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 22nd 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: забоати масунъй (Tajik) ‘artificial language’ – искусственный язык (Russian); хати иритиботи ‘communication line’ – линия связи; калимаи мохин ‘word’ (as a computing term) – машинное слово (literally, “machine word”); накиии 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 – гайрихудмухтор; identification – идентификация – шиносо. Sometimes it is difficult to determine where a term is calqued from, English or Russian, cf. regulator – регулятор – танзимкунанда; segmentation – сегментация – қисматбанди; transparency – прозрачность – шаффофият. In some cases there are adoption or calquing plus adoption from both Russian and Persian: microsystem – микросистема – резистем; automatics – атоматика – худкор; микропрограмма – резбарнома; supercomputer – суперкомпьютер – абаркомпютер; multi-graph – мультиграф – абаргроф. 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 бригадав – Russian бригадный подряд ‘brigade contract’; пудрати оилав – 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 (Кумитат забон ва истилохот), 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 пажуштагоҳ ‘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, Turkicisms (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 бо ‘he stood on my way’ instead of дар сари роҳи ман буд; мара чўқър бофаҳмен ‘do not misunderstand me’ instead of маро дуруст фаҳмед; ҳам ишкамби модарм сер бош mundial, ҳам ишкамби хўдам ‘that my mother was sick and that I was sick’ instead of ҳам ишками модарам сер бошад, ҳам ишками худам; мў ёрдам ‘I cried’ instead of ман гиристам; фаромўиш накне ‘don’t forget’ instead of фаромўиш накунед; у ҳозир хоб ‘he sleeps now’ instead of ӯ ҳозир хоб аст; ура кор назр ‘he didn't interfere him’ instead of ба ӯ кордор нашуд; ата ман пулдор ‘my dad was a rich man’ instead of падари ман пулдор буд; хешт табор ‘helped my relatives’ instead of хешу таборам ёрдам кардан; агар гапҳоями рост бароянд; ҳамаши дурўзай ‘that is a lie’ instead of ҳамаши дурўз 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 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
Derivatives and composites have been removed with this stem, e.g.: партком ‘party committee’, парткабинет ‘political education room/office’, партконференция ‘party conference’, партторг (ташилотчи партияви) ‘local party leader’ and партсъезд (съезды партии) ‘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 оилави ‘family contract’. The Tajik derivate стахановчи ‘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’, евроокр ‘euro card’, жетон ‘counter, token’, зеро-купон ‘zero-coupon bond’, индексация ‘indexing’, кадастр ‘cadastre’, лизинг ‘leasing’, монобанк ‘mono bank’, нота ‘note’, опред ‘order’, привлечение ‘prime plus’, рейтинги ‘rating’, сейкюритизация ‘securitization’, трансфер ‘transfer’, фьючерсы ‘futures’, хоздинг ‘holding’, чек ‘check’.

Some Russicisms are given with a reference to their Tajik counterparts, cf.: галстук ‘tie’ vide гарданбанд; метеор ‘meteor’ vide ишохоб; мошинрон ‘driver’ vide ронанда; парад ‘parade’ vide расмисизат; проектор ‘spotlight’ vide нурафкан; транспортир ‘conveyor’ vide накшола; турист ‘tourist’ vide сайёҳ; туристий ‘tourist’ vide сайёғуи. Colloquial compound lexemes based on Russian and Tajik stems are also included, e.g. газолюд ‘gas pollution’; картошка-ғурдорак ‘potato harvester’; милисахона ‘police station’; самбочь ‘sambo wrestler’ (practitioner of the Soviet martial art); телебарнома ‘TV program’; фотовошли ‘photocopy’; ноибконсул ‘vice-consul’; чандкорпс ‘multihull’; гайдристандарт ‘Non-standard’; байнибонк ‘interbank’; ҳисоб-фактура ‘invoice’.

Some historisms have been kept or added: большевик ‘Bolshevik’, граф ‘graph’, вексел ‘bill’, камзул ‘camisole’, княз ‘prince’, князгар ‘principality’, конверт ‘envelope’, меньшевик ‘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 ۀ, ی, ې, ɒ — having been excluded from the Tajik alphabet and correspondingly replaced by چ/ع, ې, ې, — (according to the Persian language). For instance, چسیز ‘cesium’; چسلوپان ‘cellophane’; چسلولوید ‘celluloid’; چسلولوژا ‘cellulose’; چسپاریا ‘scenario, script’; چسیکل ‘cyclone’; چاسپرتیسویالیزاتسیا ‘internationalization’; چاسپرتیفسیا ‘interference’; چکوندیسیونیر ‘air conditioner’; چکونسپسیا ‘conception’; چکونفرس ‘conference’; چتکلونکومونیکاتسیا ‘telecommunication’; چتیپسیا ‘trapezium’; چکونکی ‘skates’; چکونک ‘cognac, brandy’; چمدیل ‘model’; چمودیل ‘module’; پیسکا ‘play, piece of music’; چپوفس ‘novel’; چریئف ‘relief’; پییب ‘ruble’; چکدی ‘gumshoes’; پییجکا ‘ski’; چشلکو ‘Scholkovo’, چییور ‘Vyborg’ (city names); پییر ‘Scherba’, چیور ‘Schors’ (family names). Mixed lexemes of Russian/Tajik or Tajik/Russian origin, as well as the colloquial ones have been added: چافواتمونیدان ‘automatize’, چگازولود ‘gas-laden’, چگامونکور ‘gamma rays’, چسکونکسیا ‘consul-general’, چچانکورپوسا ‘multihull’. Some hystorisms were kept or added: چگالیفک ‘riding breeches’, چیزو ‘district of the Russian Empire’, چچوبنکی ‘province of the Russian Empire’. The Russicism چدوما ‘State Duma’ is labelled چهستریالا in the older dictionary but has no such label in the newer one due to political and social changes in Russia. The lexeme چگوبنکیتو ‘governor’ is treated similarly. The international loan word چکویمساریات (borrowed via Russian) has been kept along with word-combinations that contain Tajik relational adjectives, for example, چکویمساریاتی چاربی ‘military registration and enlistment offices’. At the same time, a Russicism چوئنکومویات 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 چییبونی چیئوبکا ‘Rudaki Avenue’ instead of چییبونی چئین ‘Lenin Avenue’, چییبونی چئویتی ‘Freedom Square’ instead of چییبونی چئین ‘Lenin Square’ (nowadays reinvented as چییبونی چئسهویل چیمبندکی چیئوبکا’Isma’il ibn Ahmad Square’ to honor the Samanid emir of Transoxiana and Khorasan). One can see the same in newspapers’ titles, e.g. چئوبکیو چئوبکیتو چوئسی ‘Soviet Tajikistan’ has become چچومغیریت ‘The Republic’, while چچوئسپموی چئوبکیوتو ‘The Young Communist League of Tajikistan’ is now چچاویوی چئوبکیوتو ‘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 туристи (Tourist agency), Прокат столов и стульев. Барои бештарин рӯзи ҳаёт ‘Tables and chairs for rent (in Russian). For the best day of your life (in Tajik); Пажӯҳїии ишмуои педагогӣ ‘research in pedagogy’ (literally, “pedagogical science’), ЧСК «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 сартарошона – 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 читпаҳои ҳавоаймои ‘airplane tickets’, with a Persian adjective ҳавоаймои used instead of the Russicism аэроплан ‘airplane’). Here, читпа ‘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: асьори милӣ 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.
To conclude, consider another word pair. A signboard of a café in Dushanbe airport reads Бистро – Тезтаиёр.

The word бистро ‘bistro’ is an international loan word, presumably of French origin (French bistro(t) < Russian быстро; the word appeared by the end of the Patriotic War of 1812 (the French invasion of Russia), when a part of Russian troops entered the territory of France, – probably based on the remark Быстро, быстро! ‘[Make it] quick! Quick!’ addressed to French restaurateurs]. In some countries, it means a canteen, a little restaurant) [1, 130].

The authenticity of this etymology is argued (for one thing, in A.V. Dybo’s spoken opinion). According to scholars dealing with Romance languages (for instance, I.I. Chelysheva in her personal letter), the etymology of the word bistrot from Russian «быстро» is considered as baseless. I hereby quote her letter, “If we agree with it, we shall presume the following: the French could hear it in 1814, when Russian troops entered Paris. However, it was only 1884 when the lexeme appeared in the French language as an argot word meaning ‘tavern-keeper, publican’ but not in a pub or café per se; in 1892, it acquired the reading ‘café’. This means that the Russians in Paris and the first mention of this word are separated by the gap of seventy years. Moreover, the proposed etymology makes the meaning ‘tavern-keeper’ unlikely. And one more point, … it was unlikely for Russian speakers, such as the Cossacks, coming along to drink alcohol, to say, Быстро! Быстро! ‘Quick! Quick!’ and not something like, Неси! Давай! ‘Bring it in! Come on!’, etc. This word with an unclear etymology is linked to the colloquial French word bastringue meaning ‘hop’, ‘dancing hall’, as well as ‘loud music in a café’. Moreover, the word bistraud ‘servant, apprentice’ in Poitevin (regional dialects of Poitou, the South-West of France) can be a probable etymon. There is another variant of origin, that of bistouille ‘bad wine, cheap alcohol’. For me, personally… bistrot is, first of all, a Parisian café (although, the aforementioned province of Poitou is situated South of Paris). It is not without reason that the modern meaning is ‘petit café à la française’, i.e. a small café in the French style” 1.

The Tajik lexeme тезтаиёр is a compound consisting of тез – ‘quick, quickly’, маиёр ‘ready, prepared’. According to F. Sharipova, PhD, a professor of Tajik National University (an

1 Professor Chelysheva refers to the following sources: Dictionnaire historique de la langue française. Sous la dir. de A. Rey. P., 1998; Trésor de la langue française (http://atilf.atilf.fr/).
opinion stated in her letter), the word тезпур has been formed quite artificially and is not in use among the Tajiks.

According to T. Shokirov, a professor of Khujand University, the lexeme быстро in the city of Khujand has a little bit different reading of тезпур (тез ‘quick, quickly’, пур ‘full, filled, a lot of’).

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

Об арчӣ ҳама зулол ҳезад,
Аз хўрдани пур мазол ҳезад.

‘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 пур, namely ман пурам ‘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 ман сирам ‘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.

References


