The Sound System of Gojal Wakhi

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0. Introduction

What follows is part of the results of our field-research project <Research on Gojal Wakhi -- Basic Vocabulary and Analysis of Folkloric-ethnological Data, No. 16720084> (ゴジャール・ワヒー語の調査研究—基礎語彙および民俗、民族誌資料の収集と分析) supported by Ministry of Education and Sciences. Our research target is Hussaini or locally Sisuni village and its language located in Upper Hunza or Gojal, Pakistan.

1. Wakhí

Wakhí is one of the Pamir languages which belong to the Eastern Iranian. As its name indicates, it has been spoken in Wakhan Corridor between the Pamir and the Hindu Kush. Wherever its original home may be, its speakers are found in Gojal or Upper Hunza, well beyond Wakhan Corridor whence its Pakistani Wakhi speakers claim to have originated. As to the overall geographical distribution of the speakers a succinct but adequate description of John Payne should be referred to. There is apparently no academically reliable source revealing exactly when and how they have spread from their claimed homeland of Wakhan Corridor or some other places.

The Persian names of Wakhān and its derivation Wakhī are related to the native form wux "Wakhan". The speakers call themselves ḡik and their language ḡik wor or ḡik zik or simply ḡik. According to Morgenstierne ḡik is a curtailed form of *w(u)x-ik, and wux may be derived from *waxšu- which stands for the river Oxus. This etymology still remains a candidate. J. Marquart, on the other hand, derives wux from Old Iranian vahvī-, feminine form of vahu- "good; good thing". This is a more welcome supposition to Wakhī speakers, which may be feared however to be too harmonious to be true.

In the same section '4.2.3.1.4 Wakhī', Payne (1998) writes relying on the Russian research-

* We are grateful to Prof. Hiroshi NAKAGAWA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies for his professional help and advice on Wakhī sounds.
er's article published 1983: "The latest estimate puts the total number of Wakhi speakers as not exceeding 25,000-30,000, of which some 10,000 are in the USSR, 10,000 in Afghanistan, and 3,000 in Hunza." Here by Hunza (kunji in Wakhi) he apparently means all the areas of Pakistan Wakhi including Upper Hunza or locally Gojal (guj in our data), Chapursan, Shimshal, and others. This is an estimate over 20 years ago; the present numbers are naturally not as they were.

The name Wakhi derives from Wakhan, the narrow mountainous corridor called Wakhan Corridor in Afghanistan which separates Pakistan from Tajikistan. The Wakhi speakers of Pakistan supposedly migrated to their present locations from there at varying times, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century. When it comes to the Wakhi in Pakistan the most reliable information is offered by Peter Backstrom of Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Inside Pakistan Wakhi-speakers are predominant in Gojal or Upper Hunza, Chapursan and Shimshal while they live also in Ishkoman, Yasin and Yarkhun Valley of Chitral. Backstrom estimates the number of Pakistan Wakhi lies between 7,500 and 10,000. Gojal covers along KKH from Shishkat to Khunjerab Pass of Pakistan - China border. Beyond Sost, a border customs village, there is no population. According to <Population Break Down-2000>, a survey conducted by Data Base Committee, Ismaili Council for Gulmit Hunza, the total population of from Shishkat, the southernmost Wakhi village up to Pasu is 6,256 (792 households with 3,302 males and 3,054 females). All the Wakhi speakers are Ismaili and this statistics of the Ismaili Council is supposed to be reliable. If one adds the number -- supposed no more than 2,500 -- of those five villages after Pasu, that is, Khaibar, Ghalapan, Morkhun, Gircha and Sost to the above, one can get an accurate populations of Gojal. Local guesses of speakers' number, it should be noted meanwhile, is more often than not exaggerated due probably to their wishful thinking. We have to wait to know any exact number of speakers in Pakistan.

Our target is Gojal Wakhi, to be precise Sisuni Wakhi. The reason we have selected Gojal Wakhi instead of Chapursan or Shimshal Wakhi is based upon our initial surmise that Gojal Wakhi is original and that those villages of both Chapursan and Shimshal are results of later migration.

2. Sisuni Village

Hussaini or Sisuni as its inhabitants originally call it is located on Karakorum Highway (KKH hereafter) about 4km further up from Gulmit, the district center. It is roughly half way
between Gulmit and Pasu. At the Jamaatkhana which is centrally situated in the village the GPS gives us 36.25.60 North, 74.52.46 East with its altitude of a few meters over 2,500. The village is positioned on the slope from KKH down to Hunza River on the right when we proceed up to Pasu. Sisuni is proud of its locally famous shrine (oston) of Shah Talib (šo tolib) at the north-eastern corner near the cliff and its hot spring (garm kuk). On the eastern side of the river is Zarābād "Gold-village (zorobod)", its uninhabited outpost fields which are connected by a precarious suspension bridge (dut).

As is already noted, groups of Wakhi speakers had moved onwards from their homeland for ecological or political reasons or others and settled when they found suitable, unoccupied land. Sisuni may well have been settled only after Gulmit and Pasu did, which is fairly obvious when one observes its topography.

According to the August 2000 field survey of Mr. Ali Rehmat who is a Sisunik (a Sisuni inhabitant) and was thereby awarded a Master's degree in geography from Peshawar University, the total population of Hussaini or locally Sisuni is 545 with 75 households in the ratio of 278 males and 267 females. The 1981 census gives total 310 persons with 47 households (152 males and 158 females). The annual growth rate is 3.9% per year; it is projected by him that the population of Sisuni will reach 970 in 2010.

3. Linguistic Environments

The area of Gojal Wakhi borders on that of Burushaski and contains several Burushaski outposts interspersed inside like Khudabad and mixed villages of Khaibar and Shishkat (or Nazimabad) in Gojal along KKH. Historically the language of ruling classes was Burushaski. Many male Wakhi speakers who mix with Burushos have a basic working knowledge of Burushaski as is the case with our informant.

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. Most Wakhi males have normally good command of Urdu. English is spoken more widely and much fluently than may be expected by outsiders. It is quite surprising to experience how well educated and trained a younger Isma'ili generation is in English; it is more so when one compares non-Ismaili areas down along KKH with Ismaili Hunza including Gojal.

To be noted is the influence of Persian by means of which Ismaili faith was missioned. Persian remained as a prestigious means of communication among Wakhi intellectuals. Even today one encounters old peoples who know Persian. And so far as we are told, Persian reli-
gious poems, those of Nasir Khusraw and others, are being read in the Ismaili rites held inside jamaatkhanas.23

4. Informant

Our informant is Mr. Murad Shah. While collecting the vocabulary we have also relied on other native speakers one of whom is Mr. Ali Rehmat above-referred to; our final recording which is presented here, however, was conducted throughout with Murad Shah. He was born in 1970 at Sisuni village, as second son of two brothers and two sisters. After finishing junior high school of Gulmit he spent 2 years in Gilgit for high school and 8 years in Karachi for university. He has an excellent command of both Urdu and English; he is a trilingual of Wakhi, Urdu and English. He can handle Burushaski fairly well and has some basic knowledge of Persian as he took Persian class in his schooldays. Our medium of communication is English often braced by Persian24 and Urdu whenever suitable and available.

5. Data Presented

We started collecting the present vocabulary in a unique manner in 2003 summer in Gulmit where there is a reasonable hotel while any hotel or lodge does not exist in Sisuni a little more than one-hour's walk away. Murad Shah and Ali Rehmat offered Wakhi words utilizing <Xikwor Alifbe (Wakhi Alphabet)> prepared by Fazal Amin Beg25. Our two informants at this stage tried to offer as many words starting with a sound in question as possible; it naturally follows that many items outside 'basic vocabulary' kept coming into our data. This may explain the peculiarities of the present vocabulary which contains not a few non-basic items.

It is only in our second year of fieldwork that we started gathering words by means of a basic vocabulary list; we used, applying necessary emendations and corrections, Shiro Hattori's Research Files of Basic Vocabulary (基礎語彙調査票 Kiso-goi Chousa Hyou) compiled on 1957, a long-established nevertheless not so satisfactory but faute de mieux still de facto standard working tool in Japanese.

6. Transcription

System of transcription is our own; not exactly alike to those of either Morgenstierne's26 or Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky's27 or Fazal Amin Beg's.28 Our principles are:

(1) to avoid any unusual thus misleading reading of a familiar character. We do not use <c>
for /ts/-sound against all the above-mentioned scholars. Instead, we make use of two slur-tied or tie-barred sets, namely, <th> and <dз> for voiceless and voiced dental-alveolar affricates respectively.

(2) not to use any capital letters. Both Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky and Fazal Amin Beg bring the corresponding capital letters into use, which is quite all right with Roman letters but invites a great difficulty with non-Roman ones.

(3) to indicate an interdental voiced fricative, <δ> of IPA is adopted as against other researchers' Greek <δ>.

7. Sound System of Sisuni Wakhi

In what follows we offer our observations on the phonology of our data.

7. 1. Phonology

It is clear to linguists from the table below how to produce each sound. We add some practical and pedagogical memos with our Gojal friends in mind. In so doing we adopt when applicable the well-written pronunciation guide of Ronald L. Trail/Gregory R. Cooper (ed.) 1999. Hereafter V stands for a vowel and C for a consonant; <, > indicates a syllable break or syllabic boundary while < - > does a morpheme break or boundary. The letter parenthesized ( ) is optional; it is either pronounced or omitted.

7. 1. 1. Vowels

There are 6 distinct vowels in Sisuni Wakhi. Their relative places of articulation are shown in the following diagram:

i       u       u
  e       (ə)      o
  a

(The mid-central schwa /a/ in a parenthesis is non-phonemic.)

(1) /u/:mid-high back sound with lip rounding. It is quite open compared to the cardinal vowel (CV hereafter) [u] and an allophone near [o] is also heard.

/ður/ 'small valley'; /buy/ 'two'
(2) /u/ : high and mid-central. Normally pronounced without lip rounding, the typical /u/ is heard in the pronunciation to distinguish it from /u/ in minimal pairs.

/muy/ 'month' (vs. /muy/ 'fur')
/púð/ 'foot, limb' (vs. /púð/ 'footprint')

This sound is explained by Fazal Amin Beg "as in German, French and Russian". This may do for a pedagogical purpose to some extent but is quite misleading at the same time. To be precise, it is not a high/close-front like German Umlaut but a high central [u] in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

/u/ shows following allophones:

1) [i]: unrounded mid-central sound.
/dünduk/ 'tooth'; /suy/ 'rabbit'

2) [u]: back and unrounded, which occurs mostly after uvular sounds.
/qur/ '1) a sound of frog or bubbling 2) rope to tie a baby to the cradle'; /γum/ 'sound of drum'

3) [y]: slightly posterior to [u]. According to our informant, it is "middle-u", namely, "somewhere in between u and u". Our description is provisional; further consideration is needed.
/buri/ 'a canvas bag'; /burj/ 'corner'; /juma/ 'Friday'

/u/ is not observed in Urdu. Urdu /u/ is replaced by /u/ when Wakhinized.
/birkul/, 'of course' vs. Urdu /birkul/

(3) /i/: high and front.
/kik/ 'Wakhi people'; /minče/ 'swallow'

(4) /e/: close-mid front. Lower than CV [e]. [e] is also heard as a variant.
/bet/ 'local long robe'; /hel/ 'summer pasture'

(5) /ə/: mid-central open sound. [ə] is sometimes heard.
/dzaq/ 'little, a little'; /klə/ 'goat or sheep'; /piğa/ 'tomorrow'

(6) /o/: close-mid back with lip rounding. Sometimes pronounced lower like [ə] .
/moč/ 'local noodle soup'; /molida/ 'local dish from flour, wheat, water and salt;
/woz/ 'again, end'

(7) (/a/): As shown in the diagram above, [ə] is non-phonemic. No stressed /ə/ is observed. Our provisional analysis on phonetic environments in which it occurs are as follows;

1) in epenthetic function
/mærik–mrik/ 'cream'; /pəmɛtn–pɛtn/ 'to put on'; /ʃprɛwɔn–ʃprɛwɔn/ 'to make dress up the bride and bridegroom'; /ʃɔtsvnekɔz–ʃɔtsvnekɔz/ 'strainer'

2) weakened /a/ of the first and non-stressed open syllable in Persian and Urdu loans10.
/doma–dma/ 'wind' (cf. Persian dama); /nɔmek–nmek/ 'salt'; /zɔmin–zmin/ 'land'
In passing Sisuni Wakhi shows a strong tendency to curtail an unstressed open syllable when it borrows from Urdu or Persian; the vowel concerned is not limited to /a/:
/xðɔy–xɔðɔy/ 'God'; /ʃzndɔn–zəndɔn/ 'prison' (Persian zendan); /zyɔda–ziyɔda/ 'increased, many' (Persian ziyada with a short /i/).

3) in functional words of /CV/-types

/bo/ 'also, too'; /tɔa/ 'from'; dɔ 'in, at'

7. 1. 2. Semivowels

There are two semivowels: /y/ and /w/.

7. 1. 2. 1. Diphthongs

There are attested the following falling or descending diphthongs, five /Vy/-types and six /Vw/-types, in our data.

(1) /Vy/-types:

/əy/: /bayd/ 'song'; /pay/ 'curd, yoghurt'
/ey/: /kneɪ/ 'cotton'; /wæ/ 'thread'
/oʃ/: /ʃɔy/ 'tea'; /xðɔy–xɔðɔy/ 'God'
/uy/: /buʃ/ 'two'; /mʌy/ 'fur (of a horse, yak, etc)'
/ɔy/: /mɔy/ 'month'; /xɔy/ 'sister'

As to /ey/ there is one example which varies between /ey/ and /ee/, an example of assimilation or monophthongization:

/xɛyɾəkʊɾ–xeɛɾəkʊɾ/ 'weak sight'

(2) /Vw/-types:

/ɔw/: /nɔw/ 'nine'; /yaw/ 'Eat!(2 sg imperative and pres.stem of /ytn/ 'to eat')
/ew/: /læw/ 'crazy, mad'; /pælew/ 'side'
/ow/: /ʃtwɔm/ 'to praise'; /ʃtwɔʃiʃ/ 'praise31'
/uw/: /nuw/ 'to weep, cry'; /tmɔkw/ 'tobacco'
/ɔw/: /ʃuɔ/ 'cattle'; /piθɔw/ 'mosquito'
/iw/ : /yi/ / 'one' ; /ʃi-ʃi/ / 'whistle, whistling' 

Lorimer (1958) vol.1. pp.10f admits several polyphthongs; there is no such examples in our data.

7.1.3. Vowel Length

Things are very clear acoustically: there are long or half-long vowels in contrast to normal vowels. Phonemically or on the level of phonology, however, there is no vowel distinction based on length; length is not contrastive or distinctive. Vowel length is in principle a redundant feature in Wakhi.

At this moment we follow, with necessary emendation and reservation, Grünberg/ Steblin-Kamensky (1988) concerning the interpretation of vowel length. In §11 he writes: "Dans l'ensemble, le vocalisme du wakhi est un système hétérogène de deux sous-systèmes liés entre eux et réagissant l'un sur l'autre: le sous-système du vocalisme des mots de wakhi proprement dit (y compris les emprunts anciens) et le sous-système du vocalisme des mots empruntés." In the wording of Payne (1989), p.426 to summarize the above in a sense, "the vowel length is determined positionally and prosodically and such distinctions as do exist reflect the co-existence of two phonological systems, one for native words and one for Tajiki loans."

Long or half-long counterparts do exist for all the six vowels. They are observed in the stressed syllable for native words. We indicate this optional long by doubling the letter concerned:

/yi/ / 'sun' ; /di/ / 'stone wall' 
/mi/ / 'tendon' ; /dej-dej/ / 'stepdaughter' 
/du/ / 'belly, stomach' ; /xu/ / 'donkey' 
/qur-qr/ / 'rope to tie a baby to the cradle; /łu-ço/ / 'dung of horse and donkey' 
/ro/ / 'day, daytime' ; /sto/ / 'star' 
/ʃa-ʃa/ / 'six' ; /war-war/ / 'ram (uncastrated male sheep)' 

Out of those sets, longer vowels are more frequently observed.

In the case of non-Wakhi words, old loans well taken in into Wakhi vocalism, show no long counterpart like /bod shrink' , /co/ / 'tea' , /diwa/ / 'crazy, mad' , /ston/ / 'shrine' , /pyo/ / 'teacup' , /to/ / 'summer' , etc. Otherwise, the long vowels are optionally pronounced as is the case with /hazor-thousand' , /jena/ / 'corpse' , /jo/ / 'trousers, salwar' , /ʃar-ʃar/ / 'city' , /ʃer-ʃer/ / 'lion' , /sol-sol/ / 'year' .
/toza~toozə/ 'fresh', etc. In this case, again, the longer ones are more frequently heard.\(^{36}\)

When the syllable of long or half long vowel becomes unstressed, the vowel length is normally lost:

/mir~mir/ 'lord' vs. /miron~miron/ 'Mir's family' and /mir-biča/ 'prince (lit.'Mir's child')'

/bimor~bimoor/ 'sick, ill' vs. /bimoriɣ/ 'sickness, illness'\(^{37}\)

/bað~baað/ 'bad' vs. /baðnafas/ 'bad-smelled'

This tendency covers original Wakhi words as well:

/war~waar/ 'ram (uncastrated)' vs. /waruk/ 'small male sheep castrated'

/xur~xuur/ 'donkey' vs. /xurmaks/ 'horsefly'

/yir~yiir/ 'sun' vs. /yir-ɣtak/ 'sunrise'

As the last note, an overlong, drawled /ee/ is heard in /yeeel/ 'Hello. hey!' and /wooyee!/ 'huh, eh, what? (in surprise)'

7. 1. 4. Consonants

There are 36 consonants in all: 9 plosives or stops; 15 fricatives; 6 affricates; 1 flap or tap; 2 nasals; 3 approximants. We will give instructions, not necessarily linguistic but pedagogical, how to produce the sounds except for those self-evident ones.

The overall table of consonants in our transcription is:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
  p & t & ŋ & k & q \\
  b & d & ŋ & g & \\
  f & θ & s & š & ʃ & x \\
  v & ō & z & ŭ & ʃ & y & h \\
  m & n & l & \\
  r & y & \\
  ɾ & ě & Ē & ğ & j & j \\
\end{array}
\]

7. 1. 4. 1. Initial Glottal Plosive

A word or to be precise a syllable with an initial vowel have a weak glottal stop /ʔ/ before the vowel like in Persian.\(^{38}\) This is not distinctive or phonemical; we omit it throughout in our transcription except when it is essential to indicate its presence as is the case: /so'at/ 'hour, time', /rohatiɣ~ ro'atîɣ/ 'comfort' and /ya'ali~yoali~yoli/ 'oh, ouch, ups-a-daisy! (from Persian
yā'ālī). See also our observation on /h/ and /y/ below.

7.1.4.2. Plosives

/p/: with a slight puff of air in the non-clustered initial position.

/past/ 'downside, down'; /bap/ 'breast, bust'

/b/: voiced counterpart of the above.

/bat/ 'local soup'; /tbatq/ 'big wooden bowl'

/t/: dental with a slight puff of air in the non-clustered initial position. The tongue tip touches the back of the front teeth, not like English alveolar /t/. See Fazal Amin Beg's straight explanation as to its voiced counterpart: "Not English 'd' but as Urdu 'dal'."

/truj/ 'three'; /setk/ 'full'

/d/: voiced counterpart of the above.

/drem/ 'here'; /vndak/ 'to tie'

/t/: alveolar like English /t/ of 'tea' with a slight puff of air in the non-clustered initial position. This sound is usually named retroflex but it is mistaken. /t/ at least in our Sisuni Wakhi is an alveolar as against the above dental /t/. Note incidentally that the retroflex is concerned with the place, not the manner as is often misunderstood, of articulation. *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association, A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet* writes in p.8: "In retroflex sounds, the tip of the tongue is curled back from its normal position to a point behind the alveolar ridge." This does not apply to our /t/ in any sense. Note that /t/ and other retroflexes as /tʃ/, /tʃ/ and /tʃ/, /ʃ/ differ in the place of articulation. Also see Fazal Amin Beg's straight intuitive explanation: "This is English 't'."

/ʃoʃ/ 'slow'; /ʃor-tʃoor/ 'walnut'; /ʃet/ 'open'; /kʃak/ 'to put, to pour'

/ʃ/: voiced counterpart of the above. Like English "d" of 'dog'.

/ʃox/ 'slim'; /ʃut/ 'suspension bridge'; /manʃak/ 'to knead, to massage'

/k/: pronounced with a slight puff of air in the non-clustered initial position. There is no palatalized variant before the front vowels as in Persian.

/sak/ 'we (nominative 1 pl.); /tkma–takma/ 'shield'

/g/: voiced counterpart of the above. As is the case with /k/, there is no palatalized variant before the front vowels as in Persian.

/ʃerdi/ 'titmouse'; /ʃoynekuzg/ 'student'

/q/: voiceless uvular [q] like Persian "q" in raqqās 'dancer'. No fricative variant like Persian
/q/ is heard.

/qə/ 'talk'; /tʁuq/ 'sour'

7. 1. 4. 3. Fricatives

/f/: labiodental sound, like "f" in 'fee'

/fuks/ 'snake'; /ɡefsn/ 'to run'

/v/: voiced counterpart of the above as in 'vat'.

/vil vil/ 'full'; /savz/ 'green'

/ð/: interdental voiceless fricative as in 'thin' or 'thick'. It is a very rare sound in Gojal Wakhi especially in non-initial positions.

/ðət/ 'lizard'; /spəθk/ 'ball of the foot'

/ði/: interdental voiced fricative as in 'this' or 'that'.

/ðərs/ 'goat or yak hair'; /wuðq/ 'today'

/s/: alveolar fricative like the 's' of 'sing'.

/seln/ 'to nourish, to foster'; /ðəs/ 'beetle'

/z/: voiced sound of the above.

/zəq/ 'wish, want'; /hazor–hazoor/ 'thousand'

/š/: this is the beginning sound of English 'sheep'.

/ʃəv/ 'still, slow, silent'; /maʃk/ 'carrying bag for water'

/ʒ/: voiced sound of /ʃ/. Pronounce like the 'z' in 'azure' or 's' in 'measure'.

/ʒəw/ 'grain'; /raʒ/ 'sitting space in a local house'

/ʃ/: pronounce /ʃ/ with the tongue tip touching farther back in the mouth. This is a retroflex sound.

/ʃəŋ/ 'valley'; /ʒək/ 'to collect'

/ʒ/: voiced counterpart of the above.

/ʒəɾʒ/ 'milk'; /maʒə/ 'ergative of wuz (pers. pron. 1 sg)'

/ʃ/: voiceless palatal-velar ('velar-palatal' is more precise) [ʃ]. Typical /ʃ/ is pronounced slightly posterior to German <ch> in 'ich', but sometimes [ç] is heard as an allophone before front vowels. It is pedagogically called 'light x' among Wakhi speakers, compared with 'heavy x (/ʃ/)' below.

/ʃək/ 'Wakhi People'; /ðuʃn/ 'to grind, to crush'

/ʒ/: voiced counterpart of the above /ʃ/, so-called 'light y' likewise.
/ʔaʃ/ 'mouth'; /roʔd/ 'female goat (up to 2-3 years, before first childbirth)'

/x/: voiceless uvular [χ]. Like Persian 'xâne "house"' or <q> in 'vaqt [vaχt] "time"'.

/xalq/ 'people, person, human'; /šax/ 'flat basket made by willow (for drying apricots)'

/γ/: voiced counterpart [k] of the above. Like Urdu 'ghulām "slave"' or Persian 'gholām"slave"

/γaγy/ 'collar, top'; /ογοζ/ 'beginning, daybreak'

/h/: glottal voiceless fricative. As Morgenstierne (1938), p.446, noted, it is chiefly found in the initial position.

/halak/ 'to stay, live'; /hak/ 'steam'; /hal/ 'lightning'; /heywon/ 'beast';

/háya/ 'the, the very (demonstrative pronoun)'

The initial /h/ is sometimes optional:

/(h)amiša/ 'always'; /(h)alq/ 'throat'

Or sometimes due to hyper-correction:

/halaf/ 'mixed food for livestock' (<Persian 'alaf 'fodder'); /(h)araq/ 'sweat'

Non-initially there appears this sound in the following item, mostly loanwords like

/bahoor/ 'spring', /bihang/ 'rude, rough, haughty', /ehtiyot/ 'careful', /jalo~jalho/ 'spinner',
/ohesta-oesta-oosta/ 'slow', /qalha/ 'fort', /sahat/ 'morning', /sulqa/ 'shining, shiny', /sihatmand/ 'well, healthy', /sohib-soyib/ 'master, Mr.', /fatiha~fatiya~faatiya/ 'Fatihə' etc.

An original /h/ is left out in /janam/ 'hell' (Persian jahannam). /makam/ 'firm, stable' (Persian mohkam), /mašur/ 'famous' (Persian mašur) and /ramdil/ 'inmerciful' (Persian rahmdel).

/wa~wah'/ whooppee!, oh!' is the only example of a final /h/.

Against Stebлин-Kamenskм (1988), p. 11.§1392, /h/ is phonemic in our data.

7. 1. 4. 4. Affricates

/tʃ/: dental-alveolar. Pronounce like 'ts' in 'Betsy'. The initial position of the tongue tip is the back of teeth.

/tʃut/ 'spindle for wool'; /wotʃn/ 'to become, to get'

/dʒ/: voiced counterpart of the above. Pronounce like the final sound in 'adds' or 'adze' with the tongue tip at the back of teeth. This sound is very rare.

/dʒaq/ 'few, little, a bit'; /ʃandʒ/ 'storehouse in the backside of a house'

/tʃ/: post-alveolar as 'ch' of English 'cheese'.

/čmos/ 'apricot juice'; /krčepč/ 'magpie'
/j/: voiced sound of /ç/ above. Pronounce like the "j" in 'judge'.

/jajald/ 'in a hurry'; /kinje/ 'sheep (m/f, 1-2yrs)

/ç/: retroflex. Pronounce like /č/ above but the tongue tip touches a bit farther back in the mouth.

/ţeţm/ 'eye'; /kaţ/ 'match'

/j/: retroflex. Pronounce the above sound /j/ with the tongue tip touching a bit father back in the mouth. It is a rare sound in Gojal Wakhi.

/jinjaw/ 'crackle'; /branj/ 'mulberry'

7. 1. 4. 5. Nasals

/m/: pronounce like the 'm' in 'mum'.

/mum/ 'grandmother'; /mza–maza/ 'taste'; /semn/ 'special dish for the tayum festival'

/n/: pronounce with the tongue tip touching the back, not the gum, of the front teeth. The place of the tongue tip is the same as /u/ and /d/.

/nan/ 'mother'; /kunj/ 'entrance hall to the main room in local house'; /nung/ 'name'

7. 1. 4. 6. Tap or Flap

/tr/: alveolar flap or tap. When pedagogically emphasized or over-articulated a trill may be heard.

/trısn/ 'a hole on the ceiling in a local house'; /ror–root/ 'day'; /spreyı/ 'flower'

7. 1. 4. 7. Approximants

/l/: pronounce always an English initial /l/ like 'l' in 'lead', namely, the clear /l/. The dark /l/ like 'deal' does not exist. The retroflex /l/ is not heard.

/leng/ 'leg'; /lol/ 'elder brother'; /wolč/ 'thrush'

/w/: labial-velar like 'w' in 'wash'.

/wanj/ 'stomach'; /waşk/ 'tired, exhausted'; /wscy/ 'thread'

A hyper-corrected /w/ may be recognized in /wusto–wustoð/ 'teacher, master'.

/y/: palatal approximant like 'y' in 'yarn'.

/yaz/ 'glacier'; /yiw/ 'one'; /yoč/ 'duck'

This phoneme functions as a hiatus-breaker or a glide together with /h/ and the non-phonemic //:
/imtiyohn-imtihon-imtihoon/'exam'; /ṣuyŷ/'occasion of circumcision (ṣo)',

/istrió-istiyo/'physical feeling'; /xoyiš/'request'; /sari-ye-la-sari-la/'in the morning'.

/h/, /y/ and /i/ interchange in /hisob--yisob--isob/'count, number'. Finally, a double /yy/ appears in /peyy--pey/'paddle,oar'.

7. 1. 5. Consonant Clusters

Sisuni Wakhi has many a consonant cluster, which is quite a remarkable peculiarity when compared with any other Wakhi dialects offered by Grüنberg/Steblin-Kamensky 1988 and Backstrom 1992. As to the final consonant clusters our data has no such peculiarity; in this section we treat only initial clusters.

Among the 210 words from five locations (Pasu, Shimshal, Chapursan, Yasin and Ishkoman) of Backstrom 1992 only three items shows an initial consonant cluster throughout all the five dialects:30. broom [#dr-]; 100. spider [#pr-]; 146. above [#sk-]; 178. broken [#šk-]. The remaining examples are: 44. one star: [#st-](half long /s/)of Chapursan; 65/79. flower/cauliflower: [#spr-](except Yasin). In Dictionnaire wakhi-français of Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky 1988 which claims to contain "15,000 mots", on the other hand, there are according to our counting 74 #CC-types and among them only three #CCC-types: str-, štr- and štr-.

In clear contrast with these two our Sisuni Wakhi data offers the following varieties. There are 222 types of clusters in all; among these there are twenty-eight #CCC-types and three #CCCC-types. The list of #CCC-types are:


These clusters may be classified into two categories:

(a) those seven which contain no sonorant:

ptv-, ptž-, škō-, špx-, skv-, stb-, stx-.

All of them contains two fricatives except for pw- and ptž- of one fricative. Or we can describe that all of them have a sibilant except ptv-.

(b) the remaining majority which contain a sonorant (/r, l, /m, n/, /y, w/):

drw-, dry-, grd-, knd-, krž-, pln-, prč-, prts-, prv-, prw-, špr-, šrw-, štr-, spr-, stw-, tkm-, tky-49, trm-, trx-, vrđ-, vrš-.

Concerning the #CCCC-types, all the examples are given in 7.2. below. Note in advance that all the three contain one sonorant and one sibilant.
What is more important in our data is that there is a strong tendency among the younger generation to drop the vowel in the first syllable in #CVCV- environments while the older generation keep it quite well; no difference is observed in the case of #CCC- and #CCCC-.

/kuča/ vs. /kča/ 'a place for gathering, plaza'
/qarib/ vs. /qrib/ 'near'
/qomočdun/ vs. /qmočdun/ 'local bread'
/sado/ vs. /sdo/ 'voice'
/tana/ vs. /tna/ 'stalk, trunk'

7.1.6. Devoicing

Devoiced /l/, /n/ and /r/ are observed in:
/liworč/ [liwořč] 'sand'; /petr/ 'son'; /dišn/ 'to know'; /palč/ 'leaf'; /sekř/ 'red'

Our present observation is that a devoiced one appears either after or before a voiceless consonant within the same syllable.

A devoiced vowel may be heard in a devoicing environment like: /kuš/ 'vulva', /kušuy/ [kušuy] 'Listen!'

7.2. Syllables

SisuniWakhi has the following 14 types:

1) CV/: /ba/ 'kiss'; /to.ta/ 'parrot'
/CVC/: /bař/ 'good, fine'; /buy/ 'two'
/CVCC/: /burj/ 'corner'; /četk/ 'plough'
/CVCCC/: /lunjg/ 'cheek'; /pundžg/ 'sorma-dan'

2) CCV/: /qsa/ 'talk'; /tra/ 'there'
/CCVC/: /bret/ 'elbow'; /brin/ 'knee'
/CCVCC/: /draxt/ 'tree'; /grenj/ 'rice'
/CCVCCC/: /spandr/ 'esfand (grass)'

3) CCCV/: /tkma~takma/ 'shield'
/CCCVCC/: /prčob/ 'girl'; /sprčj/ 'flower'
/CCCVCC/: /krčepč/ 'magpie'; /prtšeng/ 'bracelet'
/CCCVCCC/: /prwurtń-purwurtń/ 'to throw up, vomit'; /vrdendzn~verdendzn/ 'to press down'
4) /CCCV/: /rändak- rändak/ 'hanging'; /štšvne.kuzg- štšvne.kuzg/ 'strainer'
   /CCCV/: /krbšich- korbšich/ 'hail'; cf. /tr-vdek- tor-vdek/ 'on the way'.

   Note that, as is explained in 7.1.4.1., the initial glottal stop /ı/ is not indicated; therefore,
   /angiz/ 'walnut stone', for instance, is actually /angiz/, that is, /CVC.CVC/, not /VC.CVC/. Likewise,
   /oluw/ 'potato' is /o.luw/= /CV.CVC/. There is no word beginning with a vowel.

   Most words are composed of less than three syllables. As is noted in 7.1.1., longer words
   frequently become one-syllable less when the vowel of the initial syllable is lost especially in
   case of Persian/Urdu loanwords, resulting in an initial consonant cluster. In our data are only
   six items of four syllables. Four of them are loanwords from Persian/Urdu or Burushaski:
   /ba.lu.tšas.ki/ 'dried apricot with kernel'; /mu.ki.ya.ni/ 'muki's wife'; /san.gi.mar.mar/ 'marble';
   /wo.fo.ma.mur/ 'a type of apricot'. The remaining two are compounds: /pi.to.va-nač.čir/ 'larger
   kind of bat [/nač.čir/ 'fox']'; /ši.wši.win.gas 'blackbird' [= 'whistling bird']/. We have the one
   five-syllable item, a loan from Persian/Urdu: /mu.bo.rak-bo.d-i/ 'money given for a newborn
   boy baby', cf. /muborakbod/ 'celebration for a newborn boy baby'.

7.3. Stress

   So far as the nominals including non-finite verbal forms are concerned, stress does not
   have a contrastive phonological role. It falls on the final syllable in most of the cases.

   Those words otherwise stressed are supposed to be borrowings from Burushaski and other
   languages so far as we can judge at present. The following words, non-finally stressed, are
   confirmed to be of Burushaski origin:
   /awáj̥i/ 'necessary'; /balōgan/ 'tomato'; /bründu- buründu/ 'ring, finger-ring' [Burushaski
   original is trisyllabic]; /gūša/ 'tuberculosis', /hímman/ 'house centipede', /iśtar-istar/
   'cushion cover' [Burushaski original is disyllabic]. /jrr̥i-jrr̥tu/ 'unripe' [Burushaski
   original is trisyllabic], /mára/ 'storehouse on the roof', /pē̃aw/ 'pear', /şǔlii/ 'a pipe to blow
   up flames by'; /šuksári/ 'a baseball-like local game', /ǔžu/ 'turtle' (Burushaski counterpart
   means 'otter').

   All the trisyllabic items are stressed on the penult.

   The unique example in our data is /śída/ 'straight' from Urdu /sīdā/ which is finally
   stressed. It is presumed that it is borrowed from the initially stressed Burushaski /śída/
   'gerade(zu), direkt'.

   All the non-final stresses are marked with < >. Several items have no stress like functional
words (e.g. /-yt/ ’and’; /bo/ ’too, also’; /do/ ’in, with’; /ki/ ’that (conjunction); if’), case-markers, plural markers, and conjugational endings. The postpositions may take a secondary stress while the prepositions remain unstressed. The negative and prohibitive particles, /ne/- and /me/- is stressed as is assumed. Examples of postpositions are: /sař-lâ–sařye-lâ/ ’in the morning’.

7. 4. Miscellaneous Points

Before presenting a minimal pairs list we will note down several minor points we have so far noticed in our data.

1) Prothetic vowel/reduction of an initial vowel

The following pairs can be analyzed on the synchronic level either an addition of a prothetic vowel or its reduction:

/asbob–sbob/ ’tool, instrument’: Persian asbāb
/irstar–star/ ’cushion-cover’: Burushaski/istar/
/istin–stin/ ’pillar, idge in the field’: Persian setun from Old Iranian /stuna/-
/istxon–stxon/ ’body’: Persian ostxun

From the comparison with original words all items, except /istin–stin/58, are examples of an initial vowel reduction.

2) Loss of a final consonant

The final /w/ and /y/ of /yiw/ ’one’ and /buy/ ’two’ respectively falls out in combination:

/yi sad/ ’one hundred’
/bu wist/ ’forty (2 by 20)’

3) Haplogony

Haplogologial reduction of a syllable is a frequent phenomenon with pronouns:

/mar/ = short form of /mažer/ ’to me [1sg dative]’
/tar/ = short form of /tawer/ ’to you [2sg dative]’
/čir/ = short form of /čizer/ ’why’

4) Consonant fluctuation

/š/ and /dž/: /tsrup/ ~ /dzrup/ ’piercing’
/l/ and /rl/: /silsila–sersila/ ’bridal headgear’
/w/ and /r/ : /wingas–un gas/60 ’bird, sparrow’

In passing, an interesting one is /q/ vs. /g/ in /xalq/ ’nation’ (cf. /xalqat/ ’crowd, people’) and /xalq/ ’person, human being’. Apparently Persian xalq ’creatures, people(s)’ is semantically dif-
ferentiated into these two words.

(5) Metathesis

/šx/~/xš/ : /šxek/~/xšek/ 'fine, powdery flour'

Another one may be /qolf/ 'lock' but already in Persian /qolf/ is also dialectically heard side by side with /qofl/. In the case of /lqum-/luqm/-/ulqum/ 'larynx, throat' it may be interpreted as prothetic.

7. 5. Minimal Pairs

As shown in previous section, most words are composed of less than three syllables and there are plenty of monosyllabic words in Sisuni Wakhi. A great number of minimal pairs are found; this is one of peculiarities of Sisuni Wakhi. Some of examples are presented below:

7. 5. 1. Initial consonants

bang             honeydew, apricot resin
čang             curved, bent
jang             war
lang             lame
mang             male goat (5yrs-)
nang             to take side of some one
rang             1) colour 2) ...like (postp)
šang             valley
tang             tight, narrow
wang             extraordinarily tall (for human)
zang             rust
žang             lice egg
cf. trang        1) belt 2) girth

bar~baar         door
ýar              1) stone 2) stone wall (at the edge of field)
har              all
mar              short form of mažer (pers. pron. 1 sg dat.)
qar              angry
sar 1) head 2) top, topside

tar short form of tower (pers. pron. 2 sg dat.)

war ram

xar grain-controlling part of hopper in water mill

bil spade

čil 1) cloth, fabric 2) local measurement. =2 haret, =1 yd

džil string of musical instrument

fil elephant

yil ɣil lazy, unstable

pil 1) bowl (smaller than kubun, for eating) 2) kneecap, elbow joint

qil–qiil body hair

sil flood

vil vil full, filled up

ruš Marco Polo sheep

ruš embers, live charcoal

juš 1) thin ice on water 2) boiling

kuš vulva

puš hollow, empty

šuš lungs

wuš 1) grass 2) wheat

xuš joy, liking

bat local dish made from flour and water

ýat impr / pres. stem of ÿak 'to arrive'

hat–haat eight

lat spoiled, non-perfect

tat father

xat letter

yat that, he/she
buy two
kuy who
muy fur (horse, yak etc)
ruy face (sometimes cheek)
xuy 1) sickness, nausea 2) temper
tuy marriage, wedding
žuy lake
cf. truy three

band closed
čand some
gand fart, gas, wind
γand pus
vand impr / pres. stem of vundak 'to tie, to bind'
yand 1) side 2) edge
cf. bland tall, high

bap 1) breast, bust 2) nipple (of livestock -- milking)
čap left
kap cup
qap bite
tap wing
tşap a tong for picking charcoals
bun  winnowing fork
ţiun  a makeshift bag with a hem of clothes
hun  a disease of cow
xun  self
xun  house
ţiun  short form of ŭnen

ţeng  grain, corn
ţţeng  short form of ðzereng
leng  leg (human and animal)
ţxeng  moist, wet (by dew etc.)
zeng  to rob, snatch
cf.
prţseng  bracelet
ştkeng  broken (pp. of ŭkeðn)
vţzeng  place for ground flour
wšţeng  bull (uncastrated)
zbeng  to pull out (vi)

đast  hand
mast  1) drunk 2) a strong man/woman
nast  there is no... (present negative of copula)
past  1) downside, down 2) short (mountain, height) 3)low
şast  1) fishing hook 2)ability

yeł  animal shade
heł  summer pasture
jeł  1) jail 2) big cloth to collect fruit (in wulong 'to shake fruit tree)
tel  oil
xel  sweat

četk  plough (not for spring, for autumn after harvest)
| ḏetk   | brick                      |
| getk   | covered (pp. of gin 'to cover') |
| setk   | full!                      |
| ūketk  | pp. of ṭṣar- 'to do'       |
| cf.    |                            |
| pčetk  | 1) ripe 2) cooked (tender for meat) |
| ptsetk | cooked (pp. of ptṣak 'to cook') |
| haq    | 1) correct 2) right        |
| dzaq   | 1) few, little, a bit 2) small 3) some |
| laq    | uncovered. naked           |
| qaq    | dried apricot (without pip) |
| cf.    |                            |
| sbaq   | lesson                     |
| tbaq   | big wooden bowl            |
| jax    | a call to begin to play music |
| šax    | flat basket made by willow (for drying apricots) |
| šax    | small valley               |
| šaš    | pea, bean                  |
| cf.    |                            |
| šnax   | with patch on the face     |
| znax   | jaw, chin                  |
| hal    | lightning                  |
| lal    | ruby, spinel               |
| mal    | leading cow in threshing   |
| nal    | horseshoe, tap (water)     |
| hagy   | open-air                   |
| pay    | crack (of things)          |
| ray    | sound of gas               |
ţsăγ  zip

cf. γray  1) collar 2) top

căţ  cattle (male/female)

jăţ  uneducated

păţ  penis

qăţ  running nose

baf  good, fine, well

kaf  suffocated

raf  side part of local cap

xaf  bark of xafčug tree

bun  impr / present stem of bung 'to winnow'

dun  quilt for newborn baby

run  hole on the wall in local house

xun  blood

laš  slippery, smooth (skin etc.)

yaš  horse

naš  small piece of rope (about 2 - 3m)

paš  tin, tin plate

ćaš  debris (of small stones with rain etc)

kaš  boy

maš  half-cooked

xaš  wife/husband's mother, mother-in-law

gaz  local measurement, about 1 yd

γaz  rolling pin to make chapatti

ţaz-ţaaz  1) bald 2) without horn (animal)

yaz  glacier
nung  name
śung  wood, stick
tung  1) hard 2) solid
yung  uncooked, half-baked
bung  to winnow
kung  to pull out, uproot
sung  frost bite
tung  to roll

hal  lightning
lal  ruby, spinel
mal  leading cow in threshing
nal  tap (water)
cf. šxal  mercy, kindness

lex  unfertilized land (cultivated)
mex  nail
rex  excrement, dung (of human)
sex  small stick

bing  mixed dried fruit (mulberry, walnut, apricot stone etc. and roughly pounded)
čing  tight
ťing  vertical
wing  to see
cf.
pŏing  flame
vring  to cut (hair, wool)

čiz  1) what 2) thing
diz  (stone) wall
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miz, mez</td>
<td>table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiz</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čup</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kup</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lup</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pup</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḳuz</td>
<td>wood, firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suz</td>
<td>1) cold air, cold breeze 2) impression, excitement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḳuz</td>
<td>slip, skating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuz</td>
<td>I (pers. pron. 1 sg nominative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boq</td>
<td>uncastrated male goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoq</td>
<td>dried up (water) for field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭoq</td>
<td>1) big, fat 2) walled in 3) a place for cattle or cutting grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zoq</td>
<td>wish, want, good feeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sot</td>
<td>slate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šot</td>
<td>dinner/supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šot</td>
<td>snow avalanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zot</td>
<td>shape, form, family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δoůy</td>
<td>stock of wheat (unthreshed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můy</td>
<td>month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suůy</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝůy</td>
<td>1) sister, 2) cousin, 3) wife's sister etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap</td>
<td>chatting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝap ŕap</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕap</td>
<td>elephantiasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. ŕap</td>
<td>gadwall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lew  crazy, mad
šew  horn
xew  crying
cf.
n rew  rainbow
vrew  eyebrow

pask  leather
šask  (young) willow tree, or twig (stick)
vask  downside of điz (for the field)

čuk  1) pointed, vertical 2) pile
juk  penis
kuk  spring (water)

duk  spindle for goats hair
msk  pearl
ţuk  bar, bolt
cf.
ktuk  apricot stone (with seed coat)
ptuk  to put flour on the stones of local house
tpuk  a game
špuk  1) left over of fruit 2) weak

but  idle
đut  suspension bridge
kut  roof
cf. vrut  1) brother 2) cousin

đerd  1) mixed 2) mix-coloured (livestock) 3) decoration on a pillar
gerd  1) titmouse 2) minivet
kerd  bent, slant
cf. wserd    this year
čila         1) freezing cold 2) cold time
pila         swollen gum
qila         difficult, dangerous
čupn         to pick up
čupn         1) to cut 2) to collect
γupn         murmuring
buq          hill
muq          blunt, dull, not sharp
tsuc         in standing position
huš          sense
quš          empty
xuš xuš      secretly
buč          male goat (bigger than mang)
kuč          to shift place (to/from the summer pasture)
wuc          up
rostit       1) correct, true, truth 2) right 3) straight 4) right-hand
sost         Sost
yost         a space for small livestock in γel
goš          sugar cane
koš          coat
θοš          lizard
yer           wool
yer yer      state / mood of fighting or angriness
yer  vein

grenj  grenj
mrenj  sad

banđ  walking stick
čanđ  1) naked 2) hairless (for animals)

šenj  worship
zenj  snow-blind

gul  flower
γul  crowd

šum  condolence
šum  evening

gar  1) scab 2) disease of livestock, alopecia?
ýar  1) stone 2) stone wall (at the edge of field)

jam  jam
jam  crack

čkan  1) pattern (in embroidery, cloth etc.) 2) with white spot in the black body 3) drop
čkan  water drop

ktor  clan
qtor  queue

7.5.2. Final consonants

tag  (not) at all
tak  button (of cloth)
tal tal  not smooth, rough
tap  wing
tar  short form of tower (pers. pron 2 sg dat.)
taš  slip
tat  father
taṭ  abuse
cf.
tang  tight, narrow
targ  wild plant in summer pasture

baf  good, fine, well
baj–baaj  thick, fat
bap  1) breast, bust 2) nipple (of livestock -- milking)
bas  enough, finish
bat  local dish made from flour and water

mak  marrow
mal  leading cow in threshing
mar  short form of mažer (pers. pron. 1 sg dat.)
masī  (extremely) hot
may  1) sheep 2) ewe (4 yrs- , after giving birth)

qam  something to be eaten with chapatti
qap  bite
qaq  dried stoned apricot
qar  angry
qaṭ  running nose

xaf  bark of xafćūr tree (used as a amadou)
xml  down (of land)
xan  fortified village
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xar</td>
<td>grain control part of hopper in watermill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xat</td>
<td>letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalg</td>
<td>people, person, human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalq</td>
<td>nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaf</td>
<td>suffocated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kak</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap</td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas</td>
<td>1) impr. of kasak 2) helper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čil</td>
<td>cloth, fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čir</td>
<td>short form of čizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čit</td>
<td>1) hedge 2) linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiz</td>
<td>1) what 2) thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γam</td>
<td>sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γaw</td>
<td>crowd (special for quarrel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γaz</td>
<td>rolling pin (for chapatti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫap</td>
<td>elephantiasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫax</td>
<td>hitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaz-ˌtəaz</td>
<td>1) bald 2) without horn (animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč</td>
<td>bullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţaš</td>
<td>quarrel (not fight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţaš</td>
<td>1) mouth 2) a door in the front side of boxari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δas</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δay</td>
<td>1) man 2) husband (not freq)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cf.
dart  fertilizer
dast  hand

7.5.3. Vowels

mar  short form of mažer (pers. pron. 1 sg dat.)
mar-kaar  dowry
mir  lord
mor-moor  equal
mur  1) rain 2) cloud
mür  apple
cf. mor-mor  friend

čak  1) full 2) too much
ček  1) a part of water mill 2) oval-shaped head
čik  sprout
čuk  1) pointed, vertical 2) pile
čuuk  insert

kar-kaar  deaf
kir kir  a call for lamb
kor-koor  moraine, rock
kur  blind
kur  with small ears (mark of animals)

sar  1) head 2) top, topside
ser  local measurement (for salt, tea etc.), about 1 kg
sor-soor  damp of grain
sur-suur  1) turn 2) surf system for grazing livestock in the summer pasture
sur  cold

waz  impr / pres. stem of wzak '1) to get tired 2) to get down 3) to lose,
get defeated'
wez  impr / pres. stem of wzayn 'to come'
woz  1) end 2) again
wuz  I (pers pron. 1 sg nominative)
wuz  bottomless swamp

gar  1) scab 2) disease of livestock, alopecia
ger ger  call for cattle (to separate into groups)
gir  saw
gur  grave

qar  angry
qir–qir  1) small hill, hill-like place 2) weal, welt
qur  time
qur  1) a sound of frog or bubbling in the water 2) rope to tie baby to the cradle

tar  short form of tower (pers. pron. 2 sg. dat)
tir  arrow
tor  1) top side (mountain, head) etc. 2) wire
tor  short form of tower (pers. pron. 2 sg dat.)

xaš xaš  rustling sound
xeš  impr / pres. stem of xešn 'to carry over (repeatedly)'
xiš  relative
xuš  joy, liking

čil  cloth, fabric
čol  with white face and black in the other part (as to livestock)
čul  loss

dás  ten
δός  beetle, carpenter bee
δός  dough

gard  dust
gerd  1) titmouse 2) minivet
gird  around

ɣar  1) stone 2) stone wall (at the edge of field)
ɣer  wool
ɣir  impr / pres. stem of ţirm '1) to wander 2) to go around 3) to fall down, collapse'

kåt  impr / pres. stem of kṭak '1) to put (in), pour, fill 2) to get divorced 3) to plant etc 4) to throw'
koṭ  coat
kuṭ  short

_PKT  scarf, shawl for woman
_PKT  name of a game
_PKT  thick bread (less thick than qomočdun)

pis  ringworm
pus  male sheep (castrated and big one)
pus  broken

piš  cat
piš piš  salty-sweet
puš  impr / pres. stem of pušn 'to dig'

šanj  side of wooden step between ražs
šenj  worship
šunj  hip
8. Reminder

Over 2,000 basic vocabulary of Sisuni Wakhi has been presented with pronunciation of our informant in the COE website of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (URL: http://www.coelang.tufs.ac.jp/multilingual_corpus/wakhi/) since the last August. I would be pleased to receive any comments and suggestions.

References


[It is through kindness of Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams that Lorimer's mimeographed edition has come into our possession in June 2005. Our thanks are simply great.]


*So far we have not succeeded in getting access to M. Nazir Gardezi, The Growth and Development of the Wakhi Language, Ph.D. Thesis, submitted in 1989 to Area Study Centre (Central Asia), Peshawar University.

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1 In Grierson's classical Linguistic Survey of India Wakhi was grouped into Ghaliyah Languages together with Shughni, Sarikoli, Munji and others. As to Galchah, see 'Galča' by Rechard N. Frye in Encyclopaedia of Islam II 1965, p. 997.

2 Wakhi is a major language of the Pamir branch. As for the Pamir languages in general see Payne (1989).

3 Lorimer (1958) vol.1 Introduction, p. 6, n. 2 rightly connects Gojal to the Burushaski words for Wakhi: guits pl. guits/o, with an adj. form guiski.

4 ibid p. 420.

5 Morgenstierne (1938) p. 433. In passing Oxus is vasku- or vaiksu- in Sanskrit which copies from the Iranian counterpart.

6 H. W. Baily is in favor of this view, see Baily (1979), p. 273 bašša 'streams'.

7 J. Marquart (1938), p. 52 and the item 介质 Steblin-Kamensky p. 6 accepts this etymology.

8 In this place Payne left out the speakers in China altogether; the reliable number of the speakers living in China is again unavailable to us. 『柯尔克孜语简志』 (胡振华编著, 1986, 民族出版社, 北京) gives us no number.

9 Lorimer (1958) vol.1. Introduction, p. 7 who collected his data in 1934-35 writes; "At the best none of these figures can be regarded as precise, and if we assume the Hunza Wakhis (= our Gojal Wakhi) to number now (=1958) something over 2500, we shall probably not be far out."

10 "Wakhi" in Peter C. Backstrom/Cara F. Radioff (1992). His field survey was conducted in 1990.

11 There are Burushaski speakers in Shishkat which is sometimes referred to as Nazimabad. Shishkat is divided into three districts: Shishkat Bala (Upper Shishkat, 392 persons), Shishkat Centre (1,052 persons) and Shishkat Payin (Lower Shishkat, 242 persons). According to the information from Mr. Ahmed Jamil Sakhri (see the note 28 below), they are in two districts other than Centre while according to another information Burusho are mainly in Centre. The English name of 'Shishkat Centre' is normally used by its inhabitants; 'Shishkat Markaz (Shishkat Centre)' or 'Shishkat Mulung (Shishkat Central)' of Wakhi is not heard. As we have no number of Burusho in Shishkat or Nazimabad, we will count all the Shishkatisk among Wakhi speakers in our counting.

12 This data contains Ayinabad, a small Burusho (=Burushaski speaker) and Domaki mixed village located just before
Shishkat when one goes up north. Ayinabad is eliminated from the number given above.

15 A recently opened, ambitious Website <Wakhi International Research Forum (WIRF), http://www.groups.msn.com/WakhiInternationalResearchForum/> will be offering a wide variety of information in the near future when and if it grows up properly. Mr. Fazal Amin Beg we refer to below is a keystone member of the Forum. He is in mid-thirties. Among the members of executive committee are representatives from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Peoples Republic of China. In this site they also call the Wakhi speakers in Pakistan "Wakhi Tajiks."

14 It is reported that Shimshal is the oldest Wakhi village. We are not in favour of this Shimshali favoritism. It is, on the other hand, a historical fact that Gojali migrated into Chapursan Valley a few generations before.

15 According to our informant, Sisuni villagers in military service started writing Hussaini on their mail in 1970 - 80s,

16 There is Ghulkin as well between Gulmit and Sisuni. Ghulkin is, however, off KKH high up on the left and actually does not come into sight when we move up along KKH. To be precise, Sisuni is half way between Gulmit and Pasu on the map; when one walks it takes a little over one hour from Gulmit to Sisuni while it does almost twice as much between Sisuni and Pasu.

17 Refer to his website of Socio-geographical Study of Hussaini Village (http://www.hussaini.20m.com/about.html). The substance of this homepage comes from his MA thesis submitted to Peshawar University. He was awarded a Meraj Khalid Award for Promotion of Science and Technology in 2004 by this contribution: Geographical Study of Hussaini Village Gojal, Upper Hunza, Pakistan. He is one of our three informants in our preliminary research of 2003 summer.

18 We may refer again to Mr. Ali Rehmat's Website given above as regards to Sisuni's brief history transmitted in folktomes. According to him Sisuni has been settled twice [sometime in the 19th century--our addition].

19 According to the information provided by Ahmed Jami Sakhi, all the inhabitants of Khudabad have enough acquaintance with Wakhi. Typical Burushaski outposts are Ramjin and Misgar in Chapursan.

20 See the note 10 above.

21 Burushos, on the other contrary, have not learned Wakhi, see Backstrom (1992), "Burushaski" p. 49.

22 As for the environments of Pakistan Wakhi in general, refer to a concise description already quoted of Backstrom "Wakhi" p. 64. Incidentally, Prods O. Skjaervo (1989) writes in 4.2.0. Modern East Iranian Languages p. 370: "Wakhi is spoken mainly in the Wakhan corridor between the Pamir and the Hindu Kush and borders on Khwar-speaking area to the south."When he writes "borders Khowar-speaking area" he totally leaves out Gojal Wakhi.

23 Persian was certainly more widely spoken and understood before in Wakhi areas. We are witnessing the last stage of Persian acquaintance among Wakhi speakers which was once much more prevailing and the vestiges of which we can easily recognize among others in its vocabulary. It may be recalled that Burushaski was a prestigious language of mirs only on a spoken level; it had historically not gotten any written form. Persian was the official written language of the Hunza court; communication between the British Government and the mirs were written in Persian, see Sidky (1995) 137.

24 Incidentally, Lorimer (1958) 's main common medium was Persian (vol.1, p. 4). While checking his examples with Murad Shah,we have certainly realized his original Persian more than a few times.

25 The heading of the list printed in the top margin is "Mountcom: Mountain Heritage & Development Partners, Gilgit Northern Areas of Pakistan". At our initial encounter Mr. Fazal Amin Beg was so kind enough to offer us this two-page sheets proven greatly useful at the beginning stage of our research. Ever since he remains our most reliable source and most respected friend. We are extremely thankful to him for many other things as well.

26 Morgenstierne (1938), pp. 431-558.


28 His above-mentioned two-paged Wakhi Alphabet. In this connection not to be missed are the following native speakers' painstaking, pedagogical efforts to transcribe Wakhi in Latin alphabet: Haqiqat Ali, Wakhi Language 1, Wakhi Culture Association, Passu [sic!] (no date) 25pp. which is the very first attempt to romanize Wakhi; Ahmed Jami Sakhi,
Wakhi Zaban, Qa'eda (Wakhi Language-Basic Rules), Gilgit, vii+31 pp. These two booklets were offered to us by Mr. Ahmad Jami Sakhi, Executive Assistant, Professional Development Centre, North (PDCN), Gilgit who has since remained one of our principal sources of reference in various matters concerning Wakhi and Gojal. Our sincere thanks are due to him. In this context worthy of special mention is Mr. Ejaz Karim's private booklet of Ahmad Nazir Bulbul's poetry in Latin transcription. His commitment to Ahmad Nazir's poetry has brought him to record and transcribe it in Latin alphabet. He works as an officer of KADO (Karakorum Area Development Organization) in Aliabad. One of his private edition is with us, which we are very much obliged.

Note Berger 1998 2.5. which describes a similar situation in Burushashi: "u wird unter dem Hauptton eng und deutlich gerundet gesprochen, kann aber im Nebenton, wo die Opposition zu o aufgehoben ist, auch dumpfer und zu o tendierend klingen."

This is sometimes observed in the case of the closed syllable as well: /dɔɾwaza/ 'doorway, gate', /dɔɾyol/ 'river'

As to /ow/ it appears only (1) /stowń/ and its derivatives, and (2) /towri–towri–tori/ 'to thee' (dative of 2 sg personal pronoun).

To be precise, there is no minimal pair to show a short vs. long contrast (see Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky 1988, pp. 42f., footnote 3 and Steblin-Kamensky, pp. 41ff.). As regards Wakhi of "Yang in Russian territory", in passing, Morgenstierne 1938, pp. 447f. gives the six long counterparts corresponding to the six short vowels except for the short /a/ either stressed or unstressed. Among these long six, according to him, the long /e/ is only in loanwords.


The remaining sentence of this section is: "Une telle structure de vocalisme et de tout un ensemble phonologique est habituelle pour une langue non-écrite survivant dans des conditions de bilinguisme san cesse croissant."

When one replaces 'one for Tajiki loans' with 'one for Persian and Urdu loans' this observation is applicable to Sisuni Wakhi. Similar short vs. long contrasts are observed in Hunza-dialect of Burushaski. Berger 1998, 2.12. and 2.13 is worth quoting: "2.12. Dopelvokale [see 2.7 ff.] werden nur unter dem Hauptton und in vortonigersilbe geduldet.; 2.13. (quoted in full, with slight diacritic shifts) Vortonige Doppelvokale kommen nur in Fremdwörtern wie mooqa '5Gelegenheit' < Urdu maqta, beemaaar 'krank' < Urdu beemaaar usw. vor, doch zeigt sich auch hier eine deutliche Tendenz zur Kürzung, so z.B. fast immer asmaa 'Himmel' für Urdu aasmaan. In anderen Wörtern wie baacha 'Koenig' < Urdu baadshaah, suuraat 'Schönheit' < Urdu suwrat usw. wird der Doppelvokal zu einer gerade noch erkennbaren Länge reduziert, in rascher Rede oft auch ganz als Kürze ausgesprochen. Die Aussprache der unbetonnten Doppelvokale is die von neutralen Längen ohne Unterscheidung von verschiedenen Stellen des Nachdrucks."

For example, 'elephant' is /fil/, usually not /gil/, 'straight' is /siida/, not /sida/ (for this, see further 7.3. below). Likewise, /tərə/, not /təɾ/ is 'tire, tyre', an English loan.

This tendency is also observed as to an unstressed syllable like /slomati–sloomati/ 'health' vs. /slomati/ 'healthy'.

Not so strong like that of German: Erinnerung /ɛrˈɪnərʊŋ/ 'memory'.

We observed a clear glottal stop /ɾ/ in /arp ʃək/ 'to appeal'. In passing, Backstrom (1992) gives for example, /traʃ/ 'face' (p. 273), instead of our /trəʃ/, for all the Wakhi of Passu. Shimshal, Chapursan, Yasin and Ishkoman. He takes /taʃ/ as a diphthong as we do. His only example of hiatus is "78. onion: Yasin and Ishkoman /piaʃ/.


From Arabic-Persian /ʕaraq/. According to our informant /haraq/ is normal. These are the only ascertained example of hyper-corrected /h/ in our present data.

In his vocabulary part there is no entry with the initial /h/. Instead, he comments in p. 168: "h ne figure pas parmi les
phonèmes du wakhi. Ce son apparaît avant une voyelle initiale ou pour éliminer un hiatus; " See also Steblin-Kamensky, §34; he describes /h/ as a glide.

43 Payne (1989) 4.2.3.3.1.3 quotes a reflexed /woj'el/ ‘quail’ from Pahalina.

44 Cf. Steblin-Kamensky, §61.

45 /Ce–Vye/ is a combining particle which functions somewhat like an ezafe in Persian; it is frequently omitted in normal speech: /cwan-e tel~ čuan-tel/ 'apricot oil', /guşt-e moč–guşt-moč/ 'meat moch, local noodle-soup with meat'. It seems to fall out when a sequence of words gets closer to a compound: /zarż-e moč~zarż moč/ 'milk-moch' vs. /zarż-wingas/ 'white wagtail' and /zarż-tbaq/ 'local dish used in any ceremony for a start'. The same /e/ also appears in derivative forms like /drevnkuzg–drevnekuzg/ 'tailor' where its function is epenthetic.

46 As to /h/ and /y/ cf. Steblin-Kamensky, §34 and §65 respectively.

47 This is the more remarkable when we observe Brushtaski. In Hunza Burushaski the initial clusters are limited to seven varieties, all of them with /l/ as a second component: br-, dr-, gr-, pr-, phr-, tr-, 0r-. They are of rare occurrence and that mostly occur in expressive words (see Berger 1998 2.48).

48 In /ptarti–ptarti/ 'two years ago'; in Gulmit it is /ttarti/

49 In /takya–tkiya–tka/ 'cushion, pillow' from Persian /takya–takiya/.

50 It is permissible in some case to interpret or analyze a sonorant as syllabic as is with /vrdndzn–vrdndzn/ (with a syllabic /r/)–/vrdndzn/ 'to press down'.

51 This item is not included in the counting 7.2, presented in the above because it is a phrase. Another example is /trprut/ 'in front'.

52 Here we are not taking into consideration those forms with a case ending or with a plural suffix; when do we have one or two extra syllables on these items.

53 The finite verbs have the initial stress.

54 Burushaski has a free distinctive stress, see Hermann Berger 1998, pp. 19f.

55 Like /albatk/ 'perhaps' from Persian.

56 See Berger 1998 Wörterbuch, p. 378 and Grammatik 2.61 Burushaski /gàda/ initially stressed 'begger', a loan from Urdu finally stressed /gadà/ is another example.

57 Incidentally, Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky 1988 lists among "15,000 mots" the only item of initial stress; /skirung/ 'oiseau aquatique bigarré' with no further explanation.

58 /istin/ may be claimed to be a loan of a dialectal /istin/. If so, this is another example of vowel reduction.

59 From Persian silsila 'a chain, line of descent'

60 The initial /w/ of /wusto–wusto6/ 'teacher, master' is probably due to hypercorrection as is already noted.

61 Grünberg/Steblin-Kamensky 1988, p. 188, gives /mingas/ as against /wingas/ of lower or southern Wakhi. Further note the following dialectal differences in our data:

1) /w/ of Sisuni and /b/ of Gulmit:
   /videyandz–vidyandz/ vs. /bideyandz–bidyandz/

2) /m/ of Sisuni and /b/ of Gulmit:
   /mikcam/ vs. /bikcam/ 'tail' (vs. /kičâm/ of Shimshal, see Backstrom 1992, p. 278).

3) /vd/ of Sisuni and /fd/ of Gulmit: /vdek/ vs. /fdek/ 'way, road'

   Note further that all the five dialectal forms meaning 'path' in Backstrom 1992 p. 276 (Wakhi Word Lists) are disyllabic including that of Pasu.
ゴジャール・ワヒー語の音韻体系

吉枝 聡子

0. はじめに

本論文はバキスタンのゴジャール地方（アフガニスタンおよび中国国境に近い北西部、カラコルム山脈の高地）にその話者が散在するゴジャール・ワヒー語の音韻体系を記述するものである。

なお、本論文は、文部科学省科学研究費補助金 No.16720084「ゴジャール・ワヒー語の調査研究—基礎語彙および民俗・民族誌資料の収集と分析」[Research on Gojal Wakhi--Basic Vocabulary and Analysis of Folkloric-ethnological Data] の成果の一部である。

1. ワヒー語

ワヒー語は現代東イラン語バミール諸語のひとつである。バミール諸語のなかで最大の話者をもつ主要言語といえる。タジキスタン、アフガニスタンのワヒー語については、すでに旧ソ連の研究者によるすぐれた研究があるが、ゴジャール地方のそれについては、1935年にブルシャスキ語研究で著名なロリマー（D.L.R.Lorimer）が調査を行って以来、今日まで実質的に研究対象とされていない。なお、ロリマーが主要なインフォーマントとしたのは、ゴジャールの行政の中心地グルミット村（Gulmit）の話者である。これに対して、本論文は、ゴジャールからさらに4キロ北のスィスニ村（Sisuni、地図上ではフサイニ Husaini が普通）のワヒー語を対象としている。したがって、ここでゴジャール・ワヒー語というのは、正確にはスィスニ・ワヒー語のことである。

2. 本論文の成果

本論文では、スィスニ・ワヒー語の音韻体系について以下の特異点を例語を挙げて指摘した：

2.1. 従来そり舌音（retroflex）/l/ および/id/ が存在すると記述されてきたが、間違いである。歯音/l/, /d/ と歯茎音/l/, /d/ の対立があるのみであって、そり舌音は存在しない。

2.2. バキスタン以外のワヒー語と違って、/l/ は音素として登立できる。

2.3. 他地域のワヒー語と大きく異なって、語頭の子音結合が豊富である。23 の#CCC-, 3 の#CCCC- のそれが観察された。

2.4. さらに語頭の子音結合について。年齢者には#CVC- の発音が一般的であるのに対して、
中年・若者は# CCV- の発音をする。言い換えれば、語頭子音結合の発音に明確な世代差が認められた。

2.5. 名詞類で最終音節にストレスが来ない語は、ブルシャスキー語よりの借用語である。本来のスイスニ・ワヒー語の名詞類は語末にストレスをもつ。

3. 最後に、以上の分析に用いた、現在データにある最小対（minimal pairs）を例示した。

4. おわりに

上記科学研究費補助金の研究成果の重要な一部が、東京外国語大学 COE のウェブサイト http://www.coelang.tufs.ac.jp/multilingual_corpus/wakhi/ で公開されている。このサイトでは、2,000 語強の実際の発音を聴くことが可能である。