

Geonymy in the toponymy of the Swāt valley

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Abstract

Swāt valley is located in the northern part of the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa in Pakistan. The starting point of this article is the recent publication by the same author of the volume named Toponymy of the Swāt valley. Linguistic archaeology, by the publisher Sang-e Meel and in the collections of the ACT project and of the ISMEO. This article deals with a special class of toponyms: the geonyms, the names of the generic geographic features. In particular, it studies seven geonyms particularly recurrent in the toponymy of Swāt: bāṇḍa, ḍera/dera, ḍerāy, ḍop, kandāw, tangay and ṭāngay. An analysis of their semantics and etymologies offers evidence of the early presence in the whole valley of Dardic populations, as also shown by cartography.

Keywords: Swāt, Toponymy, Geonymy, Pashto, Etymology

Swāt is a District located in the northern part of Pakistan, in the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, the former North-West Frontier Province of the British Rāj. It owes its name to the Swāt river, which originates in the mountains of the Hindukuš, flowing through the homonym valley until it reaches the confluence with the Panjkora river, and ending after 240 km in the Kabul river and finally in the Indus, near Nowshera.

The valley created by the Swāt river has an average altitude increasing from 600 msl in the lower part (*kuz swāt*), where the plain is larger and more fertile, to 3,000 msl in the narrow gorges of the Swāt Kohistan. The main peaks are in the north: the Falak-sar (6,257 m) and the Mankial-tsukai (5,725 m).

Swāt is a region of particular interest: a melting point of the remaining speakers of Dardic languages, now mostly restricted to the north; of modern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Urdu (but also Gujri); and of the “newcomer” Pashtuns, speaking Pashto, one of the easternmost Iranian languages, continuously progressing northwards.

This long and troubled history of different and manifold interactions, including with the Greeks, the Indians, the Turks, the

Mongols, the Chinese and so on, left many traces on the toponymy, as I tried to show in the volume on the Swāt toponymy, recently published by Sang-e Meel of Lahore under the auspices of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt, the ISMEO of Rome, the CeRMI, my CNRS unit, and the Inalco in Paris.¹

Among the toponyms, we can identify some recurrent elements defining more generic geographic features: the geonyms. To this class belong words such as ‘mountain’, ‘pass’, ‘river’, etc. Despite the importance of this subject for the interpretation of the toponyms, there are no general studies devoted to it.

In this article, I will focus on some of these geonyms, showing interesting features from a semantic and etymologic point of view. In particular, I will analyse seven Swāt valley geonyms (Banda, Dera, Dera, Dop, Kandao and Tangai [x2]).² The discussion makes use of the main lexicographic and lexicologic tools for Pashto. The final goal is to provide a general typology of these geonyms, based on semantic and on linguistic (etymologic) characteristics.

1. Banda [*bāṇḍá*, بانده]

The semantics of *bāṇḍá*, which occurs 149 times in the toponymy of the Swāt valley, are well established. However, this word has several meanings, which need some explanation.

A *bāṇḍá* is normally a ‘1. pen for cattle (summer pasturing); fence behind which cattle are driven; 2. small village; 3. camp of nomads, cattle herders; 4. settlements; 5. body, torso; 6. used in

¹ M. De Chiara, *Toponymy of the Swāt Valley: Linguistic Archaeology*, ISMEO-Serie Orientale Roma, 25, ACT-Field School Project Reports and Memoirs, Archival Studies, 2, Sang-e Meel, Lahore 2020.

² The entire list of geonyms (cf. De Chiara 2020: 53ff.) runs as follows: AN (*ān*, ان), BANDA (*bāṇḍá*, بانده), BAR (*bar*, بر), BELA (*bela*, بېله), CHAM (*čam*, چم), CHINA (*číná*, چينه), DERA (*deráy*, دېري), DOP (*dop*, دوپ), GARAI (*garáy*, گري), GHAKHAI (*gáxay*, غاښي), GHAR (*gar*, غر), GOL (*gol*, گول), KAMAR (*kamár*, کمر), KANDAO (*kandáw*, کنډو), KHVAR (*xwar*, خوړ), KILI (*kálay*, کلي), KUZ (*kuz*, کوز), LOE (*loy*, لوی), MAHAL (*mahál(l)*, محل), MAIDAN (*maydān*, ميدان), MORAH (*morá*, موره), NAWÉ (*náway*, نوی), QALA (*qalá*, قلا، قلعه), SAR (*sar*, سر), SERAI (*ceráy*, خيري), ¹TANGAI (*tangáy*, تنگي), ²TANGAI (*tāngáy*, تانگي), TSUKAI (*cúka*, خوکه), ZYARAT (*zyārát* (*gāh*), زیارت). To this we can add the old geonyms successively integrated in the toponyms: °ABAD (*ābād*, اباد), °BAGH (*bāyar*, رباغر), °BANR (*bañ*, بن), °DARRA (*dar(r)á*, دره), °GRAM (*grām*, گرام), °KOT (*koṭ*, کوټ), °PUR (*pur*, پور), °PATAI (*paṭáy*, پټي).

geographical place names Guṣarobāṇḍa (an inhabited locality)' (Pashtoon). According to Aslanov (here in the English translation of Pashtoon), there exist also a certain number of derived words: *bāṇḍačī*, *bāṇḍawāl* '1. one who is living at a mountain pasture; 2. villager, peasant, farmer'; and *bāṇḍečáy*, *bāṇḍesáy* '1. nomad herdsman, shepherd; one who lives on the steppe; 2. summer resident in the country'; *bāṇḍesí* 'summer camp, area where nomads make camp in the summer'. We find also ²*bāṇḍá* 'proper name Banda', maybe derived from the same source. All these words have the same origin. Doubts remain whether to consider ³*bāṇḍá* 'destroyed, annihilated; killed, fallen' as belonging to the same root.

A quick check in the main Pashto dictionaries (arranged chronologically) confirms these semantics, however with slight differences:

Raverty: '1. sheep-fold, cattle pen. 2. small village or hamlet, few dwellings collected together'

Bellew: 'cattle of sheep pen; hamlet'

Tashrihi: 1- مینه، په غره کې هغه ځای چې مالدار له خپلو څارویو سره د اورې او گرمۍ موسم په کې - چې په باندې دې لویېډم نه دې لیدمه (ن) تېروي : سترګې دې وې وتلې نه وې - چې په باندې دې لویېډم نه دې لیدمه (ن)

Daryāb: د یو کلی نه بهر هم د هغې کلی د خلقو ملکیت کښې د زمکې د ګروندګرو آباد کورونه، وړوګي کلی

Kabir-Akbar: *bāṇḍá* '1. foire. 2. quartiers d'été'

Akbar: '1. hameau ; 2. quartiers d'été'

This word can also be found in the manjanəy dialects:

Lorimer (1902: 58): *bonḍa* 'offshoot of a village (temporary or permanent)': *Nakīr de Enghar na pa bonḍa tlelai dai* 'Nakir has gone from Anghar village to live in an outlying hamlet'.

Septfonds (1994: 373): *bonḍá* 'lieu d'habitation provisoire', *bonḍa kedāl* 's'installer provisoirement'

See also Sultan-i-Rome (2016: 535): 'hamlet; remote pasture in the hills with a few residential houses'.

From a diachronic point of view, the only author who proposed an etymology is H.W. Bellew, according to whom this word should be a loanword ← Hind. *bārā*.

If we examine this etymology more closely, we find in modern Hi. (Bahri 1989: 451) *bārā* 'enclosure, pen', which derives from Skt. *vāṭa*- 'enclosure, fence': cf. Si. *vāṛo* 'cattle-enclosure'; Lhd. *vār*

‘fence’, *vārā* ‘cattle- or sheep-fold’; Panj. *vārā*, *bā*^o ‘enclosure, sheepfold’ (T11480 *vāṭa*-¹).³

The semantics of Skt. *vāṭa*- and derived should be reflected only by the first meaning of Pšt. *bāṇḍa*, i.e. ‘pen for cattle’. However, in this case we can compare better Pšt. *bārāy* ‘1. fence 2. front garden 3. garden plot 4. cultivated earth 5. military parapet 6. society’ (Pashtoon), which is a clear loanword from IA, in particular from Hi. *bārā*, from a formal as well from a semantic point of view.

To return to *bāṇḍa*, in Balochi we find the equivalent of this Pšt. word: *bhāṇḍā* ‘a fold, enclosure, pen’, probably ← Si. *bhāṇḍo* (DL), *bhāṇḍo* (DP), *bhāṇo* (GD). According to Turner (T9436), this Si. word belongs to Skt. ¹*bhājana*- ‘eating, enjoying’ (ŚBr.), but also ‘receptacle, pot, plate’ (MBh.), < ¹*bhaj*:- Pa. *bhājana*- ‘bowl (of earth or metal)’, Pkt. *bhāyaṇa*-; G. *bhāṇṭū* ‘food, meal, dish’; M. *bhāṇē* ‘meals, dish ready for making a meal’; Ko. *bhāṇa* ‘large vessel’; Si. *badana*, ^o*duna* ‘pot’ (or < *bhajana*-). Related to this Skt. word we can mention Pšt. *bāṇḍār*, *bandār* ‘fest, banquet’.

In this same entry, Turner also tentatively tries to relate Si. *bhāṇu* ‘place where cattle are kept, cowpen, dunghill, dung of cows or buffalos’, *bhāṇo* ‘cattle-fold’; Lhd. *bhāṇ*, *bhāṇā* ‘cattle-shed’ (with which AO 228 compares Phal. *bhāṇōl*); and also K. *bhāna* ‘vessel’, S.kcch. *bhāṇ* ‘a vessel’, *bhāṇo* ‘dish’.

However, we can maybe better compare Skt. *bhāṇḍa*- ‘pot, dish, vessel, ornament, wares’ (T9440) and the derivative: NiDoc. *bhana*, *baṁna* ‘vessel (?)’; Pkt. *bhaṁḍa*- ‘vessel, utensils, goods, ornament, barber’s utensils, razor’, *bhaṁḍiā*- ‘bag’; etc.

This word is also present in the Dardic languages: Tir. *bhaṇa*, *bāna* ‘vessel, dish’; Kho. (Lor.) *bānu* ‘a kind of dish’; Sh. koh. *bōṇ*, gur. *bōn* ‘cooking pot’, K.ḍoḍ. *bhāṇḍo*.

Other comparisons: Hi. *bhāḍ*, *bhāḍā* ‘earthen pot’ (→ Panj. *bhāḍā* ‘cooking pot’, Lhd.mult. *bhāṇḍā* ‘vessel, utensil, granary’, awāṇ. *bhāḍā* ‘utensil’.

Cf. also Skt. *bhāṇḍaśālā* ‘storehouse’ (T9441) and *bhāṇḍāgāra* ‘treasury’ (T9442). Among the derivatives of this last word, Turner mentions Phal. *bhakar-bhāṇāl* ‘goat-house’, *bhāṇōl* ‘cow- or sheep-pen in the hills, hill-pasture’, Bshk. *banal* ‘hill-pasture’. Cf. Morgenstierne

³ According to M. Mayrhofer (KEWA III 183, EWAia III 464) *vāṭah*- ‘enclosure, fence’ has a “Mittelindische Ausprägung einer Ableitung von *vr*- ‘bedecken, umgeben’”.

1940: 228 “Bašk. *banāl* ‘hill-pasture’ (*bāṇḍa*) — Pal. *bhāṇōl* ‘cow- and sheep-pen; Lhd. *bhāṇā*, &c.”. Cf. also Tor. *bān* ‘summer pasture’ (Aftab Ahmad 2015).

Starting then from the idea of ‘receptacle, pot’, present in the Mahā Bhārata, clearly related to that of ‘eating, enjoying’ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa), by extension, in the IA epoch the word has already come to indicate a ‘(cattle-)fold, a pen’. The further semantic development to ‘hill-pasture’ must have taken place in the north-western regions, among the Dardic populations. We should remember here that our documentation for the Dardic languages is far from exhaustive. The additional semantic development to ‘camp of nomads/lieu d’habitation provisoire/quartiers d’été’, might have already have happened in Pašto. The word *bāṇḍa* would therefore have been used in toponymy to indicate ‘pasture’ and eventually, once it was integrated into the toponym and once the place had become a larger, inhabited village, it would have indicated a ‘small village’, a ‘settlement’ in general, or an ‘offshoot of a village’.⁴

Apart from the pastures showing the generic geonym *bāṇḍa*, today in Swāt we find five villages retaining the constituent *bāṇḍa* in their actual name, thus probably indicating ancient ‘hill-pastures’ (‘quartiers d’été’ or ‘camps of nomads’) which subsequently became ‘small villages’, ‘settlements’ and finally even ‘offshoots of a village’: FIZIL-BANDA فازیل باندہ (*fāzil-bāṇḍa*), KATOSAR-BANDA کتوسر باندہ (*katosar-bāṇḍa*), LALOBANDA لالوبندہ (*lālobāṇḍa*), SUPAL-BANDA سپل باندہ (*supal-bāṇḍa*), TUTAN-BANDA توتان باندہ (*tutān-bāṇḍa*). This latter is the main village in the outermost part of the fertile plain of the Spanai-khwar valley, in the Tehsil of Kabal, and is already quoted by Raverty (1888: 232), thus proving that this process had already begun over a century ago.

Finally, since in Afghanistan this geonym is not attested,⁵ we can conclude that it is clearly a local linguistic feature, probably linked to the Dardic substratum.

⁴ Could the meaning ‘body’, mentioned by Pashtoon, be an extension of that of ‘settlement’? As Aslanov does not indicate any context, I intend this meaning as related to that provided by Lorimer of ‘offshoot of a village’.

⁵ The only occurrences of some Banda can be found in the volume VI of the Gazetteer of Afghanistan (Adamec 1985: 88), but they refer to another banda, written بنده.

2.-3. Dera [*derá/derá*, دېره/دېره] vs. Derai [*deráy*, دېری]

This word appears in the toponymy of the Swāt valley, but with a certain ambiguity between *deráy* and *derá/derá*. The first word indicates ‘1. pile, heap; 2. hill, hillock; 3. manure pile, dung heap’, while the latter means ‘1. dwelling, shelter; residence; 2. stopping place camp, temporary quarters; 3. hut; 4. *used in geographical names* Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan (both cities in north-west Pakistan)’.

In total, we find 33 occurrences of these toponyms, the majority with *deráy* — AHINGARO-DEIRAI اهنګرو دېری (*ahingaro-deráy*), BABA-DEIRAI بابا دېری (*bābā-deráy*), BACHCHI-DEIRAI بچی دېری (*bačči-deráy*), BAZAI-DEIRAI بزی دېری (*bazay-deráy*), BAZWANANO-DEIRAI بزوانانو دېری (*bazwānāno deráy*), DEIRAI دېری (*deráy*), DHERI دھېری (*dheri*), DODA-DEIRAI دوده دېری (*doda-deráy*), GUL-DEIRAI گل دېری (*gwāl-deráy*), JAMPUR-DEIRAI جمپور دېری (*jampur-deráy*), KAKHAI-DEIRAI کخی دېری (*kaxay deráy*), KODARAI-DEIRAI کودری دېری (*kodaray-deráy*), LANGAR-DEIRAI لنگر دېری (*langar deráy*), MAM-DEIRAI مام دېری (*mām deráy*), MEGO-DEIRAI مېږو دېری (*meḡo-deráy*), NIKO-DEIRAI نیکو دېری (*niko-deráy*), PIRMAN-DEIRAI پیرمن دېری (*pirman-deráy*), PUL-DEIRAI پول دېری (*pul-deráy*), SHAMI-DEIRAI شامي دېری (*šāmi-deráy*), SUR-DEIRAI سور دېدی (*sur-deráy*) —, and only three toponyms with *dera/dera*: KAT-DEIRA کت دېره (*kat-dera*), SHAR-DEIRA شار دېره (*šār dera*), SUND-DEIRA سوند دېره (*sund-dera*).

According to Raverty and Bellew, *dera* is a ‘tent, dwelling’, while the meaning of *dera* is slightly broader: ‘tent, temporary dwelling/lodging’.

In the other dictionaries the meaning *huṣṣa*, the ‘guestroom (in rural villages)’, is also added:

Daryāb: (۱) حجره، ویجره، اوجره، دېره، مېلمستون، مهمانخانه، د مېلمنو د کښېنولو ځای، (۲) دیره، هديره، بدره، (۳) سکون، مېشت، څوک چې په یو ځای کې استوګه غوره کړي، جمع دېره جات/دېری

Tashrihi: ۱- اوجره، حجره، جمه مېلمستون، مېلمنو ځای؛ په تودو سیمو کې زیاتره د ځمکو او کروندو ځایونان د ځان او خپلو مېلمنو د اوسېدو لپاره یوه صفا جوړوي چې په شا وخوا کې یې د توتو او پنجه چنارو ونې او ولې ولاړوي وي او د گرمۍ شپې ورځې له کور څخه دباندې په دغه ځای کې تېروي. په دې ځای کې کتونه اېښوول کېږي او مېلمانه باندې کښېښي. دېری ته که کوم څوک پناه راوړي نو دا د کور حکم لري او مدعي یې نه شي کولیا چې دغه سړی ته په دېره کې توان ور ورسوي. د هر چا دېره د هغه په نامه یادېږي او په دغسې ځای کې مرکه او جرګه هم

جورېدای شي 2-ادیره، هديره 3-مسکون، مېشت، اړونه؛ څوک چې په يو ځای کې استوگنه غوره کړي

Kabir-Akbar 'chambre d'amis; résidence, terrasse'

Akbar: '1. chambre d'amis; résidence, terrasse; 2. hébergé'

According to Atayee (1358/1979: 31, n. 103) *derā* is "Any place in the open air for the guests is called DERA. Rich tribal men have DERAS in front of their KALAY where strange guests may rest too. Such a guest is served food at meal times. But he may ask for food when he feels hungry. There are CATS in DERA on which guests sit. To sit in DERA of someone also means to be under his protection".

Both Raverty and Bellew derive *dera* from Hind. *derā*, quoted by Turner (T5564) s.v. **dēra*-¹ 'resting-place': cf. also Panj. *derā* 'tent, encampment'; Hi. *derā* 'tent, shelter, temporary resting-place'; Hi. *derā* 'tent, house' → Si. *dero* 'tent'.

Cf. also Bal. *derav* 'camp', ← Hi. *derá*, Per. *derah*, *dera*, 'tent', according to Gilbertson 1925.

The careful annotation of A.V. Rossi (ILEB-D3) on Br. *deraw* 'threshing-floor' deserves a full quotation here, as it also clarifies the etymology of Pšt. *dera/dera*:

"[Prs. *dera* 'habitation']; Ur. *dera*, *derə*, *dera* 'tent', Ansari *dera* only, also 'lager', Prs. Steingass only, Da. *dēra* 'žilišče; stojanka; stanovišče; selo, posëlok', Bal. *deraw*, *derə* 'dera' Mitha, Ašfaq, *deraw* 'tent' Mayer, Psht. *derá*, *derá* 'žilišče; stojanka; stan; šalaš'; — Prs. not orig. (Morgenstierne [p.c.] "is Prs. *dēra* recorded too early to be a lw. < IA?"); sem. shift not clear ("some confusion seems to have taken place. Perhaps the flat and trodden camping places could be used, by semi nomads, as threshing-floors?"), (Morgenstierne, p.c.). Morgenstierne (p.c.) points to °*aw* as an areal feature (cf. Gujarati *dero*, Si. *dero*). Prob. no distinction in CDIAL 5564 between IA **dēra*- and **dēra*- (the latter relying in Bengali and Ur. variants; "I agree ... that you are right in considering the forms with initial retroflex, *derā*, etc., to be the original ones" [Morgenstierne, p.c.]").

Nowadays, according to N. Manalai (p.c.), the form without retroflex, *derá*, is more commonly used.

As for *derəy*, it should be noted that this word is absent from nearly all dictionaries, except for Aslanov. However, in this case the etymology is much clearer: it belongs to IA **dhēra*, **dhēra* 'lump, heap' (T5599): 1. Paš. *dēr* 'heap'; K. *dēr* 'heap, store, granary'; Si. *dheru* 'heap'; Lhd. *dher* 'much, many', *dherī* 'hillock', mult. 'heap'; Panj. WPah.bhal. *dher* 'heap'; Hi. *dher*, *dherī* 'heap'.

We can observe here that also in IA there is alternation in the initial position between *ḍh-* and *dh-* non-retroflex: this can help us in the analysis of the alternation between *ḍ-* and *d-* in the preceding word, i.e. *ḍera/dera*.

The IA word is also at the origin of Pšt. *ḍer* ‘much, many’: indeed, the two meanings of ‘much, many’ and ‘hillock’, are already present in Lhd.

In conclusion, Pšt. *ḍer* is a loanword from Lhd. *ḍher* and Pšt. *ḍeray* ← Lhd. *ḍherī*. The semantic extension from ‘much’ to ‘pile → hillock’ is already represented in Lhd. with the creation of the feminine by means of the suffix *-ī*. Here, the etymologic analysis done by Bellew and Darmesteter §8 (and followed by Coletti 1980: 37 and NEVP 25; but also by Raverty, Geiger 1898-1901 and Lorimer 1915 for *ḍer*) is correct.

4. Dop [*ḍop*, دږو]

This word is attested in five toponyms, all referring to names of peaks, with the exception of DOP دږو (*ḍop*), a small village in the plain on the left bank of the Swāt river, north of Khwazakhela.

In this latter case, as proposed in De Chiara 2020, we can see a possible link with IA (T5561) **ḍubb-* ‘to sink’, caus. **ḍōbb-* [Metath. of MIA. *buddai* < **buḍyati*]: Paš. *ḍub-* ‘to be drowned’, Mai. *ḍūb-*; Phal. *ḍup* ‘sinking’; Sh. (Lor.) *ḍup* ‘plunged in’; Panj. *ḍubbṇā*, Hi. *ḍū/ubnā*; T9272 **buḍyati* ‘sinks’: Si. *ḍuḍaḍu*, Lhd. *buḍḍan*; Panj. *buḍḍṇā*. In which case it should be discarded from the list of geonyms. However, this same IA word is at the origin of the loanword in Pšt. *ḍub* ‘1. immersed (in a liquid); submerged, sunken; 2. figurative to be lost in thought, be plunged into thought, be absorbed in thought’ (Pashtoon), as already acknowledged by Raverty and Bellew (Hind. *dub*), and of the derivative compound verbs *ḍubawəl* ‘to immerse (in a liquid); sink (e.g., a ship)’ and *ḍubedəl* ‘1. to be immersed (in a liquid); sink; 2. to disappear (of water in the sand); 3. to set (of the sun); 4. figurative to meditate, be immersed in thought; 5. to lose consciousness’ (see also Coletti 1980: 36). This same verb can be found also in Bal. *dubay*, *dubeṭa*, *dubiṭa* ‘to drown’.

The remaining four peak names⁶ show this geonym *dop*.⁷ In the Daryāb, the only Pšt. dictionary including this word, its meaning is apparently ‘دوند، غبار، لړه، تیاره’: but, meaning ‘fog, haze’, it should be a mere variant of Pšt. *dub*, quoted above.

Pšt. *dob* should therefore go back to Dard. **dop* ‘hill’: cf. T5580 **dhappa-* ‘lump’, in particular n. 11 **dhubba-*, in Mar. *dhubā* ‘little hill’, for instance. In this regard, we could consider here Dard. **d(h)up*, a derivative of this root with the meaning of ‘hill, hillock, lump’.

The semantic development is particularly interesting and can be compared with that studied by A.V. Rossi in an article of 2002, dealing with Ir. *gund* (‘Middle Iranian *gund* between Aramaic and Indo-Iranian’): here the author argues the appurtenance of a series of terms — **gund-* ‘globular/circular mass’, **kund-* ‘stem of a tree’ and **kund-ū-k/la-* ‘large vessels’ — to a same semantic core (cf. also Rossi 2006 and 2015).

Another parallel, this time also semantically pertinent, is Pšt. *gumbat*, *gumbad*, meaning a ‘cupola, arch’, but in general any ‘spheric, globular object’.

Similarly, **dhappa-* basically means a ‘lump, protuberance’. The evolution to ‘heap’, ‘podgy’, ‘mound of earth raised as a mark’, ‘clod’, etc., appearing in the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is a logical consequence of this semantic shift, all the way to the perception of a ‘heap, lump’ as a ‘hill, hillock’ in these mountainous regions.⁸

5. Kandao [*kanḍāw*, کنډو]

This is the generic geonym for ‘(mountain) pass; excavation, hollow’ and is the most used in the toponymy of the Swāt valley: 71

⁶ CHANGAI-DOP-SAR چنگای دوپ سر (*čangay-dop-sar*), DOPIALO-SAR دویپالو سر (*dopyālo-sar*), DOP-SAR دوپ سر (*dop-sar*), SHAH-DOP-SAR شاه دوپ سر (*šāh-dop-sar*).

⁷ In De Chiara 2020, Dopialo-sar is wrongly attributed to IA **dubb-* ‘to sink’, while it should contain the geonym *dop* here analysed + the doubtful sf. *-yāl*, according to Hakimzay (1997: 155) meaning ‘water’.

⁸ In the list of geonyms in De Chiara 2020, another possibility, even if it should probably be discarded, is also suggested: Tor. *dap* ‘piebald’, possibly linked to the root Skt. **dhuppā-* (T6825): Si. *dhupa* ‘heat of sun’, Lhd. *dhupp*, *dhup*; Gaw. *adup* ‘absence of sunshine’?

occurrences out of 82 passes (many villages are also called Kandao). The remaining toponyms contain either An or Ghakhai.

An (*ān*, ان), meaning ‘high mountain slopes’, is a loanword from the Dardic languages, probably ← Khow. *an* (Bashir 2005); cf. also Kal. *ān* ‘mountain pass, boundary’ (← Khow., Trail/Cooper 1999). The second term is probably a derivative of Pšt. *γāx* ‘tooth’ < Ir. **gaštra-*, *gaz-* ‘to bite’?⁹

The meanings of *kandaw* are, according to Bellew and Raverty, ‘notch, dent, gap; dip in a hill, gap in a wall, notch in wood, etc. dented, notched’. Bellew is the only author to recognize an IA origin for the Pšt. word (← Hind. *khandā*).

We can exclude a derivation from the root *kand-* ‘to dig’ (cf. Pšt. *kandəl*, Prs. *kandan*), as in this case *ḍ* would remain unexplained.¹⁰ Instead, see T3792 s.v. *khaṇḍā* ‘broken, crippled’: “As ‘hill, mountain pass’ (< ‘*rock’ < ‘piece’ or < ‘*pass’ < ‘gap’ and perh. X *skandhá*)”; cf. Gaw. *khaṇḍa* ‘hill pasture’; Bašk. *khan* ‘hill’, Tor. *khān*, (Grierson) *khaṇḍ*, Mai. *khān*, Chil. Gau. *kān*, Phal. *khāṇ*; Sh. koh. *khūn* (s. Morgenstierne 1940: 240); Par. *khandī* ‘mountain peak’ ← IA (IIFL I: 265).

Regarding the origin of the sf. *-aw/-ow* in Pšt. *kandaw*, one can see in the above-quoted personal communication by G. Morgenstierne to A.V. Rossi in ILEB-D3 that °*aw* (referring to Br. *deraw*) could be “an areal feature (cf. Gujarati *dero*, Si. *dero*)”.

As proof of an Indo-Aryan origin, we can look to the analysis contained in ILEB-A173 on Br. *kand* ‘gap, breach, opening; hill-pass’, where Rossi compares “RxBal. *kand* ‘gap, empty space between two objects’, MwBal. *kand* ‘ditch’ Elfenbein where Br. is sq., Bal. *kand* ‘khəḍ’ Mitha, Ašfaq, cf. SuKurd. *kand* ‘ditch, ravine’ Wahby-Edmonds”; and lastly states that “Sem. development ‘pass’ < ‘gap’ of CDIAL 3792 IA **khaṇḍ-* seems to have taken place early also in some Ir. counterpart of this base; cf. also PrsBal. *kandīg* ‘steep path up to mountain pass’, Bal. *kandəg* Ata 1968.141, EHBal. *k’andəy* Gilbertson ‘pass’, CDBal. *kandə*, Prs. *kanda* ‘hole’. Certainly protoconn. between IA, Ir. and Dr.”.¹¹

⁹ Cf. EP. 333, Morgenstierne 1926: 34, EVP 28, IIFL II 524, Emmerick 1970: 68, Èdel’man 1986: 145, Grjunberg-Èdel’man 1987: 32-33, Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 65, Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 187, NEVP 33, ÈSIJ III 92, Cheung 2007.

¹⁰ But cf. Barth/Morgenstierne 1958: 125: *kandów* ‘pass’.

¹¹ Cf. also ILEB-I140: “Br. *kaḍ* (*k’ad*) ‘pit, hole; dimple; pitted, sunk in; lowlying’

6.-7. Tangai [tangáy, تنگی vs. tāngáy, تانگی]

The transcription provided by the maps is not sufficiently clear for us to distinguish *tangáy* from *tāngáy* (even if for the speakers the difference is evident), but the former is well known in the toponyms and more widespread. It appears in seven toponyms in the Swāt valley: AMLUK-TANGAI املوک تنگی (*amluk-tangay*), INZAR-TANGAI انحر تنگی (*injār-tangay*), SURAI-TANGAI سوری تنگی (*suray-tangay*), TANGAI تنگی (*tangay*), TANGAI-BANDA تنگی باندہ (*tangay-bāṇḍa*), TANGAI-WARA تنگی ورہ (*tangay-wara*), YAKH-TANGAI-SAR یخ تنگی سر (*yax-tangay-sar*).

Pšt. *tāngáy* is a ‘table mountain; flat-topped hill’ and is possibly attested in only one case: TANGU-BANDA تانگو باندہ (*tāngu-bāṇḍa*). However, this toponym can be analyzed as Pšt. ‘pasture of the wild pears (*tāngu* ‘name of a tree bearing a fruit like the apple in appearance’, Raverty)’, or Pšt. ‘pasture of the flat-topped hill (*tāngáy*)’. It is in the Tashrihi ‘اوپتہ اوارہ حُکمہ-1’.

Pšt. *tangáy* is a ‘ravine, gorge; narrow valley; pass’, also used in geographical names as ‘ravine’: Naray-Tangay (Pashtoon).¹² Sultan-i-Rome (2016: 482) is more specific on this point: a *tangay* is a “narrow gorge or dry ravine, but sometimes having a water spring”.

In the same work, Sultan-i-Rome (*ibid.*), writes: “*Taangay*: A very small patch of *taang* [a patch of land that was created due to a river or stream altering its course; it may be situated in-between the branches of the river or stream or on their sides]; the patch between the two draining-lines of tomato plants”.

Tašrihi: تنگ، د غرونو په منځ کې لاره، د غرونو تر منځ تنگه لاره 2-د کوچیانو د کرتو جوال، هغه جوال چې کرت په کې وي

tangáy is probably a derivative of Pšt. *tang* ‘narrow, tight’, in turn inherited from Ir.: cf. Prs. *tang*, etc.

[Bal. *k'əḍ*, Sir. *khəḍḍ*, Si. *khəḍə*; Pkt. *khəḍḍa*-]; Ur. *khəḍ*, Bal. *kəḍḍ* Ašfaq, *kəḍ* Mayer, Gilbertson, MwBal. *kəḍək*; — Cf. *kand*, A173 above? Prob. protoconn. between Dr., IA and Ir.”.

¹² In Pashtoon it is also a ‘pouch for dried cheese’.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can observe that geonyms are more conservative than toponyms: indeed, even if the toponym was successively Pashtunized, the geonym maintains its original form.

In the specific case of Swāt, the majority of geonyms are derived from Indo-Aryan sources (six out of seven geonyms, in the case of the present article: *bāṇḍa*, *ḍera/dera*, *ḍeray*, *ḍop*, *kandaw*, *tāngay*), and, more in detail, from Dardic languages; thus confirming what was already noted by Fussman in his atlas of 1972 (I 23): that among the native languages of Swāt (at least in the historic era) were two Dardic languages: Dameli and Gawar-Bati (but afterwards the Damelis and the Gawars “en [from Swāt] auraient été expulsés vers le milieu du XV^e siècle par les Pathans”). Two other Dardic languages can still be found today in the northernmost part of the Swāt valley: Torwali and Baškarik.

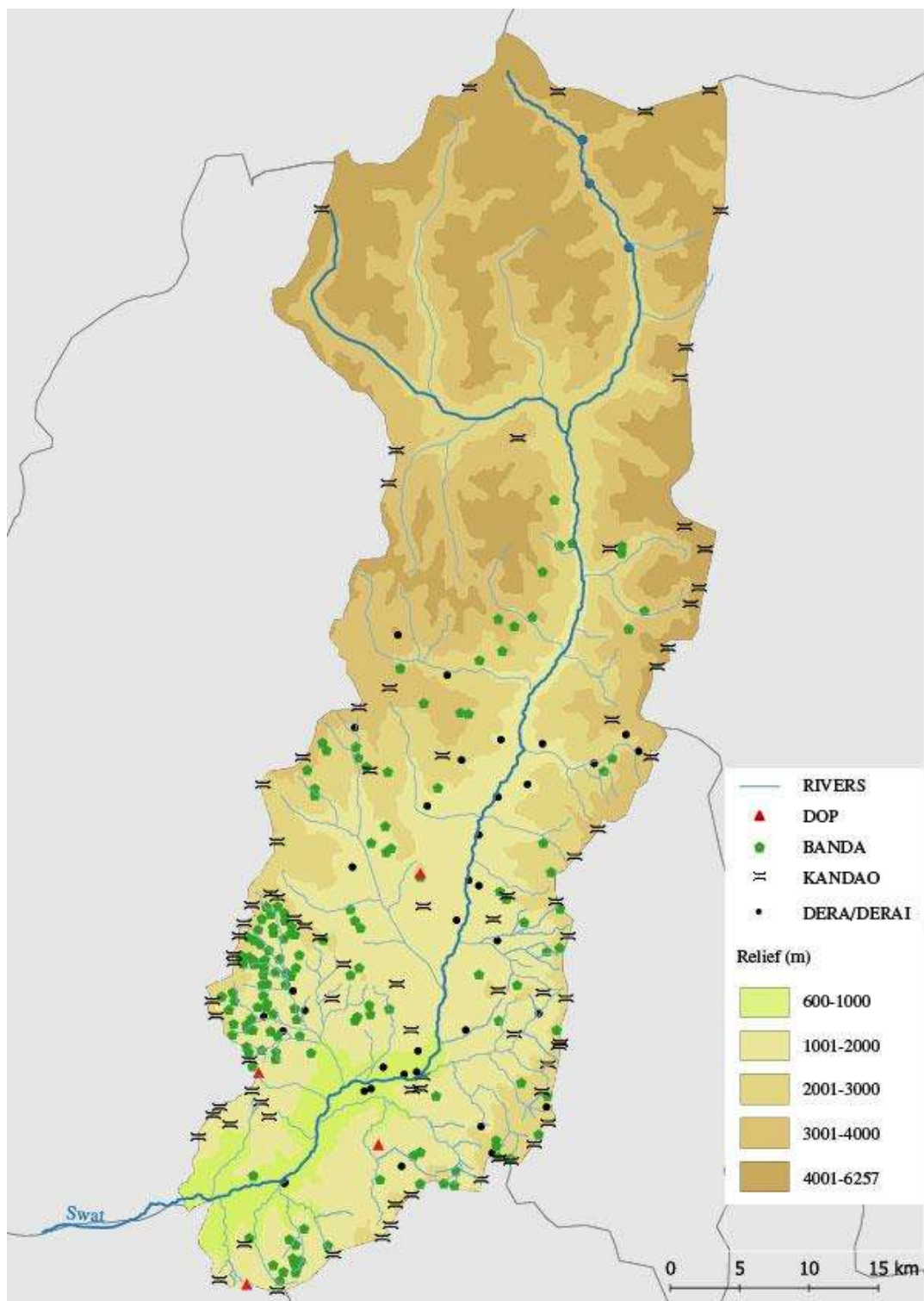


Fig. 1 - Map of Swāt showing the position of the geonyms *ɖop*, *bāṇḁa*, *kaṇḁaw* and *ɖera/dera/ɖerəy*.

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Language abbreviations

Bal.	Baluchi
Bašk.	Baškarik
Br.	Brahui
Dard.	Dardic
Gaw.	Gawar-bati
Hi.	Hindi
Hind.	Hindustani
IA.	Indo-Aryan
Ir.	Iranian
K.	Kaśmiri
Kal.	Kalaša
Kho.	Khowari
Kurd.	Kurdish
Lhd.	Lahndi
M.	Marāṭhi
MIA.	Middle Indo-Aryan
Pa.	Pāli
Pah.	Pahari
Panj.	Panjabi
Par.	Parači
Paš.	Pašai
Phal.	Phaluṛa
Pkt.	Prakrit
Prs.	Persian
Pšt.	Pašto
Sh.	Shina
Si.	Sindhi
Sir.	Siraiki
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tir.	Tirahi
Tor.	Torwali
Ur.	Urdu
WPah.	West Pahaṛi

ISMEO SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA VOL. 25
ACT-FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT REPORTS AND MEMOIRS
ARCHIVAL STUDIES, 2

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