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# ***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 sənak* 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 xəmək* 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.

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*Ayloq* is a word of Turkic origin that, in the Wakhi and Tajik contexts, refers to a summer highland 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of compound words related to summer pasture, e.g., *ayloq-račak* ‘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-rəčakuzg* (lit. ‘summer-pasture-goer, the one who goes to summer pasture’), *kuč-sənakuzg* (lit. ‘the one who migrates going up’), *kuč xəmakužg* (lit. ‘the one who migrates going down’), *ayloqčī* (summer-pasture herdsperson), *ayloqčī əy* (summer-pasture herdsman), *ayloqčī xəynan* (summer-pasture herdswoman).

Every *ayloq* has a *qrəw*, a livestock enclosure where the livestock is kept at night (*qərəw* in Steblin-Kamensky 1999: 291). Some *ayloqs* have separate enclosures for the small livestock (*mol qrəw*) and for the cattle (*čat qrəw*), with compartments for the kids and lambs (*čwurk-yolt*) and for the calves (*wəšk-yolt*).<sup>3</sup> In a broader sense, *qrəw* 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 *ʒay* (prickly thrift, 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’, *xəsmon* ‘a type of spirit, patron of a place’, *prəy/pari* ‘a type of demon/unclean spirit’, *diw* ‘demon, evil spirit’, and *ʒənd/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 kəṭak* (the sacrificial burning of incense), *ʒaygardon* (‘the twirling of the prickly thrift’), 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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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

<sup>3</sup> *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 čärmvak* ‘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 (*pürk*). 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 *d'gar*, or *qrəw* ‘livestock camp’ instead of *qərəw/q'rəw*. Similarly, suffixes and clitics

4 Cyrillic – Phonemic – [IPA]: а – а – [ə] [a]; б – б – [b]; в – в – [v]; ъ – ѿ – [w]; г – г – [g]; ъ – ѿ – [ɣ]; ф – ў – [ɸ]; д – д – [d]; ъ – ѿ – [d]; е – е – [e]; ѿ – ѿ – [yo]; ж – ѡ – [ʒ] [z]; ж – ѡ – [z]; з – з – [z]; Ѣ – ѳ – [ð]; и – и – [i], [ɪ]; Ѣ – Ѣ – [i]; Ѣ – Ѣ – [j]; к – к – [k] [kʰ]; к – q – [q]; л – л – [l], [l], [l]; м – м – [m]; н – н – [n], [n]; о – о – [o], [ɔ]; п – п – [p], [pʰ]; п – р – [r], [r]; с – с – [s]; ѡ – ѡ – [θ]; т – т – [t], [tʰ]; Ѣ – Ѣ – [t]; у – у – [u], [ʊ]; ф – ф – [f]; х – х – [χ]; ѿ – ѿ – [x]; ц – ц – [ts]; ѿ – ѿ – [dʒ]; ч – ч – [tʃ]; ѿ – ѿ – [tʃ]; ѿ – ѿ – [dʒ]; ѿ – ѿ – [dʒ]; ѿ – ѿ – [ʃ] [ç]; ѿ – ѿ – [ʃ]; ѿ – ѿ – [s]; ѿ – ѿ – [u], [i] [w]; ѿ – ѿ – [ə] [ø]; ѿ – ѿ – [e] [ø]; ѿ – ѿ – [iu]; ѿ – ѿ – [ja]

are written together with the word to which they attach. The only exception is the enclitic *-ət* ‘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-rəčak ya baf yark təy. Cə mis dawraən to niv ayloq rəčən. Tqi xalgiš ҳу umri a təm ayloqvi şəxsvətkəv. Niv bə pak tobiston xondor ҳүynaniš ayloq rəčən.*

Ҳүy-ət naniš saari molvi tər sur dingak cə wuzmən, ҳanən ki, kuyəş kum ayloq-rəčakuzgər ҳу molvi tawil cart. Zaiš xəsī carən ki, coydər ayloq wəxt wost-ət yawiş də ҳu tat-nanvən yo də ҳu xiş-tborvən rəčən ayloq. Ta ştikək ҳatər carən, tər čwurk rəčən, molvi pəyən-ət yan tirmoī wəzyən ҳu xunər.

Kuли tobiston ayloq-rəčakuzgiš panz yo şad bnaī molvi dərzən-ət sanən pə ayloq. Təy Pomir ayloqıš, tavi ya saro-ət ya wuš-ət wušoč. İyuni xalgiš rəčən tət dir-ət wuč ayloq-jayvi, iyuni a təm spo ҳu ku ayloqvi, yəm spo diyorvər qribəv cəy. Pomir ayloq cə rəčən, xalgiš də ayloq-rəčakuzgvən ҳu molvi yundən to Ratm-ət yan pşəwən.

Təm spo kuvi bə ya tqi ayloqıš. Yan tqitər ayloq-rəčakuzgiš rəčən a dət qribi ayloqvi. Yəm Vrang ayloq, Vnukut ayloq, Zung ayloq, Şərgin-ət Zmədg ayloq. A yət ziýn kuли diyorən yaw ҳu ayloq-jay təy. Dəm Şərgin woz spocən təy i ayloq, yaw nung Piwg. A yaw ya baf jay təy. Azi ҳanən ki, yaw Pomir jwobi rand. Tət ayloq-jay təy δas ktič-ət, cə kufč traf-nag jraw yupk rwun. Trət čroxərgavi yupk-ət wuš bəşdyət. Pak tobiston Şərgin, Inif, Driž mərdüməniş tət rəčən ayloq. Ska i paləw ziýn woz wyin. Wyinəş woz far yird rə Irkil nung jay. Yaw bə ayloq rang-ət, nəyki ta ktičiš nast.

Də Vrang ayloqıš təy Yazg, Korjəv, Dəstkorjəv, Plostang, Wambif, Səmanin, Yəwd. Tət ya tqi čroxərgaiş, goziš, kukiš. Də bəor, ayni kuč sənak tət sof wuč ayloq-jayvi sur, a ska xalgiš awəl cə rəčən, a dət bənvi alən, drət şundr, wuš-wušoč bə təy. Yan tməs ki viti, ҳu bət-parvi, qap-qəvə dərzən-ət sanən da wučtər qrəw.

### 2.2 Translation

Going to summer pasture (*ayloq-rəčak*) 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*)<sup>5</sup> out to pasture (*sur*)<sup>6</sup> in the morning say who will entrust their livestock to which herder (*ayloq-rəčakuzg*) [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 *čač* 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*),<sup>7</sup> 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) Pamir<sup>8</sup>, where there are plateaus and plentiful grass and herbs. Sometimes people go to those remote and high *ayloq* locations (*ayloq-jay*) 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*)<sup>9</sup> 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*)<sup>10</sup> 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 Ҷazg, Korjrv, Dəstkorjrv, Plostang, Wambif, Səmanin and Үəwd. There are very many grasslands, meadows, and mineral springs. In spring, at the time of the spring migration (*kuč sənak*) [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 (*tmus*)<sup>11</sup> comes, they take their clothes and utensils, and move up to a higher livestock camp (*qrəw*).

### 3 The spring migration

#### 3.1 *Kuč sənak* (the Wakhi text)

*May məy wost-ət xalgiš ayloq rəčak fikri carən. A trəm bistəmo-nag pərsimi kuč sənak mal wost.*

*I rwor prut cə kuč sənakən, yəm mərdina ayloq-rəčakuzgiš bət-parvi (bor-bədokvi), qap-qəcavi, kərpa-mərpavi sak pəndankərkin xurvi vər carən-ət yundən yavi ta ayloq. Waxon kuiš ya xid, nəyki yaw ayloqisə saro. A skət Əir vdək to ta ktič sənakər, ya ayloq-rəčakuzgiš cə pədən ya ýirən. Yan taəv ki ýati, dinən xətarər dəldungək, çoy goxən-ət xə tuşai yawən. Xə vurvi kə jo-bə-jo carən-ət ila dam dinən, woz xamən rə diyor. Xamən-ət molvi yundak sriştai carən.*

*Vrokər molvi yundak rwor, yəm pərzüngi kuč-sənakuzgiš xə bor-bədokvi ýərtən-ət xə tuşai xətarər dinən-ət molvi nişon goxən-ət yan xəti ila bənən. Yan naýdini, yal torik rang-ət, gizən də bismilloən cəm xunən nəwzən. Nəwzakər xə cməndg ləngari ba carən, kuy lup əmət, yaw dasti ba carən. Lupiš xənən ki, yan tu baf tər xə jaydod ýat-ət arwoiş təwi didýən-ət tu woz xə xunər wəzi. Woz čiz vər wrəxkin cə əmət, wəloyvi vər carən. Xə molvi cə pəxətən nişvən, moldoriş bə xə molvi wəzmən kuč-sənakuzgvər tawilən-ət tər vdək yavi kaşən. Ayloq-rəčakuzg molvi isob cart, ləcər diş, cum bna moləv wəzmətk. Moldoriş də ayloq-rəčakuzgvən xili vdək rəçən-ət yan pşəwən. Kuyər ford, rəçən davən ta ayloq.*

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

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

<sup>9</sup> See Vocabulary, Section 7.

<sup>10</sup> See Vocabulary, Section 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Tmus* – 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 pəştavi yavi pərsimi pəyak wocən. Awıl sof tər wuč nərəçən, a rəm bəntərəkvi zaqək pəyən-ət yan əhati tər wuč-nag dərzən.*

*Misəvəş naql kərt, a yəm ayloqərəş qrib cə vitəv, awıl mərdina rəşt bismillo cart-ət ərimit ta ktič. Yan da dəldungək sar vul kart, ləcər yəm diw-ğənd-ət prayış ca җayən rədən-ət friştaiş omin carən, xəsmon yavi pəčəzdz.*

*Təm ayloq ýdim yumj vuli yundən kətək. Ya vuli da dəldungək ya ayloqčı əday kart ska i put ýarək cusk, picəvd yawi-ət yaw tuxna rangin ətit. Yan rəşt cə əravən yupk wəzəmd. Yupk ərməvak ənanən, brakat də xun təq wost. A ska yaw rəşt ta ktič bə yupk ərməvd. Rəşt wəsk-kərk sgin-ət əart-ət ýuz vər cart a ra ýəf, ləcər ayloqčı əhəyanan cə wizit, bat əkər yawər kə tiyora əmət. Yət yarkvi kə goxt-ət yan ya ayloqčı əhəyanan da dəgar kuč-sənakuzgvən də molvən əhati ýatvən.*

*Ayloqčı əhəyanan ərimit ta ktič, woz vul kart. Ya əhə qəwi gird-pəs-gird vul kart-ət niyat cart ki, spo molvi brakat təq wost-ət woz bəbəfi cəmən rə diyor xamən. Ənanən, vuli cə kart, friştaiş-ət xəsmoniş cə aysonən əhati dir dərzən.*

*Yan ya ayloqčı əhəyanan bat goxt. Awqot ya xəsmonər goxən, ləcər yaw odmizodi pəčəzdz. Ənanən, ya əjət təy a yavən, friştavən. Tər mis ila də dəldung a da vul paləwək ca batən kartəvəş əzə, yan ya dəgarvər bə xəstəvəş bat dəvi qəcəvi. Kə za-zodvər bə canən rand. I sariş xamən, kuyər ford, alən. Yan zaiş yundən yəm molvi trəm goz pəyak.*

*To əb rwor cə diyorən əč kuyi tə ayloq nələcrən. Ənanən ki, kumyor to a yət əb rworər cə wizit, tə ayloq yo şapt əhat dəyt, yo sur wost, yo moliş məryən, yo ičiz dəgar nosoisi wost. Yan əb ki viti, xalqış cə diyorən wəzyən tə ayloq. A yət rwor woz bat goxən-ət əyəgərdən goxən. Gəyo əhə əb rwor tuyii tə ayloq randən. Awıl i luptər əhəyanan (mərdina) əyə picəvd-ət dwom cart yawi trəm əhə sar far əyrvək. Yəm zaiş bə yan pərsimi əyəgərdən əkər wocən. Əyəvi skəm şung sarvi dinən cuq, tər vərz-vərz əzitvəi vəndən-ət trəm əhə sar yavi əyrvən. Əyəgərdəni şumı-ət naýd goxən.*

*A cətən trət-nag iýüni şapt yo nəxçir naýd əhat də mol cə dəyt, woz bə yəm xalqış əyəvi picvən əzə, trəm əhə sar yavi far-far əyrvən. Ya rəxnig trəm-tra-nag rəwəzd-ət ya şapt rəlt, a dət əyəgərdənən yavi wəşvən, ləcər yaw tər molvi qrib məwizit. Nosoisi cə wost, buy-tru rwor pəs yoman əyəgərdən 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 sənak*). [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.]<sup>12</sup>

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*)<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> *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 (*ýəf*) where women prepare meals and the food and domestic products are stored.

the house. When leaving, they kiss (*ba*)<sup>14</sup> the sacred top of the front part of the hearth (*čməndg*);<sup>15</sup> if there are elders there, their hands are kissed, too. The elders say ‘you will reach your destination safely and the ghosts (*arwo*)<sup>16</sup> 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 (*puxt*),<sup>17</sup> 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 (*pheyak*) 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.<sup>18</sup> Then he performs the ritual of burning the incense (*vul*)<sup>19</sup> on the cooking place (*dəldungək*), so that the demons (*diw-žənd*)<sup>20</sup> and *paris* (*prəy*)<sup>21</sup> run away from the place, the angels (*frišta*) bless them, and the spirit of the place (*xəsmon*)<sup>22</sup> accepts them.

They bring the incense made from wheat flour to the *ayloq* to perform the sacrificial ritual. The male herder (*ayloqčī Əay*) 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 *Čməndg* ‘hearth ledge’ is the top of the front part of the hearth/fireplace (*yəf*). 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 *Puxt* is a covered pen or enclosure for livestock, usually comprising smaller separate enclosures for cows, sheep, and goats; cf. *şad*, an open enclosure for livestock. Both *puxt* and *şad* 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 kətak* 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); Klagisz (2021: 35–36).

20 *Diw-žənd* – often used as a compound referring to demons. *Diw* or *dev* ‘demon’ is a Persian word denoting a demon or evil spirit, and *žənd* 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 *xəsmon* are both considered good, pure supernatural entities; *frišta* refers to an angel, and *xəsmon* refers to a spirit, a patron usually connected to a place. While *frišta* is a countable noun referring to a supernatural being, *xəsmon* 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 čərmvak*) 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 (*đart*)<sup>23</sup> and firewood onto the fireplace (*đəf*), so that when the herdswoman (*ayloqčī xətynan*) comes, everything is ready for her to make the ritual porridge (*bat*).<sup>24</sup> He does all this work, and then the herdswoman arrives together with the other herders and the livestock.

The herdswoman enters the hut and performs the ritual of burning the incense again. She censes (*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 (*xəsmon*) will stay away from the humans.

The herdswoman then makes the ritual porridge (*bat*). The meal is made for the spirit (*xəsmon*), so that he accepts the humans. It is said that the place belongs to them, to the angels.<sup>25</sup> 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*),<sup>26</sup> 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.]<sup>27</sup> 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-şəndvak* lit. ‘breaking the seven(-day prohibition)’].<sup>28</sup> 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

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*xəsmon* is rather obscure, as there are only sparse references to it in the available literature. I have found a single mention in Davlatmamadov (2014: 200), where it is listed under *xəsmon* 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 (*đart*) 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. Gruenberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 186), Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 95), and Klagisz (2021: 33).

25 In Wakhi, it is called *vož(g) jay* ‘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 *xəsmon*. 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 jay*, 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. Gruenberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 168–169).

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

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

From that time on, when a wolf (*šapt*)<sup>32</sup> or a fox (*naxčir*)<sup>33</sup> 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 (*zaygordon*), so that the animal does not come near the livestock. If any disturbance appears, the ritual of *zaygordon* 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 *zaygordon* is performed. According to some practices, those who stay in the *ayloq* during the first seven days should not wash their faces.<sup>34</sup> Another prohibition says that if one breaks wind during the herding duty (*sur*) at that time, a windstorm will hit the *ayloq*.<sup>35</sup> Among other practices, a blinding ritual *čuf cərak* (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.<sup>36</sup> 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*.]<sup>37</sup>

29 As for the specification of who performs the ritual of *zaygordon* ('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 (Grunberg & 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 Klagisz (2021: 36–37).

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

31 Cf. Klagisz (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 (\*śapita) to an Old Indic word \*śáptā- '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* 'granddaddy', *s'bilək* 'vagrant, cursed', and *bu-ŷišək* '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., Yagnobi), 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 herdswoman should know when going to *ayloq*

### 4.1 *Sofawul ayloq cə rəçən, čizi ləcər ayloqčī xəynan dišt* (the Wakhi text)

*Awul tə ayloq cə rəçən, dra nə diy-ət nə pay-ət nə žarž-ət əč čiz nast. Yəm ayloqčī xəynanıš a təm ayloqəv ki ýati, yəmvi piran trəmvi doman-ət yəmvi pərsəngiš trəmvi dast-ət pərsimi mol əicak-ət žarž yakşvak-ət pay kətak-ət diy žak-ət dgar yarkvi wocən.*

*Diy žakər cə kuxtən mis yəm yəməki künd wuzdəyt, yan čukt yawi, də yupkən xub lat yawi dəyt rə i qča-ət yaw rang nəwəzd, kart yawi rə məqobain qča. Yan žarži pact, yaw mrikiyi canən cart jda. Awul ya mrikiyi kaṭən a ra yəmək mod cusk. Yətvi ýirəvd ar nlag, yan cbastərək ya şlaṭ žarži a rətvi sar ýirəvd-ət ya sari də nobandəkən git, yaw əlin ald-ət yan yaw bu rwor cbras molt, wost pay. Truyəm rwor yawi goxən diy.*

*Diyi zi goxən: awul a ya modi cə yəməkən cə goxti, xoli carən a ra pərnəc. Vul da bən kaṭən, ləcər yət yarkən brakat əmtət. Yan ya pədəri kaṭən a rət pay, a dət pərnəc cəy, čəxtwəshi şəxsvən tər pədar, xə rəndaqi bə gird a tra vandən, yan ya sari carən şux də dəstərən yo də sonən-ət pərsimi xəşak wocən. A yət ziyn yawi tqi xaşən-ət dəstərək woz ya sari ya ayloqčī xəynan ilaək ət cart didiyyd, ko yaw xuf dyətka nəy. Dyətki cəy, əlin yupk a ra sar ýirvən. Woz pərsimi xəşak wocən, yan woz ya sari ətən, didiyyən ki, yaw şlavz vitka. Vitki cəy, sur yupk ra kaṭən. Yan woz xub yawi xaşən-ət ya ruyn wost jda. Yan yaw sari traxk gəwən, ya pərnəc sari də xə dəstən carən ba, ləcər yəm awul ruyn alol wost. Yan rəçən xə dgar yarkvi carən. Cbastər wəzyən ya xə ruyni dərəzən. Də sur yupk rə məqobain kbun yawi xub tqi wuzdyən, ya diyiž kə canən rəşt. Ya diyiži carən jda də i qča-ət xoli ruyn wərəşt. Yan yawi xub mandən-ət dinən rə nlag. Nlag xət təy cə ədimən. Yan yawi ki dəzədəv, dinən yawi də joga-ət xəşruy ya ruyn put-puṭək goxən-ət tra mlung xat xaşən. Yətən aži niyat ki, ya awul diyi cə goxən, yaw xəsmon jayər. Xalgiž zi xənən: xəsmon roz cə əmtət, ti ayloq-rəçək baf şəxəst, əingi bə tqi wost, pəčəzəd təwi. Bəniyat yan ca ruynən ila dərəzən-ət yundən yawi tra oston, ləcər kumyor xətər it.*

*Də kəli ayloq oston təy. Ostoniš diwoldyətk-ət ruxn-ruxn ýariş-ət jondorvi şəwiş skav cusk kətəkin. Yan woz ruyn čərg-ət diy čərgiš skav wrəxkin, zi ki ayloq-rəçakuzgiš cə xə ruynən-ət diyižən tra cə suxətəkən. Diy bə cə goxən, də ižun zəqlay qča a ska oston kaṭən, ləcər kumyor yawi pit. Ca diyižən woz goxən čəka. Diyi ýirvən rə xəlta, yaw əakt, ya əkətən şopi randən molvər. Ya tərgi də xəlta cə wərəşt, yawi goxən də dig, tqi yaw pacən, yaw wost qrut. Cə saariən to pərz pəşt-ət yan wost şux. Yan yawi yundən kaṭən sək kut, sək sot cuskvi, yaw ska wəsk wost-ət yan yaw ýərtən.*

*Xondor xəynanıš yəm xə diŋiž təm xə bjur ýərtən. Yavi də baf jay də ižun torikī jay kaṭən, ləcər əstar məwocən, pərk xəti davi mədəyt. Pərkər də ayloq xondorək xənən. Yaw nungi nəwədrən. Şapt nungi bə də ayloq nəwədrən. Xənən, yaw nungi cə wədrən, yawiş pido wocən. Gəyo şapt ýiš wost dərtov, wizit ya jayər kart nosoišiž. A ska şaptər xənən pupək, səbilək yo buyişək. Plangər xənən xəsmonək.*

### 4.2 Translation

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

<sup>38</sup> *Δiň* – buttermilk, a fermented dairy drink; see Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>39</sup> *Pay* – yogurt, curd, soured (cultured, fermented) milk.

<sup>40</sup> *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.

<sup>41</sup> Milking is done in a vessel, *lüt* (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 herdswoman digs up and washes an ephedra plant (*yəmuk*).<sup>43</sup> 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*)<sup>44</sup> from the ephedra. She pours that into a clay jug (*nlag*)<sup>45</sup>, and then a little bit later, she pours tepid milk on top of that and covers it with a naan-pillow (*nobandək*).<sup>46</sup> 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 (*pərnac*).<sup>47</sup> They perform the ritual of burning the incense at the bottom – may this work be blessed. Then they put a wooden whisk (*pədar*)<sup>48</sup> into the yogurt in the churn, they pass the twine (*čəxtwəš*)<sup>49</sup> over the whisk, they tie the strap (*rəndaq*)<sup>50</sup> around it, and then they cover the top [of the churn] with gauze (*dəstor*) or linen (*son*) cloth and start churning (*xəşak*) [lit. ‘pulling’]. Like that, they churn it intensively, and later the herdswoman 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 (*rujñ*) 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,<sup>51</sup> and the entire buttermilk part (*diyiñ*) 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 (*xəsmon*). 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*).<sup>52</sup> There is also residue of butter and buttermilk there, because the herders have smeared it with their butter and buttermilk. Also, when they make

<sup>42</sup> 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).

<sup>43</sup> *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).

<sup>44</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>45</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7, and photo 1 in the Appendix.

<sup>46</sup> *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 (*ŷəz*).

<sup>47</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>48</sup> *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.

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

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

<sup>51</sup> In former times, the freshly made butter (*bažmuj*) was rinsed in a clay bowl (*ydora*) (Mirboboev, personal communication).

<sup>52</sup> *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 chaka (*čaka*).<sup>53</sup> 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 (*qrut*).<sup>54</sup> 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 (*đingi*) 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 (*pürk*) 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-ŷišək* ‘two-little-ears’.<sup>55</sup> The snow leopard (*plang*) is called *xəsmonək* ‘little spirit’.

## 5 Life in *ayloq*

### 5.1 *Tə ayloq* (the Wakhi text)

*A yəm ʒiyn ҳuy-ət naniš də ayloq molvi əcən, pay kaṭən, əiŷ goxən, čəka kaṭən, qrut pacən, pnir goxən. Woz yomani qəwən-ət rəčən yupkər ta kəkvı. Yavər ҳanən kük-čəžmək, yavi yupk əžəm rang toza-ət yawiš ҳat bə təy gird-gird. Da ҳə cilək yupk dərzən, kaṭən yawi sək ҳə isp-ət wəzmən rə ktič.*

*Iŷunı ҳəynaniš cə tikmayən də naṭəkən žitr goxən yo jrab əfən yo skid drəvən. Qəwiş yomanər qrib cə əmyən, əiŷ xəşak cə nəəmət, iŷunı qrəw ҳəynaniš qti wocən-ət sə i blandı nəzdən-ət yan bəlbulik ҳanən. Woz cə diyorən xalg tə ayloq cə wizit, ayloqčı ҳəynaniš yavər nəwzən prut-ət yan bəlbulik ҳanən-ət ҳə pəzvi xoli carən:*

*Zart sprəŷ da gərdan,  
Ruzi nik rwor əmət,  
Žə dastək tər lol gərdan.  
Bəlbul tar noləm-e.<sup>56</sup>*

*Səkrək kəlbiš,  
Tu maži ҳatər ҳuy cə diš,  
Xat bər xat žə nungi nəwiš.  
Bəlbul tar noləm-e.*

*E satkək bə iwət buy,  
A rwor ki nanjən ҳanəm,  
Aftboron a rəm žə ruy,  
Aftboron a rəm žə ruy.  
Bəlbul tar noləm-e.*

*Mur boyək pəçətk,  
Səyli boy ki cə nəwzəm,  
Ku-ət baar xəzon diyətk.  
Bəlbul tar noləm-e.<sup>57</sup>*

<sup>53</sup> Čəka – chaka, a dense residue of buttermilk.

<sup>54</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> Matrobov & Mirboboev (2015: 67)

<sup>57</sup> Matrobov & Mirboboev (2015: 75)

Zaiš təm ayloq tqi štikək carən, yan woz rəçən tə kükvi, trəm čwurkvi xətər čəklək dinən, ġarmojarxik carən, xbar nəwocən-ət ipoč ola wost. Wəzyən tə ktič, diy puvən-ət mrik yawən. Woz tər pişin-nag yəm xə molvi ətən, rəçən puyak. Tmisi a tət ayloq şəxsvən, a ska tobistonər ya xəsī carən.

Mərdina bə tə ayloq ya tqi yarkvi goxt. Yawiş mol puyən-ət yrung yark cə əmət, yavi goxən, ətvi puyən, tbəsk ýuz wuzmən, sgin əhpən tra daştvi dəm bğayvi. Yəm vur-ət-vaş xşakvi kə mərdina xətiş goxən, əsart xoşkən, wəsk yawi carən, woz yawi dinən ləy. Işun kla məryakər cə əmət, yawi əxən. Kla kuy moldorən əmət, wuzumd yawi rə xun, ayloqčən cə əmət, çut guşti ləcərt xətər, çutı stuyd rə diyor. Mərdinaiş işunī əyagərdon goxən, woz işunī da dgar qrəw mərdinavən flək dingak rəçən. Kuy flək kəcərt, flək dəyt, kuy naydingakuzg əmət, nay dəyt.

Tə ayloq ya tqi dorəwiş wəş-wəşočiš: ambar, məndrič, jəmbilak, bənaş, ləndərk, şirwişn-ət woz tqi dgar wəş. Yan xəşruy-xəşruy gəliş ta savz wocən. Bənaş a təm zriş bənvi-ət dəm qila jayvi savz wost. Yaw gardi xalgiş ýərtən-ət carən wəsk. Xanən, yaw əzəm rizakər baf, əzəm nəri tqi goxt. Mərdəmiş niv bə canən əhpən, wuzmən rə diyor. Ambari bə tobiston ýərtən-ət, wəsk carən, yan əukən-ət dinən tər xə şafş, şafş bət nərəşt-ət tqi wost.

Şanən, də ayloq cum ki toza-ət pogza əməy. Yaş-alyow məmət, urmat-ət etirom əmət. Yan ti əingi 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*).<sup>58</sup> Moreover, they call each other to go to mineral springs (*kük*) for water. These are called *kük-əzəmək* ‘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*)<sup>59</sup> with the spindle (*naşək*), or they knit wool socks (*žrab*) 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 (*qrəw*) 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*.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup>

Red braids (*kəlbis*),<sup>62</sup>  
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*<sup>63</sup> they play hide-and-seek (*jar-mojarxik*), unaware that the time for the midday rest (*ipoč*)<sup>64</sup> 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 (*čat*), they bring teresken (*tbəsk*)<sup>65</sup> 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*),<sup>66</sup> catmint (*məndrič*),<sup>67</sup> ziziphora (*žəmbilak*),<sup>68</sup> violet (*bənafş*),<sup>69</sup> wild onion (*ləndərk*),<sup>70</sup> 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 (Kraschenin-nikovia ceratoides), Kochia prostrata, artemisia (bot.).

66 *Ambar* – from Tajik *anbar* ‘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*, *məndričk* – ‘Nepeta glutinosa’ (bot.), a type of catmint plant. It is used for healing broken bones (Steblin-Kamensky 1982: 236 & 1999: 237).

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

69 *Bənafş* – from Tajik *bunafşa* ‘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 xəmək (the Wakhi text)

*Tirmoī čawak ola, a trəm oktyabr məy-nag xalgiš kuč xəmək tyorii carən. Xə ruýn-ət qrətvi kə dinən dəm qčavi, xə bət-parvi kə wəzdyən-ət dinən yavi sək xur-ət čawən rə diyor-nag. Kuč-xəməkuzgvər tuşa dinən, ləcər tər vdək mərz məwocən. Ila pnir-ət iğəy a ravi Əock kaṭən. Yawiş molvi pəyən-ət osta-osta xamən. I sar xalgiš molvi xamvən, i sar ayloq bor-bədkvi.*

*Xə bət-parvi kə yərtən. Xə molvi, čwurkvi kə isob carən-ət pərsimi xət wocən. A ya rwor kuč cə xamd, ya xondor xəynan xondorəkər (pərkər) dra ləcərt ruýn-ət čəka-ət ləndiç-ət pnir. Kart yavi a ska sotvi cusk, ləcər xəsmon qaar məcart. Bat bə goxən, ila ska sot canən kaṭən, brakatiş. Xənən, gəyo xə brakati dra ləcər, woz solər cə rəç, yaw taw pəčəzd. A ska niv bə xalgiš xəsmon baxşı yarər ləcrən-ət xət yan čawən.*

*Kuč xəmək ola moliş kə baj-baj, yav žarž bə tqi-ət tərg. Xalgiş xəsī carən kuč xəməkər.*

*Kuč xəmək mayor ayloqčı xəynanış piyomən ki, wəzyən, sak kuč xamvən. Qrətvi goxən də xəltavi, čəkavi goxən də čəkaxalta-ət kaṭən yavi rə amsangvi. Ya amsangvər goxən klicək, yan i amsangi kaṭən ra xurən rəm paləw, ya iwi kaṭən a ra i paləw. Xalgiş woz cə diyorən rəçən kuč xəməvak. Yawiş də xətən bğej-ət čilək dərəzən, ləcər ca-nag ruýn-ət qrət-ət čəka wəzəmən. Ayloq-rəçakuzgiş jam wocən-ət xə ruýn-ət qrət-ət čəkavi yomanər disvən. Xənən, xa me žənən tum ruýn, tum qrət-ət čəka. Irwor tər mis ya Əayiş ya ruýnvi də lup qčavi goxən-ət yav sarvi vəndən, ləcər ca-nag sarklapoy yawiş ca xurvən wazən məy. Oxiron ya surdor-ət ya ayloqčı xəynanış ta wərəçən. Nəwzən ca ktiçən, ya bari carən şux, carən yawi ba. Xamən wəzyən rə diyor, mol-olvi kə jo-bə-jo carən.*

*Rə diyor moldoris wəzyən yətvi dəwlatzyod cərak, čoy-ət ruýn-ət yumj-ət čilpiran yavər yav aqi wəzəmən. Ayloqčı xəynan woz dav qča yavər ruýn-ət qrət-ət čəka dəyt. Kuyən cuk yəw cə əmət, yawər woz tqitər ruýn-ət čəka dəyt. A ya pərz tə yəf picvən, lup dig kaṭən ska yəf, a ya ruýn ta ayloqəv cə xətki, a da nlag yawi carən ob. Yaw ruxn ruýn, kart yawi a ra dig-ət dəyt a ra ila yumj pulm, yaw yird qolt zart. Canən amkivər randən, čuṭi ləcrən xətər. Yan tuy-muy dət xojağī cə wost, dərəzən a cət ruýnən, kaṭən vul, woz ayloqčı xənd: Yəm žə ayloq brakatiş ruýn savər, ləcər bafış savər wəzəmd. Çuṭ ruýni məst Şogunər, čuṭi xətər kaṭən rə şirçoy. A yəm ziýn xondor xəynanış pak tobiston rəçən ayloq-ət xə xun-xalgvər-ət xə xiş-tborvər ruýn-ət qrət goxən.*

*Ayloq baf – obodiş!*

### 6.2 Translation

In autumn, it is time to leave; towards October, people start preparing for the autumn migration (*kuč xəmək* 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 xəməkuzg*), so that they will not get hungry on the way. They put a bit of *pnir*<sup>71</sup> and *iğəy*<sup>72</sup> 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 *ləndiç*.<sup>73</sup>] On the way, the herders graze the livestock and descend slowly. Some people bring down the livestock, others bring down the *ayloq* belongings.

<sup>71</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>72</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>73</sup> 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 (*ləndič, pnir*) for *xondorək* ‘the little-housekeeper’ [the taboo-replacement word for mouse]. She puts them on top of flat stones so that the spirit (*xəsmon*) 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’.<sup>74</sup> 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 herdswoman 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 ružn*); the herdswoman puts it in a pot, sprinkles it with a bit of flour, and it turns intense yellow. [TN: Such butter is called *zič ružn*, which refers to all the butter made and collected in the *ayloq*. From this butter, *zič-bat*<sup>75</sup> (‘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 Nawroz, the Persian New Year, which begins on the spring equinox], and another portion for themselves for the milk-tea (*širčoy*).<sup>76</sup> 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

*Δiγ – šəxčək δingi, cə payən rə pərnəc goxən, yaw məza trəşp*

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

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

<sup>75</sup> See Vocabulary in Section 7.

<sup>76</sup> *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 – mðatři mayor, molvi cə šbunīən cə wñzmən tə šad tənyak 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 δingi cə may-ət tuý žaržən xətkin, rə dig yəti pacən, məza crəng pnir cəy, woz də xəcən 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 ýarən xətkin, cə bu paləw-nag yawən təy raž, woz yawən təy bjur, dəldung, da dəldung yawən təy ýəf cə tru sotən, a dra xəc-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 – δingi cə may žaržən, pacən yawi-ət mrik cart-ət wost tərg, yumj dinən ra pulm, sər 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 (*yupkiy*) drip off] and let it dry.

*Mod – trəšp žarž, iýuni δiýi kačən rə žarž, yaw wost mod, a cətən yan pay-ət δiý-ət čəka-ət qrut-ət ruýn-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 δimən, yət ýaš zəqlay-ət yət bən lup, pay rət kačən, ruýn 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 δimən, yət ýaš lup-ət yət bən zəqlayək, δiý 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, put šlot δingi, 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 – qbəl cərak (misol: Xəsmon tavi pučuzd, ti δingi 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 δingi cə δiý-ət čəkaən xətkin, yət soxt təy put-put, yət məza təy trəšp-ət xužgrəšp, δiýqrut məza trəšp-ət xužg, čəkaqrut 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 qča, mol-ət ýhw δicakər, cə δimən ҳətkin*

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

*Wyn – qila-ət ҳid vdək, skət զiјn xalgiš far ýirən cə i δurən ar dgar δur, cə i jayən rəčən tər dgar jay*  
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-sənək mayor-ət kuč-xəmək mayor a yəm bati goxən xun-xalgvər-ət amkivər, yəti goxən a da ruýnən, cəm ayloqən yawi cə wuzmən, 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 iň sək yoman cusk jam 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 *aštūr* ‘camel’, *čəv* ‘kid/the young of a goat’, *ýuw* ‘cow’, *yaš* ‘horse’, *may* ‘sheep’, *wurk* ‘lamb’, *wəšk* ‘calf’, *xur* ‘donkey’ (Mirboboev 1991a: 6), words denoting dairy products, such as *δiý* ‘buttermilk’, *δingi* ‘dairy products’, *mod* ‘starter culture’, *pay* ‘yogurt’, *ruýn* ‘butter’, *žarž* ‘milk’, or other words related to pastoralism, such as *δart* ‘dung’, *yolt/yøt* ‘nest, protective pen/cubicle for young animals’, *pərnəc* ‘churn’, *puxt* ‘covered livestock pen’, *şad* ‘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., *qrət* ‘qurut’, *čəka* ‘chaka’, and *iğəy* ‘type of cheese’. Some words are recent borrowings from Tajik, e.g., *wəloy* ‘pack animal’ (from Tajik *uloy*), *sirčoy* ‘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., *čač* ‘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 kətak* ‘to perform the ceremony of burning ritual incense’ (lit. ‘to put smell’), *yupk čərmvak* ‘to perform the ritual of bringing water into the house’ (lit. ‘to make enter the water’); *ub škəndvak* ‘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’), *zaygərdon 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.<sup>77</sup> 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 *xəsmon*, 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 *xəsmon* 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 (Klagisz 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 *pürk* ‘mouse’. These animals have been given substitution names, such as *bu-ŷışək* ‘little-two-ears’ for wolves, *xəsmonək* ‘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 *bulbullik* ‘nightingale lament song’. In theme and form, it is a genre that is intrinsically tied to the concept of

<sup>77</sup> 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. Җә мис давраән то нив айлоқ рәчән. Тқи халгищ ҳы ымри а тәм айлоқви щәхсөтәкәв. Нив бә пак тобистон хондор ҳыйнанищ айлоқ рәчән.

Ҳыйәт нанищ саарый молви тәр сур дингак Җә выйзмән, ҳанән ки, күйәш күм айлоқрәчакызгәр ҳы молви таўил қарт. Заиш ҳищүй қарән ки, զофдәр айлоқ ۋاھт ۋостот явищ дә ҳы татнанвән ё дә ҳы хиш-тборвән рәчән айлоқ. Та штикәк ҳатәр қарән, тәр چүрк рәчән, молви пыйәнәт ян тирмой ۋәزән ҳы хунәр.

Кыли тобистон айлоқ рәчакызгищ панц ё щад бнай молви дырзәнәт санән пә айлоқ. Тәй Помир айлоқищ, тави ға сароәт ға ۋىشەت ۋىشоч. Ифүнй халгищ рәчән тәт ۋىرەت ۋуч айлоқчайви, ифүнй а тәм спо ҳы ку айлоқви, йәм спо дәрвәр қрибәв Җәй. Помир айлоқ Җә рәчән, халгищ дә айлоқрәчакызгвән ҳы молви юндән то Ратмәт ян пщәвән.

Тәм спо куви бә ға тқи айлоқищ. Ян тқитәр айлоқрәчакызгищ рәчән а дәт қрибай айлоқви. Йәм Вранг айлоқ, Внукут айлоқ, Зунг айлоқ, Шәргинәт Змылг айлоқ. А йәт Җиғн кыли дәрән яв ҳы айлоқчай тәй. Дәм Шәргин ۋوز споңән тәй и айлоқ, яв нунг Пивг. А яв ға баф چай тәй. АҖи ҳанән ки, яв Помир چәбоби ранд. Тәт айлоқчай тәй Җас ктичәт, Җә қыфч траф-наг چрав юпк рүүн. Тәт چрохәргави юпкәт ۋыш бәшдйәтк. Пак тобистон Шәргин, Иниф, Дриж мәрдымищ тәт рәчән айлоқ. Ска и паләв Җиғн ۋوز ۋىيىن. ۋىيىنәش ۋوز фар ғирд рә Иркил нунг چай. Яв бә айлоқ ۋانگәт, нәйки та ктичищ наст.

Дә Вранг айлоқищ тәй Ғазг, Корчрав, Дәсткорчрав, Плостанг, ۋامбиf, Сәманин, Ғәвәд. Тәт ға тқи چрохәргаиш, گозищ, қыкищ. Дә бәөр, айни күч сәнәк тәт соф ۋуч айлоқчайви сыр, а ска халгищ аўыл Җә рәчән, а дәт бәнви алән, дрәт ۋىندر, ۋыш-ۋышоч бә тәй. Ян тмыс ки вити, ҳы бә-پарви, қап-қчави дырзәнәт санән да ۋучтәр қрәв.

### Куч сәнак

Май мый ۋостот халгищ айлоқ рәчак фикри қарән. А тәм бистәмо-наг пәрсими куч сәнак мал ۋост.

И рәбор прыт Җә күч сәнакән, йәм мәрдина айлоқрәчакызгищ бә-پارви (бор-бәкви), қап-қчави, кәрпа-мәрпави сәк пәнданкәркин хурви вүр қарәнәт юндән яви та айлоқ. ۋاھон қуищ ға ҳид, нәйки яв айлоқищ саро. А скәт ۋىر ۋدәк то та ктич сәнакәр, я айлоқрәчакызгищ Җә پыдән ға ھирәن. Ян таәв ки җати, динән ҳатәр дәлдүнгәк, чой гохәнәт ҳы тышай җәвән. Ҳы вырви кы چо-бә-чо қарәнәт ила дам динән, ۋوز хамән рә дәр. Хамәнәт молви юндак сриштai қарән.

Врокәр молви юндак рәбор, йәм пырзынгүй кучсакызгищ ҳы бор-бәкви җыртәنәт ҳы тышай ҳатәр динәнәт молви нишон гохәнәт ян ҳати ила бынән. Ян нағдинй, ғал торик ۋانگәт, гизән дә бисмиллоән Җәм хүнән ныйвәن. Ныйвәن ҳы چمәнđг ләнгари ба қарән, күй луп ымыт, яв дасти ба қарән. Луپищ ҳанән ки, ян ту баф тәр ҳы چайдод җатәт арбоиш таۋи дидҗәнәт ту ۋوز ҳы хүнәر ۋәзи. ۋوز چиз вүр ۋەرەخин Җә ымыт, ۋەلەفви вүр қарән. Ҳы молви Җә پыختәن нийвәن, молдорищ бә ҳы молви выйзмән кучсакызгвәر тавиләнәт тәр ۋدәк яви қаїән. Айлоқрәчакызг молви исоб қарт, ләцәр дишт, چум бна моләв выйзмәтк. Молдорищ дә айлоқрәчакыزгвәن хилил ۋدәк рәчәنәт ян пщәвәن. Қүйәр форд, рәчән давән та айлоқ.

Кучсакызгищ дәм молвән рәчән, йәм ир црахтәт Җәмиш ила-ила пәрсими пыйак ۋوңәن. АҖыл соф тәр ۋуч нәرәйәن, а рәм бәنәرәкви Җақәк пыйәنәт ян ҳати тәр ۋуч-наг дырзәن.

Мисәвәش нақл қәрт, а йәм айлоқәرәш қриб Җә витәв, АҖыл мәрдина рәшт бисмилло җартәт чирмит та ктич. Ян да дәлдүнгәк сар вүл карт, ләцәр йәм дивچәндәт прәйищ Җә چайән рәдәнәт фриштаиш омин қарән, ҳәсмон яви пычыزد.

Тәм айлоқ ශидим юмч вули юндән кәтәк. Я вули да дәлдүнгәк я айлоқчىй ژай карт ска и пүт ශарәк цуск, пицывд явиәт яв тухна рангин ସит. Ян рәшт цә ҹравән юпк ۋىزىمд. Юпк ҹәрмвак ҳанән, бракат дә хун тқи ෂост. А ска яв рәшт та ктич бә юпк ҹәрмвак. Рәшт ۋەسکىرگىنەت ڇارتەت ශۇز ۋىر ҹارت а ра ශەف, ләقәр айлоқчىй ҳыйнан цә ۋىزىت, бат ҳاكәр явәر кы тёра ымыт. Йәт яркви кы گوختەт ян я айлоқчىй ҳыйнан да дгар күчىنەن ھاتى ශاتىۋەن.

Айлоқчай ҳыйнан чирмит тә ктич, өз вул карт. Я ҳы қрәви гирд-пәс-гирд вул картәт ният царт ки, спо молви бракат тәң өстәт өз бәбағы үәмән рә дәр хамән. Ҳанән, вули үә карт, фриштаёт хәсмөниш үә айсонән ҳати әзир дырзән.

Ян я айлоқчай ҳыйнан бат гоҳт. Айкот я хәсмөнәр гоҳән, ләцәр яв одмизоди пычызд. Ҳанән, я қай тәй аявән, фриштавән. Тәр мис ила дә дәлдунг а да вул паләвәк ца батән картәвәш ҳә, ян я дгарвәр бә хаштәвәш бат дави қчави. Кы за-зодвәр бә ҹанән ранд. И сариц хамән, күйәр форд, алән. Ян заиц юндән йәм молви тәрәм гоз пыйак.

А цэтэн трэт-наг ийүүйн шапт ё нэхчир наёд хат дэ мол цэ дэйт, өвөр бэйм халгийц үафви пицвэн ҳэ, трэм ҳы сар яви фар-фар ჭирвэн. Я рэхниг трэм-тра-наг рэвээздэг я шапт рэлт, а дэгт үафгэрдонэн яви өвэшвэн, лэцэр яв тэр молви қриб мээзизт. Носоиццүү цэ өвст, буй-тру рвэр пэс ёман үафгэрдон гохэн.

Соф аўыл айлоқ цэ рэчэн, чизи ләцәр айлоқчй ҳыйнан дишт

Айыл тә айлоқ үә рәүән, дра нә үиңәт нә пайәт нә жаржәт әч чиз наст. Йәм айлоқчы үйинаниш а тәм айлоқев үәти, йәмви пиран трәмви доманәт йәмви пәрсәнгиш трәмви дастәт пәрсими мол үиңәт жарж үакшвакәт пай үәтәкәт үиң үакәт дгар яркви үоңән.

Зиң җакәр ңә қытән мис йәм йәмыйки қынәд өйәздейт, ян чүкт яви, дә юпкән хуб лат яви дәйт рә һә қәаңт яв ранг һыньязд, карт яви рә мәқобаин қча. Ян җаржи пацт, яв мрикиғи ңанән царт ҹда. Айыл я мрикиғи катән ара йәмыйк мод цуск. Йәтви һырывд ар һлаг, ян ҹбастәрәк я ҹлаат җаржи а рәтви сар һырывдәт я сары дә нобандәкән гит, яв һин алдәт ян яв бу рөвр ҹбас молт, һост пай. Труйым рөвр яви гохән зың.

Зиғи үи гоҳен: аўыл а я моди үе йәмәйкән үе гоҳти, холи үарән а ра пәрнәц. Вул да бән қағән, ләцәр йәт яркән бракат ымыт. Ян я пәдари қағән а рәт пай, а дәт пәрнәц үәй, әхәттәшү щәхсән тәр пәдар, ҳы рәндақи бә гирд а тра вандән, ян я сари үарән шүх дә дәсторән ё дә соңәнәт пәрсими хәшак үоцән. А йәт үиғи яви тәң үашәнәт әштәрәк үоз я сари я айлоқчы үййинан илаәк әт үарт дидиғд, ко яв хүф дүйәтка нәй. Дүйәткү үәй, үин юпк ара сар ғирвән. Үоз пәрсими хәшак үоцән, ян үоз я сари әтән, дидән ки, яв щлавз витка. Витки үәй, сыр юпк ра қағән. Ян үоз хуб яви үашәнәт я рүйн үост үада. Ян яв сари трахк ғәвән, я пәрнәц сари дә ҳы дастән үарән ба, ләцәр йәм аўыл рүйн алол үост. Ян рәчән ҳы дгар яркви үарән. Цбастәр үәззәйән я ҳы рүйни дырзән. Дә сыр юпк рә мәқобаин кбун яви хуб тәң үыздйән, я үиғи үи үанән рәшт. Я үиғи үи үарән үада дә и қаәт холи рүйн үәрәшт. Ян яви хуб мандәнәт динән рә нлаг. Нлаг ҳат тәй үе үимән. Ян яви ки дәждәв, динән яви дә үогаәт хәштүй я рүйн пүт-пүтәк гоҳенәт тра млунг ҳат үашән. Йәтән аци ният ки, я аўыл үиғи үе гоҳен, яв үәхсмөн үайәр. Халгищ үи ҳанән: үәхсмөн роз үе ымыт, ти айлоқрәчак баф щәхәст, үингү бә тәң үост, пычызды тави. Бәният ян үа рүйнән ила дырзәнәт юндән яви тра остон, ләцәр күмәр ҳатәр ит.

Дә кыли айлоқ, остон тәй. Остониц диғолдійәткәт рухн-рухн ғарият қондорви шәвиш скав цуск кәтәткін. Ян өз рүғн қыргәт әйіф қыргиц скав үрәхкін, үи ки айлоқрәчәкызығиц үә ҳы рүғнәнәт әйіфән тра үә сыйхәткәв. Әйіф бә үә гохән, дә иғұн әңқлай қча а ска остон қатән, ләңәр күмөр яви пит. Ца әйіфән өз гохән қча. Әйіф ғирвән рә ҳәлтә, яв әкта, я қәткін шәпі рандән молвәр. Я тәргій дә ҳәлтә үә үәрәшт, яви гохән дә диг, тқи яв пацән, яв өост қрыт. Цә саариән то пырз пәштәт ян өост шүх. Ян яви юндән қатән сәк күт, сәк сот цускви, яв ска үәск өостәт ян яв әйыртән.

Хондор ҳайнаниш үйәм ҳы зингии тәм ҳы бчор ғыртән. Яви дә баф чай дә иғүн ториқи чай катән, ләцәр әстар мәвоцән, пырк ҳати дави мәдәйт. Пыркәр дә айлоқ хондорәк ҳанән. Яв нунги нәвыйдрән. Шапт нунги бә дә айлоқ нәвыйдрән. Ҳанән, яв нунги әң үйдән, яйищ пидо өңән. Гәә шапт ғишиш үйдәртөв, визит я чайер карт носоишиф. А ска шаптәр ҳанән пүпәк, сбиләк ё бүйишәк. Плангәр ҳанән ҳәсмөнәк.

## Тә айлоқ

А йәм үиған ҳыйәт наниш дә айлоқ молви әзицән, пай қатән, әниг гохән, чка қатән, қрыт пацән, пнир гохән. Әоз ёмани қыбәнәт рәчән юпкәр та қыкви. Явәр ҳанән қыкчәжмәк, яви юпк әжәм ранг тозаәт явиш ҳат бә тәй гирд-гирд. Да ҳы чиләк юпк дырән, қатән яви сәк ҳы испәт үйәзмән рә ктич.

Ирүнүй ҳыйнаниш цә тикмайән дә нағәкән житр гохән ё ҹраб ыфән ё скид дрәвән. Қрәвиш ёманәр қриб цә үймән, әниг ҳәшак цә һәйымыт, ирүнүй қрәв ҳыйнаниш қти әоцәнәт сә и бландй һәзәнәт ян былбылик ҳанән. Әоз цә дәрән ҳалг тә айлоқ цә үйизит, айлоқчى ҳыйнаниш явәр ныўзән прытәт ян былбылик ҳанәнәт ҳы пзыви холи ҹарән:

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

Сәкәк кәлбиш,  
Ту мажи ҳатәр ҳый цә диш,  
Хат бәр хат жы нунги һәйиц.  
Былбыл тар ноләм – э.

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

Мыр боғәк пәчәтк,  
Сәйли боғ ки цә һыўзәм,  
Күәт баар ҳәзөн дийәтк.  
Былбыл тар ноләм – э. [1,75].

Заищ тәм айлоқ тән штикәк ҹарән, ян әоз рәчән тә қыкви, тәм чўуркви ҳатәр чәкләк динән, ҹармоҹархик ҹарән, ҳбар һәвәцәнәт ипоч ола әост. Әәзйән тә ктич, әниг пувәнәт мрик явән. Әоз тәр пишин-наг йәм ҳы молви әтән, рәчән пыяк. Тмыси а тәт айлоқ ҹәхсән, а ска тобистонәр ға ҳышиш ҹарән.

Мәрдина бә тә айлоқ ға тән яркви гохт. Явиш мол пыйәнәт ғрунг ярк ҹа ымыт, яви гохән, чатви пыйән, тәбәск үз үйәзмән, сгин чыпән тра даштви дәм бчәйви. Йәм выр-әт-ваш ҳшакви қы мәрдина ҳатиц ғохән, ҳарт ҳошкән, әәск яви ҹарән, әоз яви динән ләй. Ирүн кла мәрәкәр ҹа ымыт, яви ҹәхән. Кла куй молдорән ымыт, үйәзмән яви рә хун, айлоқчиән ҹа ымыт, чүт гушти ләцәрт ҳатәр, чүти стыйд рә дәр. Мәрдинаиц ирүнүй ҹағәрден гохән, әоз ирүнүй да дгар қрәв мәрдинавән фләк дингак рәчән. Куй фләк кәцәрт, фләк дәйт, куй найдингакыз ымыт, най дәйт.

Тә айлоқ ға тән дөрөвий үйиш-үйишчиц: амбар, мәндрис, чәмбилик, бәнағаш, ләнәдәрк, ҹирвийнәт әоз тән дгар үйишиц. Ян ҳәшүрүй-ҳәшүрүй гылиш та савз әоцән. Бәнағаш а тәм зрих бәнвиәт дәм қила ҹайви савз әост. Яв гарди ҳалгиш ғыртәнәт ҹарән әәск. Ҳанән, яв әжәм ријакәр баф, әжәм ныри тән гохт. Мәрдымиш нив бә ҹанән чыпән, үйәзмән рә дәр. Амбари бә тобистон ғыртәнәт, әәск ҹарән, ян чукәнәт динән тәр ҳы шафш, шафш бәт һәрәштәт тән әост.

Ҳанән, дә айлоқ ҹум ки тозаәт погза ымый. Ғаш-алғоў мәйимыт, урматәт этиром ымыт. Ян ти җингй бә баф әостәт ти айлоқ бракат бә тән әост.

## Күч ҳәмак

Тирмой ҹавак ола, а тәм октябр мый-наг ҳалгиш күч ҳәмак тәрии ҹарән. Ҳы рүннат қрытви қы динән дәм қчави, ҳы бәт-парви қы үйәздиәнәт динән яви сәк хурәт ҹавән рә дәр-наг. Күчхмакызгәр тыша динән, ләцәр тәр вдәк мәрз мәвәцән. Ила пнирәт ичгәй а рави әоцәк қатән. Явиш молви пыйәнәт оста-оста ҳамән. И сар ҳалгиш молви ҳамвән, и сар айлоқ бор-бәдәкви.

Ҳы бәт-парви қы ғыртән. Ҳы молви, чўуркви қы исоб ҹарәнәт пәрсими ҳат әоцән. А я рвор күч ҹа ҳамд, я хондор ҳыйнан хондорәкәр (пиркәр) дра ләцәрт рүннат чкаәт ләндиҹат пнир. Карт яви а ска сотви ҹуск, ләцәр

хәсмон қаар мәңгүл. Бат бә гохән, ила ска сот қанән қаңын, бракатиғ. Ҳанән, гәе ҳы бракати дра ләңәр, өз соләр қә рәү, яв тәв пычызд. А ска нив бә халгиш хәсмон бахши ярәр ләңәрнәт ҳат ян Җаңән.

Күч хәмак ола молищ қы баң-баң, яв җаржә бә тқиет тәрг. Халгиш хыщый қарән күч хәмакәр.

Күч хәмак майор айлоқчы ҳыйнаниш пифомән ки, өзәйәв, сак күч хамвән. Қрытви гохән дә ҳәлтави, چави гохән дә чакаңлатаёт қаңын яви рә амсангви. Я амсангвәр гохән клиңәк, ян и амсанги қаңын ра хүрән рәм паләв, я иви қаңын а ра и паләв. Халгиш өз қә дәрән рәүән күч хәмвак. Явшиш дә ҳатән бчәйәт чиләк дырзән, ләңәр қа-наг рүғнәт қрытәт чка өйзән. Айлоқрәчакызышиш ҹам өңәнәт ҳы рүғнәт қрытәт چави ёманәр дисвән. Ҳанән, ха ме жынән түм рүғн, түм қрытәт чка. И рөвөр тәр мис я әйшиш я рүғнви дә луп қчави гохәнәт яв сарви вандән, ләңәр қа-наг сарклатап явшиш қа хүрвән өзән мәй. Охирон я сурдорәт я айлоқчы ҳыйнаниш та өзәйән. Ныўзән қа ктичән, я бары қарән шух, қарән яви ба. Ҳамән өзәйән рә дәр, мол-олви қы қо-бә-чо қарән.

Рә дәр молдорищ өзәйән үәтви дәвләтзәд қәрәк, чойәт рүғнәт юмчәт чилпирән явәр яв ақи өйзән. Айлоқчы ҳыйнан өз дав қча явәр рүғнәт қрытәт чка дәйт. Қүйән цук өйи қә ымыт, явәр өз тәттәр рүғнәт чка дәйт. А я пырз тә өф պицвән, луп диг қаңын ска өф, а я рүғн та айлоқәв қә ҳәткү, а да нлаг яви қарән об. Яв рүхн рүғн, карт яви а ра дигәт дәйт а ра ила юмч пулм, яв өйрәд қолт зарт. Қанән амкүвәр рандән, чути ләңәрн ҳатәр. Ян түй-муй дәт хоңагай қә өост, дырзән а цәт рүғнән, қаңын вул, өз айлоқчы ҳанд: Йәм жы айлоқ бракатиғ рүғн савәр, ләңәр бағиғ савәр өйзәмд. Чути рүғнны мышт Җогынәр, чути ҳатәр қаңын рә щирчой. А йәм өйиң хондор ҳыйнаниш пак тобистон рәүән айлоқәт ҳы хүнхалгвәрәт ҳы хиши-тборвәр рүғнәт қрыт гохән.

Айлоқ баф – ободи!

## Лүғат

**Вайч** – чоқый қча, моләт өйи өнициакәр, қә өзимән ҳәткүн

**Вийин** – қылаёт ҳид вдәк, скәт өйиң халгиш фар өйрән қә и үүрән ар дгар өур, қә и өйән рәүән тәр дгар өй

**Ипоч** – мәйирб майор, молви қә үйбанинән қә өйзән тә шад тәнйак дам дингак

**Иңгәй** – тәргәк әйнән қә майәт түр җаржән ҳәткүн, рә диг өйти пацән, мәза үрәнг пнир қәй, өз дә ҳәчән бә өйти явән

**Зичбат** – күчснәк майорәт күчхмак майор а йәм бати гохән хүнхалгвәрәт амкүвәр, өйти гохән а да рүғнән, қәм айлоқән яви қә өйзән, гәе өзәр ти бракат өзизит, өз қә айлоқән чирмит да ти хүн

**Зрих** – цумсолынг их сәк ёман цуск ҹам қә өост

**Зиғи** – щәхчәк әйнән қә пайән рә пәрнәц гохән, яв өзә тәрәшп

**Қрытим** – шух әйнән қә өйи өти ҹакаң ҳәткүн, өйт сохт тәй пүт-пүт, өйт өзә тәй тәрәшпәт хүжгтрәшп, өйиғрәт өзә тәрәшпәт хүжг, ҹакаңыт өзә тәрәшп

**Ктич** – мала қә өарән ҳәткүн, қә бу паләв-наг явән тәй раж, өз явән тәй бчор, дәлдүнг, да дәлдүнг явән тәй өф қә тру сотән, а дра ҳәчәт щот гохән

**Ләндич** – әйнән қә май җаржән, пацән явәт мрик ҹартәт өост тәрг, юмч динән ра пулм, сыр өост, қаңын ар дәстор явәт қарән яви өәск

**Мод** – тәрәшп җаржә, иңүн өйи өти қаңын рә җаржә, яв өост мод, а цәтән ян пайәт өйи өти ҹакаң өти өй

**Нлаг** – қча қә өзимән, өйт өаш өәкәлайәт өйт бән луп, пай рәт қаңын, рүғн рәт динән, өйт халгәр то дә бринән

**Пәрнәц** – қча қә өзимән, өйт өаш лупт өйт бән өәкәлайәк, өйи өт гохән, өйт халгәр то дә мадән

**Пнир** – қә җаржән ҳәткүн, пүт щлөт әйнән, яв өзә тәй хүж

**Пычызызак** – қбыл қәрәк (мисол: Ҳәсмон тағи пычызд, ти әйнән баф өост, ти яркиш қы рөвөч өңән.)



1. Нлаг



2. Рэндақ



3. Пәдар



4. Вайч



5. Лућ



6. Чәхтвәш

### Адабиёт

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Га қләғ явәр ҳанән.