

## **New Vocabulary in Dari, Persian and Tajik**

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The present paper is a part of a larger project undertaken by the author, aiming at the study of the most recent layers of vocabulary of the three varieties of Persian: the language spoken in Iran (or Standard Persian, SP), Dari (DA) and Tajik (TJ). The data presented here are selected from among the results of the author's preliminary research, which was conducted predominantly on the basis of mass-media materials, especially Internet resources. The studied material is semantically restricted to the sphere of vocabulary associated with technological development for a number of reasons: Firstly it is easy to provide a non ante date for such forms. Secondly, technological advancement is so rapid nowadays that the study of the lexis related to it gives one a rare possibility to analyse the most recent trends in vocabulary development.

Tendencies in lexis development are – at least in part – the results of the impact of various non-linguistic factors, like political, geographical and demographical ones etc. Now, we do observe that the political situation (not to mention other aspects) has changed a lot in the case of countries whose populations speak the ethnolects in question<sup>1</sup> and while there is no simple and countable relationship between such factors and the development of vocabulary, one is still entitled to put forward a hypothesis that in such situation new tendencies in the development of lexis must have appeared. Apart from that, the research on this material may help to answer the question as to whether DA, SP and TJ are approaching ultimate differentiation and becoming indisputably separate languages or

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<sup>1</sup> The neutral term 'ethnolect' is preferred in this case by the author instead of 'language' or 'dialect'.

rather if they are going to remain dialects of the same language with Classical Persian as a common literary standard in the background.

Now, we shall look at a number of examples, each of them presenting some interesting phenomena.

### I. "technology"

No	SP	DA	TJ
1.	<i>teknoloži</i> <sup>2</sup> تکنولوژی	<i>teknoloži</i> <sup>3</sup> تکنولوژی	—
2.	<i>teknoloği</i> <sup>4</sup> تکنولوجی	<i>teknoloği</i> <sup>5</sup> تکنولوجی	—
3.	<i>teknāloži</i> <sup>6</sup> تکنالوژی	<i>teknāloži</i> <sup>7</sup> تکنالوژی	— <sup>8</sup>
4.	<i>teknālogi</i> <sup>9</sup> تکنالوجی	<i>teknālogi</i> <sup>10</sup> تکنالوجی	—
5.	—	—	<i>texnologiya</i> технология <sup>11</sup>

Let us start with an example which has been present in all of the discussed ethnolects for quite a long time, and which illustrates the once preferred sources of borrowing new lexemes. We are going to see, however, that new tendencies are observable in some of the variants of the form in question.

<sup>2</sup> FFO, p. 414; Yu. A. Rubincik, 1970, vol. 1, p. 391; [www.aftab.ir/news/subcategory.php?id=167](http://www.aftab.ir/news/subcategory.php?id=167).

<sup>3</sup> M. Azim Sadiqyar, 1379 HŠ, p. 142; <http://www.mediothek.org.af/cgi-bin/view.cgi?seite=20728;lang=dar;lang=pas> (2007-08-21); [http://www.moj.gov.af/dari/Adalat\\_50\\_2.html](http://www.moj.gov.af/dari/Adalat_50_2.html) (2007-08-21).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.cgm.ir/forum/archive/index.php/thread-5350.html> (2007-08-21); <http://tejarat-konande.persianblog.ir> (2007-08-21).

<sup>5</sup> <http://pajhwok.com/viewstory.asp?lng=dar&id=38350> (2007-08-21).

<sup>6</sup> [www.aftab.ir/articles/art\\_culture/architecture/c5c1181463982\\_city\\_building\\_p2.php](http://www.aftab.ir/articles/art_culture/architecture/c5c1181463982_city_building_p2.php) (2007-08-21);

[www.tejaratbank.ir/portal/DeskTopModules/Contents/assets/asset/rozaneh/17day.doc](http://www.tejaratbank.ir/portal/DeskTopModules/Contents/assets/asset/rozaneh/17day.doc) (2007-08-21).

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.nationalassembly.af/index.php?id=2590> (2007-08-21);

<http://agriculture.gov.af/farsi/min-agri-p.htm> (2007-08-21).

<sup>8</sup> A form *техноло??* appears only at [www.ozodi.org/pressarticle/2007/7/3B540526-1078-4176-BB8F-0BC6CF36D579.html](http://www.ozodi.org/pressarticle/2007/7/3B540526-1078-4176-BB8F-0BC6CF36D579.html) (2007-08-21) were it may be a result of SP and AmE influence at the same time.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.shenidani.myblog.ir/Page-13.ASPX> (2007-08-21).

<sup>10</sup> QDR, p. 221; <http://pajhwok.com/viewstory.asp?lng=dar&id=38350> (2007-07-30).

<sup>11</sup> FTR, p. 602; <http://www.president.tj/baromadho170407.htm> (2007-08-21).

In SP, the indisputably most popular form is تکنولوژی. The word is an internationalism, and as such is to be found in a great number of languages in quite similar forms. Anyway, we are able to indicate French as the immediate source of the borrowing thanks to the fricative /ʒ/ in the last syllable<sup>12</sup>. This example is a trace of the impact of the French language on SP, which was once quite strong.

However, apart from that, we have also – both in SP and DA – a number of forms with the affricate /j/ instead of the fricative /ʒ/. This phenomenon forces us to look for other possible sources (or at least influences) of the forms in question. The obvious choice is, of course, the English language, where a similar form with an affricate exists. In the case of DA, we should also remember about the possible influence of Pashto, where forms with /j/ are common.

Discussing the problem of the distribution of the affricate /j/ and the fricative /ʒ/ in SP, we should also note, that there also exists an adjectival form with the plosive /g/, i.e.: تکنولوگی<sup>13</sup> ‘technological’, which could be a result of the tendencies to purify SP lexis, by changing certain words to make them more consistent with native morphological patterns.

Another illustration of the impact of the English language is delivered by the forms with the /ā/, vowel which is often referred to as “the long a”, but – as the opposition of long and short vowels is no longer phonologically relevant in both SP and DA anymore – it should be rather called an “open back rounded vowel”. Now let us remember, that in the case of English we have the open back rounded vowel as well (BrE /tek'nɒləʒi/, AmE /tek'nɒləʒi/)<sup>14</sup>.

Now, let us pay some attention to the fact that the forms that contain both /ā/ and /ʒ/ (or /o/ and /j/) at the same time seem to be in a way self-contradictory, as they indicate both French and English as their source. Probably, we are dealing here with anglicized borrowings from French or the results of interaction between the forms of French and English origin.

The TJ form технология is a completely different story. It is obviously a loanword from Russian, which is betrayed by the ending (typical for Russian feminine nouns) and by the sound /x/ (a voiceless uvular fricative), which reflects the original Russian /x/ (a voiceless velar fricative). This is a typical substitution, as the SP (= DA = TJ) /x/, pronounced

<sup>12</sup> FFO, p. 414; M. Azim Sadiqyar, 1379 HŠ, p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.aftab.ir/dictionaries/mean.php?id=104279> (2007-08-21);  
<http://dbase.irandoc.ac.ir/000013/134400.htm> (2007-08-21).

<sup>14</sup> LDCE, p. 1479.

with strong friction of the uvula against the back part of the tongue is certainly more similar to the Russian fricative /x/, than to the plosive /k/, of any other possible source of the form in question.

All the presented forms are loanwords, borrowed into the three ethnolects with no morphological adaptations. Thus, they all should be interpreted by native speakers as simple and not analysable from the point of view of word-formation. However, the situation is more complicated, as the final /-i/ of the SP and DA forms coincides with the suffix /-i/ of abstract nouns in the two ethnolects, which perfectly suits the meaning of the word. Thus, there is a possibility of reinterpretation.

Now, let us analyse a number of more recent examples.

## II. “[computer] program”

No	SP	DA	TJ
6.	<i>barnāme</i> <sup>15</sup> برنامه	<i>barnāma</i> <sup>16</sup> برنامه	<i>barnoma</i> барнома <sup>17</sup>

This word existed already in Middle Persian, as is proved by the Arabic loanword بَرْنَامَج /barnāmaʃ/ (clearly from Middle Persian /barnāmag/ and not from Classical New Persian /barnāma/). It is commonly used in the non-technological meaning of “programme [of activities], project”<sup>18</sup>. Thus, the meaning of the word was broadened, when a new phenomenon appeared (just like in the case of the English equivalent). Not surprisingly, the voice laws describing the relationship between the vowels of the three ethnolects are obeyed in this case (SP /ā/ = DA /ā/ = TJ /o/, SP /-e/ = DA /-a/ = TJ /-a/).

<sup>15</sup> [http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87\\_%28%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%87%29](http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87_%28%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%87%29) (2007-08-10); <http://www.zeus.ir/link%20Amozesh/7.htm> (2007-08-10).

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.agriculture.gov.af/farsi/ICT.htm> (2007-08-10); <http://www.mof.gov.af/dari/D-adm1.htm> (2007-08-10).

<sup>17</sup> [http://tg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%91%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B0%D2%B3%D0%BE%D0%B8\\_%D0%BE%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%B4](http://tg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%91%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B0%D2%B3%D0%BE%D0%B8_%D0%BE%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%B4) (2007-08-10); <http://presscenter.tj/taj> (2007-08-10); FTR, p. 73.

<sup>18</sup> FTR, p. 73; QDR, p. 112.

## III. "[computer] memory"

No	SP	TJ
7.	<i>hāfeze</i> حافظه <sup>19</sup>	<i>hofiza</i> хофиза <sup>20</sup>
8.	<i>memori</i> مموری <sup>21</sup>	—
9.	<i>memori</i> ممری <sup>22</sup>	—

The form **hāfeze** / **hofiza** is obviously an Arabism borrowed into SP a long time ago. Applying it to computers is a recent phenomenon. Such an extension or transition of meaning is probably the only way words borrowed from Arabic may enter the sphere of the lexis in question within the studied ethnolects. Otherwise, the process of introducing loanwords from Arabic into varieties of Persian finished a long time ago. We should also note, that in SP the calque **hāfeze** is much more popular than the direct borrowing مموری and its orthographical variant without the letter *vav* (ممری).

## IV. "Computer"

No	SP	DA	TJ
10.	<i>rāyāne</i> رایانه <sup>23</sup>		royona роёна <sup>24</sup>
11.	<i>kāmpyuter</i> کامپیوتر	<i>kāmpyutar</i> کامپیوتر <sup>25</sup>	<i>kompjuter</i> компьютер <sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> [http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%B8%D9%87\\_%28%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%87%29](http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%B8%D9%87_%28%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%87%29) (2007-08-11); [http://www4.irandoc.ac.ir/com/Reports/Documentation\\_std/report\\_3\\_a.htm](http://www4.irandoc.ac.ir/com/Reports/Documentation_std/report_3_a.htm).

<sup>20</sup> Libdetect (2005-12-17); <http://tg.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%91%D0%B8%D1%82> (2007-08-11).

<sup>21</sup> [www.shop.ir/product.jsp?productId=10255](http://www.shop.ir/product.jsp?productId=10255) (2007-08-21);

[www.sony.co.ir/product\\_details.asp?InpProdId=5783](http://www.sony.co.ir/product_details.asp?InpProdId=5783) (2007-08-21).

<sup>22</sup> [www.shop.ir/product.jsp?productId=10255](http://www.shop.ir/product.jsp?productId=10255) (2007-08-21).

<sup>23</sup> <http://daneshnameh.roshd.ir/mavara/mavara-index.php?page=%d8%b9%d9%84%d9%88%d9%85+%d8%b1%d8%a7%db%8c%d8%a7%d9%86%d9%87&SSOReturnPage=Check&Rand=0> (2007-08-11);

<http://www.lawblog.ir/Qanoon%20Jarayem.html> (2007-08-11).

<sup>24</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/tajikistan/story/2004/05/040517\\_dr\\_tajentertainment\\_cyr.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/tajikistan/story/2004/05/040517_dr_tajentertainment_cyr.shtml). (Needed to be glossed).

<sup>25</sup> QDR, p. 575; <http://www.agriculture.gov.af/farsi/ICT.htm> (2007-08-11); <http://www.nationalassembly.af/index.php?id=610> (2007-08-11); M. Azim Sadiqyar, 1379 HŠ, p. 186 (where the word is classified as a borrowing from English).

12.	<i>kampyuter</i> كيمپيوٽر	<i>kampyutar</i> 27 كاميپيوٽر	
13.			<i>komputer</i> компьютер <sup>28</sup>

As in many other languages of the world, the three analysed ethnolects use a number of forms of the internationalism “computer”. In SP we have two forms of this sort, the one with a “short” /a/ instead of a “long” /ā/ (i.e. *كيمپيوٽر* /*kampyuter*/) being very rare. On the other hand, in DA, the form with /a/ is to be found much more often, although we should note a lack of consistency here, as both forms may be found even in the same sources. Incidentally, the TJ form with the sequence [-yu-] «ю» reflects both Russian and English pronunciation, and maybe this is why it is particularly widespread, when compared to the form with [u] (*компьютер*).

Apart from that, however, in SP a native neologism is quite common (and promoted by the authorities), namely: **rāyāne**. What is particularly interesting, is that this form seems to have been recently introduced into TJ as **роёна** and is gaining some popularity (In 2004 on the BBC website it had to be glossed as ‘a more chic word for computer’ and it was – in fact – the only site using it then. Now it seems to be much more popular). Let us note that the voice law: SP /ā/ = TJ /o/ is obeyed here. The same law, is – at least seemingly – violated in the case of some other forms (see *website* below).

## V. Internet

No	SP	DA	TJ
14.	<i>internet</i> اينٽرنت	<i>enternet</i> انٽرنت	<i>internet</i> интернет

This is not a classical example of a lexical borrowing, as the form in question is not a common noun but rather a proper name. This, however, makes it even a better case within which to analyse the differences of vocalism. The initial vowel in DA has to be the close-mid (near-)front unrounded vowel /e/ (traditionally short /e/), which is in fact pronounced very much like the English [ɪ] (‘short i’).

<sup>26</sup> Mandriva (2005-12-02); FS (2005-09-29); FTR, p. 280.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.nationalassembly.af/index.php?id=2789> (2007-07-30);  
<http://mohe.gov.af/?p=projects&nid=42> (2007-07-31).

<sup>28</sup> FS (29.09.2005).

## VI. "Electronic mail"

No	SP	DA	TJ
15.	<i>imeyl</i> <sup>29</sup> email	<sup>30</sup> —	<i>imeyl</i> email (e-mail) <sup>31</sup>
16.	<i>imeyl</i> <sup>32</sup> ایمیل <sup>33</sup> ایمیل	<i>imayl</i> <sup>34</sup> ایمیل	<i>imeyl</i> ایمیل <sup>35</sup>
17.	—	/emayl/[imayl] <sup>36</sup> ایمیل	—
18.	<i>post-e</i> <sup>37</sup> پست الکترونیک <i>elektronik</i>	<i>post-e</i> <sup>38</sup> پست الکترونیک <i>elektrōnik</i>	—
19.	<i>post-e</i> <sup>39</sup> پست الکترونیکی <i>elektroniki</i>	<i>post-e</i> <sup>40</sup> پست الکترونیکی <i>elektrōniki</i>	<i>počta-i</i> почтаи <i>elektronik</i> элктроник <sup>41</sup>
20.	<i>post-e</i> <sup>42</sup> پست الکترونی <i>elektroni</i>	—	<i>počta-i</i> почтаи <i>elektroni</i> элктрония <sup>43</sup>

<sup>29</sup> <http://dena.sharif.ir/bull.htm> (2007-08-05);<http://isce.aut.ac.ir/Hamayesh.aspx> (2007-08-05).<sup>30</sup> Non-existent or extremely rare.<sup>31</sup> Aspell (2005-12-03), <http://www.zamon.tj> (2005-09-29).<sup>32</sup> [http://www.hamedan.ir/Articles/Article\\_View.asp?ID=43](http://www.hamedan.ir/Articles/Article_View.asp?ID=43) (2007-08-03);<http://www.roshangari.com/as/ds.cgi?art=20060118215023.html> (2007-08-05).<sup>33</sup> [www.iranwebco.com](http://www.iranwebco.com) (2007-08-05);<http://www.afab.ir/links/links.php?id=997> (2007-08-05).<sup>34</sup> [http://www.ecc.org.af/index\\_ecc\\_dari.html](http://www.ecc.org.af/index_ecc_dari.html) (2007-08-04);[www.areu.org.af/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=53&lang=fa](http://www.areu.org.af/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=53&lang=fa) (2007-08-04).<sup>35</sup> <http://vatanweb.net/forum/29-1679-3> (2007-08-04);<http://tr-gym.maktab.tj/?newlang=tajik> (2007-08-04).<sup>36</sup> <http://www.gma.com.af/mail1.html> (2007-08-05);<http://eq.com.af/mail.html> (2007-08-05)<sup>37</sup> <http://www.ismst.ir/help/email.htm> (2007-08-05);[http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%BE%D8%B3%D8%AA\\_%D8%A7%D9%84%DA%A9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%DB%8C%DA%A9%DB%8C](http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%BE%D8%B3%D8%AA_%D8%A7%D9%84%DA%A9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%DB%8C%DA%A9%DB%8C) (2007-08-05).<sup>38</sup> <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2477&l=1>, (2007-08-04);<http://pz.rawa.org/65/65emails.htm> (2007-08-04).<sup>39</sup> <http://ict.tbzmed.ac.ir/educations/online/internet/16.htm> (2007-08-04);[http://www.iaurmia.ac.ir/html/staff/email\\_staff.html](http://www.iaurmia.ac.ir/html/staff/email_staff.html) (2007-08-04).<sup>40</sup> [www.mof.gov.af/Backup-Old-Web-Site/dari/irtibaat.asp](http://www.mof.gov.af/Backup-Old-Web-Site/dari/irtibaat.asp), (2007-08-04);[www.paiwastoon.com.af/da/pages/vhcs\\_support.html](http://www.paiwastoon.com.af/da/pages/vhcs_support.html) (2007-08-04).<sup>41</sup> [www.termcom.tj/index.php?view=3&mavzu=1&zabon=toj](http://www.termcom.tj/index.php?view=3&mavzu=1&zabon=toj) (2007-08-04).<sup>42</sup> <http://www.mubabol.ac.ir/Web/farhangi/tashkilat.htm> (2007-08-05);[www.iau-mahabad.ac.ir/menu/ketabkhaneh.htm](http://www.iau-mahabad.ac.ir/menu/ketabkhaneh.htm) (2007-08-05).

21.	<i>post-e barqi</i> <sup>44</sup> پست برقی	<i>post-e barqi</i> <sup>45</sup> پست برقی	—
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It seems, that the three ethnolects use more or less the same forms with minor differences. What is worth noting about TJ is the fact that in the case of the calques (почтаи электроник and почтаи электроня) the word for “post” appears in the Russian form (почта). That means that Russian loanwords are assimilated to the extent that they may be used to enrich further the lexis.

The specifically DA form is امیل without the letter *yā* after the initial *alef*. The latter is possible only in this language, as only in DA is the phoneme /e/ pronounced in a way ([ɪ]) that may resemble, at least a slightly, the English original. This /e/ is not written with the letter *ya* (as opposed to the ‘long /ē/’). However, as the English form starts with a long and rather high vowel ([i: meɪl]<sup>46</sup>), it is not surprising that the form with a higher (and phonetically longer) vowel is more widespread in DA.

One has to remember that forms like **پست الکترونیک** or **почтаи электроник** are not compounds. They are not single words (as their elements retain the original word stress) and they should rather be described as stable determinative phrases (or stable *ezafe* phrases), and thus, they could be discussed from the perspective of syntax. However, we should note that such phrases are extensively used to enrich the lexis of the three discussed ethnolects.

An interesting phenomenon is the coexistence of the forms **پست الکترونیک** and **پست الکترونیکی**. The descriptive element of the latter is enriched by the adjectival suffix /-i/ (/ -ī/), which is redundant, as the source form (Eng. ‘electronic’) is already an adjective itself. On the other hand, the addition of /-i/ plays some role in making the form more familiar, as it gains the shape typical for a large class of Persian adjectives.

<sup>43</sup> [www.business-club.tj/index.php?lng=tj&id=279&PHPSESSID=38d29b324ebd9fafa82457b611ee538c](http://www.business-club.tj/index.php?lng=tj&id=279&PHPSESSID=38d29b324ebd9fafa82457b611ee538c) (2007-08-04);

<http://tg.wikipedia.org/wiki/URL> (2007-08-04).

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.iransong.com/gal/img/113-827.htm> (2007-08-06);

<http://pestandar.blogfa.ir/> (2007-08-07).

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.darimail.com/> (2007-08-07);

[http://afghanhits.com/help/send\\_cd\\_dari.php](http://afghanhits.com/help/send_cd_dari.php) (2007-08-07).

<sup>46</sup> LDCE, p. 443.



## VII. "Mobile (cell) phone"

No	SP	DA	TJ
22.	<i>telefon-e hamrah</i> <sup>47</sup> تلفن همراه	— <sup>48</sup>	— <sup>49</sup>
23.	<i>mobāyl</i> <sup>50</sup> (تلفن) موبایل	<i>mobāyl</i> <sup>51</sup> موبایل	<i>telefon-i mobili</i> телефони мобилия <sup>52</sup>
24.	—	<i>mobā'il</i> <sup>53</sup> موبائیل	—
25.	<i>telefon-e dasti</i> <sup>54</sup> تلفن دستی	—	<i>telefon-i dasti</i> телефони дастя <sup>55</sup>

The Tajik form **мубойл** appears only on the BBC website<sup>56</sup>, where it suggests SP influence. The form **телефони мобилия** betrays Russian as the immediate source of the borrowing. Namely, in SP and DA, we have a diphthong in the last syllable (after the English [məʊbaɪl / moubaɪl]<sup>57</sup>). In TJ, however, the last syllable seems to reflect the Russian pronunciation of the word **мобиль(ный)**. On the other hand, typically Russian forms like **мобильник** appear to be unknown in Tajik-language texts.

<sup>47</sup> [http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86\\_%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87](http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86_%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87) (2007-08-06); [www.mci.ir](http://www.mci.ir) (2007-08-06).

<sup>48</sup> Found only on one website (<http://eq.com.af/eq.weekly/eq217/f/sys/4.php>, 2008-08-06).

<sup>49</sup> The form телефони мубойл appears extensively on the Radio Liberty website (eg. <http://www2.ozodi.org/reportsarticletext/2006/12/0D1372CC-55B4-4E5C-BF50-59440C660B85.html>, 2007-08-06).

<sup>50</sup> [http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86\\_%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87](http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86_%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87) (2007-08-06);

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<sup>51</sup> [http://www.afghan-wireless.com/dari/oct\\_28.html](http://www.afghan-wireless.com/dari/oct_28.html) (2007-07-31).

<sup>52</sup> <http://zamon.tj/articles/47/2840.html> (2007-08-06);

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.agriculture.gov.af/farsi/contatfarsi.htm> (2007-08-04).

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.downloads.ir/index.php?catid=7> (2007-08-06);

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<sup>55</sup> [www.zamon.tj/articles/14/2243.html](http://www.zamon.tj/articles/14/2243.html) (2007-08-06);

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<sup>56</sup> See e.g. [http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/tajikistan/story/2006/09/060912\\_er\\_tajtoday\\_cyr.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/tajikistan/story/2006/09/060912_er_tajtoday_cyr.shtml) (2007-08-06).

<sup>57</sup> The diphthong in the first syllable becomes a single consonant – possibly because of the word stress.

The form **مبائل** is particularly interesting. It seems to appear only in DA and is not very popular. Nevertheless it deserves some attention, as it seems to be changed phonologically so as to follow a certain pattern, namely, it is a pseudo-Arabicized form<sup>58</sup>. Other examples of this phenomenon are known in DA, see e.g. **مفشن** from **فشن** < Eng. fashion.

From the point of view of word-formation, what we have here is either a borrowing treated as a simplitium (**مبائل** etc.) or as a stable determinative phrase **телефони мобилля**. The Tajik element **мобилля** is another example of the re-adjectivization of a loanword in the target language by means of the suffix -i.

### VIII. “[web]site”

No	SP	DA	TJ
26.	<i>veb-sāyt</i> (وب) سایت	<i>veb-sāyt</i> (وب) سایت	<i>veb-sayt</i> (веб)сайт
27.	<i>veb-gāh</i> (وب) گاه	—	—
28.	<i>tār-namā</i> تار نما	—	—

In DA and TJ we have simply a loanword, while in SP there are also original forms. The form **سایت / сайт** is particularly interesting as it demonstrates that the new loanwords may violate traditional phonological laws (i.e. SP /ā/ = TJ /o/). This is so, as SP is not a point of reference, where a form is borrowed directly from English, and a sound is found, which best resembles the given English phoneme. In this case, the TJ diphthong [ai] is, indeed, closer to the English [aɪ], than the hypothetical [oi].

In SP, apart from the direct loanword, we also have a calque **گاه** or an interesting determinative compound **وب گاه**, where the determined element is a native noun and the determining one is a loanword from English. One could note, that some authors believe that forms like **-gāh, kam-**, etc. are not nouns any more (and no autonomous words in fact), when used to construct new words<sup>59</sup>. They seem to be closer to the category of affixes. Were we to accept such an interpretation, the form in question should be classified as a suffixal derivative. We should also note that in SP a neologism **تار نما** is used beside other forms.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Pseudo’ as the pattern *mufāʔil*, as opposed to *mufāʔil*, does not appear in typical Arabic grammatical structures.

<sup>59</sup> See **полуаффиксация (semi-affixation)** – Rubinčik, 2001, pp. 148-158.

## IX. “digital [storage device, recording, etc.]”

No	SP	DA	TJ
29.	<i>dijitāl</i> <sup>60</sup> دیجیتال	<i>dijital</i> <sup>61</sup> دیجیتل	<i>dijitol</i> <sup>62</sup> дичитол
30.	<i>dijitāli</i> <sup>63</sup> دیجیتالی	<i>dijitali</i> <sup>64</sup> دیجیتلی	—
31.	<i>dižitāl</i> <sup>65</sup> دیژیتال	—	—
32.	<i>dižitāli</i> <sup>66</sup> دیژیتالی	—	—
33.	—	—	<i>digital</i> <sup>67</sup>
34.	<i>raqami</i> <sup>68</sup> رقمی	<i>raqami</i> <sup>69</sup> رقمی	<i>raqami</i> <sup>70</sup> рақамӣ
35.	<i>adadi</i> <sup>عددی</sup>	<i>adadi</i> <sup>عددی</sup>	<i>adadi</i> <sup>адади</sup>

The SP forms *دیژیتال* and *دیژیتالی* seem to indicate French as their source, or – at least – they have been modeled upon the French loanwords in the language. This is proved by the presence of the fricative /ʒ/ and the open back rounded vowel /ā/ (phonetically [ɔ]). However, as we note forms

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.iaut.ac.ir/az-bargh-digital.aspx> (2007-08-08);

<http://www.rangekhial.ir/Premier.htm> (2007-08-08).

<sup>61</sup> Kabul, photography by Jadwiga Pstrusińska, Nov/Dec 2006.

<sup>62</sup> The form *ди...итол* has been found only once at: [www.ozodi.org/print\\_specials\\_article.aspx?YY=2006&MM=9&ID=0e9dbb4f-de8d-42cd-889d-42160b26f073](http://www.ozodi.org/print_specials_article.aspx?YY=2006&MM=9&ID=0e9dbb4f-de8d-42cd-889d-42160b26f073) (2007-08-08).

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.did.ir/> (2007-08-08).

[http://www.irandoc.ac.ir/data/e\\_j/vol6/karandish\\_abs.htm](http://www.irandoc.ac.ir/data/e_j/vol6/karandish_abs.htm) (2007-08-08).

<sup>64</sup> <http://bakhtarnews.com.af/?Lang=D&ContID=2333> (2007-08-08).

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.aftab.ir/lifestyle/view.php?id=7124> (2007-08-21);

<http://daneshnameh.roshd.ir/mavara/mavara-index.php?page=%d8%af%db%8c%da%af%d9%88%da%a9%d8%b3%db%8c%d9%86&SSOReturnPage=Check&Rand=0> (2007-08-21).

<sup>66</sup> <http://dbase.irandoc.ac.ir/000003/39200.htm> (2007-08-21);

[www.aftab.ir/news/2005/dec/18/c3c1134908529\\_science\\_education\\_medical\\_science.php](http://www.aftab.ir/news/2005/dec/18/c3c1134908529_science_education_medical_science.php) (2007-08-21).

<sup>67</sup> In Latin letters: [http://developer.kde.org/~binner/distributor-patches/SUSE/9.2/kdegraphics3-3.3.0-13/3\\_3\\_BRANCH.diff](http://developer.kde.org/~binner/distributor-patches/SUSE/9.2/kdegraphics3-3.3.0-13/3_3_BRANCH.diff) (2007-08-08).

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.ircap.com/magentry-printableversion.asp?id=559> (2007-08-09);

[http://www.asianews.ir/main1.asp?a\\_id=20541](http://www.asianews.ir/main1.asp?a_id=20541) (2007-08-09).

<sup>69</sup> FTR, p. 489; <http://www.areeba.com.af/dari/sub.aspx?ID=362&MID=174&FirstParentID=146> (2007-08-09).

<sup>70</sup> [http://www.president.tj/habarho\\_280707.html](http://www.president.tj/habarho_280707.html) (2007-08-09);

<http://www.nbt.tj/tj/?c=6&id=34> (2007-08-09).

with the affricate /j/ (just like in the case of the words for ‘technology’ – see above), we may assume that a process that could be referred to as Anglicisation must have taken place here. In DA, we have no historically long vowel between /t/ and /l/, thus English as the immediate source seems to be more possible. However, in DA, one would rather expect the close-mid (near-)front unrounded vowel /e/ [ɪ] to substitute the vowels of the alleged English original ([ˈdɪdʒɪtl]/[ˈdɪdʒɔtl]<sup>71</sup>) and not the higher, phonetically longer [ī], which is in fact the case. Maybe these forms are simply influenced by those of SP?

The comparison of the SP form **ديجيتال** and the TJ **дичитол** reveals that, in this case, the voice law SP [ā] = TJ [o] is obeyed, which is quite striking, as the word is not of SP origin. Most probably this could be explained by the hypothesis that SP has served as an intermediary here.

Let us also pay attention to some semantic phenomena: In TJ, indisputably, the most widespread form is **ракамя**. This is also to be found in SP, where, however, it is much less frequent than **ديجيتال** and **ديجيتالی**. Moreover, it seems that in SP, a kind of differentiation of meaning has taken place. Although both **ديجيتال** (or **ديجيتالی**) and **رقمی** happen to be explained as antonyms to **آنالوگ** “analogue”<sup>72</sup>, still it seems that the latter is used mainly as the second element of compounds, where it follows a numeral. Such compounds have the sense of “consisting of X digits”. The use of this form in other meanings is limited, for instance, to a Google search for “**دوربین رقمی**” which produces only about 5 examples, which is an extremely poor result in the case of the Persian-language sphere of the Internet. In DA, the form **رقمی** is used in a similar manner (though it appears to be quite rare). The form **عددی / адади** is used in contexts similar to those of **رقمی**, the only difference being the fact that it seems that while the latter is seldom used as an antonym to **آنالوگ**, the form in question is not used in that sense at all.

In the case of the SP and DA forms **dijital** and related ones, we note that secondary forms with the adjectival suffix **-i** exist as well.

### Remarks and conclusions:

Of course, the small number of examples presented does not allow one to draw decisive conclusions. However, with some reliance on the other

<sup>71</sup> LDCE, p. 380.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.nked.co.ir/nked/computer.asp> (2007-08-09).

material analysed by the author of the present paper<sup>73</sup>, it is possible to make some remarks.

Borrowings are widespread, the most important source being the English language. However, in the case of Tajik, we are often able to prove (mostly on the basis of phonetic adaptations), that Russian served as an intermediary. Some internationalisms (like *почта*) appear in Tajik in their Russian form. However, the number of Slavonic borrowings is very limited, even if some examples are to be found (for instance *[файли]* *справка* ‘help [file]’).

Neologisms appear, esp. in SP (*رآبانه , تارنما*), which is probably, at least in part an influence of The Academy of Persian Language which is quite active in creating and promoting certain forms (as being ‘more Persian’) at the expense of others. These SP neologisms may be later introduced into the remaining two ethnolects (see the case of *роёна* in Tajik).

Again, the material studied has been too limited to draw any decisive conclusion, however, the author would risk advancing the hypothesis that there is a tendency observable both in DA and TJ towards unification of the analysed terminology with SP, despite the strong Russian and English influence in DA and TJ respectively. Let us analyse this phenomenon in TJ. We observe that forms of SP origin, neologisms like TJ *роёна* are gaining in popularity (from nearly a hapax legomenon two years ago to about 50 hits in a web-search conducted in 2007, which is a good result for TJ).

Forms specific to only one of the ethnolects in question are rare. More often, we have a situation, where a number of forms compete, and in each of the languages discussed, the statistics of their usage may differ.

As far as the indigenous word-formation mechanisms are concerned, the suffixation and creation of stable determinative phrases prevails. In particular, the adjectival suffix *-i* seems to be very productive in all of the three ethnolects in question. True compounds are not so numerous, nevertheless some may be found.

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