

*Languages of the World/  
Text Collections*

26

full text research  
abstracts of all titles  
monthly updates

**LINCOM** *webshop*  
[www.lincom-europa.com](http://www.lincom-europa.com)

# Bukharan Tajik

*Shinji Ido*

Published by LINCOM GmbH 2007.

LINCOM GmbH  
Gmunder Str. 35  
D-81379 Muenchen

LINCOM.EUROPA@t-online.de  
<http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA>  
[www.lincom-europa.com](http://www.lincom-europa.com)

webshop: [lincom.eu](http://lincom.eu)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing-in-Publication-Data

A catalogue record for this publication is available from Die  
Deutsche Bibliothek (<http://www.ddb.de>)  
Printed in E.C.  
Printed on chlorine-free paper

## Contents

0. Introduction .....	1
0.1. Data .....	2
0.2. Preliminary notes.....	3
0.3. Acknowledgement.....	5
0.4. Abbreviations .....	6
1. Texts .....	7
1.1. Dialogue between Bukharan siblings.....	7
1.2. Conversations at Bukhara State University.....	22
1.2.1. Section 1 .....	22
1.2.2. Section 2 .....	25
1.3. Interview with a Bukharan historian .....	56
1.3.1. Section 1 .....	56
1.3.2. Section 2 .....	84
1.3.3. Section 3 .....	86
1.3.4. Section 4 .....	88
1.3.5. Section 5 .....	92
1.4. Conversations at Karvon Bazaar .....	93
1.4.1. Section 1 .....	93
1.4.2. Section 2 .....	96
1.4.3. Section 3 .....	99
1.4.4. Section 4 .....	105
References .....	113

## 0. Introduction

The data presented in this monograph are taken from the variety of Tajik spoken in Bukhara. Ethnic Tajik minorities are found in a number of countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, but most Tajik speakers are in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan; within the latter Samarkand and Bukhara are particularly densely populated by Tajik speakers.

Bukhara is one of the two large cities where Tajik speakers and Uzbek speakers have been in intensive contact with each other for many centuries. Today virtually all Tajik speakers in Bukhara are bilingual in Tajik and Uzbek. This Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism appears to have had profound influence on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Bukharan Tajik. Some features of Bukharan Tajik that may be results of Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism are explained below.

The inventory of Bukharan Tajik phonemes is almost identical with that of the Bukharan dialect of Uzbek (see § 0.2). Uzbek influence on Bukharan Tajik is conspicuous in the Bukharan Tajik lexicon, in which a notion as basic as 'to think' is expressed with a compound of the Uzbek verb stem *o'yla-* 'think' and the light verb *ka(r)dan* 'to do'. There are many other Uzbek lexical items borrowed into Bukharan Tajik, not to mention a sizeable number of what appears to be loan translations from Uzbek. Bukharan Tajik, like Uzbek, has a series of case suffixes and has at least one postposition (*baro'y* 'for')<sup>1</sup> the literary Tajik counterpart of which (*барои* 'for') is a preposition. Bukharan Tajik also corresponds with Uzbek in its use of the compound marker (glossed TIZ in this monograph)<sup>2</sup>.

Bukharan Tajik	<i>Buxoro Universitet-ash</i> Bukhara University-TIZ 'Bukhara University'
----------------	---

Uzbek	<i>Buxoro Universitet-i</i> Bukhara University-TIZ 'Bukhara University'
-------	---

One typologically interesting feature of Bukharan Tajik that may have evolved or have been retained under the influence of Uzbek is the order in which the relative clause and the noun that it modifies appear. Prescriptive grammars of Tajik place the relative clause after the noun, while Bukharan Tajik very often utilises the pre-nominal relative clause, as can be observed in the following example elicited from a native speaker.

[[ <i>Rustam-a</i>	<i>navistagi</i> ]	<i>xat-ash-a</i>	<i>griftagi</i> ]	<i>odam</i>
Rustam-GEN	write.PTPL	letter-3SG-ACC	take.PTPL	person
'the person who received the letter that Rustam wrote'				

There are also features whose possible association with Uzbek influence (or lack thereof) is less readily identifiable. Such features include the absence of passive voice as a grammatical cate-

<sup>1</sup> Uzbek has the postposition *uchun* 'for'.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the compound marker is not mentioned in the literature on Bukharan Tajik (Kerimova 1959 and Mahmudov and Berdiev 1989), which suggests a rather recent origin of this feature in Bukharan Tajik.

gory<sup>3</sup>, nominal use of some compound prepositions such as *badas* 'sequel' (< *bad a(z)* (after from)), and the utilization of the circumposition *to ... -a* 'till'.

*to panj-a*  
till five-till  
'till five o'clock'

The standardized Tajik of Tajikistan has a very limited presence in Bukhara, in which the language of administration, officialdom, education, and publication is now firmly Uzbek with Russian making up a decreasing share of it. Many Bukharan Tajik speakers appear to have little desire to acquire the standardized Tajik variety of Tajikistan though they typically acknowledge its prestige by attaching to it such positive attributes as 'pure' (i.e. not heavily 'Uzbekified') and 'proper'.

Since Bukharan Tajik is a spoken variety without a written tradition, written Bukharan Tajik is confined to very few registers, such as e-mail correspondence between native speakers and diaries, though even these are often written in Uzbek, in which, unlike in Tajik, Bukharan Tajik speakers are highly literate. Northern Tajik dialects, of which Bukharan Tajik is one, sometimes serve as a medium of written communication among Tajik speakers from Bukhara and Samarkand (e.g. in Uzbekistan Online Forum), notwithstanding some lexical and morphological differences that exist between them.

Bukharan Tajik is not a standardized variety and hence tolerates much idiosyncrasy in its usage. For example, J, whose conversation with a friend is transcribed in § 1.2.2, and who attended a Russian-medium school, appears to use more Russian loanwords in her speech than B (§ 1.1.), who went to Uzbek-medium school, does. Idiosyncrasy in the usage of Bukharan Tajik can also be ascribed to the speakers' (or their parents') native regions. For example, a person from a village outside Bukhara city may use *solī oyanda* in reference to 'the coming year', which a person brought up in a mikrorayon of Bukhara city does not (s/he may use *meomadagi sol* or *imsol*<sup>4</sup> instead). In such a case, what appear to be idiolects are often dialects within Bukhara province.

### 0.1. Data

The recordings transcribed in this book were made mostly in Bukhara except § 1.1, which was recorded in Tashkent. Two of the transcribed recordings are interspersed with short utterances in non-Bukharan varieties of Tajik. In one dialogue, namely § 1.1, C, a Tajik speaker from Tajikistan, briefly participates in the conversation between two Bukharan siblings, while in § 1.4.2, which was recorded in a bazaar in Bukhara, a Bukharan converses with P, a shopkeeper whose speech shows a distinctively non-Bukharan trait. Some utterances in Uzbek are also present in the transcribed recordings. This is a result of the Bukharan Tajik speakers' code-switching between Tajik and Uzbek, in both of which they possess high proficiency. Morphemes whose glosses are shown in Arial Narrow in § 1 are morphemes borrowed into Bukharan Tajik from Uzbek. Assuming that lexical items that have made their way into a

<sup>3</sup> The promotion of patient is achieved in Bukharan Tajik with the third person plural subject, e.g. *jo'y-a yala me-kun-an* (stream-ACC open IMP-do-3PL) 'the streams are opened (lit. they open the streams)', or an impersonal construction, e.g. *kitob xondagi* (book read.PTPL) 'the book was read' in which no reference is made to a specific individual.

<sup>4</sup> D (see § 1.1) said that she used *imsol* for 'the coming year' and *hamin sol* for 'this year'.

standard Tajik dictionary are 'nativized' to some degree into Tajik, I did not mark lexical items which are entries in Rahimī and Uspenskaya (1954), as Uzbek.<sup>5</sup>

In § 1, utterances that are inarticulate, unclear, or 'non-sentential' are presented 'as-is', a consequence of which is a number of tentative glosses and translations. Such tentative glosses and translations are marked in § 1 with the question mark. For example, tentative translations have [?] before them, thus: '[?] She felt weak [INF]'.<sup>6</sup>

Some recent experiments in psychology<sup>6</sup> appear to suggest that the way one segments foreign speech into phonemes is affected by the phonotactics of his own language or languages. I have therefore tried to reflect native speakers' intuitions in morpho-phonological segmentation of the transcribed texts by obtaining assistance from native-speaker informants.

## 0.2. Preliminary notes

The information provided in this monograph assumes that the reader has some previous knowledge of Tajik. No detailed explanations will be given about grammatical categories in which little difference is found between Bukharan Tajik and modern literary Tajik as it is described in Ido (2005b)<sup>7</sup>.

The inventory of Bukharan Tajik vowel phonemes is shown below in a table. The inventory is, with its six members, in agreement with that of modern literary Tajik and also with that of modern Uzbek.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i					u
Mid	e			ə		ɔ
Low			a			

It has been noted in the Tajik dialectological literature that Bukharan Tajik has eight vowel phonemes as some words such as *shisha* 'glass', *dina* 'yesterday', and *surat* 'appearance' retained the old long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ (Eshniyozov 1977: 21, Kerimova 1959: 6), though whether there were minimal pairs involving such words is uncertain. On the other hand, my informants identified little or no phonological distinction between long and short vowels.<sup>8</sup> In this book /i/, /e/, /a/, /ə/, /ɔ/, and /u/ are transcribed as *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*', *o*, and *u*, respectively.

The consonant inventory of Bukharan Tajik differs from that of modern literary Tajik by two phonemes – Bukharan Tajik lacks /ʔ/ which is a phoneme in modern literary Tajik; on the other hand, it has /ŋ/ that is not a phoneme in modern literary Tajik. The use of /ʒ/ is limited in

<sup>5</sup> Such lexical items include *to'g'ri* 'right' which is very possibly Uzbek in origin. *To'g'ri* appears as an entry in Rahimī and Uspenskaya (1954: 401) in the form of *mʲəʒpū*.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Dupoux et al. (1998).

<sup>7</sup> The first printing of Ido (2005b) contains some errors such as the translation of *мерафта бошад* in page 63, which should be 'if s/he goes' and the translation of *odam* in pages 87-88 which should be 'person/people'.

<sup>8</sup> One informant in his thirties to whom I asked to choose one word from each pair of words that appear below chose *shisha* from the first pair, and *diidor* from the sixth but gave up on the other pairs, saying that he pronounces the /i/s and /u/s in these words sometimes long and sometimes short. (The word pairs: *shisha* / *shiisha*, *xira* / *xiira*, *piri* / *piiri*, *zirak* / *ziirak*, *diro'z* / *diiro'z*, *didor* / *diidor*, *kina* / *kiina*, *surat* / *suurat*, *xubi* / *xuubi*, *xunin* / *xuunin*, *zudi* / *zuudi*. Unbeknown to my informant, all of these words had /i:/ or /u:/ in them in the Bukharan Tajik of 1954 (Kerimova 1959: 6).)



Bukharan Tajik as it is in Tajik in general. The inventory is in approximate correspondence with that of modern Uzbek, the difference between the two being the place of articulation of the labial fricatives – Uzbek has /ɸ/ and /β/ in place of Bukharan Tajik /f/ and /v/, respectively. The following table shows the consonant inventory of Bukharan Tajik:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	q	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		
Trill			r					
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ			χ ʁ	h
Affricate				tʃ ʒʃ				
Approximant					j			
Lateral approximant			l					

The phonemes /g/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /ʒʃ/, /χ/, /j/, and /ʁ/ are respectively transcribed in this book as *g*, *ng*, *sh*, *ch*, *j*, *x*, *y*, and *g'*, which I adopt from Uzbek orthography. All the other consonant phonemes are transcribed into the homoglyphs of their IPA representations, i.e. /p/ is transcribed as *p*, /k/ is transcribed as *k*, and so on.

Bukharan Tajik phonotactics shows a tendency of avoiding the formation of vowel clusters. The succession of /a/, /i/, or /u/ and /a/ very often yields /e<sup>o</sup>/, while /o/ followed by /a/ often yields a single /o/. The succession of /a/ and /o/ may also yield /o/, which is particularly noticeable in plurality marking.

<i>apemo</i>	<	<i>apa-amo</i> elder sister-1PL 'our elder sister'	<i>chizosh</i>	<	<i>chiz-o-ash</i> thing-PL-3SG 'his/her/its things'
<i>xono</i>	<	<i>xona-o</i> house-PL 'houses'			

Thus, for example, *xondagi*, the perfect participle of the verb *xondan* 'to read' to which copular *-am* is attached, i.e. *xondagi+-am*, yields *xondagem* 'I may well have read', which in turn results in the homophony of *xondagi+-am* and *xondagi+-em* as can be seen in the following verb paradigm for the verb *xondan* 'to read'. For this reason, presumably to avoid ambiguity, verb forms encoding the speculative mood are often replaced by phrases in which the speculative mood is expressed lexically. For example, *mo balki xondagi* (we perhaps read.PTPL) 'we may well have read' appears to be a preferred alternative to *xondagem* (read.PTPL.be.1PL).

<sup>9</sup> This characteristic of Bukharan Tajik has persisted since the nineteen fifties (see Kerimova 1959: 8).

1SG	<i>xondagem</i>		1PL	<i>mo balki xondagi / xondagem</i>	
2SG	<i>xondaget</i>	F2SG	<i>tu balki xondagi</i>	2PL	<i>xondageton</i>
3SG	<i>xondagis</i>		3PL	<i>xondagen</i>	

Note also that the same form in the familiar second person does not exist, which would have been *xondagi+-i* (read.PTPL.be.F2SG), if it existed. The vowel cluster at the end of *xondagi+-i* (read.PTPL.be.F2SG) renders it foreign to the phonology of Bukharan Tajik, while the fusion of *xondagi* and *-i* would have resulted in its homophony with *xondagi* (read.PTPL).

### 0.3. Acknowledgement

I am deeply indebted to {Firuza, Nilufar} Rahmatullaeva and {Mubin, Sarvar} Rahmatullaev, without whose help and patience this monograph would not have been possible. Tunay Ersez corrected and 'Anglicized' some literal translations of Bukharan Tajik utterances. Heiko Narrog read and commented on the penultimate draft of the introductory section. Oltin Muzaffarovich Yoriev of Bukhara State University helped me obtaining Uzbek visas. The Tohoku University 21st Century COE Programme in Humanities furnished a relaxing environment in which this monograph was largely written. The field trips during which most of the material for this monograph was collected was supported by the Matsushita Asia Scholarship and a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan.

**0.4. Abbreviations**

?	unclear recording / morpheme that could not be analysed
[? ... ?]	... is a tentative translation/gloss
[?] ...	... is a tentative translation
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
CLS	classifier
CO	coordinating clitic
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DMN	diminutive
F	familiar
FEM	feminine (gender)
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IMP	imperfective
INF	inferential mood
IZ	izafet (Iranian compound marker)
LIT.	literary
LOC	locative
ORD	ordinal number
PAST	past (tense)
PFCT	perfective (aspect)
PL	plural
PTPL	participle
Q	yes-no question particle
RELCL	relative clitic
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular
TIZ	compound marker (Turkic izafet)

# 1. Texts

## 1.1. Dialogue between Bukharan siblings

A and B are siblings from Bukhara who were born and brought up in one of the mikrorayons surrounding the city centre of Bukhara. Their parents are also from Bukhara. A is the only male child of the family; A has three sisters, one older than him and the other two younger. B is the older of his two younger sisters. The youngest is D, to whom A and B refer in this recording. C, whose occasional short utterances appear in this transcription, is A's wife who were born and raised in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. She has lived among Bukharan speakers for a few years and understands and uses Bukharan Tajik without difficulty. Her mother and father are from Uro-teppa and Dushanbe, respectively. Both A and B were educated in Bukhara at Uzbek-medium schools. A studied at a Turkish university, while B finished a course at Bukhara State University. This dialogue was recorded on the 13th of February, 2006 in an apartment in Tashkent. At the time of recording, A and D were an accountant in his early thirties and a graduate student in her mid-twenties, respectively.

A	<i>Pagoyi</i> morning	<i>xeszt-i.</i> got up <sup>10</sup> -F2SG <sup>11</sup>	You woke up in the morning.
	<i>Nag'z</i> good	<i>xoraft-i-mi</i> sleep.went <sup>12</sup> -F2SG-Q INTJ	Did you sleep well?
	<i>Nag'z</i> good	<i>xorafta</i> sleep.go.GER <sup>13</sup>	<i>xeszt-i-mi.</i> got up-F2SG-Q
			Did you sleep and wake up well?

<sup>10</sup> Literary Tajik *xecman* 'to get up, to stand up'.

<sup>11</sup> A tentative inventory of Bukharan Tajik subject-verb agreement suffixes is shown in the following chart. See Ido (2005b: 46) for an explanation of the honorific use of the third person plural suffix.

	For the present stem	For the past stem	Copular 'be'
1SG	-am	-am	-am
2SG	-et	-et	-et
F2SG	-i	-i	-i
3SG	-at	—	-as
1PL	-em	-em	-em
2PL	-eton	-eton	-eton
3PL	-an	-an	-an

<sup>12</sup> Literary Tajik *xob raftan* 'to sleep'.

- B** *Ha, rahmat.* Yes, thank you.  
yes thank you<sup>14</sup>
- A** *Chiba<sup>15</sup> choy na-no'shta raft-i.* Why did you leave  
why tea NEG-drink.GER went-F2SG without drinking tea?
- Tu<sup>16</sup> soat-i chan xezta raft-i.* When did you get up and  
you hour-IZ how much get up.GER went-F2SG leave?
- B** *Soat-i no'-y-nim-ba<sup>17</sup> bromad-am-da a xona.* I left home at half past  
hour-IZ nine-CO-half-LOC went out-1SG-SFP from<sup>18</sup> house nine.
- A** *Barvaqt bromad-i-ku.* You left early.  
early went out-F2SG-SFP

<sup>13</sup> A tentative list of the non-finite forms of the Bukharan Tajik verb is presented below:

Infinitive		<i>ka(r)dan</i>	'to do'
Gerunds	Perfective	<i>ka(r)da</i>	
	Progressive	<i>ka(r)dashta</i>	
Participles	Perfect	<i>ka(r)da</i>	<i>ka(r)dagi</i>
	Imperfective	<i>meka(r)da</i>	<i>meka(r)dagi</i>
	Future (Intentional mood)	<i>ka(r)dani</i>	
	Progressive	<i>ka(r)dashta</i>	<i>ka(r)dashtagi</i>
	Imperfective-Progressive	<i>meka(r)dashta</i>	<i>meka(r)dashtagi</i>

<sup>14</sup> Uzbek *rahmat* 'thank you!; gratitude'.

<sup>15</sup> *Chiba* can be analysed as consisting of *chi* 'what' to which the dative/locative case marker *-ba* is suffixed. Incidentally, this is in correspondence with Uzbek *nimaga* 'why' which consists of *nima* 'what' and the dative case marker *-ga*.

<sup>16</sup> A tentative list of Bukharan Tajik personal pronouns is shown below. The third person singular pronoun *vay* is used also as a demonstrative. *Kas* 'person' is used in combination with a demonstrative (*in* 'this' or *un* 'that') to refer to (a) third person(s), e.g. *in kas* (this person) 'this person' and *in kas-on* (this person-pl) 'these people', which lacks the derogatory undertone that *vay* often has when it is used in reference to a human. *Moho* may be used to refer to a group of people (e.g. a family) of which the speaker is a member. (See also § 1.3.) The *hos* in the first and second person plural pronouns are often inaudible in speech at a natural speed, hence the brackets.

1SG	<i>man</i>		1PL	<i>mo / mo(ho)</i>	
2SG	<i>sh(u)mo</i>	F2SG	<i>tu</i>	2PL	<i>sh(u)mo(ho)</i>
3SG	<i>vay</i>		3PL	<i>uno / vayo</i>	

<sup>17</sup> The case maker *-ba* marks both the dative and locative cases. Bukharan Tajik case markers are:

Nominative	<i>-∅</i>
Accusative / Genitive	<i>-(y)a</i>
Dative / Locative	<i>-ba</i>
Ablative	<i>-ban</i>

<sup>18</sup> Literary Tajik *a3* 'from'.

- B** *Xud-ash bevaqt meondashta bud-am.*  
self-3SG late come.PTPL was-1SG  
Actually I was getting late.
- A** *Choy na-no'sht-i, poy<sup>19</sup>-am*  
tea NEG-drunk-F2SG tea-like stuff-also  
*na-no'sht-i-mi.*  
NEG-drunk-F2SG-SFP  
You didn't drink tea or stuff like that?
- B** *Ne, pesh-i D raft-am.*  
no front-IZ D went-1SG  
No, I visited D.
- Diplamatiya, obshejitiye.*  
diplomacy<sup>20</sup> hall of residence<sup>21</sup>  
[I visited] the halls of residence of the Institute of World Economy and Diplomacy.
- A** *Ha D-ba raft-i pesh-ash.*  
INTJ D-DAT went-F2SG front-3SG<sup>22</sup>  
Ah you visited D.
- Bad chi.*  
then what  
What did you do then?
- Maksim Gorkiy-ba.*  
Maksim Gorkiy-DAT  
[You went] to Maksim Gorkiy.
- B** *Ha Maksim Gorkiy-ba.*  
yes Maksim Gorkiy-DAT  
Yes; to Maksim Gorkiy.
- Bad bozor raft-am.*  
then bazaar went-1SG  
Then I went to the bazaar.

<sup>19</sup> This *poy* is partially reduplicated *choy* 'tea'. "A noun can be followed by its duplication with *m-* or *p-* replacing its initial consonant, which gives the noun the interpretation of '... and suchlike' or 'stuff like...!'" (Ido 2005b: 74).

<sup>20</sup> Russian *дипломатия* 'diplomacy'.

<sup>21</sup> Russian *общезитие* 'hall of residence'.

<sup>22</sup> A tentative list of Bukharan pronominal clitics, which are used in expressing possession, is presented below.

1SG	-am		1PL	-amo	
2SG	-aton	F2SG	-at	2PL	-aton
3SG	-ash			3PL	-ashon

A pronominal suffix attached to *chi* 'what' can take the 'buffer' consonant /j/ which breaks up the vowel cluster /ia/ at the morpheme boundary, e.g. *chi-yash* (what-3SG) 'what of it/he/she'.

Bukharan Tajik utilizes both the Iranian *izafet* construction, e.g. *mo'y-i man* (hair-IZ I) 'my hair', and the construction where the possessor in the genitive case cooccurs with the possessee to which a pronominal clitic is suffixed, e.g. *duxtar-ho-ya kitob-ashon* (girl-PL-GEN book-3PL) 'girls' book'. For a detailed explanation of the latter construction, see Ido (2005a: 1107).

- A** *Kadom bozor raft-eton?*  
which bazaar went-2PL  
Which bazaar did you go to?
- B** *Chor-su, chor-su bozor.*  
Chor-su Chor-su bazaar  
Chor-su; Chor-su Bazaar.
- A** *Xay, chiba 'uf' kada gap me-zan-i?*  
INTJ why INTJ do.GER talk IMP-hit-F2SG  
Well, why do you make this 'uf' sound as you talk?
- Halok shud-i-mi – bad?*  
tired became-F2SG-Q then  
Have you become tired? – then [what did you do]?
- Xay Chor-su bozor raft-eton.*  
INTJ Chor-su bazaar went-2PL  
Well you went to Chor-su Bazaar.
- Metro kati raft-eton-mi?*  
Metro with went-2PL-Q  
Did you go by metro?
- B** *Metro kati.*  
Metro with  
By metro.
- A** *Ha D kati.*  
INTJ D with  
Right; with D.
- Maqsad?*  
purpose  
[What was your] purpose [for visiting the bazaar]?
- B** *Zontik xard-em.*  
umbrella<sup>23</sup> bought-1PL  
We bought an umbrella.
- A** *Zontik xard-eton?*  
umbrella bought-2PL  
You bought an umbrella?
- Chizalin zontik?*  
what sort umbrella  
What kind of umbrella?
- B** *Letniy zontik-da!*  
summer<sup>24</sup> umbrella-SFP<sup>25</sup>  
A summer umbrella!
- A** *'Zontik'-a tojikesh chi?*  
umbrella-GEN Tajik.3SG what  
What's the Tajik for umbrella?

<sup>23</sup> Russian зонтик 'umbrella'.

<sup>24</sup> Russian летний 'summer (adjective)'.

<sup>25</sup> There are a number of sentence-final particles in Bukharan Tajik, most of which are modality markers (see Kerimova 1959: 57-66).

- B** *Umbrella!*  
umbrella *Umbrella!*
- A** *'Zontik'-a tojikesh chi, nanesh?*  
umbrella-GEN Tajik.3SG what mother.3SG<sup>26</sup> What's the Tajik for umbrella, C?
- C** *Na-me-don-am.*  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG I don't know.
- B** *'Soyabon'.*  
umbrella *Soyabon.*
- A** *Ne borong-bo ... xay.*  
no rain-bo INTJ No, it's *borongbon* ... well, whatever.
- B** *Se-y-nim hazor.*  
three-CO-half thousand 3500.
- Se-y-nim hazor so'm.*  
three-CO-half thousand so'm 3500 so'm.
- A** *Ha, zontik da-ki dakor bud?*  
INTJ umbrella in-who necessary was.3SG Who needed an umbrella?
- B** *D-ba dakor budas.*  
D-DAT necessary be.PTPL.be.3SG D needed it [INF].
- A** *Ha, borong mebordas-mi?*  
INTJ rain<sup>27</sup> rain<sup>28</sup>.PTPL.be.3SG-Q Oh, does it rain [INF]?
- B** *Ha injesh aknun bahor, borong mebordas.*  
yes here.3SG now spring rain rain.PTPL.be.3SG Yes, now it's spring here; it rains [INF].
- A** *Xud-ash abshejit-ban inja me-guzar-ad.*  
self-3SG hall of residence-ABL here IMP-pass-3SG She needs to walk only a short distance from the halls of residence [to the university – D doesn't need an umbrella].

<sup>26</sup> In the presence of an infant, Bukharan Tajik speakers often address one another in kinship terms to which the third person singular pronominal clitic is suffixed. Here, A addresses his wife as *namesh* 'his mother'. (Their child, E, was present in the room where this recording took place.) The author of this monograph has also been variously referred to by different Bukharans as *akesh* (elder brother.3SG) 'his/her brother' and *amak-ash* (uncle-3SG) 'his/her uncle' in their utterances directed to infants.

<sup>27</sup> Literary Tajik *борон* 'rain'.

<sup>28</sup> Literary Tajik *боридан* 'to rain, snow'.



12 Bukharan Tajik

- B** *Ha ne akun fasoni*<sup>29</sup>.  
yes no now of fashion [No she doesn't but] now  
it's [become] a fashion  
item.
- A** *Chizalin?*  
what sort What kind of umbrella?
- Xay nag'z-ash-a xard-eton-mi?*  
INTJ good-3SG-ACC bought-2PL-Q Did you buy a good one?
- Kitayskiy.*  
Chinese<sup>30</sup> You bought a Chinese  
one.
- B** *Ha, kitayskiy-da.*  
yes Chinese-SFP Yes – it is a Chinese one.
- Se-y-nim hazor.*  
three-CO-half thousand Three and a half thou-  
sand [so'm].
- C** *Quti-chesh-am*<sup>31</sup> *has hamto'; kitayskiy*  
box<sup>32</sup>-DMN.3SG-also exist.3SG like this Chinese It has a case too; Chinese  
is written on it; 'made in  
*navistagi; 'made in China'.*  
write.PTPL 'made in China' China'.
- B** *Zamochka-nok.*  
snap fastener<sup>33</sup>-with A case with a snap fas-  
tener.
- A** *Chi-yash zamochka-nok.*  
what-3SG snap fastener-with What [of the umbrella]  
has a snap fastener?
- Ha quti-chesh zamochka-nok.*  
yes box-DMN.3SG fastener-with Oh the case has a fas-  
tener.
- Ha into' sumka-cha barin salafan-cha-nok.*  
yes like this bag-DMN like cellophane-DMN-with I see; one with a small  
piece of cellophane  
that's like a small bag.
- Rang-ash chizalin?*  
colour-3SG what sort What colour is it?
- B** *Vay*<sup>34</sup>, *pistaqi.*  
that pistachio (colour)<sup>35</sup> Um, pistachio.

<sup>29</sup> Russian *фaцoн* 'fashion' to which adjective-deriving *-i* is attached.

<sup>30</sup> Russian *китaйскaя* 'Chinese'.

<sup>31</sup> A succession of *-cha* + *-(y)ash* + *-ham*. Bukharan Tajik has *-ak*, *-cha*, and *-chik* as diminutive suf-  
fixes. *-cha* and *-chik* are likely to have been borrowed into Bukharan Tajik from Uzbek.

<sup>32</sup> Literary Tajik *кyммy* 'box'.

<sup>33</sup> *Зaмoчкa* seems to have derived from Russian *зaмoчeк* 'snap fastener'.

- Me-sho't<sup>36</sup>-mi?*  
IMP-become.3SG-Q  
Will that do? [i.e. Is that the right Tajik word?]
- Pistaqi - 'zelyoniy'.*  
pistachio verdant<sup>37</sup>  
Pistachio – I mean verdant.
- C** *'Sabz'.*  
green<sup>38</sup>  
*Sabz.*
- A** *Ha Dushanbegi-ba 'sabz'.*  
yes Dushanbean-LOC green  
Ah it's *sabz* in Dushanbe speech.
- Xay.*  
INTJ  
Alright.
- Vay budas-mi?*  
that be.PTPL.be.3SG-Q  
Was that [INF] what-d'ye-call-it...
- Rang-i pistaqi, pistaqi digaxel vay.*  
colour-IZ pistachio pistachio different that  
The pistachio colour – that pistachio is different.
- Urush chi 'pistaqi'-ya?*  
Russian.3SG what pistachio-GEN  
What's the Russian for the pistachio colour?
- B** *'Zelyoniy'.*  
verdant  
*Zelyoniy.*
- C** *Ne 'zelyoniy' ne-ku.*  
no verdant no-SFP  
No, it's not *zelyoniy*.

<sup>34</sup> *Vay* is used, as Lewis (1967: 77) says about a word with a similar function in Turkish, "to take the place of a word that the speaker cannot for the moment recall".

<sup>35</sup> Literary Tajik *nucmaq(κ)ū* 'pistachio-coloured'.

<sup>36</sup> Bukharan Tajik has a number of verbs whose present stems change their forms in different verb paradigms (see Kerimova 1959: 32-33). *Shudan* 'to become' is one of such verbs. Compare the present imperfective form of the verb *shudan* with the same verb in the imperative/optative mood:

	Imperative / Optative	Present imperfective
1SG	<i>shavam</i>	<i>mesho'm</i>
2SG	<i>shavet</i>	<i>meshet</i>
F2SG	<i>shav</i>	<i>meshi</i>
3SG	<i>shavat</i>	<i>mesho't</i>
1PL	<i>shavem</i>	<i>meshem</i>
2PL	<i>shaveton</i>	<i>mesheton</i>
3PL	<i>shavan</i>	<i>mesho'n</i>

<sup>37</sup> Russian *зелёный* 'green, verdant, lawny'.

<sup>38</sup> Literary Tajik *сабз* 'green'.

- '*Salatoviy*', '*berezoviy*'.  
malty<sup>39</sup> birch<sup>40</sup> It's *salatoviy*, *berezoviy*.
- B** *Xay*. Well.  
INTJ
- Tamom*. Okay.  
end
- Hamin*. That's it.  
this very
- Bad omad-em abed kad-em*. We then returned and  
then came-1PL lunch<sup>41</sup> did-1PL had lunch.
- A** *Gijo-ba abed kad-eton?* Where did you have  
where-LOC lunch did-2PL lunch?
- B** *A gashta, Maksim Gorkiy omad-em*. We walked and returned  
INTJ<sup>42</sup> walk.GER Maksim Gorkiy came-1PL to Maksim Gorkiy.
- A** *Xay gijosh-ba abed kad-eton?* Well where in Maksim  
INTJ where.3SG-LOC lunch did-2PL Gorkiy did you have  
lunch?
- B** *Ebe ko'cha-ba-da!* In an eatery!  
INTJ street-LOC-SFP
- A** *Ko'cha-ba chi abed kad-eton?* What did you have for  
street-LOC what lunch did-2PL lunch in an eatery?
- B** *E! Osh xo'rd-em!* We ate pilaf!  
INTJ pilaf ate-1PL
- A** *Xay nag'z budas-mi?* Well was that nice [INF]?  
INTJ good be.PTPL.be.3SG-Q
- B** *Ha*. Yes.  
yes
- A** *Xay, apa-uka osh xo'rd-eton*. So two sisters [i.e. you]  
INTJ elder sister-younger sibling<sup>43</sup> pilaf ate-2PL ate pilaf together.

<sup>39</sup> Russian *солодовый* 'adjective of *солод* 'malt'. C may have meant *салатный* 'light green'.

<sup>40</sup> Russian *березовый* 'birch'.

<sup>41</sup> Russian *обед* 'lunch'.

<sup>42</sup> This *a* may be Russian *a* 'and; but'.

<sup>43</sup> In literary Tajik/Uzbek, *uka* means 'younger brother'.

*Bad chi?*  
then what

What did you do after that?

**B** *Tamom.*  
end

That was all.

*Bad man xona omd-am.*  
then I house came-1SG

I returned home soon after.

**A** *Xona omd-i?*  
house came-F2SG

You returned home?

*Ha, o, soat chor omd-i-ku xona?*  
INTJ INTJ hour four came-F2SG-SFP house

Well, you came home at four o'clock didn't you?

*Yak-ta zontik baro'y hamqachar<sup>44</sup> gasht-eton-mi?*  
one-CLS umbrella for this much walked-2PL-Q

Did you stroll for such a long time for one umbrella?

**B** *Ibi<sup>45</sup> chor-ba shmo xona omd-et.*  
INTJ four-LOC you house came-2SG

Hey it's you who came back home at four.

*Man du-ba xona omd-am.*  
I two-LOC house came-1SG

I came home at two.

*Se-ba omd-am.*  
three-LOC came-1SG

I came back at three.

**A** *Se-ba omd-i.*  
three-LOC came-F2SG

You came home at three.

*Shish soat gasht-i.*  
six hour walked-F2SG

You strolled for six hours.

*Panji-i-nim soat.*  
five-CO-half hour

Five and a half hours.

**B** *Bozor kalon-ku.*  
bazaar big-SFP

The bazaar is large, isn't it?

*Bozor-a tamosha kad-em.*  
bazaar-ACC view<sup>46</sup> did-1PL

We had a look around the bazaar.

<sup>44</sup> *Hamin* 'this very' + *qachar* 'much'.

<sup>45</sup> Zarubin (1928: 107) writes that, in the Tajik language of Samarqand Jews of the nineteen twenties, *ibi* was *in-a bin* (this-ACC see) 'look at this (lit. see this)' in which some phonemes are elided.

<sup>46</sup> Literary Tajik *mamouo* 'view', Uzbek *tamosha* 'view'.

- A** *Ha vay Chor-su bozor.*  
yes that Chor-su bazaar
- Ha bozor-am tomosha kad-eton.*  
yes bazaar-also view did-2PL
- Xay nag'z-mi?*  
INTJ good-Q
- Odam mo'l bud-mi?*  
person many was.3SG-Q
- C** *Hama chiz qimmat.*  
all thing expensive
- A** *D xondan-ash nag'z budas-mi?*  
D read.INF-3SG good be.PTPL.be.3SG-Q
- B** *Rahmat, nag'z.*  
thank you good
- A** *Chiba, 'rahmat' me-go'y-i?*  
why thank you IMP-say-F2SG
- Xondan-i tu-ya na-pursidem-ku?*  
read.INF-IZ you-ACC NEG-ask.PTPL.be.1SG-SFP
- Ha bad chi?*  
INTJ then what
- B** *Tamom.*  
end
- A** *Tamom shud-mi?*  
end became.3SG-Q
- B** *Ha, akun shmo gap zan-eton.*  
yes now you talk hit-2PL
- Bozor-ba chi kad-eton.*  
bazaar-LOC what did-2PL
- A** *Xay omad-i.*  
**E** INTJ came-F2SG
- A** *Ha paga xondan-mi?*  
**B** INTJ tomorrow read.INF-Q
- Yeah that's Chor-su Bazaar.
- So you had a look around the bazaar too.
- Well was that nice?
- Were there lots of people?
- Everything is expensive [there].
- Did D's learning go well [INF]?
- Thank you, it went well.
- Why do you say thank you?
- I did not ask about your study, did I?
- Well, what did you do then?
- Nothing more.
- Was that it?
- Yes, it's your turn to talk.
- What did you do at the bazaar?
- Ah, you're here. [To his child E coming towards A]
- Well, are you studying tomorrow?

- B** *Paga xondan.* Yes.  
tomorrow read.INF
- A** *Xa.* I see.  
INTJ
- B** *Angliyskiy.* English.  
English
- A** *Angliyskiy me-xon-i.* You'll learn English.  
English IMP-read-F2SG
- Bad chi?* After that?  
then what
- B** *Bad biblioteka me-ro'm.* I'll go to the library.  
then library IMP-go.1SG
- 'Nar.xoz'* *bad xona.* Then I'll go to Tashkent  
national economy<sup>47</sup> then house  
State University of  
Economics; then back  
to home.
- A** *Xona me-ri.* You're coming home.  
house IMP-go.F2SG
- B** *Akun shmo chi kad-eton.* Now what did you do?  
now you what did-2PL
- Yangamlo shin-ed.* Sister-in-law, sit here.  
sister-in-law sit-2SG
- A** *Xay gap zadan gir<sup>48</sup> kani.* Well do some more talk-  
INTJ talk hit.INF take where  
ing.
- B** *Bo chi-ya gap zan-am?* What else shall I talk  
again what-ACC talk hit-1SG  
about?
- Nanem telefon kad-an-mi?* Did Mother call?  
mother.1SG telephone did-3PL-Q

<sup>47</sup> Russian *народное хозяйство* 'national economy'.

<sup>48</sup> When a verb in its infinitive form is followed by the auxiliary verb *grifian* in the imperative mood, the swiftness or easiness of the action expressed by the main verb is emphasized. Turkish *söyleyi ver* is semantically comparable to *gap zadan gir*.

- A** *Nanem-mi dadem-mi telefon*  
mother.1SG-Q father.1SG-Q telephone  
*na-kaden-mi imro'z?*  
NEG-do.PTPL.be.3PL-Q today
- Bega kadagi bud-an-mi?*  
yesterday do.PTPL were-3PL-Q
- Telefon na-kun.*  
telephone NEG-do
- Xud-ashon telefon me-kun-an.*  
self-3PL telephone IMP-do-3PL
- B** *Xay, ne.*  
INTJ no
- Bega yak-ta apem-ba kad-am.*  
yesterday one-CLS elder sister.1SG-DAT did-1SG
- Tamom du minut-mi se minut.*  
end two minute-Q three minute
- A** *Apem-ba kad-i?*  
elder sister.1SG-DAT did-F2SG
- Chi guft-i?*  
what said-F2SG
- B** *Hamto'.*  
like this
- Shumo-yam, D-am apem-ba*  
you-also D-also elder sister.1SG/PL-DAT  
*telefon na-me-kun-eton.*  
telephone NEG-IMP-do-2PL
- Na-me-don-am chiba.*  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG why
- Spiskoton-ba nes telefon kadan.*  
list<sup>49</sup>.PL.2PL-LOC not exist.3SG telephone do.INF
- Didn't either Mother or  
Father call today  
[INF]?
- Did they call [lit. had  
they called] yester-  
day?
- Don't call them.
- They will call us.
- Well, no.
- I made a phone call to  
my/our elder sister  
yesterday.
- Just for two or three  
minutes.
- You called my/our elder  
sister?
- What did you say?
- Like this:
- Neither you nor D calls  
my/our elder sister.
- I don't know why.
- Making phone calls is  
not on your 'to-do'  
lists.

<sup>49</sup> Russian *списку* 'list'.

A *Xay mo telefon-oshon a es me-burod.*  
INTJ we telephone-PL.3PL from memory IMP-go out.3sg

Well we [tend to] forget her telephone [number].

*Xay hamunjoy<sup>50</sup> yak joy-ku.*  
INTJ there one place-SFP

Well that place is one place. [Their parents' place is close to their elder sister's place].

*Xay bad telefon kad-i.*  
INTJ then telephone did-F2SG

Okay you made a phone call then.

*Xay xorsand kad-i-mi apem-a.*  
INTJ happy did-F2SG-Q elder sister.1SG-ACC

Well did you cheer my/our elder sister up?

B *Ha man telefon kada me-ist-am.*  
yes I telephone do.GER IMP-stand-1SG

Yes, I call her continually.

*Shmo barin ne-da.*  
you like no-SFP

I'm not like you.

*D shumo-yam na-me-kun-eton.*  
D you-also NEG-IMP-do-2PL

Neither you nor D calls her.

*D-ba go'y-am-ki apem-ba kad-am.*  
D-DAT say-1SG-that elder sister.1SG-DAT did-1SG

When I say to D: 'I called my/our elder sister'.

*'Tbi' me-go't.*  
INTJ IMP-say.3SG

She says 'oh'.

*Shishtas vay.*  
sit.PTPL.be.3SG she

[?] She felt weak [INF].

A *Xay shumo akun hamto'...*  
INTJ you now like this

Okay, now you are like ...

B *Man hamto' odamgari.*  
I like this humaneness

I'm a considerate [lit. humane] person.

A *Xa odamgareton nag'z shumo-ya.*  
INTJ humaneness.2SG good you-GEN

Okay; your consideration is good.

*Xay bad chi?*  
INTJ then what

Well, what else?

<sup>50</sup> *Hamun* 'that very' + *joy* 'place'.



- B** *Tamom.* That's all.  
end
- A** *Garm-mi?* Is it hot?  
hot-Q
- A zo'ri gap zadan-a garm shuda*  
from force talk hit.INF-while<sup>51</sup> hot become.GER  
*raft-et-mi?*  
went-2SG-Q
- Have you become hot  
while speaking forcibly?
- Bo chi gap?* Anything else?  
again what talk
- B** *Tamom.* That's all.  
end
- Pasport-am-a kay me-ted?*  
passport-1SG-ACC when IMP-give.2SG
- When will you give me  
my passport?
- A** *Ro'z-i seshanbe xondan guftashti-ku.* You said [lit. you're  
day-IZ Tuesday read.INF say.PTPL.be.F2SG-SFP saying] that you  
would study on  
Tuesday.
- Soat-i du raftan-am darkor.* I need to go [there] at two  
hour-IZ two go.INF-1SG necessary o'clock [on Tuesday].
- Pasport-i vay-a byor guftagi xona-ya.* He said 'bring the pass-  
passport-IZ that-ACC bring say.PTPL house-GEN port of the flat'.
- Eg-i xona-ya pasport-ash-a byor guft.* He said 'bring the pass-  
owner.IZ house-GEN passport-3SG-GEN bring said.3SG port of the flat's  
owner'.
- Ariginal-ash bosh-ad guft.* He said 'It should be the  
original<sup>52</sup>-3SG be-3SG said.3SG original [lit. let it be  
its original]'.  
then prepared IMP.do-1SG said.3SG
- Bad tax mo'kn-am guft.* He said 'I'll then prepare  
then prepared IMP.do-1SG said.3SG [documents]'.
- A** *E-chik shin bachem.* Little E, sit down, my  
**E** E-DMN sit child.1SG child.

<sup>51</sup> See Kerimova (1959: 19).<sup>52</sup> Russian оригинал 'original'.

A) *Nanesh a mo-yam choy xur-em.*  
 C mother.3SG INTJ we-also tea drink-1PL

*Nanesh, Tojikiston raft-eton.*  
 mother.3SG Tajikistan went-2PL

*Dadeton-a did-eton.*  
 father.2SG-ACC saw-2PL

*Chito' buden dadeton?*  
 how was.PTPL.be.3PL father.2SG

C, we too shall drink tea.

C, you [C and E] went to Tajikistan.

You [C and E] saw your father.

How was your father [INF]?

## 1.2. Conversations at Bukhara State University

The recordings transcribed in this section were made on the eighth of August, 2006 in Bukhara. The informant F was a university lecturer in his late fifties and was the head of department at Bukhara State University as of August 2006. A more detailed profile of F is found in § 1.3. G was a twenty year old female who, at the time of recording, was working as an assistant/secretary in the room across from F's office. She had been educated in Uzbek and was taking a correspondence course at a college. H was a university lecturer in his mid-thirties who was educated in Uzbek. His area of specialization was Arabic. J was in her late twenties at the time of recording. She had been educated in Russian and was doing a masters in Russian literature.

### 1.2.1. Section 1

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>F <i>G, ist-et.</i><br/>G stand-2SG</p>  | <p>G, stand up.</p>                                |
| <p><i>Vay shmo odam-o-ba telefon kard-et-mi,</i><br/>that you person-PL-DAT telephone did-2SG-Q<br/><i>azo-ho-ba?</i><br/>member-PL-DAT</p> | <p>Well, did you call the people, the members?</p> |
| <p><i>Rasm-a biyor-at, pasport-a.</i><br/>picture-ACC bring-3SG passport-ACC</p>  | <p>Get them to bring photos and passports.</p>     |
| <p><i>Chiba hm-hm me-go'y-et.</i><br/>why INTJ IMP-say-2SG</p>  | <p>Why do you say 'hm-hm'.</p>                     |
| <p><i>Balandtar gap zan-et oxir.</i><br/>higher talk hit-2SG end</p>  | <p>Come on, talk louder.</p>                       |
| <p><i>"Ne" go'y-et; "Ha" go'y-et.</i><br/>no say-2SG yes say-2SG</p>  | <p>Say 'No', say 'Yes'.</p>                        |
| <p>G <i>Ne, na-guftem.</i><br/>no NEG-say.PTPL.be.1PL</p>   | <p>No, I didn't call them.</p>                     |
| <p>F <i>Ebe.</i><br/>INTJ</p>   | <p>Oh [with a disagreeable undertone].</p>         |

- G** *O'yla kad-em shmo bega guft-ed* I thought that you had  
 think<sup>53</sup> do.PTPL.be.1SG you yesterday<sup>54</sup> said-2SG told them yesterday.  
*gufta.*  
 say.GER
- F** *Oxay man da shmo har nim soat-ba telefon kun-et* Well I told you to call  
 INTJ I in you every half hour-LOC telephone do-2SG them every half an  
*guft-am-ku.* hour, didn't I?  
 said-1SG-SFP
- G** *Na-gitashten-ku telefon-a.* But they aren't picking up  
 NEG-take.PTPL.be.3PL-SFP telephone-ACC the phone!
- F** *Bo yak telefon kun-et.* Call them once again.  
 again one telephone do-2SG
- Bad bo man me-kun-am, da yod-am omdagi* Then I will call them  
 then again I IMP-do-1SG in memory-1SG come.PTPL again when I remem-  
*vaqt.* ber.  
 time
- Uno-ya yofta to rasm-o na-tem agar* If we don't catch them  
 they-ACC find.GER till picture-PL NEG-give.1PL if and forward their  
*atdyel kadrav.* photos to the person-  
 department cadre<sup>55</sup> nel department, ...
- Mo-ya rektarat vay me-kun-ad,* The university admini-  
 we-ACC principal's office<sup>56</sup> that IMP-do-3SG stration will, um,  
*zer me-kun-ad, zer me-kun-ad.* trample us, they'll  
 bottom IMP-do-3SG bottom IMP-do-3SG trample us underfoot.
- G** *Xay, hozir telefon me-kun-am hammoshon-ba.* Alright, I'll call all of  
 INTJ now telephone IMP-do-1SG all.PL.3PL-DAT them now.
- F** *Ha, yak telefon kun-et.* Yes, call them.  
 yes one telephone do-2SG
- Balandtar qittek gap zan-et, tamom.* If you talk a bit louder,  
 higher a little talk hit-2SG end it's done.
- Bed, B, bed.* Come in, B, come in.  
 come.2SG B come.2SG

<sup>53</sup> Uzbek *o'yla*- 'think'.

<sup>54</sup> Literary Tajik *бегоҳ* 'evening; yesterday (colloquial)'.

<sup>55</sup> Russian *отдел кадров* 'personnel department'.

<sup>56</sup> Russian *ректорат* 'principal's office, university administration'.

- H** *Domlo, salomalekum.*  
teacher<sup>57</sup> hello Hello, sir.
- Nima-ni bil-a-siz-mi, I-ni telefon-i-ni.*<sup>58</sup>  
what-ACC know-IMP-2PL-Q I-GEN telephone-3SG-ACC Do you know, um, I's  
phone number?
- F** *O'n olti qirq to'rt.*  
ten six forty four Sixteen forty-four.
- H** *Uy-i-mi?*  
home-3SG-Q Is that his home number?
- F** *Ha, hozir uy-i-da bo'l-ma-sa kerak.*  
INTJ now home-3SG-LOC be-NEG-COND necessary Um, he shouldn't be at  
home now.
- H** *Yo sotka-si-ni bil-a-siz-mi?*  
or mobile<sup>59</sup>-3SG-ACC know-IMP-2PL-Q Or, do you know his  
mobile number?
- F** *Sotka-si yo'q.*  
mobile-3SG non-existent I don't have his mobile  
number.
- O-gan-im yo'q.*  
take-PTPL-1SG non-existent I never had it.

<sup>57</sup> Literary Tajik *домullo*. *Domlo* originally referred to religious teachers, but is now used to refer to university lecturers, professors, etc. in general.

<sup>58</sup> H is also a Bukharan who is bilingual in Bukharan Tajik and Uzbek, but for some reason opts to speak in Uzbek here.

<sup>59</sup> Russian *сотка* refers 'mobile phone'.

## 1.2.2. Section 2

- G *Kush-am-mi kompyuter-a?*  
kill-1SG-Q computer-ACC Shall I turn off the computer?
- J *Kush-et.*  
kill-2SG Turn it off.
- G *Me-rem-mi?*  
IMP-go.1PL-Q Are we going?
- J *Me-rem.*  
IMP-go.1PL We're going.
- G *A xud-ashon donista javob-am na-me-tiyan.*  
from self-3PL know.GER answer-also NEG-IMP-give.3PL He [i.e. F] doesn't give even an answer on purpose.
- J *Pas-pas, zapis shudashtas avoz-aton, ibi.*  
low-low<sup>60</sup> record<sup>61</sup> become.PTPL.be.3SG voice-2SG INTJ Lower your voice – your voice is being recorded, oops.
- G *Ha.*  
yes Yeah.
- J *Raft-em me-purs-em.*  
went-1PL IMP-ask-1PL Let's go ask him.
- Kush-et kompyuter-a.*  
kill-2SG computer-ACC Turn off the computer.
- Javob me-tet-mi, ne-mi?*  
answer IMP-give.2SG-Q no-Q Will you answer me or not?
- G *Anamin<sup>62</sup> gul-ba faqat vay me-kun-am.*  
there.this very flower-DAT only that IMP-do-1SG I only do to this flower, um, what-d'ye-call-it.

<sup>60</sup> Literary Tajik *nacm* 'low'.<sup>61</sup> Russian *зaпис* 'notation, entry, record'.<sup>62</sup> *Ana* 'there' + *hamin* 'this very'.

*Uje pagoyi biyom uje xush*  
 already morning<sup>63</sup> come.1SG already dry<sup>64</sup>  
*shud-ki, se ro'z, chor ro'z ob*  
 became.3SG-that three day four day water  
*na-dodagi barin anamin gul-ba.*  
 NEG-give.PTPL like there.this very flower-DAT

*Me-rem-mi, ne-mi?*  
 IMP-go.1PL-Q no-Q

**J** *Me-rem-mi?*  
 IMP-go.1PL-Q

**G** *Ishqilib hamzalin gap-o budas-da.*  
 in short this very sort talk-PL be.PTPL.be.3SG-SFP

*Gijo telba shudashtet.*  
 where hurried become.PTPL.be.2SG

*Yagon joy me-ret-mi-chi?*  
 some place IMP-go.2SG-Q-SFP

**J** *Ha, panjum raftan-am darkor.*  
 yes fifth go.INF-1SG necessary

*Da unja vay budas ku, hamunja<sup>65</sup>*  
 in there that be.PTPL.be.3SG SFP there  
*obshivka mebeli<sup>66</sup>.*  
 upholstery

*Internat-i vayo-ya me-don-et-mi, yaqti*  
 boarding school<sup>67</sup>-IZ they-ACC IMP-know-2SG-Q a little  
*devono-ya, malo-umstvenno-ya.*  
 lunatic.PL-GEN little<sup>68</sup>-intellectual<sup>69</sup>-GEN

**G** *Kadom internat?*  
 which boarding school

When I come in the morning it's so dry that it looks as though I haven't watered it in three or four days.

Are we going or not?

Are we?

So such is our conversation.

Where are you hurrying to?

Are you heading for any particular place?

Yeah, I need to go to the fifth [mikrorayon].

You know, there, there's, what-do-you-call-it, an upholstery there.

Do you know the boarding school of, what-do-you-call-it, slightly lunatic people; intellectually challenged people.

Which boarding school?

<sup>63</sup> Literary Tajik *нагоҳӣ* 'morning; in the morning'.

<sup>64</sup> Literary Tajik *хушк* 'dry'.

<sup>65</sup> *Hamun* 'that very' + *joy* 'place'.

<sup>66</sup> Russian *обшивка мебели* 'cladding of furniture; upholstery'.

<sup>67</sup> Russian *интернат* 'boarding school'

<sup>68</sup> Russian *мало* 'little, not much, few, not enough'.

<sup>69</sup> Russian *умственно* 'mentally, intellectually'.

- J** *Malo-umstvenno-ya internat-ash.*  
little-intellectual-GEN boarding school-3SG  
Intellectually challenged  
people's boarding  
school.
- G** *Nomer-ash chan?*  
number-3SG how much  
What's the house number  
of it?
- J** *Na-me-don-am-da.*  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG-SFP  
I don't know.
- Hamunja-ya yoft-am.*  
there-ACC found-1SG  
I found it there.
- Hamunja-ya ro'baro'y-ash.*  
there-GEN face-to-face-3SG  
Across from there [i.e.  
the school].
- G** *Chi mekadas unja-ba?*  
what do.PTPL.be.3SG there-LOC  
What do they do there  
[INF]?
- J** *Obshivka mebeli.*  
upholstery  
Upholstery.
- G** *Tax mekadas-mi mebel-a?*  
ready<sup>70</sup> do.PTPL.be.3SG-Q furniture-ACC  
Do they prepare furniture  
[INF]?
- J** *Anamun vay-ash, qop-ash has ku.*  
there.that very that-3SG sack<sup>71</sup>-3SG exist.3SG SFP  
You know there's that  
stuff, I mean the  
cushions.
- Ro'-yash material-ash dardagi uje, ko'yna*  
face-3SG material-3SG tear<sup>72</sup>.PTPL already old  
*shudagi.*  
become.PTPL  
Their surface and mate-  
rial [of the sack] are  
torn already; they  
have become old.
- Hamun-a nav me-kun-em.*  
that very-ACC new IMP-do-1PL  
We'll refurbish them [i.e.  
we'll get them refur-  
bished].
- G** *Ha, mo kad-em lekin.*  
yes we did-1PL but  
Actually we did [i.e. we  
got ours refurbished].
- J** *Hm, kard-eton?*  
INTJ did-2PL  
Oh you did?

<sup>70</sup> Literary Tajik *maxm* 'prepared, ready'.

<sup>71</sup> Uzbek *qop* 'bag, sack'.

<sup>72</sup> Literary Tajik *ɔapudɔn* 'to tear'.



- Chan pul-ba?*  
how much money-DAT For how much?
- G** *Du sol shud uje.*  
two year became.3SG already It's been two years now.
- J** *Material-ash a xudoton bud-mi?*  
material-3SG from self.PL.2PL was.3SG-Q Was the material yours [i.e. Did you(r family) provide the material]?
- G** *Material-ash ha.*  
material-3SG yes The material, yes.
- Material gupka.*  
material sponge<sup>73</sup> The material was sponge.
- Ishqilib xo'shro'y kada dodagi bud,*  
in short beautiful do.GER give.PTPL was.3SG [The upholsterer] had made them beautiful and given them back to us. It was neat.  
*akkuratniy.*  
neat<sup>74</sup>
- Hamto' uje vay shudagi bud da.*  
like this already that become.PTPL was.3SG SFP They had already been like, what-d'ye-call-it ...
- Kreslosh uje teshik shuda raftagi*  
arm-chair<sup>75</sup>.3SG already hole<sup>76</sup> become.GER go.PTPL The arm-chair had already had holes in it.  
*bud.*  
was.3SG
- J** *Hamun sovetский divan-o da?*  
that very Soviet couch-PL yes<sup>77</sup> They're Soviet couches, right?
- G** *Da.*  
yes Yeah.
- J** *Ha, ayni mo-yam.*  
yes that of<sup>78</sup> we-also Yeah, ours too.
- G** *Anamun.*  
there.that very Those couches.

<sup>73</sup> Russian губка 'sponge'.<sup>74</sup> Russian аккуратный 'exact, precise; cautious, careful; neat, tidy; smart, trim (in appearance or dress); punctual, prompt'.<sup>75</sup> Russian кресло 'arm-chair'.<sup>76</sup> Uzbek teshik 'hole, crack'.<sup>77</sup> Russian да 'yes'.<sup>78</sup> Literary Tajik аз он-и (from that-IZ).

- G'ijir-g'ijir me-kad.*  
squeak<sup>79</sup> IMP-did.3SG They would make creaky noises.
- Hozir hich chi avoz-am na-me-bror<sup>80</sup>-ad.*  
now any what sound-also NEG-IMP-take out-3SG Now they make no sound.
- J** *Nag'z.*  
good Good.
- G** *Vay, yak chiz tiqidagi barin shud.*  
that one thing thrust<sup>81</sup>.PTPL like became.3SG Oof, it felt as if something poked.
- Ishkam-am gushna mond.*  
stomach-1SG hungry put.3SG My stomach is empty.
- J** *Abed-a vaqt-ash shud-da.*  
lunch-GEN time-3SG became.3SG-SFP That's because the time for lunch has come.
- G** *Xay shmo paga kor-ba bed agar abed*  
INTJ you tomorrow work-DAT come.2SG if lunch  
*karda bad me-ret-mi mo kati?*  
do.GER then IMP-go.2SG-Q we with Well if you come to work tomorrow, will you, after lunch, come with us?
- J** *Hamto' budagis-da.*  
like this be.PTPL.be.3SG-SFP [?] [My plan] is probably that.
- Hamto' mekadagim-da.*  
like this do.PTPL.be.1SG-SFP I will probably do that.
- G** *Xona me-ret-mi?*  
house IMP-go.2SG-Q Are you going home?
- J** *Hm, na-me-don-am.*  
INTJ NEG-IMP-know-1SG Um, I don't know.
- G** *Mo kati abed karda ...*  
we with lunch do.GER Have lunch with us and ...
- J** *Bad me-rem-a.*  
then IMP-go.1PL-SFP Then I'll leave, right?
- Ha, hamto' me-kun-am.*  
yes like this IMP-do-1SG Okay, I'll do that.

<sup>79</sup> A sound-symbolic word from which Uzbek *g'ijirla*- 'squeak, creak' derives.

<sup>80</sup> Literary Tajik *баровар-барор*- (the present stem of *баровардан* 'take out').

<sup>81</sup> The verb *tiqidan* appears to have been derived from Uzbek *tiq*- 'poke, thrust, jam, cram' with the verb-deriving suffix *-(i)d*.

- G** *He, xud-ash chan ro'z kor me-kun-ed.*  
INTJ self-3SG how much day work IMP-do-2SG  
Hey, how many days will you work?
- Hash ro'z.*  
eight day  
Eight days.
- Hamun-am to'g'ri kor na-me-kun-ed holi.*  
that very-also right<sup>82</sup> work NEG-IMP-do-2SG now  
[?] That's true – you still do not work properly.
- J** *Chi baro'y?*  
what for  
Why?
- G** *To'y kati.*  
wedding with  
Because of the wedding.
- J** *Ibi badas to'y.*  
INTJ after wedding  
[?] Oh after the wedding [I'll work].
- G** *Badas to'y holi.*  
after wedding now  
After the wedding; now ...
- J** *Vaqt-i paxta kor na-me-kun-eton-da demak.*  
time-IZ cotton work NEG-IMP-do-2PL-SFP so<sup>83</sup>  
So you're not working during the cotton-picking period.
- G** *Man kor na-me-kun-am.*  
I work NEG-IMP-do-1SG  
I won't work.
- Shmo kor me-kun-et.*  
you work IMP-do-2SG  
You work.
- J** *Ha.*  
yes  
Yeah.
- G** *Ha vay duxtar-ak medonistas-ku.*  
yes that girl-DMN know.PTPL.be.3SG-SFP  
Hey that girl knows [F] [INF].
- Meomdagi.*  
come.PTPL  
The one that is coming [this way].
- Holi darot kani, kani.*  
now enter.3SG INTJ INTJ  
Well let her go in now, well? [Observing the girl standing at the door of F's room]

<sup>82</sup> Literary Tajik *māz̄epū* 'right, correct'; Uzbek *to'g'ri* 'right, correct'.

<sup>83</sup> Uzbek *demak* 'so'.

- J** *Hm*  
INTJ  
Hm.
- G** *Magistratura darot kani.*  
masters study enter.3SG INTJ  
Masters student, go in!  
well?
- J** *Bad me-gir-am.*  
then IMP-take-1SG  
I'll bring [the thing] later.
- Domlo!*  
teacher  
Sir! [Calling F]
- G** *Tamom paga-ba javob git-et.*  
end tomorrow-LOC answer take-2SG  
Okay bring the answer  
tomorrow.
- Jim shin-et.*  
quietly sit-2SG  
Sit still [i.e. stay here].
- J** *Anin pagoyi zavtrak me-kun-am-ku.*  
there.this morning breakfast IMP-do-1SG-SFP  
I eat breakfast in the  
morning.
- Na-me-don-am gijo me-ro't hammesh.*  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG where IMP-go.3SG all.3SG  
I don't know where it all  
disappears to.
- G** *Xay into'yin<sup>84</sup> ra raftan-aton-ba hich chi*  
INTJ like this way go.INF-2SG-LOC any what  
*na-me-sho'd-da.*  
NEG-IMP-become.3SG-SFP  
Well when you are out  
there's nothing [i.e.  
you don't eat any-  
thing].
- J** *Abed-ba bo man gushna.*  
lunch-LOC again I hungry  
At lunch-time I'm hungry  
again.
- G** *Shmo hozir hamun-a dogovoritsya*  
you now that very-ACC reach agreement<sup>85</sup>  
*me-kun-ed.*  
IMP-do-2SG  
[?] You're fixing that up  
now.
- J** *Shmo zavtrak kada me-ton-et-mi pago-yo?*  
you breakfast do.GER IMP-can-2SG-Q morning-PL  
Can you eat breakfast in  
the morning?
- G** *Ha.*  
yes  
Yes.

<sup>84</sup> See Mahmudov and Berdiev (1989: 107).

<sup>85</sup> Russian *договориться* 'to come to an agreement, understanding (about), to arrange, reach agreement; fix up, settle; understand each other'.

- J** *Man-am, anin ukem*  
I-also there.this younger brother.1SG  
*na-me-ton-at,*  
NEG-IMP-can-3SG  
*Pagoyi, shab hich chiz xo'rda na-me-ton-at.*  
morning night any thing eat.GER NEG-IMP-can-3SG
- G** *Avval-am man-am na-me-tonist-am.*  
before-also I-also NEG-IMP-could-1SG  
*Hozir pagoyi uje xez-am oshqozon-am dard*  
now morning already get up-1SG stomach-1SG illness  
*me-kun-at.*  
IMP-do-3SG
- J** *Chiz xo'rdan darkor, hm.*  
thing eat.INF necessary INTJ
- G** *Hamun baro'y bad me-xo'r-am, yak-du qoshiq.*  
that very for then IMP-eat-1SG one-two spoon  
*Avval vabshe na-me-xo'rd-am man zavtrak.*  
before at all<sup>86</sup> NEG-IMP-ate-1SG I breakfast<sup>87</sup>  
*Hozir-o me-kun-am.*  
now-PL IMP-do-1SG  
*Duro'q-a bosh-ad-am me-kun-am-da.*  
falsehood-for<sup>88</sup> be-3SG-also IMP-do-1SG-SFP
- J** *Hm*  
INTJ
- G** *Yak-du-ta non bosh-ad-am.*  
one-two-CLS bread be-3SG-also
- J** *Mo'y-aton zo'r hamto', jingila ne.*  
hair-2SG nice like this curl no
- I can too, but my younger brother can't.  
He can't eat anything in the morning or at night.  
In the past, I couldn't either.  
Now I get up in the morning with a stomach-ache.  
You need to eat something, hmm.  
Because of that, I then eat a spoonful or two of something.  
Before I wouldn't have breakfast at all.  
Nowadays I do.  
I do even if it's pro forma.  
Hmm.  
Even if it's a piece or two of bread.  
Your hair is so nice; it is not curly.

<sup>86</sup> Russian *вообще* 'in general, generally; always; any; at all'.<sup>87</sup> Russian *завтрак* 'breakfast; brunch'.<sup>88</sup> See Kerimova (1959: 19).

- G** *E, chi-yash zo'r.*  
INTJ what-3SG nice  
Ugh, what's nice about it.
- J** *Nag'z.*  
good  
It's nice.
- G** *Man nabarot jingilak mo'y-am.*  
I twist.3sg curl hair-1SG  
May my hair curl into small curls too.
- J** *Ne, asl-ash hamto' me-shudas.*  
no essence-3SG like this IMP-become.PTPL.be.3SG  
No, actually it becomes like this [INF].
- G** *Vay, maktab-ba faqat me-boft-am jingilak shav-ad ...*  
that school-LOC only IMP-wove-1SG curl become-3SG  
At school I would only braid my hair – may there be small curls ...
- J** *Asl-ash hamto' meshudas.*  
essence-3SG like this become.PTPL.be.3SG  
It actually becomes like this [INF].
- Ki yak chiz-a nag'z bin-ad, hamun-ba vay*  
who one thing-ACC good see-3SG that very-LOC that  
*na-me-sho'd.*  
NEG-IMP-become-3SG  
If one likes something, s/he does not have it [i.e. One likes what s/he doesn't have].
- G** *Kudryaviy mo'y-a nag'z me-bin-am man.*  
curly<sup>89</sup> hair-ACCgood IMP-know-1SG I  
I like curly hair.
- Naborot.*  
twist.3sg  
May it curl.
- Maktab-ba faqat me-boft-am mo'y-am-a.*  
school-LOC only IMP-wove-1SG hair-1SG-ACC  
At school I would only braid my hair.
- Mayda jamalak me-boft-am.*  
small jamalak<sup>90</sup> IMP-wove-1SG  
I would braid small *jamalak*.
- J** *Bad sar doda me-gasht-et*  
then head give<sup>91</sup>.GER IMP-walked-2SG  
Then you would unbraid it.
- G** *Bad, ne, anto<sup>92</sup> vay me-kad-am.*  
then no there.like this that IMP-did-1SG  
Then – no. I would do like this.
- Uje mo'y-am hamto'<sup>93</sup> jingilak.*  
already hair-1SG like this cur  
My hair would be already curly like this.

<sup>89</sup> Russian *кудрявый* 'curly'.

<sup>90</sup> Hair braided into 40 braids.

<sup>91</sup> Bukharan Tajik *sar dodan* 'to set free'.

<sup>92</sup> *Ana* 'there' + *in* 'this' + *to* 'manner'.

- Xo'shro'y me-shud.*  
beautiful IMP-became.3SG  
It would become pretty.
- Shmo yak mo'y-aton-a partofta bin-et.*  
you one hair-2SG-ACC throw.GER see-2SG  
Give your hair a toss.
- To gijo-ya mo'y-aton?*  
till where-till hair-2SG  
Where does your hair reach?
- J** *To injem-a.*  
till here.1SG-till  
Here [lit. up to my here].
- Man umro'z qaychi kard-am mo'y-am-a bo.*  
I that day<sup>94</sup> scissors did-1SG hair-1SG-ACC again  
I cut my hair again that day.
- Dvoynoy kaskad kard-am.*  
double cascade<sup>95</sup> did-1SG  
I made a double cascade.
- G** *To'y-aton-ba chi me-kun-ed, gul-mi?*  
wedding-2SG-LOC what IMP-do-2SG flower-Q  
What will you do [to your hair] on your wedding day? A flower?
- J** *Na-me-don-am akun chi me-sho'd mo'y-i man.*  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG now what IMP-become.3SG hair-IZ I  
I don't know at the moment what my hair will be like.
- Mo'y-i man kalta lekin.*  
hair-IZ I short however  
My hair is short though.
- G** *Lekin mo'y-aton-ba qimmat megitagis – of.*  
however hair-2SG-DAT expensive take.PTPL.be.3SG INTJ  
But probably it will be expensive with your hair – oof.
- J** *Jingila budagesh baro'y-mi?*  
curl be.PTPL.3SG because<sup>96</sup>-Q  
Because its curly?
- Bechorek yak kuch-ash me-ro't.*  
poor fellow.DMN one strength.3SG IMP-go.3SG  
Poor fellows – it's no small undertaking [lit. one of his/her energies goes away].

<sup>93</sup> *Hamin* 'this very' + *to* 'manner'.

<sup>94</sup> *Umro'z* appears to mean 'the day before yesterday' for some speakers, but I adopt a literal translation, namely 'that day', here.

<sup>95</sup> Russian *двойной каскад* 'double cascade'.

<sup>96</sup> *Baro'y* can be used as a postposition in Bukharan Tajik.

- Ukladka*<sup>97</sup> *karan-ba hamto' parikmaxer-o*  
set do.INF-LOC like this hair dresser<sup>98</sup>-PL  
*halok me-sho'd.*  
destruction IMP-become.3SG  
When they style my hair,  
hair dressers get tired.
- G** *Mo-ba yak-ta dugonem bud-da.*  
we-LOC one-CLS female friend.1SG was.3SG-SFP  
There was a female  
friend of ours.
- Ibi du soat boza mo'y-am-a shona*  
INTJ two hour since hair-1SG-ACC comb  
*kadashtas vay, me-go't-da.*  
do.PTPL.be.3SG that IMP-say.3SG-SFP  
She says 'oof s/he's  
combing my hair for  
two hours'.
- To mo'y-ash-a shona kadan-a hamin qatar*  
till hair-3SG-ACC comb do.INF-till this very much  
*vagt raftagi-da.*  
time go.PTPL-SFP  
That much time passes  
before the combing of  
her hair takes place.
- Da tavo jingila.*  
as far as that.GEN<sup>99</sup> curls  
Her hair is curled to such  
an extent.
- J** *Ayni ukem hamto'.*  
that of younger brother.1SG like this  
My younger brother's  
hair is like that.
- Ayni man inqachar ne, lekin ayni man*  
that of I this much<sup>100</sup> no however that of I  
*valnistiy xud-ash.*  
wavy<sup>101</sup> self-3SG  
Mine's not that curly, but  
mine's wavy.
- G** *Mo'y-aton, mo'y-ashon daroz-mi ani*  
hair-2SG hair-3PL long-Q that of  
*uketon-a.*  
younger brother.2SG-GEN  
Is your – is your brother's  
hair long?
- J** *Ha daroz vay.*  
yes long that  
Yes it's long.
- Aninto'.*  
there.like this  
Like this.
- Nug-o-yi jingila.*  
tip-PL-IZ curls  
Curly tips.

<sup>97</sup> Russian *укладка* 'set, packing'.<sup>98</sup> Russian *парикмахер* 'hairdresser'.<sup>99</sup> Russian *да того* 'until; to such an extent'.<sup>100</sup> *Qachar* and *qatar* the Bukharan Tajik counterparts of literary Tajik *қадар* 'much; extent'.<sup>101</sup> Russian *волнистый* 'wavy'.



- Ukem-a nishon me-tiyam da shumo.* I'll show you my brother.  
younger brother-ACC sign IMP-give.1SG in you
- Hamja-ba me-xon-at.* He studies here.  
this very place-LOC IMP-read-3SG
- G** *Da.* Yes.  
yes
- J** *Hm.* Hmm.  
INTJ
- G** *Hech na-didagi budem-da.* I have never seen him  
at all NEG-see.PTPL be.PTPL.1SG-SFP [INF].
- J** *Medonistaget daje shmo vay-a.* Perhaps you actually  
know.PTPL.be.2SG actually<sup>102</sup> you that-ACC know him.
- G** *Mojet me-don-am ha s vidu.* Maybe I know him by  
perhaps<sup>103</sup> IMP-know-1SG yes in appearance<sup>104</sup> appearance.
- J** *Na-me-don-am.* I don't know.  
NEG-IMP-know-1SG
- Man-ba inqachar paxoj ne lekin.* He doesn't look very  
I-DAT this much alike<sup>105</sup> no however much like me, though.
- G** *Da.* I see.  
yes
- J** *Man-ba paxoj ne.* He doesn't resemble me.  
I-DAT alike no
- G** *Man-a ukem kopiya me-go'y-et.* You'll say that my  
I-GEN younger brother.1SG copy IMP-say-2SG younger brother is a  
duplicate of me.
- Hamto' ukem me-biyod.* My brother comes like  
like this younger brother.1SG IMP-come.3SG this –
- Ibi in G-mi chi-ku, me-go'y-et.* You'll say 'oh is this G or  
INTJ this G-Q what-SFP IMP-say-2SG what?'

<sup>102</sup> Russian *даже* 'even, yet; actually, in fact; though'.<sup>103</sup> Russian *может* 'can, may'.<sup>104</sup> Russian *с виду* 'in appearance'.<sup>105</sup> Russian *похож* 'alike, similar'.

- J** *Do'yoton paxoj-a?*  
two.PL.2PL alike-SFP  
So you two are alike  
huh?
- G** *Kopiya hamto'.*  
copy like this  
Like replicas.
- Mayda ukem-am kati kopiya.*  
small younger brother-also with copy  
The younger of my  
younger brothers too  
is a duplicate.
- Man avval ...*  
I before  
I used to ...
- J** *Shmo duyum hamto'-mi?*  
you second like this-Q  
You are the second  
[child], are you?
- A shmo pesh aketon.*  
from you front elder brother.2SG  
You have an elder  
brother [lit. before you  
is your elder brother].
- G** *Akem hast-an.*  
elder brother.1SG exist-3PL  
I have an elder brother  
[lit. my elder brother  
exists].
- Badas-i man hastod-i hasht-um sol.*  
then.from<sup>106</sup>-IZ I eighty-CO eight-ord year  
My younger siblings  
were born in 1988.
- Bad navad-i yak.*  
then ninety-CO one  
And then in 1991.
- Planiviy daromad anamin sol.*  
planning<sup>107</sup> entered.3SG there.this very year  
He entered [the depart-  
ment of Financial]  
Planning this year.
- J** *Planiviy xondashteton-mi.*  
planning read.PTPL.be.2PL-Q  
Are you studying plan-  
ning?
- G, bad bank-ba kor me-kun-ed-mi?*  
G then bank-LOC work IMP-do-2SG-Q  
G, will you work at a  
bank?
- G** *Nasib.*  
destiny  
I hope I will.

<sup>106</sup> *Badas* (Literary Tajik *бад аз* (after from)) here is used as a noun with the sense of 'what comes after x' where x is, in this utterance, *man* 'I'. Note that *azboro'y* (Literary Tajik *аз барои*) is also used as a noun in Bukharan Tajik.

<sup>107</sup> Russian *плановый* 'planned'.

- J** *Nasib.*  
destiny  
Hopefully you will.
- G** *Xud-ash hamin sol kor kadani bud-am.*  
self-3SG this very year work do.PTPL was-1SG  
The thing is that I was going to work this year.
- Vay guftas-ki diplom na-shav-ad*  
he say.PTPL.be.3SG-that diploma NEG-become-3SG  
*na-me-sho't, guftas.*  
NEG-IMP-become.3SG say.PTPL.be.3SG-that  
He said [INF] that it won't happen without a diploma.
- J** *Hm.*  
INTJ  
Hmm.
- G** *Man attestat kati chito' me-ro'm bank?*  
I certificate<sup>108</sup> with how IMP-go.1SG bank  
How do I get into a bank with a certificate?
- J** *To'g'ri.*  
right  
Right.
- Na-me-sho'd.*  
NEG-IMP-become.3SG  
It won't happen.
- Ne.*  
no  
No.
- G** *Diplom shudan-ash darkor.*  
diploma become.INF-3SG necessary  
[The qualification] must be a diploma.
- Mayli vay me-kun-am.*  
well that IMP-do-1SG  
[?] Well, fine, I'll do what-d'ye-call-it.
- Vay karda bad lishniy gap darkor ne*  
that do.GER then personal talk necessary no  
*me-go't-da.*  
IMP-say.3SG-SFP  
[?] He says 'I do what-d'ye-call-it and then talking to some people in person won't be necessary'.
- Ato man hamin sol raftani bud-am.*  
otherwise<sup>109</sup> I this very year go.PTPL was-1SG  
Otherwise I would have got into a bank this year.
- J** *Bo yak sol kor me-kun-ed.*  
again one year work IMP-do.2SG  
You're going to work for another year.

<sup>108</sup> Russian *ammecmam* 'certificate, official document'.

<sup>109</sup> Russian *a mo* 'or (else); otherwise'.

- G** *Nasib.* destiny Hopefully I will.
- Kor me-kun-am,* I'll work.  
work IMP-do-1SG
- Yesli cho vay maxsus sirtqi-ba me-spur-am-mi* [?] If not, perhaps I shall  
if what that special external<sup>110</sup>-DAT IMP-order<sup>111</sup>-1SG-Q do a correspondence  
*bo.* course again ...  
again.
- J** *Inja-ya-mi?* Of Bukhara University?  
here-GEN-Q
- G** *Yak planiviy na-merasadagis.* Probably only [a degree  
one planning NEG-reach.PTPL.be.3SG in] Financial Planning  
is not enough.
- J** *Bad vay na-me-sho'd-da, chi me-go'n.* Then that won't be,  
then that NEG-IMP-become.3SG-SFP what IMP-say.3PL what-do-you-call-it –  
what is it called?
- G** *Oliy me-sho'd.* That will be a higher  
supreme IMP-become.3SG [degree].
- J** *Oliy mesho'd-u, bad oylik-aton-am* That will be a higher de-  
supreme IMP-become.3SG-CO then salary<sup>112</sup>-2SG-also gree and accordingly  
*balandtar me-sho'd-da.* your salary will also  
higher IMP-become.3SG-SFP be higher.
- Into' planiviy kati oylik-aton vabshe* With a degree in Plan-  
like this planningwith salary-2SG in general ning, generally  
*nag'z me-sho'd.* speaking, your salary  
good IMP-become.3SG becomes good.
- Yo bad masalan da unja ko'tarish* Or, for example, there's  
or then for example in there promotion<sup>113</sup> promotion there.  
*has-ku.*  
exist.3SG-SFP

<sup>110</sup> Uzbek *sirtqi* 'external', *sirtqi o'qish* 'correspondence course'.

<sup>111</sup> Literary Tajik *сунурдан* 'to order, to entrust, to give hand (in); to supply (with); to deliver (cotton etc. to the state)'.

<sup>112</sup> Uzbek *oylik* 'monthly (salary)'.

<sup>113</sup> Uzbek *ko'tarish* 'promotion'.

- Ko'tarilish na-me-sho'd inqachar*  
being promoted NEG-IMP-become.3SG this much  
*diplom-i shmo kati-yam.*  
diploma-IZ you with-also
- There won't be promotion even with so many diplomas of yours.
- Hamun baro'y chi zaichniy daroy-etinja.*  
that very for what extramural<sup>114</sup> enter-2SG here
- [?] For this reason, go into, um, extramural education here.
- G** *Zaichniy me-xon-am holi-yam.*  
extramural IMP-read-1SG still-also
- I'm studying extramurally even now.
- J** *Zaichniy xon-et.*  
extramural read-2SG
- Study extramurally.
- G** *Inkas chi me-go'n.*  
this person what IMP-say-3PL
- You know what this person [i.e. F] says.
- In x-ba guftashtas-ki vay, in ...*  
this x-DAT say.PTPL.be.3SG-that that this
- He's telling this x guy that, what-d'ye-call-it, this ..
- Angliyski-ya na-me-don-ed-a unqatar.*  
English<sup>115</sup>-ACC NEG-IMP-know-2SG-SFP that much
- 'You don't know English that well, do you?'
- Man guft-am ne inqatar na-me-don-am.*  
I said-1SG no this much NEG-IMP-know-1SG
- I said 'no, I don't know English that well'.
- 'Yes', 'I', kimchosh-a me-don-am.*  
yes I something.PL.3SG-ACC IMP-know-1SG
- I know yes, I, and stuff.
- Mama, faze..*  
mama father
- Mama, father ...
- J** *Maze, faze.*  
mother father
- Mother, father.
- G** *A tak digosh-a na-me-don-am*  
and<sup>116</sup> thus<sup>117</sup> other.PL.3SG-ACC NEG-IMP-know-1SG
- And I said I don't know anything else.
- guft-am-da.*  
said-1SG-SFP
- Bad guft-an-ki da shmo majburiy ne-mi?*  
then said-3PL-that in you compulsory no-Q
- Then he said 'isn't it compulsory for you?'

<sup>114</sup> Russian *заочный* 'extramural'.<sup>115</sup> Russian *английский* 'English'.<sup>116</sup> Russian *a* 'and'.<sup>117</sup> Russian *так* 'so, thus'.

- Siz-lar-ga majburiy, e zubon-ash-am*  
 you-PL-DAT compulsory INTJ language-3SG-also  
*yaq qiziq hamto'.*  
 one interesting<sup>118</sup> like this
- 'Compulsory for you' –  
 oh his language is one  
 curiosity.
- J** *Guft-et-mi majburiy gufta lekin mo*  
 said-2SG-Q compulsory say.GER but we  
*na-me-xon-em.*  
 NEG-IMP-read-1PL
- Did you tell him that it is  
 compulsory but that  
 we don't learn it.
- G** *Bad domlo guft-an.*  
 then teacher said-3PL
- F then said.
- Ne majburiy o'qit-a-dilar prosta bular*  
 no compulsory teach-IMP-past.3PL simply<sup>119</sup> these  
*etibor ber-ma-gan.*  
 attention give-NEG-PTPL
- 'No it's taught compulso-  
 rily – these [students]  
 just didn't bother [to  
 learn]'.  
 Yeah right.
- J** *Ha to'g'ri.*  
 yes right
- Majburiy hamma joy-ba angliyskiy.*  
 compulsory all place-LOC English
- English is compulsory  
 everywhere.
- G** *Lekin mo-ba to'g'ri dars na-shudagi*  
 but we-LOC right lesson NEG-become.PTPL  
*rost-ash-a go'y-am-da angliyskiy.*  
 true-3SG-ACC say-1SG-SFP English
- But, to tell the truth, there  
 have been no proper  
 English lessons for us.
- Matematika-yam nag'z na-shudagi da mo.*  
 Mathematics<sup>120</sup>-also good NEG-become.PTPL in we
- Mathematics lessons for  
 us haven't been good  
 either.
- J** *Matematika chi pul-aton-a shumurda*  
 mathematics what money-2SG-ACC count.GER  
*ton-et me-sho'd-da, hisob-kitob karda.*  
 can-2SG IMP-become.3SG-SFP account book do.GER
- What's mathematics; you  
 know, if you can count  
 your money, settling  
 accounts, that's fine.
- Kimchi formulo yozdahum sinf-ba.*  
 something formula.PL eleventh class-LOC
- Some formulae in year  
 eleven.
- Qiyin me-sho'd.*  
 difficult IMP-become.3SG
- It becomes difficult.

<sup>118</sup> Uzbek *qiziq* 'interesting'.<sup>119</sup> Russian *просто* 'simply'.<sup>120</sup> Russian *математика* 'mathematics'.

- G** *Man xud-am asl-ash matematik shudani* I actually intended to  
 I self-1SG essence-3SG mathematician<sup>121</sup> become.PTPL become a mathemati-  
*bud-am.* cian myself.  
 was-1SG
- J** *Qiyin me-sho'd yazdahum sinf-ba uje.* It already becomes dif-  
 difficult IMP-become.3SG eleventh class-LOC already ficult in year eleven.
- Qimmat guft-em.* [?] We said it's expen-  
 expensive<sup>122</sup> said-1PL sive.
- Formula-i tangens mangens.* The formulae of tangent  
 formula-IZ tangent and suchlike and stuff.
- E, man bad me-bin-am matematika-ya.* Ah, I dislike mathemat-  
 INTJ I bad IMP-see<sup>123</sup>-1SG mathematics-ACC ics.
- Inqachar nag'z na-me-bin-am.* I don't like it that much.  
 this much good NEG-IMP-see<sup>124</sup>-1SG
- G** *Chiba-dir da man me-for-at, vay.* For some reason it  
 why-COP in I IMP-please-3SG that amuses me.
- Lekin nag'z na-xondagi-da.* But I didn't study well.  
 but good NEG-read.PTPL-SFP
- Na-bosh-ad matematik shuda me-raft-am.* Otherwise I would have  
 NEG-be-3SG mathematician become.GER IMP-went-1SG become a mathemati-  
 cian.
- J** *Ekonomist-mi.* An economist?  
 economist-Q
- Bugalter-mi.* An accountant?  
 accountant<sup>125</sup>-Q
- G** *Hm, hamto'yin, anamto'yin kor-o-ya nag'z* Hmm, I like those sorts  
 INTJ like this there.like this work-PL-ACC good of jobs.  
*me-bin-am man.*  
 IMP-see-3SG I
- J** *Hm* Hmm.  
 INTJ

<sup>121</sup> Russian *математик* 'mathematician'.<sup>122</sup> Uzbek *qimmat* 'expensive', Literary Tajik *қиммат* 'expensive'.<sup>123</sup> Compare Bukharan Tajik *bad did-* (bad see) 'dislike' with Uzbek *yomon ko'r-* (bad see) 'dislike'.<sup>124</sup> Compare Bukharan Tajik *nag'z did-* (good see) 'like' with Uzbek *yaxshi ko'r-* (good see) 'like'.<sup>125</sup> Russian *бухгалтер* 'accountant'.

- G** *Chem inzalin kor-o-da.*  
rather than<sup>126</sup> this sort work-PL-SFP  
Rather than these kinds of works.
- Bugalteriya, anamto'yin hisob-kitob nag'z*  
bookkeeping<sup>127</sup> there.like this account book good  
*me-bin-am.*  
IMP-see-1SG  
Bookkeeping, I like that kind of accounting stuff.
- J** *Bugalteriya rav-et xay kurs-lar-ga.*  
bookkeeping go-2SG INTJ course-PL-DAT  
Well, take courses in accounting.
- G** *Borish-im kerak.*  
going-1SG necessary  
I need to.
- Ishqilib o'qi-y-man-da hamma-si-ni.*  
in short read-IMP-1SG-SFP all-3SG-ACC  
I will learn all of them anyway.
- J** *A apa matlaba hast-an.*  
A elder sister ?teacher? exist-3PL  
My elder sister, A, is a [?teacher?].
- Biznes Akademiya.*  
Business Academy  
At Business Academy.
- E, shmo gijo raftani?*  
INTJ you where go.PTPL  
Hey, at which school do you intend to take courses?
- Biznes Akademiya anin DK-ba has-ku.*  
Business Academy there.this DK<sup>128</sup>-LOC exist.3SG-SFP  
Business Academy is in DK, you know.
- G** *Chi me-kun-am yod me-tiyan-mi*  
what IMP-do-1SG memory IMP-give.3PL-Q  
*matematika-ya?*  
mathematics-ACC  
What shall I do – do they teach mathematics there?
- J** *Ha da, bugalteriya-ya.*  
yes yes bookkeeping-ACC  
Yeah, yes, they teach bookkeeping.
- G** *A sar-ash-mi, s nulya?*  
from head-3SG-Q down from zero<sup>129</sup>  
[Do they teach] from scratch, from nil?
- J** *Ha. Fakultet yala shudagi da unja.*  
yes faculty open become.PTPL in there  
Yes, a faculty was opened there.

<sup>126</sup> Russian *чем* 'than'.<sup>127</sup> Russian *бухгалтерия* 'bookkeeping'.<sup>128</sup> *ДК* is the acronym of Russian *дом культуры* 'House of Culture', which is in Uzbek *madaniyat saroyi* 'Palace of Culture'.<sup>129</sup> Russian *с нуля* 'from zero'.



- Bad bank-ba-yam da shmo darkor me-sho'd-da.*  
then bank-LOC-also in you necessary IMP-become.3SG-SFP  
At a bank too it will be necessary for you later.
- G** *Ha tem boleye bank-ba-da.*  
yes a fortiori<sup>130</sup> bank-LOC-SFP  
Yeah all the more so in a bank.
- Bad kompyuter-ba man egzel-a nag'z yod*  
then computer-LOC I Excel-ACC good memory  
*gitan-am darkor.*  
take.INF-1SG necessary  
I then have to learn Excel well on the computer.
- J** *Hm, nag'z na-me-don-et.*  
INTJ good NEG-IMP-know-2SG  
Oh you don't know it well.
- G** *Ne, egzel-a na-me-don-am.*  
no Excel-ACC NEG-IMP-know-1SG  
No, I don't know Excel.
- J** *Vord-ba kor kada me-ton-et, vindovs-ba.*  
Word-LOC work do.GER IMP-can-2SG Windows-LOC  
You can work on Word on Windows.
- G** *Anamin egzel-a yak tablitsa kadan-a*  
there.this very Excel-ACC one table do.INF-ACC  
*me-don-am.*  
IMP-know-1SG  
I know how to create a table with Excel.
- Yaxxilo tablitsa-ya hamto' me-kun-at-ki vabshe*  
some people table-ACC like this IMP-do-3SG-that at all  
*hayron me-mon-et.*  
astonished IMP-stay-2SG  
Some people make such tables that you get dumbstruck.
- Zo'r me-don-ad-da.*  
good IMP-know-3SG-SFP  
They know it well.
- Yak-tesh gap zadagi bud-da vay sol*  
one-CLS.3SG talk hit.PTPL was.3SG-SFP that year  
*da man.*  
in I  
One of them had talked to me last year.
- J** *Hm.*  
INTJ  
Oh.
- G** *Bank-ba kor me-kun-at.*  
bank-LOC work IMP-do-3SG  
He works at a bank.

<sup>130</sup> Russian *тем более* 'all the more so'.

- Ha bed man shmo-ya bank-ba me-mon-am*  
yes come.2SG I you-ACC bank-DAT IMP-put-1SG  
*kimchi-kimchi gufta bud.*  
something-something say.PTPL was.3SG
- He'd said 'Come; I'll place you in the bank' and stuff.
- Man guft-am ne.*  
I said-1SG no
- I said no.
- J** *Xud-am me-darom-mi?*  
self-1SG IMP-enter.1SG-Q
- [Did you say] 'I'll get in [a bank] myself'?
- G** *Nasib, hm, xud-am me-darom.*  
destiny INTJ self-1SG IMP-enter.1SG
- Hopefully, yeah, I'll get in myself.
- Chizalin odam vay, chi.*  
what sort person that what
- What kind of person is he? What ...
- J** *Ne guft-et-mi?*  
no said-2SG-Q
- You said no?
- G** *Hm.*  
INTJ
- Yeah.
- J** *Chand-um sol?*  
how much-ord year
- [In] what year [was he born]?
- G** *Hashtod-i du.*  
eighty-CO two
- Eighty-two.
- J** *Ibi kalon-ku.*  
INTJ big-SFP
- Oh he's a grown-up.
- G** *Hm, hashtod-i du.*  
INTJ eighty-CO two
- Yeah, eighty-two.
- J** *Hozir bist-i chor-ba-da.*  
now twenty-CO four-LOC-SFP
- He's twenty-four now.
- G** *Hm*  
INTJ
- Hmm.
- J** *Na-did-et-mi?*  
NEG-saw-2SG-Q
- Didn't you see him?
- G** *Iqtisod-ba me-xon-at.*  
economics-LOC IMP-read-3SG
- He studies Economics.

*Man guft-am duyum marta inja na-bed.*  
I said-1SG second time here NEG-come.2SG

I said 'don't come here'  
twice [lit. for the second  
time].

*Unja, unja.*  
there there

'Off you go'.

*Into', into'.*  
like this like this

'Like that'.

**J** *Me-xon-at-da?*  
IMP-read-3SG-SFP

So he studies?

**G** *Hm*  
INTJ

Uh-huh.

**J** *Hozir-am me-xon-at-da sentyabr-ban?*  
now-also IMP-read-3SG-SFP september-ABL

He's also studying now,  
since September?

*Chand-um kurs?*  
how much-ord course

What year is he in?

**G** *Panjum.*  
fifth

Fifth.

**J** *Zaochnik.*  
extramural student<sup>131</sup>

He's an extramural stu-  
dent.

**G** *Zaochniy me-xon-ad.*  
extramural IMP-read-3SG

He studies extramurally.

**J** *Hm.*  
INTJ

I see.

*Kor me-kun-ad-da.*  
work IMP-do-3SG-SFP

So he works.

*Na-bosh-ad yagon joy-ba, bank-ba da?*  
NEG-be-3SG some place-LOC bank-LOC yes

Or he works at some  
place – at a bank,  
right?

**G** *Bank-ba kor me-kun-ad.*  
bank-LOC work IMP-do-3SG

He works at a bank.

**J** *Hm, diplom baro'y darkor.*  
INTJ diploma for necessary

I see; [his study] is nec-  
essary for a diploma.

<sup>131</sup> Russian *заочник* 'extramural student'.

- G *Anin egzamen.* [He took] this examina-  
there.this examination<sup>132</sup> tion.
- J *Kadom fakultet?* Which faculty?  
which faculty
- G *Iqtisod-ba.* Economics.  
economics-LOC
- J *Xarasho.* Good.  
good<sup>133</sup>
- Prestijniy.* Prestigious.  
prestigious<sup>134</sup>
- G *Vay-da, chi me-go'n?* The, um, what is it  
that-SFP what IMP-say.3PL called?
- J *Chi-ba ne guft-et xay?* Well, why did you say  
why what said-2SGINTJ no?
- G *Xarakter-i vay hamto' jangi.* His personality is so ag-  
character<sup>135</sup>-IZ that like this aggressive  
aggressive.
- Ota-onesh nes.* He has no parents.  
parents.3SG not exist.3SG
- J *Hamto'-mi?* Is that so?  
like this-Q
- G *Ha, jangi.* Yes, he's aggressive.  
yes aggressive
- Man bad me-bin-am.* I dislike that.  
I bad IMP-see-1SG
- Pisar bacha kak-to problem-osh-a gufta* If the boy tells me about  
son child somehow<sup>136</sup> problem<sup>137</sup>-PL.3SG-ACC say.GER some problems of his  
*tiyat-da.* own -  
give.3SG-SFP

<sup>132</sup> Russian экзамен 'examination'.<sup>133</sup> Russian хорошо 'good'.<sup>134</sup> Russian престижный 'prestigious'.<sup>135</sup> Russian характер 'character, nature'.<sup>136</sup> Russian как-то 'kind of, somehow'.<sup>137</sup> Russian проблема 'problem'.

*Mayli pri sebe-da.*  
well in the presence of<sup>138</sup> self<sup>139</sup>-SFP

That's fine by itself.

*Tem bole man holi du ro'z - se ro'z shud,*  
a fortiori I now two day three day became.3SG  
*da man uje prablem-osh-a gufta*  
in I already problem-PL.3SG-ACC say.GER  
*xoraftas*<sup>140</sup>.  
sleep.PTPL.be.3SG

[But] in addition to that,  
it's been two or three  
days now, he keeps  
telling me about his  
problems [tirelessly].

*Vot roditeley netu, vot tak stradal, tak chi*  
here parents are no<sup>141</sup> here thus suffered<sup>142</sup> thus what  
*shudagi, into' shudagi, into' shudagi,*  
become.PTPL like this become.PTPL like this become.PTPL  
*into' shudagi.*  
like this become.PTPL

I don't have parents, I  
suffered thus, this  
happened, that hap-  
pened, it was like this,  
it was like that ...

*Man bad me-bin-am into'yin gap-o-ya-da.*  
I bad IMP-see-1SG such as this talk-PL-ACC-SFP

I dislike such talks.

**J** *Hm.*  
INTJ

Right.

**G** *Man-ba gap zan-at chi me-go'm.*  
I-DAT talk hit-3SG what IMP-say.1SG

When he talks to me  
what will I say?

**J** *Cho mekardas xay, ota-onesh nes-mi?*  
what.PL do.PTPL.be.3SG INTJ parents.3SG not exist.3SG-Q

What does he do [INF] –  
he doesn't have par-  
ents?

**G** *Nes, murdagi budas.*  
not exist die.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG

No – they have died  
[INF].

**J** *Ki, ki xay yagon kas kati me-shin-at-mi?*  
who who INTJ some person with IMP-sit-3SG-Q

Who, um, well, does he  
live with someone?

**G** *Ne-da, xud-ash vay kadagi.*  
no-SFP self-3SG that do.PTPL

No, he did,  
what-d'ye-call-it, him-  
self.

*Kimcho gufta xoraftas-da.*  
something.PL say.GER sleep.PTPL.be.3SG-SFP

He kept on saying stuff  
[INF].

<sup>138</sup> Russian *пу* 'at, in; in the presence of'.

<sup>139</sup> Russian *себя* 'oneself' in the prepositional case.

<sup>140</sup> The verb *xoraftan* 'to sleep' is used here as an auxiliary verb.

<sup>141</sup> Russian *родителей нету* 'lit. parents are not present'.

<sup>142</sup> Russian *страдал* 'suffered'.

- J** *Detdom-mi* *chi?* A children's home?  
children's home<sup>143</sup>-Q what
- G** *Ne, xud-ash soderjat me-kun-ad, oylik-ash.* No, he supports himself  
no, self-3SG support<sup>144</sup> IMP-do-3SG salary-3SG with his salary.
- J** *Yagon kas kalon kadagi-mi?* Did someone raise him?  
some person big do.PTPL-Q
- G** *Ne, xud-ash.* No, himself.  
no self-3SG
- J** *Ibi xud-ash chizalin kalon shudagi vay?* Oh how did he grow up  
INTJ self-3SG what sort big become.PTPL that himself?
- G** *Xud-ash soderjat kadagi budas.* He has supported himself  
self-3SG support do.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG [INF].
- Anamto' vay kadagi budas.* He has done ...  
there.like this that do.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG what-d'ye-call-it [INF]
- Odami-o-ya xonesh-ba kor kadagi budas.* He has worked at other  
person-PL-GENhouse.3SG-LOC work do.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG people's houses [INF].
- A bolesh xanda kadagi budas odam-o,* They have laughed at  
from top.3SG laugh do.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG person-PL him from above him  
*kimcho.* [INF]; stuff like that.  
something.PL
- Bad me-bin-am-da man into'yin vay-o-ya,* I dislike this kind of, you  
bad IMP-see-1SG-SFP I such as this that-PL-ACC know, talks.  
*gap-o-ya-da.*
- talk-PL-ACC-SFP*
- J** *Hm* Uh-huh.  
INTJ
- G** *Hm, hm, hm.* Hm hm hm.  
INTJ INTJ INTJ
- Bad chi me-go't.* You know what he says  
then what IMP-say.3SG then?
- Man guft-am band kadagi guft-am.* I said 'I'm engaged'.  
I said-1SG occupied do.PTPL said-1SG

<sup>143</sup> Russian *детдом* 'children's home'.<sup>144</sup> Russian *содержать* 'to support'.

- Man uje to'y shudashtem da, vay.*  
I already wedding become.PTPL.be.1PL sft that 'I'm getting married'.
- Xay kani pizar-ak-aton.*  
INTJ so where son-DMN-2SG 'Well where is your boy'
- Man guft-am Rasiya-ba.*  
I said-1SG Russia-LOC I said 'he's in Russia'.
- J** *Hm.*  
INTJ Uh-huh.
- G** *Hm guft.*  
INTJ said.3SG He said 'hmm'.
- Agar haminjo-ba go'y-am agar me-guft-da chiba*  
if here-LOC say-1SG if IMP-said-SFP why  
*har ro'z na-me-biyot, into', into' into'.*  
every day NEG-IMP-come.3SG like this like this like this  
If I say that he is here, he would say 'why doesn't he come here everyday' and stuff like that.
- J** *Hm.*  
INTJ Right.
- G** *Rasiya-ban bahor-ba me-biyon.*  
Russia-ABL spring-LOC IMP-come.3PL 'He will come back from Russia in spring.'
- Man to'y me-sho'm, kimchi kimchi.*  
I wedding IMP-become.1SG something something 'I will get married', blah blah blah.
- Xay, predstavit kun-et shto paga ...*  
INTJ imagine<sup>145</sup> do-2SG what tomorrow [?] 'Imagine, say, tomorrow...'
- Bachkana gap me-zan-at-da.*  
childish<sup>146</sup> talk IMP-hit-3SG-SFP He talks childishly, so [I said these words].
- J** *Mayli-mi.*  
alright-Q Was that okay?
- G** *Daje zabila.*  
even forget.PFCT.PAST.SG.FEM<sup>147</sup> I'd even forgotten [about that].
- J** *E, xay chi shudas.*  
INTJ INTJ what become.PTPL.be.3SG Ah well what happened [INF]?

<sup>145</sup> Russian *представить* 'to adduce; to imagine; to present'.<sup>146</sup> Literary Tajik *бачагона* 'as a child; children's, child's; childish, infantile', Uzbek *bachkana* 'childish, infantile'.<sup>147</sup> Russian *даже забыла*.

- A mo kalon-ku.*  
from we big-SFP  
He's older than us.
- Me-fam-an mo-ya.*  
IMP-understand-3PL we-ACC  
He understands us.
- G** *Bachkana gap me-zan-at-da.*  
childish talk IMP-hit-3SG-SFP  
Well he speaks in a childish way.
- J** *Man o'yla karem, shmo did-et, donista*  
I think do.PTPL.be.1SG you saw-2SG know.GER  
*hamin gap-o-ya. guftashtet da man.*  
this very talk-PL-ACC say.PTPL.be.2SG in I  
I thought [INF]; you saw these words [some-where] before and are saying them to me with them in your memory.
- G** *Ne, ya daje zabila pro neyo<sup>148</sup>.*  
no I even forget.pfct.past.sing.fem about/for her  
Nah I had even forgotten about it.
- J** *Ha, chi shudas.*  
yes what become.PTPL.be.3SG  
Well, what happened [INF]?
- Hich chi ganda na-zad-et.*  
any what bad NEG-hit-2SG  
[?] You didn't say anything bad.
- G** *Hm, hamto'in-da.*  
INTJ like this-SFP  
Well, it's like this.
- Banka rav-ed, na-bed guf-tam.*  
bank go-2SG NEG-come.2SG said-1SG  
I said 'go back to your bank and don't come here'.
- Uje domloton a isin mezemondagi*  
already teacher.2SG from this side pay attention<sup>149</sup>.PTPL  
*shud-an.*  
became-3PL  
'Your professor will look this way'.<sup>150</sup>
- Har ro'z me-biyot haminja-ba.*  
every day IMP-come.3SG here-DAT  
He comes here everyday.
- Jdat karda me-shin-at to panj-a.*  
wait<sup>151</sup> do.GER IMP-sit-3SG till five-till  
He sits here waiting till five.

<sup>148</sup> Russian *даже забыла про неё*.

<sup>149</sup> This Bukharan Tajik verb *zemondan* may have derived from the literary Tajik compound verb *зеҳн мондан* 'to penetrate; strain attention'.

<sup>150</sup> The English free translation does not closely approximate the meaning of *mezemondagi shudan*. Those who know Uzbek might find the Uzbek equivalent of this phrase useful: *qaraydigan bo'ldilar*.

<sup>151</sup> Russian *ждать* 'to wait'.



- Man guft-am chiba jdat me-kun-et, rav-ed, befoyda.*  
I said-1SG why wait IMP-do-2SG go-2SG futile  
I said 'why do you wait – go; it's no use [waiting]'.  
*Kimcho-da, ishqilib.*  
something.PL-SFP in short  
Things like that.
- J** *Domlo mezemondagi shud-an-mi?*  
teacher pay attention.PTPL became-3PL-Q  
Did F become attentive?
- G** *Hm, in kas hamzalin lishniy vay odam*  
INTJ this person this sort unwanted<sup>152</sup> that person  
*kati gap zadan na-me-mon-an.*  
with talk hit-INF NEG-IMP-stay-3PL  
Oh, this person is so unwanted that F doesn't speak with him.
- J** *Into' ... vay-da.*  
like this that-SFP  
It's like ... ah well.
- G** *Agar kimchi me-guft ...*  
if something IMP-said.3SG  
If he [?i.e. F?] says something ...
- Chi me-go't shish sol man-a jdat kada*  
what IMP-say.3SG six year I-ACC wait do.GER  
*me-shisht-et-mi?*  
IMP-sit-2SG-Q  
[?] What would he say: 'you would sit here waiting for me for 6 years?'
- G** *Ibi K, chito' shmo, assalom.*  
**K** INTJ K how you hi  
Oh K, how are you, hi.
- K** *Mo panjum etaj-o-ya kofta gasht-em shmo-ya.*  
**G** we fifth storey-PL-ACC dig.PL walked-1PLyou-ACC  
We briefly looked for you in the fifth mikrorayon.
- G** *Assalom nag'z-et-mi?*  
hi good-2SG-Q  
Hello, how are you, are you well?
- T** *Oyna-ni och-ib qo'y-a-ver-ay-chi.*  
window-ACC open-GER put-IMP-give-SFP  
Shall I open the window.
- Assalom.*  
hi  
Hi.
- J** *Assalom alekum.*  
hello  
Hello.

<sup>152</sup> Russian *лишний* 'superfluous, redundant; unwanted'.

- Chito' shmo?*  
how you How are you?
- Kor-o nag'z-mi?*  
work-PL good-Q Are things okay?
- G *Nag'z dam git-eton-mi, posha, hast-et-mi?* Did you have a good rest,  
K good deep breath took-2PL-Q *poshsa*<sup>153</sup> exist-2SG-Q sister? [?] Are you in?
- K *Mo xuto na-bem, xutoton na-me-bed.* If we don't visit you  
we self.1PL NEG-come.1PL self.PL.2PL NEG-IMP-come.2SG ourselves, you don't  
visit us.
- G *E, shmo da gijo gasht-eton.* [?] Oh where did you  
INTJ you in where walked-2PL stroll around in?
- Man bega hamunja-ba bud-am.* I was there yesterday.  
I yesterday there-LOC was-1SG
- K *Kritiy-ba.* We were at the covered  
closed<sup>154</sup>-LOC bazaar.
- G *Bega mo chito' ro'z-ash kati shisht-em.* [?] How we sat through  
yesterday we how day-3SG with sit-1PL the day yesterday.
- Ustal-cha-ba, durun-ba shishta bud-em.* We had sat inside at the  
table<sup>155</sup>-DMN-LOC interior<sup>156</sup>-LOC sit.PTPL were-1PL small table.
- K *Man o'yla kadem, shmo yagon ro'z* I thought [INF]; you don't  
I think do.PTPL.be.1SG you some day come to work on some  
*na-omadastet-mi.* day.  
NEG-come.PTPL.2SG-Q
- Z guft-ki, har ro'z G kor-ba.* Z said that G is at work  
Z said.3SG-that every day G work-LOC everyday.
- Har ro'z omada raftashtas.* 'She comes and goes  
every day come.GER go.PTPL.be.3SG everyday'.
- G *Hm.* Yes.  
INTJ
- K *Xay chiba na-me-bet?* Well why don't you visit  
INTJ why NEG-IMP-come.2SG us?

<sup>153</sup> A term for addressing a woman.<sup>154</sup> Russian *крытый* 'closed; covered'.<sup>155</sup> Russian *стол* 'table'.<sup>156</sup> Literary Tajik *дапу* 'interior, inside'.

- G** *Gijo rav-am?* Where shall I go?  
where go-1SG
- O man raft-am-ku bega.* Oh I visited you yesterday  
INTJ I went-1SG-SFP yesterday
- K** *Gijo raft-et?* Where did you go to?  
where went-2SG
- G** *Hasht-i nim-ba apem me-biyon* When my elder sister  
eight-CO half-LOC elder sister.1SG IMP-come.3PL  
*guftageshon-ba man hasht-i nim-ba* said at half past eight:  
say.PTPL.3PL-LOC I eight-CO half-LOC 'they're coming', I  
*rafta shisht-em da unja, hich ki nes.* went and sat there at  
go.GER sit-1PL in there any who not exist.3SG eight thirty – no one  
was there.
- K** *Hasht-i nim-ba ne, no'-ba omd-am.* I came not at eight thirty  
eight-CO half-LOC no nine-LOC came-1SG but at nine.
- G** *Man hasht-i nim-ba rafta shisht-am da unja.* I went there at eight  
I eight-CO half-LOC go.GER sit-1SG in there thirty and sat there.
- K** *No'-ba guft-am-ku, J, no'-ba guft-am.* I said nine, J, I said nine.  
nine-LOC said-1SG-SFP J nine-LOC said-1SG
- G** *Hasht-i nim-ba guft-et.* You said eight thirty.  
eight-CO half-LOC said-2SG
- K** *No'-ba guft-am.* I said nine.  
nine-LOC said-1SG
- G** *Devona shud-et.* You've gone nuts.  
lunatic became-2SG
- Man hasht-i nim-ba omd-am priyomniy.* [?] I came at half past  
I eight-CO half-LOC came-1SG reception<sup>157</sup> eight [? during office  
hours ?].
- Hasht-i nim-ba hech ki na-meomdas.* Nobody comes at eight  
eight-CO half-LOC any who NEG-come.PTPL.be.3SG thirty [INF].
- Chito' shmo xay?* Well, how are you?  
how you INTJ
- K** *Zo'r.* Fine.  
good

<sup>157</sup> Russian приёмный 'receiving; reception; (reception) hours'.

*Panjum etaj bromd-em hich ki nes.*  
fifth storey went out-1PL any who not exist.3SG

We went out to the fifth  
mikrorayon – there  
was no one there.

### 1.3. Interview with a Bukharan historian

Recordings transcribed in this section were made on the seventh of August, 2006 in the fifth mikrorayon of Bukhara. Informant F, who was born in 1947 in Bukhara, was a historian who had been exposed to some amount of literary Tajik because of his professional interest in the local history. F was born and brought up in Bukhara old city and received education in Uzbek. F was highly proficient in both Uzbek and Russian in both of which he could give lectures. In this recording, particularly in the first half of it, F makes some attempts to contrast Bukharan Tajik expressions with the expressions that he believed to be their literary Tajik counterparts. F uses the first person plural pronoun *mo(ho)* as well as corresponding subject-verb agreement morphology for formal self-reference, but reverts to the first person singular when the interview is completed. The interviewer (x) was the author of this monograph.

#### 1.3.1. Section 1

<i>Qani?</i> INTJ	Well?
<i>Allo.</i> hello	Hello.
<i>Ha ishla-y-di-mi?</i> INTJ work-IMP-3SG-Q	Well is [the microphone] working?
<i>Kor me-kun-ad-mi?</i> work IMP-do-3SG-Q	Is it working?
<i>Kor me-kun-ad.</i> work IMP-do-3SG	It is working.
<i>Xay gap me-zan-em.</i> INTJ talk IMP-hit-1PL	Okay I'll speak.
<i>Darbor-i Buxoro-mi?</i> palace-IZ Bukhara-Q	[Shall I talk about] the palace of Bukhara?
<i>Buxoro shahr-ash-a darboresh-mi?</i> Bukhara city-TIZ-GEN courtier.3SG-Q	The courtier(s) of Buk- hara city?

*Aknun Buxoro; shahar-ba tojiki gap me-zan-an.*  
 now Bukhara city-LOC Tajik talk IMP-hit-3PL<sup>158</sup>

Today in Bukhara, in the  
 city, people speak Ta-  
 jik.

*Man W. F. A.*  
 I W. F. A.

I am W. F. A.

*Shahr-i Buxoro-ba yak hazor-u no'sad-u*  
 city-IZ Bukhara-LOC one thousand-CO nine-hundred-CO  
*chil-i haftum yanvar zoyda shudagi.*  
 forty-CO seventh January give birth.PTPL become<sup>159</sup>.PTPL

I was born in the city of  
 Bukhara in January,  
 1947.

*Otem – W. A.*  
 father.1SG W. A.

My father was W. A.

*Vafot kardagi.*  
 death do.PTPL

He passed away.

*Asli zoydageshon yak hazor-u*  
 essentially<sup>160</sup> give birth<sup>161</sup>.PTPL.3PL one thousand-CO  
*no'sad-u yak.*  
 nine hundred-CO one

His was born in 1901.

*Modar-am yoki onem yak hazor-u*  
 mother<sup>162</sup>-1SG or mohter.1SG one thousand-CO  
*no'sad-u dvozdahum sol zoyda*  
 nine hundred-CO twelfth year give birth.PTPL  
*shudagi.*  
 become.PTPL

My *modar* or my mother,  
 was born in 1912.

*Yak hazor-u no'sad-u hashtod-i haft*  
 one thousand-CO nine hundred-CO eightly-CO seven  
*vafot kardagi.*  
 death do.PTPL

She died in 1987.

*Otem xizmatchi bud-an.*  
 father.1SG office worker were-3PL

My father was an office  
 worker.

<sup>158</sup> Passive voice does not exist as a grammatical category for many Bukharan Tajik speakers. Bukharan Tajik speakers typically use the third person plural agreement suffix (as F does here) or use participles with no person marking where the passive construction would be used in literary Tajik.

<sup>159</sup> F appears to use here the literary Tajik passive construction the occurrence of which is very rare in Bukharan Tajik. See, however, footnotes 161 and 183.

<sup>160</sup> Bukharan Tajik *asli* has various senses (such as 'really' and 'at first') that are different from the sense that literary Tajik *aslī* 'original; main, principal' has (see Mahmudov and Berdiev 1989: 35).

<sup>161</sup> The verb *zoydan*, from which the participle *zoydagi* that F uses here derives, is in literary Tajik a transitive verb that means 'to give birth'.

<sup>162</sup> F does not use *modar* in his everyday conversation.

<i>Har xil tashkilot-o-ba</i> every sort organization-PL-LOC	<i>kassir, komendant,</i> cashier <sup>163</sup> manager <sup>164</sup>	He worked in all sorts of organizations as a cashier, manager, and account manager.
<i>mudir-i xo'jagi shuda</i> manager-IZ economy become.GER	<i>kor kadagi.</i> work do.PTPL	
<i>Man xud-am maktab-a tamom kardan bad...</i> I self-1SG school-ACC end do.INF then		As for myself, after I finished schooling, I ...
<i>Ha ota-onem asli Buxorogi.</i> Yes parents <sup>165</sup> .1SG essentially Bukharan		Ah, yes, my parents were Bukharans.
<i>Ko'yna odam-o.</i> old <sup>166</sup> person-PL		[They were] old people.
<i>Yak hazor-u no'sad-u a habdahum sol</i> one thousand-CO nine hundred-CO from seventeenth year	<i>pesh inqilob tavallud yoftagi.</i> front revolution birth find.PTPL	[?] Born before the [Russian] revolution of 1917.
<i>Mo-yam da shahr-i Buxoro tavallud yoft-em.</i> we-also in city-IZ Bukhara birth found-1PL		I was also born in Bukhara.
<i>Yoki zoyd-em me-go'n.</i> or give birth-1PL IMP-say.3PL		Alternatively, 'I was born' is expressed with <i>zoydem</i> ['I bore'].
<i>Zoyda shudagi; tavallud yoft-em.</i> give birth.PTPL become.PTPL birth found-1PL		'Was born' - 'I was born'
<i>Bad maktab raft-em.</i> then school went-1PL		Then I went to school.
<i>Maktab-a yozda sol xond-em.</i> primary school-ACC eleven year read-1PL		I studied for eleven years at school.
<i>A yakum to yozdahum sinf.</i> from first till eleventh class		From year one to year eleven.
<i>O'zbeki sinf-ba.</i> Uzbek class-LOC		In an Uzbek class.

<sup>163</sup> Russian *кассир* 'cashier'.<sup>164</sup> Russian *комендант* 'manager'.<sup>165</sup> Uzbek *ota-ona* 'parents'.<sup>166</sup> Literary Tajik *кӯҳна* 'old'.

<i>O'zbek til-i-ba</i>	<i>tamom kard-em maktab-a.</i>	I finished my schooling
Uzbek tongue-TIZ-LOC	end did-1PL school-ACC	in the Uzbek language.
<i>Buxoro-ba asli xona-ba mo'l kas shahar</i>		In Bukhara, essentially,
Bukhara-LOC essentially	house-LOC many person city	at home, many people
<i>budago tojikcha gap me-zan-an.</i>		– city-dwellers, speak
be.PTPL.PL Tajik talk	IMP-hit-3PL	in Tajik.
<i>Maktab o'zbekcha xondagi.</i>		I studied in Uzbek at
primary school Uzbek	read.PTPL	school.
<i>Goh vaqt o'zbekcha gap me-zan-em.</i>		I sometimes speak in
time time Uzbek talk	IMP-hit-1PL	Uzbek.
<i>Ana badas maktab-a tamom kardan institut daromd-em.</i>		Well after I finished my
there after <sup>167</sup> school-ACC end	do.INF institute entered-1PL	schooling, I entered an
		institute.
<i>Yani, yak hazor-u no'sad-u shasht-i</i>		That is, in 1965 [I went]
that is to say one thousand-CO	nine hundred-CO sixty-CO	to Tashkent State
<i>panjum sol Toshkent Davlat Universitet-ash-ba.</i>		University.
fifth year Tashkent State	University-TIZ <sup>168</sup> -DAT	
<i>Yoki dorilfunun mego'n.</i>		Alternatively ['univer-
or university <sup>169</sup> IMP-say.3PL		sity' is called] <i>doril-</i>
		<i>funun.</i>
<i>Da hamun shasht-i panjum sol daromd-em.</i>		In 1965 I entered [the
in that very sixty-CO fifth year	entered-1PL	university].
<i>Yak hazor-u no'sad-u haftodum sol tamom</i>		I graduated [from the
one thousand-CO nine hundred-CO	seventieth year end	university] in 1970.
<i>kard-em.</i>		
did-1PL		
<i>Tarix fakultet-ash-ba xond-em.</i>		I studied at the faculty of
history faculty <sup>170</sup> -TIZ-LOC	read-1PL	History.

<sup>167</sup> Literary Tajik *баъд аз* (after from).

<sup>168</sup> Noun compounding with the compound marker *-ash* (glossed -TIZ in this monograph) is used widely in Bukharan Tajik, possibly as a result of its contact with Uzbek. Compare Bukharan Tajik *Toshkent Davlat Universitet-ash* with Uzbek *Toshkent Davlat Universitet-i* (Tashkent State University-TIZ).

<sup>169</sup> Literary Tajik *дорулфунун* 'university'.

<sup>170</sup> Russian *факультет* 'faculty'.



<i>Ixtisos-i tarixchi.</i> speciality-IZ historian	I majored in history [lit. A historians' specialization].
<i>Ana bad omad-em Buxoro shahr-ash.</i> there then came-1PL Bukhara city-TIZ	And then I came [back] to Bukhara city.
<i>Has un vaqt-ba bud "pedagogika".</i> exist.3SG that time-LOC was.3SG pedagogy <sup>171</sup>	At that time there was a <i>pedagogika</i> [educational institution].
<i>Bilim yurt-i o'zbekcha me-go'n.</i> knowledge establishment-TIZ Uzbek IMP-say.3PL	In Uzbek it is called <i>bilim yurti</i> .
<i>O'rta maxsus bilim yurt-i.</i> middle special knowledge establishment-TIZ	Special secondary educational institution.
<i>Malim tayyor me-kun-ad.</i> teacher ready IMP-do-3SG	It trains teachers.
<i>Bad da hamunja malim shud-em.</i> then in there teacher became-1PL	I graduated as a teacher [from the <i>pedagogika</i> ].
<i>A tarix dars dod-em.</i> from history lesson gave-1PL	I gave lectures in history.
<i>Panj sol kor kadem.</i> five year work did.1PL	I [have] worked for 5 years.
<i>Badas vay Buxoro Universitet-ash-ba kor-ba</i> after that Bukhara University-TIZ-DAT work-DAT <i>guzasht-em, malim-i tarix shuda.</i> passed-1PL teacher-IZ history become.GER	Following this period, I transferred to Bukhara University to work as a lecturer in history.
<i>Ana bad malimi kard-em, aspirantura xond-em.</i> there then teaching did <sup>172</sup> -1PL post-graduate study <sup>173</sup> read-1PL	I taught [history] and also carried out post-graduate studies.
<i>Kor-i nomzod-i ilmiy git-em.</i> work-IZ candidate-IZ scientific took-1PL	I took up the work [tasks] of a candidate [ <i>kan-didat</i> ] of science.

<sup>171</sup> Russian педагогика 'pedagogy'.<sup>172</sup> Literary Tajik муаллимӣ кардан 'to teach'.<sup>173</sup> Russian аспирантура 'graduate school; post-graduate study'.

- Mavzu git-em tema.*  
topic took-1PL topic<sup>174</sup> I chose a topic.
- Mavzu-ya kor kard-em.*  
topic-ACC work did-1PL I worked on the topic.
- Yak hazor-u no'sad-u hashtod-u se-ba*  
one thousand-CO nine hundred-CO eighty-CO three-LOC I defended [my disserta-  
*himoya kard-em.*  
defence did-1PL tion] in 1983.
- Badas himoya fan nomzod-ash shud-em.*  
after defence science candidate-TIZ became-1PL After the defence I be-  
came a candidate  
[*kandidat*].
- Hashtod-i se-ba himoya kard-em.*  
eighty-CO three-LOC defence did-1PL I defended [my disserta-  
tion] in 1983.
- Axir-ash-ba tasdiq shud, disertatsiya.*  
end-3SG-LOC confirmation became.3SG dissertation<sup>175</sup> In the end it was accepted  
– [my] dissertation.
- Fan nomzod-ash shud-em.*  
science candidate-TIZ became-1PL I became a candidate of  
science.
- Badas vay ana maqolo-ho vay-o brovarda*  
after that there article<sup>176</sup>-PL that-PL take out.GER Following this, I pub-  
lished papers and then  
*bad yak hazor-o no'sad-u hashtod-i hash*  
then one thousand-CO nine hundred-CO eighty-CO eight in 1988 I got the title  
*dotsenti unvon-ash-a git-em.*  
readership title-TIZ-ACC take-1PL of a docent.
- Vay daraja-yi nomzod-i fan bosh-ad, in unvon*  
that degree-IZ candidate-IZ science be.3SG this title When/If one's rank is a  
*ana "dotsent".*  
there reader<sup>177</sup> science kandidat's  
rank, his title is 'do-  
cent'.
- Ana bad kafedra mudir shud-em.*  
there then department director became-1PL Later I became the di-  
rector of the depart-  
ment.

<sup>174</sup> Russian *тема* 'subject, topic, theme'.<sup>175</sup> Russian *диссертация* 'dissertation'.<sup>176</sup> Literary Tajik *мақола* 'article, essay'.<sup>177</sup> Russian *доцент* 'docent, lecturer, reader'.

<p><i>Ana bad bo bo'lim boshlig'-i shud-em,</i>  there then again department head-TIZ became-1PL  <i>rahbar-i bo'lim.</i>  manager-IZ department</p>	<p>And after [a period of time] I also became the head of department; the manager of the department.</p>
<p><i>Bad hozir bo kafedra mudir.</i>  then now again department director</p>	<p>And now I am once again the director of the department.</p>
<p><i>Ana kafedra mudiri karda gasht-em.</i>  there department directorship do.GER walked-1PL</p>	<p>Thus I carried on with the work of departmental directorship.</p>
<p><i>Chor-ta bacha-ya tarbiya kard-em.</i>  four-CLS child-ACC upbringing did-1PL</p>	<p>I brought up four children.</p>
<p><i>Ana chor-ta bacha-yam xond-an.</i>  there four-CLS child-also read-3PL</p>	<p>All of my four children [have] studied.</p>
<p><i>Yak-tesh ana F. W.</i>  one-CLS.3SG there F. W.</p>	<p>One of them is F. W.</p>
<p><i>Duxtur – genekolog.</i>  doctor gynaecologist</p>	<p>She is a doctor – gynaecologist.</p>
<p><i>Kor me-kun-ad.</i>  work IMP-do-3SG</p>	<p>She works.</p>
<p><i>Dutta bacha dor-ad.</i>  two.CLS child have-3SG</p>	<p>She has two children.</p>
<p><i>Yani dutta nabera dor-em mo.</i>  that is to say two.CLS grandchild have-1PL we</p>	<p>So I have two grandchildren.</p>
<p><i>Domod xay kor-i savdo - sotiq.</i>  son-in-law INTJ work-IZ trade - selling</p>	<p>Her husband – he is in the business of trading.</p>
<p><i>Ana duyum-ash W. A.</i>  there second-3SG W. A.</p>	<p>And the second [of our children] is W. A.</p>
<p><i>Turkiya xond.</i>  Turkey read.3SG</p>	<p>He studied in Turkey.</p>
<p><i>Angliya-ba kurs-a yod grift.</i>  England-LOC course-ACC memory took.3SG</p>	<p>He took a course in England.</p>

- Ana hozir Toshkent-ba kor me-kun-ad* *buxgalter* Now he works as an ac-  
there now Tashkent-LOC work IMP-do-3SG book-keeper  
*shuda.*  
become.GER  
Now he works as an ac-  
countant in Tashkent.
- Seyum-ash B.* The third [child] is B.  
third-3SG B.
- Buxoro Universitet-ash iqtisod fakultet daromad.* She entered the Faculty  
Bukhara University-TIZ economy faculty enter.3SG of Economics at  
Bukhara University.
- Bakalavr shud chor sol xonda.* She studied for four years  
bachelor<sup>178</sup> became.3SG four year read.GER and got a bachelor's  
degree.
- Bad bo du sol xond magistratura* She then studied another  
then again two year read.3SG masters' study<sup>179</sup> two years for a mas-  
*Universitet-i Buxoro-ba.* ters degree at the  
University-IZ Bukhara-LOC University of Buk-  
hara.
- Magistratura-ya tamom kard.* She finished her masters  
masters study-ACC end did.3SG study.
- Hamin du hozor-i shish yanvar-ba* In January this year,  
this very two thousand-CO six January-LOC 2006, she started her  
*aspirantura daromad Iqtisod* postgraduate study at the  
post-graduate study entered.3SG economy Institute of Eco-  
*institutush-ba, Akademiya Fan-ho-yi O'zbekiston-ba.* nomics at the Acad-  
institute.TIZ-DAT Academy science-PL-IZ Uzbekistan-DAT emy of Science of  
Uzbekistan.
- Hozir aspirant.* She is now a graduate  
now post-graduate student<sup>180</sup> student.
- Ana xurd-esh D. W.* The youngest [of our  
there little-3SG D. W. children] is D. W.
- Diplomatiya Institutush-ba Toshkent-ba me-xon-ad.* She studies at the Insti-  
diplomacy institute.TIZ-LOC Tashkent-LOC IMP-read-3SG tute of Diplomacy in  
Tashkent.

<sup>178</sup> Russian *бакалавр* 'bachelor'.<sup>179</sup> Russian *магистратура* 'magistracy; masters' study'.<sup>180</sup> Russian *аспирант* 'post-graduate student'.

<i>Panjum kurs shud.</i> fifth course became.3SG		She's in the fifth year.
<i>Ana hamoshon panj kati nag'z baho kati xondashten.</i> there all <sup>181</sup> .PL.3PL five with good mark with read.PTPL.be.3PL		Both of them are studying well (with five –) with good marks.
<i>Bilimoshon nag'z, korkun, kasboshon-a</i> knowledge.PL.3PL good able speciality.PL.3PL-ACC <i>me-don-an.</i> IMP-know-3PL		Their knowledge is good, they are able individuals, they know their areas of specialization.
<i>Ilm-a nag'z me-bin-an.</i> science-ACC good IMP-see-3PL		They like science.
<i>A duyum, pisar az A.</i> from second son from A.		[?] From the second [child], A's sons.
<i>Dutta nabira shud.</i> two.CLS grandchild became.3SG		[?] [They] became two grandchildren.
<i>Yaktesh E.</i> one.CLS.3SG E		One of them is E.
<i>Yaktesh V naziki-ba sabuk shud.</i> one.CLS.3SG V nearness <sup>182</sup> -LOC light became <sup>183</sup> .3SG		The other, V, was born recently.
<i>Holi vay mayda.</i> now s/he small		He's still small.
<i>Shumo didaget.</i> you see.PTPL.be.2SG		You probably saw [him].
<i>Shumo did-et-mi?</i> you saw-2SG-Q		Did you see [him]?
<i>Ha na-did-et.</i> INTJ NEG-saw-2SG		Ah, you didn't.
<i>Shumo to'pa-to'g'ri inja omad-ed.</i> you very straight here came-2SG		You came straight here.

<sup>181</sup> Uzbek *hamma* 'all'; Literary Tajik *ҳама* 'all'.

<sup>182</sup> Literary Tajik *наздики* 'nearness'; *ба наздики* 'soon'; *дар наздики* 'recently, not long ago'.

<sup>183</sup> According to Mahmudov and Berdiev (1989: 198), Bukharan Tajik *sabuk shudan* means 'to bear', but F appears to use it in the sense of 'to be born' here.

*In gashta a Toshkant raftan-ba didan-aton*  
 this walk.GER from Tashkent go.INF-LOC see.INF-2SG  
*mumkin, agar miyona-ba vaqt bosh-ad.*  
 possible if middle-LOC time be-3SG

This baby, you could go and see him when [i.e. before] you leave from Tashkent, if there's time in between [your arrival to and your departure from Tashkent].

*Bacho-yi nag'z, xushro'y, dono, batartib.*  
 child.PL-IZ good beautiful<sup>184</sup> clever orderly

They are good children; pretty, clever, and well-behaved.

*Ana hurmat-izzat-ta amal me-kun-an.*  
 there respect-respect-for<sup>185</sup> action IMP-do-3PL

They act respectfully.

*Ha bacho kalon me-sho'd.*  
 INTJ child.PL big IMP-become.3SG

Yes the children will grow.

*Oila hamin.*  
 family this very

This is [my] family.

*Bacha tarbiya me-kun-ed.*  
 child education IMP-do-2SG

You educate a child.

*Nag'z shav-ad me-go'y-et.*  
 good become-3SG IMP-say-2SG

You say 'may s/he be good'.

*Ana nag'z shav-ad, dono shav-ad agar, xursand.*  
 there good become-3SG clever become-3SG if happy

[?] If s/he becomes good and clever, there would be happiness.

*Tarbiya gitagi bacho.*  
 education take.PTPL child.PL

The children have been educated.

*Nag'z.*  
 good

Good.

*Ha xutomo-yam ganda ne.*  
 INTJ self.PL.1PL-also bad no

Oh I am also doing all-right myself.

*Kor-o nag'z.*  
 work-PL good

Things are fine.

<sup>184</sup> Literary Tajik *xyuḡy* 'beautiful, handsome'.

<sup>185</sup> See Kerimova (1959: 19).

<i>Tarbiya</i> upbringing	<i>me-tem</i> IMP-give.1PL	<i>student-o</i> student-PL	<i>talabo-ya.</i> student.PL-ACC		I educate students and pupils.	
<i>Kor-omo</i> work-PL.1PL	<i>qiziq,</i> interesting	<i>nag'z,</i> good	<i>zo'r.</i> nice <sup>186</sup>		My work is interesting, nice, and good.	
<i>Mo</i> we	<i>Buxoro-ba</i> Bukhara-LOC	<i>Xo'ja Zayniddin</i> Xo'ja Zayniddin	<i>guftagi</i> say.PTPL	<i>mahalla</i> neighbourhood	I, um, there's a neighbourhood called Xo'ja Zayniddin in Bukhara.	
	<i>has.</i> exist.3SG					
<i>Hamun</i> that very	<i>mahalla-ba</i> neighbourhood-LOC	<i>tavallud</i> birth	<i>yoftagi.</i> find.PTPL		I was born in that neighbourhood.	
<i>Xo'ja Zayniddin</i> Xo'ja Zayniddin	<i>biqin-ash-ba,</i> side-TIZ-LOC	<i>shumo</i> you	<i>dida</i> see.PTPL	<i>bosh-ed, machit</i> be-2SG masjid	At one side of Xo'ja Zayniddin, if you have seen it, there is a masjid.	
	<i>has.</i> exist.3SG					
<i>Xo'ja Zayniddin</i> Xo'ja Zayniddin	<i>machit-ash</i> masjid-TIZ	<i>yo</i> or	<i>"xonagoh"</i> place of worship		It is called either Xo'ja Zayniddin Masjid or <i>xonagoh</i> .	
	<i>me-go'n.</i> IMP-say.3PL					
<i>Havuz</i> reservoir <sup>187</sup>	<i>dor-ad.</i> have-3SG				It has a reservoir.	
<i>Hamunja</i> there	<i>tavallud</i> birth	<i>shudagi.</i> become.PTPL			I was born there.	
<i>Hamunja</i> there	<i>kalon</i> big	<i>shudagi.</i> become.PTPL			I grew up there.	
<i>Xud-ash</i> self-3SG	<i>mo</i> we	<i>oila-ba</i> family-LOC	<i>haft</i> seven	<i>kas</i> person	<i>bud-em.</i> were-1PL	We were seven people [? i.e. children?] in our family.
<i>Hafta</i> seven.CLS	<i>farzand</i> child	<i>ota-ona-ba.</i> parents-DAT			Seven children and their parents.	

<sup>186</sup> Bukharan Tajik *zo'r* means 'good; nice'.<sup>187</sup> Literary Tajik *xaёз* 'pond, pool'.

*Kalon-i opemo,* xay *A kati un dafa*<sup>188</sup>  
 big-IZ elder sister<sup>189</sup>.1PL INTJ A with that time  
*rafta bosh-ed, un kas kalon, pensiya-ba.*  
 go.PTPL be-2SG that person big pension-LOC

The elder of my elder sisters – you visited her with A back then – she is old; she's retired [she draws her pension].

*Duyum-ashon M<sub>1</sub> apa.*  
 second-3PL M<sub>1</sub> elder sister

The second [of my elder sisters] is M<sub>1</sub>.

*Xay yak-ta akemo bud-an.*  
 INTJ one-CLS elder bother.1PL were-3PL

Well I had an elder brother.

*Vafot kard-an.*  
 death did-3PL

He passed away.

*Ana bad mo chorom farzand.*  
 there then we fourth child

And I am the fourth child.

*Badas mo ukemo bud-an.*  
 after we younger brother.1PL were-3PL

After me, there was a younger brother.

*M<sub>2</sub> un kas ham vafot kard-an yosh*<sup>190</sup>.  
 M<sub>2</sub> that person also death did-3PL young

M<sub>2</sub>; he also died young.

*Badas M<sub>2</sub> eski hovli-ba M<sub>3</sub>.*  
 after M<sub>2</sub> old yard<sup>191</sup>-LOC M<sub>3</sub>

After M<sub>2</sub>, there is M<sub>3</sub> who lives in the old house.

*Badas M<sub>3</sub> M<sub>4</sub>.*  
 after M<sub>3</sub> M<sub>4</sub>

After M<sub>3</sub>, comes M<sub>4</sub>.

*M<sub>4</sub> vrach.*  
 M<sub>4</sub> doctor

M<sub>4</sub> is a doctor.

*M<sub>3</sub> vrach – infeksionist.*  
 M<sub>3</sub> doctor infection control specialist<sup>192</sup>

M<sub>3</sub> is a doctor – an infection control specialist.

*M<sub>4</sub> xurdi pediatr.*  
 M<sub>4</sub> small size paediatrician<sup>193</sup>

M<sub>4</sub> is an infant paediatrician.

<sup>188</sup> Literary Tajik *дафъа* 'time'.

<sup>189</sup> Uzbek *opa* 'elder sister'.

<sup>190</sup> Uzbek *yosh* 'young'.

<sup>191</sup> Uzbek *hovli* 'yard, court, outside'. Houses in Bukhara old city enclosed with walls are referred to as *hovli*.

<sup>192</sup> Russian *инфекционист* 'infection control specialist'.

<sup>193</sup> Russian *педиатр* 'paediatrician'.



<i>Ana M<sub>1</sub> apemo pensiya-ba.</i> there M <sub>1</sub> elder sister.1PL pension-LOC	M <sub>1</sub> is on pension.
<i>Uno-yam nabira dor-an.</i> they-also grandchild have-3PL	They also have grand-children.
<i>Farzand dor-an.</i> child have-3PL	They have children.
<i>Nag'z, ko'pchilik.</i> good most <sup>194</sup>	Good, for the most part.
<i>Xeshu - tabor mo'l.</i> relative-lineage many	We have many relatives.
<i>To'y - maraka shav-ad hamma jam</i> wedding-ceremony become-3SG all whole <i>me-sho'd.</i> IMP-become.3SG	When there's a wedding or a ceremony, we all get together.
<i>Xursandi, yak dirag-a<sup>195</sup> me-bin-em.</i> gladness one other-ACC IMP-see-1PL	There's gladness – we meet one another.
<i>Ana Buxoro-ya eski shahr-ash-ba mo'ltar me-shin-an</i> there Bukhara-GEN old city-3SG-LOC more IMP-sit-3PL <i>hamoshon.</i> all.PL.3PL	They all live more in Bukhara old city [than they do outside it].
<i>Ana ganda ne.</i> there bad no	You see, things are okay.
<i>Zamona nag'z.</i> time good	These days [things are] fine.
<i>Buxoro nag'z.</i> Bukhara good	Bukhara is nice.
<i>Buxoro bozor-ash nag'z.</i> Bukhara bazaar-TIZ good	Bazaars of Bukhara are nice.
<i>Buxoro-yam shahr-i mayda ne.</i> Bukhara-also city-IZ small no	Bukhara is not a small city.
<i>Ancha-muncha miyona shahar.</i> considerable middle city	It is a middle-sized city.

<sup>194</sup> Uzbek *ko'pchilik* 'majority; most'.<sup>195</sup> Metathesis of *digar-a* (other-ACC).

<i>Aholesh</i> population <sup>196</sup> .3SG	<i>mo'l.</i> many		It's population is large.									
<i>Odam-osh</i> person-PL.3SG	<i>mo'l.</i> many		There are lots of people.									
<i>Har xil millat</i> every sort nation	<i>odam-o</i> person-PL	<i>me-shin-an.</i> IMP-sit <sup>197</sup> -3PL	People from all sorts of nations live here.									
<i>Rus,</i> Russian	<i>totor,</i> Tatar	<i>o'zbek,</i> Uzbek	<i>qirg'iz,</i> Kyrgyz	<i>qozoq,</i> Kazakh	<i>tojik,</i> Tajik	<i>turkman.</i> Turkmen	Russian, Tatar, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen.					
<i>Hamma millat</i> all nation	<i>vakil-osh</i> representative-PL.3SG	<i>has</i> exist.3SG	<i>Buxoro</i> Bukhara	<i>shahr-ash-ba.</i> city-TIZ-LOC			There are representatives of all nations in Bukhara city.					
<i>Buxoro</i> Bukhara	<i>shahr-ash</i> city-TIZ	<i>xud-ash</i> self-3SG	<i>shahr-i</i> city-IZ	<i>qadimiy.</i> ancient <sup>198</sup>			Bukhara city itself is an ancient city.					
<i>Yak hazor-u</i> one thousand-CO	<i>no'sad-u</i> nine hundred-CO	<i>navad-i</i> ninety-CO	<i>haftum</i> seventh	<i>sol</i> year	<i>dunim</i> two.CO.half	<i>hazor</i> thousand	<i>sola-i</i> year of-IZ	<i>Buxoro-ya</i> Bukhara-ACC	<i>nishona</i> mark	<i>kard-em</i> did-1PL	<i>yubiley.</i> anniversary <sup>199</sup>	In 1997 we marked the 2500th anniversary of Bukhara – a jubilee.
<i>Buxoro-ba</i> Bukhara-LOC	<i>tarixiy</i> historical	<i>yodgori</i> <sup>200</sup> monument	<i>mo'l.</i> many									There are lots of historical monuments in Bukhara.
<i>Buxoro-ba</i> Bukhara-LOC	<i>chixel</i> what.sort	<i>budagi</i> be.PTPL	<i>vaqt-i</i> time-IZ	<i>qadim-ba</i> ancient-LOC	<i>madrasa-ho</i> madrassa-PL	<i>budagi.</i> be.PTPL						In some ancient times there were madrasas in Bukhara.
<i>Madrasa – in,</i> madrassa this	<i>hamun</i> that very	<i>davr-a</i> era-GEN	<i>universitet-ash,</i> university-3SG			<i>institut-ash</i> institute-3SG	<i>budagi.</i> be.PTPL					The madrasa – it was the university, the institute of that era.

<sup>196</sup> Literary Tajik *aʃolū* 'population'.

<sup>197</sup> Bukharan Tajik *shishtan* has the senses of both 'to sit' and 'to reside'.

<sup>198</sup> Literary Tajik *qadimū* 'ancient, old'.

<sup>199</sup> Russian *юбилей* 'anniversary, jubilee'.

<sup>200</sup> Literary Tajik *ёдзорū* 'monument'.

<i>Madrasa-ba omda a chor taraf,</i> madrasa-DAT come.GER from four side	[Students would] come from all places and
<i>"hujra" me-go'n xono-ya,</i> cell IMP-say.3PL room.PL-ACC	– the rooms in madrasas are called cells –
<i>Hujra-ba ham meshishti ham avqot mexo'rdagi</i> cell-LOC also sit.PTPL also meal eat.PTPL <i>ham xob meraftagi ham dars tayyor mekardagi.</i> also sleep go.PTPL also lesson ready do.PTPL	would live, eat meals, sleep and prepare for lessons in cells.
<i>Domlo meomdagi malim hujra-ba.</i> teacher come.PTPL teacher cell-DAT	The teacher would come to the cells.
<i>Seta-chorta hujra dor-ad.</i> three.CLS-four.CLS room have-3SG	[?] He would have a few cells.
<i>Talaba-ba daromda dars doda vazifa medodagi.</i> student-DAT enter.GER lesson give.GER task give.PTPL	He would go in and give lessons, and give tasks to students.
<i>Anin-anin-a me-xon-i.</i> there.this-there.this-ACC IMP-read-F2SG	'You will read this and this'
<i>Ra-ya nishon medodagi.</i> way <sup>201</sup> -ACC sign give <sup>202</sup> .PTPL	He would instruct [them].
<i>Harf-o-ya yod medodagi.</i> letter-PL-ACC memory give.PTPL	He would teach letters.
<i>Talim medodagi.</i> teaching <sup>203</sup> give.PTPL	He would teach.
<i>Uno shishta mustaqil mutoala mekardagi.</i> they sit.GER independent lection do.PTPL	They [?'i.e. students?] would sit down and carry out independent avid reading [of the sacred scripture].
<i>Ana mullobacho<sup>204</sup> budagi.</i> there student.PL be.PTPL	Thus there were students.

<sup>201</sup> Literary Tajik *роҳ* 'road, way'.

<sup>202</sup> Literary Tajik *нишон додан* 'to show, to indicate'.

<sup>203</sup> Literary Tajik *таълим* 'teaching, training, instruction', *таълим додан* 'to teach'.

<sup>204</sup> Literary Tajik *муллобача* 'madrassa students'.

<i>Madraso budagi.</i> madrasa.PL be.PTPL	There were madrasas.
<i>In yak guruh tarixiy yodgori-ho.</i> this one group historical monument-PL	They are one group of historical monuments.
<i>Duyum guruh-ash machit budagi – masjid.</i> second group-3SG masjid be.PTPL masjid	The second group is <i>machit</i> – I mean masjid.
<i>Masjid namoz mexondagi.</i> masjid prayer read.PTPL	In masjids people would pray.
<i>In xristian-o-ba cherkov has ku.</i> this christian-PL-DAT church <sup>205</sup> exist.3SG you know	There are churches for Christians.
<i>Hamun cherkov barin.</i> that very church like	Masjids are like churches.
<i>Yo senagoga yahudi-yo-ba.</i> or synagogue jew-PL-DAT	Or they are [for muslims] what synagogues are for Jews.
<i>Musulmon-o-ba masjid mo'l budagi.</i> muslim-PL-DAT masjid many be.PTPL	For Muslims there were many masjids.
<i>Senagoga yak-ta has Buxoro-ba yahudi-yo-ya</i> Synagogue one-CLS exist.3SG Bukhara-LOC jew-PL-GEN <i>azbaroy-ash.</i> sake-3SG <sup>206</sup>	There is one synagogue in Bukhara for Jews.
<i>Xud-ash-a senagogesh has yak-ta.</i> self-3SG-GEN synagogue.3SG exist.3SG one-CLS	Jews have one synagogue for themselves.
<i>Hozir has.</i> now exist.3SG	It still exists now.
<i>Nishon me-tiyam man.</i> sign IMP-give.1SG I	I will show it to you.
<i>Buxoro-ba jugut<sup>207</sup>-amancha-muncha budagi.</i> Bukhara-LOC jew-also considerable be.PTPL	Jews too were fairly numerous in Bukhara.

<sup>205</sup> Russian *церковь* 'church'.

<sup>206</sup> Literary Tajik *az baroy* 'for; for the sake of' is used here as a noun.

<sup>207</sup> *Jugut* also has the sense of 'Indian giver' in Bukhara.

- Jugut-o-yam tojikcha gap me-zadan-a yod gitaki.*  
 jew-PL-also Tajik talk IMP-hit.INF-ACC memory take.PTPL  
 Jews have also learned to speak Tajik.
- Jugut-o-yi Buxoro tojikcha gap me-zan-ad.*  
 jew-PL-IZ Bukhara Tajik talk IMP-hit-3SG  
 Jews of Bukhara speak Tajik.
- Ana beg'ayri masjid bad har yak guzar-ba,*  
 there besides<sup>208</sup> masjid then every one quarter-LOC  
*har yak mahalla-ba havuz budagi.*  
 every one neighbourhood-LOC reservoir be.PTPL  
 Aside from a masjid, there was a reservoir in every quarter; in every neighbourhood.
- Havuz ob pur meshudagi.*  
 reservoir water full become.PTPL  
 The reservoir would become full.
- Bad a havz mashkob-o anin charm*  
 then from reservoir water carrier-PL there.this leather  
*idish-ba, charm chiz-ba ob-a mekashondagi.*  
 vessel<sup>209</sup>-DAT leather thing-LOC water-ACC carry<sup>210</sup>.PTPL  
 Then water in the reservoir would be carried in *mashkobs* – it's kind of a leather vessel, leather thing.
- Havlo-ba a jo'y a vay ob-a meovardagi,*  
 yard.PL-DAT from stream from that water-ACC bring.PTPL  
*havlo-ba medodagi.*  
 yard.PL-DAT give.PTPL  
 The water from that and from streams would be brought and supplied to houses.
- Bad odam-o pul-osh-a burovarda*  
 then person-PL money-PL.3SG-ACC take out<sup>211</sup>.GER  
*tangesh-a medodagi.*  
 coin<sup>212</sup>.3SG-ACC give.PTPL  
 Then people would take out their money and pay their *tanga* [monetary unit].
- In havuz ham yak yodgori.*  
 this reservoir also one monument  
 These reservoirs are also one [group of] monument[s].
- Machit, demak, madrasa, havz.*  
 masjid, that is<sup>213</sup> madrasa reservoir  
 Masjids, I mean madrasas, and reservoirs.

<sup>208</sup> See Kerimova (1959: 23).

<sup>209</sup> Uzbek *idish* 'dish, vessel'.

<sup>210</sup> Literary Tajik *кашондан* 'carry somewhere else, carry from one place to another'.

<sup>211</sup> Literary Tajik *баровардан* 'to take out, to carry out'.

<sup>212</sup> Literary Tajik *манга* 'coin'.

<sup>213</sup> Uzbek *demak* 'be equal (to), thus, so, then'.

*Bad Buxoro-ya havosh oftob-ash baland budagi,*  
then Bukhara-GEN air.PL.3SG sun-3SG high be.PTPL

Now, as for the weather  
of Bukhara, the sun is  
[lit. was] harsh.

*Garm hamun vaqt-am.*  
hot that very time-also

It was hot in that era too.

*Bad toq soxtagi.*  
then cupola build.PTPL

So cupolas were built.

*Tak-i toq salqin.*  
bottom<sup>214</sup>-IZ cupola cool

It is cool under cupolas.

*Into' chor taraf-ash havo me-darod teshik-o*  
like this<sup>215</sup> four side-3SG air IMP-enter.3SG hole<sup>216</sup>-PL  
*mondagi.*  
put.PTPL

Air comes in from every  
direction; holes were  
holed.

*Tak-i toq-ba savdo mekardagi.*  
bottom-IZ cupola-LOC trade do.PTPL

Trade would be con-  
ducted under the cu-  
polas.

*Toq joy kam budan bad a har toq*  
cupola place few be.INF then from every cupola  
*into' rasta soxtagi – qator.*  
like this row of stalls make.PTPL row

When space became  
scarce in the cupolas,  
from every cupola  
rows of stalls were  
built.

*Rasta-ya bolesh-a po'shondagi.*  
row of stalls-GEN top<sup>217</sup>.3SG-ACC shut.PTPL

The tops of the rows  
were roofed over.

*Du taraf do'kon budagi.*  
two side shop be.PTPL

Two sides of each row  
were stalls.

*Do'kon-ba bad odam-o ana salqini-ba rafta*  
shop-DAT then person-PL there coolness-DAT go.GER  
*rasto-yi mahkam-ba savdo-sotiq-ba chiz*  
row of stalls.PL-IZ closed-LOC trade-selling-LOC thing  
*mexardagi vaqt-ash-ba.*  
buy.PTPL time-3SG-LOC

In those days, people  
would go to the stalls  
and then into this  
coolness and would  
buy things in the  
trading area in the  
closed [i.e. roofed]  
rows.

<sup>214</sup> Literary Tajik *маз* 'bottom'.

<sup>215</sup> Literary Tajik *ин маър* 'in this way, thus, like this'.

<sup>216</sup> Literary Tajik *меуик* 'hole'; Uzbek *teshik* 'hole'.

<sup>217</sup> Literary Tajik *боло* 'top'.

<i>Bad har yak rasta-ya</i> then every one row of stalls-GEN <i>xud-ash budagi.</i> self-3SG be.PTPL	<i>nom-ash-a</i> name-3SG-GEN	And there was an individual name for every row of stalls.
<i>Har yak toq-a</i> every one cupola-GEN <i>xud-ash budagi.</i> self-3SG be.PTPL	<i>nom-ash-a</i> name-3SG-GEN	Every cupola had a name of its own.
<i>Buxoro-ba panj-ta toq budagi.</i> Bukhara-LOC five-CLS cupola be.PTPL		There were five cupolas in Bukhara.
<i>Hozir se-tesh mondagi.</i> now three-CLS.3SG stay.PTPL		Three of them remain to date.
<i>Toq-i telpakfuro'sh-on, toq-i sarof-on,</i> cupola-IZ fur-cap seller-PL cupola-IZ moneychanger <sup>218</sup> -PL <i>toq-i zargar-on.</i> cupola-IZ goldsmith-PL		Cap-sellers' cupola, money-changers' cupola, and goldsmiths' cupola.
<i>Toq-i zargar-on zargar-o meshishtagi.</i> cupola-IZ goldsmith-PL goldsmith-PL sit.PTPL		Goldsmiths would sit in goldsmiths' cupola.
<i>Tillo-pillo chiz-o-ya mesoxtagi.</i> gold-and-suchlike thing-PL-ACC make.PTPL		They would make gold things and stuff like that.
<i>Toq-i telpakfuro'sh-on-ba sar-ba kiyim, telpak,</i> cupola-IZ fur-cap seller-PL-LOC head-DAT clothing <sup>219</sup> fur-cap <i>shapka, diga chiz mefro'xtagi.</i> cap other thing sell.PTPL		At cap-sellers' cupola, headgears, fur caps, skull caps, among other things would be sold.
<i>Toq-i sarof-on-ba pul-o-ya alish</i> cupola-IZ moneychanger-PL-LOC money-PL-ACC change <i>mekardagi.</i> do.PTPL		At moneychangers' cupola, money would be exchanged.
<i>"Change office".</i> exchange bureau		'Exchange bureaus'.

<sup>218</sup> Literary Tajik *capoф* 'moneychanger'.<sup>219</sup> Uzbek *kiyim* 'clothing'.

*Hind rupiyesh-a masalan Iroq dinor-ash-ba yo*  
 Indian rupee.TIZ-ACC for example Iraq dinar-TIZ-DAT or  
*digesh-ba yo pul-i Buxoro-ba – amiri tanga-ba*  
 other.TIZ-DAT or money-IZ Bukhara-DAT of amir coin-DAT  
*alish mekardagi pul-o-ya.*  
 change do.PTPL money-PL-ACC

They would change Indian rupees into, say, Iraqi dinars or some other currency or Bukharan amiri tangas – they would exchange currencies.

*Qiyamat<sup>220</sup>-ash-ba barobar.*  
 value-3SG-DAT equal

In accordance with their values.

*Amin zalin toq-o budagi.*  
 this very sort<sup>221</sup> cupola-PL be.PTPL

There were cupolas like these.

*Xo'p.*  
 good<sup>222</sup>

Okay.

*A durni shahar Shohrud me-guzar-ad.*  
 from inside<sup>223</sup>.IZ city Shohrud<sup>224</sup> IMP-pass-3SG

*Shohrud* runs through the city.

*Shohrud manosh jo'y-i shoh, jo'y-i podshoh.*  
 Shohrud meaning.3SG stream-IZ king stream-IZ king

The meaning of *Shohrud* is 'shah's stream', 'king's stream'.

*Podshoh kanondagi.*  
 king cause to dig.PTPL

The king got it channelled [lit. caused s.o. to dig].

*Nom-ash-a Shohrud mondagi.*  
 name-3SG-ACC Shohrud put.PTPL

He named it *Shohrud*.

*Shoh – podshoh.*  
 king king

*Shoh* is 'king'.

*Rud – jo'y.*  
 river stream

*Rud* is 'stream'.

*O'zbekchesh-ba 'shoh arig'-i'.*  
 Uzbek.3SG-LOC king irrigation canal-TIZ

It's 'king's canal' in Uzbek.

*Vay butun shahr-a ob kati tamin kardagi.*  
 that whole city-ACC water with provision do.PTPL

It provided the whole city with water.

<sup>220</sup> Uzbek *qiyamat* 'value'; literary Tajik *қимат* 'expense, price, value'.

<sup>221</sup> See *зайлин* in Kerimova (1959: 16).

<sup>222</sup> Literary Tajik *хуб* 'good, nice'.

<sup>223</sup> Literary Tajik *дарунӣ* 'inside'.

<sup>224</sup> Literary Tajik *шоҳ* 'king' and *рӯд* 'river'.



<i>Shohrud me-guzar-ad, a miyon-i shahar.</i> Shohrud IMP-pass-3SG from centre-IZ city	Shohrud runs through the city centre.
<i>A biqin-i Shohrud jo'ycho raftagi</i> from side-IZ Shohrud stream.DMN.PL go.PTPL <i>havuz-o-ba.</i> reservoir-PL-DAT	From the sides of Shohrud little streams ran into reservoirs.
<i>Havuz-o pur shuda istodagi.</i> reservoir-PL full become.GER stand.PTPL	Reservoirs were constantly kept full.
<i>Ob-ash-a gitagi, pur shudagi.</i> water-3SG-ACC take.PTPL full become.PTPL	Reservoirs got the water and became full.
<i>Ob sar me-tiyan.</i> water head IMP-give.3PL	Water is released.
<i>Jo'y-a yala me-kun-an.</i> stream-ACC open IMP-do-3PL	The streams are opened.
<i>Vay ob-o davida guzar-o-ba – chor taraf-ba</i> that water-PL.run.GER quarter-PL-DAT four side-DAT <i>me-ro't.</i> IMP-go.3SG	That water runs into quarters and goes every direction.
<i>Havuz-o pur me-sho'd.</i> reservoir-PL full IMP-become.3SG	Reservoirs become full.
<i>A havuz-o mashkob ob-a havlo</i> from reservoir-PL water-carrier water-ACC yard.PL <i>me-bar-ad.</i> IMP-take out <sup>225</sup> -3SG	From reservoirs water-carriers take water to houses.
<i>Vaqt-i qadim hamto' tartib budagi.</i> time-IZ ancient like this <sup>226</sup> order be.PTPL	In ancient times there was a system like this.
<i>Bad shahar durni qala-ba budagi.</i> then city inside.IZ fortress <sup>227</sup> -LOC be.PTPL	Also the city was in a fortress.
<i>Miyona atrof devor gitagi budagi qala-devor.</i> middle sides wall take.PTPL be.PTPL fortress-wall	The centre and sides had been fortified with fortress walls.

<sup>225</sup> Literary Tajik *баровардан* 'to take out, carry out'.

<sup>226</sup> Literary Tajik *ҳамин тавр* 'in this (very) way'.

<sup>227</sup> Literary Tajik *қалъа* 'fortress'.

*Buxoro dvozda-ta darvoza doshtagi.*  
Bukhara twelve-CLS gate have.PTPL

Bukhara had twelve gates.

*Hamin namozgar shud-ki, ofto b g'o'tit,*  
this very third namaz became.3SG-that sun sank.3SG  
*torik shuda grift-ki darvoza-ya mepo'shondagi.*  
dark become.GER took.3SG-that gate-ACC shut.PTPL

These gates – when it was time for the third prayer of the day, when the sun set, when it got dark, the gates would be closed.

*Shab shahar-ba odam-a na-memondagi begona-ya.*  
night city-LOC person-ACC NEG-put.PTPL foreign-ACC

At night people – foreign people – would not be let in the city.

*Ki biyod karavon-o, karvon-o a darvoza berun*  
that come.3SG caravan-PL caravan-PL from gate outward  
*shab-ba mond-mi me-shn-ad, a darvoza berun.*  
night-LOC stayed.3SG-Q IMP-sit-3PL from gate outward

So when caravans come at night outside the gates, caravans remain outside the gates.

*Qarochi, duz-o bosh-ad, tala karda raftan-ash*  
in short<sup>228</sup> thief<sup>229</sup>-PL be-3SG steal<sup>230</sup> do.GER go.INF-3SG  
*mumkin.*  
possible

In short, if there are robbers, they could rob [the caravans] and leave.

*Azbaramo'n karvon-o chi ko kardagi.*  
because of.that very<sup>231</sup> caravan-PL what work do.PTPL

[?] Because of that [i.e. to avoid being robbed], what did caravans do.

*Ha gufta harakat kardagi-ki Buxoro-ba to*  
INTJ say.GER movement do.PTPL-that Bukhara-DAT till  
*namozgar, to shab shudana darot.*  
third prayer till night become-till enter.3SG

They moved forward saying 'chop-chop' in order to enter Bukhara before the third prayer; before the night came.

*Ki durni qala darot, karvon bexatar shudagi.*  
that inside.IZ fortress enter.3SG caravan secure become.PTPL

So once caravans entered the fortress, they were safe.

<sup>228</sup> Russian *короче* 'shorter'.

<sup>229</sup> Literary Tajik *дӯз* 'thief'.

<sup>230</sup> Uzbek *tala*- 'steal, kidnap'.

<sup>231</sup> *Az baroy* 'because of' + *hamun* 'that very'.

*Chiz-osh istodagi.*  
thing-PL.3SG stand.PTPL

[?] Their things [?.i.e. merchandise ?] were lodged in [some place].

*Buxoro akun kalon joy budan bad, a Hindiston,*  
Bukhara now big place be.INF then from India  
*Arabiston, a diga joy-o, a Rusiya, a chor taraf*  
Arabia from other place-PL from Russia from four side  
*karvon-o omdagi.*  
caravan-PL come.PTPL

Now Bukhara was a large [trading] place and caravans came from every direction; from India and Arabia; from other places; from Russia.

*Mol ovardagi, a isin mol gita raftagi.*  
goods bring.PTPL from this side goods take.GER go.PTPL

They brought merchandise in and from here left with merchandise.

*Buxoro-yam mashhur budagi.*  
Bukhara-also famous be.PTPL

Bukhara itself was famous.

*Xud-ash-ba yarasha mahsulot-ash budagi.*  
self-3SG-DAT according to<sup>232</sup> product-3SG be.PTPL

It had products of its own.

*Hamun mahsulot-o-ya gita raftagi.*  
that very product-PL-ACC take.GER go.PTPL

They left with those products.

*Buxoro yak joy-i kalon, obod budagi.*  
Bukhara one place-IZ big prosperous be.PTPL

Bukhara was one large and prosperous place.

*Hozir-am obod.*  
now-also prosperous

It is still prosperous now.

*Buxoro kalon.*  
Bukhara big

Bukhara is large.

*Ha, obod.*  
yes prosperous

Yes, prosperous.

*Ana, teatr has.*  
there theatre<sup>233</sup> exist.3SG

Look, there's a theatre.

*Kinoteatr-o has.*  
movie theatre<sup>234</sup>-PL exist.3SG

There are movie theatres.

<sup>232</sup> Uzbek *yarasha* 'according to, corresponding to'.

<sup>233</sup> Russian *meamp* 'theatre'.

<sup>234</sup> Russian *kuhomeamp* 'cinema, movie theatre'.

<i>Ancha obod.</i> considerable prosperous	It's considerably prosperous.
<i>Shahar kalonshud.</i> city big became.3SG	The city grew large.
<i>Fabrik zavod has.</i> factory <sup>235</sup> factory <sup>236</sup> exist.3SG	There are factories and plants.
<i>Teatr hamun eski shahar taraf.</i> theatre that very old city side	The theatre is there on the old city side.
<i>Taraf-i ho' qala-ba, Ark-ba.</i> side-IZ there <sup>237</sup> fortress-DAT Ark-DAT	Way over there; towards the fortress, the Ark.
<i>Ha, bad, amir Ark-ba meshishtagi, qala barin.</i> yes, then amir Ark-LOCsit.PTPL fortress like	Ah, also, the emir lived in the Ark that was like a fortress.
<i>Bo durn-i shahar-ba bo yak-ta qala-cha</i> again inside.IZ city-LOC again one-CLS fortress-DMN <i>budagi-ki, amir meshishtagi.</i> be.PTPL-that amir sit.PTPL	Within the city there was another little fortress where the emir resided.
<i>Nom-ash – Ark.</i> name-3SG Ark	Its name is 'Ark'.
<i>Buxoro Ark-ash me-go'n.</i> Bukhara Ark-TIZ IMP-say.3PL	It is called the Ark of Bukhara.
<i>Shmo vay rafta bud-et.</i> you that go.PTPL was.2SG	You have been there.
<i>Dida bud-et.</i> see.PTPL was.2SG	You have seen it.
<i>Rasm-ba gita bud-et.</i> picture-DAT take.PTPL was.2SG	You have photographed it.
<i>Ark bolesh yala ancha joy.</i> Ark top.3SG open considerable place	The top of the Ark is a considerably large open space.

<sup>235</sup> Russian *фабрика*: female genitive plural of *фабрика* 'factory'.

<sup>236</sup> Russian *завод* 'factory'.

<sup>237</sup> Literary Tajik *хӯр/хӯр* 'over there'.

*Taxt-i podsho, amir-am has, hamzalin.*  
 throne-IZ king amir-also exist.3SG this sort

The throne of the king, I mean the amir, is also there.

*Ha, bo, amir-a a shahar berun saroy-ash budagi.*  
 yes again amir-GEN from city outward palace-3SG  
 be.PTPL

Ah, also, there was a palace of the amir outside the city.

*Amir-a saroy-ash Mohi Xosa me-go'n.*  
 amir-GEN palace-3SG Mohi Xosa IMP-say-3PL

The amir's palace is called Mohi Xosa.

*Ha, Mohi, moh – oy – moh, Xosa – moh-ba, oy-ga o'xshash, moy-ba monand.*  
 yes Moxi moon moon<sup>238</sup> moon Xosa moon-DAT  
 moon-DAT similar moon-DAT similar

Um, *Mohi* is: *moh* 'moon' and *Xosa* is 'similar to the moon', 'similar to the moon'.

*Mohi-Xosa – xuddi oy-ba xos.*  
 Mohi-Xosa exactly moon-DAT specific

[?] Mohi Xosa – exactly specific to the moon.

*Oy-ba xos, oy-ga o'xshash.*  
 moon-DAT specific moon-DAT similar

Unique to the moon; similar to the moon.

*Saroy xo'shro'y budagi.*  
 palace beautiful be.PTPL

The palace was beautiful.

*Mo shmo rafta bud-em, shmo kati un dafa.*  
 we you go.PTPL were-1PL you with that time

I and you have visited there back then.

*Havuz dor-at.*  
 pool have-3SG

'Let the palace have a pool'.

*Vay dor-at, zal-osh dor-at.*  
 that have-3SG hall-PL.3SG have-3SG

'Let the palace have what-do-you-call-it', 'let the palace have halls of it's own'.

*Ana Buxoro markaz-i – hamun vaqt-am, hozir-am – markaz-i fan, ilm budagi.*  
 there Bukhara centre-IZ that very time-also now-also  
 centre-IZ science science be.PTPL

Bukhara back then was, as it is now, a centre of science and study.

<sup>238</sup> Uzbek *oy* 'moon'.

- A Buxoro hamun hazor sol pesh*  
 from Bukhara that very thousand year front  
*Imom Buxoriy bromdagi.*  
 Imam Bukhari go out.PTPL
- [?] A thousand years ago  
 Bukhari emerged  
 from Bukhara.
- Bahovaddin Naqshband, mo'l olim-u fuzalo-ho*  
 Baha al-din Naqshband many scientist-COScholars-PL  
*da haminja xondagi madraso-ba.*  
 in here read.PTPL madrasa.PL-LOC
- Baha al-din Naqshband  
 and many scientists  
 and scholars studied  
 here at madrasas.
- Masalan, tojik shoir-ash Ro'dakiy omda a*  
 for example Tajik poet-TIZ Rudaki come.GER from  
*Ro'dak qishloq-ash.*  
 Ro'dak village-TIZ
- For example, Tajik poet  
 Rudaki, coming from  
 the Rudak village –
- Ro'dak qishloq-ash guftagesh, jo'y meguzashtagi*  
 Ro'dak village-TIZ say.PTPL.3SG stream pass.PTPL  
*qishloq, ro'd, ro'dak meguzashtagi daryosh-a.*  
 village river river-DMN pass.PTPL river<sup>239</sup>.3SG-GEN
- What 'the Rudak vil-  
 lage' means is 'the  
 village through which  
 a stream runs'. A river;  
 a stream from a river  
 ran through it.
- A Ro'dak qishloq-ash omda Ro'dakiy Buxoro-ba*  
 from Ro'dak village-TIZ come.GER Rudaki Bukhara-LOC  
*talim gitagi dahum asr.*  
 education take.PTPL tenth century
- Coming from Rudak,  
 Rudaki gained educa-  
 tion in Bukhara in the  
 tenth century.
- Ro'dakiy gufta bad xud-ash sher navistagi.*  
 Rudaki say.GER then self-3SG poem<sup>240</sup> write.PTPL
- Then, as Rudaki, he  
 wrote poetry.
- Tojikcha sher-o navistagi.*  
 Tajik poem-PL write.PTPL
- He wrote poems in Tajik.

<sup>239</sup> Literary Tajik *даръё* 'river'.

<sup>240</sup> Literary Tajik *шеър* 'poem'.

*Mashhur shoir.*  
popular poet

He was a famous poet.

*Ro'dakiy xondagi, digoho xondagi, chiqatar*  
Rudaki read.PTPL other.PL read.PTPL how many<sup>241</sup>  
*olim-u fuzalo, hozir-am chiqatar olim-o*  
scientist-COScholars now-also how many scientist-PL  
*bromdagi.*  
go out.PTPL

Rudaki studied [here],  
others studied [here],  
how many men of  
letters – even today  
how many scientists  
emerged [from Buk-  
hara].

*Ana, Olim Xo'jayev – artist, SSSR xalq artist-i*  
there Olim Xo'jayev artist USSR<sup>242</sup> people artist-TIZ  
*bromdagi.*  
go out.PTPL

Look, Olim Xo'jayev, an  
artist, a people's artist  
of the USSR, came  
out from Bukhara.

*Marhum.*  
deceased

He's deceased now.

*Masalan, Razzoq Hamroyev bromdagi.*  
for example Razzoq Hamroyev go out.PTPL

For instance, Razzoq  
Hamroyev came out  
[from Bukhara].

*Ana, Muxtor Ashrafiy, kompozitor bromdagi.*  
there Muxtor Ashrafiy composer<sup>243</sup> go out.PTPL

Muxtor Ashrafiy, a  
composer, came out  
[from Bukhara].

*Tarang olim fuzalo bromdagi.*  
many<sup>244</sup> scientist scholars go out.PTPL

A large number of men  
of letters emerged  
[from Bukhara].

*Shahr-i Buxoro asli hamin markaz-i ilm-u*  
city-IZ Bukhara essentially this very centre-IZ study-CO  
*fan-u sanat budagi, sanat, madaniyat.*  
science-CO art be.PTPL art<sup>245</sup> culture

Bukhara city was a centre  
of study, science, and  
art – art and culture,  
that is.

<sup>241</sup> Literary Tajik *чӯ қадар* 'how many'.

<sup>242</sup> Russian СССР 'USSR' (*Союз Советских Социалистических Республик* 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

<sup>243</sup> Russian *композитор* 'composer'.

<sup>244</sup> Bukharan Tajik *tarang* 'very many'.

<sup>245</sup> Literary Tajik *санъат* 'art'.

<i>Ana vaqt-i soveti-ba-yam</i>	<i>ancha-muncha</i>	<i>odam-o-yi</i>	During the Soviet era
there time-IZ Sovietism-LOC-also	considerable	person-PL-IZ	too, a considerably
<i>buzurk, olim, sanatkor</i>	<i>bromdagi.</i>		large number of
great scientist artist	go out.PTPL		prominent people,
			scientists, artists,
			emerged [from Bukhara].
<i>Ana, shmo xarbuza-ya brovarda</i>	<i>mon-et.</i>		Hey, [to his daughter]
there you melon-ACC take out.GER	put-2SG		bring the melon here.
<i>Vay garmtar shav-ad.</i>			Let it be warmer.
that hotter become-3SG			
<i>Ana in-o-yam zapis kard.</i>			Look it also recorded
there this-PL-also record did.3SG			these [words].
<i>Xarbuza guft-em, xarbuza-ya.</i>			I called a melon a melon.
melon say-1PL melon-ACC			
<i>Anamto</i> <sup>246</sup> .			It's like this.
there.like this			

<sup>246</sup> *Ana* 'there' + *hamin* 'this very' + *to* 'manner'.



## 1.3.2. Section 2

<p><i>Podsho Ismoil Somoni-ya maqbaraesh rafta</i> king Ismail Samani-GEN mausoleum<sup>247</sup>.TIZ go.PTPL <i>bud-em.</i> were-1PL</p>	<p>We have visited King Ismail Samani's mausoleum.</p>
<p><i>Durni park-ba bud.</i> inside.IZ park-LOC was.3SG</p>	<p>It was inside the park.</p>
<p><i>Ismoil Somoniy rafta bud-em shmo kati.</i> Ismail Samani go.PTPL were-1PL you with</p>	<p>We have visited Ismail Samani [Mausoleum].</p>
<p><i>Bad Ibn Sino-ya qishloq-ash raft-em.</i> then Ibn Sina-GEN village-3SG went-1PL</p>	<p>Then we went to Ibn Sina's village.</p>
<p><i>Afshona qishloq-ash.</i> Afshona village-TIZ</p>	<p>The village of Afshona.</p>
<p><i>Unja-ya dida bud-em.</i> there-ACC see.PTPL were-1PL</p>	<p>We have seen there.</p>
<p><i>Ziyorat dida bud-em, karda bud-em.</i> visit see.PTPL were-1PL do.PTPL were-1PL</p>	<p>We have visited and seen there.</p>
<p><i>Xo'sh, Chor Bakr rafta bud-em un dafa shmo kati.</i> alright Chor Bakr go.PTPL were-1PL that time you with</p>	<p>Right, we have visited Chor Bakr back then.</p>
<p><i>Ho' imorat kardashta bud-an.</i> there building do.PTPL were-3PL</p>	<p>They [the buildings in Chor Bakr] were be- ing [re]constructed over there.</p>
<p><i>Vayron bud.</i> ruined was.3SG</p>	<p>It was a ruin.</p>
<p><i>Boli madrasesh bromd-em-mi-chi-ku?</i> top.IZ madrasa.3SG went out-1PL-Q-what-SFP</p>	<p>We climbed to the top of the madrasa, did we?</p>

<sup>247</sup> Literary Tajik *мақбара* 'mausoleum'.

<i>Chor Bakr</i> – <i>remont</i>	<i>karda hamma joy-a,</i>	<i>vay</i>	Chor Bakr was being
Chor Bakr renovation <sup>248</sup>	do.GER all place-ACC	that	renovated everywhere
<i>karda Chor Bakr-a</i>	<i>restavratsiya –</i>	<i>tiklanish</i>	and, was being re-
do.GER Chor Bakr-ACC	restoration <sup>249</sup>	restoration	stored; it was being
<i>kardashta bud-an.</i>			restored.
do.PTPL were-3PL			
<i>Rafta bud-em.</i>			We have been there.
go.PTPL were-1PL			
<i>Boli darvozaxonesh</i>	<i>bromda bud-et.</i>		You have got on the top
top.IZ gate with a canopy <sup>250</sup> .3SG	go out.PTPL were-2SG		of the gatehouse.
<i>Ha Chor Bakr rafta bud-em.</i>			Yeah, we've been to Chor
yes Chor Bakr go.PTPL were-1PL			Bakr.
<i>Ha shayx-o-ya mozor-ash.</i>			The cemetery of sheikhs.
yes sheikh-PL-GEN cemetery-3SG			
<i>Ha un dafa.</i>			Yes, back then.
yes that time			
<i>Bad, ho' Samarqand-am rafta omda bud-em.</i>			Then, we have gone all
then there Samarqand-also go.GER come.PTPL were-1PL			the way to [and re-
			turned from] Samar-
			kand too.
<i>Ha, gijo-ho na-raft-em mo un dafa chiqatar.</i>			Well well where didn't
yes where-PL NEG-went-1PL we that time how many			we go back then – we
			went to so many
			places.
<i>Ie, ana.</i>			Oof. There you go.
INTJ there			

<sup>248</sup> Russian *ремонт* 'renovation'.

<sup>249</sup> Russian *реставрация* 'restoration'.

<sup>250</sup> Literary Tajik *дарвозахона* 'gate with a canopy'.

## 1.3.3. Section 3

- x *Yahudiy-lar-ning tojikcha-si ...*  
Jew-PL-GEN Tajik-3SG Jews' Tajik ...
- F *Juhut, ha, yahudiy-ho – juhut me-go'n*  
Jew yes Jew-PL Jew IMP-say.3PL Jew, yes, Jews – they are  
*tojikcha-ba.*  
Tajik-LOC called *Juhut* in Tajik.
- x *Ha, juhut-mi – ha juhut-lar-ning tojikcha-si va*  
yes Jew-Q yes Jew-PL-GEN Tajik-3SG and Oh *Juhut* – well, *Juhuts'*  
*siz-ning tojikcha-ngiz ...*  
you-GEN Tajik-2PL Tajik and your Tajik  
...
- F *Bir xil, bir xil.*  
one sort one sort They're identical, they're  
identical.
- Man yahudiy guftem, asli juhut me-go'n.*  
I Jew say.PTPL.be.1SG essentially Jew IMP-say.3PL I said Yahudiy, [but] ac-  
*Juhut.*  
Jew tually it's *Juhut. Juhut.*
- x *Siz-ning tojikcha-ngiz va Tojikiston-da gapiril-gan*  
you-GEN Tajik-2PL and Tajikistan-LOC be spoken-PTPL About the differences  
*tojikcha ora-si-da-gi farq-lar to'g'risida, agar ...*  
Tajik gap-3SG-LOC-relcl difference-PL about if between your Tajik  
and the Tajik spoken  
in Tajikistan, if ...
- Ha, akun farq-ash-a, man olim-filolog ne,*  
INTJ now difference-3SG-ACC I scientist-philologist no I see ... now, about the  
*farq-ash-a mo'l na-me-don-am.*  
difference-3SG-ACC many NEG-IMP-know-1SG difference; I'm not a  
scientist-philologist, I  
don't know much  
about the difference.
- Ayni mo dialekt-i Buxoro-da.*  
from.that-IZ<sup>251</sup> we dialect<sup>252</sup>-IZ Bukhara-SFP Ours is the dialect of  
Bukhara.

<sup>251</sup> A 'from' + *on-i* (that-IZ) 'that of'.<sup>252</sup> Russian *диалект* 'dialect'.

*Lahji Buxoro, lahja – dialekt, lahja – lahji*  
 dialect.IZ Bukhara dialect dialect dialect dialect.IZ  
*Buxoro.*  
 Bukhara

Bukhara dialect, – dialect  
 is *dialekt*, dialect –  
 Bukharan dialect.

*Uno lahji tojiki.*  
 they dialect.IZ Tajik

They are Tajik dialects.

*Ha, Tojikistan-a tojik-ash-a asos-ash-ba,*  
 INTJ Tajikistan-GEN Tajik-3SG-GEN basis-3SG-LOC  
*hamin tojiki adabiy til-a asos-ash-ba,*  
 this veryTajik literary language-GEN basis-3SG-LOC  
*Ko'lob lahjesh gitagi.*  
 Kulyab dialect.TIZ take.PTPL

Well, as the basis of the  
 Tajik language of Ta-  
 jikistan – as the basis  
 of the literary lan-  
 guage – Kulyab dia-  
 lect was adopted.

*Ko'lob has Tojikiston-ba.*  
 Kulyab exist.3SG Tajikistan-LOC

There's [a place called]  
 Kulyab in Tajikistan.

## 1.3.4. Section 4

- F *Afg'oncha-yam* *yaqtek* *famdan* *mumkin* [Bukharans] can understand, at a low speed, a bit of Afghani, albeit with difficulty.  
 Afghan-also a little understand.INF possible  
*sekin-sekin,* *ammo* *qind.*  
 slowly but difficult
- Ana Eron-a* *famidani* *mumkin tojikesh-a* – It is possible to understand Iran's Tajik: Persian.  
 there Iran-GEN understand possible Tajik.3SG-ACC  
*forscha-ya.*  
 Persian-ACC
- Akun* *hamesh-a* *ne-yu,* *bazi go* *so'z-o-ya* Not fully though – sometimes you don't understand their words and you have difficulty understanding, but basically it is possible to understand [Persian]; it is possible to speak [Persian] without difficulty.  
 now all.3SG-ACC no-CO some time word-PL-ACC  
*na-fam-ed,* *qindi* *me-kash-ed,* *no*  
 NEG-understand-2SG difficulty IMP-pull-2SG but<sup>253</sup>  
*asosan* *famdan* *mumkin,* *bemalol*  
 basically understand.INF possible without difficulty  
*gap* *zadan* *mumkin-da.*  
 talk hit.INF possible-SFP
- Adabiy til-ba* *ne,* *hamin* *bemalol* Not in the literary language [but] having conversation without difficulty and understanding it is possible.  
 literary language-LOC no this very without difficulty  
*suhbat* *kardan* *mumkin,* *famdan*  
 conversation do.INF possible understand.INF  
*mumkin.*  
 possible
- Ana, anamzalin* *vay-o,* *uncho* *has,* So there are those sorts of things.  
 there there.this sort that-PL that.thing.PL exist.3SG  
*ishqilib.*  
 in short
- Azbaramun* *Buxoro odam-ash-ba* *tojikcha* Because of that, a Bukharan who knows Tajik is a polyglot.  
 because of.that very Bukhara person-TIZ-LOC Tajik  
*medonistagi* *odam* *poliglot.*  
 know.PTPL person polyglot<sup>254</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Russian *но* 'but'.<sup>254</sup> Russian *полиглот* 'polyglot'.

<i>Tojikcha, forsha, afg'oncha me-fam-ad.</i> Tajik Persian Afghan IMP-understand-3SG	He understands Persian and Afghani.
<i>O'zbekcha-yam me-don-at.</i> Uzbek-also IMP-know-3SG	He knows Uzbek too.
<i>Turkcha-yam me-fam-ad.</i> Turkish-also IMP-understand-3SG	He also understands Turkish.
<i>In-ba haligi Buxoro odam-ash-ba</i> this-DAT aforementioned <sup>255</sup> Bukhara person-TIZ-DAT <i>agar zabon kati shug'ullan-mish kun-at –</i> if language with be occupied-PTPL <sup>256</sup> do.3SG <i>poliglot-ba, mo'l chiz-a yod gitan-ash</i> polyglot-DAT many thing-ACC memory take.INF-3SG <i>mumkin, donistan-ash mumkin.</i> possible know.INF-3SG possible	If such a Bukharan, a polyglot, engages in [studying] language, he can learn and know lots of things.
<i>Buxoro-ba til yod gitagi odam –</i> Bukhara-LOC language memory take.PTPL person <i>Buxorogi-ba oson zaban yod gitan</i> Bukharan-DATEasy language memory take.INF <i>hamin til-o-ba nazik.</i> this very language-PL-DAT near	For someone who learns [a] language in Bukhara – for a Bukharan, learning languages is easy – he is familiar with these languages.
<i>Anamto'.</i> there.like this	So it's like that.
<i>Asli Buxoro, hamto' budagi a qadim.</i> essentially Bukhara like this be.PTPL from ancient	Basically Bukhara has been like that, since ancient times.
<i>Qati shuda bad inja joy-i nag'z, kalon</i> with become.GER then here place-IZ good big <i>shahar budagi.</i> city be.PTPL	[?Nations?] mingled [here] and this place was a nice place; a large city.
<i>Faqat diga odam-o omdagi.</i> only other person-PL come.PTPL	But other people came.
<i>Jang-u jadal shudagi.</i> war-CO battle become.PTPL	Battles and combats took place.
<i>Odamosh razvitiy, rivojlan-mish kardagi.</i> person.PL.3SG development <sup>257</sup> develop-PTPL <sup>258</sup> do.PTPL	The people developed culturally.

<sup>255</sup> Uzbek *haligi* 'the aforementioned, that same'.

<sup>256</sup> A participial form of Uzbek *shug'ullan-* 'be occupied (with)'.

	<i>Odamosh taraqqiy kardagi.</i> person.PL.3SG development do.PTPL	They made progress.
	<i>Ko'yna ...</i> old	Old ...
	<i>Azbaramun madaniyat-a markaz-ash.</i> because of that culture-GEN centre-3SG	Because of that, a centre of culture –
	<i>Ilm-u fan-a, madaniyat-a markaz-ash.</i> science-CO science-GEN culture-GEN centre-3SG	A centre of science and culture –
x	<i>Tanaffus kun-em-mi?</i> interval do-1PL-Q	Shall we take a break?
F	<i>Tanaffus kun-em-am me-sho'd.</i> interval do-1PL-also IMP-become.3SG	We can take a break.
	<i>Na-me-kun-em-am gap zadan me-gir-em.</i> NEG-IMP-do-1PL-also talk hit.INF IMP-take-1PL	If we don't take a break, I'll speak.
	<i>Yo', man ye-ma-y-man.</i> no I eat-NEG-IMP-1SG	No, I don't eat [that].
	<i>Ha, siz ye-ng.</i> yes you eat-2PL	Yeah, you eat.
	<i>Anamin o'chir-diz-mi?</i> there.this very turn off-past.2PL-Q	Did you turn this off?
	<i>Xay, o'chir-diz-mi?</i> INTJ turn off-past.2PL-Q	Well did you?
	<i>U-ni kusht-et-mi magnitafon-a?</i> that-ACC kill-2SG-Q recorder <sup>259</sup> -ACC	Did you turn that off? The recorder?
	<i>Kor kardashtas-mi yo?</i> work do.PTPL.be.3SG-Q or	Or is it working?
x	<i>Ha, kor kadashtas.</i> yes work do.PTPL.be.3SG	Yes, it is working.
F	<i>Kor kardashtas-mi, ha.</i> work do.PTPL.be.3SG-Q yes	It's working? Okay.

<sup>257</sup> Russian *развитый* 'developed'.

<sup>258</sup> A participial form of Uzbek *rivojlan-* 'develop'.

<sup>259</sup> Russian *магнитофон* 'recorder'.

*Xa tojikcha gap zadan gir-et.*  
INTJ Tajik talk hit.INF take-2SG

Now you can talk in Ta-  
jik – say a few words.



## 1.3.5. Section 5

- F** *Darkori* *so'z-o bosh-ad, gap-o bosh-ad,* If there are necessary  
 necessary<sup>260</sup> word-PL be.3SG talk-PL be.3SG words and speech,  
*transkriptsiya kardan mumkin, hamto'-mi?* transcribing them is  
 transcription<sup>261</sup> do.INF possible like this-Q possible, is that so?
- x** *Ha, hamto'.* Yes, that is so.  
 yes like this
- F** *To'g'ri, to'g'ri, to'g'ri.* Right, right, right.  
 right right right
- Havo-yam xud-ash yaqtek garm.* The weather is a little  
 air-also self-3SG a little hot
- In avgust holi-yam garm Buxoro-ba.* This August it is still hot  
 this August now<sup>262</sup>-also hot Bukhara-LOC
- Havo garm.* The weather is hot.  
 air hot
- Xud-ash ne.* Actually, no.  
 self-3SG no
- Imsol mo'l-am garm na-omad.* This year it didn't feel too  
 this year many-also hot NEG-came.3SG hot.
- Yaqtek salqintar-u, ammo hozir avgust garm-da.* It's cooler than it usually  
 a little cooler-CO but now August hot-SFP is, but then it's August  
 now – it is hot.
- Sar-i avgust.* It's early-August.  
 head-IZ August

<sup>260</sup> Literary Tajik *даркорӣ* 'necessary'.<sup>261</sup> Russian *транскрипция* 'transcription'.<sup>262</sup> Colloquial Tajik *ҳолӣ* 'now, at present, just now, soon'.

#### 1.4. Conversations at Karvon Bazaar

These conversations were recorded on the eleventh of August, 2006 at Karvon Bazaar in the outskirts of Bukhara. The profiles of F and x are found in § 1.3. L appeared to be in her late fifties. P appeared to be her sixties. Her use of the auxiliary verb *istodan* 'to stand' in marking the progressive aspect suggests her non-Bukharan origin. Q and his father R appeared to be in their early twenties and forties, respectively. S appeared to be in her thirties. T and U, who were females, appeared to be in their early- to mid-thirties.

##### 1.4.1. Section 1

- F *Ket-di-k mana bu joy-dan boshla-y-miz.* Let's go now – we start  
leave-past-1PL here this place-ABL start-IMP-1PL from here.
- Hech kim bil-ma-y-di bir tayin joy-i-ni.* No one knows any cer-  
any who know-NEG-IMP-3SG one certain place-3SG-ACC tain place.
- Bozor katta-da.* Well, the bazaar is large.  
market big-SFP
- L *Nima-ni joy-i-ni ayt-ing, man ayt-ay.* Tell me the place of  
what-GEN place-3SG-ACC say-2PL I say-optative.1SG what-d'ye-call-it, and  
I'll tell you.
- F *Pashshaxona.* Mosquito nets.  
mosquito net
- L *Pashshaxona a inja yofta na-me-ton-et,* Brother, you can't find  
mosquito net from here find.GER NEG-IMP-can-2SG mosquito nets here.  
*aka-jon.*  
elder brother-dear
- F *Ha.* Oh.  
yes
- L *Na vsyakiy sluchay ana hamto' rav-ed.* Just in case [there indeed  
on to every case<sup>263</sup> there like this go-2SG is a place that sells  
mosquito nets], go this  
way.
- Da man go'sh kun-et.* Listen to me.  
in I ear do-2SG

<sup>263</sup> Russian на всякий случай 'just in case, to be on the safe side'.

*Dast-i rost-ba hamto' gard-et.*  
hand-IZ right-DAT like this turn-2SG

Turn right to that way.

*Bo'zcho hast-an.*  
cotton-fabric seller.PL exist-3PL

There are cotton-fabric  
sellers.

**F** *Isin-ba-mi, isin-ba-mi.*  
this side-DAT-Q this side-DAT-Q

Is it this way? Is it this  
way?

**L** *Dast-i rost-ba.*  
hand-IZ right-DAT

On the right hand side.

*Qiti peshtar-ba metraj taraf-ba.*  
a little more front-LOC meterage<sup>264</sup>side-LOC

A little further – the sec-  
tion where there are  
'meterage's [the sec-  
tion where fabrics are  
sold by metres].

*Lekin Kolxoz-ba budagis in.*  
but Kolkhoz-LOC be.PTPL.be.3SG this

But perhaps [mosquito  
nets] are found in  
Kolkhoz Bazaar.

**F** *O Karvon bozor xarda raft-an odam-o.*  
INTJ caravan market buy.GER went-3PL person-PL

Oh people bought them  
at Karvon Bazaar.

**L** *Joy-ash-a na-me-don-et-mi gijo?*  
place-3SG-ACC NEG-IMP-know-2SG-Q where

Don't you know where  
the seller is?

**F** *Ne.*  
no

No.

*Yak-ta joy a unja budas.*  
one-CLS place from there be.PTPL.be.3SG

There has been a place  
[i.e. booth] over there  
[INF].

*Vay na-buromada budas.*  
that NEG-go out.PTPL be.PTPL.be.3SG

That hasn't come out [i.e.  
the seller has not set  
up his booth] [INF].

*O' yakum qator.*  
that first row

At that first row.

**L** *Man yakum bor famdan-am aka ...*  
I first time understand.INF-1SG elder brother ...  
*inja-ba budan-ash-a.*  
here-LOC be.INF-3SG-ACC

[?] Brother, this is the  
first time I realize that  
[mosquito nets are  
sold] here.

<sup>264</sup> Russian *метраж* 'meterage'.

- F** *Tayyor pashshaxona.*  
ready mosquito net  
Mosquito nets that are ready [for use].
- L** *Ha, me-don-am me-fro'sh-an hamto'.*  
yes IMP-know-1SG IMP-sell-3PL like this  
Yes, I know – they're sold that way.
- Lekin anamin bo'zcho-ban purs-et agar.*  
but there.this very calico seller<sup>265</sup>.PL-ABL ask-2SG if  
But if you ask the calico sellers ...
- F** *Bo'zcho-ban?*  
calico seller.PL-ABL  
Calico sellers?
- L** *Bo'z, metraj me-fro'sh-at.*  
calico meterage IMP-sell-3SG  
Calico; a calico seller sells it by metres.
- Uno me-don-at-da.*  
they IMP-know-3SG-SFP  
They [?i.e. calico sellers?] know.
- Uno [...] me-fro'sh-at.*  
they [...] IMP-sell-3SG  
They [?...?] sell [?...?].
- F** *Xa rahmat.*  
INTJ thanks  
Okay thank you.
- L** *Sog' bosh-ed<sup>266</sup>.*  
healthy be-2SG  
Good-bye.

<sup>265</sup> Uzbek *bo'zchi* 'coarse calico seller'.

<sup>266</sup> Compare this with Uzbek *sog' bo'l-ing* (healthy be-2PL) 'good-bye'.

## 1.4.2. Section 2

- F *Go'sh kun-ed.*  
ear do-2SG Hey [lit. listen].
- Pashshaxona has me-go'n da-shumo.*  
mosquito net exist.3SG IMP-say.3PL in-you People say you stock mosquito nets.
- P *Labbay?*  
yes I'm at your service.
- Pashshaxona.*  
mosquito net Mosquito nets.
- Do'xtagesh nes.*  
sew.PTPL.3SG not exist.3SG We don't have sewn ones.
- F *Ha, do'xtagi ne-mi?*  
INTJ sew.PTPL no-Q Oh, aren't they sewn?
- P *Ne.*  
no No.
- F *In xuto tayyor kardagi-mi.*  
this self.PL[?.2SG?] ready do.PTPL-Q [?] Did you prepare [i.e. sew] these?
- A marli kardagi-mi?*  
from gauze<sup>267</sup> do.PTPL-Q Are they made of gauze?
- P *Ki?*  
who Who?
- F *Shumo.*  
you You.
- P *Man xud-am do'xtagi.*  
I self-1SG sew.PTPL I sewed [a mosquito net] myself.
- Lekin, unchi xonem-ba-da.*  
but that thing house.1SG-LOC-SFP But that is at home.
- F *Ha tayyor-ash-mi?*  
INTJ ready-3SG-Q Oh one that's ready for use?

<sup>267</sup> Russian *марля* 'gauze'.

- Chan kas me-bar-ad?*  
how much person IMP-go out-3SG [?] How many people does it house?
- P** *Gufsodem-ku.*  
say.GER.stand.PTPL.be.1SG-SFP I've already told you [lit. I'm telling you].
- Vay hamin du kas me-bar-ad.*  
that this very two person IMP-go out-3SG [?] That accommodates two people.
- Do'xtagi-man.*  
sew.PTPL-I I sewed it.
- F** *Da xona.*  
in house In your house.
- O fro'shi na-me-bror-ed-mi?*  
INTJ sale NEG-IMP-take out-2SG-Q Hey don't you put it up for sale?
- P** *E vay-ba do'xtan-ba vaqt nes*  
INTJ that-to sew.INF-DAT time not exist.3SG Well there's no time for sewing.
- F** *O xay tayyor-ash me-go'n.*  
INTJ INTJ ready-3SG IMP-say.3PL Ah, people say there are prepared ones.
- Bo importniy has me-go'n*  
again imported<sup>268</sup> exist.3SG IMP-say.3PL They say there are also imported ones at Karvon Bazaar-LOC  
*Karvon Bozor-ba.*
- Da gijo?*  
in where Where are they?
- P** *Budagis.*  
be.PTPL.be.3SG Perhaps there are such mosquito nets.
- Man na-me-don-am lekin.*  
I NEG-IMP-know-1SG but I don't know [where], though.
- Hozir setka-gi bromdagi ku.*  
now mesh<sup>269</sup>-of go out.PTPLSFP Ones made of a mesh-like fabric are on sale now.
- F** *Ha anamun.*  
yes there.that very Yes, those ones.

<sup>268</sup> Russian импортный 'imported'.

<sup>269</sup> Russian сетка 'netting, mesh-like fabric; web, network; luggage rack; hair net; string bag; grid; lattice; scale'.

- Da gijo?*  
in where
- Where are they?
- P** *Koftan darkor-da.*  
dig.INF necessary-SFP
- Some digging up [i.e. searching] is necessary.
- Man na-me-don-am.*  
I NEG-IMP-know-1SG
- I don't know.
- Man-am ma-ba yak ro'z me-burom*  
I-also month-LOC one day IMP-go out.1SG  
*bozor-ba.*  
bazaar-DAT
- I also come to the bazaar once a month.
- Yordam-ba bromdagi-man.*  
help-DAT go out.PTPL-I
- I came to help.
- Inja-ba pisar-am savdo me-kun-ad.*  
here-LOC son-1SG trade IMP-do-3SG
- My son does buying and selling here.
- Kor-ash bromad, raft.*  
work-3SG went out.3SG left.3SG
- Some business came up and he left.
- F** *Ino tayyor ne-mi?*  
these ready no-Q
- Aren't these prepared ones?
- Ino vay-mi buridagi-mi?*  
these that-Q cut.PTPL-Q
- Are these, um, cut-up ones?
- P** *Ne, ino metroviy.*  
no these meter<sup>270</sup>
- No, these [are fabrics sold by] metres.

<sup>270</sup> Russian *метровый* '(of) ... metre(s)'.

## 1.4.3. Section 3

- R** *Mana marhamat.*  
here please  
Here you go.
- Ana in bin-ed a chor taraf...*  
there this see-2SG from four side  
Have a look from every direction.
- F** *Vay qad-i odam me-tiyad-mi?*  
that size-IZ person IMP-give.3SG-Q  
Does that give enough room for a person?
- R** *Ana guftashtem-ku bast-ed-ki, rost me-tiyad-da.*  
there say.PTPL.be.1SG-SFP tie-2SG-that right IMP-give.3SG-SFP  
I keep telling you; if you tie them [i.e. the lines], it gives just the right amount of room.
- Hamin qad-aton-ba.*  
this size-2SG-DAT  
This is your size.
- Hamin sar-aton kati ros me-shin-ed.*  
this head-2SG with right IMP-sit-2PL  
[?] You'll sit alright in this net with your head upright.
- Yak-u-nim me-sho'd-da gad-ash, darozesh, balandesh*  
one-CO-half IMP-become.3SG-SFP size-3SG length<sup>271</sup>.3SG high<sup>272</sup>.3SG  
It's one and a half [metres] – the width, the length, and the height.
- F** *Diga xel nes-mi?*  
other kind not exist.3SG-Q  
Aren't there other kinds?
- R** *Aknun budagesh hamin.*  
now be.PTPL.3SG this  
What there is now is this.
- S** *Chan pul shudas in pashshaxona?*  
how much money become.PTPL.be.3SG this mosquito net  
How much is this mosquito net [INF]?
- R** *Panj hazor so'm.*  
five thousand so'm  
Five thousand so'm.
- S** *Chan metr in?*  
**R** how much metre this  
How long [how many metres] is this line [attached to the net]?

<sup>271</sup> Literary Tajik *дарозӯ* 'length'.<sup>272</sup> Literary Tajik *баландӯ* 'high, highness'.



- R> *Du da se.* [?] Two thirds.  
S two in three
- F *Du da se.* [?] Two thirds.  
two in three
- F> *Balandesh anamqachar.* The height is this much.  
S hight.3SG there.this much<sup>273</sup>
- R> *Yak qad odam me-tiyad.* It gives room for one  
S one size person IMP-give.3SG person.
- S> *Arzon na-me-sho'd-mi?* Won't this be cheaper?  
R cheap NEG-IMP-become.3SG-Q
- R> *Ha da-shumo frovarda me-tem, mayli.* Yes, for you we'll give a  
S yes in-you pull down.GERIMP-give.1PL okay discount. That's fine.
- S> *Se hazor.* Three thousand.  
R three thousand
- R> *He apa ...* Oh sister...  
S INTJ elder sister
- F *Ye da zamin zad-et-ku chiz-a.* [?] Hey you hit [?s.t.?] on  
INTJ in ground hit-2SG-SFP thing-ACC the ground.
- Du da se bosh-ad.* If the length [of the lines]  
two in three be.3SG is two thirds of a me-  
tre ...
- Hamma problema in-a chito' basdan-ba.* The whole problem is in  
all problem this-ACC how tie.INF-LOC how to hang this up.
- R *In kas-on da gijo xomo'ro'n?* Where do these people  
this person-PL in where sleep.IMP.go.3PL<sup>274</sup> [i.e. the people who  
will use the mosquito  
net] sleep?
- Da poyin-mi?* At the bottom [i.e. on the  
in bottom<sup>275</sup>-Q floor]?
- F *Mikrorayon zamin-ba.* On the floor in an  
microrayon ground-LOC apartment flat.

<sup>273</sup> *Ana* 'there' + *hamin* 'this very' + *qachar* 'much'.<sup>274</sup> Literary Tajik *хоб мераванд*.<sup>275</sup> Literary Tajik *поён* 'end; low; down'.

- R** *Da zamin-mi?* On the floor?  
in ground-Q
- F** *Treza-ba xay isin poyintar basd-em go'y-em.* Let's say we've tied this  
window<sup>276</sup>-DAT INTJ this side lower tied-1PL say-1PL side at a lower height  
to the window –
- Kunj-ak-ash-a gijo me-band-em?* Where do we tie the  
corner-DMN-3SG-ACC where IMP-tie-1PL corner to?
- R** *Gap-a go'sh kun-ed.* Look [lit. listen to the  
talk-ACC ear do-2SG words].
- Mikrayon budan bad, yak chettash-ba* If it's a [room in a] mik-  
microrayon be.INF then one side.3SG-LOC rorayon [flat], a water  
*ana trubi ob meguzishtaki me-sho'd,* pipe runs from one  
there pipe<sup>277</sup>.IZ water pass.PTPL IMP-become.3SG side of it to another.  
*a yak chet-ash.*  
from one side-3SG
- Kalon xonesh na-bosh-ad.* If it is not the large room  
big house.3SG NEG-be-3SG of the flat, that is.
- F** *Ha, ha, kunj-ak-da.* Ah, right, the corners.  
yes yes corner-DMN-SFP
- R** *Yak chet-ash-a trubi ob-ba basd-et-ki.* Tie one side of the net to  
one side-3SG-ACC pipe.IZ water-DAT tied-2SG-that the water pipe.
- Duyum chet-ash-a treza-ya vay-ash* Tie the second side to  
second side-3SG-ACC window-ACC that-3SG what-d'ye-call-it –  
*me-sho'd ruchkesh.* the handle of the window.  
IMP-become.3SG handle<sup>278</sup>.3SG
- Baribir yala me-mon-ad shab-ba.* The window stays open  
anyway open IMP-stay-3SG night-LOC at night anyway.
- Havo garm-ku.* The weather's hot, right?  
air hot-SFP

<sup>276</sup> Literary Tajik *муеза* 'window'.<sup>277</sup> Russian *труба* 'pipe'.<sup>278</sup> Russian *ручка* 'pen; arm; handle'.

- In taraf-ash-a taraf-i vay-ba basd-et-ki,*  
 this side-3SG-ACC side-IZ that-DAT tied-2SG-that  
*dar-ba basd-et-ki, medaromdagi dar-aton*  
 door-DAT tied-2SG-that enter.PTPL door-2SG  
*me-sho'd-ku.*  
 IMP-become.3SG-SFP
- [?] Once you tie this side to the side of, um, the door – there's the door that opens towards the inside of the room, right?
- F** *O, vay xona kalon-ku uje.*  
 INTJ that house big-SFP already
- Oh, but the room is quite large.
- Na-me-ras-ad.*  
 NEG-IMP-reach-3SG
- It [i.e. lines of the mosquito net] won't reach the door.
- R** *O xay, respon-ash-a daroz me-kash-ed-da.*  
 INTJ INTJ line<sup>279</sup>-3SG-ACC long IMP-pull-2SG-SFP
- Ah well you extend the line.
- Xud-ash-a respon-ash-ba na-me-kun-et-ku.*  
 self-3SG-GEN line-3SG-DAT NEG-IMP-do-2SG-SFP
- [?] You don't do that [?i.e. the tying?] to the line of the net [the line attached to the net].
- Respon-ash-a daroz me-kash-ed.*  
 line-3SG-ACC long IMP-pull-2SG
- You extend the line.
- F** *Anin problema.*  
 there.this problem<sup>280</sup>
- Well this is a problem.
- Xay chan pul dodashteton sey nim-mi?*  
 INTJ how much money give.PTPL.be.2PL three-CO half-Q
- Well how much are you selling this for; three and a half?
- R** *Ne – ye amak.*  
 no INTJ uncle (father's brother)
- No, come on uncle.
- Shumo-yam.*  
 you-also
- You're no picnic.
- F** *Chan?*  
 how much
- How much?
- R** *Ota in-a chan me-ted?*  
 father this-ACC how much IMP-give.2SG
- Father, how much do you sell this for?

<sup>279</sup> Literary Tajik *решмон* 'thread; line'.

<sup>280</sup> Russian *проблема* 'problem'.

- Ana in mehmon-o-ba.*  
there this guest-PL-DAT  
To these guests.
- Q** *Xay ana chor nim kam guft-am-ku.*  
INTJ there four half little said-1SG-SFP  
[?] Well I said four and a half is the last price.
- R** *Ana bed.*  
there come.2SG  
[To passers-by] here, come [and have a look].
- F**  
[F raises four fingers.]
- Q** *Mayli te.*  
okay give  
Okay give it.
- Mehmon-ba te chor-ba, mayli.*  
guest-DAT give four-DAT okay  
Give it to the guest for four. That's fine.
- F** *Man chida kardagi.*  
I endure<sup>281</sup> do.PTPL  
I've had a hard time.
- Marli soxtagi.*  
gauze make.PTPL  
'This is made of gauze'.
- Aknun do'xtan-ba vaqt nes.*  
now sew-INF-DAT time not exist.3SG  
'There's no time to sew it now'.
- Man kayf karda xomo'ro'm.*  
I pleasure do.GER sleep.GER.IMP.go.1SG  
I sleep pleasantly.
- Mehmon-a pashsha gazdashtas.*  
guest-ACC mosquito bite<sup>282</sup>.PTPL.be.3SG  
Mosquitoes bite our guest [INF].
- Q** *Mayli, Mayli.*  
okay okay  
Okay okay.
- Mehmon-ba mayli.*  
guest-DAT okay  
Okay for a guest.
- F** *To'rt ming so'm.*  
four thousand so'm  
Four thousand so'm.
- Hammesh yaxil-mi?*  
all.3SG one.sort-Q  
Are all of them of the same type?

<sup>281</sup> Uzbek *chida*- 'endure, stand'.

<sup>282</sup> Literary Tajik *gazudan* 'to bite, to sting'.

*Du da se.*  
two in three

[?] Two thirds of a metre.

**R** *Ha hamesh hamin.*  
yes all.3SG this very

Yes, all of them are of  
this type.

*Yak xil upakovka.*  
one sort packing<sup>283</sup>

The same packaging.

---

<sup>283</sup> Russian *упаковка* 'packing, packaging'.

## 1.4.4. Section 4

- T** *Ana man gijdivanskiy da shumo bepul me-tiyam.* Here, I'll give you a robe  
 here I of G'ijdivon<sup>284</sup> in you free IMP-give.1SG from G'ijdivon for  
 free.
- Prostoy.* The design is simple.  
 simple<sup>285</sup>
- Eto urgutskiy.* This is from Urgut.  
 this<sup>286</sup> of Urgut<sup>287</sup>
- F** *Kadom in urgutskiy-mi?* Which one? Is this an  
 which this of Urgut-Q Urgut robe?
- T** *Ha in urgutskiy, aka-mullo.* Yeah this is an Urgut  
 yes this of Urgut elder brother-mullah robe, brother.
- Ana gijdivanskiy aninsin-ba has.* Look G'ijdivon robes are  
 here of G'ijdivon there.this side-LOC exist.3SG on this side.
- Prostoy uno.* They're simple.  
 simple they
- F** *In chan pul shud?* How much is this?  
 this how much money became.3SG
- T** *Uno se hazor.* They are three thousand  
 they three thousand each.
- Aninosh chil hazor.* Robes of this type are  
 there.these.3SG forty thousand forty thousand each.
- Ha rastamojka baland shud.* The customs clearance  
 yes customs clearance<sup>288</sup> high became.3SG became expensive.
- Ino import tovar.* These are imported  
 these import commodity<sup>289</sup> merchandise.

<sup>284</sup> Russian *гиздудванский* 'of G'ijdivon'.

<sup>285</sup> Russian *простой* 'simple'.

<sup>286</sup> Russian *это* 'this; that'.

<sup>287</sup> Russian *ургутский* 'of Urgut'.

<sup>288</sup> Russian *растаможка* 'customs clearance'.

<sup>289</sup> Russian *товар* 'commodity, goods, merchandise'.

- U** *A Germaniya me-biyod jomo,*  
from Germany IMP-come.3SG upper clothing<sup>290</sup>.PL  
*me-don-ed-mi?*  
IMP-know-2SG-Q  
You know that the robes  
come from Germany?
- T** *Ne Koreya.*  
no Korea  
No. From Korea.
- F** *Material-ash-mi?*  
material-3SG-Q  
Do you mean their mate-  
rial [comes from  
abroad]?
- Joma-ya xud-ash na-me-biyod-ku.*  
upper clothing-GEN self-3SG NEG-IMP-come.3SG-SFP  
Robes themselves don't  
come [from abroad].
- T** *Xay material qimmat shuda me-biyod-da.*  
INTJ material expensive become.GER IMP-come.3SG-SFP  
Well the material is  
gradually becoming  
expensive.
- Bolgarka-da vay amak.*  
Bulgarian<sup>291</sup>-SFP that uncle  
Because it's Bulgarian,  
uncle.
- F** *Kadom?*  
which  
Which one?
- T** *Ina Urgut-ba, vay-a gijo-ba G'ijduvon-o*  
this-ACC Urgut-LOC that-ACC where-LOC G'ijduvon.PL  
*me-do'z-an-da.*  
IMP-sew-3PL-SFP  
This is sewn in Urgut;  
that, in, um, G'ijdu-  
vonians sew that.
- O xay material me-biyod-da.*  
INTJ INTJ material IMP-come.3SG-SFP  
Well [what] comes [from  
abroad is the] mate-  
rial.
- In kas joma me-biyod me-go'n.*  
this person upper clothing IMP-come.3SG IMP-say.3PL  
She says that robes come  
[from abroad].
- Ana me-gir-et-mi?*  
here IMP-take-2SG-Q  
Well will you buy that  
[robe]?
- F** *Chan pul in?*  
how much money this  
How much is this?
- T** *Ino-mi.*  
these-Q  
These?

<sup>290</sup> Uzbek *joma* 'wadded oriental robe'.<sup>291</sup> Russian *болгарка* 'Bulgarian'.

- Ino arzon karda me-tem da shumo.*  
these cheap do.GER IMP-give.1PL in you  
These; I'll give a discount for you.
- Bist hazor me-go'm.*  
twenty thousand IMP-say.1SG  
I say [i.e. normally it is] twenty thousand.
- Arzon karda me-tiyam.*  
cheap do.GER IMP-give.1SG  
I will give you a discount.
- F** *Chan?*  
how much  
How much?
- Ponza me-ted-mi?*  
fifteen IMP-give.2SG-Q  
Will you sell this for fifteen?
- Yo dvozda me-ted-mi?*  
or twelve IMP-give.2SG-Q  
Or will you sell for twelve?
- T** *Po'sh-et kani xay yak.*  
wear-2SG where INTJ one  
Put it on.
- F** *Xay yak po'shta bin-am qani.*  
INTJ one wear.GER see-1SG INTJ  
Well I shall try it on; let's see.
- F** *x, yak-ta joma po'sh-am, shav-ad*  
**x** *x, one-CLS upper clothing wear-1SG become-3SG*  
*me-gir-em, maqul shav-ad.*  
IMP-take-1PL acceptable<sup>292</sup> become.3SG  
X, I shall put on the robe; if it is all right, I'll take it; if it is acceptable.
- In da man kalon-mi chi-ku?*  
this in I big-Q what-SFP  
Is this too large for me or what?
- Ha iye.*  
INTJ INTJ  
Ah well.
- T** *Xud-aton-ba-mi?*  
self-2SG-DAT-Q  
[Is the robe] for yourself?
- F** *O-ha ki-ba bud.*  
INTJ who-DAT was.3SG  
Aw who was that [robe] for.
- T** *Anin razmer-aton.*  
there.this size<sup>293</sup>-2SG  
There. This is your size.
- F** *Ye, kalon kalon.*  
INTJ big big  
Ugh, this is too large.

<sup>292</sup> Literary Tajik маъқул 'suitable, acceptable, reasonable, well, all right, okay'.

<sup>293</sup> Russian размер 'size'.



- T** *Kalon ne aka-mullo.*  
big no elder brother-mullah  
It isn't too large, brother.
- Joma-ya anamto' me-po'sh-an.*  
robe-ACC there.like this IMP-wear-3PL  
You wear the robe like this.
- Bin-ed.*  
see-2SG  
Now see [this].
- F** *In-a chan dodashted?*  
this-ACC how much give.PTPL.be.2SG  
How much are you selling this for?
- T** *Ino-am hamin narx.*  
these-also this very price  
These are also sold for the same price.
- Do'yash yak narx.*  
two.3SG one price  
Two of them have a single price.
- Chan pul me-ted?*  
how much money IMP-give.2SG  
How much are you paying?
- F** *Xay dasgir-et kani.*  
INTJ hand.take-2SG INTJ  
Well hold this.
- T** *Pashshaxoneton istodas amak.*  
mosquito net.2SG stand.PTPL.be.3SG uncle  
[?] Uncle, your mosquito net became upright [INF].
- F** *He, pashshaxona kofta hamin ro'z ovora*  
INTJ mosquito net dig.GER this very day anxious  
*shud-am bozor-ba.*  
became<sup>294</sup>-1SG bazaar-LOC  
Well I got worked up in the bazaar today looking for a mosquito net.
- T** *Chan pul-ba git-ed?*  
how much money-DAT took-2SG  
How much did you pay for that?
- F** *Chor nim git-am.*  
four half took-1SG  
I bought it for four and a half.
- T** *Xay normalni.*  
INTJ normal<sup>295</sup>  
Well that's normal.
- F** *Arzon git-em-mi?*  
cheap took-1PL-Q  
Did I buy cheaply?

<sup>294</sup> Literary Tajik *овора шудан* 'to take trouble'.

<sup>295</sup> Russian *нормальны* 'normal, regular; standard; usual, common'.

- T** *Ha*  
yes
- F** *Ne chor-ba dod-an.*  
no four-DAT gave-3PL
- T** *Yak po'sh-et kani.*  
one wear-2SG INTJ
- F** *Haa.*  
INTJ
- Anin yak nav.*  
there.this one new
- Lekin, o'bbo.*  
but INTJ
- Chan guftashted?*  
how much say.PTPL.be.2SG
- T** *Guft-am-ku amak hajda gufta.*  
said-1SG-SFP uncle eighteen say.GER
- F** *Hajda-ba qimmat.*  
eighteen-LOC expensive
- T** *Xay chan pul me-ted?*  
INTJ how much money IMP-give.2SG
- F** *Pul gita na-bromad-em tem boleye.*  
money take.GERNEG-went out-1PL a fortiori
- T** *Chiba?*  
why
- Ana zemon-ed.*  
here pay attention-2SG
- Zebid hamto' da xud-aton.*  
fit.3SG<sup>296</sup> like this in self-2SG
- Oyna-ba me-bin-ed-mi amak?*  
mirror-DAT IMP-see-2SG-Q uncle
- F** *Xay holi bozor-a kun-am kani.*  
INTJ now bazaar-ACC do-1SG INTJ
- Yes.
- No, actually they sold it for four.
- Wear this, well?
- Ooh.
- This is one new robe.
- But, ugh.
- How much did you say?
- I told you that it's eighteen, uncle.
- That's expensive at eighteen.
- Well how much will you pay?
- Also I didn't bring money here.
- Why?
- Now look.
- This fit you like this.
- Will you look in the mirror, uncle?
- Well let me do some shopping now.

<sup>296</sup> Literary Tajik *зебидан* 'to fit, suit, to become, befit'.

- Pul-am ziyod mon-ad me-gir-am.*  
money-1SG much stay-3SG IMP-take-1SG If I have much money left, I'll buy it.
- T** *Xay chan pul me-ted.*  
INTJ how much money IMP-give.2SG How much will you pay?
- Xay yak a dast-aton savdo kun-am.*  
INTJ one from hand-2SG commerce do-1SG I shall do trading in accordance with your budget.
- F** *Chorda me-ted-a?*  
fourteen IMP-give.2SG-SFP You will sell it for fourteen, right?
- T** *Chan pul me-ted? Ebe holi.*  
how much money IMP-give.2SG INTJ still How much will you pay? Now?
- Shumur-ed a dil-aton yak chiz baribir qati me-kun-ed.*  
IMP-do-2SG count-2SG from heart-2SG one thing anyway with that as much as you want to.
- F** *Ne holi diga chiz-am-a gir-am.*  
no still other thing-1SG-ACC take-1SG No let me buy my other things now.
- Chorda mon-ad.*  
fourteen stay-3SG Let the price stay at fourteen.
- Bad me-gir-am-da.*  
then IMP-take-1SG-SFP I'll buy it later.
- T** *Gir-ed hozir.*  
take-2SGnow Buy it now.
- F** *He mayli xay.*  
INTJ okay INTJ Well fine well.
- F** *Mayli darv zan-em.*  
**x** okay [?] hit<sup>297</sup>-1PL Okay let's stroll.
- F** *Man yak-ta mayda-chuyda gitan-am darkor.*  
I one-CLS small-suchlike take.INF-1SG necessary I've got to do some minor shopping.
- Bad pul-am-a hisob me-kun-am.*  
then money-1SG-ACC calculation IMP-do-1SG I'll then count my money.
- F** *Raft-em kani.*  
**x** went-1PL INTJ Well, we're gone.

<sup>297</sup> Bukharan Tajik *darv zadan* 'go around, walk around'.

**T** *Mayli amak gashta bed.*  
 okay uncle revolve/walk.GERcome.2SG

Okay uncle walk around  
 and come back.

**F** *Raft-em.*  
**x** went-1PL

We're gone.

*Into' raft-em.*  
 like this went-1PL

Let's go this way.

## References

- Barakaeva, G. V. ed. 1968. *Луғати мухтасари тоҷикӣ-англисӣ*. Душанбе: Университети Давлати Тоҷикистон ба номи В. И. Ленин.
- Dupoux, E. / Kakehi K. / Hirose Y. / Pallier C. / Mehler J. 1998. Epenthetic vowels in Japanese: A perceptual illusion?. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 25(6). 1568-1578.
- Eshniyozov, M. 1977. *Диалектологияи тоҷик (Дастури таълимӣ) Қисми якум*. Душанбе: Университети давлатии тоҷикистон ба номи В. И. Ленин.
- Ido, S. 2005a. An aspect marking construction shared by two typologically different languages. IN Cohen, J. et al. eds. 2005. *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 1105-1114.
- Ido, S. 2005b. *Tajik*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Kerimova, A. A. 1959. *Говор таджиков бухары*. Москва: Издательство восточной литературы.
- Lewis, G. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mahmudov, M. / Berdiev, B. eds. 1989. *Луғати мухтасари лаҳҷаҳои Бухоро*. Душанбе: Дониш.
- Rahimī, M. V. / Uspenskaya, L. V. eds. 1954. *Луғати тоҷикӣ-русӣ*. Москва: Нашриёти давлатии луғатҳои хориҷӣ ва миллӣ.
- Zarubin, I. I. 1928. Очерк разговорного языка самаркандских евреев. *Иран*, 2. 95-125.