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**Об изучении лексики таджикского языка новейшего времени**

**On learning the vocabulary of the Tajik language in modern times**

#### **Аннотация**

Статья посвящена лексике таджикского литературного языка новейшего периода и характеру отражения в ней русизмов, интернационализмов и персизмов.

This article is focused on the vocabulary of the modern standard Tajik language and the nature of the reverberation of Russicisms, internationalisms and Persianisms in it.

#### **Ключевые слова**

таджикский язык, персидский язык, заимствования, русизмы, лексикография, словари, полевая лингвистика

Tajik, Persian, loan-words, Russicisms, lexicography, dictionaries, field linguistics

In 2013, Tajikistan celebrated the 22<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of its independence. Having got the sovereignty in 1991, it faced serious political, economical and cultural tasks. The most important one among these was the problem of choosing a state language as a symbol of national integration.

The language, which has been passed as the official language of Tajikistan, is Tajik, as reflected in Clause 2 of the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan. The Russian language functions as that of international communication.

Apart from Russian and Tajik, a significant position is held by the Uzbek language, which plays an important role in Tajikistan, especially in the North near the Uzbekistani border. Widespread intermarriages, constant habitation of the ethnic Uzbeks in Tajikistan, as well as other factors have led to the fact that within the population of Northern Tajikistan many use the Uzbek language as the second one in their interethnic communication. They use a lot of minor unwritten languages in the areas of compact habitation (for example, Pamirs, Yagnob, etc.) on

par with the state language of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Uzbek language. They are used as the languages of common, cultural and industrial communication.

Since 1991, the status of the Tajik language has been significantly changing. When Tajikistan was a part of the USSR, Tajik was greatly influenced by Russian. Tajikistan (the then Bukhara Emirate) had been a part of Russian Empire since 1868. Lingual contacts with Russian language have been lasting since that time. But when Tajikistan was a part of USSR, these contacts greatly extended. If one takes the *Tajik–Russian Dictionary* published in 1954, one may see a great deal of Russicisms and international borrowings, which had been adopted by the Tajik language through Russian. Apart from loanwords, there also calques from Russian language: *забони маснуъӣ* (Tajik) ‘artificial language’ – *искусственный язык* (Russian); *хати иртиботӣ* ‘communication line’ – *линия связи*; *калимаи мошин* ‘word’ (as a computing term) – *машинное слово* (literally, “machine word”); *нақшаи ҳофиза* ‘memory mapping’ – *схема памяти* (literally, “memory scheme”). There are also English-based calques (passed through Russian). For example, English *file* – Russian *файл* – Tajik *парванда*; *microstatement* – *микрооператор* – *резамалкард*; *on-line* – *неавтономный* – *зайрихудмухтор*; *identification* – *идентификация* – *шиносӣ*. Sometimes it is difficult to determine where a term is calqued from, English or Russian, cf. *regulator* – *регулятор* – *танзимкунанда*; *segmentation* – *сегментация* – *қисматбандӣ*; *transparency* – *прозрачность* – *шаффофият*. In some cases there are adoption or calquing plus adoption from both Russian and Persian: *microsystem* – *микросистема* – *резсистем*; *automatics* – *автоматика* – *худкор*; *microprogram* – *микрпрограмма* – *резбарнома*; *supercomputer* – *суперкомпьютер* – *абаркомпьютер*; *multi-graph* – *мультиграф* – *абарграф*. It is common both for the standard language and the vernacular. One might find some instances in the latter, such as: *раҳмати калон* along with the Russian pattern of *большое спасибо* ‘thank you very much’ (“big thank you”); *саломат бошед* ‘bless you’ used when somebody is sneezing (literally, “be healthy”) – Russian ‘будьте здоровы’ – instead of the traditional Tajik speech formula *пир шавед* (literally, “I wish you to grow old”, that is “to live long life”); *пудрати бригадавӣ* – Russian *бригадный подряд* ‘brigade contract’; *пудрати оилавӣ* – Russian *семейный подряд* ‘family contract’; *комбайн* –

Russian *комбайн* ‘combine harvester’. These are examples from the spoken language, but there are Russicisms in all realms of attainments and life.

In the period of USSR the clerical work was carried out in Russian, the official speeches were made in Russian, many names of the streets, news-papers, the varieties of large-scale and small-scale advertisements, shops’ signboards, the names of organizations and enterprises were mostly Russian. The Russian language was studied in all collages and universities, as well as in schools mostly by bearers of the Russian language. The same situation was present even in distant and hard-to-reach mountain *kishlaks*.

After the declaration of independence of Tajikistan, the situation changed. Many ethnic Russians and Russian speakers left Tajikistan, teaching of the Russian language in educational institutions and schools became different in quality. The Language and Terminology Committee (*Кумитаи забон ва истилоҳот*), established by the Tajikistani government, oversees the sole use of the official language in the clerical work, names of organizations, and official speeches. The drastic reduction of the Russian vocabulary in new edited Tajik-Russian dictionaries was a consequence.

Within the last two decades, the Tajiks have increased cultural, industrial, trade, financial, as well as business contacts with Iran and Afghanistan. The Tajiks quite strongly perceive themselves as a constituent of the huge habitat of Iranian lingual culture. Personal international contacts in this realm are increasing, and common classical literary heritage takes on special significance. There is a cultural mission of Iran in Dushanbe as well as the joint Research Society of Iran and Tajikistan, which publishes a scientific journal *Номаи наҷӯҳиигоҳ* ‘Journal of scientific research’ on the regular basis. Widespread are exchanges of students, scientists, cultural and scientific delegations, exhibitions, movies and TV programs, as well as mass media partnership.

All these changes could not help affecting the contemporary Tajik language, especially **standard language**, and the Tajik **vocabulary** is particularly revealing here as it adopted indigenous Tajik words, some Arabisms (previously obsolete and recently revived), Persianisms, Turcicisms (via the Uzbek language), and international loan words via Russian and Persian.

A very important moment in the development of the contemporary Tajik, especially of the spoken language, is the tendency in changing its **dialectal orientation**. The dialects of Northern Tajikistan were the foundation of the prevalent standard Tajik. These patois were prestigious, while the Southern dialects did not enjoy either popularity or prestige. When Tajikistan became independent, representatives from the South, coming mainly from Kulyab and speaking the local dialect, were elected in the government. Now all politicians and public officials make their speeches in the Kulyab dialect, which is also used in broadcasting. The president of Tajikistan originates from Kulyab, as well. Thus, nowadays the situation is reversed, with speakers of the Northern dialects or standard Tajik being impacted by Southern patois. Cf.: *да бари ма* ‘next to me’ instead of the customary *дар бари ман; дами раҳи ма б<sup>в</sup>д* ‘he stood on my way’ instead of *дар сари роҳи ман буд; мара ч<sup>в</sup>қ<sup>в</sup>р бфаҳмен* ‘do not misunderstand me’ instead of *маро дуруст фаҳмед; ҳам шикамби модар<sup>в</sup>м сер боша, ҳам шикамби х<sup>в</sup>д<sup>в</sup>м* ‘that my mother was sick and that I was sick’ instead of *ҳам шиками модарам сер бошад, ҳам шиками худам; м<sup>в</sup> з<sup>в</sup>р<sup>в</sup>ст<sup>в</sup>м* ‘I cried’ instead of *ман гиристам; фромӯи нак<sup>в</sup>не* ‘don't forget’ instead of *фаромӯи накунед; у ҳозӣ ховай* ‘he sleeps now’ instead of *ӯ ҳозир хоб аст; ура кор нагр<sup>в</sup>фт* ‘he didn't interfere him’ instead of *ба ӯ кордор нашуд; атаи ма сӯмдор б<sup>в</sup>д* ‘my dad was a rich man’ instead of *надари ман пулдор буд; хеш<sup>в</sup> табор<sup>в</sup>м ёрдам каан* ‘helped my relatives’ instead of *хешу таборам ёрдам карданд; ага гапои тугрӣ б<sup>в</sup>броя* ‘if his words are true’ (implying the future actions) instead of *агар гапояи рост бароянд; ҳамаи дурӯғай* ‘that is a lie’ instead of *ҳамаи дурӯғ аст*.

The features of the contemporary Tajik language situation are caused by the following extralinguistic circumstances:

- 1) The impact of the civil war, and as the result the fall of overall education level in Tajikistan.
- 2) Migration of qualified pedagogical specialists.
- 3) Migration of qualified Russian speaking population.
- 4) Increasing role of Islam and Muslim clergy resulting in the activation of religious terminology is the result of it.

5) Elements of globalization in Tajik society, including the onset of computerization, the interest in studying English, the departure of some Tajik students to study in European, American and Canadian universities.

6) Introduction of new international terminology, which is also supported by the Tajiks residing in Russia.

7) The changes in the ways of the field work of Tajik language specialists in view of the changed social, political, and economic situation. This point will be stated below.

This paper focuses on researching the vocabulary of contemporary standard Tajik. This task requires communicating with the speakers of the standard language. These are rather hard to find in Moscow, since most of the Tajik immigrants use dialects. A fellowship of standard Tajik speakers is hardly possible in Moscow.

In the Soviet era, Russian-speaking researchers of the Tajik language from Moscow or Leningrad did not find any problems with data gathering, for all they had to do was to travel to the republic. Tajik Iranists were able to gather the material on the spot. The situation is different nowadays, and one is bound to content oneself with the available means, namely:

- 1) Using one's own linguistic store (this author is an ethnic Tajik);
- 2) Using new Tajik lexicographical data obtained in the Republic of Tajikistan (*vide infra*);
- 3) Using Tajik data gathered from the Internet, namely media (press, radio and TV broadcasting);
- 4) Sporadic fieldwork with Tajik speakers of the standard register.

The lexicographical material used here comprises the two-volume *Tajik-Russian Dictionary* (2004–2005) with 65,000 entries, the one-volume *Tajik-Russian Dictionary* (2006) that has 5,000 more entries added (70,000 entries), *Computer Dictionary of New Technologies* (1995), *Dictionary of Modern International Banking Terms* (1999), *English-Tajik Dictionary* (2005), etc.

The systematic comparison of the articles from these dictionaries with the entries from the older *Tajik Russian dictionary* of 1954 turns out to be very interesting. It shows that there is a great many of Persianisms, Arabisms, old and recent Russicisms (as well as international loan

words adopted via Russian) and Turkicisms in new dictionaries. The dictionary of 1954 was overladen with Russicisms. Below, I am going to confine myself to the fate of the Russicisms and will not touch on other adoptions (Arabisms, Persianisms, Turkicisms) or indigenously Tajik material. In general, the amount of Russicisms has been significantly reduced in the newer dictionaries. The most frequently used words have been kept, especially those of international origin, such as *автомобил* ‘automobile’, *биржа* ‘stock exchange’, *ватт* ‘watt’, *генетика* ‘genetics’, *канал* ‘channel; canal’, *лирика* ‘poetry’, *метро* ‘underground transit’, *нотариус* ‘notary’, *олимпиада* ‘Olympics’, *паспорт* ‘passport’, *рентген* ‘X-ray’, *танк* ‘tank’, *университет* ‘university’, *ферма* ‘farm’, *чемпион* ‘champion’, *шинел* ‘greatcoat’, *эксперт* ‘expert’. Lately, an Arab/Tajik compound *тарабхона* (*тараб* ‘fun’, *хона* ‘house’) has been used on par with the loan word *ресторан* ‘restaurant’. The Soviet-era political and ideological vocabulary has been removed, cf.: *агентура* ‘agents’, *агитатор* ‘propagandist’, *агитация* ‘agitation, campaigning, political activism’, *агитаторӣ* ‘related to political activism or agitation’, *агитколлектив* ‘propagandist team’, *агитпункт* ‘propaganda station’, *агрессия* ‘aggression’, *агрессор* ‘aggressor’, *агрессивӣ* ‘aggressive’, *анархия* ‘anarchy’, *анархизм* ‘anarchism’, *анархист* ‘anarchist’, *анархистӣ* ‘anarchistic’, *бюрократия* ‘bureaucracy’, *горисполком* ‘city executive committee’, *горком* ‘city committee’, *горсовет* ‘town Soviet’, *демонстрация* ‘demonstration’, *интернационал* ‘Internationale’, *комитет* ‘committee’, *комсомолдухтар* ‘female member of the Young Communist League’, *комсомолец* ‘(typically) male member of the Young Communist League’, *мандат* ‘mandate’, *нарком* ‘people’s commissar’ (i.e. minister), *наркомат* ‘people’s commissariat’, *партия* ‘party’, *пионер*, *пионерӣ* ‘juvenile male follower of the Young Pioneer movement’, *пионердухтар* ‘juvenile female follower of the Young Pioneer movement’, *пролетар* / *пролетарӣ* ‘proletarian’, *пропаганда* ‘propaganda’, *пропагандист* ‘propagandist’, *профком* ‘local trade union’, *профорг* ‘trade-union organizer’, *райисполком* ‘district executive committee’, *райком* ‘district committee’, *райсовет* ‘district Soviet/council’, *революционер* ‘revolutionary’, *ударник* ‘shock worker’ (an honorary title for a person displaying exemplary performance in a labor discipline), *утопия* ‘utopia’, *центризм* ‘centrism’, *эксплуататор* ‘exploiter’, *ячейка* ‘cell of an organisation’, etc. Of the abundant vocabulary related to the stem *партия*, the only entry left is that of the word.

Derivatives and composites have been removed with this stem, e.g.: *партком* ‘party committee’, *парткабинет* ‘political education room/office’, *партконференция* ‘party conference’, *парторз* (*ташкилотчи партиавӣ*) ‘local party leader’ and *партсъезд* (*съезди партия*) ‘party congress’. The word *бригада* ‘brigade, team of workers’ remains, but there is no entry for *бригадир* ‘foreman, workers’ team leader, taskmaster; brigade general (obsolete)’; however, as I have already stated above, the dictionaries have retained the calque/borrowing *пудрати оилавӣ* ‘family contract’. The Tajik derivative *стахановчӣ* ‘Stakhanovite’ (a person particularly successful in a labor discipline) is removed, and so on, and so forth. Old and contemporary neologisms have been added, including: *аудитор* ‘auditor’, *банкомат* ‘cash machine’, *вексел* ‘bill’, *гиперинфляция* ‘runaway inflation’, *дебитор* ‘debtor’, *еврокорт* ‘euro card’, *жетон* ‘counter, token’, *зеро-купон* ‘zero-coupon bond’, *индексация* ‘indexing’, *кадастр* ‘cadastre’, *лизинг* ‘leasing’, *монобанк* ‘mono bank’, *нота* ‘note’, *ордер* ‘order’, *прайм плюс* ‘prime plus’, *рейтинг* ‘rating’, *секьюритизация* ‘securitization’, *трансфер* ‘transfer’, *фьючерс* ‘futures’, *холдинг* ‘holding’, *чек* ‘check’.

Some Russicisms are given with a reference to their Tajik counterparts, cf.: *галстук* ‘tie’ vide *гарданбанд*; *метеор* ‘meteor’ vide *шиҳоб*; *мошинрон* ‘driver’ vide *ронанда*; *парад* ‘parade’ vide *расмигузашт*; *прожектор* ‘spotlight’ vide *нурафкан*; *транспортёр* ‘conveyor’ vide *наққола*; *турист* ‘tourist’ vide *сайёҳ*; *туристӣ* ‘tourist’ vide *сайёҳӣ*. Colloquial compound lexemes based on Russian and Tajik stems are also included, e.g. *газолуд* ‘gas pollution’; *картошакундорак* ‘potato harvester’; *милисахона* ‘police station’; *самбочӣ* ‘sambo wrestler’ (practitioner of the Soviet martial art); *телебарнома* ‘TV program’; *фотонусха* ‘photocopy’; *ноибконсул* ‘vice-consul’; *чандкорпуса* ‘multihull’; *зайристандарт* ‘Non-standard’; *байнибанкӣ* ‘interbank’; *ҳисоб-фактура* ‘invoice’.

Some historicisms have been kept or added: *большевик* ‘Bolshevik’, *граф* ‘graph’, *вексел* ‘bill’, *камзӯл* ‘camisole’, *княз* ‘prince’, *князигарӣ* ‘principality’, *конверт* ‘envelope’, *меншевик* ‘Menshevik’, *уезд* ‘district’, *фелдъегер* ‘state messenger, courier’. The Russicism *бушка* ‘barrel’, which we have found in a Tajik entry, is in fact a loanword based on Persian *boshke* ‘barrel’. The word is replaced by *баррел* in newer Tajik dictionaries, but the old one contains only the colloquialism *бочка*.

It is very important to mention the changes in Tajik **orthography**, the letters **ц, ы, ш, ь** having been excluded from the Tajik alphabet and correspondingly replaced by **с/тс, и, ш, –** (according to the Persian language). For instance, *сезий* ‘cesium’; *селлофан* ‘cellophane’; *селлулоид* ‘celluloid’; *селлюлоза* ‘cellulose’; *сенария* ‘scenario, script’; *сиклон* ‘cyclone’; *интернатсионализатсия* ‘internationalization’; *интерференсия* ‘interference’; *кондитсионер* ‘air conditioner’; *концепсия* ‘conception’; *конфронс* ‘conference’; *телекоммуникатсия* ‘telecommunication’; *трапетсия* ‘trapezium’; *конки* ‘skates’; *коняк* ‘cognac, brandy’; *модел* ‘model’; *модул* ‘module’; *пиеса* ‘play, piece of music’; *повест* ‘novel’; *релеф* ‘relief’; *рубл* ‘ruble’; *кеди* ‘gumshoes’; *лижа* ‘ski’; *Шёлково* ‘Scholkovo’, *Выборг* ‘Vyborg’ (city names); *Шерба* ‘Scherba’, *Шорс* ‘Schors’ (family names). Mixed lexemes of Russian/Tajik or Tajik/Russian origin, as well as the colloquial ones have been added: *автоматонидан* ‘automotize’, *газолуд* ‘gas-laden’, *гамманурхо* ‘gamma rays’, *сарконсул* ‘consul-general’, *чандкорпуса* ‘multihull’. Some hystorisms were kept or added: *галифе* ‘riding breeches’, *уезд* ‘district of the Russian Empire’, *губерния* ‘province of the Russian Empire’. The Russicism *Дума* ‘State Duma’ is labelled **historical realia** in the older dictionary but has no such label in the newer one due to political and social changes in Russia. The lexeme *губернатор* ‘governor’ is treated similarly. The international loan word *комиссариат* (borrowed via Russian) has been kept along with word-combinations that contain Tajik relational adjectives, for example, *комиссариати ҳарбӣ* ‘military registration and enlistment offices’. At the same time, a Russicism *военкомат* is used in the vernacular, and one may see this word-combination on the very sign boards of those offices.

If one looks at the names of city streets and squares, one may notice the replacement of Russicisms and Russian realia by Tajik lexemes. For instance, there are now *Хиёбони Рудакӣ* ‘Rudaki Avenue’ instead of *Хиёбони Ленин* ‘Lenin Avenue’, *Майдони Озодӣ* ‘Freedom Square’ instead of *Майдони Ленин* ‘Lenin Square’ (nowadays reinvented as *Майдони Исмоили Сомонӣ* ‘Isma’il ibn Ahmad Square’ to honor the Samanid emir of Transoxiana and Khorasan). One can see the same in newspapers’ titles, e.g. *Тоҷикистони Советӣ* ‘Soviet Tajikistan’ has become *Ҷумҳурият* ‘The Republic’, while *Комсомоли Тоҷикистон* ‘The Young Communist League of Tajikistan’ is now *Ҷавонони Тоҷикистон* ‘Tajikistani Youth’, etc.

At the same time, one may find quite a few newspapers with Russian titles, for example, *Аргументы и факты* ‘Arguments and Facts’, *Вечерний Душанбе* ‘The Dushanbe Evening Post’, *Памир* ‘The Pamirs’, *Русский язык и литература в школах Таджикистана* ‘The Russian language and literature in Tajikistani schools’, etc.

Names of offices and organizations can contain Tajik, international, Persian, and Russian vocabulary combined together, cf.: *Маркази фурӯши техника* (Technical Center Sales), *Агентии туристӣ* (Tourist agency), *Прокат столов и стульев. Барои беҳтарин рӯзи ҳаёт* ‘Tables and chairs for rent (in Russian). For the best day of your life (in Tajik)’; *Пажӯҳиши илмҳои педагогӣ* ‘research in pedagogy’ (literally, “pedagogical science”), *ҶСК «Тоҷикметал»* ‘Open Joint-Stock Company Tajikmetal’.

The word pairs from different languages on the signboards, mentioned above, convey similar meanings, but they may not actually be synonyms: *Прокат – Кироя* ‘Lease – Rent’, *Сигарет – Тамоку* ‘Cigarette – Tobacco’, *Пиво – Оби чав* ‘Beer – Barley water’, *Лотерея – Вомбарг* ‘lottery – bond’; the author has also found a Russian-language notice reading *Требуется официантка* ‘waitress needed’.

Most likely, the name pairs such as *сартарошхона – парикмахерская* ‘barbershop’, *ресторан – тарабхона* ‘restaurant’ (in classical Tajik-Persian, *tarabxona* has a literal meaning of “house of merriment”), etc. are intended for **varied locutionary targets** (both Russians and Tajiks) in the linguistically heterogeneous environment. This code switching, therefore, enables mutual understanding and relatively comfortable communication between people.

In some cases, it is difficult to state the origin of one of the words in such word-pairs or word-combinations clearly. See, for example, a signboard of the central ticket office in Dushanbe reads *чинтаҳои ҳавонаймӣ* ‘airplane tickets’, with a Persian adjective *ҳавонаймӣ* used instead of the Russicism *аэроплан* ‘airplane’). Here, *чинта* ‘ticket’ is the word widely spread in the vernacular and media; however, its origin is not quite clear. Cf. a phrase overtly borrowed from Persian: *асъори миллӣ ва хориҷӣ* ‘national and foreign currency’.

The given examples demonstrate the absence of an official norm in the modern period, which may be considered **transitional** for the Tajik language.



opinion stated in her letter), the word *мезмайёп* has been formed quite artificially and is not in use among the Tajiks.

According to T. Shokirov, a professor of Khujand University, the lexeme *бистро* in the city of Khujand has a little bit different reading of *мезну* (*мез* ‘quick, quickly’, *ну* ‘full, filled, a lot of’).

In S. Ayni’s dictionary one may find the entry *ну* ‘full, filled’ and the word-combination *хӯрдани ну* ‘to overeat, to stuff oneself’. Here S. Ayni makes a reference to *Layla and Majnun* by Nizami Ganjavi (1141–1209):

*Об арҷи ҳама зулол хезад,*

*Аз хӯрдани ну малол хезад.*

‘Though water comes forth transparent [from the entrails of the earth], // Overconsumption thereof causes much discomfort’ [5, 300].

According to the information received from the Tajiks residing in the USA, it was possible to hear the following Tajik expression with *ну*, namely *ман нурам* ‘I am full’, which is a loan translation of the American English *I am full*. This phrase is not used in Tajikistan or Iran, cf. Persian *man siram* ‘I am full’

In fact, many Russicisms and internationalisms that are not present in newer Tajik-Russian dictionaries are still being used in the Tajik language, especially in colloquial speech. Surely, to draw the conclusion, one is bound to spend more time and efforts on the ongoing field research in the Tajikistani environment.

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