

Research article

Jaroslava Obrtelová*, Gulbeka Pahlavonova¹

Ayloq – the summer pasture tradition in Wakhan in Tajikistan. Part I: An ethnolinguistic sketch in Wakhi, with English translations and comments

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Abstract: This is the first of two articles addressing a Wakhi text that deals with the practice of pastoralism and seasonal migration as observed in the Wakhan region of Tajikistan. The Wakhi text was written by a Wakhi speaker from Tajikistan based on her and her relatives' personal experience and observations. The aim of this article is not only to describe the traditions, practices and rituals related to the seasonal migration to summer pastures (*ayloq*) in Wakhan, but also to explain and discuss the Wakhi vocabulary related to this phenomenon. The sections of Wakhi text are followed by English translations with additional explanatory comments and relevant references.

Keywords: Wakhi, pastoralism, ethnolinguistics, Tajikistan, Pamir languages

1 Introduction

The Wakhi culture and way of life is inextricably entwined with animal husbandry and pastoralism. The Wakhis, an ethnic group speaking an East-Iranic language, live in remote high altitude areas of the Central Asian Pamir mountains, in villages located 2,300–3,000 metres above sea level. Due to the high altitude and harsh climate, the fields yield little, resources are limited, and to a large extent the Wakhis depend on their livestock for their livelihood. Pastoralism is usually associated with a nomadic lifestyle or with transhumance (i.e. the seasonal moving of herds between summer and winter pastures). Herds of livestock need large areas of grassland. However, because green areas and fertile land are scarce in the vicinity of the high-altitude Wakhi villages – and especially in order to protect the crops – the herders drive the livestock to more remote and higher areas for grazing.

In Wakhan, transhumance is practised as a regular seasonal migration (*kuč*) of the herds to summer pastures, called *ayloq* in Wakhi, for the summer months. These are remote areas located at high altitudes, between 3,500 and 5,000 metres above sea level. Each village has its own *ayloq* locations, which can be as close as a few kilometres or as distant as over a hundred kilometres away from the village. The most remote *ayloqs* are found in the plateau of East Pamir, and it can take the herders 8–9 days to get there with the livestock.

The move (*kuč*) to the summer pasture, i.e. the spring migration, referred to as *kuč sənək* in Wakhi (lit. 'migration going up'), usually takes place in May or June. The return from the summer pasture, i.e. the autumn migration, referred to as *kuč xəmak* in Wakhi (lit. 'migration going down') usually happens at the end of September or in October, depending on weather conditions. The first snow and freezing temperatures, which can happen as early as towards the end of August, usually prompt the herders to drive the livestock to lower pastures to protect the young animals from freezing.

* Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, ORCID iD: 0000-0003-4967-0921

¹ Independent scholar

Ayloq is a word of Turkic origin that, in the Wakhi and Tajik contexts, refers to a summer high-land pasture; cf. Turkic *yaylay* ‘a place where one spends the summer’ (Clauson 1972: 981). The term is used extensively in both Turkic and Iranic contexts.¹ The form *ayloq* used in Wakhi is likely a borrowing from the Uzbek *yayloq* via Tajik. Additionally, the alternative word *ilga*, which includes the Persian ending *-gā(h)* ‘place’ is sometimes used by speakers of the Upper (Eastern) Wakhi dialect.²

There are a number of compound words related to summer pasture, e.g., *ayloq-rāčak* ‘the practice of going to summer pasture’, *ayloq-dorī* ‘the practice of transhumance; pastoral animal husbandry’, *ayloq-jay* ‘summer-pasture location’. Herders are referred to in Wakhi by several terms, depending on specific circumstances: *ayloq-rāčakūzg* (lit. ‘summer-pasture-goer, the one who goes to summer pasture’), *kuč-sānakūzg* (lit. ‘the one who migrates going up’), *kuč xāmakūzg* (lit. ‘the one who migrates going down’), *ayloqčī* (summer-pasture herdsman), *ayloqčī ḡay* (summer-pasture herdsman), *ayloq-čī xūynan* (summer-pasture herdsman).

Every *ayloq* has a *qrāw*, a livestock enclosure where the livestock is kept at night (*qrāw* in Steblin-Kamensky 1999: 291). Some *ayloqs* have separate enclosures for the small livestock (*mol qrāw*) and for the cattle (*čat qrāw*), with compartments for the kids and lambs (*čwurk-yolt*) and for the calves (*wāšk-yolt*).³ In a broader sense, *qrāw* refers to the entire livestock camp in the summer pasture, including all the various facilities. An *ayloq* usually has one or more huts (*ktič*) where the herders’ families live during the pasturing season. The huts are made of stone, which is by far the most readily available solid building material, and are covered with thorny shrubs called *zay* (prickly thorn, bot. *Acantholimon*), which grow in the arid areas at high altitude.

The remote *ayloqs* lack infrastructure, electricity or phone reception. The families that migrate to the *ayloq* are thus entirely self-reliant and depend on the provisions that they bring with them or that visiting villagers bring during the season. In some cases, it is possible to get to an *ayloq* by car or pickup truck, for at least part of the way. In that case, a pickup is used to transport the younger or weaker livestock.

The families of herders who migrate to the *ayloq* are responsible for the livestock entrusted to them by the village households. They herd and graze the animals, tend and care for them, milk them, and are also responsible for the production of various dairy products that they bring down to the village at the end of the season, and that serve as provisions for the winter. All of this production is done manually using traditional techniques, some of which are described in Section 4.

An important aspect of the concept of seasonal migration is its spiritual dimension. As a remote, high-altitude location in the mountains, normally uninhabited by humans, the *ayloq* is regarded by Wakhis as a sacred space (*vož jay* ‘divine place’) inhabited by supernatural beings such as *frišta* ‘angel’, *xasmon* ‘a type of spirit, patron of a place’, *pray/pari* ‘a type of demon/unclean spirit’, *diw* ‘demon, evil spirit’, and *jand/jinn* ‘demon, spirit’, *arwo* ‘ghost’ (see discussion in Section 3). Therefore, the acts of entering, leaving and living in this ‘sacred space’, as well as the beginning of any important work in an *ayloq*, are always accompanied by rituals and ceremonies that reflect traditions inherited from ancient pre-Islamic times. Reflexes of ancient fire-worshipping practices are noticeable in rituals such as *vul kətak* (the sacrificial burning of incense), *zaygərdon* (‘the twirling of the prickly thorn’), and the ritual kissing (*ba*) of the hearth. The concept of the sacredness of water also dates back to pre-Islamic times. As a symbol of blessing, abundance and life, water (*yupk*) features in the

1 Cf. e.g., Uzbek *yayloq/yaylov*, Turkish *yaylak*, Kyrgyz *jayloo*, and Kazakh *žaylaw*, sampling Turkic languages; as well as Tajik *ayloq/yayloq*, Southern Tajik *ayloq/aylov*, Persian and Dari *yaylāq*, Shughni *yel/yelak/yelaq*, Bartangi *ilōq*, and Wakhi and Ishkashimi *ayloq*, sampling Iranic languages (Doerfer 1967: 19; Steblin-Kamensky 1999: 89; Mahmudov, Juraev & Berdiev 2017: 33; Alamshoev & Alamshoev 2020: 452).

2 The Wakhi *ilga* is probably borrowed from the Southern Tajik *elgah* ‘summer pasture’ (Steblyin-Kamensky 1999: 194; Mahmudov, Juraev & Berdiev 2017: 840). Cf. also Shughni *yel/yelaq/yelgā*, Bartangi *ilōq*, and Yazghulami *il*, all denoting a summer pasture.

3 *Yolt*, var. *yoθt* meaning nest (e.g., of birds, mice), den, burrow (e.g., of bears, foxes, marmots), and also a separate pen for the young livestock.

ritual of *yupk čarmvak* ‘bringing water’ to the house, for example. The rituals performed when entering, leaving or living in the sacred space that the *ayloq* represents for the Wakhis have the purpose of appeasing the spiritual beings believed to inhabit the area, so that they will stay away from the humans, and so that the good beings will bless and protect the humans entering their space and help them obtain what they need for their livelihood, well-fed livestock and abundant dairy production, on which the people depend during the year. These and other rituals and practices related to various stages of the life in the *ayloq* are described in Sections 3, 4, and 6.

Closely related to the perception of the *ayloq* as a sacred space is the concept of taboo. This takes the form of a set of prohibitions, such as prohibited words, activities, behaviours, or even people. The taboo words typically include those designating animals that can cause any harm or damage in the *ayloq*, e.g., wolf (*šapt*), snow leopard (*plang*), and mouse (*purk*). Other taboos prohibit the presence of certain people (e.g., men, pregnant women, or so-called ‘bad-luck’ people) during the first seven days (*ub* ‘seven’, *ubī* ‘seven-day period’) in the *ayloq*, or activities or behaviours (e.g., washing one’s face during the first seven days, or talking loudly). These prohibitions have local or individual variations, and some are no longer actively observed.

Life in the *ayloq* is not only about tending livestock, as is described in Section 5. Herders from neighbouring *ayloqs* visit each other. They sing and play music together, and children play games. Women meet and sing *bulbulik* (a nightingale lament song) – a unique lyrical genre performed by women in the high-mountain plains.

Upon returning to the village (*kuč xəmak*), as described in Section 6, the herders compare their production and distribute the products to the owners of the livestock, and the villagers remunerate the herders for their work, most commonly by bringing them material items, such as fabrics, a share of the dairy production, or other practical material things, but in some cases also money. The return of the herders is celebrated with a ritual meal.

The Wakhi text concludes with a list of vocabulary and definitions that the Wakhi author deemed necessary to explain (Section 7).

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The Wakhi text in this article was written by Wakhi speaker Gulbeka Pahlavonova from Tajikistan, based on her and her relatives’ experiences at an *ayloq* in Wakhan. The text is divided into sections as suggested by the Wakhi author. Each section is followed by an English translation. This structure should facilitate comparison between the original Wakhi text and the translation. The English translation has been deliberately written to reflect the syntactic structure of the original text, sometimes at the expense of the naturalness of the English text. The translation is complemented by the translator’s notes, which provide ethnolinguistic context and explanations where needed. These are given either within square brackets in the translation or in footnotes. Several other Wakhi speakers and literature on related topics were consulted while preparing the translation.

The original Wakhi text was written in the Cyrillic alphabet.⁴ However, for research purposes, the text below has been transcribed in the phonemic alphabet. The transcribed text follows the orthographic conventions of the Cyrillic version. This means, for example, that when reduced vowels are not written in the Cyrillic text, they are not written in the phonemic Latin text either, e.g., *dgar* ‘other’ instead of *dʰgar*, or *qrəw* ‘livestock camp’ instead of *qərəw/qʰrəw*. Similarly, suffixes and clitics

4 Cyrillic – Phonemic – [IPA]: а – a – [ə] [a]; б – b – [b]; в – v – [v]; ғ – w – [w]; г – g – [g]; ҕ – ʃ – [ʃ]; ҕ – ʃ – [ʃ]; ҕ – ʃ – [ʃ]; д – d – [d]; ҕ – d – [d]; е – e – [e]; ё – yo – [jo]; ж – ž – [ʒ] [z]; ж – ž – [z]; з – z – [z]; ӷ – δ – [δ]; и – i – [i]; [i]; ӷ – ī – [i]; ӷ – y – [j]; к – k – [k] [kʰ]; қ – q – [q]; л – l – [l], [l̥], [l̥]; м – m – [m]; н – n – [n], [ŋ]; о – o – [o], [ɔ]; п – p – [p], [pʰ]; р – r – [r], [r̥]; с – s – [s]; ӷ – θ – [θ]; т – t – [t], [tʰ]; ӷ – t – [t]; у – u – [u], [ʊ]; ф – f – [f]; х – x – [χ]; ӷ – ӷ – [x]; ц – c – [ts]; ӷ – ӷ – [dz]; ч – č – [tʃ]; ӷ – ӷ – [tʃ]; ч – ӷ – [dʒ]; ӷ – ӷ – [dʒ]; ӷ – ӷ – [ʃ] [c]; ӷ – ӷ – [s]; ӷ – u – [u], [i] [u]; ӷ – ӷ – [ə] [e]; ӷ – e – [e]; ю – yu – [ju]; я – ya – [ja]

are written together with the word to which they attach. The only exception is the enclitic *-at* ‘and’, which in the Cyrillic text is written together with the word to which it attaches, but is separated by a hyphen in the Latin phonemic transcription. The complete original text in the Cyrillic Wakhi alphabet is appended at the end of this article (see Appendix).

The full Wakhi text is kept in its original form for two main reasons. First, as an account written by a cultural insider, it provides a valuable emic perspective, and secondly, it is a valuable resource for the study of the language, including its vocabulary, grammar, and discourse structure. Moreover, publishing the full version of the Wakhi text is a way to make it accessible to speakers of the language and acknowledge the unique language and culture of the Wakhi people.

This article, which focuses on ethnolinguistic description, is accompanied by a companion article (Obrtelová 2025) that presents the same Wakhi text with interlinear grammatical annotations focusing on subordinating clause-combining strategies.

2 *Ayloq* – The summer pasture

2.1 *Ayloq* (the Wakhi text)

Ayloq-rəçak ya baf yark təy. Cə mis dawraən to niv ayloq rəçən. Tqi xalgiš x̣m umri a təm ayloqvi šəxsətkəv. Niv bə pak tobiston xondor x̣mynaniš ayloq rəçən.

Ĥəy-at naniš saarī molvi tər sur dingak cə wəzmən, x̣anən ki, kuyəš kum ayloq-rəçakuzgər x̣m molvi tawil cart. Zaiš x̣uši carən ki, coydər ayloq wəxt wost-at yawiš də x̣m tat-nanvən yo də x̣m xiš-tborvən rəçən ayloq. Ta štikək x̣atər carən, tər čwurk rəçən, molvi pəyən-at yan tirmoi wəzyən x̣m xunər.

Kuli tobiston ayloq-rəçakuzgiš panz yo šad bnaī molvi dərzən-at sanən pə ayloq. Təy Pomir ayloqiš, tavi ya saro-at ya wəš-at wəšoč. Iyūnī xalgiš rəçən tət dir-at wuč ayloq-jayvi, iyūnī a təm spo x̣m ku ayloqvi, yəm spo diyorvər qribəv cəy. Pomir ayloq cə rəçən, xalgiš də ayloq-rəçakuzgvən x̣m molvi yundən to Ratm-at yan pšəwən.

Təm spo kuvi bə ya tqi ayloqiš. Yan tqitər ayloq-rəçakuzgiš rəçən a dət qribi ayloqvi. Yəm Vrang ayloq, Vnukut ayloq, Zung ayloq, Šərgin-at Zmudg ayloq. A yat ziyn kuli diyorən yaw x̣m ayloq-jay təy. Dəm Šərgin woz spocən təy i ayloq, yaw nung Piwg. A yaw ya baf jay təy. Azi x̣anən ki, yaw Pomir jwobi rand. Tət ayloq-jay təy das ktič-at, cə kufč traf-nag jrav yupk rwun. Trət čroxərgavi yupk-at wəš bəšdyətk. Pak tobiston Šərgin, Inif, Driž mardumiš tət rəçən ayloq. Ska i paləw ziyn woz wyin. Wyinəš woz far yird rə Irkil nung jay. Yaw bə ayloq rang-at, nəyki ta ktičiš nast.

Də Vrang ayloqiš təy Yazg, Korjəv, Dəstkorjəv, Plostang, Wambif, Səmanin, Yəwd. Tət ya tqi čroxərgaiš, goziš, kukiš. Də bəor, ayni kuč sənək tət sof wuč ayloq-jayvi sər, a ska xalgiš awul cə rəçən, a dət bənvi alən, drət šundr, wəš-wəšoč bə təy. Yan tməs ki viti, x̣m bəṭ-parvi, qəp-qčavi dərzən-at sanən da wučtər qrəw.

2.2 Translation

Going to summer pasture (*ayloq-rəçak*) is a very good job. People have been going to *ayloq* from old times until now. Many people have been spending their days in *ayloq*. Nowadays, too, every summer, housekeeping women go to *ayloq*.

Women who bring the livestock (*mol*)⁵ out to pasture (*sur*)⁶ in the morning say who will entrust their livestock to which herder (*ayloq-rəçakuzg*) [lit. ‘summer-pasture-goer’]. Children look forward

5 *Mol* in Wakhi refers primarily to livestock. It can mean (1) livestock in general, which can be further specified as (a) *lup mol* ‘cattle’, for which the Wakhis also use the term *čət* or *lup pəd* (lit. ‘big-foot’), or (b) *zəst mol* ‘small livestock’, also called *zəst pəd* (lit. ‘small-foot’); it can refer (2) specifically to small livestock (goats and sheep); occasionally, it can also refer (3) to ‘goods, possession, belongings’; cf. Mirboboev (1991a: 9–10).

6 *Sur* – a type of herding where the herders take turns pasturing the livestock. *Sur* can refer to (1) herding/pasturing duty, i.e. one’s turn to take the livestock to the pasture. This applies both to the seasonal migration to *ayloq* as well as to everyday pasturing in the vicinity of the village. It can also mean (2) herd or flock, also used figuratively for a crowd, or a lot of something.

to the time when *ayloq* comes so they can go to *ayloq* with their parents and relatives. There, they play together, they walk with kids and lambs (*čwurk*),⁷ they graze the livestock and then, in autumn, they return to their homes.

Every summer, the herders take the livestock of five or six households and go up to *ayloq*. There are *ayloqs* in (East) Pamir⁸, where there are plateaus and plentiful grass and herbs. Sometimes people go to those remote and high *ayloq* locations (*ayloq-ja*) in East Pamir, and sometimes to *ayloqs* here in our local mountains, in the vicinity of our villages. When they go to the *ayloqs* in East Pamir, the people accompany their livestock and the herders up to the village of Ratm [the easternmost village of Tajik Wakhan], and then they return.

There are also very many *ayloqs* in our local mountains. Therefore, the majority of the herders go to the nearby *ayloqs*. These are the *ayloq* of the village of Vrang, the *ayloq* of the village of Vnukut, and the *ayloqs* of the villages of Zong, Shirgin and Zmudg. In this way, every village has its own place for *ayloq*. In the village of Shirgin, we also have an *ayloq*; it is called Piwg. It is a very good place. It is said to be comparable to the remote *ayloqs* in East Pamir. At that *ayloq* site, there are ten huts (*ktič*)⁹ and mountain streams flowing from both sides. On these grasslands, there is an abundance of water and grass. Every summer, the people of the villages of Shirgin, Inif and Drizh go there for summer pasture. Moreover, there is a mountain pass (*wyin*)¹⁰ on another side. The pass turns downward towards a place called Irkil. It is also like an *ayloq*, but there are no huts there.

The *ayloqs* of the village of Vrang are Ҷазг, КорҶрав, ДасткорҶрав, Пlostang, Wambif, Səmanin and Ҷəwd. There are very many grasslands, meadows, and mineral springs. In spring, at the time of the spring migration (*kuč sənək*) [lit. ‘migration going up’], it is still cold in the highest *ayloqs*; therefore, when people first go there, they stay in lower places where the weather is warmer and where there also are grass and herbs. Later, when the summer heat (*tməs*)¹¹ comes, they take their clothes and utensils, and move up to a higher livestock camp (*qrəw*).

3 The spring migration

3.1 *Kuč sənək* (the Wakhi text)

May mēy wost-ət xalgış ayloq rəčək fikri carən. A trəm bistəmo-nag pərsimi kuč sənək mal wost.

I rwor prūt cə kuč sənəkən, yəm mərdina ayloq-rəčəkuzgiš bəṭ-parvi (bor-bḍokvi), qap-qčavi, kərpa-mərpavi sək pəndankərkin xurvi vər carən-ət yundən yavi ta ayloq. Waxon kuiš ya ǰid, nəyki yaw ayloqiš saro. A skət dir vdək to ta ktič sənəkər, ya ayloq-rəčəkuzgiš cə pūdən ya ǰirən. Yan taəv ki ǰati, dinən ǰatər dəldungək, čoy goǰən-ət ǰu tušai yawən. ǰu vərvi kə jo-bə-jo carən-ət ila dam dinən, woz xamən rə diyor. Xamən-ət molvi yundak srištai carən.

Vrokər molvi yundak rwor, yəm pərzungi kuč-sənəkuzgiš ǰu bor-bḍokvi ǰurtən-ət ǰu tušai ǰatər dinən-ət molvi nišon goǰən-ət yan ǰati ila bənən. Yan naǰdinī, ǰal torik rang-ət, gizən də bismilloən cəm xunən nəwzən. Nəwzakər ǰu čməndg ləngari ba carən, kuy lup ɛmūt, yaw dasti ba carən. Lupiš ǰanən ki, yan tu baf tər ǰu ǰaydod ǰat-ət arwoiš tawi didǰən-ət tu woz ǰu xunər wəzi. Woz čiz vər wrəǰkin cə ɛmūt, wəloyvi vər carən. ǰu molvi cə pəxtən niǰvən, moldoriš bə ǰu molvi wəzmən kuč-sənəkuzgvər tawilən-ət tər vdək yavi kaṭən. Ayloq-rəčəkuzg molvi isob cart, ləcər dišt, cum bna moləv wəzmətk. Moldoriš də ayloq-rəčəkuzgvən xili vdək rəčən-ət yan pšəwən. Kuyər ford, rəčən davən ta ayloq.

7 *Čwurk* – a compound of *čəy* ‘kid’ (the young of goat) and *wurk* ‘lamb’.

8 *Pomir* in a Wakhi context usually refers to East Pamir – the uninhabited, remote, high-altitude places to the east of the Wakhi villages.

9 See Vocabulary, Section 7.

10 See Vocabulary, Section 7.

11 *Tməs* – high summer, a period of around 40 days of summer heat around July–August, when the heat is most intense; *tamuz* in Tajik.

Kuč-sənakuzgiš dəm molvən rəçən, yəm ir craxt-ət yəmiš ila-ila psəm pəštavi yavi pərsimi pəyak wocən. Awəl sof tər wuč nərəçən, a rəm bəntərəkvi zaqək pəyən-ət yan xəti tər wuč-nag dərən.

Misəvəš naql kərt, a yəm ayloqərəš qrib cə vitəv, awəl mərdina rəšt bismillo cart-ət čirmit ta ktič. Yan da dəldungək sar vul kart, ləcər yəm diw-jənd-ət prəyiš ca jayən rədən-ət frištaiš omin carən, xəsmon yavi pəčəzd.

Təm ayloq yədim yumj vuli yundən kətak. Ya vuli da dəldungək ya ayloqčī day kart ska i puč yərək cusk, picəvd yawi-ət yaw tuxna rangin θit. Yan rəšt cə jəvən yupk wəzəmd. Yupk čərmvak xənen, brakat də xun tqi wost. A ska yaw rəšt ta ktič bə yupk čərməvd. Rəšt wəsk-kərk sgin-ət dər-ət yuz vər cart a ra jəf, ləcər ayloqčī xəynan cə wizit, bat xəkər yawər kə tiyora əmūt. Yət yarkvi kə goxt-ət yan ya ayloqčī xəynan da dgar kuč-sənakuzgən də molvən xəti yətvən.

Ayloqčī xəynan čirmit tə ktič, woz vul kart. Ya xə qrəwi gird-pəs-gird vul kart-ət niyat cart ki, spo molvi brakat tqi wost-ət woz bəbəfi cəməv rə diyor xamən. Xənen, vuli cə kart, frišta-ət xəsmoniš cə aysonən xəti dər dərən.

Yan ya ayloqčī xəynan bat goxt. Awqot ya xəsmonər goxən, ləcər yaw odmizodi pəčəzd. Xənen, ya jay təy a yavən, frištavən. Tər mis ila də dəldung a da vul paləwək cə batən kartəvəš xə, yan ya dgarvər bə xəštəvəš bat davi qčavi. Kə za-zodvər bə canən rand. I sariš xamən, kuyər ford, alən. Yan zaiš yundən yəm molvi trəm goz pəyak.

To əb rwor cə diyorən əč kuyi tə ayloq nələcrən. Xənen ki, kumyor to a yət əb rworər cə wizit, tə ayloq yo şapt xət dəyt, yo sər wost, yo moliš məryən, yo ičiz dgar nosoiš wost. Yan əb ki viti, xalgiš cə diyorən wəzyən tə ayloq. A yət rwor woz bat goxən-ət zaygərdon goxən. Gəyo xə əb rwor tuyi tə ayloq randən. Awəl i luptər xəynan (mərdina) zayi picəvd-ət dwom cart yawi trəm xə sar far yirvak. Yəm zaiš bə yan pərsimi zaygərdon xək wocən. Zayvi skəm şung sarvi dinən cuq, tər vərz-vərz žitrvi vandən-ət trəm xə sar yavi yirvən. Zaygərdoni şumi-ət najd goxən.

A cətən trət-nag iyunī şapt yo nəxčir najd xət də mol cə dəyt, woz bə yəm xalgiš zayvi picvən xə, trəm xə sar yawi far-far yirvən. Ya rəxnig trəm-tra-nag rəwəzd-ət ya şapt rəlt, a dət zaygərdonən yawi wəšvən, ləcər yaw tər molvi qrib məwizit. Nosoiš cə wost, buy-tru rwor pəs yoman zaygərdon goxən.

3.2 Translation

When the month of May comes, people begin thinking about going to *ayloq*. Around the twentieth of May, it is time to start the move up to the summer pasture (*kuč sənək*). [TN: The day of the migration is usually recommended by a local religious authority – *khalifa* – who announces the most suitable day for the start of the migration.]¹²

The day before the spring migration, the male herders (*mərdina ayloq-rəçakuzg*) load the clothing, luggage, utensils, crockery, and blankets onto pack-saddled donkeys and take them to the *ayloq*. The mountains in Wakhan are very steep, but the *ayloqs* there are flat. Walking this long way up to the remote hut (*ktič*), the herders become dead on their feet [i.e. are very tired]. When they arrive, they make a cooking place (*dəldungək*)¹³ for themselves; they make tea and eat their food supplies. They unpack all their loads and take a little rest; then they come back down to the village. When they come back down, they make preparations for driving the livestock.

The next day is the day of driving the livestock, so in the evening the departing herders (*kuč-sənakuzg*) [lit. ‘those who migrate going up’] gather their baggage, they make food supplies for themselves, they brand the livestock, and then they lay down for a little while [i.e. they take a little sleep]. Then at dawn, while it is still dark, they get up and with a ‘bismillah’ [a religious formula] they leave

¹² Cf. Andreev (2020: 134) who described the practice observed in the valley of Khuf in Pamir in Tajikistan in the first decades of the 20th century.

¹³ *Dəldungək*, a diminutive form of *dəldung*, which is a type of kitchen/cooking place. It is a part of the traditional Pamiri house, a raised platform with a fireplace (*yəf*) where women prepare meals and the food and domestic products are stored.

the house. When leaving, they kiss (*ba*)¹⁴ the sacred top of the front part of the hearth (*čmāṇḍg*);¹⁵ if there are elders there, their hands are kissed, too. The elders say ‘you will reach your destination safely and the ghosts (*arwo*)¹⁶ will look after you and you will return to your house.’ Then, if there is any remaining load, the herders load it onto pack animals (*wəloy*). They take out their livestock from the livestock pen (*pəxt*),¹⁷ and then the owners of the livestock entrust their animals to the departing herders and see them off. The herder counts the animals in order to know how many households’ animals they have taken. The livestock owners accompany the herders part of the way and then they return. Those who wish to, continue with them to the *ayloq*.

The departing herders accompany the livestock; when the sun rises, and after passing the hills, they start grazing (*pəyak*) the livestock. First, they do not go too high, they graze the livestock in lower places for a short time, and then they move up to higher places.

In the past, they used to say that, as they were getting closer to an *ayloq*, a man [male] goes ahead first, says ‘bismillah’, and enters the hut.¹⁸ Then he performs the ritual of burning the incense (*vul*)¹⁹ on the cooking place (*dəldungək*), so that the demons (*diw-jənd*)²⁰ and *paris* (*prəy*)²¹ run away from the place, the angels (*frišta*) bless them, and the spirit of the place (*xəsmən*)²² accepts them.

They bring the incense made from wheat flour to the *ayloq* to perform the sacrificial ritual. The male herder (*ayloqčī* *ḍay*) puts the incense on top of a small round stone in the cooking place; he ig-

14 *Ba* ‘kiss’, also including the ‘ritual kissing’ (of food, or sacred things). It is done with the fingers, by first touching the sacred thing, then one’s lips, and then one’s forehead.

15 *Čmāṇḍg* ‘hearth ledge’ is the top of the front part of the hearth/fireplace (*ṣəf*). It is considered a holy place. It is where the ritual incense (*vul*) is burned and where the ritual kissing (*ba*) of the place is performed, e.g., when leaving the house and setting out on a journey or after returning from a journey. It is also forbidden to step or sit on this place.

16 *Arwo* ‘ghost’; also ‘spirit of a deceased person’.

17 *Pəxt* is a covered pen or enclosure for livestock, usually comprising smaller separate enclosures for cows, sheep, and goats; cf. *šad*, an open enclosure for livestock. Both *pəxt* and *šad* are found in the villages as well as in the *ayloqs*.

18 According to Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 89), during the movement to an *ayloq*, nursing mothers are sent ahead in order to ensure that there is no shortage of milk. This practice is not attested in the contemporary practice of the Wakhis. The consulted speakers said, ‘it may have been like that’.

19 The primary meaning of *vul* is ‘a smell’, but it has also the meaning of ‘ritual sacrificial incense’. The ceremony of *vul kəṭək* lit. ‘putting smell, fragrance, incense’ means to perform a sacrificial ritual during which wheat flour is mixed with molten butter, kindled, and burned together with a herb called *ispand* or *spandr* (bot. *Peganum harmala*) or with resin to produce the incense. The ceremony is performed on particular occasions, such as engagement ceremonies and weddings, as confirmation of a contract between two parties, on relocating to *ayloq*, and as a protection against evil spirits, demons, monsters, the evil eye, or any kind of evil. Cf. Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 247–248); Kłagisz (2021: 35–36).

20 *Diw-jənd* – often used as a compound referring to demons. *Diw* or *dev* ‘demon’ is a Persian word denoting a demon or evil spirit, and *jənd* derives from Arabic *jinn*, meaning spirit or demon.

21 *Prəy* or *pari* (in Tajik) refers to a type of supernatural being, demon, or unclean spirit. In the Pamir mountain communities, it has a broader meaning than it usually has in a Tajik context. Two kinds of *prəy/pari* are known among the Wakhis. In the one that aligns with the Persian concept of *pari*, a *prəy* is described as good, usually a female *prəy*. In the other kind, a *prəy* is an evil being, a type of a demon that can possess and control people. People who are controlled by a *prəy* (in Wakhi *prəy dan-ən yor vitk* lit. ‘*prəy* has become associated/friend with him/her’) can have supernatural abilities; e.g., they can foresee the future, or are distinguished from ordinary people in some way, e.g., by their inability to speak, etc. A *prəy* can torment the possessed person and enslave the possessed person, for example, by not letting him/her get married, or in other ways. In the Pamir mountain communities in Tajikistan, especially among the Wakhis and Ishkashimis, both kinds of *prəy/pari* are known. There are many reports of encounters with *prəy*, and many people claim to have witnessed such an encounter or the consequences of one. To break the possession by a *prəy/pari*, the person needs help of a religious authority.

22 *Frišta* (*farišta* in Tajik) and *xəsmən* are both considered good, pure supernatural entities; *frišta* refers to an angel, and *xəsmən* refers to a spirit, a patron usually connected to a place. While *frišta* is a countable noun referring to a supernatural being, *xəsmən* normally does not appear in plural, as it is a type of abstract entity. The concept of

nites it and it fumes. Then he goes and brings water from a mountain stream. Bringing water (*yupk čarmvak*) to a house means that the house will be very blessed. That is also why he brings water to the hut. He loads the dried droppings (*sgin*) and dung (*δart*)²³ and firewood onto the fireplace (*ǰəf*), so that when the herdsman (*ayloqčī ǰəynan*) comes, everything is ready for her to make the ritual porridge (*bat*).²⁴ He does all this work, and then the herdsman arrives together with the other herders and the livestock.

The herdsman enters the hut and performs the ritual of burning the incense again. She censens (*vul kart*) her livestock camp all around, expecting that the livestock will be very blessed and that the people and animals will all return to the village without difficulty. It is said that when one performs the ritual of burning incense, the angels and the spirit (*xasmon*) will stay away from the humans.

The herdsman then makes the ritual porridge (*bat*). The meal is made for the spirit (*xasmon*), so that he accepts the humans. It is said that the place belongs to them, to the angels.²⁵ Formerly, they would put a bit of this ritual porridge next to the incense in the cooking area (*dəldung*), and only then would they serve the porridge to the others in their crockery. It is served to all the children, too. Some people go back down to the village, while those who want to stay, stay. Then the children take the livestock onto the meadow for grazing.

For seven days (*ub rwor*),²⁶ no one from the village is allowed on the summer pasture. [TN: The period of seven days is a type of taboo, a prohibition against visiting the *ayloq* during the first seven days. Usually, men are not allowed in the summer pasture during that period. After bringing the livestock and the household items up to the summer pasture, they must return on the same day, and only the women and children remain in the *ayloq*. The ban on visiting the summer pasture during the first seven days can be extended to so-called ‘bad luck’ people (*šak pošt* lit. ‘bad heel’), to pregnant women, or to any other people at all.]²⁷ It is said that if someone comes before the seventh day, either a wolf will attack the herd, cold weather will come, livestock will die, or something else bad will happen. Then, on the seventh day, the people from the village come to the summer pasture. [TN: The ceremony is called *ub-škəndvak* lit. ‘breaking the seven(-day prohibition)’].²⁸ On that day, they make the ritual porridge again, and they perform the ritual of *zaygərdon* (‘the twirling of the prickly thrift’). That is how they prepare the feast of the seventh day on the summer pasture. First, an adult woman

xasmon is rather obscure, as there are only sparse references to it in the available literature. I have found a single mention in Davlatmammadov (2014: 200), where it is listed under *xasmon* as ‘an ancestors’ spirit’ and as synonymous with *arvo/arwo* (in this study translated as ‘ghost/spirit of deceased person’); see footnote 16.

23 Dried droppings (*sgin*) and dung (*δart*) are used as a fuel in the fireplace.

24 *Bat* – a ritual meal, a type of porridge made of wheat flour, water, butter, and salt. It is prepared for particular occasions, e.g., New Year, and at summer pastures. As it is considered a ‘warming’ (i.e. strengthening) meal, it is usually prepared for women in labour (giving birth); cf. Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 186), Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 95), and Kłagisz (2021: 33).

25 In Wakhi, it is called *vož(g) ǰay* ‘divine or sacred place’. *Vož/vožg* means divine, saintly, godly, sacred, supernatural, and is related to supernatural beings like *frišta*, *prəy* (the good kind), and *xasmon*. It can refer to a person, either someone with supernatural abilities, e.g., who can see dreams and receive wisdom or instructions through dreams, or someone with a saintly character, etc. It can refer to a place, as in *vož ǰay*, for example; an *ayloq* is a divine place where supernatural beings live. It can also refer to a word or speech, e.g., *vož qsa*, meaning words of divine wisdom.

26 Cf. Andreev (2020: 137) for a description of *uvd* ‘seven’ meaning the seven-day prohibition against visiting the summer pasture documented among the Khufis.

27 Cf. Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 168–169).

28 Cf. Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 168), Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 455), and Kłagisz (2021: 38) for a description of the practice among the Wakhis.

(or man)²⁹ lights the prickly thrift (*zay*)³⁰ and spins it continuously above her/his head. Then the children, too, start performing the ritual of *zaygardon*. They attach the prickly thrifts to the top of wooden sticks, tie them to very long strings, and spin them above their heads. The ritual of *zaygardon* is performed in the evening and at night [to scare off wild animals/predators (e.g., wolves) with the fire and smoke].³¹

From that time on, when a wolf (*šapt*)³² or a fox (*naxčir*)³³ sometimes attacks the livestock at night, the people light the prickly thrift again and twirl it above their heads. The fire flies to every side and the wolf runs away; they scare the wolf with the twirling of the prickly thrift (*zaygardon*), so that the animal does not come near the livestock. If any disturbance appears, the ritual of *zaygardon* is performed for two or three consecutive days.

[TN: During the fieldwork in Wakhan, some other prohibitions related to the *ayloq* were documented, either in personal communications and observations, or by being recorded in the interviews and narrations. Some prohibitions are related to the first seven days in the *ayloq*, before the ritual *zaygardon* is performed. According to some practices, those who stay in the *ayloq* during the first seven days should not wash their faces.³⁴ Another prohibition says that if one breaks wind during the herding duty (*sur*) at that time, a windstorm will hit the *ayloq*.³⁵ Among other practices, a blinding ritual *čuf carak* (lit. ‘blowing air’) was described in an interview held at the village of Toqaxona in 2013. The ritual is performed in the following way: before releasing the livestock for grazing, the person performing the ritual takes the droppings (*rəbəšk*) of sheep and goats and blows air on them (*čuf cart*), which should ‘blow away the evil’. The ritual is usually accompanied by saying ritual prayers. The person then throws the droppings in the direction of the backside of the animals and lets them out for grazing. This should make the livestock ‘invisible’ to predators and protect the livestock from harm. The animals can be left to graze freely, even overnight, and in the morning they will return to the livestock camp on their own. It is said that with this ritual protection, wolves will not attack the livestock.³⁶ Yet another belief that was observed is that if a beetle (in the observed case a carabid) is killed in the village, a calf will die in the *ayloq*.]³⁷

29 As for the specification of who performs the ritual of *zaygardon* (‘the twirling of the prickly thrift’), some sources claim that it is only performed by adult men seven days after arriving at the summer pasture, while others claim that it is performed exclusively by women and children (Grynberg & Steblin-Kamensky 1976: 169, and other speakers, based on personal communication). It is possible that there are variations in the practice, depending on the village or family. Cf. the description of the ritual in Kłagisz (2021: 36–37).

30 *Zay* – ‘prickly thrift, *Acantholimon* (bot.)’, a low thorny shrub growing in the arid high mountain areas.

31 Cf. Kłagisz (2021: 36–37).

32 Historically, the word *šapt*, which is now used to denote ‘wolf’ in Wakhi, was a lexical replacement of the original taboo word for wolf. As explained in Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 342) and Edelman (2003: 124–125), unlike in other Pamir languages that preserve reflexes of the Proto-Iranic word **wṛka* designating wolf, Avestic *vəhrka* (e.g., *urk* in Ishkashimi, *wūrj* in Shughni, Rushani and Bartangi); the Wakhi word *šapt* goes back through borrowings from a Dardic source (**šapita*) to an Old Indic word **śaptá-* ‘cursed’. Nowadays, in the context of *ayloq* ‘summer pasture’, the word *šapt* has become a secondary taboo word, and in that context new lexical replacements are used: *pupək* ‘granddady’, *s’bilək* ‘vagrant, cursed’, and *bu-ŷišk* ‘two-little-ears’; see also footnote 55.

33 The word *naxčir* denoting fox in Wakhi was historically a lexical replacement of the original taboo word borrowed from the Tajik *naxčir* ‘wild animal’, ‘mountain goat’, or ‘hunting’ (archaic). While the majority of Pamir languages, as well as some other East-Iranic languages (e.g., Yaghnobi), borrowed the Tajik word *naxčir* and use it as a lexical replacement of a taboo word denoting a ‘wild mountain goat’ (Edelman 2003: 122; Steblin-Kamensky 1999: 251), the Wakhi word for ‘wild mountain goat/ibex’ and ‘Marco-Polo sheep’ is another borrowed word – *jondor*, meaning ‘animal’ (lit. ‘soul-having’) in Tajik (see footnote 52). There is no evidence that Wakhi *naxčir* ‘fox’ has become a secondary taboo word in the current Wakhi context.

34 Recorded in the village of Toqakhona in 2013.

35 Recorded in the village of Shirgin in 2020.

36 Cf. Andreev (2020: 129), who described other ‘blinding’ rituals documented in Pamir.

37 Heard in the village of Vrang in 2011.

4 Important things every herds woman should know when going to *ayloq*

4.1 *Sof awul ayloq cə rəçən, čizi ləcər ayloqčī xūynan dišt* (the Wakhi text)

Awul tə ayloq cə rəçən, dra nə diŷ-ət nə pay-ət nə žarž-ət əč čiz nast. Yəm ayloqčī xūynaniš a təm ayloqəv ki ŷati, yəmvi piran trəmvi doman-ət yəmvi pərsəngiš trəmvi dast-ət pərsimi mol diçak-ət žarž yakšvak-ət pay kətak-ət diŷ xak-ət dgar yarkvi wocən.

Diŷ xakər cə kuxən mis yəm yəmuki kənd wəzduyt, yan čukt yawi, də yupkən xub lat yawi dəyt rə i qça-ət yaw rang nəwəzd, kart yawi rə məqobain qça. Yan žarži pact, yaw mrikiŷi canən cart jda. Awul ya mrikiŷi kačən a ra yəmuk mod cusk. Yətvī ŷirəvd ar nlag, yan cbastərək ya šlaž žarži a rətvī sar ŷirəvd-ət ya sari də nobandəkən git, yaw θin ald-ət yan yaw bu rwor cbas molt, wost pay. Truyəm rwor yawi goxən diŷ.

Diŷi zi goxən: awul a ya modi cə yəmukən cə goxti, xoli carən a ra pərnəc. Vul da bən kačən, ləcər yət yarkən brakat ɯmɯt. Yan ya pədari kačən a rət pay, a dət pərnəc cəy, čəxtwəši šəxsən tər pədar, xū rəndaqi bə gird a tra vandən, yan ya sari carən šux də dəstərən yo də sonən-ət pərsimi xəšək wocən. A yət ziŷn yawi tqi xəšən-ət dəštərək woz ya sari ya ayloqčī xūynan ilaək ət cart didiŷd, ko yaw xuf dyatka nəy. Dyatki cəy, θin yupk a ra sar ŷirvən. Woz pərsimi xəšək wocən, yan woz ya sari ətən, didŷən ki, yaw šlavz vitka. Vitki cəy, sər yupk ra kačən. Yan woz xub yawi xəšən-ət ya ruŷn wost jda. Yan yaw sari traxk gəwən, ya pərnəc sari də xū dastən carən ba, ləcər yəm awul ruŷn alol wost. Yan rəçən xū dgar yarkvi carən. Cbastər wəzyən ya xū ruŷni dəržen. Də sər yupk rə məqobain kbun yawi xub tqi wəzdyən, ya diŷiŷ kə canən rəšt. Ya diŷiŷi carən jda də i qça-ət xoli ruŷn wərašt. Yan yawi xub mandən-ət dinən rə nlag. Nlag xat təy cə dimən. Yan yawi ki dəždəv, dinən yawi də joga-ət xəšruy ya ruŷn puč-pučək goxən-ət tra mlung xat xəšən. Yətvən aži niyat ki, ya awul diŷi cə goxən, yaw xəsmən jayər. Xalgiš zi xənən: xəsmən roz cə ɯmɯt, ti ayloq-rəçək baf šəxəst, dingī bə tqi wost, pūčəzd tawī. Bəniyat yan ca ruŷnən ila dəržen-ət yundən yawi tra oston, ləcər kumyor xatər it.

Də kuli ayloq oston təy. Ostoni diwoldyatk-ət ruxn-ruxn ŷariš-ət jondorvi šəwiš skav cusk kətətkin. Yan woz ruŷn čürg-ət diŷ čürgiš skav wrəxkin, zi ki ayloq-rəçəkuzgiš cə xū ruŷnən-ət diŷən tra cə sūxətkəv. Diŷ bə cə goxən, də iŷun zəqlay qça a ska oston kačən, ləcər kumyor yawi pit. Ca diŷən woz goxən čəka. Diŷi ŷirvən rə xəlta, yaw çakt, ya çəkətkin šopi randən molvər. Ya tərgī də xəlta cə wərašt, yawi goxən də dig, tqi yaw pacən, yaw wost grut. Cə saariən to pərz pəšt-ət yan wost šux. Yan yawi yundən kačən sək kut, sək sot cuskvi, yaw ska wəsk wost-ət yan yaw ŷürtən.

Xondor xūynaniš yəm xū dingī təm xū bjor ŷürtən. Yavi də baf jay də iŷun torikī jay kačən, ləcər əstar məwocən, pərək xati davi mədəyt. Pərəkər də ayloq xondorək xənən. Yaw nungi nəwədrən. Šapt nungi bə də ayloq nəwədrən. Xənən, yav nungi cə wədrən, yawiš pido wocən. Gəyo šapt ŷišt wost dərtov, wizit ya jayər kart nosoišiy. A ska šaptər xənən pupək, sbilək yo buŷišk. Plangər xənən xəsmənək.

4.2 Translation

When the people go to *ayloq*, at first there is no buttermilk (*diŷ*),³⁸ no yogurt (*pay*),³⁹ no milk (*žarž*), no anything. When the herds women arrive at the *ayloq*, they hitch up the lower part of their dresses,⁴⁰ and with bracelets on their arms they start milking the livestock,⁴¹ cooking milk, making yogurt, making buttermilk and doing other work.⁴²

38 *Diŷ* – buttermilk, a fermented dairy drink; see Vocabulary in Section 7.

39 *Pay* – yogurt, curd, soured (cultured, fermented) milk.

40 *Piran tər doman dingak* – to hitch up the lower part of a dress and tie it like a belt around the waist, so that the long dress does not hinder the woman in her work – an expression for being ready for work.

41 Milking is done in a vessel, *luč* (a small clay jug; see photo 5 in the Appendix) or *vayč* (a milk pail of variable size; see Vocabulary in Section 7, and photo 4 in the Appendix); cf. Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 171).

To make buttermilk, first of all, the herdsman digs up and washes an ephedra plant (*yəmuk*).⁴³ She then crushes it, stirs it well with water in a bowl so it will release its colour, and puts it in an enamel bowl. Then she cooks the milk and separates the milkfat (*mrikiy*) from it. First, the milkfat is put on top of the starter culture (*mod*)⁴⁴ from the ephedra. She pours that into a clay jug (*nlag*)⁴⁵, and then a little bit later, she pours tepid milk on top of that and covers it with a naan-pillow (*nobandək*).⁴⁶ It will stay warm, and after two days it will curdle and become yogurt. On the third day, the buttermilk is made from it.

Buttermilk is made in this way: first they pour the starter culture made from ephedra into the churn (*pərnəc*).⁴⁷ They perform the ritual of burning the incense at the bottom – may this work be blessed. Then they put a wooden whisk (*pədar*)⁴⁸ into the yogurt in the churn, they pass the twine (*čəxtwəš*)⁴⁹ over the whisk, they tie the strap (*rəndaq*)⁵⁰ around it, and then they cover the top [of the churn] with gauze (*dəstor*) or linen (*son*) cloth and start churning (*xəšək*) [lit. ‘pulling’]. Like that, they churn it intensively, and later the herdsman opens the cover [of the churn] a bit to see whether foam has formed or not. If it has, they pour hot water on it. They start churning again, and then they open the cover again to see if it has become smooth. If it has, they add cold water to it. [TN: During the churning, the butter should neither get too cold, nor too warm. The temperature is regulated by adding hot or cold water.] Then they churn it well again and the butter (*ruyn*) separates from it. Then they shut the lid tightly; they do the ritual kiss (*ba*) with their hands on top of the churn – may this first butter be halal [TN: i.e. ritually clean. Food is considered pure and sacred, and therefore people also kiss the food (bread, dough, etc.) as an expression of respect and gratitude to God.] Then they go to do their other work. Later, they come to get their butter. They rinse it thoroughly with cold water in a big enamel bowl,⁵¹ and the entire buttermilk part (*diyi*) separates from the butter. They separate the buttermilk portion in a dish, so only the butter is left. Then they knead it thoroughly and put it in a jug (*nlag*). The jug is made of clay. Then, after they have taken [the butter], they put it in a container and form it nicely into butter balls, and in the middle of them, they draw a line. The meaning of this is that the first buttermilk that is made – it is for the spirit of the place (*xəsmən*). People say this: ‘If the spirit is satisfied, your summer pasturing will go well, you will get a large yield of milk (*dingi*), and the spirit will accept you.’ With this intention, they then take a bit of the butter and bring it to the shrine, for anyone to eat as they please.

In every *ayloq* there is a shrine (*oston*). The shrines are surrounded by walls and decorated with white stones and the horns of ibexes or Marco Polo sheep (*žondor*).⁵² There is also residue of butter and buttermilk there, because the herders have smeared it with their butter and buttermilk. Also, when they make

42 For a description of the process of producing dairy products in the Wakhi summer pastures, see Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 169–171), and in the summer pastures of the Khufis in Andreev (2020: 138–145).

43 *Yəmuk*, var. *yimuk* ‘ephedra (bot.)’ – a type of a conifer shrub; it is considered sacred and is used as protection against the evil eye. It is also used as a starter culture; see Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 425).

44 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

45 See Vocabulary in Section 7, and photo 1 in the Appendix.

46 *Nobandək* – a thick, round, flat pad filled with dried herbs or cotton. It is used to slap the flatbread (*non/naan*) against the inside wall of the fireplace (*žəf*).

47 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

48 *Pədar* – a wooden whisk for churning butter, a wooden stick with four blunt blades that is used for whirling the curd (by rotating the stick in both directions) to make butter; see photo 3 in the Appendix.

49 *Čəxtwəš*, var. *čəxtwəš* – twine, loops made from willow withies used for holding the whisk during the process of churning butter; see photo 6 in the Appendix.

50 *Rəndaq* – strap, a tool used for churning butter by making the whisk rotate; see photo 2 in the Appendix.

51 In former times, the freshly made butter (*bəžmu*) was rinsed in a clay bowl (*ydora*) (Mirboboev, personal communication).

52 *Žondor* lit. ‘soul-having’, ‘a living creature’, is another taboo-replacement word borrowed from Tajik. Originally meaning ‘animal’ in Tajik, it is used in Wakhi to refer to ibexes (mountain goats) and Marco Polo sheep, which are perceived as sacred animals.

buttermilk, they place it on the shrine in a small dish, for anyone to drink. From the buttermilk they further make *čaka* (*čaka*).⁵³ They pour the buttermilk in a cloth bag, it drips off, and the dripped whey (*šop*) is given to the livestock. They put the sediment (*tərgi*) that remains in the bag in a pot, they cook it for a long time, and it becomes *qurut* (*qurut*).⁵⁴ It is cooked from morning till evening until it becomes solid. Then they place it on the roof, on top of flat stones; it will dry there and then they collect it.

Housekeeping women store their dairy products (*dingi*) in a special storage room. They put them in a suitable place somewhere in the dark, so that the products do not get spoiled and mice do not get in there. In *ayloq*, the mouse (*pərək*) is called *xondorək* ‘little housekeeper’. Its name is not mentioned. The wolf (*šapt*) is not mentioned in *ayloq* either. It is said that if wolves are mentioned, they will appear. There is a saying that the wolf’s ear will become hot and it will come and make trouble for the place. That is why a wolf is called *pupək* ‘granddaddy’, *səbilək* ‘vagrant’, or *bu-ŷišk* ‘two-little-ears’.⁵⁵ The snow leopard (*plang*) is called *xəsmənək* ‘little spirit’.

5 Life in *ayloq*

5.1 *Tə ayloq* (the Wakhi text)

A yəm ziŷn xuy-ət naniš də ayloq molvi diçən, pay kaṭən, diŷ goṅən, čəka kaṭən, qrut pacən, pnir goṅən. Woz yomani qəwən-ət rəçən yupkər ta kəkvi. Yavər xənən kək-čəžmək, yavi yupk čəžm rang toza-ət yawiš xat bə təy gird-gird. Da xū čilək yupk dərən, kaṭən yawi sək xū isp-ət wəzmən rə ktič.

Iŷunī xəynaniš cə tikmayən də natəkən žitr goṅən yo jrab ɸfən yo skid drəvən. Qrəwiš yomanər qrib cə ɸmyən, diŷ xəšək cə nəmūt, iŷunī qrəw xəynaniš qti wocən-ət sə i blandī nəzdən-ət yan bəlbəlik xənən. Woz cə diyorən xalg tə ayloq cə wizit, ayloqčī xəynaniš yavər nəwzən prət-ət yan bəlbəlik xənən-ət xū pzəvi xoli carən:

*Zart sprəŷ da gərdan,
Ruzi nik rwor ɸmūt,
Žə dastək tər lol gərdan.
Bəlbəl tar noləm-e.*⁵⁶

*Səkrək kəlbīš,
Tu maži xatər xuy cə diš,
Xat bər xat žə nungi nəwiš.
Bəlbəl tar noləm-e.*

*E satkək bə iwət buy,
A rwor ki nanjon xənəm,
Aftəboron a rəm žə ruy,
Aftəboron a rəm žə ruy.
Bəlbəl tar noləm-e.*

*Mər boyək pəčətk,
Səyli boy ki cə nəwzəm,
Ku-ət baar xəzon diyətk.
Bəlbəl tar noləm-e.*⁵⁷

⁵³ *Čaka* – chaka, a dense residue of buttermilk.

⁵⁴ See Vocabulary in Section 7.

⁵⁵ *Šapt* ‘wolf’ is an example of a secondary taboo, when the previous lexical replacement for a taboo word has become ‘domesticated’ to such an extent that the replacement itself becomes a taboo in a certain context, necessitating a new lexical replacement; see also footnote 32.

⁵⁶ Matrobov & Mirboboev (2015: 67)

⁵⁷ Matrobov & Mirboboev (2015: 75)

Zaiš tām ayloq tqi štikāk carən, yan woz rəçən tə kəkvi, trəm čwurkvi xətar čəklək dinən, jarmojarxik carən, xbar nəwocən-ət ipoç ola wost. Wəzyən tə ktič, diŷ puvən-ət mrik yawən. Woz tər pišin-nag yəm xə molvi ağan, rəçən puyak. Tmüsi a tət ayloq šəxsvən, a ska tobistonər ya xəši carən.

Mərdina bə tə ayloq ya tqi yarkvi goxt. Yawiš mol puyən-ət ʔrung yark cə ʔmūt, yavi goxən, čatvi puyən, tbəsk ʔuz wəzmən, sgin čupən tra daštvi dām bʔəyvi. Yəm vər-ət-vaš xəkvi kə mərdina xətiš goxən, dart xoškən, wəsk yawi carən, woz yawi dinən ləy. Iʔun kla məryakər cə ʔmūt, yawi čəxən. Kla kuy moldorən ʔmūt, wəzumd yawi rə xun, ayloqčian cə ʔmūt, čuŷ gušti ləcərt xətar, čuŷi stəyd rə diyor. Mərdinaiš iʔunī ʔaygərdon goxən, woz iʔunī da dgar qraw mərdinavən flək dingak rəçən. Kuy flək kəcərt, flək dəyt, kuy naydingakəzɡ ʔmūt, nay dəyt.

Tə ayloq ya tqi dorəwiŷ wəš-wəšočiš: ambar, məndrič, jəmbilak, bənafš, ləndərk, širwišn-ət woz tqi dgar wəšiš. Yan xəşruy-xəşruy gəliš ta savz wocən. Bənafš a təm zrič bənvi-ət dām qila ʔayvi savz wost. Yaw gardi xəlgiš ʔürtən-ət carən wəsk. Xənən, yaw čəžm rižakər baf, čəžm nəri tqi goxt. Mərdumiš niv bə canən čupən, wəzmən rə diyor. Ambari bə tobiston ʔürtən-ət, wəsk carən, yan čukən-ət dinən tər xə şafš, şafš bət nərašt-ət tqi wost.

Xənən, də ayloq cum ki toza-ət pogza ʔməy. ʔaş-alyow məmūt, urmat-ət etirom ʔmūt. Yan ti dingi bə baf wost-ət ti ayloq brakat bə tqi wost.

5.2 Translation

In this way, the women in *ayloq* milk the livestock, make yogurt, make buttermilk, make chaka, cook qurut, make cheese(*pnir*).⁵⁸ Moreover, they call each other to go to mineral springs (*kək*) for water. These are called *kək-čəžmək* ‘spring-eyes’, because their water is clear like an eye and they are round, too. They put water in their buckets, put them on their shoulders and bring them to the hut. Sometimes, the women make fur yarn (*žitr*) from the wool top (*tikmay*)⁵⁹ with the spindle (*načək*), or they knit wool socks (*ʔrab*) or embroider skull-caps (*skid*). [TN: The wool socks and the skull-cap are traditional handmade products with specific patterns and ornaments, the dominant colours usually being red and green.] If the camps (*qraw*) are near each other, sometimes the women from neighbouring camps – if they are not making buttermilk – get together, sit on an elevated place, and sing *bulbulik*.⁶⁰ Also, when people from the village come to the *ayloq*, the herdswomen come to meet them, and then they sing *bulbuliks* and pour their hearts out.

[Examples of *bulbulik*]

Yellow flower on the neck,
May there be a blessed day,
My hand embraces my brother’s neck,
Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.⁶¹

Red braids (*kəlbis*),⁶²
If you consider me your sister,
Write my name, letter by letter,
Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.

⁵⁸ See Vocabulary in Section 7.

⁵⁹ *Tikmay* – a bundle of carefully cleaned sheep’s wool prepared for spinning.

⁶⁰ *Bulbulik* (also pronounced as *bəlbəlik* or *bulbulik*) ‘a nightingale song’ – a traditional lament song usually performed by women at the *ayloq* to express sorrow and grief over being separated from their loved ones. It is also sung at funerals. It usually consists of three lines (alternatively four, if the third line is repeated), which are followed by a refrain. A more detailed discussion of the genre of *bulbulik* is provided by Wolf (2021: 140–157).

⁶¹ An alternative translation of the refrain *bulbul tar noləm*, translated here as “I lament to you (like) a nightingale”, is proposed by Wolf (2021: 140, 144): “I, the nightingale, lament to you”. Cf. also the Russian translation proposed by Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 107): “Я пою тебе (как) соловей” (‘I sing to you (like) a nightingale’).

⁶² *Kəlbis* – traditional artificial braids made of red threads braided into the hair of girls and women, and used on special occasions such as weddings or traditional celebrations.

Ey, little beads, one after another,
 The day I remember my dear mother,
 (Tears of) seven rains (pour) down my face,
 (Tears of) seven rains (pour) down my face,
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.

An apple garden has ripened;
 When I go out for a walk in the garden,
 Mountains and seas are hit by leaf-fall;
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.

The children play a lot in *ayloq*, and they also go to mineral springs; when they graze the kids and lambs [the young of small livestock], they play games like *čəklək*,⁶³ they play hide-and-seek (*jar-mojarxik*), unaware that the time for the midday rest (*ipoč*)⁶⁴ has come. They come to the hut, drink buttermilk and eat cream. Then, towards the afternoon [when the heat is no longer so strong], they release their livestock and go to graze them. The children spend the high summer in *ayloq*; that is why they are very fond of summer.

Men also do a lot of work in *ayloq*. They graze the livestock, and whenever there is any heavy work to do, they do it; they graze the cattle (*čať*), they bring teresken (*tbəsk*)⁶⁵ and firewood; on the steppe, they collect the droppings in the sack. Men do all the pulling of heavy loads themselves, they break up the dung, they dry it, and then they pile it up. If a sheep is about to die, they slaughter it. They bring it to the house of the person whose sheep it is; if it belongs to the herdsman, they keep some of the meat for themselves and send the rest to the village. Sometimes, men perform the ritual of *zaygardon* ‘the twirling of the prickly thrift’; they also get together with men from other camps to sing *falak* (*flək*) [a type of a traditional song]. Those who can sing *falak*, they sing; those who can play flute, they play flute.

In *ayloq*, there are many medicinal herbs: larkspur (*ambar*),⁶⁶ catmint (*məndrič*),⁶⁷ ziziphora (*ǰəmbilak*),⁶⁸ violet (*bənaǰš*),⁶⁹ wild onion (*ləndərk*),⁷⁰ chamomile (*širwišn*) and many other herbs. Also, many beautiful flowers grow there. Violets grow along the edge of the glacier and in difficult-to-access places. People pick their small petals and dry them. They say that it is good for aching eyes; it improves the vision. Nowadays, people also collect them and bring them to the village. People collect larkspur in summer, they dry it, then they crush it and put it in their hair; then the hair does not fall out anymore and becomes thick.

It is said, that in *ayloq*, you should be as clean and pure as possible. Let there be no quarrels or noise, let there be respect and honouring [of each other]. [TN: Since the *ayloq* is considered a sacred place, a place belonging to supernatural beings, speaking loudly and shouting are not allowed. This is

63 *Čəklək* is a type of traditional game usually played by children and men during Nawrooz (Persian New Year), but also in summer pastures. For a description of this and other traditional Wakhi games, see Matrobov (2012).

64 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

65 *Tbəsk* denotes various types of shrubs used as fuel on high mountain pastures, such as teresken (Krascheninikovia ceratoides), Kochia prostrata, artemisia (bot.).

66 *Ambar* – from Tajik *ambar* ‘amber’. In Wakhi it denotes Delphinium oreophilum (bot.) – a species of larkspur, a plant with a nice smell. It is burned and used as an incense that also has medicinal effects (Steblin-Kamensky 1982: 228).

67 *Məndrič*, var. *məndrij*, *məndrič* – ‘Nepeta glutinosa’ (bot.), a type of catmint plant. It is used for healing broken bones (Steblin-Kamensky 1982: 236 & 1999: 237).

68 *ǰəmbilak* – Ziziphora pamiroalaica (bot.), (Steblin-Kamensky 1982: 233).

69 *Bənaǰš* – from Tajik *bunaǰša* ‘violet’. As noted by Steblin-Kamensky (1982: 229), in Wakhi the term denotes various flowers of bright colour, particularly Orchis umbrosa/Dactylorhiza umbrosa.

70 *Ləndərk* – Allium carolinianum (bot.) – a species of wild onion, edible plant (Steblin-Kamensky 1982: 235 & 1999: 229).

yet another of the prohibitions observed in *ayloq*.] Then, you will get a good milk yield and your time in *ayloq* will be even more blessed.

6 The autumn migration

6.1 *Kuč xəmak* (the Wakhi text)

Tirmoi čawak ola, a trəm oktyabr məy-nag xalgiš kuč xəmak tyorüi carən. Xə ruŷn-ət qrutvi kə dinən dəm qčavi, xə bəṭ-parvi kə wəzdyən-ət dinən yavi sək xur-ət čawən rə diyor-nag. Kuč-xəmakəzgvər tuša dinən, ləcər tər vdək mərz məwocən. İla pnir-ət iŷgəy a ravi dökə kaṭən. Yawiš molvi pəyən-ət osta-osta xamən. I sar xalgiš molvi xamvən, i sar ayloq bor-bḍokvi.

Xə bəṭ-parvi kə ŷürtən. Xə molvi, čwurkvi kə isob carən-ət pərsimi xə wocən. A ya rwor kuč cə xamd, ya xondor xəynan xondorəkər (pərəkər) dra ləcər ruŷn-ət čəka-ət ləndič-ət pnir. Kart yavi a ska sotvi cusk, ləcər xəsmən qaar məcart. Bat bə goxən, ila ska sot canən kaṭən, brakatiŷ. Xənən, gəyo xə brakati dra ləcər, woz solər cə rəč, yaw taw pəčəzd. A ska niv bə xalgiš xəsmən baxši yarər ləcərən-ət xə yan čawən.

Kuč xəmak ola moliš kə baj-baj, yav žarž bə tqi-ət tərg. Xalgiš xəši carən kuč xəmakər.

Kuč xəmak mayor ayloqči xəynaniš piyomən ki, wəzyəw, sak kuč xamvən. Qrutvi goxən də xəltavi, čəkavi goxən də čəkaxəltə-ət kaṭən yavi rə amsangvi. Ya amsangvər goxən klicək, yan i amsangi kaṭən ra xurən rəm paləw, ya iwi kaṭən a ra i paləw. Xalgiš woz cə diyorən rəčən kuč xəmvək. Yawiš də xətən bəjəy-ət čilək dərən, ləcər cə-nag ruŷn-ət qrut-ət čəka wəzmən. Ayloq-rəčəkəzgiš jam wocən-ət xə ruŷn-ət qrut-ət čəkavi yomanər disvən. Xənən, xa me žənən tum ruŷn, tum qrut-ət čəka. I rwor tər mis ya dayiš ya ruŷnvi də lup qčavi goxən-ət yav sarvi vandən, ləcər cə-nag sarklapoy yawiš cə xurvən wazən məy. Oxiron ya surdor-ət ya ayloqči xəynaniš ta wəřəčən. Nəwzən cə ktičən, ya bari carən šux, carən yawi ba. Xamən wəzyən rə diyor, mol-olvi kə jo-bə-jo carən.

Rə diyor moldoriš wəzyən yəṭvi dəwlatzyod cərak, čoy-ət ruŷn-ət yumj-ət čilpiran yavər yav aqi wəzmən. Ayloqči xəynan woz dav qčə yavər ruŷn-ət qrut-ət čəka dəyt. Kuyən cuk ŷəw cə umət, yawər woz tqitər ruŷn-ət čəka dəyt. A ya pərz tə ŷəf picvən, lup dig kaṭən ska ŷəf, a ya ruŷn ta ayloqəw cə xətki, a da nlag yawi carən ob. Yaw ruxn ruŷn, kart yawi a ra dig-ət dəyt a ra ila yumj pulm, yaw ŷird qolt zart. Canən amkivər randən, čuṭi ləcərən xətər. Yan tuy-muy dət xojaŷi cə wost, dərən a cət ruŷnən, kaṭən vul, woz ayloqči xənd: Yəm xə ayloq brakatiŷ ruŷn savər, ləcər bafiŷ savər wəzəmd. Čuṭ ruŷni mušt šogənər, čuṭi xətər kaṭən rə širčoy. A yəm ziŷn xondor xəynaniš pak tobiston rəčən ayloq-ət xə xun-xalgvər-ət xə xiš-tborvər ruŷn-ət qrut goxən.

Ayloq baf – obodiŷ!

6.2 Translation

In autumn, it is time to leave; towards October, people start preparing for the autumn migration (*kuč xəmak* lit. ‘migration going down’). They put all their butter and qurut into dishes [containers], they wash all their clothes and load them onto donkeys, and they set out for the village. They prepare food supplies for the herders going down to the village (*kuč xəmakəzgvər*), so that they will not get hungry on the way. They put a bit of *pnir*⁷¹ and *iŷgəy*⁷² cheese in their leather bags. [TN: The women make cheese about a month before the return. Apart from the sorts already mentioned above, they also prepare *ləndič*.⁷³] On the way, the herders graze the livestock and descend slowly. Some people bring down the livestock, others bring down the *ayloq* belongings.

71 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

72 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

73 See Vocabulary in Section 7.

They gather all their clothes. They count all their livestock and the kids and lambs, and start preparing themselves. On the day when the household goes back down, the housekeeping woman leaves some butter, chaka and cheese (*lāndič, pnir*) for *xondorək* ‘the little-housekeeper’ [the taboo-replacement word for mouse]. She puts them on top of flat stones so that the spirit (*xəsmən*) does not get upset. They also make the ritual porridge; they leave a little bit of it on a flat stone, for a blessing. They say: ‘Leave your blessing there and when you come back next year, [the spirit of the place] will accept you again.’ That is why, even now, the people leave a portion for the spirit, and then they leave.

At the time of the autumn migration, all the animals are fat; their milk is also abundant and thick. The people are happy to go back down to their villages.

At the return journey, the herdswomen send a message [to the village]: ‘Come, we are bringing down the relocated household (*kuč*)’. They put qurut in bags, chaka in the bags for chaka, and put them in large creels (*amsang*). They make straps for the large creels, then they attach one creel on one side of the donkey, and the other creel on the other side (of the donkey). People from the village also come to (help) bring the relocated household down. They bring along sacks and buckets to bring the butter, qurut and chaka from there. The herders get together and show each other their butter, qurut and chaka. They say: ‘Look, I have this much butter, this much qurut and chaka’.⁷⁴ On the day before, the men put the butter in big dishes [containers] and they cover the top, so that it does not fall from the donkey during the descent. At the end, only those whose turn it is to graze (*sur-dor*) and the herdswomen are still staying there. They come out of the hut, they lock the door, and they kiss it ritually. They come down to the village, and they distribute all the livestock and products [to the owners of the livestock].

Down in the village, the owners of the animals come to express their thankfulness. They bring tea, butter, flour, clothing and fabric as remuneration for their work. The herdsman also puts butter, qurut and chaka in their dishes [containers]. If anyone has a cow with new-born calves, they get more butter and chaka. That evening, they light the fireplace, they put a big pot on the fireplace, and they melt the butter that they made in the *ayloq* in a clay jug. It is the white butter (*ruxn rušn*); the herdsman puts it in a pot, sprinkles it with a bit of flour, and it turns intense yellow. [TN: Such butter is called *zič rušn*, which refers to all the butter made and collected in the *ayloq*. From this butter, *zič-bat*⁷⁵ (‘a special ritual porridge’) is then made for the whole village (Mirboboev 1991a).] They give a portion of it to their relatives and neighbours, and they keep a portion for themselves. Then, when there is a wedding in that household, they take from that butter, they perform the ritual of the sacrificial burning of incense (*vul*), and the herder says: ‘This is the blessing of butter from the summer pasture, may it bring good things for you.’ She saves part of the butter for the *Šogun* [a Wakhi term for *Nawrooz*, the Persian New Year, which begins on the spring equinox], and another portion for themselves for the milk-tea (*širčoy*).⁷⁶ Like this, every summer, housekeeping women go to summer pasture and make butter and qurut for their families and relatives.

Ayloq is a good deal. It gives prosperity!

7 Vocabulary

Δiŷ – šəxčək dīngī, cə payən rə pərnəc goxən, yaw maza trəšp

Buttermilk – a liquid [fermented] dairy product that is made of yogurt [curd] in the churn and has a sour taste.

⁷⁴ The practice of comparing each other’s milk yields at the end of the season is documented in several narrations.

⁷⁵ See Vocabulary in Section 7.

⁷⁶ *Širčoy* ‘milk tea’ is a traditional strong, salted black tea cooked with milk. It is typically made in Pamir and mountainous regions of Central Asia, and is eaten with bread and butter.

Ipoč – mδuri mayor, molvi cə šbunīan cə wuzmən tə šad tanyak dam dingak

Midday rest – the time around midday when the livestock is taken from the pasture and driven to the enclosure to rest. [TN: It is the hottest part of the day. The herders do not leave the livestock on the grassland during that time. They take the animals to the enclosure (šad) and milk them. The people eat lunch and take some rest.]

Ijgəy – tərgək dingī cə may-ət tuŷ žaržən xətkin, rə dig yəti pacən, məza crəng pnir cəy, woz də xəčən bə yəti yawən

Cheese *ijgəy* – a dense dairy product made of sheep and goat milk. It is cooked in a pot, and the taste is like that of *pnir* cheese. It is eaten with bread.

Ktič – mala cə žarən xətkin, cə bu paləw-nag yawən təy raz, woz yawən təy bjor, dəldung, da dəldung yawən təy ŷaf cə tru sotən, a dra xəč-ət šot goxən

Hut – a construction made of stone with raised platforms on two sides. It also has a storage room for milk and a cooking platform. There is a fireplace on the cooking platform made of three flat stones, where bread and meals are prepared.

Ləndič – dingī cə may žaržən, pacən yawi-ət mrik cart-ət wost tərg, yumj dinən ra pulm, sur wost, kačən ar dəstor yawi-ət carən yawi wəsk

Cheese *ləndič* – a dairy product made from sheep milk. The milk is heated [for a long time] until the cream comes to the surface and becomes thick; then they sprinkle it with flour, and when it cools down, they put it in gauze [to let the liquid (*yupkiŷ*) drip off] and let it dry.

Mod – trəšp žarž, iŷunī diŷi kačən rə žarž, yaw wost mod, a cətən yan pay-ət diŷ-ət čaka-ət qrut-ət ruŷn-ət pnir goxən

Starter culture – sour milk; sometimes the buttermilk is put in the milk and it becomes the starter culture. From it they also make yogurt, buttermilk, chaka, qurut, butter and cheese *pnir*.

Nlag – qča cə dimən, yət ŷaš zəqlay-ət yət bən lup, pay rət kačən, ruŷn rət dinən, yət xalgər to də brinən
Clay jug – a dish of clay, with a small mouth and a large bottom into which they pour yogurt and put butter. It is as high as a person's knees. [See Picture 1 in the Appendix.]

Pərnəc – qča cə dimən, yət ŷaš lup-ət yət bən zəqlayək, diŷ rət goxən, yət xalgər to də madən

Churn – a dish/vessel made of clay with a large mouth and a small bottom in which buttermilk is made. It is as high as a person's waist.

Pnir – cə žaržən xətkin, puŷ šloŷ dingī, yaw məza təy xužg

Cheese *pnir* – made from milk. This is a soft, round dairy product with a sweet taste. [TN: It is made by boiling the milk and buttermilk. After it cools down, it is filtered through gauze. A portion of the cheese is then left for the herdsmen, while the rest is given to the owners of the livestock (Mirboboev 1991a; Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky 1976: 171, 181–182).]

Pučuzak – qbul cərak (misol: Xəsmən tawi pučuzd, ti dingī baf wost, ti yarkiš kə rwoj wocən.)

To receive – to accept. (For example, when the spirit accepts you, you get good dairy products and all your work will be successful.)

Qrut – šux dingī cə diŷ-ət čakaən xətkin, yət soxt təy puŷ-puŷ, yət məza təy trəšp-ət xužgtrəšp, diŷqrut məza trəšp-ət xužg, čakaqrut məza ya trəšp

Qurut – a solid dairy product made from buttermilk and chaka that has a round shape. It has a sour or a sweet-and-sour taste; the buttermilk-qurut has a sweet-and-sour taste, while the chaka-qurut is very sour.

Vayč – čoqī qčā, *mol-ət* ýw *dicakər*, *cə* *dimən* *xətkin*

Milk pail – a clay dish of a suitable size for milking livestock and cows [see Picture 4 in the Appendix].

Wyin – *qila-ət* *xid* *vdək*, *skət* *ziŷn* *xalgiš* *far* *ŷirən* *cə* *i* *durən* *ar* *dgar* *dur*, *cə* *i* *ŷayən* *rəčən* *tər* *dgar* *ŷay*

Mountain pass – a difficult and steep path through which people pass from one ravine to the next ravine, from one place to another place.

Zičbat – *kuč-sənak* *mayor-ət* *kuč-xəmak* *mayor* *a* *yəm* *bati* *goxən* *xun-xalgvər-ət* *amkivər*, *yəti* *goxən* *a* *da* *ruŷnən*, *cəm* *ayloqən* *yawi* *cə* *wəzmən*, *gəyo* *ləcər* *ti* *brakat* *wizit*, *woz* *cə* *ayloqən* *čirmit* *da* *ti* *xun*

Zič-bat – this ritual porridge (*bat*) is made for neighbours and relatives during the spring migration and during the autumn migration; it is made with the butter brought from the summer pasture. Its meaning is: May your blessing come from the summer pasture, and return to your house.

Zrič – *cumsolung* *ič* *sək* *yoman* *cusk* *ŷam* *cə* *wost*

Glacier – a field of ice that is many years old, with layers of ice stacked on each other.

8 Conclusion

The concepts of *ayloq*, pastoralism and transhumance in Wakhan constitute a vast and rich topic, and both the topic as a whole and its individual aspects would certainly benefit from deeper anthropological and ethnolinguistic studies. Of particular interest from a linguistic point of view is the vocabulary related to *ayloq*, which can be studied from a historical, grammatical, or semantic perspective. A study dealing with some of these aspects was undertaken by Mirboboev (1991b). The rest of this section highlights a number of topics that could be addressed in further research.

From the point of view of etymology, the majority of Wakhi words related to pastoralism can be traced back to Old-Iranic forms, e.g., words denoting domestic animals, such as *aštər* ‘camel’, *čəŷ* ‘kid/the young of a goat’, *ýw* ‘cow’, *yaš* ‘horse’, *may* ‘sheep’, *wurk* ‘lamb’, *wəšk* ‘calf’, *xur* ‘donkey’, (Mirboboev 1991a: 6), words denoting dairy products, such as *diŷ* ‘buttermilk’, *dingī* ‘dairy products’, *mod* ‘starter culture’, *pay* ‘yogurt’, *ruŷn* ‘butter’, *žarž* ‘milk’, or other words related to pastoralism, such as *dart* ‘dung’, *yolt/yołt* ‘nest, protective pen/cubicle for young animals’, *pərnəc* ‘churn’, *pəxt* ‘covered livestock pen’, *šad* ‘open livestock pen/shed’, *vayč* ‘milk pail’, and others. Words of Turkic origin related to the nomadic aspect of pastoralism include *ayloq* ‘summer pasture’ (lit. ‘summer place’), *kišloq* ‘village’ (lit. ‘winter place’), *qrəw* ‘livestock camp’, *kuč* ‘migration’, as well as some words referring to milk production, e.g., *qrut* ‘qurut’, *čəka* ‘chaka’, and *iŷgəy* ‘type of cheese’. Some words are recent borrowings from Tajik, e.g., *wəloy* ‘pack animal’ (from Tajik *uloy*), *širčoy* ‘milk tea’; or from Arabic through Tajik, e.g., *mol* ‘possession; livestock’ in Tajik, which in Wakhi specifically means ‘small livestock (sheep and goats)’, but also ‘livestock in general’. A few words are of Indo-Aryan origin, e.g., *čaŷ* ‘cattle’, *bat* ‘type of ritual porridge’. The etymology of the words listed above is discussed under the corresponding entries of the etymological dictionary of the Wakhi language by Steblin-Kamensky (1999).

A feature that permeates the Wakhi text and concept of *ayloq* as a whole, is the sacral and supernatural dimension. In the Wakhi worldview, the *ayloq* is a divine place inhabited by supernatural beings, and human beings are just humble visitors who must respect its rules. Every herder and every visitor to the *ayloq* keeps this in mind and follows the rituals, practices and prohibitions, the purpose

of which is to appease the spiritual powers governing the area, obtain blessings for their livelihood, and express gratitude. Everything that is done in relation to the *ayloq*, from the preparations for the migration up to the summer pasture until the return to the village, has its rules and is accompanied by specific rituals and practices, some of which have been described in the text above.

A related topic that would benefit from more thorough study is the semantic specification of the vocabulary related to the sacral and supernatural dimension. This includes vocabulary and constructions referring to ritual practices, e.g., *vul kaṭak* ‘to perform the ceremony of burning ritual incense’ (lit. ‘to put smell’), *yupk čarmvak* ‘to perform the ritual of bringing water into the house’ (lit. ‘to make enter the water’); *uḅ škandvak* ‘to break the seven-day prohibition’ (lit. ‘to break the seven’), *ba carak* ‘to perform the ritual kissing of the sacred things’ (lit. ‘to kiss’), *zaygardon xak* ‘to perform the ritual of the twirling of the prickly thrift’ (lit. ‘to make the twirling of the prickly thrift’), etc., as well as the vocabulary referring to supernatural beings that are believed to inhabit the remote areas where the Wakhi *ayloqs* are located.

The Wakhi terms used to refer to these supernatural beings are of varying provenance, reflecting the influence of different spiritual, religious, and cultural concepts. Translating these terms often presents a challenge. Moreover, even the Wakhi speakers find it difficult to give clear definitions of these beings. This may be partly because the concepts often overlap semantically, and partly because they represent a kind of ‘taboo’ concepts that the people do not usually discuss at length.⁷⁷ They form part of a body of ‘unspoken’ knowledge, which also implies that different people may have different perceptions and understandings of these concepts.

A concept that appeared to be particularly difficult to translate was *xasmon*, as this word does not appear in any currently available Wakhi dictionaries. The closest equivalent we could find is ‘spirit of a place’ (see footnote 22), however, the Wakhi speakers suggested various translations, including ‘monster’, which could refer to another supernatural being similar to a *diw* (*dev/div* in Tajik ‘demon, evil spirit, monster’). Nevertheless, a *xasmon* is undeniably confirmed as a good spirit, a benevolent supernatural entity, while a *diw* is understood as evil and malevolent. The concepts of *diw* ‘demon’ (a Tajik word), *jənd* ‘demon’ (*jinn* in Arabic), and *prəy* ‘pari, demon’ also largely overlap, as discussed in footnotes 20 and 21.

The topic of the sacred and the supernatural among the Wakhis has received marginal attention in the ethnographic and ethnolinguistic literature. Whatever descriptions may be found of the supernatural world and beliefs of the Pamir communities usually appear in the works of pre- or early Soviet Russian ethnographers (e.g., Bobrinsky 1908: 103–107; Kislyakov 1937).

The concept of taboo has been addressed in a few studies, from an anthropological perspective (Kłagisz 2021) and from a linguistic perspective (Edelman 2003). However, much remains to discover. As mentioned above, in the context of *ayloq*, the prohibited words today include those referring to potentially harmful animals: *šapt* ‘wolf’, *plang* ‘snow leopard’, and *purk* ‘mouse’. These animals have been given substitution names, such as *bu-ŷiṣək* ‘little-two-ears’ for wolves, *xasmonək* ‘little spirit’ for snow leopards, and *xondorək* ‘little housekeeper’ for mice. However, from a historical perspective, and with reference to etymological studies (e.g., Steblin-Kamensky 1999), some of the above-mentioned taboo words (e.g., *šapt* ‘wolf’) represent a ‘new’ or ‘secondary’ taboo, since the present-day taboo words were once lexical substitutions for earlier taboo words (see discussion in footnote 55).

A final suggestion for further research concerns a scarcely studied poetic genre – the *bulbulik* ‘nightingale lament song’. In theme and form, it is a genre that is intrinsically tied to the concept of

77 A similar phenomenon – reluctance to provide information about supernatural beings – is observed in Wakhi narrations. Even when a supernatural being is one of the major characters in the story, its explicit appearance in the story is usually minimal, and because of the lack of sufficient information (which is common knowledge within the community) it is often difficult for an outsider to the culture to understand such a story (Obrtelová 2017: 31).

ayloq, as it depicts separation, grief, and longing for loved ones. The wailing tune of the song, performed by a solo singer and echoed by other women, is particularly evocative in the remote, high mountain plains.

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Appendix – The full version of the Wakhi text

Айлоқ

Айлоқрәчак ға баф ярк тәй. Цә мис давраән то нив айлоқ рәчән. Тқи халгищ җы ымри а тәм айлоқви щәхсвәткәв. Нив бә пак тобистон хондор җыйнанищ айлоқ рәчән.

Җыйәт нанищ саарй молви тәр сур дингак цә җызмән, җанән ки, куйәш кум айлоқрәчакызгәр җы молви табил царт. Заищ хыщй царән ки, цоғдәр айлоқ җахт җостәт явищ дә җы татнанвән е дә җы хиш-тборвән рәчән айлоқ. Та штикәк җатәр царән, тәр чвурк рәчән, молви пыйәнәт ян тирмой җәзйән җы хунәр.

Кыли тобистон айлоқ рәчакызгищ панц е щад бнай молви дырзәнәт санән пә айлоқ. Тәй Помир айлоқищ, тави ға сароәт ға җышәт җышоч. Иҗунй халгищ рәчән тәт җирәт җуч айлоқчайви, иҗунй а тәм спо җы ку айлоқви, йәм спо дәрвәр қрибәв цәй. Помир айлоқ цә рәчән, халгищ дә айлоқрәчакызгән җы молви юндән то Ратмәт ян пщәвән.

Тәм спо куви бә ға тқи айлоқищ. Ян тқитәр айлоқрәчакызгищ рәчән а дәт қрибй айлоқви. Йәм Вранг айлоқ, Внутт айлоқ, Зунг айлоқ, Шәргинәт Змыдг айлоқ. А йәт цйғн кыли дәрән яв җы айлоқчай тәй. Дәм Шәргин җоз споцән тәй и айлоқ, яв нунг Пиғг. А яв ға баф чай тәй. Аци җанән ки, яв Помир қҗоби ранд. Тәт айлоқчай тәй җас ктичәт, цә кыфч траф-наг црав юпк рҗун. Трәт црохәргави юпкәт җыш бәшдйәтк. Пак тобистон Шәргин, Иниф, Дриж мәрдымищ тәт рәчән айлоқ. Ска и паләв цйғн җоз җйин. Җйинәш җоз фар ғирд рә Иркил нунг чай. Яв бә айлоқ рангәт, нәйки та ктичищ наст.

Дә Вранг айлоқищ тәй Ғазг, Корцрав, Дәсткорцрав, Плостанг, Җамбиф, Сәманин, Ғәвд. Тәт ға тқи црохәргавищ, гозищ, кыкищ. Дә бәор, айна куч сәнак тәт соф җуч айлоқчайви сыр, а ска халгищ аҗыл цә рәчән, а дәт бәнви алән, дрәт щундр, җыш-җышоч бә тәй. Ян тмыс ки вити, җы бәт-парви, қап-қчави дырзәнәт санән да җучтәр қрәв.

Куч сәнак

Май мый җостәт халгищ айлоқ рәчак фикри царән. А трәм бистәмо-наг пәрсими куч сәнак мал җост.

И рвөр прыт цә куч сәнакән, йәм мәрдина айлоқрәчакызгищ бәт-парви (бор-бдокви), қап-қчави, кәрпа-мәрпави сәк пәнданкәркин хурви выр царәнәт юндән яви та айлоқ. Җахон куищ ға җид, нәйки яв айлоқищ саро. А скәт җир вдәк то та ктич сәнакәр, я айлоқрәчакызгищ цә пыдән ға ғирән. Ян таәв ки җати, динән җатәр дәлдунгәк, чой гохәнәт җы тышаи явән. Җы вырви кы цо-бә-цо царәнәт ила дам динән, җоз хамән рә дәр. Хамәнәт молви юндак срищтаи царән.

Врокәр молви юндак рвөр, йәм пырзынгй кучснакызгищ җы бор-бдокви җыртәнәт җы тышаи җатәр динәнәт молви нишон гохәнәт ян җати ила бынән. Ян нағдинй, ғал торик рангәт, гизән дә бисмиллоән цәм хунән нығзән. Нығзакәр җы чмәндг ләнгари ба царән, куй луп ымыт, яв дасти ба царән. Лупищ җанән ки, ян ту баф тәр җы чайдод җатәт арҗоищ таҗи дидҗәнәт ту җоз җы хунәр җәзи. Җоз чиз выр җрәхкин цә ымыт, җәлоғви выр царән. Җы молви цә пыхтән ниғвән, молдорищ бә җы молви җызмән кучснакызгәр таҗиләнәт тәр вдәк яви кәтән. Айлоқрәчакызг молви исоб царт, ләцәр дищт, цум бна моләв җызмәтк. Молдорищ дә айлоқрәчакызгән хили вдәк рәчәнәт ян пщәвән. Куйәр форд, рәчән давән та айлоқ.

Кучснакызгищ дәм молвән рәчән, йәм ир црахтәт йәмищ ила-ила псәм пәштави яви пәрсими пыйак җоцән. Аҗыл соф тәр җуч нәрәчән, а рәм бәнтәрәкви җақәк пыйәнәт ян җати тәр җуч-наг дырзән.

Мисәвәш нақл кәрт, а йәм айлоқәрәш қриб цә витәв, аҗыл мәрдина рәшт бисмилло цартәт чирмит та ктич. Ян да дәлдунгәк сар вул карт, ләцәр йәм диғчәндәт прәйищ ца чайән рәдәнәт фриштаищ омин царән, хәсмон яви пычызд.

Тәм айлоқ ғдим юмч вули юндән кәтак. Я вули да дәлдунгәк я айлоқчй ҙай карт ска и пуҫ ғарәк цуск, пицывд яҗиәт яв тухна рангин җит. Ян рәшт цә җравән юпк ызымд. Юпк чәрмвак җанән, бракат дә хун тқи җост. А ска яв рәшт та ктич бә юпк чәрмывд. Рәшт җәскәрк сгинәт ҙартәт ғуз выр царт а ра ғәф, ләцәр айлоқчй җыйнан цә җизит, бат җакәр явәр кы тәра ымыт. Йәт ярквы кы гоҗтәт ян я айлоқчй җыйнан да дгар кучснакызгвән дә молвән җати ғатвән.

Айлоқчй җыйнан чирмит тә ктич, җоз вул карт. Я җы қрәҗи гирд-пәс-гирд вул картәт ният царт ки, спо молви бракат тқи җостәт җоз бәбафй цәмән рә дәр хамән. Җанән, вули цә карт, фриштаәт хәсмонищ цә айсонән җати ҙир дырзән.

Ян я айлоқчй җыйнан бат гоҗт. Аҗқот я хәсмонәр гоҗән, ләцәр яв одмизоди пычызд. Җанән, я чай тәй а явән, фриштавән. Тәр мис ила дә дәлдунг а да вул паләбәк ца батән картәвәш җә, ян я дгарвәр бә хаштәвәш бат дави қчави. Кы за-зодвәр бә цанән ранд. И сарищ хамән, куйәр форд, алән. Ян заищ юндән йәм молви трәм гоз пыйак.

То ыб рвөр цә дәрән әч куйи тә айлоқ нәләцрән. Җанән ки, кумәр то а йәт ыб рвөрәр цә җизит, тә айлоқ ғ шапт җат дәйт, ғ сыр җост, ғ молищ мәрйән, ғ ичиз дгар носоищй җост. Ян ыб ки вити, халгищ цә дәрән җәзйән тә айлоқ. А йәт рвөр җоз бат гоҗәнәт **җағғәрдон** гоҗән. Гә җы ыб рвөр туйи тә айлоқ рандән. Аҗыл и луптәр җыйнан (мәрдина) җағи пицывдәт дҗом царт яҗи трәм җы сар фар ғирвак. Йәм заищ бә ян пәрсими җағғәрдон җак җоцән. җағви скәм шунг сарви динән цуқ, тәр вәрз-вәрз җитрви вандәнәт трәм җы сар яви ғирвән. җағғәрдини шумиәт нағд гоҗән.

А цәтән трәт-наг иғунй шапт ғ нәхчир нағд җат дә мол цә дәйт, җоз бә йәм халгищ җағви пицвән җә, трәм җы сар яҗи фар-фар ғирвән. Я рәхниг трәм-тра-наг рәҗәздәт я шапт рәлт, а дәт җағғәрдонән яҗи җәшвән, ләцәр яв тәр молви қриб мәҗизит. Носоищй цә җост, буй-тру рвөр пәс ғман җағғәрдон гоҗән.

Соф аҗыл айлоқ цә рәчән, чизи ләцәр айлоқчй җыйнан дищт

Аҗыл тә айлоқ цә рәчән, дра нә ҙиғәт нә пайәт нә җарҗәт әч чиз наст. Йәм айлоқчй җыйнанищ а тәм айлоқәв ки ғати, йәмви пиран трәмви доманәт йәмви пәрсәнгищ трәмви дастәт пәрсими мол ҙицакәт җарҗ яқшвакәт пай кәтакәт ҙиғ җакәт дгар ярквы җоцән.

ҙиғ җакәр цә кыҗтән мис йәм йәмыки кынд җыздыйт, ян чукт яҗи, дә юпкән хуб лат яҗи дәйт рә и қчаәт яв ранг ныҗызд, карт яҗи рә мәқобаин қча. Ян җарҗи пацт, яв мрикиғи цанән царт чда. Аҗыл я мрикиғи кәтән а ра йәмык мод цуск. Йәтви ғирывд ар нлаг, ян цбастәрәк я щлағ җарҗи а рәтви сар ғирывдәт я сари дә нобандәкән гит, яв җин алдәт ян яв бу рвөр цбас молт, җост пай. Труйым рвөр яҗи гоҗән ҙиғ.

ҙиғи қи гоҗән: аҗыл а я моди цә йәмыкән цә гоҗти, холи царән а ра пәрнәц. Вул да бән кәтән, ләцәр йәт яркән бракат ымыт. Ян я пәдари кәтән а рәт пай, а дәт пәрнәц цәй, чәхтвәши щәхсвән тәр пәдар, җы рәндақи бә гирд а тра вандән, ян я сари царән шух дә дәсторән ғ дә сонәнәт пәрсими хәшак җоцән. А йәт қиғн яҗи тқи хашәнәт ҙәштәрәк җоз я сари я айлоқчй җыйнан илаәк әғ царт дидиғд, ко яв хуф дйәтка нәй. Дйәтки цәй, җин юпк а ра сар ғирвән. җоз пәрсими хәшак җоцән, ян җоз я сари әтән, дидғән ки, яв щлавз витка. Витки цәй, сыр юпк ра кәтән. Ян җоз хуб яҗи хашәнәт я руғн җост чда. Ян яв сари трахк гәҗән, я пәрнәц сари дә җы дастән царән ба, ләцәр йәм аҗыл руғн алол җост. Ян рәчән җы дгар ярквы царән. Цбастәр җәзйән я җы руғни дырзән. Дә сыр юпк рә мәқобаин кбун яҗи хуб тқи җыздыән, я ҙиғиғи кы цанән рәшт. Я ҙиғиғи царән чда дә и қчаәт холи руғн җәрәшт. Ян яҗи хуб мандәнәт динән рә нлаг. Нлаг җат тәй цә ҙимән. Ян яҗи ки дәҗдәв, динән яҗи дә қогаәт хәщруй я руғн пуғ-пуғәк гоҗәнәт тра млунг хат хашән. Йәтән ақи ният ки, я аҗыл ҙиғи цә гоҗән, яв хәсмон қайәр. Халгищ қи җанән: хәсмон роз цә ымыт, ти айлоқрәчак баф щәхәст, ҙингй бә тқи җост, пычызд таҗи. Бәният ян ца руғнән ила дырзәнәт юндән яҗи тра остон, ләцәр кумәр җатәр ит.

Дә кыли айлоқ остон тәй. Остонищ диғолдйәткәт рухн-рухн ғарищәт қондорви шәҗищ скав цуск кәтәткин. Ян җоз руғн чыргәт ҙиғ чыргищ скав ғрәхкин, қи ки айлоқрәчакызгищ цә җы руғнәнәт ҙиғән тра цә сыхәткәв. ҙиғ бә цә гоҗән, дә иғун қәқлай қча а ска остон кәтән, ләцәр кумәр яҗи пит. Ца ҙиғән җоз гоҗән чка. ҙиғи ғирвән рә хәлта, яв чакт, я қкәткин щопи рандән молвәр. Я тәргй дә хәлта цә җәрәшт, яҗи гоҗән дә диг, тқи яв пацән, яв җост қрыт. Цә саариән то пырз пәштәт ян җост шух. Ян яҗи юндән кәтән сәк кут, сәк сот цускви, яв ска җәск җостәт ян яв ғыртән.

Хондор җыйнанищ йәм җы ҙингии тәм җы бқор ғыртән. Яви дә баф қай дә иғун торикй қай кәтән, ләцәр әстар мәҗоцән, пырк җати дави мәдәйт. Пыркәр дә айлоқ хондорәк җанән. Яв нунги нәҗырән. Шапт нунги бә дә айлоқ нәҗырән. Җанән, яв нунги цә җырән, яҗищ пидо җоцән. Гә ғ шапт ғиш җост дәртов, җизит я қайәр карт носоищйғ. А ска шаптәр җанән пупәк, сбиләк ғ буғишәк. Плангәр җанән хәсмонәк.

Тә айлоқ

А йәм йиһн хыйәт нанищ дә айлоқ молви жицән, пай кәтән, жиһ гоһән, чка кәтән, қрыт пацән, пнир гоһән. Ыоз ёмани қыёәнәт рәчән юпкәр та кыкви. Явәр ханән кыкчәжмәк, яви юпк чәжм ранг тозаәт явищ хат бә тәй гирд-гирд. Да хы чиләк юпк дырзән, кәтән яви сәк хы испәт Ыызмән рә ктич.

Иғунй хыйнанищ цә тикмайән дә нәтәкән житр гоһән ё чраб ыфән ё скид дрәвән. Қрәвищ ёманәр қриб цә ымйән, жиһ хәшәк цә нәымыт, иғунй қрәв хыйнанищ қти ёоцәнәт сә и бландй нәздәнәт ян былбылик ханән. Ыоз цә дәрән халг тә айлоқ цә визит, айлоқчй хыйнанищ явәр ныёзән прытәт ян былбылик ханәнәт хы пзыви холи царән:

Зарт спрәф да гәрдан,
Рузи ник рвор ымыт,
Жы дастәк тәр лол гәрдан.
Былбыл тар ноләм – э. [1,67].

Сәкрәк кәлбищ,
Ту мажи хатәр хый цә дищ,
Хат бәр хат жы нунги нәвищ.
Былбыл тар ноләм – э.

Э саткәк бә ивәт буй,
А рвор ки нанчон ханәм,
Афтборон а рәм жы руй,
Афтборон а рәм жы руй.
Былбыл тар ноләм – э.

Мыр боғәк пәчәтк,
Сәйли боғ ки цә ныёзәм,
Куәт баар хәзон дийәтк.
Былбыл тар ноләм – э. [1,75].

Заищ тәм айлоқ тқи штикәк царән, ян Ыоз рәчән тә кыкви, трәм чвуркви хатәр чәкләк динән, чармочархик царән, хбар нәёоцәнәт ипоч ола ёост. Ыәзийән тә ктич, жиһ пувәнәт мрик явән. Ыоз тәр пищин-наг йәм хы молви әтән, рәчән пыяк. Тмыси а тәт айлоқ щәхсвән, а ска тобистонәр ға хыщй царән.

Мәрдина бә тә айлоқ ға тқи яркви гоһт. Явищ мол пыйәнәт ғрунг ярк цә ымыт, яви гоһән, чатви пыйән, тбәск ғуз Ыызмән, сгин чыпән тра даштви дәм бчәйви. Йәм ыр-әт-ваш хшәкви кы мәрдина хатищ гоһән, жарт хошкән, ёәск яви царән, Ыоз яви динән ләй. Иғун кла мәрәкәр цә ымыт, яви чәхән. Кла куй молдорән ымыт, Ыызымд яви рә хун, айлоқчиән цә ымыт, чут гушти ләцәрт хатәр, чути стыйд рә дәр. Мәрдинаищ иғунй цағгәрдон гоһән, Ыоз иғунй да дгар қрәв мәрдинавән фләк дингак рәчән. Куй фләк кәцәрт, фләк дәйт, куй найдингакызг ымыт, най дәйт.

Тә айлоқ ға тқи дорыёйф Ыыш-Ыышочищ: амбар, мәндрич, чәмбилак, бәнафш, ләндәрк, щирёйищнәт Ыоз тқи дгар Ыышищ. Ян хәщруй-хәщруй ғылищ та савз ёоцән. Бәнафш а тәм зрих бәнвиәт дәм қила чайви савз ёост. Яв гарди халгищ ғыртәнәт царән ёәск. Ханән, яв чәжм рижакәр баф, чәжм ныри тқи гоһт. Мәрдымищ нив бә цәнән чыпән, Ыызмән рә дәр. Амбари бә тобистон ғыртәнәт, ёәск царән, ян чукәнәт динән тәр хы шафш, шафш бәт нәрәштәт тқи ёост.

Ханән, дә айлоқ цум ки тозаәт погза ымый. Ғащ-алғоё мәымыт, урматәт этиром ымыт. Ян ти зингй бә баф ёостәт ти айлоқ бракат бә тқи ёост.

Куч хәмак

Тирмой чаёак ола, а трәм октябр мый-наг халгищ куч хәмак тәрии царән. Хы руһнәт қрытви кы динән дәм қчави, хы бәт-парви кы Ыыздйәнәт динән яви сәк хурәт чаёән рә дәр-наг. Кучхмакызгвәр тыша динән, ләцәр тәр вдәк мәрз мәёоцән. Ила пнирәт ицгәй а равй жоқк кәтән. Явищ молви пыйәнәт оста-оста хамән. И сар халгищ молви хамвән, и сар айлоқ бор-бдокви.

Хы бәт-парви кы ғыртән. Хы молви, чвуркви кы исоб царәнәт пәрсими хат ёоцән. А я рвор куч цә хамд, я хондор хыйнан хондорәкәр (пыркәр) дра ләцәрт руһнәт чкаәт ләндичәт пнир. Карт яви а ска сотви цуск, ләцәр

хэсмон қаар мацарт. Бат бә гоҳән, ила ска сот цанән катән, бракатиҥ. Ҳанән, гәе Ҳы бракати дра ләцәр, Үоз соләр цә рәң, яв таҥ пычызд. А ска нив бә халгиц хэсмон бахши ярәр ләцрәнәт Ҳат ян Ҷаҥән.

Куч хэмак ола молищ кы баҶ-баҶ, яв ҶарҶ бә тқиәт тәрғ. Халгиц хыщй царән куч хэмакәр.

Куч хэмак майор айлоқчй Ҳыйнанищ пиғомән ки, Үәзийәв, сак куч хамвән. Қрытви гоҳән дә хәлтави, чкави гоҳән дә чкахәлтаәт катән яви рә амсангви. Я амсангвәр гоҳән клицәк, ян и амсанги катән ра хурән рәм паләҥ, я иҥи катән а ра и паләҥ. Халгиц Үоз цә дәрән рәчән куч хамвак. Яҥиц дә Ҳатән бҶәйәт чиләк дырзән, ләцәр ца-нағ руғнәт қрытәт чка Үызмән. АйлоқрәҶақызгиц чам Үоцәнәт Ҳы руғнәт қрытәт чкави еманәр дисвән. Ҳанән, ха ме Ҷынән тум руғн, тум қрытәт чка. И рәор тәр мис я Ҷайиц я руғнви дә луп қчави гоҳәнәт яв сарви вандән, ләцәр ца-нағ сарклапой яҥиц ца хурвән Үазән мәй. Охирон я сурдорәт я айлоқчй Ҳыйнанищ та Үәрәчән. НыҮзән ца ктичән, я бари царән шух, царән яҥи ба. Хамән Үәзийән рә дәр, мол-олви кы Ҷо-бә-Ҷо царән.

Рә дәр молдориц Үәзийән йәтви дәүлатзәд цәрак, чойәт руғнәт юмчәт чилпиран явәр яв ақи Үызмән. Айлоқчй Ҳыйнан Үоз дав қча явәр руғнәт қрытәт чка дәйт. Куйән цук ҲыҮ цә ымыт, яүәр Үоз тқитәр руғнәт чка дәйт. А я пырз тә Ҳәф пицвән, луп диг катән ска Ҳәф, а я руғн та айлоқәв цә Ҳәтки, а да нлаг яҥи царән об. Яү рухн руғн, карт яҥи а ра дигәт дәйт а ра ила юмч пулм, яү Ҳирд қолт зарт. Цанән амкивәр рандән, чути ләцрән Ҳатәр. Ян туй-муй дәт хоҶағй цә Үост, дырзән а цәт руғнән, катән вул, Үоз айлоқчй Ҳанд: Йәм Ҷы айлоқ бракатиҥ руғн савәр, ләцәр бағиҥ савәр Үызымд. Чути руғни мыщт ЩоҶынәр, чути Ҳатәр катән рә щирчой. А йәм Ҷиҥн хондор Ҳыйнанищ пак тобистон рәчән айлоқәт Ҳы хунхалгвәрәт Ҳы хиш-тборвәр руғнәт қрыт гоҳән.

Айлоқ баф – ободиҥ!

Луғат

Вайч – чоқй қча, моләт ҲыҮ Ҷицакәр, цә Ҷимән Ҳәткин

Үйин – қилаәт Ҳид вдәк, скәт Ҷиҥн халгиц фар Ҳирән цә и Ҷурән ар дғар Ҷур, цә и Ҷайән рәчән тәр дғар Ҷай

Ипoch – мзйрй майор, молви цә щбыниән цә Үызмән тә шад тәнийак дам дингак

ИҶгәй – тәрғәк Ҷингй цә майәт туҥ ҶарҶән Ҳәткин, рә диг йәти пацән, мәза црәнг пнир цәй, Үоз дә Ҳәчән бә йәти яүән

Зичбат – кучснак майорәт кучхмак майор а йәм бати гоҳән хунхалгвәрәт амкивәр, йәти гоҳән а да руғнән, цәм айлоқән яҥи цә Үызмән, гәе ләцәр ти бракат Үизит, Үоз цә айлоқән чирмит да ти хун

ЗриҲ – цумсолынғ иҲ сәк еман цуск чам цә Үост

Ҷиҥ – щәҲчәк Ҷингй, цә пайән рә пәрнәц гоҳән, яү мәза трәшп

Қрым – шух Ҷингй цә Ҷиҥәт чкаән Ҳәткин, йәт сохт тәй пути-пути, йәт мәза тәй трәшпәт хужгтрәшп, Ҷиҥқрым мәза трәшпәт хужг, чкақрым мәза ға трәшп

Ктич – мала цә Ҳарән Ҳәткин, цә бу паләҥ-нағ яүән тәй раҶ, Үоз яүән тәй бҶор, дәлдунг, да дәлдунг яүән тәй Ҳәф цә тру сотән, а дра Ҳәчәт щот гоҳән

Ләндиц – Ҷингй цә май ҶарҶән, пацән яҥиәт мрик цартәт Үост тәрғ, юмч динән ра пулм, сыр Үост, катән ар дәстор яҥиәт царән яҥи Үәск

Мод – трәшп ҶарҶ, иҥунй Ҷиҥи катән рә ҶарҶ, яү Үост мод, а цәтән ян пайәт Ҷиҥәт чкаәт қрытәт руғнәт пнир гоҳән

Нлаг – қча цә Ҷимән, йәт Ҳаш Ҷәқлайәт йәт бән луп, пай рәт катән, руғн рәт динән, йәт халғәр то дә бринән

Пәрнәц – қча цә Ҷимән, йәт Ҳаш лупәт йәт бән Ҷәқлайәк, Ҷиҥ рәт гоҳән, йәт халғәр то дә мадән

Пнир – цә ҶарҶән Ҳәткин, пути щлот Ҷингй, яү мәза тәй хужг

Пычызак – қбыл цәрак (мисол: *Ҳэсмон таҥи пычызд, ти Ҷингй баф Үост, ти яркиц кы рәоҶ Үоцән.*)



1. Нлаг



2. Рандақ



3. Пөдар



4. Вайч



5. Луї



6. Чәйтвәш

Адабиёт

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Муаллиф: **Паҳлавонова Гулбека**

А дам нѣицѣткин сакрѣв ѳрдам кѣртѣй а ѳѣм халгиц: Нигина Санѣарова, Лола Авазбекова, Бахтхотун Одинабекова, Тохирхон Одинаѣков, Миргулова Соѣибѣамол Ғозиевна, Аламхонова Наврузмо Мирзопаноева, Нодиров Мамадзоирхон, Шабонов Абибулохон Сарвархонович.
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