

# Ethno-Cultural Heritage of the Peoples of West Pamir

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## ABSTRACT

*The paper presents a study on the West Pamir communities (Badakhshan, Tajikistan) based on language data of the Pamir languages of East-Iranian origin. At present, the ethnic groups of the West Pamir: Shughni, Rushani, Bartangi, Roshorvi, Khufi, Ishkashimi and Wakhi are communities of the Ismaili Shia Islam faith. The underlying concept of the paper is that ethnic and cultural key-concepts take place in the origin of the traditional beliefs and rituals and can be reliably reconstructed from the vocabulary of a particular community. Pamir languages vocabulary of the Pamir ethnic communities that uses East and West Iranian culturally significant terms may serve as a basis for understanding the genesis of Pamir Ismailism, its particular way of absorbing external cultures, and its present specific form. The purely linguistic criteria, like temporal dimension (linguistic chronology), and geographic dispersion and mobility, are believed to be critical for linking etymology to broader socio-cultural development context of the Pamir communities socio-historical and cultural life. Contemporary social and linguistic dynamics in the relations between nation, religion and language in Tajikistan needs systematic research, and reasonable interpretation.*

**Key words:** West Pamir, Pamir Ismailism, vocabulary analysis

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## The Interrelation Between Ethnicity, Culture, Religion and Language

The modern interrelation between ethnicity, culture, religion and language in Central Asia and particularly in Tajikistan requires analysis, and reasoned interpretation. In modern Republic of Tajikistan, language problems have prime

importance because of the progressive formation and definition of categories like ethnic and cultural »self-identification« and »nationality«. In the 1990s, the process of the collapse of the Soviet Union and formation of the sovereign Republic

of Tajikistan resulted in a series of inter-ethnic conflicts. These conflicts determine society's attempts to influence language, making it a strong tool of political power of a particular political group. Political power based on ethnic origin and language constructed a problem of parochialism (mahalgaroyi). Ethnic minorities were involved in these conflicts and minority languages became an additional item on which the attention of powerful groups was focused. The investigation of Pamir languages vocabulary provides a starting-point for further study of the socio-linguistic situation, as the language in this region plays an important role in ethnic and cultural identification. The socio-linguistic situation helps shape the objectives of language policy, and construct a balanced national cultural and language policy relating to the minority peoples of Tajikistan.

The paper is focused on the problem of why collecting the data on a group of closely related languages is so essential and important for their revival, and how the vocabulary of these languages, and especially the dictionary, reflects different processes that take place in the socio-linguistic life of the language group.

The main goal of *The Shughn(an)i language comparative dictionary of key cultural terms* is to preserve and intensify usage of the traditional and historical vocabulary<sup>1</sup>. It also aims to include the terminology of the material and spiritual culture of each language; to preserve the rites and procedures of the culture of each language and folklore based on oral tradition, reactivating »people's memory«, and to enhance the status of the mother language and culture for local people.

The comparative dictionary reflects different processes that take place in the Shughn(an)i language, and also reflects how the Shughn(an)i-Rushani languages are used. Therefore, along with linguistic

data in the dictionary, extra-linguistic data – ethnic, cultural, historical, etc. – are presented. In this way, an outline of the social and historic situation of the language and its language community has emerged. For this reason it is intended that the data collection should encompass linguistic phenomena as part of an extensive cultural and social complex.

### **Location of the Pamir Languages Communities**

The paper presents a study on particular West Pamir communities located in Tajikistan based on language data of the Pamir languages that are located in four Central Asian countries: Tajikistan, Afghanistan, China, and Pakistan. Language communities speaking the Pamir languages are geographically concentrated in the southeast of Tajikistan, in the Autonomous Province of Mountainous-Badakhshan, part of the Republic of Tajikistan. From the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century they live also in inner parts of Tajikistan in Khatlon region, Romit and Nurek districts, Soghdian province and Tajik cities and towns, like Dushanbe – the capital of Tajikistan, and Gurghontepa, Nurek and Khujand. Today a lot of migrants live in all post-Soviet countries, mainly in the Russian Federation, only in Moscow there are about 10,000 people. The historical regions of compact life of these communities are also in parts of Afghanistan neighboring to Tajikistan (Badakhshan Province), in China in the northwestern part of the country and in Xinjian-Uygur Autonomous District (Tajik region), as well as in the northern parts of Pakistan (Khunza, Gilgit, and Chitral).

This paper is based primarily on the social and language data of Tajikistan. The Pamir population of Tajikistan speaks different Pamir languages. They are: Shughni, Bajuwi, Rushani, Bartangi, Roshor-

vi, Khufi, Sarikoli (more widely present in China); Yazghulami, Wakhi, and Ishkashimi. The population of Afghanistan speaks also Sangliche, and there are some remnants of Zebaki. These languages have no script and steady written tradition and are used only as spoken languages in the area. Their status (and that of their local vernaculars and micro dialects) is still discussed in Iranian Studies.

### Language Origin and Contacts

Language communities speaking the Pamir languages live in Badakhshan close to each other. Genetically, Pamir languages (like Pashto) represent the East-Iranian subgroup of the Iranian language group, a branch of the Indo-European family. Within the East Iranian group, the Shughn(an)i-Rushani language group is the only genetically closely related group of languages, which are all located closely together in the northwest part of the region. Other East-Iranian Pamir languages, like Pamir languages Wakhi, Ishkashimi, Sangliche, Munji and Yidgha as well as Ossetic, Yaghnobi, and Pashto do not create a close genetic community.

The Pamir languages reside in close contact with the languages of other origin that sometimes are not even closely related to Pamir or Iranian ones. So, the official state language of Tajikistan, Tajik, as well as the state language of Afghanistan, Dari, are of the West-Iranian group (Pashto is of the East-Iranian group). The state language of Pakistan, Urdu, is of Indo-Arian origin. In Northern areas the Pamir languages are also in contact with Dardic group and isolated Burushaski languages, and in China in Xinjian-Uygur Autonomous District (Tajik region) – Chinese along with Uygur, of Turkic origin, and also Tajik for the District are used.

Though Shughn(an)i communities are habitually spread only in Tajikistan and Afghanistan traditionally Shughn(an)i

language is spread among all Pamir people as a lingua franca.

### Endangered Language Status

According to official language policy of Tajikistan up to 1989 Pamir languages did not have an independent status. In 1989 the »Law on Language« in Tajik Socialist Republic was published. This document admitted the existence and specific status of the Pamir languages *de iure* since it envisages conditions for »independent development and usage of Gorno-Badakhshan (Pamir) languages«, although *de facto* the situation with the use of these languages was rather more complicated.

Most of these indigenous languages of Badakhshan fall into category of endangered languages. Languages like Rushani, Yazghulami, and Ishkashimi are listed in the *Red book of the endangered languages of the world* by UNESCO. Other languages, sometimes with fewer speakers, like Roshorvi, Bartangi, Sarikoli, Khufi, and Sangliche are not included in this list. Several vernaculars are not entirely known to international scholarship and often are not described at all. These include vernaculars of Barwoz in Shughnan, Sawnob, and Bardara in Bartang. Some of them are still spoken, like Bajuwi and Sangliche, others are deemed no longer to be in use, like Barwoz, and still others have completely vanished from usage. In some cases there are only short preliminary descriptions, like those of Zebaki or Old Wanji. There are cases when the very existence of a particular vernacular is doubted, like Sarghulami, or *lavz-i mazor*. This was described by Zarubin at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a vernacular of the Afghan village of Sarghulam, which had a *mazor*<sup>2,3</sup>. But the vernacular has not acquired any further verification. To some extent even the stability of the most widely spread languages

with a rather huge population like Shughn(an)i and Wakhi is insubstantial.

The Pamir languages are used mainly as languages of oral communication, for the most part as family and community languages in rural communities. With some exclusion, up to now languages are transmitted from parents to children. Some local isolated communities like Zebaki, Bajuwi, and Barwozi, that are in transition, cease completely to pass the languages on to their children. Pamir languages have now for the most part deteriorated and are spoken mainly in private. The native speakers adopt the externally conveyed hierarchical attitude towards their own local culture and mother tongue, and the level of mother tongue competency in some communities is rather low. Nearly all mother speakers of these languages are bi- or multilingual. In contemporary situation, with lots of migrant population that creates diaspora all over the world it became important for these marginalized groups (as a rule men) to preserve their and their off spring's ethnic and cultural identification, especially in the case of cross-ethnic, cultural or language marriages. Even if a person of the second generation does not speak the mother, or better say the father tongue himself, it is extremely important for him that there is a community speaking the language, that this language is still alive and rather vital and can be transmitted in frames of the community to future generations, and that ethnic and cultural traditions are preserved and are still in use and vital. Even in the historical place of living of the Pamir communities, in Badakhshan, the number of the speakers of minor Pamir languages is diminishing today. The economy crisis and lack of the earth in high valleys cause younger generations to leave minor communities, like high isolated valleys of Bajuw, Khuf, and Roshorv, in search for jobs. The migration to busy cities and low living conditions

cause the decrease of community members. Their marriages outside the community and life in other language environment lead to transfer of their children to another mother tongue and a different social and cultural environment.

### Written Heritage and Education

The official state language of Tajikistan is Tajik (West-Iranian group). This is also the language of written heritage, literature, education, administration and mass media. Its prestige is high and the area of usage is rather broad functionally and geographically. In view of this, Pamir language communities have ceased to speak their mother tongues in public and there is a type of *diglossia* in Badakhshan's socio-linguistic situation when the native speaker in official situations speaks Tajik. Pamir language communities have adopted the surrounding dominant culture, partly for political reasons, because during the war of 1992 these ethnic groups were nearly exterminated in the inner Tajikistan, but partly also for economic reasons, such as employment, job rank, salary level. An excellent illustration is that teachers of the local Tajik schools in inner Tajikistan are mainly of the Pamir ethnic origin.

### Confessional Sketch

A distinct version of Islamic ideology – Ismaili Shiya, has become dominant among the Pamir peoples. The West Pamir ethnic groups: Shughn(an)i, Rushani, Bartangi, Roshorvi, Khufi, Ishkashimi and Wakhi follow presently the Nizari branch of Ismailiya Shiya Islam that is led by the religious leader Agha Khan the Fourth, Shah Karim al-Khusayni. Pamir communities' confessional environment is alien, as people living in close neighborhoods are mainly Sunni Muslims. This is the third feature, after state borders and lan-

guages, that cut off people living near by. It is acknowledged by scholars that roots of Central Asian Islam are linked with pre-Islamic pagan cults and religions. The Islamic tradition itself, that was and is practiced in the Central Asia, can be stratified chronologically, regionally and ideologically, and in addition to orthodox branch could also be related to various Islamic subdivisions (*mazhab*), like early Islamic mysticism, various doctrinal deviations from the Muslim mainstream, as well as to specific rites institutionalized within Islamic orders. Disseminated on different regions, Islam had incorporated to its pantheon numerous local deities and mythological personages, sacral objects and traditions.

Moving forward from this thesis the principal target is to analyze contemporary use of the ancient ritual and ceremonial terminology as a reflection of cultural and language priorities of the West Pamir people, as well as an influence of neighboring ethnic groups of Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. The Pamir cultural lexis may serve as a basis to obtain specific knowledge with regard to Ismaili traditions, culture, history, philosophy, etc.

Consequently, Pamir communities' religious complex consists of a set of common-life traditions that preserve elements of various older religious rites. Some of these archaic beliefs and rites are rather vital and retain genetic links to the ancient religious thoughts and ideological concepts. The most apparent of these are cults associated with different local types of theophany: different types of divine manifestation, like *Bar Panja*, *khuš poy qadam* of the Prophet or Imam Ali. That was connected with an ancient idea of magical meaning of the »footprint« and reproduction of the relics that are objects of worship. It is worth mentioning here that all over Central Asia by the picture of the Prophet's »foot-print« beginning

from the 16<sup>th</sup> century the manuscripts of the pilgrimage cycle, guides on sacral places, like *Futuh al-kharamain* or theological treatises, like *Dalayil al-khayrat* as-Simlali, and *Kitab-i Khaja Abul Kasim Khakim Samarkandi* were occasionally finished<sup>4</sup>. Along with other local cults elements of theomachy, and theomnemiya (*zikr*), cults connected with Zoroastrian rituals and beliefs, cults of the saints adopted by Islam from different rites (Christian, etc.), and philosophical and ideological traditions connected with Neo-Platonic, Mandeyan and Hessian, etc. These were incorporated into the pantheon of »Pamir Ismailism«, thus keeping to a certain extent the intrinsic meaning and integrity in the system of sacred images and religious beliefs, practices and esoteric interests of the West Pamir people.

Traces of the local cults are most distinctly apparent in local toponyms such as *Muškil Kušo*, and micro-toponyms like *Zikrak-yilgā*, regional onyms connected with toponyms like *tahallus Pomer-zod*; anthroponymic system *Nazri*, *Ziyorat-moh*, *Mast-Ali*, *Bangi* and other onyms of Pamir languages, which are traced back to different forms of worshipping to local idols, the name of the village *Namadgut* in Wakhan valley, embodiment of nature, in particular, the Solar cult *Xhandut*, the cult of landscape saints *qirum(b)* 'small hill or heap of stones', *ostùn* 'local sacral place', and 'mausoleums' *mazor* that are now in process of gathering into a *Guidebook on sacral places of the West Pamir*, *rivoyats* of these places contained information on legendary issues on saints' life, sufis' tombs, narration of the »pilgrimage cycle«, popular all over the Muslim East. Also connected with an ancient idea of magical divine manifestation were anthropomorphous beliefs like *vozh* 'good spiritual creature', *arwo* 'the spirit of dead ancestor', as well as zoomorphous beliefs: *burx* 'mountain goat, local saint, toponym: the name of *mazor*'. In the peo-

ple's memory also lives the tradition to identify as objects of worshipping some local endemic plants and flowers: *ambaxhc*, *vurs* 'juniper' and *straxm*.

### **Language Data – A Source of Cultural and Religious Reconstruction**

The underlying concept of the paper is that the origins and stratification of traditional beliefs and rituals can be reliably reconstructed from the vocabulary of the particular community that uses culturally significant terms of both eastern and western Iran. Pamir vocabulary may serve as a basis for understanding the genesis of Pamir Ismaili tradition, its particular way of absorbing external cultures, and its present specific form. The roles of temporal dimension (the linguistic chronology) and that of the geographic dispersion and mobility as a background for linguistic transformation are believed to be critical for linking a purely linguistic etymology to broader socio-cultural development in Iranian populations. The modeling of the socio-linguistic processes in the Pamir languages is compared with lexicographic data describing modern Tajik dialects and Tajik literary language, as well as classical Persian data<sup>5</sup>.

As the contemporary forms in language and culture mirror the elements of various previous cultures and languages to clarify particular aspects of the dynamics of oral tradition based on »minor« languages, particular questionnaires were composed. These included different types of ethno-linguistic, socio-linguistic and ethno-cultural data, like local ethnonyms, endonyms, eponyms, toponyms, hydronyms, etc.

### **The Process of Reconstruction – Linguistic Paleontology**

The analysis of verbal expression of the ritual or its elements, derivation of ety-

mologies and tracing the etymon by determining its basic meaning allow exposing the ritual's components and determining the origin of the rite. A reconstructed form displays an original version (the earliest known use), subsequent changes in its appearance and meaning, processes of borrowing and transmission between languages, and allows identifying its cognates in related languages. The analysis of language data in historical aspect allows to expose those language phenomena that are relevant to the previous epochs, to place them within a time and space frame, to correlate their characteristic features with the respective epochs, historical events, cultural and common-life reality, i.e. to link them to a broader cultural background of the community's development.

### **Pamir Language Data**

The data presented in the paper reflects on the data collection and the preparation of a multilingual dictionary entitled *The Shughn(an)i language comparative dictionary of key cultural terms*<sup>6</sup>. The data for the dictionary were recorded mainly between 1999–2003 (with the financial support of the »Soros Foundation« and »Russian Scientific Foundation for Humanities (RGNF)«). During this time five summer field sessions were conducted. The vocabulary was compiled in order to collect, preserve and revitalize the mother languages of the Pamir minority groups. The very process of the work was divided into two phases: the initial and the main one. Since »minor« languages have no written tradition, these two steps of research were designed to ensure the representation of data on several chronological levels, to record and thus to preserve and transfer traditional knowledge to future generations, and to provide data for future diachronic research.

The initial phase consisted of collecting and recording data gathered in archives and obtaining data from different types of texts, like research works on humanities, historical description of the neighboring regions, printed media and literature materials. In this particular case, the first step was to collect the oldest written materials. The first scholarly descriptions were made in 1866 and 1867 by the British officer Robert Shaw who during his stay in the region provided the description of several Pamir languages and published two articles: »Wakhi and Sarikoli« and »Shighni«. The Russian geologist D. L. Ivanov recorded phonetic and grammatical data as well as the vocabulary of the Shughn(an)i language. His information was published in 1903 by Zalemann. The main body of written data on Pamir languages was gathered mostly at the beginning and towards the end of the last century by a number of eminent scholars. A large collection is gathered in Zarubin's archive at the Institute of Oriental Studies, in the Russian Academy of Sciences, in Sankt-Petersburg. Several major collections can be found in the archives of M. S. Andreev in the Library of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, and the Museum of A. A. Semenov, at the Institute of the History, Archeology and Ethnography, Tajik Academy of Sciences, in Dushanbe. Semenov was the first to begin the research of Badakhshani Ismailis and gave the description of their tradition and its rituals enlisting local languages' data. The largest collection of data on Pamir languages, systematically assembled since 1967, is gathered at the Department of Pamir Philology of the Institute for Humanities, which is a part of the Tajik Academy of Sciences in Khorogh. Apart from this, Soviet scholars started collecting materials on Pamir folklore and traditional culture from the 1920s onwards. These materials can be found at the Folklore Funds of the Insti-

tute of Tajik Language and at the Institute of the History, Archeology and Ethnography, in Tajik Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe. Language materials gathered from different vocabularies, historical documents and written materials in Tajik, Dari and Farsi, which contain lexical data on Pamir vocabulary were used as alternative sources of information.

The data were collected on the basis of a thematically arranged list that has about 20 lexical clusters of cultural terminology: traditional and »new« data. Thus, the data were collected on the basis of a glossary and contain the following entries: The physical world; Mankind; Animals; Body parts, functions and conditions; Food and drink; Cooking and utensils; Clothing; Personal adornment and care; Dwelling and house; Agriculture and vegetation; Physical acts; Motion; Quality; Quantity; Number; Possession, property; Commerce; Spatial relations; Place, form, and size; Time; Sense and perception; Emotion; Mind and thought; Vocal utterance, Speech; Political divisions; Social relations; Warfare; Law; Religion, demonology and superstition; and Verbs.

These contained material vocabulary, like professional lexical groups, such as local handicrafts: traditional pottery (*ku-loli*), knitting (*jurob*) and weaving (men's and women's distribution); embroidery (*toqi*, etc.); animal husbandry (specific ethno-linguistic terms) and women' sumertime cattle-breeding (*yel'izan*); traditional construction (*č'id*) and household terminology; spiritual vocabulary; kin and gender terminology; calendar and holidays; significant religious and secular official and informal customs and rituals; demonology; superstition; general inter-community relations, etc.

The absence of an alphabet and written tradition meant that the data had to be written in the international Iranian transcription. The data are organised in electronic »forms«. Each »form« presents

data on the main »linguemes«, i.e. local vernaculars, dialects and micro-dialects. These are Shughn(an)i language and the vernaculars Bajuw, Shahdara, and Barwoz. The layout of each »form« is fixed. First, the Shughn(an)i term is provided and then all other linguemes with their translation or explanation are listed accompanied by a usage example with its translation. For each »form« relevant bibliography is provided containing the different dates when the term was recorded and field data source. Each item has vocabulary parallels taken from standard Tajik language and/or Tajik South-Eastern dialects neighboring Pamir languages. These parallels sometimes have specific meaning, or are semantically parallel with Tajik examples. Each item has a commentary that consists of a pointer to lexical synonyms, an etymological comment, where the reconstructed proto-Shughn(an)i form is linked with ancient and medieval East- and West-Iranian languages thus reconstructing the phonetic transformation of the form, a recon-

struction of the historical dynamics of reciprocated East and West Iranian influence on the lexeme, comparison with the lexicographic data of modern Tajik dialects and standard language, a commentary on the origin of the word and contacts with other languages (original/loan words), an ethno- and socio-linguistic commentary including comment on the ethno-cultural identification of the lexeme as well as descriptive and explanatory remarks on every kind of context and usage.

### Preliminary Research Findings

Aside from intra-linguistic output, like preserving the main stock of the vocabulary, gaining new lexicographic, and by this etymological data, by describing and recording the vocabulary of closely related languages of this particular East-Iranian group of spoken languages, we recorded and researched the history of the cultural and confessional tradition of the West Pamir people. As an illustration

TABLE 1  
FORM 1: USES OF THE TERM »XALÎFÂ ID«<sup>5-8</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning/Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	xalifâ <sup>6</sup>	n. khalifa, religious executive, vicegerent of pir in Badakhshan; man's name
Bajuwi	xalifâ <sup>6</sup>	
Shohdara	xalifâ <sup>6</sup>	
Barwoz	xalifâ <sup>6</sup>	
Tajik	xalifa	arch. religious executive in Bukhara, looking after performing of sharia laws; deputy of the officer; apprentice; (class) monitor
Badakhsh	xalifa <sup>7</sup>	id
Bukhara	xalifa <sup>7</sup>	religious executive in Bukhara, looking after performing of sharia laws
	xalif(a)	khalif, vicegerent
	xalifa <sup>5</sup>	deputy; vicegerent, khalif



TABLE 2  
FORM 2: USES OF THE TERM »ZIKRI«<sup>3,5,6</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning/Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	zikri <sup>3</sup>	pious meditation; mystical contemplation; zikr
Shughn(an)i	zikri <sup>6</sup>	mentioning God; mentioning as adoration of God's name; appeal of praying person to his own memory during unbroken prayer
Bajuwi	zikri <sup>6</sup>	
Shohdara	zikri <sup>6</sup>	
Barwoz	zikri <sup>6</sup>	
<i>Shughn(an)i composites and compounds:</i>		
	zikri čidow	to pronounce prayer
	xuđoy zikri čidow	to pronounce special prayer
Shughn(an)i	zikr(i)*	pious meditation; mystical contemplation; zikr
Bajuwi	zikri	
Shohdara	zikr(i)	
Barwoz	zikri	mentioning God; mentioning as adoration of God's name; appeal of praying person to his own memory during unbroken prayer
<i>Toponym:</i>		
Shughn(an)i	zikrak yilgâ <sup>5</sup>	microtoponym: name of the summer pasture
Tajik	zikr	mentioning, remembering, pronouncing; special prayer during which the name of God is repeated
<i>Toponym:</i>		
Tajik	zikrak yelgo(h)	(Badakhsh.) microtoponym: name of the summer pasture

\* The following terms in Shughn(an)i, Bajuwi, Shohdara and Barwoz were recorded between 2000 and 2003.

to the language data several »forms« from »Religion: Official and informal customs« cluster are given.

The term *xalifâ id* in Pamir languages, which derives from *T xalif(a)* ('religious executive in Bukhara, looking after performing of sharia laws'), is an old loan word from Arabic *khalifatun* 'khalif' that came through Tajik language (Table 1). The meaning 'religious executive in Bu-

khara ...' is archaic in modern Tajik literary language, though it is preserved in Bukhara dialect and classical Tajik. In the Pamir languages it is an important Ismaili term designating a local religious executive who deals with people in their everyday life taking part in the ceremonies of birth, wedding and death, cf. Tajik *millo, mullo* 'religious executive in Sunni and Shiya Islam; literate person'. The

TABLE 3  
FORM 3: USES OF THE TERM »DÂWAT«<sup>3,5,6-8</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning / Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	dâwat <sup>3</sup>	religious ceremony of setting on candle; funeral repast
Shughn(an)i	dâwat <sup>6</sup>	appeal; invitation; mission; relig. Funeral repast ceremony of repast ceremony of the Pamir Ismailis
Bajuwi	dâwat <sup>6</sup>	
Shohdara	dâwat <sup>6</sup>	
Barwoz	dâwat <sup>6</sup>	
<i>Shughn(an)i composites and compounds:</i>		
	dâwatgar	inviting person
	dâwat ċidow	invite; appeal
	dâwat ðâð	arrange funeral repast
	dâwati fano	appeal to non-existence, religious ceremony of Pamir Ismailis
<i>Shughn(an)i phrases:</i>		
	Ar-tân di mùd, arayum mēθ-ta wi dâwat ðēn	on the third day after person's death, funeral repast is organized for him
Tajik	da(')vat	repast, appeal
Badakhsh	dav/wat <sup>7</sup> da'vat <sup>5</sup>	appeal; invitation; mission; relig. funeral invitation, appeal, mission, religious procedure
<i>Tajik composites and compounds:</i>		
Badakhshan	da(')v/wati fano	appeal to non-existence, religious ceremony of the Pamir Ismailis in Badakhshan

word as a specific Ismaili term was borrowed to Persian language about 11<sup>th</sup> century and preserved in all Pamir languages without change of form. Being a term it preserved its original meaning.

In Rushani, Khufi, and Bartangi the term *zikri*, which is an old loan word from Arabic language that came through Tajik, is represented in Table 2. Sufi term is also represented. The Pamir languages meaning varies from that in classical Persian and Tajik. The term was widely used in Central Asia in medieval period, as it was the area of several Sufi orders location.

The term *dâwat id* in Pamir languages, which comes from an old loan word *dâwat* ('appeal; invitation' gained the meaning 'mission') in Ismaili tradition from Arabic through Tajik language, is represented in Table 3. It is also used as an incomplete form of *dâwati fano* ('appeal to non-existence, religious ceremony of Pamir Ismailis')<sup>3,6</sup>, *fano*<sup>3,6</sup>, *fano* ('non-existence, frailty')<sup>7</sup>, *fano* ('non-existence, non-existing; unconsciousness')<sup>5</sup>, cf. also *fano sittow* ('to be exhausted, tired') and *fonî* ('perishable')<sup>3,6</sup>. In Pamir languages it is an important Ismaili term designating a specific religious procedure execut-

**TABLE 4**  
FORM 4: USES OF THE TERM »ARWO«<sup>3,5,6–8,10</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning/Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	arwo, sg. <sup>3</sup>	dead ancestor soul, spirit; memory of the dead
Shughn(an)i	arwo, sg./ arwogù/on, pl. <sup>6</sup>	dead ancestor soul, spirit; memory of the dead
Bajuwi	arwo <sup>6</sup>	
Shohdara	arwo <sup>6</sup>	
Barwoz		
Shughn(an)i	arwo, sg. / arwogù/on pl.*	dead ancestor soul, spirit; memory of the dead
Bajuwi	arwo	
Shohdara	arwo	
Barwoz	(h)arwo	
<i>Shughn(an)i composites and compounds:</i>		
	arwohak	night moth
Tajik	arvoh, sg. / ruh, pl.	spirit (of dead)
	bad panjsher arvo(ha)k <sup>7</sup>	night moth
	ruh, sg / arvoh, pl. <sup>5</sup>	soul; spirit; life
<i>Classical Tajik composites and compounds</i>		
	arvohi mujarrad	free spirits

\* The following terms in Shughn(an)i, Bajuwi, Shohdara and Barwoz were recorded between 1999 and 2003.

ed on the third night after a person's death. This lexeme being a specific Ismaili term in Arabic and Persian without change of form was preserved in all Pamir languages. The main body of the semantic field is also preserved.

The term (h)arwo *id* in other Pamir languages comes from an old loan word from Arabic through Tajik language (Table 4), cf. the Rush Bart terms *arwogirak* ('small present, sacrifice in memory of ancestors'), *arwohak* ('night moth'), Wakhi *arwo(h)ék*, Ishk *arwok id*, also Yagn *arwohi guzaštagon* ('greeting on occasion of Nauruz, greeting in honour of ancestor's spirits'), Kirgh *arbak* ('ancestors' spirits'). In Pamir languages it is important cul-

tural and religious term designating a series of specific religious procedures executed every Thursday night in memory of the spirits of the dead ancestors in which the hostess of the house burns incense (*büy*) in memory of the spirits. The word is preserved in all Pamir languages as well as in neighboring Tajik and Turkic languages. The main body of the semantic field is also preserved.

The Sh-Rush term *mawlô(i)* (*mawlo(i) id* in other Pamir languages) comes from an old loan word from Arabic through Tajik language (Table 5). In Pamir languages it is an important religious term that was used in different situations as an exclamation, a call for help. The word

**TABLE 5**  
FORM 5: USES OF THE TERM »MAWLÔ(I)«<sup>3,5-7</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning / Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	mawlô(i) <sup>3,6</sup>	the Lord; Agha Khan
<i>Bajuwi</i>	mawlô(i) <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Shohdara</i>	mawlô(i) <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Barwoz</i>	mawlô(i) <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Shughn(an)i phrases:</i>		
	Yô mawlô(i)	O Lord; O imam
<i>Tajik</i>	mawlo	the Lord; host
<i>Badakhsh</i>	mawlo(i) <sup>7</sup>	the Lord; Agha Khan
	mawlo <sup>5</sup>	the Lord; host; slave; relative

**TABLE 6**  
FORM 6: USES OF THE TERM »AJINÂ«<sup>3,5-7,10</sup>

<i>Lingueme</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning / Translation</i>
Shughn(an)i	Ajinâ <sup>3,6</sup>	evil spirit; metaphor. mad
<i>Bajuwi</i>	ajinâ <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Shohdara</i>	ajinâ <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Barwoz</i>	ajinâ <sup>3,6</sup>	
<i>Words of the same origin</i>		
	jīn(n)	demon
<i>Tajik</i>	ajina	evil spirit
	dial ajina <sup>7</sup>	werewolf, evil spirit
<i>Tajik composites and compounds</i>		
	ajinabodak	dust column made by wind
	ajinazada	raging, frazzled

is preserved in all Pamir languages as well as in neighboring Tajik and Turkic languages. The main body of the semantic field is also preserved.

The term *ajinâ id* in Shughn(an)i-Rushani languages (Table 6), cf. also Tajik *dial ajina* ('evil spirit'), Sh *ajinâ* ('evil spirit; metaphor. mad'), *jīn(n)* ('evil spirit'), *Yagn ajina* ('type of elf; small demonic feminine creatures of 4–5 years old girl's height that gathered at nights on summer pastures *xon* and danced playing

tambourine')<sup>10</sup> come from traditionally the word *jīn* ('evil spirit, demonic creature; mad'), is regarded as an Arabic loan. This traditionally famous Arabic term McDonald proposes as a probable Latin origin of Lat. *genius*<sup>11</sup>. *Ajinâ* ('evil spirit, demonic creature; mad') is likely to be an Arabicised derivative in plural form from *jīnn* (sg. *jīn(n)* 'demon') gave in Shughn(an)i pl. *ajinâ*, which is an autonomous word in singular with the meaning of 'demon of a specific type'.

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## ETNOKULTURNA BAŠTINA NARODA ZAPADNOG PAMIRA

### SAŽETAK

U članku je opisano istraživanje zapadnopamirskih zajednica Badakhstana i Tadžikistana na temelju jezičnih podataka pamirskih jezika istočnairanskog podrijetla. Etničke zajednice zapadnog Pamira koje vjerski pripadaju ismailitskom islamu obuhvaćaju Šugnane, Rušane, Bartange, Orošorve, Hufe, Iškašime i Vahe. Osnovna pretpostavka ovog istraživanja jest činjenica da temeljni etnički i kulturni koncepti izviru iz tradicionalnih vjerovanja i rituala i da se stoga pouzdano mogu rekonstruirati pomoću rječnika određene jezične zajednice. Tako rječnik jezika pamirskih naroda koji koriste kulturno značajne pojmove istočnog i zapadnog Irana može poslužiti kao temelj za razumijevanje geneze pamirskog ismailizma, osobitog načina na koji apsorbira vanjske kulture, i specifičnosti njegove današnje situacije. Isključivo lingvistički kriteriji kao što su vremenska dimenzija, odnosno jezična kronologija, te zemljopisni položaj i kretanja, smatraju se ključnima u povezivanju etimologije i šireg sociokulturnog razvojnog konteksta društvenopovijesnog i kulturnog života pamirskih zajednica. Suvremena društvena i jezična dinamika naroda, vjere i jezika u Tadžikistanu zahtijeva sustavno istraživanje i razumnu interpretaciju.