Interplay of Culturally Rich Terms in the Making of Political Fusion and Fissure in Pakhtun Society

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Abstract

Pakhtuns remained the focus of social scientists and specifically of linguists and anthropologists to understand their culture, language, politics, and social organization. The focus of their studies was political and social organization of Pakhtuns' based on cultural codes of Pakhtunwali. Cultural and linguistic studies identified unique cultural codes of Pakhtun society which create fissure and fraction in society at time of conflict. Though a very little attention has been given to culturally rich terms which are contexts dependent to create meanings for its users. This article argues that the culturally rich terms play a vital role in creating political fusion and fissure in Pakhtun society. Data for the article was collected in November to December 2021 in Totakan village of Malakand, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Detailed in-depth interviews, informal discussions, and case studies with the help of vignette method remain the primary techniques of data collection. Thematic analysis was done to generate the generic meanings of culturally rich terms which helped in making theoretical argument from the data. Contextualization cues and inference and thick description provided theorical foundation to the article which argues that the culturally rich terms are depended on situation and works according to situation. There are terms which create either political fusion or fissure in society at the same time for making its meanings meaningful with appropriate behavior.

Keywords: Pakhtun, Pakhto/Pashto, Language, culturally rich terms, political fusion, and political fissure

1. Introduction

Culturally rich terms or key words or 'concepts' in social sciences and specifically in linguistic and anthropology reflect values, ideals, ideas, and belief of the culture. The culturally rich terms functionalize society and every member of a culture is subscribed to culturally rich terms in one or another way. As Finnegan says that there are as many functions of these cultural terms as there are theories (Finnegan, 1992). Understanding a culture, and community, basic important parameter is to get familiar with their language as language not only meets the communication needs but it also carries cultural values, ideas, behavior in context. In every language, culturally rich terms serve as a key for understanding a specific culture. It helps in understanding people, their culture, cognition, symbolism, economy, politics, religion, and every aspect of life. That is why culturally rich terms have a great significance in ethnographic research. As Durranti says that the goal of ethnographic description is the writing of cultural grammars (Durranti, 1997).

For understanding and describing a culture, the understanding and describing of language is very important. These culturally rich terms may have different forms and can be different from culture to culture and area to area but can be found in every culture. The culturally rich terms are transmitted from generation to generation in oral form. Linguists, anthropologists, and folklorists worked on these culturally rich terms and have documented it in different theoretical frameworks and areas. For instance, Bloch's work on religious practices of Zupemenry people of Madagascar which revives around cultural terms is one example of culturally rich terms (Bloch, 2018). In the case of Pakhtuns, numerous academic works have studied different aspects of Pakhtun's culture and society. Focus of academic works has been on Pashto language, literature, and political and social systems. The existing literature can be divided in two broad categories of fusion and fissure. Ethnographic, political and social sciences broadly focused and elaborated the fissure nature of Pashto or Pakhtunwali codes but the same codes with context play an important role in creation of fusion in Pakhtun society at time of conflict and peace to maintain social order (Lorimer, 1902; Henderson, 1983; Kepel, 1992; Tegey & Robson, 1993; Sherzad & Rashidi, 2008; David, 2014). This study anchors the following questions and significance of the current work. This paper is an effort to document and analyze culturally rich terms or codes of Pashto which are implied in everyday interaction among Pakhtun society. This paper finds out the denotating and connotative meanings of culturally rich terms which create fissure and fusion in Pakhtun society in everyday interaction.

2. Methodology, and Analytical Framework

The language diversity in different societies have vast differences in different cultures. In many cases a single and general term in a language has multiple translations and explanations to explain its meaning to the silent observer or listener but differences among languages go far deeper than vocabulary. It is observed that expression of one language or culturally rich terms can be expressed in another language, but it will need further clarification to the listener of other language to grasp the meaning. Yet there are differences in what speakers of different languages tend to say and what they choose to say. Languages differ both in what they allow their speakers to express quickly and easily, and what they require their speakers to specify. For specifying the meaning of spoken words or action or event in the culturally specific context. Contextualization cues and inference are two important concepts in the study of conversational talk and its meaning. Talk or action creates context for creating meaning in specific time and space which provides context for people of the same culture to determine the meaning of the action and term. We have implied two linguistic terms "connotative" and "context" for explanation of *Pakhtunwali* codes for creating the fluid and flexible meaning for understanding of the terms which are used by interactants to understand the occurrence and use of such terms.

The paper is based on Pashto culturally rich terms language or *Pakhtunwali* which have very significant role in the making of political fusion and fissure in Pakhtun society. Both primary and secondary data are used for creating contexts for culturally rich terms meaning and behavior informed by these codes for readers and their use by native speakers while interacting in contextualized situation. In these sources works of Pashto literature including Dervesh Durrani's work "*Da Pukhtana Jwand Kra Wra: Da Tareekh Pa Ranra Ke"*(Pakhtun way of life in Historical Perspective) (Durrani, 2014), *Pakhto Zhaba aw Adeebaat* (Pashto Language and Literature) by M. Agha Sherzad and Jamshid Rashidi (Sherzad & Rashidi, 2008) and *Pakhtunwali* by Qayam Uddin Khadim were helpful (Khadim, 2002). Pashto books were useful for collecting, description and literary and linguistic understanding of culturally rich terms. Some other books related to linguistic, and Pakhto grammar were also consulted including "A Manual of Pashto Grammar" by Jorge Roos Kepel (Kepel, 1992) and Habibullah Tegey's and Barbara Robson's work on Pashto-English Glossary for the CAL Pashto Materials (Tegey & Robson, 1993). The work of different

anthropologists was also useful for the understanding of how people of a culture symbolize and relate meanings and image with culturally rich terms and how they understand the social and political organization which revolve around these culturally rich terms. In this regard work include Fedrick Barth work Political Leadership among Swat Pathan (Barth, 1959), Charles Lindholm work Generosity and Jealousy: Learning from Swat Pathans (Lindholm, 1982) and Joseph work on Pakhtun Social Structure were useful (Trainter, 2011).

Furthermore, fieldwork was also conducted for collecting living experience of people with culturally rich terms. During fieldwork, participant observation and informal interviews worked as basic source of collecting data. Along with other avenues the *Jirgahs* worked as the basic source of data collection. Jirga work as legal pluralism in Pakhtun society and a primary stage for fusion and fissure of the society. Participants were selected based on experience and expertise. Twenty informal interviews were conducted in the month of October to December of 2021. The informal interviews were conducted during processes of *jirgahs* as well as individual interviews with experts on Pashto language and literature. As to nature of the work the framework of thick description worked as theory as well as method. As a method it helped in probing the social and cultural context as well as investigating the operational meaning and understanding of the culturally rich terms. Furthermore, it also helped in investigating people's understanding and interpretation of the terms. The collected data was analyzed through thematic analysis. For analysis, the collected data was processed through coding process and themes were developed. Furthermore, the data was deciphered, and two major themes i.e., fusion and fissure were developed from the data. The method was helpful in creating themes as well as constructing theoretical argument from the data.

2.1. Context of Culturally Rich Terms and Study

The research was conducted in Totakan Village of Malakand District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Totakan is situated on border with Bajaur District of Ex-FATA now called as Newly Merged Districts and settled areas of Swat and Dir Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Reason behind the selection of the Totakan is that the village is on the border of Malakand, Bajaur, Swat and Lower Dir and the geographical location of the village makes it more cultural and contextual interaction or contact point for participants. Second reason was that Totakan village always played a vital role in solving land disputes in the area due to its boundary with Bajaur, Swat and Dir. The Totakan village also leads Malakand Jirga for many years in which Haji Shad Muhammad Khan from the same village was the head of the Jirga before and after the partition of the subcontinent. The Jirga is still very vibrant though due to expansion of Pakistani constitution to the [Ex] PATA and [Ex] FATA, the Jirga now works as parallel alternate dispute resolution mechanism under the umbrella of district administration.

Different sources were consulted including sources of Pashto language and literature, anthropological work on Pakhtun society, sources of linguistic anthropology and other relevant sources. Human societies and individuals in a society survive through culturally organized settings where cognition is distributed among members of that society. Through cognition the cultural knowledge is socially distributed which means that knowledge is not always all the individual mind but in collective conscious. Lave argue that in a culture the institutions regulate individual's functions and their interactions through tools that individuals uses and through environment that allows for certain solutions to become possible in the joint activity of individual minds and bodies collectively (1988). It is the reason that knowledge is distributed in culture and affect our notion of what it means to be member of a culture. When it comes to culture it varies from area to area and even individual to individual as Sapir said that "Every individual in a very real sense is a representative of at least one sub-culture which may be abstracted from the generalized culture of the group of which he is a member" (1949). Jakobson states Boas's argument that to know a culture we need to know and understand language of that culture. He further describes that describing a culture is describing a language and the goal of ethnography is describing and writing culture grammars (Jakobson, 1944).

In the case of Pakhtun's culture and society anthropologist have studied its ways and codes of culture as fix realties. Reason is that the codes are simply defined and translated into other languages. There are different terms for codes in Pakhtun society which have rich meaning. The term *badal* is simply translated as revenge by many writers though the term is also other meanings attached with reciprocity. Sometimes one cousin will help you while other will not and in another case one cousin will help you in one place and will not in other. To understand the actual meaning and understanding of the people we have used multiplicity approach in this paper. This approach will help both in methodology and analysis as a method and theoretical framework. For this

purpose, the concepts of thick description and thematic analysis worked both as technique and theoretical framework for this research. Thick Description is a method which ethnographers use to explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships and put them in context (Geertz, 1973). It worked in investigating the personal experiences and knowledge of individuals about culturally rich terms. Furthermore, the concept also helped in probing and investigating the multiple layers and shared codes among people.

Thematic analysis method was used for classifications of culturally rich terms under different themes and patterns. Thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis which is used to classify, present, and analyze themes in the data with frequently occurring meaning of the same patterns in data (Clarke & Braun, 2013). The current paper is based on two types of themes i.e., political fusion and political fissure which are parallelly built through culturally rich terms. Some of culturally rich terms contribute to political fusion while some other contribute to political fissure. So, the method of thematic analyses helped for the characterization of cultural terms and how these terms signify two different themes i.e., political fusion and political fissure in Pakhtun society.

3. Interplay of Culturally Rich Terms

Pashto speakers are an ethnic group that lives on both side of Durand line between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, Pakhtun is largest ethnic group and in Pakistan, the group is second largest groups among the other ethnicities in Pakistan. On both side of the Durandline, Pakhtun speak Pashto. The language not only meets their needs of communication, but it also serves as permanent codes for behavior regulation. With a passage of time different behavior codes or laws have been made the area to regulate population for maintaining social order in Pakhtun society however the cultural significance of Pashto could not be undermined due to prevalent dominance of *Pakhtunwali* codes which provides egalitarian concept of social order and interaction regulation the everyday life of the Pakhtuns (Ahmad 1980, 88-90; (Jamal, 2014). The codes of *pakhtunwali* are understood through a shared knowledge which is transmitted from generation to generation. Shared knowledge or informed behavior is transmitted through cultural means i.e, *tappy* (folksongs), *mataloona* (proverbs), *qeesay* (folk stories) and other genres of folklores through which *pakhtunwali* is idealized and transformed (Bartlotti, 2000, p. 34; Dupree, 1979). These folk genres are as termed by Suzuki "a vehicle of transmitting feelings and values of the common people which constitute the culture of tribes and ethnic groups (Suzuki, 1980, pp. 96-97). A proverb "Da Nar Kawana Pa Badal We" (Bravo people always believes on reciprocity) better translates the importance and meaning of reciprocity. The concept of reciprocity has a lot to do with *gham-khadi* (Grima, 1998). At time of war and peace or sadness and happiness, every single Pakhtun needs to reciprocate in terms of the actual relations with the person who passes through the rituals of *gham-khadi*. Through practice of cultural means, *pakhtunwali* codes are transformed, transmitted, and instilled in next generation through participation and tranquility.

Pakhtunwali is comprised of sum of total values, and norms of society which determine the way of behavior of Pakhtun in a very refined and contextualized conditions which demands every person to regulate his/her behavior according to conditioned interactions. Therefore, it is sometimes taken as concept and means of ethnic marker for Pakhtun that what a Pakhtun should do and should not do. This parameter of behavior marker makes identification and differentiation of *akhtunized* behavior or *pakhtuness* and non-*pakhtuness* in terms of behavior towards contextualized reaction. *Pakhtunwali* can be seen above all forced values of patriarchy on individuals to become a respected member of society.

Pashto itself designates not only the language but behavior defined by rigid codes. These codes dictate behavior of an individual linked with context. The definition of person when something goes wrong, the Pakhtun judges the action of the person based on Pashto that this act can be counted as honor in Pashto or dishonor in Pashto (*da pakhto kar or bay-pakhto kar*). This act as recorded in literature as "doing Pashto". Such codes have been formatted in the form of Pakhtun customary laws or codes of *pakhtunwali* by (Atayee, 1979) in the form of dictionary. This dictionary carries different culturally rich terms along with definition and context for readers to understand the significance of Pashto codes in daily life and conversation when used by Pakhtun in contextual conversation (Grima, 1998). Pashto constitutes of many codes like *melmastiya* (hospitality), *ghairat*, *izzat*, Pashto as law (*jirgah*, *marakah*, *daremat*, and *ghwandah*), *nanawaty*, and so on. These terms have specialized usage and understanding by participants. As respondent shared his socialization in dispute resolution driven by codes of *jirgah* and *marakah*.

I have spent time with grandfather and my father in *jirgah* and *marakah* processes from very childhood (Khan S. , FGD, 2021). After their retirement from active participation in *jirgah*, I have served as *jirgah* member for many years and that way I learnt processes, rules, and ways of Jirga processes.

The peace, conflict, and conflict resolution functions around the culturally rich terms in the social organization of the Pakhtun society. There is a shared knowledge of these culturally rich terms which have a significant role in creating fusion and fissure in the social and political organization of Pakhtun culture and society and they signify political fissure in one setting and political fusion in some other cultural setting. The meanings of these terms depend on the specific situation in a specific cultural setting. In the current paper the culturally rich terms are classified in three categories: political fusion (signify unity), political fissure (signify separation) and cultural settings (create fusion in one cultural setting and fissure in another cultural setting).

3.1. Zai and Khel: Alliances and Split-up

Pakhtun social structure is based on segmentary lineage system. They trace their lineage upwards for many generations to link their trace with a common progenitor. These relationships are based on kinship and shared culture. The opposition or unity in the kinship system of Pakhtun society is always driven by culturally rich terms which people have in their shared cognition. For understanding how political fusion and fissure work in society, it is necessary to understand how agency works in social structure. At any level (local, regional, ethnic group), social segments operate only in opposition or unity to equivalent segments i.e., local kinship group vs local kinship group, regional group vs. regional group (Barth, 1959). There are terms which create fusion in one setting and fissure in another setting. The interplay of fusion and fissure works from individual vs individual to *qaam* (word mostly use for tribe) vs *qaam*, from *zai* (tribe or subtribe) vs *zai* to *khel* (local kinship group) vs *khel*. The *khel*, *zai* and *Qaam* create both fusion and fissure though it always depends on situation. In the context of southern district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, there is another term known as *Gwand* which works in fusion and fissure within kinship system. The clans and sub-clans of the social organization in southern districts of KP society is known as *Gwand*. Some clans are called *Spin Gwandi* and some are call as *Tor Gwandi*. In the context of social organization in Pakhtun society the segmentary group is to be supported by nearest segmentary group. Each *Khel* and *Qaam* in the *Spin-Gwandi* always support each other against *Tor Gwandees qoam* and *Khel*. The type of political behavior in which a segmentary group supports the nearest segmentary groups is called *gwandi or qaami Nang*. When it comes to the opposition of the agnatic rival either it is an individual, family, subclan, clan or tribe, the terms like *khel*, *zai* and *qaam* create fissure. Though within close kins, the same kinships terms work in making alliances which create fusion. In the said cultural setting, the terms like *nang* (honor) and *be'nangi* (dishonor) and Hindko-Pakhto (honor and dishonor) drive the political fusion and fissure among the groups in society. For example, there is the concept of *tarboor* (agnatic rival) which start from families to Khel and subtribe and then goes to tribes. *Tarboor* in literal meaning means cousin though it is also used for Khel to subtribe and tribes where people of the other Khel, subtribe and tribe from the same lineage are considered as *tarbooran* (*plural of tarboor*). The *tarboor* is considered as direct competitor when it comes to local setting. The *tarboor* when it comes to tribe vs tribe or regional group vs regional group, the subtribes, or groups like *zai* and *khel* come together against the opposite *khel*, *zai* or tribe. During the harvesting season first and second cousins get together and help with each other in harvesting which is called *ashar*. Most of the time the *tarboors* are in competition against each other through the concept of *ashar* specifically in harvesting time makes them get together and help each other (Gandhi, 2008). Going for *Ashar* with agnatic rivals is also called as *malgartya. malgartya* is way of acting and create fusion in society. The *malgartya* with each other from individual to local groups and to regional groups is called *yaw-wali*. The concept of *yaw-wali* starts from individual and family to local and regional groups. The power in societal structure depends on *yaw-wali* within family as well as within segmentary *groups*. The concept of power is directly linked with *yaw-wali* and how much a segmentary group is strong will make them have more share in power.

Furthermore, the concept of *jalab* and *mla'tar* also function as fusion in society. *Jalab* and *mla'tar*are almost same in its literal meaning but differ in situations. In election if a cousin supports his cousin, it is *mla'tar* while if a cousin or a friend accompanies you for going somewhere is called *Jalab*. The strongest segmentary group is the one who is strong in *zwaak* (strength or force of a segmentary group). In its conceptual meaning *Zwaak* is the unity between the families as well as in segmentary groups. How much segmentary groups have unity will directly make them more *zwaak*. In Pakhtun culture and society the individuals as well as segmentary groups have share knowledge of these cultural terms. These cultural terms create fusion among individual as well as between families and segmentary groups and through cognition of a shared knowledge between these cultural terms the social organization as well as political organization of the Pakhtun society functions.

Coming together and making alliance against opposite tribe is called *nang-kawal* (doing honor) or *pat-kawal* (doing respect). Those have didn't get unite with local groups against the opposite regional group are called *be-pata* (having no respect) or *be-nanga* (having no honor) which symbolizes guilty or negative terms. *Be-nanga, be-Pukhto, be-makha* and *be-pat* are used in negative sense and as terms of charges and allegation. Most of the time the subgroups socially boycott those groups who are considered *be-pata* or *be-nanga*. The interplay of *nang* and *pat* starts from an individual then to local segments and then goes regional segments. In this context *zai*, and *k*hel create fusion when it comes to outer group but create fissure when it comes inside the group. In Malakand district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Baizai and Ranrizai will be against each other in one setting but when it comes within group the Ranrizai are subdivided in Sam'Ranrizee and Swat'Ranrizee means Ranrizee of Plan areas and Ranrizee of Swat (Khan F. , 2015).

Bried (drawing line or demarcation of land between kin groups) works as demarcation like between opposite king groups to not cross, if it is crossed consciously or unconsciously, is considered an aggression and attack on the other kin group. Pakhtuns have shared knowledge about *bried* and they know, one makes *bried* on someone as they know the consequences of *breid* in the form of *bried* and enmity.

A respondent talking on *bried* shared experiences of his family that the property of our four generations is not divided yet. There is no *bried* in our property and so we live in extended family. He further added that in near future we are going to divide our properties and lands and *bried* will be created in our properties and lands, and I am afraid of that day when their will be conflicts on almost each *bried*. He further shared that *bried* is the second name of conflict among Pakhtuns and many of conflicts among Pakhtuns are because of *bried* between lands (Khan S. , Personal Interview, 2021).

3.1.1. Case Study

A participant shared story of conflict between Sultankha'khel and Sarni'khel where different Khel came together against each other. The major tribe in Totakan of Malakand is Sultankha'khel of Yousafzai, which is segmented in three clans including Mubarak'Khel, Ismail'Khel and Dadi'Khel. Mubarak'khel is further subdivided in five subclans including Akhun'kheel, Derwezi'khel, Karam'khel, Bowar'khel, Azi'khan'khel while Ismail'khel is divided in four subclans including Charsadda, Prangyaan, Sulaiman'khel and Ahmad'khel. The Dadi'khel clan of Sultankha'khel has only few families left while the remaining population is spread over other district of KP. Apart from Sultankha'khel, there are other groups in Totakan village i.e., Miangan, Mulyan, Qazyan and Qasabgar. There is another village named as Bosaaq which is on west of Totakan village. According to local accounts the land of Bosaaq village situated in west of Totakan village on Malakand- Bajaur border belongs to Sultankha'khel of Totakan given to Sarnikhel (subtribe of Utmankhel[1]) almost 60 years ago.

Utmankhel tribe has subtribes including Sarnikhel, Shahbaz'khel, Umarkhel, Paindakhel, Aseel and Targhawi. 45 years ago, Sarnikhel claimed the Bosaaq village and directly came into conflict with Sultankha'khel of Totakan village. The subtribe of Sultankha'khel grouped against Sarnikhel and it has been 15 years that they have social boycot with Sarni'khel. In the last 15 years, both opposite clans fought several times for the ownership of disputed land. In local accounts, the demarcation of the land creates conflict of land ownership with tribes and stands the subtribe against each other over the land ownership. The same nature of of dispute is between Ismail'khel and Mulyan, and Miangan and Akhunkhel subclans. In the said context the subclans and groups of Totakan stands against each other. These internal tribal and regional conflicts create fissure among clans and groups of Totakan based on *Bried*. Though, when it comes to land conflict with Sarni'khel each the subclans of Sultankha'khel will make alliance against Sarni'khel. In the said scenario, the subclans of Sultankha'khel get together against Sarni'khel where the terms Zai and Khel of the kinship system create fusion among subclans of Sultankha'khel.

3.2. Jirgah and Marakah

Ideally the terms like *jirga* and *marakah* and related terms always create fusion in society. Whenever an individual, family, kin group, clan or tribe indulges in any type of disputes, the function of *jirgah* and *marakah* is to resolve the conflict. During process of resolving the conflict,

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[1] The Utmankhel is another Major tribe of Pakhtun ethnic group living in Bajaur, Dir, Malakand and Mardan of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Jirga members pass through different stages try to place *tega* (stone). Place of stone functions as ceasefire between the disputants. The decision of *tega* is made by the elders of Jirga for a specific time after gaining the consent of disputants to wait for arriving on mutual understanding. *Tega* symbolizes peace and ceasefire, and every disputant is bound to oblige to condition of *tega*. *Jirga* decides punishment if an individual, family, local or regional group runs away from of *jirgah*. During *tega* (duration of ceasefire) the mediators try their best to reach to solution of the problem and if they didn't reach, they can announce *tega* for another period. Most of the time both the groups agree for *tega* but in some cases both the groups and either one group or other don't go for *tega*.

A respondent talking on *tega* shared that his clan has some land dispute with another clan of the area. The respondent further said that he and some other elders of the area tried for months to place *tega* between the clans but due to severity of the conflict, they were unsuccessful to go for *tega*. He also shared that the district administration needs to announce *tega* between the clans as they have the authority to maintain it. In both cases, Jirga struggled to resolve the conflict by implying different strategies used in Jirga. The process of *jirgah* passes through different stages where both parties are given modus vivendi, and both depose before the *jirgah* to litigate the dispute in *jirgah*. The litigation process is always in the form of giving authority to *jirgah* to decide and sometimes in the form of conditional authority to decide the dispute on merit where both disputants are independent to submit subpoena to Jirga members. If any of individual or group to be declared guilty by *Jirga* members, they must go for *nanawaty* to the opposite group. *Nanawaty* again creates fusion in society. after findings of the decision go against the disputants, then the disputants are required to opt for *nanawaty (seeking apology)* by going to the house or hujra of other disputant party for right to the second disputant to decide whatever they want. In most of the cases, the second group frees them without any punishment or charges while in some cases the second group makes some charges on the first group in the form of money, land, or some other worthy things by getting the consent of jirgah with an agreement of the aggressor to accept the fine. In this case, jirgah facilitates the process to reach mutual agreement between the disputants.

Nanawaty or *hamsayatoob* is accompanied by *badraggah* (escort). Escort is provided to individuals who take shelter and refuge under the supervision of village head or any other person. When a person runs away and escapes from the crime scene or takes refuge from execution, he/she has to take refuge in some other person's house. After getting refuge, it becomes the responsibility to escort the person during his mobility. An assault or attach during the time of refuge and escort, it is considered an attack on the person and his family who provided refuge to the escaper. The term *badraga* functions from hundreds of years in Pakhtun society and it can only be practiced natural environment controlled by Pakhtunwali. After emergence of state writ and control, the *badraggah* can be given for the time being before the arrival of the state machinery. While tracing role of *badraga* in Pakhtun society one of respondents shared a couplet of popular Pakhtun poet Khushal Khan Khattak "*badraga kh muhabbat rasara nh way, yak tanha ba pa khonkharo laro tlal sok*" (*If I was not accompanied by love, going on bloody ways was not possible at all*"). Resolving issues and going for resolutions is called *rogha-jora* or *sulah*. *Sulah* can be traced back to Arabic origin where Arab customary law is known as *sulah* (Pely, 2016). When the *Jirga* becomes successful in resolving (*pa khula kawal*) the dispute and conflict between segmentary groups the reconciliation process is called as *rogha jorra*.

Jirgah does not only resolve the issue through announcing decision of dispute and conflict, it also works as arbitration to define and find facts and figures about the claims of disputants or claimants or petitioners. After declaration of right and wrong or victim and transgressor, the *jirgah* or the transgressor follows to get formal forgiveness by going through the process of *nanawaty*. This process is known as *marakah* (transgressor accompanied by arbitrators and mediators) to the home of oppressed and victim. conflict resolution terms work as fusion in Pakhtun society. Pakhtun as egalitarian in theoretical terms own land and mobilize resources through collective action. The collection action or cooperation among members of territorial groups or clan is initiated and taken by *ashar*. As the cooperation and collective action is taken for the interest of clan or territorial group. For mobilization of members of society, every family or clan must participate in the predefined task on equal basis. If a family remains absent from task, the *ashar* participants fine the family for the absence. *Nagha* functions as a rule for collective decisions and creates fusion in society. *Nagha* is a type of penalty announced by people of area collectively through Jirga. The term signifies a collective decision of the people of a specific area for collective property. For example, there is *nagha* on the mountains and forests of Totakan village. No one can cut tress or mountain without prior permission of Jirga. If anyone goes against the *Nagha* the jirga will announce some type of punishment which can be a fine or leaving the area. *Nagha* bring people together and create fusion in society and works in preservation of collective property i.e., mountains, forests, and water resources on the other hand.

Pakhtun society the concept of *malgartya* also creates fusion. Literally meaning of *malgartya* is comradeship where people accompany each other for common aim in society or support someone, giving hand at the time of need in the form human resource, money, or in any other form. Along with that the term *balana* (invitation) and *tapos* or *pukhtana* (to ask; enquiry visit) create fusion in society. In many Pakhtun areas, there is a term *balana* which means to come together for a brunch or lunch on special occasions like *Akhtar* (Eid). This provides an opportunity to the neighbors to come together on Eid day and have their lunch all together which polishes the feelings of brotherhood up to a large extent. *uzr'khwayee* or *Tapo* or *pukhtana* aims to go to some one's home and show sympathy with family or person at time of unpleasant events. It also makes a sense to unite the society and its dwellers.

3.2.1.   Case Study

Bilal Khan in his 40s narrated a story of *jirgah* and *maraka* occurred recently in Totakan village. A boy named Azhar and girl name Neelum were interested in each other. On Azhar insist, his parents visited Neelum's home for asking her hand. After few days Neelum's family refused to accept Azhar's proposal for Neelum. Azhar's family is from low economic background, and Neelum's family had preference for marriage up, so the Azhar's proposal was not up to their expectations. At the same time, another family was approaching the Neelum's family for proposal. The other family approach for proposal put pressure on Azhar and Neelum that they are going out of time. If family accepts the proposal, it will become impossible for Neelum to cancel the betrothal status or engagement. For saving her will, one evening, Neelum by her own will eloped from her parental home and came to Azhar's home for marriage. Neelum's elopement for marriage decision is unprecedented and unsual as society believes that elopement is always initiated and pursued by men but in this case, Neelum preceded the case and used her own agency to go for self-made decision about her marriage. He came to Azhar's house for marriage. In this case, if she had stayed at Azhar's home, it could have resulted in retaliation and bloodshed but Azhar's father understanding of situation and cultural codes, he preferred to use legal ways to protect rights of individuals through legal means. Azhar's father tried to persuade Neelum to go back to her parents, but she refused to go and her returning to her parents. The set pattern of such incident could invite the wrath of her family for honor and revenge of honor. It could lead to killing of Neelum and Azhar. Secondly, Azhar's family was also bound by Pakhtun code to protect her life and will as she be staying at home for protection of her decision and life. For reaching a safe decision, Azhar's father suggested Azhar and Neelum to go for court marriage as legal decision will provide them state protection to their lives and their legal to marry of their choice. Azhar and Neelum accepted the suggestion and did court marriage, but the conflict remained between the two families. In this context traditions dictate that Azhar's family's action as violation of traditions, so they must seek forgiveness of Neelum's family. by obliging to traditions, Azhar's family requested Bilal to lead a *Jirgah* for resolution of conflict for taking a *nanawaty* to Neelum's family. after formation of *nanawaty*, Neelum's family accepted their appeal and accepted the petition of *jirgah* for resolution. The process of *jirgah* created fusion in society and contextual, dynamic meaning of code honor and its response to the statuary laws of the land. It shows the evolving nature of cultural codes and values while interacting with statutory laws (Zariski, 2014).

3.3. Peghor and Badal

Peghor (reproachment) means sarcasm and more. It implies shame too. In social relations among members of society, accepting *peghor* means to negate manliness or *Pakhtunlessness*. *Peghor* is the lot of all who breach the Pakhtun customs and usages. Also, it is the lot of *parr* or *malamat* (found guilty). When someone comes under *peghor,* the person or family cannot escape from taunting of the society. it passes through generations, or it can be said that it becomes the inheritance of family (Atayee, 1979). It is an expression of rebuke and disproval of behavior and action. In Pakhtun society, it is used as control mechanism by members of society to control the behavior and action of its members. When an inappropriate action is occurred by a Pakhtun, he or she faces the reproachment from member of the society who know the family and person in context. By setting an example of the person, people do not take an inappropriate action because of the fear of reproachment in future. *Peghor* is instrumentalized and transmitted through folk genres i.e., proverbs, folk stories, poetry, and songs. These two terms along with other related terms create political fissure in social organization of the Pakhtun society. In these culturally rich terms, the term *Peghor* can be place as the worst allegedly term in Pakhtun culture (Khan W. , 2021). It is instrumentalized by people to point out the social behavioral weaknesses of the person and family for humiliation in society. In this context *peghor* creates more enmities in Pakhtun society than any other thing can do. It provokes the wounds of injury or feelings of oppressed

family and adds fuel to the conflict of past inflicted by family or an individual. The reciprocal reaction for escaping the *peghor,* the family or an individual is required to take revenge (*badal*) of wounds or injuries. (Khan M. , 2021). *Peghor* also creates *beltoon* (fraction) between families and segmentary groups.

The term *Badal* as a culturally rich term both signify fusion and fissure. *Badal* is contextually used for reciprocity and revenge. When it comes to reciprocity, individual and groups work to reciprocate to others for their contribution. When an individual or segmentary group serves someone in any form, the individual or group is required and expected to reciprocate (Ahmed, 2005; 2008). In the said cultural setting the term Badal create political fusion in society. Though on the other hand, the concept of *Badal* also means as revenge which create fissure in society. If someone in individual capacity or as a segmentary group harm someone, the other may take revenge of this. When an individual or a segmentary group don't take *Badal* (revenge), it is like guilt or shame for that individual or segmentary group. Most of the time, an individual or group are afraid of *peghor* because anytime anyone can reproach of not taking *badal*. The enmities between families and groups go for years because of *badal*. There are very less chances of the resolution of the conflict when a group have *badal* over the other group. The concept of *tor* (black or allegation) is a charge sheet in its conceptualization. Black and white are seen in binaries. Black is taken as blacken when someone alleges the person for an act which is not responded by the person. Taking revenge of blacken is to whiten or to prove his manliness, one has to reciprocate in the same way to keep the record of act equal for the society and an act of manliness and courage. The allegation can be claimed by individual, family, or a kinship group. The term *tor* always works in relation with *peghor* and *badal* and directly linked with fusion. For resolution and reconciliation, *jirga* works as binding force to bring a peaceful outcome of the *tor* between the accused and accuser. In most cases, *jirga* resolves the conflict in certain conditions and where a penalty pronounced against the accused in case the accused fails to whiten himself from the allegations. The process of *jirgah* for concluding the allegation is known as *rogha-jorra* (reconciliation and resolution) and it is help publicly.

3.3.1. Case study

Bahadur Khan's niece was married to Anwar Khan within the same village. Anwar Khan was verbose and cruel to his wife. One day Bahadur Khan's niece escaped from Anwar Khan's home and got refuge with his uncle Bahadur Khan. She requested Bahadur Khan to accompany her to her husband and discuss to not mistreat me at home. Bahadur Khan was healthy person and a popular Kabaddi player in his village. Bahadur Khan accompanied her to her husband's home to discuss a possible solution with Anwar. During discussion Bahadur Khan and Anwar went to spat. The spitting angered Anwar Khan. He stabbed Bahadur Khan with knife and Bahadur Khan succumbed to his serious injuries. After stabbing, Anwar Khan escaped from the scene and went into hide leaving to track of his whereabout. After 50 years Anwar was in his 80s and came back to village and started living with his brother's home. After few days of coming back of Anwar Khan, someone from the same village reproached Bahadur Khan' nephews that your enemy is in village, you do not have courage to take revenge of bahadur Khan's murder. Because of reproachment, one of Bahadur Khan's nephews went to his home for carrying pistol and went straight to Malakand bazar and killed above 80 years old Anwar Khan.
This interplay of reproach and revenge create fissure and fusion at the same time in society. At one point, *peghor* controls and informs the behavior of members of society to perform Pakhtun behavior performativity and if one deviates from the performativity of standard behavior, member of society faces humiliation and reproachment from society.

3.3.2. Case Study

Anwar Khan is 63 years old living in Totakan village of Malakand, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa shared his experience of *tor* (cheating/dishonesty/*bemani/ blacken*) from his youth days. He said, I and my friends were playing a traditional game "*gwata*" to spend our leisure time in cold winter in a Hujra in our village. While playing *gwata*, we were also gossiping against each other to add fun to the game. We set a bet with other contest of the game that defeated team in the game will serve nuts and sweets to winner team and other spectators. One day, as usual, we were playing *gwata* in Hujra, one of our friends accused another friend of cheating in the game. The accusation offended the accused friend, and he left the *hujra*. One of our friends in hujra sarcastically taunted the accused friend to bring your gun to kill the accuser if you are that much brave. The young boy returned in a while with his gun and killed the accuser. Anwar Khan further added that it was *tor*

and *peghor* which killed his friend Ibrar. Both the *tor* and *peghor* create fissure and fusion in society at the same time.

4. Conclusions

Culturally rich terms in Pashto play an important role in creating fissure and fusion in society. The fissure and fusion meanings of culturally rich terms are dependent on contexts where these terms occur in their usages. Previous studies and anthropological studies focused on the fissure aspect of culturally rich terms, but the same culturally rich terms are used by members of society to create and maintain social order in society where member of society is aware of the use of it. Society revolves around these culturally rich terms which maintain peace and harmony as well as the complex social structure of the society. The members of the society have a shared knowledge, memory, and cognition about these culturally rich terms. Most of the time, these culturally rich terms signify political fusion while sometimes also signify political fissure in society.

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