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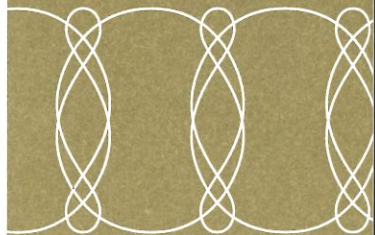
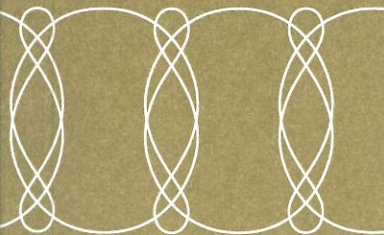
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ACADEMIÆ SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICÆ

*Ethnonyms in Europe and Asia:
Studies in History and Anthropology*

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Ethnonyms in Europe and Asia: Studies in History and Anthropology

Zsuzsanna Zsidai
Special Editor of the Thematic Issue

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Ethnic Levels and Ethnonyms in Shifting Context: Ethnic Terminology in Hunza (Pakistan)

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This paper constitutes an attempt to unravel the complexity of ethnic levels and ethnonyms, and to outline the roles of “origin,” “language,” “locality,” and “social solidarity” in the ethnic identities of the Hunza, using the methods of anthropological studies on ethnicity, discourse analysis and cognitive semantics. The former kingdom of Hunza (now in the Pakistani controlled Kashmir). It is not obvious what one can call *the* ethnic level in Hunza. Ethnonyms do not have set definitions. There are overlapping categories of ethnic and quasi-ethnic perspectives. The notion that an ethnic group is based on a strict unit of origin, language, and territory seems to be false. Ethnic levels appear in constantly changing registers of personal knowledge, which only partially overlap. However, the discourse in which the inhabitants of Hunza express and experience their ethnic perceptions is an existing communicational frame, even if it contains relatively fluid and constantly changing elements of narratives, experiences, emotions, and values. The notion of Hunzakuts is seemingly a politonym, but it is also a local unit. The Burusho, Dom, Xik, Shina etc. are seemingly language based endonyms, but kinship, cultural relations, historical coexistence, administrative frames, language, and religiosity can all influence these ethnic perspectives. I delineated the essence of my explanation in a table, showing the complexity of ethnonyms used in social interactions. A native speaker has all these concepts in his or her mind, and in any particular situation, the relevant meanings are called forth. Ethnic identity is a set of different attachments, as frames of a person’s ethnic perceptions and behavior. Ethnicity is a kind of knowledge: participating in a discourse, sharing more or less common narratives, emotions, experiences, and values. Ethnicity is also a recognition: placing someone in the social environment, and it is also the foundation for meaningful and relevant relations. Finally, ethnicity is a practical tool of communication: ethnic perceptions and categories appear in conversation nearly always for a particular purpose.

Keywords: Hunza, Burushaski, Shina, Bericho, Wakhi, Pakistan, ethnicity, ethnonym, discourse analysis, cognitive semantics, nationalism

Introduction

When I arrived in the northern areas of Pakistan, I met a Wakhi-speaking man (a driver) in Gilgit, who introduced himself as a *Hunzakuts* (as an ethnic identity). He took me to Hunza, where I conducted anthropological fieldwork. My *Hunzakuts* hosts always mentioned him as an (ethnically) *Wakhi* driver, while my hosts referred

to themselves sometimes as *Burusho* and other times as *Hunzakuts*. The driver took me to Sost (a town in Upper-Hunza), where his family told me they were *Xiks*, which was translated to English as *Tajik*.¹ The outwardly confusing usage of the terms *Burusho*, *Xik*, *Tajik*, *Hunzakuts*, and *Wakbi* focused my attention on the study of ethnic identity in Hunza. I realized that the categorization is much more complex than it seems at first, and the terms used in different situations depend on who refers whom, and what the particular context of the conversation is.

In recent decades, ethnicity studies have been dealing with questions like: are there definite categories (ethnonyms) of ethnic groups referring to members with existing collective “identities” (primordialism); or is the ethnic perspective rather a discourse, recalling patterns, emotions, and narratives from a constantly changing knowledge register (constructivism)? This paper is based on anthropological fieldwork,² and it constitutes an attempt to outline the roles of “origin,” “language,” “locality,” and “social solidarity” in the ethnic identities of the Hunza. I use methods borrowed from anthropological studies on ethnicity, including discourse analysis and cognitive semantics. I focus both on endonyms and exonyms, but I also consider the historical background and the current political context, since the former kingdom of Hunza now belongs to the Pakistani controlled territory of Kashmir.³

Theoretical Frame and Methodology

The study of ethnicity became one of the most important fields of social anthropological studies with the release of Claude Lévi-Strauss’ famous essay, published as a small booklet, *Race and History* (1952). According to Lévi-Strauss, ethnicity and even ethnocentric attitudes are natural phenomena of humankind, as cultural diversity requires distinctions and categorization.⁴ He argues that ethnicity is an instinctive response to recognition of cultural diversity. The book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Frederik Barth and published in 1969, became another milestone. In his introduction, Hunza stresses that ethnic differences are emphasized (symbolically expressed and verbalized) at the

1 I used English as the lingua franca of the Indian subcontinent, and I learned some *Burushaski*, which is the main language used in Hunza. Sometimes I hired interpreters, especially when I travelled to remote villages. See the description of the *Wakbi* language below.

2 My first fieldwork lasted for three months in 2001. I then returned to the wider region in 2005 for a short period of study. Since then, I have remained in touch with my friends in Hunza using the internet.

3 As a disputed part of Kashmir, it was claimed by India in 1947.

4 Lévi-Strauss, *Race*, 11.

boundaries of the ethnic groups, so ethnicity is based on social interaction.⁵ He argues that ethnic patterns and cultural reactions are based on interactions between social groups. Later, Rogers Brubaker wrote his famous work *Ethnicity Without Groups*,⁶ in which he reflects on the idea of Fredrik Barth, adding new aspects to the study of ethnicity and adopting a critical approach to “groupism.” Brubaker states that ethnic identity is not an objective, substantial frame into which one is born. According to his concept, “ethnic perception” is called forth by situations, so ethnicities are “not things in the world but perspectives on the world.”⁷ Brubaker contends that ethnicity is, rather, a discursive and fluid phenomenon, and its narratives and values depend on the personal emotions and the given situation in which it emerges.

We can distinguish the phenomenon of “ethnicity” from “nationalism,” although Anthony D. Smith emphasizes that the division is relative.⁸ Whether it had roots in the past or not, nationalism is a modern phenomenon, claiming legal self-determination (autonomy) for the presumed community: the nation. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rangers suggested that national frames are invented cultural constructions.⁹ Clifford Geertz claimed that nationalism is one of the modern ideologies, and it penetrates society as a political endeavor.¹⁰ Benedict Anderson used the term “imagined community” for a nation, identifying it as a constructed frame of modern political ideology.¹¹ Brubaker emphasizes that ethnicity and nationalism should be approached not as some primordial form of identity or attachment, but rather “in terms of practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events.”¹² Unlike nationalism, ethnicity is based on an instinctive ability to realize differences between social groups, based mostly on kinship or other discursive social units. This is why ethnicity can be built on several cognitive categories which mix origins (kinship), religious community, and legal and other distinctions (like language, locality etc.). Ethnicity can be described in a much more complex way, since (despite the one-level kind

5 Barth, *Introduction*, 12.

6 Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*.

7 Brubaker, *Ethnicity* 174–75.

8 Smith, *Ethnic*.

9 Hobsbawm and Rangers, *Invented* (The “cultural” nation-construction often refers to the narratives of origin and/or language; while the “political” nations rely more on legal and ecological frames.)

10 Geertz, *After*.

11 Anderson, *Imagined*.

12 Brubaker, *Ethnicity*, 167.

of nationalism, which claims only one unit, the nation, as a legitimate identity) ethnic terminology can use controversial and overlapping emic terms.

As a cultural and social anthropologist, I conduct fieldwork involving long-term participant observation among the social groups which I study, and I learn their languages to the extent that I am able during the given time frame of the research projects. For the present case study, I conducted my fieldwork in Hunza from June 2001 until September 2001, but I returned to the region in 2005, and since then I have remained in email communication with some of my friends there, so I frequently share information with my local informants (I must thank them for all the nuances to which they have drawn my attention). I extended my studies with interviews and I have also drawn on the scholarship on Hunza and the languages spoken there.

Throughout this paper, I often use the local Burushaski language emic terms for social and cultural phenomena, and for this reason, I use the orthography of Stephen R. Willson,¹³ which differs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), but may be read more easily by non-linguists and used for later studies about Hunza. When a particular emic term is not taken from the Burushaski language, I note this.

Site and Setting: Hunza

As a geographical territory, Hunza is located at the border between China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. It is formed by Hunza, the only river which cuts across the Karakorum mountains in the Pakistani-controlled area of Kashmir. The former kingdom, also known as Hunza, was mostly on the right (north and west) side of the river.¹⁴ However, in some of the southern and northern parts of Hunza, the territory contains the opposite side of the bank. On the left (south and east) side of the Hunza River lies the former kingdom of Nagér (also called Nagyr or Nagar in some of the secondary literature). As the neighboring community of Hunzakuts, the Nagér residents are called Nagérkuts.¹⁵ Their folklore heritage is very similar to that of the Hunzakuts, and most of them also speak the Burushaski language (like another community in Yasin valley,¹⁶ far

13 Willson, *Look*, 3–7.

14 Dani, *History*.

15 The suffix *-kuts* means “person/people” (and is both the singular and plural form).

16 Berger, *Yasin-Burushaski*.

to the west, in the Hindu Raj mountains).¹⁷ They also call themselves *Burusho*. According to the 1998 Pakistani census, 46,665 persons lived in Hunza and 51,387 people in Nagér.

Most of the inhabited territory of the Hunza basin is below 3,000 meters, but around Hunza there are 33 peaks rising to altitudes of more than 7,300 meters.¹⁸ Only the high grasslands, which are used to feed cows, yaks, horses, buffalos, and goats in summertime, are higher, between 3,300 and 4,200 meters high. The famous Karakoram Highway,¹⁹ which links China and Pakistan, was the first road to reach the region in 1978. It crossed the Chinese border in 1982, and it was opened to foreigners in 1986.²⁰ Until then, the area was accessible only through very high passes which were unsuitable for motor vehicles. Due to the mountainous landscape, in a wider sense the Hunza region is divided into many smaller valleys. The Chapursan Valley borders Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor, the Boiber Valley is located on the Chinese border, and the Shimshal Valley, which extends towards Baltistan, is near the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan, in the middle of the disputed Kashmir area.

In Burushaski, *Hunzakuts* (or in some dialects *Hünzükuts*) is both a singular and plural term for the inhabitants of Hunza.²¹ The Hunza society is based horizontally and territorially on *khans*,¹⁴ or local communities centered around fortified villages. While there are several *khans*, the first established khans are at the center of the Hunza society: Baltit (Karimabad), Altit, and Ganesh, which altogether (including all the cultivated land but excluding the summer pastures) comprises less than 30 square kilometers. The Hunza Kingdom extended its borders to the north and to the south, along the Hunza River in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,²² so today Hunza constitutes a much larger territory than before.²³ Hunza society is built on the kinship system (as descent groups) and the khan system (as local groups). The region was traditionally divided among the khans (fortified hilltop towns and the surrounding territories). Before the twentieth century, Hunzakuts were not allowed to settle out of a khan. In the

17 Frembgem, *Ökonomische*.

18 Willson, *Look*, 16.

19 Often mentioned as "the eighth wonder of the World" in northern areas of Pakistan.

20 Sidky, *Shamans*, 94, Willson, *Look*, 1, Flowerday, *Hunza*.

21 Some sources (e.g. Sidky, *Shamans*, Frembgem, *Ökonomischer* etc.) use the singular form as *Hunzakut*.

22 Dani, *History*.

23 Csáji, "Flying," 161.



Map 1. Hunza in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (disputed area)

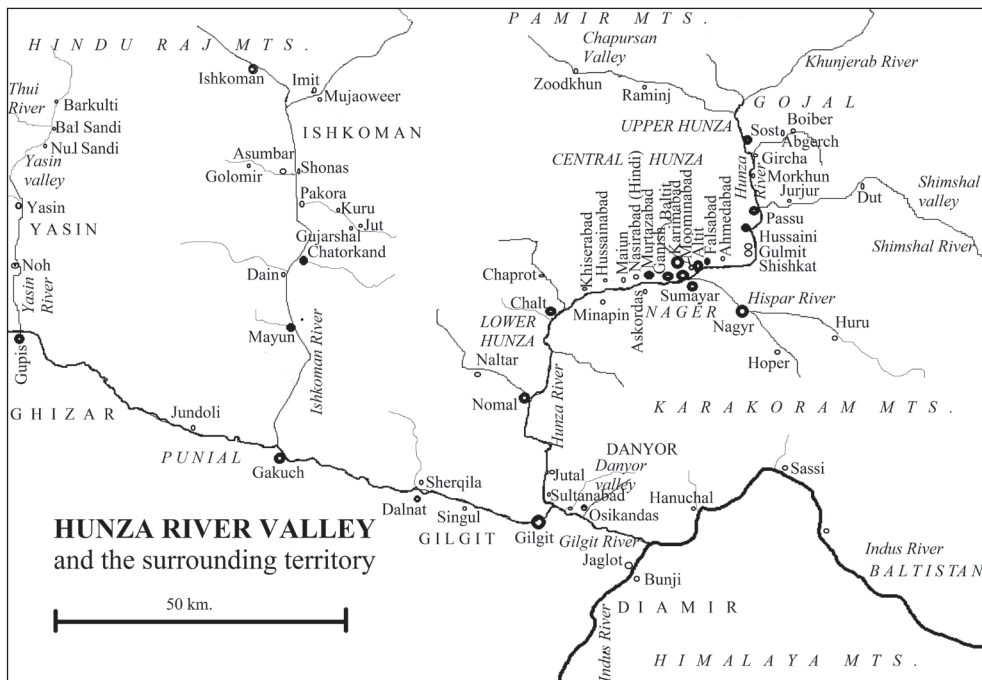
twentieth century, villages were established around the khans, since under British rule raids by the Nagérkuts were no longer a danger.²⁴

There are many works about the Hunzakuts' culture, their irrigation system, customs, shamanistic worldview and rituals, history, and language(s). Hunza receives an average of 130 millimeters of rain per year,²⁵ so it is necessary to construct and maintain water-channels from the rivers of the Karakorum glaciers for agriculture.²⁶ This centuries-old irrigation system brings the water supply and

24 Willson, *Look*, 17, 194.

25 Sidky, *Irrigation*, 34.

26 Staley, *Economy*; Sidky, *Irrigation*.



Map 2. Hunza Valley and its surroundings

makes agriculture possible. As natives of the former kingdom, Hunzakuts are proud of their culture and of the fact that they are able to survive and cultivate their traditions in a highland mountain-desert environment. The concept of “one thousand years of independence” is also an element of the “Hunza-brand,”²⁷ and it is given particular emphasis when this “brand” is presented to tourists, who began to come to the region from all over the world since the Karakorum Highway made the area more accessible.²⁸

The Role of Language, Locality, and Social Structures as the Foundations of Ethnic Levels in Hunza

It is not obvious how one might recognize “the” ethnic level in Hunza, if one were to insist on looking for a one-level model. As a consequence, “the” ethnic terms are also uncertain. Several more or less overlapping local, linguistic, social,

27 Flowerday, *Hunza*. This brand is not only a representation for outsiders, but also constitutes part of the Hunzakuts identity.

28 The peak of tourism was in the 1990s and early 2000s, when many restaurants, hotels, and shops were opened.

and religious categorization can be observed, seemingly with contradictions. In the secondary literature on ethnos and ethnicity, the most common named potential principles are²⁹ language, locality, “origin” (descendance), and social solidarity. I demonstrate in the following that these principles of criteria yield recognitions of different sets of people. Inhabitants of Hunza certainly use terms based on locality or language or political order etc., but the “groups” to which they seek to refer do not overlap. Furthermore, the same word can refer to different people depending on context.

In some situations, *Burusbo* seems a widely used we/they distinction, i.e. someone is referring to linguistic difference, although whether this word in the given situation means the *Burushaski* speakers in Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, or simply all of them depends on the context in which it is being used.

Locality is another foundation of ethnic categorization. The former kingdoms of Nagér and Hunza form the most important local frames of ethnic identities, but I have heard inhabitants of Hunza refer to *Hunzakuts* as their common local identity many times, and I participated in a conversation in Ganesh, in which a *Burusbo* man said “the *Hunzakuts*’ musicians are the *Bericho* people, who are from the South.” Even if *Bericho* are usually regarded as a part of the *Hunzakuts*, in this context *Hunzakuts* referred to *Burusbo* (and opposed to *Bericho*), so *Burusbo* people sometimes use the word *Hunzakuts* to mean “*Burusbo* speakers of Hunza.” *Wakhi* people, most of whom live in “Upper Hunza” (the territory north of Karimabad), rarely refer to themselves as Hunzakuts, but when they are out of Hunza (e.g. in Gilgit) they identify themselves as Hunzakuts in their interactions with Shina speaking locals.

Hunzakuts never supposed that they had common origin, even if the image of the “thousand-year-old Hunza kingdom” is a core part of the narrative of Hunza identity. On the one hand, they refer to this as a shared element of the cultural history of the Hunzakuts, but on the other, everyone knows that the origins of Hunza society are very diverse. The people(s) of Hunza often give expression to their pride in their cultural and linguistic diversity (“multi-colored unit”), particularly in interactions with foreigners and as part of political events, and this multicultural frame is also part of the “Hunza identity” and semantic frame.³⁰ The increasingly important indigenous discourse³¹ does not exclude the

29 Many earlier works suppose an imagined unity of locality and language, complemented with an imagined common origin. This kind of expectation would not work in the case of Hunza.

30 See Fillmore, *Frame*.

31 Parallel to worldwide recognitions of so-called “indigenous knowledge.”

narratives of “later waves.” I have heard many times that the “Burusho people are indigenous in Hunza,” but on some occasions I also heard that “the highest status of Burusho people is the *Diramiting* phratry (the *Tharákuts* and *Wazúrkuts* clans), who came from Gilgit” and became the ruling class. The *Bericho*, a subgroup of the *Hunzakuts*, are a conspicuously collecting frame, into which any occupational group or family to settle in Hunza was integrated, so I heard many times that the “*Bericho* are from all around the Indian subcontinent or from even more distant regions.”

In order to further a more nuanced understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of the ethnic terminology in use in Hunza, I identify the following elements as potential distinguishing features among different groups (which could be characterized as “ethnic” groups): religions, spoken languages, political frames, descent groups, social stratification and solidarity, and territorial/local subgroups of Hunza. Each of these elements has some impact on the ethnic perspective, but none of them could be chosen as “the” ethnic level.

Hunza is widely characterized, both in Hunza and by people living beyond its bounds, as “an Ismaili territory.” Hunzakuts identity is strongly connected with Ismaili Islam³² in many situations. The tourist brand of Hunza is also built on “Ismailism.” All inhabitants of Hunza, Nagér and Yasin adopted Islam several centuries ago. The peoples of Hunza were converted in the sixteenth century,³³ but they retained many of their earlier beliefs. Most Hunzakuts converted to (or were converted from) Ismaili Islam from their former Shia faith at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today, the population is predominantly Ismaili in Hunza and Yasin, but a strong minority (around 10-15 percent) is Shiite/Shia (*Shía*)³⁴ and a very small minority (1-2%) is Sunni.³⁵ The Shia (Shi’ite) minority live in religious endogamy and often in local units in Ganish, Dorkhan, Garelt, and parts of Aliabad and Murtazabad. Once, a Shia Hunzakuts told me that they are the “proper” Hunzakuts “who did not leave their faith.” He meant that other Hunzakuts converted from their Shia faith to Ismaili Islam.

32 Opposed to the Nagérkuts’ supposed Shia identity.

33 Willson, *Look*, 147–48.

34 Although Ismaili is part of the Shia way of Islam, Ismaili is called the “seveners” and Shia is called the “twelvers.” Ismaili is further divided, and followers of Aga Khan are one of its subgroups (see Willson, *Look*, 185). Shia Islam is dominant in Gilgit, Haramosh, Ishkoman, and Baltistan, although in Baltistan the Nur Bakhshiya (Noorbakshia) sect of Shia is also present in Shigar and Hushe (Mock and O’Neil, *Tracking*, 27).

35 Willson, *Look*, 200.

Endogamy functions as a survival strategy: this is how they try to keep their religious identity relatively untouched by the majority of Ismailis.

Most *Shia* people live in the southern parts of Hunza and some in Central Hunza (in Ganesh). Most of the Shias in Hunza self-identify as members of the Shina people (see below), except those who live in Central Hunza. Shinas live in the neighboring territories (in Nagér and Gilgit) as well, where they form a majority. Burusho people are predominantly Shias in Nagér,³⁶ which is on the opposite side of the Hunza River. There are very few Sunnite Muslims (*Sunni*) here, and they are (or are regarded as) “newcomers,” who came from places in the south of Pakistan. In a Hunzakuts’ cognitive semantic frame,³⁷ “Sunni Muslim” means nearly the same as Punjabi or Pakistani outlander in Hunza, or at least these notions are strongly connected. I have heard people say “he is a Sunni,” as a reference to a person’s outlander inhabitant status. I have also heard Ismaili and Shia people share many jokes and rumors, laughing at each other’s habits, customs and values, and this has strengthened my conviction that religious identity works very much like ethnic identity in this region³⁸.

There is a rivalry between the Shia and Ismaili people in Hunza, and they form endogamous communities, with rare examples of intermarriage. However, I have only once heard someone say that “*Ganish* people are not ‘typical’ *Hunzakuts*, since they are *Shia*.” This shows the strong connection between religious and ethnic identities and the stereotypes based on these identities.

The Five Languages Spoken in the Geographical Hunza Region

Burushaski (or as it is also called, *Misháaski*, which means “our way/speech”) is the main (official) language, spoken by virtually everyone who lives in Hunza, whether as the mother tongue or as a second language. Burushaski is said not to be related to any other language in the world.³⁹ Some linguists have tried to demonstrate parallels between Burushaski and some Paleo-Siberian languages (e.g. Ket).⁴⁰ With a very rough estimation, there are between 30,000 and 40,000 native speakers (Burusho) of Burushaski in Hunza.

36 Frembgen, *Ökonomischer*.

37 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive*.

38 It was observed long ago that religiocentrism is a phenomenon similar to ethnocentrism (Ray and Doratis, *Religiocentrism*).

39 Lorimer, *Burushaski*; Toporov, *Phonological*; Berger, *Yasin-Burushaski*; Willson, *Look*.

40 Edelman, *Jazik Burushaski*; Toporov, *Phonological*.

Shina (it is an endonym; in Burushaski it is *Shenaâ*) is a Dardic language, related to Khowar, Kalash, Kashmiri, and Kohistani languages. These languages belong to the Indo-European language family.⁴¹ Shina speakers form the vast majority in Gilgit, Chilas, the lower Ghizar valley, Haramosh, Diamir, and the Ishkoman region (to the south and west of Hunza). They numbered 2,084,673 according to the 2004 Pakistani census (and nearly 200,000 in India). Shina has many dialects in and around Hunza, such as Astir, Gilgiti, and Kohistani.⁴² As a Shina diaspora, between 12,000 and 15,000 Shinas live in Hunza. They belong to the Yeshkun, Kamin, and Shin subgroups, and they speak different Shina dialects. Sometimes, *Dom* (in Burushaski *Bericho*) is also mentioned as a fourth Shina community. Shins have the highest status among them. Most Shinas are Shia Muslims, but in some villages they are Ismaili (especially to the west of Gilgit, so a bit far from Hunza). The Shina converted to Islam during in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Until then, most of them were Hindu (and some were Buddhists).⁴³ I have a Shina friend who sometimes introduces himself as Hunzakuts and sometimes as Shina, depending on the circumstances and audience, and I have the impression that these ethnic identities have never been in contradiction.

The *Wakhi* (in some works: Waqhi) language is related to Tajik and Sarakol (both are in the Pamiri language group, which belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Indo-European language family). They came to Hunza from the north (from Wakhan) and were mostly pastors (herding cows, goats and yaks). Wakhi is an exonym. In Burushaski, the term used is *Guitso* (beside Wakhi) and the language is called *Gučbiski*. The Wakhi people are known as *Guyits/Guicho* or (depending on the territory in which they live in Hunza) *Gujali* (the Farsi word *Wakhani* is also in use, alongside the English term *Wakhi*). The endonym for the people is *Āik* (or *Xik zik*, and in some sources *Khik*, *Zik* or *Xik*), and the term *Xikwar* is used as a designation for their native language. The suffix *-war/war* refers to the language. It comes from the name of the Amudarja (Oxus) River, which is *Waxša* in Wakhi. Most of the Wakhi live in Gujal/Gojal, which was occupied by Hunza in the eighteenth century, and Wakhis migrated there

41 Whether the Dardic languages form a real group is a subject of dispute, as is the question of whether they belong to the Indo-Arya language branch or a transitory branch between the Indo-Arya and Iranian branches. See Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian*.

42 Mock and O'Neil, *Trekking*, 28, 37.

43 Biddulph, *Tribes*, 114.

later (to preserve their Shia faith in the face of Sunni expansion in Badakshan). They form the majority of the population in Gojal, with between 8,000 and 9,000 people. Wakhis belong to Ismaili Islam in Hunza. They sometimes refer to themselves as *Pamiri* or *Tajik*. The Wakhi language is considered as a dialect of Tajik in Tajikistan, and they are counted among the Tajik minorities abroad. Today, Wakhis are settled farmers, who plant grain and vegetables (and potatoes beginning in the 1970s), but some of them continue to practice transhumance (a form of pastoralism that involves moving livestock by a specialized group, from one grazing area to another according to a seasonal cycle; among the Wakhi, this work is done mostly by women).

The *Bericho*, or in their own language *Dom*,⁴⁴ people speak *Doma*, *Domáaki*, or *Dumaki Beriski* (in Burushaski *Beriski*). *Domaaki* is a Dardic language⁴⁵ spoken only in Hunza. It is spoken mostly by the villagers of Berishal (Moominabad) and some in Dorkhal (near Baltit). They number roughly 700, living in approximately 100 households (half of which are in Moominabad, while the others are in other villages).⁴⁶ The *Bericho* people are Ismaili Muslims.⁴⁷ They do not claim a common origin unique to their group. There is evidence that musicians, blacksmiths, and craftsmen who wanted to settle in Hunza in the past were integrated into the *Bericho* community,⁴⁸ formed a new lineage, and adopted the *Domaki* language (in addition to *Burushaski* as the main regional language). The *Bericho* own and rent out most of the tractors for plowing nowadays. The current clans of Doms are *Majun*, *Dishil*, *Ashur*, *Bak*, *Gulbeg*, and *Mishkein*.⁴⁹ Given the similarities between the lifestyles and cultures of the *Bericho* and *Burusho* peoples today, many *Hunzakuts* sometimes call the *Bericho* “*Burusho*.”⁵⁰

In addition to the four native languages, there are three other important languages which *Hunzakuts* learn in schools as languages of interaction with non-*Hunzakuts*:

Urdu is spoken by the Pakistani administration and today is learned by all *Hunzakuts* in elementary school. It has been the lingua franca in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir since the 1970s.

44 Lorimer, *Dumaki*.

45 Willson, *Look*, 200.

46 Shmid, *Dom*, 107.

47 Willson, *Look*.

48 Shmid, *Dom*, 109.

49 Ibid., 34.

50 Willson, *Look*, 201.

As a “traditional” lingua franca in the region, *Farsi* (Persian) was taught in schools until 1974, and since then, it has remained an educational language for secondary school pupils. Urdu is taught in elementary and secondary school.

Beginning in the 1980s, many Hunzakuts began to learn and use English, parallel to growth in the tourist industry.

Most Hunzakuts speak at least three languages (including their mother tongue). Illiteracy is also very low, since there were schools for children (teaching *Farsi*) long before the British Empire came to the region in the nineteenth century. Arabic was also used for religious purposes, but it was spoken by only a few people (the religious and cultural elite) in Hunza.

There were three political frames for Burushaski-speaking people: one is Hunza, another is Nagér, and the third is Yasin (to the west). All the three territories were independent kingdoms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Hunza and Nagér kingdoms were rivals, and each launched raids against the other.⁵¹ The inhabitants of the two areas usually consider themselves enemies even today. There were several small kingdoms in the region: Gilgit, Ishkoman, Yasin, the kingdoms of Baltistan (Shigar, Kapalu, Shkardu etc.), the Chinese administration in Tashkurgan, etc. Foreign sources also called the kingdom of Hunza *Biltum*, *Khajuna*, and *Kunjut*.⁵²

Hunza was in a politically fragmented space until Kashmir’s Sikh maharaja tried to occupy more and more territories of the Karakorum and Hindukush in the nineteenth century, though he failed to do so in Hunza and Nagér. I have heard many narratives (as oral history) about the cruelty of the Sikh army, but it is hard to distinguish between the narratives recently constructed as part of Pakistani propaganda for the Kashmir war (ongoing since 1947) and the real legends (folk narratives), the origins of which lie in the nineteenth century.

After 1892, as a result of the period of the Great Game,⁵³ Hunza and Nagér became semi-independent princely states of the British Empire, and they remained in this status until 1947, when they were integrated into Pakistan. The *tham* (emic term for king) was from the Ayasho family, but the dynasty lost power in 1974 according to administrative reforms introduced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Today, efforts are being made to strengthen a new political frame: “Pakistan,” which is not widely accepted by the peoples of Hunza as their “real” nation. I

51 Dani, *History*.

52 Grimes, *Isolates* 317.

53 The colonial confrontation of Russia and the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

have frequently heard the contention that “Hunza, Nagér and Gilgit are occupied territories, and not «natural» parts of Pakistan”. Hunzakuts often demonstrate their independence by listening to music on Indian radio channels, by stressing that although the homeland of polo (a traditional equestrian game in Hunza) is the northern areas of Pakistan, Hunzakuts or members of the Gilgit people are not allowed to play on the national team. I have often heard characterizations of the Sunni majority and the Urdu-speaking administration as the “new colonialists.” So the construction of a Pakistani nation so far has not met with much success in Hunza, even if the schools teach the official “nationalized” education and narratives. Most of the Hunzakuts resist this effort as part of “Sunni propaganda of Pakistan.” Religion, political semi-integration, different cultural roots cause mostly passive resistance to the Pakistani nation-ideology in Hunza. Despite this, I have heard of Hunzakuts introducing themselves in Europe as Pakistani people. Certainly this must have been motivated in part by a consideration of communicative rationality, i.e. an awareness that Hunza is not widely known outside of Pakistan, so they identify themselves abroad as Pakistanis or *Hunzakuts* from Pakistan.

Hunza and Nagér always found themselves in a fluid political field in recent centuries, and they tried quite successfully to maintain their independence. Just to mention the closest neighborhood in the south, there were the many Baltistani states and Gilgit kingdom. To the west, there was Ishkoman and Ghizar, and further west there was Yasin. In the north, there was the Wakhan part of Badakshan and Tashkurgan, and to the east Little Tibet (Ladakh and Zaskar). The Shina people came from the direction of Gilgit, Wakhis from the north, from Wakhan, and the origins of the Bericho people (according to the oral history) lie somewhere in Baltistan (they were given as a wedding dowry to the *thám* of Hunza long ago).⁵⁴

Hunzakuts have a patrilineal kinship system. *Burusbo* of the former kingdom of Hunza is traditionally divided into lineages, clans and phratries,⁵⁵ as a kinship categorization.

The smallest group above the family is *qbaanadán*, which means “lineage.” Lineage is a unilineal kinship group, in which the members trace their descent from a person (e.g. from a great-grandfather). Lineages form a changeable

54 Willson, *Look*, 200.

55 Sidky, *Hunza*.

set, and sometimes have special names, but they are specifically based on their founder.

The clan (*guti*, plural: *guténts*) contains two or more lineages. A synonymous term is *jót qabiilá*, which means “small phratry.” Members of a clan cannot easily trace their common ancestor, but they often refer to him as the founder. Clans have names, like *Tharákuts*, *Béegkuts*, *Mamétkuts*, *Haríkuts*, *Faráat*, *Béegkuts* etc. Clans are stable parts of the kinship system, and exist for many generations.

The term *roóm* (in some dialects *ruúm*, but it is also often called *qabiila*), means phratry. David Lockhart Robertson Lorimer, the noted linguist who undertook research in the late 1920s and 1930s which has since become a mainstay of the secondary literature, identified the Burushaski term *ruúm* as “tribe.”⁵⁶ However, recently cultural anthropologists have agreed that this definition is not accurate.⁵⁷ Summer pastures are shared between the phratries (and not the local units of the *kbans*⁵⁸). Phratries have special names, like *Dirámíting*, *Buróong*, *Barátaling*, *Qhúrukuts* etc.⁵⁹

Bericho, Shina and Wakhi peoples have different kinship systems and social structures, but they are unimportant from the perspective of my inquiry.

In addition to the lineage and phratry system, I outline social stratification according to status and solidarity. According to social status, the Hunzakuts’ society is divided vertically into three main levels.

The highest status is the *Ayasho* family, which belongs to the *Tharákuts* clan, and, together with the *Wazúrkuts*, forms the *Dirámíting* phratry.⁶⁰ They have the highest status.⁶¹

The second group is the *Burusbo* people, who are often regarded as the so-called “folk”: the native, Burushaski speaking inhabitants of Hunza. According to oral history narratives, they are the indigenous people of the region, and the *Dirámíting* phratry are the conquering rulers of Hunza. The *Burusbo* people are in the middle of the social hierarchy.

The third group is divided into three communities, each of which speaks its own language: Shina, Wakhi and (in the lowest status⁶²), the Bericho.

56 Lorimer, *Burushaski*, 304.

57 Sidky, *Irrigation*; Willson, *Look*, Csáji, *Flying*.

58 Fortified hilltop towns and their surrounding villages.

59 Willson, *Look*, 193.

60 Ibid., 192–93, see also Staley, *Economy*; Sidky, *Irrigation*.

61 Tikkanen, *Burushaski*.

62 On the Indian subcontinent, musicians and blacksmiths are often considered of a very low status.

Since the mid-1970s, the Pakistani administration, and later (since the 1980s), the slowly established tourist industry began bringing more and more people from Pakistan to Hunza, but these people still form only a slight minority of the society. They are considered outlanders, who are not Hunzakuts. As a form of opposition to the Pakistani administration and politics, Hunzakuts still resist sharing the nation concept of Pakistan. Many times, Hunzakuts have told me that “Pakistanis do not consider us equal citizens, as evidenced by the fact that Pakistanis do not let us play on the national Pakistani polo or soccer teams”. However, as noted earlier in this article, Hunzakuts often identify themselves as Pakistani when they are outside Pakistan⁶³.

Ethnicity Emerging in Context

In the preceding section I outlined the main social units and groups in Hunza. In this one, I draw on this and give examples of in-situ conversations in which people use the relevant terms. Basically, I seek to show that one must always consider the context of the given situation. Whether a conversation takes place inside or outside Hunza is one important element, and it is similarly important to take into consideration who is using the exact terms, to whom he or she is referring, and the audience to or with whom he or she is speaking. Contextualization is essential if interpretation is going to be adequate, so I give some examples of the everyday use of the ethnic terminology.

Before beginning to outline the ethnic levels and ethnonyms in Hunza, I must stress that people do not always act from their “ethnic perspective.”⁶⁴ In some respects, Hunzakuts have a lifestyle (agriculture, working on the irrigation system, animal husbandry) which is very similar to the lifestyles of other Shia and Ismaili peoples in the region of the Karakorum and Hindukush. They have many distinctive customs, some of which can be easily recognized, but cultural differences cannot be equated with ethnicity. As culture is never homogeneous and always changing (as it is a cognition), it can be considered a kind of discourse. Several social, religious, and other orientations (e.g. school, avocation or special interest-based groups) can give frames for different discourse spaces and lead to the emergence of more or less overlapping systems of “culture.” Which is

63 It has – according to the social linguistics – pragmatic reasons: to identify themselves with well-known categories (Csáji, *Tündérek*).

64 Brubaker, *Ethnicity*.

ethnicity, if ethnic roots do not trace the same directions whether according to cultural, kinship (origin), religious, or territorial (local) identities?

As it is theoretically based on the notion of origin, language, and cultural or political coexistence, ethnicity emerges only in some situations, when one or more of these values are affected. On other occasions, religious or social identity provides the foundation of their actual perspective. Kinship can also have an important role, even today. However, ethnic perspective cannot be easily divided from religious, social, local, and kinship cognition. It is the ideology of nationalism, which tries to give a one-level frame of a particular ethnic level, tending to exclude multi-ethnic identities and rule over religious, political, and cultural identities. In Hunza, this “nationalistic turn” has not yet taken place, since Pakistani nationalism has been failed to control ethnic cognitions.⁶⁵

It was surprising to me that I found a complex terminology for “ethnicity” in the Burushaski language. In the Burushaski language, the word *qáum* means “ethnic group,” but it can refer to two different categories: (1.) “a traditionally formed community with a common geography, culture, and history,” and (2) “a group of people speaking the same language and living in a similar kinship system.”⁶⁶ In the case of Hunza, the first term is *Hunzakuts qáum*, the second (language-based) term is *Burusho qáum*. Inhabitants of the former kingdom of Nagér (*Nagérkuts/Nagarkuts*) also belong to the *Burusho qáum*, but certainly do not belong to the *Hunzakuts qáum*.

Theoretically, it would be easy to distinguish these meanings of *qáum*, but sometimes the words *Hunzakuts* and *Burusho* mean something different, and some Hunzakuts use other terms for the *qáum* to which they want to. The speakers of a language do not automatically refer to one *qáum*, as people normally speak three or more languages (Hunza is a multi-lingual territory), and sometimes they speak Burushaski better than their mother tongue.

Native speakers of the same language can be intermixed according to political frames: if the word *Burusho* is mentioned in Hunza, people will not automatically think about Nagér and Yasin *Burusho* people as well. Mostly, the word refers only to the *Burusho* people in Hunza. In some contexts, the word *Burusho* even excludes the Burushaski speaking elite and means only the Burushaski speaking *Burusho* folk in Hunza.

65 The ethnos-model is also not useful for this analysis, given the many kinds of fragmentations (see Csáji, *Etnográfia*).

66 Willson, *Look*, 11.

If the word *Burusho* is mentioned outside Hunza, it often refers to Hunza's, Nagér's, and Yasin's Burushaski speakers, but not exclusively. Sometimes it means simply "those who speak Burushaski," and sometimes, depending on the context is so the conversation can refer to Burusho in Hunza without drawing any distinctions. Other times, they extend it with the Hunza's reference adjective: "Hunzakts Burusho."

The word *Hunzakuts* is similarly complex. It usually refers to a territorial frame (a local unit of people), but sometimes Hunzakuts means only Burushaski speaking people in Hunza, e.g. when it is mentioned by a Wakhi to another Wakhi outside Hunza.

In the case of Shinas and Wakhis, ethnic considerations are even more complex, as they both have neighboring territories in which they form majorities, thus their presence points out the origins of Hunza. Shinas in Gilgit and Wakhis in the Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan have their own "original homeland." In most of the conversations I have observed, they consciously stressed their *Shina* or *Wakhi* identity, and very rarely mentioned Hunzakuts identity, even if – theoretically – the Hunza regional identity covers all of them as well, and they can also refer to themselves as "Hunzakuts," especially when they refer to it towards non-Wakhi or non-Shina outsiders. And they are quite proud of both their Hunzakuts and Shina or Wakhi identity. On other occasions, they can simply identify themselves as Shina or Wakhi, within the Shina or Wakhi speaking communities in the northern areas, if they want to stress their community with other Shinas or Wakhis or they want to refer to their language.

The case of the *Berichos* is a bit different, as they do not have a "homeland," and they consider themselves traditional Hunzakuts without being a part of the Hunza kinship system. They had semi-slave status until the twentieth century, so they had communal emotions because they were an integrated part of Hunza, occupying a niche of occupations (blacksmith, musician, tractor-owners etc.). I have never heard them saying that they were Burusho, but they referred to themselves as Hunzakuts many times, at least when they were out of Hunza (e.g. in Gilgit).

An ethnonym can refer to a political frame, a language community, or a political and linguistic frame. Ethnic levels are often different when seen from the outside (exonyms) and when seen from the inside (endonyms), so one must also briefly analyze the terms used by people who describe or name these groups from the outside. Non-Hunzakuts often refer to Hunzakuts with the term *Hunzas* in English or similar terms in other languages.

The admixture of ethnic levels outside Hunza is more confusing. To simplify, Wakhis belong to a Wakhi ethnic group, Shinas to a Shina ethnic group, and so on. But then where do the Burusho or the Hunzakuts belong? How can we consider the Ismaili institutions, which reach towards political and language frames and cause strict endogamy, stricter than the language or even the phratry system? In practice, it is preferable for a Shina woman to marry a Shia Burusho man than to marry an Ismaili Shina. Religious frames can be more important in the case of ethnocentric expressions as well. I have heard many jokes told by Shia Muslims about their Ismaili neighbors, even when they shared the same language. These jokes contained stereotypes, concerning for instance ethnocentric attitudes and behavior. Many cultural patterns are shared by religious groups, but not by linguistic or local ones. A Burusho who is Shia can have many customs and rules in common with a Shia person in Gilgit, more than she/he might with her/his Ismaili neighbors in Hunza. So one cannot forget the region's cultural and religious diversity when attempting to analyze or interpret these terms.

Levels of Ethnicity and the Relativity of Ethnonyms

In the previous sections I outlined the linguistic and social diversity of Hunza and the local categories which also influence ethnic cognitions. In this one, I summarize the Hunzakuts' ethnic terminology in a table. The lines of the table list the native language groups and also some geographical and political frames. Each line starts with the subject who is referring to someone (named in the columns). Terms (written in the following columns) show a set of possible emic words for the ethnic or linguistic group (to whom the speakers refer).

To avoid misunderstanding, I have used changes in formatting. Words with normal characters refer to peoples; words in *italics* are terms for languages spoken by the people in question; the most common words are written with bold letters. As a reduced matrix⁶⁷ of endonyms and exonyms, the table is based on linguistic differences in Hunza. It is extended with the categories of Pakistani and Nagérkuts as important complementary categories of the locality, but even so, the table is a simplification, since it cannot adequately emphasize the role of locality. This is why I explained the considerations above, to demonstrate

67 The table does not show the religious and local segmentations (except in the case of Nagér), some of which I have already explained. Some lexemes of the Bériski, Shina, Urdu, and Wakhi languages may be missing, given the lack of data, but my main goal was to demonstrate the multi-dimensional nature of this set of ethnic terminology in Hunza.

Who is naming whom?	Burusho (in Hunza)	Shina	Wakhi	Bericho (Dom)	Nagérkuts (Burusho in Nagér)	Pakistani
Burusho (in Hunza)	Burusho Misháaski Burushaski Húnzó Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts Buru / Bru (Biltum Khajuna Kanjut/Kunjut*) (<i>Werchikvar/</i> <i>Wirchikwor</i> 2)	Shenáá Shená Shina <i>Shinaki</i> Húnzúkuts (for Shinas in Hunza) Nagérkuts/ Nagarkuts (for Shinas in Nagér)	Guítóso/ Guicho <i>Gujali/Gojali</i> Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts Guyits Guíchiski Waqhí <i>Xikwor/Xikvar</i> Wakhani	Bericho Béri Bériski Berits Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts Berishal sis Burusho	Burusho Burushaski Nagérkuts	Urdu Panjabi (often extended to all Pakistanis) Pakistani Paki (English loanword)
Shina	Hunzakuts Buru / Bru Burushaski Burusho	Shiná Shinaki <i>Shina</i> Hunzakuts	Húnzúkuts <i>Gujali/Gojali</i> Waqhí Wakhi <i>Xikwor, Xikvar</i> Wakhani	Dom Bericho <i>Bériski</i> Domaki Béri Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts	Burusho Nagér/Nagyr Burushaski Nagérkuts Nagiri	Urdu Panjabi (often extended to Pakistanis) Pakistani Paki
Wakhi	Buru Burusho Hunzakuts Burushaski	Shina Shina Shinaki Hunzakuts	Xik zik Zik, Khik Xikwa <i>Wakhbini</i> Húnzúkuts Pamiri Tajik	Bériski Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts Bericho Dom	Nagérkuts Nagar/Nagyr Burushaski Buru	Urdu Pakistani
Bericho (Dom)	Buru, Bru, Burusho, Burushaski Hunzúkuts	Shiná <i>Shina</i> Shinaki Hunzakuts	Guítóso/ Guicho Hunzakuts / Húnzúkuts Guíchiski Waqhí <i>Xikwor, Xikvar</i> Wakhani	Dom Doma Domáaki <i>Dumaki</i> Bérits Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts	Burusho <i>Nagér/Nagyr</i> Burushaski Nagérkuts Nagiri	Urdu Panjabi (often extended to all Pakistanis) Pakistani
Nagérkuts (Burusho in Nagér)	Burusho Misháaski Burushaski <i>Werchikvar/</i> <i>Wirchikwor (for</i> <i>Yasin-Burusho)</i> Buru / Bru	Shenáá/ Shená Shina <i>Shinaki</i> Húnzúkuts (for Shinas in Hunza) Nagérkuts/ Nagarkuts (for Shinas in Nagér)	Guítóso/ Guicho Guíchiski Waqhí <i>Xikwor/Xikvar</i> Wakhani	Bericho Béri Bériski Hunzakuts/ Húnzúkuts	Burusho Misháaski Burushaski Nagérkuts/ Hanarkuts <i>Werchikvar/</i> <i>Wirchikwor (for</i> <i>Yasin-Burusho)</i> Buru / Bru	Urdu Pakistani
Pakistani	Hunzakuts Burusho Burushaski <i>Hunzai</i>	Shina Húnzúkuts Nagérkuts Nagarkuts	Wakhi/Waqhí Hunzakuts Hunzai Wakhani Tajik	Dom Bericho <i>Domaki</i> Bériski Hunzakuts	Nagari Nagérkuts Burusho <i>Burushaski</i>	Pakistani Urdu etc.

1 The words Biltum, Khajuna, and Kanjut/Kunjut sometimes appear in Burushaski conversations with a connotation concerning their historical roots.

2 Werchikvor/Werchikvar refers to the Burushaski dialect spoken in Yasin.

Table I. Endonyms and exonyms in and around Hunza

that the table can be interpreted only according to the complexity of the social structure of Hunza. The several “synonymous” words in a heading all have different semantic frames and relevance.

I only use English words in the table if I have heard them used in a native conversation, they were explained in ethnographic interviews, or I have data about their usage from written sources. The table demonstrates the multi-dimension of endonyms, exonyms, and politonyms. The variety of ethnonyms in each headings shows that the terms can be used in a given situation according to their relevance. The areal linguistic interactions are also easy to recognize (e.g. from the frequent loan-words).

Conclusions

The notion that an ethnic group is based on a strict unit of origin, language, and territory seems to be false. Ethnic levels appear in constantly changing registers of personal knowledge, which only partially overlap. However, the discourse in which the inhabitants of Hunza express and experience their ethnic perceptions is an existing communicational frame, even if it contains relatively fluid and constantly changing elements of narratives, experiences, emotions, and values. This dialectic set of cognitions explains the very complex ethnic terminology of Hunza.

It is not obvious what one can call *the* ethnic level in Hunza. Ethnonyms do not have set definitions, and in different situations only the context can help us understanding who a term is being used to designate. There are overlapping categories of ethnic and quasi-ethnic perspectives. I have analyzed the role of language, locality, descendant, and social structure. The first consequence is that, on the basis of these principles, very different groups of people share common ethnic identities.

I explained that the notion of Hunzakuts is seemingly a politonym, but it is also a local unit. The Burusho, Dom, Xik, Shina etc. are seemingly language based endonyms, but kinship, cultural relations, historical coexistence, administrative frames, language, and religiosity can all influence these ethnic perspectives (although none of them can be considered as “the sole and only” ethnic level). I showed that the term Burusho, for example, can mean all Burushaski speakers, but sometimes it means the folk of Hunza (opposed to the Diramiting elite) and sometimes it means Burushaski speakers of Hunza. It is also used, in other contexts, to refer to the distant Burushaski speaking populations of Nagér and

Yasin, and there are cases in which it is simplified to the Ismaili Muslims of Hunza and Yasin. A native speaker has all these concepts in his or her mind, and in any particular situation, the relevant meanings are called forth. The context can be interpreted with the tools of the cognitive semantics.

There are institutions (such as clans and phratries, Ismaili religious community, and local settlement frames like *khanats*), into which someone is born, so there are groups which allocate ethnic perspectives. Ethnic identity is far from being incidental. It is, rather, a set of different attachments, as frames of a person's ethnic perceptions and behavior. Ethnicity is a kind of knowledge: participating in a discourse, sharing more or less common narratives, emotions, experiences, and values. Ethnicity is also a recognition: placing someone in the social environment (according to linguistic, local and other difference), and it is also the foundation for meaningful and relevant relations. Finally, ethnicity is a practical tool of communication: ethnic perceptions and categories appear in conversation nearly always for a particular purpose.

The question of which languages are used in the family is also not incidental, and neither is the question of the society to which someone belongs. These factors can sometimes be changed (by moving out of Hunza, emigration, intermarriage etc.), but there must be a reason for this change. It seems insufficient to consider ethnicity “merely” a changeable discourse, although the ethnic perspective is indeed a constantly changing (and never homogeneous) register of knowledge.

Ethnic identity in Hunza contains the concept of the former Hunza kingdom (the “thousand years of independence”), but it does not suppose or imply any common origin. Inhabitants of Hunza recognize the role of native languages, local communities, and social coexistence. Social and religious differences can lead to expressions of identity that are similar to or part of ethnic perceptions. Inhabitants of Hunza certainly recognize differences in language, and they use several words for the linguistic groups. Despite the linguistic diversity and the current political power of the nation-state ideology of modern Pakistan, Hunzakuts identity survived the collapse of the former kingdom's administration in 1974. The semantic frame of the word Hunzakuts has certainly undergone a transformation since 1974, and the role of locality has increased. Social solidarity remained an important part of it.

I delineated the essence of my explanation in a table, showing the complexity of ethnonyms used in social interactions. In addition to their (etic) vocabulary meanings, the ethnic terminology (as a set of emic categories) catalyzes other

notions, narratives, and emotions. Each word has a cognitive semantical frame, which calls forth emotions, narratives, and values in the given situation by the exact actors.⁶⁸

After briefly outlining the complexity of the ethnonym-system in Hunza, according to which terms can be recalled on the basis of the given circumstances, I demonstrated the complexity of ethnic levels and perceptions (Table I.). As the diversity and overlapping nature of ethnic perceptions, ethnic discourses, and semantic frames suggests, there is no single, exclusive level of ethnonyms in Hunza. Finally, I emphasize that cognition of “ethnic categories” is not omnipotent. There are considerations in which the national (Pakistan), ecological (social status), religious, or the political attachments seems more relevant than the ethnic ones.

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68 Everyone has a different discourse horizon, so the meanings never overlap entirely.

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