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Loan syntax in Turkic and Iranian: The verb systems of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay

Soper, John David, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles, 1987

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Loan Syntax in Turkic and Iranian: The Verb Systems of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

John David Soper

1987

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL - Ablative
ACC - Accusative
ADJ - Adjective
ADV - Adverbial
ASP - Aspect
AUD - Auditive
AUX - Auxiliary
CAUS - Causative
CND - Conditional
COMP - Complementizer
CONJ - Conjunction
COP - Copula
CVC - Complex Verb Construction
DAT - Dative
DEF - Definite (Marker)
DEMON - Demonstrative
ENDER - Endearment Form
EXIS - Existential
FUT - Future
GEN - Genitive
GER - Gerundive
GM - Grammatical Marker
GM_{vb} - Verbal Grammatical Marker
HAB - Habitual
hd - Head
IMP - Imperative
IMPFV - Imperfective
INDEF - Indefinite
INDIC - Indicative
INF - Infinitive
INTEN - Intentional
INTER - Interrogative Marker
INTR - Intransitive
IZA - Izafet
Lit.T. - Literary Tajik
LOC - Locative
MAIN V - Main Verb
MV - Main Verb
NEC - Necessitative
NEG - Negative
NnC - Noncommittal (Mood)
NnP - Nonpast
NOM - Nominative
NP - Noun Phrase

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OBJ - (Direct) Object
OPT - Optative
P - Past [in combination with other markers, ex., PNnC "Past Noncommittal", PIMPFV "Past Imperfective", otherwise: PST]
PART - Particle
PASS - Passive
PFV - Perfective
PL - Plural
PLUPRF - Pluperfect
P/N - Person/Number Affix
POL - Polite Form
POSS - Possessive Marker
PREP - Preposition
PRES - Present
PRF - Perfect
PRO-CL - Pronominal Clitic
PROG - Progressive
PRS/NUM- Person/Number Affix
PRS-PRO- Personal Pronoun
PRT - Participle
PST - Past
Rast. - Rastorguyeva
RECIP - Reciprocal
REL CL - Relative Clause/Phrase
RFL - Reflexive
S - Sentence, Sentential
sb - Subordinate
SBJ - Subjunctive
SUBOR - Subordinate
SbS - Subordinate Sentence [in glosses can = SbS GM]
SG - Singular
Str-F - Structure-Final
Str-I - Structure-Initial
Str-Med- Structure-Medial
Str-Sec- Structure-Second
SUP - Suppositional
T - Tajik
TNS - Tense
TR - Transitive
U - Uzbek
V - Verb
VB - Verbal
VbF - Verb Formative Marker
VB_{hd} - Head Verbal
VbN - Verbal Noun
VB_{sb} - Subordinate Verbal
VbST - Verb Stem
VP - Verb Phrase

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NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLITERATION

The symbols used in this investigation are rather straightforward. Some peculiarities:

Transcription

ӕ	= [æ]	and similar low front vowels in Uzbek, Tajik, Qashqay, and other Turkic languages
a	= [ɔ]	and similar low back rounded vowels in Uzbek, Tajik, Qashqay, and (Modern) Persian
	[a]	and similar low central vowels in Russian and Turkic languages other than Uzbek, Qashqay, and Bashkir (in case of ambiguity, the symbol a̲ will be used for [ɔ])
	[ă]	in Classical Persian-Tajik (as opposed to to ā; otherwise vowel length will be marked by ˝:˝)
ğ	= [γ]	
j	= [ǰ]	
ï	= [ɨ]	or similar back unrounded high/high-mid vowels

Transliteration of Orthographies

The transliteration system adheres to the transcription conventions adopted here; thus Russian ы is ï. However, as distinct from the transcription system, Cyrillic ш, ч, х, etc., are written as diagraphs, sh, ch, kh, etc. Cyrillic е (except after a consonant) ю, я will also be written as diagraphs, ye, yu, ya. Russian loans in Uzbek and Tajik are transliterated in accordance with Russian conventions, ex., Uzbek материаллардан is materiallӕrdӕn.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Loan Syntax in Turkic and Iranian:
The Verb Systems of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 1987
Professor George D. Bedell, Chair

Although cross-language influence has taken place throughout the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region, an Iranian language spoken in Central Asia, Tajik, and a Turkic language spoken in southern Iran, Qashqay, represent two polar cases in this respect -- the former having been extensively influenced by a Turkic language, Uzbek, and the latter by an Iranian language, Persian. The changes that have occurred in the verb systems of these two languages are quite comparable in their impact: Tajik has acquired virtually the entire Uzbek simplex verb paradigm and the Uzbek mechanism of verb serialization, while Qashqay has adopted the major distinctions of the Persian verb paradigm and lost virtually all of its Turkic verb

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serialization mechanism.

In an attempt to demonstrate that these changes have taken place as the result of cross-language influence, certain revisions are introduced into the traditional treatments of the Turkic and Iranian verb systems -- namely, the concept of the Noncommittal mood, the categories "Verbal", "subordinate", "head", and "Grammatical Marker," as well as the ordering relationships Structure-Initial, Structure-Final, Structure-Second, and Structure-Medial.

Several general conclusions regarding the nature of cross-language influence and loan syntax emerge from the evidence. (i) Since cross-language influence has occurred in both directions, it appears that any language could serve in theory as a donor language for another. (ii) Linguistic structures of great complexity, such as a verb paradigm or a verb serialization mechanism, may be acquired as the result of cross-language influence. (iii) Influence of this type may also lead to the complete loss of an original grammatical distinction or mechanism, apparently due to the absence of a counterpart in the donor language. (iv) The changes brought about by cross-language influence on this scale are systematic, leading to a syntactic convergence between the two languages involved and a reduction in their structural differences.

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This investigation also raises certain questions about the status of abstract linguistic concepts like the "verb system," "verb serialization," and "verb paradigm" in a formal grammar of a language.

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INTRODUCTION

Turkic and Iranian are spoken in a broad section of contiguous terrritory in the middle of the Asian continent, sandwiched in between large areas where languages of other groups are spoken, namely, Slavic, Semitic, and Indian languages. Not surprisingly, the long history of contact between Turkic and Iranian in this region has resulted in a modest amount of mutual influence among the member languages of the two groups. As with all cross-language influence, lexical borrowings are especially conspicuous, but the changes brought about by this contact have certainly not been restricted to the lexicon. The diffusion of certain grammatical elements has also taken place. Of course, contact of this nature is not unusual, nor are the changes that have resulted from it extraordinary, at least not within the main portion of the languages spoken in this wide area. But in certain parts of the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region, a slightly different picture emerges. A condition of long-term, societal bilingualism has developed there and has led to striking grammatical changes.

Again, it may not be all that exceptional for such conditions to arise, particularly at the periphery of a linguistic area, but it is the intention of the present study to take advantage of a more unusual circumstance, access to data from two polar cases in the spectrum, that is, data from a language in family X that has undergone considerable influence from a language in family Y and data from a language in Y that has been influenced by one in X. The Iranian language Tajik and the Turkic language Qashqay

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represent such polar cases in the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region and will be the focus of the inquiry here. Basically, the grammar of Tajik (or more precisely, Colloquial Northern Tajik) reflects substantial influence from the Turkic language Uzbek and the grammar of Qashqay, influence from the Iranian language Persian. So that certain points can be illustrated by way of contrast, data from Uzbek will also be examined in the course of the discussion.

While cross-language influence has had an impact upon all the components in the grammars of Tajik and Qashqay, this investigation will concentrate on only one of the areas most heavily influenced by external conditions, the syntactic component. It will be maintained here that this influence has not been random, but rather, highly systematic, perhaps in clear contrast to lexical borrowing. In order to demonstrate the systematic nature of loan syntax, at least as it is seen in Tajik and Qashqay, only a particular subsection of the syntactic component, the section that will be called here the "verb system," will be the focus of concern. Of course, an investigation on a much broader scale, encompassing the entire syntactic component, would be desirable in order to provide insights into the extent to which cross-language influence can affect the syntax of a language, but a focus on the verb system can, it is hoped, make certain specific points about the process of cross-language influence that can be regarded as relevant to the syntactic component as a whole.

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Although it is generally acknowledged by scholars that the influence of the Turkic and Iranian languages upon one another has been substantial, research on the issue has been rather limited. Thus, for instance, the Turkologist Doerfer, in a brief survey of work on the topic, states, "Generally speaking, there is no systematic description of the mutual correlations of Iranian (Persian and Afghan) and Altaic (Turkish and Mongolian) languages" [Doerfer 1970:223]. He makes this assessment in spite of the fact that he himself has made a monumental contribution to the study of such problems with his work on Altaic loans in Persian, Doerfer 1963-1975. What he seems to be suggesting is that there has been a lack of research into determining in a precise way the extent of cross-language influence in these languages. There have been occasional studies on this topic since his comments were published, for example, Stilo 1981, which explores correspondences in the Noun Phrase among the Iranian and Turkic languages of northwestern Iran, and Reichl 1983, which deals with Iranian-pattern relative clauses, purpose clauses, and sentential complements in Afghan Uzbek. However, little attention has been devoted to a comprehensive examination of the subject. Some Russian and Soviet scholars have identified cross-languages as the process that has brought about certain traits in individual languages (see many of the references in Chapter 2), but again, there has been little attempt to focus specifically on the topic and to determine the exact extent of the influence. This lack of

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research is particularly noticeable in the case of cross-language influence in the syntactic component.

Certainly, there is clear evidence that extensive syntactic change has been brought about by cross-language influence in other linguistic areas. For instance, in the Balkans, the loss of the use of the infinitive as a marker of sentential subordination and its replacement by clauses containing finite verb forms, the use of a postnominal article, etc., have been convincingly attributed to cross-language diffusion [Sandfeld 1930, especially pp. 7-9, 163-216]. In Ethiopia, many elements in the Semitic languages of the region have undergone influence from the Cushitic languages. In particular, constituent ordering consistent with verb-final syntax, i.e., the placement of the verb at the end of the sentence, of nominal modifiers in prenominal position, etc., can be ascribed to such influence [Leslau 1945, especially pp. 73-78 and Little 1974]. Likewise, Antilla reports that certain Finno-Ugric languages have undergone considerable syntactic change under the influence of neighboring languages [Antilla 1970:169-170, see also his remarks pp. 154-177]. India is another well-known region where shared properties have been diffused [see several of the articles in Emeneau 1980, including his "India as a Linguistic Area," pp. 105-125, originally published in 1956]. In some places in India, such as the village of Kupwar, there appears to be "a single syntactic surface structure" with a possible "morph to morph substitution" among the speech varieties of the community [Gumperz, Wilson 1971:155]. Moreover, Masica 1976

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contains speculations on the distribution of common linguistic features over a much broader area on the Asian continent. And of course, there is Weinreich's classic study on cross-language influence, Weinreich 1953/1968. These investigations confirm that under certain circumstances, namely long-term bilingualism, radical changes can take place in languages as the result of cross-language influence, and they also point to what may be expected under similar circumstances. Thus they indirectly support the contention that what appears to have occurred in some Turkic and Iranian languages as the result of cross-language influence can be plausibly attributed to that influence.

It is not the intention of the present investigation to take as a starting point the work of these scholars on cross-language influence outside of the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region and then to address the issues raised by them. Rather, the aim is of a more limited scope, to describe the syntactic changes in the verb systems of certain Turkic and Iranian languages that appear to have resulted from cross-language influence and to derive conclusions specifically from that set of data. These conclusions will be of both a sociolinguistic and purely linguistic nature, and it is expected that they will be applicable more generally to other linguistic areas.

But simply to describe the data is not as straightforward an aim as it might appear. In order to characterize adequately the changes in the verb systems of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay and to demonstrate cross-language influence as the causal factor, it will

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be necessary to make significant revisions in the ways in which the data have been treated in previous investigations. These revisions will include offering an alternative method for the representation of constituent order and defining what is meant by the term "verb system." Once established, these concepts will be applied to the Turkic and Iranian language families as a means of constructing in typological terms what might have constituted the proto-system. Then it will be shown how Tajik and Qashqay have deviated from this "proto-system" as the likely result of cross-language influence. This approach is necessitated by the lack of solid historical evidence about the actual proto-languages prior to the contact with speakers of the other language group. As will be discussed below, literary records are only of limited use in the determination of the proto-system. Basically, the evidence to be utilized in this investigation will be synchronic and comparative, although there will be several references to the historical data as well.

Chapter 1 will be devoted to the necessary revisions and to a characterization of the relevant typological features in the Turkic and Iranian languages. In Chapter 2, further revisions of previous work will be found; the traditional approaches to the tense/aspect/mood paradigms of these languages will be discarded in favor of another approach. A major excursus in this chapter, Section 2.2.2., will examine the structure of the Turkic Subordinate Sentence as reflected in contemporary Uzbek. But the main goal of the chapter is to describe the changes that have

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taken place in the Tajik verb system as the result of Uzbek influence. Chapter 3 is concerned with cross-language influence in the opposite direction, that is, with Iranian influence on the Turkic languages Uzbek and Qashqay. Chapter 4 will present the conclusions drawn from this inquiry.

Conventions Adopted. This investigation will not be concerned with the terminological issues connected with the description of the changes brought about by external influence. Generally, "cross-language influence" will be used for this phenomenon, but other terms, in particular, "borrowing", will not be avoided, even though they may be less precise as characterizations of the process involved. It should be noted that one term advocated by Weinreich, "interference", will not be used here, since it focuses attention on cross-language influence as a "deviation from the norms" of the language affected [Weinreich 1953/1968:1]. "Interference" refers more to a disruption in the prior state of affairs than to the consequences of the change. External influence need not be regarded primarily as a "deviation" or "departure" from a proto-system; in fact, the resulting structures may be just as systematic and coherent as the original system. It will be argued here that external influence on the verb systems of Tajik and Qashqay has led to a remarkable degree of convergence between the grammatical structures of the two languages involved. It would therefore seem odd to say that a process of "interference" (as opposed to "influence") has resulted in "convergence". In keeping with the practice elsewhere, the terms

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"donor language" and "source language" will be used to designate the language from which a structure has been adopted. Actually, the term "model language," that is, "a language serving as a model," would be more apt as a description of the role the language seems to play, but the term would be infelicitous because of the use of "model" in constructions in which it means "exemplary" ("model family") or "model of" ("model airplane"). The language that has undergone cross-language influence will be referred to as the "recipient language."

In addition to the standard rules of capitalization, a few other conventions will be adopted here. Grammatical (nonlexical) labels in the glosses of examples and feature labels will be capitalized throughout, except in a few cases. The initial letter of the label for a formal grammatical category, whether it refers to a distinction in the verb paradigm or to a syntactic node in a constituent-structure representation, will be capitalized. But when a term does not refer to such a category, i.e., when it refers to a traditional designation, a semantic concept, etc., its initial letter will not be capitalized. Capitalization will also be used for the name of a language that can be thought of as distinct from another speech variety in accordance with well-defined linguistic criteria; thus "Colonial Uzbek" exhibits linguistic properties (as well as others) distinct from "Literary Uzbek," but "urban Uzbek" is a group of dialects which does not share a set of linguistic features distinct from "rural Uzbek."

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Note on Phonological Representation. Many of the Tajik and Uzbek examples cited below are drawn from the work of other scholars, and it was not possible to verify phonological accuracy. Moreover, the transcriptions in this published material were frequently based on the Cyrillic alphabet, a situation that required some interpretation when converted to a Latin-based transcription. Nevertheless, it is not expected that there are serious deficiencies in the present phonological representations of these languages.

The Qashqay examples are derived from informant work and should, in theory, be free of the problems just noted in the case of the Tajik and Uzbek examples. However, the Qashqay phonological system is quite complicated, as can be seen from the following remarks on certain aspects of it.

(i) There is a considerable amount of acceptable variation in the pronunciation of certain items.

(ii) There are some "intermediate" vowels in phonetic terms; for example, in the word bütün 'entire' the second ü is lower than the first, and thus the phonetic representation of the word could be [bütün] or [bütön].

(iii) The reflex of the high vowel archiphoneme I around the velars ğ and x is often acoustically similar to o, ex., yağoš 'rain'. Thus, Qashqay permits a violation of the general Turkic constraint against o in the noninitial syllables. However, this sound can also be pronounced more like ö, as can be seen from the fact that a speaker of Qashqay, writing down a folk tale in his

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native language, sometimes transcribes the word meaning 'boy' as oğol and at other times as oğïl [Gorguinpour 1972, pp. 115-117 of the texts].

(iv) Perhaps what complicates Qashqay phonology the most is the loss of the vowel ï as a phoneme. In the initial syllable, the only syllable in which all vowels are phonemically distinct, because of vowel harmony constraints in other syllables, ï has merged with other vowels, namely /i/, ex., il 'year', cf., Modern Turkish yïl and sin-măg 'to break (INTR)', cf., Azerbaijani sïn-maq; or /e/, around the velars q, x, and ğ, ex., qez 'girl; daughter', cf., Modern Turkish kïz, and čex-măg 'to go out', cf., Modern Turkish. čïk-mak. Note that the lowering of ï to e in initial syllables parallels its lowering to o in noninitial syllables (see (iii) above).

But in noninitial syllables ï is retained as the reflex of the archiphoneme I in words containing back vowels, ex., at 'horse' atï 'his horse'; qol 'arm', qolï, 'his arm'. Furthermore, it occurs in one other environment in these syllables, before r, even in words containing front vowels. In addition, it does not affect vowel harmony in the syllables following it--ex., the causative of the verb sin-măg ' to break (INTR)', cited above, is sin-nïr-măg 'to break (TR)'. Apparently, the use of ï before r has a functional role; it enhances the phonetic difference between the syllable ïr and the marker of the present progressive i:r. Although there are reasons to represent

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the latter as /iyr/ and the former as /ir/ in strictly phonemic terms, such a phonemic representation for i̲r will not be given in the examples presented in Chapter 3. The phonetic value i̲ is so acoustically clear and so consistently maintained that it might be misleading not to record it. Hence i̲ will be reflected in the Qashqay examples in Chapter 3.

Because of the phonetic complexities involved, some of the examples cited may need refinements upon further investigation.

Stress in Qashqay will be indicated only in a few cases, occasionally in those enviornments where it is not predictable. The sporadic vowel length that occurs in Qashqay will also not be indicated, since it does not appear to be phonemic. No minimal pairs with vowel length as the distinctive characteristic were recorded.

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CHAPTER 1

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TURKIC AND IRANIAN LANGUAGES

1.1 Typological Characteristics

In order to demonstrate where cross-language influence has taken place in a recipient language, it would be necessary to make a comparison of the language families involved and indicate those points where they systematically differ. For the purposes here, the "Turkic languages" referred to will consist of the better-known languages spoken in areas where they might have been in contact with Iranian languages, that is, those Turkic languages currently spoken in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, the Caucasus area, and Turkey. Ideally, in reference to "Iranian languages," the Southwestern languages as a group, including Tat, the dialects of the Luri and Bakhtiari tribes of Iran, the dialects of Fars Province, etc., as well as Persian, Tajik, and Dari, should be treated, but since information on the syntax of Standard Persian is much more accessible than is data on the other languages, Persian will represent here the typology of Southwestern Iranian as it appears to be in the absence of Turkic influence. While it cannot be claimed that Standard Persian is entirely free of syntactic influence from the Turkic languages, whatever influence there may have been is certainly less than that observed in Tajik or Tat. The typological statements to be made will not necessarily be applicable to Iranian languages outside of the Southwestern group, such as Kurdish or Ossetian. The following

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tables should give some indication of the genetic relationships in the Turkic and Iranian language families, but they are not intended to provide a comprehensive view of these relationships or to introduce any new element into the standard classifications.

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TABLE 1: Classification of the Modern Turkic Languages

1. Bolgar Group
   Chuvash

2. Oghuz (Southwest) Group
   a. Modern Turkish
      Balkan Turkic
      Gagauz
      South Crimean
      Azerbaijani
      Qashqay

   b. Turkmen
      Trukhmen
      Oghuz Khorazmi (Uzbek)

3. Kipchak (Northwest) Group
   a. Karaim
      Karachay, Balkar
      Kumik
      Crimean Tatar

   b. Tatar
      various Ural dialects
      Bashkir

   c. Kazak
      Karakalpak
      Kipchak Uzbek
      Nogay

4. Karluk (Southeast) Group
   Uzbek
   Uighur

5. "Siberian" Group [languages of uncertain genetic relationships]

   a. Yakut
      Dolgan

   b. [Others:]
      Kirghiz
      Altay (Oyrot)
      Tuva
      Tofalar
      Khakas
      Shor
      Sari Uighur, etc.

[Based on Jyrkänkallio 1950, Benzing and Menges 1959, and Baskakov 1969]

[The proper classification of the Turkic languages is a matter of considerable dispute. The genetic relationships presented in the first four groups above are generally accepted by Turkologists, although the connections between the groups themselves are unclear. The fifth group, given the geographic name "Siberian", is a collection of languages with uncertain genetic relationships; the member languages may or may not be related to one another. The status of Khalaj is not considered. Thus this classification remains highly tentative.]

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TABLE 2: Classification of the Modern Iranian Languages

WESTERN	EASTERN
I. Northwestern	I. Northeastern
Kurdish	Ossetian
Talish	Yaghnabi
Gilaki	
Mazanderan	
certain other dialects in Iran	II. Southeastern
Baluchi	Pashto
Parachi	Munji, Yighda
Ormuri	Pamir languages
II. Southwestern	
Modern Persian	
Tajik	
Dari	
Tat	
Bakhtiari	
Luri	
Kumzari	
dialects of Fars	

[Source: Oranskiy 1979]

[This classification is highly tentative, like the classification of the Modern Turkic languages in Table 1. Many of the problems associated with a detailed classification are overlooked here.]

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Perhaps the most obvious syntactic difference between the Turkic and Iranian languages involves the order of constituents and grammatical elements in sentences. A list of the differences can readily be compiled:

(1)	Turkic Languages	Iranian Languages
(a)	prenominal adjectives	postnominal adjectives
(b)	prenominal genitives	postnominal genitives
(c)	prenominal relative clauses	postnominal relative clauses
(d)	suffixing case markers	no genuine case markers
(e)	postpositions, no prepositions	prepositions, except for one postposition, ra
(f)	subordinate "clauses" marked at end of construction	subordinate clauses introduced by complementizers, subordinate conjunctions
(g)	auxiliaries follow main verb	some auxiliaries precede main verb, others follow it
(h)	interrogative particle occurs at end of sentence	interrogative particle, if used, occurs at beginning of sentence
(i)	paired conjunction particles (like 'both...and') occur after paired elements	paired conjunctions occur before paired elements

But such a listing hardly provides a generalization about the syntactic differences between the two language families. To do so, it is possible to rely upon the results of more than 20 years of linguistic research on ordering typologies.

In a seminal article on the significance of ordering relationships among constituents and grammatical items, Joseph Greenberg established that ordering was not haphazard, that

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certain specific patterns prevailed in the overwhelming majority of the world's languages, and that there exist syntactic correlations among the ordering patterns [Greenberg 1963/1966]. Since the appearance of that article, numerous linguists have attempted to elaborate uppon Greenberg's original observations--refining the generalizations, devising explanations for the phenomena, and applying the insights to the study of historical development [see, for instance, Hawkins 1983 and the textbook Comrie 1981a]. Despite these efforts, a single, overall framework accounting for the ordering relationships observed has not been widely accepted among linguists. In what follows, some of the observations made in the literature on this topic have been adopted into a new framework devised specifically for the narrow purposes of making a comparison between the Turkic and Iranian languages possible, but the approach has been formulated more generally, so as to be applicable to other languages as well.

The positioning of constituents or grammatical items in sentences and words seems to be defined most commonly in two respects, in relation to the limits (boundaries) of a structure or in relation to a particular element in a structure. In the latter case, position is often specified in terms of adjacency, such as '(immediately) in front of Verb', '(immediately) following the Noun stem', 'after Verb stem', etc. In the case of ordering with respect to the limits of a structure, three major positions appear to be utilized:

1) Structure-Initial (abbreviated as "Str-I")

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2) Structure-Second (Str-Sec) or Structure-Medial (Str-Med)

3) Structure-Final (Str-F)

Individual languages define what is meant by "first", "second", "medial", and "final" position in distinctive ways. For instance, in English the Verb (plus any auxiliaries) in Unmarked declarative sentences is in Str-Sec position (where Str = the Sentence), but adverbials and parentheticals do not "count" in the determination of what is "second" position. However, in German the auxiliary or the finite Verb in nonsubordinate Sentences is Str-Sec in a much stricter sense than in English; items like adverbials do "count" in that regard.

It would also prove useful for the purposes of a comparison between the Turkic and Iranian languages to establish a category encompassing certain types of grammatical elements, which will be designated "Grammatical Markers" or GM's. Among the items included among the GM's are the following:

In Nominal Constituents:

--case markers

--prepositions or postpositions

In Verbal Constituents:

--tense/aspect/mood markers

--directionals

In Sentential Constituents:

--participial/gerundive/verbal noun markers

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--subordinate conjunctions, complementizers, relative pronouns

--interrogative markers

Also: Coordinating Conjunctions

These GM's are frequently ordered in relation to the limits of a structure. For instance, consider interrogative particles. The Turkic particle mi occurs at the end of an S, that is, it is Str-F, while the Persian interrogative aya is Str-I and the Russian li Str-Sec. Prepositions are obviously Str-I (where Str = the Noun Phrase), and postpositions Str-F. Much less frequently are adpositions used in Str-Sec or Str-Med position, but such constructions do occur (ex., the stylistic inversion of monosyllabic prepositions in Latin, as in nūllā in rē 'in no thing'). However, GM's may also be positioned in relation to particular items in a constituent. Case marking, for example, is frequently used after noun stems. Tense/aspect/mood markers are often placed after the verb stem, but in parallel with the situation of case markers and adpositions, when tense/aspect/mood markers can occur as free-standing items, that is, as auxiliaries, they are often placed at the limit of the Verbal constituent.

As for other items that have traditionally been considered "grammatical", it is less clear whether they are ordered in relation to the limits of a construction. Some "grammatical elements," such as personal pronouns, occur in the same slots as lexical items, while others, such as plural, person/number, and agreement markers, appear to be ordered in relation to an adjacent

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position with a particular constituent. Thus person/number suffixes are frequently placed adjacent to tense/aspect/mood markers, but not specifically at one limit or another of the Verbal constituent, regardless of what follows or precedes. There are, however, some less clear cases, such as negation markers and interrogative pronouns. In English, for instance, interrogative pronouns are placed in a limit position, Str-I, while in Turkic and in Persian they are not. In any case, for the purposes of the discussion here, GM's will be restricted to those items listed in the previous paragraph.

With these preliminaries, it is possible to develop the concept of "consistency" in ordering relationships for those languages in which ordering is a significant means of indicating syntactic structure. In a consistent language, there exists a parallelism in the position of the Verb in an S, of the Head Noun in a nominal constituent, and of the GM in a structure. This parallelism in the position of the Verb in an S, of the Head Noun in a nominal constituent, and of the GM in a structure. This parallelism is fairly straightforward in the case of consistent Verb-final languages (or in Greenberg's terms, SOV languages, where S is Subject, O Object, and V Verb). In such languages the Unmarked position of the Verb is the end of an S, the Head Noun occurs last in an NP, following all modifiers, including the genitive, and the GM's are also Str-F. While it may not be obvious that the position of GM's is independent of the placement of other constituents, there are languages in which that is

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clearly the case. In the Verb-final Sino-Tibetan language Lahu, for instance, nominal constituents such as adjectives, genitives, and relative clauses may occur on either side of the Head Noun, although there may be a preference for the prenominal position for Unmarked constructions. Since the particles that mark case relations in a Lahu sentence can follow either a Head Noun or one of its modifiers (whichever comes last), these GM's are still Str-F in the NP and are therefore parallel with the final position of the Verb in an S [Matisoff 1973]. The converse ordering relationship would obtain in a consistent Verb-initial (VSO or VOS) language; the Verb, Head Noun, and the GM's would all be Str-I.

As for Verb-second (or SVO) languages, the determination of consistency is somewhat more complex. Frequently in such languages the placement of the Head Noun parallels that of the Verb; it occurs in a Str-Med position in an NP, whereby modifiers may occur on both sides. In English, for instance, numerals, demonstratives, most adjectives, some genitives, and some participles are placed before the Head Noun while relative clauses, complex adjectives, some genitives, and some participles are placed before the Head Noun while relative clauses, complex adjectives, some genitives, modifying prepositional phrases, etc., are post-nominal. However, GM's are rarely Str-Sec or Str-Med and therefore are not parallel with the position of the Verb. It appears from the data of Greenberg and others that GM's in Verb-Second languages, if they are placed in relation to the

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boundaries of a structure, can occur in either a Str-I or Str-F position, with perhaps a preference in favor of the Str-I position (as in English and many other Indo-European languages). In effect then, either Str-I or Str-F ordering for GM's is consistent with Verb-Second placement.

From this standpoint, the Turkic languages are highly consistent Verb-final languages; the Verb occurs at the end of the S, the Head Noun at the end of the NP, with all modifiers prenominal, and GM's in Str-F position, cf., the following examples from tthe Tashkent dialect of Uzbek.

(2) Verb Placement

teri-Ø pisir-is-Ø biz-ä-gä atä - buwä - dän
hide-OBJ ripen-VbN we-PL-DAT father-grandfather-ABL
ancestors

qa - gän - Ø [<qak-]
remain-PRF-3SG

'Treating hides has come down to us from (our) ancestors.'
[Ghulamov 1968:155]

(3) Head Noun Placement

(a) GEN & ADJ: bwu - m - mi kattä qiz - läri
grandmother-my-GEN older daughter-3PL POSS[=POL]

'my grandmother's older daughter' [Ibid., p. 54] [The Genative/Accusative marker in the Tashjkent dialect is formed by the gemination of the final consonant or by -ni after vowels.]

(b) Embedded Genitive and Complement NP:

mal - li tezäg - i - ni ekiŋ-gä paydä-si
cattle-GEN dung-POSS-GEN crop-DAT use-POSS

'the use of cattle (literally: cattle's) dung for crops' [Ibid., p. 55]

(c) Relative Clause:

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mänä -- biz-Ø kitap-Ø ber-gän adäm
voici we-NOM book-OBJ give-PRT person
RELATIVE CLAUSE HEAD NOUN

'Here's the person we gave a book (books) to' [field notes]

(4) GM Placement

(a) [See Sentence (2) and (3b) for Case Markers]

(b) Posposition:

o:n-uč yil-däm biri pensä al - ä - män
10-3 year-ABL since pension take-NnP-1SG
POSTPOSITION (requiring Ablative)

'For (literally: Since) 13 years I have received a pension.' [Ghulamov 1968:157]

(c) Tense/Aspect Placement (here as an Auxiliary):

buwä - m xawli-di-gi tak - kä , gul - lä - gä
grandfather-my yard-LOC-ADJ grape(plant)-DAT flower-PL-DAT

qärä - b yur - ä - llä [=yuradilär]
look after-GER go[=PROG]-NnP-3POL
MAIN VERB AUXILIARY

'My grandfather is looking after (tending) the grapes and flowers in the yard.' [Ibid., p. 155-156]

Case markers and postpositions in the Turkic languages can occur only after an noun (or an item, such as an adjective, which substitutes for a noun), and thus all nominal modifiers are placed before the Head Noun. Actually, the Str-F placement of nominal GM's is more strictly observed than Verb positioning, since the placement of a constituent after the Verb is not an uncommon feature in the Turkic languages, particularly in colloquial speech. But essentially, the placement of the Verb, Head Noun, and GM's in Str-F position is maintained except in Marked stylistic contexts.

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In contrast, the Iranian languages are characterized by a definite inconsistency in ordering patterns. The Verb in Persian generally occurs at the end of an S, in Str-F position, although the placement of other items after the Verb is not especially rare, particularly in the colloquial language [Lazard 1957a:201]. But in all other respects, the ordering patterns are consistent with a Verb-second placement, similar to many other Indo-European languages. The Head Noun occurs in a medial position in an NP; demonstratives, (cardinal) numerals, classifiers, and the quantifiers xeyli and besyar 'many' precede the noun, while adjectives, genitives, participles, and relative clauses follow it. GM's can be found in both Str-I and Str-F position, although there is a definite preference for the Str-I position. There are numerous prepositions, but only one postposition, ra, and subordinate Sentences are marked by Str-I GM's like ke 'that'. From this standpoint, the "izafet" marker -e (abbreviated in examples as IZA) is considered a Str-I GM since it indicates the relationship of a modifier or complement to the modified noun. Auxiliaries formed from the copula or the verbs budän 'be' andd sodän 'become' follow the Main Verb, in Str-F position, but other auxiliaries, such as xastän 'want', used to form the Future, and dastän 'have', used to form the Progressive, precede the Main Verb. Tense/aspect markers on the Verb occur either before or after the verb stem, or in both places. Some examples of ordering in Persian:

(5)Verb, Adjective, Genitive Placement; Preposition, Postposition:

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ba	deqqät-o	ehtiat - e	ziad	täxte-ye	säng-e
with	care-and	caution-IZA	much	plank-IZA	stone-IZA
PREP	CONJ		ADJ		
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE				OBJECT	

där - e	tabut-ra	bär daštänd
door/lid-IZA	coffin-ACC	raise+PST+3PL
	POSTPOSITION	
NP		MAIN VERB (+ SUBJECT)

'With much care and caution, they lifted up the stone slab of the coffin lid.' [Lazard 1957a:201]

(6) Placement of Head Noun in NP

(a) Numeral-Classifier-Head Noun-Genitive; Demonstr. - Head Noun:

pänj	hezar	tän	kargär-an-e	an	šähr
5	1,000	body	worker-PL-IZA	that	city
	CLASSIFIER		HEAD NOUN	GENITIVE	

'the five thousand workers of that city' [Ibid., p. 92]

(b) Head Noun-Adjective-Relative Clause:

doxtär-e	kuček-i	ke piš-e šoma bud	ki	bud?
girl-IZA	small-DEF	that with you was	who	was
HEAD NOUN	ADJ	RELATIVE CLAUSE	SUBJECT	MAIN V

'Who was the small girl that was with you?' [Lambton 1953:75]

(7) Complementizer, Subordinate Conjunction Placement

(a) täsmin	gereftänd	ke	berävänd
decision	take+PST+3PL	that	go+SBJ+3PL
		COMP	

'They decided to go.' [Ibid., p. 151]

(b) ägär	ketab-ra	gom	kärde	baš-id	...
if	book-ACC	lost	make+PRT	SBJ-2PLL	
SUBORD CONJ					

'if you have lost the book...' [Ibid., p. 66]

(8) Tense/Aspect/Mood Marking on Verbs

(a) xärid-e	bud-äm
Verb Stem	AUX

'I had bought'

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(b) xårid-e šod
VbST AUX

'it was bought'

(c) mi-xårid-åm
VbST

'I was buying, I used to buy'

(d) dar-åm mi-nevis-åm
AUX VbST

'I am writing'

The difference between the Turkic and Iranian languages with respect to ordering consistency make it probable that if syntactic borrowing were to take place between the two language groups, the influence could be readily demonstrated. This, however, cannot be said of at least one possible area of syntactic influence, namely, the position of the Verb in Iranian. It is possible that external influence could have prevented the appearance of a Verb-second pattern in Persian, but it would not be easy to establish that such influence was the determining factor. Old Persian was primarily a Verb-final language, although some nominal complements could occur after the Verb [Meillet 1931:239-242]. In the period of Iranian known as "Younger Avestan", during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the placement of the Verb in fianl position was already inconsistent with the ordering of many other elements in the sentence, and it has been proposed that influence from Akkadian at the time could have resulted in the retention of final positioning for the Verb [Friedrich 1975:46]. Subsequently, influence from the Turkic languages could have reinforced the Verb

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placement in Persian. But in any case, it would be difficult to argue that Verb-second ordering would have developed in Iranian in the absence of external influence. It would be mistaken to assume that languages must develop towards greater ordering consistency, since languages appear to tolerate inconsistency for considerable periods of time. In areas other than Verb placement, however, the possible influence of Iranian and Turkic languages upon one another can be more readily established.

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1.2 The Verb System.

It is not just in the ordering of constituents and grammatical elements that the Turkic and Iranian languages differ from one another in important respects. Clear differences can also be observed in the section of a grammar that might best be called the "verb system". This section includes those elements traditionally associated with the verbal constituent--any Main Verb or any adverbial, particle, or auxiliary modifiers of it, as well as the morphological and syntactic mechanisms used to convey tense, aspect, or modal distinctions. As is the case with ordering, it is possible to list the major differences between the Turkic and Iranian languages in this area of syntax as well:

(9)	Turkic Languages	Iranian Languages
(a)	Verb serialization	No verb serialization ("specialized" items like gerundives, auxiliaries, directionals, particles, and prefixes serve similar functions)
(b)	Nonfinite verbal coordination	Finite verbal coordination
(c)	Major mood distinctions: Indicative vs. "Noncommittal" vs. Conditional	Major mood distinction: Indicative vs. Subjunctive
(d)	No Imperfective/Perfective aspectual opposition	Major aspectual distinction: Imperfective vs. Perfective

Again, as in the case of ordering patterns, a list like this fails to indicate where the systematic differences between the Turkic and Iranian languages lie. For that purpose it would be worthwhile to posit a node VB (for "Verbal") as the basic

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constituent in the verb system. Each VB would contain only one Verb or verb-like element, but a consideration of whether it would also contain nominal complements like the direct object and therefore be equivalent to the VP of much generative grammar would only lead the present discussion far afield. That is, it would not be feasible here to treat the issue of whether nominal complements in a predicate should properly be under a VP-like node or under an S node, or both, or even whether VP is necessary at all. Suffice it to say that VB will be considered here without regard to the relationship of nominal constituents to it.

A VB which modifies another VB, that is, an auxiliary, adverbial, or particle, will be marked with the subscript "sb" (for "subordinate"), while a nonmodifying VB that stands as the head ("hd") of its constituent will be marked "VB_{hd}". Of course, constituents other than VB's can be classified as "subordinate" or "head", and in later sections subordinate Sentences will be discussed in detail. For the time being the focus will be on the VB. In the following remarks, VB constituents in relationship to one another are limited to two in number for the sake of simplicity, but obviously hierarchically arranged or iterated constituents of more than two are common in natural language. It is assumed that the generalizations to be made would not be substantially different in the case of more than two constituents.

Verb serialization is characteristic of the Turkic languages, although it is found in a reduced capacity in Modern Turkish and other Oghuz languages. As with serialization in other languages,

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there seems to be "subordination continuum" with regard to the two Verbs linked by serialization. This continuum can be expressed as follows (where a Verb-Final is represented):

(10)

$Verb^1$	$Verb^2$	
VB_{sb}	VB_{hd}	where an adverbial ($Verb^1$) modifies a Main Verb
VB_{hd}	VB_{hd}	where the two VB's stand in an equivalent relationship, that is, they are conjoined or make up a lexicalized compound
VB_{hd}	VB_{sb}	where V^2 is comparable to an auxiliary or a directional

In the Turkic languages there is a morphological uniformity throughout this continuum; V^1 is marked by (I)p (sometimes spelled with a "b" as well). Another gerundive, in which the verb is marked by -ä after consonant stems and -y after vowel stems (henceforth written as "-ä/y"), is also used, but it does not differ in a consistent semantic way from the (I)p gerundive. It is used for the negative gerundive, in reduplicated form for a repetitive connotation, and in certain Main Verb-Auxiliary constructions. Some examples of verb serialization from Literary Uzbek:

(11) VB^1_{sv} - VB^2_{hd}

(a)

bärčä	student-lär	xälqära	ähval	häqidä-gi	
all	student-PL	international	situation	about-ADJ	
lektsiya-ni	diqqät	qil - ib	tiŋlä - di - lär		
lecture-ACC	attention	do/make-GER	listen to-PST-3PL		
	V^1_{sb}		V^2_{hd}		

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'All the students listened attentively to the lecture on the international situation.' [Ubäyeva 1971:100-101]

[diqqät qil- forms a verb meaning 'pay attention, be attentive'; diqqät qilib could be replaced by diqqät bilän, literally, 'with attention'.]

(b) ertä-lä-b savuq bol-di-Ø
early-VbF-GER cold be-PST-3SG
V^1_{sb} V^2_{hd}

'it was cold in the morning' [Borovkov 1959:558]

[ertäläb consists of the Verb formative marker -lä plus the gerundive marker -b. It is considered a lexicalized adverb, since there exists no verb ertälä]

(c) Yegorov väziyät - ni čuqur orgän-ib štab - gä
[NAME] situation-ACC deep study-GER headquarters-DAT

xäbär ber-di-Ø
news give-PST-3SG
V_{hd}

'Having deeply studied the situation, Yegorov reported (on it) to headquarters.' [Ubäyeva 1971:96]

[This sentence need not be translated with an adverbial; it could also mean, 'Yegorov studied the situation deeply and reported (on it) to headquarters.' In such a case, the two verbs would be in a VB^1_{hd} - VB^2_{hd} relationship. Ambiguity as to subordination status is not uncommon in Turkic verb serialization.]

(12) VB^1_{hd} - VB^2_{hd}

(a) hazir hämmä yaq säp-säriq bol-gän-i-dän čol
now every side very-yellow be-VbN-POSS-ABL desert

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qäyer-dän baŠlän-ib , qäyer-gä tutäŠ - iŠ - i - ni
where-ABL begin-GER where-DAT border-VbN-POSS-ACC
V^1_{hd} V^2_{hd}

bil-ib bol - mäsdi - ø
know-GER be possible-PST HAB-3SG
V^1_{hd} V^2_{sb} [=Main Verb + AUX]

'Because it was now very yellow everywhere, it was impossible to know where the desert began and what it bordered on.' [Kollektiv 1975:512]

(b) qazi-niŋ xatin-i ol-ib , u yalĞiz qal - di - ø
judge-GEN wife-POSS die-GER he alone be left-Pst-3SG
V^1_{hd} V^2_{hd}

'the qazi's wife died, and he was left alone' [Kononov 1960:241]

[Sometimes, as here, the subjects of the two clauses linked by the (I)p gerundive are different. Semantically this sentence could be equated with an English translation containing a Str-I GM, such as 'when, after, because', but the explicit relationship between the two events is not signaled in Uzbek.]

(c) balä-lär säkrä-Š-ib oynä-maqdä-lär
child-PL jump-PL-GER play-NnP PROG-PL
V^1_{hd} V^2_{hd}

'The children are jumping (around) and playing.' [Ibid., p. 265]

[This is an example of simultaneous actions linked by the use of the (I)p gerundive.]

(13) VB^1_{hd} VB^2_{sb}

(a) men bu hikayä-ni oqi-b Čiq-di-m
I this story-ACC read-GER AUX-PST-1SG
V^1_{hd} V^2_{sb}

'I read this story (all the way through)' [Ibid., p. 265]

(b) Egämberdi atä qorĞan - dän qoy-lär-ni

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[NAME] father walled farmyard-ABL sheep-PL-ACC

häydä-b	čiq-ib	, ...
drive-GER	out-GER	
V^1_{hd}	V^2_{sb}	

'Egamberdi-ata drove the sheep out of the farmyard and ..."[from a story in Shärq yulduzi]

[The verb čiq-, which means 'go/come out' is a Main Verb, can also be used as an auxiliary, to indicate completive aspect or direction outwards, as in these two sentences.]

(See also Kollektiv 1975:515-518 for a similar tripartite division of the functions of the (i)b form in Literary Uzbek.)

The Iranian languages, like other Indo-European languages (except for the contemporary languages of India), lack verb serialization. Thus in Iranian there is not a genuine subordination continuum (10) with a uniform morphological marking on VB^1. There is, however, a form in Perisan that superficialy resembles Turkic (I)p closely, the so-called "past participle" formed from the past stem + e, ex., räfte from räftän 'to go', kärde from kärdän 'to do, make', etc. It can be used in Literary Persian as a gerundive, as a VB^1_{sb}, to indicate anterior or logically prior activity:

(14)	vared-e	otaq	šode	goft-ø
	arriving-IZA	room	becom+PST PRT	say+PST-3SG

'Entering (Having entered) the room, he said,...' [Lazard 1957a:161] [The combination of vared and šodän means 'to enter, arrive.']

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It can even be found with the conjunction vä 'and' in a coordinate VB construction:

(15) moväffäq šod - äm (ke) be doxtär-e Estalin
successful become-PST-1SG that to daughter-IZA [NAME]

därs-i dade vä där nätije be kax - e
lesson-INDEF give+PST PRT and in result to palace-IZA

Keremlin rah peda kon - äm
Kremlin way manifest make+SBJ-1SG

'I was successful in giving some lessons to Stalin's daughter and in finding, as a result, a way into the palace of the Kremlin.' [Ibid., p. 210]

Furthermore, it combines with auxiliaries to form a number of complex verb forms, ex. räfte-äm 'I have gone' (-äm is the 1st singular person/number suffix of the copula), räfte budäm 'I had gone', xäride mišod 'it was bought, it used to be bought', etc. However, despite these similarities, there are very significant differences between the Turkic (I)p and the Persian räfte. The gerundive use of the latter belongs chiefly to the literary language; it is rarely, if ever, used in Colloquial Perisan [Lazard 1957b:162]. Moreover, the concept of anteriority seems to be an essential element in its meaning [Perry 1979:450-451]. It thus does not cover the variety of semantic relationships exhibited by the (I)p form in Turkic, cf., examples (11a) and (12c). As for the coordinate construction using räfte vä, Windfuhr claims, "it appears to be a stylistic feature of pseudo-literature to insert wrongly a vä 'and' after a subordinate participle." In addition, this usage is criticized on stylistic and linguistic grounds by native Persian intellectuals [Windfuhr

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1979:75]. In fact, Windfuhr suggests that Turkic influence could have encouraged the use of räfte constructions. But as he himself points out, they appear to be quite old and are known in early Persian [Ibid.]. And as Perry points out, the gerundive use of nonfinite verb forms is to be found in other Indo-European languages--ex., English glancing back, having said, French étant entré, Russian xod'a 'going', pročitav 'having read', etc. [Perry 1979:449]. But in these Indo-European languages, the gerundive-plus-conjunction, comparable to räfte vä, does not exist as a VB conjunction mechanism. Hence it appears that in Indo-European languages a nonfinite gerundive form can indicate a VB^1_{sb} - VB^2_{hd} relationship, but not a coordinate VB^1_{hd} - VB^2_{hd} relationship. A gerundive VB^1_{sb} - VB^2_{hd} construction type may be marginal in Indo-European, but because of the widespread reflexes of it in the present-day languages, it seems unlikely that the construction is due to influence from outside of the Indo-European family. If this is also the case for Persian, then a VB subordination system (but not continuum) could be represented as follows (here, constructions in which the Auxiliary precedes the Main Verb are disregarded):

(16)

	$VERB^1$ - Morphological Marking	$VERB^2$ - Morphological Marking
(i)	SUBORD - nonfinite	HEAD - finite
(ii)	HEAD - finite	HEAD - finite
(iii)	HEAD - nonfinite	SUBORD - finite

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[where (i) = Gerundive + Main Verb (marginal), (ii) = Main Verb + Main Verb, (iii) = Main Verb + Auxiliary]

Basically, the difference between the Turkic languages and Persian lies in the fact that VB^1 in a coordinate construction in the former is typically nonfinite, while in Persian it is finite. In Persian, a VB_{sb}, whether in VB^1 or VB^2 position, is morphologically distinct from VB_{hd}, but a VB^1_{hd} in a coordinate construction with another VB^2_{hd} is morphologically similar to that VB^2_{hd}. Thus, the difference between the verb systems in the two language groups lies not merely in the presence or absence of verb seriaization, but also in the morphological structure of coordination as opposed to subordination.

Of course, Persian has other mechanisms for indicating subordination besides the gerundive räfte form. There are equivalents to the English after going and after he went (the latter with a finite Verb) in Persian, just as the räfte form corresponds to the nonfinite having gone, going. Such constructions in Persian contain Str-I Gm's, which correspond to certain Turkic Str-F GM's distinct from the (I)p gerundive. Hence, despite a semantic similarity in some contexts, there is a definite structural difference between subordination with Str-I GM's in Persian and verb serialization in Turkic.

As might be expected of even genetically related languages, let alone unrelated languages, the tense/aspect/mood system of the two language groups under investigation here is quite distinct. Some of the differences are mentioned in (9), but a much fuller

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discussion of this system will be needed in order to highlight the differences. That is the aim of Sections 2.2. and 3.2.2.

Thus, with discernible differences between the Turkic and Iranian languages in the ordering of constituents and grammatical elements and in the verb system, there is a firm basis to expect that if syntactic borrowing has taken place between individual languages in the two groups, that influence can be demonstrated. Hence, the issue becomes, what precisely has taken place during the history of contact between the individual languages? In Chapter 2, evidence is presented that influence from a Turkic language, Uzbek, has led to considerable changes in the verb system of an Iranian language, Tajik, and in Chapter 3, evidence is presented of influence in the opposite direction as well, from Iranian to Turkic.

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CHAPTER 2

TURKIC INFLUENCE ON THE TAJIK VERB SYSTEM

2.1. Social and Historical Context

In Central Asia (a region that will be defined here as coterminous with the present-day Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, as well as Kazakstan), the indigenous population is overwhelmingly Turkic. At the present time, some 86-89% of the indigenous peoples identify themselves as belonging to one of the Turkic-speaking nationalities, the Uzbeks, Kazaks, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Tatars, Karakalpaks, Uighurs, and Bashkirs.[1] Over half of this Turkic group considers itself Uzbek in nationality. Given the preponderance of Turkic speakers, some Central Asians maintain that the indigenous population actually forms a single natural grouping, which they call the "Turkistani" people. In support of this contention, they point to the high degree of mutual intelligibility among the Turkic languages, the common elements in the population's way of life, its Islamic tradition, and the region's geographical and cultural distinctness vis-à-vis the adjacent territories of China, Siberia, European Russia, Iran, and India. But a focus on the shared characteristics tends to obscure the very real diversity that exists in Central Asia, a diversity that prevailed even before the influx of large numbers of Europeans in the last one hundred years or so. Traditional Central Asian society was characterized by profound social divisions of various sorts--between the nomadic

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and settled populations, between the political entities established by the sedentary peoples, between the Turkic speakers and the Iranian speakers, between the speakers of the major Turkic language branches represented in the region, between the numerous tribes, etc. These historical divisions are not easily glossed over by labeling the entire indigenous population "Turkistani".

One of the fundamental cleavages in the region's population is the one between the Turkic-speaking peoples and the Iranian speakers. The latter are chiefly made up of a people now called the Tajiks, although there are also a small number of speakers of other Iranian languages, Kurds, Persians, and Baluchis. At the time of the most recent census in 1979, 2,875,432 inhabitants of Central Asia identified themselves as Tajiks, or in other words, about 10-11% of the indigenous population [Vestnik statistiki, No. 11, 1980, p. 66]. Given the role of language in defining ethnic group affiliation, it would hardly seem justified to subsume the Tajiks under the common designation of Turkistani and thereby deny their existence as a distinct ethnic group. But proponents of a unified people argue that many Tajiks are bilingual, capable of speaking and understanding a Turkic language, generally Uzbek. They also point out that the "Turkification" of the Iranian-speaking population is a manifest historical process that has advanced quite far in the region. In the mid 1920's, when a delimitation of the Central Asian population into nationalities took place, some Central Asians objected to the creation of a

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separate language for the Tajiks. The newspaper Turkistan, for instance, stated in its January 2, 1924 issue:

> the desire to use that language [i.e., Tajik] means, in the first place, the striving to detach oneself from life, because life and the course of history are against it; secondly, the fact of accepting it means the acceptance not of a useful language, but of a useless and superfluous one, and therefore the Tajiks must simply switch to the Uzbek (that is, the Turkic) language immediately, and not hang on to a separate Tajik language...Their fate has already been decided by the course of social progress. [Quoted in Vakhabov 1980:89-90]

A former first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party even claimed in an important speech that "on the eve of the October Revolution our people, as is well known, were on the point of dying out, in fact the Tadzhik nation as such did not exist" [Kommunist Tadzhikistana, July 17, 1959: quoted in Central Asian Review, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1959, p. 343]. Assessments such as these, biased though they may be, suggest nonetheless that in the early part of this century it was a commonly held belief that the Tajik language was fated for extinction in the not very distant future. But this has not happened; Soviet efforts in developing a literary language for the Tajiks and in encouraging its use have succeeded in fostering a tenacious retention of the language among the Tajiks.

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As of the 1979 census, 97.8% of those claiming to be Tajiks considered Tajik as their mother tongue [Vestnik statistiki, No. 2, 1980, p. 24].

Despite the questionable conclusions drawn by proponents of a unified Turkistani people, their claims about wide-spread bilingualism among the Tajiks and a trend towards Turkification are based upon undeniably valid observations. Unfortunately, the issue of bilingualism and Turkification among the Tajiks has not yet been the subject of a thorough, systematic investigation, and it is therefore difficult to measure the extent of these phenomena with any precision. It is possible, though, to confirm the existence of wide-spread bilingualism and Turkification by various means, in particular, through census data, local field studies, and historical investigations.

Recent census data provide evidence on the degree of bilingualism among the Tajiks, but the value of the data is diminished by the incompleteness of the information available and to a certain extent by its unreliability. According to the 1979 census, 33.77% of the Tajiks living in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic claim Uzbek either as their native language or as a second language they speak fluently, while among the Tajiks living in the Tajik SSR, only 5.44% claim native or fluent knowledge of a language other than Tajik or Russian [Vestnik statistiki, No. 9, 1980, p. 61 and No. 11, 1980, p. 60]. There are, however, grounds for assuming that these figures understate the actual degree of Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism among those who claim to be Tajik in

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nationality. The main interest of the Soviet census-takers in asking about knowledge of a second language seems to be to gauge the level of Russian-language proficiency among the non-Russian peoples. Apparently, the census questionnaires used in 1979 permitted only one response to the question about second-language proficiency [Isupov, Shvartser 1984:9, 12-13, 226], and thus Tajiks may have felt it is preferable to declare Russian as a second language rather than Uzbek, even if their command of Uzbek equaled or surpassed their knowledge of Russian. Furthermore, in the published census results, figures on Tajik proficiency in Uzbek were provided only for those Tajiks living in Uzbekistan, or in other words only 20.5% of all the Tajiks in the Soviet Union [Vestnik statisiki, No. 11, 1980, p. 66]. Overall, 10.6% of the Tajiks claimed fluency in a language other than Tajik or Russian. Among those individuals professing knowledge of a language other than Russian or the language associated with their own nationality, the Tajik figure represents a rather high percentage, both in comparison to other large minorities in the Soviet Union and in comparison to the average of all the peoples of the country, which is 4.7% [Vestnik statisiki, No. 2, 1980, p. 24]. [2]

Certain ethnographic field studies of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan provide information on the local patterns of bilingualism, information which serves to supplement the quantitative data of the censuses. For instance, in an ethnographic investigation of the southern portion of Uzbekistan and the adjacent area in Tajikistan, on both sides of the Surkhandarya River, Karmïsheva describes the distribution of the

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local Tajiks and Uzbeks. At the turn of the century, the mountainous parts of the region were inhabited chiefly by Tajiks and the river valleys and low hills by seminomadic Uzbeks, but in many other places the two peoples lived side by side [Karmïsheva 1976:3]. Thus, the first investigator of one part of this region, the Hisar district, Kuznetsov wrote in 1879 that the town population there was mixed,..."the Uzbeks have so intermingled with the Tajiks that it is absolutedly impossible to draw any sort of demarcating line" [Ibid., p. 119]. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that shifts in language have taken place, even within the memory of the present-day inhabitants. One of Karmïsheva's informants from the small village of Khauz, Suvan Mukhammedov (born in 1921), told her that his family used to be Uzbek-speaking. His father still speaks with his own children in Uzbek, but with his grandchildren in Tajik [Ibid., p. 134, cf. also p.76]. There are likewise cases of language shift in the opposite direction, from Tajik to Uzbek [Ibid., p. 57, 141]. Nevertheless, sizable groups of Tajiks and Uzbeks at the turn of the century were in the stage of partial or full bilingualism, particularly among the male population [Ibid., p. 263-264]. Karmïsheva summarizes the situation as follows:

> Thus, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th in Eastern Bukhara, the settled populations of the large and small oases under cultivation were called Chagatays. A characteristic feature of them was bilingualism. Moreover, the bilingualism arose not as a

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result of the simple influence of the surrounding Uzbek population on the local Tajiks, but as a result of the merging [sliyaniye] of these two peoples; that is, not only the Tajiks, but also the Uzbeks (principally the earlier tribes) became bilingual. Depending upon the specific conditions in certain places, the complete loss of Uzbek or Tajik did occur. In the basins of the Karataghdarya, Surkhan[darya], and Sherabaddarya, where there was a large block of Uzbeks from the earlier and later tribes, bilingualism was particularly well developed in the oases and foothills, but in places there was also a transition to just Uzbek speech. To the east of the city of Karatagh, on the southern slopes of the Hisar ridge, and also further to the east and southeast, in Baljuan and Kolab, where Tajiks lived in a continuous mass in the mountains and foothills, the process of a complete conversion fo the Uzbeks to Tajik speech prevailed. [Ibid., p. 146]

Census data confirm that a high degree of bilingualism exists even today in the region which Karmïsheva investigated. In the portion of the area now located in the Uzbek SSR, Surkhandarya Oblast, some 40% of the Tajiks claim native or fluent knowledge of Uzbek, while in the portion located in Tajikistan, Kolab Oblast, 44% of the Uzbeks claim such a knowledge of Tajik [Vestnik statistiki, No. 9, 1980, p. 63; No. 11, 1980, p. 60]. Unfortunately, the data on Surkhandarya Oblast also underscores

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the unreliability of the census results in this regard. According to the 1970 census, 32.43% of the Tajiks in the oblast claimed native or fluent knowledge of Uzbek. Thus, in nine years the number of Tajiks declaring such competency rose by 7.8% or so, an increase that contrasts sharply with the overall decrease in the percentage of Tajiks claiming similar fluency in Uzbekistan as a whole (from 34.94% in 1970 to 33.77% in 1979). This discrepancy is paralleled by an extraordinary 265.77% increase in the number of Tajiks in Surkhandarya Oblast claiming native proficiency in Uzbek (from 2,688 individuals in 1970 to 9,805 in 1979) [Kollektiv 1973:202, 216; Vestnik statistiki, No. 9, 1980, p. 61, 63]. One possible explanation for this steep rise in native Uzbek-speaking Tajiks could be that some Uzbeks were reclassified as Tajiks, but such a shift in nationality would be odd for Uzbeks living in Uzbekistan. Perhaps some resettlement or minor boundary adjustment took place in the intervening nine years, but whatever the cause, it remains clear that census data must be used with great caution in any attempt to determine general trends in language use in Central Asia [cf., also the remarks in Note 2 of this chapter].

In the two traditional centers of Tajik culture Samarkand and Bukhara, bilingualism is also well attested. According to Rastorguyeva et al., the Tajik-speaking inhabitants of Bukhara all understand Uzbek and can speak it to a greater or lesser degree. Generally the older generation knows Uzbek less well than the younger generation, and among the older generations, the ones who

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have an active knowledge of Uzbek are mainly those men with trade and business contacts with Uzbeks. Older women speak Uzbek with difficulty, though they understand it well [Rastorguyeva et al., 1970:717]. But the social situation in Bukhara illustrates one essential point about ethnic designations among the traditionally settled population of Central Asia, namely their fluidity. According to one ethnographic study, the inhabitants of 193 quarters (mähällä, guzär) out of a total of 220 in the city are predominantly Tajik-speaking; yet, in a survey of 102 quarters, the inhabitants of 88 called themselves Uzbeks [Sukhareva 1966:124]. During the first census of the city in 1926, 27,823 people out of an indigenous population of 41,839 called themselves Uzbeks, while only 8,646 identified themselves as Tajiks, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority was Tajik-speaking. The ethnographer attributed this phenomenon to the belief of many Bukharans that the terms "Tajik" and "Uzbek" referred to inhabitants of Tajikianstan and Uzbekistan, respectively. (Bukhara is located in the Uzbek SSR). Furthermore, some Bukharans applied the term "Tajik" to the Shiite minority, also called "Farsis" or "Iranis". Thus in response to questions of nationality affiliation in the 1920's, some Bukharans stated, "Earlier we were Tajiks, but now we've become Uzbeks." In fact, in one family, an older brother, aged 36, considered himself a Tajik, while his younger brother, aged 26, classified himself as an Uzbek [Ibid., p. 121-123]. Although exceptional, this case of cross-nationality affiliation within a single family demonstrates

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the ease with which Bukharans can identify with either ethnic designation, given their proficiency in both languages. It also suggests that the distinction between Uzbek and Tajik is blurred in a large number of cases and that self-identification does not serve as a consistent measure of ethnicity. Some Bukharans can trace their origins to particular Turkic tribes, but having moved to the city long ago, they have become assimilated with the Tajiks there and have acquired the Tajik language [see, for instance, Sukhareva 1976:224]. Now, however, because Bukhara is a part of the Uzbek SSR and it may be perceived that a knowledge of Uzbek would assist in social advancement, such Bukharans may "return" to a preference for the Uzbek language. Whatever the future of the language development in Bukhara may be, it is clear that today most Bukharans prefer to speak Tajik in the family and in domestic and economic activities, while they switch to Uzbek chiefly for cultural and social activities, or in the presence of Uzbeks who do not know Tajik well [Rastorguyeva et al., 1970:717]. In the city of Samarkand, to the east of Bukhara, similar circumstances exist. The linguist Polivanov, writing in the 1920's, describes the linguistic situation among the "indisputable majority of the indigenous Muslim population" as an example of "societal bilingualism" as opposed to individual bilingualism [Polivanov 1928:306; cf., Polivanov 1933:11, where he speaks of "collective and "universal" bilingualism with respect to Samarkand].

In the scattered Tajik settlements of the Ferghana Valley, the level of Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism may even be higher than in

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Bukhara and Samarkand. Rastorguyeva et al., describe this level as an "overall, absolute bilingualism," as opposed to the "extensive, but not total bilingualism" in Bukhara. They state,

> All Tajiks living in Kassansay, Chust, and Rishtan know from childhood equally well two languages, Tajik and Uzbek. They easily switch from one language to another. The workers of district organizations, mostly Tajiks, speak with Tajiks and Uzbeks in their respective languages and use both languages in official correspondence. At the meetings held in collective farms and government institutions one may hear speeches made both in Tajik and Uzbek. When at home, Tajiks would speak Tajik but they use Uzbek when they have an Uzbek as a guest. There are both Tajik and Uzbek schools and not a few mixed Tajik-Uzbek families [Rastorguyeva et al., 1970:717 (in English); similar remarks can be found in Ratorguyeva 1952:10-11]

However, this pattern of language use is not the only one prevailing in the Ferghana Valley. In the course of her study of the Tajik dialect of Kasansay, Rastorguyeva had the opportunity "not infrequently to observe even cases in which, during the conversation of a Tajik woman with an Uzbek woman, each would speak in her own native language, and both would understand each other perfectly well" [Rastorguyeva 1952b:226]. It is significant that Rastorguyeva is describing the conversations of women, since,

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at least theoretically, they would be less likely to need the ability to communicate with those outside the family circle, given the social restrictions placed on women in a traditionally Muslim environment. Thus if even the women are highly proficient in a second language, that is clear evidence of a very high degree of bilingualism in the community. In other regions of the Ferghana Valley, more to the south, in Leninabad (formerly Khojand), Kanibadam, and Isfara, the level of bilingualism among the Tajiks is not quite as high. Nearly all the Tajiks there can speak Uzbek or at any rate understand it, but they switch to Uzbek only when their interlocutors include an Uzbek who does not know Tajik [Rastorguyeva 1956:10 and 1964a:13]. According to the 1979 census, 46.5% of the Tajiks in the three oblast of the Ferghana Valley incorporated into the Uzbek SSR claim to have a native or fluent knowledge of Uzbek [Vestnik statisiki, No. 9, 1980, pp. 62-64].

Based on his ethnographic and linguistic observations in Central Asia at the turn of the century, Kuznetsov maintained that the "Turkification" of the Tajiks in the Tashkent district was more striking than that in the Namangan region, a part of the Ferghana Valley that he also investigated [Kuznetsov 1915b:23]. According to him, the Tashkent district Tajiks had as good a command of Uzbek (which, in accordance with the usage of the time, he called "Sart") as they did of their own language. He claimed that even in private life, Sart tended more or less to supplant Tajik, and he predicted that in the near future these Tajiks would

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forget their own language and become absolutely assimilated with the Sarts. He cited several cases in which villages had shifted entirely to Uzbek [Kuznetsov 1912:218-219]. The social relationship, in his view, was in favor of Uzbek. Whether a Tajik man married an Uzbek woman or vice versa, Uzbek became the language of the home, and the children no longer even learned Tajik [Ibid., p. 222]. If even one Sart sat down among ten Tajiks, the conversation would switch without fail to Sart [Kuznetsov 1915b:24]. Even allowing for a certain exaggeration on Kuznetsov's part, a picture of wide-spread bilingualism among the Tajiks of the Tashkent district nonetheless emerges, a picture that is consistent with the linguistic situation in other parts of Central Asia heavily populated by Turks.

In short, the settled population of Central Asia exhibits a high degree of Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism, particularly among those whose mother tongue is Tajik, but the precise extent of this phenomenon is impossible to determine at present. While field studies and census data can provide evidence about the synchronic state of affairs in the region, and while the Central Asian language situation could be classified as one or another type of bilingualism, in accordance with some theory of language contact (assuming such a theory could be constructed), only an investigation into the historical development of the contact between Uzbek and Tajik can account for the specific features observed in Central Asia. It turns out that the history of this contact is not just a straightforward chronicle of one ethnic

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group dominating another, but rather involves distinct types of language diffusion.

Language Contact in Central Asia. Language use in Central Asia during prehistoric periods is apparently still a matter of some dispute among scholars [Gafurov, Litvinskiy 1963:127-133; Kollektiv 1962:131]. But there is much more agreement on the type of languages--"Eastern" Iranian--which were spoken by the region's population at the time of its first contact with peoples who have left behind historical records on the subject [Kollektiv 1962:47, 131; Mandel'shtam 1954:68-73]. A fundamental division of the Iranian language family into a Western and Eastern branch has been widely accepted by Iranists, even if there is disagreement over other genetic relationships among the languages of the family [Oranskiy 1979:119-121, 128-146; Livshits 1962:131-133; Henning 1958:89-92, etc.]. The geographical designation of these branches refers not to the current distribution of the modern Iranian languages, but rather to the general location of Iranian speakers at the approximate time when substantial differences between the two groups could be observed in the historical records, about the middle of the first millenium B.C. Dialects forming the basis of the Western languages were located in the western portion of the Iranian plateau, separated by the Dasht-e Kavīr and Dasht-e Lūt deserts from the Eastern Iranian dialects. In the period traditionally known as the Middle Iranian period, lasting more or less from the fall of the Achaemenids up to the Arab conquests of the mid 7th century A.D., Western Iranian was represented by

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Middle Persian and Parthian, and Eastern Iranian by Sogdian, Khorazmian, Khotan-Saka, and Bactrian. The latter languages were spoken in Central Asia and neighboring regions.

However, from the linguistic evidence it is quite clear that the major Iranian language of Central Asia today, Tajik, belongs to the Western Iranian languages and that, in fact, it resembles another Western Iranian language, Modern Persian, quite closely. Since, in all probability, Modern Persian is a continuation of the language used as a basis for the written Middle Persian language, which in turn derives from the Ancient Persian spoken in the southwestern portion of Iran, Fars province, a natural question arises, how did a Western Iranian language come to be spoken in Central Asia? Moreover, how did it supplant in large measure the Eastern Iranian languages once dominant there? In attempting to answer these questions, Iranists have apparently not been able to rely upon historical accounts of the processes involved, but have had to make conjectures about them. A history of the Tajik people published in the Soviet Union in 1964 and intended as an authoritative reference work simply state that two opinions exist among scholars of the contemporary Tajik language--that Tajik is just New Persian brought to Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan by immigrants from Persia or that Tajik arose on this same territory in the era before the Arab conquest and then spread gradually from there westward into Persia [Gafurov, Belenistskiy 1964:452]. This particular reference history of the Tajiks does not favor either of the two conflicting views, merely stating that

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the place and time of the origin of the Tajik language remain unclear [Ibid., p. 221]. Nonetheless, the former hypothesis, according to which Persian spread into Central Asia, is the one preferred by many prominent Iranists, including Soviet Iranists (see, for instance, Livshits 1962:132, 146-147 and Oranskiy 1979:82-87]. Even so, it is acknowledged by these scholars that the actual processes involved in the diffusion of New Persian, presumably gradual and prolonged, are not well understood at the present [Oranskiy 1979:83-84]. One investigator, Livshits, emphasizes a particular aspect of this process: the speakers of Eastern Iranian languages did not resettle anywhere else; rather they remained in their original locales for the most part. Furthermore, no large-scale migration of conquerors, either Arabs or Persians, took place [Livshits 1962:133]. Yet the diffusion of the Persian-Tajik language in Central Asia was so thorough that today only a few isolated Eastern Iranian speech communities are to be found. In addition, despite the many centuries since the spread of Persian into Central Asia, and despite the great distances involved, linguistic differentiation within the range of dialects is remarkably small, so much so that Oranskiy is obliged to state,

> It is scarcely possible to draw a sharp linguistic boundary between the Persian and Tajik dialects, and delineating out of this expanse the Persian dialects in present-day Iran proper from the Tajik dialects in Central Asia proper, and also from the "Afghan-Persian"

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(or "Afghan-Tajik") dialects in contemporary Afghanistan is achieved not so much by the linguistic features of these dialects, as for reasons of a social-historical and cultural-historical character--by the specific history of the speakers of these dialects, their national consciousness, the political boundaries, and the presence of independent literary languages (Persian, Tajik, and now also the Dari language in Afghanistan, respectively), around which the corresponding dialects are oriented and under the influence of which the corresponding dialects are developing. Accordingly, the issue of attributing this or that Persian-Tajik dialect to the zones where the Persian and Tajik languages are distributed can hardly receive a linguistically based resolution at the present time. [Oranskiy 1979:120]

One prominent statement of the opposing position, i.e., that the Tajik language essentially developed in Central Asia, is Bertel's 1950. He questions the validity of certain points in the above position and offers his alternative as a solution to these objections, but he does not sketch a scenario for the historical development of Tajik prior to its purported emergence in Central Asia or for its spread southward and westward into Persia. It should be borne in mind that this article appeared in a political context in which it was important to emphasize the distinctness of Tajik vis-à-vis Persian [Rakowska-Harmstone 1970:235, 242]. This point of view seems to have stemmed from a concern that too close

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an affinity with Persian would undermine the validity of the Soviet policy according to which the Tajiks constitute a separate nationality. However, the need to justify the distinctness of the Tajiks in linguistic terms seems to have waned over time, and little effort has been made recently to argue for the position of Bertel's. It should be noted that the Arab conquest of Central Asia would represent the kind of historical development that would drastically alter the linguistic composition of a region, while it would be difficult to find a historical event that would have led to a diffusion in the opposite direction.

Assuming that Persian did spread from the southwest into Central Asia and that it was given strong impetus by the Arab conquest of the region in the first part of the 8th century, the language shift from Eastern Iranian to Persian-Tajik bears the familiar characteristics of a change from a lower-status language to a higher-status one. Although Arabic was the official administrative language in Central Asia, it did not displace the local languages, as it had in other parts of the caliphate, in particular, in the Nile Valley, North Africa, Mesopotamia, and Syria. This was apparently because vast numbers of Arabic-speaking peoples did not migrate to Central Asia. Due in part to a deterioration in the links with the central Islamic lands, the New Persian language acquired a status as a rival to Arabic and turned out to be the eventual beneficiary of the Arab conquest of Central Asia. Connected with Islam, Perisan enjoyed a patently higher status than the Eastern Iranian languages, such as

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Sogdian, then spoken in Central Asia. Iranists, in describing the spread of Persian, stress that the shift took place initially in urban centers and only later in rural areas. Apparently, by the 9th-10th centuries, the main portion of the population in the largest cities of Central Asia, in particular, Samarkand and Bukhara, had shifted to Persian-Tajik. But elsewhere, such as along the upper reaches of the Zarafshan River and its tributaries, Sogdian dialects lasted throughout the Middle Ages. In fact, one Sogdian dialect has survived in the Yaghnab Valley up to the present [Oranskiy 1960:234 and 1979:85; Livshits 1962:137, 147]. Iranists also maintain that the displacement of Sogdian, Bactrian, etc., by Persian-Tajik took place via an intermediate stage of bilingualism [Oranskiy 1963a:84, 101; 1963b:461; and 1979:91]. This is a highly plausible hypothesis, since bilingualism is a virtual prerequisite for language shift, but the main point here is that the displacement of the Eastern Iranian languages by Persian was a case of urban-centered language diffusion, whereby the new language spread from urban areas into the countryside, a quite typical diffusion pattern (at least typical from a European perspective).

On the other hand, the diffusion of the Turkic languages occurred in a noticeably different manner. It is not known exactly when Turkic tribes first appeared in Central Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, but the earliest major influx of Turks seems to have taken place in the 6th century [Gafurov 1972:542-544; Oranskiy 1960:235-236]. Subsequently,

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Turkic in-migration varied in intensity depending upon outside conditions. A number of political entities headed, but not always dominated, by Turks arose on the territory of Central Asia up to the socialist revolution in 1917. Basically, the Turkic tribes coming into the region led a nomadic existence, and if they had maintained that way of life, it is likely that the contact between Tajik and Uzbek would have been less pronounced than it turned out to be. However, a certain portion of the nomads abandoned their pastoral pursuits and became assimilated into the sedentary society, which was dominated by Iranian speakers. Apparently, through sheer numbers, the settlement of the Turks led to the total extinction of the Eastern Iranian languages spoken in the territories more or less on the periphery of Central Asia, that is, Eastern Turkistan, Semirechie, and Khorazm [Oranskiy 1960:236-238 and 1963b:462-463; Gafurov 1972:545; Livshits 1962:138-141]. The Turkic languages, particularly the language now called Uzbek, also tended to displace Tajik in the more central areas of Central Asia. In the Middle Ages, Persian-Tajik was considerably more wide-spread than it is at the present time, specifically in the Ferghana region, the basin of the Chirchik River (in the Tashkent area), the valleys of the Zarafshan, Kashkadarya, and Surkhandarya, and in many other regions [Oranskiy 1960:238]. Uzbek diffusion seems to have taken place in the following manner:

> The process of the displacement of Iranian languages by Turkic ones went more rapidly in rural areas where the

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> Turkic tribes settled first, but more slowly in the towns, as a result of which urban centers and large population points often represent islands of Tajik-speaking inhabitants, around which the population in the rural areas is nearly entirely Uzbek-speaking. Such, for instance, were Bukhara, Samarkand, Leninabad, Kanibadam, Oratepa, Chust, Pap, etc., right up to the beginning of the 20th century (and to a certain extent even now). [Ibid., p. 239; Kuzentsov 1912:221 described Tajik villages as "paltry (chétifs) islands lost in the midst of the Turkic population."]

Thus the "Turkification" of the Iranian-speaking population of Central Asia could be characterized as rural-centered language diffusion, in contrast to the way in which Persian displaced Sogdian and other Eastern Iranian languages. Eventually, Uzbek speakers prevailed even in the cities, apparently because of political dominance and an overwhelming numerical advantage over Tajik speakers. Furthermore, as with the shift from Eastern Iranian to Persian, the displacement of Persian-Tajik by Uzbek took place through an intermediate stage of bilingualism [Oranskiy 1960:238 and 1979:89]. But perhaps unlike the relationship between Eastern Iranian and Persian, Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism has lasted for a considerable period of time, for several centuries. One reason for this stability may be the importance of the Tajik-speaking urban centers for the economy of the region; another reason may be the prestige of the classical Persian language as a medium of science, literature, religion, and administration.

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Both Tajik and Uzbek exhibit cross-language influence as a result of the contact between the two, but it seems that the rural-centered diffusion pattern of Uzbek has had a significant bearing upon the type of influence manifested in each language. This can be seen most clearly in the different types of influence exhibited in the lexicons of the two languages. In Uzbek, the lexical borrowings from Persian-Tajik (often from Arabic through Persian-Tajik) include terms for items of a more technical nature and for abstract concepts in philosophy, religion, science, culture, etc. But in Tajik, the lexical borrowings from Uzbek are of a more everyday nature--kinship terms, body parts, bird and animal names, domestic items, agricultural products, tools, and even pronouns and numerals. Often Uzbek terms do not replace their indigenous Tajik counterparts, but rather coexist with them [Rastorguyeva 1964a:152-154]. Although the Tajik borrowings in Uzbek may be more conspicuous, particularly to the elites who create literature and engage in language planning, the Uzbek borrowings in Coloquial Tajik are indicative of a more pervasive influence, inasmuch as the terms involved belong to the lexical "core", in some intuitive sense. Such patterns of lexical influence would be consistent with the consequences expected of a rural-centered diffusion. But it is not just in the lexical component of a grammar where differing types of cross-language influence can be observed. In the syntax of Uzbek (at least in most dialects), the influence of Tajik is rather superficial, basically confined to the introduction of Structure-Initial GM's

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for Subordinate S's (like ägär and ki), coordinating conjunctions, quantifiers, and sentential adverbs, but the Uzbek influence on Colloquial Tajik syntax is quite extensive, reaching even into the internal structure of the NP and into the verb system. It may be that a pattern of rural-centered diffusion is not a prerequisiste for such extensive syntactic influence, but at the very least it would permit the kind of lengthy and substantial contact that may be a prerequisite for a change of this magnitude. The point is that not all language contact is the same. The type of cross-language influence observed at any one time may have been conditioned by the particular historical circumstances of the language contact, and an investigation into that contact may prove fruitful in accounting for the existing type of influence.[3]

The diffusion of Turkic-speaking groups in this manner has resulted in a major division in the Tajik spoken in Central Asia, basically between those varieties that have undergone extensive influence from Uzbek and those that have not. Tajiks themselves seem to have recognized this division; in the 1920's the Iranist Andreyev recorded that Tajiks in Ferghana and the Khojand area did not consider themselves true Tajiks, even though they spoke the language; for such people, the genuine Tajik was the mountain-dweller of Mastchah and Darvaz [cited in Karmisheva 1976:147]. For the most part, Tajiks speaking dialects influenced by Uzbek inhabit scattered cities and villages of the northern and western boundaries of the Tajik linguistic area, while dialects not influenced by Uzbek very much, if at all, are spoken in the

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higher river valleys and the mountainous regions of the southern and eastern part of the linguistic area. Kuznetsov divided the language into two dialects, that of the "plains Tajiks," including the Ferghana and Tashkent areas, and that of the "mountain Tajiks," from Karategin, Darvaz, Rushan, Shughnan, etc., that is, in the upper Amudarya [Kuznetsov 1912:305; some of the dialects he regarded as Tajik are now considered Pamir languages, distinct from Tajik]. But he also recognized that there were dialect differences even among the "plains Tajiks," with Tashkent Tajik exhibiting more of a "Turkic mixture" than Bukhara-Samarkand Tajik [Ibid.]. The Iranist Andreyev also delineated two types of Colloquial Tajik, although he designated them as "Northern" (or more precisely, "Northwestern") and "Southern" ("Southeastern") [Andreyev 1945:59-62]. Melekh also included a transitional dialect group, the "Central" group for the Varzab, Hisar, and Ramit dialects [Melekh 1960].

Rastorguyeva in her classification of the Tajik dialects identifies four large dialect groups--the Northern, Central (or Upper Zarafshan), Southern, and Southeastern (Darvaz) groups, with four small transitional groups displaying some of the defining characteristics of two groups. She also specifies a number of subgroupings for each of the four major categories. For instance, she divides Northern Tajik into ten subgroups--the Samarkand-Bukharan, Judeo-Samarkand, Western Ferghana, Eastern Ferghana, Oratepa, urban Panjakent, rural Panjakent, Varzab-Hisar, Baysun, and Darband dialects [Rastorguyeva 1964a:155-162; see also

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pp. 102-114]. While Rastorguyeva's classification certainly represents a considerable refinement over the categories offered by Kuznetsov, Andreyev, and Melekh, it is less clear whether it obscures the degree of divergence among the four large groups. That is, does Northern Tajik deviate more from the other three types than they do among themselves, as is suggested by the earlier classifications? If would seem reasonable to suppose that Tajik dialects exhibiting a high degree of syntactic influence from Uzbek, which significantly changes the order of certain syntactic constituents and some key elements of the verb system, would diverge from those not exhibiting such influence more than the latter would among themselves. There is also a question about the degree of Uzbek influence among the Northern dialects; the Tashkent-area and Ferghana Valley dialects have been affected more extensively by Uzbek than the Samarkand-Burkharan dialects, and the latter more than the Varzab-Hisar dialects. While these issues would be of interest in a detailed linguistic geography of Tajik, it is important here only to bear in mind that not every dialect encompassed by the name Tajik displays Uzbek influence, or Uzbek influence to the same degree. Since the discussion here concerns Uzbek influence, only the Northern dialects of Tajik will be treated, and the terms "Colloquial Tajik" or just "Tajik" will henceforth be restricted in reference to those particular dialects, unless the context is explicitly made broader. The descriptions of Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism presented at the start of this chapter refer to the four major areas in which Northern Tajik

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is spoken--in the Tashkent area, in the Ferghana Valley, in the oases along the Zarafshan river valley (including Bukhara), and in the Surkhandarya River area. However, because material pertaining to the dialects in the Surkhandarya region has not been available, the examples cited in the following sections are drawn only from the first three regions. In addition, the differences among the dialects with regard to the degree of Uzbek influence will be overlooked, except in connection with the extent to which Complex Verb Constructions are used in the dialects (Section 2.3).

Literary Languages in Central Asia. After the Arab conquest of Central Asia in the first part of the 8th century, Arabic was officially established as the written language of administration, literature, science, and religion, and for about two centuries no other literary medium enjoyed official support. Middle Persian, associated in Iran with Zoroastrianism, was effectively wiped out as a literary language as a consequence of the Islamic movement, but its successor, Classical Persian, also called New Persian, experienced a renaissance in both Iran and central Asia during the 10th-15th centuries. In its new shape, the literary Persian language was characterized by a strong influence from Arabic. It acquired considerable prestige throughout the Islamic world as the idiom of many notable scholars, theologians, and writers. A third Central Asian literary language, Chagatay (or Central Asian Turkic, or Old Uzbek), developed under the Timurid dynasty (1405-1505) and reached its classical form with the writings of Alisher Navaiy (1441-1501). It was based on Turkic phonological

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and grammatical structures which most closely resemble those of Uzbek and Uighur among the contemporary Turkic languages, but it too was characterized by extensive cross-language influence, in this case from Classical Persian. All three of these literary languages continued to be used in the region up to the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia, although the contexts in which each was used had changed over time. Arabic remained the language of religious activities and was taught as a subject in the higher religious schools. With the establishment of a powerful Shiite state in Iran under the Safavids in the 16th century, the cultural ties between that Persian-speaking community and the Sunni one in Central Asia were disrupted, and the once-common intellectual exchanges were curtailed. According to Spuler, "there is certainly justification for seeing this as largely responsible for the subsequent marked decline of the Persian language" in Central Asia [Spuler 1970:468]. Persian was still held in high regard, and it was retained as the language of official correspondence after this period, for instance, in the second half of the 18th century in the Bukharan and Kokand Khanates [Iskandarov, Mukhtarov 1964:68]. But Chagatay continued to make inroads into domains formerly dominated by Persian, although less so in Bukhara. In the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th, in the Bukaran and Kokand Khanates literature was produced in both Persian-Tajik and Chagatay, while in Khiva only in Chagatay [Ibid., p. 115]. Kuznetsov reported that Chagatay (Sart) was increasingly being used as an official language in the early

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part of the 20th century when all of Central Asia was effectively under Russian rule [Kuznetsov 1912:222].

However close the relationship of Literary Persian and Chagatay was to the corresponding colloquial varieties at the time when they were initially developed (apart from the cross-language influence and the adopted literary conventions), it was obvious that there was considerable divergence between the literary and colloquial languages at the start of the 20th century. In the 1920's and 1930's, major efforts were made to produce modernized literary languages for the peoples in Central Asia, but there were definite disagreements over how to accomplish the task. Language planners had to determine which criteria should be applied in making crucial choices among possible orthographies, dialect bases, etc. Some planners advocated that dialects unadulterated by cross-language influence be selected as the basis for the literary language. For instance, the Samarkand newspaper Avaz-i tajik in the 1920's urged that the "purest" form among the mountain dialects be chosen for the Tajik literary language, one that had undergone neither Turkic influence, as opposed to the plains Tajik dialects, nor Arabic influence, in contrast to Modern Persian [cited in Oranskiy 1975:29]. The Uzbek linguist Fitrat maintained, with respect to a Turkic literary language for Central Asia, "Pan-Turkism is our ideal; we can demonstrate that everywhere. If we cast out the three dialects--Tatar, Turkish, and Chagatay--foreign, Arabic, Persian, and Russian words, then we will undoubtedly attain the ideal of Pan-Turkism" [quoted in

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Borovkov 1934:80; see also Allworth 1964 and Fierman 1978 on this issue]. Some language planners put a priority on creating a literary language that would facilitate access to the literary achievements of the past. That is, they wanted the modern literary languages to resemble Persian and Chagatay in orthography, lexicon, and grammar. They bolstered such a position for Literary Tajik with a political argument; the creation of such a language would enable Persian speakers outside of the Soviet Union to read material produced in Tajikistan [Asimova 1982:25-26].

As it turned out, certain decisions in language planning were made on the basis of whether they reinforced political decisions made by the new Soviet state with regard to its nationality policy. In the nationality delimitation of Central Asia in the early 1920's, the peoples of the region were for the first time organized into "nationalities". Thus, the Tajiks were delared to be a nationality distinct from the Uzbeks, and also from their linguistic relatives, the Persians of Iran [Rakowska-Harmstone 1970:234-250]. The Uzbeks were constituted as a nationality distinct from the rest of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. Membership in a particular nationality was ordinarily based upon the native language of the individual, according to the guiding principle that speakers of language X make up the members of nationality X.[4] Thus, the problem in implementing this policy became one of determining whether language/dialect X spoken by one community was distinct from language/dialect Y spoken by another

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community. Many of the nationality decisions with repect to the Central Asian peoples seem to have been made on sound linguistic grounds, but other decisions are more questionable on those same grounds. For instance, the Turks of Khorazm were classified as "Uzbek" in nationality. But the dialects spoken by the inhabitants of that oasis resemble the languages of the Oghuz and Kipchak branches of the Turkic language family much more than they resemble the rest of the Uzbek dialects (i.e., mainstream or Karluk Uzbek). In fact, in 1922, before the nationality delimitation of Central Asia, the Soviet Turkologist Samoylovich classified Oghuz Khorazmi and Kipchak Khorazmi as distinct from Karluk Uzbek [Samoylovich 1922:6, 13]. So that the decision to include the Khorazmi Turks into the Uzbek nationality could be kept consistent with the guiding principle of nationality determination, it was claimed that the Oghuz and Kipchak ethnic groups merely constituted two of the three major components of the single Uzbek nationality and that the Oghuz and Kipchak dialects made up two of the three major dialect groups within the single Uzbek language [see Polivanov 1933, especially pp. 4, 40-41, for remarks on this issue]. Then, so that the literary language could be considered representative of all the Uzbek dialects, certain features from the Khorazmi dialects were selected for incorporation into the literary language (see Section 2.2.). To this extent, Literary Uzbek exhibits "Khorazmi influence." Similarly, the use of -nin for the Genitive GM distinct from the Accusative GM -ni in Literary Uzbek results not from its presence

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in the colloquial language, since there is no formal differentiation between the Genitive and Accusative markers in the mainstream, Karluk dialects, but rather from the literary tradition [cf., Polivanov 1926:I:66]. In this sense, then, it could be said that Literary Uzbek has undergone influence from Chagatay. Of course, such deliberate borrowings are highly artificial.

In the case of Literary Tajik, one of the questions facing language planners was how many of the Turkic-influence structures found in Northern Tajik to accept into the literary language. The more such structures are included, the more the literary language would be distinct from Modern Persian. But it would also diverge from the language of the Perisan-Tajik literary classics to that same extent, something that was not considered desirable. Planners ended up responding to this dilemma by selecting only certain of the Turkic-inspired innovations. Thus, new verb forms and Complex Verb Constructions were introduced into Literary Tajik, but not the postpositions common in the Northern Tajik dialects. The traditional Persian noun-noun order in the genitive construction, that is, POSSESSED+IZAFET MARKER - POSSESSOR, was retained in Literary Tajik, even though the Turkic pattern, POSSESSOR+GM - POSSESSED+PERSONAL PRONOUN, is wide-spread among the Northern Tajik dialects, in the Upper Chirchik, Bukhara, Samarkand, Zarafshan Valley, Ferghana Valley, and Surkhandarya Valley dialects [Rastorguyeva 1964a 143-144]. Language planners were also concerned about what structures from the classical

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Persian-Tajik language should be incorporated into Literary Tajik, even if they were not found in the colloquial language. They decided, for instance, to include a specific future form with the auxiliary xastӣn (present stem: xah-), ex., xahӣm xand 'I will read', xahi xand 'you (familiar) will read', xahӣd xand 'he will read', etc. It is not just the presence or absence of this verb form that differentiates the literary language from the colloquial, but also the fact that in Northern Tajik there are no verbal constructions in which the auxiliary precedes the main verb, as in this case. Thus the syntactic rules of the two Tajik varieties are divergent as well.

To a certain extent, creative works produced in Literary Tajik have been highly accomodating towards various cross-language influences. Rastorguyeva 1964b:257 identifies three distinct "styles" in Literary Tajik: (1) the language of poetry (high style) containing lexical and grammatical archaisms; (2) prose style, in which the standard literary norms are adhered to, with a minimum of archaisms and dialect forms; and (3) the language of drama and dialogue in fiction, which is characterized by colloquial forms. From the point of view of cross-language influence, clearly, the high style would exhibit more features of Classical Persian-Tajik, while "the language of drama and dialogue" would exhibit more of the structures influenced by Uzbek. The diversity in cross-language influence as represented in the various styles of Literary Tajik could no doubt be the subject of an interesting investigation, as would the diversity of

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such influences in Literary Uzbek. But the results may turn out to be little more than a list of the borrowed structures observed in various writings and a classification of the types. To the extent that the borrowings are made on the basis of conscious decisions by writers, a study of this cross-language influence observed in Colloquial (Northern) Tajik is not arbitrary, but rather systematic. That is, the long-term interaction between the Tajik protosystem and the Uzbek donor system has led to a new, coherent grammatical system for Northern Tajik. Ideally in an investigation of this cross-language influence, it would not be necessary to deal with Literary Tajik at all (or with Literary Uzbek), but chiefly because more information is readily available on the literary languages than on the colloquial varieties, the investigation here must occasionally rely upon data pertaining to the literary languages. This circumstance also means that some of the discussion must be devoted to a determination of what grammatical features observed in the literary languages do not properly belong to the colloquial languages (this is particularly applicable to Literary and Colloquial Uzbek).

There have been other investigations of Uzbek influence on Tajik published by Western scholars--Birnbaum 1950:60-73, 158-176; Cejpek 1956:171-182; Lazard 1957:117-186; Lorenz 1964:133-139; Doerfer 1976, particularly pp. 52-63; Perry 1979:448-461. These scholars, like some of their Soviet counterparts, particularly Rastorguyeva, have been able to demonstrate that cross-language influence from Uzbek does account for certain changes that have

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taken place in Colloquial Tajik in recent centuries. However, to go a step further and determine more precisely the extent of this influence, a revision of the traditional approaches to the grammar of Tajik and, more importantly, to the grammar of Uzbek, will be required. That is the aim of the next two sections.

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2.2 The Northern Tajik verb system.

It is clear from a survey of the data on the Tajik dialects that Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system, whatever its actual extent, does not involve the borrowing of any specific Turkic grammatical marker. The only notable exception to this generalization, -miš, has not been integrated into the verb system, but for the most part is used as a derivational suffix. The marker -miš is of interest in this discussion because in modern Uzbek, whether literary or colloquial, this morpheme occurs very infrequently, in a highly restricted set of environments. It serves as a nonproductive nominalizing suffix for a few verbs, turmuš 'life', otmiš 'the past', etc. It can also result from the contraction of the rather uncommon copula form imiš with certain verb forms--a feature more pronounced in some Uzbek dialects than in others. Or finally, it can, very rarely, substitute for the marker -gän as a participial or finite verb formative [Eshandadayev 1967:63, Knonov 1960:238, 272, 276]. Yet in the Tajik dialects in which -miš is used, for example, in some dialects of the Ferghana Valley, it is a rather productive means of creating the nominal constituent of a compound verb. The stem of an Uzbek verb, either an indigenous stem or a Tajik, Arabic, or Russian root converted into an Uzbek verbal stem, is combined with -miš and the verb kädän (from kärdän) 'to do, make': quwmiš kädän 'to chase' from the Uzbek verb of the same meaning quw-; xaxlämiš kädän 'to want' from the Iranian root xax- plus the Uzbek verb formative -lä; mašinalašmiš kädän 'to be mechanized' from the

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Russian masina; etc. [Borovkov 1952:176, Eshandadayev 1967:63; for other examples see Rastorguyeva 1952e:210-212, 221 and 1961:51, 93-94]. A verb of this kind can undergo other processes; for instance, it can be causativized. The Uzbek causative suffix may occur before the -miš as in tušuntirmiš kädän 'to make understood, explain' from tušun- 'understand', or a Tajik causative suffix -an may be added to the verbal constituent, tušunmiš kunandän, or in some cases both may occur together [Eshandädäyev 1967:64]. While the function of -miš as a derivational suffix may be rather productive in certain dialects, its use as a marker in the verb system itself has also been reported. Eshandädäyev 1967:63-64 notes that it can be used to form a verbal noun, qiziqmišam 'my being interested' from the Uzbek verb qiziq- 'be interested', and equivalent to the Uzbek verbal noun qiziqišim. It can also serve as the equivalent of (i)miš in combiniation with other verbs, biräftäsmiš from räftän 'to go'. These occurrences of -miš appear to be less common than its use as a derivational suffix; they will be passed over here because they seem to be limited in distribution and represent merely a more extensive borrowing from Uzbek. But what cannot be so easily overlooked is the comparative frequency of -miš as a derivational suffix in certain Tajik dialects and its comparative scarcity in Modern Uzbek. A likely explanation for this discrepancy would be that the suffix was borrowed through another Turkic language or from an earlier stage of Uzbek. In fact, there is evidence from earlier Central Asian Turkic texts that the morpheme -miš was frequently used as a

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nominalizer. Borovkov 1952:183-184 maintains also that the marker -miš was not an infrequent borrowing as a derivational suffix in the works of Tajik writers in the 14th-15th centuries, a fact which, he claims, demonstrates that "a certain number of Uzbek borrowings penetrated into the Tajik dialects in the 11th-15th century period." The main point here is that -miš appears to have been borrowed into Tajik at some time in the rather distant past, before it had become rare in Modern Uzbek.

Since Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system does not involve the borrowing of any identifiable grammatical marker, the task of investigating that influence and determining its limits becomes a matter of establishing equivalency correspondences between the two systems and demonstrating for each feature examined whether it would have been expected to arise in the recipient language in the absence of external influence. In his classic study of cross-language influence, Weinreich speaks of the existence of "replica functions for equivalent morphemes," whereby a bilingual individual or a linguistic community in a bilingual context establishes an "interlingual equivalence of the morphemes or categories" of the two lanaguages involved and then applies that equivalence in novel environments [Weinreich 1953/1968:39]. Such a characterization assumes that equivalency correspondences are made on the basis of "morphemes" or "categories", but it is conceivable that correspondences of other types could exist between two languages. For instance, in theory at least, the paradigm of the recipient language could be modified so as to

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replicate the entire paradigm of the source language without the borrowing of a single source-language morpheme or without an absolute one-to-one correspondence between morphemes. It is also conceivable that phrase-structure rules generating certain elements of the verb system could be "borrowed". However, identifying such abstract relationships between two languages and substantiating their existence with supporting evidence is of course more difficult than finding correspondences between morphemes. A claim about such an abstract relationship is much more exposed to criticism on the grounds that the structures in the recipient language could have developed as the result of internal mechanisms, though perhaps "catalyzed" by the structures of another language.

While the identification of abstract relationships between two languages formed through "borrowing" is difficult to make in theory, the task is even more complicated in the case of the Tajik verb system because of the circumstances affecting the investigation. For instance, the confusion resulting from the existence of the normalized literary language was referred to in Section 2.1. But probably what complicates a study of Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system the most are inadequacies observed in the grammatical descriptions of the source language, Uzbek. Published studies on Colloquial Uzbek are frequently incomplete, and the traditional grammatical treatments of either Colloquial or Literary Uzbek tend to obscure the actual relationship between the Uzbek and Tajik verb systems. Such

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difficulties can occur at precisely the point at which a comparison between the two verb systems would be crucial to a demonstration of the extent of borrowing. For instance, an Uzbek verb form containing the marker -ädigan (-ydigan after vowels, with slight phonetic variations in the different dialects), generally referred to as the "future participle", can be used as a finite verb form in Colloquial Uzbek. Its use in Literary Uzbek in such a capacity is rather rare. For reasons that are unclear, published descriptions of its meaning as a finite verb form are very confusing. The major reference grammar of Literary Uzbek, Kononov 1960, designates the form as simply "Modal'nost' na -a + digan (modality in -ä + digän). No examples of the form in a sentence are presented, and the only translations are those given as glosses to the paradigm, 'ya xoču/mne nado (na)pisat'' ('I want to/have to write') [p. 280]. Sjoberg 1963:102-103 calls the form "the future tense, obligatory mode", with the gloss 'I am to come, must come' (also: 'I will be coming, want to come'). Kämal 1957:408-409, designating the term as kelläsi zäman dävam fe"li ("future continuous" or perhaps "future constant"), maintains that it functions in two different ways--to express a "constant characteristic of the subject", one not limited to any concrete period of time, or sometimes to express intention or goal. Scholarly work on the Uzbek dialects have designated the form as "future continuous" (Räjäbov 1958; Tulyäkov 1965:41; Äliyev 1974:135; Shaäbdurähmanov 1976:72), "future intentional" (Ibrahimov 1967:214), or "future suppositional (hypothetical)"

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(Ghulamov 1963:218). One Uzbek linguist who surveyed the terminology used in scholarly literature to label various Uzbek "future tense" verb forms, Ä. Hajiyev, notes that in yet another work, the form is called a "future necessitative" [Hajiyev 1968:29]. He himself maintains that the -ädigan form can express intention (goal) or necessity but that it does not specify any exact temporal relationship with the speech act. Thus he contends, it is impossible to designate this from as a future indicative [Ibid., p.30]. As will be shown in Section 2.2.3., it would be useful for the sake of demonstrating a systematic correspondence between Uzbek and Tajik to establish an equivalency relationship between this form and one in Northern Tajik, meräftägist in the 3rd person singular of the verb räftän 'to go'.[5] But the lack of consistent information in Uzbek grammatical studies weakens the case for a correspondence between these two forms.

Another example shows that even apparently categorical statements made in Uzbek grammatical studies can be belied by other data. The reference grammar Ozbek tili grammatikasi [Kollektiv 1975:427] states in a quite straightforward manner that the auxiliary ekän in Uzbek can be used with any verb form other than the gerundives in -(i)p, -ä/y, or -gäč. Nonetheless, a published collection of Uzbek folk tales transcribed with the original colloquial forms contains examples of the -(i)p gerundive with ekan in the Karshi dialect: čiǧišuwkän from čiǧišip ekän and aytuwkän from aytip ekän [Reshetov, Shaäbdurähmanov 1962:274].

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The Classical Persian Verb System. In order to establish correspondences between the Uzbek and Tajik verb systems, it would be useful to examine the protosystem of the recipient language and identify those innovations that suspiciously resemble features of the donor language. The texts of the early classical period of the (Neo-)Persian language (from the 9th to 12th century) and of the later classical period (from the 13th to 16th century) provide evidence on the proto-verb system that gave rise to the contemporary Northern Tajik system, although the ususal caveats about the linguistic features of traditional written sources reflecting actual, historical colloquial patterns apply in this case as well. The verb system of the early classical period contained the following features of relevance to the discussion here (taken from Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:150-154 and Edel'man 1975:386-390):

1. Unprefixed morphological forms:
   (a) Simple: a present-future ravaδ 'he goes/will go'; an imperative rav 'go!'; an archaic optative ravāδ 'let him go'; a simple past raft 'he went'.
   (b) Complex, i.e., with auxiliary; a perfect rafta ast, raftast, rafta bāšaδ, or rafta buvaδ 'he has gone'; a pluperfect rafta būδ 'he had left'; a future x^{w}āhaδ raft(an) 'he will go', and the passive forms.
2. Grammatical markers permitting various other grammatical distinctions to be made in the verbal paradigm:

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preverbal hamē and mē-; the prefix bi-; and the postverbal -ē(ð).

3. Three moods: an indicative, an imperative, and a relic optative.

According to Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:170-171, the increasing use of the unprefixed present-future and a form with the prefix bi- to express "various sorts of modal connotations of a nonindicative character, such as possibility, permission, assumption, desire, goal, and so on" during the later classical era prepared the bases for the emergence of a new mood, the subjunctive, in the modern-day languages of Persian, Tajik, and Afghan Dari some time after the 16th century. It might be pointed out here that the subjunctive was an established mood in Old Iranian.

Of special interest to the discussion here is the meaning of the perfect in Classical Persian. In a recent reference work on Iranian it was maintained with regard to the simple perfect,

> The perfect form is used on two planes. On the one hand, it indicates activity in the past having a result in the present; in this plane it emerges as a purely indicative temporal-aspectual form. On the other hand, it can designate unobserved, out-of-sight [zaglazniy] activity in the past which the speaker finds out about from its consequences or from someone else's remarks; in this plane one can speak of a nonindicative, hearsay modal sense of the perfect [Edel'man 1975:388].

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Another recent Soviet publication, a reference work on the (Neo-)Persian languages, provides some examples of this purported meaning. In early Classical Persian-Tajik, the perfect, in a fixed context, that is, in a sentence with the words gō-ē 'as if, apparently', magar 'really?, perhaps', zann 'opinion, assumption, suspicion', or after the verbs guftan 'say' and pandāštan 'think, suppose', could be used to express logical inference, the communication of others' words, or an inference: ex., gō-ē bar ānjā kas-ē rafta ast 'apparently someone went (has/had gone) there' [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:162]. In later Classical Persian, the perfect with the prefix mē- was used "particularly frequently" to convey the words of someone else, in what is called an "auditive" sense: pas bar īn taqrīr ma'lūm šud ki pēš az islām ši'r-i fārsī nīz mēgufta and 'thus from this account it became known that before Islam they had also composed Persian poetry' [Ibid., p. 172]. It is maintained by these scholars that later, in Tajik, this secondary function of the perfect to express an unobserved, hearsay, or inferential action became its primary function and the determining factor in the emergence of a complete, new mood in the verbal paradigm [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:178-180; Rastorguyeva, Kermiova 1964:73-75; Edel'man 1975:393, 440-442]. In none of these accounts is it acknowledged that the differentiation between the "indicative" and the modal "hearsay" function of the perfect could have arisen as the result of borrowing from the Turkic languages; the semantic change is treated as an internal development,

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although external influence is not explicitly ruled out. However, it would be ligitimate to ask whether the attribution of a "hearsay" meaning to certain instances of the perfect in classical texts is an ex post facto interpretation of the data, based on what can be observed in the dialects of Northern Tajik today. The presence in a classical text of a perfect form referring to an action which the speaker could not have observed or experience first-hand because of the linguistic or extralinguistic context would not be sufficient in itself to demonstrate that the perfect had lent that meaning to the sentence unless the perfect would not have been expected there otherwise. In the examples cited in Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:162, 172, a translation into English with the perfect, or perhaps the past perfect, would be quite acceptable, but the use of the perfect would not convey a sense of unobserved, hearsay activity directly. It should also be noted that in an earlier work, Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:73, it is stated, "the basic perfect form [i.e., the "present perfect"] was used originally to express resultativeness, and it belonged to the indicative mood system. It is only in this meaning that we meet it in the language of the classical period." The case for a "hearsay", inferential sense for the perfect in Classical Persian could be bolstered considerably if evidence of such a function could be found in a present-day Iranian dialect which could not realistically have been influenced by a Turkic language. If Tajik has in fact developed an opposition "indicative" vs. "hearsay/inferential" in the absence of Turkic influence, it would

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be an unusual historical change among the Indo-European languages worth special investigation.

Innovations in the Northern Tajik Verb System. The Soviet scholar who has conducted extensive and very valuable research on the Tajik dialects and whose work will be referred to here repeatedly, Vera Rastorguyeva, identifies 11 basic innovations that have occurred in the verb system of the dialects as compared to the protosystem of the Classical Persian-Tajik language [Rastorguyeva 1964:88-102, 107-114]. These innovations are summarized as follows:

1. A pluperfect progressive form, either full as in merӓftӓ bud 'he had been going' or contracted as in merӓftud.
2. Forms derived from the verb istadӓn 'stand', originally in combination with the past gerundive of the main verb (rӓftӓ ista-), but now usually contracted into one of numerous forms that serve as suffixes marking progressive aspect: -sad, -ast, -sas, -sa, -sӓ, -sak, -sek, -est, -is, -s, etc.
3. Forms derived from the verb xarӓftӓn (Literary Tajik xab rӓftӓn) 'lie down, sleep', also possibly contracted as a suffix, -sat, -axt, -xt. These are interchangeable with the forms in istadӓn.
4. New forms of the perfect, created by using the suffix me- and the other a marker from istadӓn/xarӓftӓn, or both.

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5. Two new forms of the subjunctive, one using the prefix me- and the other a marker from istadän/xaräftän.
6. The suppositional (hypothetical) mood, formed from participles in -gi plus a contraction of the copula, räftägist, meräftägist, räfsadägist.
7. Participles in -gi, also used as verbal nouns.
8. Future participle in -äni, räftäni.
9. The present gerundive with istadän, räftä istadä (or with xaräftän).
10. Complex verb constructions (hereafter abbreviated as CVC's), consisting of a main verb in the past gerundive and a following auxiliary.
11. Paired verbs, similar to CVC's, except that both verbs are identical in morphological form, ex., with both in the past tense, murd räft 'he died' or murd-u räft with the conjunction -u.

Not only did the shift of meaning to a hearsay, inferential sense take place in the simple perfect form (i.e., what is called in other languages the "present perfect"), but also a number of new forms were created, analogous to forms in the indicative but sharing the inferential semantic distinction with the simple perfect. A new set of forms based on the participles in -gi plus the copula, all similar in meaning, also developed in the Tajik dialects. Thus it is possible to claim, as Rastorguyeva does, that two new moods, which will be called here the "hearsay" and

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"suppositional" moods for the time being, have been created in the verb system of the Northern Tajik dialects.

By combining some of the types of innovations noted by Rastorguyeva on the basis of similarities, it seems possible to simplify her list. Since the verb forms generated by the combination of istadän/xaräftän and a main verb constitute a special case of the CVC's, it would be possible to subsume the innovations numbered (2), (3), and (9) above into number (10), which could also include (11). As mentioned above, the new forms, and meanings, of the perfect (4), constitute a new mood, like the suppositional (6); thus the apparent innovation here can be represented as the creation of new moods. The term "analogical expansion" of the verbal paradigm covers innovations (1) and some of the new forms in (5). With the new participles in (7) and (8) combined, the list of innovations now becomes:

1. The analogical expansion of the paradigm
2. CVC's
3. Two new moods
4. The participles in -gi and -äni

It will be argued in the sections below that all the changes in the Tajik verb system represented by these four types manifest the influence of Uzbek, except for the changes characterized as "analogical expansion" of the paradigm (1).

Rastorguyeva, when discussing the extent of Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system, does not make any claim comparable in

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generality to the previous sentence. In her assessment of the Uzbek influence, she points out certain similarities between Uzbek and Tajik structures and then categorizes them as to the degree to which Uzbek appears to have effected the state observed in the Tajik data. In a 1952 article, she identifies two types of changes that have taken place in the Tajik grammatical system under the influence of Uzbek:

1. "changes in the meaning and syntactic use of pre-existing forms in the direction of a functional drawing nearer [funktsional'noye sblizheniye] to the corresponding forms in Uzbek;
2. the emergence of new, missing forms analogous in meaning to those that exist in Uzbek" [Rastorguyeva 1952b:230].

As instances of the first type she cites the change of the future participle in -äni to correspond to the Uzbek form in -maxči, expressing intention or desire, and some changes in the Tajik perfect. The shift in meaning of the perfect to express logical inference, someone else's remarks, etc., was brought about by an adaptation of the form to the "meanings which are expressed in contemporary Uzbek by means of the forms in ekän and emiš" [Ibid., p. 231]. She cites the example hämi roz amädäs (from the Kasansay dialect) 'it seems, he came today' and compares it to the Uzbek bugun kelgän ekän (kel'come). She also points out that the form is used in folk tales where Uzbek ekän is also to be found, ex., budäs, nä-budäs 'once upon a time', literally '(maybe) there was,

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(maybe) there wasn't', cf., Uzbek bar ekän, yoq ekän. Her final example is the sentence päga meamädäs 'it seems, he will come tomorrow' , cf., Uzbek ertägä kelär ekän [Ibid., pp. 231-232]. As examples of the second type of change in Tajik, Rastorguyeva cites (i) the present and (ii) the past progressive forms based upon the verbs istadän/xoräftän, (iii) CVC's, and (iv) participles in -gi which have taken on the functions of Uzbek participles in -gän [Ibid., pp. 232-234].

However, irrespective of objections that some of the changes on this list of Rastorguyeva's could have taken place in the absence of external influence, her presentation of the correspondences between Tajik and Uzbek is not always very convincing. A glance at a grammar of Uzbek, for instance, would reveal that the marker used to designate the progressive throughout the Uzbek paradigm is derived from the verb yat- 'lie, lie down', not from the verb tur- 'stand'. But in the Tajik dialects, the progressive aspect marker derived from istadän is clearly dominant over the use of a xaräftän form in the same capacity. A marker derived from xaräftän can be found only in the dialects with the most pervasive influence from Uzbek. The verb tur- in combination with a main verb in the "past" gerundive can serve in the -(i)p form to designate present (or past) progressive, and such cases are cited by Rastorguyeva as the Uzbek correlates of Tajik forms in istadän [Rastorguyeva 1964:132-133]. But such forms with tur- are likewise found with otur- 'sit' and yur- 'walk, go'. Thus if Tajik were to borrow a progressive

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marker from Uzbek, would it not have been expected that that marker would have been from xaräftän and not istadän?

Another problem arises when Rastorguyeva attributes the shift in meaning of the perfect to the influence of the Uzbek auxiliary ekän (or the less common emiš). She establishes a correspondence between two Tajik "perfect" forms, räftäs and meräftäs, and two Uzbek forms combined with the auxiliary ekän, bargän ekän and barär ekän, respectively. While ekän as a copula clearly lends a hearsay, inferential meaning to an equational or existential sentence and while barär ekän corresponds very closely to meräftäs, it is not so clear that räftäs and bargän ekän correspond to one another as well. Kononov 1960:274, for example, maintains that -gän ekän "conveys the same meaning as the pluperfect, but complicated by the nuances characteristic of ekän." Another reference grammar maintains that -gän ekän can be quite similar in meaning to the past tense form in -(i)p, which in turn can be equivalent to the -gän finite form without ekän [Kollektiv 1975:431, 480]. The confusing state of grammars of the Uzbek language referred to above weakens Rastorguyeva's claim that the perfect in Tajik corresponds to -gän ekän. It should also be noted that the Tajik verb forms in -gi are linked by Ratorguyeva to the participle -gan. She compares räftägist, derived from the participle räftägi and the copula äst, the Tajik simple suppositional form, to the Uzbek bargändir. That is, according to her, the Tajik verb system has been adjusted to correspond to two

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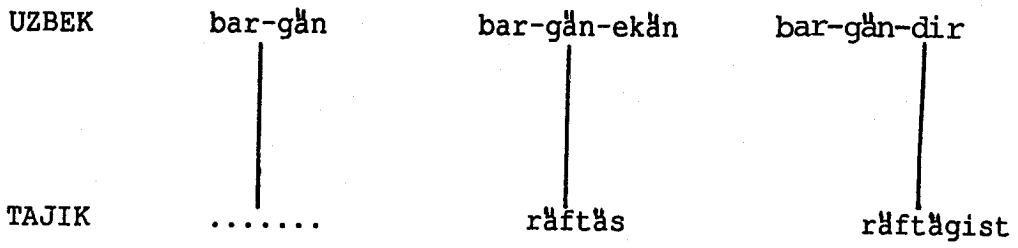
of three forms containing -gän, but not to the -gän finite verb form itself:



Yet in grammatical treatments of Uzbek, the -gän form is clearly presented as the primary one, with the two others as secondary formations. Uzbek dialect studies echo this treatment and often ignore the -gändir form altogether. The question then arises of why Tajik would develop two new moods on the basis of Uzbek forms that are considered secondary in grammars of Uzbek.

It may have been considerations such as these (as well as criticisms questioning the validity of positing external influence as a motivating factor in general) that prompted Rastorguyeva to revise her description of Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system, when she produced a synthesis of her dialect work in a 1964 monograph, Opit sravnitel'nogo izucheniya tadzhikskikh govorov. In that book she categorizes the similarities between Uzbek and Tajik verb forms as follows:

1. "Forms whose meanings took shape long ago and, before the close contact between the two languages, coincided accidentally or by virtue of some general linguistic regularities."
2. "Forms that can be considered calques from Uzbek."

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3. "Forms which cannot be considered calques" but in whose "development or sentential functioning the influence of the Uzbek language was felt to a varying degree" [Rastorguyeva 1964:137].

Under the category of "calques" or loan translations from Uzbek she includes, among verbal forms, (i) markers derived from the verb xarăftăn; (ii) markers derived from the verb istadăn, even though she acknowledges that the issue here is controversial in the light of claims that such an auxiliary could have arisen as the result of internal development; (iii) CVC's, the origin of which is also called controversial; and (iv) the past tense form of the suppositional mood, which corresponds to the Uzbek -găndir [Ibid., pp. 130-136]. Those forms influenced by Uzbek but not considered true calques are represented by the functions of the participle in -gi as a nonfinite form or as a finite form not in the suppositional mood and by the use of the future participle in -ăni [Ibid., pp.137-139]. But she does not discuss the shift of the perfect to a hearsay, inferential meaning and the subsequent information of a new, hearsay mood under any of these categories. It may have been that she could not find a convincing correspondence between the Tajik forms of the perfect and Uzbek forms. In other work in collaboration with other Iranists, Rastorguyeva has not alluded to Uzbek influence on the formation of the hearsay mood in Tajik, although, to be sure, this may stem from a general tendency in these articles to avoid any mention of Uzbek influence whatsoever [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964; Yefimov,

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Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982]. It seems as if it has been decided that the hearsay mood in Northern Tajik based on the old perfect form has developed without a decisive influence from Uzbek.

The dramatic changes in the Tajik verb system, the resulting, unmistakable similarity between the Tajik and Uzbek verb systems, and the pervasive influence of Uzbek elsewhere in the grammar of Northern Tajik all argue persuasively for an explanation of the Tajik data as resulting from the influence of Uzbek. But the most systematic attempt to describe the extent of Uzbek influence, Rastorguyeva 1964, does not satisfactorily address a number of problems. It may be unjustified to attribute this failure to account for Uzbek influence merely to a subjective reluctance on the part of some Iranists to acknowledge the extent of Uzbek influence. It appears that a very serious obstacle to the investigation of this influence has been the traditional grammatical treatment of the source language Uzbek; simply stated, the Uzbek verb system, according to this treatment, does not look like the present-day Tajik verb system. In Uzbek grammars, for instance, there is no hearsay/inferential or suppositional mood. It will be argued here that once some of the shortcomings in the treatment of the Uzbek dialect data are overcome, a definite pattern of borrowing will emerge. It will be claimed that, aside from the subjunctive and the imperative/optative forms, the Tajik verb system has been modified so as to replicate nearly the entire Uzbek verb system. In effect, the Tajik "folk grammarians", that is, the generations of bilingual Tajiks who interpreted the Uzbek

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data within the framework of their own native language, perceived the morphological and semantic structure of the Uzbek verb system differently from the scholars who wrote grammatical descriptions of that verb system.

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2.2.1. Simplex Verb Forms

Details of the Northern Tajik Verb Paradigm. Rastorguyeva 1964:107-114 presents a summary of the specific forms that she classifies as members of the Northern Tajik verb paradigm. As is the practice of Soviet Turkologists, she treats Complex Verb Constructions separately from the rest of the verb system, a practice that will be followed here. The term "simplex" referred to in the heading of this section will be used to designate those finite verb forms that do not belong to the class of CVC's. Several of these verb forms are not "simple" since they include a contracted or full form of the copula or the verb budän 'be', but in morphological structure they differ systematically from CVC's. According to the conventions adopted in Chapter 1, simplex verbs would be those with the structure VB + GM_{vb}, where GM_{vb} could be any verbal inflectional marking, including the copula or budän. However, in keeping with the traditional treatment of the Tajik verb system, the forms of the Progressive marked by istadän/xaräftän or a suffix derived from them will be included here among the simplex verbs, subject to a later revision on their status within the verb system. The negative and the passive of the simplex verbs are generally not pertinent to the discussion here and will be overlooked except when peculiarities of Uzbek negation are reflected in Tajik.

Rastorguyeva 1964:108-109 presents a simplified "basic" paradigm that includes those verb forms common to most of the Northern Tajik dialects. Table 3 is adapted after her

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presentation; all forms cited are the 3rd singular forms of the verb rӓftӓn 'to go' (present stem: rӓv-; past stem: rӓf(t)-), and the terms are hers.

TABLE 3: Northern Tajik Simplex Verbs

I. INDICATIVE MOOD

1. Present-Future	merӓvӓd	'he goes/will go/is going'
2. Simple Past	rӓft	'he went'
3. Past Continuous/Frequentative	merӓft	'he would/used to go'
4. Pluperfect	rӓftӓ bud, rӓftud	'he had gone'
5. Present Progressive	rӓfsadӓs, rӓfsas (<rӓftӓ istadӓӓst)	'he is going'
6. Past Progressive	rӓfsadӓ bud, rӓfsadut(<rӓftӓ istadӓ bud)	'he was going'

II. AUDITIVE (Hearsay, Inferential) MOOD

1. Past	rӓftӓs (<rӓftӓӓst)	'it seems, he went/has gone'
2. Continuous (Timeless)	merӓftӓs (<merӓftӓӓst)	'it seems, he goes/has gone/will go'
3. Pluperfect	rӓftӓ budӓs, rӓftudӓs(<rӓftӓ budӓӓst)	'it seems, he he had gone'
4. Present-Past Progressive	rӓfsadӓ budӓs, rӓfsadudӓs(<rӓftӓ istadӓ budӓӓst)	'it seems, he is/was going'

III. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

1. Present-Future	rӓvӓd, rӓvӓt	
2. Past	rӓftӓ baš^{v}ӓd, rӓftaš^{v}ӓd, rӓftaš^{v}ӓt	
3. Continuous	merӓftӓ baš^{v}ӓd, merӓftaš^{v}ӓd, merӓftaš^{v}ӓt	
4. Present-Past Progressive	rӓfsadӓ baš^{v}ӓd, rӓfsadaš^{v}ӓt (<rӓfta istadӓ baš^{v}ӓd)	

IV. SUPPOSITIONAL MOOD

1. Past	rӓftӓgist	'probably, he went'
2. Present-Future	merӓftӓgist	'probably he goes/will go'
3. Present Progressive	rӓfsadӓgist (<rӓftӓ istadӓgist)	'probably he is going'

V. IMPERATIVE MOOD (present stem without the prefix bi-)

[Source: Rastorguyeva 1964:108-109]
[Rastorguyeva gives rӓftӓ istadӓ budӓӓst as the uncontracted form of the Past Progressive Indicative, but as Rast. 1952c:118 shows, this is an error.]

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It should be noted that these "basic" forms are simplified; they actually vary from dialect to dialect in phonological shape and in number. The above paradigm has been established by researchers as existing in the Bukharan, Oratepa (Ura-Tyube), Shahristan, Rishtan, Sokh, Baysun, and Darband dialects. Other dialects exhibit other forms. Samarkand Tajik, for instance, uses a "continuous pluperfect" merӓftud (<merӓftӓ bud) in the indicative, and in the auditive mood a continuous pluperfect merӓftudӓs (<merӓftӓ budӓӓst), a present progressive merӓfsadӓs (<merӓftӓ istadӓӓst), and a "continous past progressive" merӓfsadudӓs (<merӓftӓ istadӓ budӓӓst) [Rastorguyeva 1964:110]. These forms appear to be simply analogical extensions of the paradigm and not to have resulted from Uzbek influence. Another type of divergence from the "basic" forms presented in the Table, however, does result from Uzbek influence. In the Upper Chirchiq River, Kanibadam, Leninabad, Chust, and Kasansay dialects, progressive verb forms can also be marked by the verb xarӓftӓn, as well as by the verb istadӓn [Rastorguyeva 1964:111-113].

Despite the seeming comprehensiveness of Rastorguyeva's presentation, there exist certain other forms that should be included among the simplex verbs. Consistent with other treatments of the Tajik verb system, Rastorguyeva speaks of a "predicate function" for the participles in Northern Tajik--that is, the past participle rӓftӓgi, the present-future participle merӓftӓgi, the present progressive participle rӓfsadӓgi (<rӓftӓ istadӓgi), and the future participle (me)rӓftӓni [Rastorguyeva

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1964:109, 98-100]. Unfortunately, in her 1964 survey of dialect research, Rastorguyeva does not provide a thorough description of what morphological configurations these participles occur in in their function as "predicates" [Rastorguyeva 1964:97-99]. There are, however, numerous examples of their use in the dialect source material--Rastorguyeva 1952c, Borovkov 1952, Rastorguyeva 1956, Kerimova 1959, Begbudi, 1961, Rastoguyeva 1961. Although the evidence is fragmentary, it is clear that these verb forms appear in various configurations. The following general patterns for the past participle (räftägi) emerge from the available data:

POSITIVE		NEGATIVE	
1. {PRS-PRO / NOUN}	... V + ägi + Ø	5.	nä + V + ägi PRS-PRO (?optional)
2.	V + ägi PRS-PRO	6.	V + ägi ne PRS-PRO
3.	V + ägi + PRO-CL	7.	V + ägi + PRO-CL ne
4.	V + ägi häy + PRS/NUM	8.	V + ägi ne + PRN/NUM

[where PRS-PRO=personal pronoun, PRO-CL-the pronominal clitic, V + ägi is the past participial form, PRS/NUM=person/number copula suffixes, häy is a copula form as well as the existential, ne is its negative, nä is the negative morpheme usually used to negate a verb, and where the PRS/NUM and PRS-PRO can be Ø in the 3rd person.]

EXAMPLES: [where PRT=participle, here exclusively the past part.]

POSITIVE:

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(1) män ... kälan kärd-ägi + ø
I big make-PRT

'I raised (him)' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:265]

(2) kitab-i tä:rix xand-ägi män
book-IZA history read-PRT I

'I read a history book' (Asht dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:281]

(3) män hämun amd-äg-em
I that very come-PRT-1SG

'I only then arrived' (Bukharan dialect) [Kerimova 1959:134]

(4) tülkä asabä did-ägi hǎy-äm
only [NAME] see-PRT COP-1SG

'I only saw Ashaba' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:265]

NEGATIVE:

(5) ätmetkä nä-mand-ägi šuma
mark not-put-PRT you

'you haven't put a mark (down)' (Oratepa dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:162]

(6) did-ägi ne män
see-PRT NEG I

'I haven't seen (it)' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:265]

(7) did-ägi-m ne
see-PRT-1SG NEG

'I haven't seen (it)' (Asht dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:281]

(8) män did-ägi né-yäm
I see-PRT NEG-1SG

'I haven't seen (it)' (Asht dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:280]

In the samples given in the dialect material, these types do not occur with equal frequency; for instance, the types represented by (3) and (5) appear to be less common than, say, (1), (2), or (7), but no conclusive statement can be made about the frequency of

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occurrence of these forms. It should be noted that some confusion arises as the result of similarity in suffixes between the participle and the pronominal clitic (type 3) and the suppositional mood forms, which are derived from the participle. For example, according to Kerimova 1959:40, 46, 134, the 1st person singular of both verbs is räftägem in the Bukharan dialect. Despite the uncertainty about some of the details, it is worth noting in the use of the participle as a predicate that (i) the personal pronoun can occur after the verb to designate the subject, as in types (2), (6), and at least sometimes (5); (ii) a verb form can occur without person-number agreement, as in (1); and (iii) the negative can be formed in at least three distinctly different ways (types (6) and (8) might be considered variants of one another). As might be expected, these characteristics reflect Uzbek influence, a point which Rastorguyeva has acknowledged [Rastorguyeva 1952c:154, 156; Rastorguyeva 1952b:233; Rastorguyeva 1964:137-139]. Finally, it should be mentioned that the use of the only participle not containing -ägi, the future participle räftäni, as a predicate exhibits Uzbek influence as well.

In the studies on the participles as predicates, it is always noted that they can also occur in combination with the verbs budän 'be' or šudän 'become'. Precisely which tense/aspect forms of budän and šudän can combine with these participles is not clear, but from the available dialect studies, it seems that every participle can occur with the simple past form, i.e., but or bud in the 3rd singular. The past participle, räftägi, may also occur

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with the present-future subjunctive (bašäd), the past auditive (budäs), the past suppositional (budägist), and perhaps the past continuous (mebud). The present-future participle, meräftägi, seems to occur with the present-future subjunctive and the past auditive. The future participle, räftäni, seems to occur with the present-future subjunctive, as well. In the Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964 investigation of Literary Tajik, this list is supplemented somewhat, but there is little evidence that there are substantially more forms of budän/šudän permitted than are found in the colloquial language. However, it was claimed that the future participle räftäni can occur with šudän in "practically any verb form" [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:198-199]. The occurrences of these participles with budän/šudän seems to reflect the combination of participles with the verb bol- 'be, become' in Uzbek.

The Semantics of Certain Simplex Verbs. To demonstrate cross-language correspondences in the Uzbek and Tajik verb paradigms, it would not be sufficient to establish the appropriate morphological equivalences, even if the matchings were possible in every case. Since the semantic properties of the verb forms exhibit systematic correspondences, this relationship should be indicated. Although certain details in the semantics of the verb forms are not uncomplicated, the patterns involved are clear enough to permit correspondences to be made.

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the perfect in Classical Persian has undergone a shift in primary meaning from one involving

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"resultativeness" to one stressing uncertainty over the accuracy of the statement being made. Studies of the Tajik dialects and the literary language document this semantic change rather thoroughly. Perhaps one of the best descriptions of the present-day semantics of the set of verbs formed analogically from the original perfect can be found in a study of the Literary Tajik verb system, Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964:71-72, in a paragraph explaining the use of certain terminology:

> We consider it possible to apply the term "nonevident" [neochevidnoye], or "auditive", mood to the system of verb forms historically developed from the perfect but adapted in contemporary Tajik to express the specific modal sense of the nonevidentness, or the "out-of-sightness" [zaglaznost'], of the activity, or in other words, to underscore the circumstance that the speaker does not vouch for the absolute validity [dostovernost'] of the activity, inasmuch as he knows about it not from personal experience, but from the words of others or on the basis of a logical conclusion.

To highlight the distinctive nature of the auditive (hearsay, inferential) mood, they contrast it with the indicative. When using the latter, they contrast it with the indicative. When using the latter, "the speaker communicates about an event to which he was a witness, or if he did not see it himself, then he does not feel it necessary to emphasize this." However, when

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using the auditive, "the speaker stresses that the event being described by him became known to him not from personal experience, but indirectly, that is, from the words of others or on the basis of a logical conclusion, from its consequences or results" [Ibid., p. 94]. These scholars also note that in Tajik grammars produced in Tajikistan the terms nəqli and hikayəgi 'narrative' from words meaning 'story, tale' are usually used for these verb forms [Ibid., p. 74; for such a grammar see Niyazmuhəmmədov, Niyazī, Tajiyev 1956:137-139]. This usage seems to derive from the frequent occurrence of these forms in folktales and historical narratives [Rastorguyeva 1952b:231]. In dialect studies, the semantic properties of the auditive mood forms are characterized in terms similar to the above, that is, in the terms applied to the literary language [Rastorguyeva 1952c:129-134; Rastorguyeva 1956:67-74; Kerimova 1959:37-38, etc.]. Some examples of the use of the auditive verb forms:

(9) nəmək-ə kəm əndaxt- k-əm
salt-ACC little put-AUD-1SG

'it seems, I've put too little salt in' [upon tasting something] (Khishtkhana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:130]

(10) čumǝlik tag-i zəmin-əndə rəh meburəftəs , megon
ant(s) bottom-IZA ground-LOC way go+HAB+AUD they say

'they say, ants go underground' (Kanibadam dialect) [Rast. 1956:70]

(11) bud-əs Nəsriddin Əfəndi. vəy yək gav dašt-əs. vəy-ə bazar
be-AUD (NAME) he one cow have-AUD it-ACC bazaar

Giran raft-as
take - AUD

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'(Once) there was Nasriddin Efendi. He had a cow. He took it to the bazaar.' (Chust dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:130]

It should be pointed out that according to the linguistic investigations of the Tajik dialects, some auditive forms do not always have this "modal" sense. The past auditive forms do not always have this "modal" sense. The past auditive form, raftas, the original perfect form, can sometimes be used to convey "resultativeness" without any connotation that the speaker does not vouch for the validity of the action he is discussing [Rastorguyeva 1952c:129-130, Rastorguyeva 1956:67-69, Kerimova 1959:37-38]. That is, the form retains its original semantic function as a perfect in these instances. Apparently, other forms in this mood, in particular, the continous and present-past progressive, which were created analogically from the past form, cannot be used in this sense [Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964:73].

Unfortunately, the semantic properties of the verb forms in the suppositional (hypothetical) mood are much less clear from the information presented in the available studies on Tajik. These studies merely state that these forms express predpolozheniye 'supposition', an abstract noun from the verb predpolozhit' 'to suppose, assume; conjecture' [Rastorguyeva 1952c:142, Rastorguyeva 1954:559, Rastorguyeva 1956:81, Kerimova 1959:41, Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964:132]. The examples given in the investigations are generally translated into Russian by means of the sentential adverbs, or adverbial phrases, veroyatno 'probably, likely', dolzhno bit' 'probably, it should be that', or naverno 'probably,

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most likely'. But there is no attempt made to explain how this mood differs from the auditive mood semantically. Presumably, the contexts in which the verbs of this mood are used would be similar to those in which the auditive forms would also be appropriate. Some examples:

(12) čumaq-i män-ä girift-äg-en
walnut-IZA I-ACC take-SUP-3PL

'they must have taken (probably took) my walnuts' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:142]

(13) düxtär-äm äm-mar metärsid-əgist
daughter-my from-snake fear+HAB+SUP+3SG

'my daughter is probably (must be) afraid of snakes' (Khishthana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:143]

(14) äpä - t käni? -- nan pux-säd-äg-ist
older sister-your where? bread bake-PROG-SUP-3SG

'Where's your older sister?'--'She must be baking bread' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:143]

The meaning of the participial form of the verb functioning as a predicate is also not straightforward. In Rastorguyeva 1952c:152, it is stated that the past participle as a predicate "designates the result of the past activity that remains valid up to the present time or the state of the subject which arose as the result of the past activity and which exists at the present time." Other descriptions of the meaning of this form are similar (ex., Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:184). However, this characterization resembles that of the "perfect", but perhaps because the term "perfect" has traditionally in Iranian studies been applied to another morphological form, the present-day past auditive, scholars dealing with the Tajik verb system have avoided

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designating the past participle in predicate function a "perfect" form. The present-future participle (merӓftӓgi) as a predicate, at least in the more northerly dialects, is usually used to express intention or obligation. In less common cases it is also used to express a property that is customarily or persistently characteristic of a person or object [Rastorguyeva 1952c:156-157]. The predicate use of the present progressive participle (rӓfsadӓgi) by itself is, apparently, rather rare. Rastorguyeva 1952c:160 merely contends that it expresses activity being carried out at a given moment. Finally, the only participle not containing -ӓgi, the future participle (rӓftӓni), is used, at least in some dialects, to express intention [Rastorguyeva 1952c:161, Rastorguyeva 1956:94, Kerimova 1959:48, and for Literary Tajik, Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:196]. Some examples (see also sentences (1-8) above in the section "Details of the Northern Tajik Verb Paradigm" for more examples of the past participle as a predicate):

(15) Past Participle, Positive:

šuma	ӓrr-rah-i	dur	hӓlak šud-ӓ	amd-ӕgi
you	from-road-IZA	long	tired become-GER	come-PRT

'you have come all tired out from a long journey' (Kanibadam dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:89]

(16) Past Participle, Negative:

rӓis-bӓ	dad t,	man-ba	dad-ӕgi ne-0
chairman-DAT	you gave,	I-DAT	give-PRT NEG

'you gave (it/one) to the chairman, but you haven't given me (it/one)' (Khishtkhana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:157]

(17) Present-Future Participle:

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xez!	mӓn	xӓmir	mekӓrdəgiyӓm ,	ab	nӓ-bud-ӓs
get up!	I	dough	make+PRT+1SG	water	NEG-be-AUD

'get up! I intend to make dough, but it seems, there is no water' (Asht dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:157]

(18) Present Progressive Participle:

hiч	kim	ab	girif-sad-əgi-ш	ne
no	who	water	take-PROG-PRT-his	NEG

'No one has been (is) taking water (now)' (Leninabad dial.) [Rast. 1956:92]

(19) Future Participle (rare in dialects without budӓn/чudӓn):

mӓn	rӓft-ӓni
I	go-PRT

'I intend to go' (Bukharan dialect) [Kerimova 1959:48]

The view that emerges from a survey of the semantics of these participles in their predicate function is that, whatever their exact semantic properties, they do not share a common modality, with only temporal distinctions differentiating one from another. The past participle, similar to a "perfect", appears to be indicative, as, perhaps, is the present progressive participle, while the present-future and future participle seem fairly clearly non-indicative. Even the three participles containing the morphological marker -ӓgi, that is, the past, present-future, and present progressive, do not exhibit a common modality. Thus they do not appear to constitute a single mood distinct from the others in the verb paradigm. By classifying these forms as "participles in predicate function", Tajik linguists were able to avoid trying to fit them into the tense/mood format used for all other simplex verb forms in the paradigm, but his treatment raises the question of whether the participles have been presented in an ad hoc

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manner. From the numerous examples given in the dialect material of Rastorguyeva, it is obvious that the use of these "participles as predicates" is not a peripheral phenomenon, but rather that they are rather thoroughly integrated into the mechanism of VB expansion in Tajik. Perhaps, the treatment of their correlates in Uzbek (also called "participles") can shed some light on this matter.

Traditional Treatments of Uzbek Simplex Verbs. Traditionally, the paradigm of Uzbek simplex verbs has been presented in one of two ways--either in accordance with the morphological structure of the verb forms involved or in accordance with semantic criteria, in particular, mood. Under the former approach, a verb form was classified according to its use without person/number suffixes, that is, as a verbal noun or gerundive, according to the particular set of person/number suffixes added to it, or according to both of these criteria (see, for example, Wurm 1959, Polivanov 1926, Sjoberg 1963, Wurm 1945, and for the classical Central Asian literary language Chagatay, Eckmann 1966). If the borrowing of the verb system from Uzbek into Tajik had proceeded along the lines of a strict pairing of all morphemes in the verb forms, such a treatment might serve as an adequate starting point for a comparison of the two verb systems. However, the morphological structure of some Tajik verb forms, for example, the original perfect, now designated as the "past auditive", bears no recognizable relationship to the Uzbek verb forms which have served as models for the borrowing. Hence, an approach based upon

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the morphological structure of the verb forms alone would fail to provide an adequate framework for a comparison between the Uzbek and Tajik verb systems. On the other hand, a treatment based upon mood, that is, one in which a verb is classified according to a set of moods, holds more promise for such a comparison. A problem would arise, however, if the traditional treatments do not match closely, as is the case with the traditional Uzbek and Tajik paradigms. The situation is even more complicated by the fact that Rastorguyeva and other Tajik scholars have devised a "mixed" paradigm, one containing 5 moods plus a residue of verb forms linked to one another only by morphological structure (the "participles as predicates").

Traditionally, the Uzbek paradigm has been represented as having three moods--the imperative-optative, the indicative, and the conditional (see, for example, Kamäl 1957, Kononov 1960, von Gavain 1963/1982, Mirzäyev et al. 1970; Joräyeva 1965 presents a summary of proposals on the number and types of moods in Uzbek made by various Soviet scholars). But even this standard tripartite arrangement has been subject to minor variations: Kononov 1960 separates the optative from the imperative, and in von Gabain 1963/1982:151-153, forms designated elsewhere as "indicative" are simply not given a label at all. For the purposes of this discussion it would be worthwhile to outline the Literary Uzbek verbal paradigm, for which the rather comprehensive presentation in the reference grammar Kononov 1960:202-236 will do. In the following table, the 3rd person singular of the verb

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bar- 'go', usually ∅, is used, but when the 3rd singular is non-null, the suffix is put in parentheses. Table 4 includes verb forms containing edi, the simple past of the defective verb e- 'be'). All terminology used is Kononov's, but the imperative and optative have been combined here since nothing of substance in the discussion here hinges on whether the imperative and optative are separate or not. Certain archaic or isolated forms listed in Kononov are omitted.

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TABLE 4: Literary Uzbek Simplex Verbs

	TENSE/ASPECT/ MOOD MARKER
I. IMPERATIVE-OPTATIVE: bar, bar-Ӣy, bar-sin, etc.	[various]
II. CONDITIONAL MOOD:	
1. Present-Future: bar-sӢ	sӢ
2. Past: bar-sӢ edi	sӢ edi
3. Concrete Present: bar-Ӣyatgӣn bolsӢ	(Ӣ)yatgӣn bolsӢ
4. Past Perfect: bar-gӣn bolsӢ	gӣn bolsӢ
5. Conditional with ekӣn: bar-sӢ ekӣn	sӢ ekӣn
III. INDICATIVE MOOD:	
1. Present-Future: bar-Ӣ-(di)	Ӣ or y [thus:Ӣ/y]
2. Present Concrete (a): bar-yӢp-(ti)	yӢp
" (b): bar-Ӣyatir	(Ӣ)yatir
3. Present Continuous: bar-maqdӢ	maqdӢ
4. Past Categorical: bar-di	di
5. Past Perfect: bar-gӣn	gӣn
6. Past Perfect Modal Form: bar-gӣn-dir	gӣn-dir
7. Past Subjective: bar-ib-(di)	(i)b
8. Pluperfect: bar-gӣn edi	gӣn edi
9. Pre-past [Predproshedsheye]: bar-ib edi	(i)b edi
10. Indefinite Imperfect: bar-Ӣr edi	(Ӣ)r edi
11. Definite Imperfect: bar-Ӣyatgӣn edi	(Ӣ)yatgӣn edi
12. Past Continuous (a): bar-maqdӢ edi	maqdӢ edi
" (b): bar-Ӣyatir edi	(Ӣ)yatir edi
13. Future Suppositional: bar-Ӣr	(Ӣ)r
14. Future Categorical: bar-Ӣjӣk	(y)Ӣjӣk

[Source: Kononov 1960:202-236]

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In a section on word-formation (pp. 272-282), Kononov presents certain "verb forms expressing modal connotations" which by the definition here belong to the set of "simplex verbs".

IV. MODALITY WITH AUXILIARIES:

1. Forms with the auxiliary ekän: bar-gän ekän and bar-ar ekän

2. Forms with the auxiliary emiš: similar to the forms with ekän; examples include bar-ar emiš)

3. Forms with the auxiliary bol- 'be, become':
   bar-ar boldi (= bar-adigän boldi = bar-maqči boldi)
   bar-gän bol- (examples include gän boldi, bolä(di), bolär edi, bolsä)

V. MODALITY IN -maqči:

bar-maqči
bar-maqči edi [PAST]
bar-maqči boldi [PAST] and maqči bolä(di), bolib(di), bolgän edi, bolsä

VI. MODALITY IN -ä/ydigän: (-ä after consonants, -y after vowels)

bar-adigän
bar-adigän edi [PAST]
bar-adigän boldi [PAST]

Finally, in another section of his grammar (p. 413), Kononov cites three other forms belonging to the conditional:

A form of "conditional modality": bar-ar bolsä
Another form of "conditional modality" : bar-adigän bolsä
A conditional form of "subjective modality": bar-ar ekänsä

In another reference grammar of Literary Uzbek, Kollektiv 1975, a few other simplex verb forms can be found:

(i) [p. 476, 491-491] an alternative to bar-maqdä edi and bar-ayatir edi:

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12. Past Continuous (c): bar-ӓyatib edi (ӓ)yatib edi

(ii) [p. 432-436] other forms with ekӓn: bar-ӓyatgӓn ekӓn
(ӓ)yatgӓn ekӓn
bar-ӓdigӓn ekӓn ӓ/ydigӓn ekӓn
bar-maqv̆i ekӓn maqv̆i ekӓn

(iii [p.475] a concrete present for maqv̆i:
bar-maqv̆i bolyӓp(ti) maqv̆i bolyӓp

(iv) [p. 470] a present tense marker for the conditional:
bar-ӓyatsӓ (ӓ)yatsӓ

Thus with the additional forms, the conditional mood contains the following:

II. CONDITIONAL MOOD:

1.	Present-Future: bar-sӓ	sӓ
2.	Past: bar-sӓ edi	sӓ edi
3.	Concrete Present: bar-ӓyatgӓn bolsa	(ӓ)yatgӓn bolsa
4.	Past Perfect: bar-gӓn bolsӓ	gӓn bolsӓ
5.	Present: bar-ӓyatsӓ	(ӓ)yatsӓ
6.	Modal in (ӓ)r: bar-ӓr bolsӓ	(ӓ)r bolsӓ
7.	Modal in ӓdigӓn: bar-ӓdigӓn bolsӓ	ӓ/ydigӓn bolsӓ
8.	Modal in maqv̆i: bar-maqv̆i bolsӓ	maqv̆i bolsӓ
9.	Modal in ekӓn: bar-sӓ ekӓn	sӓ ekӓn
10.	Subjective: bar-ӓr ekӓnsӓ	(ӓ)r ekӓnsӓ

In other sources it is posible to find even more simplex forms, ex., bar-maqv̆i bolӓr edi [Hajiyev 1966:27].

However, the main concern of this investigation is not the verb system of the contemporary literary language used in present-day publications in Uzbekistan, but the system of the colloquial language, which has provided the model for borrowing into Tajik. Unfortunately, none of the available studies of the Uzbek dialects is as thorough as the reference grammars on Literary Uzbek. In addition, dialect studies differ in another respect from the Literary Uzbek paradigm outlined above: they

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exclude those forms adopted into the literary language as the result of deliberate language planning. To identify those forms missing from the colloquial language, it will be necessary to compare the paradigm of Literary Uzbek to those of various Uzbek dialects, as in the following table. To simplify the presentation, certain phonetic variations and the imperative-optative forms have been omitted. The order of the dialects from left to right reflects, in a rough manner, the geographical location of the dialects from west to east, with the first dialect listed, Bukhara, being the furthest to the west. It appears that these dialects are representative of those which bilingual Tajiks would have been exposed to over the centuries of contact.

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TABLE 5: Colloquial Uzbek Simplex Verbs

	LITERARY UZBEK	BUKHARA	KARNAB	SHAHRISABZ	TASHKENT CITY
II	1. sЫ	sЫ	sЫ	sЫ	sЫ
	2. sЫ edi	sЫ edi	sЫ edi	sЫyde	sЫy(i)di
	3. (Ы)yatgЫn bolsЫ			atkЫn bosЫ	
	4. gЫn bolsЫ			gЫm bosЫ	gЫn bosЫ
	5. (Ы)yatsЫ			assЫ	wassЫ
	6. (Ы)r bolsЫ				
	7. Ыdigin bolsЫ			(Ы)ytigan bosЫ	
	8. maqči bolsЫ				
	9. sЫ ekЫn	sЫ ekЫn			sЫyЫkЫn
	10. (Ы)r ekЫnsЫ				
III	1. Ы/y	Ы/y	iy/Ы/y/a	Ы/y	Ы/y
	2.a. yЫp	(y)ap	wat/wati(p)	(y)ap/(y)a:tup	wat
	b. (Ы)yatir				[not used]
	3. maqdЫ			[missing]	[not used]
	4. di	di	di	de	di
	5. gЫn	gЫn	gЫn	gЫn	gЫn
	6. gЫndir			gЫndo	gЫndur
	7. (i)b	(i)b	(i)b/p	(i)p	
	8. gЫn edi		gЫndi	gЫnde	gЫnidi
	9. (i)b edi	(i)bedi/(u)wdi	(i)bidi/(u)wdi	(u)wde	(u)wdi
	10. (Ы)r edi	(Ы)r(e)di	(i)ydi	[(Ы)yčiyde]	(Ы)ridi/Ы:di
	11. (Ы)yatgЫn edi		watkЫndi	atkЫn(i)de	
	12.a. maqdЫ edi	[not characteristic]		[missing]	
	b. (Ы)yatir edi				
	c. (Ы)yatib edi			atuwde/atiyde	
	13. (Ы)r	(Ы)r	(Ы)r	(Ы)r	(Ы)r
	14. (y)äjäk		[rare]	[missing]	
IV	1. gЫn ekЫn	gЫn ЫkЫn/ekЫn		gЫn ЫkЫn	gЫn ЫkЫn
	(Ы)yatgЫn ekЫn		atkЫn ЫkЫn		
	(Ы)r ekЫn		(Ы)ykЫn	(Ы)ykЫn	(Ы)rЫkЫn
	3. (Ы)r boldi				
	gЫn bol-				
V	1. maqči	maqči			maxči
	2. maqči edi	maqči edi		maxčiydi	maxčiyidi
	3. maqči bol-			maxči bol-	
	4. maqči ekЫn				
VI	1. ЫdigЫn		ЫtigЫn		Ыdigan
	2. ЫdigЫn edi				
	3. ЫdigЫn bol-			(Ы)ytigЫn bolle	
	4. ЫdigЫn ekЫn				

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TABLE 5: Colloquial Uzbek Simplex Verbs (2)

	TASHKENT OBLAST	NAMANGAN	KOKAND	ANDIJAN	CITATION FORM
II 1.	sʉ	sʉ	sʉ	sʉ	sʉ
2.		sʉ edi		seydi	sʉydi
3.					(y)atkʉn bolsʉ
4.			gʉn bosʉ	gʉm bosʉ	gʉn bolsʉ
5.					(y)atsʉ
6.					?[(ʉ)r bolsʉ]
7.			ʉdigʉn bosʉ		ʉdigʉn bolsʉ
8.					?[maxči bolsʉ]
9.				sʉyʉkʉn	sʉyʉkʉn
10.					?[(ʉ)r ʉkʉnsʉ]
III 1.	ʉ/y	ʉ/y	ʉ/y	ʉ/y	ʉ/y
2.	yʉp/wat/etc.	ʉt(ti)	yʉp	yʉp	yʉp
3.					-----
4.				maxtʉ	-----
5.	di	di	di	di	di
6.	gʉn	gʉ̃:	gʉn	gʉn	gʉn
7.		gʉndur			gʉndur
8.	(i)p	(i)p	(i)p	(i)p	(i)p
9.	gʉnidi	gen(i)di	gʉnidi	gʉnidi	gʉn(i)di
10.	(u)wdi	ʉ:dʉ/w(i)di	(u)wdi	(u)wdi	(u)wdi
11.	(ʉ)rdi	eddi	(ʉ)rdi	(ʉ)ridi/(ʉ:)tti	(ʉ)r(i)di
	watkʉnidi	ʉtkʉn(i)di	yʉkkʉnidi	{yʉpkʉn(i)di / yʉtkʉn(i)di}	(y)atkʉn(i)di
12.a.					----
b.					----
c.	watuwdi				(y)atuwdi
13.	(ʉ)r	(ʉ)r	(ʉ)r	(ʉ)r	(ʉ)r
14.					----
IV 1.	gʉn ʉkʉn	gʉn ʉkʉ̃:	gʉn ʉkʉn		gʉn ʉkʉn
	watkʉn ʉkʉn				(y)atkʉn ʉkʉn
	(ʉ)r ʉkʉn	(ʉ)rmuš	(ʉ)r ʉkʉn		(ʉ)r ʉkʉn
3.					?[(ʉ)r boldi]
					?[gʉn bol-]
V 1.	maxči	maxči	mʉxči	maxči	maxči
2.		*maqčiydi			maxčiydi
3.		*maqči boldi	maxči bol-		maxči bol-
4.					?[maxči ʉkʉn]
VI 1.	ʉdigan	edigã:	ʉdigan	ʉdağan/ʉdigan	ʉdigan
2.				ʉdağanidi	ʉdiganidi
3.				ʉdağan boldi	ʉdigan bol-
4.				ʉdağan ʉkʉn	ʉdigan ʉkʉn

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[Continuation of Table 5]:

Sources: Mirzäyev 1965, Mirzäyev 1969, Räjäbov 1958, Joräyev 1964, Ghulamov 1963, Ghulamov 1986, Shaäburähmanov 1976, Tulyäkov 1965, Reshetov 1953, Äliyev 1974, Ibrahimov 1967, Nasirov 1980. Forms marked with an asterisk (*) are from field notes.

Notes: The 3rd person suffix -di/ti has been omitted throughout the table. Forms with the auxiliary imiš have also been omitted, unless only that form, and not its corresponding item with äkän, was cited. The remarks in brackets [missing], etc., indicate the comments made by the investigator about the absence of certain forms in the dialect under study. Many of the less frequent forms were presented only in footnotes or examples, and thus some extrapolation from the material had to be made. It is quite possible that more thorough research would alter the above table in actual detail, but it does not appear that a systematic revision of the data would be necessary.

Bukaran dialect: Mirzäyev 1965:36 states that the conditional occurs with edi and ekän, but he provides examples only for the former. A negative form bil-mäs emiš was presented in Mirzäyev 1969, which indicates that an (ä)r ekän form exists in the dialect.

Karnab dialect: The past conditional may occur regularly in contracted form, but the only example available gives no indication of what phonological shape that contraction would take.

Shahrisabz dialect: The odd form (ä)yčiydi is specifically identified in Joräyev 1964:157 as a substitute for the common

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Uzbek (ä)r(i)di. The marker maxči was reported in Joräyev 1964:165 to be used widely, but no examples were given of its use without an auxiliary. It was cited in combination with bol-atuwde and bol-ä. A negative form for (ä)r boldi was given, gäpir-mäs bolle[<boldi], which indicates that this type of verb can be found in the dialect (p. 170). The conditionals atkän bosä and gäm bosä [<gän bolsä] were cited in construction with kerak, a structure not treated here, but it appears likely that the two conditionals can occur elsewhere.

Tashkent Oblast dialects [this column represents a selection of the dialects found in the oblast; the data is from Shaabdurahmanov 1976]: The present concrete (2.a.) varies considerably among these dialects, but this variation is not significant here.

Kokand dialect: The forms maxči bol- and ädigan bol- were given in examples as maxčiboluwdi and ädigan boluwdi.

. . . . . .

From this point on, a verb form will be given in its colloquial "citation form", as in the last column, unless a specific reference is being made to the version of the form belonging to the literary language. Some arbitrary choices were made in the determination of citation forms.

From an examination of the above table and from the remarks of Uzbek linguists, it is possible to distinguish a certain number

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of verb forms that were artificially introduced into Literary Uzbek:

yatir	yatir edi
maqdä	maqdä edi
(y)äjäk	

The suffixes yatir, maqdä, and (y)äjäk were introduced in the 1920's when extensive language-planning efforts were made to develop what was intended to be a modern, standardized literary language [Kononov 1960:230, Shukurov 1965a:63-64, Hajiyev 1968:30, Äbdullayev 1965:47]. The suffixes yatir and (y)äjäk occur in the Oghuz dialect spoken in the oasis of Khorazm, Oghuz Khorazmi, which was incorporated into the Uzbek national language, but which, strictly in terms of linguistic structure, is much closer to Turkmen than to standard Colloquial Uzbek. The marker maqdä, found in some Oghuz languages like Modern Turkish, is apparently used in some dialects of Uzbek [Hajiyev 1958:75]; Ibrahimov 1967:199 state that it is used in the Andijan dialect (cf., the table), and Äliyev 1974:128 that it is found "very rarely" in the Uychi, Karkidan, and Almas dialects of Namangan Oblast, but it is not absolutely certain that these occurrences have not resulted from borrowing from the literary language. According to one Uzbek linguist, the notion that its use in the classical literary language stemmed from borrowing from other Turkic languages is closer to the truth than the notion that it derived from Colloquial Uzbek [Shukurov 1965b:99 and 1966:47-48]. In any case, it is clear that maqdä is not a standard verb form for most Uzbek

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dialects. It, like the yatir and (y)ägäk forms, will not be considered here as belonging to the Colloquial Uzbek verb paradigm.

However, because Uzbek dialect studies are not comprehensive and contain many gaps in the presentation of the verb paradigm, it is much less easy to determine what infrequently occurring forms are to be found in the colloquial language. An examination of a few folk tales not written in the literary language in a textbook on Uzbek dialectology, Reshetov and Shaabdurahmanov 1962, provides some verb forms inadvertently omitted from the dialect studies. For instance, the following items were found in two folk tales in the Tashkent dialect and could be added to the column labelled Tashkent City in Table 5.

MARKER		
II.3.	kel-watkän bosäŋ [p. 253]	(y)atkän bolsä
III.7.	[many, many items in (i)p]	(i)p
IV.1.	ket-watkän äkän [p. 256]	(y)atkän äkän
V.3.	a-maqčᵛi [=al-maqčᵛi] bol-a-dilä [p. 258]	maxčᵛi bol-
V.3.	a-maqčᵛi bo-gänidä [p.258]	maxčᵛi bol-
V.3.	ket-ma:čᵛi bo-p [=bol-ip] turiškändä [p. 258]	maxčᵛi bol-
VI.3.	kel-ädigän bo-pti [=bol-ipti] [p.259]	ädigan bol-

[In examples amaqčᵛi bogänidä and ketma:čᵛi bop turiškändä, the gän/kän morpheme marks a verbal noun]

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In addition, the forms ket-ӓyӓssӓ [p.265] and ket-assӓ [p.268] confirm the existence of a (y)atsӓ conditional form in the Andijan and Namangan dialect, respectively. But even with these additional examples, there remain several forms whose status is unclear:

(ӓ)r bolsӓ	gӓn bol-	maxči bolsӓ
(ӓ)r ӓkӓnsӓ		maxči ӓkӓn
(ӓ)r boldi		

Some observations on these forms:

(ӓ)r bolsӓ: This form is regarded as ancient and is retained in most Turkic languages only in a rudimentary way [Yuldashev 1965:243]. In meaning it coincides with the conditional form sӓ.

(ӓ)r boldi: Jorӓyev 1964:170 state that this form in the Shahrisabz dialect has be "pushed aside" by the use of ӓdigan in a similar function, although the negative is used "often" to express negative intention, ket-mӓs bolle [ket- 'go, leave'] 'he decided not to go' and gӓpir-mӓs bolle [gӓpir- 'speak'] 'he stopped speaking (with me)'. In Yuldashev 1965:202, it is noted that the distribution of this negative form among the Turkic language is rather wide-spread.

maxči bolsӓ: The textbook on Uzbek dialectology mentioned above, Reshetov and Shaӓbdurӓhmanov 1962:262, provides an example of this form, uylӓn-maxči bolsӓ, for the Jizzakh dialect, which is not an atypical dialect; it can be therefore supposed that this

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conditional form is not an artificial creation of language planners or writers. Yuldashev 1965:219 also cites an analogous form for Bashkir, maqsï bulha, which suggests that it is not exceptional among the Turkic languages.

gän bol-: In a folk tale in the Jizzakh dialect in which the narrative is mainly in the present-future tense, several examples of this form can be found: čiq-gän bol-ä-di, bop [<bolip] qa-gän [<qal-gän] bol-ä-di [Reshetov and Shaäbdurähmanov 1962:262], and qa-gän bol-ä-di [p. 263].[6] Yuldashev 1965:199-201 notes that the use of bol- as an auxiliary belongs not only to the Turkic languages but also to Mongolian and that the construction therefore appears to be of Pre-Turkic origin. It would have been significant to the discussion here to be able to examine the extent of the use of gän bol- in Colloquial Uzbek, since a correlate in Tajik, the past participle with budän/šudän, is treated thoroughly in Tajik linguistic investigations. A reference grammar on the literary version of the closest language to Uzbek, Uighur, cites such forms as (ä)r bolsä (ä)r boldi, gän bol- [Kollektiv 1966:194-195].

However, nothing can be stated here about the possible use of (ä)r äkänsä or maxči äkän in Colloquial Uzbek. Subject to refinements based upon further research, it will be assumed here that all of the verb forms listed in the last column of Table 5, with the exception of (ä)r äkänsä and maxči äkän, are actually occurring forms in Colloquial Uzbek.

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Perhaps the most significant point to be made here is that whatever verb forms properly belong to Colloquial Uzbek, the above paradigm of simplex verb does not resemble the Tajik one as presented by Tajik linguists. In essence, the Uzbek paradigm consists of three moods--the imperative-optative, conditional, and indicative--with a residue of forms containing ӓkӓn, maxči, ӓdigan, etc. The Tajik paradigm consists of five moods--the indicative, auditive, subjunctive, suppositional, and imperative--with a residue of four "participles used as predicates". Some modifications of the Uzbek paradigm have been suggested that might bring the two paradigms more closely in line with one another; for instance, one Uzbek scholar has proposed that the forms containing maxči be considered as constituting an an "intentional mood" [Hajiyev 1966:29]. This proposal was accepted in the collective reference grammar of Literary Uzbek produced in 1975-1976, although it must be admitted that Hajiyev himself wrote the section on the Verb in which the system of moods was set forth. This work also claimed that the form (ӓ)r edi, which can often be translated into English by means of the auxiliary 'would' (in the sense of 'used to' or in the apodosis of conditional sentences), makes up another mood. But the forms in maxči correspond to the Tajik future participle rӓftӓni and the (ӓ)r(i)di form to the Tajik merӓft, a circumstance that has a minimal effect on demonstrating the systematic similarities between the two paradigms. Only a more fundamental revision of the traditional paradigms would serve to show these similarities

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and thereby reveal the extent of borrowing from Uzbek into Tajik within the verb system.

An Alternative to the Traditional Treatment of Uzbek Simplex Verbs. The traditional treatments of the Uzbek verb system sketched above do not differ significantly from the usual approaches to the verb systems of other Turkic languages. Thus, for instance, in an effort to achieve a certain degree of uniformity in presentation, the contributors to the "Gundriss" of the Turkic languages, the Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta (1959), treated simplex verb forms according to their morphological structure. In most Soviet studies of the Turkic languages, the verb system is divided into moods similar to those selected for Uzbek, but with some adjustments, for example, with the addition of moods such as a necessitative. However, occasionally Turkologists have made observations that suggest more substantive changes in the traditional treatment of simplex verb forms in the Turkic languages. Thus, the well-known Turkologist Baskakov has several times maintained that the basic temporal distinction in the Turkic verb system, irrespective of mood (other than the imperative-optative), is between the present, present-future, and future on the one hand and the past on the other [Baskakov 1968a:13, Baskakov 1971, Baskakov 1979:32, 36]. At a conference devoted to the issue of tense and mood in Turkic, he urged investigators to seek those modal, tense, and aspectual distinctions particular to the Turkic languages and not be bound by the conventions established for Russian or any other

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Indo-European language, since "the systems of the modal and temporal categories in the Turkic languages and in Russian are completely different" [Baskakov 1968B:218]. Although when speaking of the special characteristics of the Turkic verb system, he seemed to have other considerations in mind, his advice appears to be applicable to his own observations on tense in the Turkic languages. That is, it might prove fruitful to regard the basic tense distinctions in Turkic (with the possible exception of the Oghuz languages) not as past-present-future, or perhaps pluperfect-past-perfect-present-future, as is possible to do in Indo-European languages, but rather past-nonpost. The opposition [+PAST] and [-PAST] would therefore be considered the primary one in temporal reference, and certain other temporal relationships, such as the "presentness" of the Uzbek bar-yäp-(ti), would be regarded as derivative from the aspectual properties of the form. However, such an approach has not been pursued in Soviet Turkology, even in the work of Prof. Baskakov himself, and grammars continue to be written in which differentiations in primary temporal reference are made on the basis of the past-present-future distinction.

Differentiating between past and nonpast also permits a novel interpretation of the perfect and pluperfect in the Turkic verb system, represented here by bar-gän and bar-gän(i)di in Uzbek. Traditionally, the perfect has been classed as a past tense form; note, for instance, the use of the term "past perfect" in Kononov 1960 cited in the table on Literary Uzbek Simplex Verbs above.

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There has been, however, some unease over this terminology in Turkology, as is indicated by the remarks in Ivanov 1958 concerning the preservation of a state of affairs up to the time of the speech event inherent in the meaning of the gän form. For instance, the perfect can refer to a change of state that results in a present condition, as in the perfect ağri-gän from ağri- 'be ill, hurt [intransitive]' which means 'he fell ill and is (now) ailing', and sev-gän-män 'I fell in love and am (now) in love' from sev- 'love' [Ibid., p. 129]. Compare also the traditional designations for analogous verb forms in English "present perfect" and "past perfect" (i.e., pluperfect), though such a comparison should not be taken to suggest that the use of the perfect in Uzbek and English is identical. It clearly is not, even though Uzbek perfects can often be translated by English perfects.[7] In short, bar-gän and bar-gän(i)di can be regarded as adhering to the past-nonpast distinction as well and can be specified as [-PAST, +PERFECT] and [+PAST, +PERFECT], respectively.[8]

Of obvious relevance to the discussion here are alternative proposals to the set of moods traditionally ascribed to the verb systems of the Turkic languages, and there have been several such proposals in the Turkological literature. A study on the moods of Yakut, for instance, lists 10 moods in the language--the indicative, imperative, conditional, affirmative, necessitative, habitual, potential, incomplete (unrealized), subjunctive, and suppositional [Korkina 1970]. Another Turkologist, S. Jäfärov, has suggested linking moods to the morphological structure of the

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verb forms in Azerbaijani. Thus the verb system can be divided into the imperative, the indicative (verbs without any auxiliary), the narrative (verbs containing the auxiliary idi, comparable to the Uzbek idi), the "retelling" mood (pereskazatel'noye) (verbs containing the auxiliary imiš, comparable to the Uzbek ükän/imiš), and finally the conditional mood (verbs containing the auxiliary isä, similar to the Uzbek bolsä) (Jäfärov 1968). While this treatment is of interest since forms with imiš are given separate status and since, in fact, verb forms containing the same auxiliary exhibit similar semantic properties, it leads to some odd consequences, such as the fact that certain basic forms, like the sä conditional, belong to the "indicative" mood, and not to the mood containing the corresponding auxiliary, in this case the "conditional" mood. In some Turkological investigations, the verb form in (ä)r(i)di in its use in conditional sentences (translated by 'would' or 'would have' in English) is regarded as belonging to a separate mood, usually called the subjunctive (Borovkov 1959:709, Koklyanova 1963:95 for Uzbek, and Yuldashev 1965:128, 251 for various Turkic languages). In a reference grammar of Uighur, a suppositional mood was established for the verb forms ending in (ä)r and ɣandu (the latter comparable to Uzbek gändur), and an intentional mood for the verb form containing maqči/mäkči (Kollektiv 1966:220-221). Finally, for Uzbek itself, one investigator, stressing the fact that the verb ending in (ä)r has the "basic" meaning of

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suppositional or possible activity and that it frequently occurs with sentimental adverbs bälki 'maybe', ehtimal 'maybe, probably', maintains that it does not properly belong in the indicative mood and that it constitutes a special suppositional mood [Koklyanova 1963:10-13, 60, 63]. In another investigation, one concerned with the stylistics of the Uzbek verb, it is stated that predicates containing the markers (ä)r and dur (among some other expressions) form a suppositional mood in Uzbek [Sadiqova 1975:21]. However, none of these alternative proposals on verbal moods in Turkic, with the exception of the proposed establishment of a separate intentional mood for maxči forms, has won general acceptance among Turkologists, or among scholars of Uzbek in particular (see, for example, a recent comprehensive overview of the verb in the Turkic languages, Shcherbak 1981:41-96, especially p. 43 and 67).

Most of these alternative proposals concern only isolated forms--the (ä)r(i)di form in the sense of 'would' constituting a full subjunctive "mood", maxči as marking an intentional mood, and (ä)r (and occasionally the rather rare form gändur) as constituting a suppositional. They are relegated to the status of a separate mood on the basis of the fact that their semantics appears to be incompatible with the semantics of the generally accepted indicative forms. Only Jafarov identifies, in the case of Azerbaijani, a whole set of forms, those belonging to the "retelling" mood (or perhaps "quotative"), as distinct from the

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set of forms making up the indicative. But as mentioned above, he defines the set on the basis of the type of auxiliary used and not the common semantic properties involved. Yet it appears that the auditive/inferential/hearsay/suppositional distinction observed in the Turkic verb system does not pertain just to isolated forms, but rather that it holds throughout the paradigm. Thus, as one Turkologist, Nasilov, has observed, a "modal type of opposition" holds among the tensed forms of the verb within the indicative mood itself.

> It is sufficient to take the tense systems in almost any Turkic language to see that there exists a difference there between forms on a modal plane too: the definite past and the nonevident past, the objective past and the subjective past, the definite, categorical future and the indefinite, suppositional future [Nasilov 1966:101]

In addition, it can readily be seen that the auxiliaries äkän and/or imiš combine with a number of verb forms to yield a full set of verbs with a similar modal meaning in the Turkic languages. But despite such observations, despite the awareness of the "suppositional" nature of the (ä)r form in Uzbek, and despite the perception that the past-nonpast distinction runs all through the Turkic paradigm, there has not been an explicit attempt to correlate (ä)r with a past tense form or with the verb forms containing äkän/imiš in the available investigations of

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Uzbek (or any other similar Turkic language). Yet the semantic characteristics generally attributed to the "subjective past", the form in (i)p, seem to qualify it as the past tense correlate of the nonpast (ä)r. In fact, (i)p seems to correspond with (ä)r in a past-nonpast pair just as di does with ä/y. It has been noticed that the (ä)r form does not differ from the ä/y one in demonstrating the relationship of the activity to the speech event, i.e., in temporal reference [Hajiyev 1968:30, Kollektiv 1975:501]. In addition, it has been maintained that (i)p "comes close" in some cases to the meaning of the form in di [Kollektiv 1975:481 for Literary Uzbek, Shaabdurahmanov 1976:61 for colloquial speech]. Furthermore, a linguist who devised a set of features to demonstrate the semantic distinctions between the past tense forms di, (i)b, and gän came up with the following specifications:

	[PERFECTNESS]	[DIRECT OBSERVATION]
di	-	+
(i)b	-	-
gän	+	+/(-)

[Zikriläyev 1977:31]

This table suggests more than just the fact that di and (i)p differ from one another in accordance with different feature values for [DIRECT OBSERVATION] and that they are similar to one another in contrast to the [+PERFECTNESS] of gän. It also

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suggests that gän forms also exhibit the [DIRECT OBSERVATION] distinction. Zikrillayev intends the notation +/(-) to mean that the gän form can occur either as an indicative (that is, as indicating that the action has been directly observed by the speaker) or, in more limited contexts, as a nonindicative, whereby the action has not been directly observed by the speaker. But in fact, another form containing gän--gän äkän, or the roughly synonymous (?) gän imiš, gändur--explicitly marks the latter type of modal distinction; it is a "perfect suppositional". Thus rather than considering gän as a verb form belonging to two different moods, it should be regarded that äkän (or imiš or -dur) is optional. Under the assumption that the relevant features in the Uzbek verb paradigm are [PAST], [PERFECT], and [PROGRESSIVE], the above relationships can be represented as follows:

		UNMARKED	PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
INDICATIVE	NONPAST	ä/y	gän	yäp
	PAST	di	gän(i)di	(y)atkän(i)di
"SUPPOSITIONAL"	NONPAST	(ä)r	gän(äkän/imiš/dur)	(y)atkän äkän
	PAST	(i)p	(u)wdi [<(i)p idi]	

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[This chart has been simplified.]

Or in a feature matrix:

	ä/y	di	gän	gän(i)di	yäp	(y)atkän(i)di
INDICATIVE	+	+	+	+	+	+
PAST	-	+	-	+	-	+
PERFECT	-	-	+	+	-	±(?)
PROGRESSIVE	-	-	-	-	+	+

	(ä)r	(i)p	gän(äkän)	(u)wdi	(y)atkän äkän
INDICATIVE	-	-	-	-	-
PAST	-	+	-	+	±
PERFECT	-	-	+	+	±(?)
PROGRESSIVE	-	-	-	-	+

If in fact the forms (ä)r, (i)p, gän (äkän), etc., constitute a separate mood in Uzbek, it would be legitimate to ask what feature distinguishes them from the rest of the forms in the paradigm. Much has been published in the Turkological literature and in textbooks about the semantic properties of these individual forms and their analogues in other Turkic languages, as well as about their use in particular contexts, but only some of the observatio' will be mentioned here:

Concerning (ä)r: Kononov 1960:230 maintains that this form in Literary Uzbek has two meanings: (1) "the meaning of future activity the accomplishment of which is thought of as probable (hypothetical) or possible", and (2) the meaning of

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present-future time, particularly in set phrases, proverbs, sayings, riddles, songs, etc. Jorayev 1964:143 points out with respect to the Shahrisabz dialect that (a)r also refers to the present habitual with the suppositional sense. In the reference grammar Kollektiv 1975:502, it is maintained that because the form bar-ʉyatgʉndir (=bar-ʉyatgʉn ʉkʉn ?) is used to express suppostion for the present tense in Uzbek, the form in (ʉ)r is comparatively rarely found for the meaning of the present tense and is much more commonly used for the future.

Concerning (i)p: Kononov 1960:221 regards the meaning of this form as arising "from four main elements: (1) an element of consequence, (2) an element of doubt, (3) an element of historical narration, and (4) an element of sudden inference." The (i)p form, furthermore, is frequently used in folk tales. Jorayev emphasizes two aspects of the meaning of the (i)p form in the Shahrisabz dialect: (1) it expresses nonevident activity, which the speaker was not a witness to but which became known to him from other people or from some consequence of it, and (2) it expresses various emotional or subjective connotations towards the result of the activity, in particular, sympathy, joy, surprise, or condolence. In the latter case, the general context, the conditions of speech, and intonation play a not insignificant role [Jorayev 1964:1511]. It might also be mentioned that the (i)p form in Uzbek corresponds to a certain degree (but not entirely) to the better known verb form in Modern Turkish, -miš. However, the latter seems to be useful also in a

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"perfect" sense which corresponds more closely to gän in Uzbek, rather than to (i)p. Turkish miš has been translated into English through such words or phrases as 'supposedly, they say, it is said, I'm told, it seems/appears, I guess, I gather', etc.

Concerning the auxiliaries äkän/imiš/dur: It is clear from the descriptions about ekän and emiš in Kononov 1960:272, 276 that these auxiliaries lend a sense of "logical conclusion," "doubt", or "subjective evaluation" to the activity expressed by the main verb, and there can be little doubt that this meaning is quite similar to that expressed by the (i)p form. However, it is not all clear the degree to which these auxiliaries are different from one another. This differentiation is especially complicated for dur since very little has been written about this form in the available studies on the Uzbek paradigm. It is not even clear which verb forms it can occur with; Kononov 1960:219 gives only gändir among the standard Uzbek forms, and the reference grammar Kollektiv 1975:502 mentions the form (ä)yatgändir. Jorayev 1964:146 in a footnote states that it occurs with gän and (y)atkän in the Shahrisabz dialect. Field notes from Namangan reveal a form bar-äddur (from bar-är+dur) in that dialect at least:

(20)	ehtimal	u	bazar-gä	bar-äd-dur
	maybe	he	bazaar-DAT	go-(ä)r-SUP

'Maybe he'll go to the market' (Namangan dialect)

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However, it is unclear in all these cases in what respects dur would have been different from the same verb plus ӓkӓn or imiš. Nasilov 1983 attempts to establlish a semantic distinction between literary ekӓn and emiš on the basis of the source of information conveyed by the speaker using only the ekӓn/emiš form--ekӓn when the source of information is the 2nd or 3rd person (the "absentive") [Nasilov 1983:181-182]. However, the examples he gives in the article contain instances of the opposite use, and he cites no case where the use of one auxiliary would be ungrammatical in the inappropriate context. He acknowledges a rather free variation in the use of ekӓn/emiš when the source of information is the 3rd person, and he does not suggest which form is to be used when the proposition is merely inferred from some circumstance. It appears that in folk tales the use of imiš in contrast to the more frequent ӓkӓn makes little, if any, difference in meaning; certainly there is no notion that another "source of information" is being implied. All in all, Nasilov's suggestion does not seem that convincing, although he does make what seems to be a sound point in another respect. When gӓn ӓkӓn and (ӓ)r ӓkӓn are used in [+PAST] contexts, that is, when they correspond in temporal reference to gӓn(i)di and (ӓ)r(i)di, respectively, it may be correct that only ӓkӓn (and not imiš) occurs. In such a case, it is unlikely that ӓkӓn is optional, as it seems to be in the case of [-PAST].

As mentioned above, these forms in Uzbek and the analogous forms in other Turkic languages are generally treated

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individually and as not belonging to a single mood. One tradition which has presented analogous forms in a single mood is, of course, that adhered to by Tajik linguists. The description of the semantics of the forms in the Tajik auditive mood made by Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964:70-71 and quoted above in the section "The Semantics of Certain Simplex Verbs" can provide an adequate starting point from which to establish the relevant feature distinguishing this mood from others. According to the Rastorguyeva-Kerimova description, the verb forms in the auditive mood convey the notions (1) that the speaker does not vouch for the accuracy of the utterance he is making, (2) that he does not know about the activity/state he is recounting from personal experience, (3) that he heard about it from others, or (4) that he inferred it through indirect means. This description focuses on two major aspects of the semantics of this mood--(i) the speaker's attitude towards the information he is conveying ("he does not vouch for it") or (ii) the manner by which he came about the information ("he did not personally observe it", "he learned about it from others", or "he inferred it"). Looking at the meaning of this mood from the standpoint of the former aspect, an utterance containing such a verb form conveys the notion that the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the statement he is making; he is hedging on the matter for some reason. Under the latter interpretation, the speaker wishes to point out that he did not directly observe the incident/state he is recounting; the evidence for it is/was indirect, derivative,

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second-hand, doubtful, etc. When the Uzbek linguist Zikrilläyev selected the feature [DIRECT OBSERVATION] to distinguish (i)b from di (see above; of course, a feature [INDIRECT OBSERVATION], with the opposite feature values, could have been used as well), he implicitly adhered to the latter approach and focused on the manner by which the speaker came by the information he conveys. It seems that this approach is particularly successful in reference to the past tense form (i)p.

However, again assuming that certain verb forms in Uzbek constitute a single mood, it would be worthwhile asking whether this distinction applies as successfully to (ä)r (or (ä)r äkän/imiš/dur), especially when these forms refer to future events. When a Namangan speaker utters (20) ehtimal u bazargä baräddur 'maybe he'll go to the market' is he indicating that the evidence he has for making this assertion is indirect, derivative, doubtful, etc., or is he merely speculating, with no particular evidence in mind? That is, is he simply less committed to the truth of the assertion than he would have led his listener to believe if he had stated the following sentence instead?

(21) u bazar-gä bar-ä-di
he bazaar-DAT go-INDIC-3SG

'he'll go to the market'

It would seem more plausible that the speaker attitude towards the likelihood of an event taking place in the future (his

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commitment to the accuracy of his assertion) would be more significant in communication than the notion that the evidence leading to his prediction is indirect, derivative, dubious, etc. Kononov 1960:230 offers this example of the use of (ä)r in Literary Uzbek:

(22) (a) sen bugungi mäjlis-gä kel-är-sän-ä ?
youSG today's meeting-DAT come-SUP-2SG-eh?

'will you be coming today's meeting?

(b) kel-ar-man
come-SUP-1SG

'I'll probably/possibly come' [frequently in Turkic languages, verbs in the appropriate form occur instead of yes/no in responses]

Here the lack of commitment on the speaker's part is what is conveyed by the marker (ä)r, in contrast to ä/y as in kel-ä-män 'I will come'.

Consider also the first person singular with other verb forms in this putative mood. In a textbook of Uzbek, a dialogue concerning the visit to an Uzbek home of an American teacher contains the following sentence by the teacher:

(23) kečiräsiz, men juda ertä kel-ip-män [kemmän or keppän
excuse me I very/too early come-SUP-1SG in colloq. Uzbek]

'excuse me, it seems, I came (by) too early' [Raun 1969:122]

The teacher then explains that he must leave town that day. The important point here seems to be not that the speaker discovered from some circumstance that his arrival was premature (for example, from his host come to the door in pajamas), but that the

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speaker wishes to make a less blunt statement than men judä ertä kel-di-m 'I came too/very early' would have been. The speaker seems to commit himself less firmly to the truth of the proposition. Another example in Literary Uzbek:

(24) Tursunay šundäy de-b kel-di-yu, lekin nimä gäp-lig-i-ni
[NAME] such/so say-GER come-PAST-and but what word-VbN-POSS-ACC
CVC=keep idiom: what's the deal?

sorä-mä-b-män
ask-NEG-SUP-1SG

'Tursunay kept saying that, but I guess I didn't ask (her) what was up' [Kollektiv 1975:481]

It seems unlikely that the speaker is stating in this sentence that someone else or some circumstance led him (her) to realize his negligence, but rather that he wishes to lessen the assertion of his negligence. Such sentences seem to exemplify the "subjective" characterization attributed by some investigators to the (i)p form. Finally, when a speaker recounts an incident in a dream, he would normally use forms in this mood:

(25) män tuš-um-dä häsän minäm uruš-utkän-muš-män
I dream-my-LOC [NAME] with fight-PROG-SUP-1SG

'I dreamed that I was fighting with Hassan' (literally: 'in my dream I was fighting with Hassan') (Namangan dialect) [field notes]

While it might be contended that the dreams are rather dubious "evidence" upon which to base an assertion, it would seem more plausible that a speaker wishes to emphasize that he does not at all vouch for the validity of such a proposition. That is,

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examples (20), (22-25) are more compatible with an interpretation of the semantics of this mood reflecting speaker attitude towards the truth of the proposition than with the manner by which the speaker arrives at a premise.

At this point, assuming that the speaker attitude towards the truth of an assertion is the relevant feature distinguishing the (ä)r, (i)p, etc., mood, it is necessary to ask whether it is the indicative mood in which the speaker makes a definite commitment to the truth of the assertion, or whether it is the other mood in which the speaker explicitly refrains from making such a commitment. In other words, which mood is unmarked with respect to the relevant feature, and which is marked? Unfortunately, conclusive evidence for determining this issue is rather meager. As was mentioned in the Rastorguyeva-Kerimova characterization of the indicative mood in Tajik in contrast to the auditive, the speaker implies in using the former either that he was a witness or that "if he did not see it himself, then he does not feel it necessary to emphasize this" [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:94; see above]. With respect to Uzbek, it has been claimed,

> In the narration of events known to the narrator not from personal experience but indirectly, the past categorical [i.e., the form in di] can also be used. This can, apparently, be explained by the fact that the past categorical tense on the whole possesses a more

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generalized past-tense meaning by comparison to all the other past tenses in Uzbek [Ivanov 1958:137].

While these observations are stated in terms of direct vs. indirect observation, they suggest that it is the indicative form that is neutral with respect to the relevant distinction, rather than the nonindicative. This supposition is supported by the use of the indicative in contexts, ex., in newspapers, on the radio, etc., where the "speaker" could not conceivably vouch for the veracity of his report (or for that matter, observe the event personally). The nonindicative forms in such cases are used only when it is necessary to stress the "speaker's" noncommitment to the truth of the assertion. In addition, it is the presence of the auxiliary äkän which explicitly marks noncommitment with such a form as the perfect, and much more clearly, in the case of an equational predicate. Hence the feature [NONCOMMITAL] will be used here to designate the mood made up of the forms in (ä)r, (i)p, gän (äkän), etc., and these forms will be given a positive feature value, [+NONCOMMITTAL]. As a result, the indicative forms ä/y and di are specified with a negative value for the verbal features [-NONCOMMITTAL, -PERFECT, -PROGRESSIVE]) and can be regarded as the unmarked items in the Uzbek verb paradigm.

One implication of this approach is that if the auxiliaries imiš/dur differ in meaning from äkän at all, the likely point at which they would differ would be in the degree to which the speaker commits himself to the truth of his utterance. It may be that by using imiš/dur he implies greater doubt than with äkän.

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Thus, the differentiation would not be determined by the person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) of the source of information, as suggested by Nasilov 1983, or perhaps more plausibly, by the reliabillity of the evidence.

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2.2.2. On the Grammatical Marking of Uzbek Subordinate S's

Initially it would seem to have little consequence for the rest of the syntax of Uzbek whether verbal category [X] was selected over [Y] as a relevant distinction in the verbal paradigm, no matter how elegant the resulting presentation of the data is, but in this case it will be argued that the choice of [±NONCOMMITAL] also permits an important distinction to be made in the system of Uzbek subordinate S Grammatical Markers, abbreviated henceforth as SbS GM's. Basically, the generalization about SbS GM's can be formulated as follows: when the speaker commits himself to the truth of the proposition expressed by a SbS, the GM used is g̈an, and when he does not do so, it is some other morpheme. This approach is, of course, quite similar to the much more familiar pragmatic notion of presupposition. Thus, since this discussion is limited to SbS's and since speaker commitment/noncommitment to a truth value and presupposition coincide somewhat in SbS's, reference will be made to either concept indiscriminately until they are systematically differentiated towards the end of this section. It should also be noted that certain verbal distinctions relevant to finite verbs are not significant in Uzbek SbS's. The distinction [±PERFECT] does not obtain in nonfinite SbS's, but the distinction [±PROGRESSIVE] can be made in SbS's marked by g̈an, with [+PROGRESSIVE] being expressed by (y)atk̈an, which contains g̈an. The phrases marked by g̈an have traditionally been referred to as relative clauses (or perhaps "participal attibutive phrases", since they are nonfinite), adverbials, and sentential complements.

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The following examples involving the use of the postposition učun 'for, for the sake of' and their equivalents in the dative case will serve to illustrate how the distinction of speaker commitment/noncommitment to the truth of a proposition expressed by a SbS is made. Most of the examples to be cited in this section are taken from the dialects of Uzbek spoken in the Ferghana Valley. Only when there is no suitable example from these dialects available is an illustration drawn from Literary Uzbek, which has either been elicited from an Uzbek speaker or extracted from a text (usually folkloric) or from a grammar.[9]

(26) With the SbS GM (i)š:

u bazar-gä almä al-iš učün ket-ti-Ø
he bazar-DAT apple buy-Sbs in order to go-PST-3SG

'He went to the market (in order) to buy apples' (Andijan dialect)

(27) With the SbS GM gän:

men yamğir yaq-qän-i učün bazar-gä bar-mä-di-m
I rain fall-SbS-POSS because bazar-DAT go-NEG-PST-1SG
ADVERBIAL SbS

[where yaqqäni < yağ+gän+i] 'I didn't go to the market because it rained/was raining' (Andijan dialect)

(28) With the progressive SbS GM (y)atkän:

men yamğir yağ-yatkän-i učün bazargä bar-mi:-män
fall-PROG SbS-POSS go-NEG+NnP-1SG

'I won't go to the market because it's raining' (Andijan dialect) Or in the dative case: [it should be noted that generally causal clauses like (30) and (31) take the ablative case marker instead]

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(29) u bazargä almä al-iš-kä ketti. [=(26)]
buy-SbS-DAT

(30) men yamğir yaq-qän-i-gä bazargä barmädim [=(27)]
fall-SbS-POSS-DAT

(31) men yamğir yağ- yatkän - i -gä bazargä barmi:män [=28]
fall-PROG SbS-POSS-DAT

As can be seen from the above, a purpose clause can be formed by means of the postposition učun (üčün in the Andijan dialect) in combination with the SbS GM (i)š, example (26), or by (i)š in the dative case, (29), while a causal clause can be formed by the same postposition plus the SbS GM gän, (27) and (28), or gän in the dative case (or more commonly, in the ablative), (30) and (31). In sentences (27), (28), (30), and (31), it is presupposed that the propositions 'it rained' ('it was raining') and 'it is raining' are true. As is standard with presuppositions, these propositions are true whether the main verb in the sentence is negated or not. In a sentence like (27), the proposition about the rain is true whether the main verb is in the negative (barmädim) or the positive (bardim). Both 'I went to the market because it was raining' and 'I didn't go to the market because it was raining' presuppose 'it was raining'. But in the case of the purpose clause in (26) and (29), the buying of apples is hypothetical, and the speaker does not commit himself to whether the transaction took place or not. Generally speaking, the propositions expressed by purpose clauses are not presupposed to be true while those of clausal clauses are presupposed. However, this is not a strictly accurate generalization in Uzbek. Consider the following sentence in Literary

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Uzbek containing a causal clause with the "quotative" SbS GM dep, which is derived from the verb de- 'say':

(32) ogl-i Moskva-gä ket-ib, yalğiz qal-gän deb
son-her Moscow-DAT CASUAL go-GER SbS alone remain-PRF SbS

kämpir-ni kor-gäni uy - i - gä bar-di-k
old woman-ACC see-PURPOSE home-her-DAT go-PST-1PL

'We went to the old woman's house to see her, because her son had gone to Moscow and she was left all alone.' (Literally: 'We went to her house to see the old woman, saying her son has gone to Moscow and she has remained alone.') [Äbdurähmanov 1958:179]

[Remarks: The marker gän of qalgän should not be confused with the SbS GM gän; the former specifies [+PERFECT] in finite verb forms. The two types may be related, see below, but that is not at issue here. The marker gäni on the purpose clause kämpirni korgäni is another means of marking purpose in Uzbek. According to Kononov 1960:243, it coincides exactly with a form in -gäli, leading to the suspicion that both arise from *-gänli, but whatever the origin, it functions as a gerundive in Modern Uzbek and as such will not be taken into consideration here.]

Although no Uzbek was consulted on the meaning of this sentence, it seems likely that the sentence does not commit the speaker to the truth of the propositions expressed in the clausal clause, namely 'her son has gone to Moscow' and 'she has remained alone.' This does not at all imply that the propositions are false; there is simply no presupposition in the causal clause. In fact, the SbS GM dep is frequently used to form purpose and causal clauses; sentence (33), for instance, is equivalent to sentence (26) and (29).

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(33) u bazar-gä älmä al- ä -män dep ket-ti-ø
he bazar-DAT apple buy-NnP-1SG SbS go-PST-3SG

'He went to the market to buy apples' (Literally: 'He went to the market saying I will buy apples') (Kokand dialect)

(34) Purpose clause from folk tale in Namangan dialect:

bir jay-gä bor-up čačä-p horu-p däm
one place-DAT go-GER be tired-GER be tired-GER rest
PURPOSE

ol-iw- al - äy dep utur-gän-äkä̃
take-GER-CVC-1SG OPT SbS sit-PRF-NnC
CLAUSE

'[The young man] went to a place, and being all tired out, he sat down to take a rest.' (Literally: '... saying let me take a rest') [Atamirzayeva 1974:114]

(35) Causal clause:

adam-lä qeri-gän-däy-kiǧin bu kušat miyye-si
person-PL get old-Sbs-ABL-after this totally brain-their
CASUAL SbS

qa - me -di - ø dep däšt-u sähra-gä čiq - er - ip
remain-NEG-PST-3SG SbS desert plain-DAT go out-CAUS-GER

täšlä- š - ärkä̃: -ø[10]
throw-PL-PST HAB NnC-3rd

'after people got old, they (generic) used to take (them) out into the desert and abandon (them), because their minds had become totally useless.' (Literally: '... saying their brains have not remained at all') [Ibid.]

The use of the quotative dep is not required solely to permit different subjects for the matrix S and the SbS, as can be seen from sentences (27), (28), and (36).

(36) gunah-im-ni zärrädä kečir - iš - iŋ učun
sin-my-ACC by a particle forgive-SbS-your for

qol-im-ni qan-gä bat- ir - di - m
hand-my-ACC blood-DAT sink-CAUS-PST-1SG

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'I plunged my hand into blood so that you would forgive my sin a bit.' (Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:383]

The important point here is that in a presupposed causal clause, the SbS GM gän is used, while in a nonpresupposed causal clause or in any type of purpose clause, another SbS GM--(i)š or dep--is used. With the postposition učun, the difference between a causal and a purpose clause lies in the choice of the SbS, GM, gan and (i)s, respectively.

Examples with the verb yaz- 'write' will serve to illustrate the relevant distinctions in sentential complements. The following two sentences can both be translated in English as 'I wrote him that I had grown a mustache':

(37)	men	uŋgä	moylaŋ	qoy-di-m	dep	yaz-di - m
	I	he+DAT	mustache	put-PST-1SG	SbS	write-PST-1SG

(38) men uŋgä moylaŋ qoy-gän-im-di yazdim (both Andijan dialect)
put-SbS-my-ACC

In sentence (37), the complement contains a finite verb form, qoydim, followed by the complementizer dep, while in sentence (38), qoyganimdi is a nonfinite form with a nominal possessive suffix im 'my' and an accusative case marking di (a dissimilation from ni). These sentences are not synonymous; according to the native speaker from whom they were elicited, it may or may not be true that the "speaker" has grown a mustache in the case of (37), but it is a fact in the case of sentence (38). A speaker of the Kokand dialect maintained that the sentence (39) was perfectly acceptable, but that (40) was not.

(39)	män	uŋgä	muylaŋ	qoy-di- m	dip	yaz -di - m ,
	I	he+DAT	mustache	put-PST-1SG	SbS	write-PST-1SG

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ämma qoy-gän -im yoq [=1SG NEG PERFECT]
but put-"PRF"-my NEG EXIST

'I wrote him that I had grown a mustache, but I haven't grown (one).' (Kokand dialect)

(40) *män uŋgä muylağ qoy-gän-im-mi yazdim, ämma qoygänim yoq
put-SbS-my-ACC

In (40), the speaker would be denying in the second part of the conjoined sentence what he presupposes to be true in the first part, hence the anomaly of the sentence. However, in (39) no such commitment is implied in the use of the complementizer dip with yazdim.

Examples (26-40) demonstrate that the crucial difference between the SbS GM's (i)š, dep and the SbS GM gän is similar to the distinction between the finite verb forms in (ä)r, (i)p, gän äkän, etc. and the indicative forms in that the former set is used to illustrate an explicit speaker noncommitment to the truth of the statement/proposition being expressed and the latter set is not so used. However, the situation in Uzbek SbS's is more complex than this statement suggests, for aside from the inevitable idiosyncracies involved, the role of tense in the determination of a SbS GM must also be taken into account. Tense in nonfinite SbS's (but not in dep-SbS's) is relative; that is, grammatical marking in these SbS's demonstrates whether the situation conveyed in the SbS is anterior (prior), simultaneous, or posterior (subsequent) to the time conveyed by the verb in the matrix S. In nonfinite SbS's where the situation is subsequent to the time of the matrix verb or where the situation is habitual (a general or characteristic state or even timeless), the SbS

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GM is not gan, whether or not the proposition expressed by the SbS appears to be presupposed. To illustrate the interaction of tense and speaker noncommitment, it will be useful to examine in more detail the distribution of GM's in the three types of structure involved, relative clauses, adverbials, and sentenial complements.

In traditional accounts of Uzbek relative clauses (usually designated "participial attributives"), it is maintained that there exists a three-way distinction based on relative time reference expressed by the marker on the participle: gän for the past tense, (y)atkän for the present, and ädigan for the (present-)future. However, even traditional grammars of Uzbek acknowledge that this tripartite temporal distinction is misleading (see, for example, the remarks in Kollektiv 1975:510-513). The relative clause marked by gän can express a temporal reference that is either prior to or simultaneous with the time of the verb in the matrix sentence, cf., (41), (42), and (43).

(41) Anterior time relationship (perhaps the most prevalent one with gän):

bu	--	biz	tüški	awqät	qil-gän	restoran	- ø
this		we	noon	meal	do-SbS	restaurant-COP	

'This is the restaurant where we ate lunch'. (Literary Uzbek)

(42) Simultaneous time relationship:

mänä	bu	biz-niŋ	his-lär-imiz-ni	en	yäxši	däräjä-dä
voici		we-GEN	feeling-PL-our-ACC	most	good	degree-LOC
		RELATIVE CLAUSE				

täsvirlä-gän dastan -ø

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describe-SbS dastan/(epic)poem-COP

'This is the dastan that describes our feelings the best (to the best degree)' (Literary Uzbek)

(43) Simultaneous time relationship:

dokanxanä-niŋ kučä-gä qärä-gän ... deräzä-si xirä
shop-GEN street-DAT look-SbS window-POSS dim

yältirä-b korin - ä - di
shine-GER be seen-NnP-3SG

'The shop's window, which looks out on the street, is seen shining dimly' (Literary Uzbek) [Kollektiv 1975:511]

When the relative clause expresses a stative condition, gän is often the SbS GM [Kollektiv 1975:511], while the GM (y)atkän can be used in explicitly progressive contexts.

(44) (a) mä̃: yaz-utgän xät
I write-PROG SbS letter

(b) or: mäni yazutgän xät-im
I+GEN letter-my

'the letter I'm writing/have been writing/was writing' (Namangan dialect) [(44a) and (44b) are equivalent]

The occurence of gän and (y)atkän is not mutually exclusive, since in some cases (y)atkän can be substituted for gän with very little difference in meaning [Kollektiv 1975:512]. In all the examples (41-44), the propositions expressed by the relative clauses are presupposed to be true--namely, 'we ate at the restaurant', 'a dastan describes our feelings best', 'a shop's window looks out on the street', and 'I am/have been/was writing a letter'. However, when the relative clause refers to an explicitly future situation, a hypothetical case (comparable to certain English infinitival

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relatives), or a habitual characteristic, a marker other than gan specifies the SbS. Generally this SbS GM is ädigan12, although (u)wči can be used in the case of a present habitual when the modified head noun is the underlying subject of the relative clause, as in (49).

(45) Future:

(a) mä̃: että:: kor-ädigan kiši
I tomorrow see-SbS person (Namangan dialect)

'the person I will see tomorrow'

(b) *mä̃: että:: kor-gän kiši [ungrammatical with gän]

(c) ertägä kel-ädigän adäm siz-gä sawğä alib kel- ä - di
tomorrow come-SbS person you-DAT gift bring -NnP-3SG

'The person who will come/The person coming/The person to come tomorrow will bring you a present.' (Literary Uzbek)

(46) Hypothetical:

(a) mänä oqi-ydiğan jay 'there's the place to study/read'
voilà read/study-SbS place (Namangan dialect)

(b) men häli yaš - män , hazir uylän-ädigän vaqt-im emäs
I still young-1SG COP now marry-SbS GM time-my NEG COP

'I am still young' now is not the time for me to marry' (folk tale, Literary Uzbek) [Chälpäk yaqqän kun, Tashkent 1969, p. 287]

(47) Past Habitual:

här šämbä bizzikä:: kel-ädigan adäm yäqindä öl-di-Ø
every Saturday ours+DAT come-SbS person recently die-PST-3SG

'The person who used to come to our place every Saturday died recently' (Namagan dialect)

(48) Present Habitual (Generalized Habitual):

sen bilän bix hämmä närsä-gä tušun-ädigän adäm-lär-miz
you with we all thing-DAT understand-SbS person-PL-1PL COP

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'You and I are people who understand everything' (Literary Uzbek) [Kollectiv 1975:513]

(49) Characteristic Habitual (often Agentive):

bu	maš̆nyä	yäsa-wč̆i	gurruppä
this	machine	make-SbS	group

'The group that makes these machines' (Namangan dialect)

There are numerous types of adverbial SbS's in Uzbek, but for the purposes of this discussion it will be possible to leave out of consideration such structures as the SbS's containing finite verb forms in sä (conditionals, temporals, concessives, and wh- -ever clauses) and the gerundives, which do not occur with person-number suffixes or with case marking (forms in ä/y, (i)p, gäč̆, gunč̆ä, gäni/gäli, etc.). The remaining adverbials are primarily purpose or causal clauses (examples 26-36) and temporals. In temporal adverbials when the time of the SbS is anterior to or simultaneous with that of the verb in the matrix S, the GM used is gän, cf., the sentences in (50-54). In many such cases the English SbS GM's when and after are used in translations.

(50) (a)

mã:	ket-gän-im-dä	u	e:ydä	yoğ	-idi
I	leave-SbS-my-LOC	he	there	NEG EXIST	-PST

'When I left, he wasn't there' (Namangan dialect)

(b) [an equivalent to the above sentence is the following, where mã: ketgän is a relative clasue modifying päyt]:

mã:	ket-gän	päyat--im-dä	u e:yda yoğidi. (Namangan dialect)
I	leave-SbS	time-my-LOC	

(51) With main verb in the future:

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(a) biz jonä-p ket-utgän - imiz-dä uŋgä sawğä ber- ä -miz
we leave -PROG SbS-our-LOC he+DAT gift give-NnP-1PL

'When we leave, we'll give him a present' (Namangan dialect)

(b) ?*biz jonäp ket-iš-imiz-dä uŋgä sawğä berämiz
leave -SbS-our-LOC

[Remarks: It is not clear whether this sentence is unacceptable, as maintained by the speaker of Namangan Uzbek. It might be acceptable as a translation of 'upon leaving we give him a present' with a habitual meaning. While one speaker rejected the above sentence, another Uzbek, one from Andijan, accepted biz ketišmizdä uŋgä sawğä beramiz; he also accepted biz ketkänimizdä uŋgä sawğä beramiz as equivalent to (26a). In any case it appears that the most natural mechanism for marking a temporal adverbial in a sentence with a main verb in the future involves the use of (y)atkän or gän, but not (i)š.]

The SbS GM gän can also be used when referring to habitual situations, as in the following two sentences.

(52) ikki-tä nan sat-ib al-gän-dä häm äldän - ä -siz-ku
2-COUNT bread buy -SbS-LOC even be tricked-NnP-2PL-PART

'and even when you buy two loaves of bread, you get cheated' (folk tale, Literary Uzbek) [Chälpäk yaqqän kun, Tashkent 1969, p. 274]

(53) sätränj oynä-yatgän - dä čirağdan - ni mušuk-niŋ
[GAME] play-PROG SbS-LOC lamp vessel-ACC cat -GEN

baš- i -gä qoy- ä -män
head-its-DAT put-NnP-1SG

'When playing satranch I put the lamp on the cat's head' [Ibid., p. 274-275]

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From the descriptions in Kononov 1960:311-313, 378-379, it appears that only gän, with the ablative case marker dän, occurs in SbS's with the postpositions keyin, soŋ, 'after', beri, buyan '(temporal) since', and baš̆läb, tartib 'starting from, since', that is, when the time of the SbS is prior to that of the matrix S.

(54) yärim yol-gä bar-gän-däŋ kegin, taǧin tülkü yet-ib bar-ip
half way-DAT go-SbS-ABL after again fox reach-GER go-GER

"....." de-di- 0
say-PST-3SG

'After (they) had gone halfway, the fox again came up (to them) and said "....."' (Andijan dialect) [Reshetov and Shaäbdurähmanov 1962:267]

However, when a temporal SbS refers to a situation that is subsequent to the time of the verb in the matrix S (generally equivalent to a before-clause in English), the GM used is (i)š̆, or its suppletive negative mäs(lik), in the ablative case plus a postposition.

(55) xat-ti oqi- š̆ -tän ilgäri/ävvál/aldin, u xäpe:di
letter-ACC read-SbS-ABL before he sad+was

'Before reading the letter, he was sad' ('He was sad before he read the letter') (Andijan dialect)

[Remarks: According to the account in Kononov 1960:310, 379-380, it seems that only (i)š̆ occurs with a postposition meaning 'before', ilgäri, burun, ävvál, aldin plus the ablative, or aldidä, aldidän plus the nominative. 'Before' can also be translated by the gerundive gunčä/gänči. It is unclear how the negative is used in a before-SbS

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in Uzbek, a combination that is ungrammatical in English.] Curiously, with the postposition which expressly specifies a simultaneous temporal relationship between two verbs, bilän 'with', either gän or (i)š is permitted, with an apparent preferance for (i)š:

(56)	arä-dän	ikki	kun	ot-iš-i	bilän	bulbul
	interval-ABL	2	day	pass-SbS-its	with	nightingale

sağäy-ib	ket - ib	- di	
get well-GER	ABRUPT CHANGE-PST	NnC-3SG	

(Literally:) 'With the passing of two days from then, the nightingale got well.' (folk tale, Literary Uzbek) [Aziz Yaqubov, Guli degän qiz, Tashkent 1971, p. 6]

According to an Uzbek speaker, it would not make much difference in the meaning of this sentence if ot-gän-i were to be used in place of otiši. Traditional grammars of Uzbek also provide no guidance on the difference between gän and (i)š with the postposition bilän.

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In Uzbek sentential complements there are three complement SbS GM's ("complementizers" in standard generative terminology): (i)s, gan (and, in the progressive, (y)atkan), and dep. As seen in examples (37) and (39), the quotative dep ends a SbS containing any finite verb form, including an imperative or optative, while the other two SbS GM's are nonfinite. The GM dep can only occur in constructions that correspond to object complements in other languages, although in terms of its surface grammatical marking marking it is clearly not an object in Uzbek. It is a gerundive and therefore an adverbial modifier of the matrix verb. It would never mark what is a subject complement in another language. The use of these three SbS GM's with the verb bil-, usually translated 'know', but in fact misleadingly so, will serve to illustrate the differences among them.

(57) With gän:

ulär häsän-ni mäskvä-gä ket-kän- i -ni bil-iš- ä -di
they Hasan-GEN Moscow-DAT leave-SbS-his-ACC know-PL-NnP-3rd

'They know that Hasan has gone to (left for) Moscow' (Andigan dialect)

(58) With dep:

ulär häsän-Ø mäskvä-gä ket-kän-Ø dep bil-iš- ä -di
they Hasan-NOM Moscow-DAT go-PRF-3SG SbS
"know"-PL-NnP-3rd
COMPLEMENT SbS Finite Verb COMP

'They think/suppose that Hasan has gone to Moscow' (Andigan dialect)

(59) With (i)š, with or without interrogative words:

(a) nimä qil-iš-im-mi bil- mi: - män
what do-SbS-my-ACC know-NEG+NnP-1SG

'I don't know what to do' (Literally: 'I don't know what for me to do') (folk tale, Andigan dialect) [Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:265; the text actually gives qilisimi, but this seems to be an error.]

(b) vaw, vaw men bulbul - ni kim-Ø tuzät-iš-i-ni
barks I nightingale-ACC who-NOM fix-SbS-his-ACC

bil- ä -män
know-NnP-1SG

'Bow-wow, I know who will cure the nightingale' (FUTURE) (And perhaps also HYPOTHETICAL: 'I know who to cure the nightingale' ,

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which is ungrammatical in English) (said by a puppy in a folk tale, Literary Uzbek) [Yaqubov, op.cit., p. 6]

(c) u doppi tik-iš-ni bil-ä -di
he/she skullcap sew-SbS-ACC know-NnP-3SG

'He/She knows how to sew doppis' (Literary Uzbek)

(d) men bunäqä quš-lär-ni dävalä-š-ni bil- mä- y -män
I such bird-PL-ACC treat-SbS-ACC know-NEG-NnP-1SG

'I don't know how to treat (i.e., try to cure) such birds,' also 'I can't treat such birds' (folk tale, Literary Uzbek) [Yaqubov, op.cit., p. 4]

Speakers of Uzbek relate that there is more "certainty" to the proposition 'Hasan went to Moscow' in sentence (57) than in (58), which they contend is equivalent to (60) with the verb oylä- 'think' (from oy 'thought, idea'):

(60) ulär häsän mäskvä-gä ket-kän-Ø dep oylä-š - ä - di
they Hasan Moscow-DAT go-PRF-3SG SbS think-PL-NnP-3rd

'They think that Hasan has gone to Moscow.' (Andijan dialect)

Hence, there is a genuine shift in meaning for the verb bil- depending upon the complementizer it occurs with: 'know' with the SbS GM gän and 'think, suppose' with dep. Thus the speaker commits himself to the truth of the SbS in (57), as is characteristic of the verb know, but not in (58). Notice that bil- retains the meaning 'know' with (i)š, which marks a SbS expressing a hypothetical, habitual, or future situation, cf., the examples in (59). Notice, however, that it is difficult to establish propositions and truth values with these sentences: in

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(59a) perhaps the proposition underlying the SbS is 'I should/can do something', which per se seems almost universally true. What seems to be inferred in this type of construction with subjects other than the first person singular is just as unclear, and thus the difficulty in determining the underlying proposition is not a consequence of the 1st person singular negative for know. Notice that the proposition expressed by the SbS in the future sense of (59b) would have stated right afterwards, "...but only if the bird is covered by the right insurance," in which case he would be casting doubt on the proposition that he seems to be presupposing. Finally, in (59c) the proposition 'he/she sews doppis' seems to be true, but when the matrix verb is negated, 'He/She doesn't know how to sew doppis', it is no longer true, and the standard test for presupposition, constancy under negation, fails. In (59d) the proposition of the SbS is also inferred to be false. All these considerations indicate that while bil- retains the meaning 'know' with the complementizer (i)ɣš, it cannot be assumed that the speaker commits himself to the truth of the proposition expressed by the (i)ɣš-SbS in the same way as he does with the sbS GM gʉ̈n.

As demonstrated in sentence (60), the verb oylʉ̈- 'think' takes as a complementizer the quotative dep. This property is completely consistent with the postulated distinction of speaker commitment/noncommitment in SbS's since semantically the verb think represents noncommitment par excellence. It is ungrammatical to use gʉ̈n as a complement SbS GM: [13]

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(61) *u meniŋ qač-ib ket-gän-im-ni oylä- y - di
he I+GEN flee-GER away-SbS-my-ACC think-Nnp-3SG

'He thinks I have run away.' (Literary Uzbek)

When the verb oylä- occurs with the SbS GM (i)š, the time of the embedded SbS is explicitly future:

(62) u meniŋ qač-ib ket-iš-im-ni oylä- y -di
he I+GEN flee-GER away-SbS-my-ACC think-NnP-3SG

'He thinks that I will run away.' (Literary Uzbek) [cf., the future sense of (59b)]

The following list of examples should indicate how the SbS GM's gän, (i)š, and dep are used, examples (63-80).

(63) With (i)š exclusively--with the predicates kerak 'necessary, needed', mumkin 'possible', where the complement SbS is the subject of the sentence:

u bazar-gä bar-iš-i mumkin
he bazaar-DAT go-SbS-his possible

'It's possible he's going to the market' (Kokand dialect)

[Remarks: For an example of (i)š + kerak, see (79). When Uzbeks were asked to translate a sentence with a perfect tense embedded in the predicate 'it is possible...', they would give a perfect noncommital with the sentential adverb ehtimal (borrowed from Arabic through Tajik), sentence (64), or a construction with kerak which is rather idiosyncratic and therefore ignored here, (65).

(64) ehtimal u bazar-gä ket-kändur
possibly he bazaar-DAT go-PRF NnC

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'It's possible that he has gone to the market', 'he's probably gone to the market' (Namangan dialect)

(65) ehtimal u bazar-gä ket-kän bol-sä-ø kerək
possibly he bazaar-DAT go- PRF CND -3SG necessary

'It's possible he has gone to the market', 'he's probably gone to the market' (Andijan dialect)

Thus it is clear that kerək and mumkin cannot occur with the gän-complement SbS.]

(66) With (i)š (only ?) on object complement: 'like'

mən suz-iš-ti yaxši kor - ä -mən [yaxši kor- 'like']
I swim-SbS-ACC good see/regard-NnP-1SG

'I like to swim/swimming' (Kokand dialect)

(67) With (i)š (only ?): 'want'

(a) biz məskvä-gä bar-iš-ti ha:lä-di-k
we Moscow-DAT go-SbS-ACC want-PST-1PL

'We wanted to go to Moscow' (Kokand dialect)

(b) u siz-zi išlä - š -i:z-zi ha:lä-y-di
he you-GEN work-SbS-your-ACC want-NnP-3SC

'He wants you to work' (Kokand dialect)

(68) With (i)š or dep, but not gän;: 'promise'

(a) u ald-im-gä että:: kel-iš-gä vä:dä bid-di-ø
he front-my-DAT tomorrow come-SbS-DAT promise give-PST-3SG

[where biddi<berdi] 'He promised to come see me tomorrow'

(Namangan dialect)

(b) u aldimgä että:: kel- ä -mən dep vä:dä biddi
[=(68a)]
come-NnP-1SG SbS
SbS

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(c) u ertägä meniki-gä kel-ä -män deb vä:dä ber-di-ø
he tomorrow mine-DAT come-NnP-1SG SbS promise give-PST-3SG

'He promised to come to my place tomorrow' (Literary Uzbek)

(d) With gän:

*u ertägä menikigä kel-gän-gä vä:dä berdi (Literary Uzbek)
he come-SbS-DAT

[Remarks: The "quotative" SbS GM dep does not always close off direct quotes, as is clear from (68b) and (68c). In the SbS's of these two sentences there are two different referents for the 1st person singulars--the 'my' of ald-im-ga or meniki-gä refers to the speaker of the entire sentence, while the 'I' of kelä-män refers to the sujbect of the sentence, u 'he'. In the elicitation of these sentences, there may have been some confusion over whether the Russian ko mne meant 'to me' or 'to my place' because of the genuine ambiguity of the phrase, but there can be no doubt that the speakers intended to use the first person forms rather than the second person equivalents (ald-iŋ-gä, seniki-gä, in the familiar form), which presumbably would have been in the actual promise as addressed to the present speaker, 'I'll come see you' or 'I'll come to your place'. Of course, the time adverbial 'tomorrow' need not have been in the actual statement either. Only the person/number and tense/mood on the verb appear to be identical with the original message. This capacity of dep to permit something other than a verbatim quotation is further evidence that it is a true complementizer and not just a quotative grammatical item that would correspond to the English "end quote".

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Other evidence come from the use of dep with verbs like oylä- 'think' and in purpose/causal clauses, where no message need ever be uttered.]

(69) With gän, but not (i)š or dep (?): 'regret'

(a) padšah-dän rediska al-gän-im učun pušäyman-män
pasha-ABL radish take-SbS-my for regretful-1SG COP

'I regret (I am regretful) that I took a radish from the pasha.' (Literary Uzbek)

(b) *padšahdän rediska al-iš-im učun pušäymanmän [=(69a)]
take-SbS-my

[Remarks: It is possible that with future time reference, the SbS GM could be (i)š, ex., ?padšahdän rediska ališi učun pušäyman bolädi, where bolädi serves as the future copula, 'He'll regret taking a radish from the pasha', but there is no such example available. Notice that if this sentence is grammatical, the speaker does not necessarily commit himself to the truth of the proposition expressed by the SbS, 'he will take a radish from the pasha'. It would be conceivable that the potential thief could be dissuaded from his aim through warnings of the dire consequences.]

(70) With gän and (i)š, but not dep: 'be good'

(a) saddä bol-gän-i yäxši-ø
simple be-SbS-his good-COP

'It's good that he's simple (unpretentious)' (Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:370]

(b) sen bilän gäplä- š - mä-gän-im yaxši-ø
you with speak-RECIP-NEG-SbS-my good-COP

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'It's good that I didn't speak with you.' (Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:370]

(c) gazeta arqäli šu tip mäšğulat-lär-niŋ al-ib bar-il-iš-i
newspaper through this type exercise-PL-GEN bring-PASS-SbS-POSS

judä yäxši-ø
very good-COP

'It's very good that these sorts of exercises (studies) are brought up in the newspaper.' (Literary Uzbek) [newspaper Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän"äti, 20 April 1984, p. 5]

[Remarks: Sentence (70c) makes a general observation; if gän had been used, the translation would have been 'It's very good that these sorts of exercises have been (were) brought up in the newspaper.' The completmentizer dep cannot occur with a subject complement, as required by the adjective yäxši 'good'.]

(71) With gän or (i)š, but not dep (?): 'be surprised'

(a) män uni šunäqä tez čap-kän-i-gä häyran qal - di- m
I he+GEN so fast run-SbS-his-DAT surprised "be"-PST-1SG

'I was surprised that he ran (had run) so fast.' (Kokand dialect)

(b) män uni šunäqä tez čap- äyätkän- i -gä häyran - män
I he+GEN so fast run-PROG SbS-his-DAT surprised-1SG COP

'I'm surprised that he's running so fast.' (Kokand dialect)

(c) man uni sunaqa tez cap-is - i -ga hayran - man
I he+GEN so fast run-SbS-his-DAT surprised-1SG COP

'I'm surprised that he runs so fast' or 'I'm surprised he's such a fast runner' (Kokand dialect)

(d) *men u tez yugur-di-ø deb häyran bol-di-m

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I he fast run-PST-3SG SbS surprised be-PST-1SG

'I was surprised that he ran fast.' (Literary Uzbek)

[Remarks: The word häyran can also mean in certain combinations 'be confused/dumbfounded', and it appears that in this case it can occur with dep. A noticeable shift in meaning with different complements does not seem unusal in light of the change observed in the case of bil-, examples (57-59).]

(72) With gän or (i)š, but not dep (?): 'forget'

(a) uni toy-gä bar-gän-i-ni es -im-nän
he+GEN feast-DAT go-SbS-his-ACC memory-my-ABL

čiq - är - ip - pän
go out-CAUS-PST NnC-1SG

'I forgot that he had gone to the (wedding) feast' (Literally; 'I let go from my memory his having gone to the feast') (Kokand dialect)

(b) uni it-tän qorq- iš- i - ø es -im-nän čiq -ip
he/she+GEN dog-ABL fear-SbS-his-NOM memory-my-ABL go out-GER

qa - p - ti [from qalipti]
CVC-PST NnC-3SG

'I forgot that he/she's afraid of dogs' (Literally: 'His/Her being afraid of dogs left my memory') (Kokand dialect)

(c) kitap-ti apkel-iš - ti es - im-nän čiq - är - ip - pän
book-ACC bring-SbS-ACC memory-my-ABL go out-CAUS-PST NnC-1SG

'I forgot to bring the book' (Kokand dialect)

(73) With gän, (i)š, or dep: 'ask'

(a) ulä häsän qäygä ket-ti-ø dep surä-š-ti - ø
they Hasan where go-PST-3SG SbS ask-PL-PST-3rd

'They asked where Hasan had gone' (Namangan dialect)

(b) ulä häsän-ni qäygä ket-gän-i-ni surä-š-ti - ø

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they Hasan-GEN where go-Sbs-his-ACC ask-PL-PST-3rd

'They asked where Hasan had gone' (Namangan dialect)

(c) u mäjlis baŷlän-gän -- baŷlän-mä-gän-i-ni sorä-di-ø
he meeting begin-SbS begin-NEG-SbS-POSS-ACC ask-PST-3SG

'He asked whether the meeting had begun (or not)', (Literary Uzbek) [Kollektiv 1976:472]

(d) biz uni qäygä ket-iš- i -ni surä-du-k
we he+GEN where go-SbS-his-ACC ask-PST-1PL

'We asked where he would (will) go' (Namangan dialect)

(74) gän in counterfactual SbS's: 'pretend'

(a) men oz-im-di uxlä-gän - gä sal-di - m
I self-my-ACC sleep-SbS-DAT put-PST-1SG

'I pretended to be asleep' (Literally: 'I put myself to sleeping') (Andijan dialect)

(b) men oz-im-di oqi - yätkän - gä sal-di - m
I self-my-ACC read-PROG SbS-DAT put-PST-1SG

'I pretended to be reading' ('I put myself to being reading') (Andijan dialect)

[Remarks: In these two sentences, the speaker commits himself to the falsity, and not the truth, of the propositions 'I was asleep' and 'I was reading'. The existence of the SbS GM gan in such counterfactuals suggests either that the precise distinction involved in Uzbek SbS's is to be stated as speaker commitment to a truth value of a proposition, whether true or false, or that under certain circumstances speaker commitment to truth is reversed in truth value.]

(75) Counterfactual SbS 'as if':

Karätay biraz oylän-ib, baš-i qizi-gän käbi ,
[NAME] a little think-GER head-his heat up-SbS like

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doppi -si - ni kursi-gä al-ib qoy-di - ø
skullcap-his-ACC chair-DAT take-GER put-PST-3SG

'Karatay, thinking a little, took and put his doppi on the chair, as if his head was heating up (had heated up).' (Literary Uzbek) [Äbdurähmanov 1958:206]

[Remarks: In this case, as in (74), the speaker implies that the proposition expressed by the gän-SbS, 'his head was heating up', is not true. In fact, gän occurs regularly in Uzbek comparison SbS's marked by the suffixes -däy/dek or the postpositions käbi, singäri 'like, as, as if, such as', whether the proposition expressed by the SbS is assumed to be true or false. In a phrase such as yuqari qäyd qil-gän-imiz käbi,...'as we stressed above,...' (Literary Uzbek), it is presupposed to be true that 'we stressed so above', but in other cases, ex., (76), there seems to be no speaker commitment to the proposition underlying the comparison.

(76) čoči - gän - däy bir zum toxtä-b qal - di - ø
be startled-SbS-as if a moment stop-CER SUDDEN-PST-3SG

'He stopped suddenly on a dime as if startled (frightened).' (Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:280]

Yet among numerous examples of comparison SbS's cited in Uzbek grammars [Kononov 1960:286, 305, 381-382; Kollektiv 1975:546; Kollektiv 1976:230-231, 375-376, 429-430; Äbdurähmanov 1958:206-209; Ghulamov, Äsqärova 1961:199-201], the SbS GM was almost always gän, with the exception of a structure like (77).

(77) pul qärz al-ib , ye-b ket-iš , qälbäki hujjät-lär
money debt take-GER renege -SbS false document-PL

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yäsä- š singäri häram iš-lär-niŋ pir - i edi - ø
make-SbS like foul thing-PL-GEN head sufi-its PST COP-3SG

'He was a master of such foul deeds as (or: of foul deeds like) borrowing money and not paying it back and making false documents.' (Literary Uzbek) [Kollektiv 1975:546]

Since comparison SbS's may be presupposed to be true or false or there may be no real inference involved, they do not shed any light on whether speaker commitment is to the truth of a proposition or to its truth value. They suggest that despite the importance of the [±NONCOMMITAL] distinction for some syntactic structures (some sentential complements, purpose/causal clauses), the SbS GM gän may be required in a particular type of syntactic structure (comparison SbS's) without strict regard for this distinction. Such "exceptions" do not necessarily invalidate a statement of what is systematic about a linguistic phenomenon, but on the other hand they should not be ignored completely, since they may offer some insight into an alternative interpretation. Since the overwhelming majority of cases of gän as a SbS GM involve speaker commitment to the truth of a proposition, the distinction will be treated as such here, with the understanding that a further refinement of the analysis may lead in a different direction.]

(78) With Habitual SbS's: 'stop'

män uŋgä xät yaz -iš - ti toxtä- t -ti - m
I he+DAT letter write-SbS-ACC stop-CAUS-PST-1SG

'I stopped writing him letters' (Kokand dialect)

(79) With Habitual SbS's: 'quit'

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u papiris ček-iš - ti tašā- š -i kerāy
he cigarette draw-SbS-ACC throw-SbS-his necessary

'He must quit somking' (Literally: 'It is necessary that he abandon drawing cigarettes') (Kokand dialect)

[Remarks: The complements of verbs like toxtāt- 'stop', tašā- (cf., Literary Uzbek tāšlā-) 'quit' are classic "presupposition-triggers", linguistic structures that regularly give rise to presuppositions, and it seems that the propositions underlying the SbS's in (78) and (79), 'I was writing him letters' and 'he smokes', are presupposed to be true. These propositions also remain true when the main S's are negated. But the SbS GM here is not gān, the apparent reason being that the situation in the SbS is of necessity habitual, a condition requiring the use of (i)š. However, habituals in presupposed SbS's exhibit an interesting property; they can be denied in a conjoined sentence without a contradiction arising. For instance, the sentence 'I didn't stop writing him letters' can be followed by 'but when he didn't write me, I wouldn't write him (letters)', whereby the proposition 'I was writing (or: used to write) him letters' contrasts with the assertion 'I wouldn't write him letters'. In addition, the tense relationship of the propositions in positive-negative pairs of habitual SbS's seem to be different. Thus in the pairs 'he quit smoking' and 'he didn't quit smoking', the inference being expressed seem to be 'he used to smoke' [PAST HABITUAAL] and 'he smokes' [PRESENT HABITUAL], respectively.

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(80) "Pseudo-Cleft" and Hypothetical Nominalization in Equational S:

ägär oylä-gän-iŋ adäm ol-dir - iš bol- sä - ø
if think-SbS-your person die-CAUS-SbS be-NnP CND-3SG
REL CL NOMINALIZATION

Hatäm orn - i - gä meni ol - dir - ø !
[NAME] place-his-DAT I+ACC die-CLAUS-IMP

'If what you're thinking about is to kill someone, kill me instead of Hatam!' (or: 'If what you're contemplating is killing...!') (Literary Uzbek, from folk tale) [Chälpäk yaqqän kun, Tashkent 1969, p. 253]

[Remarks: In Uzbek, relative clauses can occupy an entire NP, without an overt head noun. In English such a construction is usually translated by what (=that which), the one(s) who, those who, etc. In this instance, the nominalized relative clause resembles the English pseudo-cleft construction, and as expected, the proposition expressed by the SbS, 'you are thinking about something' ('you contemplate something'), is presupposed to be true. Although the speaker believes the addressee is contemplating a murder or execution, the addressee's intention is still hypothetical, hence the (i)š on adäm oldiriš. The word oldiriš can also be regarded as a lexical nominalization '(a/the) killing', the marker (i)š being frequently used to form such items--ex., quriliš 'construction' from qur- 'build' + il [PASSIVE] = iš; kopäytiriš 'multiplication, breeding' from kop 'many' + äy [Vb Formative] + tir [CAUSATIVE] + iš; etc.]

To summarize then, the paradigm of SbS GM's in Uzbek can be reflected in the following temporal/aspectual/modal terms, where "ST" refers to "stative' and "PR" to "progressive".

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	TIME BASED:			NON-TIME BASED:	
	ANTERIOR	SIMULTANEOUS	POSTERIOR	HABITUAL/TIMELESS	"HYPOTHETICAL"
REL CL	gän	ST: gän PR: (y)atkän	ädigan	ädigan (u)wči	ädigan
ADV	gan	ST: gän PR: (y)atkän	(i)š	(i)š	(i)š dep
COMP	gän	ST: gän PR: (y)atkän	(i)š	(i)š	(i)š dep

[REL CL=RELATIVE CLAUSES, ADV=ADVERBIALS, COMP=COMPLEMENTS]

The use of the terms "anterior", "simultaneous', and "posterior" in this chart emphasizes the relative time reference of the verbs in these SbS's, but as long as that aspect of the temporal relationship is borne in mind, it will also be possible to use the more common tense terminology "past, "present", and "future". Leaving aside the exceptional cases of the present progressive (y)atkän and the rather infrequent relative clause marker (u)wči, the following three-way pattern emerges for SbS GM's:

PAST-PRESENT	FUTURE-HABITUAL (TIMELESS)	"HYPOTHETICAL"
	ädigan	ädigan
gän		(i)š
	(i)š	dep

Note that the tense distinctions in the SbS's differ from those in main Sentences, even though the number of distinctions is the same in both cases, two. In SbS's, there is a division between

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PAST-PRESENT and FUTURE-HABITUAL, while in main Sentences, it is between PAST and NONPAST, the latter including the PRESENT, FUTURE, and HABITUAL.

At this point the question arises of whether the third category of SbS GM properly belongs under the designation "hypothetical". Some uses of ädigan, (i)š, and dep seem to warrant this label--the hypothetical relative clauses (similar to certain English infinitival relatives, 'the place to read', sentence (46)), purpose clauses, subject complements with kerək 'necessary', mumkin 'possible', and some other complements ('want to go', examples (67)). It should also be noted that since dep is the only SbS GM that takes a finite verb form, a dep-SbS can occur in the same sort of tense relationship as a gän- or (i)š-SbS. Hence the key to determining the differences that set the various SbS GM's apart involves the use of dep in SbS's. There does not appear to be any significant difference between (i)š and dep as markers of purpose clauses, examples (26) and (33), or as complementizers with verbs such as 'promise', sentences (68). When (i)s occurs in a complement with a verb that regularly takes dep, it can denote the future, as was seen with oylä- 'think' in sentences (60) and (62). But even in such a case a synonymous sentence with dep can be produced:

(81)	(a)	u	meniki-gä	ertägä	kir-	iš-	i -ni	äyt- di- ø
		he	mine-DAT	tomorrow	go in-	SbS-	his-ACC	say-PST-3SG
	(b)	u	menikigä	ertägä	kir-	ä -män	deb	äytdi.
					go in-	NnP-1SG	SbS	

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Both meaning: 'He said he would drop by my place tomorrow'
(Literary Uzbek)

There may be a semantic difference between (i)$\underline{\text{š}}$-SbS's and dep-SbS's in combination with certain predicates like $\underline{\text{h}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{yran}}$ where the (i)$\underline{\text{š}}$-SbS is more tightly bound semantically to the predicate, cf., the remarks to example (71). In the case of $\underline{\text{h}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{yran}}$, the use of dep seems to involve a shift of meaning from 'surprised' to 'confused, dumbfounded, perplexed', but this difference appears to be idiosycratic. Otherwise the use of dep is limited by its surface morphological structure as an adverb (hence its inability to mark a subject complement). However, when dep-complements occur in the same environments as $\underline{\text{g}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{n}}$-complements, there seems to be a systematic contrast between the two, as is shown in the examples with the verb yaz- 'write' (37-40) and in the shift of meaning with the verb bil- from 'know' with $\underline{\text{g}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{n}}$-complements, sentence (57), to 'think' with dep-complements, (58). In such instances the $\underline{\text{g}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{n}}$-complement indicates that the speaker is more certain that the proposition expressed by the complement is true than is the case with the dep-complement, which seems to be explicitly noncommittal.

Unfortunately, the semantic difference is subtle, and some speakers of Uzbek may not be as sensitive to it as others are. For instance, a speaker of Andijan Uzbek made a clear distinction between the two types of complements with the verb i$\underline{\text{š}}$an-/i$\underline{\text{š}}\ddot{\underline{\text{a}}}\underline{\text{n}}$-, generally translated 'believe'.

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(82) (a) häsän-ni qač-ip ket-kän- i -gä ulär išän-iš- ä - di
Hasan-GEN flee-GER away-SbS-his-DAT they believe-PL-NnP-3rd

(b) ulär häsän qač-ip ket-kän dep išän-iš- ä - di
they Hasan flee-GER away-PRF SbS believe-PL-NnP-3rd

Both meaning: 'They believe Hasan has run away' (Andijan dialect)

In field notes taken in 1976, it is recorded that in (82a) "it is true that Hasan ran away, but in [(82b)], no such commitment on the part of the speaker" is being made, a remark that reflects the judgments of the native speaker as to the relevant difference. But in elicitation session with other Uzbek native speakers, the situatin was not nearly so clear-cut. A Bukharan speaker accepted an overt denial of the SbS proposition 'but Hasan in fact didn't run away' with either of the following sentences:

(83) (a) ulä häsän-ni qač-ip ket-kän- i -gä išan- ä - di
they Hasan-GEN flee-GER away-SbS-his-DAT believe-NnP-3rd

(b) ulä häsän qačip ket-di - Ø dep išan- ä - di
away-PST-3SG SbS believe-NnP-3rd

'They believe that Hasan has run away' (Bukharan dialect)

A Kokand speaker also felt that either type of sentence was acceptable with the denial. A speaker of the Samarkand dialect, when asked if a denial of a gän-complement was acceptable with išan-, preferred the placement of the subject before the verb in focus position, or at least heavy stress, with the denial.

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(84) (a) meni qač-gän-im-gä ú išan- ä - di , häqiqätdä men qač-mä-di-m
I+GEN flee-SbS-my-DAT he believe-NnP-3rd in fact I flee-NEG-PST-1SG

'He believes I ran away, [but] in fact I didn't' (Samarkand dialect)

(b) ú meniŋ qač-gän-im-gä išan- ä di, ámma häqiqätdä men qač-mä - di-m
he I+GEN flee-SbS-my-DAT believe-NnP-3SG but in fact I flee-NEG-PST-1SG

'He believes I ran away but in fact I didn't.' (Literary Uzbek, but by the same speaker of Samarkand Uzbek as above)

These responses suggest that (i) speakers vary in their perception of the meaning of gän- and dep-complements, (ii) some verbs, like išan-, may override whatever difference there may be between the two complementizers with other verbs like yaz- and bil-, (iii) under certain marked conditions (a marked stress or focus pattern) speaker commitment to the truth of a gän-complement proposition can be overridden, (iv) a genuine dialect difference exists with respect to this distinction,[14] or (v) several of the above apply. The ability of presuppositions to be "canceled" or "overridden", labeled "defeasibility", is a well-known property in the behavior of these pragmatic entities, and a similar property may hold for speaker (non)commitment in Uzbek SbS's [Levinson 1983:186-198]. It should be mentioned that during more lengthy elicitation work in which the native speaker had a fuller opportunity to grasp the distinction between acceptable and unacceptable sentences than was possible with native speakers of Uzbek, a speaker of another Turkic language, Karachay, was quite emphatic about her judgments

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on the differences between gän- and dep-complements, rejecting sentence (85c) but fully accepting (85d).

(85) (a) meni qaš-ğan-im-a i:nan- a - di
I+GEN flee-SbS-my-DAT believe-NnP-3SG

'He believes I ran away.' (Karachay dialect)

(b) men qaš-ğan-maa dep i:nan- a - di
I flee-PRF-1SG SbS believe-NnP-3SG

'He believes I ran away.' (Karachay dialect)

(c) *meni qašğanima i:nanadi, amma qaš-ma - di- m
but flee-NEG-PST-1SG

'He believes I ran away, but I didn't.' (Karachay dialect)

(d) men qašğanma dep i:nanadi, amma qašmadim

'He believes I ran away,, but I didn't.' (Karachay dialect)

[Remarks: Both of the old Turkic verbs išan- and inan- mean 'believe; trust, rely on'. Some languages use one or the other, and some languages, like Kirghiz, use both. It is unlikely that there is a semantic difference between Uzbek išan- and Karachay i:nan-, cf., Clauson 1972:188, 264.]

This speaker of Karachay was consistent in her evaluation of the semantic difference between gän- and dep-complements, a reaction similar to the one by the native speaker of Andijan Uzbek. But whatever the reason for the divergent attitudes towards complements with išan- in Uzbek, it was never the case that the proposition of the dep-complement was presupposed to be true, while the gän-complement was neutral in that regard.

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Thus, since hypotheticals are inherently noncommittal and since speaker noncommitment is a more accurate reflection of the semantics of dep-SbS's, it would be preferable to select [NONCOMMITTAL] as the relevant feature in the SbS GM paradigm instead of [HYPOTHETICAL]. The question then becomes, does the feature [NONCOMMITTAL] merely replace [HYPOTHETICAL] in the paraqdigm, leaving intact the three-distinction [PAST-PRESENT], [FUTURE-HABITUAL], and [NONCOMMITTAL], or is another scheme possible? Is a binary opposition, whereby the paradigm would be divided into [+NONCOMMITTAL] and [-NONCOMMITTAL], possible? Under such a proposal, tense would not serve to differentiate SbS GM's but would rather be derivative from the specification on the feature [NONCOMMITTAL]. The morphological patterning of the SbS GM's suggests that the division between [±NONCOMMITTAL] be between [PAST-PRESENT] gän on the one hand and the other SbS GM's on the other, a grouping that would be plausible if it is assumed that in SbS's (or at least in nonfinite SbS's) the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of propositions involving future or habitual situations in the same way as he does with past and present situations. In fact, there appears to be evidence in favor of such an interpretation from the ability of propositions expressed by future or habitual SbS's to be overtly denied without a real contradiction arising. Consider, for instance, the following examples from English involving temporal adverbials where time relationships are very clear. The selection of the nonfinite ing-verb form for the adverbial SbS is deliberate, because it more

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closely corresponds to the pattern in Turkic languages and because it appears that explicit tense marking in English SbS's prejudices the readings of such sentences in compicated ways.

(86) Before going out hunting, I checked my rifle.

(87) After going out hunting, I checked my rifle.

(88) While going out hunting, I checked my rifle.

(89) ... but I discovered it wasn't working right, so I never actually went out (hunting).

(90) Before going out hunting, I'll check my rifle.

(91) After going out hunting, I'll check my rifle.

(92) While going out hunting, I'll check my rifle.

(93) ... but if it isn't working perfectly, I won't go out (hunting).

[Remarks: For this set of sentences, it is assumed that there is no real-world preferred sequence to the actions of going out hunting and checking one's rifle for use in hunting. The statements to be made below would be applicable if a verb less connected to the subsequent denial, ex., 'clean' instead of 'check', were used.]

Whether the event time of the matrix verb is in the past or the future, the denials (89) and (93) can follow the sentences with the before-adverbial, i.e., sentences (86) and (90), and it would not be perceived by a listener that the proposition expressed by the adverbial was being contradicted. With before-SbS's, the event time of the SbS is explicitly posterior (subsequent) to the

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time of the verb in the matrix S, and apparently because of that there is no inference on the part of the speaker whether the proposition expressed by the SbS is true or not. Thus an overt denial of it does not constitute a contradiction. In the case of (86) it is clear that the speaker knows the truth value of the proposition expressed by the adverbial, namely 'I went out hunting', by the time he utters the sentence, so it is not a matter of whether or not he could commit himself to the truth of the proposition. On the other hand, after the sentences where the event time in the SbS is anterior or simultaneous to that of the matrix verb, sentences (87), (88), (91), and (92), the denials (89) and (93) are clearly understood as contradictions. Notice that in contrast to (86), the speaker does not even know whether the propositions expressed by the adverbials in (91) and (92) are (going to be) true or not, since obviously events in the future cannot be predicted with absolute certainty. That is, the perception of a contradiction in the combination of sentences like (87), (88), (91), (92) with denials like (89) and (93) and the lack of contradiction in (86) + (89) or in (90) + (93) have nothing to do with real-world knowledge but with linguistic structures involved. Notice how one's perception of a possible contradiction is changed by the use of a tensed verb form: Before I went out hunting, I checked my rifle, but I discovered it wasn't working right, so I never actually went out (hunting). In addition, when habitual (timeless) situations are expressed in the

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SbS, the proposition underlying the SbS may be overtly denied in a conjoined sentence without the perception of a contradiction.

(94) Past Habitual:

(a) When going out hunting, I would always check my rifle

(b) ... but when it wasn't working perfectly, I wouldn't go out (hunting).

(c) Proposition of 1st SbS: 'I would (used to) go out hunting.'
vs. Assertion of Conjoined S: 'I wouldn't go out (hunting).'

(95) Present Habitual:

(a) When going out hunting, I always check my rifle

(b) ... and when it isn't working perfectly, I don't go out (hunting).

(c) Proposition of 1st SbS: 'I go out hunting.'
vs. Assertion of Conjoined S: 'I don't go out (hunting).' [15]

Recall in the discussions above about (i)ɣ̈-complemnets with the verb bil-'know', toxtät- 'stop', täšä- 'quit' that the propositions involving future or habitual complements could also be denied in a conjoined S without a real contradiction being generated. This evidence suggests a general property of the propositions expressed by future or habitual SbS's (at least nonfinite ones), that they are deniable without creating a contradiction. Thus speaker commitment to the truth of such propositions seems systematically different from speaker commitment to past or present SbS's. Hence, on cross-linguistic grounds, it is reasonable to claim that Uzbek SbS GM's expressing future or habitual situations belong to the category

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[+NONCOMMITTAL], whereby ʉdigan, (i)ʏs, dep and gʉn are [+NONCOMMITTAL], and gʉn is [-NONCOMMITTAL].

One other possible schema for the SbS GM paradigm should be considered here:

(96)

[NONQUOTATIVE]		[QUOTATIVE]
[PAST-PRESENT]	[FUTURE-HABITUAL-HYPOTHETICAL]	
gʉn	ʉdigan (i)ʏs	dep

Such an arrangement suggests that the quotative dep is sufficiently different in syntactic behavior to warrant a separate category from both ʉdigan/(i)ʏs and gʉn. The SbS GM dep is indeed distinct in certain respects: morphologically it is a gerundive while the forms to which the other SbS GM's are attached function as nouns or adjectives, and syntactically it alone occurs with finite verb forms in the SbS. In addition, it, along with the verb it is derived from, de- 'say', can be used regularly to mark verbatim quotation. But as was pointed out above in the remarks on the use of dep with the verb vʉ:dʉ ber- 'promise', sentence (68), dep does not just serve as a GM meaning something like "end-quotation", but functions as a true complementizer. Its range of use Uzbek syntax includes the following:

I.(i) Marks purpose clauses, ex., (33), (34)

(ii) Marks causal clauses, ex., (32), (35) [See also Abdurʉhmanov

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1958:97, 175-9 for examples of this use]

II. As complementizer:[16]

(i) With verbs of communication: äyt- 'say, tell', sorä- 'ask', jävab ber- 'answer', vä:dä ber- 'promise', yaz- 'write', imza çek- 'sign (a letter)', buyruq ber- 'order', tä:rip qil- 'describe', unä-'agree', mäslähät ber- 'advise', eşit- 'hear', orgät- 'teach', ant iç- 'swear, vow', bäqir- 'shout', etc.

Also: yiğlä- 'cry', kul- 'laugh'.

(ii) With verbs describing a mental state: oylä- 'think', işan- 'believe', bil-'think, suppose', qärä- 'regard, consider', fikr qil- 'think', umid qil- 'hope', etc.

Also: häyrättä qal-/häyran bol- 'be dumbfounded, be perplexed' [can also be translated 'be surprised', cf., (71)], xäpä bol- 'be sad', qorq- 'be afraid, fear', etc.

III. 'as' in structures like 'consider as', 'regard as':

(97) (a) biz uni zor oşläçi [<äşuläçi] dep
we he+ACC great singer as
isaŵlä-y-miz
count-NnP-1PL

'We consider him a great singer' (Namangan dialect)

Unlike in English, a complete SbS may occur in this construction with an accusative direct object:

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(97)
(b) biz uni yäxši äšulä äyt- ä - di deb hisablä-y-miz

we he+ACC good song say-NnP-3SG SbS count-NnP-1PL

'We consider that he sings well.' (Literally: 'We consider him saying he sings well.' 'We consider him as singing well.') (Literary Uzbek)

It is natural that the quotative dep should occur with verbs that report an act of communication, either verbatim or not, or convey a state of mind, dispositions, beliefs, hopes, etc., at least of states of mind capable of being expressed in terms of a proposition. However, not every mental state capable of being expressed in terms of a proposition is encoded by means of the quotative dep. In particular, those propositions known to be true are not marked by dep-complements, as is shown in the shift in meaning for the verb bil- from 'know' with gän-complements to 'think', cf., examples (57), (58). Even the major exception to the generalization that bil- with gän-complements means 'know' supports this view. As is well-known [cf., Levinson 1983:186], when the factive verb know has a first person subject, is nonpast, and is negated, the proposition expressed by its complement is not presupposed to be true; that is, 'I don't know that Nadir has delivered the message' does not presuppose 'Nadir has delivered the message,' and English speakers prefer to use the SbS GM 'whether' rather than 'that' in such sentences. But as the following dialogue illustrates, bil- can be used with a gän-complement to mean 'think' in this context:

(98) (a) [The pasha asks fisherman brought before him:]
nimä jinayät qil-gän ed-ŋ ?

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what crime do-PST PRF-2SG

'What crime had you committed?'

(b) [The fisherman responds:] ey uluğ šah-im , men heč
great king-my I no

qändäy jinayät qil-gän-im-ni bil - mä- y -män
(what) sort of crime do-SbS-my-ACC "know"-NEG-NnP-1SG

'I don't think that I have committed any kind of crime.'

(c) jällad -- deb bäqir- ib - di šah -- nimä jinayät
executioner SbS shout-PST NnC-3SG king what crime

qil-gän-i-ni bil- mä-gän-i učun baš- i - ni kes-iŋlär
do-SbS-his-ACC know-NEG-SbS-his for head-his-ACC cut-PL IMP

'"Executioner," shouted the king, "cut off his head for not knowing what crime he has committed."' (Literary Uzbek) [Chälpäk yaqqän kun, Tashkent 1969, p.390]

In (98b), heč qändäy 'no kind of' regularly occurs with a negated verb in the same S, but in this case, the negative is on the matrix verb, a pattern resembling "NEG-raising" in English. Yet in (98c) the negative suffix mä clearly refers to the matrix verb, and not to the SbS verb; that is, the sentence does not mean 'cut off his head for knowing what crime he has not committed.' "NEG-raising", in whatever form it should be represented in a grammar, applies to bil- when it means 'think', but not when it means 'know', a situation comparable to that in English with the two separate verbs think and know. It should be further noted that while no native speaker of Uzbek has been consulted on this matter, it seems likely that a dep-complement would not be used in sentence (98c) to express the mental state involved, since such a substitution would mean 'cut off his head for not thinking what crime he has committed' or possibly 'cut off his head for thinking

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what crime he has not committed.' Of course, the humor in this dialogue stems from the two meanings of bil- and the use of the gän-complement in (98c) by which the pasha demonstrates that he is presuming guilt; he is thus committing himself to the truth of the proposition 'he has committed some crime.' Such evidence suggests that dep is not just the "complementizer of choice" for certain verbs of communication and mental state, but that it fits into a systematic opposition with another SbS GM, namely gän. Support for the existence of this opposition also comes from the semantics of verbs that cannot presuppose their complements, like oylä- 'think', which regularly take dep as a complementizer but not gän, and verbs that normally presuppose their complements, like ängläd- 'understand, realize', which apparently do not occur with dep. Verbs like bil-, yaz-, and at least for some speakers, išan- 'believe' demonstrate a systematic difference in meaning depending upon the use of the two complementizers. On the other hand, as was shown above, it is difficult to define a systematic difference between (i)š- and dep-SbS's. Thus the behavior of dep is consistent with the view that it expresses noncommitment on the part of the speaker towards the truth of the proposition underlying the SbS it marks, and if, as argued above, it is proper to regard SbS's expressing future or habitual situations as noncommital, it would seem appropriate to include dep within the category of noncommittal SbS GM's along with ädigan and (i)š. In short, the rationale for classifying dep as a "quotative", namely

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that it exhibits distinctive syntactic properties, has no substantive semantic justification.

In conclusion, the paradigm of SbS GM's exhibits the following dichotomy:

(99)	[-NONCOMMITTAL] (Unmarked)	[+NONCOMMITTAL] (Marked)
	gn	digan (in REL CL's) (i)s (in other SbS's) dep

Two other marked distinctions can be formally expressed:

1. [-NONCOMMITTAL, +PROGRESSIVE]: (y)atkn (in SbS's expressing simultaneous situations)

2. [+NONCOMMITTAL, +HABITUAL]: (u)wci (in REL CL's)

Temporal relationships in SbS's are derivative by convention--[PAST, PRESENT] for [-NONCOMMITTAL] SbS's, [FUTURE, HABITUAL, HYPOTHETICAL] for digan or (i)s, while the tense of the verb in a dep-SbS is established as if there were two "speech times", one for the matrix verb and one for the SbS verb.

Thus the introduction of a single grammatical feature [+NONCOMMITTAL] provides for a unified treatment of opposition in both main S's and SbS's. In main S's the feature serves to differentiate Indicative forms from the set of verbs (d)r, (i)p, gn, dkn, etc., and for that matter, from all other finite verb forms, while in SbS's, it defines the major division between gn and (y)atkn on the one hand and digan, (u)wci, (i)s, and dep on the other. However, the relevance of [+NONCOMMITTAL] to both main and SbS's should not imply an exact parallelism in the two types

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of paradigms. For instance, under the analysis presented above, it is impossible in SbS's to distinguish between a future situation the truth of which the speaker commits himself to and one where he does not, while in main S's, the difference between such future situations can be expressed by means of the opposition pair, nonpast ä/y and (ä)r. Also, since only dep permits a [+PERFECT] distinction to be expressed in SbS's, the only perfect tense distinctions to be found in SbS's will necessarily be noncommittal. The unmarked members of the opposition, i.e., [-NONCOMMITTAL] forms, consist of Indicatives in main S's and gän, (y)atkän forms in SbS's.

At this point it might be worthwhile to examine more thoroughly the relationship between the postulated grammatical distinction [±NONCOMMITTAL] and the notion of presupposition as currently employed in linguistic pragmatics.[17] As defined here, the opposition [±NONCOMMITTAL] involves speaker commitment or noncommitment (sometimes abbreviated hereafter as "speaker (non)commitment") to the truth (or truth value) of a proposition expressed linguistically by an S, where as presupposition is a pragmatic relationship associated with parts of sentences, not necessarily S's. Among the "parts" of sentences that can give rise to presuppositions, "presupposition-triggers", are definite descriptions like 'the king of philosophy', which in a regular sentential context presupposes the existential proposition 'there is a king of philosophy'. Since speaker (non)commitment refers only to S's, presupposition in this respect pertains to a larger

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set of linguistic structures than does speaker (non)commitment. But since the latter is significant for entire declarative sentences, in its capacity as the feature that distinguishes nonindicatives from indicatives, its domain is wider than that of presupposition. Nevertheless, there are linguistic structures to which both speaker (non)commitment and presupposition apply, SbS's, and it would therefore be possible to compare the two notions strictly with regard to these linguistic structures. It might be supposed, merely looking at the terminology used here, that one major difference between presupposition and speaker (non)commitment lies in explicit speaker involvement in the latter concept. Although presupposition is frequently treated as a property of an utterance independent of the utterer, the incorporation of speaker orientation into the notion, quite commonly done in the linguistic literature, does not seem to be at all incompatible with an acceptable theory of presupposition [Levinson 1983:178, 213, 218, etc.]. Thus the primacy of the speaker in the concept of (non)commitment has no special merit with respect to presupposition. On the other hand, speaker (non)commitment as formulated above is closely connected with tense, in particular, with the claim that speakers do not commit themselves to the truth of propositions expressed by future or habitual SbS's (or at least nonfinite SbS's). No similar tense restriction has been accepted into the standard concept of presupposition--whether a systematic reference to tense might be able to clear up some problematic matters in the theory of

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presupposition or not. The point is that presupposition has been treated as if tense were irrelevant in the determination of presupposed status. Another point of contrast stems from the status of speaker (non)commitment as a grammatical opposition. It has been mentioned in this discussion, without, however, much justification, that markedness theory applies to the feature [NONCOMMITTAL] as it does to other linguistic oppositions. Markedness theory in syntax offers possible explanations for the formal morphological means used for expressing oppositions and perhaps even provides mechanisms for characterizing exceptional behavior (by defining shifts in markedness values), but it has not been applied to the notion of presupposition. Presupposed propositions are not ordinarily thought of as being in opposition to nonpresupposed propositions, and markedness theory refers specifically to paired distinctions. It is not altogether implausible that some form of markedness could be used to specify the contexts ("marked contexts") in which presuppositions can be canceled, but such a proposal has not yet been elaborated for presupposition theory. In fact, whether presupposition theory would benefit from the introduction of speaker orientation, greater attention to tense, or the application of markedness theory is not really at issue here. Since these features have not traditionally been regarded as significant elements of presupposition theory (except perhaps speaker orientation), the concept of speaker (non)commitment developed here for Uzbek diverges from presupposition in precisely these respects. It

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would therefore be inaccurate to represent the function of the GM gän within the domain of Uzbek SbS's as a means of "grammaticalizing" the pragmatic concept of presupposition, at least as the term "presupposition" is currently understood in pragmatics. But clearly, speaker (non)commitment and presupposition share a similar orientation, with truth value as a defining characteristic and constancey of truth value under negation as a major operational test. Further research is called for to determine if the differences between the two concepts can, or should, be reconciled with one another.

Finally, while the distinction [±NONCOMMITTAL] has been developed to conform to the language-specific conditions obtaining in the Uzbek finite verb and SbS GM paradigms, it would be legitimate to consider whether the putative paradigmatic relationship observed has any validity in other languages. It is well-known that in the main verb paradigms of various other languages there are forms labeled as "evidentials", "suppositionals", "presumptives", "inferentials", "dubitatives", etc., and that quotative particles of various types are familiar SbS GM's, but less concern has been shown in linguistics to try to correlate the uses of evidentials and quotatives within the syntactic component of a single language. Perhaps this lack of interest stems from the traditional focus in the study of evidentials on the "source of information" as a defining characteristic. For instance, Jakobson 1957 attempts a

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classification of what he calls "generic verbal categories" and within this framework defines the category "evidential" as taking

> into account three events--a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event (E^{ns}), namely the alleged source of information about the narrated event. The speaker reports an event on the basis of someone else's report (quotative, i.e., hearsay evidence), of a dream (revelative evidence), of a guess (presumptive evidence) or of his own previous experience (memory evidence). [Jakobson 1957:4; also Jakobson 1971:135]

(Since it appears that Jakobson is highlighting the "narrated speech event" or the "alleged source of information" here, the feature [±SECONDARY SOURCE] will be used in this discussion to represent the verbal category, and "evidential" will refer to a verb form explicitly marked for [+SECONDARY SOURCE]. Otherwise, his definition of "evidential" becomes an ostensive list of items that happen to qualify; for instance, it is not immediately clear why a statement based on someone else's report should be similar to a statement based on one's own dream.)

Jakobson is also concerned with "reported speech", that is, "message referring to message", which seems to be an elementary part of linguistic communication. He maintains that within reported speech "there is a multiplex scale of linguistic processes for quoted and quasi-quoted speech; oratio recta, obliqua, and various forms of 'represented discourse' (style

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indirect libre)" [Ibid., p. 1 (in 1971 version, p. 130)]. Although it is not clear from Jakobson's remarks how reported speech is to be treated in a grammar of a language, let us assume here that it can also be represented by a feature opposition [±REPORTED SPEECH]. While it is undeniable that the reporting of another's speech is an universal linguistic capability, it can legitimately be questioned whether an opposition such as [±SECONDARY SOURCE] or [±REPORTED SPEECH] ever serves as a grammatically relevant distinction, or in other words, whether the linguistic mechanisms involved in expressing reported speech or secondary/source perform just that function, and nothing else. Or is it not that the representation of reported speech/secondary source is always subsumed under the representation of some other kind of linguistic process? Thus, for instance, in Indo-European languages, indirect discourse is encoded in the same way as sentential complements, and direct quotes are achieved by simple sentence concatenation.

Of course, it is not the Indo-European language family where one might expect to observe a distinction like [±SECONDARY SOURCE]/[±REPORTED SPEECH], but rather languages with both evidentials and quotatives. But even in these languages, the question remains whether the linguistic menchanisms that generate evidential forms and quotative structures perform just that task or whether they are a part of more general processes. In particular, are they a part of the processes used to express speaker attitude towards the validity of the S being expressed?

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It should be clear that speaker noncommitment as a distinction in main Sentences encompasses any form whose meaning is compatible with the [±SECONDARY SOURCE/[±REPORTED SPEECH] distinction, since, in the case of [SECONDARY SOURCE], speaker noncommitment covers any situation based on a non-primary, derivtive source of information and since, in the case of [REPORTED SPEECH], speaker commitment, by definition, does not extend to the speech of others. However, there are some circumstances to which speaker noncommitment is applicable but with which [SECONDARY SOURCE]/[REPORTED SPEECH] appears less compatible--(1) when the speaker himself is involved in the situation being expressed, (2) when the speaker has merely inferred the situation being conveyed, or (3) when the speaker explicitly casts doubt on the accuracy of the statement he is making. In the first case, whereby the verb form is in the first person singular, speaker noncommitment to the truth or validity of the statement being made seems to represent the semantics of the sentence better than the concepts of secondary source or reported speech. See, for instance, the examples and remarks above at the end of Section 2.2.1, to which the examples (72a) and (72c) involving the construction meaning 'forget', a common use of the Noncommittal, can be added. The second case can be illustrated by the sentence (100) from Modern Turkish:

(100) kar ya: - mIş - ø
snow fall-NnC PST(or:PRF)-3SG

'it has snowed, snow has fallen' (Turkish)

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There are three possible interpretations for this sentence: a straightforward perfect sense, in which case it is synonymous with kar ya:mï̆š-tïr, with the overt perfect marker -tir; a "secondary source" or "reported speech" sense, in which case the speaker has been told that it has snowed; or an "inferential" sense, in which case the speaker has ascertained from observing some state, ex., the ground newly covered with snow, an event he cannot attest to [example from Lewis 1967:122]. However, with sufficient flexibility in the definition of "secondary source" or "reported speech" or with the deliberate inclusion of first-person cases and inferred circumstances (cf., Jakobson's definition of the evidential above), it would seem possible to dismiss such objections. It might then turn out to be a futile exercise to try to determine whether verb forms in main Sentences like Uzbek (ä)r, (i)p, gän ükän, etc., should be regarded as "noncommittals" or "evidentials". Either type of category could constitute a suitable contrast to indicative forms. Yet, in the third case mentioned above, in a language which permits the speaker to express definite doubt about a statement, i.e., in a language with dubitative forms, it would appear that, if it would be desirable to do so, they can more readily be accomodated within the set of "noncommittals" than within the "evidentials", since the former refer specifically to speaker attitude while the latter focus on the secondary or reported status of the information being conveyed [cf., the remarks at the end of Section 2.2.1.].

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These two approaches, while perhaps not crucially different in main Sentences, seem to lead to substantially different consequences in SbS's, depending upon how the grammatical opposition is integrated into the SbS GM paradigm. For instance, in Uzbek, the SbS GM paradigm for which the opposition [±NONCOMMITTAL] is selected has the configuration (99), while one based on the opposition [±REPORTED SPEECH]/[±SECONDARY SOURCE] would look like the schema (96), where the ad hoc feature [±QUOTATIVE] was used. Of course, the details of such paradigms would vary among the languages with quotative markers, but the implications of any such paradigmatic configurations would remain constant: is it important in a language to be able to distinguish between "reported speech" ("secondary source") and non-"reported speech" (non-"secondary source")? Is [±REPORTED SPEECH]/[±SECONDARY SOURCE] a "primitive" (elementary) opposition or is it merely one type of a more general process? In the case of Uzbek, the paradigm based on [±QUOTATIVE] was rejected because it failed to indicate why dep-SbS's were often synonymous with (i)ṣ-SbS's, but not with gän-SbS's, and because it failed to account for the systematic nonoccurrence of dep-complements with mental state verbs the complements of which are known to be true. It is quite possible that other languages exhibit the kinds of regularities observed in Uzbek, and if so, there would be strong evidence that speaker (non)commitment is a more accurate representation of the opposition underlying surface evidential and quotative forms. It is conceivable that a pattern of grammatical

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markings in SbS's exists that suggests the opposite conclusion, namely that [REPORTED SPEECH] or [SECONDARY SOURCE] more accurately reflects the relevant distinction. For instance, there might be grounds for such an approach in a language if there were no consistent semantic difference between quotative and nonquotative SbS GM's, if verbs require specific complementizers, quotative and nonquotative, in an arbitrary, idiosyncratic way, if in addition to verbs of communication, any verb of mental state, including those like know that take presupposed commplements, can occur with the quotative, etc. Only further research on diverse languages containing evidentials/quotatives/noncommittals can reveal the dominant cross-linguistic patterns involved and resolve this issue. But it is important that research of this sort be directed in ways that address the problem of speaker (non)commitment, if it seems to be relevant in a language, since much previous research has been confined to noting that there exist evidentials and quotatives in a language, without proceeding to an an examination of their paradigmatic relationships with other forms.

That such research might prove fruitful and might tend to support the concept of speaker (non)commitment is suggested by a cursory examination of the data from two other consistent verb-final languages, Japanese and Lahu, which exhibit interesting similarities to the Uzbek patterns. In Japanese there are three main sentential complementizers, no, koto, and to, which bear some resemblance to Uzbek gän, (i)š, and dep, respectively [data from

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Kuno 1973:213ff]. The quotative particle to, like dep, is used to report someone else's statement or to represent "an action, state, or event about which the speaker has not made a presupposition" [Ibid., p. 215], in contrast to the SbS GM no, which marks a presuppose complement. The SbS GM koto can be used to form an abstract concept, as the Uzbek (i)š can, while no can represent a concrete event [Ibid., p. 221]. As in Uzbek, the occurrence of a particular complementizer with a verb depends upon the semantics of the verb with regard to speaker (non)commitment to the validity of the proposition expressed by the complement. Thus omou 'think' regularly occurs with the quotative to, while siru 'know' occurs with no, except, apparently, in the inchoative sense 'get/come to know', when the quotative to is found. A number of verbs can take either to or no, with a systematic difference in meaning for the construction, whereby in the former case there is no speaker commitment to the truth of the complement. While there are substantive differences between the use of Japanese no, koto, and to and the use of Uzbek gän, (i)š, and dep in complements, the striking similarities are worth noting. It is also important to point out that Japanese has "suppositional" or "presumptive" markers within its main verb paradigm, daroo and desyoo. The presence of such forms lends support to the notion that a noncommittal distinction in SbS's is typically linked to a noncommittal distinction in the main verb paradigm. While speaker attitude may be significant in the determination of SbS GM's within Japanese temporal clauses as well [Ibid., p. 168-183], the

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overall patterns observed in the temporal adverbials, relative clauses, and purpose clauses of Japanese and Uzbek are not (superficially at least) similar enough to permit any interesting comparison.

In the Tibeto-Burman language Lahu, there are quite a few Srt-F particles with a wide range of grammatical meaning [data from Matisoff 1973]. One particle, ve, bears an interesting resemblance to the Uzbek gän in certain respects: it forms nominal SbS's that can be used as sentential complements and it marks relative clauses modifying head nouns. Like the Japanese no, it also serves as a genitive marker in Noun-Noun constructions (but cf., the unrelated Uzbek genitive marker ni or literary niŋ) [Ibid., p. 360-363, 450-453]. In all three languages, these nominalizing markers gän, no, and ve can form a structure that might be characterized as a "nominalized main sentence" (although Uzbek differs from the other two languages in that the verb form containing gän constitutes a regular perfect in the verbal paradigm and the nominal "origin" of the entire structure shows up primarily in the negative where the configuration V-gän+POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + yoq (NEG EXISTENTIAL), a unique negation type, may be used). There are also quotative particles in Lahu, qhe and tɛ̀, which can occur as complementizers with certain verbs of communication or mental state, although apparently these particles are not obligatory in that function. The particle tɛ̀, like Uzbek dep, can mark purpose clauses as well [Ibid., p. 463-470]. Unfortunately, Matisoff does not discuss whether there is a

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semantic difference between ve-complements and quotative complements, but intriguingly, the examples he cites suggest that a speaker (non)commitment distinction may be involved. The predicates cited with ve-complements are, in English translation: 'be very happy' (also 'rejoice in the fact that'), 'be important', 'get angry', 'be sad', 'find' (='discover')--predicates that typically occur with presupposed complements [Ibid., p. 440-441, 446, 449]. Quotative complements, besides occurring with verbs of communication, can also be found with certain verbs of mental state, dɔ̂ 'think' and compounds derived from it dɔ̂-lɔ 'hope', dɔ̂ -tā 'plan, intend', and ɣ̄sɔ̄ 'consider, reckon' [Ibid., p. 465-470]. There are also three verbs presented among the examples with either type of complement: ɣ̄sī, translated as 'know', yō̄ 'believe', and khān 'guarantee', but in light of the situation with Uzbek bil- 'know; think, consider' and isan- 'believe', this evidence need not be detrimental to the supposition that a (non)committal distinction applies in Lahu SbS's. In the two examples of quotative complements with ɣ̄sī [p. 468], it appears from the translation either that ɣ̄sī has shifted in meaning to 'think' or that it has an inchoative sense (ex., one translation is, 'What symptons of sickness does a person have for you to know that the Av-a spirit has bitten him?', which Matisoff translates literally as 'If a person is sick in what way, do you know that...?'). In any case it seems plausible that Lahu ve is similar to Uzbek gän in being the unmarked SbS GM for relative clauses and sentential complements and that quotative complements

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are used to indicate speaker noncommitment. Finally, it must be mentioned that the particles used with main verbs include a dubitative hɛ́ [Ibid., p. 369] and what Matisoff calls a "quotative", cê [p. 377-380]. According to him, the particle cê indicates that the statement being made is "reported at second hand" [p. 377], but from his remarks elsewhere it seems that the particle is not strictly used for marking "reported speech". The verb 'say' qô can be used to convey reported speech the speaker himself heard--"X" qô ve 'He said "X"' [like Uzbek "X" degän]--but a direct quote can reported as hearsay through the addition of cê--"X" qô ve cê 'I hear he said "X"' [like Uzbek "X" degän äkän] [Ibid., p. 380]. Thus cê may function as a noncommittal particle.

Despite the fact that Uzbek, Japanese, and Lahu exhibit quite distinct syntactic features, the existence of the above-mentioned similarities in their main verb and SbS GM paradigms suggests not only that "evidentials"/"suppositionals"/"dubitatives" in main S's co-occur typically with quotatives in SbS's in the syntactic systems of certain languages, but also that the paradigms involved share the [±NONCOMMITTAL] distinction. If so, there exists the prospect that the distinction is of universal scope, circumscribed, of course, by the inevitable language-specific variations in the formal representation of a distinction. It may even be possible to correlate the presence of the noncommittal distinction with other features in the syntactic system. Notice, for instance, the general lack of indigenous sentential adverbs

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(such as those meaning of course, in fact, probably, apparently, etc.) in Uzbek, Japanese, and Lahu.[18] Such sentential adverbs show speaker attitude towards the accuracy, validity, possibility, etc., of the statement being made, a property quite analogous to the proposed noncommittal distinction. It may be that certain languages encode speaker attitude by means of noncommittals in main Sentences (rather than by sentential adverbs) and also apply that same distinction to SbS's. In addition, it is possible that some version of speaker noncommitment could be useful in accounting for subjunctives in the SbS's of languages like Hindi where the difference between an indicative and a nonindicative has been attributed to factivity [Sinha 1973]. Notice that whatever connection there may be between this verbal category and sentential adverbs or subjunctives, it would be much less transparently so if the distinction were represented as [±SECONDARY SOURCE]/[±REPORTED SPEECH].[19]

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2.2.3. The Tajik and Uzbek Verb Paradigms

With a delimitation of the verb forms that belong to the colloquial Uzbek and Tajik simplex verb paradigms (Section 2.2.1) and with the adoption of a verb feature [±NONCOMMITTAL] as a means of distinguishing one mood from the others (Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), it will now be possible to compare the resulting paradigms, in order to determine the extent of Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system. First, however, an examination of previous attempts to compare individual verb forms in the two languages, especially in research published early in the systematic investigation of modern Tajik, would be of interest here, since it may serve to cast light on the apparent hesitancy of some contemporary Tajik linguists to pursue the issue of Uzbek influence fully.

According to the Iranist Iosif Oranskiy, the study of modern Tajik in its initial stages is linked with the name of Professor V.V. Grigor'yev, who, to obtain information on Central Asian history, asked a Bukharan living in Orenburg in 1859 to write down his reminiscenes [Oranskiy 1975: 17-19]. Grigor'yev acknowledged that the memoirs were not very satisfactory as a source of historical information, but that since they were composed in Colloquial Tajik and not Literary Persian, they constituted a good find for philology [Grigor'yev 1861: 4-5]. To the monographic version of his presentation of the memoirs, he appended a list of the grammatical and lexical features distinguishing the speech of Bukharan Tajiks as illustrated in the text from those in standard

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Persian. He also commented on the parallelisms between Tajik and Uzbek in the structure of certain grammatical forms and constructions [Oranskiy 1975: 18-19].[20]

An investigator who had an opportunity to study Uzbek and Tajik on location in Central Asia was Petr Kuznetsov, who added a brief comparative study of the two languages to his history of the region, Kuznetsov 1912 (this linguistic study was also published in Russian, Kuznetsov 1915). He maintains that the main syntactic characteristic distinguishing Northern Tajik from Persian is "la construction à la turque."

> Qui possède le sarte [i.e., Uzbek] et le persan s'apercevra facilement qu'en connaissant les particularités grammaticales du tadjik, il n'a qu'à traduire mot à mot du sarte en persan, en observant les susdites particularités, pour s'exprimer comme les Tadjiks de la plaine, car leur dialecte et le sarte représentent par la construction de leurs tournures, des clichés l'un de l'autre. [Kuznetsov 1912:306]

He explicitly identifies certain verb forms in Tajik with those in Uzbek or alludes unmistakably to such a connection. For instance, the "aoriste", or the "Nonpast (unmarked) indicative" in the terminology of the present investigation, is used in Tajik "exactement de la même façon que l'aoriste sarte [Uzbek], c'est-à-dire comme un présent non déterminé et comme un future prochain" [ibid., p. 307]. Kuznetsov links, either directly or

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indirectly, the following verb forms, using the terminology and citation forms of the present investigation:

	Tajik	Uzbek
Nonpast indicative	merävväd	ä/y
Past indicative	räft	di
Nonpast conditional	rävväd	sä
Nonpast perfect conditional	räftägi bašäd	gän bolsä
("le participe présent")	meräftägi	ädigan
Nonpast perfect indicative	räftägi	gän
Nonpast perfect noncommittal	räftägist	gändur
Past perfect noncommittal	räftä buddäs	gän äkän
Past noncommittal	räftäs	(i)p

[Kuznetsov 1912:307-311]

He also claims that what he calls the "présent déterminé", or "Nonpast progressive indicative", is formed in two ways: by the "passé indéfini persan" (the Past noncommittal) of four verbs, istadän, 'stand', xaräftän 'lie, sleep', šištän 'sit' and gäštän 'go', or by the "participe passé persan" (i.e., the räftä-form) plus one of those four verbs, ex., xandä istadäs in Tajik, oqup turupti in Uzbek 'he is reading' [Ibid., p. 307-308]. He also notes the presence of CVC's in both languages. Although Kuznetsov makes a number of errors, oversimplifications, and exaggerations, the correspondences he claims for the Tajik and Uzbek verb systems coincide by and large with those being claimed in the present analysis.

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In 1928, the noted linguist and Turkologist Yevgeniy Polivanov published textual samples of highly "Iranized" dialects of Uzbek in which he also identified certain "Tajik-Uzbek 'equivalent correspondences'" in the dialects of the two languages spoken in Samarkand. In the verb system, he lists the following, again with the citation forms used here:

	Tajik	Uzbek
Past noncommittal	räftäs	(i)p
Past perfect indicative	räftä bud	(u)wdi
Past habitual indicative	meräft	(a)r(i)di[21]
	meräftä bud	"
Past intentional-1	räftäni bud	maxčiydi
Nonpast indicative	merävåd	å/y
Nonpast perfect indicative	räftägi	gän

[Polivanov 1928:307]

Polivanov maintains that in Samarkand "both the Tajik and Iranized Uzbek linguistic systems fit, as a general rule, into one and the same mentalities." There is a series of equivalent forms that have been adjusted to one another and that result in the easy translation of one into the other, within this bilingual mentality [Ibid., p. 306]. Again, although Polivanov overlooked complicating detail in establishing his correspondences, they generally match those posited in the analysis here.

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M. Stavrulli also treated this issue in his "K voprosu o dvuyazïchii (na materiale tadzhikskogo i uzbekskogo yazïkov)", Stavrulli 1935. He makes the following correspondences:

	Tajik	Uzbek
Nonpast indicative	meräväd	ä/y
Past indicative	räft	di
Nonpast progressive indicative	räfsadäs	yäp
Past perfect indicative	räftä bud	(u)wdi
Past noncommittal	räftäs	(i)p
(Gerundive)	räftä	(i)p
(Past participle)	räftägi	gän
(Present participle)	räsadägi	(y)atkän

[Stavrulli 1935:39-45]

Stavrulli also maintains that the verb form räfsadä bud shows obvious similarities to the typical construction of Uzbek verb forms, but he fails to identify (y)atkän(i)di or (y)atuwdi as its equivalent. He makes the interesting claim that the contractions observed in various Tajik verb forms are not "dictated...by the language's striving for a shortening of the whole sound group, but [are] one of the results of the mutual influence between Uzbek and Tajik" [Ibid., p. 46]. That is, the contractions are not simply due to regular phonological processes facilitating pronunciation, but follow the patterns obtaining in the source language, Uzbek.

While it will be contended here that the overall approach of Kuznetsov, Polivanov, and Stavrulli in making one-to-one correspondences between Tajik and Uzbek is justified, it would be

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misleading to accept their efforts uncritically. It is claimed here that their approach reflects the general direction that Tajik linguistic change has been taking over several centuries, i.e., towards an equivalence relationship in the verbal system. However, since none of the three scholars discussed above examines a case in which the predicted correspondence between Tajik and Uzbek does not hold, the impression is created that a total equivalence relationship applies between the grammars of the two languages. Although both languages have undergone changes that can be ascribed to influence from the other, it is clearly Tajik that has experienced the more striking innovations in this relationship. Doesn't this interpretation of the change imply that Tajik has become little more than an Iranian vehicle for the expression of underlying Uzbek concepts, that is, a translation medium for Uzbek? (Compare the remarks of Kuznetsov and Polivanov above). In the matter at hand, doesn't a total grammatical equivalence relationship mean that every Tajik verb form corresponds exactly to an Uzbek one? In fact, even a cursory glance at the Tajik data reveals that this is not the case; for instance, while the Nonpast subjunctive in Tajik, räväd, corresponds to the Uzbek sä form in conditional sentences, to be precise, in the if-clause, it also functions as a true subjunctive in other SbS's, a function without a counterpart in Uzbek. Thus there exist some purely linguistic grounds for faulting a superficial attempt at making equivalence correspondences between the verb forms of the two languages.

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Unfortunately for a greater understanding of the issue, when the efforts of Kuznetsov, Polivanov, and Stavrulli were subjected to criticism in an article by the Turkologist Aleksandr Borovkov published in 1952, their positions were not refuted by a demonstration of the inadequacies of particular correspondences, but rather were summarily dismissed. "P. Ye. Kuznetsov approached the comparison of these languages very primitively. [And] in the article of M. Stavrulli, the issue of the mutual relationship of Tajik and Uzbek is examined in just as oversimplified a manner, without the introduction of comparative data" [Borovkov 1952:181; cf., pp. 195-200]. He alleges that four circumstances have hampered the correct formulation of the question:

> 1) an apparent unquestioning attitude towards the historical, anthropological, and ethnographic concepts about the "Iranization" of Uzbek and the "Turkification" of Tajik;
>
> 2) a view of Tajik as a dialect of Persian, a denial of its independence;
>
> 3) a predominantly phoetic approach;
>
> 4) insufficient attention to the comparative data of Iranian and Turkic philology. [Ibid., p.181]

Yet Borovkov makes little effort to account for the systematic correspondences between Uzbek and Tajik other than to suggest that certain grammatical constructions typologically similar to Uzbek ones--postpositions, CVC's, the genitive-possessed noun

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construction--exist elsewhere in the Iranian languages or in earlier stages of Iranian. He does not attempt to explain how any such constructions in a proto-system could have developed historically into the present-day structures of Colloquial Tajik. He merely claims, "All this rules out the assertion about the acquisition of the given form [the genitive-possessed noun construction] in the Tajik dialects as obligatorily from Uzbek. Thus, the fundamental grammatical facts can be explained on the basis of the Iranian languages" [Ibid., p. 197]. Interestingly, in a 1954 article in Voprosi yazikoznaniya, Borovkov is chided for careless scholarship and for failing to make his point in a convincing manner [Starinin 1954:143-145]. For instance, it is noted that even granting the existence of analogous constructions in Iranian,

> does that demonstrate that the corresponding constructions in the Tajik dialects are not borrowed? The author himself at first speaks about the obligatoriness of the borrowing, and then unreservedly draws a conclusion about the explanation of the basic grammatical facts on the grounds of the Iranian languages. Thus in A. K. Borovkov's article the conclusions do not often follow from the facts and therefore remain unproven. [Ibid., p. 145]

The degree of Uzbek influence upon Tajik was apparently perceived to be not just a strictly linguistic issue, and the

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acceptance of wide-scale Uzbek influence seemed to have consequences outside the realm of linguistics. Quite apart from the expected distates of "language purists" for extensive cross-language interference, Uzbek influence on the grammatical structures of Tajik may have been regarded as undercutting the independent status of an ethnolinguistic entity, the Tajiks. Such considerations might possibly lead to a questioning of the validity of the whole nationality structure in Soviet Central Asia as instituted in the mid-1920's. Some Central Asians, in particular supporters of pan-Turkism and pan-Iranism, argued for the establishment of larger, more inclusive communities as basic socio-political entities, some of whose members lived outside the borders of the Soviet Union. As potentially disruptive ideologies, pan-Turkism and pan-Iranism were officially discredited, and many of their advocates perished in the purges of the late 1930's [Allworth 1964, Fierman 1978]. While at first glance it might be thought that Uzbek influence on Tajik has little connection with either pan-Turkism or pan-Iranism (except perhaps as grounds to be used <u>against</u> advocates of the pan-Iranist position since Tajik differs most conspicuously from Persian in prescisely those grammatical constructions influenced by Uzbek), in fact some proponents of pan-Turkistani community may have viewed the systematic correspondence between the two languages as further evidence of an "inherent unity" among the peoples of Central Asia [<u>cf</u>., the remarks at the beginning of Section 2.1.]. One of the major figures connected with pan-Turkist thought, the Bukharan

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scholar Fiträt (Äbdurauf Äbdurähim oghli), emphasized the commonality between the Uzbeks and Tajiks in defense of his position. For instance, in 1928 he advanced the following arguments in the journal Rahbäri danish on the question of orthographic reform for Tajik:

> The Turks and Tajiks have lived together for centuries...Why not use this historical unity in the name of creating the culture of proletarian internationalism? We are called upon to use all possible means to provide for the unity of the Tajik and Uzbek literature. [Cited in Isayev 1979:136-137 and in a slightly different version in Asimova 1982:57]
> ... It is impossible, for instance, to separate the history of the Tajiks from that of the Uzbeks. They had a complete unity in literature and in the press. [Cited in Asimova 1982:56]

In a present-day assessment of Fiträt's remarks, it is maintained that by favoring the unity of Uzbek and Tajik literatures, "Fiträt was in essence ignoring the independence of the Tajik literature and language". Unity in literature in the Soviet Union is not to be based upon language but upon socialist content [Asimova 1982:57]. It is not the intention of the discussion here to undertake a serious examination of whether the study of Uzbek influence upon Tajik grammatical structures was associated with a discredited ideology or not, since this is obviously a subject for

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historians, but rather to suggest that there may have been nonlinguistic motivations for a tendency since the work of Polivanov and Stavrulli to downplay the role of Uzbek influence as an explanation for the structures of the current Tajik verb paradigm.

Even in her most comprehensive statement about the Uzbek influence on the Tajik verb system, Rastorguyeva 1964, Rastorguyeva seems somewhat defensive about the extent of this borrowing postulated by other scholars. For instance, she tries to emphasize that many apparent correspondences between the two verb systems do not arise as the result of cross-language influence, but rather as the result of regular linguistic processes in the internal development of both languages. The forms she identifies as belonging to this type are as follows:

	Tajik	Uzbek
Nonpast indicative	meräväd	ä/y
Past indicative	räft	di
Past habitual indicative	meräft	(a)r(i)di
Past perfect indicative	räftä bud	(u)wdi
Nonpast subjunctive/conditional	räväd	sä
Past subjunctive/conditional	räftä bašäd	säydi

[Rastorguyeva 1964:137]

She contends that despite the extraordinary similarity in the semantics and syntactic functions of the various grammatical

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forms, especially the verbal ones, in the Northern Tajik dialects and Uzbek, it is impossible to attribute the causes of this similarity just to bilingualism, as some scholars have been inclined to do (in the next sentence she alludes to Polivanov and Kuznetsov in this vein). The parallels in certain forms "have arisen by chance, as the result of various internal processes operating in each of these languages separately" [Ibid., p. 136]. She limits the extent of Uzbek influence in the verb system to the "calquification" of certain forms--the progressives derived from istadän or xaräftän, the CVC's and the Noncommittal perfect räftägist--and to a less direct influence on the participle in gi and the participle in äni [p. 129-139; see also Section 2.2 above].

It can hardly be denied that there were verb forms in the original Tajik proto-system which corresponded closely in meaning to forms in the Uzbek verb paradigm, but what is significant in the context here is that these common forms are no longer a part of the original set of verbal oppositions. These forms, along with the innovations modeled upon Uzbek forms, now belong to a new set of oppositions, in effect, a new verb paradigm. If the proto-Tajik system included an Imperfective-Perfective aspectual distinction and an Indicative-Subjunction modal distinction, as some scholars have claimed for earlier stages of Persian-Tajik [22], at present the Northern Tajik paradigm is characterized by the absence of a systematic Imperfective-Perfective opposition and by the presence of an Indicative-Noncommittal-Subjunctive

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(conditional) modal distinction as well as a Progressive aspectual one. However, some elements of the original Iranian system have not been eliminated from the present paradigm, and this retention should not be overlooked. In addition, in the process of adopting the Turkic set of oppositions, Tajik has acquired the mechanisms for the creation of novel forms, forms that lack exact counterparts in the donor language. It might even be claimed that in overall terms, the set of oppositions is morphologically more transparent in the Tajik paradigm than it is in the Uzbek one. Thus the new paradigm for Tajik is not identical to that of Uzbek, but the disparities between the two are clearly minor ones as compared to the points of congruence. The cross-language influence of Uzbek upon Tajik cannot simply be represented as a one-to-one pairing of individual items or morphomemes but rather as a convergence of a set of verbal distinctions, admittedly established over historical time as the result of one-to-one correspondences.

The following table contains the Tajik and Uzbek simplex verb paradigms proposed here, some features of which should be noted. Individual items may occur in more than one position in the paradigm--for instance, the Uzbek Nonpast (unmarked) indicative ä̆/y and the corresponding Tajik form merävä̆d, which also occur under the habitual aspect column. An item occurring elsewhere in the paradigm is enclosed in square brackets [ ]. Some of these cases indicate a neutralization of an opposition. Synonymous, or nearly synonymous, forms are enclosed in braces. Thus it is not

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assumed here that a particular form must occur in the set of oppositions in a unique position (in effect, that a given form necessarily has a single meaning) or that a position must be filled uniquely. Further explanations on the individual cases follow the table, but it must be stated at this point that some of the placements with regard to the rarer items are still tentative, since the relevant data available is not adequate to make firmer determinations. Abbreviations used: NP = Nonpast, P = Past, CND = Conditional, SBJ = Subjunctive, INTEN = Intentional.

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TABLE 6:
UZBEK AND TAJIK SIMPLEX VERB PARADIGMS

MOOD TENSE		UNMARKED	PERFECT	HABITUAL	PROGRESSIVE	PERFECT PROGRESSIVE
UZBEK						
INDIC-ATIVE	NP	ɨ/y	gän	[ɨ/y]	yɨp	(y)atkän
	P	di	{(u)wdi / gän(i)di}	(ɨ)r(i)di	(y)atuwdi	(y)atkän(i)di
NONCOM-MITTAL	NP	(ɨ)r (ɨkän)	{gän (ɨkän) / gändur}	[(ɨ)r (ɨkän)]	} (y)atkän ɨkän	
	P	(i)p	{gän ɨkän / gän bolip}	(ɨ)r ɨkän		
CND/ (SBJ)	NP	sɨ	gän bolsɨ	(ɨ)r bolsɨ	(y)atsɨ	(y)atkän bolsɨ
	P	sɨydi				
INTEN -1	NP	{maxčᵛi / [maxčᵛi bolɨ]}	maxčᵛi bolgän	maxčᵛi bolɨ	maxčᵛi bolyɨp	
	P	{maxčᵛiydi / maxčᵛi boldi}	maxčᵛi bol-gän(i)di	maxčᵛi bol-ɨr(i)di		
INTEN -2	NP	ɨdigan				
	P	{ɨdiganidi / ɨdigan boldi}				
TAJIK						
INDIC-ATIVE	NP	merɨvɨd	{rɨftɨgi / [rɨftɨs]}	[merɨvɨd]	rɨfsadɨs	rɨfsadɨgi
	P	rɨft	{rɨftɨ bud / rɨftɨgi bud}	merɨft	rɨfsadɨ bud	rɨfsadɨgi bud
NONCOM-MITTAL	NP	merɨftɨs	rɨftɨgist	} [merɨftɨs]	rɨfsadɨ budɨs	rɨfsadɨgist
	P	rɨftɨs	{rɨftɨ budɨs / rɨftɨgi budɨs}			
SBJ/ CND	NP	{rɨvɨd / [merɨftɨ bašad]}	rɨftɨgi bašᵛɨd	merɨftɨ bašᵛɨd	rɨfsadɨ bašᵛɨd	
	P	rɨftɨ bašɨd				
INTEN -1	NP	{rɨftɨni / [rɨftɨni mešᵛɨd]}		rɨftɨni mešᵛɨd/ mešɨvɨd		
	P	{rɨftɨni bud / rɨftɨni šud}		rɨftɨni mešᵛud	rɨftɨni šud-sadɨ bud	
INTEN -2	NP	{merɨftɨgi / [merɨftɨgi mešɨd]}		merɨftɨgi mešᵛɨd/ mešɨvɨd	merɨftɨgi šudsadɨs	
	P	{merɨftɨgi bud / merɨftɨgi šud}				

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CONTINUATION OF UZBEK AND TAJIK SIMPLEX VERB PARADIGMS

(FOR INTENTIONAL MOODS ONLY)

			NONCOMMITTAL		CND/SBJ
			UNMARKED	PERFECT	UNMARKED
UZBEK	INTEN -1	NP	maxči äkän		maxči bolsä
		P	maxči bolip		
	INTEN -2	NP	ädigan äkän		ädigan bolsä
		P	ädigan bolip		
TAJIK	INTEN -1	NP		räftäni šudägist	räftäni bašäd/šäväd
		P	räftäni budäs/ šudäs		
	INTEN -2	NP	meräftägist	meräftägi šudägist	meräftägi bašäd/šäväd
		P	meräftägi budäs	meräftägi šududäs	

TABLE 7: Turkish and Bashkir Simplex Verb Paradigms (Partial)

TURKISH

		UNMARKED			PERFECT	HABITUAL
		(Imperfective)	(Perfective)	(Future)		
INDICATIVE	NP	(i)yor [=PRESENT]	--	ajak	{miš(tir) / di}	(a)r
	P	(i)yordu [=IMPERFECT]	di [=PRETERITE]	ajaktï ['was going to']	{mišti / diydi}	(a)rdï
NONCOMMITTAL	NP	(i)yormuš	--	{ajakmïš / (a)r}	miš	(a)rmïš
	P	(i)yormuš	miš	ajakmïš	mišmiš	(a)rmïš

BASHKIR

		UNMARKED	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECT	HABITUAL
INDICATIVE	NP	a/y	--	{ğan / di}	a/y
	P	di	a/y ine	ğaynï [<ğan-ine]	{a/y torğaynï / a/y torğan buldï / ïr ine / ïr buldï}
NONCOMMITTAL	NP	ïr	--	ğan(dir)/(ikän)	ïr
	P	ğan	(a/y bulgan) [in Tatar]	ğan bulğan	{a/y torğan bulğan / ïr bulğan}

Remarks: Sources for Bashkir: Kollektiv 1981, Dmitriyev 1948. The Tatar verb paradigm resembles the Bashkir one very closely, although the auxiliary used is ide, instead of ine; see Kollektiv 1969. The 3rd singular form is used, and the items of interest here are underlined.

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[The Perfect is presented in the chart as an aspectual distinction on a par with the Habitual, even though there may be legitimate ground for questioning such a status [Comrie 1976:52]. No theoretical claim is being implicitly made by its positioning as a separate aspect here.]

There are several major differences between the above paradigms and the classification of verb forms presented by Rastorguyeva and other Tajik linguists (cf., Section 2.2.1). The category Noncommittal, for instance, includes all the items from the traditional Auditive and Suppositional moods, except for one case, the "present-future suppositional", merӓftӓgist, for which a separate mood has been created. Thus there are no longer modal categories (other than the Intentionals) differentiated on the basis of morphological similarity--ӓs for Rastorguyeva's Auditive mood and ӓgist for her Suppositional (in the third person singular). Secondly, the "participles used as predicates" have been integrated fully into the paradigm. Finally, it is claimed in the arrangement of the paradigm here that some items may belong to more than one "slot" and are thus not limited to a single paradigmatic opposition. Rastorguyeva's schema seems to imply that there is a single meaning for each distinct morphological form.

In order to understand more fully the extraordinary extent to which the new Tajik paradigm has been influenced by Uzbek and the degree to which it has retained Iranian features, it will be necessary to examine the Uzbek and Tajik paradigms in more detail.

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The Indicative Mood.

The Unmarked Forms. It seems that the two Tajik forms in this position, meräväd 'he goes/will go' in the Nonpast and räft 'he went' in the Past, have not themselves undergone much semantic or syntactic change in the shift to the new paradigm. While it may be possible to represent the two items as belonging to two different aspectual distinctions in the proto-system--the former, meräväd, to the Imperfective and the latter to the Perfective--as it will be argued below is the case for Modern Persian, the shift to the present state in which no aspectual distinction differentiates the two items would not necessarily involve a substantial change in their use. However, there is a suggestion of a noticeable change in meaning for the Nonpast indicative meräväd in the remarks of the Iranist Zarubin concerning the Tajik dialect spoken by the Jew of Samarkand. He maintains that meräväd is identical in form to the present of Persian but different in meaning, principally expressing future activity or a constant attribute, having nearly lost the meaning of the present tense in its use as a present progressive [Zarubin 1928:112]. It is not clear, however, whether he is referring here to the present in Literary Persian, which can indisputably be used to represent the present progressive, or whether his comments apply to Colloquial Persian as well, which has an independently developed present progressive. Interestingly, other scholars of Tajik make a special note of the fact that meräväd only comparatively rarely designates a presently occurring process [Rastorguyeva 1952c:105,

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and for Literary Tajik, Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:66]. As might be expected, semantic characteristics similar to those mentioned by Zarubin are frequently ascribed to the Uzbek å/y [Kononov 1960:210-211; Kollektiv 1975:500-501]. In both Colloquial Uzbek and Tajik there is no other verb form besides å/y or meråvåd used to express a future indicative in main Sentences, although in both cases a future tense form has been selected for the literary languages. In the case of Literary Tajik, this future form is essentially the same as the future in Literary Persian, even though in the latter language, as will be claimed below, this form fits into the Nonpast perfective slot in the paradigm. In the ancestral language for both Persian and Tajik, the distinction between Nonpast perfective (Future) and Past perfective (Preterite) was neutralized to just the Past form, råft, in Subordinate S's [Winduhr 1979:90]. Northern Tajik, apparently, has retained the use of the Past indicative in SbS's to refer to the future even though such a usage no longer represents a neutralization of perfective forms. Examples:

(101) hämin ki xab råft- i , hämmä-i därd-i sär-åt
just this that sleep go+PST-you all-IZA pain-IZA head-your

meguzårät
pass+NnP+3SG

'as soon as you fall asleep (literally: fell asleep), all your headache will go away' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:55]

(102) zämistan xunuk ki ğältid , bäd mepoš - ån
winter cold that fall+PST+3SG then dress+NnP-3PL

'in winter when the cold sets in (literally: set in), they'll get all covered up' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:82]

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As was pointed out in the last section, the SbS's in Uzbek (other than those marked by dep or sä) do not contain finite verd forms, and thus the use of the Past indicative räft as a future in SbS's in Tajik has no counterpart in Uzbek. This suggests that there remain significant differences between Uzbek and Tajik Subordinate S's. It does appear that the one-to-one correspondence in the verb forms of the two languages holds more closely for main Sentences than for SbS's. Since verb morphology in main S's is more prominent, it is not surprising that some early investigators of Tajik were led by the obvious parallels to conclude that all Tajik verb forms correspond to Uzbek forms. That this is not the case is demonstrated by the use of the Past indicative räft to refer to the future in SbS's and by the use of certain other verb forms (see below).

The Perfect. In contrast to the Unmarked forms discussed above, the Perfect in Uzbek is, generally speaking, marked by the uniform morpheme, gän. The Past perfect is formed by the addition of the Past tense of the copula auxiliary, idi, the Noncommittal perfects by the addition of äkän, dur, or imiš, and the Conditional perfect by bolsä. In the two Intentional moods, perfects can be formed by the use of the auxiliary bol- 'be, become' in the Nonpast or Past perfect. However, there is one problematic item among the Uzbek perfect forms, (u)wdi, derived from (i)p plus idi, in which a phonological rule has changed the bilabial stop to the semivowel w. In morphological terms, the resulting form is a combination of two apparently contradictory markers, the Past noncommittal (i)p

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plus the Past indicative of the copular auxiliary, idi. In semantic terms, the result is, unfortunately, not clear from the available sources. In some investigations, it is maintained that (u)wdi is virtually interchangeable with gän(i)di; the two are called "paradigmatic synonyms" [Zikrillåyev 1980:16 and 1981:12], or a "synonymous pair" [Joråyev 1964:153], or their closeness in content is said to reach identity in Uzbek [Yuldashev 1965:198]. In other studies an attempt is made to differentiate the pair; in Kononov 1960:222-225 and in Wurm 1959:518, it is maintained that (u)wdi expresses a "recent past" time, in contrast to a "remote past" for gän(i)di. However, Yuldashev 1965:188-198 argues convincingly that no such temporal relationship applies, since (u)wdi can be used to refer to either recent or remote events. Polivanov 1926 II:45-49, designating (u)wdi as the "Pluperfect" and gän(i)di as the "Participle Pre-Past" (Prezhde-proshedsheye), claims that the former connects the result of a preoccurring action to that moment (in the past) which the conversation is about, while the latter simply indicates the temporal priority of an action to a given moment. However, it is doubtful that such a fine distinction would constitute a valid grammatical distinction, and the example he cites to illustrate his point, yatuwdim vs. bergän edim, relies upon the use of the stative verb yat- 'lie (down)', which has a special meaning with (i)p markers. The discussion of the (u)wdi and gän(i)di forms in yet another investigation may reveal the actual motivations behind attempts to differentiate the pair.

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> The above facts and examples show that the forms created by -gän + edi and -(i)b + edi have a certain commonality in basic meanings and functions. ... But both of these forms have their individual peculiarities in Uzbek. It is only natural that this is so, since it is regular that phenomena totally identical to one another in language are not stable.
>
> One of the basic distinguishing characteristics between the forms in -(i)b + edi and -gän + edi is the less frequent use of the former [in the literary language]. [Kollektiv 1975:489]

In addition, according to this reference grammar, the completion of the action marked by gän(i)di form is more remote than that conveyed by (u)wdi. True, this is not always so, but the relative remoteness of the time in the gän(i)di form can be perceived outside of a context [Ibid., p. 490]. It is apparent that some investigators are not content to leave these forms as synonymous, but that they have not discovered a legitimate semantic means to differentiate them. It does seem to be true that in Colloquial Uzbek (u)wdi is preferred over gän(i)di, in contrast to the opposite frequency of occurrence in Literary Uzbek [Nasirov 1980:125, Shaäbdurähmanov 1976:62, Joräyev 1964:153, Koklyanova 1963:93]. Since no investigation has persuasively demonstrated a semantic difference between the two forms, it will be assumed here

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that gån(i)di and (u)wdi are "paradigmatic synonyms", as indicated in the chart.

(103) (a) u kun- i qišlåq - qå var- uwdi- m
that day-POSS village-DAT go-PPRF-1SG

'on that day I had gone to the village' (Karakhitay dialect) [Shaåbduråhmanov 1976:62]

(b) oy - yi yan-lår- i - gå qur - il -gånidi
house-GEN side-PL-POSS-DAT build-PASS-PPRF

'it had been built on the sides of the house' (Khandaylik dialect) [Ibid.]

In the Tajik proto-system, there was a Nonpast perfect råftå-åst 'he has gone' and a Past perfect råftå bud (or råftå buð) 'he had gone' which were distinct from the Perfective forms xahåd råft 'he will go' and råft 'he went' [Yemifov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:161-168]. The Past perfect råftå bud fits into the same position in the new Colloquial Tajik paradigm as a correlate of Uzbek (u)wdi and gån(i)di. In fact, since råftå is identified with the Uzbek gerundive marker (i)p in serial verb constructions and bud with the auxiliary idi, the morphological structure of råftå bud and (u)wdi is exactly parallel, although the development seems to be due to an accident of history rather than to cross-language influence. However, the earlier Nonpast perfect råftås has over the centuries become identified with the Uzbek Past noncommittal in (i)p and has therefore undergone a substantial shift in meaning. That the correspondence between the råftås and (i)p forms is not just a recent phenomenon can be documented; for instance, in the 17th century lexicographical

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work, the Kelur-name of Muhammad Yaqub Chingi, the form in -p+tur, the antecedent of present-day (i)p + ti in the 3rd person singular, was translated into the Persian-Tajik language of the time by the räftäs form [Ibragimov 1982:127]. At the present time in the Northern Tajik dialects, according to Rastorguyeva 1952c:129, the Noncommittal use of räftäs and the other related forms of the "Auditive Mood' has become basic, and the old meaning of perfect aspect has been retained to certain degree only in the räftäs form. The following are present-day examples of the use of räftäs as a perfect.

(104) (a) hämin šäw män hämin - ä gävarä bäst- ək - äm
this evening I this one-ACC cradle bind-"PRF"1SG

'tonight I've put him (that is, the child) to bed (in the cradle)' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:130]

(b) artist bisyar did- ək - äm
artisite many see-"PRF"1SG

'I've seen many performers' (Khishkhana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:129]

Hence the räftäs form occurs twice in the Tajik paradigm, as the Past noncommittal and as one of two variants in the Nonpast perfect indicative.

The other Perfect form, räftägi 'he has gone', is an instance of Rastorguyeva's "participles used as predicates" and clearly corresponds to the Uzbek gän. In Rastorguyeva 1952b:233 it is stated, "in the dialects there is observed a nearly complete convergence also in the syntactic use of the Tajik and Uzbek

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participles, in particular in their predicate use, for example, Tajik vӯy rӯftӣgi 'he has left', cf., Uzbek, u ketgӣn" [see also Rastorguyeva 1952c:154 and 1964:138-139]. Certain idiosyncratic morphological characteristics of the Uzbek Perfect in gӣn confirm that the Tajik rӯftӣs has been modeled upon it. In some dialects, for instance in Jizzakh and Tergachi, a person-number suffix is not regularly used in the 1st and 2nd persons, and it is optional in Shahrisabz [Ghulamov 1957:96-7], Ӣliyev 1974:145, Jorӯyev 1964:146]. In some cases this is true of the Tajik rӯftӣgi as well (see Section 2.2.1). In Uzbek there are three distinct patterns for forming the Perfect negative: (i) with the negative marker mӣ after the verb stem, as with other verb forms, bar-mӣ-gӣn-mӣn 'I haven't gone' with the verb bar- 'go' and the 1st singular suffix -mӣn; (ii) with the negative copula ӣmӣs, bar-gӣn-ӣmӣs-mӣn 'id.'; or (iii) with the negative existential yoq plus the nominalized form of gӣn on which the Possessive suffix marks the relevant person and number, bar-gӣn-im yoq [examples in Andigan dialect, Ibrahimov 1967:205-206]. These three distinct patterns are reflected in Tajik, as was shown in Section 2.2.1. Such diversity in the formation of the negative is not at all characteristic of verb forms in Tajik, and it can therefore be safely assumed that it results from Uzbek influence. (The use of a construction like gӣn yoq is found in other Turkic languages such as Uighur, Karakalpak, Kirghiz, Kazak, etc., and it therefore is highly unlikely that Tajik influenced Uzbek in this respect.) In another unusual construction found in both languages, the form

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in gän or ägi is repeated, with a possessive suffix added to the first member of the pair, to designate repetitious activity:

(105) Literary Uzbek:

balä-lär	bağ - dä	oynä-gän-i	oynä-gän
child-PL	garden-LOC	play-...-3rdPOSS	

'The children play and play (all the time) in the garden' [Kononov 1960:219]

(106) Bukharan Tajik:

hämin	dad	zäd- äg - eš	dad	zädägi
this	shout	beat-...-3rdPOSS		

'he screams and screams (without stopping)' [Kerimova 1959:47; for Literary Tajik, see Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:189]

In the context of describing the use of the räftäs form in Literary Tajik, Rastorguyeva speculates on the change in the Perfect indicative slot as follows:

> With the development of new means of expressing resultativeness in Tajik (such as, for example, by the predicate use of the past participle with the suffix -gi) the connotation of nonevidentness, or "out-of-sight-ness", in the perfect emerges all the more distinctly. At the present time, apparently, it has turned gradually from a secondary meaning into the basic one for the given form. [Rastorguyeva 1953:13]

From this and other remarks, it seems likely that the räftägi form has become the primary means of expressing the Perfect in

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Colloquial Tajik and that räftäs is only residually used in this capacity.

In Tajik the räftägi form can be combined with the copular auxiliary budän 'be' in the Past indicative, bud, to produce what appears to be another Past perfect, räftägi bud. It designates "the result of activity taking place in the past" [Rastorguyeva 1952c:155], or it "transfers the state or quality expressed by the participle in -gi to the perspective of the past" [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:185].

(107) hämun växt-ändä däda-m murdä boräft-ägi vut
that time-LOC dad-my die- CVC -... PST COP

'By that time my dad had (already) died' (Chust dial.)[Rastorguyeva 1952c:155]

(108) däd-i Mayirä nä-but , mäktäb räft-ägi but
dad-IZA [NAME] NEG-was school go -... PST COP

'Mayira's dad wasn't (home); he had gone to the school' (Bukharan dial.) [Kerimova 1959:44]

In morphological structure, it replicates the Uzbek form gän(i)di, and the similarity even extends to the various means of forming the the negative. As with the Nonpast perfect, there are three such paterns in Uzbek: (i) bar-mä-gän edi-m 'I had not gone', (ii) bar-gän emäs edi-m, and (iii) bar-gän-im yoq edi (in Literary Uzbek, Kononov 1960:223). In Colloquial Tajik it is possible to observe at least two of these patterns for the negation of the räftägi bud form:

(109) (cf., ii) äz in kitab bisyar xand-ägi nä- bud - äm
from this book much read-... NEG-PST COP-1SG

'I hadn't read much from this book' (Varzab dial.)[Rastorguyeva 1952a:106]

(110) (cf., iii) peštär hec xand- ägi- m nä-bud

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earlier no study-...-1SG POSS NEG-PST COP

'I hadn't studied at all earlier' (Varzab dialect) [Ibid., p. 108]

The standard means for forming a negation in Tajik would produce nä-xand-ägi budäm like the Uzbek pattern (i), but it is not clear whether this form exists. In Literary Tajik, the negative marker nä- is permitted only on the auxiliary [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:185].

The Habitual. In both Uzbek and Tajik the Nonpast habitual is the same as the Nonpast unmarked form, ä/y and meräväd, respectively; that is, the disstinction is neutralized in this position. But a morphologically distinct form exists for the Past: (ä)r(i)di in Uzbek and meräft 'he would go, he used to go' in Tajik. Similar to constructions with the English auxiliary 'would', the Past habitual in both languages is used to express situations occurring over an extended period of time in the past or in sentences involving irreal situations:

(111) Tajik: här roz mäktäb meräft - em
every day school go+PHAB-1PL

'we would (used to) go to school every day' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:82]

(112) Tajik: Zulfiyä kăs-ki biyat , män asiya-bä meräft - äm
[NAME] if only come+SBJ I mill-DAT go+PHAB-1SG

'If only Zulfiya would come, I would go to the mill' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:109]

(113) Uzbek: ilgări öz dökän-imiz-dä išla:ridi - k
before own shop-our-LOC work-PHAB-1PL

'Formerly we used to work in our own shops' (Andijan dialect)

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(114)
Uzbek: ošä växit-tä äyt-kän-iyiz-dä men toğriläb ber- a:ridi-m
that time-LOC say-SbSGM-your-LOC I straight give-PHAB-1SG

'If you had said (so) at that time, I would have given (it) straight off' (Andijan dialect) [Both from Ibrahimov 1967:212]

However, there is a discernible difference in the use of the Past habitual forms in Uzbek and Tajik. In irreal conditional sentences in Uzbek, the SbS equivalent to the English if-clause usually contains a sä conditional form or a verbal noun in gän (as in example (114), but in Tajik, as in Persian, the protasis may contain the Past habitual, with or without the SbS GM ägär 'if':

(115) dä atä - m pul medad - i, kitab mexärid - äk
to father-my money give+PHAB-2SG book buy+PHAB-3SG

''If you had given money to my father, he would have bought (you) a book' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:82]

(116) ägär in čäng-i jähan nä-mešüt , bäčä-m meamät
if this war-IZA world NEG-be+PHAB son-my come+PHAB

'If there hadn't been that world war, my son would have come and taken care of me' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:255-256]

Hence the Iranian pattern of grammatical marking is retained in SbS's in this case, as in the expression of the future with the Past indicative.

The Progressive. A separate progressive aspectual distinction in the paradigm has been recognized in grammars of the Uzbek language, and it will be accepted as such at this point in the discussion. All Uzbek Progressive forms are derived from the independent verb yat- 'lie, be lying, lie down' to which is added either the (i)p or gän marker, except for the Conditional form

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(y)atsä. The most common Progressive form is the Nonpast progressive, bar-yäp-ti 'he is going', which seems to be used predominantly as a present progressive. Morphologically, the Nonpast progressive is characterized in the various dialects by an extraordinary number of phonologically diverse contractions, most of them derived from V+(i)p + yatip + PRS/NUM [Usmanov 1969]. The citation form here, yäp, is from the Andijan dialect; it was also selected as the Nonpast marker for the literary language.

(117) čayxanä-dä ägitä:tir adäm-lär- gä gäzit oqu-ber-yäp-ti
teahouse-LOC agitator person-PL-DAT newspaper read-CVC-NnPPROG-3SG
'the agitator is reading a newspaper for people in the chaykhana'
(Andijan dialect) [Ibrahimov 1967:201]

In the above chart, those items formed from yat- plus the gän marker have been designated as Perfect progressives distinct from the other (unmarked) Progressive forms, but there is some question about the actual semantic difference between the corresponding forms. The (y)atkän form seems to be exceedingly rare; it was not even cited as a predicate in Kononov 1960. But in Polivanov 1926 II:43 and Kollektiv 1975:513, a negative form is mentioned--ex., bar-yatkän-im yoq 'I haven't gone', in which the nominalized form of (y)atkän carries the possessive suffixes -im 'my', -iŋ 'your', etc. An example from Literary Uzbek:

(118)... biz šinäm kabinet-lär-dä bol-ip ot - ädigän ...
we cozy office-PL-LOC be-GER pass-HAB PARTICIPLE

"alimanä" bähs - lär xususidä gäpir-äyatgän-imiz yoq
"scholarly" conversation-PL about talk-PRFPROG-our NEG EXIS

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'...we haven't been talking (here) about the "scholarly" discussions that go on in cozy offices' [Shärq yulduzi 10/1982:163]

While there is little doubt that the other Progressive indicative forms, (y)atuwdi and (y)atkän(i)di, are full-fledged members of the Uzbek paradigm[23], there is less certainty about the semantic difference between the two. Basically, the sources that discuss these two forms treat them as "paradigmatic synonyms" [Zikrillayev 1981:12] or as alternatives [Jorayev 1964:155-156; Aliyev 1974;160-161; Shaabdurahmanov 1976:64; Nasirov 1980:126-129], although it is frequently mentioned that (y)atuwdi is preferred in Colloquial Uzbek. The reference grammar Kollektiv 1975:491-492 states at one point that (y)atuwdi is not different in meaning or function from (y)atkän(i)di, but then later claims that the distinguishing characteristic between the two is similar to that between (u)wdi and gän(i)di, without specifying what that characteristic is. Thus, while the morphological difference between (y)atuwdi and (y)atkän(i)di would allow for a semantic difference in a predictable way, with a perfect meaning for the latter, Uzbek grammarians have failed to find one in their data. Hence the broken line in the chart above; it may be that the perfect distinction in Progressives is maintained only in a rudimentary fashion in the Uzbek paradigm, perhaps chiefly in the negative. An example from Shahrisabz dialect:

(119)	apändi	bir	kün	eŋäg - i - ni	min - ib	bar-atkande
	[NAME]	one	day	donkey-his-ACC	mount-GER	go-PPRF PROG

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'The Efendi one day had been going (was going) along riding on his donkey' [Joraÿev 1964:156]

In light of the use of the verb yat- 'lie' to mark the Progressive in Uzbek, it may seem somewhat puzzling that in Tajik the corresponding verb is predominantly istadan 'to stand, be standing, be not moving', and that only in a few dialects highly influenced by Uzbek, the Upper Chirchik, Kasansay, Chust, Leninabad, and Kanibadam dialects, is the verb most similar to yat- in meaning, xaraftan 'to lie, sleep', used along with istadan to mark the progressive (cf., the remarks in Section 2.2). In all other dialects thus far investigated, a marker derived from xaraftan is missing, while istadan is found even in Tajik dialects not substantially influenced by Uzbek at all, including the Central, or Upper Zarafshan, dialects [Rastorguyeva 1964:92, 107; see also the comments p. 103-106 about its presence in other dialects and the map on p. 175]. Such a wide distribution indicates that the use of istadan as a Progressive marker is quite old and suggests that the borrowing, if it is such, took place a considerable time ago. In fact, there is evidence in the classical written literature of the Central Asian Turks that the verb tur- 'stand, be standing, stand up' or a variant derived from it was used to express the present tense [Eckmann 1966:174-176; Shukurov 1966:16-62 and 1976:96-116]. It is quite plausible that the means for creating Tajik Progressive forms was borrowed at that earlier period and that Uzbek subsequently underwent a change towards the use of yat- in this capacity. As was mentioned at the

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beginning of Section 2.2, the Turkic form -miš seems to have been borrowed at a time when it played a much greater role in the grammar of Uzbek than it does now, and quite likely, the situation with istadăn as the Progressive marker is similar. But despite the semantic differences between the underlying lexical verbs, the use of istadăn as a grammatical marker in Tajik seems to parallel that of yat- in the Uzbek paradigm. For instance, a "present progressive participle" has been developed in Tajik, răf-sad-ăgi, on the model of the Uzbek (y)at-kăn. Also, there are some common idiosyncracies involving the use of the progressive. The Uzbek verbs yat-, tur, otir- 'sit', and yur- 'go' are not marked by yăp to refer to the present progressive in the stative sense, but by the Past noncommittal, yatip, turup, otirip, and yurip. But yăp can be used when movement is expressly indicated: orn-i-gă yat-yăp-ti 'he is lying down in his place (or bed)', orn-i-dăn tur-yăp-ti 'he is standing up from his place (bed)' [Kollektiv 1975:499-500]. Similarly in Tajik, the Progressive marker derived from istadăn is not used with the verbs istadăn, xarăftăn, and šištăn 'sit' (as well as with găštăn 'go, move' in certain cases) in the stative sense; instead the Past noncommittal, the răftăs form, is used [Rastorguyeva 1952c:131; Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:80; these sources do not mention if a Progressive marker is acceptable when movement is expressed]. For example:

(120) (a) či kar kăr- sak-etan ?
what work do-NnPPROG-2PL

'what are you doing (now)?' [with the Progressive derived from istadăn, int he contracted form sak here]

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(b) hämto xanä šišt- äk - etan ?
so house sit-"PRES PROG"-2PL

'so, are you (just) sitting at home?' [with the Past noncommittal, here marked by äk] (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:117]

Finally, it should be noted that morphologically the Nonpast progressive in Tajik, räfsadäs 'he is going' (in the 3rd singular), which can be found in some dialects in a noncontracted form räftä istadäs, is derived in a manner analogous to the Uzbek Nonpast progressive, i.e., from V+(i)p + yatip. Both of the noncontracted markers istadäs and yatipti (in the 3rd singular) are in the Past noncommittal form. AS mentioned above, Stavrulli even suggested that the patterns of contraction in the two languages were similar.

The Tajik correlate to Uzbek (y)atkän is also said to be very infrequent, and like the Uzbek verb, it seems to be used mainly in the negative, generated according to the unusual method of the Uzbek gän forms. Examples of the räfsadägi form:

(121) hič kim ab girif - sadəgi- š ne
no one water take-NnPPRFPROG-3POSS NEG

'no one has been taking water (from the water supply)' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:87, 92]

(122) baran bari- sas - mi ? -- bari- sadəgi - š ne
rain fall-NnPPROG-INTER fall-NnPPRFPROG-3POSS NEG

'is it raining? -- (no), it hasn't been' (Kanibadam dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:92-93]

(123) [Positive] šo - m nä - mebiyat guft - axt gi - ø
husband-my NEG-come+NnP+3SG say-NnPPRFPROG-3SG

(where axt<xaräftän) 'she's been saying "my husband will not come"' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:160]

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Although Rastorguyeva 1964:99 reports the use of the rāfsadāgi form with the past auxiliary but in the negative in the Tajik dialects, rāfsadāgi-š nā-bud 'he hadn't been going', this form seems to be very rare. Zarubin 1928:118-119 notes that in the Samarkand dialect it can be used in place of rāfsadā bud 'he was going', the other past progressive form. If the number of examples presented in the available dialect studies is any indication of the frequency of use in the actual language, it is absolutely clear that rāfsadā bud is much more common than rāfsadāgi bud. If so, this would parallel the greater frequency of (y)atuwdi as compared to (y)atkān(i)di in Colloquial Uzbek. Notice also the morphological similarity of rāf-sad-ā bud to its Uzbek correlate bar-yat-uw-di and of rāf-sad-āgi bud to bar-yat-kān-idi.

(124) diroz Alim dā kālxas kar kār-sadā bud ?
yesterday [NAME] in kolkhoz work do-PST PROG

'was Alim working on the kolkhoz yesterday?' (Varzab dialect)
[Rastorguyeva 1952a:84]

(125) Āmāt xāt kā-xatud , qālām-aš šikāst-ā rāft
[NAME] letter do-PST PROG pen-his break-GER CVC+PST

(where the PROG GM is drived from xarāftan, and bud is contracted)
'Ahmad was writing a letter, and his pen broke' (Chust dialect)
[Rastorguyeva 1952c:124]

In short, the parallelisms between the Tajik and Uzbek Progressive indicatives involve the morphological structure, the number of distinctive items, the negative formation, certain idiosyncratic behaviors, and perhaps even the frequency of occurrence. The fact that the present-day Progressive forms observed in Colloquial

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Persian are derived in a totally different manner (by the use of daštan 'have' as an auxiliary plus a finite verb form) and the fact that a progressive aspect is not attributed to Classical Persian-Tajik further support the contention that the Progressive forms in Northern Tajik have been borrowed from Uzbek.

The Noncommittal Mood.

The following example from Literary Uzbek may serve to illustrate the use of certain forms belonging to the Noncommittal mood. In this passage a literary critic is faulting a laxity in literary standards that permits mediocre work produced by young writers to be published. The use of the Noncommittal here lends a degree of skepticism to the narrative and perhaps a touch of sarcasm.

(126) [From information added to the poetry collection, it is learned that the so-called "young" poet:]

1939 yil-dä tuğil - ib - di , yä"ni yaš-i 45-gä
year-LOC be born-PNnC-3SG [PRETERITE] that is age-his -DAT

yäqinläš- ib - di . Oz-i rayon gazeta - si - dä
approach-PNnC-3SG [PRETERITE] self-his rayon newspaper-POSS-LOC

išlä-rkän [<(ä)r ekän]. Bälki u žurnalist sifät - i - dä
work-NnPNnC [HABITUAL] maybe he journalist capacity-POSS-LOC

yäxši iš-lär-ni ämäl - gä ašir-äyatgändir? šairlik-dä
good work-PL-ACC effect-DAT put-NnPPROGNnC [PRES PROGRESSIVE] poetry-LOC

emäs, gazetačilik-dä ungä yärätis , käšf etiš
not journalism-LOC to him creating discovering

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nāsib qil - gāndir ?
fall to one's lot-NnPPRFNnC
[PRES PERFECT]

(127) (Continuation:) [...In nearly all his poems, the sparks of a special talent or the marks of an extraordinary poetic power have not been seen.]

Bālki bun-dān keyin korin-ip qal-ār.
maybe this-ABL after be seen-CVC-NnPNnC
[FUTURE]

'...(he) was born in 1939, that is, he is nearly 45. He himself works at a rayon newspaper. Maybe he has been (or is) doing good work as a journalist? (Maybe) creativity and discovery have been his lot in journalism, but not in poetry?...'

'Perhaps they will be in evidence hereafter.' [Shārq yulduzi 10/1984, p. 194]

Perhaps the key to understanding the morphological structure of the Noncommittal forms in Uzbek lies in the fact that the auxiliary ākān, like Turkish imiš, can be used to express either nonpast or past time. In the Past, though, it appears to be obligatory on those forms that occur with it, while it is not so in the Nonpast. It can also be replaced by dur in the Nonpast. On the other hand, there is no such morphological diversity in Tajik. The Noncommittal forms all bear uniform GM's, either the former Perfect marker or the "participle in āgi" plus the copular person-number suffixes. This means that in the third singular the ending will be either -ās (from -āst) or -is(t) (as opposed to -ād (āt) or -∅ on the Indicative forms, with, of course, the exception of the Nonpast progressive indicative, which is derived from a Noncommittal form).

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The Unmarked Forms. The Nonpast noncommittal in Uzbek seems capable of appearing in four forms: -(ä)r, -(ä)r äkän, -(ä)rdur, and -(ä)r imiš. Examples in addition to the sentence (127):

(128) ehtimal u bazar-gä bar-äddur [<bar-är-dur]
maybe he bazaar-DAT go-NnPNnC

'maybe he'll go to the market' (Namangan dialect) [field notes]

(129) on äki-dän kiyin čuš - up giš quy-äräkäl-lä
10 + 2 -ABL after go down-GER brick pour-NnPNnC-PL

'after 12 (o'clock) they'll go down and make bricks' (Kokand dialect) [Nasirov 1980:124] (here äkän assimilates to -lä)

(130) että:: qaqan-nän eskiyäči-lä kel-ärmiš
tomorrow Kokand-ABL askiyachi-PL come-NnPNnC

'the askiyachis [type of comedian] will come from Kokan tomorrow' (Namangan dialect) [Äliyev 1974:134]

It is not clear from the available sources what the difference is between these various forms. The writer of the sentence (127) seems to be quite dubious of his prediction, yet the verb is not marked by ekän, dir, or emiš, a fact that tends to make one suspicious of the notion that these markers have a dubitative meaning.

As mentioned above in Section 2.2., Rastorguyeva identified the meräftäs form with the Uzbek (ä)r (äkän), a correspondence which is supported here [Rastorguyeva 1952b:231-232].

(131) šuma-häm kästum avärd-əgi? ---räh-ändä xunuk mušudäst
you-too jacket bring-NnPPRF road-LOC cold be+NnPNnC

'Have you too brought a jacket?--It might be cold on the road' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:132-133]

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However, in the same article, she links räftäs with gän äkän, not (i)p, as is claimed here. Her assumption is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that Kuznetsov, Polivanov, and Stavrulli all associate räftäs with (i)p (see above). (Rastorguyeva does not treat the räftäs form with respect to Uzbek influence in her major 1964 dialect study.) There is good supporting evidence, however, that the räftäs form does correspond to Uzbek (i)p. In one dialect investigation, Rastorguyeva maintains that, apart from its perfect, or resultative, sense, the räftäs form indicates past activity analogously to the simple past of the indicative, i.e., the räft form, but with the noncommittal modal connotation [Rastorguyeva 1956:68]. For instance:

(132) bäravärdi Säfär räftä bašäd ägär, roz-i šämbe räftäy
together with [NAME] go+PST CND if day-IZA Saturday go+PNnC

(where räftäy = räftäs) 'if she went at the same time as Safar, (that means) she left on Saturday' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 152a:86]

Thus the forms räft--räftäs constitute a parallel Past tense pair to Uzbek di--(i)p. The somewhat unexpected use of the verbs istadän/tur- 'stand', xaräftän/yat- 'lie', šištän/otir- 'sit' in the morphological Past noncommittal (ex., istadäs/turup-) to specify the present progressive also indicates the parallelism between the räftäs and (i)p forms. It should be mentioned as well that these six verbs, along with the Tajik gäštän and the Uzbek yur- 'go', can be used in the Past noncommittal form to combine with other verbs in a CVC yielding a periphrastic present progressive. Finally, the third person singular Past noncommittal

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of the Tajik verb šudän 'become, be', šudäs (šudääst in the literary language), can be used to mean 'it's enough; (it's) OK, alright', just like the Uzbek bopti (bolipti) form bol- 'be, become' [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:83]. Kuznetsov, who provides a few sentences and three short texts in both Tajik and Uzbek, has one good example of the parallel use of (i)p and the räftäs form. (The transcription conforms to the conventions adopted here.)

(133) (a) Uzbek: tağä-m ol-up bu xatun bilän

(b) Tajik: tăğa-m murdä văy zăn kăti

uncle-my die+GER this woman with=and
(T:that)

U: muhämmäd murad di-gän bir oğl-i qal-ip-ti (or: qapti)

T: muhämmäd murad guft-ägi yăk pusär-äš mandääst

[NAME] say-SbSGM one son-her remain+PNnC+3SG

'My uncle died, and this (that) woman [i.e., his wife] and her one son, named Muhammad Murad, were left behind, (I hear/it seems)' [Kuznetsov 1912:319; Kuznetsov 1915:41]

The Perfect Forms. The grammatical marking for the Perfect noncommittal in Uzbek is gan plus one of the auxiliaries äkän, imiš, or dur. However, it does not seem possible to differentiate the Nonpast perfect from the Past perfect in a consistent manner. The marker dur appears to be used mainly for the Nonpast--cf., the example in (126) and the following:

(134) (a) "qarn-iŋ ač-gändir , ärslan-tay-im" ... de-di kämpir
stomach-your open-NnPPRFNnC lion-ENDEAR-my say-PST old woman

'"You're probably hungry (literally: your stomach has opened), my little lion cub," said the old woman...'

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(b) äyt-gändir- män , es -im-dä yoq
say-NnPPRFNnC-1SG memory-my-LOC NEG EXIS

'(Maybe) I've said (so, but) I don't remember' (both examples from Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:219-220]

(135) ehtimal u bazar-gä ket-kändur
maybe he bazaar-DAT go-NnPPRFNnC

'maybe he has gone to the market' (Namangan dialect) [field notes]

Another indication that the gän-dur form refers mainly to the Nonpast is its infrequent use in folk tales which are presented almost exclusively in the Noncommittal mood (outside of the dialogues). Since the events narrated in a folk tale belong to the past, the Perfect, when used, generally indicates the Past perfect. On the other hand, it appears that gän äkän can also be nonpast, as the following examples from Literary Uzbek demonstrate:

(136) hä-ä, eŠit- gän - män , toğri eŠit-gän ekän-män ,
yes hear-NnPPRF-1SG right hear-NnPPRFNnC-1SG

tä"rif-i-ni eŠitgänmän
description-his-ACC

'Yes, yes, I've heard (it), (I believe/it seems,) I've heard (it) correctly, I've heard his description.' [Kollektiv 1975:431]

(137) professor Rene-nin yaz- is - i -ca , sayara biosfera-si
professor [NAME]-GEN write-SbS-his-as planet biosphere-POSS

uč xil häva qätlam-i-dän täŠkil tap-gän ekän
3 kind air layer-POSS-ABL be formed -NnPPRFNnC

'As Prof. Rene writes, the planet's biosphere has been formed of [=consists of] three different air layers' [Nasilov 1983:179; he uses the present tense of the verb when translating this sentence into Russian, sostoit 'consists of, is made up of']

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Furthermore, Kononov 1960:218 maintains that the gän form, without any auxiliary, can refer to an activity in relation to its consequences, whereby the speaker conveys facts known to him "not from personal experience, but through other agents or factors." Since characterizations of that nature are applied to the unambiguously noncommittal form (i)p, it appears that the gän form can be used as a Noncommittal perfect even without dur or äkän.

(138) demäk erkäk-lär hämmä närsä toğrisidä oylä-b , bir
that is man - PL all thing about think-GER one

fikr - gä kel - iš - gän ; dädä-si kel-ib , ungä sozlä-gän!
opinion-DAT come-PL-NnPPRFNnCdad-hiscome-GER he+DAT tell-NnPPRFNnC

'That means, the men have thought about everything and have come to a single opinion; (and when) his father arrived, they've told him!' [Kononov 1960:219]

It is clear from the data that gän äkän can represent a Past perfect.

(139) keyin atä - si bil-ip-ti ; kattä akä -lär- i
afterwards father-his know-PNnC3SG older brother-PL-his

äldä-š-kän-äkän uni
deceive-PL-PPRFNnC he+ACC

'later his father found out (the truth); his older brothers had deceived him [i.e., his father]' (Tashkent dialect) (Reshetov, Shaabdurahanov 1962:260]

(140) Literary Uzbek: kop vaqt-lär-dän beri bu yer - gä
much time-PL-ABL since this place-DAT

heč kim ayaq bäs - mä - gän ekän
no who foot press-NEG-PPRFNnC

'no one had set foot in this place for a long time' [folk tale in the past tense, Chälpäk yaqqän kun, p. 271]

In fact, Kononov 1960:274 claims that gän ekän forms are pluperfect in tense. However, this contention overlooks cases

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like (136) and (137) where gän äkän refers to a nonpast temporal relationship. One complicating feature of the Perfect in Uzbek is that it is often used with stative verbs to specify contexts that would not be rendered by the Perfect in some other languages--cf., (137), (141), (142).

(141) bir adäm -niŋ uč oğli-i bar ekän . učaw-i häm
a person-GEN 3 son-POSS EXIS NnCCOP 3-POSS and

oqi-gän , aq - qarä- ni täni - gän , yaman bilän
study-PPRFNnC white-black-ACC be acquainted-PPRFNnC bad with

yur-mä-gän , yaman jay-dä tur- mä - gän ekän-lär.
go-NEG-PPRFNnC bad place-LOC stand-NEG-PPRFNnC-3PL

'A man had three sons. And the three of them had studied [i.e., were educated], had become acquainted with [i.e., knew] right from wrong, did not go around with the bad, and did not hang around in bad places.' [Chälpäk yaqqän kun, p. 3]

(142) (uččaw-i) ... bir yet-kä bar-sä, uč koča kepti [kel-ip-ti]
3-POSS a place-DAT go-CND 3 road come-PNnC-3SG

uč koča-ni a:z - i - gä yaz - il- gämmuš : ... dip .
3 road-GEN mouth-POSS-DAT write-PASS-PPRFNnC saying

'when (the three of them) came to a place, there were three roads. It was written [had been written] at the entrance to three roads: "..."' (Tashkent dialect) [Reshetov, Shaabdurähmanov 1962:255]

In folk tales written in the Noncommittal mood, gän äkän is quite often found with stative verbs; in strictly grammatical terms these forms are Past perfect, while semantically (at least as defined by equivalences in other languages) they do not appear to be so.

What the above evidence amounts to is that in the Nonpast the Uzbek Perfect noncommittal can be marked by gän-dur, gän-äkän, gän-imiš, or simply gän, while in the Past it is marked by

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gän-ädän or gän-imiš. But even in the latter case the auxiliary is not absolutely obligatory in contexts where it might be regarded as stylistically repetitious, example (141).

In Rastorguyeva 1952b:233-234 and Rastorguyeva 1964:135, it is maintained that Tajik räftägist corresponds in form and meaning to the uzbek gän-dur. The two forms exhibit a morphological similarity: the "past participle" (Tajik räftägi, Uzbek -gän) plus the copula (in Tajik, derived from either the full form (h)ästäm, (h)ästi, (h)äst, etc., or the short form -äm, -i, -äst, etc., and in Uzbek, -dir-män, -dir-sän, -dir-Ø, etc.) [Rastorguyeva 1964:135]. While essentially accurate, this correspondence fails to take into account the complications posed by the Uzbek data, namely the fact that gän-dur and gän-ädän can be synonymous at times. From the remarks of Tajik linguists, it appears that Northern Tajik has developed a morphological means for differentiating the Nonpast and Past of the Perfect noncommittal--räftägist for the Nonpast and räftä budäs for the Past perfect, the latter apparently created morphologically by analogy to the Indicative past perfect räftä bud. If this tense differentiation is consistently adhered to, it would indicate that Tajik has succeeded in making the grammatical tense opposition more explicit in morphological terms than the donor language Uzbek has. However, as will be shown below, the opposition Past-Nonpast is not strictly observed in other Noncommital forms in Tajik.

Some examples of the Tajik Nonpast perfect noncommittal from the Varzab dialect:

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(143) mӓn Rӓjӓb-dӓ kar daŠt - ӓm , vӓy kӓnӓl rӓftӓgist
I [NAME]-for business have+PST-1SG he canal go+NnPPRFNnC

'I had some business for Rajab, (but I suppose) he's gone to the canal'

(144) kard kəni? --- an - ja bud. --- anja nest . ---
knife where that-place was is not

kӓti dӓstərxan burdӓgist - ӓn
with tablecloth take+NnPPRFNnC-3PL

'Where's the knife? --- It was over there. --- It's not there. --- They must have taken (it) with the tablecloth.'

(145) mӓn dadӓr - əm - ӓ gum kӓrd-ӓm , ӓ rahӓki- ya
I younger brother-my-ACC lose+PST-1SG from passer-by-PL

pursid-ӓm , ehtimal didӓgist - ӓn
ask+PST-1SG maybe see+NnPPRFNnC-3PL

'I lost my younger brother, (so) I asked some passers-by; maybe they have (had ?) seen him' [all examples from Rastorgureva 1952a:175-176]

Examples of the Past perfect noncommittal:

(146) ada sud- mi ? --- a apa - m raftan-pes
finish+PST-INTER from older sister-my go+SbSGM-before

ӓda Šudӓ bӓdӓst
finish+PPRFNnC

'Is it over? --- It seems, it had finished before my (older) sister went (there)' (Sokh dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:114]

(147) in bečarӓ-yӓ kӓlan-a fisandӓ budiy-ӓn sӓyahӓt-bӓ
this poor-ACC head-PL send+PPRFNnC-3PL trip-DAT

dinӓ nӓmazigӓri amӓdiy-ӓn
yesterday evening come+PNnC-3POL

'The bosses had sent the poor thing off on a trip, (it seems). She arrived last night' (Oratepa dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:199]

(148) diroz gaw-i Fatimӓ kӓsӓl Šud ; fӓhmid-ӓn
yesterday cow-IZA [NAME] ill become+PST learn+PST-3PL

ki gaw-ӓ Bӓrna sӓng zӓdӓ budӓy [=budӓs]
that cow-ACC [NAME] stone hit+PPRFNnC+3SG

'yesterday Fatima's cow became ill; they found out that Barna had hit the cow with a stone' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:90]

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In his examination of the Tajik spoken by the Jews of Samarkand, Zarubin notes that a form like räftägi budäs could be used instead of the Past pefect noncommittal räftä budäs (the actual forms cited were räsidəgi bude and räsidä bude, from the verb räsidän 'to reach') [Zarubin 1928:119]. Other sources make it clear that räftägi budäs belongs to the Noncommittal mood [Rastorguyeva 1952a:107;Rastorguyeva 1956:90 and 1961:162; Rastorguyeva, and Kerimova 1964:185-186]. Examples such as (149) suggest that Zarubin's observation may be quite accurate, that is, that räftägi budäs and räftä budäs are synonymous.

(149) Adil , ma amäd-im , ačä - t buräftägi budiy-än
[NAME] we come+PST-1PL mother-your leave+PPRFNnC-3POL

'Adil, we came (by), (but) your mother had left (already), (it seems)' (Oratepa dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:162]

The corresponding form in Uzbek would be gän bolip, ex., bar-gän bolip-ti 'it seems, he had gone' in the 3rd singular. Unfortunately, reference works on the Uzbek language do not discuss this form as a regular item in the verbal paradigm, although an occasional reference to it can be found.

(150) Egribay at - gä min - iš bilän-aq bir zum - dä
[NAME] horse-DAT mount-SbSGM with-PART a moment-LOC

koz-dän yoqal - gän bolip-ti
eye-ABL disappear-PPRFNnC-3SG

'As soon as he mounted the horse, Egibay (had) disappeared from sight in an instant.' (from a folk tale in Literary Uzbek) [Mardiyeva 1977:144, quoting from a dissertation by K. Sulaymanov on periphrastic verb forms in Uzbek]

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It would not be inconceivable that the Tajik räftägi budäs was modeled upon the Uzbek gän bolip, and thus the two forms are tentatively placed in the simplex verb paradigm as synonyms of räftä budäs and gän äkän, respectively. It is curious that in the Indicative and Noncommittal moods there appear to be two morphologically distinct, but synonymous, forms for the Past perfect in both languages.

The Habitual Forms. Ivanov 1958:137 states that the Uzbek form in (ä)r äkän corresponds in meaning to three verb tenses--the present-future, the indefinite imperfect, and the future hypothetical. In particular, it can designate (1) activity taking place usually, constantly, or regularly, (2) durative incomplete action in the past, and (3) hypothetical, possible activity in the future. Rastorguyeva 1952c:131 uses similar terminology to characterize the meräftäs form in Tajik: it can designate any tense, present (habitual), future, and past durative. Within the set of paradigmatic relationships adopted here, these observations are represented as reflecting neutralizations of oppositions. That is, in Uzbek and Tajik there is no strict morphological differentiation between the Unmarked and Habitual nonpast forms or between the Nonpast and Past habitual forms. As in the Indicative, the opposition between the Habitual and Unmarked forms in the Noncommittal is overtly manifested only in the past tense--(i)p vs. (ä)ı äkän and räftäs vs. meräftäs. This does not mean, however, that there may be no differences between the Nonpast and Past habitual forms in Uzbek. In fact, it appears

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from the Uzbek data that the auxiliary ʉkʉn is optional in the Nonpast but not in the Past. When it does not appear in the latter case, as for instance, in a continuous text such as a folk tale, its use might be considered stylistically redundant--cf., example (158) below. That is, the absence of the auxiliary ʉkʉn may be due to a "grammatical optionality" in the case of the Nonpast habitual, but a "stylistic deletion" in the case of the Past.

Some examples of the Habitual in Uzbek--first without the auxiliary:

(151) sis kok čay-di yʉxši kor-ʉr-siz
you green tea-ACC good see-NnPHABNnC-2nd
like

'(I see) you like green tea' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorayev 1964:143]

With the auxiliary, in Literary Uzbek:

(152) Ahunbabayev surʉt-lʉr-i-gʉ heč hʉm oxšʉ - mʉs ekʉn - lʉr
[NAME] picture-PL-his-DAT no =at all resemble-NEG+NnPHABNnC-3POL

'(It seems), Ahunbabayev does not at all look like his portraits' [Ivanov 1958:138]

Frequently this form is used in proverbs, sayings, and other truisms. Without an auxiliary:

(153) qimirlʉ-gʉn qir aš - ʉr
move-SbSGM pass cross-NnPHABNnC

'The one who stirs gets over the pass' (similar to the saying 'no pain, no gain') (Andijan dialect) [Ibrahimov 1967:213]

(154) mihnʉt rahʉt - kʉ yet-kiz - ʉr
toil pleasure-DAT reach-CAUS-NnPHABNnC

'Work brings pleasure' (Tashkent dialect) [Ghulamov 1968:118]

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With the auxiliary:

(155) nan - i ya: rozӣ tŭt - ӣymuš [=tutӣrimuš],
bread-POSS NEG EXIS fast keep-NnPHABNnC

iš - i ya: nӣmaz oqi - ymuš [=oquirimuš]
work-POSS NEG EXIS prayer recite-NnPHABNnC

'The one without bread keeps the fast, the one without work performs the ritual prayer' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorayev 1964:160]

(156) adӣm qo(r)q-qӣn vӣq - qӣ til - i kӣlimӣ-yӣ
person fear-SbSGM time-DAT/LOC tongue-his profession-DAT

ke -mӣ - y qal-ӣykӣn [=qalӣrӣkӣn]
come-NEG- CVC -NnPHABNnC

'When a man's afraid, his tongue won't even utter the profession of faith' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorӣyev 1964:160]

(157) bu -lӣ hӣr kuni aw - gӣ ket-iš-ӣ:kӣn , qiz čay
this-PL every day hunt-DAT go-PL-PHABNnC girl tea

aš qip [=qil-ip] tur-ӣ :kӣn [=tur-ӣr-ӣkӣn]]
pilaf make- CVC -PHABNnC

'These would go out hunting every day, (and) the girl would make tea and pilaf' (from a folk tale in the past tense) (Tashkent dialect) [Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:258]

(158) ...kӣttӣ očaq - dӣ kӣttӣ alaw yan - ӣr , qazan-dӣ
big hearth-LOC big fire burn-PHABNnC pot-LOC

šorvӣ qӣynӣ - r ekӣn
soup boil-PHABNnC

'a big fire was burning in a big fireplace and soup was boiling in a qazan' (folk tale in Literary Uzbek) [Chӣlpӣk yaqqӣn kun, p. 9]

In contrast to Uzbek, the tense of the Habitual noncommittal in Tajik is completely neutralized, to the single form meräftäs.

(159) šuma kӣm čay mexurdək-etan
you little tea eat+HABNnC-2ND

'(I see), you drink little tea' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:132] (in this dialect the merӣftӣs is conjugated merӣftӣkӣm, merӣftӣki, merӣftӣs, etc.)

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(160) äz kuh - i ural ab meamädäy [=meamädäs],
from mountain-IZA Urals water come+HABNnC [=NnP]

bä bähr-i käspiy merxtäy [=merextäs]
into sea-IZA Caspian flow+HABNnC [=NnP]

'water comes fromthe Ural Mountains and flows into the Caspian Sea' (girl reporting on what she has learned in school) (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:89]

(161) Past tense: där buxara peštär yäk käsäl
in Bukhara earlier (some)one sick

mešudäy , daru či bud? yäk parä-i čarmäg.
become+HABNnC medicine what was a bit-IZA walnut

'Earlier in Bukhara someone would get sick, (and) what was the medicine? A bit of walnut.' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:89]

Many examples of the Habitual noncommittal in Literary Tajik can be found in Rastorguyeva 1953:13-17.

The Progressive Forms. In both Uzbek and Tajik the Progressive noncommittal forms are not very common, and reference grammars do not provide extensive information about them. Consequently their status in the paradigm is not straightforward. It seems rather clear, though, that there is only one Uzbek Progressive noncommittal, (y)atkän äkän, in which the tense distinction has been neutralized. For examples of the use of this form, see examples (126) and (162-164).

(162) Present: Erkin hazir Moskva-dä emiš , fälsäfä
[NAME] now Moscow-LOC COPNnPNnC philosophy

fakul'tet- i - dä oqi-yatgän emiš
department-POSS-LOC study-PROGNnC

'(They say), Erkin is now in Moscow and is studying in the philosophy department' (Literary Uzbek) [Nasirov 1983:185]

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(163) Past: sän ke-yä̃ [=kel-gän] väx enni uxl-atkanäkän-män
you come-SbSGM time just sleep-PROGNnC-1SG

'when you came, (it seems) I ws just falling asleep' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorayev 1964:159]

This form can also be found in folk tales in which the events are represented as taking place in the past.

(164)ket-wat-is-sä, bir qiz mušuw-i minäm...kaptaw oynä-watkänäkän
leave-PROG-PL-CND a girl cat-her with ball play-PROGNnC

'as they were leaving, a girl was playing ball with her cat' (Tashkent dialect) [Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:258]

However, the status of the two Tajik Progressive noncommittal forms räfsadä budäs and räfsadägist is much more problematic. From the descriptions of the use of the former in dialect studies and in grammars of the literary language, it appears that räfsadä budäs is quite similar to Uzbek (y)atkän äkän in function, while in terms of morphological parallelism the Uzbek form is closer to räfsadägist. The situation is further complicated by the fact that räfsadagist is very rare in both the dialects [Zarubin 1928:121; Rastorguyeva 1964:97] and the literary language [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:136]. It is clear that räfsadägist can be used as a Nonpast progressive:

(165) äpä - t käni? --- nan puxsädägist
older sister-your where bread bake-PROGNnC

'Where's your sister?--She's (probably) baking bread' (or perhaps: 'she's been baking bread, I guess' ?) (Kasanay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:143]

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One example available in the dialect studies suggests that räfsadägist might also be able to refer to the past, but because it can be treated as being embedded under an S containing a verb in the past tense, nothing definite about the tense of this form can be inferred from the example.

(166) räft-äm, guft - äm mašin käni? guft-än mašin
go+PST-1SG say+PST-1SG car where say+PST-3PL car

räfsadägis
go+PROGNnC

'I went (and) said, where's the car? They said, the car's leaving' (or: 'They said that the car was leaving') (Bukhara dialect) [Kerimova 1959:123]

Some examples of the räfsadä budäs form:

(167) (a) hazir Garäna-ndä kar käsadudäs [=kärsadä budäs]
now Gorono-LOC work do+PROGNnC

'(They say), he's working in Gorono now' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:73]

(b) zän-äš käsäl budäs . bälnisä-bä burdäs .
wife-his sick be+PNnC hospital-DAT take+PNnC

duxtor ukol kärsadä budäs
doctor injection do+PROGNnC

'(I've heard) his wife became ill. He took (her) to the hospital. The doctor is (has been, was ?) giving (her) shots.' (Oratepa dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:156] (this sentence was translated into Russian by the present delayet yey ukoli.)

(c) ayä , pisär-atan yäk sär ängur kändudək-an !
aunt son-your a head grapes tear+PROGNnC-3POL

män amədud-äm , ängur xurd boräfsadudək-än
I come+PPRF-1SG grapes eat+GER go+PROGNnC-3POL

'Aunt, your son has broken off a bunch of grapes! I came (by), and he was going along eating grapes' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:299]

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In the chart of the Uzbek and Tajik Simplex Verb Paradigms, räfsadä budäs is placed in the Progressive noncommittal column, while räfsadägist is in the Perfect progressive column. These placements are subject to revision. While the forms exhibit morphological similarities to their respective forms in the Indicative, their meaning may not justify such an arrangement. One obvious possiblity is that they are synonymous.

As regards the main issue here, the influence of Uzbek upon the Tajik verb system, there is very little question that the Progressive in Tajik as a whole is modeled upon that of Uzbek, with the markers derived from the auxiliaries istadän (x-räftän) and yat-. The only question is the extent to which the Progressive noncommittals in Tajik were patterned directly after existing Uzbek verb form vs. the extent to which they arose as the result of analogical formation.

The Noncommittal as a Mood. Some investigators have observed the morphological similarity between the Past noncommittal form and the Perfect in certain Eurasian languages and have made attempts to connect the two verb forms. For instance, Comrie 1976:110 states,

> Having noted the formal identity or near-identity in these languages between Perfect and Inferential, we must now look for an explanation for this identity. With the perfect, a past event is related to the present state, in other words the past event is not simply presented per se, but because of its relation to a present state.

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> With the inferential, the past event is again not presented simply per se, rather it is inferred from some less direct result of the action (e.g. a second-hand report, or prima facie evidence, such as the wetness of the road leading to the inference that it has been raining, even when the raining itself has not been directly witnessed). Thus the semantic similarity (not, of course, identity) between perfect and inferential lies in the fact that both categories present an event not in itself, but via its results, and it is this similarity that finds formal expression in languages like Georgian, Bulgarian, and Estonian.

Friedman, in a study of similar forms in Georgian, Avar, Tajik, Azerbaijani, and other languages, even uses the term "perfect" to refer to a form "said to be marked for or which can imply nonconfirmative status" [Friedman 1979:340]. Also, when he establishes a category of "Perfect as pure resultative vs. Perfect as nonconfirmative" [p.346], he implies an intrinsic relationship between the two. Remarks along similar lines can be found in Haarmann's study of the Noncommittal on the Eurasian continent [Haarmann 1970:29-30].

Some investigators have discussed a possible evolutionary development form the Perfect to a Noncommittal.

> These data clearly testify to the fact that in the Komi-Zyryan language a splitting of the meaning of the

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perfect has taken place. On the base of the earlier meaning of resultativeness another meaning has arisen, expressing itself in the capacity of the perfect to designate activity not personally witnessed by the speaker.... [Serebrennikov 1960:63]

The explanation for the origin of the model meaning on the basis of the original [pervonachal'noye] perfect meaning does not require any complicated demonstrations. Every language often creates something new on the foundation of what already exists. In the very semantics of the perfect were the elements which could be used for the creation of a new phenomenon in the language, which received a special function. [Ibid., p. 66]

Serebrennikov also contends that the development of the noncommittal meaning from the perfect is attested in many languages of the world, such as the Turkic languages, Udmurt, Mari (Cheremis), Mansi (Vogul), Nenets, Bulgarian, Latvian, Finnish, Albanian, Georgian, etc. [Ibid., p.66]. In his examination of the noncommittal forms ("admirative-commentative" in his terminology) in Albanian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian, Sitov focuses on a "genetic link" between the noncommittal formations and the system of the perfect, in an attempt to demonstrate that these verb forms could have arisen independent of external influence (Turkish in this case) [Sitov 1979:117-118]. Kormushin states with regard to the noncommittal forms in the Turkic languages,

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> it seems that the modal meanings of the out-of-sightness [zaglaznost'], unreliability [nedostovernost'], or unexpectedness [neozhidannost'] of the action arise naturally from the present perfect form, which is correlated with the present actual ... Consequently, the modal meanings arose in the perfect late, only after the conversion of a form once nonlocalized in tense into the present perfect form. [Kormushin 1984:41]

These characterizations leave the impression that the Noncommittal is a kind of "second Perfect" which has become specialized in a particular semantic direction.

In fact, some of the data from the Uzbek and Tajik verb systems provide confirmation of a link between the Noncommittal and the Perfect. For instance, the Uzbek auxiliary äkän is derived from the Perfect form of the defective copula verb e-, historically er- [Kononov 1960:272; Ivanov 1958:131]. Furthermore, it was the historical Iranian Perfect form räftäs [räftääst] which has become the main past tense in Northern Tajik.

However, more importantly, other evidence form Uzbek raises serious questions about the universality of the proposed link between the Perfect and the Noncommittal. Whatever the semantic connection between the forms, it is clear that there need not be a morphological one. The Unmarked past noncommittal in Uzbek (i)p is not at all connected morphologically to the Perfect in gän, nor is the Nonpast (ä)r. The Perfect noncommittals exhibit a morphological similarity to the Perfect indicative, but such a

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parrallelism is not unexpected of forms within the same verb category. Leaving aside the gändur, gän-äkän, etc.., forms, there are then, using Friedman's terminology, two distinct "Perfects" in Uzbek--gän, the "Perfect resultative," and (i)p, the "Perfect nonconfirmative." This state of affairs is by no means unique to Uzbek; according to Kormushin, the number of Turkic languages with such a two-way oppostion, or even three-way opposition, among the "Perfects" is greater than the number of languages in which this distinction has been neutralized [Kormushin 1984:40-41; cf., also the remarks about the "Perfect I" and "Perfect II" in Grunina 1976:19]. However, by coincidence, this crucial distinction is neutralized in those Turkic languages with which scholars of the Indo-European or Finno-Ugric languages as well as others linguists are most familiar--Turkish and other Oghuz languages, Tatar, and Bashkir. To demonstrate the significance of the neutralization, it would be worthwhile to compare the relevant portions of the verb paradigm of Uzbek to those of Turkish and Bashkir. The following representations of the paradigms are rather tentative, since a more thorough investigation would be needed to determine the most coherent set of oppositions, but the present arrangement should suffice for the purpose of this discussion. (Table 7, p. 214) The essential point about these paradigms is that the forms used for the Nonpast perfect indicative have other uses as well, in particular, uses in the Noncommital mood. Yet, it is clear that the category Perfect has not been eliminated from the Turkish or

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Bashkir paradigm since there exists a distinct form for the Past perfect, in both the Indicative and Noncommittal moods.

It would be misleading, however, to suppose that a straight-forward neutralization between the Nonpast perfect indicative and the Past noncommittal has taken place. It appears that the Past indicative in di has taken over at least some of the functions normally marked by the Perfect indicative in other Turkic languages--cf., sentence (168) in Turkish.

(168) siz-e yeni kitap-lar ver-di-m , ama onlar-ï
you-DAT new book-PL give-PST-1SG but they-ACC

hâlâ oku-ma-dï-niz
yet read-NEG-PST-2PL

'I gave you (some) new books, but you haven't read them yet' (literally: 'didn't read them yet') [Underhill 1976:119]

(On the use of di as a marker of resultativeness in Bashkir, see Kollektiv 1981:273-274, but it should not be inferred from this that di and ɣan in Bashkir occur in precisely the same contexts as do di and miš in Turkish.) The suffix miš is unambiguously used as a marker of the Perfect indicative in written Turkish when it is followed by dir (tir).

(169) bak, bu kadar yïl-dïr bir ev - de otur-ur-uz ,
look this many year-for one house-LOC live-HAB-1PL

... iki lâf et - me - miš - iz - dir
2 word make-NEG-NnPPRF-1PL-INDIC

'Look, we have lived in the same house for this many years (now, but) we haven't spoken two words' [Kononov 1956:234] (Notice that a context requiring the Perfect in English such as 'have been/lived/etc. somewhere for such-and-such a period of time and up to the present' is not regularly rendered in the Turkic

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languages by the Perfect, but by the Unmarked nonpast (Present) or the Nonpast habitual.)

It also seems that miš expresses a Perfect indicative activity in combination with the auxiliary ol- 'be, become', cf., Uzbek bok-.

(170) hayt-ta ilk defa kïz -ïm-dan sïr sakla-miš
life-LOC first time daughter-my-ABL secret keep-PRF

ol-uyor-um
AUX-PRES-1SG

'for the first time in my life I have kept a secret from my daughter' Mikhaylov 1965:40]

But there is a certain amount of ambiguity in constructions which might be described as the "past participle in miš/ğan used as a predicate."

(171) Turkish: (from a phrase book in which these sentences are the stylistically neutral means of expressing certain states that exist at present)

(a) benzin-im bit - miš
gas - my be finished-NnPPRF

'I've run out of gas' (literally: my gasoline has finished up' [Mardin, Yusuf, Turkish Phrase Book. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 72]

(b) oda temiz-le - n - me - mis
room clean-VbF-PASS-NEG-NnPPRF

'the room hasn't been cleaned' [Ibid., p. 87]

(c) mide - m boz - ul - muš
stomach-my spoil-PASS-NnPPRF

'my stomach is upset' (literally: 'my stomach has been upset') [Ibid., p. 151]

(d) ot -lar çok kuru-muš
grass-PL very dry-NnPPRF

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'the grass is very dry' (literally: the grasses have dried very much') [Ibid., p. 138]

(172) Literary Turkish:

(a) temiz giy- in - miš . šakak-lar-ï - na hafiften
clean wear-RFL-NnPPRF temple-PL-POSS-DAT lightly

kïr düš - müš
grey fall-NnPPRF (=turn grey)

'He is (was) well (respectably) dressed. Grey has lightly etched his temples.' [Ivanov 1977:53]

(b) duvar-lar-a kalïn yaldïzlï čerčeve-ler iç - in - de
wall-PL-DAT thick gilt frame-PL inside-POSS-LOC

resim-ler as - ïl - mïš
picture-PL hang-PASS-NnPPRF

'on the wall are hung pictures in thick gilded frames' [Ibid.]

(173) Literary Bashkir:

bïl yort bik yaqši hal - ïn - ğan
this house very good build-PASS-NnPPRF

'this house is built very well' [Dmitriyev 1948:159]

In such cases it may be impossible to determine whether the verbs represent the Perfect indicative or the Perfect noncommittal. But with respect to the set of distinctive oppositions, this question is irrelevant. In any paradigm of similar oppositions, there would be a possible four-way set of distinctions:

(Unmarked) Past indicative -- Nonpast perfect indicative

(Unmarked) Past noncommittal -- Nonpast perfect noncommittal

In the Turkic languages being discussed here, a consistent four-way morphological distinction is not observed, but the languages differ with regard to the number of distinctions

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otherwise occurring. The Past indicative is a clearly distinct category marked by the suffix di. A morphological differentiation between the two Nonpast perfect forms is not systematically maintained, although the addition of a marker like dur, dir, äkän, etc., can provide a means of disambiguating the forms. Thus the crucial question concerns how the distinction is realized in the (Unmarked) Past noncommittal, perhaps the most prominent of the Noncommittal forms. The hypothesis that the Perfect and the Noncommittal are intrinsically linked would predict that the morphological marking of the Past noncommittal would be identical or at least quite similar to that of the Perfect. Such is indeed the case in Turkish and Bashkir, even though it might be argued that the miš/γan forms no longer function as true Perfect indicatives. But the Uzbek verb paradigm does not conform to these expectations; the crucial case, the Past noncommittal, does not resemble the Perfect (in either the Indicative or Noncommittal). Clearly then, the notion about the intrinsic link between the Perfect and the Noncommittal is not applicable universally. In fact, what remains of the hypothesis after the evidence of Uzbek and other Turkic languages? It might still serve as a valid explanation for why a single form might have both a perfect and a past noncommittal meaning, but it certainly fails to suggest why a change might occur in the opposite direction, i.e., towards a morphological differentiation between the Perfect and the Past noncommittal. Such a hypothesis could provide no insight into the present state of the Uzbek paradigm, regardless

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of whether Uzbek retains the original Turkic distinctions or reflects innovations from a situation more in line with the pattern of oppositions in Turkish or Bashkir.

The basic problem with a hypothesis that focuses on an intrinsic link between the Perfect and the Noncommittal is that it ignores the presence of other verb forms in the paradigm with a similar modal meaning. Such a hypothesis would provide little justification for a semantic distinction like "Noncommittalness" to spread, presumably by analogy, to other tenses. Yet in the data there exist such forms as Uzbek (ä)r, corresponding in tense and aspect to ä/y, or Turkish ajakmiš, corresponding to ajak and ajakti. Essentially, the proposal about the link between the Perfect and the Noncommittal fails to account for the fact that a whole set of Noncommittal forms exists in systematic contrast to the set of Indicative forms. An approach that establishes a full Noncommittal mood, on the other hand, raises the expectation that systematic oppositions in tense and aspect would likely occur in a verb paradigm with a grammatical Noncommittal category. This expectation is supported by the variety of Noncommittal forms in Uzbek and Tajik, as well as in Turkish, Bashkir, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, etc.

The Conditional/Subjunctive Mood. In her major study of the Tajik dialects, Rastorguyeva characterizes the Uzbek Conditional forms sä/säydi and the Tajik Subjunctives räväd/räftä bašäd as cases in the verb paradigm where a semantic convergence occurred prior to the contact between the two languages and arose as the result of

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accidental or general linguistic processes [Rastorguyeva 1964:137]. But this is an oversimplification about the relationship between the forms, as even Rastorguyeva acknowledges when she states in a footnote that she is not treating the forms in all their diversity, a project that would take too much time and space [Ibid.]. In fact, there is evidence suggesting that the Tajik Subjunctive forms have been modified in their use on the model of the Uzbek Conditional, but documenting such a change is not as straightforward as it was with regard to the Noncommittal mood. A more thorough investigation into the uses of the Subjunctive in Iranian, particularly in the colloquial varieties, for comparative purposes, would be needed to demonstrate the extent of Uzbek influence to an adequate degree. Here, however, it will be possible only to touch upon certain aspects of the topic.

The use of the Uzbek Conditional sä taken to be the most representative by Turkologists is the marking of the verb in the if- clause (protasis) of a conditional sentence. Historically there has been no indigenous Structure-Initial Grammatical Marker like if in the Turkic languages, although the Iranian ägär has been borrowed and widely accepted in that capacity in various Turkic languages; its use is generally optional in Uzbek. However, the sä form typically occurs in other structures; it can, for instance, mark a temporal clause, generally translated by 'when' in English. Unlike the case in conditional sentences, the proposition expressed by the clause containing sä in its temporal

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use can be presupposed to be true: gärä-sä,...kordi, 'when he looked, he saw...', where it is presupposed that he looked, cf., examples (175a and b). The sä form can also be combined with the adjectival predicate keräk 'necessary, needed' to produce a sentence translated into English by a modal like 'should (have)' or 'must (have)' or by a sentential adverb like 'probably'. In the samples provided by Kuznetsov are instances of each of these three uses of sä in Colloquial Uzbek (Tashkent area), along with their equivalents in Colloquial Tajik. (Some minor alterations have been made in his systems of transcription.)

(174) where sä/rävväd can be translated by 'if':

(a) Uzbek: ǧaz pärändä - Ø ; adäm bol-sä , bil-är idi-m ;
(or: qus)
Tajik: ǧaz paranda - Ø ; adäm bašät , midanist-äm ;

goose bird -COP person be+CND/SBJ know+PHAB-1SG

U: padša äyt-ti, "väzir bol-sä-ŋ , bil-ä-sän "

T: padša guft , "väzir baš - i , midan-i "

pasha say+PST vazir be+CND/SBJ-2SG know-NnP-2SG

'(the vazir said, "...) the goose is a bird; if it were a man, I would know (what it was saying);" the pasha said, "if you are a vazir, you'll find out"' [Kuznetsov 1912:318; 1915:39]

(b) Uzbek: oylä-di (or: xäyal qil-di) ki gušt-i bol-sä ,

Tajik: xäyal kärd ki gušt-as bašät ,

think-PST (thought do+PST) that meat-its be[=EXIS]+CND/SBJ

U: ye-p täšnälig-dän qutul - äy dep

T: xordä äz-täšhnägi xilas šav-äm ---

eat+GER hunger-ABL(U) be free-1SG OPTATIVE(U) saying(U)
from-hunger(T) be free-SBJ-1SG (T)

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'he thought, "if it has meat (on it), let me eat it and be free of hunger"' [Kuznetsov 1912:317; 1915:38]
(Notice that the second occurrence of the Subjunctive in the Tajik sentence is equivalent to the Uzbek Optative.)

(175) where sä/rävväd can be translated by 'when':

(a) Uzbek: xanä-gä kir-sä-m , dud boy - i - ni

Tajik: xanä-bä därа-m , dud-ä bu - š - ä

room-DAT enter+CND/SBJ-1SG smoke (U) smell-POSS-ACC
smoke-GEN(T)

U: bil - di - m

T: (or: bu-i dud-a) danist - äm

(smell-IZA smoke-ACC) know+PST-1SG

'When I entered the room, I recognized the smell of smoke.'
[Kuznetsov 1912:315; 1915:36]

(b) Uzbek: biz taškän-dä muhämmäd murad dokandar-ni

Tajik: ma taškän-dä muhämmäd murad dokandar-ä

we Tashkent-LOC [NAME] shopkeeper-ACC

U: tap-ip sorä - sä - k, män-i anä - m

T: yaftä purs - im , män-ä ačä - m

find+GER ask+CND/SBJ-1PL I-GEN mother-my

U: särt qiz-i idi dep inkar qil - di

T: duxtar-i särt bud guftä inkar kärd

daughter-of-Sart was saying denial make+PST

'when we found the shopkeeper Muhammad Murad in Tashkent and asked (him about his mother), he denied (this story) and said his mother was a Sart' [Kuznetsov 1912:319; 1915:42]

(176) where sä combines with keräk, and rävväd with därkar:

(a) Uzbek: šärtnamä-gä qol qoy-gän-iŋiz učun ani

Tajik: šärtnamä-bä däst mand-agi-tan - bä väy-ä

agreement-DAT hand put-SbSGM-your for it+ACC

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U: bäja keltur-sä-ŋiz kiräk - ø

T: bajä biyar - id därkar (-äst)

fulfill+CND/SBJ-2PL necessary-COP

'since you signed the agreement, you must carry it out' [Kuznetsov 1912:316; 1915:36]

(b) Uzbek: ʏundaq bol-sä kiräk - ø

Tajik: hämtu ʏävät därkar (-äst)

such be+CND/SBJ necessary-COP

'it must be so' [Kuznetsov 1912:316; 1915:37]

While the Uzbek Conditional and Tajik Subjunctive coincide exactly in these cases, it is not clear to what extent influence from Uzbek has brought about the common usage. In certain instances, the evidence appears to support the notion of Uzbek influence. In Tajik sentences such as (177), the particle ʏi is a borrowing from Uzbek, and the use of the Conditional in the 2nd person to create a milder imperative is typical in Uzbek [cf., Kollektiv 1975:471; Ibrahimov 1967:222; in Rastorguyeva 1952c:174, it is stated that ʏi is a borrowing from Uzbek].

(177) (a) in-ja avärdägi - ʏ ne . čaʏm-äm nä - äftid .
this-place bring-NnPPRF-3SG NEG eye-my NEG-fall+PST

xanä-yä ben - et - ʏi
house-ACC look+SBJ-2PL-PART

'He hasn't brought (it) here. I didn't see (it). Why don't you look for (it) at home?' (literally: 'now just search the house') (Khishtkhana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:240]

(b) växt-i täng-i män-ä nä - räs - i - ʏi , bäčä !
time-IZA tight-IZA I-ACC NEG-take up+SBJ-2SG-PART child

'come on child, don't take up my precious (literally: tight) time!' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:77]

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In addition, since the Subjunctive in Iranian in temporal clauses typically conveys "eventuality or uncertainty" and since the Indicative would normally indicate that the proposition expressed by the clause is regarded as true [Lazard 1957a:230], the use of the Subjunctive in temporal clauses like those in (175) seems to reflect Uzbek influence.

However, in other cases, particularly in subordinate clauses introduced by Iranian Structure-Initial Grammatical Markers like ta or ki or in clauses in which ki could be used, there is no evidence of Uzbek influence, inasmuch as Turkic lacks Str-I GM's like ki.

(178) With ta: mᵾn ta ab nᵾ - xur - ᵾm , ᵾs
I as long as water NEG-drink+SBJ-1SG from

tᵾᵡšnᵾgi-m nᵾ - meᵡkᵾnᵾt
thirst-my NEG-break+NnPINDIC

'as long as I don't drink water, my thirst is not quenched' (literally: 'my thirst doesn't break') (Panjakent dialect) [Ivanova 1956:312]

(179) With ki, or with ki optional:

(a) aᵡᵾ-t guft ki melik biyayᵾ [=biyayᵾd]
mother-your say+PST that [NAME] come+SBJ+3SG

'your mother told Melik to come' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:93]

(b) yurᵾk nᵾ-darᵾm ki zᵾn-i vᵾy kᵾti ro-bᵾ-ro
heart NEG-have+NnP+3SG that wife-IZA he with face-to-face

ᵡ:ᵾ
šavᵾm
be+SBJ+1SG

'I don't dare meet his wife' (literally: 'I don't have the heart that I be face-to-face with his wife') (Bukhara dialect) [Kerimova 1959:120]

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(c) dil-ӓm mexahӓt kar-i kӓrdӓgi-m-ӓ
heart-my want+NnP+3SG (that) work-IZA do+SbSGM-my-ACC

kӱn-ӓm
do+SBJ-1SG

'I want to do the work that I did (previously)' (literally: 'my heart wants that I do the work that I did') (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:139]

(d) vӓxt-ӓm ne , usta-bӓ bӓr - ӓm
time-my NEG+EXIS master-DAT take+SBJ-1SG

'I have no time to take (it) to the master (i.e., seamstress)' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:137]

Likewise, purpose clauses can be formed with the Str-I GM ki and the Subjunctive in the Iranian fashion, or alternatively, with the Str-F GM guftӓ (= Uzbek dep 'saying') and the Subjunctive, which is more in conformity to the Turkic pattern.

(180) (a) tӓwaq bӓ ačӓ - t te ki šoyӓ [=šoyӓd]
dish to mother-your give+IMP so that wash+SBJ+3SG

'give the dishes to your mother for her to wash' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:931]

(b) kӓrӓvat-ӓ bin - ӓm guftӓ rӓftӓ [=rӓftӓs in this dialect]
bed-ACC see+SBJ-1SG saying go+PRF+3SG

'he has gone to see the bed' (literally: 'he has gone saying let me see the bed') (Varzab dialect) [Ibid., p.152]

(For examples of the use of the Subjunctive in Literary Tajik, see Rastorguyeva 1953 and Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:97-132.)

Hence, there are SbS's where the Tajik Subjunctive is used but where the Uzbek Conditional would not normally occur (especially in dialects exhibiting less Tajik influence). That is, the range of functions of the Tajik Subjunctive is wider than that of the Uzbek Conditional, and to this extent the uses of the

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two moods do not overlap precisely. But it is not clear whether there exist instances in which the Uzbek Conditional can be used, but not the Tajik Subjunctive.

As for the structure and number of the Subjunctive/Conditional forms in Tajik, there is evidence of Uzbek influence. For instance, in Uzbek the dialects vary with respect to the placement of the person/number suffixes in the Past conditional, sävdi from sä plus the auxiliary idi; in the Tashkent and Namangan dialects they occur on the sä portion, ex., in the first singular säm(i)di, but in the Shahrisabz and Jizzakh dialects, on the auxiliary idi, ex., sävdim [Ghulamov 1968:125; Jorävev 1964:166; Reshetov 1953:230; Ghulamov 1957:108]. The most common form of the Past conditional in Colloquial Tajik seems to be räftä bašäd, where the person/number suffix, -äd here, occurs on the auxiliary, as was apparently the case in Classical Persian-Tajik [Rastorguyeva 1964:74], but there are also cases where the person/number suffix is not attached to the auxiliary. In all the Ferghana Valley dialects, the Oratepa and Shahristan dialects, the resulting form consists of the Nonpast subjunctive/conditional räväm, rävi, räväd, etc. plus the past auxiliary bud/but, exactly as in Uzbek.

(181) (a) di:nä biyad bud , nägz mešud
yesterday come+SBJ+3SG PSTAUX good be+PHAB

'it would have been good if she had come yesterday'
(Kanibadam dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:77]

(b) ä in - jä guzär - äm but
from this-place pass+SBJ-1SG PSTAUX

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'I should have passed by here' (Leninabad dialect) [Ibid., p. 78]

In the literary language such a Past conditional is considered a dialect form [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:113; Rastoguyeva 1956:78].

In the Uzbek Conditional, the Perfect and Progressive forms are not infrequently occurring items (for Literary Uzbek, see Zikrillяyev 1983).

(182) gän bolsä:

(a) kor-gäm bo-sä-m , u-yäm meni kor-gän-dur
see-PRF CND-1SG he-also I+ACC see-PRFNnC

'if I've seen (him), he's (probably) also seen me' (Tashkent dialect) [Ghulamov 1968:124-125]

(b) nahatki seni gäp - iy - ni unut-käm bo - sä - m
really?! you+GEN word-your-ACC forget-PRF CND - 1SG

'how could I have forgotten what you said?!' (Andijan dialect) [Ibrahimov 1967:221]

(c) Ɣassi-ni - yäm temir sal - dir-gäm bo-sä kerяk
"Charsu"-ACC-also [NAME] build-CAUS-PRF CND =must have

'Temir must have had the Charsu [trade building] built also' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorayev 1964:167]

(183) Progressive: (see also example 164)

(a) mã innä-mä-y ottir-ib dä(r)s täyyall- as-sä - m ,
I speak-NEG-GER sit-GER lesson prepare-PROGCND-1SG

däptär-im-ŋä čiz-ip čaɣ-ti qäläm minäm
notebook-my-LOC draw-GER flee-PST pencil with

'when I was quietly sitting and preparing the lesson, he drew in my notebook with a pencil and ran away' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorяyev 1964:167]

(b) o:lim , uza: yol-gä ket-watkän bo-sä-ŋ, sän-dän
son-my long way-DAT go-PROG(PRF)CND-2SG you-ABL

baɣqä hič-kim-im yo:
other no-who-my NEG EXIS

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'my son, when (while) you're going on a long journey, I'll have no one besides you' (folk tale in Tashkent dialect) [Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:253]

(c) xalя-m hяli-yям ятil-gя iʏl-atkям bo-sя-lя kerяk
aunt-my still now artel-PAT/LOC work-PROG CND-3 POL must

'my aunt is probably still working in the artel' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorяyev 1964:168]

In Tajik there exist forms similar in meaning to these Uzbek verbs.

(184) rяftяgi baʏяd -- cf., Uzbek gяn bolsя:

(a) hямsayя xanя -ʏ- яndя nя-baʏяt , ya dяr-яʏ qulf
neighbor home-his-LOC NEG-be+SBJ or door-his lock

kяrdяgi baʏяt, sani ʏa mukun-im ?
do+PRF SBJ+3SG then what do+NnP-1PL

'if the neighbor is not in his house or if his door has been locked, what will we do then?' (Kanibadam dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:90]

(b) ehtimal яli duxtяr-яʏ-я ʏo dadяgi baʏя [=baʏяd]
probably [NAME] daughter-his-ACC husband give+PRF SBJ+3SG

'Ali has probably given his daughter away in marriage' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:107]

(185) rяfsadя baʏяd--cf., Uzbek (y)atsя or (y)atkяn bolsя:

(a) ab rяfsadя baʏяt , mяylяʏ, piʏi ʏoyet
water go+PROG SBJ+3SG OK a little wash+IMP+PL

'if the water is running, OK, do a little washing' (Panjakent dialect) [Ivanova 1956:326]

(b) ilayim hяr roz duxtur rяfsaя baʏяt !
my God every day doctor go+PROG SBJ+3SG

'God if he could go to the doctor every day!' (Bukhara dialect) [Kerimova 1959:122]

On the other hand, the relationship between the Tajik Habitual subjunctive/conditional merяftя baʏяd and the Uzbek (я)r bolsя

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cannot be readily established, since it appears that the latter form is very rare in Colloquial Uzbek, if it exists at all. Perhaps the Tajik merӯftӯ baxӯad is the result of analogical formation from other forms like merӯavӯad and merӯftӯas; if so, it may be synonymous with the Unmarked nonpast subjunctive/conditional rӯavӯad in some cases, cf., (186a). The placement of merӯftӯ baxӯad in the chart of Tajik simplex verbs in two positions, as an alternate for rӯavӯad and as the Habitual form, indicates this possibility.

(186) (a) mexordaš-i [=mexordӯ baši], in-jӯ guzӯr , šin !
eat+HABSBJ-2SG this-place pass+IMP sit+IMP

'if you're going to eat, come here and sit down!' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:79]

(b) dӯ hӯmin xunuk-ӯm ina kočӯ megӯaštӯ baš-ӯn - mi ?
in this cold-even they street walk+HABSBJ-3PL-INTER

'would they really walk the streets even in this cold?' (Bukhara dialect) [Kerimova 1959:121]

In the case of rarer items in the paradigm, it may be that analogical pressures play a greater role in the determination of their structure and meaning than does direct influence from the donor language.

The Intentional Moods. There appear to be two such moods in both Uzbek and Tajik, each containing a distinctive morphological marking--maxči and ӯdigan in Uzbek and rӯaftӯani and merӯaftӯagi in Tajik. The available descriptions do not provide specific enough information to determine whether the two types of intentional mood differ semantically in any consistent way, although there are some

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indications that they do not. In those Northern Tajik dialects where the form räftäni is missing, the meräftägi form is used in a predicate function to convey the same meaning [Rastorguyeva 1952c:150; Rastorguyeva 1964:139]. And an investigation of the Kokand dialect of Uzbek notes that the suffixes maxči and ädigan are used in a parallel manner, with the same intentional meanig [Nasirov 1980:133].

In Contemporary Persian and in Classical Persian-Tajik the räftäni form occurs mainly as a "future participle", which can often be translated into English by an infinitive or the -able suffix--xäridäni 'to be bought, to buy, "buyable", worth buying' [Lazard 1957a:162-163; Phillott 1919:535]. While this usage has been retained for Literary Tajik [Tajiyev 1954:45-46; Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:194-196, 200-204], it is not clear whether it is to be found in the Northern Tajik dialects in this capacity as well. From the data provided by Tajik linguists, it is clear that räftäni in these dialects can be used as a predicate, as a marker of purpose with verbs of motion (cf., example 187a), or with the negative of mandän 'remain, leave, put' to mark a prohibition (example 187b).

(187) (a) väy šähr xandäni räft
he city study+INTEN go+PST

'he went to the city to study' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:187]

(b) äpe-m qišlaq-bä nä- memand - än amädäni
sister-my village-DAT NEG-leave+PHAB-3POL come+INTEN

'my sister wouldn't let (me) come to the village' (Panjakent dialect) [Ivanova 1956:329]

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Rastorguyeva compares the räftäni form to the Uzbek maxči [Rastorguyeva 1952b:230-231; Rastorguyeva 1964:139], a correspondence which appears to be correct,, even though the suffix cannot be added to verbs to form a future participle or to make a purpose clause. In the predicate function, though, räftäni and maxči are quite similar, both can be used without an auxiliary, for the Nonpast tense, or with one--with idi, äkän(?), or bol- in Uzbek or with the copula, the verbs budän 'be' or šudän 'be, become' in Tajik.

(188) Uzbek:

(a) män yaz - dä käfkäz - gä bar-maqči-män
I summer-LOC Caucasus-DAT go-INTEN-1SG

'I intend/want to go to the Caucasus in the summer' (Kokand dialect) [field notes]

(b) ulä ket - maqči
they leave-INTEN

'the intend/want to leave' (Bukhara dialect) [field notes]

(c) biz mäskva:: bar-maqči:du-k or: bar-maqči bol-du-k
we Moscow-DAT go-INTEN+PST-1PL AUX-PST-1PL

'we intended/wanted/decided to go to Moscow' (Namangan dialect) [field notes] (It is possible that there is a slight meaning difference between the two forms here.)

(d) äqä - bäqä čix-mäxči bol-uwdi-k
that way-this way go out-INTEN AUX-PPRF-1PL

'we had intended to go out this way and that' (Kokand dialect) [Nasirov 1980:133]

(189) Tajik:

(a) šuma čän - bä räftäni ?
you how much-DAT go+INTEN

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'for how long do you intend to go? (Panjakent dialect) [Ivanova 1956:330]

(b) mӓn kino rӓftӓni ɣud-ӓm , atӓ - m nӓ-mand - ӓn
I movies go+PST INTEN-1SG father-my NEG-leave-3POL

'I wanted/intended to go to the movies, but my father didn't let (me)' (Varzab dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952a:109]

(c) vӓy mӓrdӓk bӓ mӓn ӓsp - as - a furoxtӓni ɣudӓy [=ɣudӓs]
that man to I horse-his-ACC sell+INTEN PNnC

'that man, it seems/I've heard, intended/wanted to sell me his horse' (Varzab dialect) [Ibid.]

In his study of participles in the Tajik dialects, Ghӓffarov cites examples from the Northern Tajik dialects in which the auxiliary budӓn or ɣudӓn is found in the Past indicative, the Past noncommittal, the Nonpast subjunctive/conditional, the Past habitual, the Past progressive, and the Nonpast perfect noncommittal [Ghaffarov 1980:212-213]. Obviously the Intentional in rӓftӓni can occur with a wide variety of auxiliary forms, just as the Uzbek maxɣi can. Notice that Intentional forms can be used with the non-indicative moods, i.e., the Noncommittal (189 and 190) and the Subjunctive (191).

(190) Literary Uzbek: dӓlӓ-dӓ siz-gӓ mӓxtӓl bol-ib qal-iš-di.
field-LOC you-DAT expectant be -CVC-PL-PST

doklad qil-ib ber-maqɣi ekӓn-siz
report make-GER give-INTEN NnC-2POL

'they have been waiting for you in the field. You are supposed to make a report, (it seems/they say)' [Kollektiv 1975:436]

(191) Tajik: navistӓni ɣӓv-ӓm , ki-bӓ navis - ӓm ?
write+INTEN SBJ-1SG who-DAT write+SBJ-1SG

'if I wanted to write, who would I write to?' (Isfara dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:94]

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The instances provided by the Tajik dialect material are indicated on the chart of the Uzbek and Tajik Simplex Verb Paradigms; therefore the blank spaces should not necessarily be regarded as gaps in the paradigm, but as omissions in the available data.

When Rastorguyeva discussed merӓftӓgi as a predicate in her major 1964 dialect investigation, she compared the form to Uzbek maxči, as she had the rӓftӓni form [Rastorguyeva 1964:139]. However, in terms of a similar usage as a "future participle", Tajik merӓftӓgi resembles Uzbek ӓdigan much more closely, and given that ӓgi on Tajik verb forms corresponds to Uzbek gӓn, there is a clear morphological similarity between the two items as well. Kuznetsov even made the link between mikӓrdӓgi and the Uzbek qil-ӓdigan [Kuznetsov 1912:311]. Perhaps Rastorguyeva failed to make this correlation because Uzbek reference grammars give such little prominence to the use of ӓdigan as a predicate (cf., Kononov 1960:280; Kollektiv 1975:513). Curiously, dialect studies of Uzbek devote more attention to this form than do grammars of the literary language. Some examples:

(192) Uzbek:

(a) ǧozӓ - lӓ-ni gullӓ - gӓn - i - ni kӧr-ӓdigam-mӓn
cotton plant-PL GEN flower-SbSGM-POSS-ACC see-INTENT-1SG

'I want to see the cotton flowering' (Namangan dialect) [Äliyev 1974:135]

(b) ӓsl - i - dӓ vistӓpkӓ-gӓ siz bar-ӓdagan-idi-yiz
original-POSS-LOC exhibit-DAT you go-INTEN-PST-2PL

'you originally intended to go to the exhibition' (Andijan dialect) [Ibrahimov 1967:215]

(c) kel-atkan [=kelӓdigan] bo-sӓ , ettӓrax ke -sӧn [=kelsӧn]

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come-INTEN AUX-CND earlier come-OPT

'if he wants to come, let him come earlier' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Jorayev 1964:169]

(d) qane , kim mäm-minäŋ ket-äytigam bol-le
come on who I - with go- INTENT AUX-PST

'come on now, who decided to go with me?' (Shahrisabz dialect) [Ibid., p.166]

One investigator of Colloquial Uzbek notes that ädigan can be used with the auxiliaries idi, äkän, and imiš [Ibrahimov 1967:215].

(193) Tajik:

(a) šuma yägan ja meräftəgi-mi ?
you some place go+INTEN-INTER

'are you intending/meaning to go somewhere (now)?' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:91]

(b) äšt meräftägi büd-än , mašinä nä - büt
Asht go+INTEN PST-3PL car NEG-EXIS+PST

'they intended/wanted to go to Asht, (but) there was no car' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:158]

(c) duxtär-äš änä xud-i an šäp toy
daughter-her voila self-IZA that evening wedding feast

mekärdägi budäs
make+INTEN PNnC

'(it seems/they say), her daughter wanted to celebrate a wedding feast that very evening' (Asht dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:159]

(d) ärabä-k ti meraftəgi baš-it ägär , xez - it
cart-with go+INTEN SBJ-2PL if get up+IMP-2PL

'if you intend/want to go by cart, get up!' (Isfara dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:92]

The meräftägi form in the Tajik dialects can occur with quite a few different forms of the auxiliaries budän and šudän--see

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Ghäffarov 1980:210-211; Rastorguyeva 1952c:158-160; Rastorguyeva 1956:91-92.

In her major study, Rastorguyeva claims that the Tajik form meräftägist has not analogue in Uzbek [Rastorguyeva 1964:142]. It is suggested here, however, that meräftägist corresponds to the Uzbek ädigan äkän, just as räftägist does with gän äkän and räfsadägist with (y)atkän äkän. Unfortunately, studies of Uzbek do not provide sufficient information about the meaning of ädigan äkän to permit support for this suggestion, but see Kollektiv 1975:435. Two examples from Tajik:

(194) (a) duxtär-äm äm-mar metärsidəgist
daughter-my from-snake fear+INTEN+NnC

'my daughter must be (is supposed to be) afraid of snakes' (Khishtkhana dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:143]

(b) momin amdä in xanä-ndä meŠiŠtəgist
[NAME] come+GER this house-LOC live+INTEN+NnC

'when Momin comes, he'll probably/is supposed to live in this house' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:82]

According to the descriptions of meräftägist and the translations provided, it appears that the intentional meaning of the form may be subordinated to the habitual or future connotations of the participial use of meräftägi. This appears to be the case as well with ädigän ekän in Literary Uzbek [Kollektiv 1975:435], but further research would be needed to determine the precise meanings of these two forms. It should also be noted that meräftägi and meräftägist are innovations in Tajik, without equivalents in standard Persian [Rastoguyeva 1964:95-99]. There is little doubt

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that use of merəftəgi has been influenced by the syntactic functioning and the meaning of Uzbek ədigan; it is less clear, however, to what extent analogical pressures in the Tajik paradigm have determined the meaning of merəftəgist.

Analogical Extensions in the Tajik Paradim. In one article Rastorguyeva identified several novel forms in the Tajik verb paradigm that do not have analogues in Uzbek [Rastorgueyva 1952b:234]. One such form is what she calls the "pluperect participle", rəftə budəgi or rəftudigi. A morphological equivalent can be found in Uzbek, (i)p bolgən, but this form does not belong to the simple verb paradigm, but rather to the set of Complex Verb Constructions, meaning a completive or potential action in the Perfect. Unfortunately, there are few examples of rəftə budəgi presented in Tajik dialect material.

(195) mən ə šuma amədən erə hič aš - i siyuq
I from you come+SbSGM since no food-IZA noodles

həm kərdə budəgi - m ne
even make+"PLUPRF"-1SG NEG+EXIS

'since you came, I haven't even made any noodles' (followed by 'I have been eating in the dining room') (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:150]

(196) in kəs yək stol zəkəz kərdə budəgi
this person a table order + "PLLUPRF"

'he had ordered a table' (Bukhara dialect) [Kerimova 1959:319]

Provided that rəftə budəgi does not correspond to the Uzbek completive/potential (i)p bolgən, but marks a Perfect of some sort as claimed by Rastorguyeva 1964:99, it would constitute, in

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strictly morphological terms, an analogical extension in the Tajik paradigm for which no Uzbek model exists. But it is difficult to determine from what little information is provided about the form whether it differs semantically from other Perfect forms. There is nothing in Rastorguyeva's remarks or in the examples to suggest that it represents a new, distinctive opposition in the paradigm.

In his study of the Judeo-Tajik of Samarkand, Zarubin identifies a "future progressive participle," merӓfsadӓgi, and cites its uses in the following sentence:

(197)	in	adӓm	merӓfsadəgi	barin
	this	person	go+"FUTPROG"	as if

translated into Russian as 'it seems to me this person is intending to leave now' (Judeo-Samarkand dialect) [Zarubin 1928:120]

It could also be used in a predicative function:

(198)	mӓgӓr	ǧəlӓt	mekӓrsadəgim	man
	possibly	mistake	make+"FUTPROG"	I

'it's possible I'll be making a mistake' (?) (Judeo-Samarkand dialect) [Ibid., p. 121]

To the extent that merӓfsadӓgi differs in meaning from the Progressive form rӓfsadӓgi, it is an innovation not based upon any Uzbek model. It is unlikely that a form corresponding to this Tajik one, ?(y)atӓdigan, is used in Uzbek.

Finally, one form attributed to the Kasansay, Chust, and Samarkand dialects, merӓftӓ bud (or also rӓftӓ mibud in Samarkand), has no obvious Uzbek counterpart. Rastorguyeva refers to the form as a "past perfect durative," or perhaps "habitual" instead of "durative", (dlitel'noye preždeprošedšeye)

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[Rastorguyeva 1964:88,108]. It is capable of expressing an unreal state, cf., (199c).

(199) (a) ilči nä-meamädəgi roz nä-mušudut [=mešudä bud]
matchmaker NEG-come+SbSGM day NEG-be+PLUPRFHAB

'there weren't any days when the matchmaker didn't come by' (an old woman discussing her youth) (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:113]

(b) peš uzbäk-a hämtu gäp mezädud-än [=mezädä budän]
earlier Uzbek-PL thus word hit+PLUPRFHAB-3PL

'earlier the Uzbeks spoke/used to speak like that' (Kasansay dialect) [Ibid.]

(c) yäk bačä-m äkun si-salä mušudut [=mešudä bud]
one son-my now 30-year be+PLUPRFHAB

'my one son would have been 30 years old now' (Kasansay dialect) [Ibid.]

The use of meräftä bud as a marker of irrealis suggests that the form is similar to the Past habitual meräft, but the data is insufficient to establish whether they are synonymous or not. If meräftä bud represents a truly distinct "Past perfect (pluperfect) habitual," it would constitute a clear-cut case of an analogical formation without an equivalent in Uzbek. Like the "future progressive" meräfsadägi, it would also be incompatible with the set of verbal oppositions selected here for the Tajik paradigm.

The development of analogical extensions like räftä budägi, meräfsadägi, meräftä bud, and perhaps also meräftä bašäd in the Subjunctive mood, all of which lack proper counterparts in Uzbek, does not undermine the notion that Uzbek influence has largely determined the present structure of the Tajik verb paradigm. The morphological combinations possible in Tajik are different from

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those in Uzbek, and it should not be surprising if speakers of various Tajik dialects were to make "creative" use of these combinations without relying upon Uzbek models for their novel formations. It is interesting to note that with the possible exception of merӯftӯ bašӯd, these analogical extensions of the Tajik paradigm are apparently not wide-spread among the dialects.

Summary. While there exists uncertainty about some fine points in various parts of the Uzbek and Tajik simplex verb paradigms, there is little doubt that they differ from one another in certain minor respects including the following:

1. Tajik exhibits a number of sporadic analogical extensions not found in the Uzbek model.

2. Sometimes a synonym to a form exists in one language that has no counterpart in the other language.

3. Certain verb forms in Tajik, like the Past indicative rӯft, the Nonpast subjunctive rӯvӯd, and the "future participle" rӯftӯni, are used in Subordinate S's in ways not comparable to the uses of their corresponding forms in Uzbek.

4. Uzbek has certain distinct optative forms in the first and third persons, for which the Subjunctive is used in Tajik.

In addition, there may be some semantic differences between corresponding forms that are not readily discernible from the available descriptions or from the data provided. Thus, it can be legitimately stated that there is not an absolute equivalence relationship between the two verb paradigms.

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Leaving aside these minor differences, what remains is an extraordinary degree of convergence between the paradigms of the two separate languages. Parallels in Uzbek and Tajik can be found in verbal oppositions, in morphological structure, and in idiosyncratic behavior, down to the mechanism for forming negation in the Perfect. To gauge the degree of similarity, it is necessary only to compare the Uzbek-Tajik paradigms with the partial paradigms of Turkish and Bashkir given in the section on the Noncommittal as a mood. Even though Turkish and Bashkir are genetically related to Uzbek, they differ from that language in the patterning of the verbal oppositions to a significantly greater degree than Tajik does.

The key question in light of this remarkable convergence between the two verb paradigms concerns how to characterize the change that has taken place in Tajik. It is possible to speak of the addition of new categories or distinctions (like the Noncommittal mood, the two Intentional moods, and the Progressive), of the addition of new forms (like the Perfect in the Subjunctive/Conditional <u>rəftəgi bašəd</u>), and of the shift in the range of meanings of certain forms (like the former Perfect <u>rəftəs</u>, the former purely Subjunctive <u>rəvəd</u>). It is important here to stress the "additive" aspects of the changes involved, since it is in this respect that the modification of the Tajik paradigm contrasts most conspicuously with that of the Qashqay paradigm (Chapter 3). Adding new forms or even categories is not unexpected in the context of extensive cross-language influence;

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when a ready one-to-one correspondence has not existed previously, new items are added to the inventory and modifications of previously existing items are made to achieve a certain degree of isomorphism between the two languages. Even the addition of the Noncommittal mood may be unique among the Indo-European languages. It is quite plausible that the appearance of such a mood in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Albanian is due to Turkish influence and in Lithuanian and Latvian to Finno-Ugric influence [see, for example, Haarman 1970:35,38,60].

Notice, however, that Uzbek influence upon Tajik has not been limited just to the borrowing of categories; even the idiosyncracies of the donor language were adopted. Thus, for instance, in terms of simply adding a further verbal distinction, there would seem to be no justification for the borrowing of two synonymous, or virtually synonymous, Intentional moods. Yet the Tajik paradigm now contains two such morphologically distinct moods, in correspondence to the Uzbek maxči and ädigan forms. Essentially what has taken place as the result of Uzbek influence is that the entire Tajik simplex verb paradigm has been restructured to replicate the Uzbek paradigm. No doubt, the borrowing of individual items and individual categories (distinctions) contributed to the makeup of the Tajik paradigm as it is today, but the overall result of the changes has been systematic , not individual. In the course of the changes, equivalence relationships were established between items and even categories, but the consequence of all such correspondences has

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been an equivalence relationship between paradigms, that is, between systems. In effect , what was "borrowed" by Tajik was a whole system of verbal oppositions, a degree of cross-language influence at another level of abstraction from the borrowing of individual items or categories. There is no question that individual lexical items can be transferred from one language to another, and substantial evidence exists that grammatical categories (or distinctions) can be acquired across language boundaries. It is also conceivable that a grammatical rule could be adopted by a recipient language. But the data from the Northern Tajik dialects prompts speculation about an additional type of cross-language influence, about whether a language can replicate such an abstract grammatical structure as a paradigm, an entire system of distinctions. In other words, can a language "borrow" an inventory, and not just elements from that inventory? In light of the Tajik data, this issue should be considered seriously, but before proceeding along this line, it will also be necessary to examine other aspects of the Tajik verb system, as well as the evidence from the verb system of Qashqay.

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2.3 Verb Serialization in Tajik

Apart from the means used to contrast simplex verbs, the other major systematic mechanism for expressing verbal relationships in the Uzbek verb system is verbal serialization. Tajik has acquired this mechanism from Uzbek in all its applications. That is, in both Uzbek and Tajik, verb serialization can express the following (cf., the "subordination continuum" (10) in Chapter 1):

V^1	V^2	
ADV	MV	i.e., adverbial modification of a Main Verb (MV)
MV	MV	i.e., verbal conjunction; lexicalization also possible
MV	AUX	i.e., auxiliary-like relationship to a Main Verb

(The last-listed structure has been designated here as a Complex Verb Construction, CVC.) In morphological terms, V^1 is a nonfinite verb form, while V^2 may or may not be finite, depending upon its further function in the S. In Tajik there is a single morphological form occurring as V^1, in which an ӣ is combined with the "past stem" of the verb, rӯft-ӣ. This form, traditionally refered to in Iranian linguistics as a past participle, can be used in Persian in an adverbial (gerundive) capacity denoting an anterior action, similar, apparently, to the English 'having [PST PRT]'. But according to Lazard 1957b:162, its use in that function in Colloquial Persian is infrequent, and even in Literary Persian, it does not convey an action co-occuring with, or even subsequent to, the state expressed by the main verb, as is common

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with the cognate Tajik form [Perry 1979:450-452; Lazard 1957b:162-164]. In the Northern Tajik dialects, the räftä form occurs only as a gerundive, and not as a participle, as is possible in Literary Tajik [Rastorguyeva 1952a:98; 1952c:145-146; 1956:84]. In Uzbek, on the other hand, V^1 can be marked in two distinct morphological ways--ä/y or (i)p, ex., with the verb yaz- 'write', yazä and yazip. There are contexts in which the two forms contrast; for example, yazä aldi means 'he was able to write, he could write' while yazip aldi means 'he wrote (it all) down, he recorded (it), he wrote (it) for himself'. However, a consistent semantic difference between the two gerundives is not apparent from a synchronic point of view. In effect, Tajik räftä corresponds to both ä/y and (i)p in Uzbek.

Some examples from Kuznetsov 1912/1915:

(200) Adverbial Use:

Tajik: amädägi-tan-ä šinävid-ä (or šänidä) bisyar
[=Lit. T.: šunidä]

Uzbek: kel-gän-ingiz-ni išit-ip kop
come-SbS-your-ACC hear-GER (very) much

T: xursänd šud-äm

U: xursänd bol-di-m
glad be+PST-1SG

'I was very glad to hear (literary: hearing) that you had come' [1912:315; 1915:35]

(201) Verbal Conjunction:

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Tajik: mən-ə tağa-m orunburğ-bə rəft-ə ən-noğay-ha

Uzbek: mən-i tağə-m orunbur-ğə bar-ip noğay-lər-dən

I-GEN uncle-my Orenburg-DAT go-GER T: from-Nogay-PL
U: Nogay-PL-ABL

T: zən girift-ə taškənd-bə amad

U: xatun al - ip taškən-gə kel-di

wife take-GER Tashkent-DAT come+PST

'My (maternal) uncle went to Orenburg, married a Nogay (i.e., a Tatar), and came back to Tashkent' [1912:319; 1915:41]

(202) CVC:

Tajik: dinə səyr-bə šinəvid-əgi-t-ə mən-bə

Uzbek: kečə səyr-də išit-kən-ni mən-gə

yesterday outing-LOC T: hear-SbS-your-ACC I-DAT

U: hear-SbS-ACC

T: guft-ə te-0

U: əyt-ip ber-iŋ

tell-CVC - (U: POL) IMP

'Tell me what you heard yesterday on the outing (or walk)' [1912:314; 1915:34] (V^2 is te, from dadən, in Tajik, ber- in Uzbek, both meaning 'give' in isolation, but here denoting non-subject benefactiveness.)

Other examples from Colloquial Tajik:

(203) Adverbial Use:

bahar-əndə adəm rahət kəd-ə [=kərdə] mexarət

spring-LOC person rest/calm make-GER sleep+Nnp+3SG

'in spring a person sleeps restfully/peacefully' (Kasansay dial.) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:146]

(204) Verbal Conjunction: (from a continuous text, a folk tale)

"hə, se mugot?" guft-ə, devid-ə, čirağ-ə

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hey what say+NnP+3SG say-GER run-GER lamp-ACC

dərgirand-ə nigərəd ki ....

light-GER look+PST+3SG that

'he said, "hey, what is she saying?", and he ran up, lit the lamp, and saw that ...' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:316]

There are, in addition, a few cases in which the (i)p or ə/y gerundive of certain verbs is used in Uzbek as a GM of nominal relationships in an S, that is, as a postposition. Tajik has apparently borrowed some of these cases.

Uzbek Lexical Verb	Gerundive as Postposition	Tajik Correlates
qərə-'look at'	qərəp 'towards'	nigah kərdə
"	qərə-mə-y 'regardless, despite'	nigah nəkərdə
kor- 'see'	korə 'as compared to'	didə

Examples from Colloquial Tajik:

(205) (a) du moysəfed čal maşinə-i pobedə-bə
2 old old man car-IZA [NAME]-DAT

şüwar şüd-ə əz stənsə-i kokənd dərin-i
get in-GER from station-IZA Kokand inside-IZA

şəhər-bə nigah kərə [=kərdə] meborəft-ənd
city-DAT towards go+HAB-3PL

'the two old men got into a Pobeda car and were going from the Kokand station towards the city (towards the inside of the city)' [Rastorguyeva 1961:99] (Rishtan dialect)

(b) şuma bəhuzur məm-bə nigah nəkədə [=kərdə]
you to heart's content I-DAT regardless

xod-dən [=xordən] gir-it
eat-INF take [=begin]-2PL/POL IMP

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'you start eating to your heart's content, regardless of me (never mind me)' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:122]

(c) vӣy mӣm-bӣ didӣ fӣrbeh-tӣr
she I-DAT compared to fat - er

'she's is fatter than I am' (Kanibadam dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:169] [see also Rastorguyeva 1964:146; 1956:25-26]

[For Literary Tajik, see the lexical entries in Bertel's 1954:128, 264.] As in Uzbek, all of these "postpositions" occur with the Dative case marker. The use of nigah kӣrdӣ, nigah nӣkӣrdӣ, and didӣ in this capacity does not appear to be characteristic of Modern Persian, while, according to Rastorguyeva 1964:146, the use of didӣ to mean 'as compared to' is totally alien to the central, southern, and southeastern dialects of Tajik, a distribution that strongly suggests Uzbek influence.

Other investigators have persuasively argued that the type of verb serialization found in Modern Tajik, particularly as represented by the CVC's, has developed as the direct result of Uzbek influence--see Rastorguyeva 1964:130-135, Perry 1979, and also Doerfer 1967:52-56. But it should not be assumed that the presence of CVC's in Tajik has been unquestionably attributed to borrowing from Uzbek. For instance, Smirnova has suggested that certain constructions involving the verbs istadӣn and mandӣn 'remain; leave, put' in Middle Persian, which she interprets as complex formations, may be related to the CVC forms with istadӣn and mandӣn in present-day Tajik [Smirnova 1948, especially p. 302]. And Livshits, pursuing Smirnova's line of argumentation further, contends that Tajik verb forms containing istadӣn, and

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CVC's in general, "can by no means be considered calquified on an Uzbek model" [Livshits 1954:94]. He maintains that they are totally consistent with the direction of the historical development of the language.

> Thus the formation and spread of complex gerundive phrases [i.e., CVC's], as one of the internal laws of development of the Tajik language, can be connected both with the general tendency towards the development of analytical verb forms in the language and with the particular course of the evolution of the verb system, above all of verbal derivation, that is, with the weak distribution of prefixal types and the intensive development of denominal verbal construction [of the type qābul kārdān 'accept' from qābul 'acceptance' + kārdān 'to do/make'] [Ibid., p.96]

Rastorguyeva in response to Livshits makes the following points:

(1) Regardless of the status of complex verbs containing istadān in Middle Persian, one would have expected them to occur in the Classical Persian-Tajik language, if they were used in the colloquial speech of the inhabitants of Samarkand and Bukhara during this period, since the dialects of these cultural and administrative centers played a significant role in the formation of this literary language. Yet they are absent.

(2) In terms of territorial distribution, verbs containing istadān and CVC's are used more frequently in the dialects located

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near Uzbek-speaking areas than in dialects at the further remove, and if they could be traced back to Middle Persian forms, one would expect them to be retained somewhere else as well, in Persian, Kabuli, or the southern Tajik dialects, where they are not found.

(3) The verb forms containing istadän derive from three constituent elements--räftä + istadä + äst--a pattern not found in the exclusively two-constituent analytical verb forms in the language of the classical period (except for the passive).

(4) There is an absolute correspondence between Tajik verb forms containing istadän and Uzbek forms in tur- 'stand'. (Actually this argument is weakened by the fact that yat- 'lie (down)' is predominantly used to derive Progressive verb forms in most Uzbek dialects, not tur-, but as was pointed out in Section 2.2.3., it is likely that the means for forming the Progressive was adopted into Tajik at a time when tur- was the more common auxiliary in this function.)

(5) The CVC's used in Tajik and those in Uzbek exhibit an identity in correspondence with regard to composition and meaning.

Rastorguyeva then illustrates by listing 12 Tajik verbs along with their Uzbek correlates. This similarity, she contends, cannot be fortuitous, particularly when one considers the territorial distribution of CVC's, the existence of absolute bilingualism in many localities, and the evidence of other Uzbek influences on the language. [Rastorguyeva 1964:131-135]

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While Rastorguyeva's counterarguments are quite convincing, it would be possible to make additions to them. For instance, the fact that Tajik forms with istadăn occur in the verbal paradigm in exact correspondence with the position of forms containing yat- in Uzbek strongly indicates that Uzbek influence has been the decisive factor in the development of these forms. Moreover, as in the case of simplex verbs, when the CVC's in Uzbek exhibit certain idiosyncratic properties, these are reflected in Tajik. For instance, the Uzbek verb bol- 'be become' generally marks completive aspect in a CVC containing the (i)p gerundive, but in the 3rd person singular it can also refer to an impersonal possibility (or impossibility) 'it is possible/impossible to...' [Kononov 1960:402; Kollektiv 1975:386]. The use of bol- to express Potential modality is characteristic of the Turkic languages, but there are differences among the languages with regard to whether the auxiliary can occur with non-third-person person/number suffixes [Yuldashev 1965:101-103]. In Tajik, the correlate to bol-, šudăn 'be, become', can, along with designating completive aspect, follow the Uzbek model and express an impersonal possibility in the third person [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:156].

(206) (a) Tajik: văy-ă did-ă mišav-ăt (or mišăt) mi?

(b) Uzbek: ă-ni kor-up bol-ă-di mu?

he-ACC see-GER CVC+NnP-3SG INTER

(The present stem of šudăn is šav-, which can be contracted to š in the Nonpast.) 'Is it possible to see him? [Kuznetsov 1912:317; 1915:37]

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Apparently, the verb šudan plus the past participle (rafta) can also express Potentiality in Persian, but in this case the Potential meaning is ancillary to the use of this construction to produce the Passive [Phillott 1919:286; Windfuhr 1979:108-109].

(207) Persian: in miz az ja - yi xud bardašt- a
this table from place-IZA self remove-PST PRT

mišav-ad
PASS_PRES-3SG

'this table can be moved from its place' (i.e., it is not too heavy) [Phillott 1919:286]

That the verb in this sentence is regarded as passive can be seen from the lack of the definite accusative marker ra on the word miz; this contrasts with sentence (206) where dida is understood as active, with vay-a as the direct object. Further, the representative meaning of the Uzbek verb al- (in combination with the (i)p gerundive) and the Tajik giriftan 'take' as auxiliaries in CVC's is considered to be suject benefactive, that is, it conveys activity undertaken in the interests of the subject of the sentence. However, both al- and giriftan can in addition express completive aspect or momentaneous, semelfactive aspect in combination with certain verbs [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:257-263; Kollektiv 1975:391-392]. These sources as well as the standard dictionaries present a number of the same verbs as occurring typically with al- or giriftan in a CVC in this capacity: yaz- (Uzbek) and navištan (Tajik) 'write', ora- and pečan(i)dan 'surround, wind round', kiy- and pošidan 'put on (clothes)', tap- and yaftan 'find', etc.'

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(208) Tajik: ta in sabaq-a danist-a na-giriftan-a

Uzbek: bu sabaq-ni bil-ip al-ma-guncä

T: till this lesson-ACC know-GER T: NEG-take+INF-GEN
U: take-NEG-'until'

T: na-xarav- 0

U: yat-ma-0

T:NEG-lie down-IMP
U:lie down-NEG-IMP

'don't lie down (go to bed) until you have learned the lesson' (that is, 'until you have assimilated it all') [Kuznetsov 1912:316; 1915:37]

Additional support for the contention that CVC's could have arisen in Tajik as the result of cross-language influence comes from the evidence that yet another language has acquired these constructions from the Turkic languages. Mari (or Cheremis), a Finno-Ugric language spoken in the Middle Volga region, near the junction of the Volga and Kama Rivers, uses CVC's that are highly similar to those in the neighboring Turkic languages of Chuvash and Tatar. In his study of the tense/aspect system of certain Finno-Ugric languages, Serebrennikov at one point attributes the Mari CVC's to Chuvash influence, but at another point he finds evidence of Tatar influence and is forced to conclude that it is often difficult to determine precisely which of the two Turkic languages served as the donor for particular Mari constructions [Serebrennikov 1960:180, 271]. In any case, he regards it as impossible to date the origin of Mari CVC's before the penetration of the Turkic-speaking peoples into the Volga-Kama region. But, in contrast, the use of verbal suffixes to express aspectual

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distinctions still present in Mari belongs to the Common Finno-Ugric period [Ibid., p. 188]. The Mari CVC auxiliaries identified by Serebrennikov closely correspond to those Uzbek verbs that served as models for Tajik CVC's--(in Tatar) jibär- 'send', bet(er)- 'finish', al- 'take', bir- 'give', kit- 'go (away), leave', kil- 'come', kuy- 'place', kal- 'stay', yat- 'lie (down)', tor- 'stand', čik- 'go out' (transitive: čigar-), jit- 'reach', ker- 'go in', and üt- 'go through, pass' [Ibid., p. 190-199; the Tatar forms are cited here since they resemble the Uzbek auxiliaries more closely than do the Chuvash forms; for a study of Tatar CVC's see Schönig 1984]. Of course, the appearance of CVC's in Mari does not demonstrate that the Tajik CVC's were borrowed from Uzbek, but rather that under the conditions of extensive contact with a Turkic language, this mechanism for marking verbal distinctions can be transferred across language boundaries.

Interestingly, there are also some similarities in the geographical distribution of CVC's within the languages and dialects of the two regions being compared here, the Volga-Kama region and the territory covered by Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. Mari exhibits this Turkic feature to a greater extent than does another nearby Finno-Ugric language, Udmurt (Votyak), and in yet another related language located at a further distance from the Turkic-speaking area, the Komi-Zyryan language, CVC's are absent altogether [Ibid., p. 265, 275; cf., Comrie 1981:102]. In the Tajik-speaking area, the southern boundary in which CVC's are

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actively used runs somewhat to the south of Varzab, Hisar, and Karatagh [Rastorguyeva 1964:132]. They can be found in dialects further to the south and to the east, such as in the Muminabad, Baljuan, and Dashtak dialects, but to a significantly lesser degree that in the north, while in dialects at a still further remove, the Khavaling, Rog, Goron [see also Bogorad 1963:49], and apparently the Darvaz and Vanch dialects, they are missing altogether. CVC's do not occur in Literary Kabuli, the Tajik dialects of Afghanistan that have been investigated so far, or in Modern Persian [Rastorguyeva 1964:132]. That is, in both the Volga-Kama region and the Tajik-Persian-speaking territories those dialects in closest proximity to the Turkic-speaking area exhibit the CVC structural type to the highest degree, while related dialects or languages at a greater distance do so to a lesser extent or not at all. Cross-language influence from Turkic is, of course, the most natural explanation for this pattern.

However, from a large-scale areal point of view this conclusion is not so self-evident. Masica 1976:108-158 notes that CVC's, and for that matter verb serialization, are present over vast, nearly contiguous territories in Middle and South Asia. He leaves open the question of exactly how these features come to be distributed in the manner presently observed, although he speculates that CVC's may be "a speech fashion that spread at a time when northern India was in close contact with Central Asia, perhaps from the former to the latter" [Masica 1967:185]. But it is prescisely on the more local scale that the patterns of

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distribution are most suggestive of whether, or how, the diffusion of a linguistic feature has taken place. In this case it appears that the Volga-Kama and Tajikistan areas provide crucial clues as to the origin of CVC's in the languages under discussion. The circumstances clearly indicate that their presence is due to external influence in the case of Northern Tajik and Mari, but to genetic inheritance in the case of the Turkic languages. It is significant that similar constructions also occur in Hindi and other Indian languages. But the CVC's of Hindi appear to differ in fundamental ways from the CVC's of Tajik. According to Hook's treatment of these constructions in Hindi, there are particular environments in which the presence of either a simplex verb or a CVC is required, or at least strongly preferred. The simplex verb is preferred in combination with adverbials like "with great difficulty", when the action is represented as being the "first" or "last" time someone has engaged in that action, in combination with the verb meaning 'be able, can', or in a number of other contexts [Hook 1974:314-318]. In some cases, a systematic difference hinges on the presence of a CVC auxiliary; in combination with a simplex verb form the particle hii indicates that the action was "just barely" accomplished, while with the Complex Verb Construction the activity is "almost" performed [Ibid., p. 290-293]. In Turkic, and thus in Tajik, there exist no similar linguistically conditioned preferences for the use of simplex verbs as a class, as opposed to CVC's, or vice versa. Hence despite the genetic relationship between the Iranian and

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Indic languages and despite the use of semantically similar verbs as CVC auxiliaries in Tajik from a common source. In fact, since it is clear from the Tajik evidence that CVC's can be borrowed across language boundaries and from the evidence of other Indo-European languages that CVC's are not typical structures in this language family, the suspicion arises that their presence in the Indic languages results from the influence of Dravidian [Chatterji 1926/1970:1050; Masica 1976:144]. If so, the case can be made that Indo-European lacks the CVC as an indigenous mechanism for marking verbal distinctions and quite probably, true verb serialization as well. Therefore, any manifestation of CVC's or verb serialization in the contemporary languages would most likely be due to external influence.

The arguments presented by Rastorguyeva 1964 and Perry 1979 are based upon representative correlations between Tajik and Uzbek structures, a procedure which is sufficient to establish that borrowing has indeed taken place, but not sufficient to achieve one of the principal aims of the present investigation, namely to determine the extent to which the entire set of structures associated with verb serialization and CVC's in the donor language has been acquired by the recipient language. That should be the goal of the discussion at this point, but unfortunately, there are a number of obstacles that prevent an adequate comparison between Uzbek and Tajik verb serialization, especially with regard to the CVC's. For one thing, there are inconsistencies in the available material on Tajik CVC's. For instance, the following lists represent

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the inventories established for Literary Tajik.

TABLE 8. CVC Auxiliaries in Literary Tajik

Rozenfel'd 1953	Rastor-guyeva 1954	Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964	Y., R. Sh. 1982	Gloss as Main Verb
1. istadӣn	+	+	+	stand
2. ᵛᵛšistӣn (niᵛᵛšastӣn)	+	+	+	sit
3. gӣᵛᵛštӣn	+	+	+	go, walk
4. xa(b)rӣftӣn				lie (down)
5. rӣftӣn	+	+	+	go (away), leave
6. amӣdӣn	+	+	+	come
7. mandӣn	+	+	+	stay;(TR)leave,put
8. giriftӣn	+	+	+	take
9. dadӣn	+	+	+	give
10. ᵛšudӣn	+	+	+	be, become
11. pӣrtaftӣn	+	+	+	throw
12. firistadӣn	+	+	+	send
13. didӣn	+	+	+	see
14. bӣramӣdӣn	+	+	+	go out; go up
15. guzӣᵛᵛštӣn	+	+	+	go through, pass
16. burdӣn	+			take/carry away
17. avӣrdӣn	+			bring
18.	tӣmam kӣrdӣn		+	finish
19.		sӣr dadӣn		let out

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In addition, Rozenfel'd 1953 offers many other auxiliaries not recognized as such in the other three sources: rӓsidӓn 'reach, go up to', rӓsandӓn (TR) 'get to', dӓramӓdӓn 'go in', fӓramӓdӓn 'go down', bӓravӓrdӓn 'take out', ӓftadӓn 'fall', kuštӓn 'kill', and a few others. The available dialect material contains similar lists, although generally less complete. Kerimova 1959:48-49 adds uzat kӓrdӓn 'accompany', and hӓva dadӓn 'throw'. The problem here, of course, is that some verbs are highly productive as auxiliaries in CVC's (items 1 through 15 above, with the exception of No. 4, xarӓftӓn), while other verbs are less so, and still others may occur with only a limited set of specific main verbs. For instance, sӓr dadӓn (item No. 19) is cited by Rastorguyeva and Kerimova 1964:277 as occurring with just four distinct verbs in Literary Tajik. Demarcating "true"" CVC auxiliaries from those verbs that form "lexical" compounds then becomes something of an arbitrary exercise in the borderline cases.

A second obstacle to comparing Tajik and Uzbek CVC inventories involves discrepancies between the items that have been selected for Literary Uzbek and the actual data of Colloquial Uzbek. For instance, reference grammars typically included the ӓ/y gerundive plus the verb baš1ӓ- 'begin' as a CVC [Kӓmal 1957:453;; Kononov 1960:268; Kollektiv 1975:377], but in at least the Tashkent, Andijan, and Shahrisabz dialects, such a construction is rarely used in ordinary speech, except as the result of influence from the literary language [Ibrahimov 1967:236; Jorӓyev 1964:175]. Establishing the use of the verb

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baʏlä- as a CVC auxiliary in Colloquial Uzbek would be significant in a comparison of the Tajik and Uzbek inventories since it seems that Tajik does not have a distinct inchoative (inceptive) structure of this type. Another CVC regularly used in Literary Uzbek, ä/y + bil- 'know' to mean ''be able to, know how to', was apparently adopted from the Oghuz Khorazmi dialect and does not occur typically in other dialects, at least not in Tashkent or Shahrisabz [Ghulamov 1968:140; Joräyev 1964:175]. It is not likely that there are too many other substantive differences between Literary and Colloquial Uzbek with regard to CVC auxiliaries, but the differences that do exist may have a bearing on what constitutes the complete set of oppositions in the CVC inventory. The available material on Uzbek dialects, however, fails to provide the information necessary to determine the points where the literary and colloquial languages differ.

Finally, the complications in the data themselves hamper a straightforward comparison between Tajik and Uzbek CVC's. Most of the CVC auxiliaries do not have a single meaning, but vary depending upon the linguistic context involved, the Main Verb used, and the tense, aspect, or mood of the auxiliary. This diversity does not lend itself readily to the representation of distinctive oppositions in paradigm form, as is the case with simplex verbs. In fact, the complexity involved resembles that of the verbal particles like up, out, off in English or the verbal prefixes in Russian, to which the Uzbek and Tajik CVC auxiliaries bear a clear semantic correspondence.

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Despite these difficulties, it is possible to establish a tentative set of correspondences between the Uzbek verbs used as CVC auxiliaries and their Tajik counterparts, as shown in the chart on the following page. The list of 27 distinct Uzbek verbs is taken from Kollektiv 1975:377-410, which is a rather thorough study of these auxiliaries. It might be possible to add the verb kir- 'go in(to), enter' to this list, as Nasilov does [Nasilov 1978:136 in his chart of CVC auxiliaries, but not in his discussion of Uzbek on pp. 122-133]. It seems to be of quite marginal use as a marker of direction inward in Uzbek, although it is more common in this capacity in other Turkic languages (and see Baskakov 1952:386 about its aspectual use with a few verbs in Karakalpak). Interestingly, its Tajik correlate, dарамадан, was listed in an early investigation of Tajik CVC auxiliaries, Rozenfel'd 1953:45-46, ex., гурехтӣ дарамадан 'run in(to)'. But its presence in Tajik does not really indicate what the status of kir- as a CVC auxiliary is in Uzbek, since the auxiliary use of дарамадан could either have been modeled upon kir- or have arisen from an analogical extension of the auxiliary paradigm. Hence what is known about kir- and дарамадан sheds little light on the issue of how closely Tajik replicates the Uzbek CVC auxiliary paradigm.

There appear to be two major types of CVC auxiliary in Uzbek--aspectual-relational and modal. The term "relational" here refers to the use of an auxiliary to express a "directional relationship," primarily with Main Verbs indicating some sort of

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TABLE 9: Correspondences Between Uzbek and Tajik CVC Auxiliaries

UZBEK		TAJIK
Aspectual-Relational Auxiliaries		
1. tur-	'stand'	istadӣn
2. otur-	'sit'	ӮiӮtӣn
3. yur-	'walk, go, move'	gӣӮtӣn
4. yat-	'lie'	istadӣn/xarӣftӣn
5. (i)p + al-	'take'	giriftӣn
6. ber-	'give'	dadӣn
7. kel-	'come'	amӣdӣn
8. bar-	'go'	rӣftӣn
9. ket-	'go away, leave'	
10. yet-	'go up to'	rӣsidӣn
11. ot-	'go through'	guzӣӮtӣn
12. Ӯiq-	'go out; go up'	bӣramӣdӣn
13. tuӮ-	'go down'	fur(ud)amӣdӣn
14. yubar-	'send'	firis(t)andӣn
15. tӣӮlӣ-	'throw'	pӣrtaftӣn
16. qal-	'stay, remain'	mandӣn
17. qoy-	'leave (TR), put'	
18. sal-	'put, place'	--
19. ol-	'die'	--
20. bol-	'be, become'	Ӯudӣn
21. bit(ir)-	'finish'	tӣmam kӣrdӣn
22. baӮlӣ-	'begin'	--
Modal Auxiliaries		
(5.) ӣ/y + al-	'take' ['be able, can']	t(ӣv)anistӣn
23. bil-	'know' ['be able, know how']	"
(20.)bol-	'be' ['be able (impersonal)']	Ӯudӣn
24. kor-	'see' ['try']	didӣn
25. qӣrӣ-	'look at' ['try']	"
26. baq-	'look at' ['try']	"
27. yaz-	'err, do wrong' ['almost']	--

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motion (ex., Uzbek hʉydʉp čiq- 'drive out' from hʉydʉ- 'drive'), or a certain "nominal relationship." In the latter case, the verbs al- (plus the (i)p gerundive) in Uzbek and giriftʉn in Tajik, both meaning 'take' as main verbs themselves, indicate that the action expressed by v^1 in the CVC is undertaken for the benefit of the subject ("Subject Benefactive"), while with the verbs ber- in Uzbek and dadʉn in Tajik, 'give', it is performed for the benefit of someone else ("Non-Subject Benefactive," the usual interpretation of the term "Benefactive"). Many of these 22 or so auxiliaries can express either a relational or aspectual meaning--ex., čiq- can mean 'out' or mark completive aspect. Some auxiliaries are purely aspectual (ex., the completive bol- or bit(ir)-, the inceptive baš lʉ-), while still others can be relational only in a rather metaphorical sense (ex., yubar-, otur-). All the aspectual-relational auxiliaries can convey some sort of aspectual meaning, with the possible exception of kir-, if it is considered a CVC auxiliary. There are in addition three basic types of modal auxiliaries--Potential (ʉ/y + al-, bil-, and bol-), Conative (kor-; the verbs qʉrʉ- and baq- are rare synonyms for kor- [Kollektiv 1975:409]), and Interruptive (yaz-, as in yiqilʉ yazdim 'I almost fell' with yiqil- 'fall'). Notice that al- and bol- belong to both major types of auxiliary, but in the former case, the aspectual-relational al- combines with the (i)p gerundive, while the modal al- combines with the ʉ/y gerundive. In grammars of Tajik the verb tʉvanistʉn, or tanistʉn, is not considered a CVC auxiliary, probably because historically it

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occurred with an infinitival form, either full or truncated (see below). But in the Northern Tajik dialects t(ӯv)anistӣn occurs with the infinitive only rarely, if at all, and otherwise it behaves like a true CVC auxiliary in requiring the rӯftӣ form, thus paralleling Uzbek ӯ/y + al-. The possible influence of the Uzbek model upon Tajik t(ӯv)anistӣn would provide a highly plausible explanation for the historical change to the rӯftӣ form [see Perry 1979:458-459, although his contention that ӯ/y + bil- could have served as the Uzbek model is untenable since that construction is not found in the Uzbek dialects in closest proximity to the Tajik-speaking areas]. Hence t(ӯv)anistӣn will be considered a CVC auxiliary here.

As can be seen from the chart, there are several discrepancies between the two inventories. Rastorguyeva maintains that the Tajik verbs rӯftӣn and mandӣn correspond to two distinct Uzbek CVC auxiliaries each, bar- and ket-, qal- and qoy-, respectively, and that seems quite accurate [Rastorguyeva 1964:134]. Besides rӯftӣn there is no other lexical verb in Tajik comparable to Uzbek ket- 'go away' (i.e., away from the speaker or other reference point), and apparently the differences in the aspectual meanings of bar- and ket- as CVC auxiliaries are not sufficient to require that they be kept distinct in the recipient language. The distinctions are in effect neutralized in Tajik. In the case of qal- and qoy-, they can be regarded as an intransitive-transitive pair (although by no means always so). For instance, the auxiliary qal- would regularly occur with the

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passive of a transitive verb, and qoy- with the verb itself--ačilip qal- vs. ačip qoy-, from ač- 'open' and ačil- 'be open(ed)' [Kollektiv 1975:339]. The lexical verb mandän in Tajik is both transitive and intransitive and thus can correspond to both. (The other verb that corresponds to two Uzbek auxiliaries, istadän, will be discussed below.) As mentioned above, it is quite possible that bašlä- and bil- do not serve as CVC auxiliaries in the main body of Uzbek dialects, and hence they may be discounted here. And the same may very well apply to yaz-; one investigation on the Tashkent dialect states that either the auxiliary kel- is used for the meaning of 'almost' or an alternative phrase expresses the same notion [Ghulamov 1968:141], while other dialect studies simply do not mention yaz- at all. Thus, if bašlä-, bil-, yaz-, qärä-, and baq- are eliminated as potential models for Tajik CVC auxiliaries, there remain only sal- and ol- without recognizable Tajik counterparts. The status of the latter, ol- 'die', is unclear; Kämal 1957:455 states that it is used very little and usually metaphorically, while Kononov 1960 does not list it at all as a CVC auxiliary. In his studies of CVC auxiliaries in the Turkic languages in general, Yuldashev does not cover ol- in this capacity [Yuldashev 1965 and 1977], while Nasilov identifies it only for Uzbek [Nasilov 1978:137]. But according to the description in Kollektiv 1975:408, written by Ä. Hajiyev, an authority on Uzbek verbs, the use of ol- to "intensify" the Main Verb seems to resemble the characteristic functions of other CVC auxiliaries. The major peculiarity about

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ol- is that it can occur before the Main Verb, ex., oldi sevinip 'he was exceedingly happy' from sevin- 'be glad', a trait encountered "much in ordinary conversation" [Ibid.]. Yet no available source on the Tajik dialects or the literary language mentions the equivalent to ol-, murdän, as a CVC auxiliary. Either the investigators did not recognize its use as such, or the Tajiks have not acquired this CVC auxiliary, perhaps because of its rarity. On the other hand, the status of sal- in Uzbek is much less questionable. It is commonly used as a CVC auxiliary in the Turkic languages, and there is no reason not to expect it in Colloquial Uzbek as well [cf., Jorayev 1964:175 on its use in the Shahrisabz dialect]. The two-to-one relationship involving Tajik räftän and mandän raises the possibility that a verb corresponding to another Uzbek auxiliary may cover the auxiliary uses of sal- in addition, quite possibly mandän. Or perhaps, since sal- is synonymous to other Uzbek auxiliaries in at least certain of its functions [Kollektiv 1975:406-407; Jorayev 1964:175; Äfzälov 1957:158], Tajik uses the semantic equivalent to sal- as a CVC auxiliary, but not a verb that specifically corresponds to sal- itself. Or perhaps the lack of a Tajik counterpart to sal- is precisely the evidence needed to show that Tajik has not acquired the Uzbek CVC inventory in its entirety. Only a more thorough investigation could resolve the questions concerning ol- and sal- and their correlates, if any, in Tajik.

Notice that the discussion to this point has focused on the individual items that serve as CVC auxiliaries, and not on the

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semantics or functional uses of these auxiliaries. The chart of correspondences given above is a simple inventory of items, and not a representation of the paradigmatic relationships or the distinctive oppositions expressed by the CVC auxiliaries. It is an inventory, not a paradigm. Only by establishing the paradigmatic relationships obtained in the set of Uzbek CVC auxiliaries and comparing them to the Tajik paradigmatic relationships could a genuine determination of the extent of borrowing be made. Unfortunately, that is a project for future research, due to the incomplete nature of the available source material. But it is conceivable that Tajik has developed to a certain extent differently from Uzbek, since CVC's, unlike simplex verbs, are a rather transparent structural type and therefore susceptible to creative manipulation. Even in the simplex verb paradigm in Tajik there appear to be analogical extensions not based directly on Uzbek models, and hence it should not be surprising to find novel CVC forms in Tajik. Perhaps sär dadän 'let out, let go, release' from sär 'head' and dadän 'give' (cf., the list of CVC auxiliaries in Literary Tajik, Table 8) is such a novel CVC auxiliary since it lacks a readily recognizable Uzbek correlate.

While nothing emerges from the data presented by Tajik and Uzbek linguists to suggest that the two CVC auxiliary paradigms differ in any systematic way, it is clear that a simple one-to-one correspondence does not hold between them. To illustrate, consider the set of verbs of motion and their corresponding

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transitives. In Uzbek, as in the other Turkic languages, the (intransitive) verbs of motion are all distinct from one another, with no common morphological element--that is, 'go' bar- and 'come' kel- are distinct from 'go/come out' čiq-, 'go/come in' kir-, etc. There are two patterns for forming a transitive from a verb of motion--by adding a causative suffix to the verb root, ex., čiqär- 'take/bring out' or by forming a CVC with the Main Verb al- 'take', alip čiq- 'take/bring out'. While there may be a semantic or stylistic difference between the two transitives, and while there is definitely a difference in the frequency of use, these differences are irrelevant to the discussion here. It is not typical (or even possible?) for the stem with the causative suffix to form another transitive verb with al-, ?alip keltir-. But when the verbs of motion are used in CVC's to indicate direction and combined with transitive Main Verbs, the stem with the causative suffix may be used as the CVC auxiliary; for example, with häydä- 'drive (livestock, a car, etc.)' the following items occur:

(i) häydäp čiqär- // häydäp čiq- 'drive out'
(ii) häydäp keltir- // häydäp kel- 'drive/bring in, drive home'
(iii) häydäp alip ket // häydäp ket- 'drive away'
[Borovkov 1959:649; Ma"rufov 1981, vol. 1, p. 675-676; texts]

In (iii), the CVC alip ket- functions as a CVC auxiliary itself. In Iranian, on the other hand, there are a few distinct (intransitive) verbs of motion--räftän 'go, go away', amädän

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'come', räsidän 'go up to, reach', guzäštän 'go through, pass'--but to indicate direction more explicitly, either a prefix, där-amädän 'come/go in', or an adverbial, därun räftän 'go in, go inside', can be used. Historically there were suppletive transitives that corresponded to these intransitives--amädän 'come' and avärdän 'bring', däramädän and däravärdän, etc. The introduction of verb serialization into Tajik has permitted an additional mechanism for forming transitives from verbs of motion, by means of a CVC. But in this case, V^1 in the CVC, derived as in Uzbek from the verb 'take', giriftän, can occur as either giriftä, as expected, or giran (both in a number of phonetic shapes in the dialects, giftä, gittä; guran, girun, etc.). Apparently, the latter is made up of the "present stem", gir-, plus the suffix -an, which forms an unproductive gerundive form in Literary Tajik [Rastorguyeva, Kerimova 1964:207-210]. Rastorguyeva attributes both types of construction to Uzbek influence [Rastorguyeva 1964:153; 1961:175; and elsewhere]. But there appears to be a difference between Tajik and Uzbek with regard to preferences for the use of transitive vs. intransitive auxiliaries in CVC's. The available sources frequently cite the transitive auxiliary with the form giriftä/giran in Tajik, while, as mentioned above, such a construction is rare in Uzbek. Also, dictionary entries for the Tajik correlate of Uzbek häydä-, häy kärdän, contain CVC's only with a transitive auxiliary, häy kärdä burdän 'drive away' and häy kärdä avärdän 'drive in, drive home' [Bertel's 1954:496; Fazilov 1957:436; Asimi 1985:657, 843]. But it is difficult to make

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definite judgments about such preferences merely on the basis of dictionary entries.

The following table demonstrates some of these points about the verbs of motion and their transitives in Uzbek and Tajik. Gaps in the table do not indicate that a form does not exist, but rather that the available sources have not given any indication on the status of such a form. The symbol (?) before two Uzbek CVC's means that the forms in question are likely to occur, but that the sources do not cite them.

TABLE 10: Verbs of Motion and Corresponding Transitives

UZBEK		TAJIK	
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE
kel- 'come'	keltir- alip kel-	amӣdӣn	avӑrdӣn giriftӣ avӑrdӣn giriftӣ amӣdӣn giran avӑrdӣn giran amӣdӣn
bar- 'go'	bardir- alip bar-	rӑftӣn	burdӣn giriftӣ burdӣn giriftӣ rӑftӣn giran burdӣn giran rӑftӣn
ket- 'go away'	ketkӣz- alip ket-		
yet- 'go up to'	yetkӣz- (?) alip yet-	rӑsi ӣn	rӑsandӣn
ot- 'go through'	otkӣz- alip ot-	guzӣštӣn	guzӣrandӣn
čiq- 'go out/up'	čiqӣr- alip čiq-	bӑramӣdӣn	bӑravӑrdӣn giriftӣ bӑravӑrdӣn giran bӑravӑrdӣn giran bӑramӣdӣn
tuš- 'go down'	tušir- (?) alip tuš-	fur(ud)amӣdӣn	fur(ud)avӑrdӣn
kir- 'go in(to)'	kirgiz- alip kir-	dӑramӣdӣn	dӑravӑrdӣn

[Compare also the relationships between qal-, qoy-, and mandӣn:]

qal- 'stay'	qaldir- alip qal-	mandӣn	manandӣn giriftӣ mandӣn giran mandӣn
	qoy- 'leave,put' alip qoy-		mandӣn

[Sources: Dictionaries: Borovkov 1959, Rastorguyeva 1963, Bertel's 1954, Fazilov 1957; other works: Rozenfel'd 1953; Shaӣbdurӣhmanov 1976.]

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Subjectively speaking, the profusion of possibilities among the Rajik transitives looks as if Tajik speakers have not settled upon a uniform method for replicating the situation in Uzbek. In any case, the main point is that given the "neutralizations" exhibited by raftan and mandan, the alternating use of giriftä and giran, and the differences in the use of transitives as CVC auxiliaries, the relationship between the Uzbek and Tajik CVC auxiliary paradigms cannot be described as a simple one-to-one relationship.

The Status of yat-/istadan. In Section 2.2, the verb forms containing Progressive markers derived from the verbs yat- 'lie, lie down' in Uzbek and istadan 'stand' in Tajik were regarded as belonging to the simplex verb paradigm. In light of the system of CVC's, however, it would be necessary to consider whether the Progressive markers derived from yat-/istadan serve as suffixes like those on the simplex verbs or whether they should be regarded as contractions from a CVC auxiliary. Even for Literary Uzbek, where a certain number of artificial stylistic distinctions have been introduced, it is recognized that the verb form containing yap has the same meaning as a verb form used with the CVC auxiliary yatip, from which yap is historically derived [Kollektiv 1975:498].

Nonetheless, as illustrated in the chart for simplex verbs, Table 6, yat- occurs in this function with only a few tense/aspect suffixes--(i)p, (u)wdi [that is, (i)p + idi] (rare), kan (i)di, kan akan, sä, and kan bolsä. In this respect, it differs from the other stative CVC auxiliaries, tur- 'stand', otur- 'sit', and yur-

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'go, walk', to which it is virtually synonymous in the (i)p tense form. These can be found in other tenses as well, such as the Unmarked nonpast (ex., 209a) or the Imperative (209b), although not necessarily as a marker of the Progressive aspect.

(209) (a) biz gazeta oqi-b tur-ä-miz
we newspaper read-GER CVC-NnP-1PL

'We (always) read the newspaper(s)' (Literary Uzbek) [Kononov 1960:267]

(b) mänaw suwrät-lär-di kör-a-tur-Ø
this here picture-PL-ACC see-GER-CVC-IMP

'Look at these pictures a bit' (Andijan dialect) [Ibrahimov 1967:237]

This would suggest that yat- in Uzbek had become unproductive as a CVC auxiliary and closely bound to the tense/aspect system. Yet the speakers of those Tajik dialects that were in the closest contact with Uzbek speakers seemed to have recognized that the Nonpast progressive for yäp (or wat, ap, etc., depending upon the dialect) derives from the lexical verb yat- plus the (i)p suffix, since in their attempt to create a corresponding form distinct from the Common Tajik Progressive in istadän, they used the equivalent to the Uzbek lexical verb, that is, xaräftän 'lie, lie down, go to bed/sleep', in the Past noncommittal, xaräftäs. This auxiliary is subject to contraction, just as yatip is--ex., xat in the Upper Chirchik dialect, xandä-xat-äs 'he is reading' from xandan 'read' and axt in the Kasansay dialect, xand-axt-äkäm 'I am reading' [Rastorguyeva 1964:92, 130]. The recognition by these Tajik speakers that yäp (wat, ap, etc.) derives from a separate verb in the same manner as other CVC's clearly suggests that it should not be considered a simplex verb marker, but rather a contraction of the CVC auxiliary yat-.

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Further support for his position comes from the fact that contradictions of other CVC auxiliaries occur regularly in Colloquial Uzbek:

(i)p + al ⟶ wal or wäl

(i)p + yubar ⟶ war or wär

ä/y + ber ⟶ (V)wur or Vwr or (V)wer

[Ghulamov 1957:111; Ghulamov 1968;140-141; Shaäbdurähmanov 1967:73-74; Ibrahimov 1967:236-237; Nasirov 1980:145, 152; Joräyev 1964:171, 175; Sjoberg 1963:130, 132]

The status of the Progressive marker derived from the verb istadän in Tajik is less problematical as compared to the status of Uzbek yat-, because the former is not restricted in its capacity as a CVC auxiliary to just certain tense/aspect forms. Apparently, istadän corresponds to Uzbek yat- in the Past noncommittal and a few other tense-aspect forms when designating the Progressive, but to the Uzbek tur- 'stand' (which istadän resembles most clearly as a main verb) in all its functions as a CVC auxiliary. That is,

istadän corresponds to:

- yat + ip / + kän(i)di / etc. — to mark Progressive
- tur + ip, etc. — to mark Progressive
- tur + other TNS/ASP suffixes — to mark other distinctions

Compare sentences (210) to (209):

(210) (a) Simple Nonpast:

mäskav-ändä	ǧiž-ǧiž	mašin	räftä	meistät
Moscow-LOC	ONOMATOPOETIC	car	go+GER	CVC+NnP

'in Moscow the cars go whiz-whiz constantly' (Leninabad dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1956:144]

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(b) Imperative:

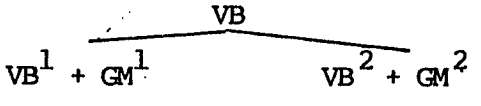
inja	bŭgzalä-yä	paidä	ist- ø
here	kid-ACC	watch over	CVC-IMP

'watch over (tend) the kids [i.e., goats] here a bit' (Shaydan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:266]

Hence there is less of a question about whether the contracted form of istadän, sad, etc., represents a suffix in the simplex verb paradigm. It should also be noted that in the case of Tajik istadän, at least in those dialects that do not use xaräftän to mark the Progressive, there is not a one-to-one correspondence with Uzbek CVC's. Like räftän and mandän, istadän corresponds to two distinct Uzbek verbs, yat- and tur-. This has presumably been facilitated by the fact that yat- is synonymous to tur- in certain tense/aspect forms as a CVC auxiliary, namely when designating the Progressive.

Formal Characterization of Verb Serialization in Uzbek and Tajik. With verb forms containing derivatives of yat- and istadän regarded as CVC's, it would be possible to view verb serialization and simplex verbs in Uzbek and Tajik in syntactic terms as follows:

All Verb Serialization:



where GM^1 = (i)p or ä/y in Uzbek
= ä (after Past stem) in Tajik

All Simplex Verbs: VB + GM + PRS/NUM

where (i) the PRS/NUM suffix may be ø
(ii) GM is ø only in the Imperative
(iii) neither VB nor GM dominates a CVC
(iv) GM can be expanded into VB

Types of Verb Serialization:

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1. VB^1_{sb} VB^2_{hd} where VB^1 is a lexicalized adverb. About 71 distinct entries ending in the gerundive marker (i)p are listed in the standard Uzbek dictionaries [cf., Qonghirov, Tikhonov 1968:37-38].

2. VB^1_{sb} VB^2_{hd} where VB^1 is one of a small set of items that function in a manner similar to postpositions--ex., qäräp, qärämäy, korä, boylap in Uzbek, nigah kärdä, nigah näkärdä, didä in Tajik.[24]

3. VB^1_{sb} VB^2_{hd} where VB^1 can be any verb in adverbial modification with VB^2.

4. VB^1_{hd} VB^2_{hd} where VB^1 and VB^2 are conjoined verbs or verb phrases.

5. VB^1_{hd} VB^2_{hd} where VB^1 and VB^2 combine to form a single lexicalized verb without any discernible subordination, ex., Uzbek satip al- 'buy' from sat- 'sell' and al- 'take'.

6. VB^1_{hd} VB^2_{sb} where VB^2 is an auxiliary capable of occurring with a wide variety of tenses, aspects, and moods, ex., Uzbek ä/y + al- and Tajik t(äv)- anistän 'be able, can'.

7. VB^1_{hd} VB^2_{sb} where VB^2 is an auxiliary restriced in use with tenses, aspects, and moods, ex., Uzbek yat- to mark the Progressive.

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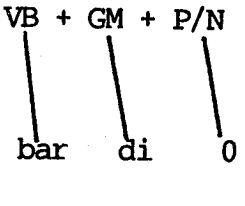
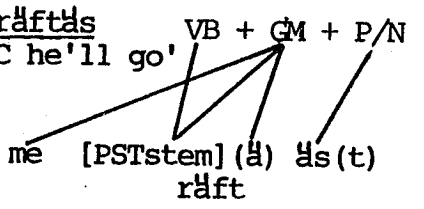
Structural Configurations for Simplex Verbs, Examples:

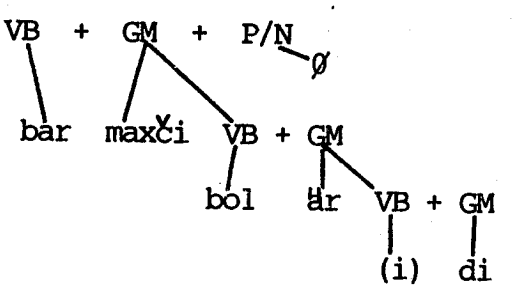
Uzbek: bardi 'he went'



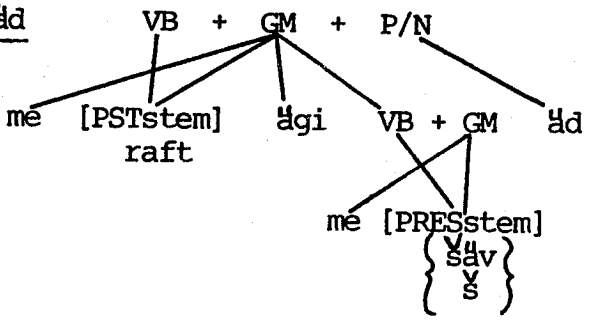
Tajik: merʉftʉs 'NnC he'll go'



Uzbek: barmaxci bolardi 'he would want to go'

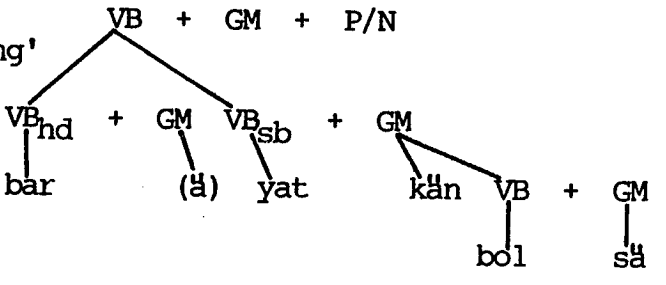


Tajik: merʉftʉgi mexʉvʉd/mexʉd 'he intends to go'

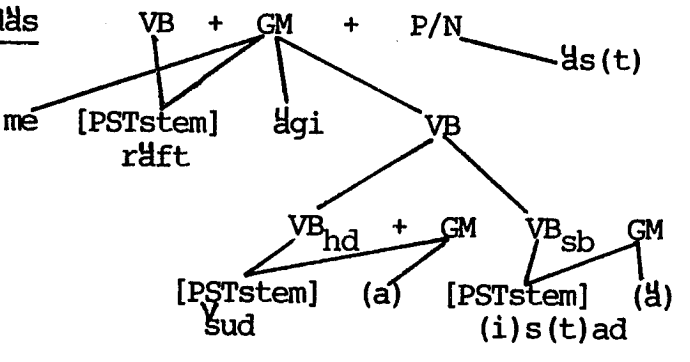


Structure of a CVC:

Uzbek: baryatkʉn bolsʉm '(if) I have been/am going'



Tajik: merʉftʉgi xudasadʉs 'he is intending to go'



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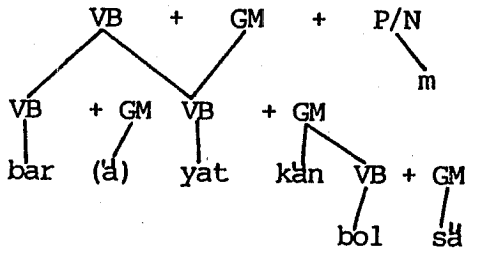
One possible alternative: If GM is allowed to mutually dominate a VB with another VB node, the CVC auxiliary would also be directly under GM. For instance, baryatkän bolsäm:



Verbal Distinctions:

Simplex Verbs: temporal and mood distinctions--with the features [PAST, PERFECT, HABITUAL, NONCOMMITTAL, CONDITIONAL, INTENTIONAL].

CVC's: aspectual, relational, modal distinctions--with other features, [PROGRESSIVE, COMPLETIVE, CONATIVE, etc.]

- - - - - -

Even if an attempt like this one to make a formal differentiation between verb serialization and the simplex verb construction were entirely successful, it would be legitimate to question whether such a venture is not rather artificial, whether the data of Uzbek and Tajik actually warrant making such a discrete separation between the two structural types. Are there any ways in which the two overlap? In this context it should be noted that the ädigan suffix in Uzbek, used at the present time as the marker of the Intentional-2 Mood within the simplex verb paradigm and as a SbS GM, derives historically from a CVC--from

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adurğan/ädürgän in the classical Central Asian Turkic literary language, from the a/y gerundive plus the CVC auxiliary tur- [Äbdurähmanov, Shukurov 1973:124; Kononov 1960:238]. Furthermore, it appears that in Uzbek SbS's or in conjoined verb phrases marked by the (i)p gerundive, where certain verbal distinctions are neutralized, a Habitual distinction can be explicitly conveyed by means of a CVC, particularly with the auxiliaries ber- 'give' or tur- 'stand'. In a sentence like (211) from Literary Uzbek, the CVC korä berib [=berip] is either an adverbial modifier of the main verb or in conjunction with it. In either case, the auxiliary ber- serves to make the Habitual distinction explicit.

(211) biz bu yuz-ni kun - i -gä birnečä märtä-dän
we this face-ACC day-POSS-DAT several time-ABL [=ADV]

kor-ä ber-ib, judä bezar bol-gän-miz
see-GER CVC-GER very sick and tired become-PRF-1PL

'We have become very sick and tired (of) seeing this face several times a day' (or: 'We see this face several times a day and we have become very sick and tired (of it)') [Kononov 1960:264]

Even in Main S's the auxiliary ber- seems to be used as a means of "reinforcing" the Habitual distinction:

(212) u šunäqäŋgi zalim - äkäŋ - ki här qänäqä
he such a tyrant-PSTNnCCOP-that every kind of

namäqulgärčiliy-lär-ri qil-ä-vur-äräkän
disgraceful act -PL-ACC do-GER-CVC[=ber]-PSTNnCHAB

'he [i.e., the pasha] was such a tyrant that he would do all sorts of outrageous things' (Tashkent dial.) [Reshetov, Shaäbdurähmanov 1962:253]

It might be possible to avoid an overlap between the distinctions expressed by CVC's and those by simplex verb constructions by positing an additional aspectual feature, e.g., [CONTINUATIVE], providing that an opposition between the Habitual and Continuative can be established. But

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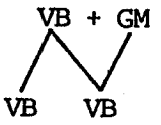
it is quite plausible that a CVC would serve to make the Habitual distinction in certain environments. In addition, the relationship between the two types would be structurally closer if the configuration



were accepted for (at least some?) CVC's. Further empirical evidence might shed some light on the issue of the discreteness of the boundary between verb serialization and the simplex verb construction, but what would be ideal in a consideration of the issue would be a comparison between a framework like the one above and a framework in which a gradation of verbal properties could be represented in a cogent manner. While it is obviously not the aim of this investigation to devise such a framework, at least it should be pointed out that one incorporating some sort of gradation in grammatical properties might prove capable of accounting for the data in this portion of the grammars of Uzbek and Tajik more adequately than the framework presented above.

<u>The Impact of Serialization on Tajik.</u> While the effect of verb serialization upon other syntactic structures has not been inconsequential, its introduction has brought about extensive changes. Serialization, for instance, has not replaced verbal coordination via finite verb concatenation, with or without a conjunction, as the following examples from Colloquial Tajik demonstrate.

(213) Without a Conjunction:

män̈ sähär̈ xest - ä̈m , sär - ä̈m šušt - ä̈m ,

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I morning get up+PST-1SG head-my wash+PST-1SG

mäydä bafand - äm
fine braid+CAUS+PST-1SG

'I got up in the morning, I washed my head, (and) I had (it) braided finely (had my hair put into little braids)' (Kasansay dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:292]

(214) With a Conjunction:

(a) padša mäsälä-yä nä - fähmidäs - dä ,
pasha matter-ACC NEG-understand+PSTNnC-CONJ PART

älišer-ä čigandäs vä ä väy pürsidäs "...?"
[NAME]-ACC call+CAUS+PSTNnC and from he ask+PSTNnC

'the pasha did not understand the matter, and so he had Allisher summoned, and asked of him, "...?" (from a story) (Rishtan dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1961:98]

(b) ä därin-i väy yäk moysäfed berun
from inside-IZA it[=car] one old man out

boramäd - ü därа-i mašinä säxt pošt-ä bäqinängi
come out+PST-and door-IZA car hard close-GER remaining

jorä-š-bä "...." güft
friend-his-DAT say+PST

'one old man got out of (the inside of) it [i.e., the car] and shutting the car door hard, said to his friend left (in the car) "...."' (from a narrated event) (Rishtan dialect) [Ibid., pp.99-100]

After all, conjoining verb phrases by concatenating finite verb forms is also possible is also possible in Uzek. But the Tajik dialects differ from one other with respect to the extent to which verb serialization is used in place of finite-verb coordination. In the Varzab dialect, which has not undergone Uzbek influence to as a great an extent as the more northerly dialects have, most verb coordination is achieved by concatenating finite verb forms. Rastorguyeva estimates that among her extensive samples from Varzab, gerundives in ä can be found in only 20 to 25 sentences, and she suspects that they are most common in the speech of

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those people who have traveled beyond the confines of their native village rather frequently [Rastorguyeva 1952a:129-130; see Rastorguyeva 1964:144 for an assessment on the distribution of such constructions among the Tajik dialects; the samples (213) and (214) are from dialects exhibiting extensive use of serialization]. It is also unlikely that the ability of the ӣ gerundive to produce an adverbial modification of a Main Verb, as in (215), has had a significant impact upon other syntactic mechanisms used for a similar fashion.

(215)	sani	tinj - miš	kӣd-ӣ [=kӣrdӣ]	xanӣ-ma-ndӣ
	then	be at ease-VbF	do-GER	house-our-LOC

šišt-im
sit[=live]+PST-1PL

'then we lived in our house in peace and quiet (peacefully)' (Chust dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1952c:146]

It might be expected that the introduction of CVC's into Colloquial Tajik has had a more substantial impact upon the grammatical system. And in fact it does seem that Uzbek influence has taken Tajik in a direction divergent from the tendencies observed in Modern Persian, but it would not be an easy task to substantiate this claim. The problem is that it cannot be assumed that Tajik, in the absence of extensive Uzbek influence, would have innovated along the same lines as Persian has. Essentially the difference between the grammars of the two Iranian languages involves the placement of the auxiliary in a sentence and the grammatical marking on the Main Verb. In Tajik, as in Uzbek, the auxiliary follows the Main Verb which is nonfinite, morphologically expressed by the "past stem" + ӣ. In Persian, on the other hand, there

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is a tendency, outside of the simplex verb construction and the passive, for the auxiliary to be placed before the Main Verb and for the Main Verb to occur with person/number suffixes, i.e., for it to be finite. For an illustration, consider the fate of the construction to express the Potential modal distinction with the auxiliary tävanistän (tanistän) 'be able'. In the Classical Persian-Tajik literary language the auxiliary would normally occur after the full infinitive of the Main Verb or before the apocopated infinitive--ex., amädän nä-tävanäm vs. mitävanäm goft. In Colloquial Persian the usual order of these elements is auxiliary followed by the Main Verb in the subjunctive, ex., mitävanäm beräväm 'I can go', or in the impersonal, the auxiliary plus the short infinitive, mitävan kärd 'one can do (it)' [Lambton 1953:54-57, 144; Phillott 1919:249-254]. In most cases in Northern Tajik, on the other hand, t(äv)anistän serves as a CVC auxiliary that follows the Main Verb, räftä nä-metanäm 'I can't go', comparable to the Uzbek construction with ä/y + al-. However, under certain circumstances the auxiliary can precede the Main Verb--for instance, in some dialects, like the Varzab dialect, where the full infinitive may on rare occasion occur after t(äv)anistän, ex., nä-tävistän amädän 'they couldn't come' [Rastorguyeva 1952a:110], and at least in the Bukharan dialect, when there is "logical emphasis" on the impossibility of doing something, nä-metanäm räftä 'I can't go' [Kerimova 1959:52]. That is, in the neutral, unmarked case, the auxiliary tävanistän precedes the Main Verb in Modern Persian, but it follows it in Modern Tajik.

There are other such auxiliaries in Modern Persian that precede the Main Verb, such as the construction used to mark the Progressive, the

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verb dašt͡an 'have' plus the Present (or Nonpast imperfective) of the Main Verb, dar͡am mirav͡am 'I am going', dar͡ad mirav͡ad 'he is going', etc. [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:181; see also Phillott 1919:265; Lazard 1957a:135, 151-152; Lambton 1953:160; Windfuhr 1979:91, 102-103]. The verbs xast͡an 'want' and gozašt͡an 'put', for instance, can be used with the Subjunctive to form what appear to be Auxiliary-Main Verb constructions, designating 'want to; be about to' and 'allow, let', respectively [Windfuhr 1979:99-109; Phillott 1919:248-266; Lambton 1953:54-57]. At first glance, it might be thought that such constructions are made up of verbs with complement sentences, in which the complementizer ke 'that' has been deleted, but it should be pointed out that the subject of the auxiliary in these cases is not the embedded S, but rather the subject of the Main Verb, as can be seen from the agreement marker on the auxiliary, and that the auxiliary can occur in the midst of elements in the embedded S, even between the components of a compound verb, as in (216).

(216) Persian: (a) mit͡avan-i (ke) avaz͡a bixan - i ?
can+PRES-2SG that song sing+SBJ-2SG

or (b) avaz͡a mit͡avani bixani?

'can you sing?' [Phillott 1919:254] (only the intonation here indicates that the sentence is a question)

In contrast, the "defective verb" bay͡ad 'ought, must' and its other tense forms used as quasi-auxiliaries are always in the 3rd person singular, but even they can occur in a position that would appear to be inside the "embedded S."

(217) ped͡ar-͡am se hezar-o d͡ah šahi mibayest

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father-my three hezar-and ten shahi must+PST IMPFV+3SG

bedähäd
give+SBJ+3SG

'my father had to give 3 hezars and 10 shahis [=3.5 rials]' (Persian) [Lazard 1957:219]

The main point is that the trend in Modern Persian is for the auxiliary (or auxiliary-like item) to be placed before the Main Verb and for the Main Verb to be finite, a pattern that is consistent with the overall "non-verb-final" ordering of constituents that predominates in that language, apart from the position of the verb itself. The order of Tajik CVC auxiliaries is clearly different from this pattern, but it is less obviously divergent from the order prevalent in earlier stages of the language, since in general Iranian auxiliaries follow the Main Verb [Rastorguyeva 1975:189]. While Uzbek influence has undoubtedly determined the position of the CVC auxiliary and the morphology of the Main Verb in Colloquial Tajik, it would be rather dubious to maintain that without this influence the language would have developed the AUX + Finite Main Verb pattern just as Modern Persian has. Perhaps a detailed investigation of the Southern Tajik dialects that have not undergone influence from Uzbek would suggest the direction that these constructions might have taken. Generally speaking, Modern Persian, a much more accessible language, can serve adequately as an indication of how the common Persian-Tajik language might have developed without Turkic influence, but in this case a comparison between Tajik and Modern Persian must be undertaken with a great deal of caution. As stated above, it cannot be assumed that Tajik would have evolved in the same way as Persian has with respect to the Auxiliary-Main Verb construction.

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Another structure that could have been affected by the introduction of CVC's is the set of "preverbs", as they are commonly called in the Iranist literature, that is, the set of separable and inseparable verbal prefixes. As is typical in the Indo-European languages, Iranian preverbs are often similar or identical to prepositions or adverbs, and they permit further verbal distinctions, whether characterized as grammatical, semigrammatical, or lexical. In Middle Persian the use of such preverbs as well as aspectual prefixes is well attested [Edel'man 1975:384]. A recent multivolume survey of the Iranian languages maintains that Middle Persian used 13 inseparable and 8 separable preverbs along with the purely aspectual particles/prefixes be and hamē [Rastorguyeva, Molchanova 1981:102-106, 117-120, 132-134]. According to this same survey, Classical Persian exhibits fewer such preverbs, a rudimentary set of 10 inseparable and 5 separable ones [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:142-146]. Furthermore, the use of such preverbs in the modern languages has declined even from this level, and if it is possible to rely upon dictionaries as a gauge of their productiveness, the number of prefixed verbs in Modern Tajik is significantly less than in Modern Persian [Ibid., p. 146]. Tajik also lacks the cognate to the Persian prefix be-, from Middle Persian be. While this reduction in the importance of preverbs in the grammar of at least the Persian-Tajik branch of the Iranian languages is a long-term development, it is likely that the adoption of CVC's into Colloquial Tajik has added a further impetus to this trend. It would however be exceedingly difficult to determine to what extent CVC's have contributed to the decline in the use of the preverbs; only their near total loss could be definitely

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attributed to the influence of the CVC's. However, prefixes can still occur on verbs in Colloquial Tajik, as can be seen from the list of verbs of motion, Table 10, cited earlier in this section. It should also be noted that the introduction of CVC's has not led to any discernible change in the use of a related structure, the directional adverbs like berun 'out, outside', därun 'in, inside', bala 'up, upwards', etc., even though it is conceivable that they would be redundant in combination with a verb + preverb or a CVC. Interestingly, these adverbs have correlates in Uzbek--täšqäri, ičkäri, and yuqäri, respectively. Sentence (214) is an example of a Main Verb plus preverb, boramädän 'go/come out', used in combination with a directional adverb, berun.

In short, the introduction of verb serialization and CVC's into Colloquial Tajik has provided an alternative mechanism for verbal conjunction, put a halt to any possible trend towards the placement of auxiliaries before the Main Verb, and accelerated the process by which the grammatical significance of preverbs has been reduced, but it has not fundamentally changed the nature of the indigenous syntactic mechanisms. The net effect of verb serialization has therefore been "additive", and not "replacive", that is, to the extent of entailing the loss of a previously existing mechanism. True, there are no pre-Main Verb auxiliaries in Northern Tajik, but it is not possible at present to argue that Tajik would have developed such auxiliaries had it not been for Uzbek influence.

In summing up verb serialization in Tajik, it may be worthwhile to consider whether the acquisition of this grammatical device sheds any light upon the issue raised at the end of Section 2.2.3., namely whether

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cross-language influence, in certain extreme cases, can involve the transfer of an entire set of distinctions (an inventory or paradigm). With respect to verb serialization, it might be fruitful to approach this issue from an examination of the CVC's, since they can most readily be conceived of as forming a coherent paradigm. But for the reasons sketched above, it is impossible to demonstrate here whether the paradigm of CVC's in Tajik matches that of Uzbek and consequently whether the overall set of distinctions marked by CVC's in Uzbek has been "borrowed". The least that can be said is that an absolute one-to-one correspondence does not exist between the two CVC paradigms. But even if it were possible to show that Tajik has acquired virtually the entire Uzbek CVC paradigm, that would not constiture the most significant aspect of this cross-language influence. The fundamental fact about the introduction of CVC's into Tajik is that it has taken place in the context of a larger change, the transfer of a full syntactic mechanism, verb serialization. Assuming that this syntactic mechanism is of a "higher order," in some sense, than a paradigm, then the borrowing that has occurred involves the transfer of a more complex linguistic entity than a paradigm. But the problem is, what sort of linguistic entity is verb serialization? Is it a single syntactic rule, or a set of rules, or merely a descriptive category that covers a number of phenomena? In gross terms, verb serialization in the Turkic languages is a type of verbal coordination involving a nonfinite conjunct, which is linked morphologically to verbal subordination (adverbial and auxiliary-like) as well. In the change associated with the introduction of verb serialization into Northern Tajik, precisely these aspects of the mechanism have been adopted--the

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use of a nonfinite conjunct in verbal coordination and the morphological linking of verbal subordination to verbal coordination. Then, how is that change to be represented? Perhaps it could be represented in a theory containing concepts like "finiteness", "nonfiniteness" (i.e., partial specification in a verb), "coordination", and "subordination" as primitive elements, but in the absence of such a theory it can only be characterized in descriptive terms. But even in those terms it is clear that the borrowing of verb serialization is of a different order from the borrowing of individual lexical items, the formation of calques, or even the adoption of a full paradigm of grammatical distinctions.

This is by no means the only question raised by the acquistion of verb serialization by Tajik. For instance, it might be asked whether verb serialization has any inherent attraction over non-serialization, such as uniformity of grammatical marking, morphological transparency, etc. Or is the only advantage to adopting verb serialization that it permits the native speakers of the recipient language to accomodate the linguistic structures of two languages more readily into some sort of common grammar? There is arguably some "benefit" in adding distinctions like the Noncommittal and Intentional Moods to the verb system, perhaps to expand the set of possible distinctions, but this is not the case with verb serialization, at least not in any obvious way. New distinctions might have been added to the grammar of Tajik with the introduction of CVC auxiliaries, but the addition of new distinctions is not the overall effect of the borrowing of verb serialization. Moreover, if there were any advantage to a grammar inherent in verb serialization, it might be expected that such a mechanism would be preferred and retained under the

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opposite conditions, that is, in an environment in a serializing language has undergone considerable influence from a non-serializing language. But contrary to such expectations, Qashqay has lost virtually all traces of verb serialization under the influence of Persian, a fact that casts serious doubt upon the notion that this syntactic mechanism might have some sort of inherently advantageous properties.

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CHAPTER 3

IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON THE TURKIC LANGUAGES

The long contact between speakers of certain Iranian languages and speakers of certain Turkic languages has resulted in a discernible influence upon the latter. The clearest instance of this influence is the considerable infusion of nonindigenous items (both Iranian in origin and Arabic, borrowed through an Iranian medium) into the lexicon, a phenomenon that is readily apparent even to a nonspecialist. But the impact of Iranian on some Turkic languages has been far greater than the addition of new items to the lexicon, and in this chapter certain aspects of this nonlexical influence will be examined with regard to two Turkic languages, Uzbek and Qashqay.

3.1. Tajik Influence upon Uzbek

As was mentioned in Section 2.1., there has been a substantial degree of bilingualism among urban-dwelling Uzbeks over the last several centuries. Certainly, education among them traditionally implied the acquisition of Persian-Tajik to a greater or lesser extent. Moreover, as was also noted in that section, language shift from Tajik to Uzbek has occurred repeatedly in various regions of Central Asia, and it is possible that this shift has led to a further Iranian influence upon the Uzbek of those communities.

The Tajik influence on Uzbek seems to be of a more familiar variety, as compared to the Uzbek influence on Tajik. That is, it

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is most noticeable with respect to changes in the lexicon. The influence of Iranian (or Arabic) lexical items, including nonfree-standing morphemes, is considerable. For instance, a count of the most frequently used words in Literary Uzbek, drawn from modern fiction, reveals that one-third (about 405 items out of a total 1,227) are words of Iranian or Arabic origin or items containing components of Iranian or Arabic origin [frequency list from Kissen 1972]. Of course, this portion of the lexicon, that is, the most common items, would be most heavily skewed in favor of the indigenous Turkic items, and higher percentages for the Iranian (Arabic) element in the lexicon could be obtained by examining other, more specialized portions of the Uzbek lexicon. But the figure of one-third does indicate the depth of Iranian penetration into Uzbek. In Colloquial Uzbek, as might be expected, the dialects differ from one another with respect to the degree to which Iranian lexical items are used. For instance, in Samarkand Uzbek certain Tajik equivalents of indigenous Turkic lexical items are more commonly used than they are in the Tashkent dialect [Borovkov 1952:189-190].

While the influx of Iranian lexical items may have added a new set of lexical oppositions to the Uzbek lexicon, it would be difficult to represent this as a major structural change in the language. As a matter of fact, structural changes in Uzbek have been brought about as the result of Tajik influence, but not in the lexicon. From the standpoint of the discussion here, two such changes are of interest--the adoption of the Tajik vowel inventory

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and the extension of the uses of the Conditional mood so as to conform to the uses of the Subjunctive in Tajik. The latter change was made possible by the introduction of Iranian Str-I GM's for SbS's.

Adoption of the Tajik Vowel Inventory. Early investigators of the Uzbek dialects were struck by one particular characteristic of some of them, the loss of vowel harmony. It was noted that in these dialects suffixes did not vary in accordance with the last vowel of the root as in the other Turkic languages. Since these dialects were to be found in urban areas with large Tajik-speaking populations or in areas formerly inhabited by Tajik and since the resulting vowel inventory resembled the Tajik one closely, the loss of vowel harmony was attributed to Tajik influence. The linguist Polivanov, for instance, divided Colloquial Uzbek into "Iranized" and "non-Iranized" dialects essentially on the basis of the presence or absence of vowel harmony [Polivanov 1926:I:6-7, 14]. He linked Iranization with the loss of vowel harmony and spoke of degrees of Iranization depending upon the extent to which harmony had broken down [Polivanov 1928; 1929:511-514; and 1933]. At the present time Uzbek dialectologists generally acknowledge that external influence led to this phonological change. For instance, the dialectologist Shaäbdurahmanov writes, "the influence of a non-Turkic, substratum was the reason for the slow weakening of vowel harmony and in the central urban dialects for its complete loss and the appearance of sounds not characteristic of the phonological system of the Turkic languages" [Shaäbdurahmanov

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1971:392; see also similar remarks in the textbook on Uzbek dialectology, Reshetov, Shaabdurahamanov 1962:68 or in its 1978 edition, p. 27]. There is little reason to suspect this hypothesis.[1]

From the standpoint of this discussion, the loss of vowel harmony in certain Uzbek dialects is not of as much interest as the loss of vowel distinctions. Apparently because of Iranian influence, the phonemic vowel inventory underwent the following change:

(1)

i	ü	ï	u		i	u
e	ö		o		e	o
ä		a			ä	å

[The status of e and ä as phomenes in the protosystem is a matter of dispute, but that issue is irrelevant to the main point here.]

That is, the distinctiveness of ü, ö, and ï was lost through a merger with u, o, and i, respectively. The loss of the phoneme /ï/ is not very unusual; it has taken place in Uighur and Qashqay as well, perhaps under the influence of Iranian. But the loss of /ü/ and /ö/ is exceptional; both Uighur and Qashqay retain them as full-fledged phonemes. As expected, the decrease in the number of vowel distinctions in urban Uzbek has led to an increase in the number of homonyms, though apparently not to an intolerable level [Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:68].

Broadly speaking, the loss of distinctions has meant that the vowel inventory of certain urban Uzbek dialects largely replicates

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the Northern Tajik phonemic vowel inventory. Thus Polivanov identifies as a characteristic of both Samarkand Uzbek and Samarkand Tajik "the presence of a principled similarity in phonetic systems (in this case it is possible to speak of a nearly complete identity of them)" [Polivanov 1928:306]. However, a closer examination of the data reveals that the situation is not quite so straightforward. For one thing, the phonetic values of the phonemes are not identical in the various Uzbek and Tajik dialects; for instance, the low vowels in urban Uzbek dialects are reported to differ from one another [Reshetov, Shaʻabdurahmanov 1962:89, 131]. Moreover, there appears to be a "relic" or "vestigal" length distinction in some Northern Tajik dialects. Essentially, the Tajik phonemic vowel system changed from one based upon length as the distinctive feature to one based on vowel quality, as represented as follows:

(2)

(i)	(ii)	(i)	(ii)
ī	→ [i]	ū	→ [u]
i	→ i	u	→ u
ē	→ e	ō	→ o
ā	→ ă	ā	→ ă

[where stage (i) represents the phonemic vowels of Middle Persian and Classical Persian-Tajik and (ii) the vowels of Northern Tajik] [from Rastorguyeva 1964:17-34, especially p. 32.]

However, in one particular environment, in unstressed open syllables, ī and u can be distinct from i and u in certain

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dialects. Dialectologists have recorded the presence of i̲ in no more than 15 or 16 words, and of u̲ in only four. In other dialects, i̲ and u̲ are missing entirely [Ibid., p. 32-33]. Hence, there are grounds for considering i̲ and u̲ as not having the same phonemic status as the other six vowels. In any case, the urban Uzbek vowel inventory reflects only a six-way opposition, with a few cases of compensatory lengthening found in words of Arabic origin. Basically, such deviations are slight as compared to the overall patterns of convergence between the vowel inventory or urban Uzbek and Northern Tajik.

In his treatment of cross-language influence, Weinreich established four basic types of phonological interference between two languages: (i) the under-differentiation of phonemes, (ii) the over-differentiation of phonemes, (iii) the reinterpretation of distinctions, and (iv) phone substitution [Weinreich 1953/1968:18-19]. However, the loss of vowel distinctions does not seem to correspond to any of these types. True, Weinreich also mentions a possible "phonemic rearrangement" involving the merger of phonemes, but it appears that he links this type of change with "latent internal tendencies" that are merely triggered or accelerated by external influence [Ibid., p. 25]. But there is no evidence in the other Turkic languages that the loss of phonemic status for ü̲ and ö̲ is an internal tendency; vowel harmony is a durable phonological process in these languages, and the role of front rounded vowels in it is stable.[2] Thus the explanation that this loss results directly from external influence is quite

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plausible, and it should be accepted that the loss of distinctions is a legitimate type of cross-language influence. In fact, as will be shown in Section 3.2., the loss of certain means of expressing grammatical distinctions is characteristic of the Persian influence upon Qashqay syntax. Hence the loss of vowel distinctions in urban Uzbek resembles some of the syntactic changes in Qashqay. That, in turn, supports the contention that the loss of distinctions is a legitimate type of change that can be brought about by cross-language influence.

A second point to be made about the adoption of the Tajik vowel system by urban Uzbek is that it parallels the adoption of the Uzbek simplex verb paradigm by Northern Tajik. In both cases the cross-language influence has involved the more or less complete convergence of an inventory (paradigm), not just the borrowing of individual items. The major difference, though, between the two types of convergence is that distinctions have been added to the proto-inventory in one case, but lost in the other. The end result in both cases is similar, reducing the differences between the donor and recipient systems to a minimum.

It should also be mentioned that the loss of vowel distinctions or vowel harmony is not a necessary consequence of extensive Iranian influence on a Turkic language. Qashqay, which has undergone Iranian influence to a much greater degree than Uzbek, has retained both the phonemic status of ü and ö and vowel harmony. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the direction cross-language influence will take cannot be predicted precisely

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from a knowledge of the structures in the donor and recipient languages. It is possible to assume that in the case of extensive contact, there will be a general tendency towards the reduction of the systematic differences between the two languages in the recipient language, but the distinctions and grammatical mechanisms that will be retained in the recipient language despite the absence of a counterpart in the donor language cannot be determined beforehand.

The Conditional/Subjunctive Mood. Section 2.2.3. discussed the shift in functions of the Tajik Subjunctive forms so as to correspond to the uses of the Uzbek Conditional. In turn, in those Uzbek dialects with the most pronounced influence from Tajik, the uses of the Conditional have been expanded to correspond to the uses of the Subjunctive. This change can be observed most clearly in the use of the Conditional in SbS's introduced by the Tajik GM ki 'that'.

It appears that ki as a Str-I GM for SbS's has not been fully integrated into the syntax of Uzbek. In those colloquial varieties in which it is found, it occurs in certain favored constructions. For instance, it is frequently used in sentences in which a form of the demonstrative šu 'that, this' or a substitute marks the function of the SbS in the Main S.

(3)	zavut-kä	šunda:ğ	organ-ip	qam - män - kiy
	factory-DAT	so	get used- CVC	PSTNnC-1SG-SbS GM
	[= qalipmän-ki]	oddix	kun-i-yäm	bar-gi-m
		rest	day-POSS-even	go-"want"-my

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ke-vur-ä-di [=kelä berädi]
come-CVC-NnP-3SG

'(I guess) I got so used to the factory that I wanted to go (there) even on (my) days off' (Tashkent dialect) [Ghulamov 1968:155]

Furthermore, in narrative and folk tales ki frequently introduces direct quotations, which may also be marked at the close with the verb de- 'say' in either the gerundive form dep or a finite form [see Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:277-281 for several examples of this usage in the Kitab dialect]. The SbS GM ki is also common in introductory structures that appear to be loosely connected to the rest of the sentence.

(4) yaxši-kiy , sän et-varä-qal-di-ŋ
good-SbS GM you speak-CVC-CVC-PST-2SG

[verb form = äytib yubarä qaldiŋ]

'it's good that you spoke up' (Tashkent dialect) [Ibid., p. 156]
In fact, in this construction, it could be argued that ki resembles an indigenous Str-F GM. Consider the following examples.

(5) istä-y-siz-lär-mi men siz-lär-ni mehmanxanä-gä
want-NnP-2ND-PL-INTER I you-PL-ACC hotel-DAT

al-ib bar-äy ?
take-GER go-OPT+1SG

'do you want me to take you to the hotel?' (Literary Uzbek) [drawn from Raun 1969:95, but modified by a native speaker of Uzbek]

(6) istä-y-siz-lär-ki men sizlärni mehmanxanägä
-SbS GM

alib baräy

'you want me to take you to the hotel' (Literary Uzbek) [field notes]

(7) *istäysizlär-{mi-ki / ki-mi} men sizlärni mehmanxanägä alib baräy

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'do you want me to take you to the hotel?' (Literary Uzbek) [field notes]

That is, it is not possible to use both ki and the interrogative mi together; either GM is permissable, but not both. The unacceptability of such a construction appears to stem from a general constraint prohibiting the use of more than one Str-F particle. Moreover, ki fits into a similar slot with the Str-F particles mi and ku (both indigenous Turkic markers) in introductory structures. Thus the introductory phrase bilʺäsiz 'you know' can occur with any of these markers: bilʺäsizmi, bilʺäsizku, or bilʺäsizki [Ghulamov, Äsqʺärova 1961:187-188]. In constructions of this type it would be difficult to argue that ki introduces a Subordinate S, as opposed to marking a SbS at the end of that S. Of course, the marking of a SbS at the end is a typical Turkic syntactic pattern, and thus the use of ki in this instance does not alter the syntax of Uzbek substantially. [3]

In Tajik the finite verb form in a SbS introduced by ki is often in the Subjunctive, a mood that is lacking in the indigenous Turkic verb paradigm. Hence if ki is borrowed as a SbS GM and used in that capacity in Uzbek and if the SbS requires the Subjunctive in Tajik, then a verb form corresponding to the Subjunctive will need to be used. One such case would be the verb form in the sentential complement to the verb 'want' (istʺä- or xahlʺä- in Uzbek) in which the subject of the Main S differs from that of the Subordinate S. As can be seen from sentence (6), an

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Optative (a purely Turkic form) may be used in such constructions. But the Conditional is also acceptable:

(8) istäysizlär-ki men sizlärni mehmanxanägä alib bar-sä-m
go-CND-1SG

'you want me to take you to the hotel' (Literary Uzbek) [field notes]

There also appears to be difference in acceptability among the Uzbek dialects with regard to the use of ki with istä/xahlä-. In the Bukharan dialect, one highly influenced by Tajik, ki is quite commonly used in everyday speech, and thus a sentence like (9) is fully acceptable:

(9) u xahlä-y-di-ki siz išlä-sä-ŋgiz
he want-NnP-3SG-SbS GM you work-CND-2ND

'he wants you to work' (Burkharan dialect) [field notes] [see also Ghulamov, Äsqärova 1961:186 for examples in Literary Uzbek]

Of course, the typical Turkic pattern is also possible in this dialect:

(10) u siz-ni išlä-š-iŋgiz-ni xahlä-y-di
ne you-GEN work-VbN-POSS-ACC want-NnP-3SG

'he wants you to work' (Bukharan dialect) [field notes]

But a speaker of Namangan Uzbek in the same room in which sentence (9) was elicited was astonished that it was acceptable, especially in ordinary conversation. Clearly, certain urban dialects of Uzbek employ ki as a SbS GM much more than other dialects, and hence the use of the Conditional as a Subjunctive varies as well. [4]

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In short, Uzbek has acquired from Tajik a mechanism for marking SbS's that serves as an alternative to the indigenous mechanisms discussed in Section 2.2.2., even though it may be of marginal use in most dialects. With the borrowing of the Str-I GM ki came the necessity of selecting the appropriate finite verb form for the SbS. In Tajik, the recipient language with regard to the simplex verb paradigm, a correspondence had been made between the Uzbek Conditional and the indigenous Subjunctive. Such a correspondence opened the way for influence in the opposite direction, that is, for the use of the Uzbek Conditional in SbS's that require the Subjunctive in Tajik. However, as will be shown below, similar circumstances did not result in the Conditional being identified with the Subjunctive in another Turkic language exposed to Iranian influence, Qashqay. This, of course, underscores the point made above in connection with the adoption of the Iranian vowel inventory by urban Uzbek, namely that the precise direction cross-language influence will take cannot readily be predicted.

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3.2. Persian Influence on Qashqay

Qashqay has clearly undergone more extensive influence from Iranian than Uzbek has; in fact, it is one of the most heavily "Iranized" of all the Turkic languages and dialects. Thus its surface syntax deviates considerably from the consistent Verb-final patterns of many other Turkic languages, with perhaps the introduction and integration of Str-I GM's into the grammar the most prominent change. But the various subsystems of Qashqay syntax do not exhibit the effects of influence equally. For instance, constituent ordering in the NP does not adhere to the Persian pattern, with the exception of the postnominal placement of Persian-model relative clauses. But the Qashqay verb system, like that in Northern Tajik, has been altered substantially by cross-language influence. That subsystem will be the focus of the discussion in this section.

3.2.1. Sociolinguistic context

Until fairly recently not much systematic research had been conducted on the Qashqays; only a few small-scale investigations had been published--for example, Garrod 1946a and b, Douglas 1951, Romaskevich 1925, Bahmanbegi 1945-1946 and Monteil 1966. But there now exist some substantial anthropological and historical studies of the Qashqays and the peoples in the surrounding area--see, for instance, Barth 1961, Ivanov 1961, Monteil 1966, Oberling 1974, Marsden 1976, Barker 1981, and especially the work of Lois Beck, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1983, and 1986. Unfortunately,

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the research published so far contains little detailed information on the linguistic situation among the Qashqays, particularly concerning the degree of bilingualism among them. But the results of these investigations do provide information on the overall sociolinguistic context.

Those who call themselves Qashqays are of mixed ethnolinguistic origins, but they form a single tribal confederacy that has traditionally been bound to the nomadic way of life. The Qashqays inhabit various pasturelands at the southern end of the Zagros mountain chain in and around the province of Fars in southwestern Iran. Many Qashqays in recent times have abandoned fulltime nomadic pastoralism and settled in the various villages and towns in the region, including the major city of Shiraz. While it is clear that they are not indigenous to Fars, it is not known when the core element of the future confederacy came to the region and formed a distinct tribal grouping. Perhaps the Qashqays were a part of the large-scale movements of Turkic tribes in the eleventh century [Oberling 1974:27; Beck 1986:22, 41-43]. Although a full-fledged confederacy could have been established in the region in the seventeenth century or earlier, reliable historical information on the Qashqay tribe dates only from the eighteenth century [Beck 1983:287-388 and 1986:22]. In any case, what is significant here is that the Quasqays have inhabited their present locale for several centuries, certainly a sufficient amount of time for extensive contact between their language and that of the surrounding Persians.

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The origin of the Qashqay confederacy is not the only issue concerning the tribe that has not yet been resolved in recent investigations. It is not even known how many Qashqays there are at present. Official census results do not record ethnicity or are suspect, while outside researchers have not been able to make a systematic population count. Recent estimates of the population range from 141,000, a count made by the Department of Tribal Education in Iran [Marsden 1976:12], to some 530,000 [Bruk 1986:358; see Oberling 1974:233-236 for a discussion of this issue and a listing of 43 estimates]. It is clear, however, that the Qashqay confederacy is one of the largest nomadic groups in Iran today [Oberling 1974:14]. The large size of the confederacy indicates, among other things, how successful it has been in utilizing the natural resources of the region as a pastoral nomadic community.

The Qashqays are predominantly Turkic-speaking, and they call their language "Turki". But the confederacy is a heterogenous community, in which Iranian languages such as Luri and Kurdish are still spoken by some groups [Bahmanbegi 1945-1946/1966:139; Beck 1983:289]. Historically speaking, non-Turks have constituted a significant portion of the confederacy, but for the most part they have adopted the linguistic and cultural traits of the Turkic core. Nonetheless, some discernible cultural diversity remains within the confederation to this day [Beck 1986:204-205]. It is unclear how the assimilation of these non-Turks has contributed to the distinctive characteristics of the Qashqay language as it

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exists today, but it will be assumed here that the influence from the Luri and Kurdish speech of assimilated tribesmen has not been distinct from the influence of Persian. Only more detailed investigations on the languages involved would reveal whether this assumption is warranted or not.

In describing the sociolinguistic context in Fars, Beck stresses that "the Qashqa'i live in a state dominated numerically, politically, and economically by Persian-speakers (Persians)" [Beck 1986:287]. Despite this dominance, the Qashqays have not been assimilated into the Persian milieu. As Beck points out, "most Iranians consider language the primary distinguishing characteristic of people living in Iran" [Ibid.]. Certainly, the Qashqays regard their Turkic speech as one of the main traits that set them apart from the Iranian speakers in the Fars area, and they have striven to retain their distinctiveness. Some of this desire to remain apart from the Persians stems from the traditional contempt of the nomad for the settled peasant, but it goes beyond that sentiment. Even the Qashqay leaders, unlike the leaders of other tribal groups in Iran, have nurtured their separate identity as Qashqays and not tried to link themselves with the Persian upper-class [Beck 1980:223]. A second point about the sociolinguistic context of the Qashqays worth making is that Qashqay territory is not located on the boundaries of the Iranian state, adjacent to the territory of fellow-tribesmen across the frontier. This situation has had profound political repercussions for the confederacy [Beck 1983:293], and it may have

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had some linguistic consequences as well. As a result of the location of the confederacy, the Qashqay language developed in isolation from other, related Turkic languages, which might have had a restraining effect upon the process of Iranization. Given these two main features of the sociolinguistic environment, that is, the dominance of the surrounding Persian speakers and the isolation of the Qashqays from other Turks, it is not surprising that there is a high degree of bilingualism in the Qashqay community. Garrod, who became acquainted with the tribe during the Second World War, reported that the Qashqay men were bilingual "as a rule", but that few women could speak Persian [Garrod 1946b:301]. One of the Qashqay speakers consulted for the present study maintained that many women still do not know Persian, although some are learning the language. Unfortunately, recent studies have failed to indicate in any greater detail how extensive bilingualism is.

Recent decades have witnessed serious disruptions in the traditional way of life that the Qashqays have tried to lead. The confederacy has sustained several attempts by the central Iranian authorities to undermine its autonomy and break down its cohesion as a political entity. But during periods of weakness at the center, the Qashqays have sought to reinvigorate the confederation and strengthen its nomadic way of life. The latest such attempt at a revival was made during the fall of the Shah and the establishment of the Isalmic republic, but the traditional antagonism between the tribe and the center quickly reasserted

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itself [Beck 1980 and 1986]. One particular change during this turbulent period may have had a significant impact upon the Qashqay language itself. In the 1950's a system of tribal schools was established for Qashqay children, and it has succeeded in producing quite a number of educated Qashqays [Barker 1981]. Significantly, instruction in the schools was in Persian, and the students were required to read and write exclusively in Persian, not in Qashqay Turkic [Beck 1986:276-277]. This has probably been conducive to further influence from Persian on Qashqay grammatical structures. Moreover, assuming that the speech of educated Qashqays enjoys a certain amount of prestige, the effect of the Iranization could have spread much further than simply among those who have attended tribal schools. In addition, increased sedentarization during the last several decades has no doubt led to greater contact with Persian speakers and increased bilingualism.

The Qashqay speech represented below was elicted from two educated males, although only one individual served as the primary consultant. Both are from the Amaleh tribe, which is associated with the paramount tribal leadership. Even within such a small community as the Qashqays, noticeable linguistic differences exist [Bahmanbegi 1945-1946/1966:139], and it should therefore not be assumed that the language cited here represents that of the tribe as a whole. Furthermore, the data collected from these two Qashqays differs in a number of important ways from the language in previously published studies. For instance, the language of

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the Qashqay songs published in Romaskevich 1925 contains such features as the prescence of ï in the first syllable and the use of the (I)p gerundive form, unlike the Qashqay cited here. There are also differences between the data here and that presented in Caferoğlu, Doerfer 1959 and Kowalski 1937. However, fewer discrepancies can be observed in the language of the Qashqay folk tales presented in Gorguinpour 1972. Since it has not been possible to visit the Qashqays in the field and investigate variations in the speech of the community, there will be no attempt to reconcile the above-mentioned differences. Only material elicted from the two Qashqay informants and sentences drawn from Gorguinpour 1972 will be used in what follows. (A further source of data would be the collection of 55 Qashqay proverbs and sayings in Gorguinpour, Mähamedi 1977.)

Internal linguistic evidence indicates that Qashqay is closely related to the Oghuz Turkic language Azerbaijani. It exhibits certain characteristics in common with Azerbaijani that set it apart from other Oghuz languages--the presence of final voicing in stops, the absence of initial y- in many words containing high vowels, the presence of the phonemes /x/ and /ğ/, the use of ä as opposed to e in endings containing the low vowel archiphoneme A, the absence of original vowel length, the absence of the interrogative particle mi, etc. In handbooks of the Turkic languages, it is maintained that Qashqay is a dialect of Azerbaijani [see, for instance, Deny et al., 1959:2, 281; Baskakov 1969:265]. Menges, however, found some dialects of Qashqay closer

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to Modern Turkish than to Azerbaijani, and he was therefore led to propose that there exists a supra-national linguistic grouping, one consisting of Modern Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Qashqay [Menges 1951:278]. But the similarities between Azerbaijani and the Qashqay recorded here are so systematic that there is little doubt of a close genetic relationship between the two. The only real issue in this respect is whether Qashqay should be considered a dialect of Azerbaijani or whether it diverges sufficiently from the latter to be considered an independent language. A thorough consideration of such an issue would require an examination of what in general constitutes a "language" as opposed to a "dialect" in a language family like Turkic known for the high degree of intelligibility among its members. Since that topic is beyond the scope of this discussion, the status of Qashqay as a separate language or a dialect of Azerbaijani will not be treated here. When reference is made to the Qashqay "language", it will be to the speech of the Qashqays as a distinct linguistic community, without implying anything about its status within the Turkic language family.

3.2.2. Changes in the Qashqay Verb System

As in the case of Northern Tajik, the verb system of Qashqay has undergone such extensive changes that in many respects it corresponds one-to-one to the verb system of the donor language, Persian. Again like Northern Tajik, Qashqay does not exhibit an absolute isomorphism in this syntactic subsystem; it retains

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certain Turkic mechanisms for marking grammatical distinctions that do not have counterparts in Persian. Nevertheless, the degree of convergence is striking. Changes in the Qashqay verb system include the following:

-- modifications in the tense/aspect/mood system in the simplex verb paradigm

-- the loss of CVC's except for one

-- the loss of the gerundive (I)p form and the constructions it occurs in other Turkic languages

-- the acquisition of an Iranian-model auxiliary and sentential adverbs

As in the treatment of Tajik, the discussion of changes in the Qashqay verb system will begin with the simplex verb paradigm.

The Persian Simplex Verb Paradigm. In his survey of the study of Persian grammar, Windfuhr examines previous analyses of the Persian verb paradigm and offers one of his own, based upon the results of previous work [Windfuhr 1979:83-128, 179-180]. His proposal is useful for the purposes of the present discussion because the paradigm is set up in terms of distinctive features or categories that could easily be converted into features.

(11) The Persian Sixmplex Verb Paradigm According to Windfuhr

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
PRESENT	-ANT	miräväd	{xahäd räft / [räft]}
	+ANT	--	räfte äst

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PAST	-REPORTED	-ANT	miräft	räft
		+ANT	--	räfte bud
	+REPORTED	-ANT	miräfte äst	[räfte äst]
		+ANT	--	räfte bude äst
SUBJUNCTIVE			beräväd	räfte bašäd
CONDITIONAL			[miräft]	[räfte bud]

Notes: (a) The three past tense [+REPORTED] forms are restricted in occurrence to the third person, according to Windfuhr.

(b) For the definite future, that is the Present [-ANTERIOR] perfective, xahäd räft occurs in main clause, räft in subordinate clauses, again according to Windfuhr.

(c) ANT = ANTERIOR

(d) In conformity with the conventions adopted for the presentation of the Uzbek and Tajik simplex verb paradigms, the use of square brackets here indicates that the form occurs elsewhere in the paradigm. Also in keeping with earlier paradigms, the verb räftän 'go' is cited as the exemplar.

(e) Source: Windfuhr 1979:80.

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Windfuhr contrasts this approach to the more traditional one, in which verb forms are categorized more or less independently of one another. Compare, for example, the terminology in the textbook of Persian Lambton 1953:15-26 [presented below according to the position of the forms in (11)].

(12) Present: miräväd — Future: xahäd räft

Perfect: räfte äst

Imperfect: miräft — Preterit: räft

Pluperfect: räfte bud

Subjunctive Present: beräväd Subjunctive Past: räfte bašäd [The Reported and Conditional forms are not presented separately by Lambton; cf., also the traditional designations in Peysikov 1959:9-10].

Windfuhr argues persuasively that the major distinguishing characteristic in the Persian simplex verb system is aspectual, differentiating between the Nonperfective (Imperfective) and Perfective forms [Windfuhr 1979:86-91] For instance, the occurrence of the Preterit in subordinate clauses to specify the future, e.g., sentence (13), can be explained if it is assumed that the Preterit represents the Unmarked member of the Perfective opposition. (Windfuhr does not explicitly refer to the concept of Marked/Unmarked in this context, but something similar was clearly intended.)

(13)	ägär	amäd	,	be	u	begu
	if	come+PRETERIT+3SG		to	he	say+IMP

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'if he comes, tell him' (Literary Persian) [Ibid., p.88]

Such an analysis appears highly plausible, given the fact that the Imperfective/Perfective distinction is well-attested in the Indo-European languages. Even the general textbook on aspect Comrie 1976:88, 121 takes it for granted that the Persian verb paradigm contains this particular aspectual distinction. However, other elements of Windfuhr's analysis seem less convincing. For instance, he allots no status to the feature [+PERFECT], despite the fact that the Perfect is prominently discussed in other Iranist studies of Persian [cf., the Lambton presentation above; Lazard 1957a:144-147; and Edel'man 1975:392, 408-409, and for the Iranian languages as a whole, p. 338]. It should be noted that the forms traditionally associated with the Perfect, räfte äst, räfte bud, and räfte bude äst are all [+ANTERIOR] in Windfuhr's paradigm. A positive value for that feature is supposed to imply "the notion of a completed event or action seen or depicted in relation to the time of reference, i.e., present or past" [Windfuhr 1979:91]. He does not attempt to justify the use of the feature [ANTERIOR], and it is unclear how Anteriority in this sense is completely compatiable with the concept of Perfectivity, which "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of various separate phases that make up that situation" [Comrie 1976:16, cf., also the discussion pp. 16-40]. In a sentence such as (14),

(14) ketab gom šode äst
book lost become+PRF

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'the book is lost' (literally: 'has become lost') [Lambton 1953:148]

there is a reference to a separate phase of the situation, namely the present, at which time the situation still holds. Moreover, in this context, it would be worthwhile to bear in mind the warning Comrie gives about confusing the terms "Perfective" and "Perfect" [Comrie 1967:12].

If the feature [PERFECT] is used in place of [ANTERIOR] and the Past/Nonpast distinction instead of Present/Past, a much more coherent paradigm for the Persian simplex verb system can be formulated:

(15)

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT
INDICATIVE NP	miräväd	xahäd räft	räfte äst
INDICATIVE P	miräft	räft	räfte bud
SUBJUNCTIVE NP		beräväd	
SUBJUNCTIVE P		räfte bašäd	

[Remarks: Since the Conditional in Windfuhr's analysis contains only forms found elsewhere in the paradigm, these items are not truly distinctive, and there seems to be little reason to establish a separate mood for them. The use of the Past imperfective and Past perfect as conditional forms is not at all unusual.]

This leaves only those forms which Windfuhr designates as [+PAST, +REPORTED], miräfte äst, räfte bude äst, and räfte äst. (The last-mentioned is the same form as the Nonpast perfect; notice that in one case Windfuhr specifies the distinctive features of räfte äst as [+PAST, -ANTERIOR] and in the other case as having the opposite values, [-PAST (Present), +ANTERIOR].) The

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status of these three forms in the verb paradigm is not well established; miräfte äst, räfte bude äst and the Reported use of räfte äst are, by all accounts, quite rare in Persian. Thus, for instance, Phillott states that the miräfte äst form, his "Continuative Perfect," was "rarely if ever used in classical Persian" and "is rare even in modern Persian" [Phillott 1919:536]. With regard to the use of räfte äst as opposed to the Preterit räft, he notes that the former implies that the event or state was "before the speaker's time" or that "the writer was not present" [Ibid., p. 524-525]. The same connotation ("that the speaker was not present") is implied in miräfte äst, "but with the idea of continuance" [Ibid., p. 536]. Lazard asserts that the Perfect räfte äst can be used in two ways, one of which "indicates an action carried out in a period considered as elapsed (révolue)"; it refers to a "distant past" [Lazard 1957a:144]. The miräfte äst and räfte bude äst exhibit the same connotation, that of a passé révolu, but with their own tense and aspect properties [Ibid., p. 146, 148]. Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, and Sharova, perhaps anticipating the Noncommittal use of cognate forms in Literary Tajik, highlight the rather rare instances of a similar usage in Classical Persian-Tajik and Modern Persian [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:162, 164, 172-173, 177-178]. They maintain that in Modern Persian the "nonevident, out-of-sight" meaning is manifested more strongly in the miräfte äst form than in the räfte äst form [Ibid., p. 178, cf., also p. 172]. Windfuhr maintains that in previous studies "no satisfactory explanation has been

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offered so far for the two peculiar forms" mirafte ast and rafte bude ast [Windfuhr 1979:88]. According to him, one of their peculiarities is that they are restricted in use to the third person (even though Lazard gives a full person/number paradigm for each [Lazard 1957a:144-148]). Windfuhr interprets the examples and explanations in previous grammars of Persian as indicating that the "distinctive function" of these forms is to refer to the "nonevident" or "narrative" past. Hence he uses the term "reported" to designate these two forms and the analogous use of the Nonpast perfect rafte ast [Windfuhr 1979:89].

These descriptions clearly suggest that the forms in question make up a separate category in Persian, a mood that has been called the Noncommittal here. But it is significant that this mood is a marginal one in the simplex verb paradigm. That in turn suggests that these forms are residual (that is, left over from a proto-system in which they played a more substantial role), innovative, or borrowed. There is no evidence from Iranist studies indicating that the Noncommittal was more wide-spread in the early stages of Iranian than it is now or that it is developing more in some peripheral dialects than it is in the central ones--with the possible exception of those dialects, such as Northern Tajik, in contact with Turkic languages. Thus the suspicion arises that the mood in Persian has been borrowed, specifically from the Turkic languages, either Azerbaijani or Modern Turkish. If the Noncommittal has been formed in Persian as the result of Turkic influence, that would explain certain

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otherwise strange properties of the Persian forms. It could be assumed that the following are the revelant correspondences:

(16)

PERSIAN		OGHUZ TURKIC
mirəfte əst	=	yormuš (M.T.) // irmiš (Az.)
rəfte bude əst	=	mišmiš
rəfte əst	=	miš

[M.T. = Modern Turkish; Az. = Azerbaijani]

As was pointed out in Section 2.2.3., in the discussion on the Modern Turkish simplex verb paradigm, there is a neutralization in the distinctions between the Nonpast perfect and the Past noncommittal forms in Turkish (and apparentlly in Azerbaijani as well). This fact would explain why the counterpart of the miš form in Persian, rəfte əst, could be, using Windfuhr's features, [-PAST, +ANTERIOR] in the Indicative, but [+PAST, -ANTERIOR] in the Noncommittal. To be more precise, rəfte əst might be triply ambiguous, occupying the Nonpast perfect indicative, Past noncommittal, and Nonpast perfect noncommittal slots in the paradigm. If so, the Noncommittal in Persian would consist of the following forms:

(17) The Noncommittal Mood in Persian (Marginal)

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT
NP	--	--	[rəfte əst]
P	mirəfte əst	[rəfte əst]	rəfte bude əst

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Persian does not have counterparts for the entire Noncommittal mood in Turkish, but only for the most prominent forms. This partial influence is in keeping with the marginal status of the Noncommittal in Persian. In contrast, Northern Tajik contains several other Noncommittal forms.

The full simplex verb paradigm in Persian thus consists of the forms in (15) and (17). According to this schema, certain categories are consistently marked by specific morphological forms. Imperfective forms all contain the prefix mi-, while Perfect forms are marked by the "past participle" räfte. There is no common morphological marking for the Perfective forms or for the Subjunctive (the räft component of the Future is an apocopated infinite, while räft- in the Preterit is the past stem; in the former, person/number suffixes occur on the auxiliary, in the latter, on the räft- form itself, räftäm, räfti, etc.). In Windfuhr's paradigm, only forms specified [+ANTERIOR] exhibit a common morphological marking. Interestingly, that portion of the Qashqay simplex verb paradigm that replicates the Persian paradigm exhibits a similar morphological pattern, except for the Subjunctive, which has a common marker ä/a (see below).

The Qashqay Verb Paradigm. The simplex verb paradigm of the Oghuz languages Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani differs from that of Uzbek in a number of significant ways. In the Indicative, the Unmarked nonpast (marked by ä/y in Uzbek) has been lost and replaced by the Nonpast progressive form derived from the verb 'go, walk'. In fact, there is little evidence that the

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Progressive exists any longer as a separate category. Furthermore, a Future form distinct from the Present has been developed. In the Noncommittal mood, the Nonpast perfect and Unmarked past distinctions are neutralized; the form occupying these slots resembles the Nonpast perfect indicative. In addition, the auxiliary for the Noncommittal is always imiš, and not ükän. While Qashqay shares these features with Turkish and Azerbaijani, there are also points of divergence. Perhaps the most conspicuous difference lies in the use of the form marked by ür. In Qashqay it is used to mark the definite or categorial future, while in Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani it connotes a hypothetical or potential event/situation when referring to the future [Kononov 1956:228-229; Shiraliyev, Sevortyan 1971:137-138]. The marker of the definite future in Turkish and Azerbaijani, ejek/ajak, is missing entirely in Qashqay, as is the past tense form derived from that marker, ejekti/ajakti 'was/were about to, would (have)'. That is, Turkish and Azerbaijani have both a Past/Nonpast and an Indicative/Noncommittal distinction for the Future, but Qashqay does not.

(18) Distinctions in the Future

		Turkish/Azerbaijani	Qashqay
	NP	ajak	ür
INDICATIVE			
	P	ajakti	--
	NP	ür	--

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NONCOMMITTAL

P ajakmiš (?)ärmiš

The resulting set of oppositions in Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Qashqay appear to conform to a Past-Present-Future pattern much more closely than Uzbek does, but it should not be assumed therefore that the oppositions should be temporal rather than aspectual. It may be best to represent the shift of the Progressive as producing an aspectual distinction, the Imperfective. This sort of change certainly seems to have taken place in Qashqay, and it may have also occurred in Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani, even though the latter two languages may require a distinctive feature [±FUTURE] as well. In Qashqay, a pattern of oppositions based on aspectual feature such as (19) appears preferable to a pattern based on temporal features, such as (20).

(19)

(i)	(ii)
Present	Future
Imperfect	Preterit

[where (i) and (ii) would represent the aspectual distinctions Imperfective and Perfective, respectively.]

(20)

(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Preterit	Present	Future
Imperfect		

[where (i), (ii), and (iii) would represent temporal distinctions.]

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The Qashqay verb paradigm differs from the Uzbek paradigm in terms of modal distinctions as well. As was noted in Section 3.1., the Uzbek Conditional serves as the Subjunctive in those SbS's borrowed from Tajik that require the Subjunctive in the donor language. Qashqay, like other Oghuz languages, has developed a separate Subjunctive mood, marked by ä/a, which apparently derives from the older optative marker ğay/gäy [Deny 1921:923, 932; Kononov 1956:246; Shcherbak 1981:52-55]. In addition, the Qashqay paradigm contains a Necessitative mood, marked by asï/äsi, and lacks a distinct Intentional mood.

Except for the Conditional and Necessitative moods, the Qashqay verb paradigm largely corresponds one-to-one to the Persian paradigm.

It is conceivable that the full Qashqay paradigm contains other, rare forms in the Conditional and Noncommittal moods, such as äsi olsa, miš olsaydï, miš olasïydï, iyrsä, iyrsäydi, etc., but they do not appear in the available corpus. The existence of any such forms, however, would not significantly alter the generalization that, outside of these two moods, the Qashqay and Persian simplex verb paradigms are virtually identical. As was noted in the previous section, the similarity between the two paradigms extends even to the morphological patterns. The Imperfective is marked by a common morpheme, mi- in Persian and iry in Qashqay, and the Perfect is marked by the past participle räfte in Persian and by miš in Qashqay. On the other hand, the Perfective in both languages lacks a common marker.

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TABLE 11: Persian and Qashqay Simplex Verb Paradigms

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT
PERSIAN INDICATIVE	NP	mirʉvʉd	xahʉd rʉft	rʉfte ʉst
	P	mirʉft	rʉft	rʉfte bud
[NONCOMMITTAL]	NP	--	--	[rʉfte ʉst]
	P	mirʉfte ʉst	[rʉfte ʉst]	rʉfte bude ʉst
SUBJUNCTIVE	NP		berʉvʉd	
	P		rʉfte baʸšʉd	
QASHQAY				
INDICATIVE	NP	iyr	ʉr	miʸš
	P	iyrdi	di	miʸšdi
[NONCOMMITTAL]	NP	--	--	[miʸš]
	P	iyrmiʸš	[miʸš]	miʸšimiʸš
SUBJUNCTIVE	NP		ʉ	
	P		ʉydi	
CONDITIONAL	NP	sʉ		miʸš olsa
	P	sʉydi		?
NECESSITATIVE	NP	ʉsi		miʸš olasi
	P	ʉsiydi		?

[Notes: Qashqay forms are presented here in the front vowel variant of the morpheme. The verb ol- 'be, become' is cognate to the Uzbek bol-. The Noncommittal mood is marginal in both Persian and Qashqay; hence the square brackets.]

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However, there does seem to be one major difference between the two paradigms, the presence of a residual Habitual in Qashqay. Sometimes är occurs as a Nonpast habitual, to indicate general or habitual states (see below in the section on the Perfective), a usage not found in the case of its paradigmatic counterpart in Persian, xahäd räft. Furthermore, the Past habitual form in ärdi, a form without any Persian counterpart at all, can appear in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, to designate either a hypothetical or a past counterfactual, cf., the sentences (21) and (22).

(21) ägär inni pul var-imiz { -idi / PST COP ; ol-saydi / be-PST CND ; ol-mišidi / be-PST PRF } ,
if now money EXIS-our

bir äv al - irdi - g
a house buy-"PST HAB"-1PL

'if we had some money now, we would buy a house'

[Morphological note: The Future form of al- 'take, buy' can be al-ar, al-ir, or in the non-third person, all-, ex., alarag, alirag, allag 'we will take/buy'. In the past form, alirdi seems to be preferred.]

(22) ägär oza - yi bil-säydi { de-yärdi / say-"PST HAB" ; de-mišdi / say-PST PRF ; *de-yrdi / say-PST IMPFV }
if situation-ACC know-PST CND'

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'if he had know the situation, he would have said (something)'

It is unclear whether the "Past habitual" form ärdi can be used outside of such conditional contexts, since it does not occur in the corpus in environments that can be called "past habitual" in the semantic sense, where the Past imperfective form iyrdi is used regularly. Nonetheless, it appears that with respect to the two forms är and ärdi, the Turkic usages have been retained to a certain extent. Qashqay then devitate from the Persian verb paradigm at this point.

Examples of the forms in the Qashqay simplex verb follow.

The Imperfective Indicative. The Nonpast imperfective (the "Present") in iyr is a frequently occurring form that can be used to convey such tense/aspect notions as the present progressive, as in examples (23), the furture (24), the equivalent of the English Perfect (25), and the general or habitual situation (26). [Morphological note: the suffix -iyr is invariable with respect to vowel harmony and is actually pronounced [i:r]. When it is preceded by a vowel in the stem, either that vowel or the initial suffix vowel -i may drop, except in the case of monosyllabic stems. Suffixes after iyr observe vowel harmony, adhering to the frontness or backness of the last stem vowel unless that vowel is a phonetic i (see the Introduction).]

(23) (a) nänä-m nahar biš- ir - iyr - ø
mother-my lunch cook-CAUS-IMPFV-3SG

'my mother is cooking lunch'

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(b) o ged-iyr-Ø dukan-a
he/she go-IMPFV-3SG store-DAT

'he/she is going to the store'

(24) o sähär ged-iyr-Ø Ɣiraz-a
he/she tomorrow go-IMPFV-3SG [NAME]-DAT

'he/she's going to Shiraz tomorrow'

(25) (a) neČä väqt-dir Ɣiraz-da qal-iyr-aŋ
how much time-COP[=for] [NAME]-LOC live-IMPFV-2SG

'how long (for how much time) have you lived in Shiraz?'

(b) on-nan sóra daha aǧrïǧ hiss éd-m-iyr - äm
that-ABL after more pain feeling do-NEG-IMPFV-1SG

'after that I haven't felt any more pain'

(26) (a) Ɣox yat-iyr-Ø
much sleep-IMPFV-3SG

'he/she sleeps a lot'

(b) o här sähär hamam-a ged-iyr-Ø
he/she every morning bath-DAT go-IMPFV-3SG

'he/she takes a bath (literally: goes to the bath) every morning'

[In the examples that follow, the null ending Ø of the third person singular will be omitted, except for the sake of contrast.]

This range of meanings coincides with that of the Persian form miräväd [Lazard 1957a:137; Lambton 1953:149-150], and for that matter with that of the Modern Turkish (i)yor [Lewis 1967:109]. In Uzbek, and therefore in Colloquial Tajik, this semantic range would be covered by two forms--ä/y and yäp in Uzbek, meräväd and räfsadäs in Tajik.

In Qashqay, there do not appear to be any other progressive forms in the verb system, but this is not the case in Persian, in

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particular in Colloquial Persian. A progressive can be formed in Persian by means of the auxiliary daštän (present stem: dar-), which means 'have' as a main verb, ex., darām mirāvām 'I am going', darād mirāvād 'he is going', etc., and in the past, daštām mirāftām 'I was going', dašt mirāft 'he was going' etc. [Windfuhr 1979:102-103; Phillott 1919:265; Lazard 1957a:151-153]. Notice that both components in this construction are marked for person and number (ām and ād/Ø in the two cases cited here). Thus the Persian progressive does not properly belong to the simplex verb paradigm, but rather to an Auxiliary + Main Verb construction. But this type of progressive would not have readily served as a model for Qashqay. Like other Turkic languages, Qashqay lacks a specific verb meaning 'have', relying instead upon a possessive construction and the existentials var 'there is' and yox 'there is not' to convey the same meaning. (In Qashqay, unlike other Turkic languages, the possessive marker occurs on the existential, cf., sentences (21) and (35b). Hence, it appears that Qashqay speakers would have been unable to devise a verbal construction corresponding to the Persian darām mirāvām. With the loss of almost all Turkic-style CVC's, the main source of progressive forms, Qashqay is left with only one grammatical means to express the present progressive, the iyr form.

Persian influence has brought about the use of forms like iyr in environments where a comparable verb in another Turkic language would not be found. Compare the following sentences in Qashqay

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and Persian (the latter contains the polite form of the second person instead of the familiar form in the Qashqay sentence.)

(27) Qashqay:

ged-Ø gör-Ø ähmäd därs - i - ni ox-iyr ya yow:
go-IMP see-IMP [NAME] lesson-his-ACC read-IMPFV or not

äyär ox-iyr , čox xub, ägär oxo - m - iyr ,
if read-IMPFV very good if read-NEG-IMPFV

belä-sin-i tämmih ed-Ø
such-his-ACC[=him] punishment do-IMP

'Go see whether Ahmad is doing his lessons or not; if he is, very good, (but) if he isn't, punish him.'

[The SbS GM 'if' may appear in Qashqay in at least the following variants: ägär, äyär, ägä, ayä, ägär-ki.]

(28) Persian:

beräv-id vä bebin-id ähmäd därs-e xod-ra
go+IMP-2PL and see+IMP-2PL [NAME] lesson-IZA self-ACC

mixanäd ya nä ; ägär mixanäd , xub äst ,
read+IMPFV+3SG or not if read+IMPFV+3SG good COP+3SG

vä ägär nä-mixanäd , tämbih - eš
and if NEG-read+IMPFV+3SG punishment-his[=object]

bekon-id
do+IMP-2PL

'Go and see whether Ahmad is doing his lessons or not; if he is, it's good, and if he isn't, punish him.' [Lambton 1953:150]

There are three SbS's in these sentences, a whether clause and two if clauses, and in all three cases Qashqay conforms to the use of the Nonpast imperfective indicative in Persian. But in a Turkic language not as strongly influenced by Iranian as Qashqay is (even Uzbek), the equivalent to sentence (27) would not contain any verb

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form corresponding to the Qashqay iyr. For instance, in Uzbek the whether clause would be marked by two verbal nouns in the Accusative case, oqi-yat-gän-i-ni oqi-ma-yat-gän-i-ni 'his reading, his not reading', and the if clauses would contain Conditional forms. Basically in SbS's with a finite verb form, Qashqay follows the tense/aspect/mood form of the Persian model (but see the Conditional mood below). A further example of the use of the iyr form in a SbS can be found in indefinite wh-ever clauses.

(29) här växt on-ï ox-iyr-am , sän-i yad ed-iyr-äm
every time that-ACC read-IMPFV-1SG you-ACC memory make-IMPFV-1SG
'whenever (every time) I read that, I think of you'

Although a purely Turkic verb form, the Conditional oxo-sa-m, could be used here instead of the Nonpast imperfective ox-iyr-am, one Qashqay speaker related that he felt "more comfortable" with the latter form. Even with the Conditional form, this type of SbS still corresponds to the Persian pattern, with the introductory här växt. The Turkic pattern of forming a wh-ever clause, involving the interrogative pronoun and the Conditional, is ungrammatical in Qashqay; that is, sentence (29) cannot be expressed as follows:

(30) *onï hačan oxo-sa-m , säni yad ediyräm
when read-CND-1SG

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The Past imperfective form iyrdi is used, as might be expected, to express an extended process in the past, cf., the sentences in (31) and (32).

(31) (a) växt-i ki män-i čağor-di , (män) ketab
time-IZA that I-ACC call-PPRF I book
when

ox - iyrdi - m
read-PST IMPFV-1SG

'when he called (summoned) me, I was reading a book'

(b) växt-i ki yel säxt äs-iyrdi , män
when wind hard blow-PIMPFV I

äv - dä - ydi - m
house-LOC-PST COP-1SG

'when the wind was blowing hard, I was at home'

(32) (a) Širaz-da qal-iyrdi
[NAME]-LOC live-PIMPFV

'he used to live in Shiraz'

(b) här il towsan-lar män Širaz-a ged-iyrdi-m
every year summer-PL I [NAME]-DAT go-PIMPFV-1SG

'every year I would/used to go to Shiraz in the summer'

The iyrdi form corresponds to the Past imperfective miräft in Persian.

(33) (a) cf., (31a), [Literary Persian]:

väqt-e ke mä-ra säda zäd-Ø , ketab mixand - äm
when I-ACC call+PPFV-3SG book read+PST IMPV-1SG

'when he called me, I was reading a book' [Lambton 1953:147]

(b) cf., (32b), [Literary Persian]:

här sal an-ja miräft - äm
every year that-place go+PIMPFV-1SG

'I would/used to go there every year' [Ibid.]

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The Perfective Indicative. In contexts without any indication to the contrary, the essential difference between the iyr form and the ӓr form is temporal, present for the former, future for the latter, as can be seen from the translations of the following sentences:

(34) (a) Present: ʏ̆iraz-da qal-iyr-am
[NAME]-LOC live-IMPFV-1SG

'I live/am living in Shiraz'

(b) Future: ʏ̆iraz-da qal-ar-am
[NAME]-LOC live-PFV-1SG

'I will live in Shiraz'

As was mentioned above, Qashqay does not have the definite future tense marker ejek/ajaq found in Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani; one Qashqay speaker stated that a form like yaz-ajaq for 'he will write' is never used. The ӓr form conveys any sort of future, whether definite, doubtful, or hypothetical, cf., sentences (35) and (36).[5]

(35) (a) hӓtmӓn or motmӓʔennӓn gӓl-ӓr
for certain for sure come-PFV

'he will come for sure'

(b) in a SbS:

hӓtm var-ïm (ki) yaǧoʏ̆ yaǧ-ar
certainty EXIS-my that rain fall-PFV

'I'm certain it will rain'

(36) (a) in a SbS:

ʏ̆ӓk var-ïm ĸi yaǧoʏ̆ yaǧ-ar
doubt EXIS-my that rain fall-PRF

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'I doubt that it will rain'

(b) ehtimalän bú-il toy ed-ä
probably this-year wedding make-GER

bil - mäm
be able-NEG+PFV+1SG

'I probably won't be able to get married this year' [The first person singular of the är form in the negative is mäm/mam.]

Thus, Qashqay, unlike Literary Azerbaijani, has only one future form and nothing that could possibly represent a Future noncommittal.

The use of the är form to express the future in Qashqay seems to be common and unexceptional; it was the natural response of the informants in the translation of English sentences containing the future into Qashqay. Only sporadically, as in sentence (24), was the Nonpast imperfective in iyr used for the future. However, this is not the case with the Persian counterpart of är, xahäd räft. In Persian, the use of this form is "rare" in colloquial speech [Lazard 1957a:150] or is considered an element of the "formal style" [Windfuhr 1979:88]; the Nonpast imperfective miräväd is ordinarily used to express the future. Thus Qashqay appears to differ from Persian in terms of usage, but perhaps not in terms of the paradigmatic relationships. It may be more precise to claim that in the two paradigms, two forms belong in the Nonpast perfective indicative slot -- är and iyr in Qashqay, and xahäd räft and miräväd in Colloquial Persian. However, the difference between the two languages lies in the frequency (or stylistic status) of the two future forms. In this respect

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Qashqay seems to have retained the prominence of the future typical of the Oghuz paradigm, even though it differs from other languages in this branch in terms of the morpheme actually used to convey the future.

The är form in Qashqay retains another Turkic property, namely, its use as a marker of the Habitual. It can be found in this capacity in proverbs, ex. (37), and in folk tales, ex. (38).

(37) (a) el at - an daš uzağ ged-är
tribal confederacy throw-SbS GM stone far go-HAB

'a stone that the tribe throws goes far/farther'

(b) dağ dağ - a etir - mäz , amma adam
mountain mountain-DAT reach-NEG+HAB+3SG but person

adam - a etir-ir
person-DAT reach-HAB

'a mountain does not catch up to another, but a man can (literally: does)'

(38) [There once was a king who didn't have any children.]

bir gün bir därviš gäl-ir-o haqq vur-ar
one day a dervish come-HAB-and the true hit-HAB[=chant]

här-nä ver-il-lär götür-mäz ; de-yär "...."
every-what give-HAB-PL take-NEG+HAB say-HAB

'one day a dervish comes and chants away; he does not accept whatever they (i.e., people) give (him); he says, "...."'
[Gorguinpour 1972, not paginated, but this example from p. 115 of the folk tale texts]

This use of är seems to be a retention of its function as a Nonpast habitual noncommital form at an earlier stage of the language, cf., a simiar use of (ä)r in Uzbek. But the Qashqay är form as a Habitual can be found in contexts other than the stylistically somewhat archaic environments represented by

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proverbs and folk tales, as can be seen from the following examples.

(39) bur-da jeyran-nan ayrï nä heyvan bul-un-ïr ?
here-LOC deer-ABL other what animal find-PASS-HAB

'what animals are found here besides deer?'

(40) (a) heš-nä bur-da { göyär - mäz / become green-NEG+HAB ; goyär - m -iyr / -NEG-IMPFV }

'nothing grows here' (literally: nothing grows green here)

(b) yanï ki de - yr - aŋ , hec mašin
that is that say-IMPFV-2SG no machine

{ išlä - d - mäz - lär / work-CAUS-NEG+HAB-3PL ; išläd - m - iyl - lär / -NEG-IMPFV-3PL } ?

'you mean, they don't use any machines?' (i.e., to make this jewelry)

As can be seen from the sentences in (40), the Imperfective form in iyr can be used equally as well as the är form, but it is not clear whether this is possible in all habitual or general contexts. In any case, the use of är in such environments does not correspond to the use of its Persian counterpart xahäd räft, which is strictly a future tense form.

The status of the past tense di form as a counterpart of Persian räft is relatively straightforward; there has been little discernible syntactic or semantic change in the use of Qashqay di in Main Sentences. Examples:

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(41) (a) nä-yči ged-di-ŋ dukan-a ?
what-for go-PPFV-2SG store-DAT

'why did you go to the store?'

(b) ged-di dukan-a (vä) bir qarpïz al-lï
go-PPFV store-DAT and a watermelon buy-PPFV

'he went to the store and bought a watermelon'

However, in SbS's modeled after Persian constructions, the Past perfective form in di can be used to refer to the future, as the räft form can be in Persian.

(42) växt-i ki dukan-a gäl-li-g , on-í-da
when store-DAT come-PPFV-1PL that-ACC-too
gätir-r-äg
bring-PFV-1PL

'when we come to the store, we'll bring that too'

(43) äyär Širaz-a ged-di-ŋ , o at - ï apar-ma-Ø
if [NAME]-DAT go-PPFV-2SG that horse-ACC take-NEG-IMP

'if you're going to Shiraz, don't take that horse'

Other verb forms may substitute for the Past perfective in these SbS's--the Subjunctive gälägg or the Nonpast imperfective gäliyräg in sentence (42) and at least the Nonpast imperfective gediyraŋ in sentence (43). But there is one form specifically excluded. As was mentioned above, the Persian definite future form xahäd räft is not used in certain SbS's, and Qashqay replicates this pattern.

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That is, sentence (42) with the future form in är is ungrammatical in Qashqay:

(44) *växt-i ki dukana gäl-är-äg , oní-da gätirräg
come-PFV-1PL

Qashqay apparently observes the sequence-of-tenses restrictions of the source language, which, of course, is further evidence of the degree to which the verb system of Persian has been adopted.

The Perfect Indicative. The Qashqay form in miš corresponds to the Uzbek gän in the Indicative and indicates perfect aspect in a typical manner.

(44) (a) qaǧaz häniz etïr-mä-miš
letter yet reach-NEG-PRF

'the letter hasn't arrived yet'

(b) säbzi xub saxlan-miš
vegetable(s) well keep(INTR)-PRF

'the vegetables have kept well'

As in the case of the Uzbek Perfect, the miš form, in the Indicative, does not always correspond to the English Perfect. Frequently, it is used where English prefers the Present progressive or Unmarked present.

(45) (a) o inni yat - mïš
he now lie down/sleep-PRF

'he is sleeping now' [The verb yat-means 'lies down, go to bed', but it would be translated into English as 'sleep' in contexts such a this.]

(b) tur-muš ru-be-ru-m-a
stand-PRF face-to-face-my-DAT

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'he's standing right in front of me' (literally: face to my face)

(c) o bir xoš räŋ köynäg gäy-miš
she a pleasant colored blouse put on-PRF

'she's wearing a colorful blouse'

(d) kim-iŋ oba-si ora qon-muš ?
who-GEN tribe-POSS there settle-PRF

'whose tribe is camped over there?'

This usage parallels that in Persian with regard to such verbs as istadän 'stand' or nešästän 'sit' [Yefimov, Rastorguyeva, Sharova 1982:178].

The miš form in Qashqay can also be used in SbS's where English would require a Past perfect.

(46) belä-sin-ä yaz-di-m ki sibil
such-his-DAT[=him] write-PPFV-1SG that mustache

qo-miš-am
put-PRF-1SG

'I wrote him that I had grown a mustache'

But in other contexts, in Main S's, the Past perfect form miš-di (from miš + the auxiliary idi) would ordinarily be used.

(47) växt-i ki o čadir-in-a etir-di , ollar
when he tent-his-DAT arrive-PPFV they

ged-miš-lär-di
go-PRF-PL-PST

'when he arrived at his tent, they had gone'

(48) ta dünäŋ - äŋčäz heč šikal vur-ma-miš-di-m
till yesterday-up to no wild goat hit-NEG-PRF-PST-1SG

'before yesterday I had not shot a wild goat'

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With the verbs that would be translated into English with a Present form when used in the Nonpast perfect in Qashqay, the Past perfect is translated with a Past progressive or Simple past.

(49) (a) on-na ki sän or - da - ydi - ŋ , män
that-LOC that you there-LOC-PST COP-2SG I
when

yat-miš-di-m
lie down-PRF-PST-1SG

'when you were there, I was sleeping'

(b) yatalog tut-muš-du-m , vä bir ay tamam
typhus catch-PRF-PST-1SG and a month whole

yat - miš - di - m
go to bed-PRF-PST-1SG

'I had caught typhus and was in bed for a whole month'

(c) sähär-idi ; min-miš-di-g at - á - yo oba-yïnan
morning-was mount-PRF-PST-1PL horse-DAT-and tribe-with

ged-iyrdi-g gärmiser - ä särï
go-PIMPFV-1PL winter quarters-DAT towards

'it was morning; we were riding on horses (literally: had mounted on horses) and were going with the tribe towards the winter quarters'

As in Persian, the Past perfect may occur in both parts of a past counterfactual conditional sentence.

(50) ägär billir pul var-ïmïz ol-miš-idi , bir äv
if last year money EXIS-our be-PRF-PST a house

al-miš-idi-g
buy-PRF-PST-1SG

'if we had had some money last year, we would have bought a house'

In such a conditional sentence, the use of the Past perfect is only one of the options available for the verb in the protasis; in

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(50), either var-imiz-idi, with the Past indicative of the copula, or var-imiz ol-sa-ydi, with the Past conditional of ol- 'be, become', is possible. The use of the Conditional olsaydi, of course, reflects the Turkic pattern, while the use of the Indicative parallels the pattern in Persian.

The following exerpts from a story demonstrates how the three Past tense forms in the Indicative are typically used.

(51) oba-miz-da har gün gahlar tur-iyrdi-g
tribe-our-LOC every day early get up-PIMPFV-1PL

ayağ-a , naštaloğ-dan sora ged-iyrdi-g
foot-DAT breakfast-ABL after go-PIMPFV-1PL

gör-mäglig-ä . bir gün män ged-di-m bir yollaš-im
see- VbN - DAT one day I go-PPFV-1SG a friend-my

äv-in-ä ki tazza äylän - miš - di
house-his-DAT who newly get married-PRF-PST

'In our tribe we used to get up early (i.e., in the morning); after breakfast we would go visiting. One day I went to the home of my friend, who had recently gotten married.'

The Noncommittal Mood. Clearly, the Noncommittal forms in Qashqay are not used as frequently as the corresponding forms in Uzbek are. Moreover, there seems to have been a shift in meaning. Typically in the Turkic languages and perhaps in most languages containing Noncommittal forms, the simple past is the most representative form in the mood, but in Qashqay that form, marked by miš, no longer conveys a noncommittal connotation as its primary meaning. Primarily the form used as a Perfect indicative, with the noncommittal connotation appearing only in certain environments. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this shift in

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meaning can be found not with a verb form containing miš itself, but with the copula. In Turkish, for example, the copula form imiš can only be a Noncommittal form, either Past or Nonpast. But in everyday speech it appears that the Qashqay imiš is primarily a Perfect indicative form. Thus a Qashqay speaker reported that sentence (52a)

"means practically the same" as sentence (52b).

(52) (a) ilä̈ri gü̈n-nä̈n iš - in - ä̈ mä̈šğul - ïmïš
before day-ABL[=since] work-his-DAT busy - COP

(b) ilä̈ri gü̈nnä̈n išinä̈ mä̈šğul-lïr [=dïr]
-COP (PRES 3SG)

'he's been busy at his work since the day before yesterday'

By stating that the two sentences are practically the same in meaning, the Qashqay speaker seems to be suggesting that the difference between them lies not in the model (i.e., noncommittal or committal) connotation, which he was able to identify in other sentences, but in the aspectual differentiation between a Nonpast perfect and a Nonpast imperfective, a distinction which is subtle and which is not ordinarily made in the copula in the Turkic languages. A speaker of Modern Turkish, on the other hand, would have no difficulty discussing the modal difference between the cognate forms in his language, mešgul^{y}-imiš^{y} and mešgul^{y}-dü̈r. It does appear, however, that a noncommittal use of imiš in Qashqay is retained in folk tales, ex., sentences (58) and (59). The point is that miš seems to be primarily linked to the Perfect indicative and only secondarily to the Noncommittal mood.

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It does not appear that the Noncommittal in Qashqay is required in contexts that would typically trigger its use in other Turkic languages, such as in the inferred context in sentence (53).

(53) mesli bu ki heč bir-in-i vur-ma-di
as if this that no one-POSS-ACC hit-NEG-PST PFV

'it seems as if/that he didn't hit any one of them' (i.e., didn't shoot any game) [mesli bu ki is modeled upon the Persian mesl-e in ke, where in = bu.]

Despite all this, the miš form can take on a noncommittal connotation in certain contexts, cf., the following sentences.

(54) (a) šah abbas bu karvansaray-i düzäd-miš
shah [NAME] this caravansary-ACC build-PST NnC

(b) šah abbas bu karvansarayi düzäd-di
-PST PFV

'Shah Abbas built this carvansary'
In (54b), the implication is that the speaker remembers the event himself, i.e., he witnessed the construction of the caravansary, while that implication is not present in (54a). A similar difference exists in Persian, where the normal way to characterize this historical event would be as follows:

(55) šah äbbas in karevansära-ra bäna kärde äst
this -ACC build+PST NnC+3SG

[=(54a)] [Lambton 1953:148]

The other Noncommittal forms are distinct in morphological terms from other forms in the paradigm because they contain the auxiliary (i)miš. Perhaps the most common such form is the Past perfect in mišimiš.

(56) (a) zaherän bir qağaz yaz - mïšïmïš
apparently a letter write-PST PFV NnC

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'apparently he had written a letter'

(b) šayäd bir qağaz yaz-mïšïmïš
maybe

'maybe he had written a letter'

According to one Qashqay speaker, it would be grammatically "wrong" to use the Indicative past perfect yazmïšdï in a sentence like (56b) with the adverb šayäd 'maybe, perhaps', but other Qashqays might not be aware of the incorrectness. That observation, if valid, may indicate that the use of Noncommittal forms is increasingly nonobligatory in those environments where it was once found and that the role of the Noncommittal mood is diminishing in the verb system as a whole. However, it should be pointed out that if Windfuhr is correct in his assertion that the Noncommittal forms in Persian occur only in the third person [Windfuhr 1979:89], the corresponding forms in Qashqay are not similarly restricted, ex., sentence (57).

(57) šayäd bir qağaz yaz - mïšïmïš - am
maybe a letter write-PST PRF NnC-1SG

'maybe I had written a letter'

This form can be found in folk tales as well.

(58) elä on-na gör-ïl-lär ki yan oğol gäl-iyr
just that-LOC see-HAB-3SG that half boy come-IMPFV

bir bän - inän , nä bu bän-ä
a [type of tree]-with not this -DAT

bağlï-yïmïš ; bän-i rišä-sin-nän qaz-mïšïmïš
bound-NnC COP -ACC root-its-ABL dig up-PPRF NnC

gätir-mïšimiš
bring-PPRF NnC

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'just then they see Half-Boy coming with a ban tree, (but) not tied to it; he had (apparently) torn it out by its roots and brought it' [Gorguinpour 1972, p. 118 of texts]

Other Noncommittal forms occur in the folk tales presented in Gorguinpour 1972.

(59) bir ɣah - imïš , heɣ olad gir - in - ä
a king-PSTNnCCOP no child possession-his-DAT

gäl-me-yr-miɣ
come-NEG-IMPFV-NnC

'(there once) was a king, he had no children' (literally: no child was coming into his possession) [Ibid., p. 115] [This sentence immediately precedes sentence (38).]

(60) mun-i genä tut-al-lar , baǧla-l-lar bir daɣ - a ;
this-ACC again seize-HAB-3PL tie-HAB-3PL a stone-DAT

bú-da heɣ-nä de-me-yr-miɣ , mun-a ki
this-PART no-what say-NEG-IMPFV-NnC this-DAT though

güj-läri etïr-mäz-imiɣ , öz-i heɣ-nä
strength-their reach-NEG+HAB-NnC self-his no-what

de-me - yr - miɣ , (on-ï) baǧla-l-lar-o yan oǧól-la
say-NEG-IMPFV-NnC that-ACC tie-HAB-3PL-and half boy-PART

zeqq ed-mäz
object-NEG+HAB

'they (i.e. Half-Boy's jealous brothers) seize him (Half-Boy) again and tie (him) to a rock, but he doesn't say anything, even though their strength does not come close to his. He himself doesn't say anything, (so) they tie (him) up, and Half-Boy doesn't make an objection' [Ibid., p. 119 of texts]

Most of this tale about Half-Boy does not contain Noncommittal forms in (i)miɣ. Apparently at the start of the tale and sporadically throughout it, as in the above passages, the author uses Noncommittal forms to reinforce the narrative nature of his tale, but they are obviously not an obligatory element in it. The overall impression of the use of Noncommittal forms in Qashqay is

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that the mood does not function in opposition to the Indicative in the same way as the Noncommittal mood does in Uzbek and other Turkic languages. It is a mood with a greatly diminished role of the Noncommittal in the donor language Persian. However, it is unclear whether the Qashqay Noncommittal would be used slightly more frequently than its Persian counterpart.

The Subjunctive. The Subjunctive mood as such, that is, as a mood primarily associated with SbS's, where it is in opposition to the Indicative, is not characteristic of the Turkic languages. After all, there are few SbS's with finite verb forms in a typical Turkic language; as was discussed in Section 2.2.2., such SbS's are restricted to clauses containing a Conditional form or clauses followed by the complementizer dep (or a related form). But in Qashqay not only does a true Subjunctive mood exist, but its use is extremely common. As might be expected, the role it plays in the verb system corresponds closely to the role of the Subjunctive in the Persian verb system.

In Main Sentences, the Qashqay Subjunctive can be used as an optative.

(61) (a) gä-Ø [<gäl] ged-ä-g bú-yan-a
come-IMP go-SBJ-1PL this-side-DAT

'lets go this way'

(b) qoy-Ø män-im töfaŋ-im-i götür-ä-g
let-IMP I-GEN rifle-my-ACC bring-SBJ-1PL

'let's take my rifle'

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[On the meaning of the items gäl and qoy in Azerbaijani, see Householder 1965:168.]

(62) qoy män ged-ä-m tez baš-ïn-ï käs-ä-m
let I go-SBJ-1SG quickly head-its-ACC cut-SBJ-1SG

ki häram ol-ma-ya
so that unclean be-NEG-SBJ

'let me go and quickly cut its throat (literally: head) so that it won't be unclean' (i.e., unit to eat)

In Azerbaijani there is a separate first person singular form for the Optative. -Im, ex., gedim 'let me go', in opposition to the Subjunctive -Am, cf., (63) to (62):

(63) Tabriz Azerbaijani:

qoy män gedim tez bašïnï käsim ki murdar ol-ma-sïn
unclean be-NEG-OPT

[same meaning as (62), Householder 1965:182]

But in Qashqay there is no separate morphological form for the first person singular of the optative. In addition, the Subjunctive may also be used in the second person in such a context.

(64) häsän , inšallah , tez xub ol - a - ŋ
[NAME] God willing quickly well become-SBJ-2SG

'Hasan, may you get well soon, God willing'

The Subjunctive in Qashqay also occurs in Main S's containing the sentential adverb görägh, which can be translated with an English modal 'should, must, ought'.

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(65) (a) görägg seğir-i gün-nä bir däfä sağ - a - g
necessarily cow-ACC day-LOC one time milk-SBJ-1PL

'we should milk the cow once a day'

(b) or: seğiri görägg günnä bir däfä sağag

(66) o görägg Širaz-a ged-ä
he necessarily [NAME]-DAT go-SBJ

'he must/should go to Shiraz'

In Persian there is a construction similar to this one, which contains the form bayäd 'should, must, ought' and which requires the Subjunctive in reference to future or hypothetical events. Apparently, görägg was made to correspond to bayäd, which is not itself used, or at least not in this dialect of Qashqay. But there is another sentential adverb taken directly from Persian, namely, šayäd 'perhaps, maybe', which also occurs with the Subjunctive in reference to future events.

(67) šayäd bú-il toy ed-ä bil - mä - yä - m
maybe this-year wedding make-GER be able-NEG-SBJ-1SG

'maybe I won't be able to get married this year' [cf., the use of the future in sentence (36b).]

However, by far the most common use of the Subjunctive in Qashqay is in SbS's, that is, in sentential complements, purpose clauses, and various sorts of adverbial clauses. It would not be feasible here to survey the variety of uses for the Subjunctive in SbS's, but a few examples would be in order.

(68) Purpose [see also example (62)]:

(a) män ged-di-m dukan-a (ki) bir qarpïz
I go-PPFV-1SG store-DAT in order that a watermelon

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al-a-m
buy-SBJ-1SG

'I went to the store to buy a watermelon'

(b) ged-iyr-äm ora mun-iŋ iči ki on-a
go-IMPFV-1SG there this-GEN for that he-DAT

kömäg ed-ä-m
help do-SBJ-1SG

'I'm going there so as to help him'

(69) Adverbials:

(a) qäbl äz bu ki šikal-a ged-ä-m , tüfäŋ-i
before this that game-DAT go-SBJ-1SG rifle-ACC

arrid - asi - am
clean[TR]-NEG-1SG

'before going hunting, I must clean the rifle'

(b) växt-i ki dukan-a gäl-ä-g , on-i-da gätir-r-äg
when store-DAT come-SBJ-1PL that-ACC-too bring-PFV-1PL

'when we come to the store, we'll bring that too' [=Sentence (42); the Qashqay speaker felt that this was the "most proper" form that could be used, from among the Past perfective gällig, the Nonpast imperfective gäliyräg, and the Subjunctive gäläg. As was noted in connection with (44), the future gäläräg is ungrammatical.]

(70) Complements:

(a) iss-iyr-äm örgän-ä-m
want-IMPFV-1SG learn-SBJ-1SG

'I want to learn'

(b) iss-iyr-äm (o) örgän-ä-Ø
he -SBJ-3SG

'I want him to learn'

(c) belä-m-ä de-di (ki) ged-ä-m širaz-a
such-my-DAT[=me] say-PPFV that go-SBJ-1SG [NAME]-DAT

'he told me to go to Shiraz'

(d) mohem-nïr ki sähär ged-ä-g
important-COP that tomorrow go-SBJ-1PL

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'it's important that we go tomorrow'

(e) belä-sin-nän xäbär al-lï-m hára ged-ä-m
such-his-ABL news take-PPFV-1SG where go-SBJ-1SG
[=from him]

'I asked him where to go'

Because the SbS GM ki 'that' is optional in many cases, the function of the Subjunctive is often determined by the context, cf., the following sentence containing three verbs in the Subjunctive.

(71) qoy on-ï ǰağor-a-m gäl-ä-Ø belä-sin-i
let he-ACC call-SBJ-1SG come-SBJ-3SG such-his-ACC[=him]

tanï - ya - ŋ
become acquainted-SBJ-2SG

'let me call him to come over so that you can get to know him'

In (71), the verb ǰağoram functions as an optative, gälä is in a complement to ǰağoram, and tanïyaŋ is in a purpose clause.

Qashqay adheres to the range of usages for the Subjunctive in Persian quite closely, but not absolutely. In Persian the verb tävanestän 'be able' occurs with the Subjunctive to express possibility or impossibility, as in (72).

(72) nä-tävanest-Ø beyayäd
NEG-be able+PPFV-3SG come+SBJ+3SG

'he could not come' (Literary Persian) [Lambton 1953:152]

But in Qashqay these constructions are formed not with the Subjunctive, but with the auxiliary bil- 'be able, can; know' (see below). Otherwise, the adoption and use of the subjunctive in

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Qashqay represents a truly radical departure from the typical patterns of Turkic syntax. The change has involved not only the incorporation of a new mood into the verb paradigm, but also a shift in the order of constituents. This can be illustrated by the fact that the most natural order for the predicates cited in sentences (70) and (71) in a Turkic language not so thoroughly influenced by Iranian would be the exact opposite of the way they are given in Qashqay. That is, in Qashqay the typical order of SbS's with respect to the Main S is Main S--SbS, that is, sentential subordination is right-branching. In contrast, in other Turkic languages, the SbS is entirely embedded into the Main S, with the Verb of the latter S occurring in Sentence-Final position. The Turkic order is possible in Qashqay, but only with a nonfinite verb form in the SbS, cf., the following sentences containing purpose clauses.

(73) (a) o gül-li ki ušağ-i apar-a
he come-PPFV in order that child-ACC take-SBJ

(b) o ušağı apar-mag ičı gälli
-INF for

'he came to take the child away'

If an attempt is made to retain the Turkic order with a SbS containing the Subjunctive, the resulting sentence would either have a different meaning or be ungrammatical. Compare sentence (70c) to the following:

(74) *belämä <u>gedäm širaza</u> dedi
SbS

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'he told me to go to Shiraz'

Only a direct quote would be possible:

(75) "ged-Ø širaza" belämä dedi
go-IMP

'he said to me, "Go to Shiraz"'

The Past tense of the Subjunctive occurs much less frequently in Qashqay than does the Nonpast. It occurs in wishes, either with or without the introductory item kaškä 'would that' (a borrowing from Persian).

(76) (a) on-iŋ šikal - in - i män vur-aydi-m
that-GEN wild goat-POSS-ACC I hit-PST SBJ-1SG

'I wish I could hunt its wild goat' (i.e., the wild goat of that place); 'if only I could hunt the wild goat there'

(b) kaškä iš-i towsan-a[illegible] tükäd - äydi - m
would that job-ACC summer up to finish-PST SBJ-1SG

'I wish I could finish the task by the summer'

Such a form can also be introduced by äqär fägät 'if only'.

(77) äyär fägät älijan gäl-äydi , vari zad
if only [NAME] come-PST SBJ all thing

düzäl - irdi
be fixed-PST HAB

'if only Alijan would come, everything would be alright'

Apparently the Past subjunctive can occur in a purpose SbS, at least in a folk tale.

(78) nänä-si de-yär , "ged-di-ŋ šikal
mother-his say-HAB go-PPFV-2SG wild goat

vur-aydi-ŋ sän-nä ..."
hit-PST SBJ-2SG you-too

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'his mother says, "You too went (out) to hunt wild goat..."'
[Gorguinpour 1972, p. 118 of texts]

But this form does not normally occur in such clauses, cf., (68a) and (73a). It is not grammatical in SbS's that are apparently acceptable in Persian.

(79) (a) *gu̇man ed-iyr-u̇m o ged-u̇ydi
suppose-IMPFV-1SG he go-PST SBJ

(b) OK: gu̇man ediyru̇m o ged-miš
-PRF

(c) Persian: gu̇man mibu̇ru̇m ke ru̇fte baš u̇d
suppose+IMPFV+1SG that go+PST SBJ+3SG

'I suppose he may have gone' [Lambton 1953:153]

It is not clear whether the restricted range of the Past subjunctive in Qashqay as compared to its use in Persian, at least as indicated in grammar books, reflects a genuine difference between the two languages or a limitation common to both Qashqay and Colloquial Persian.

The Conditional Mood and Conditional Sentences. Historically in the Turkic languages, the Conditional mood has been used in the protasis of conditional sentences and in indefinite clauses translated into English by wh-ever. In Qashqay the Indicative may also be used in the protasis. Although not all the details of the morphological patterns in conditional sentences have been firmly established, a tentative schema for the verb type in the protasis can be offered here:

Type of Condition	Morphology of Verb Form

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Real Condition		Indicative
Hypothetical (Present or Future)	Indicative:	Past Imperfective Past Perfect
Counterfactual (Past)	Conditional:	Past
Predictive Condition	Conditional: Subjunctive:	Nonpast Nonpast

[Types of condition drawn from Thompson and Longacre 1985:191]

[Brackets indicate options.]

That is, there are in Qashqay a number of morphological variants for a particular type. Examples:

(80) Real Conditions [see also (27)]:

(a) ägär pul var-ïmïz , nä-yčï bir äv al - m - iyr - ag ?
if money EXIS-our what-for a house buy-NEG-IMPFV-1PL

'if we have money, why don't we buy a house?'

(b) *ägär pul var ol-sa , näyčï bir äv almiyrag?
be-CND

(c) äyär Širaz-a {ged-iyr-äŋ / go-IMPFV-2SG} , o at - ï apar-ma-ø
if [NAME]-DAT that horse-ACC take-NEG-IMP

(d) [=(43)] {ged-di-ŋ / go-PPFV-2SG}

(e) {*ged-sä-n / go-CND-2SG}

'if you're going to Shiraz, don't take that horse' [Notice that the Conditional form, in (b) and (e), is ungrammatical in real conditional sentences.]

(81) Hypotheticals [see also (22a)]:

(ägär) daniš-mag-aŋčäz oxo-saydï-ŋ , bir il-lä
if talk-INF-up to read-PST CND-2SG a year-LOC

mulla ol - ïrdï - ŋ
literate man become-PST HAB-2SG

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'if you would read as much as you talk, you'd become a literate man in a year'

(82) Counterfactuals [see (22b) and (50). It should be noted that the hypothetical (22a) and the counterfactual (50) have exactly the same set of morphological variants in the protasis.]

(83) Predictive Conditions:

(a) ägär pul var-imiz { ol-sa / be-CND ; ol-a / be-SBJ } , yennil bir äv
if money EXIS-our next year a house

al-ar-ag
buy-PFV-1PL

'if we have the money, we'll buy a house next year'

(b) ägär Zalä { gäl-sä / come-CND ; gäl-ä / come-SBJ } , äli äsäbani ol-ar
if [NAME] [NAME] angry be-PFV

'if Zhala comes, Ali will be angry'

[Despite the fact that both the Conditional and Subjunctive are possible in predictive conditional sentences, the Qashqay speakers normally offered the Conditional upon elicitation and accepted the Subjunctive upon prompting. This suggests that the Conditional is the preferred form.]

It appears that Qashqay adheres to the morphological patterns of the protasis in Persian conditional sentences [Lambton 1953:65-66, 146-154], except that the Nonpast conditional can be used in place of the Persian Nonpast subjunctive and the Past conditional can be used in hypotheticals and counterfactuals. (It is not known if the Past subjunctive in Qashqay can occur where

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the corresponding Past subjunctive in Persian occurs.) According to the Householder, the substitution of the Nonpast subjunctive ä form for the sä form is possible in some parts of Azerbaijan as well [Householder 1965:141].

The Conditional in Qashqay can also occur in wh-ever clauses, just as the Subjunctive can.

(84) här käs musabiğä-yi { apar-sa / win-CND ; apar-a / win-SBJ } , män bu jaizä-yi
every one race-ACC I this prize-ACC

on-a ver-r-äm
he-DAT give-PFV-1SG

'whoever wins the race, I will give him this prize'

(85) här växt on-i { ox-iyr-am / read-IMPFV-1SG ; oxo-ya-m / read-SBJ-1SG ; oxo-sa-m / read-CND-1sg } , sän yad-im-a
every time that-ACC you memory-my-DAT

düš-iyr-aŋ
fall-IMPFV-2SG

'every time (whenever) I read that, I think of you (you come to mind)'

But unlike the case in Uzbek, the Conditional does not substitute for the Subjunctive in other environments, i.e., those outside the range of its historical use in Turkic constructions.

There may be other forms of the Conditional besides the sä and säydi forms listed in Table 21. For instance, in the corpus the form miš olsa occurs in the following sentence:

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(86) här kas Širaz-a ged-miš olsa , bil-iyr ki
every one [NAME]-DAT go-PRF CND know-IMPFV that

Širaz nağad gör-mäli-dir
how see-worth-COP

'everyone who (whoever) has gone to Shiraz knows how beautiful (literally: worth seeing) Shiraz is'

But it is unclear how many such Conditional forms there are or how they function in the syntax.

The Necessitative Mood. Like Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani, Qashqay has a separate Necessitative mood, but it differs from those two languages in not using the morpheme mäli/mali to mark the mood. It uses the marker äsi/asi exclusively for this purpose.

(87) [See also (69a)]

(a) gäl-än däfä män ged-äsi-äm [or: gedäsim] dukan-a
come-ing time I go-NEC-1SG store-DAT

'I must go to the store the next time'

(b) bíz-i čoban-lar qoyin qolinj-in-nan götür-äsi-äg
we-? shepherd-PL sheep back-POSS-ABL take-NEC-1PL

'we shepherds should chase after the sheep'

The morpheme mäli/mali exists in Qashqay, but it expresses a notion that can be translated into English as 'V-able' or 'worth V-ing'.

(88) [See also (86)]

(a) yaz-lar Širaz ged-mäli-dir
spring-PL [NAME] go-worth-COP

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'Shiraz is the place to go in the spring' (literally: is worth going to)

(b) dünäŋ bir oxo-mali ketab al-li-m
yesterday a read-worth book buy-PPFV-1SG

'yesterday I bought an interesting (readable) book'

In Persian there is no verbal marker comparable to the Necessitative äsi, but a form occurs that resembles mäli, namely, räftäni, ex., xandäni 'interesting, readable' from the verb xandän 'to read' and didäni 'worth seeing' from didän 'to see'. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the cognate form in Northern Tajik underwent a semantic shift so as to correspond to one of the Intentional moods in Uzbek (marked by maxči). But it is unclear whether a shift has occurred in the opposite direction in Qashqay, that is, whether the use of mäli to form an adjective meaning 'V-able, worth V-ing' was modeled after the Persian räftäni. In addition, it might be pointed out here that Qashqay, like Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani lacks a specific Intentional mood.

. . . . . .

In short, the Qashqay simplex verb paradigm largely replicates the Persian paradigm with respect to its distinctive oppositions. Even the rules governing the tense, aspect, and mood of verb forms in SbS's have been adopted into Qashqay. There exist only a few instances in which a one-to-one correspondence

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between verb forms does not hold--the use of ärdi, the habitual use of är, the optional, but perhaps preferred use of the Nonpast conditional sä instead of the Subjunctive, the optional use of the Past conditional säydi, and the use of the Necessative äsi. Moreover, there may be a few other rare forms like miš olsa that lack counterparts in Persian. Basically any divergence from the Persian model represents a retention from the proto-Oghuz verb paradigm. That is, unlike the case with Northern Tajik, the Qashqay paradigm exhibits no evidence of analogical extensions that expand upon the donor paradigm. On the contrary, since the proto-paradigm contained a richer morphological structure than the donor paradigm, there is evidence of a reduction in the set of oppositions and of a diminished role for some of the remaining forms. This point can be seen clearly in the present state of the Noncommittal mood in Qashqay.

The Loss of Serialization in Qashqay. The most striking difference between the verb system in Qashqay and that in Uzbek (or any other non-Oghuz Turkic language) is the loss of serialization, apparently as the result of the complete loss of the ip gerundive. When asked if it was possible to use the ip form to conjoin a verb phrase instead of finite verb forms, as in the sentence (89a), the Qashqay speaker stated that he never used it, other than in jest, apparently suggesting that he is aware of its use in other Qashqay tribes or among speakers of Azerbaijani.

(89) (a) ged-di dukan-a (vä) bir qarpïz al-lï
go PPFV store-DAT and a watermelon buy-PPFV

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'he went to the store and bought a watermelon'

(b) *ged-ip dukana bir qarpïz allï

(c) or: *dukana gedip bir qarpïz allï

The ip gerundive did not appear in any elicited sentence, nor does it occur in the folk tale "Yan oğol" (Half-Boy) given in Gorguinpour 1972, pp. 115-138 of the texts. Moreover, the finite verb formed from the ip gerundive, -ipdi(r) in the third singular, was reported not to be in the informant's dialect, although it might be found in some other Qashqay dialects. It seems reasonable to conclude from the evidence that the ip gerundive is no longer even a relic form in this dialect of Qashqay.

The loss of this form means that verbal corrdination is achieved by the juxtaposition of finite verb forms, with or without an intervening conjunction, cf., sentences (62) and (89a). Of course, it also means that there is no adverbial modification of a VB with the ip gerundive like that observed in Uzbek. Not even the SbS GM dep 'saying' (or in a morphological form comparable to the Modern Turkish diye, i.e., with the ä gerundive) exists in this dialect. But it would not necessarily follow from this development that CVC's would be lost as well. The combination of two verbs could have been retained in some form or other, perhaps in a contracted form or with the ä gerundive exclusively. But in fact, it appears that the entire mechanism for forming CVC's has been lost in this dialect of Qashqay. Only one type of CVC was ever elicited in the course of the informant sessions, and in the folk tale "Yan oğol" no other type is to be

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found [Ibid.]. This particular CVC consists of the auxiliary bil- 'be able, can; know' plus the (y)ä/a gerundive to express potentiality, ex., sentences (36b), (67), and (90).

(90) (a) üzz-ä bil - iyr - äm
swin-GER be able-IMPFV-1SG

'I can swim'

(b) síz-i ušağ-lar bur-da oyna-ya bil-mäŋiz
you-? child-PL here-LOC play-GER can-NEG+PFV+2PL

'you children can't play here'

As was mentioned above in the section on the Subjunctive, this means of forming the potential does not correspond to that found in Modern Persian. It is clearly a retention of the Turkic pattern. Although the ä gerundive + bil- is the only CVC type found in the available corpus, it is conceivable that others may exist in this Qashqay dialect, ones similar to the rather rare instances of CVC's in Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani [Lewis 1967:191-192; Shiraliyev, Sevortyan 1971;100-104]. However, this seems unlikely. Notice that in one favored environment for CVC's, sentences with the optative or imperative, the accompanying verb form in Qashqay is finite rather than a gerundive, ex., (61), (62), and (71), with gäl or gä, the imperative of gäl- 'come', or with qoy, the imperative of qoy- 'put; let' (for a similar construction involving a verb like qoy in Persian, see Phillott 1919:261). Moreover, there is no evidence of another CVC type, the progressive. Even if a few other CVC's do exist in this dialect of Qashqay, they would clearly be relic forms, and it

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would still be valid to maintain that the grammatical mechanism for creating CVC's has been lost.

The reduction in the role of serialization in the verb system seems to be a long-term trend in the Oghuz languages. Certainly, a text in Literary Azerbaijani, for instance, contains far fewer examples of the Ip gerundive than does a comparable text in Uzbek. Likewise, non-native students learning Modern Turkish are advised not to use more than one Ip gerundive per sentence for coordinating VB's [cf., the remarks in Lewis 1967:179], a (stylistic ?) restriction that is by no means applicable to Uzbek. Moreover, CVC's are not as common in Turkish and Azerbaijani as they are in Uzbek. Nevertheless, unlike Qashqay, these languages do use the Ip gerundive and CVC's. Thus, for instance, in Modern Turkish, it is "much more common" for VB's to be conjoined by the use of Ip, for example, (91a), than by the juxtaposition of finite verbs (with or without a conjunction), (91b) [Underhill 1976:379].

(91) Modern Turkish:

(a) Mehment gel-ip git-ti
[NAME] come-GER go-PST

(b) Mehment gel-di ve gitti
come-PST

'Mehmet came and went'

Even in Tabriz Azerbaijani, a dialect that has been influenced considerably by Persian, the Ip gerundive is regularly used to conjoin VB's [Householder 1965:122].

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Thus the issue becomes how best to explain the loss of verb serialization in Qashqay. It is the natural outcome of a long-term tendency (drift) within the Oghuz language group? Or is it more directly attributable to Persian influence, that is, does it chiefly result from the absence of a corresponding serialization mechanism in the donor language? It is possible that further investigations could provide empirical responses to these questions. Perhaps a survey of Azerbaijani and Qashqay dialects would indicate a correlation between the degree of Iranian influence and the extent of serialization, i.e., the more "Persianized" the dialect, the fewer the elements of Turkic serialization. However, even if such a survey were possible, the results would not necessarily be conclusive. In Chapter 2, it was maintained that there appears to be a correlation between the degree of Uzbek influence on various Tajik dialects and the number (or level of integration) of CVC's in the grammars of these dialects. It seems reasonable to make such a correlation with regard to the presence of nonindigenous elements in the grammar of the dialect, but in the case of Qashqay, the cross-language influence is purported to bring about the increasing absence of certain elements. Does the same type of correlation about the degree of influence hold for the loss of original structures? It has already been demonstrated that a necessary correlation does not exist. Qashqay clearly exhibits Iranian influence much more strongly than urban Uzbek does, yet it is in the latter that the loss of distinctions in the vowel inventory as the result of Iranian influence can be observed. It may be that the retention of original structures, as opposed to their loss as the

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result of external influence, is more haphazard than the addition of novel structures. In any case, if a survey of related dialects did reveal a correlation between "Iranization" and a reduction in the role of verb serialization, the evidence would merely support the contention that the loss of serialization in Qashqay resulted from cross-language influence, but would not firmly establish it. On the other hand, a lack of correlation would not necessarily point towards the opposite conclusion, that the loss had not been due to Persian influence.

Perhaps it would be more fruitful in seeking an explanation for the loss of serialization in Qashqay to examine the issue from another perspective, namely, what the result of this change is. Qashqay now exhibits a pattern of clause structure that is highly divergent from the typical Turkic pattern, but is clearly parallel to that in Persian. Basically, this syntactic pattern is one characterized by finite verb forms in both coordinate and subordinate S's. Two major shifts in Qashqay syntax, (i) the proliferation of SbS's with Str-I GM's and finite verb forms and (ii) the loss of serialization, have combined to produce a single effect, a remarkable parallelism between Qashqay and Persian syntax.

Because the overall structure of SbS's in Qashqay has not been discussed here, a few remarks about it would be in order at this point. Generally speaking, the Turkic pattern for forming SbS's is still retained, along with the Persian pattern, cf., the following sentences containing an indirect question (see also (73).

(92) (a) Turkic Pattern:

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belä-sin-nän häsän-iŋ hára ged-mäg-in-i
such-his ABL [=from him] [NAME]-GEN where go-INF-his-ACC

xäbär al - lï - m
news take-PPFV-1SG

(b) Persian Pattern:

beläsinnän xäbär allïm häsän hara ged-miš-di
-PRF-PST

'I asked him where Hasan had gone'6

One Qashqay speaker, calling (92a) a "very uncomfortable" sentence, much preferred (92b), a sentiment which suggests that the Turkic pattern with nonfinite verb forms in SbS's is becoming increasingly less acceptable. In fact, one of the Qashqay speakers consulted for this investigation reported that during a return trip to Qashqay territory in the early 1980's, after a prolonged stay in the United States, other Qashqays considered his speech "conservative", perhaps an indication that he uses Turkic patterns more frequently than is now the practice. With respect to VB coordination and other types of Turkic serialization, there is no such option; only the Persian pattern exists (with the single exception of the potential construction with the auxiliary bil-). No new mechanisms were adopted from Persian specifically to replace the structures once formed by means of serialization. Verbal coordination was always possible through the juxtaposition of finite verb forms, and apparently whatever other functions were served by serialization have been covered by pre-existing mechanisms (ex., the use of original adverbs for marking directionals) or have been treated as no longer obligatory (ex., most of the aspectual/modal distinctions formerly conveyed by

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CVC's). Adverbials once formed by serialization seem to have been replaced by semantically more explicit SbS's, of either the Turkic or Persian type. Only one novel construction in the verb system itself, the use of issä- 'want' as an auxiliary, seems to have been developed (see the next section). From this perspective then, the loss of serialization represents merely a further step towards a one-to-one correspondence with the Persian syntactic model. It therefore seems plausible to view the loss of serialization as the consequence of Persian influence, whether or not it also coincided with a long-term Oghuz development in this direction. Only further investigations could reveal whether this tendency in the Oghuz languages was itself set in motion by Iranian influence at an earlier stage in their history.

If this change in Qashqay syntax can properly be ascribed to Persian influence, it would represent an instance of the loss of an original grammatical distinction or mechanism as the result of cross-language influence. The loss of serialization would be a dramatic example of how the lack of a recognizable counterpart in the "donor" language can affect the "recipient" language, but it may not be the clearest case in Qashqay. It has lost the Turkic interrogative particle mI used to mark yes-no questions, and now such questions are formed exclusively by the method found in Colloquial Persian, by intonation alone. In this respect, Qashqay is not unique; in numerous Azerbaijani dialects the interrogative mI is either not used or is considered elevated style [see Foy 1903:187 and 1904:210 and

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Householder 1965:26 for the Tabriz dialect; Shiraliyev 1958:12, 14, 17 for dialects in Soviet Azerbaijan; Kowalski 1937:66 for Aynallu].

Thus, a particular pattern emerges with regard to Iranian influence on the Turkic languages. Consider the following changes:

--the loss of certain vowel distinctions in Uzbek

--the loss of vowel harmony in Uzbek

--the diminished role of the Noncommittal in Qashqay

--the loss of verb serialization (including CVC's) in Qashqay

--the loss of the interrogative particle mI in Qashqay and certain dialects of Azerbaijani

(There are in Qashqay other possible changes that might be included on this list, the loss of the future participle and of a seond set of verbal person/number suffixes, but they will not be treated here.) All these changes, in combination with various other adjustments, have had a similar effect: the resulting inventories or structures resemble those in Iranian quite closely. It might have been legitimate to question whether external influence was the main motivation for these changes if there had been only one or two such changes in the Turkic languages or if similar losses had taken place in languages that have not undergone such extensive influence from Iranian or another Indo-European language. But the fact that so many changes of this nature have occurred makes it impossible to dismiss the possibility that they have resulted from the absence of counterparts in Iranian. Moreover, similar kinds of changes have not been observed in Turkic languages that do no exhibit high degrees of

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external influence (at least not among the better known languages). Clearly then, the absence of a counterpart in the donor language becomes the most plausible explanation for the changes listed above, and it becomes reasonable to conclude that, as a general type of language change, languages may lose grammatical distinctions and mechanisms as the result of external influence. (See the remarks in Weinreich 1953/1968:42-43 on this issue, although the examples he cites there, concerning inflectional categories, cannot truly be compared in terms of generality to the changes listed above.)

The Adoption of a Persian-Model Auxiliary. It should not be assumed form the above comments that Persian influence has been limited to bringing about the loss of grammatical distinctions or mechanisms in Qashqay; some new syntactic mechanisms have been adopted as well, although there appears to be only one such change in the verb system proper. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, there seems to be a tendency in Colloquial Persian towards the formation of verbal constructions of the type Aux + Main Verb, in which both verbs are marked for person and number. In Qashqay a corresponding mechanism has not been fully developed, but there does seem to be at least one such case. It involves the use of the verb issä- 'want' as an auxiliary, apparently meaning 'be going to'.

(93) (a) iss-iyr qar yağ-a
want-IMPFV snow fall-SBJ

'it's going to snow' [speaker is indicating certainty]

(b) motmä?enn-äm iss-iyr yağoš yağ-ar
certain-COP+1SG AUX-IMPFV rain fall-PFV

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'I'm certain it's going to rain'

(94) (a) män isse-yr-äm bu at-ï al - a - m
I AUX-IMPFV-1SG this horse-ACC buy-SBJ-1SG

'I'm going to buy this horse'

(b) or: män bu atï isseyräm alam

(c) or: bu atï män isseyräm alam

The examples show that (i) the verb issä- in this construction is not used in the literal sense of 'want', since inanimate "objects" like rain and snow are not ordinarily thought of as "wanting" to come down, (ii) issä- need not be followed by the Subjunctive, as it normally would be, cf., (93b), and (iii) the nominal complements of V2 may occur before issä-. That is, the issä- + Verb construction exhibits properties more like those of an AUX + Main V construction than those of a Main Verb + SbS construction. This structure seems to be based upon a Persian construction consisting of the verb xastän 'want' + a verb in the Subjunctive, although the exact meaning of the auxiliary here is somewhat unclear [see Lazard 1957a:150-151, where the definition is given as 'être sur le point de', or 'il fallait' in the Past imperfective; [Windfuhr 1979:104-105]. Apparently, this construction also occurs in the neighboring Turkic dialect of Anyallu [Kowalski 1937:63]. As was mentioned above, Qashqay has not developed an Aux + Main V construction like the Perisan progressive with daštän 'have', and thus issä- + Main V may be the only example of this type.

Summary. From the example of Uzbek influence upon Tajik, certain kinds of changes due to extensive cross-language influence would be expected in the verb system of Qashqay. One would expect significant

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shifts in the simplex verb paradigm, with the ultimate consequence that the paradigmatic relationships in both languages would be largely identical. This change has in fact taken place in a substantial portion of the Qashqay verb paradigm. Thus, for instance, the former Progressive has become an Imperfective based on the Persian model. Moreover, one would expect novel kinds of distinctions and mechanisms in the verb system, and this can be found in the development of the Subjunctive mood and the use of issä- as an auxiliary. But Qashqay, as a Turkic language, belonging to a linguistic family known for its high degree of agglutination, has inherited certain grammatical distinctions and mechanisms that have no recognizable counterparts in the donor language. Thus what would be expected to happen in these cases? If cross-language influence is regarded primarily as a process of "borrowing" from a donor/source language, that is, as the addition of novel items and relationships, it might be expected that nothing would happen to them. However, as can be seen from the evidence presented above, that has not been the case at all. Certain Turkic verbal categories (the Habitual, Noncommittal, and Conditional) have been retained, but their role in the verb system and their function in the syntax of Qashqay have been reduced noticeably. And in other cases, those involving verb serialization and CVC's, the original Turkic grammatical mechanisms have been lost entirely. Hence, cross-language influence is not limited to the addition of new elements, relationships, and mechanisms nor to certain shifts in the meaning and usage of original items.

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Despite the differences between the types of cross-language influence, the overall effect upon the Qashqay and Tajik verb systems has been similar, a high degree of convergence between the structures of the donor and recipient languages. This convergence is not complete, since the recipient language either permits analogical extensions of its own making or retains features from the original structures, but the resulting convergence is nonetheless extraordinary. Thus it is clear that the overall impact of persvasive influence upon the verb systems of these two languages has not been random, but rather highly systematic. And it may be precisely at this point, i.e., in its systematic character, that loan syntax differs significantly from lexical borrowing. This matter will be pursued more fully below in Chapter 4.

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CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

From an overall perspective, the changes in the Tajik and Qashqay verb systems as a result of cross-language influence can be described in quite simple terms:

(i) Tajik has acquired the Uzbek simplex verb paradigm and the Uzbek mechanism of verb serialization.

(ii) Qashqay has acquired the Persian simplex verb paradigm and lost the Turkic mechanism of verb serialization.

These descriptions are admittedly simplified, since both Tajik and Qashqay exhibit departures from the grammatical structures of the donor languages. Tajik appears to have developed some analogical extensions in the verb paradigm and some novel CVC's that have no counterparts in Uzbek, and Qashqay has retained certain elements from the Turkic proto-system (the Habitual, Conditional, and Necessitative in the verb paradigm as well as the Potential as a CVC). But because these are clearly circumscribable exceptions, the above descriptions remain valid in general terms. Before discussing the major conclusions to be drawn from this investigation and then speculating on their significance, it would be worthwhile to examine two other issues raised in the course of the discussion.

One of these issues concerns certain expectations about the conditions, both sociological and purely linguistic, under which cross-language influence typically takes place. Modest amounts of

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influence, especially lexical borrowings, would be expected for the languages throughout the Turkic/Iranian-speaking area, and this is in fact found. More unusual is the extent to which the two polar cases in this region discussed here, Tajik and Qashqay, have undergone such striking changes as the result of this influence, but from the evidence in other linguistic areas, it seems that the situation in these two languages is not all that extraordinary. What is important to note here is not that the extensive changes have occurred, but that they have taken place in both directions. A Turkic language has led to considerable influence in an Iranian one, and an Iranian language has led to considerable influence on a Turkic one. Thus a member of each language family has served as a donor language, and a member of each as a recipient language.

Weinreich in his examination of grammatical changes suggests that there is a preferred direction in such changes.

> Significantly, in the interference of two grammatical patterns it is ordinarily the one which uses relatively free and invariant morphemes in its paradigm--one might say, the more explicit pattern--which serves as the model for imitation. [Weinreich 1953/1968:41].

He maintains that change in the opposite direction, "the change of a grammatical system towards a less explicit form", is quite rare and cites the Tajik acquisition of the Progressive from the Uzbek model as an illustration of this phenomenon [Ibid., p. 42]. With

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access to the data from two polar cases in language groups of quite different typological characteristics, one might expect that his hypothesis could be checked for validity. That is, providing that it would be possible to define explicitness in a verb paradigm, in other words, to determine which language family had the freer, more invariant morphemes, presumably the paradigms of the donor languages would differ in this respect (the Turkic language being more agglutinative and the Iranian more inflectional), and the results of the borrowing would probably reflect that difference. But in fact, there is no evidence to indicate that the adoption of the donor-language paradigm has been achieved in any significantly different way. Both Tajik and Qashqay have acquired the major grammatical distinctions of the donor-language paradigm, no matter how explicit the morphemic representation was. Thus there does not appear to be any linguistic property that differentiates the Uzbek and Persian paradigms with regard to its assimilability. Moreover, Tajik has acquired a grammatical mechanism that would seem to be highly explicit, verb serialization, including CVC's, while Qashqay has lost a similar mechanism. It may be that certain linguistic structures, because of some property of "explicitness" in the form-to-meaning relationship, are borrowed more readily at stages of language contact in which the kind of extensive cross-language influence exhibited by Tajik and Qashqay has not occurred, but at the stage of considerable influence there may be no correlation between explicitness and the ability of a structure to be adopted

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by a recipient language. It may be that certain linguistic structures are more susceptible to adoption by another language, but the converse expectation, that there is a linguistic property which inhibits the adoption of some structure, is not borne out by the data from Tajik and Qashqay.

Thus, with respect to the linguistic aspects of cross-language influence, a couple of conclusions can be drawn from the evidence. There appears to be no inherent, linguistically determined direction in which cross-language influence can be expected to occur between languages; any language could theoretically serve as a donor language for another. The only determining factor in this regard seems to be a sociological one. Moreover, while there may be linguistic structures that would typically be transferred as the result of cross-language influence, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish some linguistic property for a given structure that would render that structure less susceptible to adoption than another comparable structure.

It should also be pointed out that while Tajik and Qashqay have undergone comparable changes and have attained similar levels of cross-language influence, the sociological conditions in which they have done so are distinctly different. In Section 2.1., it was maintained that two types of language diffusion could be observed in the history of the Central Asian languages, an urban-centered diffusion and a rural-centered diffusion. This differentiation seems to be applicable as well to the set of

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conditions under which cross-language influence has occurred in Tajik and Qashqay. The Uzbek influence on Tajik represents the transfer of linguistic features from a language spoken predominantly in rural communities into a language associated with urban communities, while in the case of the Iranian influence on Qashqay (and Uzbek as well), the transfer of such features was from a language spoken chiefly in urban communities into a language spoken in rural areas. It is hardly surprising that cross-language influence on the scale being discussed here and language diffusion (which results in a language shift, or language death, in certain communities) should take place under similar kinds of sociological conditions. But it should not be assumed from this that there is a necessary connection between the two phenomena, that is, that cross-language influence of this kind represents a phase in the history of a language which, inevitably or typically, leads to the total loss of that language. In fact, it has been suggested that cross-language influence of this nature is a "typical mark of stable bilingualism", which will not result in a language shift [Weinreich 1953/1968:109]. Basically, there will be other factors involved in the determination of whether the societal bilingualism of the Tajik- and Qashqay-speaking communities is stable and long-term or whether it represents a step towards a major language shift [cf., the remarks in Ibid., pp. 106-110 and in Fasold 1984:213-242]. What is of interest here is not the relationship between cross-language influence and a

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possible language shift, but the similarity in the sociological conditions that give rise to both phenomena.

There may be expectations that cross-language influence and language shift "typically" take place in a set of sociological conditions in which centers of culture, i.e., cities and towns where a literary tradition has developed, dominate the rural areas where a different language is spoken. Weinreich reports, "The linguistic diffusion proceeding from urban centers to the surrounding countryside has been repeatedly demonstrated by dialectologists, especially the Marburg school..." [Weinreich 1953/1968:96-97]. However, as has just been noted in the case of Uzbek interaction with Tajik, the change in the linguistic situation can operate in the oppositie direction, from rural areas to urban centers. Yet the changes can be just as profound, leading to extensive influence or to language shift. Weinreich himself was aware of the multitude of conditions under which such changes could take place, and he warned that the "configuration of dominance" among differing speech varieties may be complicated [Ibid., p. 108]. Certainly, the situation in the Turkic/Iranian-speaking area confirms this point. Thus, although there may be "typical" sociologial conditions under which extensive cross-language influence and language diffusion take place, they are by no means prerequisites for changes along these lines. Atypical, or unexpected, circumstances may give rise to the same kinds of changes as typical circumstances do. Thus, if there is something to be derived from an examination of the

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conditions that helped bring about the cross-language influence in Tajik and Qashqay, it is that typical conditions for such changes--both sociological and linguistic--are not necessary ones.

. . . . . .

A second issue raised in the course of this investigation concerns the revisions need to present adequate descriptions of the data and provide for a comparison between the grammars of Tajik, Uzbek, Qashqay, and Persian. These revisions included a new approach to the analysis of the Turkic and Iranian simplex verb paradigms and the introduction of a few new formal concepts, namely the feature [NONCOMMITTAL] for the tense/aspect/mood paradigm; the node VB; the subcategories sb and hd; the cover term GM for constituent-structure representation; and the ordering relationships Str-I, Str-F, Str-Sec, and Str-Med. While these concepts were introduced specifically in order to describe the changes brought about in the verb systems of these languages as the result of cross-language influence, it is hoped that they can have a more general application. Thus, the feature [NONCOMMITTAL] was posited to account for the specific grammatical oppositions in the Uzbek and Tajik paradigms, but it was also found to be useful in characterizing the regularities in the grammatical marking of Uzbek SbS's (see Section 2.2.2.). It was also maintained in that section that the notion of the Noncommittal may be applicable to the description of the verb systems of other languages.

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The categories VB, sb, and hd were closely connected with a description of verb serialization, just as VB and GM were connected with an account of the simplex verb paradigm (see especially the subsection on the formal characterization of verb serialization in Uzbek and Tajik in Section 2.3.). But these categories may prove useful in the representation of other constituent structures as well. In fact, the cover term GM was introduced in Chapter 1 mainly to provide for general statements on what constitutes consistency in the order of constituents, but it is clear that it can serve other purposes as well, for instance, in a fuller description of loan syntax in Tajik and Qashqay. In such an investigation, GM could serve as a cover term for the correspondences that were made by speakers of the recipient languages in an attempt to link certain case markers, postpositions, and prepositions. Consider examples (174b), (201), and (208) in Chapter 2. In sentences (174b) and (201), a NP is marked by a preposition (ӣz or ӣC-) in Tajik, but by a case marker (-dӣn) in Uzbek, and in the sentence (208), a SbS is marked with a preposition (ta) and an infinitive in the genitive case (giriftӣn-ӣ) in Tajik, but with a gerundive marker (-gunčӣ) in Uzbek, with both conveying the meaning 'until'. All of these markers could be covered readily by the term "GM", but not by category labels that are more specific, such as "Preposition", "Case Marker", "Gerundive", or the like. The cover term enables the investigator to link these markers within a single category, GM, and then make the appropriate comparisons with regard to their

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functions in the syntax. There is no reason to assume that the category GM would not prove useful in the description of languages outside of the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region as well.

Basically, if the descriptions of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay here are considered adequate at some level, it might be worthwhile examining the validity of these underlying concepts in connection with the descriptions of other languages.

. . . . . .

Of course, the issue of greatest concern here involves the nature of loan syntax, as revealed by the data in Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay. The ways in which cross-language influence affects the syntactic component are not well understood, and so a thorough investigation of the data in these three languages should provide insights into this process. The results of this investigation say something about the particular types of changes involved in loan syntax and about the overall effect of cross-language influence on the syntax of the recipient language.

First a few remarks would be in order about the predictability of the changes brought about by cross-language influence. One of the unknowns about extensive cross-language influence, the kind that produces changes in grammatical structures, is the degree to which it is regular and predictable, that is, the degree to which the changes in the recipient language can be expected based on a knowledge of the linguistic structures of the two languages involved. Uzbek and Qashqay represent good

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test cases of this, since they are genetically related languages which have both been exposed to cross-language influence form Persian-Tajik. The conditions are not ideal since they belong to two different branches of the Turkic languages (see Chapter 1), but this genetic divergence does not invalidate the usefulness of the data. There are, in fact, some similarities in the changes brought about by Iranian influence--the introduction of the Str-I GM's ki 'that' and ta 'up to' and probably, the loss of the vowel i as a separate phoneme. But of more relevance to the issue of predictability are the differences in the changes that have happened, in particular, the differences that cannot be attributed to some kind of quantitative difference in the degree of influence, whereby the language with the more extensive influence exhibits a more though "Iranization". The clearest case of such a differene in the Iranian-induced changes is phonological, the loss of vowel harmony and certain vowel distinctions in Uzbek vs. their retention in Qashqay. However, the use of different verb forms as the counterpart of the Iranian Subjunctive is also illustrative (see Section 3.1.). Perhaps a closer examination of the history of Uzbek and Qashqay could reveal reasons why the changes progressed as they did, but in these two particular cases the causes are not clear. For instance, the marker ğay/gäy, the cognate form to the Qashqay Subjunctive in ä, was used in earlier stages of Uzbek (at least as revealed by the grammar of the literary language Chagatay [Eckmann 1966:160-161]), but it is not clear why a correlation was not made between it and the Iranian

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Subjunctive as in the case of the Oghuz languages. Thus the suspicion arises that, like other types of historical development in language, the changes brought about by cross-language influence do not take place in predictable ways.

As for the nature of loan syntax, the evidence from Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay provides some insights into the types of changes that can be brought about by cross-language influence.

(i) Despite the virtual convergence observed in the simplex verb paradigms of Tajik and Qashqay, not one of the bound, inflectional morphemes used in the donor language was borrowed. This fact confirms the findings elsewhere that the outright transfer of such morphemes is quite rare in the languages of the world [Weinreich 1953/1968:31]. In other areas of the syntax besides the verb system, the borrowing of inflectional (or at least "nonderivational") morphemes is rare. In Qashqay only the morphemes -tär and -tärin, used to express comparison in adjectives, have been borrowed, ex. sowuğ-tär 'colder' from sowuğ 'cold'; böyüg-tärin 'biggest, oldest (among siblings)' from böyüg 'big'. In some dialects of Northern Tajik, the borrowing of an Uzbek case marker can be foudn, but it occurs as a postposition, not as a case marker, as can be seen from the following example, in which the Ubek ablative -dän is used in combination with the Iranian preposition äz:

äz	saät-i	du-dän	mäylis	sär šut
from	hour-IZA	two-ABL	meeting	begin+PPFV

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(literally:) 'the meeting began since two o'clock' (Chust dialect) [Rastorguyeva 1963:78]

In addition, the comparative suffix -raq can be added to the Iranian suffix -tär in the Chust dialect, ex., tez-tär-raq or tez-raq-tär 'quicker, more quickly' [Rastorguyeva 1964:141]. But otherwise, the direct transfer of a bound, nonderivational morpheme is not found in Tajik and Qashqay.

(ii) There have been shifts in the meaning and/or function of certain items as the result of external influence. A clear example is the shft of the Perfect indicative form räftäs in Tajik to the Past noncommittal slot in the verb paradigm. The cognate form in Persian, räfte äst, has apparently acquired a similar noncommittal meaning as the result of Turkic influence, but it seems to be used much less frequently in this capacity than its Tajik counterpart. The use of the Qashqay Past perfective di in SbS's to refer to the future is another example of such a shift. Of course, this type of change in the syntactic component resembles the change in meaning of certain lexical items, in which the semantic range is modified or expanded as the result of the influence from a lexical item in the donor language [Weinreich 1953/1968:48; Bynon 1977:237]. As can be seen from the use of räftäs in some dialects, the adopted meaning can become predominant, and the original meaning can become rare, if not obsolete.

(iii) As was discussed at the end of Section 3.2.2., the Turkic languages Uzbek and Qashqay have experienced the loss of

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certain grammatical distinctions and mechanisms as the result of Iranian influence. It may be unexpected that cross-language influence could have this type of effect; after all, the underlying claim is that the absence of a counterpart in the donor language causes an original structure to be lost. This type of change would thus be more suspect than the adoption of a new item or a new grammatical distinction or mechanism. But, as was mentioned in Section 3.2.2., there is too much convincing evidence in the Turkic languages of just such a change, and no other explanation is as plausible. It seems necessary then to accept the notion that cross-language influence can lead to the loss of an original linguistic structure. It should also be pointed out how far-reaching such a change can be; the elimination of verb serialization in Qashqay, for example, represents a radical departure from the syntax of a typical Turkic language. It has not only affected verbal coordination, but also any verbal modification through the use of auxiliaries. Main Verb + Auxiliary structures can no longer be constructed with a nonfinite (gerundive) verb form, but only with finite forms for both verbs, as is appartently the tendency in Modern Persian. Moreover, the loss of certain vowel distinctions and vowel harmony in Uzbek was just as far-reaching a change in the phonological component. Thus, because its impact may be quite considerable, this type of change cannot be considered a minor variety of cross-language influence or of any less significance than any other type. The only apparent difference is that the loss of linguistic structure

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as the result of cross-language influence seems to be less common than other types of change.

(iv) The type of change most identified with cross-language influence is the adoption of new items or in the case of influence on grammatical structures, of new distinctions and mechanisms. The new acquisitions that were focused on here are not just simple items, but rather structures of great complexity. In particular, Tajik acquired a new means of combining VB's, the verb serialization mechanism of Uzbek, and both Tajik and Qashqay acquired a new set of tense/aspect/mood relationships for verbs, the simplex verb paradigms of their respective donor languages. However, as was pointed out in the summary discussion of Section 2.2.3., the borrowing has involved not just the verb serialization mechanism and the verb paradigm in the abstract, but also the idiosyncratic properties of these structures. Tajik, for instance, has adopted from Uzbek the idiosyncratic means of marking the negative in the Perfect as well as its two (virtually ?) synonymous Intentional moods. Neither peculiarity provides any new means of conveying a syntactic or semantic distinction and could therefore be regarded as functionally superfluous. But, apparently, in attempting to replicate the donor-language paradigm, the speakers of the recipient language have not differentiated between what is of systematic significance in the paradigm and what is not; the structure has been adopted as a whole, with only the limitations imposed by the original system preventing its absolute replication.

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While an enumeration of the types of change observed in the history of Tajik and Qashqay provides an indication of the range of effects that can be brought about by cross-language influence, it does not suggest anything about the process as a whole or about the overall result of the changes. If there is a pattern that emerges from the evidence presented here, it is that the external influence upon these languages has not been random. That is, the speakers of Tajik and Qashqay have not selected for adoption certain items in a grammatical category at random, say items A and C out of the verb paradigm, and rejected others, say, items B and D. On the contrary, they have adopted the whole set of relationships in the donor language, with only a few exceptions. Apparently, loan syntax on this kind of scale involves not merely a few adjustments to the original set of grammatical structures, but rather the creation of a new set of structures, which correspond closely to the structures in the donor language. That is a syntactic convergence has arisen on the basis of this type of cross-language influence. Thus it can be said that the loan syntax observed in Tajik and Qashqay has been essentially systematic.

It seems to be this property of loan syntax, that is, its systematic character, that distinguishes it from ordinary lexical borrowing. There seems to be little of the truly systematic in the choice of lexical items that are borrowed, other than the adoption of what is "new" to a culture. There may be a

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correlation between the type of sociological conditions under which cross-language influence takes place and the kind of lexical items borrowed (for instance, a rural-centered pattern of influence may lead to a greater number of borrowings in the domestic and agricultural spheres than an urban-centered pattern), but there is probably no systematic pattern behind the adoption of specific lexical items. For example, it appears to be rather arbitrary that the Darband dialect of Northern Tajik has borrowed the Uzbek word for 'roof' tam, while other dialects just as thoroughly, if not more, influenced by Uzbek, such as the Ferghana Valley dialects and the Oratepa and Sharistan dialects, retain the Iranian word bam [Rastorguyeva 1963:54 and 1964:151]. True, the borrowing of derivational morphology, perhaps to be considered a type of lexical borrowing, can have systematic consequences for a recipient language, but notice that this type of influence differs from loan sytax (at least of the kind discussed here) in that it usually involves the direct transfer of a morpheme. As was pointed out above, the cross-language influence on the Tajik and Qashqay verb systems has not involved the transfer of a single inflectional morpheme.

It would be legitimate to ask in what way loan syntax in Tajik and Qashqay has been systematic. It might be expected that the innovations in the recipient language could be supplementary, that is, that they could have added novel distinctions to the original set of grammatical structures. It might be possible to argue that this is the case for Tajik, since it has acquired new

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verbal distinctions (the Noncommittal and Intentional moods) and a new mechanism for VB combination. But the changes in Qashqay cannot similarly be described as "supplementary", since many involve the loss of structures or their reduction in status. Perhaps, the linguistic structures adopted by the recipient language could be regarded as having some advantageous property, such as "explicitness" in the form-to-meaning relationship, but again this characterization hardly seems appropriate for the changes in Qashqay, particularly for the loss of verb serialization, as opposed to its acquisition in Tajik. And as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the changes in the Tajik and Qashqay verb paradigms do not indicate that there is an inherent linguistic property that makes one donor-language paradigm more advantageous than another in this respect. Nevertheless, there does appear to be an overall direction which the changes brought about by cross-language influence have taken, namely, towards minimizing the syntactic differences between the two languages involved. Whether new items or distinctions have been adopted or whether original structures have been lost, the result has been that the recipient language has come to resemble the donor language more closely. This point is an obvious one, but it is worth emphasizing, because in cataloguing the types of changes involved, the investigator may lose sight of what the consequences of the changes are. It is also worth noting how extraordinarily close the syntactic convergence between the two languages can become.

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There is, of course, nothing requiring that this be so. It is conceivable that in a bilingual community (or in a bilingual individual, for that matter), the two languages could be kept distinct and compartmentalized, so that there would be no "interference" from either (Weinreich's term seems quite appropriate here). Both languages could develop as if in a monolingual community. But this has not happened in the case of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay or in linguistic areas outside of the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region. Apparently, in the Tajik- and Qashqay-speaking communities, an accomodation between the mother tongue and the nonindigenous language was sought, and a remarkable degree of convergence was achieved.

Notice that ascribing the changes brought about by cross-language influence to an attempt by the Tajik and Qashqay communities to minimize the differences between the languages involved amounts to a teleological account of these changes. Ordinarily, a great deal of skepticism must be exercised when teleological explanations are adduced for linguistic phenomena, but if there is any type of linguistic behavior that may plausibly be accounted for in teleological terms (outside of conscious language planning), then cross-language influence on the scale being discussed here is surely of that type. It is apparently not a conscious activity, but it does have a kind of functionally beneficial consequence, namely, it appears to facilitate the use (and acquisition ?) of both languages. Hence, it would not seem

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unreasonable to attribute a general direction to the changes that have taken place under these circumstances.

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Not only do the data from the Tajik and Qashqay verb systems provide insights into the nature loan syntax, but they also raise questions of broader interest, questions pertaining to linguistic theory in general. One such issue concerns the abstract structures posited by the linguist to represent certain linguistic phenomena and their status within a grammatical model. In this investigation notions such as the "simplex verb paradigm", "verb serialization", and "verb system" have been used for descriptive purposes, but is there a justification, based on the data, for granting them a position in a formal theory of grammar, or are they artifacts of the analyst's attempt to present the data in an orderly fashion?

Consider the notion of "verb serialization". It has been presented here as a unitary mechanism covering a number of grammatical phenomena--adverbial modification of a Main Verb, VB coordination, auxiliary modification of a Main Verb, and lexicalized verbal compounds. But this unitary treatment raises questions about formal representation in a grammar, namely, should verb serialization be represented as a single process in some way, or do rules needed in the representation of other grammatical structures also generate what is encompassed by the term "verb serialization"? If the latter more accurately reflects the status

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of verb serialization in a formal grammar, the concept of verb serialization itself would more properly be regarded as an artifact of the analyst's methodology and not as an attempt to represent what belongs in a formal grammar of a language that reflects a speaker's linguistic knowledge. Presumably, this is an empirical issue, which appropriate data would elucidate, and therefore the investigator would need to determine what data is "appropriate".

What is the evidence in the languages being discussed here with regard to the status of verb serialization? Uzbek has the original Turkic serialization mechanism, and it is not readily apparent what light the Uzbek data could shed on this issue. A more promising line of investigation would be to examine what has happened to this Turkic mechanism in other languages under the conditions of extensive cross-language influence. If only certain aspects of verb serialization, for instance, only constructions with auxiliaries and directionals or only VB coordination, were transferred in the course of this influence, the evidence might indicate that a rule encompassing only those aspects had been transferred, and not the process of verb serialization as a whole. Or, since it has been shown that the loss of grammatical distinctions and mechanisms is possible under cross-language influence, the loss of certain elements of verb serialization, perhaps in combination with the loss of other grammatical structures not directly associated with serialization, may indicate how those particular aspects are to be represented

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formally in a grammar. But as is clear from the discussion here, this has not been the case. Tajik has acquired verb serialization from Uzbek virtually as a whole, and Qashqay has lost this Turkic mechanism virtually in its entirety. If the evidence from these two languages indicates anything, it is that verb serialization is treated as a unitary mechanism capable of being acquired or lost as a whole. Admittedly, other Tajik dialects as well as Oghuz languages related to Qashqay, i.e., those speech varieties that have not undergone such extenseive external influence, may exhibit the partial acquisition or loss of verb serialization, but the question is, why don't Northern Tajik and Qashqay do likewise, that is, exhibit only a partial acquisition or loss? The suspicion is that the mechanism of verb serialization is a coherent linguistic process subject to total transfer or total loss under the proper conditions of cross-language influence.

If verb serialization is to be considered a unitary grammatical mechanism, what form should it assume in a grammar? In recent years, much attention has been focused on representing the foremost object of linguistic investigation, Universal Grammar, in terms of a principles-and-parameters model, a model that is sometimes called "government-binding theory" [see, for instance, Chomsky 1981/1982, 1982, and 1986; van Riemsdijk, Williams 1986]. This model contains a small number of general principles, which are refined and elaborated upon in various ways by a set of specific parameters in the grammar of a particular language. Although it is not clear from earlier research how verb

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serialization should be treated in this framework, it is reasonable to suppose that it could be represented as a parameter of some sort, in a subsystem concerned with phrase-structure representation. It would specify a particular method by which VB's are combined in subordination and coordination. And thus, the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay would suggest that there exists some sort of "verb serialization" parameter as such, and not as the product of some other mechanism.

Suppose that, despite the vagueness and incompleteness of these remarks, the general line of argumentation is accepted and verb serialization is regarded as some kind of parameter on the basis of the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay. The question then arises, isn't the evidence from these two languages just as solid in favor of positing the existence of a unitary set of tense/aspect/mood distinctions, the simplex verb paradigm? After all, the verb paradigms of Uzbek and Persian were adopted virtually in their entirety, just as Tajik acquired the Uzbek verb serialization mechanism virtually in its entirety. A case might be made that the distinction between, say, the Indicative and the Noncommittal or between the Imperfective and the Perfective is a kind of parameter in the Inflectional category, and that the borrowing here involves changes in these parameters. However, as was pointed out above, it is not just a verbal distinction or two that was acquired by the recipient language, but rather the entire paradigm, along with many of its idiosycratic properties. The problem is that the verbal paradigm (as well as the nominal

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paradigm) has generally not been recognized by linguists as the kind of abstract structure that should be represented in a grammar separately. And yet the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay that supports the representation of verb serialization in a grammar also supports the representation of the verb paradigm in a grammar.

Several possibilities for the resolution of this problem suggest themselves at this point.

(i) Perhaps there are substantive differences between the acquisition (or loss) of verb serialization and the acquisition of the verb paradigm, which are not readily apparent but which would indicate that verb serialization should be treated as a legitimate linguistic structure in a grammar but that the paradigm should not be accorded such a status.

(ii) Perhaps the evidence from the cross-language influence in Tajik and Qashqay is inappropriate for a consideration of this issue, and nothing significant can be said about the status of either verb serialization or the verb paradigm in a grammar.

(iii) Perhaps the evidence is convincing, and both serialization and the paradigm can be accepted as full-fledged linguistic structures in a grammar.

In the last-mentioned case, the paradigm would obviously need to be incorporated into a grammar of a language in some way. A morphological subcomponent might be established outside the syntactic component, in the lexicon or perhaps in the phonological

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component, and the paradigm as such might be an appropriate linguistic structure in that subcomponent. Since the lexicon is considered a catalogue of individual items, it may be natural for this cataloguing to take the form of a set of oppositions like the paradigm.

This idea may have some merit, but it may also have some unfortunate consequences. The elimination of the inflectional morphological processes expressed by the paradigm from the syntactic component and their inclusion in the lexicon may simplify elements of the syntax, but this merely increases the complexity of the lexicon. The systematic character of the paradigm would still need to be accounted for by the linguist, and the same analytical problems would still need to be resolved. Notice, moreover, that a framework in which the verb paradigm belongs to the lexicon and verb serialization to the syntactic component differs significantly from the framework adopted here, one in which the paradigm and serialization are encompassed by the concept of the "verb system", implicitly a structure in the syntactic component. It may be desirable for various reasons to separate formally the verb paradigm from verb serializtion, but in such a case it would become more difficult to explain why in Uzbek and Tajik the expression of certain verb distinctions through verb serialization (in particular, CVC's that denote aspect) resembles the expression of verbal distinctions by means of verb forms in the paradigm. It would become more difficult to explain why drawing a boundary between CVC's and simplex verbs seems to be

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arbitrary in some cases (compare the comments in connection with examples (211) and (212) in Chapter 2).

Obviously, the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay by itself cannot be expected to provide a resolution to the issue of how to represent certain abstract structures in a grammar. Rather, it compels the analyst to approach the issue head-on and to pose the relevant questions in a more knowledgeable way. That, along with the insights into the nature of loan syntax provided by the evidence, makes the study of the Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay verb systems of value.

(iii) As was discussed at the end of Section 3.2.2., the Turkic languages Uzbek and Qashqay have experienced the loss of certain grammatical distinctions and mechanisms as the result of Iranian influence. It may be unexpected that cross-language influence could have this type of effect; after all the underlying claim is that the absence of a counterpart in the donor language causes an original structure to be lost. This type of change would thus be more suspect than the adoption of a new item or a new grammatical distinction or mechanism. But, as was mentioned in Section 3.2.2., there is too much convincing evidence in the Turkic languages of just such a change, and no other explanation is as plausible. It seems necessary then to accept the notion that cross-language influence can lead to the loss of an original linguistic structure. It should also be pointed out how far-reaching such a change can be; the elimination of verb serialization in Qashqay, for example, represents a radical departure from the syntax of a typical Turkic language. It has not only affected verbal coordination, but also any verbal modification through the use of

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auxiliaries. Main Verb + Auxiliary structures can no longer be constructed with a nonfinite (gerundive) verb form, but only with finite forms for both verbs, as is appartently the tendency in Modern Persian. Moreover, the loss of certain vowel distinctions and vowel harmony in Uzbek was just as far-reaching a change in the phonological component. Thus, because its impact may be quite considerable, this type of change cannot be considered a minor variety of cross-language influence or of any less significance than any other type. The only apparent difference is that the loss of linguistic structure as the result of cross-language influence seems to be less common than other types of change.

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functionally superfluous. But, apparently, in attempting to replicate the donor-language paradigm, the speakers of the recipient language have not differentiated between what is of systematic significance in the paradigm and what is not; the structure has been adopted as a whole, with only the limitations imposed by the original system preventing its absolute replication.

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It seems to be this property of loan syntax, that is, its systematic character, that distinguishes it from ordinary lexical borrowing. There seems to be little of the truly systematic in the choice of lexical items that are borrowed, other than the adoption of what is "new" to a culture. There may be a correlation between the type of sociological conditions under which cross-language influence takes place and the kind of lexical items borrowed (for instance, a rural-centered pattern of influence may lead to a greater number of borrowings in the domestic and agricultural spheres than an urban-centered pattern), but there is probably no systematic pattern behind the adoption of specific lexical items. For example, it appears to be rather arbitrary that the Darband dialect of Northern Tajik has borrowed the Uzbek word for 'roof' tam, while other dialects just as thoroughly, if not more, influenced by Uzbek, such as the Ferghana Valley dialects and the Oratepa and Sharistan dialects, retain the Iranian word bam [Rastorguyeva 1963:54 and 1964:151]. True, the borrowing of derivational morphology, perhaps to be considered a type of lexical borrowing, can have systematic consequences for a recipient language, but notice that this type of influence differs from loan sytax (at least of the kind discussed here) in that it usually involves the direct transfer of a morpheme. As was pointed out above, the cross-language influence on the Tajik and Qashqay verb systems has not involved the transfer of a single inflectional morpheme.

It would be legitimate to ask in what way loan syntax in Tajik and Qashqay has been systematic. It might be expected that the innovations in the recipient language could be supplementary, that is, that they

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could have added novel distinctions to the original set of grammatical structures. It might be possible to argue that this is the case for Tajik, since it has acquired new verbal distinctions (the Noncommittal and Intentional moods) and a new mechanism for VB combination. But the changes in Qashqay cannot similarly be described as "supplementary", since many involve the loss of structures or their reduction in status. Perhaps, the linguistic structures adopted by the recipient language could be regarded as having some advantageous property, such as "explicitness" in the form-to-meaning relationship, but again this characterization hardly seems appropriate for the changes in Qashqay, particularly for the loss of verb serialization, as opposed to its acquisition in Tajik. And as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the changes in the Tajik and Qashqay verb paradigms do not indicate that there is an inherent linguistic property that makes one donor-language paradigm more advantageous than another in this respect. Nevertheless, there does appear to be an overall direction which the changes brought about by cross-language influence have taken, namely, towards minimizing the syntactic differences between the two languages involved. Whether new items or distinctions have been adopted or whether original structures have been lost, the result has been that the recipient language has come to resemble the donor language more closely. This point is an obvious one, but it is worth emphasizing, because in cataloguing the types of changes involved, the investigator may lose sight of what the consequences of the changes are. It is also worth noting how extraordinarily close the syntactic convergence between the two languages can become.

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There is, of course, nothing requiring that this be so. It is conceivable that in a bilingual community (or in a bilingual individual, for that matter), the two languages could be kept distinct and compartmentalized, so that there would be no "interference" from either (Weinreich's term seems quite appropriate here). Both languages could develop as if in a monolingual community. But this has not happened in the case of Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay or in linguistic areas outside of the Turkic/Iranian-speaking region. Apparently, in the Tajik- and Qashqay-speaking communities, an accomodation between the mother tongue and the nonindigenous language was sought, and a remarkable degree of convergence was achieved.

Notice that ascribing the changes brought about by cross-language influence to an attempt by the Tajik and Qashqay communities to minimize the differences between the languages involved amounts to a teleological account of these changes. Ordinarily, a great deal of skepticism must be exercised when teleological explanations are adduced for linguistic phenomena, but if there is any type of linguistic behavior that may plausibly be accounted for in teleological terms (outside of conscious language planning), then cross-language influence on the scale being discussed here is surely of that type. It is apparently not a conscious activity, but it does have a kind of functionally beneficial consequence, namely, it appears to facilitate the use (and acquisition ?) of both languages. Hence, it would not seem unreasonable to attribute a general direction to the changes that have taken place under these circumstances.

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Not only do the data from the Tajik and Qashqay verb systems provide insights into the nature loan syntax, but they also raise questions of broader interest, questions pertaining to linguistic theory in general. One such issue concerns the abstract structures posited by the linguist to represent certain linguistic phenomena and their status within a grammatical model. In this investigation notions such as the "simplex verb paradigm", "verb serialization", and "verb system" have been used for descriptive purposes, but is there a justification, based on the data, for granting them a position in a formal theory of grammar, or are they artifacts of the analyst's attempt to present the data in an orderly fashion?

Consider the notion of "verb serialization". It has been presented here as a unitary mechanism covering a number of grammatical phenomena--adverbial modification of a Main Verb, VB coordination, auxiliary modification of a Main Verb, and lexicalized verbal compounds. But this unitary treatment raises questions about formal representation in a grammar, namely, should verb serialization be represented as a single process in some way, or do rules needed in the representation of other grammatical structures also generate what is encompassed by the term "verb serialization"? If the latter more accurately reflects the status of verb serialization in a formal grammar, the concept of verb serialization itself would more properly be regarded as an artifact of the analyst's methodology and not as an attempt to represent what belongs in a formal grammar of a language that reflects a speaker's linguistic knowledge. Presumably, this is an empirical issue, which

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appropriate data would elucidate, and therefore the investigator would need to determine what data is "appropriate".

What is the evidence in the languages being discussed here with regard to the status of verb serialization? Uzbek has the original Turkic serialization mechanism, and it is not readily apparent what light the Uzbek data could shed on this issue. A more promising line of investigation would be to examine what has happened to this Turkic mechanism in other languages under the conditions of extensive cross-language influence. If only certain aspects of verb serialization, for instance, only constructions with auxiliaries and directionals or only VB coordination, were transferred in the course of this influence, the evidence might indicate that a rule encompassing only those aspects had been transferred, and not the process of verb serialization as a whole. Or, since it has been shown that the loss of grammatical distinctions and mechanisms is possible under cross-language influence, the loss of certain elements of verb serialization, perhaps in combination with the loss of other grammatical structures not directly associated with serialization, may indicate how those particular aspects are to be represented formally in a grammar. But as is clear from the discussion here, this has not been the case. Tajik has acquired verb serialization from Uzbek virtually as a whole, and Qashqay has lost this Turkic mechanism virtually in its entirety. If the evidence from these two languages indicates anything, it is that verb serialization is treated as a unitary mechanism capable of being acquired or lost as a whole. Admittedly, other Tajik dialects as well as Oghuz languages related to Qashqay, i.e., those speech varieties that

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have not undergone such extensive external influence, may exhibit the partial acquisition or loss of verb serialization, but the question is, why don't Northern Tajik and Qashqay do likewise, that is, exhibit only a partial acquisition or loss? The suspicion is that the mechanism of verb serialization is a coherent linguistic process subject to total transfer or total loss under the proper conditions of cross-language influence.

If verb serialization is to be considered a unitary grammatical mechanism, what form should it assume in a grammar? In recent years, much attention has been focused on representing the foremost object of linguistic investigation, Universal Grammar, in terms of a principles-and-parameters model, a model that is sometimes called "government-binding theory" [see, for instance, Chomsky 1981/1982, 1982, and 1986; van Riemsdijk, Williams 1986]. This model contains a small number of general principles, which are refined and elaborated upon in various ways by a set of specific parameters in the grammar of a particular language. Although it is not clear from earlier research how verb serialization should be treated in this framework, it is reasonable to suppose that it could be represented as a parameter of some sort, in a subsystem concerned with phrase-structure representation. It would specify a particular method by which VB's are combined in subordination and coordination. And thus, the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay would suggest that there exists some sort of "verb serialization" parameter as such, and not as the product of some other mechanism.

Suppose that, despite the vagueness and incompleteness of these remarks, the general line of argumentation is accepted and verb

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serialization is regarded as some kind of parameter on the basis of the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay. The question then arises, isn't the evidence from these two languages just as solid in favor of positing the existence of a unitary set of tense/aspect/mood distinctions, the simplex verb paradigm? After all, the verb paradigms of Uzbek and Persian were adopted virtually in their entirety, just as Tajik acquired the Uzbek verb serialization mechanism virtually in its entirety. A case might be made that the distinction between, say, the Indicative and the Noncommittal or between the Imperfective and the Perfective is a kind of parameter in the Inflectional category, and that the borrowing here involves changes in these parameters. However, as was pointed out above, it is not just a verbal distinction or two that was acquired by the recipient language, but rather the entire paradigm, along with many of its idiosycratic properties. The problem is that the verbal paradigm (as well as the nominal paradigm) has generally not been recognized by linguists as the kind of abstract structure that should be represented in a grammar separately. And yet the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay that supports the representation of verb serialization in a grammar also supports the representation of the verb paradigm in a grammar.

Several possibilities for the resolution of this problem suggest themselves at this point.

(i) Perhaps there are substantive differences between the acquisition (or loss) of verb serialization and the acquisition of the verb paradigm, which are not readily apparent but which would indicate that verb serialization should be treated as a legitimate linguistic

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structure in a grammar but that the paradigm should not be accorded such a status.

(ii) Perhaps the evidence from the cross-language influence in Tajik and Qashqay is inappropriate for a consideration of this issue, and nothing significant can be said about the status of either verb serialization or the verb paradigm in a grammar.

(iii) Perhaps the evidence is convincing, and both serialization and the paradigm can be accepted as full-fledged linguistic structures in a grammar.

In the last-mentioned case, the paradigm would obviously need to be incorporated into a grammar of a language in some way. A morphological subcomponent might be established outside the syntactic component, in the lexicon or perhaps in the phonological component, and the paradigm as such might be an appropriate linguistic structure in that subcomponent. Since the lexicon is considered a catalogue of individual items, it may be natural for this cataloguing to take the form of a set of oppositions like the paradigm.

This idea may have some merit, but it may also have some unfortunate consequences. The elimination of the inflectional morphological processes expressed by the paradigm from the syntactic component and their inclusion in the lexicon may simplify elements of the syntax, but this merely increases the complexity of the lexicon. The systematic character of the paradigm would still need to be accounted for by the linguist, and the same analytical problems would still need to be resolved. Notice, moreover, that a framework in which the verb paradigm belongs to the lexicon and verb serialization to the

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syntactic component differs significantly from the framework adopted here, one in which the paradigm and serialization are encompassed by the concept of the "verb system", implicitly a structure in the syntactic component. It may be desirable for various reasons to separate formally the verb paradigm from verb serializtion, but in such a case it would become more difficult to explain why in Uzbek and Tajik the expression of certain verb distinctions through verb forms in the paradigm. It would become more difficult to explain why drawing a boundary between CVC's and simplex verbs seems to be arbitrary in some cases (compare the comments in connection with examples (211) and (212) in Chapter 2).

Obviously, the evidence from Tajik and Qashqay by itself cannot be expected to provide a resolution to the issue of how to represent certain abstract structures in a grammar. Rather, it compels the analyst to approach the issue head-on and to pose the relevant questions in a more knowledgeable way. That, along with the insights into the nature of loan syntax provided by the evidence, makes the study of the Tajik, Uzbek, and Qashqay verb systems of value.

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FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Any determination of what constitutes the "indigenous population" of Central Asia is subject to criticism. For the calculation of the 86-89% figure certain borderline decisions had to be made. It is relatively clear that Europeans (Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Baltic peoples, etc.), Caucasian nationalities (Azerbaijanis, Armenians, etc.), and the Koreans should not be included in the set of indigenous peoples. It would also have been desirable to exclude the Crimean Tatars and to include the Central Asian Jews who have inhabited the region for generations, but since the census figures provide no breakdown for these two groups, it was decided to include all the Tatars but exclude the Jews from the determination of the indigenous population. The Tatars, as well as the Bashkirs, Uighurs, and Dungans, are incorporated into the indigenous population for the purposes here because they share linguistic or cultural (religious) affinities with the rest of the population. The calculation of 86-89% was made on the basis of the 1979 census, published in the journal Vestnik statistiki, No. 7, pp. 41-43; No. 9, pp. 61-70; No. 10, pp 72-73; No. 11, pp. 60-67 -- all from 1980. The number of Turkic-speaking peoples in Central Asia was calculated to be 23,998,095. The amounts for the Karakalpaks, Uighurs, and Bashkirs were arrived at by using the percentage for each of these nationalities that was living in Central Asia at the time of the 1970 census, for which fuller information on the small minorities is available [Kollektiv 1973]. The total 1979 population of the five Central Asian republics was 40,167,390, of which slightly more than 30% can be classified as "nonindigenous".

2. The problems inherent in any census with regard to determining societal bilingualism are well-known (cf., Fasold 1984:113-124; Lieberson 1966/1981:281-303), but each census has some shortcomings peculiar to it. In the case of the 1979 data on second-language proficiency in Uzbekistan, there is a genuine suspicion that the figures were intentionally inflated in the favor of Russian. For instance, in 1970, 37,818 Tajiks in the Uzbek SSR claimed fluent knowledge of Russian as a second language, while nine years later, for the census of 1979, that figure had risen to 206,636, in other words a 446.4% increase.

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Compare that to the situation in Tajikistan itself; the increase in Russian-language fluency was from 270,015 to 622,015, that is, 130.4%. Similarly extraordinary increases were reported for other nationalities in Uzbekistan (for example, 453.4% for the Uzbeks), but nowhere else in the Soviet Union were such astonishing results obtained. In addition, the proportion of those Tajiks in Uzbekistan claiming Uzbek as a second language as opposed to Russian underwent a dramatic change in just nine years:

Percentage of Tajiks in Uzbek SSR claiming second-language fluency

	in Uzbek	in Russian
1970	31.8%	8.43%
1979	28.1%	34.75%

[Above data drawn from Vestnik statistiki, No. 9, 1980, p. 61; No. 11, 1980, p. 60; and Kollektiv 1973:202, 295.]

Since 1984 there have been accusations of large-scale corruption and other serious irregularities in Uzbekistan under the former Communist Party First Secretary Sharaf Rashidov, including allegations of systematic padding of economic indicators. It is therefore possible that the results of the 1979 census, which was conducted while Rashidov was in office, were influenced by a desire on the part of those in charge in Uzbekistan to produce good figures on the acquisition of Russian as a second language. The problem here is that this practice would probably have reduced the percentage of Tajiks who would have been recorded as knowing Uzbek. Thus the 1979 census data can be used only as an indication of wide-spread Tajik-Uzbek bilingualism, but not as a valid measure of that bilingualism.

3. This is not to deny that other social factors are involved in producing the kinds of cross-language influence observed. No doubt the "elite" status enjoyed by certain groups within the speech community plays a role, but the identification of the "elite" is, at least in the case of the Central Asian sedentary population, a highly complex matter. The discussion here is mainly concerned with examining a neglected social factor, rural-centered language diffusion, and with suggesting how it might have contributed to the type of cross-language influence observed in Tajik and Uzbek.

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4. This is not true of the nationality that is called "Tajik". Speakers of the Pamir languages and Yaghnabi, languages recognized as being distinct from the Tajik language, are nonetheless classified as belonging to the "Tajik" nationality. It is hardly at issue here whether the establishment of the Uzbek and Tajik nationalities were realistic reflections of the ethnic circumstances, but it should be noted that these essentially political determinations had an effect upon the development of the literary languages.

5. For the Tajik morphological examples, the verb rӓftӓn 'to go', present stem rӓv- and past stem rӓft-, will be used. The third person singular will be the cited form unless otherwise specified. An exemplar verb is used because morphemic boundaries are not as clear-cut in Tajik as they are in Uzbek and other Turkic languages.

6. These examples are not used in the sense 'pretend to ...', a possible meaning for -gӓn bol- in some Turkic languages.

7. One clear difference between the use of the Perfect in English and its use in the Turkic languages can be found in expressions meaning 'live/be somewhere for a certain period of time up to the present'. In the Turkic languages, a tense used ordinarily for the present can occur in such a context, see example (169) in this chapter. Of course, the main point here is not how a Perfect in one language compares with the verb form labeled the Perfect in another language, but how it fits into the set of oppositions within its own paradigm.

8. It is clear from the morphology that bargӓn is paired with another form, one with a past-time reference, bargän(i)di. Therefore, the feature [±PAST], required elsewhere in the paradigm, can be utilized to represent the opposition in the Perfect, despite the fact that bargӓn, apparently, does not conform to the range of temporal meanings possible with other Nonpast forms. Clearly, the ӓ/y form can be used to refer to the future, but it is unlikely that bargӓn can do likewise and mean 'he will have gone'. But there would be little gain in establishing another feature, such as [±PRESENT] to specify more accurately the temporal reference points of the two Perfect forms.

9. The native speakers of Ferghana Valley Uzbek from whom these sentences were elicited were all educated, and thus there may have been some interference from the Literary Uzbek they were exposed to. However, even if literary

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forms were given, it does not seem likely that they would alter in any crucial way the points being made here. There are also degrees of informality; for instance, in the Namangan dialect either mӓn 'I' or a less formal variant with a nasalized vowel and compensatory lengthening, mã:, may be used. Some phonetic detail has been omitted, and no attempt has been made to differentiate between phonetic [æ] and [a] (the central low vowel), which are both allophones of phonemic /ӓ/ in most of the Uzbek dialects considered in this investigation.

10. In the Namangan dialect, there is some vowel raising before high vowels, ӓ → ɛ, ɔ → o^{v}, o → u^{v}; hence qeri- instead of qӓri-, qamedi instead of qamӓdi, oliwaläy instead of aliwaläy, utur- instead of otur-. Although apparently o^{v} ≠ o and u^{v} ≠ u phonetically, the latter symbols are used in (34) and (35) exclusively.

11. The term "situation", taken from Comrie 1976:13, is a cover term for "states", "events", "processes", etc.

12. It is a peculiarity of the history of Uzbek (and Uighur) that the SbS marker which functions in this capacity is derived from gӓn, on the auxiliary tur- [Kononov 1960:238], and hence ends in gӓn or ǧan. In some other Turkic languages, this marker would be (ӓ)r or a related form. For instance, in Karachay, sentences similar to (45-48) would be marked with (V)r, lik, (V)rik, while sentences like (49) would have (u)wčan. However, the use of (ӓ)r as an attributive marker has become restricted to certain set expressions in Uzbek, ex., aqӓr suw 'flowing/running water'. Since CVC's provide for additional aspectual and modal distinctions in the Uzbek verb system, it is not unexpected that contractions of former CVC's have yielded present-day (y)atkӓn and ӓdigan. This is only one type of evidence suggesting that the differentiation between simplex verbs and CVC's is not clear-cut. The ability of CVC auxiliaries to mark aspect is merely an extension of the ability of the simplex verb paradigm to make similar distinctions.

13. This does not mean that oylӓ- can never occur with gӓn. The verb also means 'think about', and although there are no such examples readily available, it seems likely that a nominalized relative clause can serve as an object of oylӓ-: 'I thought about what you said', ?ӓyt-gӓn-iŋ-ni oylӓdim, where what = that which, cf., example (80). But in this case the SbS is not a complement S.

14. Assuming that the Noncommittal distinction in SbS's is an indigenous Turkic pattern, it is conceivable

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that Tajik influence could have led to a weakening of the distinction, but much more research would be required before any such explanation could be accepted.

15. This behavior of habituals with respect to simultaneous situations, as in (94) and (95) vs. similar anterior situations, might explain why bilän can occur with both (i)š and gän, but this possibility will not be further pursued here.

16. This list of verbs is derived from various sources: for Colloquial Uzbek, from field notes and from the folk tales in Reshetov, Shaabdurahmanov 1962:253-280; for Literary Uzbek, from field notes, the folk tale collection Chälpäk yaqqän kun, Kononov 1960:332, Äbdurähmanov 1958, and the dictionaries Borovkov 1959 and Mä"rufov 1981. Unfortunately, linguistic studies of Uzbek generally neglect the use of dep as a complementizer.

17. The linguistic and philosophical literature on the topic of presupposition is vast -- see, for instance, the bibliography in Oh and Dinneen 1979:389-403. However, since most of the issues covered in this literature are of little direct relevance to the discussion here, a summary presentation of the notion, that found in Levinson 1983, will suffice as a basis for comparison with speaker noncommitment.

18. In contemporary Uzbek, there are quite a number of sentential adverbs, but they are all (or nearly all ?) borrowings from Arabic via Tajik, or from Tajik itself, or are calques -- for a list of sentential adverbs in Literary Uzbek, see Kollektiv 1975:582-590.

19. Palmer 1986 deals with mood and modality from a universalist perspective and offers a framework within which modal categories can be represented in a grammar of a language. Although Palmer refers to speaker commitment to the truth of an utterance as a typical element of modality in the languages of the world, and although he discusses the evidential and the degree of speaker (un)certainty, he does not adopt something similar to the notion of noncommitment as it was presented here. The Noncommittal is a broad term encompassing various modal concepts, such as evidentiality, inference, quotative, dubitativeness, etc., and it may be that in certain languages only the feature [±NONCOMMITTAL] stands in opposition to the Indicative, while in other languages modality, in this semantic area, can be differentiated further, into more specific "noncommittal-type" oppositions, such as

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evidential, quotative, dubitative, etc.

20. I have had access only to the journal version of Grigor'yev's work, which does not contain his grammatical survey, and thus his observations on the relationship between Tajik and Uzbek grammatical forms cannot be discussed here.

21. Polivanov is somewhat confusing with regard to these three forms. The Tajik merəftəm (in the 1st person singular) is identified with the Uzbek barəydim, which is in fact the contracted form of (ə)r(i)di+m in the Samarkand dialect. But the form merəftə budəm is then equated with the noncontracted barər edim. Perhaps this means that merəft and merəftə bud are synonymous in the Samarkand dialect.

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FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. This opinion is by no means unanimous. For instance, Fättah Äbdulläyev, a doctor of philology in Tashkent, stated at a recent Turkology conference, "The explanation of such a large-scale phonetic phenomenon as the loss of vowel harmony by just external factors without taking into account language-internal changes seems to us not very convincing" [Äbdulläyev 1985:28]. He then went on to discuss variations in the Arabic-script representation of the low vowels in the classical literary language Chagatay. However, he does not explain how this variation could have contributed to the loss of the nonlow vowels ü, ö, and ï as phonemes or to the loss of vowel harmony in general. At the same conference Älibek Rustämov, also a doctor of philology in Tashkent, identified as one of the shortcomings in Uzbek historical phonology the assumption that the orthographic representation in classical texts reflects the actual sounds of the language. As an example, he discussed the representation of the low vowels and questioned whether variation in the orthographic symbols indicated a violation of vowel harmony. In other contexts, he argued against the position of Äbdulläyev, which suggests that he was interested mainly in refuting that scholar's claims [Rustämov 1985:57-59]. Generally speaking, when certain scholars question the validity of cross-language influence as the causative factor in a historical change, they do not explain how the changes could have occurred in the absence of this influence. They refer to a linguistic feature in the historical record that bears some resemblance to the current state of affairs, but do not attempt to trace the particular developments as they might have occurred. Thus, according to Äbdulläyev's position, a violation of vowel harmony in suffixes containing low vowels, presumably an internally motivated change, resulted in the total loss of the phenomenon, but there is no indication of what intermediate stages there were.

2. Even Äbdulläyev (see above note) characterizes the position of Uzbek in the following terms: "As a result of the loss of vowel harmony, Uzbek stands out as a distinctive island in the Turkic world" [Äbdulläyev 1985:28]. Violations of vowel harmony constraints are also characteristic of those Turkic dialects spoken in the Caucasus

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area in the vicinity of non-Turkic languages [Gadzhiyeva 1979:156].

3. On the integration of ki into the grammars of some Turkic languages, see Kuruoğlu 1980. There appears to be some confusion among the speakers of these languages over whether ki should be regarded as Str-I or Str-F, or even Str-Sec, and thus it may be misleading to claim, as she does, that "in certain sentences it has been totally assimilated into the syntactic structures of the Turkic languages, and often is used differently from the Persian ki" (p. 47). As an example of this point, she maintains that ke in Persian is not used at the end of a sentence, in contrast to the Turkish ki, which can occur in that position. In fact, Persian ke can occur in sentence-final position, apparently as a feature of the colloquial language [Lazard 1957a:252]. However, it may still be valid to maintain that ki, in some Turkic languages, can be used like a Turkic Str-F GM.

4. The use of ki in Afghan Uzbek is quite common, see Reichl 1983. Moreover, as in the Uzbek spoken in the Soviet Union, the Conditional corresponds to the Iranian Subjunctive in SbS's, ex.

men	xa(h)le-y-män	bu	ketab-di	satip	al-sä-m
I	want-NnP-1SG	this	book-ACC		buy-CND-1SG

'I want to buy this book' [ibid., p. 488]

Reichl points out the existence a similar construction in other Turkic languages that have experienced Iranian influence, in particular, Azerbaijani, but he does not mention the difference in the verb form used -- a true Subjunctive in Azerbaijani as opposed to the Conditional in Uzbek. Menges 1946-1949:695 also notes the use of the Conditional as the counterpart of the Iranian Subjunctive in Afghan Uzbek.

5. The forms expressing certainty, doubt, or probability in these sentences are all of Arabic origin, borrowed through Persian.

6. Compare the example (92a) to the Uzbek sentence (73b) in Chapter 2; note that because dep or deyä does not occur as a complementizer in Qashqay, the pattern in (73a) is impossible in Qashqay.

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