Recently a Torwali keyboard was also developed with the help of Google for the android mobile phone sets. Now people with android mobile phone sets can write Torwali in texting and on social media.

Publications: Part of our initiative is writing books in and on Torwali language, cultures, problems and history. In December 2015 three books were published (Khaliq, 2016). These books are: 1) Torwali—Urdu English Dictionary, 2) A book of Daily Usage Conversation in Torwali, Urdu and English; and 3) Book of Torwali folktales in Torwali with Urdu and English translation. Prior to these publications IBT has published a book of classic Torwali poetry with Urdu translation, and a book in English on the Torwali culture (Sen Roy, 2011).

Challenges

The ‘myth of community’ (Smith & Wiseby, 2013, p. 23): It is generally held that a ‘community’ shares a common knowledge and agenda. Although it is true that the community shares common histories, geographies and languages yet there always exist sub-groups within the community who interpret these in their own way serving their own interests. These sub-groups can be defined in terms of gender, economics, politics, jobs, caste, religion, and age et al. Usually the community development activists overlook the varying agendas of individuals and sub-groups; and the local ‘power’ structures within the community. While planning identity based initiatives in these communities the sub-groups need to be understood well. Otherwise they may emerge within the community making hurdles jeopardizing the overall integrated development.

Disconnect between the older and youth: It is often observed that today’s youth becomes disconnected from the older generations because of many factors. The youth may gain access to national education system and alternative forms of entertainment. This disrupts the natural points of connection between the young and the old within the community and consequently a gap in the cultural transmission happens. In planning education in the indigenous communities this gap must be kept in mind. The elderly are to be engaged in classrooms so that they may speak to the youngsters and vice versa. This can be part of making culture a part of the

education curricula. The elder can tell stories to the youngsters. Another approach is ‘family literacy’ where all the members of the family are involved in mother tongue literacy.

The complex issue of identity: Globalization has posed critical questions of identity and identity construction. It is a complex issue especially in the context of a rapidly imposed external change. While culture and identity share many things but they are not the same all the time. Though culture is an important part of identity, yet it is not the whole of it. Identity is very much political as well. While planning identity-based education in the indigenous communities ‘peace’, ‘pluralism’ and ‘coexistence’ within and with other communities need to be considered. There is always a danger by sub-groups within the community of exploiting the strengthened identity for political goals and consequently bring the indigenous communities in clash with others. This is perhaps one of the reasons why in Pakistan the state is reluctant to recognize the ethnic communities.

Reluctance of policy makers to recognize the indigenous languages: It poses a big challenge to us in Pakistan where the governments are too afraid of giving any ground to these ethno-linguistic communities. Given the fear escalated with the disintegration in 1971—when East Pakistan became Bangladesh—it is very hard to convince the policy makers to at least recognize even the educational and cultural value of the lesser-known languages.

Conclusion

While planning for the development of the endangered languages in Pakistan the language activists of the respective communities and the concerned departments of the governments need to adopt a holistic approach to carry out such actions. Language development can be an effective tool for an inclusive social development. In the same way the overall social development ventures in these communities prove more effective and sustainable when integrated with the language and culture development in the communities. Education planning, both on the state and private levels, should inculcate an inclusive approach wherein the cultural identity and social esteem of the target people be strengthened. The indigenous languages and

cultures should be deemed as facilitators rather than obstacles in social development of a community, particularly the language minorities.

The case of Torwali is encouraging and can be used as a model. We know we have yet to travel miles to achieve the goals but so far what we have achieved has good visible impacts. Given our committed struggle we now see many youth and elderly people write and read their language. We are getting requests from other villages to establish the mother tongue based schools in their areas. We now see a growing tendency of our youth on Facebook and other social media where they update their status in Torwali. Even the Torwali community who have permanently migrated to cities like Karachi, Quetta, Hyderabad or Rawalpindi—and who are more prone to alien languages and cultures—request us to establish similar schools there. We are equally concerned about digitalization of it in this era of fast growing information technology. Our aim must be community empowerment; and that motivates us to undertake some innovative but difficult initiatives.

Notes:

1. "Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, 3rd end. Paris, UNESCO Publishing. Online version:". UNESCO.org. 2010. Retrieved 17 May 2013
2. *Yarak or Jirga* is the traditional social capital utilized by the people for the reconciliation of feuds and conflicts among the various clans or families in the community. It is very indigenous and voluntary. In English the near meaning would be 'Council'.

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