

YAGHNOBI: AN EXAMPLE OF A LANGUAGE IN CONTACT*

1. History of Yaghnobi and its language contacts

Yaghnobi (*yaghnóbí z'vók*) is an Eastern Iranian language spoken in areas of northern Tajikistan. Originally the language of the Yaghnob (Yagh. *Yáynōb*) valley, at present the language is also spoken in the Zafarobod district, in the Ziddeh and Takob valleys in Upper Varzob, in Lower Varzob, in Dushanbe, in the Hisor and Kofarnihon valleys, and in the Ghonchī region (Figure 1.). We can suppose that in the past centuries the language was spoken in a wider area of the Yaghnob and Zeravshan valleys as can be documented by some place-names and dialectal lexicon shared with Yaghnobi¹. According to Hromov some Yaghnobis settled the southern slopes of Hisor Range in the 16th-17th centuries (HROMOV 1972, 6), probably at the same time some Yaghnobis also settled in the Ghonchī region (BUZURGMEHR 2005, 121). Later on in the 1950's they got to the areas in vicinity of Dushanbe and to Dushanbe itself. In the 1970 and 1971 the people were forced to leave the Yaghnob and to settle in the Zafarobod² district – after the 1980's some of the people moved from Zafarobod back to the Yaghnob valley. According to the data provided by Sayfiddin Mirzozoda, a Yaghnobi scholar of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, there are about 12 500 Yaghnobi-speakers in Tajikistan (MIRZOZODA, pers. comm.). For the history of the Yaghnobi people I recommend the following works: BUZURGMEHR 2005; BASHIRI 1997 [online]; LOY 2005; MIRZOZODA 2007; JUNKER 1930; PANFILOV 1991, MILOVSKIJ 1991 and YORZODA 2007.

The Yaghnobi language was considered to be a descendent of Sogdian by many scholars (cf. BOGOLJUBOV 1956; KLIMČICKIJ 1935); both languages share many similar features in lexicon, grammar and phonology, but the direct relationship of Yaghnobi to literary Sogdian has not been proved, the main difference between Yaghnobi and Sogdian is the different development of historical stress and rhythmic law (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989, 173; BIELMEIER 1989, 480). It seems that Yaghnobi developed from a non-preserved dialect of Sogdian. There is a suggestion that Yaghnobi could be a descendent of a dialect of ancient Ostrushana³ (HROMOV 1987, 645;

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¹ Mallickij observed that some of Tajik-speaking inhabitants of Takfon used numerals 2, 3, 4 and 5 similar to those found in Yaghnobi: *дуау, тирпау, тугфор, пондж* (MALLICKIJ 1924), cf. Yagh. *du, saráy / t'ráy, tafór / t'fór, panč* × Taj. *du, se, čor, panj* – those archaic numerals are no longer used in Takfon, but they show a possibility that some other dialects related to Yaghnobi might have been spoken also in the vicinity of Yaghnob valley in the past.

² The Yaghnobis often refer to Zafarobod as to *Zahfarōbód* – the name was changed by folk-etymology to represent the unwillingness of the people to live there: *zah* means 'mud' or 'filth' in Yaghnobi and Tajik. For the people who used to live in the high mountain valley with clean water and fresh air it was really hard to accustom to the steppe conditions of Zafarobod with hot weather and muddy water.

³ We have no exact idea how the Sogdian dialect of Ostrushana differed from the "literary language" known from various documents, we know only three short texts are known from the territory of Ostrushana from the fortress of Chilhujra south of Shahrison, Tajikistan. There is no dialectal difference between those three short texts from Chilhujra in comparison to texts in the "literary" Sogdian; they can be comparable with contemporary documents from the Mount Mugh near to Xayrobod (cf. LIVŠIC 2003). The Yaghnob valley was a part of Ostrushana's southern region called *Buttám* or *Buttamán* (Sogd. *pyttm'n*, Arab. *بتمان* or *بتم*).

BUZURGMEHR 2005, 117). After the fall of Sogdiana the language was under the influence of the Persian language, but we cannot tell precisely when the Persian influence began (Vinogradova notes that the strong influence of Persian on Yaghnobi begun in the second half of 19th century; VINOGRADOVA 1999, 309). In the present stage of knowledge of the language the really strong influence of Persian can be seen especially in the lexicon, but some grammatical features are shared, too. Persian was not the only contact language of Yaghnobi, also there are many borrowings from other surrounding languages, even Arabic, Uzbek and Kyrgyz, and in recent years borrowings from Russian appeared (and via Russian also international words were introduced to Yaghnobi).

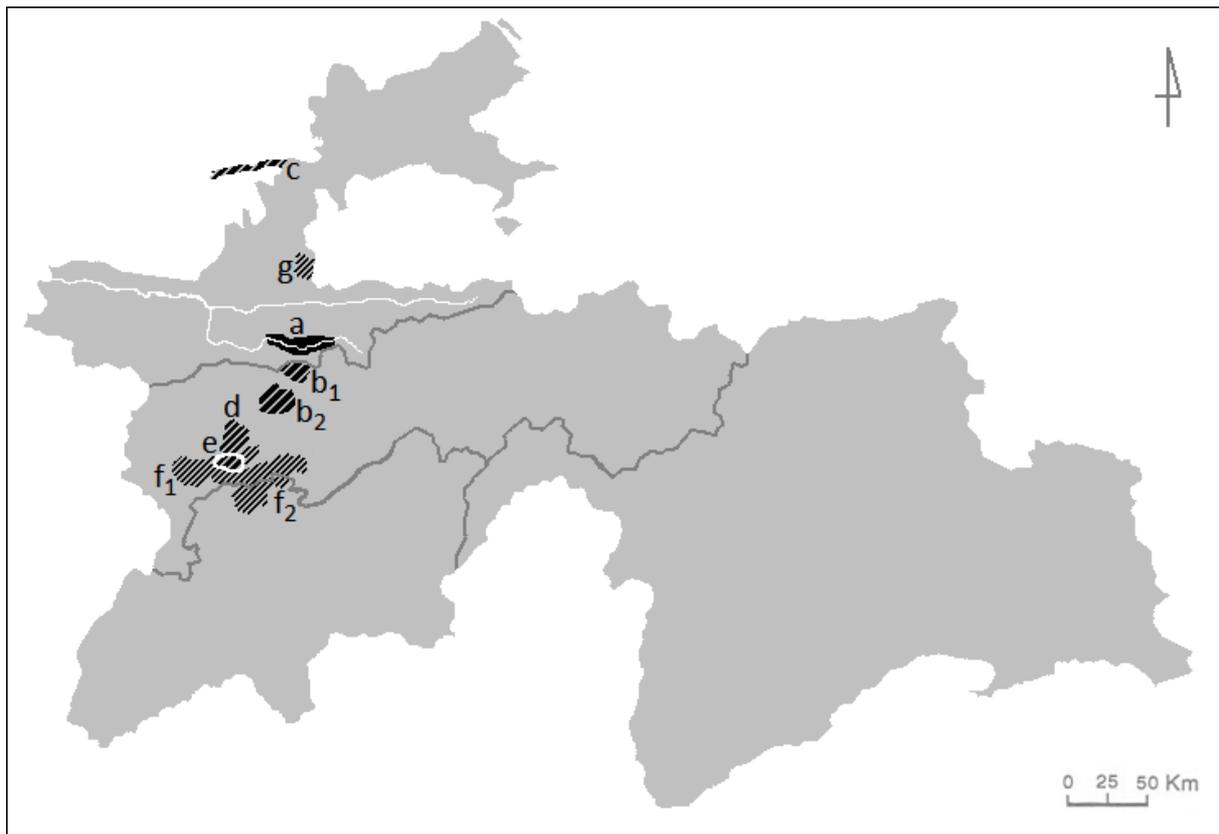


Figure 1. Main areas populated by the Yaghnobis in Tajikistan: a - Yaghnob valley, b₁ - Ziddeh valley (Upper Varzob), b₂ - Takob valley (Upper Varzob), c - Zafarobod, d - Lower Varzob, e - city of Dushanbe, f₁ - Hisor valley, f₂ - Kofarnihon valley, g - Ghonchī region. (*Shading shows relative homogeneity of Yaghnobi population in given areas*)

Etymological research of Yaghnobi is at its beginnings. There are only three main sources utilizable for etymological studies – a Yaghnobi-Russian dictionary by ANDREJEV – LIVŠIĆ – PISARČIK (1957) published together with Yaghnobi texts (ANDREJEV – PEŠČEREVA 1957), the Yaghnobi glossary of Salemann (BENVENISTE 1955) and an outline of historical grammar by HROMOV (1987). In the two above mentioned dictionaries and also in a small dictionary attached to Hromov's Yaghnobi grammar (HROMOV 1972) brief etymological information is given. However, in the case of the lexicon shared with Tajik a precise etymology is not given, so in some cases we have to undertake further study to distinguish words of Arabic or Uzbek origin.

In this paper I will deal with the Yaghnobi language as an example of a language in contact. This topic was not focused much in previous studies of Yaghnobi. Some basic data can be found in Hromov's Yaghnobi Grammar in a short chapter dealing with an issue of bilingualism of the Yaghnobis (HROMOV 1972, 105-118). To solve this problem, it is necessary to focus on several questions concerning other languages which have been in contact with Yaghnobi. I have

specified some of those languages in previous paragraphs. Let's have a look at them in a greater detail:

a) **Persian/Tajik:** Tajik⁴ could be considered the main influence on Yaghnobi. In contemporary Tajik we recognise 4 main dialectal groups: the South-eastern/Darvoz type, the Southern type, the Central/Zeravshan type and the Northern type (RASTORGUJEVA 1964). In the case of Yaghnobi the central type is the dialectal group in question. The dialects of the Zeravshan type are divided into two main subtypes – the dialects of the Mastchoh area and the dialects of the Falghar region. For the Yaghnobi-speaking settlers in Upper Varzob it is necessary to focus also on the possible relations with the Varzob dialect of the northern dialectal group. A study of the Tajik dialects in comparison with the historical development and lexicon of Yaghnobi yields some interesting features. The Zeravshan type dialects share many similar features with Yaghnobi itself, their precise study can offer an outline of some possibilities of mutual influence and can be compared with the historical development of Yaghnobi. This question will be discussed later in this paper.

b) **Arabic:** The extent of Arabic borrowings in Yaghnobi is comparable with those in Tajik: many cultural words were borrowed that cover many fields of the lexicon. They are mainly connected with religion and law. The influence of the Arabic lexicon on the Central Asian languages is quite large. Nowadays many words are not even considered to be borrowings: this is because non-native sounds were phonologically adapted to the borrowing language. Also the replacement of Perso-Arabic alphabet by the Latin and later the Cyrillic alphabet caused the loss of some etymological information⁵. Also many typical features of Arabic (mainly the so-called *broken plurals*) were lost or transformed to be similar to the grammatical structure of the borrowing language, e.g. Yagh. pl. *kⁱtóbt* (sg. *kⁱtób*, 'book') instead of the Arab. broken plural *kutub* (sg. *kitāb*), cf. Taj. pl. *kitobhó* (Pers. *kitāb*, plural *kutūb* or *kitābhā*), Uzb. pl. *kitāblar*, but cf. Chaghatay pl. *kütüblär*. In contrast to Tajik, Yaghnobi preserves the distinct pronunciation of Arabic *w*, in Tajik it merges with *v*. Yaghnobi and the Northern and Central Tajik dialects also distinguish both pharyngeal sounds *ħ* and *ʕ* while in standard Tajik *ħ* merged with *h*. Arabic sounds *ʔ* and *ʕ* merge into *ʕ* in Tajik, but this sound is preserved only before or after a consonant, it is lost word-initially and between vowels.

c) **Turkic languages:** Turkic words also form a major part of the borrowed lexicon of both Yaghnobi and Tajik. Many of those words are early borrowings from the period of the Turkic expansion. Those words appeared in some numbers also in Sogdian, but the majority of turkisms come from the later periods of intensive contacts between Iranians and the Karluk and Kypchak Turks. Because Yaghnobi has been recorded for no more than 100 years we can hardly tell whether Turkic words came into the language directly from Turkic languages or whether they were borrowed via Tajik – loans from Uzbek could have come into Yaghnobi directly, Kyrgyz and partly Kazakh or Uyghur words were probably borrowed via Tajik. Through Turkic also some Mongol words were introduced into Tajik and Yaghnobi.

d) **Russian:** Russian influences in Yaghnobi and mainly in Tajik took place in particular after the October Revolution in 1917. Many words from Latin came in their Russian form into Tajik. In Tajik the Russian words keep the original pronunciation; on the other hand

⁴ I use the term *Tajik* to mean the Tajik dialects of (Classical) Persian with its specific dialectal features that differ from other development of Persian in Iran and Afghanistan. By Persian I mean Classical Persian (i.e. *fārsī-yi darī*), when speaking about its modern variant in Iran I will refer to it as to Farsi.

⁵ In comparison to the original Perso-Arabic alphabet used for writing Persian/Tajik or Chaghatay/Uzbek e.g. Cyrillic letter *х* represents *ح* and *ح* in Arabic, letter *з* can represent even four letters of the Arabic script: *ذ*, *ز*, *ض*, *ظ* and so on; Arabic letters *ع*, *ء* are represented as *н* in Cyrillic or are omitted in writing.

The question is whether Yaghnobi as a substrate could have influenced similar changes in the Zeravshan dialects, or if this parallel is a Tajik dialectal feature influencing Yaghnobi. Bielmeyer suggests that the Yaghnobi change $*\delta > d$ (BIELMEIER 2006 [online]) and the raising of pre-nasal $*\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$ were triggered by Tajik (BIELMEIER 1989; BIELMEIER 2006 [online]). In Yaghnobi and in Tajik there is also a similar development of the Iranian ending $*-\bar{a}k\bar{a}- > -a$ (in Sogdian $*-aka- > *-ě$, $*-\bar{a}k\bar{a}- > *-\bar{a}$). Those changes show some Yaghnobi-Tajik phonetic similarities but they do not tell us whether they were affected by Tajik or developed independently. Regarding the change $*\delta > d$ Hromov writes that we cannot posit $*\delta$ as a part of the early-Yaghnobi sound inventory, because we would expect the different development in Yaghnobi dialects: $*\delta > \text{ʃz}$ (E) : ʃd (W), cf. documented change $*\theta > s$ (E) : t (W) (HROMOV 1972, 121)¹¹. Similarly the change of the Persian borrowing *guḏar-* : *guḏaštán* > *g^udarak*, Tajik *guzar-* : *guzastán* (Farsi *gozār-* : *gozāštán*), ‘to pass’ (cf. ANDREJEV – LIVŠIĆ – PISARČIK 1957, 255). The alternation $\bar{o} : \bar{u} < *-\bar{a}$ in front of a nasal is observed in the Southern and Central Tajik dialectal groups (RASTORGUJEVA 1964, 28) and also in many other modern Western Iranian languages and dialects¹². The lowering of historical $*i$ before $*b$ in a closed syllable in Yaghnobi is similar to Tajik: this example can be illustrated by the verb $*dihak$, ‘to hit’ – historically when an ending beginning in a consonant was added, the root $*dih-$ changed into *deb-*: *man dih-ómišt*, ‘I hit’ × *ax déh-tišt*, ‘he hits’. In contemporary language this change is realised completely in all positions, so we do not have the root $*dih-$ any more, it was replaced by *deb-* (unfortunately this feature cannot be illustrated on other examples because the sound *b* is rare in genuine Yaghnobi words).

In contemporary Yaghnobi the opposition long vs. short vowels is disappearing under the influence of Tajik. Vowel length is related with word-stress similarly to contemporary Tajik (VINOGRADOVA 1999, 291). Due to the shortening of historical long vowels, length is not consistently marked in Yaghnobi dictionaries and textbooks printed in Tajikistan (cf. MIRZOZODA 2007; *ibid.* 2008; MIRZOZODA – ALAVĪ 2008; MIRZOZODA – QĀSEMĪ 1995). On the other hand the disappearance of length did not influence the quality of the vowels. In the

difference at all (cf. IDO 2009). In the Tajik alphabet the letter \bar{n} (transliterated \bar{i}) is used to distinguish word-final (stressed) *i* from the izafet.

¹⁰ The Tajik change $*i > e$ and $*\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ (IPA [ø:]) takes place before *b* (i.e. $*b$ or $*\bar{b}$) and ʃ (i.e. $*\text{ʃ}$ or $*\text{ʃ}$) in closed syllables, e.g. *kūbná* < Pers. *kubná*, ‘old, ancient’; *mehmón* < Pers. *mibmán*, ‘guest’; *rūb* < Arab. *rūḥ*, ‘soul, spirit’; *mūšmín* < Arab. *muʿmin*, ‘faithful’; *ešlón* < Arab. *išlān*, ‘announcement’; *šabéh* < Arab. *šabih*, ‘alike, equal’. This change was rarely documented in historical Perso-Arabic orthography, e.g. *mehmón* was written *ميهمان* instead of more common *مهمنان*. The change $*\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ is also recorded in vicinity of the Arabic pharyngealized consonants in some Tajik words, e.g. *sūfi* (Pers. *šūfi*) < Arab. *šūfi*, ‘a Sufi, dervish’, *arūz* (Pers. *šarūz*) < Arab. *šarūd*, ‘meter (in poetry)’.

¹¹ We do not know the status of $*\delta$ in early-Yaghnobi. Based on the observations of Junker (as one of the earliest accurate scholars writing on Yaghnobi) we can tell that the change $*\delta > d$ occurred earlier than the change $*\theta > t : s$. Junker writes that the older generation in the Yaghnob valley kept the pronunciation θ , but the younger speakers substituted *t* in the western dialect and *s* in the eastern dialect for it, but he does not mention $*\delta$ (cf. JUNKER 1930, 128). These two sounds often do not behave as a class – cf. Old Persian and Western Germanic languages.

¹² The raising of pre-nasal $*\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$ seems to differ in Yaghnobi dialects. In the dialect of Gharmen (Eastern Yaghnobi), there are some words that have undergone the change, but in many other words \bar{o} has remained unchanged. On the other hand in the pronunciation in the dialect of Zumand (Western Yaghnobi) I recorded that this change has been fully realised: e.g. *nūm*, *nūn*, *tafarómišt*, *múnómišt*, $\text{°}xóna$ (Gharmen) : *nūm*, *nūn*, *t^ʃfarúmišt*, *múnūmišt*, $\text{°}xúna$ (Zumand) < $*nām$, $*nān$, $*\theta\bar{a}rámíšt$, $*mánāmíšt$, $(\text{°})xāná$ – ‘name, bread, I give, I put, house’; cf. *nūm*, *nūn*, *xúná*, *dandún* (< *nām*, *nān*, *xāná*, *dandán* – ‘name, bread, house, teeth’) in the Zeravshan dialects (RASTORGUJEVA 1964, 28).

scholarly notation of the language it is necessary to mark the (historical) length to determine the different vowel quality in the Yaghnobi pronunciation¹³.

The proto-Yaghnobi phonemic opposition of unvoiced stop vs. voiced fricative¹⁴ (**p* : **v* < **β*, **k* : **ɣ*, **č* : **ž* but **t* : **d* < **ð*) disappeared with Tajik borrowings; voiced stops were not native in proto-Yaghnobi but they were introduced by Tajik (cf. BIELMEIER 2006 [online]). In contrary to Persian and Sogdian the consonantal groups *nd*, *ng*, *mb* are not allowed in Yaghnobi, there are only *nt*, *nk*, *mp* in comparison to Sogdian. Place-names of Sogdian or Yaghnobi origin in Tajikistan show those groups as a combination of a nasal and voiced stop but we do not know whether those Tajik borrowings show the original pronunciation or if they have undergone the process of voicing of the stops that we know from the historical development of Persian. Some early borrowings from Tajik in a way respect the Yaghnobi opposition of unvoiced stops vs. voiced fricatives. HROMOV gives an example of two Tajik loans, where we can see the change of Tajik *g* into Yaghnobi *k*: *kūr* < Pers. *gōr*, ‘barrow’; *k^usélak* < Pers. *gusél kardán*, ‘to send’ (HROMOV 1987, 565). Other examples of devoicing of voiced stops are *xapár* (E) : *xⁱpár* (W) < Pers. *xabár* < Arab. *ḥabar*, ‘information’ (HROMOV 1972, 85); *lakát* (E) : *lⁱkát* (W) < Pers. *lagád*, ‘a kick’; *ōtaškirák* < Taj. *otašgirák*, ‘pincers’. Some words show the change *b* > *m* or *m* > *b* as *kásⁱm* < Pers. *kasb* < Arab. *kasb*, ‘craft, occupation’; *mūs* < Pers. *bōsá* (in the dialect of Mastchoh *mūs*), ‘a kiss’; *falaxbán* < Pers. *falaxmán*, ‘sling’; *tamassúm* < Pers. *tabassúm* < Arab. *tabassum*, ‘a smile’ (the change **m* > *b* can be seen also in the Yaghnobi word *bⁱdón*, ‘middle’ × Sogd. *myðⁿ* */*miðán*/, Pers. *miyán* < Iran. **madyāna*-). Whether **d* was loaned as *t* we can not tell accurately. Probably the opposition **t* : **ð* changed to **t* : **d* in earlier stage of the language (BIELMEIER 1989, 482). In the phonology of loans a tendency to change **š* > *č* and **ž* > *ǰ*: *ōč* < Taj. *oš*, ‘pilař’; *čapalóq* < Taj. *šapalóq* < Uzb. *šapałāq*, ‘slap’; *ǰóla* < Pers. *žálá*, ‘hail’; *mǰya* < Pers. *mižá*, ‘eyelash’; the change *ž* > *ǰ* is common also in colloquial Tajik and in Uzbek. Early borrowing may be *čuryót* / *čuryót*, ‘yoghurt’ < Pers. (dialect of Samarqand; STEINGLASS 1892, 365) *ǰuryát*, Taj. *ǰuryót* / *ǰuryót* (< Kypchak dialect of Uzbek **ǰuryát*) – this example shows change **ǰ* > *č* (this word appears also as *ǰuryót* due to recent contacts with Tajik).

Another characteristic that Yaghnobi shares with Central Tajik dialects is the preservation of the distinction of the pharyngeal sounds *ħ*, *ʕ*¹⁵. In many texts they appear as an integral part of the phonetic system (cf. HROMOV 1972, 13; HROMOV 1987, 651; BIELMEIER 1989, 482; BIELMEIER 2006 [online]; VINOGRADOVA 1999, 292). According to Sayfiddin Mirzozoda there is no difference between *ħ* and *ħ* in the contemporary language – they merge into one sound – *ħ*. The pharyngeal sound *ʕ* is documented just in one Yaghnobi word – *šaħmák*, ‘soot’ (MIRZUZODA, pers. comm.; ibid. 2008, 252), in other cases it disappears (*ǰumá* < Pers. *ǰumʕá* < Arab. *ǰumʕaʕ*, ‘Friday’) or lengthens the preceding vowel (*lālī* < Pers. *laʕlī*, ‘bowl’; *ǰām* < Pers. *ǰamʕ* < Arab. *ǰamʕ*, ‘sum, amount’; cf. HROMOV 1972, 12; see also *tārīx* < Pers. *taʕrīx* (Farsi *tārīx*,

¹³ The quality of Yaghnobi short *i* and *u* differs according to the adjacent consonants, but this does not occur for *i* and *u*. If the length marks are omitted, Yaghnobi words would be written in a transcription appropriate to the phonology, but unfortunately some etymological information can be lost. In the ideal case both the historical-etymological and phonetic transcriptions should be used; e.g. *mórti*, ‘man’ [‘mo:rt^he], *áwi*, ‘pron. 3. sg. obl.’ [‘ʔaβe], *waǰš* (W) / *wēš* (E), ‘grass’ [‘βaǰš / ‘βe:š], *mēt* (W) / *mēs* (E), ‘day’ [‘mɛ:t^h / ‘mɛ:s], *Yáynób*, ‘Yaghnob’ [‘jaɣnɔ:β], *ǰar*, ‘mountain’ [‘βa:r], *s^utúr*, ‘sheep’ [s^ut^hu:r], *zindagí*, ‘life’ [zindaǰi:], *zⁱvók*, ‘language, tongue’ [zi^{vo}:k^h], *urk*, ‘wolf’ [‘ʔɔrk^h], *vⁱrót*, ‘younger brother’ [vi^{ro}:t^h], *ēx*, ‘ice’ [‘ʔɛ:χ], *uxš*, ‘six’ [‘ʔɔχš, ‘ʔɔχš], *vuz*, ‘goat’ [‘vüz], *kabč^d* : *kabú^d*, ‘green, blue’ [k^ha^β:d : k^ha^β:d], *kúprúk*, ‘bridge’ [k^hu^p:r^uk^h], *širín*, ‘sweet’ [‘ʕi:ri:n], *tík*, ‘again’ [‘t^hi:c^h] etc. (cf. SOKOLOVA 1953).

¹⁴ The voiced fricatives developed from Iranian voiced stops in Eastern Middle Iranian languages. Analogous situation can be seen in Byzantine Greek.

¹⁵ Sokolova writes that *ħ* and *ʕ* appear in the Upper Varzob Yaghnobi in the same words as in the neighbouring Varzob dialects of Tajik (SOKOLOVA 1953). A similar feature is documented in the dialects of Mastchoh (HROMOV 1962).

Taj. *tašrix*) < Arab. *taʾrīḥ*, ‘history, date’¹⁶. The sounds *ḥ*, *ʕ* are present only in borrowings from Arabic. According to Mirzozoda they were pronounced only by the mullahs who knew the Arabic language (MIRZOZODA, pers. comm.). The other possibility is that some Yaghnobi speakers pronounced the Arabic loans in the way they learned it from Tajik speakers of the Zeravshan dialects. An interesting phenomenon is a different treatment of Arabic *w* – in Tajik it merges with *v* but in Yaghnobi Arabic *w* merges with historical **w* and the sound later changes to [β]. We can also assume that many Arabic words kept their original pronunciation in an archaic form of Tajik¹⁷.

In reference to the early Yaghnobi phonology we can regard the sounds *b*, *g*, *h*, *ḥ*, *ǰ*, *l*, *q*, *ʕ* and clusters *nd*, *ng*, *mb* as non-native: their presence can be considered as an indicator of lexical borrowing. Some sounds point to the original language (e.g. pharyngeal sounds point to Arabic, the voiceless uvular stop points to Arabic or Turkic). In native words some voiced stops can appear as a result of voice assimilation: *b^udúfs-* < Sogd. *pδwfs-* **/p(ə)δwfs-/* < Iran. **upa-dubsa-*, ‘to glue, to attach’; *čágna* : *čák-*, ‘milking pail’ (HROMOV 1987, 656). The status of *-l-* is uncertain – it can originate from the older group **-θr-* but evidence for this change is rare. The only certain example is the development of Iran. **puθra-ka-*, ‘son’ > *púl(l)a*, ‘boy’, less certain is the case of Iran. **āθr* > *ōl*, ‘fire’ in verb *ōlxášák*, ‘to burn’ – this could be a borrowing from Tajik (HROMOV 1972, 127)¹⁸; there are no other sources to prove change **-θr-* > *-l-* in Yaghnobi. The Yaghnobi word *díndak*, ‘tooth, teeth’ shows the consonantal group *-nd-*. Hromov explains voicing of **-nt-* > *-nd-* : **díntak* > *díndak* (Sogd. *δnt’k*, *δnt’kb* **δíndak/*) as an influence of the first voiced dental stop (HROMOV 1972, 128), a second plausible explanation could be the influence of Tajik *dandón* (ibid.).

In the Yaghnobi syllable structure no consonant clusters can occur word initially and also the cluster **-CjV(-)* cannot appear medially. In the word initial group **CC-* a svarabhakti vowel is inserted between (or even in front of) the consonants. In many cases the svarabhakti vowel is ultra-short in pronunciation: *saráy* (E) : *tⁱráy* (W) < **θray*, ‘three’; *xⁱšift* < **xšift*, ‘milk’; this also affects loans as well: *tⁱráktⁱr* < Russ. *mpáκmop*, ‘tractor’; *istál* < Russ. *cmol*, ‘table’¹⁹. The cluster **-CjV(-)* is not native in Yaghnobi, it is often rendered *-CijV(-)* or *-jCV(-)*, e.g. *dayró* : *darⁱyó* < Taj. *daryó*, ‘river’ < Pers. *daryá*, ‘sea’ < OPers. **draya-āpa-*, cf. Ave. *zraia-*, ‘sea’; *dunⁱyó* : *duynó* : *dunyó* < Pers. *dunyá* < Arab. *dunyā*, ‘world’; *samalⁱyót* : *samaylót* < Russ. *camolēm*, ‘aeroplane’; *bis(s)ⁱyór* : *bis(s)yór* < Pers. *bisýár*, ‘much, many’.

¹⁶ A similar compensatory lengthening can be seen in the surrounding Tajik dialects of the Zeravshan group (HROMOV 1962; HROMOV 1972, 195) and also in the dialects of Varzob (RASTORGUJEVA 1952).

¹⁷ We can also assume that the Arabic words came into Yaghnobi through Tajik: the distinction *w*, *ḥ*, *ʕ* was kept because of the pronunciation of the mullahs. However this theory has not been proved and it supposes a different kind of language contact. I have recorded just one exception in different pronunciation of the Yaghnobi word *waxt*, ‘time’ which is normally pronounced as [βaxt^h] or under Tajik influence also as [vaxt^h] < Arab. *waqt*, cf. Tajik *vaqt*, dialectal also *vaxt*. A similar situation can be seen in the word *aw(w)ál*, ‘first’ – [ʔaβ(:)al] or also [ʔaʕ(:)al] < Arab. *awwál*, Taj. *avvál*. In some Yaghnobi words the sounds [β] and [v] are interchangeable as is documented in the dictionary of ANDREJEV – LIVŠIC – PISARČIK (1957).

¹⁸ Hromov notes that the verb *ōlxášák* could have been formed by reanalysis from Tajik *alóu/oláu/olóu*, ‘fire’ (also Yagh. *ōlóu* from Tajik; cf. Hromov 1972, 127).

¹⁹ In Tajik the Russian loans are pronounced the same way as in Russian. Persian like Yaghnobi cannot have word-initial consonant cluster, so a svarabhakti vowel is inserted **CC-* > *CVC-*. Loans in Tajik are often written in the same way as they are in Russian, but in colloquial speech the pronunciation is influenced by Tajik syllabic structure, e.g. *planetári* /pⁱlanetáril/ < Russ. *планетáриум*, *stól* /sⁱtól/ : /istól/ < Russ. *cmol*, *stakán* : *istakón* < Russ. *cmakán* (RZEHAK 1999, 7); *tráktor* : /tiráktur/ : /tⁱráktur/ < Russ. *mpáκmop*, *iškóla* < Russ. *uškóla*, *ustál* < Russ. *cmыл* (KERIMOVA 1997, 105) – ‘planetarium, table, glass (for vodka etc.), tractor, school, chair’.

2.2. Grammatical contacts

Not only phonology can help us determine some of the possibilities of the Yaghnobi language contact. There are also some aspects in the grammatical structure of the language. An interesting feature that is shared with the Pamir languages is the oblique case of pronouns. In some of the Pamir languages there are different forms in the nominative and oblique in all three persons singular and in the 3rd person plural. In Sogdian the situation is comparable. In Yaghnobi there is a similar feature except in the 1st person singular, where there is the same form both for nominative and oblique. I suppose that the replacement of proto-Yaghnobi **az* (see Sogd. 'zw, zw */əzú/) by its oblique form **mán(a)* (Sogd. *mn' */mənál/*) in Yaghnobi was triggered by assimilation in form to Persian pronoun of 1st person singular *man*²⁰ (cf. Table 4.).

	Yaghnobi	Sogdian	Roshani	Sariqoli	Yazghulami	Persian
1 st nom.	<i>man</i>	<i>əzú</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>waz</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>man</i>
sg. obl.		<i>məná</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mɪ(n)</i>	<i>mû(n)</i>	
2 nd nom.	<i>tu</i>	<i>t'γú</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tɛw</i>	<i>tow</i>	<i>tu</i>
sg. obl.	<i>tau</i>	<i>təwá</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>ta, tɪ</i>	<i>tu</i>	
3 rd nom.	<i>ax</i>	<i>xō (m.)</i> <i>xā (f.)</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ɣɪ, yi</i>	<i>u, āy</i>	<i>ōi, vai</i>
sg. obl.	<i>áwi</i>	<i>wené (m.)</i> <i>wya (f.)</i>	<i>way (m.)</i> <i>wum (f.)</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>way, day (m.)</i> <i>im, dim (f.)</i>	
1 st pl. nom.	<i>mōx</i>	<i>máx(u)</i>	<i>māš</i>	<i>maš</i>	<i>mox</i>	<i>mā</i>
pl. obl.		<i>máx(i)</i>				
2 nd pl. nom.	<i>š^u móx</i>	<i>š^u máx(u)</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tamaš</i>	<i>təmox</i>	<i>šumā</i>
pl. obl.		<i>š^u máx(i)</i>				
3 rd pl. nom.	<i>áxtit</i>	<i>xā</i>	<i>wāð</i>	<i>wod</i>	<i>if, dif</i>	<i>ěšan</i>
pl. obl.	<i>áwtiti</i>	<i>wya</i>	<i>wuf</i>	<i>wef</i>		

Table 4. The nominative and oblique forms of pronouns in Yaghnobi, Sogdian, Roshani, Sariqoli, Yazghulami and Persian (in Sogdian 'oblique' of 3rd sg./pl. is genitive).

Contacts with Persian also introduced into Yaghnobi one feature typical in particular for the Persian language: compound verbs. This feature can also be found in other languages in contact with Persian, no matter whether they are Iranian or of different origin (compound verbs can be found e.g. in Kurdish, Balochi, Zazaki, Ossetian, Pamir languages and other, but also in Turkic languages such as Uzbek, Uyghur, Chaghatay, Qashqai or Ottoman Turkish or even in the Central Asian dialect of Arabic; a few compound verbs are found in Sogdian and Khwarezmian). Some Yaghnobi compound verbs can be regarded as calques from Tajik, e.g. Yagh. *yód-i nósak* or *zindagi-í g^u dairónak* × Taj. *yod giriftán, zindagi guzarondán* – 'to remember, to spend live'. Some compound verbs occurring in Tajik appear in Yaghnobi as normal simple verbs – *dáxšak* × *dard kardán*, 'to hurt'. From the Persian compound verb *gusél kardán* the Yaghnobi simple verb *k^u sélak*, 'to send' was created: this is an early Persian loan in Yaghnobi. Maybe in that period there were no compound verbs in Yaghnobi at all. In contrast to Tajik, the nominal part of a Yaghnobi compound verb is in the oblique case when a verb is in the infinitive.

The Persian causative suffix *-án-* > Taj. *-on-* was incorporated into the Yaghnobi verbal system – there *-ón-* is always stressed (HRMOV 1972, 95-96, 116). An analogous function of this suffix can also be documented in some of the Pamir languages. In Yaghnobi the Persian ending *-gí* can be used with Yaghnobi participles. Its usage is the same as in Persian, e.g. Yagh.

²⁰ For comparison see also the Turkic pronoun of 1st singular nominative: Uzbek *men* (colloquially *man*), Chaghatay *mèn*, Uyghur *män*, Kyrgyz *men*, Old Turkic **mèn*. So also a Turkic influence is plausible.

ētagí (past participle *ēta* from verb *šáwak*, ‘to go’) and Pers. *raftagí* (past participle *raftá* from verb *raftán*, ‘to go’), Yagh. *iktagí* (past participle *íkta* from verb *káarak*, ‘to do’) and Pers. *kardagí* (past participle *kardá* from verb *kardán*, ‘to do’). There is no difference in usage of Yaghnobi *ētagí* / *iktagí* and Persian *raftagí* / *kardagí*, this can be seen as a direct grammatical loan from surrounding Tajik dialects (cf. HROMOV 1972, 45, 116).

Yaghnobi verbal system was in a way influenced by Tajik, there can be seen mainly two important features – forms of present and past progressive tense and in forms of (plu)perfect. In standard Tajik, progressive tense is formed by past participle with *istodá* (past participle of verb *istodán*, ‘to stand’) and conjugated verb *to be*, e.g. *man raftá istodá-am*²¹, ‘I’m going (right now)’ and *man raftá istodá budám*, ‘I was going (right in that time)’, but in dialects neighbouring to the Yaghnob valley surroundings dialects progressive if often forms with infinitive and verb *doštán*, ‘to have’ – *man raftán dorám* // *man raftán doštám*. In Yaghnobi progressive is formed similarly to the second variant: *man šáwak ást(i)* // *ōy*²², ‘I’m // I was going’.

Under the influence of Persian language the formation of some past tenses utilizing past participles together with forms of the verb *to be* were introduced to Yaghnobi. The Tajik forms of perfect *man raftá-am*, ‘I have gone’ and pluperfect *man raftá budám*, ‘I had gone’ are comparable to Yaghnobi *man ēta-īm* and *man ēta óyim*. The Yaghnobi forms are formally the same as in Tajik – thus the development of this grammatical feature was triggered by contacts with Tajik (HROMOV 1972, 116–117), in Sogdian past tenses are formed with the help of the verb *š’r-* **šár-/*, ‘to have’ (see GHARIB 1965). Under the Tajik influence the Yaghnobi verbal morphology looks more like Western Iranian and differs much from the original Eastern Iranian type as it is known in Sogdian (HROMOV 1972, 116).

Another, though peripheral, influence on Yaghnobi can be seen in the introduction of the Tajik durative prefix in verbs. Each of the languages expresses the durative in a different way: in Yaghnobi durative is formed by the addition of the suffix *-išt* after the personal ending²³, in Classical Persian the durative was formed by adding the prefix *(ha)mé-* (Tajik *mé-*, Farsi *mī-*) in before the verbal stem. Thus ‘I do’ is *man kun-óm-išt* in Yaghnobi and *man mé-kun-ám* in Tajik. Due to the bilingualism of Yaghnobis and their frequent use of Tajik in everyday communication, occasionally the Tajik prefix *mé-* may also be used to express the durative in Yaghnobi. In this case a verb then has two durative markers: *man mē-kun-óm-išt*. The use of the durative prefix *mē-* is not common among the speakers and is generally considered an error.

²¹ In dialects instead of *man raftá istodá-am* shorter forms are used – in Mastchoh and Falghar dialects they say *man raftis(t)odám*; in Varzob dialects *man rafšodám*, in Dushanbe *man raftestám*, Southern Tajik *man raftestúm*.

²² In Yaghnobi there is no special word for the verb *to have*, it is expressed with a phrase, where the possessor is in the oblique followed by the possessed object and copula *ást(i)* (*ōy* for past tense) – thus ‘I have a horse’ is expressed as *man ī asp ást(i)*; ‘Hasan has hundred goats and twenty sheep’ – *Hasáni sad vúzi-at bist s^utúri ást(i)*; ‘you (sg.) had five cows’ – *taū panč yówi ōy* and so on. The use of copula for the verb *to have* is similar to Russian *у меня (емь) лошади*, ‘I have a horse’ or Latin *mibi equus est* – in this case it is an archaism in Yaghnobi, found in Sogdian as well – *mn’ spy ’sty */maná aspí (ə)stíl* – ‘I have a horse’, *tw’ ync ’sty */tawá inj ast(i)* – ‘You (sg.) have a wife’.

This feature is certainly not an influence of Uzbek/Turkic expression of possession: Uzbek *át-im bār*, ‘I have a horse’ (cf. Turkish *at-im var*, Kyrgyz *at-īm bar*; literally *horse-my is*), in Northern Tajik *ásp-am ay* (< *ast*) instead of standard Tajik *man asp dorám* (cf. DOERFER 1967, 56); this type of phrase can be analysed as *horse+encl. pronoun + copula 3rd sg.*; in Yaghnobi this rarely appears as *ásp-im ást(i)*.

²³ The ending *-išt* undergoes changes in the endings of the 3rd persons, 3rd sg. *-či* < *-čít* < **-tšít* < *-t-išt* (cf. KLIMČICKIJ 1938, 99–100); 3rd pl. *-ōšt* < *-ō(y)išt* < *-ōr-išt* (cf. KLIMČICKIJ 1940, 100). For the ending of the 3rd sg. *-či* is the most used, but in some villages other forms were recorded: in Nomitkon *-čít* (KLIMČICKIJ 1938, 99–100), in Qūl *-čiš*, *-tši* (ANDREJEV – LIVŠIC – PISARČIK 1957, 236), Hromov notes the 3rd sg. ending in *-tšít* among the speakers of the western dialect (HROMOV 1972, 97), Junker notes both *-tšít* (JUNKER 1930, 108) and *-či* (JUNKER 1914, 22). Nowadays I have not heard the ending *-tšít* among the speakers of the western dialect during my stays in Yaghnob in summer 2008 and spring 2009. The 3rd pl. ending *-ōšt* is common among all the dialects, only in the speech of Marghtimayn the variant *-ōyšt* was recorded (KLIMČICKIJ 1940, 100); Junker recorded archaic *-ōrišt* in the speech of the Yaghnobis (JUNKER 1930, 107).

Its usage is also limited to areas where Yaghnobis speak Tajik more often than their own mother-tongue and is mostly used by speakers of the younger generation. I have never met this feature among the Yaghnobis living in Yaghnob valley itself.

Another feature borrowed from Persian is the *izafet* construction. The *izafet* construction appears in Yaghnobi within whole noun-phrases taken from Persian: Yagh. *ǰúft-i gōu*, Pers. *ǰúft-i gāv*, ‘pair of oxen (for ploughing)’; Yagh. *sōatō-yi čōrti*, Taj. *dar soathó-yi čor*²⁴, ‘at four o’clock’ (HROMOV 1972, 114); Yagh. *Bōbō-yi Ōdám*, Pers. *Bābā-yi Ādám*, ‘Grandfather Adam’. The *izafet* ending *-i* is formally similar to the Yaghnobi oblique case ending *-i*. For example Yagh. *s^utúr-i yóta*, ‘sheep’s meat’ is a construction with an oblique (sheep-*oblique* meat) and not an *izafet* construction (†sheep+*izafet* meat), cf. Pers. *gōšt-i gōsfánd* (meat+*izafet* sheep), note the reversed word-order in the Yaghnobi oblique phrase in contrast to Persian *izafet*. Many Yaghnobis do not distinguish the *izafet* and the oblique in their own linguistic analysis – as those endings are both *-i*, i.e. phonetically similar, the interpretation of this phenomenon by native speakers can be corrupted by their knowledge of Tajik. In my own analysis of Yaghnobi texts it seems that the usage of the *izafet* construction is limited only to expressions adopted from Tajik (see the similar situation with the use of the *izafet* in Persian phrases in Pamir languages and Kurdish or in Uzbek, Qashqai, Ottoman Turkish and in the Central Asian Arabic). The interesting feature is also the phonological treatment of the *izafet* and the oblique case endings in Yaghnobi: in the older language, the oblique was realised as *-i* after a vowel but the *izafet* following a vowel was always realised as *-yi*, nowadays both suffixes have merged and both are realised as *-yi* by many speakers. A similar development both in Yaghnobi and Zeravshan Tajik can be seen in nouns ending in *-a* followed by the *izafet* or the oblique – in this case *-a* is often replaced with *-i*, e.g. Zeravshan Tajik *xūnī man* < *xoná-yi man*, ‘my house’ (see also Teherani colloquial Persian *xūné mán* instead of *xāné-ye mán*), in Yaghnobi *-a* can also be replaced by the oblique *-i*, *ǰúti kat* < *ǰútaǰ kat*, ‘son’s house’ (in the case of *ǰútaǰ kat* I can show four different ways how oblique can be realised in Yaghnobi: *ǰútaǰi kat*, *ǰúti kat*, *ǰútaǰ kat*, *ǰúte kat* – the variant *ǰúte* is an alternative of the oblique of *ǰúta* in the eastern dialect to which in the western dialect *ǰútaǰ* corresponds).

Another Tajik influence on the Yaghnobi grammar is the use of suffix *-akí* in *nomina agentis* created from Yaghnobi (or Persian, Uzbek etc.) noun: Yagh. *wajš* (W), *wěš* (E), ‘grass’ by adding suffix *-akí* forms the word *wajšakí* // *wěšakí*, ‘a person carrying grass’ can be created (HROMOV 1972, 93, 116), similarly *aspakí* is a ‘horse-rider’ (*asp*, ‘horse’), *paltarakí*, ‘a load-carrying person’ (cf. Taj. *paltár*, ‘a horse used for carrying load’) and so on.

Under the influence of Tajik an unstressed enclitic *-ro* may be used in Yaghnobi to mark the direct object. The use of the enclitic for the direct object is the same as in Tajik. In literary language we have just one variant *-ro*, but in the colloquial language this is realised as *-a* following a consonant or *-ra* / *-ya* following a vowel, e.g. Tajik literary *man Hasán-ro méšinosàm*, *lekín Alí-ro námešinoxtàm*, ‘I know Hasan but I didn’t know Alí’ sounds like *man Hasán-a méšinosàm*, *néki Alí-ra* // *Alí-ya námešinoxtàm* in colloquial Tajik. In Yaghnobi the enclitic *-ro* is found rarely, it appears as *-a* or *-ya* in the two phrases recorded: *nómiš-a apúrs*, ‘she asked his name’; *tík pódá-ya maydá^bák [vⁱrót] hay akún*, ‘and again the younger [brother] drove the flock’ (cf. ANDREJEV – LIVŠIC – PISARČIK 1957, 223). The usage of the enclitic *-ro* in Yaghnobi is limited also due to the function of the oblique case, which can represent the direct object as well, thus the Tajik sentence *ǰamšéd Širín-ro* (// *Širín-a*) *nayz mébinád*, ‘Jamshed likes Shirin’ is normally translated as *ǰamšéd Širín-i nayz wénci* in Yaghnobi, but *ǰamšéd Širín-a nayz wénci* rarely appears. The two examples given above would have been *nóm-i-š apúrs* and *tík pódá-ǰ maydá^bák hay akún* in proper Yaghnobi.

²⁴ This phrase is a calque of Rus. *часá в четвѣре*.

The influence of Turkic grammar on Yaghnobi is slight; one feature I have recorded is the use of the unstressed interrogative particle *-mi* among some Yaghnobis. The interrogative particle is typical for forming questions in Turkic languages (Uzbek *-mi*, Old Turkic **-mI*; e.g. Uzb. *siz iylizča gaplaşasiz-mi?*, ‘do you speak English?’), but it is also often used in the northern dialects of Tajik: *šumó anglisī gap mézanèton-mī?*, ‘do you speak English?’. In Yaghnobi the particle *-mi* is used mainly in the Zafarobod region – in Zafarobod the Yaghnobis live in intensive language contact with Tajiks and Uzbeks. Many Yaghnobi speakers speak only Tajik and Russian, but they also know Uzbek to some extent. Also some local Tajiks and Uzbeks know a little bit of Yaghnobi (mainly children). The use of *-mi* in Yaghnobi is the same as is in Tajik or Uzbek, *-mi* is never stressed and is always cliticised to the end of whole phrase: *š^umóx anglisī gap débtišt-mi?*, ‘do you speak English?’.

The other feature borrowed via Tajik from Uzbek is the indefinite pronoun phrase using Uzbek interrogative pronoun *kim*, ‘what’ – e.g. *kim-kád?*, ‘whenever’ (Taj. *kim-káy?*), *kim-čó?*, ‘whatever’ (Taj. *kim-či?*) and so on.

2.3. Lexical borrowings

The main evidence for language contact between Yaghnobi and its neighbouring languages can be seen in the lexicon. As mentioned above, many words were borrowed from Tajik, Arabic, Uzbek and Russian. At present no accurate analysis of the origin of the Yaghnobi lexicon is available. In a rough estimate I can say that some 34,22% of words are of Tajik origin, 7,48% of Arabic origin, some 3,33% of words are from Uzbek or another Turkic language and approximately 2,78% of lexemes are from Russian (through Russian also many international expressions were introduced). About 6,09% of lexemes are Yaghnobi-Tajik or Yaghnobi-Arabic compounds, 18,77% of lexemes are compound verbs and only 27,33% of the lexicon seems to be native Yaghnobi or of Eastern Iranian origin. There are also borrowings from other languages, e.g. Greek word *δραχμή* via Persian *dir(h)ám* changed to Yagh. *dⁱrám*. Many old borrowings from Greek and later from Sanskrit, Hindi/Urdu, Chinese and Mongol were introduced to Yaghnobi in their Persian form. For example German words were introduced into Yaghnobi via Russian: *bu^yáltir*, ‘clerk’ < German *Buchhalter* via Russ. *бухгалтер*, or *šⁱláng*, ‘water hose’ < German *Schlange*, ‘snake’ via Russ. *шланг*, ‘hose’; or English *computer* > Yagh. *kam^pyúter* from Russ. *компьютер*.

Through the study of borrowings in Yaghnobi we can see that nearly all the loan-words were introduced through Tajik. Through an analysis of the Turkic words contained in the dictionary by ANDREJEV – LIVŠIC – PISARČIK (1957) of 139 words 123 appear also in literary Tajik, a further seven words can be found in neighbouring Tajik dialects and only nine Uzbek words are not found in Tajik dictionaries (DOERFER 1990 [online]). An interesting fact is that the amount of genuine Yaghnobi words in the lexicon of approximately 7600 units gathered by the author in the years 2007–2009 is very small (NOVÁK 2010). There are some 27% native words, another part of the lexicon – compound verbs and Yaghnobi-Tajik/Arabic compounds make up to 25%. Those words are often calques from Tajik formed from Tajik/Arabic words together with Yaghnobi words or suffixes. The question is whether these compound verbs and calques can be regarded as Yaghnobi words, but in many cases those new compounds are unintelligible to Tajiks. Other parts of the lexicon can be recognised as loans (up to 48%).

For comparison, there are some 46,5% Arabic words in modern literary Farsi (PERRY 2002 [online]). Uzbek is also strongly influenced by Tajik and Arabic lexicon (the ratio of Turkic, Persian/Arabic and Russian words in a modern Uzbek text translated from Russian is 56:31:13, the extent of Persian/Arabic vocabulary in Uzbek can be 25–45%; in the past in Chaghatay/Old Uzbek the ratio between Persian/Arabic and Turkic lexicon was 2:3; DOERFER 1990 [online]). Fewer Persisms or Arabisms are found in Uyghur. On the other hand in Kyrgyz and Kazakh

there are not so many borrowings as in Uzbek. In the Pamir languages and in Pashto there are also many Persian, Arabic and Turkic loans, but not to the same extent as in Yaghnobi.

Many borrowings were adapted to Yaghnobi phonology. The main features are the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel in the word-initial consonant clusters, and the change of word-medial/final cluster *-CjV(-). Phonology of the loanword to was adapted to the native pronunciation, e.g. Persian *zambór*, ‘wasp’ was rendered as *zambúr*; Tajik and Uzbek *ũ* (Taj. *ũ* [ø:] < *ō, Uzb. *ũ* [ø - ø] < *ō, *ö) merges with the native *ū* (also due to the historical development *ō > *ū* in Yaghnobi and in Zeravshan dialects of Tajik).

As an example of Yaghnobi-Tajik language contact we can illustrate three phases in the process of introduction of Tajik words: 1) in the first phase voiced stops were adopted as their unvoiced equivalents, cf. *kūr* < Pers. *gōr*; 2) in the probable second stage Persian *ḍ* underwent the Yaghnobi change *ḍ > *d*, cf. *g^udarak* < Pers. *gudaštán*; and 3) in the last period Tajik words were adopted in a close resemblance to the original form. To explain why I distinguish between phases 2 and 3: the earlier borrowings of Persian verbs were fully adapted to the Yaghnobi grammatical system, so the verb-stems ending in *-ar-* change to *-ōr-* when the ending *-θ(-) (i.e. *-t(-)* // *-s(-)*, *-t(-)* or *-či*) is added. In later borrowings this does not happen; e.g. Yagh. *varak*, ‘to carry’ : **vórtišt* // **vórsišt*, ‘you (pl.) carry’; *g^udarak*, ‘to pass by’ : *g^udórci*, ‘he passes by’; but *páarak*, ‘to fly’ : *párci*, ‘he flies’ (not *ḥpórci*; verb *páarak* is a relatively new borrowing from Pers. *parrídán* : *parr-*; HROMOV 1962, 13).

An interesting feature can be seen in the case of Yaghnobi numerals. The native numerals from 1 to 10 have been preserved, but Tajik numerals were also borrowed in the full range of numbers (with Arabic and Russian loans for the number zero and, via Tajik, Russian names for million etc.). The use of Yaghnobi numerals is limited for counting things up to 10 units, Tajik numerals are used when counting weights and lengths, when speaking about time and when counting in numbers greater than 10. With native numerals from 2 up to 10 the oblique case is used with the counted subject (*ī vuz* × *du* *γów-i*, *t^ufór* *mórti-i*, *avd* *s^utúr-i* – ‘one goat; two cows, four men, seven sheep’), this does also happen when Tajik numerals are used (cf. *šiš* *rúz-i*, *hašt* *sóat-i*, *pōnzda^b* *γáyk-i*, *bíst-u* *se* *kⁱtób-i*, *pinjō^b* *-u* *yag táxm-i*, *sad* *sól-i* – ‘six days, eight o’clock, fifteen girls, twenty three books, fifty one eggs, hundred years’).

In some examples we can document the process of borrowing new words into Yaghnobi via Tajik in the last hundred years – some archaic words are used no more and were replaced by new words used in (colloquial) Tajik e.g. *man*, ‘apple’ > *sēb*; *kⁱmér*, ‘red’ > *surx*; *zérta*, ‘yellow’ > *zard*; *šōu*, ‘black’ > *sⁱyō^b*; *rōūt*, ‘river’ > *dayró* / *dar^(t)yó*; *dōn*, ‘seed’ > *dóna*; *yayd*, ‘wide’ > *pahm*; *rítistar*, ‘before’ > *pēštár* (BOGOLJUBOV 1966, 359); *ipōrá* or *γalbalá*, ‘much, many’ > *bis^(t)yó^r* (KLIMČICKIJ 1940b); *ētk*, ‘bridge’ (word documented in texts but nowadays used rarely even in the Yaghnob valley) > *kūprúk* (colloquial Taj. *kūprúk* < Chaghatay *kōprúk*, Uzb. *kūprik*) or *most* (< Russ. *мост*)²⁵; *v^urúk* / *v^ur^čk*, ‘eyebrow’ > *qōš* (colloquial Taj. *qōš* < Uzb. *qāš*; cf. Pers. *ābrō*), *šī* ‘upper’ > *bōló*, and often *mēs* (E) : *mēt* (W), ‘day’ > *rūz*. Some words that also existed in Sogdian were later changed to “fit” to Tajik forms: Sogd. *βγš-* */*βaxš-* /, ‘to forgive’ > *baxš-*; Sogd. *β’γ* */*βáγ* /, ‘garden’ > *bōγ*; Sogd. *m’γ* */*máx* /, ‘month’ > *mōh* (BOGOLJUBOV 1966, 359); Sogd. *βym* */*βím* /, ‘fear’ > *bīm*. Also many original Yaghnobi prepositions, postpositions and conjunctions were recently replaced by Tajik ones (HROMOV 1972, 115-116).

To document each borrowing into Yaghnobi is a task for other studies. At present a more accurate study of the structure of the borrowed lexicon is the task to do. With verified data

²⁵ There is a native Persian word for ‘bridge’ – Taj. *pul* (Pers. *pul*; Farsi *pol*), but this is not used very often in the colloquial language (maybe because of confusion with a homophonous word *pul* < Pers. *pūl*; Farsi *pūl*, ‘money’), instead of it normally the word *kūprúk* of Uzbek origin is used, the younger generation also often uses the Russian word *most* – in Yaghnob only *kūprúk* is used (*ētk* in a very limited cases), *most* can be used in Lower Varzob area and in Dushanbe.

much more work can be done. According to the information given by S. Mirzozoda the main core of the native Yaghnobi lexicon is the verbal stems and pronouns; nouns and adjectives can be easily borrowed from Tajik or from some other language²⁶.

3. Yaghnobi as a language of contact

In the previous paragraphs I tried to outline some basic features shared by Yaghnobi with Tajik. Some core domains of Tajik influence on Yaghnobi can be identified. When trying to find some features adapted to Tajik from Yaghnobi the situation seems to be complicated. Due to the absence of a Tajik etymological dictionary it is difficult to study borrowings from other language(s). For Tajik etymological studies the *Farhang-i zabon-i tojikī* (ŠUKUROV – KAPRANOV – HOŠIM – MAFSUMĪ 1969) can be helpful where basic information about words of Arabic and Turkic origin is given. It can be supposed that Yaghnobi was spoken not only in the Yaghnob valley itself, but as I have mentioned above, the language was probably spoken in some other areas of NW Tajikistan and maybe also in the adjacent areas of Uzbekistan. Some Tajik place-names show non-Persian Iranian origin. Their forms were later on adapted to fit the Persian phonology. Unfortunately we cannot tell whether those place-names are of early Yaghnobi or Sogdian origin since those languages seem to have been close to each other.

The Tajik name of the river *Varzób* should be of pre-Persian, probably Sogdian, origin. In its form */βəʳz-áp/, ‘high water’ shows the Sogdian development of Iranian *br̥z- (Ave. *bəʳəz-* : *barəz-*; OPers. *br̥d*^o in personal name *Bṛdiya-*) into Sogd. *βrz-* */βəʳzi/ in contrast to Persian *burz* or *bul[ánd]* (HORN 1988, 46; GHARIB 2004, III), Sogdian *p */áp/ (Yagh. *ōp*) merged with Persian *āb* (Taj. *ob*). Similarly we can see Yaghnobi/Sogdian elements in names such as *Anzób* (Iranian *anzū-āpa-, ‘narrow water’, cf. Sogd. ’nz’βh), *Farm* (Sogd. *γrm*, ‘warm’ × Pers. *garm*), *Iskodár* (Sogd. ’sk’tr), *Urmetán* (Sogd. *’wr-myδn), *Farmetán* (Sogd. *prnm̄yδn*), *Falyár* (Sogd. *prγrh*), *Madm* (Sogd. *mδmh*), *Kum* (Sogd. *kwm*), *Dary* (Sogd. *δryh*), *Varz* (Sogd. *βrz-*), *Rarz* (Sogd. *rzrh*), *Poxút* (Sogd. *p’γwt*), *Fatmév* (Sogd. *βtm̄yβh*, ’βtm̄yβh), *Fatmovút* (Sogd. ’βtm’wt), *Xušekát* (Sogd. ’γsyknδh, *γsyknδh*, ’γsykt), *Panjaként* (Sogd. *pncyknδh*, *pncknδh*, Yagh. *Panjikát*) and in many others (cf. BOGOLJUBOV – SMIRNOVA 1963, 101-108). The similarities in the phonology of Zeravshan-Tajik and Yaghnobi can be interpreted in two ways: early Yaghnobi could have influenced the adjacent Tajik dialects or *vice versa*. The striking similarities in development of Central Tajik and Yaghnobi *ō > ū and Yagh. *ú > ȳ and Zerav. Tajik *u* > *u*, also Tajik and Yaghnobi *ā > ō can indicate some non-documented language contacts in earlier periods (cf. IDO 2009).

The comparison of the lexicon of Yaghnobi and Tajik can show some other similarities. The Tajik word *nayz*, ‘pretty, nice’ is considered to be of Sogdian origin. According to *Farhang-i zabon-i tojikī* this word first appears in Firdausi’s *Shahname* and for it is also regarded as Persian/Tajik (ŠUKUROV – KAPRANOV – HOŠIM – MAFSUMĪ 1969, 843; for a Sogdian etymology see GHARIB 2004, 238; ANDREJEV – LIVŠIC – PISARČIK 1957, 289). Several other words have the same form in Yaghnobi and Tajik but they differ from the Persian form. One example for all: Taj. and Yagh. *asp*, Sogd. ’sp- */əspí/ vs. Pers. *asb*, ‘horse’. There is a question whether the Tajik form might show some influence of the earlier non-Persian pronunciation (cf. also Ave. *aspa-*, Khwarezmian ’sp */asp/, Bactrian *ασπο* */asp/, Yazghulami *asp*, Munji and Yidgha *yasp*). Many archaic words of Sogdian origin can be found in the Persian dictionary *Luyát-i Furs* by *Abūmanšūr ‘Alī ibn-i Aḥmád Asadī-yi Tūsī*. Some of the words recorded in this lexicon are still found in Yaghnobi, some others are used in the Tajik dialects of Mastchoh and Falghar (HROMOV 1962, 83-84).

²⁶ I have tried to put some basic etymological information on Yaghnobi words in the Yaghnobi-Czech Dictionary (NOVÁK 2010), a precise etymological study of Yaghnobi is another task to do.

In the Yaghnob valley there are now some Tajik-speaking villages, whose inhabitants do not use the Yaghnobi language anymore, but whose speech is quite different from other neighbouring dialects of Tajik. The Yaghnob's dialect of Tajik belongs to the Zeravshan dialect group of Tajik to which it is relatively close, they share similarities in phonology, but the inhabitants of the Yaghnob valley use Yaghnobi-based lexicon in part, which is unintelligible outside the valley. This dialect is also used by the Yaghnobi-speakers when they communicate between themselves or with strangers. The main difference of Yaghnob-Tajik from the other Zeravshan dialects is stress – it often shifted to penultimate syllable if this is historically long: *xúna* / *xóna* × Taj. *xoná*, Zerav. *xūná*, 'house'. Yaghnob-Tajik shares this feature with Yaghnobi, whose stress also falls on a historical long vowel in a root of a verb: *čorúq medúzad* (Taj. *čorúq médúzàd*), 'he sews shoes'; *gūspánd-a mebinand* (Taj. *gūsfánd-ro mébinànd*), 'they see the sheep'. In the 1st person plural the ending is not *-em* as in Tajik but *-im*, which corresponds to Yaghnobi *-im*. Also the enclitic ending of 1st and 3rd person singular *-im* and *-iš* (same as in Yaghnobi) is used instead of Tajik *-am* respectively *-aš*. In Yaghnob-Tajik some Yaghnobi words are used instead of Tajik ones: *tīs, auṣoná-ra γūš dór*, 'enter, listen to the fairy-tale' (Taj. *daró(y), aṣoná-ro gūš dor*; Yagh. *tīs, oṣónaj γūš dór*); or *a Nómítkon úrú avésom mégút*, 'we set off that side from Nomitkon, he says' (Taj. *az Nomitkón on rū(y) furómadèm, mégúyàd*; Yagh. *či Nómítkōn áwi némaj avésōm, wóči*). The study of the Yaghnob-Tajik dialect needs more attention, until today only a short outline with texts and a dictionary has been compiled by Hromov in his dissertation (HROMOV 1969, p. 305-323, 327-385, see also HROMOV 1972, p. 118-119).

4. Domains of contact

The Yaghnobi language area can be divided into seven main groups:

a) The Yaghnob valley itself. Today the Yaghnobi speaking population lives in 12 villages. In four other inhabited villages in the valley Tajik-speaking Yaghnobis live, 14 villages have been abandoned since 1970's. After the forced migration of the Yaghnobis in 1970 and 1971 some of the people returned back to their motherland after 1989. Before the beginning of the 20th century, we can suppose that the Yaghnob valley was populated entirely by Yaghnobi-speakers. Later on some villages of the area became Tajik-speaking and their inhabitants stopped using Yaghnobi completely. At present the situation in the valley itself is quite complicated – when the people were forced to leave their homes and move to Zafarobod, the valley was deserted. From the 1980's onwards some of the Yaghnobis returned to their homes in the valley. Yaghnobi is spoken in everyday conversation; the Tajik language may also be used. Tajik proficiency is higher among men in comparison to women and children; on the other hand almost everyone in the valley speaks both Tajik and Yaghnobi. The domain of Tajik is limited; it is mainly used when travelling outside of the valley or when speaking with a stranger. Knowledge of Russian is very low among the younger inhabitants of the valley and among women, as there are no schools in Yaghnob and education is provided mainly by women. Contact with Tajik is quite limited for the speakers; people who do not travel out of the valley do not have much contact with Tajik-speakers. The other source for Tajik language contact is the television owned by some families in Yaghnob (PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 79-82).

b) Upper Varzob – the valleys of Ziddeh and Takob. In this area there are four Yaghnobi speaking villages. As in the Yaghnob valley the Yaghnobi-speakers in the Upper Varzob are also quite isolated from the world. This fact helps to preserve the language in its homogeneity. In those villages Yaghnobi is the dominant language. Its domain appears to be similar to those of the above mentioned Yaghnob valley. The proficiency in Tajik is better than in Yaghnob due to the location of Yaghnobi speakers in Tajik language area, the possibilities for contact are not so

limited. In the Upper Varzob area there are some schools. This also leads to a better knowledge of Tajik among Yaghnobis (see Table 5.; PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 82-86). The inhabitants of Kûkteppa have more intensive contacts with the Yaghnob valley – there is a path through a mountain-pass, a traveller can reach the village of Qûl or Gharmen by a day’s walking.

Tajik domains:	Education (school and university) Religious ceremonies Speeches and formal occasions Television and radio broadcasts Written literature Trade
Yaghnobi domains:	Conversation with friends and family at home Conversation with colleagues within the local area Oral literature (e.g. spoken poems and stories) Instruction to local workmen, children and so on

Table 5. Domains of language use for Zumand, *Upper Varzob* (after PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 86).

c) Zafarobod – to this area the whole Yaghnobi population from the Yaghnob valley was moved in the 1970 and 1971. The Yaghnobi community in this area appears to be the largest in Tajikistan. This causes homogeneity of the population but there are also many Tajik and Uzbek speakers who play their part in language contact. Yaghnobi is used mainly at home or when talking with friends. When communicating with a stranger Tajik is the language used. In this area there are many schools with education in Tajik. The proficiency in Tajik is higher than in the areas of the Upper Varzob and Yaghnob. On the other hand the Yaghnobis who work at home do not have as much contact with Tajik as those who work outside of their homes (see Table 6.; PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 87-89).

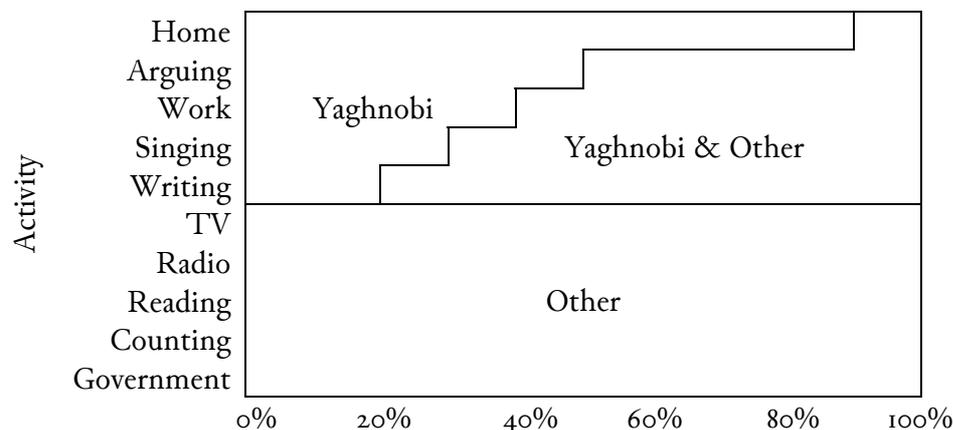


Table 6. Domains of language use in the Zafarobod area (after PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 89).

d) Lower Varzob. In the Lower Varzob there are some Yaghnobi speakers living in various villages of the area. The village Dughoba-yi Bolo can be regarded as one of the largest Yaghnobi-populated places in the area, together with Varzob-GĒS on the opposite side of the river Varzob. The population in Dughoba-yi Bolo and Varzob-GĒS is of Tajik and Yaghnobi origin. Among the Yaghnobis their mother-tongue is used in everyday life of the family or when talking to Yaghnobi-guests. On the streets Tajik is the main language of conversation, but Yaghnobi can be used whenever the audience would understand it. There is a school in

Varzob-*GĒS* for pupils from both villages but the Yaghnoibi language is not taught there. Due to the proximity of Dushanbe the situation of Yaghnoibi speakers differs somewhat from the situation described above. Proficiency, in and usage and accessibility of Tajik is even better than in Zafarobod (PAUL – ABBES – MÜLLER – TIESSEN 2005, 89-90).

e) The city of Dushanbe: nowadays many Yaghnoibis live in the Tajikistan's capital. Their use of Yaghnoibi is limited mainly to family conversation. According to the data known, the Yaghnoibi community in Dushanbe is located mainly in the north-eastern part of the city. The community is quite homogenous, but Yaghnoibi is not frequently used, the Tajik language being the main language of communication. In Dushanbe there are also many other ethnic groups such as Gypsies, Russians, Uzbeks and Pamiris. Russians use their language on an everyday basis (they often do not understand/speak any Tajik), while other ethnic groups do not often use their language outside of their homes.

f) The Hisor and Kofarnihon valleys: when we look at a map representing the areas populated by Yaghnoibis (Figure 1.), an area in south Tajikistan seems to be largely populated by the people of Yaghnoibi origin. This is because of relatively large spread of the Yaghnoibis in towns and villages in districts of Rūdakī, Hisor, Vahdat, Shahrinav and Yovon. However the Yaghnoibi communities in those districts are quite small, they are minority in places populated by Tajiks. The use of Yaghnoibi is limited, the language is spoken mainly at home, and its use on the street is rare. In the southern area populated by Yaghnoibis (i.e. Hisor and Kofarnihon valleys and the city of Dushanbe) Tajik influence can be of greater extent.

g) Ghonchī: in this district there are some Yaghnoibis living in eight villages. Those people count themselves as descendants of people from the Yaghnob valley; unfortunately they do not use their language any more. An interesting feature is that in Ghonchī some of the Yaghnoibi-populated villages have Yaghnoibi names. This can be seen only in areas settled by Yaghnoibis in an older period: apart from the Yaghnob valley itself Yaghnoibi place-names are recorded only in the Upper Varzob area, other places populated by Yaghnoibis have Tajik or Uzbek names. According to Burhoniddin Buzurgmehr the Ghonchī region may have been settled by Yaghnoibis in the 16th-17th centuries (BUZURGMEHR 2005, 121).

5. Conclusion

The Yaghnoibi language was in its history influenced by its neighbouring languages, the main influence was Tajik. Yaghnoibi shares some similar features in its historical development with the Central Tajik dialectal group. Yaghnoibi-Tajik contact was so strong that it affected not only the vocabulary of Yaghnoibi but also some aspects of its grammar. On the other hand Yaghnoibi has still kept its own linguistic structure and words that do not fit its structure were in some ways transformed.

Some foreign loans are easily identifiable by the presence of non-native sounds, but this estimate of first sight can be treacherous due to inner development in historical phonology and adaptation. The Yaghnoibi lexicon seems to be native in some 27%, the other parts of the lexicon are loanwords from other languages, mainly from Tajik, Arabic and Uzbek. The Yaghnoibis live their lives in quite intensive contact with Tajik; almost every Yaghnoibi also speaks Tajik, though the proficiency in Tajik differs from region to region. This depends mainly on the need to use Tajik in everyday life.

Tajik is dominant in many areas in which the use of Yaghnoibi is very limited. For example when writing, Yaghnoibis often write in Tajik as Yaghnoibi does not have an established written form, also many Yaghnoibis did not have any opportunity to learn their native language at school. There are also few books in Yaghnoibi; in radio broadcasting in Yaghnoibi is rare, there is no TV program in Yaghnoibi. This state is not sufficient for the preservation of the language. There are some attempts to print books on and in Yaghnoibi, but this situation is in its infancy now.

Yet the situation appears to look better for the preservation of the language. The language seems to have great prestige among the speakers. This is also supported by official recognition of Yaghnobi and the Pamir languages in the Tajik constitution as a part of cultural heritage of Tajikistan.

According to the percentual analysis of the Yaghnobi lexicon it seems that the vocabulary contains a large amount of loans from the neighbouring languages. On the other hand my analysis was done on material from various sources and unfortunately no precise etymological information was available for accurate examination. A comparison of this percentual representation with Yaghnobi textual corpora will show the values of the real usage of loans. It is also important to note that not every word of Arabic or Tajik origin is used frequently. Tajik and Arabic words are connected with legal, religious and educational domains; their usage in daily life is not so frequent. When I was learning the language as it is spoken in the Lower Varzob and in the Yaghnob valleys I understood that the usage of loanwords is not as high as it appears in the collected lexicon. Examined lexicon entries represent all the words used by Yaghnobis in various (often limited) occasions (cf. NOVÁK 2010), so a study of the frequency of the lexemes within the corpora is needed before unbiased conclusions can be made.

The Yaghnobi language is in many aspects influenced by Tajik but it still keeps its own distinct features that make it so different from Tajik – the Tajiks often do not understand even if a Yaghnobi is using Tajik vocabulary within a Yaghnobi sentence. According to Sayfiddin Mirzozoda the vocabulary can change over time, but the grammatical characteristics cannot be changed completely. The core of the Yaghnobi lexicon is in pronominal and verbal system, which is different from Tajik and the pronominal and verbal lexicon appear not to be so heavily influenced by Tajik.

Language abbreviations:

<i>Arab.</i>	Arabic	<i>Taj.</i>	Tajik
<i>Ave.</i>	Avestan	<i>Uzb.</i>	Uzbek
<i>Iran.</i>	Iranian	<i>Yagh.</i>	Yaghnobi
<i>OPers.</i>	Old Persian	<i>Zerav.</i>	Zeravshan dialects of Tajik
<i>Pers.</i>	Persian	(<i>E</i>)	eastern dialect of Yaghnobi
<i>Russ.</i>	Russian	(<i>W</i>)	western dialect of Yaghnobi
<i>Sogd.</i>	Sogdian		

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