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SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF MODERN TAJIK PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS (PART II)

Keywords: Tajik language, public inscriptions, multilingual texts

Abstract

The present article deals with the Tajik language used in modern public inscriptions (sign-boards, sign-posts, billboard advertisements, political banners, etc.) documented in about 400 photographs taken in Tajikistan by various individuals in recent years. Some sociolinguistic problems are discussed (especially in the case of multilingual inscriptions) as well as morphology, vocabulary, word-formation and syntax of the texts in question.

1. Introduction

The present article is a second one dedicated to the study of the Tajik language used in modern public inscriptions, i.e. sign-boards, sign-posts, billboard advertisements, political banners, etc. The first part focused on the languages other than Tajik used in this type of inscriptions. It also included a classification of the inscriptions based on their content. Then the phonetics, phonology and orthography of Tajik inscriptions were analyzed. In this part of the paper their morphological structure will be analyzed.

1.1. Morphology

Noun inflection is limited to number in Tajik. Both native plurality markers, i.e. *-он* (see Perry 2005: 63) and *-ҳо*, can be observed in the analyzed material, e.g. *Тоҷикон* [71] ‘Tajiks’, *меҳмонон* [40, 44] ‘guests’, *зангҳо* [34, 84, etc.] ‘[phone]-calls’, *терминалҳо* [35] ‘terminals’. It has to be stressed that even though in modern Tajik the *-ҳо* marker may be used with any type of noun (Perry 2005: 63), it is found in the

analyzed corpus that it is only attached to inanimate, impersonal nouns. This suggests that the language of public inscriptions is rather conservative as it follows an older rule originating from the period of Classical Persian (that still exists in literary New Persian), according to which *-xo* is not used for people/persons (Rubinčik 2001: 111). Interestingly, *-xo* is also used for words borrowed from (or via) Russian, e.g. *курортҳо* [61]. As far as the plurals of Arabic origin are concerned, there are forms with the *-om* ending, e.g. *таҳсилот* [38] ‘studies’, which is typically used in Tajik for inanimate and abstract nouns (Perry 2005: 64). On the other hand, the ‘broken plurals’ are almost entirely absent from the analyzed material with the exception of some lexicalized forms (see Perry 2005: 65), e.g. *асъор* ‘currency’ [81] (Ar. أسعار: سعر).

Adjectives in Tajik are inflected only for grade. Most adjectives in the analyzed corpus are positive, e.g. *техникӣ* [37] ‘technical’, *экологӣ* [48], *исломӣ* [83], etc. There are no examples of the comparative grade, however, some superlatives are to be found, e.g. *муҳимтарин* [49] ‘the most important’, *бузургтарин* [49] ‘the biggest’. No forms other than those expected in the Persian of Iran are found in the analyzed corpus, with the exception of the use of the superlative, which may differ. While in Persian the superlative of an adjective in its attributive meaning is only placed before the noun (Rubinčik 2001: 133), in Tajik it is also possible to use it within the frame of a normal *izofat* construction (Perry 2005: 142). There are examples of this specifically Tajik use of the superlative in the analyzed inscriptions, e.g. *дастоварду муҳимтарин* [49] ‘the most important achievement’.

In the case of adverbs, even if – contrary to modern Persian – superlative forms may be found in Tajik (Perry 2005: 153), only positive and comparative grades are attested in the analyzed inscriptions, e.g. *хуш* [40] ‘well’, *наздиктар* [50] ‘more closely’, *муфассалтар* [72] ‘in detail, [more] precisely’.

As far as pronouns are concerned, only personal pronouns are well attested in the analyzed corpus. They include the forms of 1 sg. *ман* [36, 70], 2 sg. *ту* [66], 2 sg./pl. polite *Шумо*¹ [53, 67 etc.], 1 pl. *мо* [43, 52 etc.], 3 pl. *онҳо* [41]. These are quite often used in the *izofat* construction in the possessive sense [36, 60 etc.]. There is an extremely high frequency of the 1 personal pronoun pl., which is particularly prevalent in ideological and political declarations. These inscriptions are expected to strengthen the feeling of inclusiveness and participation, so the over-use of the pronoun *мо* is understandable.

Apart from these pronouns, only a few examples of the reflexive pronoun *худ* [69, 79] and indefinite pronouns like *ҳеҷ кас* and *ҳеҷ чиз* [46] are to be found in the analyzed inscriptions. An interesting example is the pronoun *Шумо* in inscription no. [53], where it is used as a name for an enterprise, and thus it is an example of a linguistic joke, as *Муассисаи Шумо* is “Enterprise Shumo” (such a reading is supported by the English variant of the inscription) but it may be also interpreted as “Your Enterprise”.

¹ A courtesy form based on the 2 pl. In the Tajik Cyrillic orthography the ordinary 2 pl. and polite 2 sg./pl. are clearly differentiated by the use of the capital *Ш* in the latter.

As far as verbal forms are concerned, Present Indicative tense forms are well attested, e.g. *мешавем* [50] ‘[we] become (1 pl.)’, *ҳаста[нд.]* [51] ‘are (3 pl.)’, *ба ҳисоб меравад* [33] ‘is counted [as] (3 sg.)’, *аст* [37, 45, etc.] / *-ст* [58] ‘is (3 sg.)’, *мегуем* [59] ‘[we] say (1 pl.)’, *дорад* [39, 66] ‘has (3 sg.)’, *-ем* [73] ‘[we] are (1 pl.)’, *месозем* [69] ‘[we] build (1 pl.)’, *ҳастам* [70] ‘[I] am (1 sg.)’, *бовар намекунам* [84] ‘I don’t believe (neg. 1 sg.)’, *расонида мешавад* [74] (3 sg. pass.), *дода мешавад* [74] ‘is given (3 sg. pass.)’, *барнамегарданд* [41] ‘do not come back (neg. 3 pl.)’, *мебошад* ‘[he/she/it] is²’ [62].

Most of the Present Indicative forms are used in expressions of general validity (Perry 2005: 212), e.g. in a citation from classical poetry: *ЗИ ШОИР ЗИНДА МЕМОНАД БА ГЕТӢ НОМ ШОҲОНРО* [39], as well as in political or ideological declarations like *ТАМАДДУНИ ОРИЁӢ ГАҲВОРАИ | МАЪНАВИИ ҶАҲОНИЁН АСТ.* [57]. Only a number of examples testify to the use of the Present Indicative in other functions, e.g. “*Мо Розунро бо дасти худ, бо саҳми худ, | бо дили саршор аз ватандӯстӣ месозем!*” [69], where the verbal form may be understood either as being used to express the action in progress at the moment of composing the inscription or – possibly – an action in the foreseeable future (Perry 2005: 211). An interesting example is provided by the GSM operator advertisement, “*Бовар намекунам | Зангҳо | ба ҳамаи | рақамҳо | о дир. | Beeline*” [84] (‘I don’t believe [it]. Call all numbers for o dir. Beeline’). The present tense seems to be also used to express future actions, e.g. on a Soviet-period World War II monument “*(...) ки ди-гар барнамегарданд.*” [41] ‘who will not come back.’

Simple Past tense forms may be noticed too, even if they are far less frequent. In isolated examples, such as “*БАҲОРИ | ОЛАМАФРӮЗ БА | ТОҶИКИСТОН | ОМАД*” [80] or “*миллати тоҷик ҷаиши | наврӯзро дар тӯли асрҳо | ба монанди забони | модарии худ неқӯ нигаҳ | дошт. | Эмомалӣ Раҳмон*” [79], *МО КУШОДА ШУДЕМ* [63] the Simple Past Tense is used in its most typical meaning, i.e. referring to an action performed and completed in the past (Perry 2005: 213). Nevertheless, most examples of what would be considered grammatically the past tense in the analyzed corpus are provided by the extensively used petrified phrase *хуш омадед* [38, 44, 55 etc.] ‘welcome’ and its variant *хуш омадӣ* (sg.) [75]. However, it has to be remembered that even if it is – from the formal point of view – the 2 pl. of the Simple Past Tense, in practice in the modern language, it is deprived of the reference to the past.

The Imperative (sg. and pl.), in turn, is more frequent, e.g. *бинарҳез!* [65] ‘abstain!’, and standard phrases, such as *лаззат баред* [52] ‘enjoy (pl.) sth.’ and *зинда бош* [36] ‘[long] live! (sg.)’. The prohibitive is attested by the form *нагузored!* [54] ‘do not leave [sth.]! (2 pl. neg.)’.

The Perfect Indicative is not very well attested. Wherever it is to be found, it is used in its primary, traditional function, i.e. as a resultative form, rather than the non-witnessed perfect (see Perry 2005: 218–219), e.g. “*(...) ҲЕЧ КАС ВА ҲЕЧ ЧИЗ | ФАРОМУӢШ НАШУДААСТ*” [46] (‘No-one and nothing has been forgotten’).

² An alternative present form of the verb *to be* (Perry 2005: 205).

The Definite Future Tense can be found in at least one inscription, “(...) *ки Тоҷикистонро (...) табдил хоҳад дод!*” [43] (‘(...) which will change Tajikistan’). The type of text in which the form in question appears (a solemn political declaration) agrees with what Perry notices about the Definite Future Tense in Tajik, i.e. that it is used in the literary style and may have an “asseverative nuance” (Perry 2005: 216).

Past participles that appear on their own (that is not as a part of complex verbal forms) may be found in the analyzed corpus too, e.g. *накарда гиря* [41] ‘not having cried’.

The archaic Optative form of the verb *to be* may be found in a number of solemn political declarations, e.g. “*Поянда бод, Истиқлолияти давлатии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон*” [64] (‘Let the independence of the Republic of Tajikistan be eternal!’) or in conventional festive greetings, like “*Наврӯзи | хуҷастанай | муборак бод, | дӯстон!*” [78] (‘Let Nawruz be happy [and] blessed, friends!’).

As far as the verb *to be* is concerned, apart from the stem *бош-*, forms based on the older version, i.e. *був-* are attested, too, c.f. *бувад* [77]. Statistically, the most frequently observed verbal form is the 3rd sg. Simple Present of the verb *to be*, i.e. *аст* /ast/ or its enclitic form *-ст* /-st/.

Interestingly, all or almost all of the verbal forms attested in the analyzed corpus belong to the common Fārsi-Tojiki inventory. In other words, none of the specifically Tajik forms, which are numerous, are to be found.

The attested prepositions include simple prepositions (*аз, бо, дар, то* etc.), both singly and in combinations, including some variants, like the poetical and/or stylistically marked variant of *аз*, i.e. *зу* [42]. Some derived prepositions (Perry 2005: 91) and prepositional phrases (Perry 2005: 93) are to be found as well, such as *ба сӯи ...* ‘in the direction of’, e.g. *ба сӯи ғарб* ‘to the west’ [42], *баро-и ...* ‘for; in order to’, e.g. *ҷой барои реклама* [68] ‘a place for an advertisement’. Specifically Tajik adpositions, e.g. *катӣ/қатӣ* (see Perry 2005: 91; Aliev, Okawa 2010) are not found.

Single prepositions (both simple and combined) are common in Tajik (including colloquial Tajik) and Fārsi and if there are subtle differences, these are mostly noticeable in the manner in which they are used (Aliev, Okawa 2010). It is probable that such minor peculiarities may be seen in some of the analyzed inscriptions, as in the use of *бар* as an independent preposition (Aliev, Okawa 2010), e.g. *бар дӯстон* ‘upon friends’ [76]. Similarly, the denominal preposition *баъд* is attested within the *izofat* phrase: *баъди соҳову асрҳо* [41], whereas in Persian it is normally used as a part of the complex preposition *بعد از* (Rubinčik 1970: 1.212).

There are also certain specific structures, such as the phrase *ба номи ...* wherever an object (a street, a school, etc.) is named after an individual, etc., e.g. *Донишгоҳи давлатии Кӯлоб ба номи Рудаки* [47], *кӯчаи ба номи М. Турсунзода* [56]. The modern Persian of Iran follows a different model, attaching the personal name to the name of the object in the *izofat* phrase, c.f. *دانشگاه شهید محشتی* etc.

The postposition *ро* is used in its literary form [42, 82, etc.] and there is no trace of the adpositions *ба, бо, да* (see Perry 2005: 104).

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- Rubinčik Yu.A. 2001. *Grammatika sovremenno persidskogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva.

Appendix

List of inscriptions

33. Tajik safari 2010-3-29 Dushanbe *меҳмонхонаи Тоҷикистон* [at:] <http://www.tajiksafari.com/public/userfiles/Hotels/Hotel%20Tajikistan/frant.jpg>
34. КРЫСМАН 2008-6-28b Dushanbe *Зангҳо ба Русия дар вақти шабона (...)* | *Звонки в Россию в ночное время* | [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11645942>
35. Шахриёр Ёров 2013-9-21 Dushanbe *ФУРЎШИ ТЕРМИНАЛҲОИ МАБЛАҒГУЗАРОНӢ (...)* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/96821584.jpg>
36. jahongard 2013-4-14 Dushanbe *ЗИНДА БОШ ЭЙ ВАТАН, ТОҶИКИСТОНИ ОЗОДИ МАН* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/92550085.jpg>
37. Damir-Kadyrov 2011-5-30 Dushanbe *МАРКАЗИ САВДОИ ТЕХНИКӢ | ИНТИХОБ НАМОӢН АСТ!* | *ТЕХНО СИЛА* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/53457338>
38. Хайриддин 2007-11-27 Dushanbe (...) *МАКТАБИ ТАҲСИЛОТИ МИЁНАИ УМУМИИ НО 51 (...)* | (...) *СРЕДНЯЯ ОБЩЕОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНАЯ ШКОЛА НО 51 (...)* | *ХУШ ОМАДЕД* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/34918142.jpg>
39. Parviz.Tj 2007-6-15 Panjikent *ЗИ ШОИР ЗИНДА МЕМОНАД БА ГЕТӢ НОМ ШОҲОНРО* || *ФУРӢФ АЗ РӢДАКӢ ДОРАД ЧИРОҒИ ДУДАИ СОМОН* | *ز شاعر زنده می ماند* || *Тоҷикистон эҳёи давлати Сомониён аст!* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/2759133>
40. zachheise 2009-5-17 Khorugh *ХУШ ОМАДЕД МЕҲМОНОН! (МЕХМОНОН)* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/34258940>
41. gundomar 2009-5-29a Khujand *БА ЁД ОРЕД!* | *БАЪДИ СОЛҲОВУ АСРҲО ЁРОН,* | *БА ЁД ОРЕД!* | *ОНҲОРО, КИ ДИГАР БАРНАМЕГАРДАНД.* | *НАКАРДА* | *ГИРЯВУ ЗОРӢ НАКАРДА НОЛАЮ АҲҲОН,* | *ШАҲИДОНРО* | *ШАВЕД АРЗАҲДА* | *ОНҲО ЧУН ФИДО КАРДАНДӢ* || 1941 * 1945 || *ПОМНИТЕ!* | *ЧЕРЕЗ ГОДА,* | *ЧЕРЕЗ ВЕКА,* | *О ТЕХ, КТО УЖЕ НЕ ПРИДЕТ НИКОГДА* | *ПОМНИТЕ.* | *НЕПЛАЧЬТЕ!* | *В ГОРЛЕ ЗДЕРЖИТЕ* | *СТОНЫ, ГОРКИЕ СТОНЫ.* | *ПАМЯТИ ПАВШИХ БУДТЕ* | *ДОСТОИНЫ!* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/30169760>
42. gundomar 2009-5-29b Khujand *МО БА ИСТИҚБОЛИ* | *БОНГУ НАЪРАҲОИ* | *РАЪДУ БАРҚ* | *ҚАҲРАМОНОНА* | *БА ҶАНГИ БЕАМОН БАРҲОСТЕМ,* | *ОҲТОБОСО БА СӢИ* | *ҒАРБ РАҲТА,* | *МО ЗИ ШАРҚ* | *КОҲИ(?) БАХТИ* | *ОДАМИРО ДАР ҶАҲОН* | *ОРОСТЕМ* || (...) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/30169860>
43. Чутанов Атабек 2010-4-16 Konibodom *Конибодом гушаи хушманзараи диёри мо буда, бо обу хоки зархезу [пурбаракаташ] на танҳо* | *макони пахта ва меваҳои шаҳдбор, балки парваришиҳои кадрҳои [хушлаёқату] тавоно мебошад,* | *Эмомалӣ Раҳмон* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/51373612.jpg>
44. Solti 2007-10-8 Isfara *Хуш омадед,* | *Меҳмонони азиз!* || *Добро пожаловать,* | *дорогие гости!* [at:] <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/9839493.jpg>

45. Асагулло Узаев 2010-5-27a Isfara 20 сол | *Истиқлолият ободии макон, | фйайзу шукӯҳи диёр аст.* | 1991-2011 [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/36023520>
46. Rustam Khalikov 2008-6-20 Khorugh 1941 1[945] | *ҲЕҶ КАС ВА ҲЕҶ ЧИЗ | ФАРОМУШ НАШУДААСТ* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11560010>
47. sulaymon shobek 2007-7-6 Kulob *Донишгоҳи давлатии Кӯлоб ба номи Рудаки* (sic) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/4443240>
48. sulaymon shobek 2007-7-6 Kulob *МАРКАЗИ | ЭКОЛОГӢ || ECOLOGICAL | CENTER* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/4443318>
49. ackoreo 2011-10-7b Qurghontepa *ИСТИҚЛОЛИЯТИ ДАВЛАТӢ ДАСТОВАРДИ МУҲИМТАРИН | ВА БУЗУРГТАРИНИ ТАЪРИХИ НАВИНИ ХАЛҚИ | ТОҶИКИСТОН МЕБОШАД.* | *ЭМОМАЛӢ РАҲМОН* [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/61364801>
50. kasp 2008-7-26b Vahdat *Мо наздиктар мешавем!* | (...) | *панандозҳо* | (...) | *Маблагзӯзори | аз 100\$ то 300 000\$* | (...) [at:] <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/58296161>
51. <http://ds-lands.com> 2014-8-15b Dushanbe *ЗИЁИЁН | НЕРУ ВА | ЧАВҲАРИ | АҚЛОНИИ | МИЛЛАТ, | ҚУВВАИ | ПЕШБАР[АНДАИ] | ҶОМЕ[А] | ҲАСТА[НД.] | ЭМОМАЛӢ РАҲМОН* [at:] <http://ds-lands.com/photo/cities/dushanbe/10/>
52. Joao Leitao JoaoleitaoTRAVEL 2012-6-12g Dushanbe *ТАРАБХОНАИ | Кӯҳсор | Аз маззаи таомҳои | хотирмони мо лаззат баред || Kuhсор | RESTAURANT | Join us for a dinner to remember* | (...) [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joaoleitao/8134259741/>
53. Joao Leitao JoaoleitaoTRAVEL 2012-6-12h Dushanbe *Муассисаи | Шумо || Internet & Digital Services | Shoma* [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joaoleitao/8134259741/>
54. Le*Gluon 2011-6-11 Dushanbe *НАГУЗОРЕД | НЕ ОСТАВЛЯЙТЕ* [at:] https://www.flickr.com/photos/le_gluon/5820406913/
55. abudulloh1988 2011-5-24 Isfara *Хуш омадед ба Исфараи бостонӣ* [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/63290521@N07/5756659985/sizes/o/in/photostream/>
56. Dean Chahim Dean.Chahim 2011-8-11 Istaravshan *кӯчаи | ба номи | М. Турсунзода | 91* [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chahim/6310663339/>
57. placchic 2010-2-14 Khujand *ТАМАДДУНИ ОРИЁИ ҲАҲВОРАИ | МАЪНАВИИ ҶАҲОНИЁН АСТ.* [at:] <https://www.flickr.com/photos/27304941@N08/5638563065>
58. Alex Kühni alex_photo_82 2013-10-28 Khorugh *СУЛҲ | МАЪНИИ | ТАЪРИХИ | МОСТ* [at:] https://www.flickr.com/photos/alex_kuehni/10965062064/
59. Talking Tajik 2011-12-17 Tajikistan *БА РИШВА | дар баҳши маориф | НЕ! МЕГУЕМ | 9 декабр | рӯзи умумиҷаҳонии мубориза бо ришва* [at:] <http://talkingtajik.blogspot.com/2011/12/until-2012-taj.html>
60. 2012-11-24 Dushanbe *24 ноябр | ПАРЧАМИ ТОҶИКИСТОН | МУҚАДДАСОТ ВА | РАМЗИ МИЛЛИИ МОСТ!* [at:] <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2012/11/24/time-to-change-tajikistans-flag/>
61. 2014-10-6 Dushanbe *ҶУМҲУРИИ ТОҶИКИСТОН || ҶАМЪИЯТИ САҲОМИИ КУШОДАИ | “КУРОРТҲОИ ТОҶИКИСТОН” || ОТКРЫТОЕ АКЦИОНЕРНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО | “КУРОРТҲОИ ТОҶИКИСТОН” || OPEN JOINT STOCK COMPANY | “KURORTNOI TOJIKISTON”* [at:] <http://www.kurort.tj/en/contacts.html>
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63. Vdushanbe.ru 2014-10-11 Dushanbe *МО КУШОДА ШУДЕМ* [at:] <http://vdushanbe.ru/catalog/shops/torgovo-ofisnyj-centr-rudaki-plaza/>
64. Zack Knowles 2014-10-12a Istaravshan *Поянда бод, Истиқлолияти давлатии Ҷумҳурии Тоҷикистон* [at:] http://tj.worldmapz.com/photo/161_en.htm

65. Zack Knowles 2014-10-12b Istaravshan *Аз амали бад бипарҳез!* [at:] http://tj.worldmapz.com/photo/161_en.htm
66. Ozodagon 2014-9-5 Tajikistan *КОРРУПСИЯ | Муқовимати ту | аҳамияти калон дорад!* [at:] <http://www.ozodagon.com/17944-peshniodi-honanda-misli-kdak-dar-shabakaoi-itimo-girya-nakuned.html>
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