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PRESERVING TRADITIONAL PASHTO VOCABULARY THROUGH TAPPA: A LINGUISTIC STUDY

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Abstract

This study explores the role of Pashto Tappa in preserving traditional Pashto vocabulary. Using qualitative content analysis, 45 Tappas were examined to identify older words no longer common in daily speech. Guided by Fishman's Theory of Language Maintenance and Shift, the research shows that many traditional words survive in Tappa, despite being replaced by Urdu and English in conversation. Tappa passes these words to new generations, helping preserve the spirit of Pashto. As modern influences grow, this study highlights the importance of safeguarding traditional literature to protect language and identity.

Keywords: Pashto Tappa, traditional vocabulary, language maintenance, language preservation, role of Tappa, Fishman's theory, linguistic shift

Introduction

According to Evans and Levinson (2009), a language is an organised system of communication including grammar and vocabulary. Pashto, spoken by over 50 million people globally, belongs to the Eastern Iranian branch of Indo-European (UNESCO, 2020). Native speakers live in north-western Pakistan and southern and eastern Afghanistan. While Afghanistan has adopted Pashto as its official language, it is also widely spoken in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Historically, it was known as Afghani (Leyden & Erskine, 1921).

Political, social, and technological shifts, especially in Pakistan, have influenced Pashto over time. Urdu and English have notably impacted its vocabulary. Social media has further accelerated change, weakening Pashto's structure due to limited technological representation (Wahidullah, 2020).

Tappa is the oldest and most popular form of Pashto poetry. Comprising two unequal lines, passed down orally, it expresses human emotions across classes, ages, and genders. It is sung in hujras, at weddings and funerals, by riversides and during functions, accompanied by rabab, sitar, or mangi. Beyond its musical and emotional appeal, Tappa also holds linguistic significance. Tappa plays a vital role in preserving traditional Pashto words, many of which have vanished from daily use. These words, now heard mainly in Tappa, carry cultural identity and memory. Most speakers have unconsciously abandoned them due to Urdu and English dominance. In this context, Tappa stands resilient.

In a time when dominant languages are rapidly replacing regional vocabularies, studying the role of Tappa becomes essential for understanding how traditional words can still survive. This study is important because it sheds light on how oral poetic forms like Tappa help resist language shift. Pashto Tappa not only preserves language but also culture. It helps embed old words in memory through lyrical expression. Tappa reflects Pashtun life, values, and traditions. With external linguistic pressure mounting, Tappa has become central to Pashto's survival.

This research explores how Tappa preserves these pure words in the Yousafzai dialect, bridging generational gaps.

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It investigates:

- 1. Which older Pashto vocabularies used in Tappas are considered traditional?
- 2. What do these words mean, and why are they important?
- 3. What modern alternatives have replaced them in daily speech?

Literature Review

Oral traditions like Tappa have played a vital role in the life of a language for centuries. Scholars have agreed that linguistic and cultural heritage mainly pass down through oral poetry (Ahmad, 2024). Mocanu (2019) states that Tappa is more than a poetic tradition; it carries the essence of Pashto's history, values, and identity. Tappa helps preserve traditional Pashto words despite the growing influence of Urdu and English (Rahman, 2018).

Tappa's rhythmic and repetitive nature makes it easy for younger generations to memorise and absorb authentic Pashto words without effort (Mocanu, 2019). It acts as a bridge between past and present, strengthening the linguistic and cultural foundation of Pashto speakers (Hinton, 2013; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Though preserved orally, its impact shapes how people relate to their language and identity (Ahmad, 2024).

Tappa is playing a crucial role in protecting Pashto from fading, but not indefinitely. Formal Pashto is disappearing, making it harder for traditional words to survive. Urdu and English influence Pashto strongly, leading to vocabulary blending. Shah and Ali (2018) highlight how digital media has accelerated this shift. Yet, Tappa evolves with time and still connects with audiences by mixing old and new themes (Rahman, 2018). However, modernisation risks losing pure Pashto words forever.

Tappa's sharing methods have changed. Once shared in gatherings, it now lives online. Platforms like YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, and Facebook have introduced Tappa to global audiences. This has helped preserve it but also brought challenges. Tappa has become more entertainment-focused than cultural. On social media, Pashto speakers often mix languages, which weakens linguistic purity. They mostly use Roman Pashto in chats, further widening the gap between traditional words and younger generations.

Many traditional Pashto words once used in daily life are now rarely spoken, gradually replaced by modern or borrowed terms (Tahir, 1987, p. 91; Abid, 2008, p. 335; Shaheen, 1984, p. 19). However, these older words are still preserved in Tappa, which acts as a cultural and linguistic archive. As Enevolden (2004, p. xiv) notes, Tappa conveys meaning in a brief, proverb-like form, often using vocabulary that has otherwise faded. This makes it a valuable source for tracing lexical changes in Pashto.

This study follows Fishman's Theory of Language Maintenance and Shift. Introduced in the late 1960s, Fishman (1991) explains why languages shift, especially in bilingual societies. His theory supports the view that Tappa helps keep older Pashto words alive. Using this framework, the study explores both the linguistic role and the social significance of traditional words in Tappa.

While much research exists on Pashto, Tappa, and cultural resilience, the preservation of traditional words remains underexplored. This is not just about poetry; it is about how Tappa helps protect the Pashto language. Focusing on the Yousafzai dialect, the study identifies traditional words in Tappa and their modern alternatives to highlight the role of poetry in keeping Pashto alive.

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative research design to study how Pashto Tappa contributes to the preservation of pure or older Pashto words. A total of 45 Pashto Tappas were selected using purposive sampling, focusing on those that contained traditional vocabulary rarely used in contemporary speech. By qualitative research methodology, it means the study does not focus on numbers or statistics but on identifying traditional Pashto words, understanding their

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meanings, and finding out their modern alternatives through Tappa. The study adopts a meaning-focused qualitative approach to explore how traditional Pashto vocabularies are still preserved through Tappa. Content analysis is the main method used to analyse the data. Different Tappas were studied from published and unpublished texts, articles, books, videos, and audios.

Since this study is about how language passes from one generation to the next, particularly the Pashto language, this approach gives a deeper understanding of the older vocabulary found in Tappa and its role in language preservation. The focus is on the type of vocabularies used, their importance, and how people remember them, rather than counting how many have been lost. I have used descriptive analysis to describe and explain the pure vocabulary found in Tappa. The study identifies:

- 1. Traditional Pashto words in Yousafzai Tappas.
- 2. Their modern alternatives in everyday language.

Pashto Tappa helps in protecting traditional Pashto words. This study focuses on 45 orally preserved Tappas from the Yousafzai dialect in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It emphasises language, not rhythm or music. The term *traditional Pashto words* here refers to older vocabularies in poetic forms like Tappa, examined for their role in preserving linguistic heritage. These Tappas contain words that are either lost or rarely used today. The samples were collected from published books, anthologies, digital archives, and oral traditions.

Each Tappa was examined carefully to identify words unaffected by Urdu, English, or other influences. This helped to identify traditional words in Tappa and how they are being replaced in today's Pashto.

The main limitations include:

- The focus is only on the Yousafzai dialect.
- Only 45 Tappas are included.
- Musical and performative aspects are excluded.

Data Analysis

A list of 45 Tappas and their English translation that are mentioned below are analyzed. These Tappas contain traditional and old Pashto vocabularies. A comparative table list of old Pashto words with their modern alternatives, highlighting Tappa's role in preserving the Pashto language, is also present in this study.

(1)								
شو	زیر	4	رنگ	پسىي	تا		په	زما
و کوي نه	مې دا زيړي دار	كم عقله مور						
(Tair,								n.d.)
Transla	tion:							
My	colour	has	turne	d pale	yello	ow	after	you,
,	cent mother	gives me 1			J			,
J		6		J				
(2)								
(_) کړو	وران		دی	خال	زن <i>ی</i>		د	زما
	روق ئىلى مور تە څە	زە بە بە	Ÿ	· ·	ر ې			•
(Tair,	JJ · Q _		n.d.,		n			60)
Transla	tion.		11.u.,		p.			00)
1 ranstat	uon:							
You	have	erased	the	beauty	mark	on	my	chin,
100	mavc	Crasca	tiic	ocaaty	mark	OII	1111	CIIIII,

(3)

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دے	جنت	نکه .		کور		بابا		د
	ه دې ښه جنت کې ا							(0)
(Tair,		n.d.,		p	•			68)
Translation:			fathan	i.	1:1-0		l _a a	
	ouse of	a this beavenly	father	is	like	a	ne	eaven,
I have wande	ered with joy in	uns neavenry	prace.					
(4)								
ياره	یی		ولاړ		دلعير	1		ولى
بلار د کوره ځمه	ګیره زّه یم <i>چې</i> له ې	دلـ						
(Tair,	,	n.d.,		p				68)
Translation:								
Why	are you		ding	sorrowful		my	bel	oved?
I am the one	who should be	in grief becau	ise I am lea	aving my fat	ther's h	ome.		
(5)								
(5) دي	ه دهٔ	خوب	يه	مرګ		د		ورونه
	و۔۔ په نیمه شپه می غم		7			-		-333
(Tair,	پ حد مپ می	n.d.,		n				76)
Translation:		11.d.,		p	•			70)
My	brothers		are	c1	eeping		de	eeply,
•	ers are tormenti	no me at the i			ceping		u.	cepiy,
Trodoremake	ors are torment.	ing me at the i	illidate of t	ne mgm.				
(6)								
وشو	إبندي)	غبر		4	بنح		۲
	لکه ډوډې په تناره							
(Tair,		n.d.,		p	•			84)
Translation:				_				
As soon	as they to		bout the	second	wife	of my	hus	sband,
I got burned	like bread in ov	en.						
(7)								
پاره	٦	زړه		۵	ι	ست		جانانه
	زه دې د ټول ې خيلخ							-
(Tair,	-	n.d.,		p				89)
Translation:		,		1				,
Oh my	beloved	l, for	the	sake	of	your		heart,
I serve and re	espect everyone	in your fami	ly.			•		
(9)								
(8)	16	*15	- 1	<u> </u>		۸.		
کړو ۱۱۱مه خالمنه	سيندر ،ې په زړه دي چې د	ک ن څمک	دې	رځ		Ţ		اختر
	بې په رړه دي چې ا	1984,			n			41)
(Shaheen, <i>Translation:</i>		1704,			p.			41)
You have		un co	beautifi	111v on	the	day	of	Eid,
	e dressed ur heart that yo	up so u are boldly p				day	OI	ĽΊU,
	,	<i>J</i> 1	J	·				
(9)								
کړو	خور	وريزو	په	بيا		يې		اوربل
يا جوړ ورانوينه	د چا آباد كورونه بر							

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Translation:

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1984, (Shaheen, p. Translation: She has spread her hair her eyebrows on It looks like she is going to ruin someone's thriving home. (10)راكره تاوان اوس نری نری خندا دی کره رنځور دی کرمه (Shaheen, 1994. 50) p. Translation: Now give the price of remaining life, me my Your sweet laughter has made me fall seriously ill. (11)نيازبيني شرنگ دې بنعري لاس په کلاره ښوازوه رسوا دی کړمه (Daud, 108) n.d., p. Translation: Your bangles jingle, O of my eyes, Move your hands slowly, you have revealed my disguise. (12)راغي ټوقو اختر نه می اوږی شته نه د غاړی تعویزونه (Tair, 97) p. Translation: arrived has silently, Neither have I locket nor amulets around my neck. (13)ټول سره حجره د نیمی شپی منگے زما لالے و هینه 1984, (Shaheen, 152) p. Translation: village The whole is gathered in the hujra, My lover plays the pitcher at midnight. (14)اوكري باران آسمانه يار مې د شولو لاو کوي چې وتره شينه (Daud, n.d., 75) p. Translation: send down good some rain, My beloved is transplanting rice, he needs fresh water. (15)تور په د بسر ننځی آواز دی را مه شه میننه 93) (Daud, n.d., p.

dead

by

shot



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gun,

black

Than to hear the news of your dishonour. (16)الله یاک زما دے په ځکه په تش لاس د کشمير غزا له ځمه 93) (Daud, n.d., p. Translation: Ι have belief and trust in Almighty Allah, my That is why I am going to the war of Kashmir without any weapon. (17)مغل (Shaheen, 1984, 79) p. Translation: of Mughals its cruelty see downfall, When Peer Rokhan raises his sword and will join the battle. (18)دے عمر مدام به نه وي ستا خواني زما سوالونه (Khatak, 2020, 36) p. Translation: Life is the flow of the Abbaseen (a river in Pakistan), Neither will you remain young forever, nor will I follow you. (19)زړه زه اوس كوه يه غزيدلو خپو خوبونه (Khatak, 2020, 37) p. Translation: burdened You have heart with pain, my Now you sleep peacefully, stretching your legs. (20)دی بنعري به خالی مروند دې سر اولګومه (Khatak, 2020, 51) p. Translation: Make some room between the bangles, So that I can rest my head on your wrist. (21) ارمان ۷ ارمان د ډکه شکوره به چاپېره تاوېدمه (Khatak, 2020, 65) p. Translation: are Gone the days when in my father's home, I would sit around the pot full of bread.

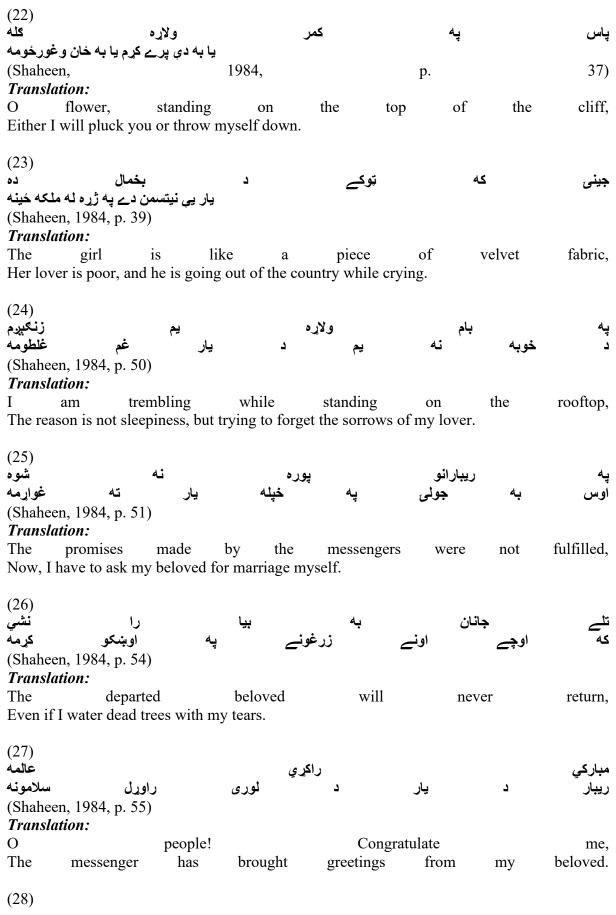
after

being

back









کړه شي نه (Shaheen, 19		ټولو	وهه ب په	دې، چې	درب قیامت	ما	آسمانه په
Translation O I am	sky!	Make nense p	a pain; 1	noise et othe		nd it	fall, too.
(29) راغے شومه (Shaheen, 19	- /	يوړه	په منګل	باز په	د زړه	ئے	اشنا زما
My He took	beloved	car eart in		like hand, lea	a aving m	e asto	hawk, onished.
راشي راشي يمه (Shaheen, 19 <i>Translation</i>	- ′	به ټول	ک <i>ې</i>	ارخ اور	دم په	بيلتانه	د
Which The fir	side	will separation	bring has	rel burned	ief my	to entire	me, body.
(31) کړو اوپشتمه (Shaheen, 19 <i>Translation</i>		دې ګول ئ	مخ په	لے دے	ت لور	لاره ظالم	په د
You t	urned you ruel one!	ur face You	bac shot	k whil me	e wal with	king a	away, bullet.
ورانيږي ورانيږي محفلونه (Shaheen, 19 Translation	- ′	د	يو كم	به وران	به	a Li	په په
If I If someth	am not	there, s to yo	-	my hom your fri		miss 1 miss	me, you.
(Shaheen, 19	984, p. 149)	سره به وړاند	دواړه <i>چې</i> ب	به دے	la .	مرګ م <i>ي</i>	په ارمان
Translation We But I an	both	at one o	will f us m		die uried befo		ogether, other.
(34)							



شوم خنګنونه (Tappezy, r <i>Translation</i>		جګه په	کړې	در ثنله	ت <i>لي</i> ندای ن	سفر د <i>ي</i> خ	په ما
I could May C		over the use bot		-	ou farewell legs to	•	
(35) ولي وينه (Tappezy, r <i>Translation</i> If O g	زر غونه n.d.) n: you	کاڼو نه throw May	خدای stor God			لمن the t	
(36) دي شمه (Tappezy, r	ازغي زغملي 1.d.)	سر درد	په ي <i>ې</i>	زړه نه	grant د نی شم	می یی ابسن	يار نه
Neither	beloved can I	is pull	it out,	thorn nor	in can I	bear the	heart, pain.
رز37) مینه (Tappezy, r <i>Translation</i> There will Don't	n:			عد رنعه be availa end		به یاري ys when I my	الله زما will be, love.
(38) يم خينه (Khan, 201) <i>Translation</i>	n:	کلي	دی بر	يار دی	دسمال	تهمتونو پتاسو	3
I am When it	your t comes		when narriage,		omes to e marryin	being g someone	blamed, else.
(39) دی نه (Khan, 201) <i>Translation</i>		محفل آباده	حجره	جونو دې	د يار	تا لېونى	په په
You Your (40)	are mad	the v lover			the illar of		gathering, hujra.

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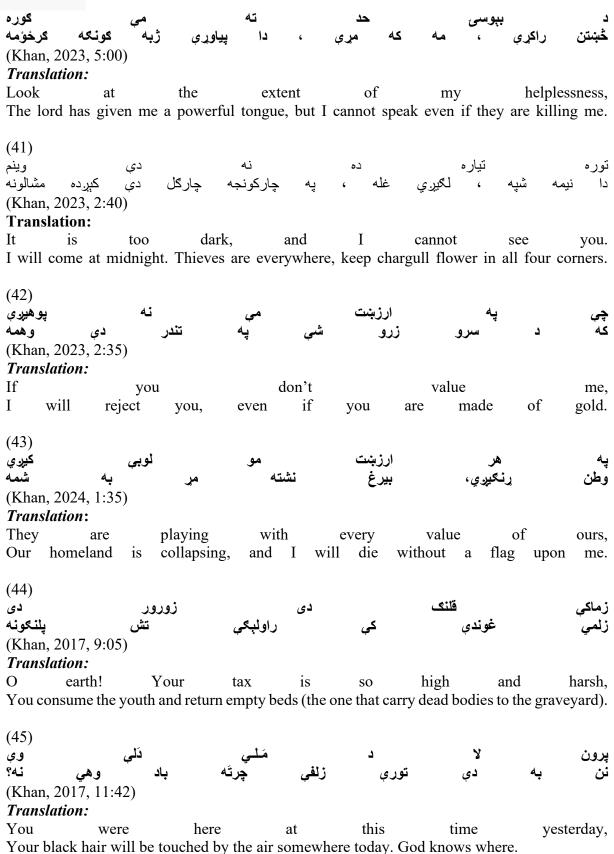


Table of Traditional Pashto Words Found in Tappas:

Following are the extracted words from the selected Tappas, listed alongside their modern Pashto alternatives.

S. No.	Modern Alternative Pashto Words (Pashto Transcription)	Modern Alternative Pashto Words (Roman Pashto)	Traditional Pashto Words (Pashto Transcription)	
1	دوايي	Duwaiye	دارو	Daroo
2	كنجوس	Kanjoos	بخيلي	Bakheely
3	چکر	Chakar	بخیلی سیل	Sail
4	خفه	Khafa	دلګیر	Dilgeer
5	رقيب	Raqeeb	غماز	Ghamaz
6	تتور، تندور	Thanoor,	تتاره	Thanara
		Thandoor		
7	سوزېدلى، سېزېدلى	Swazedaly,	خمسوزه	Khamsoza
		Sezedaly		
8	خاندان	Khandan	خيلخانه	Khelkhani
9	سنبال، تيار	Sanbal, Tayar	سینگار	Singaar
10	وبخته	Wekhta	اور بل	Aurbal
11	بيمار، ناجوړه، ناروغه	Bimar, Na-jorha, Na-rogha	رنځور	Ranzoor
12	شرمول	Sharmawal	رسوا كول	Ruswa kawol
13	لاكټ	Locket	اوگۍ	Ogay
14	جانان، اشنا، زړګی	Janan, Ashna, Zarhgay	لالى	Laly
15	چاول، وریجی	Chawal, Wreejy	شولي	Sholy
16	چاول، وريجي خوشته	Khoshta	وتره	Wathra
17	بي غيرتي	Be-Gherati	وتره بي ننګي	Be-nangi
18	يقين، بهروسه، اعتماد، ايمان	Yaqeen, Bharosa, Aetimad	باور	Baawar
19	جنگ	Jung	غزا	Ghaza
20	الټه پرېوتل، الټه ګزارېدل، پر مخ پرېوتل	Ulta prewatal, Ulta guzaredal, Par makh prewatal		Naskor kedal
21	رواني، توېدل، بئيدل	Rawani, Thowedal, Baidal	غور ځنګ	Ghorzang
22	همیشه , ټول عمر	Tol umer, hamesha	مدام	Mudaam
23	درد	Dard	رنځ	Runz
24	اوږدې پښې،غواړولي پښې	Ogady khpy, Ghwarholy khpy	غزېدلي پښې	Ghazedaly khpy
25	بره، اوچت	Barah, Uchat	پورته	Portha
26	كلايي	Kalaiee		Marhwand
27	شكاراي	Shkarai	مړوند شکور	Shkor
28	شوكول، كټ كول	Shokol, Cut kol	پرې کول	Pre kawal
29	غريب، خوار	Ghareeb, Khwar	نستمن	Nestman
30	چت، کوټه	Chath, Kota	بام	Baam
31	قاصد، دریم گړی	Qasid, Drrem- Garhy	ريبار	Rebar
32	شين	Sheen	زرغون	Zerghoon



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33	خلک	Khalak	عالم	Alam
34	طرف، سايد	Taraf, Side	لوري	Lory
35	شوكيدل، غورځېدل	Shokedal, Ghorzedal	نړیدل	Narhedal
36	لاس، ليچه، سانګل	Laas, Lecha, Sangal	منگل	Mangul
37	طرف، سايد	Taraf, Side	اړخ	Arhakh
38	جدايي	Judaie	بيلتانه	Belthana
39	لمبه شوی، سوزېدلی	Lamba-shawe, Swazedaly	لوغړن	Loghrhun
40	راتاول، راښكارا كول	Ratawol, Rakh- kara kawol	راستون كول	Rastoon kawol
41	کور	Kor	خونه	Khoona
42	کور مخکي، اول	Makhky, Awal	وړ اندې	Wrhandy
43	اوچتېدل، راخكارا كېدل	Uchatedal, Rakh- kara kedal	درجګ کېدل	Derjug kedal
44	جو لای ډکیدل، او لاد کېدل	Julai dakedal, Ulad kedal	لمن زرغونېدل	Laman zerghoonedaal
44	جو لاۍ ډکيدل، او لاد کېدل بر داشت کول	,	لمن زر غونبدل ز غمل	Laman zerghoonedaal Zghamal
	·	Ulad kedal	ز غمل	zerghoonedaal Zghamal
45	برداشت كول	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol		zerghoonedaal
45 46	برداشت کول ختمه	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma	ز غمل	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga
45 46 47	برداشت كول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam	ز غمل رنګه تُهمت	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat
45 46 47 48	برداشت كول ختمه الزام	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal	ز غمل رنګه تُهمت دسمال	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal
45 46 47 48 49 50 51	برداشت كول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جينكي قيمت، حيثيت جهنډه	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai	زغمل رنګه تُهمت دسمال جونو ارزښت	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52	برداشت كول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جينكئ قيمت، حيثيت جهنډه	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda Malik	زغمل ړنګه تُهمت دسمال جونو ارزښت	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53	برداشت كول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جينكي قيمت، حيثيت جهنډه مالک مكمل، پوره	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda	زغمل رنګه تُهمت دسمال جونو ارزښت	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht Beragh
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54	برداشت کول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جینکی قیمت، حیثیت جهنده مالک مکمل، پوره چار چاپېره	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda Malik	زغمل ړنګه تُهمت جونو دسمال جونو ارزښت بيرغ پياوړې چارکونجه	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht Beragh Khastan
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55	برداشت کول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جینکی قیمت، حیثیت جهنده مالک مالک چار چاپېره	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda Malik Mukammal, Pora Char-chapera Tax	زغمل پنگه تُهمت جونو جونو ارزښت بيرغ بيرغ پياوړي چارکونجه قانګ	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht Beragh Khastan Pyawrhy Char-kunja Qalang
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56	برداشت كول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جينكى قيمت، حيثيت جهنډه مالک مکمل، پوره چار چاپېره پخس چخس خيشت	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda Malik Mukammal, Pora Char-chapera Tax Hazam kawol	رغمل رنگه تُهمت جونو جونو ارزښت بيرغ پياوړې چارکونجه چارکونجه غوندې	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht Beragh Khastan Pyawrhy Char-kunja
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55	برداشت کول ختمه الزام رومال، رومبال جینکی قیمت، حیثیت جهنده مالک مالک چار چاپېره	Ulad kedal Bardasht kawol Khatma Ilzam Romal, Romyal Jenakai Qeemat, Hesiyat Jhanda Malik Mukammal, Pora Char-chapera Tax	زغمل پنگه تُهمت جونو جونو ارزښت بيرغ بيرغ پياوړي چارکونجه قانګ	zerghoonedaal Zghamal Rhanga Tuhmat Dusmaal Juno Arzakht Beragh Khastan Pyawrhy Char-kunja Qalang

Discussion

The analysis of 45 selected Pashto Tappas clearly shows that many old or traditional Pashto words still exist, but only in poetic form. While these words are no longer used in daily conversations by the younger generation, they are still understood and sung through Tappa. These findings support the idea that Tappa plays a vital role in preserving traditional words. To understand this more deeply, Fishman's Theory of Language Maintenance and Shift helps us see the bigger picture.

Fishman's (1991) theory explains how a language can either shift or be maintained when it comes into contact with dominant languages. Many native words in Pashto have been replaced by Urdu or English alternatives. However, we can observe a form of passive maintenance through the survival of traditional words in Tappa.

This study shows that Tappa not only protects vocabulary from disappearing but also slows down language shift by circulating traditional words. Though less common in modern usage, these words are not entirely lost. Their presence in written and oral poetry supports theoretical views on language maintenance.

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Findings from the analysis of 45 Tappas clearly demonstrate that many pure Pashto words continue to exist within Tappa, even if no longer part of daily conversation. This confirms that Tappa acts as a medium for passing these words across generations.

The study also addresses the shift in vocabulary, influenced by Urdu and English. However, it highlights that Tappa plays a role in resisting this shift by preserving traditional words. Therefore, this research supports that:

- Tappa acts as a cultural archive for traditional Pashto vocabulary.
- It slows down language shift by circulating older words.
- A clear loss of words exists in modern spoken Pashto.

Conclusion

Pashto *Tappa* plays a significant role in preserving traditional vocabulary that is disappearing from everyday use. Although these words are no longer part of regular spoken Pashto, their continued presence in *Tappa* keeps them alive and recognizable, especially for the younger generation. *Tappa* serves as a cultural archive, helping to slow down the shift caused by the growing influence of dominant languages like Urdu and English. It not only retains the beauty of old Pashto words but also acts as a bridge between generations, passing the language's original form through poetic expression. The findings of this study confirm that *Tappa* is more than a poetic tradition; it is a vital tool for maintaining linguistic identity in the Yousafzai dialect. Future research can build on this foundation by exploring other dialects and larger *Tappa* samples to further understand the preservation of Pashto through oral tradition.

Teachers can use *Tappa* to promote language and culture in classrooms. Policymakers can support endangered languages through it. Poets and singers can revive it on stage, at festivals, and via platforms like Facebook, YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram.

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