THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE WAKHI LANGUAGE

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Research Associate, for his love for knowledge.
Area Study Centre (Central Asia),
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THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
Of WAKHI LANGUAGE.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
Ph.D Degree in Central Asia, at the
Area Study Centre (Central Asia),
University of Peshawar.

1987 A.D
1407 A.H

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the preparation of this thesis I owe an immense debt of gratitude to Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan, Prof. Abbas Razvi and most of all to Dr. Mohammad Shamsuddin Siddiqi of the Area Study Centre, Peshawar University. Their inspiring guidance and encouragement have always been a source of strength to me. Without their guidance, I would have done but little.

Nazeer Gardeze
FOREWORD

Originally I was provoked to write on the Wakhi language during my first visit to the Northern Areas of Pakistan in 1980. Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan, the Director of Area Study Centre, Peshawar University who was conducting this tour noted with keen interest the especial aptitude of this author towards the Karakoram languages. He, therefore, advised me to write an article on the languages of this area. As I took up this rather formidable task, I found the Wakhi language of particular interest.

After the publication of my article on 'Wakhi', some scholars appreciated the effort and asked several questions about the origin and idiom of the Wakhi language as that language was little known. When I studied the syntax and morphology of the language I found it a mixture of Persian, Turkic and other languages of Northern areas i.e. Shina, Khwar and Broshusky. Pashto, Urdu and English influence was also quite discernible on the language. Since 1980 up to 1987 I went through all available material in Pakistan.
which enhanced my interest and love for this language. I visited the Wakhi-speaking areas of Pakistan thrice and met various Wakhis. So far no standard work is available on the Wakhi language. Mr. Lorimer had compiled a dictionary of this language, but he did not give any information about the origin and growth of the language.

Through the courtesy of a friend, Sardar Mohammad Raza Khan, Judicial Commissioner, Northern Areas, the author succeeded in obtaining: (i) a copy of an issue of "Wakh!" a monthly magazine which was once being published by the Gojal Student Union from Karachi, in the Urdu language, wherein there is an article written by Mr. Ahmad Jami Sakhi on the Wakhi language and culture and

(ii) a copy of the Primer of Wakhi Alphabets, compiled by Mr. Haqiqat Ali, a retired Head-Master. This limited material was of great value to the author because it was written by the Wakhis themselves. Besides going through many books, which are mentioned in the
bibliography, the author came to know that a gentleman, Mr. Zafar Iqbal Baig, Manager Transport Operation Gilgit, had a photo-copy of Mr. Lorimar's "Wakhi vocabulary". So, in the last week of December, 1986, though there was snow-fall and it was very cold in Gilgit and the entire northern Areas, the author visited the areas to obtain the "Wakhi vocabulary" and to consult educated Wakhis in person on certain matters relating to the Wakhi language. Thank God, with the help of Mr. Rehmat Ullah Baig (a Wakhi), Traffic Officer, P.I.A. Islamabad Air Port, this goal was partly achieved. I contacted Mr. Zafar Iqbal Baig (a refined Wakhi gentleman) who allowed me to make a photo copy of "Wakhi vocabulary" and return the book to its owner. For consultation, translation of text of this thesis and correction of the accent the author was helped by Mr. Amir Ullah Baig, Mr. Abdur Rauf Baig and Dr. Subhan Ali Sakhi (brother of Ahmad Jami Sakhi). While Mr. Ghulam - Mohammad Baig helped in introducing the educated Wakhis to the author, Mr. Mujahid Owais Agha, Commissioner and Mr. Jalat Khan Afridi, Assistant Commissioner, made the author's stay comfortable at Gilgit by providing him with the finest accommodation as well
as a jeep. I went to Passu, Gulmit, and Hunza
and met many other Wakhis to learn the correct
accent and pronunciation of those Wakhi words
which I had taken from the above mentioned
material for compiling the Wakhi vocabulary
for my thesis.
INTRODUCTION

Wakhan corridor lies across the North East border of Pakistan and is a district of Badakhshan Province of Afghanistan, occupied by Russian forces in 1979. Majority of the local population, particularly the Kirghiz, migrated to the Northern areas of Pakistan. Some Wakhis whose tribes were already living in the Northern areas also migrated. Some of them crossed into Broghil, in Chitral, some to Tashgharghan and Taghdumbash, in east Turkistan.

Wakhan corridor is about 200 miles long and its width varies from a minimum of 8 miles to a maximum of 40 miles. It is bounded by USSR in the North, China in East, Pakistan in the South, and Afghanistan main-land in the West. Total Wakhan area is about 3000 square miles. The area is surrounded by high mountains making a horse shoe around it. The height of the area varies from 8000 feet to 20,000 feet. The area remains snow covered for most of the year. One special characteristic of this mountainous region, distinguishing it from other mountainous regions of the world, is that this area is a vast flat area as high as 20,000 feet.

That is why this region is known as the Pamirs, derived from Turkic word "Pam" which means flat place. This is a sparsely populated area. Khan-dud is the principal town and district headquarters of Wakhan. It is also the main shopping centre and market for Wakhan. The next sizeable village is Qala Panja.

Tagh-Dumbash area is part of Sinkiang situated east of Wakhan and Sarikol Range of mountain, and is along the Russian and Chinese border. It extends from north to south. Its heights are 12,000 to 21,000 feet. Then Kashgar Range is 10,000 feet to 23,000 feet high. In the Karakuran (in Pakistan) there are some of the highest peaks in the world. Wakhan range is 19,043 feet high.

There is only one main river which forms a natural boundary between Afghanistan and Russia. It is the old Oxus river ("arya Amu) and there, in Wakhan, it is known as Panja River upto the boundary of Badakhshan province and thereafter known as Amu Darya. Its main tributaries are running from east to west. This river originates from Ab-i-Wakhan, Ab-i-Panja, and Marghab river.

Almost the whole area is snow-bound; the temperature is several degrees below the freezing point. Winter in Wakhan is intensely cold. Blizzards are an everyday occurrence during the winter; visibility at times is reduced to one yard. Due to high altitude, giddiness and fatigue are felt by those not acclimatized. In June and July there is no snow-fall. During these months visibility is good. Being at high altitude, the sun is very strong and long exposure of skin causes sun-burns with blisters, snow blindness is common. Wounds, even minor, arising from a shave, take longer to heal.

High grounds have no tree at all. The roots of grass and dung of animals are used as fuels. Only along the bank of Abi-Wakhan willow juniper trees are most common.

The inhabitants of Wakhan are called Wakhitri (Wakhik) and Wakhis have Tajik type of triangular face and generally speaking are handsome, fair
and have blue eyes. The Kirghiz who are of Turkic and Mongolian origin, do not settle at one place but wander as they are nomads. Unlike Wakhitri they have flat nose, oblique narrow eyes, strong build. They keep beard and moustaches. As earlier stated, most of these Kirghiz migrated to Gilgit and then to Turkey during the recent Russian invasion in 1979.

Most of the Wakhis are Ismailis. They look upon Agha Khan as their spiritual leader. The Kirghiz are Sunni Muslim.

The Wakhis put on cotton-padded coats and trousers. They wear on head big locally made Qara Kuli cap, "Topes". Their foot-wear is generally a long boot covering the entire leg up to knees; under their long boots are worn long socks made of 'namda'. The women wear a turban almost of an entire bale of white cotton cloth rolled round their head. They do not wear any gold ornaments but decorate themselves with silver coins. Wealthy Wakhis of Wakhan have adopted the European dress. This European dress they procure from
the Russians at an extremely low cost.

The Wakhis on either side live in mud houses. Their life is hard but peaceful. They have no warlike instruments. There was no constructed building in the Afghan Pamir; it is reported by the few Kirghiz and Wakhi refugees, whom I met in Gulmet and Gilgit areas that now a few buildings are being constructed by the Russians for military purposes and for their own officers in Wakhan.

Like our tribal people, mostly the Wakhi women work and men do nothing; as a rule they sit round the fire, just as our tribal men sit under trees and smoke 'chilam'. The Wakhis are used to Naswar and most of them to Opium—smoking and eating (Madak). The principal crops are peas, millet and barley. Wheat is also grown but only to a very limited extent.

** There is no law in the entire area. The cases are settled by the local Jirgas. The Afghan government is never informed of any serious case, nor does it take any interest itself.

Lamberdar is considered to be the only

* Madak. This opium smoking, was also called Madak by people of NWFP but now the modernized form is "Heroin"

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representative of government in the area. He collects yearly revenue in the shape of goats and sheep. After the Russian occupation most of the local people left the country, the remaining are abiding by the old Jirgah system.

There are a few fair weather roads/tracks mostly on the Russian and Chinese side. The main mode of transport is animal transport. The local camels, horses, mules, donkeys and yaks are truly wonderful animals. They are very sure-footed and carry heavier loads than the animals not used in this area. A mule normally carries 120 lbs and a camel 600 lbs. The Horse can not go in thick snow.

Zebak-Khandut is the main gravel track going into the area. Although wide enough to take any type of vehicle, because of absence of bridges on many nallahs in the area, it can not be used beyond Khandut by vehicles. Other small pony tracks bifurcate from this main track to all the three countries surrounding Wakhan. Upto Faiz Abad it is a

Village headman is called "Arbob" in Wakhan and India; Dr. M.M. Shahrami, loc. cit., P-243.
metalled road. Faiz abad Ishkashem is a fair-weather motorable road. The Russian-Afghan border road is a loose surface road running along the river Panja on the Soviet Afghan border, up to Kizil kibat. This further connects all the Russian border posts.

Darah to Chitral road-Dorah Pass is connected with hot springs by foot track for a distance of 28 miles. It is a fair weather road with sharp curves and steep gradients.

This 52 mile. One way limited all weather, gravel-surface road, has a width of 9 to 12 feet. Bridges on this road are 5 to 10 feet wide.

Broghil Pass- Mastuj. This portion is a fair weather mule track passing through a very difficult terrain, closed from November to June. It has light wooden bridges.

Yasin-Darkot Pass Broghil-Pass and Sarhad Pass. From Yasin to Darkot it is a jeepable road; thereafter it becomes a pony track up to Sarhad. It is very difficult going into the northern side of Baroghil Pass from Darkot. Since
the pass remains snow-bound till the last week of June.

Baroghil Pass to Sarhad; this track follows the side of nallah which is comparatively easy-going because of the flatness of area. Mostly trade between Wazir and Chitral area is done through this track.

Chitral Airfield is in Chinese Taghumbasa, Pamir. It can take light aircraft.

Kizil Rabat is a landing ground with a proper runway.

This is a major airfield in Murghab base. It can take heavy aircraft. It has arrangement for refueling, servicing and repair for aircraft. It has underground hangars. It has more than one concrete runway.

The Airforce base with a Radar station has all modern facilities of an air force base.

In USSR and Chinese areas substantial changes have taken place. The boundary between Afghanistan, USSR and China is clearly
demarcated. But the border with Pakistan is undemarcated.

Afghanistan has no check posts or pickets in either the great or little Pamir. The area was considered to be completely neglected. It was open to an easy infiltration from all quarters. So now the Russian forces have occupied this neglected area.

The Russians have completely sealed their borders against all possible entry. They have strong military defences across the Oxus in the little and the great Pamirs. China has also closed her borders.

Murghab is the army headquarters of the Russians. The Russians are mainly interested in checking the influence of the Chinese in their area since mostly the people living in Wakhan are migrants from Chinese Saghdum-bosh and they still have relations across the border.

The Wakhis are of ancient Iranian stock from the "Turkestan region of Central Asia and their dialect (also called Galchah) is an old Indo-Iranian dialect. Some authorities lump the Wakhis along with other small communities.

in the Pamirs and adjoining region under the
general term of Pamiri or mountain Tajiks and suggest
that their 'Pamiri dialects' belong to the
East Iranian group of languages. The other
Pamiri communities mentioned are the Badzhuis,
Baryangis, Khufis, Ishkashimis, Shugnis, Russians,
and Yazgulemis. Their basic physical type is
described as Mediterranean substock with
mongoloid features.

The Wakhi language is closely related
to the Iranian 'Ghalchah' (spoken in the Northern
Hindu Kush).

It is believed that the Wakhis are
originally of the Aryan stock. In ancient
times, the region between the Hindu Kush and
the Himalayas was inhabited by a people called
* "Pisacha" who spoke 'Pisacha' languages. All
the 'Dardic' languages spoken in the Northern
areas of Pakistan, are actually 'Pisacha'
languages, but the people of the area dislike
the word "Pisacha"; for in Indian mythology,
the word "Pisacha" was used to connote a cannibal
demon, and it must be admitted that this was

* Grierson. "Linguistic survey of Pakistan"
the most commonly accepted meaning of the word 'Pisacha', so G.A. Grierson also avoided the term 'Pisacha' for the Dardic languages on the same ground. According to the Wakhis, the Wakhi language was spoken three thousand years ago in most parts of Badakhshan, Wakhan and Nuristan (Afghanistan). Probably one of the batches of Aryans who migrated from Central Asia was of the White Huns. These White Huns bred cattle, and were fond of wrestling. They worshipped nature (Almost all Indian historians record the same views).

These White Huns, towards the end of their rule, were called Gujar by the people of the Indian subcontinent or wherever they were settled. And still they are called Gujar.

History is silent about their language. But their coins which are available in abundance bear a picture of "Shiva" standing on one side of his cow, Nandi. The inscription is in Khurâbshi language. The Wakhis are also called Gujal (Gujar) in Northern areas of Pakistan,

Their culture and their features are the same as those of the White Huns described in history. Moreover, Mohammad Usman Sadiki of Afghanistan, in his book "The Ephthalites" (P. 55) has tried to prove that the White Huns were bonafide residents of "Ephthal", an area of Badakhshan Province and claim that from this part of Central Asia they spread over Iran, major parts of Asia and also conquered some parts of Europe. The old Wakhis were either pushed out or were absorbed by the conquerors. But some Wakhis came through the Northern passes of Hindu Kush and occupied most of the territory between Nuristan (in Afghanistan), and Gilgit and Astor in the Northern areas of Pakistan. The Northern area was probably occupied by a homogeneous race. But subsequently, as Major Biddulph suggests, the area was split into two parts by different but related tribes coming from the North. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Wakhí language represents the language of a later body of these invaders, akin to the earlier ones.

* "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" loc. cit., P. 165.
As Grierson* (Page 10, Vol. V) claims, the Aryans' languages there were themselves, later on, called Dardic; their language must have influenced the Wakhi language if it was in some crude form of a local dialect or in the form of a dialect of the Chalcha. The language of Wakhis are the old inhabitants of Wakhan, Badakhshan. After getting settled in the valley of Gulmeet Passu and Broghil (Chitral), since they belonged to a single race and culture, they kept their language alive and whatever differences occurred among them or in their language were because of their contacts with the Chalcha-speaking people, that is, the Tajiks. The Uighur and (later on) Kirghiz-speaking people, who came into contact with the Wakhis in Wakhan in the position of invaders, refugees, traders or followers of the ruling class also influenced the local dialect of Wakhi language. These later immigrants, despite their different origin and background, lived with the Wakhis.

in the same villages. Due to contacts and intermarriages, they adopted the Wakhi language and culture which played a unifying role. When the Wakhis came into contact with Muslims and many embraced Islam then thousands of Arabic, Persian and Turkic words made their way into the Wakhi language, enriched it, and made it a living language. But these people of the Turkic stock, who mixed with the Wakhis had also kept their language alive and used to speak and correspond in their mother tongue with their kith and kin.

The first account about the vocabulary of the Wakhi language was compiled by Sir Alexander Burnes in 1835 A.D.

In 1866 A.D. Abdur Rahim is reported to have published a vocabulary of the Wakhi language. (Both these books are not available now).

The latest work on Wakhi language was carried out by Morgenstierne in 1932 A.D.

* According to Ibn Khurdaabih (a Muslim geographer), Wakhan was politically subject to Muslim rulers in the middle of the tenth century and paid a tribute of 20,000 dirhams.
under the title "Indo-Iranian Frontier languages". The Soviet Union Academy of
Knowledge, in its magazine, published a
series of articles about the Wakhi language
in 1959 A.D. But now only references in this
regard are available in Dost Mohammad Dost's
Fushto Book, "The Language, and Races of
Afghanistan". The original articles could perhaps be
traced out in the personal collection of some
Russian or Afghan Scholars; otherwise, they
are not available anywhere. The only book on the
Wakhi language which the author of this thesis
has searched out, is the "Wakhi English
Vocabulary" of Col. Lorimar.

Colonel Lorimar, who has rendered
such outstanding services to the linguistic
exploration of north-west India and Iran,
our
has also earned gratitude for the extensive
Wakhi material collected by him in Hunza
and Yar-Khun (1921-1935). Although he did not
pretend to give a complete account of the
language, his description contains a great
amount of new material and is considerably
richer than that of any of his predecessors. This applies to the grammar as well as to the vocabulary (320 pp) and texts (7 stories and 238 single sentences).

The Wakhi must be grateful to Col. Lorimer for having made available to the scholars this result of great labour and devotion.

Lorimer gives a detailed account of Wakhi Phonetics. As always, Lorimer most conscientiously renders the exact acoustic impression made upon him by each sound, without any attempt to smooth over differences in perception. Anyone who has tried to record Wakhi sounds will appreciate this complete and trustworthy honesty.

It seems especially difficult to establish the phonemic system of vowels, and local, individual, and positional variants abound (the vowel phonemes are: I U A O E to which must be added e, at any rate in
loan words). The variability of consonants is not so great, at any rate not with the native speakers of Wakhi. But some of the sibilants are not always easy to distinguish. Morgenstierne agrees with Lorimer in distinguishing $S$, $S$, $X$, $X$, and in practically all cases it is possible to identify Lorimer's notations with these phonemes e.g. his $x$ with $X$.

Lorimer's treatment of Wakhi morphology and syntax is full and amply illustrated by examples. It benefits throughout by his intimate knowledge of the neighbouring languages, (Shina, Brushtusi and Khowar which have been discussed in chapter No. IV in detail).

The texts of Lorimer's 'vocabulary book' are more extensive, and dealing as they do with Wakhi life in Bunza, of greater intrinsic interest than the translations or adaptations of stories so far published.

The archaic character of many Wakhi forms is well known e.g. det, 'gave' / dita (gives)

as against ‘da-ta’in other Iranian languages.
In some cases, Wakhi words survive only as
loan-words in neighbouring languages. Thus
Khowar ("Law’ar", "veranda" in which cattle
are kept’), must go back to an early lost-
Wakhi "rawar". Bushusky ‘Laqpis’, ‘laspiki’,
Shin ‘laspiki’ ‘handkerchief’ is in Wakhi ‘dastpiki’ a variation
of Persian ‘dastpak’. Bushusky ‘Werch’ ‘wolf’
may, as suggested by Lorimar, have been
borrowed fromI-shk.

* Prof. Georg Buddrus says ‘Lorimar’s
pioneer works have undoubtedly many merits,
But alas, they are insufficient in many
respects from a strictly linguistic point of
view. Lorimar was, as we know, himself in all
his modesty, not a very distinguished phonetic-
ian. He had always difficulties as he
frankly admitted, in distinguishing correctly
between retroflex and dental or palatal sounds
respectively, between aspirates and non-aspir-
ates, in discerning vowel qualities and
especially vowel quantities. Now these

* Buddrus—'Journal of Central Asia
Islamabad, July 1925.
distinctions are in many cases very essential for the historical analysis of a given word and for finding its etymology. Lorimar's material have been made use of in such standard works of historical linguistics as Sir Ralph Turner's "Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages" (London 1966) and Gerard Tussmann's excellent "Atlas linguistique des parlers Parthes et Kafirs" (Paris 1972). Therefore, I considered it one of my main tasks to check all the entries in Lorimar's vocabularies and grammars, and to correct or supplement them wherever necessary and possible. I should first like to say a few words on the Wakhi language of upper Kunza. In the village Passu, I recorl Lorimar's bulky vocabulary phonemically and collected more words and texts. It now turns out that the Kunza Wakhi is much more similar to the Wakhi dialects of the Soviet Pamirs (admirably described by the Russian scholars Paxalina, Grijumberg and Steblin Kamenshij) than might appear from Lorimar's often exact
and sometimes erroneous phonetic renderings. The main difference between Hunza and Soviet Wakhi is in parts of the vocabulary, where Hunza Wakhi has preserved some ancient words no longer to be found in Soviet Wakhi. To quote just one example: in Soviet Wakhi, the word for "to be born" is a modern loan word from Tajiki Persian, while Hunza Wakhi has a peculiar root "čav"(chav) "to be born", to be found neither in Lorimer's vocabulary nor in other Iranian languages. This is obviously an ancient loan from Buddhist Sanskrit  "to be reborn", one of the very few Buddhist remnants in a language of this region, which otherwise is so rich in monuments of the Buddhist past. Languages are not generally classified by such external and superficial matters as the presence of similar words in different languages. For example, the fact that Wakhi has incorporated into itself such terms as "cigarette" and "matches" does not mean that Wakhi is related to English but
only that Wakhis speakers have acquired the smoking habits and have imported cigarettes, originally from Britain. Languages, on the other hand, are classified primarily according to their sound system, word-formation and grammatical structure. Some languages are spoken primarily through the nose, others are spoken primarily through the throat. Some are spoken while breathing out, others while breathing in and still others by continually breathing in and out. Some languages, including many which are spoken in China and the Orient, are of the sing-song variety and the meaning of the word is determined not by its sound alone but by its note and tone. (M. Ismail Sloan).

Every language has a sound system, which is more or less peculiar to that language although it may differ slightly from the sound system of other closely related languages. For this reason, whenever a word passes from one language to another, over a period of time, it becomes fully

* "Khower English Dictionary"
P. 27, 1981.
incorporated into the new language and its pronunciation becomes modified to conform to the sound system of the new language. Wakhi has passed through similar stages.

The Wakhis never hesitate to borrow words from other languages. They have mainly borrowed from Persian, Pashto, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu and Turkic languages. Besides, many of their words have been taken from Broshusky, Shina and Kohwar languages of the Northern areas. Wakhi has in its relative isolation, utilized the material handed down from remote antiquity for its present structure. Wakhi is, therefore, of great importance for our understanding of the evolution of Indo-Aryan languages. Until recent times, Wakhi was not a written language, which proved to be a great set-back to its progress. The Wakhis had their own primitive culture, so the influence of other languages, and especially that of the comparatively developed ones, was definite. The Wakhis, as of necessity, were drawn to the Persian
and the Uighur traditions while bringing their language to the writing form. As such most of the nouns used in Wakhi are borrowed from Persian and Turkic languages. The Wakhis are not trade-minded; therefore, they looked to their neighbours, particularly those of the Turkic stock, to cater to their commercial needs. This invited greater participation, in the medieval period, from the Kashghar side into Wakhi life. Thus one notices a considerable influence of the Uighur on the language and life of the Wakhis.

Wakhi, which was once considered a dying language, has gradually emerged into a living language with its own script.

Some infinitives of Wakhi are patterned on those of the Turkic languages. Its infinitive ending is İN or İK like that of the Turkic language. Notice the ending, in the following words: Kanak (to say), Lonak (to lose), Katak (to do), Kaak (to happen), pulnak (to fall), yonak (to sleep).

*Serdesi, N. Article "Linguistic affinity of Karakoram Region", "Central Asia": Peshawar University, 1987.*
pazak (to cook), tooik (to go), spaik (to move), suponak (to fill), chalgak (to ask), kashak (to draw, darak(to cut), shapak (to suck), saronak (to abuse), katak (to put), kundak (to laugh), eatak (to eat), gasak (to twist), gotak (to meet), katnak (to tell), gastak(to reach), dosnak (to fear), winok (to see), wazduk (to wash), doruk(to catch), wazak(to get fired), youndak(to carry).

There are a few dialects of Wakhi but the native speakers of Wakhi never have even the slightest difficulty in understanding each other, even if their homes are a few hundred miles apart from one another. Some difference noticed is due to the area languages from which the Wakhi language has borrowed its nouns. Wakhi was confined, for more than three thousand years, to the high mountainous areas of Pamir and only a few centuries back it spread down to some adjoining Northern areas of Pakistan. There are a number of mountain passes leading out.
of Chitral which connect it to Dir, Gilgit, Kunza, Nuristan, Badakhshan, Wakhan via the Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan, as also to the Russian Turkistan and the Chinese Turkistan. However, all these mountain passes are snow-bound most of the year and are difficult and dangerous to cross.

* "The Wakhi language of the Pamirs is also spoken in upper Chitral in Broghil and its adjoining areas i.e. Ashkoman. Wakhi is also spoken in Kashghar area Tashkorghan, Yarkand, Pir Ali and Khotan (Sinkiang) as well as in Dushambay (Tajikistan) of USSR and Iran." There are a considerable number of Wakhis living in Karachi. They have formed a society there. Through their welfare society they not only seek jobs for their Wakhi brethren but also get education after the day's labour. Wakhi families in Karachi are not less in number than those who reside in Gulmeeet and other Northern areas of Pakistan. Wherever they live they keep

* "Dictionary of some languages and dialects of Afghanistan" by Shah Abdullah Badakhshani, Kabul 1960."
their language and culture intact. They also form unions and establish associations to stand united. Their effort is to keep their language alive which they consider the most sacred language of the world taught to them by their legendary fairy-mother.

In short, all the evidence available reveals that Wakhi is one of the ancient dialects, that has gradually developed into a full-fledged language, with a proper diction and structure. The present thesis aims at bringing out the salient features of the growth and development of this ancient language, and point out its relationship to the adjoining Karakuram area languages.
CHAPTER I

WAKHAN AND WAKHIS

The communication of Wakhan corridor is established with the provincial city of Faizabad in Badakhshan and with the rest of the country, by a direct motorable road that terminates at the village of Qala-i-Panja near the eastern extremity of the upper Amu Darya, i.e. Oxus. There is no regularly scheduled truck service into the area, and use of this road is sporadic, limited to vehicles hauling supplies for traders and government agencies. Hamlets beyond Qala-i-Panja are connected by narrow trails, suitable only for pack animals and foot traffic. The trail system, although very old and regularly used, remains dangerous. A single telephone line connects the government border patrol posts along the Amu Darya as far as Gaz Kha. (1) Work was underway as of September, 1975, to extend this line to link the last government post in Sarhad-i-Broghil, which is also the last Wakhi settlement in the corridor.

Social services are either very poor or non-existent. There is only one co-educational primary school (first through sixth grade) at the District Centre Khandud, besides six village schools (first


Most of the information given in this chapter is based on the research of Dr. M. Nazif Mohib Shahriani as cited above.
through third grade) in the centre district of Wakhan. It must be pointed out that the children are not being educated in their mother tongue, Wakhi, but in Dari and Pashto. There is no permanent medical or health-related service of any kind. The nearest medical centre, which is poorly staffed and supplied, located in Ishkashim in the adjacent district, is not easy for most people in the area to reach.

Climatically, the Pamirs are arid and continental. Cold air is retained within the confined basins, while the high mountain barriers intercept the moist air currents. This is particularly true in the Little Pamir because of its high and more completely encircling mountain range, and its annual precipitation is estimated between six and twelve centimeters, and the depth of the snow blanket reaches five to twelve centimeters. The air circulation is mixed, with more persistent north-westerly cyclonic and less frequent southern monsoonal air currents passing through this area. During the winter months the continuous north-westerly wind blows the snow from Kongó, transporting it to the Tarchkey side of the valley. The winter pastures are thus left clear of snow, but the continuous wind adds to the extreme
harshness of the winter.

In the Pamir, only two seasons are distinguishable, winter and spring-cum-summer. Winters are cold, severe, and very long (mid-September to last June). The temperatures are as low as 50°C and below zero for most of the year. Summers are short (late June to early September) with temperatures reaching 30°C, but the possibility of early morning frost is always present throughout these months. Thus, with the high solar radiation, diurnal temperatures alternate between burning and freezing, ranging on the average from around 20 to 40°C, depending upon the season, cloud cover, and the presence or absence of wind. The total vegetation growing period is 100 to 120 days.

Flora and Fauna:

Vegetation in the Pamir is generally poor. Much of the land surface is covered with rocks or loose debris and rubble. Within the inhabited altitude (4,400 to about 5,000 meters), no woody vegetation exists. There are, however, some copses of dwarf willow, Birch, Sea buckthorn and

* The area of upper Amu Darya and Transoxiana to the north are all referred to as Pamir as well as Wakhan in Soviet literature or Soviet influenced writing about this region (see Likhitov 1954, and the New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974, 13,938-40). However, the two areas are not the same as they refer to geographically and ecologically
hawthorn found along the river gorges up to the altitude of 4,000 meters. There is also some juniper (archa) scattered over a small area of the steep northern slope of the Darra gorge along the Sarhad river. Vegetation in the Pamir plateaus proper is restricted to low-growing plants that are adapted to severe conditions. These include the various forms of native and Central Asian drought and cold-resistant mountain steppe vegetation. In the dry mountain slopes of the Kongey grow low shrubs of sagebrush (locally known as shewagh and tersken). Apart from supplying good feed for sheep and goats, these plants when uprooted make the only brush fuel found in this area. The vegetation on the valley floor, especially the terskey side of the valley, includes the Pamir tansy, a local species of Worm Wood, the bulbous iris, low-lying cushion plants, and alline meadow grasses. Areas that are sufficiently moist, for example those near lakes, ponds, streams, or with irrigation, are covered with a thick, tall growth of sedges and cobresia. There are also large thick peat bogs, particularly in the terskey and watershed of the little Pamir plateaus. These peat bogs usually
form behind crescent-shaped morain ridges, the convex of which faces downstream, serving as a dam for shallow reservoirs by sediment and accumulated decaying vegetation. When these bags are not too soggy they provide good pasturage, particularly for horses, and when the peat is cut and dried it is one of the main sources of fuel.

The Afghan-Tamir fauna is not abundant. The wild animals include Marco Polo Sheep (Ovis Poli) mountain goat, the large-eared Tibetan Wolf, brown bear, the long-tailed marmot, and hare. The few birds are the Tibetan mountain turkey, snow vulture, eagle, and a few migratory waterfowl that inhabit the lakes during the summer months. The number of domesticated beasts is also limited because of the marginal ecological conditions. The flocks and herds of the Pastoralist inhabitant comprise Central Asian fat-tailed sheep, long haired goats, Yak and Bactrian double-humped camels. Horses are kept, but they cannot be bred in the Pamirs. About ten donkeys and perhaps a dozen chickens are in the areas; their number is limited because they are also unable to breed at that altitude.

The main reason given by the inhabitants
for their inability to breed horses, the mount and pack animals required in the pursuit of their normal livelihood activities, is the effects of "thin air". This phenomenon is referred to by the natives as 'Tutak' or mountain sickness and its effects may be clearly felt by the traveller in the Pamirs. The symptoms of high altitude sickness (hypoxia) are: severe headaches, high pulse rate, short-widness and sometimes insomnia. These symptoms may be suffered by anyone, even the acclimatized inhabitant who engages in any activity that demands even a small amount of physical exertion.

Wakhan a buffer zone:

Anglo-Russian and Russo-Afghan frontier rivalries in the Pamirs triggered off a series of negotiations between various parties that led to the demarcation of permanent boundaries. The first of these negotiations began when a British mission, headed by Colonel A.Durand, was sent to the court of amir Abdur Kehman in Kabul in 1893. At this meeting the Amir threatened to withdraw entirely from Wakhan, saying, "he had a hand cut off at Somatosn the other day, and he is not going to stretch out a long arm along the Hindu Kusan to have
that shorn off also" (emphasis added) (quoted in "A History of Afghanistan" by Skyes, 1940, V 2: 75).

Further negotiations were carried out by the British and the Russians during 1893 and 1894. By the end of 1894, the two parties had reached an agreement that dictated the existing Russo-Afghan frontiers in the area. However, at the time, their agreement was contingent upon the evacuation by the Amir of Afghanistan of all the territories occupied by him on the right bank of the Panja (Amu River), and by the Amir of Bokhara of the portion of Darwaiz, which lay to the south of the Oxus (Amu Darya).

Further, the implementation of this agreement included a special annual subsidy of fifty thousand rupees from the British government to the government of Amir Abdur Rehman of Afghanistan to retain the administration of the valley of Wakhan, which he was initially unwilling to do. (British government did not like a common border with Russia. So they created this buffer zone).

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According to Dr. Nazif Mohib Shahrami, the Anglo-Russian official commission and the unofficial representative of the Afghan government
(no Wakhi consulted or given representative in all this drama, as the Wakhis were unducated) met in July 1895 at Lake-Zorkol in the Great Pamir, and the demarcation of the boundaries between Russia, Afghanistan, the British Indian Empire, and China was completed. Although the Chinese government did not participate in the negotiation, they did not raise any objection. Finally, the Wakhan corridor and the Afghan Pamir were established, as Kuchison had hoped, as a "neutral ground" or buffer zone between three of the world's big powers though the British felt that the decision favoured Russia.

But Dupree (1973- Afghanistan: P 424) says "the Afghan and Chinese borders were not officially established by either side until 1969 when a boundary commission of both countries met in the Pamir during the summer of that year and, after a survey and demarcation, recognized the border.

As for the British, "the delimitation of a definite boundary was of great importance, a boundary which did not touch the Indian empire at any point, thanks to the Amir of Afghanistan's acceptance of the narrow district of Wakhan".

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Kirghiz and Wakhi of Afghanistan,
Nazif, loc.cit. P-37.
(Lattimore 1950 PP.259-68).

Research on various aspects of Wakhan:

After the Anglo-Russian Pamir treaty, a new era of exploration by westerns and Russians began in the Pamirs and the Wakhan region; that was the beginning of scientific expeditions. These expeditions were not allowed access to the Afghan Wakhan by the Afghan government; there were few exceptions.

These scientific missions began with the first and second Danish Pamir expeditions during 1896-97 and 1898-99. These expeditions were comprehensive in their goals and multidisciplinary in their composition. They collected a wide range of data including meteorological, geological, geographical, general ethnographic and linguistic data. (See Olufsen 1969).

Although their research dealt strictly with the people and areas to the north of the Amu Darya, it is, however, equally revealing of the conditions on its southern banks during that period.

During his third journey to Central Asia in 1915, Sir Aurel Stein made his way through the great Pamir and the upper Amu Darya region. On this
trip he made an extensive archaeological survey of
the Amu Darya valley and collected a considerable
amount of anthropometric and linguistic data. However,
he was denied access to the southern banks of the
Amu to continue his work in Afghan territory
(see Stein 1912–1922). The Afghan Pamirs and
Wakh in on the southern bank of the Amu remained
closed to any kind of research or even casual
outside travellers until quite recently.

The Wakhi people did not engage in any
trade themselves, and as Badakshi traders showed
no interest in trading with them, they had very
little cloth, salt, or other market goods. The
Kirghis, who were coming to the Wakh in in service
of traders would exchange with the Wakhim rather
than trading their animals and livestock products,
which had little or no exchange value with the
Wakh in and the traders. They traded market goods
from Kashgar and salt from the Pamir salt fields
with the Wakhi for grain.

New political development in China closed
the ancient route that had been founded by the
Chinese. This route had served as an important
means of trade communication, and culture relation.
between the East and West and the societies of Chinese Turkistan and those of northern Afghanistan, Russian Turkistan, and the Kirghiz of the Afghan Pamir.

The post-1950 era brought about the consolidation of the Pamirs and the gradual inclusion of the Kirghiz within Afghan nation state. The Kirghiz paid taxes on their livestock to the national government and became an integrated part of the administrative district of Wakhan within the Province of Badakhshan. But for some years they stood aloof, only frequenting the Wakhan corridor as far as Ishkasnin to secure their needed cereals.

During the last part of the 1950s the Khan of Wakhan made his first journey through Badakhshan to Kabul with a great deal of trepidation. However, he found himself well received by various high officials of the government, and was granted a royal audience.

In the early 1960s the famous Marco Polo sheep were rediscovered in the Pamirs and trophy hunters from Kabul, including the King and the Princes, came to the Pamirs. This involved the Kirghiz in some hospitality and service that resulted in better relations between the elders of the small group of Kirghiz and courtiers of Kabul.
Population:

The terms Wakhi and Wakhani are generally used to refer to the indigenous population of Wakhan living on both sides of the upper Amu Darya and Sarhad River valleys as far up as the hamlet of Sarhad. The Wakhis are frequently lumped together with many other neighbouring groups, such as the Shinghni, Ishkoshimi, and so on, and collectively referred to as the mountain Tajiks or Pamir Tajiks. Two other appellations, Kheek and Sart, are also in use. Kheek, a term with two meanings in the Wakhi language, is used by the inhabitants to differentiate themselves (Wakhi) from all others and to identify the sixth and largest layer within their social stratification the Wakhi commoners. The term Sart had a much broader connotation in its earlier usage among the Kirghiz and Kazak, or Central Asia. At present, however, it is applied by the Kirghiz with uncoiled contempt to their neighbours, the Wakhis.

There is no information available as to how long the Wakhan has been inhabited by the Wakhi or some other primordial stock, but it is believed to have been populated before the time of
Zoroaster. (Sir Olufsen 1969, P.203). The earliest available account of the people is a mark by Asuan Sang regarding the "greenish eye of the people of "Ta mosi icc ti" and its capital Hun-t-o-to (Khandud) with its great Buddhist vihara".

There are the remains of several forts in different parts of the upper Amu Darya and in the Sarchad River valley, particularly in Sarchad, that are attributed by the Wakhis to the atash parast (fire worshipper, i.e. Zoroastrians) or Kafir (infidel) and/or seah poosh Kafir (the black robed infidels). Some differences of opinion as to the identity of the builders of these early strongholds exist between Sir Aurel Stein (1928) and Olufsen (1969) both of whom made an archaeological survey of the sites on the right banks of the upper Amu. They do agree, however, that the construction of fortresses indicates that Wakhsh enjoyed a larger population at that time compared to that existing at the turn of this country.

According to Mulavi Burhanuddin Khan-Kusnaki "Rohnomai Qadghan wa Bakhanan" (1923, PP.309-14), "The small Wakhsh population might have resulted from the continuing state of war between the neighbouring feudal state in attempts
to exact taxes and control the trade route to
Chinese Turkistan as well as from the slave
trade. Oppression by the local rulers, including
some of the earlier Afghan officials, also caused
the flight of many families and individuals South
of Hindu Kush to Chitral, Gilgit and the mountain
ramparts to the West of the Tarim Basin(Kashghar,
Yarkand, Taghtumbash, Tashqurghan).

John Wood reported that the number of
souls living between Ishkashim ( at the entrance
to the corridor and Sarhad did not exceed one
thousand" in 1838 ( Wood "Dairy 1841,P.369).
In 1890 the Danish Pamir expedition reported 17
Wakhi hamlets containing 180 households on the
Russian side alone. Assuming an average population
of 5 persons per household ( a very low estimate
for Wakhan), the Wakhis living in Russian Wakhan
would be 900 persons (Clufsen 1969). Sir Aurel
Stein puts the Wakhi population in Russian
territory at 190 households and about 2,000 persons,
noting that Afghan side had more than that
number (1928, PP. 869-70). The Encyclopedia of
Islam (4) 1929 supported the figure of 2,000
persons in 27 hamlets on the Russian side. He
also estimated the Afghan Wakhan to have contained about 64 villages with about 3,500 inhabitants. (Durhamuddin Kushkaki 1923). There is no Afghan census available on Wakhan or other parts of the country to date. In my own discussion with various district officials at Khandud, I found that at present there are some 65 hamlets, each consisting of from 2 to about 35 dispersed households, with an estimated population of over 6,000 Wakhis living in about 700 household units within the district of Wakhan (i.e. from the hamlet of Putur to Sarhad).

The Wakhis are of ancient Iranian stock from the Turkistan region. On the basis of anthropometric data collected earlier in the area, they are said to have Homo Sapien features (Stein, P.862).

They speak Wakh, also referred to in the literature as Gualcha (Encyclopedia of Islam, P.1103 London; G.A. Grierson 1927, 'Linguistic survey of India: specimens of languages of the Iranian family'). The Wakhis adhere to an Islamic sect of Islam, which is also practised by their neighbours in Shighnan, Zebak, and those of Kunza and Chitral in the Southern folds of the Hindu Kush range. It is not known when this particular
sect of Islam, which developed during the ninth Century A.D. in Iraq, reached this part of the world. It may be after the conquest of "Almoot" (strong hold of Ismailis) by Hellaku Khan and later by Salahud Din's conquest of Egypt. The Ismailis might have taken refuge in these inaccessible areas of Pamir Hindu Kush and Karakuran.

In part this small colony of Ismailis in the Wakhan corridor and its adjacent valleys was regarded with unceaseful contempt by the Orthodox Sunni adherents of Badakhshan and Turkic Central Asia and attempts were made to convert them. The Wakhis who are mostly Ismailite* were and are subject to a Sunni-based legal and judicial system and a Sunni-dominated administrative bureaucracy that has been a continuing source of frustration for the Shina population.

One of the basic organizing principles of the network of social relations in Wakhan society is agnicatic descent and kinship. Personal identity, group membership, unity and difference, conflict and harmony, within or between groups in Wakhi society, are expressed on the basis of cultural ideas grounded in agnicatic descent.

* For details, history and doctrines of Ismailism and Shiaism see Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam.
relations and kinship affinities.

The Wakhi ideas of descent and affinity serve as cultural guides for the organization of social allotments (e.g. agnatic descent groups, domestic units, local community groups, and the larger society) as well as a means of interpersonal communication and social interaction within the context of the social system.

According to Dr. Nazif Shahrani, "The Wakhis do not claim a common ancestry for all the members of their society. On the contrary, they acknowledge six different agnatic-descent categories (or groups) that recognize separate and distinct ancestral ties, with minor exceptions. Each of the six is assigned and referred to by a particular distinctive title commonly used throughout the society.

These groups claim to be:

- Sayyed, Khuja, Mir, Shaami, Khyberi, Kheek 1.

Sayyed: The group claims direct descent from the holy prophet Muhammad, (PBUH) (it is very common) in the Muslim world to find among peoples of all linguistic, regional, and racial origins a few who claim ancestry from certain important Islamic

* John Wood, narrative of his journey was initially published in 1841 and revised by his son in 1872. It is the only source of much of the history of Wakhan of that period. It should, however, be read with caution since at times it sounds not only purely conjectural but expresses strong feelings of contempt.
leaders and Saints. Some groups have gone to the extent to prepare a family Pedigree (Shajra) tracing their alleged ancestry to the Holy Prophet Mohammad P.B.U.H. or the pious caliphs and certain saints. These sayyeds of Wakhan are living in separate villages. They keep close contact with other families and groups claiming similar blood ties with the Holy Prophet outside Wakhan. In the Wakhan the total membership in this group does not exceed seventy persons. (For Kinship/filiar Nomenclature see P 19).

2. Khuja: About five families, all living in the same hamlet, acknowledge descent from Sayyed Sorab Aowleya, who was allegedly also related to the Holy Prophet. However, this claim is disputed by some members of the community, who consider their ancestry traceable to the first caliph of Islam Hazrat Abu Bakr, and not the Prophet himself.

The senior leading male member of both Sayyed and Khuja groups are addressed by the same honorific title, "Shan". Both are rival spiritual leaders with different seminhereditary followers or disciples from among the rest of the society. In practice, they are the theocratic lords of Wakhan.
WAKHI KINSHIP TERMS OF REFERENCE

Consanguineal Terms

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3. **Mir**: The descendants of the former Wakhi Mirds, or chieftains and feudal lords, whom the early travellers in Wakhan have described as the then rulers of the territory, comprise this group. At present, there are only three domestic units, about thirty persons, occupying the old Wakhan stronghold at Qala-i-Panja. As a small group they are comparatively rich. Politically, however, they now exercise little or no authority.

Like many of the nineteenth century, and earlier, rulers of Badakhsan and Amu Darya region, the Mirds of Wakhan allegedly claim ancestry from Alesxander the Great (similarly the Mirds of Hunza).

4. **Shaera**: These are the descendants of those small members of the Mirs agnatic descent group who broke the prescribed rules of endogamy and married women of the Kheek (commoner) group. As a result they lost their membership in the Mir descent group, thus creating a new kinship group with a new place in the social hierarchy of Wakhi society. There are only two domestic units, about fifteen persons, living in different settlements from that of the Mirds.
5. **Khyberi**: About seventy individuals claim descent from the courtiers of the former Mirs. Their common ancestor is believed to have been a man from Khyber, who had joined the service of one of the Mirs and later married the Mir's daughter.

6. **Kheek**: These are the remainder of Wakhi society, the largest but the lowest ranking group—the Wakhi commoners. They reckon descent from an unknown, but common ancestor for all the Kheek. Collectively they are the least organized, thus lacking group characteristics. They are divided into numerous small agnatic descent based group who play significant parts within their social system.

The term Kheek has two meanings. The first meaning is described above; a second meaning (when used by the Wakhi in different social context, such as distinguishing themselves from other e.g. Kirghiz etc) denotes the entire Wakhi population (i.e. Sayyed, Khuja, Mir, Shaara, Khyberi and Kheek).

The same agnatic-descent ideas have a direct bearing upon the principles of marriage and affinity in Wakhi society. The agnatic-descent
groups and categories prefer endogamy, and the exchange of women is permitted only between certain groups and forbidden between others. For example, it is possible for Sayyed, Khujah, and Mir to exchange women with each other and Khyberi, Shaana, and Kheek to do the same, but it is strictly forbidden for the first three groups to exchange women with the last three.

This social structural dichotomy in Wakhi society is explained by the cultural notion of the "quality of blood". The Wakhis consider the first three agnostic-descent groups as asl (original, pure) or of "high blood and birth" and the last three as ghareeb (poor). (The term ghareeb is also used in Pukhtoon society for a poor and lowly person, who is landless and works for his livelihood). They may not intermarry. However, this social differentiation is relevant only in so far as the Wakhi choices of marriage partners are concerned. Other kinds of structural differentiation and group integration become significant in the other contexts. For example, the Mir group is lumped together with the Khyberi, Shaana, and Kheek as members of a larger category.
referred to murids (disciples, followers or subject etc.) via a vis the category of the Peer (spiritual leader) which includes only Sayyed and Khuja groups. The Sayyed and the Khuja descent groups are the ruling class in Wakhi society. The leaders of the two groups exercise a form of patrimonial domain over the rest of the Wakhi population. It should be noted, however, that the right of domain exercised by each peer or shah, in this instance, is not based on legal claims over the land upon which subjects reside and work. Instead, claims to the right of domain are justified by descent from Holy Prophet. By the same token they hold the position of Shah, or spiritual intermediary, in the religious hierarchy of an Ismailia sect of Islam headed by the descendants of the Aga Khan (Stein P.865, 1928 A.D.). The annual tribute received by the Shah is sanctioned largely by the Wakhi religious belief in the sanctity of the person of the Shah by virtue of his descent from the Holy Prophet. The Ismailite Wakhi also believe that the Shah has the power to influence the fortune and misfortune of his followers in this world, as well as in the next. His spiritual guidance is sought in matters of faith and in the
life crises situations, and his help is expected either directly or through his representative, the Khalifa. His happiness is desired by his followers all of whom hope for his blessings, and the annual contribution to the Shah by the mureed is part of their religious obligation (i.e. as alms) to their much revered theocratic leader. These contributions are not "rent" for the land, this particular right of domain is passed on to the next generation through agnatic line as patrimony.

Each Shah, as head of his local theocratic organization, appoints "Khalifa" as his personal representative in each hamlet or group of neighbouring hamlets. Khalifas are chosen from among the devoted and pious Kheek families. They are responsible for carrying out all the religious and ceremonial functions (cure of illness, funerals, weddings etc) in their own constituency, and also act as the intermediary between the villagers and Shah. The Shah pays annual visits each autumn to all hamlets where he has followers, during which time the mureeds are obliged to present him with gifts (food, animals etc) in addition to paying him the annual tribute amounting
one tenth of their earnings from harvest, livestock, owned, and cash income from labour and services rendered to the markets outside Wakhan. The mureed are also expected to allocate a certain amount of annual labour to the personal services of the Shah (ploughing, sowing, harvesting, herding etc). The Khalifa has a personal obligation to aid in the collection and transfer of the goods and services from his people to the Shah. He usually keeps his share out of the accumulated tributes, before delivering them to the Shah. The Shah, in his turn, is believed to convert part of the goods received in tributes to cash or valuable goods and send it as part of his contribution to the next person above in the hierarchy in Pakistan or India. He may also redistribute a small portion of the collected goods to the poor, disabled, and needy who seek help, but this is a rare occurrence.

Burhanuddin Kuskaki who visited Wakhan with General Nadir Khan (later on Nadir Shah) as his Secretary in 1921 wrote a good report published in book form in Kabul in 1923. Kuskaki failed to record the names of the ancestors of the shahs in the list of the ten important and
strong men of the area in his report which has been published in 1923. It would appear, therefore, the emergence of the "shah" as a dominant force in the local socio-political scene is quite recent —... It is possible, however, that they were serving as the religious functionaries under the Mirs, the political leaders of Wakhan. The Mirs, during the national pacification efforts fled the area or were forced to emigrate to other parts of Afghanistan, China and Indó-Pak. The local power vacuum was filled by the heads of the Sayyed and Khuja groups, who were more sympathetic towards the Central authority in Kabul. Therefore, they were given the new role of the political mediators between the Wakhi and the government authorities, the role filled by the Mirs in the past.

Thus their traditional religious authority and newly sanctioned political role by the government put that Shah into the local limelight. The relations of the Shah with main religious body to the South of Hindu Kush have become weaker, but his economic gains locally
have increased dramatically. Despite their economic power and religious influence, they have remained nothing more than local dignitaries, possessing no threat to Central authority.

The structure and distribution of the Wakhi settlement:

They are generally composed of small dispersed hamlets, located at irregular intervals throughout the inhabitable area of the valley floors. This distribution makes possible a maximum use of the Wakhi settlement pattern and social the order unity in (1) Qarya (Hamlet), Quom (community), Khana (House), Xhoon khalq (the household).

The Wakhi Qarya consists of a number of residential structure, Khana, scattered throughout the tiny plots of farmland dotting the narrow high valley oasis.

The Qarya sites are located next to mountain spurs and alluvial fans in the valley, which provide a certain amount of protection for people, animals and the agricultural fields against the severer "bad-i-Wakhan", the Wakhan wind.

Hamlets are located not only to provide shelter from the violent and persistent westerly wind but where ample amounts of irrigation water from tributary streams, adequate pasturage, and
other resources such as brush for fuel are in proximity. The availability of arable land is the major factor in the choice of settlement sites and the eventual size of the settlements themselves.

The residents of Wakhi hamlets are often members of a common agnostic descent group referred to as "qoum". The "qoum", because of its common descent and local residence, makes up the largest community group in Wakhi society. Members share many corporate rights and social responsibilities as a group. The local communities usually hire several poor "gharee' kar" from among their own "qoum" to serve as community hardmen, water caretakers, of community. These individuals are hired each year with community consensus, and are paid a set amount of grain by each household on the basis of the amount of cultivated land and livestock each owns. In smaller hamlets, however, all domestic units may rotate these tasks. A group of neighbouring small hamlet may join the number of the communal activities such as weddings, funerals, and religious

* For details of Wakhi characteristics see Bib No. 47, Stein 1928, pp. 996-1012.
festivities. These ritual and ceremonial activities are often supervised by the Khalifa, who is designated by the theocratic leader, the Shah. The same local group also elects an arbab, who acts as liaison between the local community and district administrative agencies. The elected arbab, who is approved by the government authorities, is usually a local strong man who plays a part in the community life that closely parallels the duties of the Khalifa. The positions of arbab and Khalifa are always filled by different persons. The Arbab's duties involve mediation between the villagers and the government organizations while the Khalifa mediates between the villagers and the Shah (religious leader). As such, the position of arbab is a recent creation and he is charged with reporting births, deaths, criminal acts, as well as aiding the district office (woluswali) in the process of conscription for military duty, collection of taxes, labour levies for the construction of public facilities, and the provision of hospitality. He also provides transportation and guides for government officials when and if they frequent the hamlets. Many of these duties are assigned to the corporate community.
by the government but they are in turn relegated to the Wakhi household. Each productive unit satisfies the community responsibilities following the procedure instituted by the community, such as taking turns in a rotation system or sharing them every time.

Khana (House):

Wakhi Khana is built with three factors in mind: economy of space, so that a large number of household members can literally live under a single roof; maximum protection against wind and cold; and cost and availability of building materials.

These main residential quarters in the Wakhani house are almost identical in layout throughout the area but variation in size often reveals the past and/or present household economic strength. The room is rectangular, with high clay platforms built around all sides. The Wakhi house has a single direct opening to the elements of skylight above the hearth that furnishes the room with light and allows the smoke to escape.

Very little wood is used in the Wakhani as fuel for cooking or heating since it is scarce and slow growing. Whatever wood can be procured is
used for construction of the houses and other shelters, that require a great number of beams for rafters, pillars, and other kind of support. Only a few rich families, particularly in the Sarhad valley area, are able to use some tree branches for cooking or heating their houses. Since only a few hamlets have jangal near their settlements the Wakhi depend on other equally scarce fuel, animal dung which is collected and made into cakes. Animal dung is usually supplemented with brush kindling gathered from the mountain sides.

All cooking is done on the clay hearth, which has a narrow vertical opening along its side facing the centre of the room, so some heat radiates out to warm the rest of the house. The small fire-pit in the lower platform is used for making tea and heating the house. The indoor temperature is higher than the outside and generally comfortable. For many undernourished and poorly clad Wakhi, therefore, the relatively well-insulated house is the main sanctuary against the suffering and stresses caused by the cold. The Wakhi spend minimal time outside during the long
winter months, and are usually huddled close to the fire during the day, going to bed early in evening and sleeping in groups of four or five, with members of a nuclear family often under the same blanket. This practice is also noted among the Peruvian high altitude and cold climate inhabitants.

A large number of related natal-conjugal families often live in the same Wakhi dwelling as members of a single, corporate, domestic unit, referred to by the Wakhi as khoon khalq. Ideally, the khoonkhalq is a partriloclal agnatic-descent group that is generally endogamous and corporate. The size of a domestic unit at any given point in time depends upon the stage reached in the developmental cycle of domestic groups. Immediately after fission a household may have five to ten members, but, when it reaches maturity in its developmental cycle, through conjugal and natal processes it may contain as many as twenty to twenty five members.

Independent households made up of a nuclear family, common to industrial societies, are rare or non-existent in the Wakhan. The Wakhi khoonkhalq is usually composed of three to five
adjacent generations, represented by several conjugal natal families. This is particularly true of rich households and those groups occupying the strata in Wakhan society.

Production:

Wakhi economy is perhaps best characterized as a marginal subsistence production system involving high altitude irrigated agriculture and livestock breeding, that is, agropastoralism or mixed farming. A certain amount of "surplus" labour is also made available to outside economies by some Wakhi households, at least during part of the year, depending on their economic needs.

Division of labour in Wakhi households is influenced largely by the demands of a short agricultural growing and harvesting season, and the long, cold and idle winter months. This system requires a large and concentrated labour force during the brief agricultural season and much smaller number during the rest of the year. Because of these labour requirements, there is no sharp sexual division of labour, unlike the male activities versus female tasks among the low altitude agriculturists in other parts of Afghanistan.
Instead, their activities complement each other in agriculture, herding, and domestic services.

The upkeep of the house interior as well as the exterior and the construction of all shelters involve both male and female labour. In a household with a large number of adult women and a smaller male labour force; it is not uncommon to see women and their male partners doing the same tasks.

The division of labour in Wakhi society is not, therefore, sex determined, but is influenced by the practical needs of each household and the uneven nature of seasonal labour demands.

**Agriculture:**

Wakhi agriculture is highly demanding. Not only does the thin, sandy, and porous topsoil yield poorly, but the area is highly subject to natural calamities. Agriculture work begins in the late April or early May with the spreading of a compost of human and animal excrement and ash on the small terraced plots of farmland. At the same time, irrigation channels, damaged by avalanches and winter ice are repaired.

Barley, or the Wakhi "Koljow," is the first crop sown, followed by the most common Wakhi
mixed crop—barley, lupine, lentils, and horsebeans all mixed and broadcast in the same field. Some of these crops are also sown separately, but not in large quantities. Wheat is cultivated next, followed by flax and millet. Best suited to the sandy soil and least vulnerable to the extreme weather are barley, lupine, and lentils. Wheat has a fairly low return ratio, about six to ten fold, under the normal conditions. In addition to the low yields the high altitude Wakhi crops suffer tremendously from periodic damage by early frost in the autumn, or prolonged cold and snow during the ploughing season.

Other winter occupations include the treating and softening of the sheepskins acquired from the Kirghiz through trade during these months, similar is practice by Wakhi Gulmeet and Broghil areas of Pakistan. When they cure these sheepskins they turn them into coats and sheepskin mats. Goatskins and Yak hides are also locally treated and used for making high boots, without high heels, which are worn with high thick woolen stockings as the main footwear. (Now some Russian and American boots and clothing are taking the place of these
native things.) After treatment, goatskins are also made into hide bags, used to hold and transport grains and flour.

Surplus Labour:

Most adult males, particularly those in households that do not own large herds and with inadequate landholdings, have very little or no productive work to engage in during the long winter months. In such cases, the household income from agriculture is not sufficient to permit them to acquire, through the exchange of agricultural livestock products, the market goods they must have. Some adult men from these households then go to the villages and towns of Badakhshan Afghanistan. And the Wakhis of Sulmest and Broghil area of Pakistan go to Karachi to earn cash to buy their household needs. Generally employed as porters, manual labourers in construction, in agricultural work, and home servants. They return to their areas in time for new agriculture season in the spring. The men from landless Wakhi households, the "ghareeb kar", also engage in similar work as farm labourers.

Livestock:

Wakhi livestock consists in part of two
types of sheep, a dwarf native breed, "gadek" and the large central Asian fat-tailed sheep known as "turki". A small number of "gadek" are owned by a large number of households, while the "Turki" are possessed only by the rich. "Gadek" which lamb twice a year, are also known for their twin, and sometimes multiple, births. They supply little milk, but have a very fine, soft fleece, which used for many of the Wakhi garments and much of the bedding. The small gadek provides little meat, and since they are not able to make the distant markets on foot, their exchange value is generally small. A smaller number of goats are also kept along with sheep in Wakhi flocks. Goats are kept for their skin and hair as well as for their milk and moderate exchange value.

More important in the Wakhi productive system are common cattle, and most households own a few. The cows are the main source of milk besides being a good source of cash, and oxen are used as draft animals and for threshing the harvest. Cattle, both cows and oxen, have a high rate of exchange and are taken by traders. Cattle provide most of the fuel and fertilizer in the Wakhi system.
Yak (Nakhiis call the yaks "Khush gaw" also; Yak is a Tibetan word) are kept only by the rich. Unlike common cattle, Yak are not very useful for agriculture, except for their manure. Oxen are used as pack animals as well as for transportation, and the females give very rich and tasty milk. Yak hair is used to make the 'Nakhi carpets (Palaas) and Yak tails are sold for fairly high prices.

The hides of both cattle and yak are tanned and treated locally and used for making foot and other gear, besides having a good exchange value if sold. In the past, Yak had only a marginal value in the markets of Northern areas of Pakistan, but with increased demand for meat in towns and cities of northern Afghanistan the market value is rising sharply.

A few donkeys are also owned by most Nakhi households. Rather small but sturdy animals, they are used as beasts of burden and for transportation throughout the area. Donkeys are used in agricultural transportation, as well as in threshing the harvest.

Horses are less numerous than donkeys
and are regarded as very valuable possessions to be used as both mount and pack animals, but almost exclusively by the richer households. Rental of horses to traders and travellers brings in a considerable amount of cash, especially when they are rented to members of the hunting and mountain climbing expeditions that have been coming to the area almost every summer. (It is possible now in Pakistan area only, not in Wakhan, as Wakhan has been declared as a closed city by Kabul-Moscow authorities). Horses have a very high rate of exchange among the Wakhis. The national game of Wakhis is Polo and Polo cannot be played without horses.

A small number of Aostrian camels are owned by the very rich Wakhi households along both sides of the border; including those of the Shah. The camels have little function in the Wakhi economy at the present time, other than for their wool. They are rarely, if ever, used for transportation, and are too valuable for slaughter. Therefore, they are basically a sign of wealth and prestige for those households that own them. Occasionally, however, they are traded.
with the Kirghiz, who need and employ them for transportation. It should be pointed out that the Wakhi have only recently acquired the Bactrian camels, the Yak, and the turti sheep from Kirghiz pastoral nomads of the Afghan Pamirs.

**Customs:**

Some of the major costs incurred by Wakhi households are related to life-cycle rituals and ceremonial costs. The Wakhi celebrate child-birth, particularly the birth of males, and deaths in the household; especially death of adults are very costly. Wakhi funeral ceremonies involve several commemorative feasts, particularly during the first year after the death. Funerary costs can be very high among members of the upper social stratum, particularly if they are rich. The graves of the rich and pious are often enshrined in mud and stone structures and marked with flags and Marco Polo sheep horns. Although the Wakhi emphatically deny it, it is believed by many non-Wakhi who have lived in the area for a long time that armaments, clothing, carpets, and other expensive personal effects of the deceased are placed in the crypt with the corpse. A common
practice among all the Wakhi is to have food by the grave side on a number of occasions during the year, and light candles made of cloth smeared in oil and wrapped around kindling sticks. Some in Northern areas light fire to keep beasts away, not to disgrace the dead body. Sunnis are critical of this ritual.

Marriages are also costly and are an economic strain for many Wakhi households because they are not only prolonged festivities but involve the exchange of many goods over a period of time. The dowry and goods exchanged are imported commodities including quantities of rice, tea, opium, candy and cloth as well as livestock and agricultural and animal products. Bride wealth and dowry vary with the resources of the households and the relations (kinship, locality and the social stratum) between the two families or households involved. Marriages outside the khoonkhalq cost from five to ten thousand Afghanis (the equivalent of about two hundred U.S. dollars at least), a sum large enough to prevent the young men of many poor households from establishing conjugal families of their own or at least to delay their marriages. If a household
lacks an eligible marriage partner that is, first cousin—it is not uncommon to find an adult man in his fourties who has never married because of his inability to pay the bride-wealth required for marriage outside his own domestic unit. This economic constraint is partially alleviated, however, through the Wakhi-preferred endogamous marriage practice.

The Wakhi have developed a habit of consuming large quantities of a concoction made from Black tea, "Shur Chai". The term literally means "Salty Tea". It is brew of a very strong, bitter, black tea, produced by boiling a handful of tea to about a quart of water with a small addition of salt and a cup of cream and milk to modify the taste.

Several gallons of "Shur Chai" are consumed by Wakhi households every day. It is drunk particularly during early morning and noon meals which are supplemented with some bread made of milled mixture of barley, lupine, lentil and millet. The midmorning meal is taken about 9.30 AM and consists of only milk products for those who have them. The evening
meal generally consists of aash-i-baqla, a gruel made of milled horsebeans and a mixture of peas and barley, or pastq made out of the same mixed flour and boiled in a large amount of water.

Wheat bread is rarely consumed in Wakhi households, for it is considered a luxury and only a few people, such as the shahs, or members of a few other rich units can afford it. Meat, fruits, and sweets are rarely part of the Wakhi diet. Milk products are consumed by most households during at least part of the year.

For a majority of Wakhi households, bread, made of mixed flour of millet, barley, lupine, and lentil, and "aash-i-baqla" are available only during the autumn and winter months. In spring and summer the main Wakhi staple diet consists of boiled vegetable weeded out from the cultivated fields. The Wakhi do not plant vegetables, but rely completely on what they can weed out of their fields. Milk and milk products supplement their diet while they last and Shurchai is drunk if the household can manage to buy tea on credit during this period.

Wheat and barley, and particularly wheat in recent
years, have become the Wakhi "Cash crop" that enable them to buy from the Kirghiz shopkeepers and the itinerant traders those goods they do not produce themselves. For many Wakhi households, wheat is the only means through which they can acquire not only tea and opium, but all other market goods they want. (But in recent years due to the opening of the Karakuram high way on Pakistani side and Russian occupation of Wakhan, this barter system is on decline). As a result, most of the annual wheat and barley harvested by a household is used for exchange purposes and for the payment of taxes and tribute rather than for household consumption.

Wakhi Economy:

Wakhi economy has always been marginal. However, over the past several decades a marked difference in the Wakhi economic processes has taken place whereby there has been a gradual shift from near self-sufficiency to an irreversible dependence upon the other economic system lying outside of Wakhan.

Before the closure of the borders of

The Afghan and Chinese borders were not officially established by either side until 1964 when a boundary commission of both countries met in the Pamirs during the summer of that year, and after a survey and demarcation, recognized the border (see Dupree 1973, P.424).
the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and Pakistan to trade and traders in this area, the Wakhi household depended on the outside for very little. Each household produced all the family garments it required from its own livestock and almost all of its agricultural products were used for its own subsistence.

In the past Wakhi trade with merchants passing through their territory was minimal, being limited primarily to the provision by the Wakhis of a quantity of barley needed by the traders to feed their pack animals during their passage through the Wakhan. Merchants were not interested in trading with Wakhi since their meagre agricultural and animal products, had little or no value and were not in demand in distant markets. However, the services of the Wakhis were hired by members of the trade caravans, who paid for these services in such goods as black and green tea, muslin, and silk and other fabric brought from Chinese Turkistan and opium which was taken in large amount from Badakhshan and Northern Afghanistan, where it was produced, to be sold in the markets of Chinese Turkistan.
The many centuries of opium and tea trading between northern Afghanistan and Chinese Turkistan through the Wakhan corridor have resulted in the widespread use of opium and tea among the Wakhis.

The addiction of many Wakhis to opium is directly related to the harsh environment of Wakhan and the areas where they live, where there is no medical services. Impoverished, disease-ridden, and weather-beaten, the Wakhis have relied on the numbing effects of opium to help decrease their suffering from illness as well as to give temporary comfort at night after the stresses of cold, hard work, and travel in the rough terrain. According to the Wakhis, the consumption of large amounts of tea in the form of Shurchai is related to opium addiction. They say that Shurchai, if consumed in large quantities, enhances the effect of opium as well as decreases the pains of withdrawal for the addict in its absence.

There are few Wakhis who have become addicted to opium out of their own desire. The use of tea started in earlier times as a luxury but has now reached the point of addiction for
most of the Wakhi. The constant use of tea and opium is also directly related to their availability. The effect of those habits were not fully realized in the Wakhi economy and society until after the success of the Chinese Communist revolution in 1949, and the consequent closure of the borders. Under the conditions some of the old enterprising traders found their highly profitable opium and tea with Chinese Turkistan halted, so they initiated trade relations with the Wakhi, whom they knew well. The traders, therefore, offered their new trading partners large quantities of tea and opium for which they quickly created a need among Wakhis, in return for animals and livestock products for which there was an increasing demand outside the area. Consequently, Wakhi households that had relied for centuries on their own homespun garments, for coats, and animal hide footwear, soon found themselves in need of manufactured textiles, ready-made garments, leather, and shoes. The traders also introduced other market products such as metal and plastic household utensils, which to some extent have replaced the traditional, locally produced Wakhi wooden and clay ware. Transistor Radios, guns,
sewing machine, cigarettes, and a small selection of haberdashery and other items have also become part of the trade goods sold to the Wakhi.

This increased dependence on market commodities has had three major effects on the Wakhi. First, there has been an increasing trend toward wheat cash cropping, with the consequent change in the Wakhi diet. Second, a triadic system of trade and exchange involving the Wakhi and the itinerant traders has developed. Finally, the heavy dependence of the Wakhi market goods particularly upon opium, has become a source of tension in many domestic units, leading to their premature division.
Some Prominent Features of Wakhi Culture

In Wakhi society the ownership of productive resources, such as arable land and livestock, rests with the natal family units within each domestic group. Within the natal families Wakhi rules of inheritance allow only the male members to be the real or potential owners of property.

Marriages are necessary for the recruitment of new members to the household productive labour force and perpetuation of the domestic units. Carefully arranged marriages can enhance the development of the Wakhi household and its economy but if not well planned they can be an economic drain, particularly when the payment of a high bride-wealth is involved. Such marriages also create tension among the household members and eventually lead to the disintegration of the domestic unit. As a result, the planning and arrangement of marriages in Wakhi society is a crucial function of the domestic unit as a group, and is not relegated to the individuals involved. Marriages between the two major groups of people in Wakhi society, the traditional aristocratic descent groups, "Sayyed", "Khuja" and "Mir" and the non-aristocratic descent groups,
"Shamma", "Khyberi" and "Kheek" are prescribed.

This prescriptive marriage rule, devised to protect the purity and sanctity of the "asl", draws support from the principle of homogamy, or marriage between those of equal status, found throughout the Muslim-Middle East. This practice has certain other social and economic implications. For instance, it keeps the exchange of resources, through bridewealth and dowry, and the right of tribute over the commoners, within the "asl" group. Further, it encourages marriages that do not jeopardize rights of domain and rights of access to productive resources.

Apart from these prescriptions Wakhi marriage rules permit conjugal relations with anyone outside of the small category of people who are considered in Wakhi society as within the realm of incest, Polygamy is allowed but is not frequent, and generally occurs in aristocratic families. Child betrothals and marriages are also practiced. Most common among members of all strata in the Wakhi society is the preferred bilateral first-cousin marriage in the following order: Father's brother's daughter, Father's
sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and more distant classificatory cousins.

The preferred first cousin marriage, however, when considered along with the organization of the Wakhi domestic unit, promotes domestic unit endogamy. Given the composition of the Wakhi household, it is very likely to contain a number of bilateral first cousins of both sexes. When such prospective marriage-partners are present in the household, marriage between them is considered by the domestic unit suitable and it is generally contracted. Endogamous marriage in Wakhi society is essential for a number of reasons: it eliminates the potential alienation and the loss of economic resources through marriage in which payments of bridewealth and dowry are necessary; it keeps the households' productive labour force intact; it decreases the tension between members of the household (through sentiment); and it ensures future solidarity, economic viability and political strength of the domestic unit in the local community and in society. There are other forms of marriages in Wakhi society. They include sister exchange and
choosing a spouse for a household member from among maternal relatives, close maternal kin, the hamlet, the regional community, the linguistic and religious sectarian groups, and the non-Wakhi, respectively. The Wakhi household gives careful consideration to the selection of conjugal partners: "who" and from "where" prospective household members are is essential. Their calculations are based on immediate and short-term, as well as long-range effects such decision may have on the economy, the integrity and power of the household as a corporate productive unit.

The Wakhis are a small, distinct linguistic and culture group who are adherents of an Ismaili sect of unorthodox Islam. As a sectarian minority, the Wakhi, and most other Shia groups, have experienced persecution in Western and Central Asia by predominantly Sunni majority, with whom they compete for political and economic resources. As a result the Wakhi, together with other Ismaili groups mainly Hazara, and the neighbouring Shughis, Ishkumis, and Zebaks are found to occupy the most remote lands of the Hindu Kush-Pamir mountain range between the Centres of Sunni and Ismaili influence. (Nizif: Bib No., p.115). This kind of
population distribution, he explains "is due partly to the nature of the varied landscape itself, which provides shelter to the different interest groups, and partly to the sectarian nature of the Afghan state." State sectarianism in favor of Sunni populations, however, has not been limited to the modern nation-state of Afghanistan. Indeed such practices were common throughout most of Western and Central Asia for centuries. It should also be made clear that sectarian differences, while significant to the Wakhi in their regional context, have not been the only, or even the dominant, point of articulation for inter-group competition over resources and power. Sectarian difference, therefore, must be seen as only one of many factors responsible for the present mosaic of population distribution in Western and Central Asia.

The Wakhi agricultural and herding populations were forced to move into their present high altitude marginal habitat at least several centuries ago. In the safety of their mountains' frontier the Wakhi developed as irrigated mixed-crop agriculture and herding
subsistence economy that provided them with near self-sufficiency. Internally, Wakhi society was organized on agnatic descent principles that divided the population into six ranked kinship categories (Sayyed, Khuja, Mir, Shanna, Khyberi and Kheek) each with certain rights and responsibilities toward one another. Access to strategic economic resources and political privilege was directly related to the kinship ideology of the separate and distinct ancestry of the membership of the six ranked groups. As such, Wakhi society had a feudal-like structure where the lineage of Wakhi Mirs, or chieftains, exercised considerable local authority and often were able to maintain near-autonomy despite the strength of neighboring states. The Mirs also controlled part of the strategic Silk Road trade that crossed their territory and provided them with a large share of their revenue. Two of the principal constraints imposed by the Soviet Union and Chinese frontiers upon the Wakhi were the termination of Caravan trade through the area and from Chinese Turkistan, northern Afghanistan and the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and severance of socio-economic relations with the other Wakhi
communities on the left bank of Amu Darya. No caravan meant the loss of earnings for their services to the traders, which for the average Wakhi, may have been negligible. The disruption and anxiety resulting from the loss of relations with other Wakhi across the Amu Darya was probably quite severe, though not easily measurable. The impact of the concomitant increased political and economic influence of the national government of Afghanistan, as well as that of the large Afghan society upon the Wakhi, however, is discernible.

One of the consequences of the closed frontiers was the flight of the Wakhi Mira, together with some members of their lineage, to northern Pakistan and their settling in Hunza area where some Wakhi families had already their abode. Afghan authorities in 1940 relocated some other members of the Wakhi lineage in other areas of Afghanistan. These two occurrences account for the small number of descendants of the Mira in Wakhan and the consequent emergence of the Sayyed group as the theocratic leaders of Wakhi.
Society. Perhaps the most profound change is that the formerly almost self-sufficient Wakhis have become increasingly dependent for their needs upon the pastoral Kirghiz and the "invading" national market economy mediated by Pashtun, Tajik, and Uzbek traders from other parts of Afghanistan. The phenomenon may be characterized as exploitation of the Wakhis by outside traders with the tacit approval and sometimes cooperation of local government officials, rather than one of the traditionally described symbiosis between the Centre and the periphery. Its consequences are increased wheat cash cropping, despite the low yield of wheat, and the substantial loss of Wakhis' economic resources to the opium and tea traders. For the Wakhis household it has meant increased poverty accompanied by increased potential for domestic turmoil. A few impoverished households have become nomadic, joining the rich Kirghiz herd-owners in the Pamirs as shepherds and servants. The continuing presence of traders and government agents was assured in 1970 by the construction of a mosque in Khandud, the Centre of Wakhsh "Woluswali". Most traders and some
officials speak about it as the triumph of true Islam, Sunni orthodoxy, in Shia, Wakhan".
(Dr. Shahrami, 1979 U.S.A. P-223).

1. Wakhis recently felt that their culture was being overshadowed by other ethnic and religious groups of the area. In Wakhan under the leadership of Mujeebud Din a Society was formed in 1976. The object of the Society was to boost up the culture and language of the Wakhis. But very soon this association was occupied by the religious leaders, who due to their bigotry concealed everything. So no body knows any thing about the Society after 1977.

2. Thousands of Wakhis are earning their livelihood in Karachi. They work there during day time while in evening they attend evening schools to improve their qualifications. There are more than eight thousand Wakhi students in Karachi; they have established a Student Union naming it "Gojal Student Union". They published their own magazine in 1979 from Karachi to project their culture and language and to provide information about the area where Wakhis were residing.

The Wakhi are the descendants of
"White Huns", Usman Sadiqi in his book "The Ephthalites" published in Kabul says "They were originally the residents of Ephthal district of Badakhshan province of Afghanistan; they from here spread over the Central Asia and then the other parts of Asia; and ultimately they conquered some part of Europe. They sacked Rome. History says that the "White Huns" were fond of cattle breeding; everywhere they had gone they reared their livestock, so they were called Gojar". Even in Punjab the origin of the gujar had been traced out which reveals that gujars were descendants of "White Huns". Even today the Wakhi people are called Gojal by their neighbours. Their features, their culture is the same as of the "White Huns". History is silent about the language of the White Huns. This is one of the hypotheses that they spoke the Wakhi language which was different from the present Wakhi language. The present Wakhi has been influenced by its dominating neighbours, , Tarkic, Persian and Pushto stocks. But still the Wakhi language enjoys some significance and originality.

Now the Wakhis themselves have awakened
to trace out their origin and the origin of their language and culture.

Some of the elder Wakhis narrate an interesting story about their language and culture that their language is a sacred one, because it was taught to them by their fairy mother, who had come to this area from Heaven. And their forefather "Bawari" who was a dauntless and gallant person had occupied the Gulmet area. He was fond of hunting so he once during a hunting expedition wounded a deer with his arrow. The deer took refuge in a cave. He pursued that into the cave. There in the cave instead of the deer he found a beautiful maiden but wounded. He carried away that fairy maiden to his abode. He married her. She gave birth to three children- two male, one female. Once while Bawari was on his hunting campaign, the fairy mother had a chance to escape; she ran away and vanished in the same cave. The cave is still known as Bawari cave'. Some Wakhis believe that the Wakhic language has been taught to them by that fairy mother. Therefore, they claim that their language being a heavenly language has much respect for women. To prove their statement they quote a few Wakhic words.
They claim: "We call our sister as Kahi- and our mother as 'Nun', and a woman as 'Kohinun', which means 'sister mother' as Pakhtoons also say 'Khor Mer' to a woman occasionally. Our this respect for woman is due to the fact that we are the descendants of a 'fairy mother'.

The Wakhis are very courteous people; they have great regard for guests, they offer fresh and dried fruit to them. They are humble and respectful. Those who have worked in other parts of the country for their livelihood usually have a cold attitude towards a visitor or a guest.
CHAPTER II

WAKHI PHONOLOGY

The framework of a language consists of the grammatical system, which expresses relationship by means of various processes, broadly stated words and their relative order. The bulk of the system is the vocabulary, whose organization is less strict than that of the grammar and which is, on the whole, unlimited. Scientific analysis dissociates these elements, but it emphasizes all the more their interdependence and inter-reactions.

* It is Science of Vocal Sounds. Sounds and alphabet i.e. characters or signs for representing these sounds.
Phonic material (Greek phone "sound, voice")

This material consists of sounds produced by setting into vibration the mass of air coming out of the lungs when exhaling, and occasionally when entering the lungs.

The task of phonetics is not merely to recognize the way in which sounds are produced and the position of the various organs. Phonetics has a double role; its function is also to recognize and analyze all possible sounds, whether they are used in known languages or not.

The first phoneticians seem to have been Hindu grammarians, who knew how to classify the various points and modes of articulation. The Greeks and, after them, the Romans showed little interest in this type of study. The Arabs did not pay any attention to it after the tenth century. The study of phonetics was taken up again later, in Western Europe but was not carried very far and remained merely a subject of curiosity for some small circles, as is evidenced by the lesson given by the philosophy teacher. It has only been since the 19th century, when comparative grammar and historical linguistics were developed,
that scholars became anxious to study languages accurately and to understand especially the mechanism of change in the sounds used in language that have created and developed the science of phonetics. Toward the end of the century, the collaboration of linguists and physicists gave birth to experimental or instrumental phonetics. Processes such as the following are used to improve on observation by sight, touch and internal muscular consciousness: the use of the artificial palate, of laryngoscopy, of photography, of movies (in slow motion), of x-rays with still-radiography, of montage into moving picture (pending the realization of true-x-ray movies), and of radiocopy. The study of muscular tension and of nervous currents and the construction of artificial throats have been hardly touched upon.

Acoustical analysis, on the other hand, has a longer history. It was first carried on by means of tuning forks and metronomes, then by recordings—made originally with recording cylinders, then with photographs, and finally with the help of photoelectric cells—and lastly by graphs, using microscopes and mathematical
analysis (harmonic analysis) of curves. The point has been reached where it is now possible to make visible to the eye the characteristics of an individual voice.

Detail necessary to the study of the articulation of sounds and related technical terms will be given below in the section dealing with Phonological study.

The use of the phonetic alphabet, which has been adopted (with certain variations) by all linguists, independent of national spellings, will also be treated more extensively then. It is the Latin alphabet with certain letters modified by diacritical signs that are borrowed as much as possible from certain national alphabets, thus S as in Czech instead of the French "Ch", the English "Sh", the German "Sch" etc. In this connection it is necessary to note that one must always make the distinction between the sounds of the language and letters that represent them (and use "letter" for sound). The sounds used are called "Phonemes" and the part of linguistics that studies phonemes is phonology in the strictest sense.

The first Phonologists, although they
did not know it, were the inventors of characters that could be called Syllabo-ideographic; they noticed that words were not indefinitely varied in their composition and that, consequently, graphic representations used for words or parts of words, could be used to represent also certain other words, or parts of other words (ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, China and Pre-Columbian America). The second and truer, prephologists are those who invented the purely phonographic or alphabetic writing, where the number of signs is limited to the number of significant sounds that it seems useful to represent (Syro-Palestinian region on one hand, India on the other); after them come all those who have applied anew... the alphabetic system to other languages.

Since the establishment of linguistic, for a long time phonetic and phonological studies were confused (even the term phonology was applied to phonetics or to some of its parts, while the term phonetics was often used for phonological phenomena). It was only around 1930 that a school of phonology was established whose ideas and terminology are now accepted by almost everyone. Since its work is not exclusively carried on
in phonology, however, a certain confusion still results regarding the nomenclature.

The phonologist must be—and generally is—well-informed on the result of phonetic research, even if he himself does no research, as the progress of phonetics is necessary to the advance of phonology.

The definition of a phoneme is established according to the working of a language: a distinct phoneme is the articulation that is used to distinguish one meaning from another. The result is that phonemes are generally defined by oppositions.

In every language there are some phonemes that are frequent and others that are very rare; it is this rate of occurrence that determines which oppositions have greater or lesser usefulness. It is worthwhile to establish statistical data on these matters.

The majority of Frenchmen pronounce "r" in the Parisian manner with a slight rasping sound in the throat, (i.e. gh) while others roll it at the tip of the tongue, but this discrepancy does not alter the fact that there is only one "r" phoneme—a differentiation would only cause
confusion. It is interesting to note this phonetic detail since it permits us not only to distinguish between Frenchmen of different origins but also study the diffusion of the Parisian type of pronunciation.

Pronunciation is essentially an oral affair and cannot be studied adequately from a book. But a book written on practical lines, can help if it is properly used. The reader is asked to utter aloud all the insolated sounds and groups of sounds that are represented in Phonetic transcription, and to try to carry out all the exercises and suggestions that are given.

a) Theory and practice

Learners of Wakhi or any other language pronunciation should have at least two qualifications. Correct pronunciation and the ability to express it. Some pronounce well and have a considerable knowledge of phonetic theory, but they have no idea of using this theory to get good practical results in their talk. Others have a thorough pronunciation. Their theory, learned without any real association with the spoken language, has left them with bad pronunciation they always had, and is probably responsible for worse pronunciation.
to their listeners. It is difficult to help such learners. Some have neither good pronunciation nor the knowledge of phonetics, and are even guilty of making a bad thing worse by using phonetic symbols and others.

It is essential that the learner should learn a certain amount of phonetic theory if he wants to overcome the difficulties of pronunciation.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a good ear, without which the learning of a spoken language cannot be undertaken with any measure of success. The learner whose ear is closed to the differences between sounds cannot expect to make these differences. No one can correct the faults of such a person who is deaf to those faults.

The necessary training cannot be given through a book. If possible, the learner whose ear needs training should place himself under the guidance of a trained phonetician who will, by systematic exercises, develop in him the ability to hear so that he can detect even delicate shades of difference between sounds.

If trained guidance is impossible, the reader can do much, if he has any aptitude at all,
to teach himself to listen carefully to his own sounds and to try to record them by means of phonetic transcription; to note the differences and similarities between his own sound and those of his friends and acquaintances; to appreciate the differences between his own vowels and those of other differences.

Every opportunity should be taken at the outset to make learners accurate listeners. For that, one should give ear-training exercises to oneself and this should be continued in different forms throughout the course.

From time to time one might be required to listen to a very short, simple story in the language which he wants to learn; (suppose Hindi), so that his ear may become accustomed to the sounds, and the melody of connected speech. So the ear-training exercises are not a waste of time. They have a remarkably stimulating effect, manifested in a general alertness and in an increasing ability to hear and to make sounds well. It also prepares one to grasp quickly what is said to him.

One can train oneself to raise and lower the sound-box while the disc is revolving, so that the intonation of a sentence or any part
of it can be repeated any number of times. This can be done, after a little practice, without damaging the record itself. After listening many times to the intonation of a word or of a short sentence, one faces no difficulty in realizing the notes and tone of the voice. One can overcome one's difficulty if one regards intonation from the outset as an essential characteristic of the spoken language.

The average person is ignorant of the nature of the simplest speech actions he performs everyday in pronouncing his own language. There is of course no reason why he should study these actions or even be aware that he makes them. But the language learner should make it his duty to observe his own speech habits closely so that he may the better understand make and teach those to the speakers of another language. As a necessary preliminary he should have some elementary knowledge of his speech apparatus and of how it works.

For the great majority of speech sounds there must be a stream of air set in motion by lung pressure. The passage through which this reaches the outer air is constantly changing its shape, these changes being brought about by the
different positions which many of our organs of speech can assume.

A language similarity is predominantly discernible from its verb formation. Verbs are normally the most important item of a language for they are inherited, not borrowed. Even if all the other words in a sentence are borrowed or loan words, the verb in the sentence characterizes it as belonging to a particular language. However, morphologically speaking even verbs fail to identify a particular sub-class and even in the later phase of the Indic-Aryan, the endings are often lost because of the use of double or even multiple forms. In the case of a historical study of a language with parallel languages, a morphological approach would help in classifying the general structure of the language family. But phonological studies may also prove worthwhile in order to perceive the historical or stage-wise change in a language. Phonological change, at times, dictates a corresponding morphological change through assimilation of conjuncts, ending extensions etc. In general, therefore, both the angles of study i.e. phonology and morphology are of equal significance, but in the case where
A dialect seems to have grown into a full-fledged language mainly because of brisk interaction with several languages belonging to a variety of ancient and relatively modern languages, the evolution needs historical evidence to quantify the several variables, especially the phonological ones that influenced this growth. In short, for teaching of languages the teacher must be aware of the fact that any language in the beginning is like a hilly torrent, crude but clean, limited but forceful and has great flow and case. On the way gradually other rivulets and streams join it and so from its origin upto the sea, this hilly stream becomes a river, where watery of many kinds join it. Even then this mixture of many waters is known by its origin, and named after its source. Similar is the case of a language.

Every language has a sound system, which is more or less unique to that language although it may differ only slightly from the sound system of other closely related languages. For this reason, whenever a word passes from one language to another (and over a period of time), it becomes fully incorporated into the new language and its pronunciation becomes modified to conform
to the sound system of the new language. Every language has gone through a similar metamorphosis. Wakhi is a small language, and its speakers never hesitate to borrow words from other languages and they have mainly borrowed from Persian, Pushto, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, and Turkic. But many of their words have been taken from Arshishki, Shina and Kohwar languages of the Northern areas. It has, in its relative isolation, retained its tones, utilized material handed down from a remote antiquity for its present structure. Until recent times, Wakhi was not a written language, which proved to be a great setback to its progress. The Wakhis had their own primitive culture as the influence of other languages, and especially those of the comparatively developed ones, was definite. The Wakhis, as of necessity, had recourse to the Persian and the Uighur traditions while bringing their language to the writing form. As such most of the nouns used in Wakhi are borrowed from Persian and Turkic languages and hence the influence of Persian and Turkic languages on Wakhi seems quite obvious. The Wakhis are not trade-minded and therefore they looked to their neighbours, particularly those of the
Turkic stock, to cater to their commercial needs. This invited greater participation, in the medieval period— from the Kashgar side— into the Wakhi life. Thus one notices considerable influence of the Uighur on the language and the life of the Wakhis. *Wakhi is not a phonetic language*

The Wakhi alphabets exactly sound like those of Urdu. The following alphabets have a similar sound, so some of the linguists of Wakhi language selected one among the following three alphabets while most Wakhis are using all the three i.e. : ص-س-ت only "seen" ص has been brought in use while "Swat" ( ص ) and "Say" ت has been discarded by some writers, but so far, no worth while book has been written in Wakhi by Wakhis. Therefore, Wakhi while writing use all the Urdu alphabets including their few created alphabets. Similar is the case of ذ-ض-ط only 'Zal' is being used. There are some special sounds which no one other than Wakhis can utter. There are some Shina and Erzgebirgischer sounds borrowed by Wakhi language. These Wakhis who are living in Kuma are the oldest inhabitants of the area.

*Dr. Namos is of the opinion that as they were*

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*Dr. Namos, "Gilgit and Shina Language"  

*Urdu is not a phonetic language.*
white Huns, so the area had been named after them as "Hunza". Whether it may be right or wrong, but there are so many other factors which indicate that the Wakhis are the descendants of white Huns. Some historians prove that the "Gujars" are the descendants of "White Huns" or "Sphthalites". So is the case of Wakhis living in Northern Areas of Pakistan, where they are called "Gujal" which means Gujar. They also call themselves "Gujal" and their language "Gujali". Despite their conversion to Islam, they still perform so many rituals which were used to be carried out by the infidel "White Huns". For instance, the death and marriage ceremonies of Wakhi people have some similarity with those of "White Huns". Though now they do not burn their dead bodies, they light a fire beside the grave of a newly buried person. As a justification they say that some beast may not damage the dead body. Some people of Gilgit are of the opinion that they light the fire beside the grave to seek an inner satisfaction or consolation.

Hunza up to recent times was not an accessible place; the language of the area Broshinsky remained intact and accepted little
foreign influence. The Tushkashy language has no
comparison and contrast with any language in the
world. In this inaccessible hilly abode basic needs
of life were in great scarcity. So the area was
saved from foreign invasions, and the people had
to live on fresh and dried fruit and animals and
the animal products. So was the fate of the Wakhis who
were living in Hunza area. Unlike Broash, the
Wakhi people were gregarious; they not only came
into contact with other ethnic groups but also
travelled far and wide and cultivated the soil
in the areas of Gulmit and Passu. In these two
areas Wakhis are still in a majority. As earlier
stated Wakhis are people of fair complexion,
green or blue eyes, golden hair. But as for the
Wakhis who settled in Hunza areas, no doubt, their
complexion is fair, but like Hunza people one will
not see handsome young men among them. As, due to
hard climate, life is very hard. Young Wakhis
look very handsome soon as one gets matured wrinkles appear on his face. So one sees
only children and old men in Hunza area. But now
with changed food habits and the availability of
all essential commodities, due to Karakoram
Highway life in Hunza has become easy. Now
handsome and well built young men are coming up and are to be seen in large numbers.

In case of alphabet of the Wakhi language of the Wakhan has borrowed many letters which are not found in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages but belong to Pashto. These are the letters ب.غ.ژ.س.د.ر.ل. But there are also letters which are not found in Pashto or Persian:پ.ش.ک. which is written in Latin like 'V. Moreover, the letter (و) 'Chona' which is used in Urdu is also found in Wakhi.

Most of the letters which are used in Persian and Pamir Aryan languages have similar sounds as in Arabic, for instance:

آ، ب، پ، چ، ع، غ، د، ز، ہ، ن و ک.
2. The letter ﺖ is being read with its Arabic accent like English "the".
3. The letter ﺔ has the sound like English letter "T".
4. ﺚ in Wakhi has the same sound as it has in Pashto, in Latin it is written "e" and its sound is between "seen" ظ and ﺘ (ch:s).
5. ﺚ, this letter is directly borrowed from Pashto along with its sound, its Latin shape is "e" and it sound between ﺚ(2,e).
6. ﺟ this is like English letter "j" but with a hard sound. In Wakhi " ﺟ " and " ﺟ " both are used like Pashto with similar sounds.
7. ﺟ it is used in all Pashtoic languages with the same letter and sound. In Latin it is written like this (j).
8. ﺟ its sound in Wakhi is exactly the same which is in Pashto. In Latin it is written as (R).
9. ﺞ the sound of it is as of the ﺞ in Pashto hard, in Wakhi ﺞ is rarely
used, as there is no difference in the dialect, as there is in Pashto. Where the Pakhtoons of Peshawar, Dir and its adjoining areas mostly use \( \text{ش} \) with the sound of (Kh), the Pakhtoons of Southern districts pronounce as \( \text{ش} \) "Sh". In Wakhi (kh) \( \text{ش} \) (kaf) \( \text{ش} \) (X.K) are there which could be read between the Kh; kay (X and K) so the letter sheen \( \text{ش} \) is also depicted by "linguistic Survey of India" in this shape \( \text{ش} \). As hard "sheen", it is just to differentiate between \( \text{ش} \) and \( \text{ش} \), Latin shape of sheen is \( \text{S} \).

10. \( \text{ش} \) in Latin it is captioned like this \( \text{S} \).

11. this letter is not available in Pashto, Persian, Arabic and Turkic etc. It is a Pamiric letter and is the property of Wakhi language. In Latin George Morgenstierne has given it this shape \( \text{١} \). \( \gamma \) It sounds between \( \text{غ} \) (Gh). It is common in Urdu language.

12. \( \text{ذ} \) its sound is that of Pashto, as it
is a Pashto borrowed letter.

13. It is Urdu "noon Chuna" in Latin its shape is like this (ɔ). It is rarely used in Wakhi with some sound as in Urdu.

14. It is like English letter (V). As in "love" and "have" the sound of "Vove" is quite obvious.

Mr. Chulemuddin, Chairman, Prince Agha Khan Education Board is of the opinion: "Each language has its own identity and entity and is often based and structured on a certain grammatic form. As such, the Wakhi language also has its own identification and formation". The word "Wakhi" itself is derived from the word Wakhan, which means the inhabitants of Wakhan or the language of Wakhan. This is because Wakhis originated in Wakhan, a district of Badakhshan province of Afghanistan, some of the Wakhis migrated to the upper parts of Hunza- Gojal, some to Chizer District and Broghil valley of Chitral."

The Wakhi language was not written and read amongst traditional Wakhi speakers until
recently, because they were illiterate. However, recently effort is being made to familiarize the young generation of Wakhi-speakers with its formation and usage. One such person to make this effort was D.L.R. Lorimer, the first English linguist to produce a Wakhi vocabulary book written in Roman script, based upon exclusive research on the Wakhi language.

A recognisable effort is made by Ahmad Jami Sakhi, who wrote an article based on the research of Dr. Hamus and Dr. Allama Maqirud Din the Hazir Sunzai on the alphabets of Wakhi language. This article was published by Gojal Student Union Karachi in their magazine "Wakhi" in December, 1979. The purpose of the article was to introduce and familiarise the lay person with Wakhi dialect.

Further, Dr. Georg Buddrus, professor of Oriental Languages from Mainz University in Federal Republic of West Germany, took the initiative to produce an improved version of a vocabulary book on Wakhi. This profound work has enlightened many young Wakhi speakers and has given them an incentive to acquaint themselves with the people of this race.
The above mentioned linguists' work resulted in a newly formed script using Roman alphabets and sounds and words taken from both Eastern and Western languages, such as English, German, Russian and Arabic. Additionally, signs and symbols have been added to fulfill the idiosyncratic requirements of the Wakhi tongue. The net result has enriched Wakhi as a profound language coming into its own in combination with the new generation of Wakhi speakers' strong desires to internationalize and freely communicate in Wakhi.

Mr. Haqiqat Ali, former Head master of His Highness Prince Aga Khan D.I. Middle School Passu, has accepted the challenge of broadening an awareness of Wakhi. Being a Wakhi himself well-versed with Wakhi grammar, vocabulary and sound, Mr. Haqiqat Ali has produced a primer in Wakhi language; his desire is that this should further stimulate the younger generation to read and write Wakhi, and by so doing open the door for the young generation of Wakhi-speaking persons to learn the grammar of their own tongue and preserve their own culture.
WAKHI ALPHABET

a
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<tr>
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<td>To dance</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Coten</td>
<td>Tomb</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ofan</td>
<td>To weave</td>
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<td>Ona</td>
<td>Anna</td>
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</table>
2. Za  
3. Zuunak  
4. Zuun  
5. Zuur  
6. Zuh  
7. Zuu  
8. Zuu  
9. Zuu  
10. Zuu  
100. Zuu  
1000. Zuu

small boy  
Moon  
to twist

1. yeu  
2. bui  
3. True  
4. Tsobur  
5. Panz  
6. Sad  
7. hub  
8. hat  
9. nay  
10. das  
100. sad  
1000. nazar

One  
two  
Three  
Four  
Five  
Six  
Seven  
Eight  
Nine  
Ten  
Hundred  
Thousand
Names of the days and months are the same of Persian:

- Shamba: Saturday
- Yak-shamba: Sunday
- Do-shamba: Monday
- Si-shamba: Tuesday
- Chahar-shamba: Wednesday
- Panj-shamba: Thursday
- Adina or Juma: Friday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solar</th>
<th>Lunar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Hamal)</td>
<td>(Hamal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sur)</td>
<td>(Safar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Jauza)</td>
<td>(Kabi-ul-awal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sartan)</td>
<td>(Kabi-us-sani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Asad)</td>
<td>(Jamadi-ul-awal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sumbla)</td>
<td>(Jamadi-us-sani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mizan)</td>
<td>(Rajab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Akrab)</td>
<td>(Shaban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kaus)</td>
<td>(Ramuza)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Jaddi)</td>
<td>(Shawal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dalv)</td>
<td>(Zikade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nat)</td>
<td>(Zil Hijja)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

The Wakhi infinitive (Original and Borrowed)

Wakhi is a language which has four infinitive endings. In Persian the infinitive ending is "N" (Neen) and in the Uighur, Shina and Koehar the infinitive ending is "K" (Kaf) while in the Wakhi some infinitives end in "N" (Neen) most and in "K" (Kaf); it is because of the Uighur influence. But there are some infinitives in Wakhi which end in "Do" (Do) and "An". These infinitives are less in number in comparison to "N" or "K" infinitives.

The infinitives under the influence of Persian with the ending "N" may be noticed in the following words:

Ajal Wazeen  To die
Ajozat Durzan  To allow
Birchan   To twist with pain
Butan    To throw
Pitan    To drink
Pishin  To come back
Poin    To look after
Pirgaishan  To involve
Takdin To make clean, to rub, to clean dust
Thowdan  To light fire
Tockhdin  To collide
Tong Dozun  To be hard
Sungdin  To paralyze with cold
Suqdin  To push
Cesat Dozun  To be unconscious
Josan  To read
Juda dozn  To get separated
Jagoon din  To play polo
Japan  To weave
Chakan  To strike, to hit, or to beat
Choupan  To select
Changul den  To scratch
Chekh den  To make equal
Khuladen  To pinch
Khishan  To transfer
Khamaqazchan  To put off
Chashmeekden  To twinkle eye
Dishan  To know
Durpan  To itch
Durzan  To buy
Darikan  To sew
Disescan  To show
Den  To beat
Dehdang Den
Dodozu
Zumoosan
Zimadururan
Zurboin
Dakton
Dastden
Zhurton
Zekakden
Rechan
Rajen
Zein
Zardozan
Zeeden
Zhoran
Zhokak Noran
Zunegden
Zhush dezn
Chishakden
Zhbangdarzin
Shparizhan
Sharat Den

To beat drum
To bow
To console
Responsible or to take responsibility
To feel drowned
To grind
To shake hand
To bite
To dip out
To go
To feel pain
To wrap
To get hurt
To create a wave
To count
Moat rize
Druness in hair
To get emotional, to get excited
To get fever
To get high job
To be favourable
To snatch
Satoor: To admire
Sunoon: To rise
Shakhseen: To pass
Shizhan: To creep
Shakdozn: To slip
Shorongden: To get Sehandi
Shamin: To beat
Far Far Garin: To walk
Far ger Wosan: To attract
Fun Den: To tell a lie
Feeak den: To push
Faman: To understand
Seerseen: To stand
Sochen: To finish
Gayziman: To squeeze
Kokhum: To cough
Garudezen: To get away
Khushien: To listen
Kaniteen: To agree
Garin: To rise
Gayfan: To run
Khruzan: To fill
Khichan: To leak
Kheespan: To move here and there
Chrin'               To walk to and fro
Charon               To throw stone
Charoson             To twist
Liman den.           To qu erle
Lakan                To move
Lizhren              To leave
Lakhan               To lick
Mordzhan             To rain
Makan                To chew
Mushan               To steal
Nizaduzhan           To enjoy
Nakhghran            To eat up
Niqshan              To write
Nusun                To lay down for sleep
Nusan                To turn
Noon                 To weep
Niosan               To come out, to coo
Namiegin             To dance
Wazeen               To come
Wozoman              To bring
Wocun                To vomit
Hafan                To wear
Yzhosan              To tempt
Yonuk Wazeen         To sleep
Eatan                To eat
Some infinitives with "K" ending have already been discussed in the introduction of this thesis, but the following examples would also be of interest:

Orum katal
To rest
Inkor katal
To refuse
Istasal katal
To use
Intizer katal
To wait
Bakhish katal
To forgive
Besak katal
To increase
Dah katal
To kiss
Pulmak
To fall
Pazhak
To cook
Trekkih katal
To get-out
Took
To go
Todak
To burn
Tapak
To move
Tagham katal
To sow seed
Tanashar katal
To propagate
Tantang katal
To make complete
Sponak
To fill
Kosh katal
To pile
Juda katal
To separate
Jeofat katal
To bring close
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeer khashak</td>
<td>To milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeet katak</td>
<td>To keep away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal and not to milk mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot katak</td>
<td>To tear, to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalgak</td>
<td>To ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chak katak</td>
<td>To stop the flow of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisb katak</td>
<td>To attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heelak katak</td>
<td>To count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khushi katak</td>
<td>To lose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoskak</td>
<td>To like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakak</td>
<td>To draw, to milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheezhaw katak</td>
<td>Leaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chak katak</td>
<td>To come into eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dardak</td>
<td>To fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dome katak</td>
<td>To cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dak Dak katak</td>
<td>To make heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zok katak</td>
<td>To knock door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zat katak</td>
<td>To like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaiz katak</td>
<td>To make flour for cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeegh katak</td>
<td>To make a call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make lassi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hustarak katak
To hang

Rim katak
To make dirty

Zaman katak
To bear baby
(To give birth
to baby)

Zaqak
To look beautiful

Zee katak
To make a ghulail
To make bow

Zhar Zhar katak
To cough

Zang katak
To get a grade

Sumba katak
To think

Sama katak
To search

Seras katak
To make hole

Shor katak
To make noise

Shoea halak
To keep silence

Shitar khak
Ti kick

Shapak
To suck

Shitak katak
To play

Shakatak
To get cold

Soof katak
To clean

Salur katak
To be patient

Sade katak
To call

Gham katak
To grief, to be said

Gharak katak
No equivalent word
in English for
Gharat
Chilach katak: To doubt
Fikar katak: To care
Qarondak: To abuse
Qandak: To tie
Qoll katak: To smell
Qatti katak: To bring close
Qar katak: To get angry
Qo katak: To invite
Katak: To put in
Koung: To dismantle
Kandak: To laugh
Kauak: To twist
Gotak: To meet
Khatnak: To tell
Katak: To do
Ghatak: To reach
Ghash katak: To listen
Lish katak: To stop
Losh katak: To shine
Lok: To white wash
Hashghul katak: To get busy
Mazag katak: To joke
Wazak: To get tired
Doshak: To fear
Winag: To see
Wuzdak  To wash
Daruk    To catch
Hallak   To stay
Ke' katak To take away cattle
Hob katak To melt
Hep katak To swallow
Hokath katak To grieve over the loss of some one
Yikath katak To stand fast
Youndak  To carry
Younok   To sleep
Youndak  To keep
Youkatak katak To learn

Now a rare infinitive of Wakhi is "Do" which seems to have been borrowed into Wakhi language by contact with other languages.

Asgal Rado  To give honey
 Barkat Rado To bless
 Taalim Rado To give education
 Tobaruk Rado To give relic
 Sorg Rado   To give milk
 Send, kah shitido To tell a story
 Xukam Rado  To order
 Nejodo      To sit
Rado                    To give
Shikido                To break
Sado Rado              To call

The number of such infinitives is very limited; actually it is one word "Rado" which means "to give"; its use with a few nouns or verbs makes the infinitive.

This infinitive "Rado" seems the original one of the Wakhi language. In other languages of the Northern areas and Pamir the infinitive ending with "Do" has not been noticed so far by the author.

The infinitive ending with "n" in Wakhi under the influence of Persian seems at first glance as a "forced product" of some linguistic mind. But a thorough study of the Wakhi language, ultimately revealed that though these infinitives have crept in Wakhi from Persian, which is the result of centuries-old contacts and relations with Persian speaking people, at this stage, these borrowed infinitives do not seem to be a forced product. Due to frequent and open use this infinitive ending has become part and parcel of the Wakhis' language.
Some Wakhi infinitives ending in "ar" are as follows:

Orpasnar
Ornar
Kehnr
Hognar
Bakhshishsar
Webnar
Ganar
Durznar
Reesongar
Bindakar
Pznar
Puranar
Taki serkar
Salanar
Reesnart
Pemuzar
Japnar
Tushnar
Kifgar
Puiyanar
Durupanar
Wursnar

To stand
To fall
To throw
To weave
To grant
To come out
To rise
To bear
To cut
To blind
To cook
To ask
To fill
To support
To fly
To wear
To twist
To cut to decorate
To crack
To graze
To itch
To buy
Visinar, To sleep
Kindakar, To laugh
Chalgakar, To ask
Joinar, To read
Etaran, To eat
Rudahwar, To give
Durwar, To harvest
Dirbunar, To sew
Gischnar, To run
Winger, To see
Gaitgar, To arrive
Rijnar, To go
Bishowanar, To sweep
Nimijnar, To dance
Dukhanar, To rub
Witnar, To be
Usdnkar, To wash
Shakingar, To break
Shapakangar, To bloom
Dishinar, To know
Kobushuyinor, To hear
Ustuenar, To send
Dezamnar, To sell
Khuranar, To sew
Kohkar
To do
Nikhingar
To draw
Kejar
To foam
Pogainar
To dig
Chukinar
To bruise, to beat
Hetsar
To perform, to pay
Liissar
To give up, to leave
Fishingar
To become, to turn
Udrukar
To take
Nu-u-nar
To weep
Virkhubanar
To spread
Khingar
To speak
Na-nidar
To sit
Visofanar
To show, to appear
Nivishnar
To write

The Wakhis are bilingual; wherever they are, they speak one local language besides their own. In Wakhan they speak Persian besides their mother tongue, as Persian in Wakhan is the official language and majority of the Badakhshanis are Tajik. In Gulmeet (Hunza) area the Wakhis speak Broshusky and Urdu, Broshusky being the local language while Urdu is the language of mass media. In Broghil and Ashkoman the Wakhis speak Kohwar besides their own language as Kohwar is the local
language of the area, with which they deal day and night.

Out of necessity they speak local languages besides their own. Due to the opening of Karakorum Highway, Wakhis apprehended more foreign infiltration into their culture and language. To meet this challenge, educated Wakhis formed an association. They argue "we should be colour blind, but not linguistically deaf, we should be a rainbow, but not a cacaphony. We should not accept other language" etc. But as a matter of fact the Wakhis language has adopted thousands of words from its neighbouring languages as has already been discussed. These borrowed words have enriched its vocabulary.
Northern areas are a paradise for the linguist because he finds there more diverse and historically interesting languages than perhaps in any other area of the same size. The number of different languages no doubt creates special problems, but fortunately among the dialects which are numerous and widely different, there are three major languages, that is Shia, Russian and Moghul, which are the immediate neighbours of the Wakhi language. The remote and inaccessible mountain valleys were such strongholds as offered each tribe the opportunity of retaining its language and traditions in relative isolation right up to modern times.

From the geological point of view the earth’s surface is built up of primitive and eruptive rocks, of sediments, conglomerate and sand-ducks. Such terms might also be applied to the linguistic geography of Northern areas of Pakistan.

Most of the languages of the region belong to the Indo-Iranian branch of the great Indo-European family to which Greek also belongs.
The most important ones are spoken by the Turkish families of Wakhan and Badakhshan; some families of Hunza consider themselves the descendants of Alexander the Great. While some learned people of the area, according to Col: R.C.P. Schomberg, declared that their forefathers who were nomads had migrated to this green beautiful belt long ago from Central Asia; some families migrated from Chinese Turkistan (Kashgar) and were of Chinese origin. Similar is the case of Wakhis, who a few centuries ago had migrated from Wakhan for better living or might have been driven out from Wakhan and they came and settled down in Hunza and its adjoining areas. Some families of Wakhis settled down in Broghil area of Chitral district.

According to George Margestierno's article entitled "The Languages of Afghanistan" published in the magazine named "Afghanistan" No. XX 1967 published in Kabul:

"When the Durran domination reached its fullest extension towards the North East, it may also have included speakers of Broshuksi in Hunza and Nagar valley north of Kashmir". It has not been possible to establish any connection
between Broschuski and any other group of languages, but it is impossible, although it is only a conjecture, that it may be the last remnant of a language extending once over a much larger territory before the Indo-Iranian invasion in the second millennium B.C. The Wakhi language being a liberal one, has borrowed many words from the Broschusky language. A list of these Broschusky words which came to the notice of the author are given on page 116.

"Shina" This is the language spoken in Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. Properly it is the language of Shin tribe, who, (although numerically inferior) have established their language to the exclusion of others wherever they have penetrated. Amongst the many dialects of Shina now spoken, that of Gilgit, which was the seat of Shin rule, is still considered the most refined one. The Shina language borrowed many words from Broschusky and later on from Kashmiri, due to immigration to the northern areas of Kashmir about two centuries ago.

"Among the various dialects Shina is the language of the Gurez valley in Kashmir or
the Astore valley, and of the Gilgit district, as far west and north as Yusin and Hunza. It also extends down the Indus valley through the Chilas country, as far as Palus and Koli close to the Indus Kohistan, on the left bank of the river. Again to the East, in Baltistan, there are isolated colonies of Dards, still speaking their original language, salti.

"Shina has many dialects: The principal ones are:

1) Gilgiti, the dialect of the Gilgit valley

2) Astori, the dialect of the Astore valley

3) Chilasi. This is the dialect spoken lower down the Indus, not only in Budar, etc., but also down both the sides of the Indus as far as Tangi and Sazin, and it is thence spoken as a second language as far as Koli and Palus. It is also spoken in the valley of Roshan and sporadically, to the north and west of the true Shina area, owing to one branch of the original Chilasi, the Machachi having become widely scattered. The other branch of the original Chilasi is known as "Shot", Chilasi closely resembles Astori.
4) Gurezi. This is the dialect of the Gurez valley. It resembles Chilasi, the sister dialect spoken in Chilas, and the Brokpa of Dras. It is also spoken by a colony of Gurezis who have settled in the village of Xint, which lies to the west of the Gurez valley, in the Chilas country, northeast of the Sainchar Pass.

Brokpa of Dras and of Han-Hanu:

The Shina of Baltistan are called Brokpa or highlanders, by the Balti, and are scattered over various parts of the country. The Brokpa of Skardu and its vicinity speak Astori, and those of Dras and the neighbouring country, a peculiar dialect of their own. Higher up the Indus, on the frontier between Baltistan and Ladakh, in the country round Dahir, and in the Ham valley, they speak another dialect of Shina. This differs so much from those spoken by the other Brokpas, that they are obliged to use the Balti language when conversing with them.

Shina being a prominent language of the Head-quarters (Gilgit) has considerable influence on other languages of the area. Wakhi was no exception. So, Wakhi has adopted the same
infinitive which the Shina had adopted by the influence of the Uighur language.

BROSHUSKY: This is a language spoken in Hunza, Yaseen and Punyal. It is neither Indo-Iranian nor Indo-European; it has been held in special esteem by linguists from the time it was first discovered comparable to that of Wakhi in Gulaccott and Wakhan; spoken by a small, but proud and effective tribe. Unlike Wakhi, the Broshusky language has resisted for so many times the pressure of the surrounding great language families. It has taken over countless loans from them, but its peculiar structure has remained unchanged through the ages. There is hardly a single trait in phonology or grammar which does not have a parallel in another part of the world, but these peculiarities are integrated into a system which as a whole can be called unique within the languages of the world.

The influence of Persia, Balsem and Swar on Wakhi language has already been discussed. The Broshusky language which is neither Indo-European nor Turkic has also influenced the Wakhi language by lending some nouns. The following words...
are borrowed from Broshinsky:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broshinsky</th>
<th>Wakhi</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leman</td>
<td>Leman</td>
<td>Apron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dargha</td>
<td>Dargha</td>
<td>Van Incharge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushkar</td>
<td>Mushkar</td>
<td>Chief runner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishta</td>
<td>Nishta</td>
<td>Lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cilli</td>
<td>Cilli</td>
<td>Carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madur</td>
<td>Madur</td>
<td>Bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cora</td>
<td>Cora</td>
<td>Cradle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baik</td>
<td>Baik</td>
<td>Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sugar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are many more words which are common in Wakhi and Broshinsky, which is the result of centuries of contact between the two nations. In return Broshinsky might have borrowed words from Wakhi, as it has enriched itself by liberal contact with other ethnic groups within and without the area. Wakhi is a living language, that is why it is lending and borrowing words from all those languages which come into contact with it.
Kohwar or Khawar is a language spoken in Chitral and the adjoining Northern areas of Pakistan. Linguistically, Kohwar is classified as an Indo-European language of the Duric group. There are an estimated 300,000 speakers of Kohwar, with the exact number being undetermined due to the difficulty in conducting an accurate census of this remote and far-flung area. W. Leitner in 1890 gave "Arniya" as a name for Kohwar. This language is also known as Chitrali and Cashqari (as the old name of Chitral was Cashqar). Indeed, the Pakhtoon name for Chitral itself used to be Cashqar Kuchek "Little Cashqar" as opposed to the big Kashgar, which is a major Muslim city in the Sinkiang province of China, at the Northern end of the Karakoram Highway.

It is believed that there were originally two major races in Chitral: the Khow, who lived in upper Chitral, and the Kalash, who lived in lower Chitral. The dividing line between them was near Beshum, approximately where Persian bridge is at present located.

The Khow were able to push the Kalash during the thirteenth century. Islam came to Chitral
from the Wakhan corridor, presumably through
Nurgil pass. Previously, the Khow are believed
to have been Buddhist. It is only within the past
few hundred years that the population of lower
Chitral has converted to Islam and today there
are a few thousand Kalash Kafirs which remain
there. In lower Chitral a large number of loan
words from Persian, Urdu and Pashto are in use,
whereas the original Khowar words are still
used in upper Chitral. However, native speakers
of Khowar never have even the slightest difficulty
in understanding each other, even though they
homo... — it might be two hundred miles
apart. There are several possible explanations
for this, the most likely being that according
to the Chitralis themselves, Khowar has been
spoken for more than a thousand years in the
high mountainous area of upper Chitral but only
during the past few hundred years it has spread
down through lower Chitral, presumably pushing
aside Kalash or other Kafir languages previously
spoken there. Chitral is virtually isolated from
the outside world. There are a number of mountain
issues leading out of Chitral which connect it with Dir, Swat, Gilgit, Nuristan, Badakhshan, Wakhlan and via the Wakhlan corridor of Afghanistan with China and Russia. All these mountain passes are snow-bound most of the year and are difficult and dangerous to cross. The only way out of Chitral is down the river to Barikot and Jalalabad in Afghanistan. This route has apparently not been used much by the Chitrals due to their fear of being murdered by the Pashtunis. As a result, the vast majority of Chitrals have never left Chitral, but they travel freely up and down the valleys within Chitral, which contributes to the linguistic uniformity. On the other hand, the minority languages spoken in Chitral have numerous dialects or are themselves dialects of languages spoken elsewhere such as in neighbouring Afghanistan. For example, Wakhi language which is a Pamiric language is spoken in far upper Chitral and in the entire Broghil area, and has also many speakers in Sinkiang (China) and in the U.S.S.R. except Wakhi no other languages spoken in Chitral are considered by linguists to be closely related to
Kohwar. The infinitives of both languages, Kohwar and Wakhi end in IK or AK. Moreover, there are hundreds of words of Wakhi in Kohwar. And similar is the case of Wakhi. The affinity between Shina, Khawar and Wakhi has already been discussed. Almost all languages spoken in Chitral are Indo-European languages.

In Khawar as well as in Wakhi even though I and R exist as separate and distinct letters, the boundary between them comes at a somewhat different place than it does in English. For this reason, a borderline "R" will sometimes sound to a non-Wakhi or Chitrali speaker like an "L", indeed, for this reason, the name of Chitral or Qashqal is spelled wrong. The correct spelling should be "Chitral" and Qashqar. When a speaker of Khawar pronounces "Chitral" or Qashqar, according to his ear the "R" in the middle of the word is pronounced exactly the same way as the "R" at the end of the word. However, to our ear, the terminal "R" sounds like "M" because of the slight change in the environment where the terminal "R" exists. On the other hand, when an ending is added that fact that the
terminal sound is really an "R" becomes readily apparent even to the ears of Non-Wakhi or Khowar speakers. For example, the sentence "I am going to Chitral", is translated "Chitbarote Diman" and both of the "R" sounds are clear and distinct to the Non-Khowar speakers.

Pashto and Persian being older languages are commonly understood and spoken in the North West of Pakistan and are also in the position of borrowing and lending words. These two languages have also borrowed words from Pamir--Harakorum languages. Pashto and Persian words can be discovered in Wakhi and vice-versa.

Now there are hundreds of common words in Wakhi which are borrowed from Persian and Pashto. Look at the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wakhi</th>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>Zader</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdi</td>
<td>Aabdi</td>
<td>Irrigated land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajim</td>
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**Note:** The table appears to be extracted from a text document, possibly related to language or cultural terms, with placeholders and annotations for English equivalents.
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<td>Bench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darakht</td>
<td>Darakht</td>
<td>Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharab</td>
<td>Kharab</td>
<td>Destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaga</td>
<td>Aaga Bidar</td>
<td>Awakened one, clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aagai</td>
<td>Aagai</td>
<td>Cleverness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jojo</td>
<td>Mubamu</td>
<td>Exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har chiz</td>
<td>Har omen</td>
<td>Everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Sala</td>
<td>Har Sal</td>
<td>Every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asman</td>
<td>Asman</td>
<td>Sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchay</td>
<td>Anchay</td>
<td>That is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maaran</td>
<td>Hairan</td>
<td>Surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aam</td>
<td>Ham</td>
<td>Also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawa</td>
<td>Hawa</td>
<td>Air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakhi</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaram</td>
<td>Aaram</td>
<td>Rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aasaish</td>
<td>Aasaish</td>
<td>Facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshiyar</td>
<td>Hoshiyar</td>
<td>Clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arzu</td>
<td>Arzu</td>
<td>Wish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yad</td>
<td>Yad</td>
<td>Remembering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yar</td>
<td>Yar</td>
<td>Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal</td>
<td>Deal</td>
<td>Spade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V

VOCABULARY

Human cultures are mutually influenced. Language is the vehicle of culture and the medium of culture transmission. A word is the basic unit of a language. As a result, lexical borrowing from one language by another takes place. This phenomenon seems to be universal. It is almost impossible to find a pure language, that is, a language that has not been influenced by another language at a certain point of its history. Wakhi is no exception.

Wakhi, is a living language and contains borrowings from both the substratum and superstratum of the area languages and hence serves to reveal the assimilative processes of the two basic types. In regard to the substratum, Wakhi contains about fifty words of Kirghiz origin, a good part grouped in rural vocabulary, for the Kirghiz invaders did not settle as farmers. As for the superstratum, Wakhi retains about 1000 Persian words, which are comparatively more numerous in Wakhan than in Northern areas of Pakistan. Except for a small number of borrowings previous to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan most
have only recently come into Wakhi from this language and are grouped in a special vocabulary of their own, notably military terms. A limited series includes Broshusky maritime terms due to the immediate neighbourhood. Other words borrowed from the same source testify to partial contacts and often to fashion imported from outside. Thus the Urdu and English vocabulary of sports, which introduced into Wakhi such terms as Hockey, Football, Cricket, Tennis, Club etc. etc.

Isolated borrowings usually indicate imports of raw material, foods, or manufactured goods (for example sofa set, tea set, coats pantalons, bulb etc. etc.)

Vocabulary is a vast and complex field. Within the large and relatively loosely organized mass of vocabulary, the individual actions and reactions of words have a special importance; detailed explanations of changes of meaning are usually possible only when, as is the case for eliminations and innovations, the factual details may be established historically or by direct observation. Nevertheless, the main trends may be traced. Sociological linguistics has shown
that changes of meaning very often, if not almost always, have as causes, the specialization of certain terms in certain parts of the population, specially to the designed tools or technical operations; the borrowings of one fraction of population from another.

One could say, in a sense, that in all languages, in general, the vocabulary of the educated and intellectual class was formed by borrowings from the common languages of the other classes. But one must also consider that every society has gradually evolved from expressing material things to the exchange of ideas. Intellectual vocabulary was created essentially by metaphors, that is to say, transference from a material meaning to an intellectual one. A language, individually expressed and perceived, exists and evolves only in a social framework.

When from the outside looks at language classification one can see that it bears a relationship with the classification of
societies and that, like them, it is uncertain. It also has its own history, which does not coincide with any other language. Language is in itself a factor in both the temporary uniting and dividing of social groupings and in their evolution.

If one looks at its internal aspects, in the way it functions, one notes special forces of organization and movement. Regardless of whether one considers the phonic material, the grammatical structure, or the lexical mass, each is unevenly and more or less directly related to the general conditions of the phenomena of nature, to physical conditions proper to man and his societies, to collective and individual psychic conditions and to social conditions. This is true not only under the aspect of intellectual super-structure, but also under the aspect of economic infrastructure.

Linguists must endeavor to apply appropriate methods in examining each one of the problems in detail; it must apportion the work among different disciplines and administer to the whole, as is done in other sciences, general methods of research and explanation.
The vocabulary presented here is a collection of those words which are apparently borrowed from Persian, Pushto, Turkic, Shina and Urdu. According to the requirement of the Wakhi language, to make infinitives the suffixes "ak", 'an', 'ar', and 'do' are added. Such Wakhi words in alphabetic order may be studied below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Oh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>To melt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAb</td>
<td>Curse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAg</td>
<td>To awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAi</td>
<td>Come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAimish</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAinda</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAI</td>
<td>Stay- hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAj</td>
<td>To change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAjish</td>
<td>Dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abb Khaiz</td>
<td>Lift irrigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abb Duzd</td>
<td>Depth of water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Affun
Affuni
Atianak
Aat
Aatwok
Akhar

Opium
Opium addict
Syphilis
Eight
Eighth
Bucket (from where animal take fooder)

Akhun
Arzan
Arzish
Arghuwan
Ara
Ara Khaskaz
Azad
Azmud
Azmod Dozadak
Asan
Austad
Anbia
Alad
Aznman
Atlas
Anar
Andam

Teacher
Cheap
Price
Red
Saw
Saw driver
Free
Try
Tried one
Easy
Teacher
Teaching
Residence
Sky
A precious cloth
Pomegranate
Parts of body
Abd elast
Abbdar
Adrar
Aeewe
Afak
Affun
Affuni
Aftak
Afan kazak
Aftakeen
Afghan
Afkar
Afridgar
Afsurda
Afurdagi
Agarchay
Aiilurhet
Aiichi
Aiilta'
Ainsan

Ablution
of water
Present
One
Weaving
Opium
Opium addict
Woven
Weaver
To weave
Crying
Able to weave
Creator
Sad
Sadness
Though
One might
Ambassador
Shirt
Human
:141:-

Awoza
Awoch
Abb Khaiz
Abb Duzd
Abb Dast
Afak
Aftak
Aftakeen
Afkar
Afam Kazak
Akhshige
Airak
Aur
Anif
Ayash
Aal
Ashtar
Aoob
AA
Aaluu
Aatishak
Aoot
Aoot Sarak
Aookh Bazzrak

Rumour
High
Lift irrigation
Unknown depth of water
Ablution
Weaving
Woven
To weave
Able to weave
Weaver
Fire
Barlay
Cloud
Dew
Iran
Stay, Hold
Camel
Seven
Ch.
To change
Lightning
Open
Opening or to open
To get shaved
Aiddar
Ajal wazan
Ajal
Ajazat Dorzan
Akhshiga
Akhur
Akhun
Alad
Aladi
Am
Amash
Ambar
Amkan
Ameesht
Am nuseek
Amar
Andam
Andasha
Anif
Anntizor katak
Anntizor zhr
Aoch
Aoct
Aoct sarak
Right
To die
Death
To take permission
Fire
Bucket
Teacher
Residence
To get right
too
For ever
Pilestore
Possibility
This much
To dreamer
Pomegranate
Part of body
To worry
Dew
To wait
Waiting
seven
Open
To open
Aeqkh Daze Kurak
Amash
Aintikhab
Aladi
Andesha
Ainhisar
Amysan
Azar
Azar Kun
Azar Dawak
Afridgar
Adra
Aikta
Aoch Duma
Ambar
Afurdada
Ainkuin
Atak
Atakizak
Aasi
Ashak
Aooch Sarak
Azi
Azh
Barbar
For ever- eternal
To select
To get right
To worry. To care
To depend
To display
Trouble
Cause trouble
To give trouble
Creator
Present
Shirt
Wind of East
File. Store. Nursery
Unhappy. Sad. Worried
Caused sleep
To eat
Eater
Like that
Jaw
To light
Like this
Shop
Acokh Dazo Kurak  | Barbar
Aodak               | Today
Aooch Sarak        | To light
Aoodgansht          | To night
Aootgarwar          | Of to day
Aoz                 | I
Ar                   | Saw
Ara Khaskaz         | Saw driver
Arghawan            | Red
Aroish              | Evening
Arom katak          | To rest
Arom zhur           | Resting
Arzan               | Cheap
Arzish              | Price
Arzu                | Desire
Asan                | Easy
Ashak               | I aw
Ashtar              | camel
Ashkar              | Obvious visible
Asman               | Sky
Ast                 | Slow
Astana              | Tomb
Astamal katak       | To use
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astamal zhr</td>
<td>Using</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asteen</td>
<td>Piller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atak</td>
<td>To eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata kizak</td>
<td>Eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atishak</td>
<td>Syphilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlas</td>
<td>A precious cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austad</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awai</td>
<td>Alas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awal</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awayzan</td>
<td>To display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awaz</td>
<td>Sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awoch</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awoch sank</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awoza</td>
<td>Rumour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aynhisar</td>
<td>To depend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aynkuin</td>
<td>Caused sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayntikhab</td>
<td>Selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayrak</td>
<td>Barlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azar</td>
<td>Trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azar Dawak</td>
<td>To give trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azer kun</td>
<td>Cause trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azh</td>
<td>Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azhidar</td>
<td>Serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azi</td>
<td>Like this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Amight  This much
Allmish  They
Ainda    Future
Ali      Come
Afsurdagi Sadness
Aoz      I
Aslan    Tomb
Awaz     Sound
Aashtar ban Camel driver
Asteen   Pillar
Ainsan   Human being
Aiddar   Right-Equal
Asta     Slow
Askan    Possibility
Azhdar   Serpent
Ashkar   Visible-open-Obvious
Awai     Alas
Ash       Dish of curd
Afghan   Crying
Barich   Twist in trouble
Butan    To drop. To throw
Jarkat Pand  Drop-. Throw
Badam    Almond
Saditak  To walk
Azmod Dozadak
Azmod
Azod
Tried one
Try
Free
Bazar
Bainjan
Bawar
Baibar
Bakht
Bakhtnawar
Bowgh Picch
Bakshish Saraq
Baay
Bisasa
Behra
Bok
Barkat
Durut
Bel
Bous
Binimak
Bundi
Bunyan
Bunyan Katak
Baghi
Baghescha
Baghish

Bazar
Aubergine
To believe
Lion
Fortune
Lucky
Box
To give prize
Rich-Wealthy person
Not tasty
Part
Lighting
Bliss
Gun powder
Better
Stop, enough
Sufficiency
Without salt
Prisoner
Foundation
To lay foundation
Garden
Small garden
Orchard
Bizakh
Bulaey
Bitat
Bi Abru
Biyoung
Bizik
Bi Asteen
Bi Kund
Binabar
Bikhon
Binowng
Bidar
Bakhuda
Bahar
Bana
Borya
Bawajud Wazak
Bukhar
Bact
Bursidar
Behisht
Behishti

Without thorn
Twice
Without father
Without honour
Without sleep
Without tongue
Without pillar
Without wife
Without kith and kin
Without house
Without name, means not famous
Awakened
By God
Spring
To pretend
Sheet to sit on
To take birth
Fever
Able-bodies, Strong
Brave
Paradise
One who lives in paradise
But Uffan Karak
Siyyaban
Surji
Sun Aasha
Bar band
Badban
Bamaza
Duch Putar
ar
Behru Dar
Bugand
Buse Laysh
Bu Bakhish
Bu Pad
Bu Palch
Bu Chazhmi
Bu Kundi
Bu Wazhdakak
Bu dast
Buyan
Buchot
Bunch khwor
Bulaee Jecek
Bergard
Weaver
Desert
Minaret
Place
Anticipation
Sail
Tasty
Cousin. Also son of midwife
Out
Fortunate
Both sides
Two horses
Two equals
Of two legs
Of two pages
Of two eyes
Of two wives
Of two ways
Of two hands
Second
Two and half
Bread eater
To call to
Return
Knee
Foundation.
Base
It is better to do
Beautiful
Goodness. Charm—Beauty
Double
To grumble
Grumble
Cut
Cloth
Uncle
Phlegm
Ring
High
Gardener
To Kiss
Good—Beautiful
Ill—sick
Thin
>> voice
Thinness
Space
Bach
Baas
Baay
Babar
Nadam
Badban
Badirtak
Bend
Barich
Bagh
Bainjan
Bagheecha
Baghish
Able bodied
Sufficiency I, Repent
Wealthy person
Lion
Almond
Sail
To walk
Prisoner
Twist in trouble
Garden
Aubergine
Small garden
Orchard.
Ciberzhidak
Ciberchot
Ciber kish
Ciber showng
Ciber shawc
Cieesh
Cikamrji
Cikoraʃ
Cikorafak
Cilla
Cinar
Cinar uopak
Cisdurfakin
Citraeen

Cross-roads
Fourth
Square
Frame of a door
You (respect)
To make equal
Curd,"ard
Curdness Hardness
Turban
Swift
Swift water
Needle work
Sent

D
Dagh
Dana
Dargha
Daricha
Darya Luzh
Daroo
Darum
Dasarmastdi

Spot
Wise
Room
Window
River bank
Medicine
Wealth
To cover head
Dasht
Daw
Dayshatkeen
Dayshok
Dayshin
Daysh
Digar
Doz
Durmji
Durozhak
Durozha kazak
Dunya parast
Durpak
Duni
Duma
Duma wazmatki
Durozh
Dozok
Durzak

Desert
Run
Identified
To identify. To know
Identity
Understand
Other
Rise
Here
To sew
To sew
Greedy person
To scratch. To cut
Near
Wind. Air
Airy. Windy
Sewing line
To fly
To take
Dalya  To crush
Dala  Wrestling
Dust  Inside
Dunya  World
Dunyai  Worldly
Dost Zarak  To keep friendship
Dorang  Two-coloured
Dosad  Two hundred

Dawal  Wall
Durbach  To sweep
Durbach Dink Kozak  Sweeper

dudila  Unwilling, diffie-mindd
Dursak  Forest
Damad  Son-in-law
Dan Khushk  To breathe
Dayaman  With
Durtawz  Of turning
Dam  Back
East East  Beach
Dawo  Stake
Dondak  Tooth
Dondan Kav  Dental
Dondam Shikan  Tooth breaker
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burz</th>
<th>Search</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burz Kazak</td>
<td>Searcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beedakak</td>
<td>To look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beedagsh</td>
<td>To look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deya</td>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexayug</td>
<td>Villager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom</td>
<td>Unfair-Not genuine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lurpak</td>
<td>Sewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suro</td>
<td>Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dast</td>
<td>To touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dast Danak</td>
<td>Hand and foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dastat Pod</td>
<td>Under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>Sleeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barost</td>
<td>Lamb ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buiba</td>
<td>End of shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banaa</td>
<td>Away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishch Kazak</td>
<td>Nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukazh</td>
<td>Take_Hold on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burz</td>
<td>Leak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba</td>
<td>Recognize_Remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burozh</td>
<td>Sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besozhak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durozh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durakht</td>
<td>Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekhti</td>
<td>Hit, Beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deh</td>
<td>Beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damshak</td>
<td>To forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eatak</td>
<td>To eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eatakazak</td>
<td>Later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebak Uctak</td>
<td>Awake One whose dream or slumber has gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didad</td>
<td>Equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sdurbat</td>
<td>'little, little while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimti</td>
<td>This is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biroshak</td>
<td>Sunset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biroish</td>
<td>Evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bind</td>
<td>Last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bind sal</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sich</td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sive</td>
<td>Lonely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatkeen</td>
<td>Dismissed, Removed, Driven out, Forced out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejeen</td>
<td>Rug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esteen</td>
<td>Pillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyamish</td>
<td>These are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Faat
Fafila
Fafila Sashi
Falauz
Fandurdawo
Fand
Parishta
Parsiden
Fasal
Fatha khwani
Fifich
Fokas
Fokas ditak
Forosh Wahandak
Foxo dur kazak

Caravan
Head of Caravan
Paralysation
To dodge, to deceive
Lie
Angel
Snake charmer
Crop
To offer Fatha, To pray for
a deceased person.
Too much
Snake
Snake bitten
To close animal's mouth
not to eat or drink
Snake charmer
Fokas parak | Snake poison sucker
Furmaish | To ask for
Farigh | Free

Gagzh | Suffocation
Ganand | Sharp-fast
Ganand sarak | To sharpen
Gandeem | Wheat
Gandum Purdawan | Wheat seller
Campirak | Lighting
Gardgi | Skin
Gardahn | Neck-Back
Gatszh | 
Garmseer | Hot
Gakht wodrak | To get around
Gardgi kha kazak | Hide and leather worker
Geer | Involved, arrested
Globazi | Polo
Gurbayak | Dusty wind
Cumrah | One who has lost way-sinner
Gosnak | To run
Gos wazak | To make running on
Gozhokha kazak | Well-digger
Garchot
Gazhish
Gash tur gash
Gashingiz
Gazhig
Gorkana Kazak
Gazhataqeen
Gatchok
Gatuksh
Gowara
Gainz
Galsigh
Galsig
Goug
Gurgosha
Gandrang
Gorkarak
Ganduntand
Gozd
Gozdak
Gozda Sarak
Gandeem
Gandam Purdawan

Leak
Mouth
Mouth to mouth
World
Stony
Grave digger
To gather
To deliver
To reach
Cradle
Treasure
Deep
Deep
Nearness
All sides
Lady, Woman
Grave
Necklace-Garland
Thief
Thief
To steal
Wheat
Wheat seller
Gardaf
Gaziish
Gaziish Rizak
Chish katak
Goshtwar
Cishak
Gosht
Goshtuwa Kazek
Goshtdar
Goshtigah
Gnaik
Gorkan
Chartikken
Crow
Gadai
Gada Zaman
Gadaik
Gar
Garwan
Gordagurd
Garzowak
Garzak

Whirlpool
Ear
Ear pain
To hear
Ear ring
Lobe of ear
Neat
Neat eater
Neaty
Healthy animal which has much meat.
To fuck
Grave digger
Sown
Group
Baggar
Son of beggar
Beggar
If
Collar
All round
To make move or to make walk
To move
Goman
Goz
Geela
Gandum
Gandum dinakak
Gum
Gum sa gun
Gum Dinak
Gum Khore
Gashik
Gashcut
Garz
Gazr Chapak
Gazreen
Gazran
Gazdi
Gerzak
Gera Kazak
Gash
Gashak
Gaybano

Doubt
Paralyze
Complaint
Scorpion
Scorpion bitten
Little
Very little
Little sleep
Little food eater
Male
Listen
Wool
To spin wool
Woolen
Return
Stood up—Finished
To stand
Not faithful
Child
Small child
Madam, Mistress—Lady
Haytsad
Hal
Hamrang
Hamroh
Hangas
Hawa
Hayran
Hekifich
Hersala
Her soon
Her War
Hercheez
Hooz
Hushyar
Huqla
Huqli
Huqlikak
Inhayzar
Inkeen
Insan
Intikhal
Inyat Wina kazak
Isteen

Seven hundred
To be
Like that—Exactly the same
Fellow-traveller
Flame of fire
Air
Wonder-struck
Both the ends
Every year
As much
Every day
Every thing
1
Clever
Little
"little boy or little animal"
Littleness
To depend upon
Dream bringer
Human being
Selection
Dreamer
Pillar
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ja Ay</td>
<td>To learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaibki</td>
<td>Pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Water pit-water container for drink like glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jang</td>
<td>Leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jangi</td>
<td>Fighter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janwar</td>
<td>Deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jang winak</td>
<td>One who likes to see fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawan Marg</td>
<td>Dying young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawani</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je</td>
<td>Dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenan Winiti Keen</td>
<td>World experienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilczhdankak</td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiti</td>
<td>One who has place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jogond</td>
<td>Polo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jofat</td>
<td>Couple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josh</td>
<td>Boiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jojo</td>
<td>Very narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jokh Malanga</td>
<td>Tide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jowanak</td>
<td>Any young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jowaer</td>
<td>Jewels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juri</td>
<td>Dirt</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
K

Kafi
Sufficient

Kaghaz
Paper

Kaghaz Pardawan Kazak
Paper seller

Kaach
Spoon

Kabun
Part-branch

Kala Pasbak
Down-Low

Kay
But

Kachie
Again

Kalan Sal
Old man

Kampal
Blanket

Kawoyani
Flag

Kazr
Knife

Kongil
“ud straw plaster

“orkor
With eyes shut

Koot
Top of house

Kubas Zang
Seed of cotton

Kufak
Leak

Kulban
Under arm

Kushnik
To hear— to listen

Kuit
Disobedient

Kukhtak
All
Kuldar
Kapach
Koknar
Kunay
Kor Parak
Kushan
Kundak
Kundoqk
Kando Kazak
Khorak
Khozh gaiing
Kurd gashsh
Kund Paraat

Kurkeen
Kunar
Kabun
Kund
Kund Yonadak
Koh
Koheer
Kurgha
Kaghaz
Kaghez Pardawen - Kazak

Four-legged (Animal)
Spoon
Opium seed -
Rough thick cloth - Kader
Flying mouse
To know
To laugh
To make laugh
One who makes laugh
Food
Sweat
Curved face
Obedient husband_Worshipper
of wife
Able to be done
Bank of river or canal edge
Part - Branch
Wife - Woman
To have a wife
Mountain
Mountain ranges
Crow
Paper
Paper seller
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kafir</th>
<th>Irregular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khan</td>
<td>Mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafan Durazkazak</td>
<td>Shroud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kushpach</td>
<td>Coffin stealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kargas</td>
<td>Big basket laden on camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisa</td>
<td>Vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kado</td>
<td>Pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koch</td>
<td>Vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koch Dawak</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koch Sarak</td>
<td>To travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karor</td>
<td>To set out on travelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kushman</td>
<td>Crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karan Kozak</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kush</td>
<td>Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kush o fash</td>
<td>To sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kishit</td>
<td>To hesitate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kath Sarak</td>
<td>Field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaf</td>
<td>To mix up—To indulge in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulb Sazi</td>
<td>Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kam Wikan</td>
<td>To win heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahtih</td>
<td>Little blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kucha</td>
<td>Pigion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karak Achak</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hen cage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kurot  
Khard  
Koch  
Koshish  
Koshish Sarak  
Kafgar  
Kuna Kazak  
Koshow  
Kaes  
Kunj  
Kaatir  
Kamkhur  
Kumanak  
Kac Kasand  
Kurk buz  
Kurkuk  
Kundak  
Kafash  
Kafash Darzhou Kazak  
Kita Kazak  
Kiniz  
Karpcha  

Bend  
REGINA  
Try  
To try  
Big spoon for rice cooking  
Deer  
Well  
Owl  
Corner  
Little  
Little eater  
Bow  
Kith and kin  
Who keeps fighter cocks  
(Murgh Baz)  
Cock  
Smiling  
Shoes  
Cobbler  
Finder-Discoverer  
Female servant  
Quilt
Kambaghal
Poverty

Kanak
Dysentry

Karak
Did

Kat
Not sharp

Kee t gan
Bride groom

Kuch
Power Authority

Kund Yondak
To meet—Get together

Kuhran
Plough

Kukht
All

Kushta Ni
Listened

Lagh
Joke—To laugh at

Laghchi
Joker—Satirist

Lak Lak Sarak
To quarrel

Lah Sarak
To give to leave

Laraz
Tremble

Larzan
Trembling

Lazra Kazak
Trembler

Liskhak
Lick

Loong
Right

Lotag
Clay utensil

Lozhodu lozho
Full
Larza
Larza Sarak
Larzak
Locq
Lowarch
Lafal
Leo Sarak
Loparargreen
Lang
Langig
Lang Wazhak
Lage war
Lare Wari
Lal
Lashkar
Leech
Lulmi
Lajan
Leen, ar
Lubin
Lawozhtakeen
Lajam
Long
Trembling
To tremble
To make tremble
Become old—Getting old
Sand
Lip
To keep
Thick beard
Lamb
To be lamb
To make lame
Lapis Lazuli
Red colour
Ruby—Red
Army
Kick
Crop, without irrigation—
Solely on rain
Flour and water mixing vessel
Anchor
White beans
Mad person
Control
Thigh
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maak</th>
<th>Month</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mal Hal</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamon</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malosh</td>
<td>Spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghz</td>
<td>Brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardik</td>
<td>Semen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marand</td>
<td>Give it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maza Sarak</td>
<td>To taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Sar</td>
<td>Point of nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midan</td>
<td>Ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizak Sarak</td>
<td>To make water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modar &quot;han</td>
<td>Adopted mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun</td>
<td>Grand mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meer gatak</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdina</td>
<td>&quot;custed-rejected one-refused one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must Taqi</td>
<td>Handful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murda Uzda</td>
<td>One who bathes the dead body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzar</td>
<td>Noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzhdha</td>
<td>Good news</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marghol
Mangas
Murtad
Murda Jun

Much bended
Sparrent
Dead
Keep relation to the last!

Mirak
Murda Wazdak
Murda Ish
Muzz
Mazdar
Muzzarak
Must
Musti
Maad
Maadwazundak

To die
To give birth to dead body
Dead bodies
Wage
One who works on wages
Wage work
Excited one
Excitement
Waist
Ready to do (Anything)

Mulonak
Mour
Most
Muza
Maak
Meer
Mardik

Between
Apple
Handful
Shoe
Month
(Аmir) Political or spiritual
Head, leader
Boldness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nai</th>
<th>Nail</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naigaz</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naigazhrowa</td>
<td>Night day (daily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naigazhazak Kazik</td>
<td>Night walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>Throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napukhtak</td>
<td>Not ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawazak</td>
<td>To grant—To give away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqra</td>
<td>Silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobusnak</td>
<td>Wizard—Witch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Obuson&quot;</td>
<td>Comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noirizak</td>
<td>Throat pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowan</td>
<td>To weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowaritz</td>
<td>Weeping person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowak</td>
<td>Weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowkazak</td>
<td>Weeper (one who weeps)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noowotak</td>
<td>Shedding tears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nay, Flute
Nowda Horn
Hafurak Hatred
Nuzdak To sit
Milawazak To make sit
Milawaz Sitting
Nuzd Sit
Nah Pride
Man Mother
Naning Like mother-Motherly treatment
Nash Camel nasal rope
Na No
Maghan Sudden
Nari Breakfast
Nazhitak Delicate people
Nuz Saruk To pride
Nuzdak jay Sitting place
Nashapa Khutak Not yet in bloom
Maumeed Disappointed
Muster Desperate
Makhonak Not said—Untold
Mishana Target
Makhud Hatred
Mishan  Point
Mishar  Nail cutter
Muzfasak  To paste
Muzfasozhak  To make paste
Moring  Name
Noning  To name
Noning Kitak  First shave
Noroz  Norouz (Festival)
Nupas  Niece
Noker  Servant
Nepad  New starter
Nokushanak  Unheard
Kur Khi Ksen  Not gone
Nastan  I am not
Niyal  Plant
Niem Khas  Half ripe
Nakhinand  Taken

Gostad  Teacher
Goch  Height
Gtakseen  Weaving
Ctik  Woven
Cjar  To weave
Offan Kazak
Odak
Odgansakht
Ooch dast
Oochasansak
Ookh darzak
Ookhdarzakorak

Weaver
Today
To night
Elder-Man of upper hand
Highness
To get shave
Barber

Pahchak
Papak Papak
Pasak
Parak
Parwaz
'arinda
Pat wak
Palw
Pop
Pomkh keen
Pomakhak
Poplish
Punj
Pus Pashowk

To boil
Drinking water
To make boil
Ashes
Flying
Bird
Fan
Side
Papa( Father)
Worth dressing
Used dress
Water
Five
To fall ill again
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patak</td>
<td>Eye lashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paka</td>
<td>Fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pata</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pazisik</td>
<td>To light fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pazak</td>
<td>To cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pazisik Kazak</td>
<td>One who lights fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paro bal</td>
<td>Feather and wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasdozak</td>
<td>To get back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas Nadaw</td>
<td>To give again - To discard - To reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palch</td>
<td>Leaf - Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palchbar</td>
<td>Leafy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painda</td>
<td>Eternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemasak</td>
<td>To wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peist</td>
<td>Skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachak</td>
<td>Uses of dung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasgardani</td>
<td>Back biting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paskuzak</td>
<td>Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parnewnak</td>
<td>Belt of trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parda</td>
<td>To veil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parva</td>
<td>Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahlawan</td>
<td>Wrestler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahlawanani</td>
<td>Wrestling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parad</td>
<td>Last year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parashan Disturbed
Parashani Disturbance
Palang Tiger, leopard
Pannasbas To follow
Panandaz To take step
Pud basarak To bow before (To kiss feet)
Pomos Shoes
Pud vazraz One who spreads his feet
Pillow (Cooked rice)
Paleest Dirty
Panjah Fifty
Potghalet Bundle
Pachtgan Cooked
Pas Cook
Paya Ladder (Stair)
Pasht Heel
Padasarak To find
Parchad Maiden-Girl-Unmarried
Parchadak The time of her unmarriedness
Paywand To stick a piece with other
Puych Twist
Pychidak To twist
Pastqad Short stature-Not tall
Pasti
Pasti
Naxoo

Purpeich
Paloo
Paloo Sarok
Paloo Sarokak
Purtur Shitak
Pasek
Pestun Kazak
Patich Pulnak
Pasand
Pasandeitak
Pudji
Parich
Parlard
Frath Badok
Frath
Feri
Farolal
Farokden
Fatat Satat
Fatka Talak

Low voiced
Lowness
A stone which sharpens knife etc.
Worms
Shine
To shine
Shining one
Boy killer
To graze
Drinker
To pluck leaves
Like
To like
Place for foot
Mud worms
Sympathetic
Front teeth
Front
Fairy
One who has a stick
File of rubbish
To repeat
To get back
Panvarla Sarak
Parwaar
Parosch
Fazortakeen

Panah
Panah Sara Kazak
Pakiza
Paga Kh
Panak
Pay Zakhra
Pasha Kazak
Puk Kaham
Pudak
Pari Zaker
Pushed Kazak
Pushick
Puk Halca
Pak
Pushin Sitak
Pukhek
Piroshlan
Pianoon

To be brought up
Brought up
Heart
To fall in love, To give heart
To take refuge
One who gives refuge
Clean, Pure
Poplar tree
Sparkle of fire
Gift
Rabbit
Munch back
To scatter
Fairy girl
One who takes, work from other
To vomit
Munch back
Below
Catamite
Sting
West
Moon
Fishab
Protpajak
Fishapish
Pac
Prat Rasht
Pashaina Posh
Pushe

Urine
One who comes out to welcome
Forward and forward
Again
Going forward
One who wears wollen dress
Return

Rozak
Pasapac
Rudak
Rungi
Ruda Kazak
Rodos Kazak
Rud Kazak
Ruchak
Ruching
Nok
Roik
Rug
Nishteen
Tange
Nama

Flying
Cousin
To run away
Ran
Runner
To make one run
One who runs
To go
Going
Forehead
To cry
Véin—Blood Véin
Véins
Colour
Hand
Rugish  
Beard

Rukhan roce  
White face-Bright face

Rukhan Shafash  
Gray headed

Rukhinik  
Whiteness

Ruzak  
Soap

Ruzak Paz Pazak  
Soap cooker

Ruzak  
To fall

Ruz  
Face

Rubaru  
Face to face

Ruigeen  
To cover face

Rul  
Running

Sattain  
Sent

Shurish  
Disturbance

Shureham  
Fountain

Suargush  
Wicked

Shak  
Bad-Bad character

Shak dang  
Ugly

Sukan jay  
To make equal

Shulnich  
Naked

Sheen Khusha Kazak  
Chimney sweeper

Sapuz  
On foot

Sirfush  
Air filled
Saya Chasim
Sirsanash
Silkiley Shoom
Sick
Sapt
Subek Dast
San rand
Saya Luidich
Sunk
Sirupak
Suceed
Sirkubas
Sarchurum
Sea
Sagdaw
Sawazah
Siruda
Sabun
Surik
Sawar
Sapal
Sek
Sawaz
Star

With great pleasure

To punish

Darkness

Blame

Basket

Quick working person

How

Rise

Waterly Full of water

Cape

Cotton harvest

Pile of corn

Thirty

Dog race

Green

Call loudly

Soap

Coldness

Rider

Constable-Soldier

Your

Star
Surp
Sar ba Sar
Sarozh Wara
Sar Shaking
Sar Pestozhk
Sarish
Sar Same
Sarak Shoud
Salk Shig
Saz Kurik
Sodagar
Sukar
Suro
Surik
Surosarak
Surr
Suwe
Seer rang
Sutareeg
Sar Kuch
Sar Pazi Kazak
Supokz

Fatty-Bulky
Equal
Worry-
Broken head or wounded head
To cut neck
Gum-Fluid
In spite of
Warm and cold (Environment)
Man killer
To decorate
Trader
Red
Leak
Leaky
To leak
Cold
Rabbit
Bright colour
Emininity
Disobedient
One who cooks head of goat and sheep
House
Superg Plach
Superg Chapa Kazak
Sirpalich
Sakaban
Sarkhumbak
Sarkham Wazak
Sakhanak
Sarol
Sarkrandtak
Sutak
Sak
Sagaban

Surur
Sail Wazmatkeen
Satamak
Barmud
Lolu
Sagamjay
Shawn
Caga Chashm
Shauur gak
Sakaralch

Flower leaf
Flower plucker
Full of leaves
Going down
To submit
Low
To laugh at jokes
Full-Taken a lot
We
Sitting below-One who is used to sit
Thin
One who brings flood
To recite war poem
To bite-To harm
Turban
In the seat
Rope
With pleasure(On eyes)
Investigation
To construct a bridge
Shukhba
Seerekhon
To cross
Covered with blood

Shofash Atah
Siya ish
To spread hair
Yourself

Shor yopak
Sher
Salt water
Salty- Saltish

Showoch
Sinar Yopak
Sword
Narrow water

Shundrig
Shund Sarak
Heat
To get heated

Shaware
Shakhstakeen
Black faced person
Past

Sakhsak
Shakh
To pass
Pass

Shelam
Shani Maadgish
Shaigham
To compromise

Shawo
Showolax
To silence_Silent
Silence

Shukultaa
Show
To slap

Suya Shich
Sajtsam
To be afraid in dream
We ourselves

Sang
To rise
Suceed
Sooor Kubes
Sarchurama
Seetas Bursakinn
Shilar
Showkhyg
Shagird
Sawashz
Seor Phazhow
Sukuraf
Sukurik
Shota Keen
Sabun
SaranG
Showc
Sawar
Sepal
Shakock
Subuk
Shut Gati
Sawz
Star C
Sha
Cap
Cotton crop
Granary/Pile of corn
Needle work
To be killed
Hardness
Pupil
Green
Bold
Crude
Crudness
Chewed
Soap
Cold
Branch
Rider
Soldier
Insult
Light
Dusty
Your
Star
Circumcision
Shotak
Shula
Shad
Shubun
Sharet
Sharem
Shar Shar
Shugz Piyaz
Shaftalo
Shokh
Shehwat Ruchak
Shatooz
Shozhz Kak
Shakar
Show Shakingeen
Shordak
Shikan Shikan
Shakur Oak
Shikanja
Shap

Burnt
Shade
Six
Shaplezd
Wine
Shame
Sound-Shar Shar
Green Onion
Peach
Shapp-Smart
Wet dream
Green
Green eyed
Hunt
Broken horned
To spread
Result
Ask for

Earthen box, where village store flour
Intestine
Honey
Gathering
Scratching
To scratch
Scrach
To search for
Flower
Swimming
Swimmer
Wood
Wood cutter
Wooden
Playing field
Game
Broken
To defeat
To break
Defeat
Break
Breaker
Complain
Dirt
Bird
Kill
Repent
Shimani
Shukligz
Shikam Bazok
Shikam Farwari
Shugadz Boult
Shugadz yark
Shugadz Katak
Shugadz Catak
Shani Maadganiz
Shak nan
Shak rang
Shak Khak
Shap
Shidarjoy
Shia Kazak
Shukas
T
Trobastizis
Trobastzisam
Turshap Ravi

Repentance
Cowardice

Worshiper of belly, glutton
To fill his own's belly
Newly wealthy person
Inexperienced
Newly built
New commer
Marriage or 'Nikah'
Unmotherly treatment
To get rotten
To get spoiled
First milk after giving birth to calf
Alter-Killing place
Killer
Dream

Seventy
Seventieth
Rudeness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tarat</td>
<td>Day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarang</td>
<td>Sheet to wrap something in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana</td>
<td>Stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapai nalganeen</td>
<td>Cave-dweller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatwar</td>
<td>Like father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tat Martak</td>
<td>One whose father is dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatigz</td>
<td>Fatherly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takht</td>
<td>Throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatiage</td>
<td>Step father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatiya</td>
<td>Flame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taza</td>
<td>Fresh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab</td>
<td>Fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapur</td>
<td>Hatch-Axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapurzan</td>
<td>Wood cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokham Dinak</td>
<td>Seed spreading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokham Dinaka Kazak</td>
<td>Seed spreader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokhami</td>
<td>Of seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turab</td>
<td>Jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkh</td>
<td>Bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkha</td>
<td>Poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teet</td>
<td>Loud talker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takh</td>
<td>Thirsty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiet ti</td>
<td>Always-Eternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarazo</td>
<td>Scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukma</td>
<td>Bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tufra</td>
<td>Cloth basket tied on face of horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tut</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuf nistak</td>
<td>To get warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarsarak</td>
<td>To run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tar</td>
<td>Ran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tushin</td>
<td>Cut for finishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tayak</td>
<td>Heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiz</td>
<td>Sharp-speedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabar</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaka</td>
<td>Piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taj</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tar</td>
<td>Kernel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turazh</td>
<td>Fourth year-Of four year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taar</td>
<td>To a side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapat</td>
<td>Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapawok</td>
<td>To move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapewazh</td>
<td>To make movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teead Tad</td>
<td>Scattered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Travi
Travi Trevi
Tropod
Trovee
Tro Kundi
Tro geesh
Troaee
Takhta
Thung
Tabistan
Top Fist
Tar
Teena
Tawak
Tonog
Tonogigzh
Tardast chap
Tangal
Taga
Tarna bow
Taqi Tan Kazak
Three
Three by three
Of three legs
Three only
Three women
Three corners
Third
Sheet of wood
Corner of eyes
Summer
Goat skin
Thread
Your's
To night—For night
Hard
Hardness
South
Finger
Mouthful
Carelessness
One takes much food
Tah Khana  Basement
Tajeeq  To have
Turnoz  Proud-One who prides on
Teermoh  Autumn
Tatnan  Father mother (parents)
Turbar  Getting out-Oozing
Tarat nagzhd  First night
Tarat  First day
Tohat  You were
Tukhom-i-Murgh  Egg

U
Uf  Expression of boredom,
Ulema  Alas, oh, my God
Ukubet  Learned men- Doctors of
Ufach baf  Muslim theology
Uoch dum  Punishment-Torture
Uoch Sarak  Best
Uoch Sonak  Eastern wind
Uty  To put on fire-To make
Unidak  or to light light

Height
Taken away
To do
V

Varcinitak
To watch rain

Vororwar
Barani-Dependent on rain

Voshzawak
To give temptation

Voshik jay
One who parties on some one

Voshak
To pity

Voshak Kazak
Pity

Voshik

Vorok
To lay behind

Vokhum luk
Lay in blood

Veentageen
Acquaintence-To know one another

Voondar
Land

Vooz
Own

Vizid
Allowed to come

Vinsak
To see

Vinakazik
Looker-Who sees
Waham jin
Wazhogazhd
Waach
Wozandak
Wozantak
Workbihigzh
Waistakeen
Wakhane Kalti
Waach Putar
Warshik
Woshaknak
Woshtakeen
Wazik
Wozdd
Wozmak
Worama Kazak
Wazam
Wazamad
Wazak

Terrible - Dreadful
Fairy - Giant
Aunti
To tie
Tied
Not to get right
Accomodated
Murderer
Cousin
Fear
Fearful - Frightened - Coward
Defeated - Coward - Afraid
Reaching - Arrival
Arrived
To bring
To be brought
Bring
Brought
Twist - Side by side
Washak
Waum Pach Wazak
Wazshozk
Wazrak
Workhak
Wazkay
Wazarzik
Wosardsal
Wojark
Watik
Wasum
Wooch
Wooch Parotak
Wooch din Kag
Wooch din gek
Warkhafak
Wed
Wazch
Wozdiw
Washak
Light
To light a light
To go
Tomorrow
Tired
Therefore
Pillow
Of this year
Harsem ('shaftal (' Pr.)
Yes
To be done- To be
Arrow
To get arrow wound
To strike arrow- To hit
arrow
Arrow hitter
To stretch
Handle
Subordinate
To take bath
Laid down
Warach
wozditikeen
Wozdik
Wozdi

Y
Ya
Yad
Yand sal
Yand
Yar
Yay
Yaan
Yarak Sar
Yarak Sarak
Yeh Rang
Yeow
Yongal Shumar
Younaak Kazak
Yuuish
Yooti

Washing
To wash
Wash

ur
Memory
First year
First
Friend
That
With-together
Worker
Working
Like that
Singleness-To be single
To count fingers
Taker-carrier
They
Taken away
Z

Za
Zabani
Zad Hood
Zada
Zaeg

Zaman Murtak
Zamandar
Zandoon
Zakham Sara Kazak
Zakham
Zakham Watikeen
Zardak
Zarat
Zard Sarak
Zee
Zeebat Rang
Zeet
Zeet Lok
Zeet Batikeen
Zeher
Zehertak
Zeek
Zeeedur

Baby
Verbal
Descendant
Son of
Child hood
Father of dead son
Father of children
Pile of ice
Wounded
Wound
Wounded
Yellow
Mothers smell
Husband
Like smoke
Smoke
Smoky
Smoke eating
Poison
Make Poisonous
Tongue- language
Married
Zhawasarak
Zhrazh
Zhra: Purdawa
Zin Atam
Ziet tikeen
Zikh Vikh
Zindagi
Zienowom
Zind
Zis youce
Zis AAT
Zis Shadam
Zis Shad
Zisevow
Zowor
Zush
Zutak
Zubancha
Fertile
Milk
Milk seller
18th
Smoke stoppage or storage
Thorny bush
Life
19th
Give
Twelve
Eighteen
16th
Sixteen-16
Eleven
Power-strength
Late
Brick
Of language
CHAPTER VI

WAKHI MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX: ORIGINAL AND BORROWED

The word formation of the Wakhi language is mostly on the pattern of Turkic and/or Persian languages. For instance:

1. "Khuinun" means- woman
   The word "Khui" means sister (derived from Persian word "Khoher" (sister) with a variation) and "nun" means mother. So with combination of the words they made one word "Khuinun" meaning woman.

2. "Rechem" means I go. "Rech" derived from the infinitive "Rechik" means to go (it is on Turkic pattern), and the case indicative "em" for I. (Persian pattern).
   The word "obkhure" means "water vessel". It is a combination of two words "Ob" water "Khure" to take. "Obduz" means "water deep channel "Ob" "water" duz= "deep". "Deep channel". Now see few sentences how the words are being used in these sentences syntactically.

1. "Ayem toam baf khuug tei" means- "this food is nice and sweet".
   The analysis of this sentence is as
follows:
The word "Aye" is used in Hindko for "this" and with a slight variation in Punjabi "eye" this" "Toam" is semantic word means- "meal" (it is used in most of the Eastern languages for food. Which is due to direct influence of the Arabic language). "Baf" is the only pure Wakhi word, means "good nice" (Baf-Bafter-Bafen) (Good-better-best). "Khuzg"- means sweet, with a slight variation khug (Pashtu) means sweet. And the word "tie" means "is ".

Morphologically speaking most of the words used in the above sentence are borrowed words, but there is only one word "Baf" which is by origin a Wakhi word in its character.

"Bi"- or "Be" means 'without', it is a privative prefix in the Wakhi language.

The following examples of its use have been recorded. These prefixes are used mostly in Persian with a slight modification here and there. As per Wakhi pronunciation these are:

Be- aeib means faultless
Bi-barakat- "without blessing", unfortunate
Be-adab- Disrespectful- insolent
Be-adabi- Disrespect- Insolence
Bi-Dil-Timid, coward
Bi-faim- unintelligent, stupid
Bi-huish-unconscious
Be-Aqel- Fool, senseless
Bi-Kor-Idle- useless
Bi-Khabar- Uniformed- without information
Be-umied- hopeless- despairing
Bi-Moshaqqat- without labour- without- trouble
Be-Perwo- thoughtless- careless- handless
Be-Rahm- merciless- cruel
Be-rahmi- cruelty
Bi-wofo- faithless
Bi-wuqif- stupid
Bi-wakht- late
Bi-Izzat- Dishonoured- disgraced

All the above words are the combinations of two words. If the first portion of the cited word is removed the rest will give contrary meanings. This type of formation of words is a direct influence of Persian languages.
morphology on the morphology of the Wakhi language. Now see the use of words in sentences:

1. "Ti khone baf khanador-tei"  
   There is a good manager in your house.

2. "Siat baf te-ya?"  
   Is your health all right?

3. "Th-et-baf Teya?"  
   Are you well?

4. "Wez-em baf tei"  
   I am well

5. Zu ser shrizd paghareph-baf wost  
   I have headache it will be better tomorrow.

6. Yemi baf wustod; baf she zaxt-  
   He is a good musician he plays music well

7. Tsemen bafter  
   Better than this

8. Tsebafen baf luqpar  
   The best of the clothes

9. Yem yerk she mazer baf sednid  
   This work appears to me good

10. Baf khak  
    To put right

11. Baf khush roi  
    Very beautiful

12. Yupk bilek vita  
    The water has become divided
14. Haem basem wazda. I was able to do this.
15. Wuzem be bas ne-
wazdam. I was not able to come.
16. Kitob joina bas ne-
waziam. I can not read book.
17. Bismel kak. To slaughter (an animal).
18. Bet she koi khonne - He does not go to
rest. any house.
19. Yupk e dem gilas - This is full of water-
chak tei. chak tei.
20. Ra yazni pael chak-
tei; This skin (Mashk) is
full of curds.
21. Dem gilas yupk-
chak tser. Fill this glass
with water.
22. Ra yazn-paei chak-
tser. Fill this skin with curd-
tser.
23. Yi shen mate ke vita- When the iron has
chukan, become hot they
hammer it.

If we analyse syntactically one of
the above sentences, for instance we take
this sentence "Yupk edem gilas chak tei"
Yupk means- water; edem- this one-gilas- glass
chak-full-lei-is-

Now "Yupk" is "object".
"edem" Preposition
"Chak" adjective
"gilas" subject
"tei" Verb or predicate

Building a new vocabulary involves two main linguistic levels, namely semantics and morphology. Semantics concerns itself with the study of the meaning of the words coined, while morphology involves the study of the formation of words or terms. Whereas semantics is the study of the internal content of words; morphology concentrates on the external shape of words.

On the level of semantics, Wakhi has absorbed many concepts and ideas by means of literal or free translation from other languages of Pakistan and Afghanistan. There are a number of ways in which semantics plays its role in coining new Wakhi vocabulary. Here one comes across a virtual rebirth of old absoluts Wakhi words in order to express modern concepts and ideas. For instance "chov" to
be born". The word "chov" is not to be found in Lorimar's vocabulary. This is obviously an ancient loan word from the Sanskrit "Chyav" "to be reborn". In Soviet Wakhi, and forty years back in the Wakhi of Northern Areas of Pakistan, the word for "to be born" was a relatively modern loan word "Pashokash" or Paidaish from Tajiki.

Like Arabic, (traveller) the Wakhis used "Sayyara" to mean a "Caravan of Camels" now it means a 'moving star, or a planet". Old words may, however, retain their old meanings, and sometimes, they recur with a slightly different meaning in order to express new ideas.

The second semantic process in coining a new vocabulary is metaphor or "Majaz". This involves the use of metaphors or abstractions to render foreign vocabulary into Wakhi. For example, the word 'hatif' (Arabic word) or "hatip" (Wakhi) mean the "voice of inspiration", "barqia" meaning telegram" is borrowed from Urdu "lighting" - "Bari" used to refer to the old way of sending messages
when animals were used for transportation. Nowadays the Wakhis use it in the sense of "Post". They also use the English word "Post".

The third semantic process for coining a new vocabulary is by rendering cliches from a foreign modern into a local language. For instance "Tayyara" Aero Plane" "Khabar Agency" "News Agency" "Tanzimi Aqwamia Mutahida" United Nations Organization "Choson" Polo" "Pod Kan" "Foot Path" "Pudgy" "Foot ball" All these expressions are translated, at times verbatim, from English into Wakhi.

Now for the morphological processes involved in coining new Wakhi words.

Firstly, derivation: Wakhi words directly under the Arabic influence are normally formed from a root and a pattern (or Wazn) Certain patterns may denote a semantic feature. For example, the pattern "arah/aqah/sah" profession, such as "Tijarah" "Trade" "hidahah" "smithy"; "nijarah" "Carpentry" "Sinaah" "manufacture" "Ziraah" "Agriculture" helaqah "hair cutting".
Thus 'hilaqah', for instance, consists of the triradical root "hlq" and the pattern "Falah" (Arabic). Derivation involves the formation of nouns, verbs, and other categories. In the correspondence to derivation and obvious change has taken place, the root, however, is the Arabic triradical stem.

Secondly, compounding is a process in which two or more words are fused into a single word. Abbreviations can be considered to be a kind of compounding. For example, the word Aramco is an abbreviation of "Arabian American Oil Company". Similarly in Wakhi language the word "Yirghata" stands for "the sun has risen" and the phrase "Boleghienghate" means "He has arrived at Puberty".

The third morphological device in Wakhi is "Wakhization", which normally means the adoption of foreign words mostly nouns, with necessary modification to suit the morphological phonological patterning of
Wakhi. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Wakhis</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hasaba</td>
<td>Hisob</td>
<td>To count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallak</td>
<td>Hillak</td>
<td>To die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabara</td>
<td>Saberkatak</td>
<td>To patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakara</td>
<td>Pikerkatak</td>
<td>To think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qahera</td>
<td>Qahar katak</td>
<td>To be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaghala</td>
<td>Shaghalak</td>
<td>To keep busy do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashghala</td>
<td>Mashghalak</td>
<td>To/business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alama</td>
<td>Alam Rado</td>
<td>To know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hukama</td>
<td>Hukum Rado</td>
<td>To order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This process is not new to Wakhi and other Indo-European languages where several loan words shift from one language to other language. Many words have entered into Wakhi in recent years. Such as "telex", "television", "Villa", "camera", "Radio", "Helicopter", "V.C.R.", "Photo", "Photographer" from English and other languages spoken in Pak-Afghan areas and Sinkiang (China). Loan words are either adopted without any significant changes, or they may undergo changes according to the rules of Wakhi Morphology and Phonology.
For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
<th>Wakhi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tabaruk</td>
<td>Moah</td>
<td>Maak</td>
<td>Taboruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maychan</td>
<td>Mayhin</td>
<td>Air Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maikh</td>
<td>Maikh</td>
<td>Maikh</td>
<td>Nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuqra</td>
<td>Naqra</td>
<td>Naqra</td>
<td>Silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roo</td>
<td>Rui</td>
<td>Rui</td>
<td>Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishana</td>
<td>Nishana</td>
<td>Nishana</td>
<td>Target</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawad</td>
<td>Rud/Rush</td>
<td>Rud/Rush</td>
<td>Go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noca</td>
<td>Nopad</td>
<td>Nopad</td>
<td>Beginner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehqaan</td>
<td>Deyagyag</td>
<td>Deyagyag</td>
<td>Villager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nistam</td>
<td>Nistam</td>
<td>Nistam</td>
<td>I am hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihal</td>
<td>Nihal</td>
<td>Nihal</td>
<td>Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ooncha</td>
<td>Ooch</td>
<td>Ooch</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pazak</td>
<td>Pasak</td>
<td>Pasak</td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panka</td>
<td>Paka</td>
<td>Paka</td>
<td>Fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwah</td>
<td>Parwa</td>
<td>Parwa</td>
<td>Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pech</td>
<td>Paych</td>
<td>Paych</td>
<td>Twist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some loan words gradually disappear as Wakhi words are introduced to be used instead.
For example Khoineen "Koh nun" is being introduced and may well replace "Ajiz".

From the above discussion, we can say that Wakhi vocabulary is in the process of changing and developing rapidly in order to meet the needs of the modern age. This reflects Wakhi as a flexible language and it has the power of adaptability. Yet not all the resources of such a power have been exploited as yet. No one can deny the fact that Wakhi is on the path of standardization but the progress is slow. Mr. Lorimer had compiled a dictionary of the Wakhi language (in 1935) but that is not a standard work, (and a German Prof. Gearg-Buddress was working to improve upon the dictionary). Since 1965 Buddress has not visited Pakistan again. The present Lorimer's dictionary is not easy to use, because it is from Wakhi to English. In spite of this, it is a worthwhile work on Wakhi language and the oldest available source in Pakistan. What is lacking in the Wakhis is active professional linguists and language planners who can


Now the word "Ajiz" is not in use but khoineun.
jointly help to participate in the modernization of Wakhi.

Another linguistic issue to be mentioned here is the influential role of Arabic that has played on most of the languages being spoken by the Muslims, the world over. Arabic, as the language of the Quran has had a lasting influence on almost all the languages of the Muslims. These languages have borrowed from Arabic not only words but also expressions and concepts which are reflected in their daily expression, such as greetings and exchanges of cordial or courtesy phrases.

The language situation in Northern areas of Pakistan is commonly known as multilingualism, that is the co-existence of a number of languages in one and the same area or speech community. Today there is a general tendency towards the use of a common language, for the purpose of greater speed of communication among the people. Many socioligists look at multilingualism as an unhealthy situation which can be/hindrance to
communication. Language planners have been engaged in finding ways and means to overcome this situation. Due to the impact of Arabic most of the nouns are common in Persian, Turkic, Wakhi and other languages of the Northern areas of Pakistan. Interest in linguistic thinking may have started before the advent of Islam but our knowledge of this period is still limited. With the revelation of the Holy Qur'an and its codification, as well as with the collections of the sayings of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H), the codification did not only fix the rule of grammar, but also motivated intensive linguistic studies. Immediately after the revelation of the Holy Qur'an interest centred around the "Book" and its interpretation to followers from diverse parts of Arabia and outside Arabia. As a result, a new situation was created in which non-Arab Muslims faced difficulty in learning the

* Linguistics means the scientific study of a language, using scientific methodology and approach. Linguistics, like other disciplines, had its beginning, a peak of development and decline and revival.

* Dr. M.H. Bakalla "Arabic culture through its language and literature. London, 1984, P. 20-21."
Arabic language. Their presence amongst the Arabs led to the adoption of Arabic, but not without a heavy price. This was the gradual loss of the purity of Arabic in form and content. This situation is referred to by early scholars as a corruption or deterioration of the language, manifested in foreign accent, mispronunciation of words, poor enunciation, shifting of vowels and consonants and misuse of certain expressions, among other peculiarities. Some of these peculiarities might well have influenced the Arabs themselves. The beginning of Arabic grammar appears to have been as early as mid-seventh century A.D. during the reign of Ali ibn Abi-Talib, the fourth caliph in Medina. In his Biographical Dictionary, Ibn Khallikan (13th century A.D.) relates the following incident which is considered by many as the starting point in the codification of Arabic grammar. The Holy Qur'an is one of the most ancient prose Books and most of the Central Asian languages adopted
the Arabia syllabury, with minor phonemic adjustments, even they adopted the Arabic script.

So is the case of Wakhi language. Though it is one of the old Ghilaccha languages, it came into a written form only recently in Arabic script.

Borrowing from other languages is not a new phenomenon; it is, in fact, an old process which affected many languages of the world and it is still a strong force which can affect modern languages whenever opportunity or necessity arises. Borrowing can be measured with a high degree of accuracy if a language is studied linguistically in a comprehensive way.

If borrowing is a natural phenomenon, then what are the causes of it and the reasons behind it?

There are a number of reasons for borrowing from or between languages. The following are some of these reasons:

1st: Geographical (proximity): This means
that languages which are close or near to each other influence each other quite readily. One example of this is the situation of multilingualism. It has been found that in multilingual communities the languages spoken there constantly borrow from each other. Borrowing from Arabic by the neighbouring non-Arabic speaking countries is also another example which is largely meant to be for ease of communication.

There is the factor of Domination. For instance military domination of other countries and expansion in different parts of the world can spread the language or languages of the conquerors as is the case in modern times with some European languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, French and English which have spread to other countries.
Commercial and economic dominance may also be seen as a factor for expanding the territory of language beyond its original confines. It is always true that the dominating language gains linguistic expansion. There are some cases when the dominant languages of conquered areas influenced the dominant languages of the conquerors culturally and linguistically. The Mongols and Persians who conquered the Northern areas/hundred years ago, had soon embraced Islam and used the Arabic language as well.

The third factor for borrowing is necessity; for instance, nowadays the progress of modernization has affected the whole globe in one way or another and as a result some words from Oriental, African, European languages have become internationally recognized. Such words or expressions as tobacco, cigarette, Matches, bye-bye, are examples of this factor.

The Arabic language is a special case
in history, its survival as a living language preserving into form for 15 centuries is unparalleled as compared to any other existing language. Arabic loan words and expressions have penetrated many languages in the world e.g. Admiral (Amiral Bahr) Qrnea (Qarnayya) Alchemy (Alchemia) Alcohol (Alghol). As a vehicle of Islamic culture, Arabic has affected the languages of Muslims as well as others over the world. The Muslims of Arabian as well as non-Arabian countries quite often use Arabic words and expressions for prayers and greetings as well as in their worldly affairs. Many languages in Asia and Africa have acquired loan words and phrases from Arabic, especially through Islamic sources. In Asia, Persian, Turkish, Pashtu, Bengali, Urdu, Malay, Tamil, Kurdish, Panjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, Barahui, Shina, Broshusky, Khwar, Kalasha and Wakhi languages and many other languages are spoken. All these have borrowed words from the Arabic
As a vehicle of a great culture, Arabic has influenced a number of languages in Europe. Spanish and Portuguese still retain hundreds of words and expressions which they inherited from the eight centuries or so of Muslim rule.

It has also been found that there are two thousand Arabic roots in English, two thirds of which have become obsolete and about two thirds of the remaining third are still used in every day English, such as mosque (Masjid) alcohol (alkohol) and Sugar sukker, which was originally from the Persian shaker) every few Arabic loan words penetrated into English through direct influence. Most of the influence was indirect, through intermediary languages such as Spanish, French

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*Dr. M.H. Barkallah - "Arabic culture through its languages and literature"
London, 1984, P-68.
and Italian. Recently a book has been published, entitled "Ten thousand Arabic loan words in English" in Baghdad 1979, which says:

1. The Arabic words were not confined to religious terms. They also included some legal and artistic as well as scientific terms and expressions, for instance alchemy and alkali and many words in astrology and astronomy.

2. The Arabic loan words lost part of their phonetic shapes and tones and have become partially or totally unrecognizable by laymen as well as cultivated people, and even by some Arabs.

As compared to other languages, Wakhi has no parallel in borrowing words from Arabic. It would not be exaggeration if we say that eighty percent of words and expressions in Wakhi language are Arabic. The words which had been borrowed from other languages innocently by the Wakhi whenever their language came into contact with them have
been retained. Actually those words are of Arabic origin which the Wakhi had borrowed from Turkic, Persian, Pashto, Borshuski, Shina, Khowar, Punjabi, Hindko and Urdu. Let us compare some of the Arabic loan words in oriental languages:

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<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
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To conclude, the influence of Arabic on other languages and particularly on Wakhi language has so far been underestimated. There is a definite need for a fresh look at this area and a thorough investigation is required to appreciate better, the Wakhi morphology and syntax.
CHAPTER VII

Wakhi Proverbs and Phraseology

A proverb is called 'Mathal' in Wakhi.

It is commonly defined as a brief epigrammatic saying presenting a well known truth that is a popular and familiar to all. It is often used colloquially and set forth in the guise of a metaphor or in the form of rhyme, and is sometimes alliterative. "A proverb must bear the sign of antiquity and in most cases they have no authors and their origins are not normally known. Proverbs are not necessarily borrowed from another culture but different cultures may well have proverbs which are similar or identical without being borrowed. For instance the old Wakhi Proverb "Khud goi wa khud khandi" literally means "praising oneself is not appreciable"."

Proverbs nearly always say something more than that which is expressed in ordinary language.

Wakhi dialects share some of the general proverbs or proverbial phrases, but each dialect

* Mathal "means proverb not only in Wakhi but also in Pamiri and Arabic".
Wakhi may possess some localized proverbs which are not used or understood by the users of another dialect. Wakhi proverbs fall into two categories. Those which belong to the colloquial lore and those which are borrowed from the standard language, and usually used by the educated speakers.

On the whole proverbs constitute a rich mine or source for the Wakhi language.

Linguistically speaking, they are interesting as they retain certain features of the early stages of the language. One can expect lexical differences as well as syntactic and semantic changes which might affect the proverbs in the course of transmission from one generation to the next, or from one culture to another.

According to Dr. Bakala, proverbs constituted an important segment in the literary output of the Arabs. The Arab and Muslim philologists, linguists, literary historians and proverb collectors and compilers are

numerous in Arabic literature. This interest goes back to a period as early as the eighth century A.D. Amongst the compilers of Arabic proverbs are Ibn Ubaideh, al Zamakhshari and Al Bakri".

As earlier stated all oriental languages are greatly influenced by the Arabic language, so is the case of the Wakhi language. The Wakhi proverbial phrases reflect the life of the Wakhis, their way of life, habitat, social relations, moral values, manners and customs. In addition, it reflects their sharp ideas and wit, their powerful expressions and eloquence, and their mastery of the language.

Wakhi proverbs are interesting in terms of their thematic characteristics, that is, the relations which hold between the elements presented in a proverb. In terms of the phrase structure, a proverb may consist of two or more equal or almost equal number of elements, such as syllables, stresses, and words. Note the following
proverbs:
T som yumj ti kaf? Meaning, "How much flour have you (empty vessels make much noise).
Yi khalak khat shit. "A person killed himself"

Wakhi proverbs make good use of alliteration in some instances, the initial consonants of all or some of the words in the proverb are identical. Consonants of all or some of the words in the proverb are identical. For instance.

Kiz gena kirmiz gena
Am chek laray samiz gena, meaning "A beautiful girl attracts by sight, while an ugly one by wink".

Wakhi proverbs make extensive use of rhyme. That is the appearance of identical or phonetically similar consonants or vowels at the end of the words in the proverb.

Like other proverbs, Wakhi proverbs have their cultural implications in the sense that they can reveal the hidden character of the society and show its genuine
characteristics, and attitudes. Because of their brevity proverbs have been used quite after either as evidence to support one's viewpoint give advice to people. It is interesting to note that in Wakhi society the use of proverbs is limited. The educated and even some illiterate Wakhis narrate Persian or Turkic proverbs. (Wakhis are good at Persian (Tajiki).) Like other areas the older Wakhi generation use proverbs more often than the young generations.
THE NAKHI PHRASEOLOGY

According to Marcel Cohen "It is convenient, when making a comparative study of the relationships of morphological elements within a clause (simple sentence or elements of complex sentence) to use the time-worn term of syntax (from the Greek "Sun-Taxis" placing with). It is no doubt preferable when studying the sentence as a whole to speak of phraseology.

Extreme phraseological cases lend themselves more easily than others to study of interrelations among morphological processes, including the order of words".

Words borrowed from foreign languages, usually betrayed by their appearance, are generally grouped in certain categories of meanings. In Persian, Turkic, Pashto and Urdu, borrowings constitute a major part of the learned vocabulary. In Turkic a large number of military terms are of Persian and Arabic origin. While in Urdu and Pashto, besides Persian and Arabic, a majority of military, civil, official, administrative
and sporting terms are borrowed from English.

Walhi has taken advantage not only from the above mentioned languages in borrowing words, but also from her neighbouring languages, Shina, Breushsky and Khewar.

"A similar process, occurring in metaphoric transfer (metaphoric being Greek for transfer), is the shift of meaning from a concrete use to an intellectual one (this is one of the sources of vocabulary increase); thus to "seize" one's rifle, "seize" property, "seize" an opportunity. The formation of poetical metaphors is similar, i.e. "to be misty-eyed". (Marcel Cohen).

A language is always a tool, a series of reading symbols. Therefore, it is to be considered semantically and not emotionally. No language is sacred or profane in itself. We have to adopt or discard it on the basis of its usefulness or otherwise.

"The true expression of a national identity can only be the national language of the people... In fact, the national language and foreign languages represent
complimentary poles in the modern scheme of things". (Garg Hadru). Wakhi has for a long period been influenced by and has borrowed freely from Pashto and Persian but in its phonemic and morphological structure, it is different from these languages. The survival of Wakhi in the fertile Gulmeet valley amidst a great majority of Broshusky and Shina speakers, must be due to sociological factors. Whenever the Wakhis use the idiom it is not only difficult to translate, but at times impossible. Every language has its own sound system which is logical and consistent within the language, but would be illogical if applied to another language. The idiomatic phrases of Wakhi language apparently seem very simple and some are borrowed from the Persian language. The Wakhis try their level best to make one understand them, but they fail in their effort. The author of this thesis while in "Gulmeet" area learnt a few "Idioms", their
expression is so peculiar in its nature.

I was told many idioms but the only
two which I could translate, to some extent,
were
and which also/approved by the Wakhis are
presented here.

**Idiomatic Phrases**

Moh Taban sang-o-chobhan Wati (You are) a
moon which is
melting the
stones and wood.
(Mean: you have
no parallel in
beauty and glory).

Yonala Rawar Teryous
From day upto
night (he) weeps.
(for one who has
weeping looks).

Dorak badasht mee
(He) wanders in the
desert. (Mean: One
who lives in a
Toul's paradise).

Nee Manandad Wazam Nqaat

Considering one
unique in some field.

Yonala Taran Khounam
I am not complaining
/about him). Mean: A
born pessimist).
Dust Khali ba sah Wazee Always bring some gift.  
(Some good news etc).  
Zakhank ka gulberkat Every white bird is not 
Huma. (No occasion to 
be always happy).

Some Wakhi idioms, according to  
Lorimar, are the following:  

Dišir reč  To meet (accidental)  
Nerec reč  To crack  
Prut reč  To go out to meet 
(as a courtesy)  
Rečey  (The) fast (of Ramzan)  
Rečeye mu-i-wezda  The month of Ramzan has 
come  
Rečey se Waderen  They keep the fast.  
Resik  On watch, on guard, 
sentry  
Red-ik halsam  I keep watch  
Rene reyda naste  He ran away and went 
off and disappeared.

Each proverb and phrase has its own 
life. It is born, and it can live and die, 
and it can be reborn or revived when a society
decides to do so. Because of their history and richness, Wakhi phrases and proverbs can express all kinds of situations and attitudes. To sum up, Wakhi proverbs constitute an important part of the Wakhi language, which are coming up in the writings of by the young Wakhi associations in Northern area and Karachi as well.

They are still used as an effective weapon for convincing people, advising them, warning them, and winning them too. People, whether individuals or groups, vary in the frequency of using proverbs and phrases as well as in the choice of the right proverb in the right context. Wakhi proverbs and phrases may be considered as one of the best sources for the study of Wakhi society and culture.
CHAPTER-VIII

Wakhis stories and folk songs

Except the following seven folk tales, the author of this thesis did not come across any other Wakhi manuscript or published work during the last seven years of his persistent efforts.

These seven folk tales are the oldest recorded Wakhi prose work which Col. Lorimer had added to his Wakhi English Dictionary in 1943-44. *

No other work except a few folk songs, which I recorded in Shamshai and

* The dictionary was published by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1958.
Passue and even these songs are more persianized than Wakhi in character.

The Wakhis usually narrate these folk stories and songs with slight variations to any visitor who goes to their area. These folk tales and one of the folk songs are reproduced here along with their English translation.

* 1) Samawat-i-Birinji Chai Ra dam tai Narinji.
   Haye Hooe Jan Huzee Chai na tai tai.
   Meaning: In the yellow coloured big tea pot (you) cook tea. Oh, Dear sister you have not given me the tea.

   ii) Paltaee coolai-cet moloomdar tai.
       Mama jan Bakht-i-tai Baydartai.
       Meaning: It is just obvious from the twisting of you turban that your luck is on the rise. (With the change of a few words these songs are purely Tajiki songs).
WAKHI SONG (In Roman script)

1. Gul Marwari, Bastam Boie (You are like a Gulmar, there is fragrance in my hand).
   Dast khalee- Bamawazie (You ought not come to me without any gift).

2. Dast khalee- Khijalat Ravi (You will be ashamed of your empty handedness)
   Zhresh minkas- fasafos (You would seem like) a sparrow in an evil tree.

3. You Nalu Tarkhasnam- (I do not talk of the You Nalu Rawar Ferow) Lamentations of her (sparrow) (Because she) laments from dawn to dusk.

4. Za khank Ba- Gul barkast You are a white Huma

5. Dorak Badasht- You tour the wilderness.
   Waee

* Name of a fragrant flower.
** Empty handedness means Poverty.
*** Huma- A legendary bird which is known for its blessing; it sits on the head of any person he becomes a king.
6. Moh Taban Sang Chobhab Wattii
   You are a bright moon you melt stones and wood.

7. Aafarin Baram Jan
   Cheer for my soul (that so far I have been facing your beauty).
WAKHI TEXTS

(As per author's own transliteration scheme)

1. Gher shidi Taghomi raora.

2. De Gharse shidep Hutē muye vistera taghum gokhen.


4. Yaendiep her kichap rashendzen. Tse lup dushtakan, tse kebonan, ta pili batkan tesh ne letseren.


7. haeiya rorep semen ne yawan. Shomerep taghume hara dotsk shenzen. Tiorap gokhen kshih lesterenep.

9. Yandi khusnuisht su posho k pemetsen she shan taseren. Tasebafen baf loqpar piemetsen.

10. Yaendiep me&mianisht Tabaq durzen she-sagun pfetuke wundrarep rechen.


13. Awal guni her kuini ki zaqiq za tei haeta vep sek spuder gokhen, woz-ep yawa yundem.


15. Yaendi ep kshehuinaniemt yupke chamus fazden, merdi, nasht shtep r'eden. Yaendi ep haera temosha shekhte, yaendi ep kshehu khoner rechen.
No. 2: (From Ali Puno son of Pir Ali, of Gulmit)

1. Khadorg wurt.

2. Khadorgwurté qissa haezi Ra'ing tei ki Mir sho Chanzanfar yi gilmittik daciyar shienetk kee tawe ilchi remian.

3. Wo teomer wakht reghda ki chiz khaber tsmiren ne vit. Shat shob halde shi reghda.

4. Tsmini ren chiz khaber or, haeian,(or yo, dno'ma ) ne dezd shi reghda.

6. U,shi Mir no,ing je, n khen tiwetk. 
Jon khoni shati ki yodno'ma mazer ra'nd.

7. Ya daeiya shand ki Mir Ma rem ciner 
to, khati mazer ne det. Wuz ĝ eze 
wezdiem tishish.

8. Jon khoner malum vitk ki yemi no'don 
tivetk.

9. Panj shod rori yauwe likerk, izzat 
yauwer shetk. Yaendi khadorge wurte 
wozomd, da pisti disht shi dranidi.

10. Yaendi shat ki Mirerem yo, ñnoma shetk 
ki durz shi Mirer yund.

11. Yauwe ya padem kert shi Taghdı.

12. Panz shod row shupere ya wozomde da 
wami sar.

13. Gheroing vita nishiti, yauwe heti 
kert didighdi ki khado'rge wurt tei.

14. a da jaei ska ghar ya lekert, shat 
rowon vite.

15. Wezda kanju de Mire slish ghzati. 
Mir ya perst ki tut ku'mer rekhanto.

16. Yauwe shat ki tu shineto ki elchi 
r'emiem, masli sitauwen khaber ne 
got, reghdiem, u'ee jon khon shiaem ghate.
17. Mir John khone shati ki kanjude Mire khate khalta wuzun.

18. Maz yauwer hazi shat ki wozen sho khorom wezda, Miram ne wind.

19. Yauwe yo, dno'mg gokht (or gosht) ki sno Mirer yeme yu nd.

20. Maze yau pedam kert shi wasine sar wozenme ki ghuroing vitka didighdem ki yau khdorg wurt tei.

21. Haeiyan hada jaeia iska yar jikerke.
Yandi shatem wezda. Nivem t'ishish sherminda vitism.

22. Hadem wakhten yawe noing khadorg wurte wasin khsha'nin. Haeiau wurti yal hada jae tie.

23. Weghena.
No. 2: (From Ali Pano)

1. Khon yundak.

2. da a're shid ts.qadimen khonyu'ndak Miren miro'sitei.

3. ts.wakht ki ylimter Mir wezda, Awal ki dra ghatelk, Buri kuto risht rö'ghani tabaq gonen shi yauwer W uderen.

4. Tsan tseb as ts. arbobi khonen kabob wuzmen.

5. Kabobe yi puz bu dildi inggi wuz atumer shapik goshe m. i wuzmen.


7. do mis khon yundak hasiem raing to, bu kalav shi cheshte, nau ghabelle yomj, hat guzi roghan muqarrar tou.


10. Mir shi yo i wist ror yo ' mui halaeg. haeiem rang lupo mishk yauwer khon-yundak goshen.

11. hawal hazi rang miro si tou. ts.Wakht ki Mir Gilmite reghdater khonyundak yauwer gosht.

12. Woz Mir ki ne wezda khonyundak shi werest.

13. nyu shi tsom solen Mir tramve khon ne shi resht.


15. bechi koi khon ne resht dame meraka khon yundake shopik yauwer yunden.


17. nyush Ager Mir kumde sol ki ne wezda khonyundake roghan kala jau shi nishinden.

18. Anyu shi Mir da gari shid ghaich halde.
19. haeyauwen'yi ghelchin tai haiyau
Asiri khanen haeyauwe yarks haeiem
tei kiekh.

No.4: (From Ali Puno)

1. Tosh Bige zindag.
2. hawalev shi hazi rang zindag shit.
3. I Podshohi tiwetk, yauwe nonggi tosa
khon tiwetk. Yan petre nong tosa Big to.
4. Tosa Bige shu tater shat ki mazer jumaat
rand. Tosh khon shand ki kui tawer randem.
5. Yi podsho de diger shar to. Yauwe deghde
nongg yagul Qurban tiwetk.
6. Tosh Big shi shu tater shand ki yagul
Qurbane ma'zer rand.
7. Tosn khone shat ki ti bogen wuz yauwe
shat yundem.
8. Aisemen tosh Big qar vita'shand shi ki
wuzda ti mulk ne halem, wuz shater rusem.
Tsaqalhon niekte sni raghds.
9. Yau khuie ya : baeit nishik sai shati
baeit. ti yakto t' deroz i tu khusb mio
yad hawoz i tu ya gul Qurban not mishawam yagul kheridarat man.

10. Yaendi ev yu shu saui gane for ne yerda.

11. Woze zaqalaei berut shi lup veruter baeit shat ki.

Chin yakto i ni, liyi tu kafer sangdi, liyi tu ya gul Qurbanat mishawam ya gul kherido rat mishawam.

12. Yauwe nan wezda shati ki:

Tosh Bige be sauda mirewi saundae mol kan snawi ya gul yagul.

13. Tosh Bige tra s u none gane fure yirda.

Yauwe shat ki: moderne meherbon i mo. der chere yak Zendon shawam. Shati shi shov halde.


iloji ki tei, ilohi ki tei der kisiti gherk wots.

15. Yau be reghda da shu tate hagh dra reghda shupr halde.

16. Tosh khone shu yu rteri shat ki qabal diit tosu Bige. aahorev reghda be boghev qabala disat.
17. Tosh Big e mo kemeto, snat ki wuz rechem.
18. Tosh khon da s' u yu reten pehete.
19. Tosh Big da zhu yasher qisee kert-shu yasher snat ki Atsemen de yogul Qurban bener tsom rarer shi maze zatev.
20. Yashe shat ki i riship shi ska maz kat Yau zhupisto resent.
21. Woz yi kat, ska zhu gusht zatovd.
22. Woz yi kat, ska zhu yashch zhat.
23. Wuzem to yo ndem zhatevem da yagul Qurban ben.
24. Tosh Big shatı ki tu ki mazh atomer zhatuv, wuz tawen ghafch k'husk wotsem.
27. Yash ya degad she reghda. Loy shi da yagul Qurban derwoza ghzatovd.
28. Tosh Big didighdi ki yagul Qurban. Ska chenore derakht niengg tei.

29. Yagul Qurban Tosh Big da chinore beni wind shi skam ghafch Oshiq vita. Tosh Bige yagul Qurban wind shi skem Oshiq vita.

30. Oshiq vitk, sawail yor kert, shat ki ei Tosh Big, tut siq yash suwore vitk wezdie:


32. Yagul Qurban shat ki yashi yokhoni Qoshkhorit tei, ti Pendene Qoshori tei.

33. Tosh Big shat ki Zhuyashi mui peze rang tei. Yawe unari Pesi mor tei.

34. Yaendi Tosh Bige sitor shu dasti deghzhd shi Zhakhti. Yagul Qurbaner ghafch kosh reghd.

35. Yagul Qurban shat ki da ti dasti wesk shurangé tei. tsamen shi mushk et Zaferon bulshe wizit.

36. Yagul Qurbone Tosh Biger tano-ve gosht hara beni kort. Tosh Bige da teno be windsakht wodort. Yauwe ya nishit aka
37. alemane ghafch khush kerto, darelemone
gerdanev wodort, bov aleman kart.

38. Tosh Bige yagul Qurban wind, toqat ne
vita. Woz yagul Qurban tosh Big haten
toqat ne vit.

39. haeya naghd Yagul Qurban beni nesta-
sahar vit, Yagul Qurban ya khamovd.

40. Tosh Bige Yagul Qurbone khat goshtshi
steti ki Yagul Qurban mazher niko tser.

41. haeia bodsho shat ki Kafor Bodshai
lup bodsho tei. haeia haniv teyr
wezeneir tei, Yagul Qurboni yaq
Peter randem.

42. Tosh Big shat ki haeiya kofor Bodshoer
wuz jawob randem.

43. Panq suwor mazher rand. Yasht wezien
tamosho tseren. dajang jouwe ne yundon.

44. Kofor Bodsho ke mazher Zori kert haeyo
khaber tawer Wuzmen mazhe ki Zori kert
haeiyia khaber tawer wuzmen.

45. Tosh Big haeiyia Panz suwar dezhd shi rawon vit.

46. Yagul Qurbon yauwer sawel kert shat ki kafere lashkari ghafeh Fishau.

47. TSsh dasht tapt. Kafor Bodsho tauwe disht da dig ti gusht birione gosht.


49. Yaendiev vita ruwon reghda. L derio to. da dari o e yand Zhate.

50. haeau Fanz saworer shati hadem Jaei halit. mazhe ki Zori kert haeya khaber shu badshor yundit.

51. nei ki, Kafor Bodsho Zori kert haeya khaberi yundit shu bodshor.

52. Woz tosh Big shu yasher shat ki hadem derioen mazhe tserangg nishind.

53. Yashi shat ki troi reship iska mai kat, yaendi damalungg randiem, astsemalunggen tawe tagena n,ishinden.
54. reghda ki Kafor Bodsho tum bo tun wezda. Tosh Bige khingar ska din vita.
55. haeiya Lashkari kikhsht Pok kert. Yashe tra rikobe Zigen khun wezda.
56. Ya Ghzhati Kafor Bodsho da shu dasti wodort, wazire aem dast wodort.
58. Tosh Big shat ki tush woz wezia nosh wez.
59. Kafor Bodsho shat ki zhu lashkar pok vita. Tosh Big ya lekert berchi khudo.
60. Woz Tosh Big Pishete wezda Yagul Qurbane gana ghzhati.
61. haeip –anz soware Yagul Qurbone ba, ba, r khaber wozomd ki Lashkari kukht Pok kert, Tosh Big wezda.
63. nieniev ghafer khush almon no kart.
64. tro mui halde. Tosh Big yi ror da bar, niesht ki shu mor dama tate diore gana nieet.

65. Tosh Big shat ki hoi hoi shu tate diore gana shu mer niesht. Zu non mertia ya shu tat mert.

66. Yaendi fikerer Feivest.

67. Yagul Qurbon shat ki chizer shi fikr tsar.

68. Yau shat ki zhu tate dioren shu mo'ri nieste. zhu tat merte yo Zhu non mert.

69. Yau shat ki fikr me tsar. Wuz rechem shu baba han rukhsat puchezam.

70. Yagul Qurbon reghda shu baba re shat: ki Tosh Big ghafch malol vit.

71. Azi Shand ki yoi Zhu tat mert, Yo' non mert. diore shumor niesht.

72. Yau shat ki troi ror sabr tsrit, yaendi sabe rokhsat taserem.

73. Yandi yagul Qurbone tat shi sad khizmatgor gosht shi sad khizmatgore kushter yi rangge wihoi ki gosht, shu deghdi yuner mulong yairine kert.
74. Kiya zhu deghdi letsart, malum ne
    tser, ye khizmetgarep yond zhu deghde
dremp wereght. Yau repetst yiuwep yunq.
75. Yagul Qurban reghda Tosh Bige shish
    yauwer shat ki tuwap ne dish mazep
ltser yi khizmatgorep yund.
76. Wuzshi Pude de rikob troi loi diem troi
    loi nishindam skav yaendiep tu mazh dish.
77. Zhu baba hap sand ki shu Jambate jilawe
    wodor tra vedkhe ya rukhsat saker gohst.
78. baba o sad khizmatgor risht yagul
    Qurbon da bareve misht.
79. Woz Yagul Qurbone tat Tosh Biger shat
    ki rech da shu jamaate jilau wudur. Tosh-
    Big reghda shi da jilau wodord.
80. Wodord shi Podedo shu yanggl petfert
    ki youwe Zhu deghdi disht shi yuti.
81. Tosh Big shu jamaate meshen rawon vita.
    Kenizisht kusht Pshete.
82. Tosh Big shu yasher shat ki tsam rorer
    (shi) da zhu tate dior mazhe ghaghatev.
83. Yash shat ki trq reship ska mazh kat, wuz tauwe ghatevem.

84. Sawor vita de: Yagul Qurboni shater. kanjaq 'a kart.

85. rawon vita tro reshipi i skam kart. Karte shi sahre Purzer yau ghzhatovd.

86. Yaendi Tosh Big da shu tate bogh ghzate. wind ki boghi jazir vitk.

87. Ya reghd tra shu wodi yupk gosht.- da bogh ki ya yupk ghzhate gul et goliston kusht spreghde.

88. Yagul Qurboner shati ki tu drem hal. Woz shu tate qalho chermam.

89. reghd da shi da qalaha cherne. hech kui poekhdo nast.

90. Ya sate skshu tate kot. reghd da rit-san taeini kert.

91. Tosh khone tsem gana dildonggi 'ben nieng, kuri vitk.
92. Khunzo tsagane dildong gi ben, kuri vitk, nieng gi.

93. Yi khizmatgor damve kifche mulong g nieng, yau be kur vito.

94. Tosh Bige shu sar hara ritsemi disht.

95. Khizmatgar da khon shat ki Tosh Bige vul iazhor shi wizit.

96. Tosh Khon shat ki Tosh Big saker shet Tosh Big saker perg.

97. Tosh Big Taikuten khamde da khon cherna.

98. Shu rimoli ishit Awali yau khizmaigore chezhmi vishovd. Yau jawon vita, chezhmi Pokiza vita.


100. Wozi visit shu none chezhem, yauwe rui et chezhem be tseseren toza vita.

102. Yaendi da khon chiz ki termis to haeiya rang da khon pur vit. hech chiz kami ne vita.

103. haeiya Tosh Khonen hawal chiz daulat ki to haeiya woz khazina pur vita.

104. Yaendi ev tosh Bige Tosh khoner shat ki shu set e sher purut niwizit.

105. Yagul Qurbon tsagane wezda. Yasht be reghde shi tra gerdon to dort.

106. Yauwe deghzhd shi khoner Pišhete.
    Pituk ya disht Čomdey iska Takht nidovdov.

107. haeia makhlou qisht khi be jangal reshto, kui be eh reshto, dîor jazi vito.

108. Tosh Big shu sado nishit, die tsækoon khamde, kui Tsejang galen niesht.

109. Wezdiav, mulk woz û bod vita, damis jazir vito. Tosh Big ki dra ghzate olk abod vita.

110. Tosh Bige miri kert, Yagul Qurbonne unog i ghikert.

111. Zhindag verghena.Tuner vita.
No. 5

(From Ali Puno)

Lewe Qissa.


2. Reshki ki Lewew (or Lewisht shi) toi kshetk. naiya wiaeganz shoni nishi tkev.


4. Aamno haeiyo lewe qisa ne kshetko.

5. Tsum wakhti reshk ki ya rarev Bori Kawuni da rakhng qaribi lekerk.

6. Leu ya vinetk, shanetki ki kabun tau tau kabun tau tau.

7. Leu haeiet qisa tsame ghashen nieshk.

8. Yandi wozi ror Fehorie jamaate geral kshetk skasupi ketetk.


10. Lewe shanetki geral ki saruisht vita tu Fachist, ki ne vita servisht tu ne Fachist.
11. haeiem bu qisa haeia lewe humerer tsama ghashen niesht.

12. tro Petr khshetk. haeiya peteisht shpunigherev vita.


14. Leu gheraei leu gheraei, waei gheraei laei gherai.

15. Zama neve ki kasheng gi wazden yaiv romoi, shu naner nei' ev shat.

16. Pigala woz kala durzen she rechen ghushtik Bashai.

17. Woz ya leuisht khshanen ki Leu gharai leu gharai, wael gharaei Lei gharai.

18. Zama misht yi sikine serb teseren.

19. bara tu gho shu u katen ki sak shi yeme rumushen, yemen ki vind aizspo yo dev wizit. Yandi shu naner shanen.

20. Pala dezhd shi wezdivev da ghelev disht.
21. Yandi gezd yave nav kala khshaker.  
Zamanewe ya tugh khshaker wozomd.

22. Yau yane shat ki yem chiz siki nse  
turghe shi uketetk.

23. Yauwe shat ki geshtik Bushaei shi kala  
e yonden, tra sado wizit ki leu gheraei,  
waei gharaei, laei gheraei.

24. Ysendi ya kala hadra jaei likerz,  
gifsta wezda da khon ghzhate.

25. dusi gosht shu kali disht shi gifste  
gushtik Bushaeier reghda.

26. termis yauwer malum ne to ki zhu tate  
khoni Kumer tei, kumeri nast. Yau reghda.

27. Yandiev khuja bori-khaber vita ki  
yauwe leue jamet reghda. Khuja bori Pes  
tsebas gifste ki wuz yauwe wuderem.  
Yau wudurne bas ne wezda.

28. haeia lewe da dusen da ghere disht.  
Yaghar paq vita.
29. Leu here rondo, ida. haeia ghar
delemo nanlish vita.

30. Bori wo wela wergena, Posh ete wezda
shu khoner.

31. Shu Zamanaveri shat ki chizer sawe shu
naner khaber shat ke tra gushtik
Bushaei hazi rang Sado shi wizit.

32. haniv saue nan reghda. Sashte niv
yatim shater halit

33. haniv yau lewe zerio tisht da
gilmit tei. haeia, verep Bori kotor
khshanen.

34. Veghena, tumer vita.
No. 6  (From Ali Funo)

1. Palawan shereke Qisa hazi tiwetk.

2. Gilmitan yi shapt to, Zamane
gosht da shu yot.

3. Yi khalg reghda yauwe Zaman eve
shit haeia shapt woza haeia
khaleve Zamane zet, ts. dloren
yuti, yiti.

4. Tsum wakht hazi rang rafoh Zaveri
yut.

5. Yi Pola wan to yauwe nong Palawan
sharek to.

6. haeia palawan haeiya merumveri
shat ki haeia shapt ki woza
mazhe khaber tsorit.

7. Yi nghdi haeia shapt woza i zan
woza seti, dezhdi shi reghda.

8. Haeya we tat et nan way way kert
ki spov Zamane shapt yut.

9. haeiem Sado'i ki kshen Palawan,
shareke shu madi bast, shu milteqi
dezhde, pes tsot as vita, reghda.
10. Shapt Ondena skem gana reghdá, 
Zah Padam shetke reghdá, da shu ghashen 
da yorumi wuderetk.

11. Palawan sharek ska dor reghdá, 
shiuwe kert, shopt verveshe shu 
ghishi goshte.

12. Palawan sharek milteq shu dast nezeri 
kert, kert shi shapte dishte.

13. haeia Za tsedamen wul vita. Ya shapt 
shi mert.

14. Palawan sharek reghdá, Zai shu Poz 
gokht shi wozomdi.

15. Yauwe nan et yaive tater tawir- li 
kert ki sans Zamanem sayer wozond 
shapte dishtem ya dra merte.

16. haeia naghdev neste. saharev gezde shi 
reghdiev ki shapt ki hada jaei merk, 
yi haret yol yauwen to.

17. Yandiev yauwe Pist khasht wozomdev da 
Khon.
18. haeiem Palawan sharek sifati ghal hadam wakhtì tei.

19. haniv ki shpunisht kala rechen shanen shki æì Palawan sharek, ghudi kumer teya di yauwe.

20. haeieme shi shanen et swra tsern. Adsa wakhten hadam wakhter haeiyauwe sifat tei.


No.7: (From Ali Func)

1. Sikve toi

2. Shikve toie qisa hazi rang tei.

3. Toiev tiremo tseren toi kushten tei, yani yigon yigon nobat tseren.

4. toiep hazi rang tseren ki tro ro rep termis sup katan shi ro, riep shapik goshen, purzorep kala cheshen.

5. Yau shi naghdi Patsen da wergasht shi goshen letseren shi.

6. Toie ror bat shi goshen kanjutie rang bat shi negoshen. roghan chak shi
katen, bar batep goshen.


8. Shonie ro'ier chikchikon kumer sekr kumer rokhen dien.


12. Yaendi sho shem muborak bod shanen.

13. Sho muborak bodi haeyem tei ki.

14. hawal ba nom i yo khudo-i-sho muborak bodi duyum ba haq i Mustafa, sho muborak bodi.

15. Shohi mordon siri khudo, sho muborak bodi.


17. Khudo donad Pusht-i-Pano, sho muborak bodi.
18. Aftab Ager shar i- shumo, sho muborak bodi.

19. To toi sui gul rewi, sho muborak bodi.

20. aei khandi dai dil mo beri- sho muborak bodi.

21. dil mu beri tar gudi, sho muborak bodi.

22. aei bogh i man bahor' man, sho muborak bodi.

23. aei darakht i mewa Zori man, sho muborak bodi.

24. aei bio bio, nigor i man, sho muborak bodi.

25. bishin ki dor kinor i man, sho muborak bodi

26. aei Zhigi Zhigi qurban kunam, sho muborak bodi.

27. aei daulati tu haeiron kunam, sho muborak bodi.
28. aei daulati J on maeimon kunan, sho muborak bodi.

29. da kucha Dumisht soz goshen, yandiev, resht da kucha vervest.

30. bo Tatiev dan kati vervest.

31. Tsumer khshuinanisht ki tei yaeshtiep wezien, yauwe r yieren. Yandi shoni resht da kucha nest.

32. Yandi Dumisht soz gokhshen, merdum nemenjen.

33. Ada Jaei ror ske purz tamsha tseren.

34. Yaendi yidin gokhshen. Yaendi shete pot tseren, chrop gokhshen, yidine nenden.

35. Yaendi yashdo risht shu yashe wuzumen tembuk wuzemen, niza durzen wuzemen.

36. Kui ki yidin disht yi rupia yo, yi kenei haeia khalger inom randen.

37. Yaendiev shoni shu khshurse khoner taghde. tsam romi ki tei kuxhahte
38. dama misep (woz sho muborak bode) baeit shat shi reghdien.
39. da bar roghane tabaq nishinden.
42. Shoni da Past raj niene. makhlu, qisht kusht haeiya khone chak niene.
43. Yaendi niko wakht vita. Yaendi shoni reghda ska dildo nggi dasti yott. Yaendi reghda de ganz cherne.
44. Yaendi khalifa reghda niko i-kert, yiu yauwe tabaq wodort, da khalifa Puruti yott.
45. Yi Puz, yi Pil bat, yi dildong gi "ra tabaqier yott.
46. Yi shisho yupke gosht, skaeya duo kert haeia- demis shonier Fervovd,
ts. Puzen gosht kot da sonic ghash disht.

48. guwoi tate dasti rosten yupk shonier Pevovd. dasti chap e tate gosht vidiganzer det.

49. niko ki khalos vita tuichiver shapik yott.


52. Ska vidiganze saryi chapen katen, kampal yauwer goshen Poshok.

54. Yaendi Ataqa gizen shi rechen da shonie khon. Yao be haze rang shapik rand shi.

55. naghd bero berer suba dien shi kukht tamoshor jama watsen.

56. Woz Figala tuyev ki kert hasiem rang goshen.

57. Mirer kanju de rang spotsen hech chiz tuyere bap nast.

58. Widiganze tater tuien tsébas Pishkash yi driksh, tro kenei, yi nau qeloch sergzaz randen.

59. Termis Pishkash ghabch to. haniv yem Mire kam kert.

60. Termis haze rang to ki yi driksh yi ghazhu, shad kenei yi Pos sefrez, nan khshech, yi nan qeloch sergoz, hatomer Pishkash to.

61. Ts. niko han termis chilgaker shi rechen.

62. nan khshech nan khesat yi chiz Jamawor yo keneni ska tabag katen, widiganze tater randen.
63. Yi wist Pergep tra maeyuk vanden yi lup Petek tra windiganze sar vanden.

64. haeyemerep "Perg Vandek" khshanen


66. Tomer tei kul Vita.
No. 1

1. Seed-Day in Ghare Shidh.

2. In Ghare Shidh they hold the "Taghum" (Seed Festival) on the 20th of the month of Hut. 3. They celebrate it thus: on the preceding day they all make "semen" in their homes. They make the "seman rather thin.

4. Then they fill it into every vessel (they possess). From big vessels and bowls to little bowls, they leave nothing empty.

5. On that day they do not find (even) a little bowl to drink water (from). Not even a cup remains empty. (Only) those who have a water-jug or a glass (can) drink water.

6. On the "semen" day they bake "khamali" (thin bread), and they sprinkle flour in the house. They sprinkle flour on (all) the members of the Household, big and small.
7. They do not eat the "semen" that day. In the evening they fill the seed into skin-bags. They make it ready and leave it. 8. Next morning they get up, and whatever time has been (fixed as) suspicious, at that time they handle it (the "semen"), and they send round to each house. 9. Then the women put on their (best) clothes and titivate themselves. They put on their very best clothes. 10. Then the men take trays (of food) and go to the Shagun Pituk field. 11. They (all) assemble in the Shagun field. Then the Bori-Kutor,(who) are (at the) Shagun Pituk, put seed in their skirts and sow it.

12. Then another man takes a plough and makes furrows. They make either three furrows, or five. 13. The first time all who have a small child (born during the year) put it on the plough, and then take it away again.

14. Then the Khalifa recites the Fatiha
for the seed, and they bring the trays of food and set them before the people. The people eat, and recite the Fatiha, and then they rise and stand up.

15. Then the women throw water (and) macerated apricots (at them), and the men run away. When this show is over they go off to their homes.

16. Again they prepare trays of food and go off each family group to its own field(s), and everyone ploughs furrows in his own field. 17. Then they go from one man's field to that of another and plough furrows. 16. When they have all made furrows, they gather together in one place and eat the food on the trays. Then they return to their respective homes.

19. Then they make the . . . . . . . . . (?)

ox (en) go into their houses, and they put "semen" in their mouths and sprinkle flour on them and put them out again.

20. After this they assemble at the polo ground and amuse themselves and play polo.
21. Then they make music and dance.
   First in order, the Bori Kutor dance,
   and then all dance in turn.
22. At sunset they get up (and disperse).
23. It is finished.
1. The Millstone.

The story of the millstone is on this wise. Mir Shah Ghazanfar said to a man of Gilmit, "I shall send you as an envoy to Wakhan". Then some time passed and there was no news from the Mir. The man kept quiet and went off. He got no message (or token, or present) from the Mir and went off. He proceeded to Panja and came to the Mir of Wakhan. The Mir asked him, "who has sent you? Where is the letter from your Mir?"

The Mir of Wakhan's name was Jan Khan. He said to the man, "Give me the present (from your master)". The man said, "The Mir was going to send me, (but) he did not give me a letter. I (just) got up and came to you".

Jan Khan perceived that the man was an ignorant fool. He kept him for five or six days and treated him with honour. Then he got a millstone and put it in a (raw) skin and sewed it up.
10. He said, "I have prepared a present for the Mir. Take it and carry it to the Mir".

11. The man took it on his back and departed.

12. In five or six days' march he brought it to the top of the pass. It became burdensome, and he took it off his back and undid it and saw that it was a millstone. He left it there on the top of a boulder, and himself set out on his way. Proceeding he came to the Mir of Hunza. The Mir asked him, "Where have you gone to?"

16. The man replied, "You had said that you were going to send me as an envoy (to Wakhan). I got no instructions from you, (so) I went off and made my way to Jan Khan of Wakhan.

17. He said, "Bring me the Mir of Hunza's letter-bag". I answered him thus, 'I have come (direct) from my own home. I did not see the Mir'.
19. "He then prepared a present (and said), 'Take this to your Mir'. 20. I took it on my back, and when I had brought it to the top of the pass it proved heavy, and when I examined it (I found) it was a millstone. 21. I left it there on the top of a boulder. Then I came on myself, and now I am covered with shame before you. 22. From that time on they have called the pass the "Millstone!"

23. (The story) is ended.
1. The Khonyundak.

2. From ancient times in Ghare Shidh the "Khonyundak" has been the custom of the Mirs (of Hunza).

3. When the Mir comes to Gilmit, when he first arrives there, the Buri Kutor prepare a "tray of butter" and present it to him. 4. After that they bring a roasted breast (of an animal), two (oven-baked) loaves and a proportionate quantity of bread. 6. In the evening they take the Mir away to the Headman's house. There they give the Mir and his followers food.

7. Originally the "Khonyundak" was on this wise: they slaughtered two animals, and nine "sieves" of flour and seven double-handfuls (or, bowls) of butter were prescribed (for the feast).

8. They prepared all this and (then) took the Mir to the house and sprinkled flour on him. He ate the food and (then) came out from the house.
9. Again the next morning an Elder took him off (to his house), and in the same manner prepared food and gave it to him.

10. The Mir used to stay (there) for some twenty days or a month and in like manner the Senior Men used to do "Khonyundak" for him. 11. Originally the custom was as follows: whenever the Mir went to Gilmit they did "Khonyundak" for him and when the Mir did not come the "Khonyundak" lapsed.

13. For some years now the Mir does not go to their (the Elders) house.

14. In the manner of former times he goes to the house of the Headman, and there they sprinkle flour on him. 15. He does not go to any other house. They take the "Khonyundak" food to him to his public meeting-place. 16. Now, the present Mir has laid down (rules for) the "Khonyundak" as follows: that they slay one animal, (and) that seyen double-handfuls (or, bowls) of butter and six "sieves" of grain be expended.
17. Now, if any year the Mir does not come there, he (still) levies the "Khonyundak" butter and animal and grain.

18. Nowadays the Mir stays a long time in Ghare Shidh.

19. He has a cook. They call him the "asiri". His work is this .......
1. The story of Tosh Big.

2. Formerly they used to tell a story to this effect. There was a king. His name was Tosh Khan, and the name of his son was Tosh Big. Tosh Big said to his father, "Give me a wife whom shall I give you?" said Tosh Khan. There was a king in another country. The name of his daughter was Yagul Qurban.

3. Tosh Big said to his father, "Give me Yagul Qurban". "In place of you, I shall marry her myself" said Tosh Khan.

4. On this Tosh Big became angry and said, "I won't stay in your country. I shall go off by myself". (So saying) he went out from the fort and departed.

5. His sister started (singing) a song to him and sang this: .........

6. He did not turn back towards his sister.

7. Then the younger brother sang to his elder brother: .........
12. His mother came and sang: . . . .

13. Tosh Big turned back towards his mother. He said to her: . . . . He spoke and then held his peace.

14. His father asked for another king's daughter (as wife) for him. (Then) (when) she enquired about him, he said that Tosh Big had gone off to trade. "If God exists" (said the princess), "If God exists, may you be wrecked in the ship".

15. Tosh Big went to his father's garden and took up his quarters for the night. 16. Tosh Khan said to his people, "Surround Tosh Big". In the morning they went and surrounded the garden. 17. Tosh Big would not agree (to the proposed marriage). He said, "I am going away".

18. Tosh Khan returned (home) with his people. 19. Tosh Big spoke to his horse. He said to it, "In how many days will you take me from here to
Yagul Qurban. 20. The horse replied
"Give me one cut with your whip, and it
will cut through my skin.

21. Again give me a cut and make it reach
my flesh. 22. Again give me a cut and
it will reach my bones. 23. (Then) I
will carry you off and bring you to
Yagul Qurban". 24. Tosh Big said, "If
you will bring me to her in that
(amount of) time, I shall be very much
pleased with you".

25. Then he gave (the horse) one cut with
his whip and it cut through its skin.
Then a second time he gave it a cut and
it reached its flesh. 26. Then a third
time he gave it a cut and it reached its
marrow. 27. The horse (then) went off with
him. It carried him away and brought
him to Yagul Qurban's gateway.

28. Tosh Big looked and saw that Yagul Qurban
was sitting up in a plane tree.

29. Yagul Qurban saw him at the foot of the
plane tree and fell violently in love
with him, and Tosh Big saw Yagul Qurban and he fell in love with her.

30. Having thus fallen in love she addressed him and said, "O Tosh Big, you came riding on a black horse". 31. "My horse is not black", replied Tosh Big, "It is a tall bay (or, dun?)".

32. "Your horse's bridle is Kashgari", said she; "and your saddle is Kashgari".

33. "My horse's coat is like a leopard's, and its cleverness is like a leopard's" said Tosh Big.

34. Then Tosh Big took a "sitar" in his hand and played. That pleased Yagul Qurban very much. 35. and she said, "In your hand there is (a piece of) dry wood, but from it there comes an adour of musk and saffron". 36. She made a rope for Tosh Big and let it down to him. Tosh Big laid hold of it, and she pulled him up into the plane tree.

37. They were delighted with one another, and embraced and kissed each other.
38. (When) Tosh Big saw Yagul Qurban he had no strength left in him, and on her part Yagul Qurban had no strength left because of Tosh Big. That he lay with her, and when it was morning Yagul Qurban let him down (to the ground). 

40. Tosh Big wrote a letter to Yagul Qurban's father saying, "Marry me to Yagul Qurban", and sent it to him. The king replied, "Kafir Badshah is a great king and he is now on the point of coming for marriage. I have given Yagul Qurban to his son. "I'll give an answer to this Kafir Badshah" said Tosh Big. 

43. "Give me five horsemen. Let them come and look on. I won't take them into battle. If Kafir Badshah overcomes me, they will bring you the news. And if I overcome him they will bring you the news". Tosh Big took the five horsemen and set out. Yagul - Qurban appealed to him. She said, "Kafir Badshah has an immense army."
There is a dry desert. Do not go, come back. 47. The empty desert is quaking (with the trampling of his hosts). Kafor Badshah will slay you and will roast your flesh in a pot".

48. Tosh Big replied "sing songs till the sun has risen. In the morning, then after that watch my combat!"

49. Then he set out and proceeded on his way. There was a river. He came to the bank of the river.

50. He said to the five horsemen, "Wait here. If I have the best of it, take the news to your king.

51. Otherwise, if Kafor Badshah has the best of it, take that news to your king. 52. Then Togh Big said to his horse, "How will you get me across this river?" 53. Give me three cuts with your whip" said the horse "Then I shall leap into the middle (of the river) and bring you out from it to the other side."
54. They went on and Kafir Badshah approached with host upon host(?)
Tosh Big began to lay about him with his sword, 55. And he exterminated the whole army. The blood came up level with the horse's stirrup.

56. Tosh Big came up and with his own hand seized Kafir Badshah, and with the other hand he laid hold of the Wazir.

57. Kafir Badshah said "what good will a spoonful of my blood be to you? In the name of God, let me go".

58. "Will you come again?" said Tosh Big, "Or will you not come?" 59. "My army has been wiped out" said Kafir Badshah. Tosh Big let him go, for God's sake.

60. Then Tosh Big turned back and proceeded in the direction of Yagul Qurban and came to her. 61. The five horsemen carried the news to her father that Tosh Big had wiped out the whole army, and come back. 62. The king took Yagul Qurban away and brought her into
his fort, and he married her to
Tosh Big. 63. They settled down and
took great pleasure in each other.

64. They abode there three months. One day
when Tosh Big went out, a black cloud
appeared in the direction of his
father's country. 65. "Hai hai",
exclaimed Tosh Big, "A black cloud
has come up in the direction of my
father's country. Has my mother died?
or has my father died"? 66. Then he
fell into troubled thought.

67. Yagul Qurban said, "Why are you
troubled?" 68."A black cloud has come
up from my father's country", he
replied, "Either my father has died,
or my mother". 69. "Don't worry", said
she "I shall go and ask my father
for leave to go". 70. She went and
said to her father, "Tosh Big is in
great distress. 71. He says 'Either my
father or my mother has died, (for)
a black cloud has come up from their
country", 72. The king said, "Wait for three days. Then I will give you leave". 73. Then Yagul Qurban's father mustered 100 servants, and for all.

74. He went off and entered the fort. No one was to be seen there.

75. He went up on to his father's roof and looked in through the smoke-hole.

76. Tosh Khan was sitting beside the oven on this side, and he was blind. 77. The queen was sitting beside the oven on that side, and she was blind.

78. A servant was seated between the two of them, and he also was blind.

79. Tosh Big put his head in at the smoke-hole. 80. and in the room the servant said "I feel the scent of Tosh Big".

81. Tosh Big is earth to us"; said Tosh Khan, Tosh Big is ashes to us.

Where should we get him from?"

82. Tosh Big came down from the roof and went into the house. 83. He took out his handkerchief, and first he wiped
the eyes of the servant and he became young again and his eyes became clear.

84. Then he wiped his father's eyes, and he became completely rejuvenated and vigorous and his eyes became clear.

85. Then he wiped his mother's eyes, and her face and eyes were completely restored. 86. They all gave praise and thanks to God. 87. Then everything that there had originally been in the house appeared (again) complete in the house just as it had been. Nothing was missing. 88. The treasury was filled again with all the wealth that had formerly been Tosh Khan's.

89. Tosh Big then said to Tosh Khan, "Go out to meet your daughter-in-law".

90. Yagul Qurban approached and they (Tosh Khan and the queen?) went and embraced her. 91. And they took her and returned to the house. And they sprinkled flour on her and made her
sit on the throne.

92. The people ( of the country) had gone away, some to the jungle and some to the mountains, and the country had become deserted. 93. Tosh Big raised his voice and some came down from the mountains, and some came out from the jungle, 94. and they returned ( to their homes), and the country, which before was deserted, again became populous. On Tosh Big's arrival the land became prosperous.

95. And Tosh Big reigned as king, and Yagul Qurban reigned as queen.

96. The story is ended. There was this much.
No. 5

The Story of the Div

1. There was a man named Khuja Bori. He went to Chushtik Bushai.

2. (There) Divs were conducting a marriage. They brought out the bridegroom and the bride.

3. Khuja Bori took away the bride from them and brought her (home) and married her himself.

4. But the Div (bride) broke not a word. 5. When some time had passed, Bori one day put a wooden bowl down near the fire.

6. The Div (woman) saw this and said, "Bowl burning, Bowl burning".

7. That (one) speech came from the Div's mouth. 8. Then again one day Bori's wife made cakes of bread and put them on the griddle.

9. Bori turned them over.

10. The Div said, "if holes (appear) in the cakes, turn them over. If holes don't appear, don't turn them over".
11. In the course of her life these two remarks issued from the Div woman's mouth.  
12. She bore three sons. Those three sons were occupied in graze the goats and sheep. 13. (Once when they took their animals to graze them at Ghushtik Bushai, a voice came ("comes") which spoke the following words, 14."Leu gharai, leu gharai, wai gharai, lai gharai".  
15. When they had heard it the sons came (home). They forgot about it and did not tell their mother.  
16. The next morning again they took their animals and went to Ghushtik Bushai.  
17. Again the Divs cried out, "Leu gharai, leu gharai, wai gharai, lai gharai".  
18. The sons made a hole in a piece of cow-dung, 19. and fixed it on a she-goat's horn, (saying) "We shall forget this, (but) when we see this (cow-dung) it will come back to our mind, and then we shall tell our mother".  
20. (Then) they took their animals and came (home) and put them into the fold.
21. Then their mother got up to milk the goats. The sons brought the she-goat (to her) to milk, 22. and she said to them, "What is this cow-dung you have put on the goat's horn?"

23. They replied, "We took the animals to Ghushtik Bushai, and there a voice came (which said) "Leu gharai, wai - gharai, lai gharai". 24. On that the woman left the goats there and ran off and came to the house. 25. She made some dough and put it under her arm, and went running to Ghushtik Bushai.

26. Formerly she had not known where her father's house was, or where it wasn't. (So) she departed. 27. Presently Khuja-Bori learned that his Div wife had gone off, and he ran after her saying, "I'll catch her". (But) he was unable to catch her. 28. She struck a boulder with the dough and boulder split open.

29. The Div leapt into it and (the two halves of) the boulder closed together again. 30. Bori remained lamenting. Then
he turned back and came to his home.

31. He said to his sons, "Why did you tell your mother that a voice like that comes to Ghushnik Bushai? Now your mother has gone, and you will now remain by yourselves orphans.

33. At the present day there are descendants of the Div woman in Gilmit. They call them Bori Kutor.

34. It is finished. There was this much.
The story of Pahlawan Sharek.

1. The story of Pahlawan Sharek was on this wise: 2. There was a wolf of Gilmit. It gave birth to young ones in its lair. 3. A man went and killed its young ones. The wolf came and seized people's children and carried them off from the village and devoured them. 4. In the course of some time it carried off many children in this way.

5. There was a "pahlawan" (a valiant man) whose name was Sharek. 6. This Pahlawan said to the people, "If this wolf comes again, let me know".

7. One night the wolf came and seized a child and took it and went off.

8. Its father and mother made lamentation (saying) "the wolf has carried off our child". 9. When Pahlawan Sharek heard the noise, he girded up his loins, took his gun and set out in pursuit. 10. The wolf went off on this side of Ondara. Having taken up the child on its back, it went off
holding the child's arm with its mouth.

11. Pahlawan Sharek went up the nullah and whistled. The wolf stood still and listened. 12. and Pahlawan Sharek (taking) his gun in his hand, aimed, and fired and hit the wolf.

13. The child rolled off its back and the wolf fell down and died.

14. Pahlawan Sharek went and took the child in his arms ("breast") and brought it back. 15. He handed it over to its mother and father, (saying) "I have brought back your child to you. I shot the wolf and it died there. 16. They lay down and slept that night. In the morning they got up and went to the place where the wolf had died. It had mane a cubit long.

17. Then they took off its skin and brought it home. 18. This Pahlawan Sharek's reputation still survives at the present day. 19. Nowadays when herds to out with their flocks they say, "O Pahlawan Sharek, if there is a wolf ("thief") anywhere, slay it. 20. They say this and shout "Ha ha ha! From that time until now his reputation (still) endures. 21. The story is finished. There was this much.
No.7 1. The Marriage of Wakhis

2. The account of the marriage of Wakhis is as follows: They celebrate marriages in autumn. The marriages of all take place (together) that is they do them one by one in turn.

4. They celebrate marriage in this manner. Three days before (the day), they "put on the griddle". In the day time they bake bread, and in the evening they slaughter an animal.

5. They cook it at night and put (the meat) in a shoulder-basket and leave it there. On the marriage day they make "sharbat" of the Khajuti type. They put in lots of butter and make (really) good "sharbat".

7. Then they bring out the bridegroom. They put a turban on him, and they put spots on his face, in one place red, in one place white. They attack two men(as) fathers to him. Whichever is senior takes the bridegroom's
right hand. 10. Whichever is junior
takes his left hand. 11. Then they
bring him out of the house, and people
take tambourines in their hands,
and then they chant the "Sha(m) Mubarak
bad". 13. This is the "Sha(m) Mubarak bad".
29. At the place of public assembly the
Doms play music. Then the bridegroom
goes and stands there. 30. The two
"fathers" stand along with him.
31. As many women as there are (i.e. all
the women present) come and circulate
round him. Then the bridegroom goes and
takes his seat (on the dais) at the
place of assembly. 32. Then the Doms
play music and the people dance.
33. They amuse themselves there during the
day till evening. 34. Then they made
a mark for archery. They scrape up a
heap of earth and make a mound and
fix the mark in it. 35. Then owners
of horses bring their horses, and they
bring bows, and they take and bring
Whoever hits the mark, to him they give a rupee, or a piece of cloth, as a reward. After that the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house, and all the relations (of the bridegroom) there are go as the bridegroom's party. They go along before him singing the "Sham" Mubarak bad.

39. They bring out the "butter-tray", and flour in a flour-bowl, and they put "putuk" cakes on the top.

40. The bridegroom puts his hand on the "butter-tray". Then they go into the house. The bridegroom sits down on the lower dais. All the people sit down in the house crowding it up.

41. Then the time of the marriage (ceremony) has come. The bridegroom goes and places his hand on the over. Then he goes and enters the storeroom. After that, the Khalifa (= priest) performs the marriage (rite). A man presents a tray
(of food) to the Khalifa and sets it down before him. 45. On the tray he puts a (cooked) breast (of an animal), a small bowl of "sharbat" and a cake of bread. 46. He (the Khalifa) fills a cup with water and offers a blessing over it. First he makes the bridegroom drink it, and next he makes the bride drink it. 47. He pulls a bit of meat off the breast and puts it in the bridegroom's mouth. 48. The "witness father" on the right hand makes the bridegroom drink the water, and the "witness father" on the left hand gives the meat to the bride.

49. When the marriage (rite) is finished, he (i.e. the bride's father?) sets out food for the bridegroom's party.

50. They put down a tray for every three persons. To all they give like portions. There is no wine there. When they have eaten the food, the Khalifa recited the Fatiha.
The Wakhis usually narrate these folk stories and songs with slight variations to any visitor who goes to this area. These folk tales are reproduced here along with their English translation.
CONCLUSION

Love of the mother tongue is natural with the human race. The love of any particular language or dialect is innocent in itself. But if these languages/dialects assume a disproportionate magnitude of local affinity so as to disrupt integrity, then a proper balance between the common mass medium and local/regional languages has to be maintained and guarded.

In the comity of several nationalities striving to live together a common language acts as a cementing force.

The Wakhi language of the Wakhan corridor and Northern areas of Pakistan (which was once a dying language), is now emerging as a living language with its own script.

Wakhi is not only spoken in Northern areas of Pakistan, but also in Afghanistan, Iran, the Russian part of Central Asia and the Chinese part of Central Asia.

The Northern areas of Pakistan are an ethnological museum. The difference that distinguishes one ethnic group from another is very sharp
on account of physical barriers that separate one group from another. But due to a common religion (that is, Islam), all those languages spoken by the Muslims residing in these areas have been greatly influenced by Arabic and Persian. No doubt Islam emerged from the Arabian Peninsula, but it developed and crystallised as the religion of several states outside Arabia and spread through Central Asia and a major part of the then known world.

Before the emergence of Islam the cultural and court language of Central Asian peoples and rulers was, by and large, Persian. So the Persian language had an equal chance of influencing all those languages whose speakers came into contact with Muslims whether through commerce, travel, subjugation or conquest. Therefore, Arabic words, on account of religion, and Persian words through education and communication were accepted by all those languages whose speakers came into contact
with Muslims.

Most of the Central Asian languages were in their primitive stages and were only spoken languages which had no script. The Arabic languages gave them a script. So most of the languages, which were somewhat developed adopted this script (i.e. Kufic) in its various forms. Gradually the other languages of Central Asia and South Asia adopted the same method to bring their language in a written form.

The Pamiric languages, i.e. Wakhi, Shina, Kohwar, Ashkashmi, Soughni, Sanghalachi and Manji were all merely spoken languages till recently. However, recently most of these have adopted the Arabic script for their written form and have modified the Arabic syllabary to suit their particular phonological requirements for transliteration.

Among the Pamiric languages Wakhi, Shina and Kohwar are still developing and the speakers of these languages are faced with at least three different languages used by the Pakistani masses with whom they come into contact.
regularly. There are, literally speaking, three types of languages spoken in our society. These are:
a) an 'international language', i.e. English
b) a 'national language', i.e. Urdu, and
c) the regional languages i.e. Pashtu, Punjabi, Baluchi and Sindhi. The pattern of their usage is a clear manifestation of a certain hierarchy of languages closely paralleled on the pattern of social stratification in Pakistan. It is interesting to note how language and class are crucial indicators for understanding the cultural, educational, socio-economic and even political sectors of life in Pakistan.

In Northern areas, the hierarchy of languages is based more on ethnic divisions than intra-ethnic class divisions. The settler communities, i.e. Chinese, Uighur have greatly influenced the growth of the Northern areas languages. However, Urdu is, by and large, spoken and understood by all communities, which is also influencing the languages of the Northern areas including Wakhi.
Moreover, the Northern Area languages have adopted the Arabic syllabary for their literature. The use of English language is limited to Government channels and Urdu is employed in the education and communication sectors. Our medium of instruction is Urdu; moreover Urdu is a common source of communication among all the ethnic groups in Northern areas and also outside this area. The Wakhi language has borrowed many words (which are common with Arabic, Persian, Uighur) from Urdu and English. Though the Wakhis deny this fact on the plea that their language is three thousand years old (without any historical or recorded proof) hence all other languages (they claim), including English, have borrowed words from their language. The words "EAT", "BUSH", "ARM", "LEG" etc are identically used in the Wakhi language with the same meaning as in English. Many words of various Indo-Aryan and Turkic languages are identically used in Wakhi. Wakhi which is based not only
Indo-Aryan, but also on the Turkic languages, could become, in the opinion of Wakhis an international language. It has great flexibility and is generous in lending and borrowing words to and from any language of the world.

The Wakhi people who live in Northern areas of Pakistan are called Gojal and their language is known as Gojali. These Gojalis (Wakhis) who are proud to be Wakhis are the descendants of "White Huns", and have preserved the custom and culture of the white Huns. After conversion to Islam they did not give up their traditions and rituals, like the Pukhtoons. They still breed cattle and prefer this profession to any other and are called Gojals. It is a hypothesis of many researchers that the Gojars* (wherever they may be settled) are the descendants of White Huns (Ephtalites).

Like their forefathers (White Huns) Wakhis are very proud of their language and their race. Those living in the Wakhan corridor, * A community by the name of Gojars are also living in some parts of Northern areas. They have different language but their culture and features are identical with the Wakhis.
so far, have not awakened to work on their language, culture or their origin. This is all due to the hard and harsh climate of Wakhan, and moreover, the environmental effect has reduced their activity only to earn their livelihood and to get opium and tea. Because in Wakhan, most of the Wakhis are addicted to opium and "Shur Chai" (black tea with salt) so they have no time to attend to other things than earning their livelihood. They are not trade-minded, and therefore, they look to their neighbours, particularly to people of the Turkic stock, to cater to their commercial needs. This invited a greater participation, especially in the medieval period, from the Kashghar side into the life of the Wakhis. But they have lagged far behind in the field of education and cultural awareness. So the Wakhis of Wakhan have nothing to present and nothing to boast about. But the Wakhis of Northern areas, being Ismailis, have great unity (though the Wakhis of Wakhan are also Ismailies they are not so united) and those who, with the help of their community,
have got a chance to go to Karachi or any other developed city of Pakistan in search of employment are much better off today. In Karachi, the Wakhis have formed a union. 

There are about ten thousand Wakhis in Karachi who are working in various fields. But through their union they often get together and this union, called the "Gojal Union" has rendered valuable services to the Wakhis during the last twenty years.

According to a report published in the Gojal Students Union Magazine "Wakh" in December, 1979 (from Karachi), there are seven thousand Wakhi students in Karachi, most of whom are getting education through evening schools and colleges. At day time they (Wakhis) earn to support their families living in the Northern areas. The Gojal Student Union, which was a branch of the "Gojal Union" of the Wakhs is very active and has earnestly worked to enhance the Wakhi language and cultural heritage. But this union, for reasons best

known to them, has not published any other issue of this magazine, and the eagerness shown for the development of Wakhi language by the members, through their articles and messages in the magazine, did not take any material shape. One, Haqiqat Ali, a retired Head Master of Passu (Northern areas) in 1985 has also compiled a primer containing ten pages in which Wakhi alphabets and simple usages are described. The material about the Wakhi people and Wakhan can be had from a few books (see bibliography), but about the Wakhi language, except a few transliterations and certain phrases printed in some books, nothing more is available. The actual abode of the Wakhi people is the Wakhan corridor, from where they had spread to other areas that is Passue, Upper Hunza and Broghil of Chitral (which comprise a major portion of our Northern areas), Tash Qurghan, Toghdumbash (Yarkand, Pir Ali and Kashghar areas of Sinkiang), Iran and Tajikistant and other parts of Soviet Central Asia.
Wakhan (corridor) touches the People's Republic of China in the east (Sinkiang) and is sandwiched between the Soviet Union (Tajikistan) in the north and Pakistan in the south. Wakhan is a long narrow valley which runs east to west and is watered by the upper course of the Oxus River (Abi Panja) and the Wakhan Darya, which is the southern source of the Oxus River.

Wakhan was formerly ruled by its own Mirs but, since 1883, this province has been ruled by Afghan 'Hakims', who used to be under the Governor of Badakhshan. Wakhan was divided into four "Sads" each under an 'aksakal' or grey beard. This was up to 1980, before the Russian invasion.

In 630 AD the great Chinese pilgrim Huen T. Sang, while returning from his pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy places in India, passed through the valley of Wakhan. He has left a striking account of "the lofty and desolate steepe of Pamir".
Marco Polo, in 1271 AD, went to China (from Venice) via Wakhan to the court of the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan. He has also recorded some historical events of those days as well as of princes ruling Wakhan.

Between the two World Wars there are a few written accounts of Wakhan by foreigners and none of the travellers from Chitral side have reported anything regarding Wakhan.

Even after 1945 AD the Afghan Government did not encourage visits to Wakhan by foreigners. But in 1970 the Afghan Government suddenly thought that rich Americans would be willing to part with some of their surplus money in exchange for some kind of a name and fame and, therefore, threw these areas open for hunters of their famous breed of sheep "Marco Polo", available nowhere else in the world. The first recorded account, available after 1970, is by a team of a husband and wife who were the first
foreigners to reach China through this ancient route in modern times. In their vivid account published in the 'National Geographic' of November 1980 they state:

"Remote Wakhan: some 700 years ago, the Afghan district of Russian border linked orient and occident. Great caravans of Marco-Polo's time inch'd their way across its craggy peaks. Today by-passed by modern transport, it stands virtually 'out of this world'. But should the communist drive for world power push south, Wakhan, a thin strip of no-man's land separating Russia from Pakistan lies like a Tank trap across the most direct route to the riches of the Indian Sub-continent. For centuries the people of Wakhan have lived without salt. Their diet consists chiefly of goat milk, dried peas, and a flat bread baked from pounded whole wheat".

A.B. Awan in his thesis (Wakhan unpublished Central Library, University of Peshawar) without quoting his source, says, "The Wakhis are of ancient Iranian stock from
the Turkistan region of Central Asia and their
dialect is an old Indo-Iranian dialect (Chalcha)."

According to Prof. Dr. Rauning
("The Journal of Central Asia" Vol. VII No. 2,
December, 1984):

"Wakhi people, some 10,000 inhabitants
of Afghanistan, part of the Wakhan with
respect to language, form a group in themselves
in Badakhshan which group contrary to the
West-Iranian Tjchick, can be traced back to
North-east Iranian forbears. Its spoken
(however not written) language is therefore
limited to the large East-West valley of
the Wakhan, if one does not take into considera-
tion those parts of the Wakhi population which
have migrated over the main ridge of the high
Hindu Kush to the south and have kept their
language and culture limited to large enclaves
(Chitral, Gilgit). Besides their mother
tongue, most Wakhis, today, understand and
speak Dari (Afghan Persian) the most important
lingua franca of the country. A few Mullahs
and teachers can read and write Dari as well".
Historically Wakhan has formed part of Afghanistan since its establishment in 1747 AD. It was ruled by its own Mirs. In 1883 AD, it became an Ulas-Wali (District) of Afghan-Badakshan province. The present Afghan crisis made Wakhan accessible to Russia. The present Russian invasion has posed a real threat to Pakistan as it cuts short the distance for any probable advancing force from the North.

According to 1974 Census the population of Wakhan was 10,250. About 60% were Wakhi while the rest (40%) were Kirghiz tribe of Turkic stock. These Kirghiz Turks under the leadership of Haji Rehman Qul migrated to Northern areas in 1980 and were accepted by the Turkish Government to settle there. They (1500) left for Turkey in 1982.

Dari is the official language of Wakhan. The Wakhi people are considered to be "Yaftalyan" or White Huns. The people of Badakshan term them "Sarbadi" due to their land being situated on the frontier of Afghanistan.
For a linguist the Northern area of Pakistan is a paradise, because he finds there more diverse and historically interesting languages than perhaps in any other area of Pakistan. The number of different languages no doubt creates special problems, but in the Northern areas of Pakistan the people, besides their own language i.e. Broshusky, Wakhi, Balti, also understand the Shina language of Gilgit, because Gilgit had and has the privilege of being the headquarters of the Northern areas since 1877 AD when it became a British Political Agency. Being a central place it proved to be a good marketing place.

The caravan of traders used to travel from the Indo-Pak sub-continent to Central Asia via Gilgit. So the contacts of these traders and invaders with the local people brought new thoughts and new words to this area which enriched the Wakhi and Shina languages.

On the other hand, the caravans had to enter into Chinese Turkistan from Central
Asia via Wakhan. These inaccessible mountainous valleys were the strongholds of various tribes, offering each tribe an opportunity of retaining its language and traditions in relative isolation, right up to modern times. But the Wakhan corridor and Gilgit were such places as could not be avoided, as the trade caravans or the bands of invaders had to pass through these routes. So the effect of their language on the local language was definite. Thus the Wakhi language literally borrowed words from every language that came into contact with it. Now due to the construction of the Karakuram Highway every village of the Northern areas has become accessible. The Highway has put the people of the area on the road to progress and ultimately to prosperity.

Some Pakistani languages such as Brohi are older than the Aryan languages. The old languages of various regions of Pakistan probably had a common grammatical structure and phonetic composition, different from Sanskrit. This indicates that the culture and
languages of the regions comprising Pakistan were perhaps older than the Aryan culture and languages.

As far as the languages of Karakoram are concerned, they are not Dravidian. Moreover, the Wakhi language which is a Pamiric language, has much in common with the Altaic and Indo-European languages besides nouns which are common in most of the languages of the areas inhabited by Muslims, due to Arabic, Persian and Turkic influence. There infinitives in Wakhi identical with the infinitives in Persian, Turkic and Shina languages. So Wakhi is a mixture of Turkic, Persian, Shina, and Pushtu with local touches.

The problem of classification of the Wakhi language is a complicated one. The migrations of the Wakhi peoples in the course of history, and their consequent intermingling with one another and with peoples of Turkic and non-Turkic stock, have created a linguistic situation of vast complexity, which has not yet been investigated sufficiently to permit the last word to be said.
It is still being debated whether or not the Wakhi family is itself a branch of a large Pamiric family of languages spoken by White Huns, Tajiks, Pushtoons and Mongols. The Pamiric languages could not avoid the influence of the Altaic languages as the Turkic stock of Central Asia came into power and their languages adopted the Uighur script and ultimately became the state language under many area rulers including the Mongols.

Generations and even centuries pass before an extensively used dialect, on a general consensus, is classified as a language. A language is a means of expression of thought and sentiment and the writing or script is like a dress for the thought and sentiments. This dress can only be tailored by environment, culture, history and ethnic affinities.

There are, literally speaking, thousands of spoken languages in the world today. Some are spoken by millions, others only by thousands. If a language is spoken in a restricted area, its vocabulary resultantly
would be poor. It expands only when its speakers come into contact with other ethnic groups, whether through commerce, travel subjugation or conquest. It becomes rich by accepting words from abroad i.e. from the languages of the people who come into contact with it. Like mankind, languages have their history and like nations languages experience a rise and a fall.

The subject matter of languages, their inter-relationship etc. have been under study by scholars for over a century now. They have grouped the languages taking into consideration their common characteristics and affinity with each other. An attempt is made in this thesis to point out the affinity existing between the Wakhi and other languages of the Karakurum Region, besides tracing the origin and development of Wakhi and analysing its phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary and idiom.

The infinitives of the area languages i.e. Wakhi, Kohar and Shina fall on that of
the Uighur.

The Uighur influence is also discernible in a comparatively developed language of the area, i.e. Shina which is spoken in Gilgit and Astore. Similar is the story with the Kohar, the language mostly spoken in Chitral and adjoining Northern Areas, where, like Wakhi, the infinitive ending is characterised by the sound K.

IK or the infinitive ending with "K" of the Uighur may be noticed in Shina also:

In Kohar, "IK" (which is the ending of the infinitive from every verb) is actually equivalent to the English word "to". However, "IK" is physically attached to the stem of the verb because otherwise the stem cannot exist by itself except possibly as a totally different word. About half the verbs of Kohar are created by combining a noun and a verb to create a new verb. For example in Kohar "LU" means "word" "Dik" means "to give" and "Lu Dik" means "to speak" or "to give words". In such cases, the verb actually consists of two separate words.
because each word can survive by itself and also because some times other words are inserted between the two words which comprise the verb. For example "Hush Koman" means "I understand" and "Hush no Koman" means "I do not understand". The vast majority of verbs of this type are formed by combining a noun with one of three helping verbs: "Bik" means "to go", "Dik" means "to give" and "Korik" means "to do". However, there are a number of example in which other helping verbs are used, such as "Chum Hoski" means "to smile". Here the helping verb is Hosik.

There are certain unusual features of the above mentioned languages, like Wakhi, which are worth mentioning. First, as in Persian there is no distinction as to gender. There is no way to distinguish between "He" or "She" nor can one distinguish between animate and inanimate objects.

The Uighur language, as we all know is a member of the Turkic language group, a
subfamily of the Altaik language, whereas Wakhi, Shina and Kohar as discussed earlier belong to the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Yet these Karakoram languages have been greatly influenced by the Uighur language, not only in the matter of their vocabulary but also in the matter of their grammar and syntax. All this is because there was a liaison for a long time between the Uighur people and the people inhabiting the Karakoram region. Now that, after a long interval of centuries, the Karakoram Highway has linked Sinkiang with the Northern areas of Pakistan, it is very likely that the languages of these areas will benefit even more from the Chinese Uighur language and the latter may also gain something from the languages of the Karakoram area.

The Wakhi language has four infinitive patterns and most of these infinities fall on that of Persian and Turkic languages.

The following are the infinitives of the Wakhi that fall on Persian language with
suffix (the ending), as 'an' or 'in':

Pitan  To drink
Fishan  To go back
Poin  To look after
Putan  To throw
Join  To read
Jogandin  To play Polo
Jipan  To weave etc.

And some of the infinitives that fall on Turkic with "ak" ending are:

Kanak  To say
Katak  To do
Eatak  To eat
Pitak  To drink

Now the infinitives, ending in "ar" and "do" suffix are the following:

Pitnar  To drink
Opasnar  To stand
Guzar  To rise
Wazinar  To come
Girnar  To fall etc
Some of the infinitives with "do" endings are:

(Do) R'do  To give
Shakido    To break
Taleem R'do To give education
Hukam R'do To give order
Jirgi R'do To give mile etc

Languages are primarily significant indicators of cultural advancement, its diffusion and absorption. A language is basically the yardstick of the nature of living of a people—localised sea-faring or spread all over the world. It behaves as a living organism and undergoes expansion, shedding off various accessories as it experiences a change and suffers even mutation just as several biological species do. Each language has its own genre measured by its particular infinitives that represent its mode and stage of formation. Some languages remain in their primitive stage just as the simple organism of the biological world exist. These should
better be termed as dialects. Others such as the Indo-Aryan group, Indo-European family of languages and most languages of the Turkic stock fall in the category of those that have evolved into distinct identities. Some of the Turanian languages, though of a much later developmental period, from today a separate nodule in the vast sea of human languages.

During my recent visit to Northern areas in the last week of December, 1986 I came to know in Gulmeet area, through an educated Wakhi (i.e. Abdur Rauf Baig) that work on Wakhi language by the Wakhis under the auspice of "Gojal Union Karachi" is in progress and Mr. Jaffar Ali (a Wakhi himself) is supervising this work.

A Japanese researcher, Mr. Shikai, is also working on the Wakhi language. He has been coming to Gulmeet for few months every year since 1984 and is collecting data on the language and is also compiling a vocabulary. (Most probably he is doing his Ph.D on Wakhi language from Tokyo University). I met him
accidentally in Peshawar, he had to learn Persian to go ahead with his programme. He needed my guidance. The Wakhs say that the most authentic work is being carried out by a German Scholar, Prof. Georg Buddrus, on the Wakhi language, who often visits this area. Moreover, he is not only improving upon Colonel Lorimair's vocabulary but he himself takes notes on the various aspects of the Wakhi language, I wrote so many letters to him but no reply. According to Dr. Subhan Ali (a Wakhi), a tourist guide Mr. Shaheen of Swat has also gathered some material on the Wakhi language and is intending to produce a book on Wakhi. When I contacted Mr. Shaheen, he was only a tourist guide. The Pioneer Wakhi researcher and the first Englishman who conducted research on Wakhi language was Colonel Lorimair who once in Gilgit Agency. (Gilgit was an Agency from 1877 upto 1973) Mr. Lorimair had collected data about the Wakhi language. After his retirement he came
back to the area as a researcher. He was treated as a state guest by the Government of Pakistan. A rest house in Hunza was reserved for him by the Mir where he and his wife stayed for a considerable period. He completed his Wakhi vocabulary which has been discussed in detail in chapter No. VII of this thesis.

The Wakhi language was spoken and is being spoken in Wakhan corridor under Persian-Pushto influence, so it has accepted and appropriated many Persian and Pushto words and even their infinitives. Wakhi being not a written language till recently could not keep itself secluded from foreign influence. In every area where Wakhis live, their language has been influenced by the local languages. In Hunza it has been influenced by Broshusky and many Broshusky words have been absorbed by the Wakhi. Similar is the case of Wakhi of Ashkoman and Broghil areas where the Wakhi language could not avoid the influence of Kohwar language. Moreover, in areas like Hunza, Passu, Broghil, Gulmeet and Ashkoman, the language of Mass Media
is Urdu which resultanty has influenced the Wakhi language and so many words automatically have crept into and enriched the Wakhi language. Like-wise the Wakhis who live in Chinese Turkistan have taken many words from Chinese and Uighur languages of the area. While in Russian Turkistan, the influence of Russian and Persian is discernible. So the Wakhi language is being spoken with different nouns in different parts of the world. But there is a unity of accent which indicates the unity of the Wakhis and their perpetual contact with each other.

Like the Urdu language, Wakhi has the capacity to adopt and appropriate words from other languages and make them an integral part of its own body. This tendency will make the Wakhi language a very rich language in the very near future. Now it is emerging as a living language with its own script.

Nationality and language have great and deep links; in many parts of the world, nations are named after their languages, in others languages are named after their nation,
and even the areas where they dwell are named after them. Similar is the case with Wakhi.

Its grammar and syntax place it under the "Ghalcha" an Irani Ayrian language group. Mr. G.A. Grierson declared the Wakhi language as originating from the Ghalcha family of languages. (1) The work of Dr. Hanoos, on "Gilgit's language and people" (2) Nasser ud Din Hunzai's work on Broshusky language of Hunza (3) and the work carried out by Gojul Student Union, Karachi on Wakhi language and Dr. L.R. Col. Lorimer's Wakhi vocabulary, all this is worthwhile work. The author of this thesis has made use of the above mentioned works, and found out that Wakhi like the Shina language Gilgit and Astara, Broshusky of Hunza, Nagar and Punyal and the Kohwar of Chitral is in its primitive stage. These are developing languages and recently they have established their own script. At present, literature in the Wakhi language is not traceable, but the time is coming when Wakhi (which has immense capacities) would be one of the major regional languages.
of Pakistan. The Wakhi language which is called Gojali in Gulmet area of Hunza, is also spoken in some parts of Kashghar of Chinese Turkistan. These people who had migrated from Wakhan in troubled days to other areas, also kept their language alive.

Some Wakhi people also live in Shoghan area of U.S.S.R. As earlier stated, Wakhi has borrowed many words from all those languages which came into contact with it. So the nouns and other relevant words from Persian, Pashto, Shina, Broshusky, Kohwar, Urdu, Uighur, Chinese and Russian have entered the Wakhi language which has enlarged its vocabulary.

Wakhi belongs to Indo-Aryan language groups and has recently acquired a distinct status through the development of well-formed syllabary patterned on the Semitic alphabet. Some recent researchers have recommended Roman script for the Wakhi language. However, we feel that if this mode is adopted the language will be totally cut off from a large cultural heritage that characterises the Pamir and Karakoram areas.

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