

**Research article**

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# Tajik-Wakhi language contact

<https://doi.org/10.33063/diva-490983>

**Abstract:** The present study of language contact between the Tajik (West-Iranian) and Wakhi (East-Iranian) languages spoken in Tajikistan has been undertaken from a synchronic perspective. Specific manifestations of the language contact are studied within the context of the current sociolinguistic situation of the endangered minority Wakhi language and in relation to code-switching, diglossia and borrowing. Tajik-Wakhi contact is understood as unidirectional; i.e., Wakhi is influenced by the majority and official Tajik language, but Tajik is not influenced in return. The study focuses on describing the contact-induced phenomena occurring on the level of morphosyntax, clause-combining and discourse. The phenomena addressed in the article are the use of the *ezafe* linking particle *-i*, the use of the Tajik plural endings *-o/-on*, the adversative conjunction *am(m)o*, the use of the borrowed subordinator *ki*, co-occurrence of the borrowed *ki* and *agar* with the native subordinator *ca*, and finally, interference of the Tajik verb system with the native Wakhi verb system in narration.

**Keywords:** Wakhi, Tajik, language contact, endangered languages, East-Iranian languages, Pamir languages

## 1 Introduction

Apart from its majority Tajik-speaking population, Tajikistan is home to a number of minority communities of speakers of East-Iranian languages, such as Yaghnobi, spoken in the areas around and north of the capital city Dushanbe, and a group of languages that, based on their geographical location, are known as the “Pamir languages”. These latter are Wakhi, Ishkashimi, Yazghulami and the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group. They are spoken in the eastern part of Tajikistan, in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

Language contact in Tajikistan is a highly relevant topic. It involves both historical and present-day contact between Iranian and neighbouring Turkic languages, as well between West- and East-Iranian languages. It also involves contact between the official, majority Tajik and the minority East-Iranian languages. The contact with Russian should not be neglected either, because Russian played a major role in the country during the Soviet era. Even today it still has a non-negligible influence, especially in the domains of administration and education. Language contact in Tajikistan can be studied diachronically in the context of historical and areal linguistics as well as synchronically in the context of sociolinguistics and descriptive linguistics. The present study is undertaken from a synchronic perspective. It aims to present the current situation of Wakhi as an endangered, East-Iranian, minority language existing in the context of the official, majority West-Iranian Tajik, and to discuss specific linguistic manifestations of the contact between the two languages.

Along with Iranian Persian, spoken in Iran, and Dari Persian, spoken in Afghanistan, Modern Tajik (also known as Tajik Persian) is a variety of New Persian spoken in Tajikistan. Modern standard Tajik is a literary language and the official language of Tajikistan, and unless otherwise noted this is what is referred to in this paper when discussing the language contact between Tajik and Wakhi. However, spoken Tajik is rich in dialects, and especially the southern and south-eastern ones must

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not be omitted from the discussion. Among the southern dialects Juraev et al. (2013: 13) list those of Karategin, Kulob, Rogh and Badakhshan.

The dialects of Badakhshan are especially relevant for the present discussion. They are described in detail by Rozenfel'd (1971). Rozenfel'd (1971: 6) and Dodikhudoeva (2004: 284) identify the following Badakhshani varieties of Tajik: those spoken in the areas of Ghoron, Ishkashim (Ishkashimi-Tajik), Wakhan (Wakhi-Tajik), and Shokhdara (Munji-Tajik); see Figure 1. According to Dodikhudoeva (2004: 284), the Munji-Tajik variety spoken in Shokhdara has already been replaced by Shughni.



**Figure 1:** Map of Tajikistan

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<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4867774> [Geographical names added by the author.]

Apart from the above-mentioned varieties of Tajik, Rozenfel'd (1971: 5) and Dodikhudoeva (2004: 284) mention a specific variety of Tajik – so-called “inter-Pamiri Farsi”. In Gorno-Badakhshan this is used as a language of wider communication between the Tajik and Pamir language-speaking populations, as well as among the speakers of different Pamir languages when communicating amongst themselves.<sup>1</sup> It functions as the language of religion, literature and culture. This “inter-Pamiri Farsi” evolved historically under the influence of Tajik dialects of Tajikistan and Tajik/Dari dialects of Afghanistan (Dodikhudoeva 2004: 285). As a literary language, it lies in-between literary Tajik and the Modern Persian of Iran (Dodikhudoeva 2004: 287). The use of this variety of literary Tajik is

**1** Sometimes Shughni, for example, is ascribed the role of lingua franca for the Pamir-language-speaking area (Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009: 788). This may be true for the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, however the speakers of Wakhi and Ishkashimi do not understand Shughni (unless they have lived in the Shughni-speaking area for some time, e.g., studying or working in Khorugh). Instead they use “inter-Pamiri Farsi” as the language of wider communication in the area.

maintained by the Isma'ili religious literature and teaching. However, the role of standard literary Tajik is nowadays being strengthened. This is mainly due to the increased availability of media (Tajik state TV became available in the area in the 1990s), improved educational opportunities, including the introduction of pre-school programmes for children, and greater mobility.

Although Tajik-Wakhi language contact can be described as unidirectional in the sense that, in the current sociolinguistic setting, it is Wakhi that is being influenced by Tajik, not vice-versa, it is also true that a considerable number of East-Iranian substrate elements are attested in southern and south-eastern Tajik dialects, especially regarding lexis, as observed by Juraev et al. (2013: 14), who explain it as a gradual displacement of East-Iranian languages by Persian, which already in the 7th–8th centuries of our era was established on the territory of present-day northern Afghanistan and in Central Asia, including southern Tajikistan. The long coexistence of Tajik dialects with East-Iranian Pamir languages has naturally left some traces in both.

Wakhi is one of the East-Iranian Pamir languages spoken in the border areas of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. Wakhi-speaking communities are also found in diaspora, mainly in Russia. The original home of the Wakhi people is the Wakhan valley, which is now a territory divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. According to Gulomaliev (2018: 47), out of a total of around 72,000 Wakhi speakers in the four above-mentioned countries, around 24,000 live in Tajikistan. Around 17,500 live in Afghanistan (Badakhshan province), 22,500 in Pakistan (Gilgit-Baltistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces) and 8,000 in China (Kashgar and Khotan prefectures in Xinjiang).

When Wakhi is discussed in this study, it is the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan that is meant. All observations are based on the analysis of original language data collected among Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan between 2010 and 2021. Part of the material was published in annotated corpora of Wakhi narratives (Obrtelová 2017 and 2019b). Apart from these, examples from the still unpublished text corpus will be used, as well as from the following Wakhi books recently published in Tajikistan: *Āikwor naqliš zavər* ('Wakhi stories for children', Shaidoev 2012), *Āikwor žindaiš* ('Wakhi folktales', Obrtelová et al. 2016) and *Bibijonvi naqliš* ('Bibijons' tales', Nematova and Murodalieva 2020).

In the other three countries where Wakhi is spoken, the language situation largely depends on the sociolinguistic context. In Afghanistan, the language contact between Wakhi and Dari will probably present a similar picture as that between Wakhi and Tajik in Tajikistan.

## 2 Wakhi in Tajikistan: Sociolinguistic situation

The sociolinguistic setting of Wakhi in Tajikistan, and consequently the potential for language contact, is very diverse. In Tajikistan, Wakhi is primarily spoken in the Wakhan valley (henceforth Wakhan) which falls under the administration of Ishkashim district (*Nohiya-i Iškošim*) in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (*Viloyat-i Muxtor-i Kūhiston-i Badaxšon*). To the west, Wakhi neighbours a small village, Ryn, inhabited by speakers of the Ishkashimi language, and the district centre Ishkashim where Wakhi-, Ishkashimi- and Tajik-speaking communities coexist. North of Ishkashim there is an area called Ghoron, which is inhabited by speakers of Badakhshani Tajik. Wakhi speakers also live in Murghob – a town in eastern Pamir – where they live alongside the Kyrgyz- and Shughni-speaking populations; see Figure 1. Tajik is used for inter-ethnic communication there. A community of Wakhi speakers also live south of the capital city Dushanbe in the Jomi district, in the village Pomir, to which they were relocated in the 1950s. Despite living in a predominantly Tajik-speaking area, the village is fully Wakhi-speaking. Moreover, in Wakhan – a predominantly Wakhi-speaking area – there are several villages where the Badakhshani variety of Tajik is spoken. These are Udit, Boybar (earlier Ramanit), Chiltiq, Yang and Nizhgar. Tajik, Ishkashimi and Wakhi are also spoken in the village of Dasht. In the sociolinguistic assessment of the language vitality of Wakhi in Tajikistan,

Müller et al. (2008: 5) identify four types of Wakhi-speaking communities in the Tajik Wakhan: homogeneous Tajik, Tajik-dominant, Wakhi-dominant, and homogeneous Wakhi.



Figure 2: Villages in the Wakhan valley (Obrtelová 2017: 18)

The Wakhi language represents a continuum of more or less inter-intelligible dialects. Steblin-Kamensky (1999: 10) and Pakhalina (1975: 8) identify three dialects of the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan: Lower (Western), spoken between the villages of Namadgut and Shitkharv; Central, spoken between Zmudg and Shirgin, and Upper (Eastern), spoken between Drizh and Ratm; see Figure 2. Gulomaliev (2018: 49) distinguishes between two dialects because, according to him, the Central dialect overlaps with the Lower and Upper dialects and therefore there is no reason to count it as a separate dialect. Lashkarbekov (2018: 16) supports a two-dialect division of Wakhi, with the Lower dialect being framed by the villages of Namadgut and Darshai, and the Upper dialect extending from Shitkharv to Ratm, with a sub-dialect of Langar spoken in Asor (Hisar), Langar and Ratm. Lashkarbekov (2018: 16–23) further discusses the main linguistic differences between the Lower and Upper dialects. Whether one supports the two- or three-dialect distinction in Wakhi, it is indisputable that along the dialect continuum, the further away that Wakhi speakers live from Tajik-speaking areas, the less language contact that occurs. Thus, the speech varieties of the Lower (Western) Wakhan are subject to considerably more influence from Tajik than the more remote varieties of the Upper (Eastern) Wakhan.

The intensity of the language contact occurring between Tajik and Wakhi does not only depend on the geographical proximity of the two languages, but is also shaped by factors such as language status, vitality, domains of use, and bilingualism. With regard to language status, it is a case of contact between the majority and official Tajik language on the one hand and the minority Wakhi language on the other.

Wakhi is counted among the endangered languages. UNESCO's online *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) lists Wakhi as “definitely endangered”, however in Tajikistan Wakhi can more likely be classified as “vulnerable”; i.e., “most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)”. *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021) lists Wakhi in Tajikistan under the category “threatened”, which means that the language “is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users”. However, in the light of the recent language development initiatives for Wakhi in Tajikistan since 2012, such as the introduction of an alphabet and the publication of several books in Wakhi (described in Obrtelová and Sohbnazarbekova 2018; Sohnb-

nazarbekova and Obrtelová 2020), and active use and promotion of Wakhi among its speakers, the status of Wakhi may even correspond to the category “vigorous”. In the terminology of *Ethnologue* (referring to Lewis and Simons, 2010), this means that “the language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable”. Naturally, the level of endangerment increases with the intensity of contact with Tajik.

The majority of Wakhi speakers are bi- or even multilingual. At least from the age of six, all children start not only learning Tajik but also learning *in* Tajik, as Tajik is the exclusive language of education. Moreover, in recent years, the concept of “*sadik*” (kindergarten) has successfully been implemented in the villages of Wakhan, and children as young as four years of age are exposed to Tajik, which facilitates the transition to education entirely in Tajik at the age of six. This extensive exposure to Tajik from such an early age might contribute to endangerment and trigger language shift.

The bilingualism among the Wakhi speakers is closely related to the domains of use of the languages in question. Tajik is the language of administration, education, literature and media, and in these domains, it is dominant in all types of Wakhi communities. In the interpersonal domains, such as communication at home, among friends and with neighbours, Wakhi is used as the exclusive language in all types of Wakhi communities. The dominance of Tajik or Wakhi in other domains, e.g., formal or informal communication in the community, is variable. It depends on factors such as the composition of the community (homogeneous Wakhi, Wakhi-dominant, or Tajik-dominant), the communicated content (e.g., official matters on the one hand, and personal communication at work on the other), and the extent of the exposure of individual speakers to Tajik (teachers and officials being a more exposed group, e.g., and shepherds a less exposed group).

Like other Pamir languages in Tajikistan, Wakhi has begun to be written, and the first publications in Wakhi have emerged; nevertheless, the language is still far from being counted among written or even literary languages. This early-stage Wakhi writing still lacks consistent application of orthographic rules. People write however they wish. Moreover, writing in Wakhi is a rather complex issue in relation to domains of use and language contact. As discussed above, most of the domains where Tajik is predominantly used are ones of written communication. On the other hand, the domains where Wakhi is dominant are almost exclusively oral. This logically leads to the question: To what extent might the newly introduced written Wakhi forms succumb to their Tajik counterparts? Wakhi does not lack such forms. The problem is rather that, when writing, Wakhis are accustomed to using the Tajik written forms (which can be syntactic and discursive, and, to a certain extent, morphological as well). The question of prestige also plays a role. Tajik is a language with higher prestige than Wakhi. Similarly, written genres are perceived as more prestigious than oral ones. A certain degree of Tajik influence on the written Wakhi literature is thus assumed.

Table 1 summarizes the main parameters considered when addressing the issue of language contact between the two languages.

**Table 1:** Comparison of the sociolinguistic parameters of Tajik and Wakhi

	West-Iranian Tajik	East-Iranian Wakhi
Number of speakers	6.4 million in Tajikistan 8.1 million in all countries <sup>2</sup>	24,000 speakers in Tajikistan 72,000 in all countries <sup>3</sup>
Status	official language of Tajikistan safe	minority language endangered
Domains of use	written, with a long literary tradition used in all domains, oral and written, official and unofficial	until recently non-written, no literary tradition used almost exclusively in oral communication and in unofficial settings
Prestige	high	low

<sup>2</sup> Eberhard et al. (2021), data from 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Gulomaliev (2018).

### 3 Wakhi phoneme inventory and transcription

All language data used in the present study represents Wakhi as spoken in Tajikistan, and the transcription and the phonetic description reflect this fact. Slight phonetic variations occur in Wakhi as spoken in Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. The Wakhi language data presented in this study is transcribed in the Romanized phonemic alphabet (middle column in Table 2) used in the majority of the published studies on Wakhi and other Pamir languages. The phonetic representation of the phonemes (left column in Table 2) is given in the International Phonetic alphabet (IPA). The right column of the table represents the corresponding Tajik phonemes (Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 424).

**Table 2:** List of Wakhi phonemes

	Wakhi phones in the IPA	Wakhi Phonemic Transcription	Transliterated Tajik
Vowels			
1	[ɐ], [a]	a	a
2	[e]	e	e
3	[i], [ɪ]	i	i
4	[o], [ɔ]	o	o
5	[u], [ʊ]	u	u
6	[ə], [e̞]	ə	–
7	[ʉ], [ɨ], [ɯ]	ʉ	–
Consonants			
8	[b]	b	b
9	[t͡s]	c	–
10	[tʃ]	č	č
11	[t͡ʃ̥]	č̥	–
12	[d]	d	d
13	[d̪]	ḍ	–
14	[ð]	ð	–
15	[f]	f	f
16	[g]	g	g
17	[ɣ]	ǰ	–
18	[ɣ̪]	ǰ̪	ǰ̪
19	[d͡ʒ]	j	j
20	[d͡ʒ̪]	j̪	–
21	[k], [kʰ]	k	k
22	[l], [l̪], [l̪ʰ]	l	l
23	[m]	m	m
24	[n], [ŋ]	n	n
25	[p], [pʰ]	p	p
26	[q]	q	q
27	[r], [r̪]	r	r
28	[s]	s	s
29	[c], [ʃ]	š	š
30	[s̪]	š̪	–
31	[t], [tʰ]	t	t
32	[t̪]	t̪	–
33	[θ]	θ	–
34	[v]	v	v
35	[w]	w	–
36	[x]	x̣	–
37	[χ]	x	x
38	[j]	y	y
39	[z]	z	z

	Wakhi phones in the IPA	Wakhi Phonemic Transcription	Transliterated Tajik
40	[ʒ], [ʒ]	ž	ž
41	[z]	z	–
42	[dʒ]	ʒ	–

The Wakhi phoneme inventory is richer than that of Tajik. Wakhi has a set of retroflex consonants: plosives [d], [t], fricatives [ʒ], [z] and affricates [tʃ], [dʒ], none of which occur in Tajik. Wakhi also contrasts phonemically between uvular fricatives [χ], [ʁ], and velar fricatives [x], [ɣ], the latter two of which do not occur in Tajik. The Wakhi fricatives transcribed as š and ž are more palatalized than their Tajik counterparts. In Upper and Central Wakhan they are pronounced as alveolo-palatal fricatives [ç] and [ʒ], while in the Lower Wakhan the pronunciation is closer to postalveolar [ʃ] and [ʒ], similar to Tajik. For example, the Wakhi word transcribed as žarž ‘milk’ is normally pronounced as [zarz] in the villages of Upper and Central Wakhan, but as [zarʒ] in the villages of Lower Wakhan, which suggests Tajik influence.

In Upper Wakhan, the velar fricatives [x] and [ɣ] have a tendency to become palatalized, but the palatalization occurs only in the proximity of the close front vowel [i], and thus is phonetically conditioned by the specific environment. For example, the Wakhi word transcribed as xik ‘Wakhi’ may sometimes be pronounced as [çik]. However, in the Wakhi of Tajikistan, š and ž are usually pronounced as velar [x] and [ɣ]. A typical pronunciation of the word would thus be [xik].

Fricatives [θ], [ð], affricates [tʃ], [dʒ], and the approximant [w] do not occur in Tajik either. Unlike in Tajik, the glottal fricative [h] and the glottal stop [ʔ] (transliterated as ’) are normally not pronounced in Wakhi or in other Pamir languages.

In the Badakhshani Tajik varieties, however, the glottal fricative [h] and the glottal stop [ʔ] are usually not pronounced either. Moreover, similar to the Pamir languages, the approximant [w] is used in these varieties of Tajik where it is an allophone of the labiodental fricative [v]. This might be due to the influence of East-Iranian Pamir languages on these varieties of Tajik. Examples of Badakhshani Tajik pronunciation are *memon* (*mehmon* in standard Tajik) ‘guest’, *saar* (*sahar* in standard Tajik) ‘morning/tomorrow’, *isob* (*hisob* in standard Tajik) ‘counting’, *rawyan* (*ravyan* in standard Tajik) ‘grease’ (Rozenfel’d 1971: 9). On the other hand, the non-phonemic [h] can be pronounced in Badakhshani Tajik, and when it occurs, it is usually word-initially before a vowel or intervocalically, e.g., *hostin* (for *ostin* in standard Tajik) ‘sleeve’, *dəho* (for *duo* in standard Tajik) ‘prayer’. The same is observed in Wakhi.

Vowels represent a more complex issue because the phonetic range of Tajik and Wakhi vowels varies depending on the dialect. For example, the front vowel [e] is used minimally in the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan, but frequently in the Wakhi varieties spoken in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> Also, the phoneme /ə/ realized as mid central [ə] and close-mid central [e̞], and the phoneme /u/ realized as close central rounded [u̞] or unrounded [i̞], both of which are used extensively in Wakhi, do not occur in standard Tajik. However, as Rozenfel’d (1971: 6) observes, the mid central vowel [ə] is used in the dialects of Badakhshan. In some southern Tajik dialects, sounds qualitatively similar to [ə] are found, such as close-mid back rounded [ɤ], which the Tajik scholars transcribe as ɛ (Juraev et al. 2013: 25).

Neither Tajik nor Wakhi have phonological vowel lengthening; therefore it is not marked in the transcription. The stress in Wakhi follows the same pattern as in Tajik; i.e., it falls on the last syllable of the stem, except in finite verb stems, where the stress is on the initial syllable.

4 For an overview of the phoneme inventory of Wakhi dialects, see Bashir (2009: 827).

## 4 Diglossia, codeswitching and borrowing

Diglossia and codeswitching are phenomena related to bilingualism, and together with borrowing they represent a logical outcome of the language contact. Diglossia and codeswitching in the languages spoken in Tajikistan are a complex issue. We must take into account that until 2009, Russian was one of the official languages of Tajikistan, along with Tajik. More precisely, Russian had special status as the language of inter-ethnic communication, and it had higher prestige than Tajik. The new law adopted in 2009 obliges all citizens to know Tajik and to use it in all spheres of life. Russian has lost its privileged status, at least theoretically. In reality, however, the status of Russian is still high and the diglossic situation persists between Tajik and Russian. Nevertheless, efforts are being made and steps are being taken to increase the status of the state language Tajik and extend it to all domains of use. In light of this situation, we can thus speak of triglossia with regard to Wakhi and other Pamir languages. In certain domains (e.g., medical services, technology, transport), Russian is still the dominant language, while Tajik is more dominant in others (e.g., culture), but Wakhi remains in the position of having the lowest status. Codeswitching, understood as the alternation of languages within a conversation, is a frequently occurring phenomenon in Wakhi. The switching can occur within an utterance or between longer sequences. Various factors motivate the codeswitching. Matras (2009: 105) identifies triggers such as retrievability of adequate words or expressions in one of the languages, stylistic effects and language-specific associations.

In Wakhi, switching occurs not only from Wakhi to Tajik, as in (1) and (2), but also from Wakhi to Russian (thus bypassing Tajik), as in (2) and (3). Switching from Wakhi to Russian typically occurs in contexts such as school, healthcare, transport, technology, the military, but also everyday life: e.g., *abed* ‘lunch’, *balnic* ‘hospital’, *vadappravod* ‘water pipeline’, *granic* ‘border’, *bəblatik* ‘library’, *daroška* ‘carpet’, *vrač* ‘medical doctor’, *žiludka* ‘stomach’, *medpunkt* ‘medical centre’, *nalog* ‘tax’, *čaška* ‘bowl’, *saldat* ‘soldier’, and many other words. Russian particles and adverbs are also used frequently, e.g., *uže* ‘already’ in (3). The Russian expressions are often preferred even when there are equivalent words in Tajik, and in some cases even in Wakhi. For example, *abed* ‘lunch’ has the Wakhi equivalent *čošt*.

(1) Wakhi (Shaidoev 2012: 21)

<i>nə-diš-əm</i>	<i>sinf-i</i>	<i>čor</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>panj</i>	<i>tu=ən<sup>5</sup></i>
NEG-know-1SG	class-EZ	four	or	five	be.PST=1PL
(Tajik)					

‘I don’t know exactly; we were in **the fourth or fifth class**.’

(2) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 524)

<i>də</i>	<i>dəyım</i>	<i>itaž=ən</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>gastinic</i>	<i>mala-vi=š</i>	<i>student-iš</i>	<i>aldi</i>
in	second	floor=3PL	in	hotel	room-PL.OBL=IPFV	student-PL	stay.PST
	(Tajik)	(Russian)		(Russian)		(Russian)	

‘(...) on the **second floor**, in the **hotel** rooms the **students** used to stay.’

(3) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 571)

<i>yət</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>uže</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>yupk</i>	<i>dəst</i>
med	house	already	in	water	inside
		(Russian)			

‘The house is **already** under water.’

5 In this paper, all examples from the published Wakhi books, which originally used the Wakhi Cyrillic alphabet, will be transcribed only in the phonemic Wakhi alphabet presented in Table 2, Section 3.

Codeswitching between Wakhi and Tajik occurs on many levels and in many domains. One example of codeswitching concerns expressions involving numerals. Although Wakhi has its own native numerals, in expressions related to specific areas such school, hours and years, among others, only the Tajik numerals are used, as in *sinf-i čor* ‘fourth class/grade’ (1) and *duyūm itaž* ‘second floor’ (2).

Codeswitching involving longer sequences occurs frequently in contexts that are not primarily related to oral discussion of specific features of Wakhi culture, and which are usually of written literary provenience, e.g., religious and historical quotations or statements. It is also observed in folktales, which represent an imported genre of Wakhi literature. While the narration is in Wakhi, insertions such as verses, sayings or proverbs, are in Tajik (Badakhshani dialect), as illustrated in (4). This is not only true for the oral narrations but also for the written ones, in spite of the fact that during the editing process, the obviously Tajik elements are usually edited out and replaced by the Wakhi expressions.

(4) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 26)

<i>gūnjišk-ək-i</i>	<i>sargašta</i>		
sparrow-DIM-EZ	homeless		
<i>dar</i>	<i>ku-o-wu</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>pəšta</i>
in	mountain-PL-and	in	hill
<i>padarak</i>	<i>ma-ro</i>	<i>kəšta</i>	
father	I-OBJ	killed	
<i>moindar</i>	<i>ma-ro</i>	<i>xərda</i>	
step-mother	I-OBJ	eaten	
‘Little homeless sparrow			
in the mountains and in the hills,			
my father has killed me,			
my stepmother has eaten me.’			

Borrowing is a phenomenon related to codeswitching, and together they can be viewed as lying along a continuum. The distinction lies in the diachronic perspective, among other factors. Borrowing, or “replication” in Matras’ (2009: 146) terms, is defined as a long-term incorporation of an item into the recipient language that results in the use of the item by monolingual speakers and in monolingual environments (at the borrowing end of the continuum). Another distinguishing factor is the presence or absence of choice. Switching assumes a choice that is motivated by specific contexts. In borrowing, however, the borrowed item (word-form or a structure) is used regardless of the context.

In Wakhi, many expressions lie in a zone somewhere between codeswitching and borrowing. It is difficult to measure the use of an item by monolingual speakers because, strictly speaking, there are probably no monolingual Wakhi speakers. The presence or absence of choice is also ambiguous. Although Wakhi equivalents for some borrowed expressions may exist, the question is whether they are actively used; e.g., instead of the Wakhi word *pəc* ‘face’, the Tajik word *ruy* is used extensively, and the original Wakhi word is now unfamiliar to many speakers. Nowadays, some Wakhi speakers are taking the initiative to promote the revitalization of “dying” Wakhi expressions and to boost the use of these expressions, for example through discussion on social media or by collecting and publishing endangered genres and their vocabularies.

The following sections discuss specific contact-induced phenomena occurring in Wakhi under the influence of Tajik. These are the use of the ezafe linking particle *-i*, the use of the Tajik plural endings *-o/-on*, the adversative conjunction *am(m)o*, the use of *ki* as a subordinator, the co-occurrence of *ki* and *agar* with the native subordinator *cə*, and finally, the use of the Tajik verb system in Wakhi narration. Each section starts by providing a brief overview of salient features of Wakhi grammar that are relevant for the subsequent discussion and comparing them with their Tajik equivalents.

## 5 Ezafe linking particle *-i*

Wakhi is a head-final language, which means that modifiers precede the head noun, as in examples (5a) and (6a). In Tajik, however, the modifiers follow the head noun and are joined to it by the means of the linking particle *ezafe -i* (EZ), as in examples (5b) and (6b).

(5) a. Wakhi

<i>baf</i>	<i>xalg</i>
good	person
'good person'	

b. Tajik

<i>odam-i</i>	<i>xub</i>
person-EZ	good
'good person'	

(6) a. Wakhi

<i>ž#</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>xun</i>
my	father	house
'my father's house'		

b. Tajik

<i>xona-i</i>	<i>padar-i</i>	<i>man</i>
house-EZ	father-EZ	I
'my father's house'		

Bashir (2009: 840) identified the unmarked word order in a Wakhi noun phrase to be as follows: determiner – possessive – numeral – adjective – head noun, e.g., (7).

(7) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 531)

<i>y#m</i>	<i>ž#</i>	<i>zəqlay-yor</i>	<i>vr#t</i>	<i>šati</i>
PRX	my	little-one	brother	say.PST
'(...) my younger brother said (...)' (lit. 'this my little brother said')				

A frequently occurring manifestation of Tajik influence on the structure of noun phrases in Wakhi is the change of the constituent order and the use of the *ezafe* construction imported from Tajik. Wakhi, with its head-final word order in noun phrases, does not need *ezafe*. However, under the influence of Tajik, many expressions have been incorporated into Wakhi with Tajik noun-phrase structural patterns. Entire constructions can be imported from Tajik, including adpositional phrases, as in (8). The *ezafe* construction can also be applied in a Wakhi context, as in (9a).

(8) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 394)

<i>č</i>	<i>dast-i</i>	<i>mol-i</i>	<i>dənyo-ən</i>	<i>savi</i>	<i>bət</i>	<i>nə-vin-əm</i>
from	hand-EZ	possession-EZ	world-ABL	you.PL.OBL	anymore	NEG-see-1SG
'Because of worldly possessions, I will not see you again (...)'						

(9) a. Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 582)

<i>i</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>zəmdəma-i</i>	<i>wazmin</i>	<i>viti</i>
one	year	very	snowstorm-EZ	heavy	become.PST
'One year a very heavy snowstorm arrived (lit. 'became').'					

b. Wakhi (Shaidoev 2012: 12)

<i>i</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>wazmin</i>	<i>zəmdəma</i>	<i>viti</i>
one	year	very	heavy	snowstorm	become.PST
'One year a very heavy snowstorm arrived.'					

Example (8) represents a typical example of an *ezafe* construction imported together with its context. The first *ezafe* links the prepositional phrase *cə dast-i* (Tajik *az dast-i*) ‘because of’ with the noun phrase *mol-i dənyo* (Tajik *mol-i dunyo*) ‘worldly possessions’. In this construction, which basically copies the Tajik structure, the only Wakhi elements that can be found are the preposition *cə* ‘from’ and the ablative case ending *-ən*. This type of *ezafe* construction often occurs with Tajik numerals in the context of years (e.g., *sol-i čilum* ‘1940’), hours (e.g., *soat-i čor* ‘four o’clock’) and school classes (e.g., *sinf-i ašt* ‘eighth class/year of studies’). In these cases, native Wakhi numerals are rarely used. Another domain where the *ezafe* construction is used extensively in Wakhi is administrative and official contexts: e.g., (*dawlat-i Tojikiston* ‘the government of Tajikistan’; *rayon-i Roštqala* ‘the district of Roshtqala’).

The use of Tajik word order in Wakhi noun phrases is illustrated in *zəmdəma-i wazmin* ‘heavy snowstorm’ in (9a). The use of the *ezafe* construction appears to be a spontaneous choice and the most retrievable option for this specific bilingual speaker living in the Tajik-dominant environment. The same story was later edited by other Wakhi native speakers and published in written form. In the written version, the *ezafe* construction is replaced by the native Wakhi word order (i.e., adjective – head noun) *wazmin zəmdəma* ‘heavy snowstorm’ (9b).

Adpositional phrases with *ezafe* represent another frequently used Tajik pattern in Wakhi. Some grammatical relations which in Tajik are expressed by prepositions are expressed in Wakhi by case marking and by postpositions. Example (10) represents two versions of the same expression used in the same context, written by the same author. The construction *bad-i i afta* ‘one week later’ in (10a) was used in the written version of the story before publication, and represents the imported prepositional construction with *ezafe*. The construction *i afta cbas* ‘one week later’ in (10b) was used in the edited and published version of the same story and represents the native postpositional construction. Both the native Wakhi and the Tajik noun phrase patterns are frequently used in Wakhi. The extent of the use of the Tajik patterns depends on the intensity of language contact of individual speakers.

(10) a. Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 426)

<i>bad-i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>afta</i>	<i>tuy</i>	<i>boyad</i>	<i>wost</i>
after-EZ	one	week	wedding	must	become.3SG

‘After one week the wedding should take place.’

b. Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 30)

<i>i</i>	<i>afta</i>	<i>cbas</i>	<i>tuy</i>	<i>boyad</i>	<i>wost</i>
one	week	after	wedding	must	become.3SG

‘After one week the wedding should take place.’

Similarly, in (11) we can observe the prepositional construction with *ezafe*, a result of contact with Tajik, and the native Wakhi postpositional construction. Both (11a) and (11b) are versions of the same story. Example (11a) is from the oral story recorded in Central Wakhan. During the editing process, done by several native Wakhi editors who prepared the published version of the story, the whole prepositional construction *də pəš-i taw* ‘before you’ in (11a) was replaced by the native postpositional construction *ti šxən* ‘your side/next to you’ (11b).

(11) a. Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 635)

<i>wuz=əm</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>pəš-i</i>	<i>taw</i>	<i>gənağor</i>
I=1SG	in	front-EZ	you.SG.OBL	guilty

‘I am guilty **before you** (...)’

b. Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 81)

<i>wuz=əm</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>šxən</i>	<i>gənağor</i>
I=1SG	your.SG	side	guilty

(postposition)

‘I am guilty **before you** (...)’

## 6 Use of the Tajik plural endings *-o/-on*

Wakhi nouns are inflected for number and case. Two numbers are distinguished, singular and plural, and two case stems, direct and oblique (OBL). Plural in the direct case is formed by adding the suffix *-iš(t)* to the direct stem, e.g., *xalg-iš* ‘people’ in (12), *š<sup>o</sup>bun-iš* ‘shepherds’ in (13) and *mardina-iš* ‘men’ in (15). The plural oblique suffix *-(ə)v(i)* is used in the oblique cases, e.g., *bəṭ-vi* ‘clothes’ in the role of direct object in (13), *vrut-v-ər* ‘to the brothers’ in the dative case in (14), and in adpositional noun phrases, e.g., *trəm zmin-vi* ‘in the fields’ in (15).

(12) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 562)

<i>yəṭ</i>	<i>xyol</i>	<i>car-t</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>yəṭ</i>	<i>spo</i>	<i>xalg-iš</i>	<i>nəy-a</i>
MED	assuming	do-3SG	SUB	MED	our	man-PL	no-Q

‘She assumed that those were our **people**, right?’

(13) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 610)

<i>ayloq</i>		<i>bəṭ-vi=š</i>		<i>wəzdəy-t=ət</i>
summer pasture		clothing-PL.OBL=IPFV		wash-3SG=and
<i>yə</i>	<i>š<sup>o</sup>bun-iš</i>	<i>kə</i>	<i>rəxk=əv</i>	<i>sur</i>
DIST	shepherd-PL	all	go.PF=3PL	shepherd’s duty

‘She is washing the summer pasture **clothes** and all the **shepherds** have gone on shepherd’s duty (...)’

(14) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 113)

<i>xə</i>	<i>vrut-v-ər</i>	<i>žə</i>	<i>sir-i</i>	<i>mə-xan</i>
own	brother-PL.OBL-DAT	my	secret-ACC	PROH-say

‘Don’t tell my secret **to** your **brothers**.’

(15) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 9)

<i>xəynan</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>mardina-iš</i>	<i>tr-əm</i>	<i>zmin-vi</i>	<i>yark</i>	<i>car-ən</i>
woman	to	man-PL	in-PRX	field-PL.OBL	work	do-3PL

‘(...) everyone from women to **men** were working in the **fields**.’

In Tajik, nouns are marked for plural by the universally applicable suffix *-ho*, as in (16a), or by a less productive suffix *-on*, the use of which is limited to animate entities, as in (16b). In both Wakhi and Tajik, only the head nouns can be marked for plural. The modifiers do not take plural marking.

(16) a. Tajik

*sol-ho*  
year-PL  
‘years’

b. Tajik

*mehmon-on*  
guest-PL  
‘guests’

Three patterns are observed in the use of plural forms in Wakhi:

- 1) Native Wakhi plural marking is used as described above and illustrated in the examples listed in (12–15).
- 2) The Tajik plural ending *-o* (standing for Tajik *-ho*) is used instead of the native Wakhi forms, e.g., *sol-o* ‘years’, as illustrated in (17).
- 3) Both the native Wakhi and the Tajik plural can occur together in the same word. Thus, we find a pattern made up of the Tajik plural marker *-o* (Tajik *-ho*) or *-on* followed by the Wakhi one *-iš(t)* (in direct case) or *-(ə)v(i)* (in oblique cases), as in the examples listed in (18–21).

(17) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 522)

*yəm sol-o-i muškili*  
 PRX year-PL-EZ hardship  
 ‘These were the **years** of hardship.’

(18) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 546)

*a dət sol-o-vi ki qini ɕə tu*  
 EMP MED year-PL-PL.OBL SUB difficulty SUB be.PST  
 ‘In those **years** that were so difficult (...)’

(19) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 598)

*a d-a dəwra bə xalg-o-i bofam-iš tuətk*  
 EMP in-DIST era too man-PL-EZ smart-PL be.PF  
 ‘(...) at that time, there were smart **people**, too (...)’

(20) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 38)

*yəm lup-on-iš i cum nʹfar za-vi qəw car-ən*  
 PRX big-PL-PL some person guy-PL.OBL call do-3PL  
 ‘The **elders** called a few guys (...)’

(21) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 93)

*cum-o jʹwon-on-iš wəzd yaw=əv nə-gotəy*  
 how many-PL youth-PL-PL come.PST 3SG.DIST=3PL NEG-find.PST  
 ‘So many **youths** came, but they couldn’t find her.’

Cases like the one shown in (17) are not very surprising. Such phenomena typically occur when an entire Tajik construction is used and the plural ending is not the only Tajik element. Usually it happens in the words typically used in Tajik: *dawra-o* (Tajik *davra-ho*) ‘times/era’, *sol-o* (Tajik *sol-ho*) ‘years’, *kitob-o* (Tajik *kitob-ho*) ‘books’. In (17), the only distinctly native Wakhi element is the demonstrative pronoun, while the plural *-o* and the *ezafe* are Tajik constructions.

Examples (18–21), which illustrate doubling of the plural marking, are more intriguing. Tajik plural marking does not have an oblique form. However, adpositional noun phrases in Wakhi require oblique marking. In (18), this is achieved by attaching the native Wakhi oblique plural ending *-vi* to the Tajik plural ending *-o* (standing for Tajik *-ho*). Normally, this could be achieved with just the Wakhi oblique plural ending, and the Tajik plural ending appears to be redundant. However, the word *sol* ‘year’, for which Wakhi does not have any distinct native equivalent, is typically used in constructions copying Tajik patterns, i.e., with the *ezafe* particle, Tajik numerals and Tajik word order. Words following the same pattern are e.g., *sinf* ‘class/grade/year of studies’, *zamon* ‘time’ and *asr* ‘century’, among others. The use of these words is strongly connected to features of the dominant contemporary Tajik culture, and the Tajik constructions appear to be more easily retrievable for Wakhi speakers living in a bilingual context. Retrievability is mentioned by Matras (2009: 105) as one of the triggers of codeswitching.

In *xalg-o-i bofam-iš* ‘smart people’ in (19), we observe the Wakhi noun phrase structure colliding with the Tajik one. This noun phrase has Tajik word order with an *ezafe* construction (i.e., head-EZ – modifier). The Wakhi word order would be the reverse – *bofam xalg-iš* ‘smart people’ (i.e., modifier – head). The first plural in this noun phrase, on the noun *xalg-o* ‘people’, is marked with the Tajik plural ending. In the second plural, the native *-iš*, attaches to the adjective, i.e., *bofam-iš* ‘smart’ (in plural). Normally, Wakhi adjectives do not take plural endings. The *-iš* plural ending in this construction simply follows the native Wakhi head-final word order, where the plural marking would normally come at the end of the noun phrase. Since this is not a regularly occurring pattern in Wakhi, it is counted as an example of codeswitching clashing with the intuitively felt native grammar.

There is another type of construction that uses the doubled plural ending. It is illustrated in (20) and (21). In *lup-on-iš* ‘elders’ in (20), the double plural is applied to the Wakhi word *lup* with the default meaning ‘big’. Depending on the context, the semantic range of meanings extends to ‘old, elderly, elder’ and the word is used as both an adjective and a count noun. The word with the double plural ending designates ‘elders’, with the first plural ending *-on* suggesting a social group (here in the meaning of elders as village leaders), and the second ending *-iš* marking the actual plural. Using only the native plural ending *-iš* in this example would give the meaning ‘the elderly people’. In *j<sup>2</sup>won-on-iš* ‘youths’ in (21), the double plural is used with the word *j<sup>2</sup>won* ‘young’. The use of *j<sup>2</sup>won* with the double plural here also refers to a category of young men or youths. Similar examples are found in the corpora of Wakhi texts collected in Tajikistan, e.g., *buzurg-on-iš* ‘great/famous ancestors’, *podšo-on-iš* ‘kings’, *šoir-on-iš* ‘poets’. The slight change in the pragmatic meaning and the consistency of use suggest, in this case, a borrowing that conveys a specific pragmatic meaning, rather than codeswitching.

## 7 Adversative conjunction *am(m)o*

A large portion of Wakhi interclausal conjoining lacks overt marking and is achieved only by juxtaposition. The use of Wakhi ‘and’-type conjunctions *šə* and *=ət* (22) corresponds to the use of the conjunction *=u/va* ‘and’ in Tajik (23).

(22) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 16–17)

<i>tumək</i>	<i>žarž</i>	<i>pə</i>	<i>χt</i>	<i>ŷaš</i>	<i>dəy-t</i>	<i>šə</i>
a little	milk	to.up	own	mouth	hit-3SG	and
<i>švən=ət</i>	<i>voyn-i</i>	<i>durz-d=ət</i>		<i>či-t</i>		
rope=and	light-ACC	take-3SG=and		go away-3SG		

‘He swallowed a bit of milk **and** took the rope **and** the light **and** went away.’

(23) Tajik (Ido 2005: 80)

<i>muallim</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>sinf</i>	<i>daromad</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>dars</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>šud</i>
teacher	to	classroom	enter.PST	and	lesson	head	become.PST

‘The teacher entered the classroom **and** the lesson started.’

Wakhi does not have a distinct adversative conjunction. To signal an adversative relation, Wakhi can use the negative particle *nəy* ‘no’, which is usually combined with the subordinator *ki* (24) but can also occur on its own (25). Adversative relation can be signalled by the coordinate conjunction *=ət* or by the subordinator *ki*, both of which in combination with the negative form of the verb can convey adversative meaning in certain contexts, as in (26) and (27).

(24) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 550)

<i>bartər=v=əš</i>	<i>kərt</i>	<i>nəy ki</i>	<i>ŷudiŷ=əš</i>	<i>nə-kərt</i>
barter=3PL=IPFV	do.PST	<u>no SUB</u>	stealing=IPFV	neg-do.PST

‘but’

‘(...) they used to barter **but** they were never stealing.’

(25) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 92)

<i>nəy</i>	<i>nə-kərt=ət</i>	<i>χt</i>	<i>δəŷd-i</i>	<i>nə-rand-əm</i>
no	NEG-do.PST=2SG	own	daughter-ACC	NEG-give-1SG

‘but’

‘(If you fulfil these conditions, I will give her to you) **but if** you **don’t**, I won’t give (you) my daughter.’

(26) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 98)

*yəm jəŋgal ya žu jəŋgal=ət yəm qla nə-tu*  
 PRX forest DIST my forest=and PRX fortress NEG-be.PST  
 ‘The forest is my forest **but** (lit. ‘and’) the fortress was **not** there before.’

(27) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 99)

*səwdogər wizit tru wundr jay ki*  
 merchant come.3SG three field place SUB  
*yaw δəjd prut nə-nyəšk*  
 his daughter front NEG-come\_out.PF  
 ‘The merchant was approaching (home) and was only three fields (away from home) **but** (*ki*) his daughter **didn’t** come out to meet him.’

In Tajik, adversative relations are conveyed by the adversative conjunctions *vale*, *lekin*, *ammo* (28).

(28) Tajik (Sharipova 2018: 79)

*bača orom=u osuda mə-xobid*  
 boy quietly=and carefree IPFV-sleep.PST  
**ammo** *dil-i Soro osoiš=u orom na-došt*  
 but heart-EZ Sara peace=and quiet NEG-have.PST  
 ‘The boy was sleeping quietly and peacefully, **but** Sara’s heart was not at peace.’

Tajik influence on Wakhi is noticeable in expressing adversative relation. Alongside the native Wakhi ways illustrated above in (24–27), adversative relation is also often expressed with the conjunction *am(m)o* ‘but’ borrowed from Tajik; see (29). Sometimes *lekin/lokin* ‘but’ are used as well, though they are only attested in oral Wakhi and are not used very frequently. The occurrence of Wakhi *nəy ki* ‘but’ and the borrowed *am(m)o* ‘but’ was compared in Obrtelová (2019b: 230) in the studied corpus of Wakhi oral and written texts. The borrowed conjunction *am(m)o* was used more frequently in the written texts, while *nəy ki* was used more frequently in the oral texts. This suggests that Tajik *am(m)o* is probably perceived as more literary than Wakhi *nəy ki*.

(29) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 49)

*awqot tyor amo əč kuy nast*  
 meal ready but nobody is not  
 ‘(...) the meal is ready **but** nobody is there.’

Because the native Wakhi way of expressing the adversative pragmatic effect can use either coordinating or subordinating forms, thereby expressing various adversative semantic nuances, the main “adversative” element is the negation, and not any overt conjunction. The Tajik *am(m)o* ‘but’, which is an unambiguous coordinating adversative conjunction, may therefore be more easily retrievable than the complex Wakhi forms, especially for bilingual speakers.

## 8 *Ki* as a subordinator

In Wakhi, there is only one subordinating connective that is unambiguously identified as native: *cə/cəy*. The connective *cə* immediately precedes the finite verb, while *cəy* is placed clause-finally. It is used as a relativizer (discussed in Section 9) and as a subordinator in some pre-matrix adverbial clauses, such as concessive, temporal, and conditional clauses, as in (30).

(30) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 41)

<i>xalg</i>	<i>bafiŷ</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>car-t</i>		
man	good	SUB	do-3SG		
<i>nəyərđum</i>		<i>bə</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>bafiŷ-i</i>	<i>pšəw-d</i>
bear		ADD	his	good-ACC	return-3SG

‘**When/if a man does good**, even a bear repays his good (deed).’

Adverbial subordinate relations can also be signalled by non-finite verb forms in Wakhi. The purpose/goal clauses occur in post-matrix position and are signalled by the infinitive (verbal noun) which can appear with or without the dative case suffix, as in (31). In pre-matrix position, the infinitive (with or without the dative case suffix) can signal some temporal relations, as in (32).

(31) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 354)

<i>qap</i>	<i>car-t</i>	<i>Ruxšona-i</i>	<i>sə</i>	<i>ŷu</i>	<i>yaš</i>	<i>kətak-ər</i>
seize	do-3SG	Rukhshona-ACC	on	own	horse	put.INF-DAT

‘He seized Rukhshona **to put her on his horse**.’

(32) Wakhi (Shaidoev 2012: 42)

<i>yət</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>yət</i>	<i>yupk</i>	<i>vinak-ər</i>	<i>totək</i>	<i>wos-t</i>
MED	man	MED	water	see.INF-DAT	disconcerted	become-3SG

‘**When this man saw the water**, he became disconcerted (...)’

Purpose relations in Wakhi are also signalled by the subjunctive mood. However, in Wakhi, distinct subjunctive forms exist only for the verb for ‘be’ (*umə-/umy-* ‘be.SBJV’) and for the negative form of verbs (signalled by the prohibitive particle *mə-/məy*), as in (33). The subjunctive meaning is also conveyed by using the impersonal form of the verb *ləcər* ‘to let, allow’, as in (34).

(33) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 96)

<i>yaw</i>	<i>inot-i</i>	<i>wuz</i>	<i>ŷan-əm</i>	<i>xalq-i</i>	<i>mə-šit</i>
his	dream-ACC	I	say-1SG	people-ACC	PROH-kill.3SG

‘I will tell him the meaning of his dream, **so that he doesn’t kill the people**.’

(34) Wakhi (Obrtelová, unpublished corpus)

<i>c-a</i>	<i>dig-ən</i>	<i>xužgməl-i</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>čaška-vi</i>	<i>kaŷ-ən</i>
from-DIST	pot-ABL	porridge-ACC	in	bowl-PL.OBL	put-1PL
<i>ləcər</i>	<i>sür</i>	<i>wost</i>			
let	cool	become.3SG			

‘We take the porridge from the pot and put it in bowls **so that it cools down**.’

In Tajik, adverbial subordinate relations are signalled by a number of subordinate conjunctions, such as *vəqte ki* ‘when’, *zero*, *zero ki*, *čunki*, *binobar in/on ki* ‘because’, *to*, *to ki* ‘until’ (in pre-matrix position), ‘so that/in order to’ (in post-matrix position), *agar* ‘if’ (Ido 2005: 85; Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 518). However, in colloquial speech, the general subordinator *ki* can replace a number of other subordinators (Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 517) and can thus be used to convey subordinate relations of time, cause, result and purpose, as illustrated in (35).

(35) Tajik (Rastorgueva 1963: 104)

<i>in</i>	<i>kitob-ro</i>	<i>ovard-am</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>xohar-am</i>	<i>xonad</i>
PRX	book-ACC	bring.PST-1SG	SUB	sister=my	read.3SG

‘I brought this book **for my sister to read**.’

Apart from the native subordinator *ca* and the non-finite and subjunctive constructions expressing adverbial subordinate relations, as illustrated in (30–34) above, Wakhi makes extensive use of the bor-

rowed subordinator *ki*, which can be used together with the native patterns. In the purpose subordinate clauses illustrated in (36) and (37), the borrowed subordinator *ki* is used alongside the native subjunctive constructions represented by the prohibitive particle *mə-* or by *ləcər* ‘let/so that’.

(36) Wakhi (Obrtelová, unpublished corpus)

*kar-t yaw sə zəmbar ləcər ki sur wost*  
 put-3SG it on pallet let SUB cool become.3SG  
 ‘(...) she puts it (bread) on a pallet **in order to let it cool down.**’

(37) Wakhi (Obrtelová, unpublished corpus)

*sak yət-i a ya rang q<sup>3</sup>ti=ən ki yət sək bən*  
 we MED-ACC EMP DIST manner together=1PL SUB MED on bottom  
***mə-θit***  
 PROH-burn.3SG  
 ‘We stir it (the porridge) like that **so that it doesn’t burn on the bottom.**’

## 9 Co-occurrence of *ki* with the native subordinator *cə* in relative clauses

In Wakhi, the native subordinator *cə/cəy* also serves as a relativizer in relative clauses, as illustrated in (38).

(38) Wakhi (Obrtelová 2019b: 456)

*yan ya nung-vi yaw cə ǰati*  
 then DIST name-PL.OBL she SUB say.PST  
*a rang xalg-iš bət də dənyo=əv nast*  
 EMP manner people-PL anymore in world=3PL is not  
 ‘Then, those names **that she said**, people like that are not in this world anymore (...).’

In Tajik, relative clauses are typically introduced by the subordinator *ki*, as in (39).

(39) Tajik (Rastorgueva 1963: 106)

*duxtār-e ki in jo nišasta bud hamsoya-i man ast*  
 girl-IND SUB here sitting be.PST neighbor-EZ I is  
 ‘The girl **who was sitting here** is my neighbor.’

As a result of language contact, merging of the Wakhi and Tajik patterns is observed in relative clauses. The Wakhi subordinator/relativizer *cə* placed pre-verbally (or clause-finally in the case of *cəy*), i.e., towards the end of the clause, can co-occur with the Tajik subordinator/relativizer *ki*, placed at the beginning of the clause, without any clashes, as illustrated in (40).

(40) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 31)

*yəm wuš cə mišung xalg-v-ən*  
 PRX fodder from former man-PL.OBL-ABL  
***ki mol-vi ayloq=əv cə yutk***  
 SUB livestock-PL.OBL summer pasture=3PL SUB take.PF  
*a c-av-ən wəračk*  
 EMP from-3PL.OBL-ABL remain.PF  
 ‘(...) the fodder had remained from the people **who had brought the livestock to the summer pasture earlier.**’

In such relative clauses, *ki* appears to be redundant. However, both the borrowed and the native subordinators serve to delimit the boundaries of the relative clause, with *ki* marking the beginning of

the inserted relative clause and *cə/cəy* closing it, which is especially practical in long embedded relative clauses.

## 10 Co-occurrence of *agar/gar* with the native subordinator *cə* in conditional clauses

The Wakhi native subordinator *cə/cəy* is also used in conditional clauses, as was illustrated in (30), repeated here as (41).

(41) Wakhi (Nematova and Murodalieva 2020: 41)

<i>xalg</i>	<i>bafiŷ</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>car-t</i>	
man	good	SUB	do-3SG	
<i>nəyardum</i>	<i>bə</i>	<i>yaw</i>	<i>bafiŷ-i</i>	<i>pšuw-d</i>
bear	ADD	his	good-ACC	return-3SG

‘When/if a man does good, even a bear repays his good (deed).’

Tajik conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction *agar* ‘if’, as illustrated in (42).

(42) Tajik (Rastorgueva 1963: 104)

<i>agar</i>	<i>šumo-ro</i>	<i>binad</i>	<i>bisyor</i>	<i>xursand</i>	<i>me-šavad</i>
if	you.PL-OBJ	see.3SG	very	happy	IPFV-become

‘If he should see you, he will be very happy.’

Similar to the relative clauses discussed in the previous section, merging of the Wakhi and Tajik patterns is observed in conditional clauses, as well. The co-occurrence of the borrowed *agar/gar* ‘if’ and the native subordinator *cə* in a conditional clause is illustrated in (43).

(43) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 44)

<i>gar</i>	<i>saarək</i>	<i>sʰfar</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>rəč</i>	
if	tomorrow	journey	SUB	go	
<i>kəšti</i>	<i>wos-t</i>	<i>yark=ət</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>mərəy</i>	
boat	become-3SG	sunk=and	you	die	

‘(...) if you go on a journey tomorrow the boat will sink and you will die.’

Here, as well as in the other cases where the borrowed *agar/gar* ‘if’ is used together with the Wakhi subordinator *cə*, the borrowed one is superfluous in the sense that it does not contribute any additional pragmatic value. It is used by bilingual Wakhi speakers/writers simply to fill the seemingly empty clause-initial position where in Tajik the subordinator would normally be found. It must be noted that the Wakhi speakers themselves perceive *agar/gar* to be a foreign element in their language. In careful editing, some of them tend to replace the borrowed *agar/gar* with the native Wakhi subordinator *cə*. On the other hand, because the Wakhi writers are usually erudite and lettered people, and thus are fluent in Tajik, they are also the ones through whom most Tajik patterns make their way into Wakhi.

## 11 The Tajik verb system in Wakhi narration

Wakhi verb forms are primarily distinguished by their relation to the deictic centre. The main distinction lies not on the timeline but between the witnessed and the non-witnessed perspectives. It is thus more appropriate to describe the Wakhi verb system as evidentiality-based than tense-based. The fol-

lowing is a brief overview of three main Wakhi verb forms and their pragmatic functions that are relevant for further discussion in this article.<sup>6</sup>

The past tense form (PST) in Wakhi is an aspect-neutral form marked for tense and evidentiality. Its use is restricted to referring to past events witnessed by the speaker, and thus it is the main verb form in eyewitness narrations, as illustrated in (44). The subject-marking enclitics attach either to the past tense stem or to constituents prior to the verb. The enclitic particle =əš (IPFV), in combination with the past tense, adds aspectual (imperfective, progressive, habitual, iterative) or modal (counterfactual) value. It can attach to the verb or to constituents prior to the verb.

(44) Wakhi (Shaidoev 2012: 13)

<i>ircraxi</i>	<i>wuz=ət</i>	<i>žu</i>	<i>r<sup>o</sup>copc</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>xur-ən</i>	
at sunrise	I=and	my	cousin	with	two	donkey-ABL	
<i>tər</i>	<i>jəngal</i>	<i>juz-ər</i>	<b><i>rəjd=ən</i></b>				
to	forest	firewood-DAT	go.PST=1PL				
‘At sunrise, my cousin and I <b>went</b> (PST) with two donkeys to the forest for firewood.’							
<i>awo</i>	<i>baf=ət</i>	<i>bimur</i>		<i>tu</i>			
weather	good=and	cloudless		be.PST			
<i>amo</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>wuč</i>	<i>nag</i>	<i>kam-kamək</i>	<i>nwək=əš</i>	<i>di</i>	
but	from	up	side	a little	cold wind=IPFV	hit.PST	
‘The weather <b>was</b> (PST) good and clear, but from the upward direction a cold east wind <b>was blowing</b> (IPFV, PST).’							
<i>də</i>	<i>jəngal</i>	<b><i>jat=ən=ət</i></b>	<i>xu</i>	<i>xur-v=ən</i>	<i>vasti</i>		
in	forest	arrive.PST=1PL=and	own	donkey-PL.OBL=1PL	tie.PST		
‘We <b>arrived</b> (PST) at the forest and <b>tied</b> (PST) our donkeys.’							

The non-tense form in Wakhi is an unmarked tense- and aspect-neutral verb form. In earlier grammar descriptions, the non-tense used to be referred to as present-future tense or non-past (Pakhalina 1975; Gryunberg and Steblin-Kamensky 1976; Bashir 2009; Lashkarbekov 2018). However, the non-tense has no temporal value of its own, and its use in narratives cannot be explained in terms of historical present either (Obrtelová 2019a: 261). It is used to refer to actions not anchored in the deictic centre (Obrtelová 2019b: 55). The non-tense is thus the main verb form used on the event-line (foreground) in non-witnessed narrations, as illustrated in (45). Subject-marking suffixes are attached to the non-tense stem. The enclitic particle =əš (IPFV), in combination with the non-tense verb, adds the value of immediacy and present relevance, and anchors the verb in the deictic centre (either the narrator’s deictic centre or that of a personage in the narration), as in (46).

(45) Wakhi (Shaidoev 2012: 42)

<i>i</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>jay</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>šak</i>	<i>biyupki</i>	<b><i>wos-t</i></b>
one	year	in	one	place	very	bad	drought	become-3SG
‘One year, in a place, a big drought <b>came</b> (lit. ‘become’, NON-TENSE).’								
<i>mərdəm-iš</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>biyupki-ən</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>bəori</i>				
people-PL	from	drought-ABL	in	spring				
<i>kišt</i>	<i>cərak</i>	<b><i>nə-kəcr-ən</i></b>						
sown field	do-INF	NEG-can-3PL						
‘Because of draught, in spring, people <b>were not able</b> (NON-TENSE) to work their fields.’								
<i>a</i>	<i>dət</i>	<i>waxt</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>dət</i>	<i>diyər</i>			
EMP	MED	time	EMP	MED	village			
<i>i</i>	<i>šaxs</i>	<b><i>pəydo</i></b>	<b><i>wos-t</i></b>					
one	supernatural person	apparent	become-3SG					
‘At that time, in that village, a person ( <i>šaxs</i> – an old wise man with supernatural power) <b>appeared</b> (NON-TENSE).’								

6 For a more detailed discussion on discourse-pragmatic functions of Wakhi verbs, see Obrtelová (2019a, 2019b: 53–68).

- (46) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 101)  
*ya kaš ayron wəɾəʃ-t ʃan-d*  
 DIST boy surprised remain-3SG say-3SG  
 ‘The boy was (lit. ‘remained’ NON-TENSE) surprised and said (NON-TENSE):’  
*tu=əʃ ʃizər nuw*  
 you=IPFV why cry  
 ‘“**Why are you crying** (NON-TENSE + IPFV, i.e., marked for present relevance, anchored in the deictic centre of the personage)?”’

In Wakhi, the perfect form is a resultative-stative aspect-based form expressing state and anteriority in relation to another event. The perfect produces a backgrounding effect. It is usually used in non-witnessed narration to refer to background material (as opposed to the event-line, which has verbs in the non-tense), i.e., descriptive parts, setting, explanations; see (47). The perfect stem, similar to the past tense stem, is accompanied by subject-marking enclitics that can be attached to the verb or to constituents prior to the verb. The perfect can also convey inferential and mirative meanings, similar to the perfect forms in Tajik.

- (47) Wakhi (Obrtelová et al. 2016: 70)  
*i podšo tuatk yaw-ən tuatk i wʒzir*  
 one king be.PF he-ABL be.PF one vizier  
 ‘There **was** (PF) a king, he **had** (PF) a vizier.’  
*podšo-ən tuatk ʊb kənd*  
 king-ABL be.PF seven wife  
 ‘The king **had** (PF) seven wives.’  
*sə əč kum kənd yaw-ən zman nə-vitk*  
 through none which wife he-ABL child NEG-become.PF  
 ‘None of the wives **had given** (PF) him child.’  
*i rwor podšo wʒzir-i quw car-t ʃu ʃʃən*  
 one day king vizier-ACC call do-3SG own side  
 ‘One day the king called (NON-TENSE) the vizier to (come) to him.’

Wakhi speakers consistently observe the witnessed vs. non-witnessed distinction in both speech and writing. Accordingly, in Wakhi personally experienced events are told using the past tense verb forms, e.g., (44), while stories of non-witnessed events, such as legends, historical accounts, fictional stories, anecdotes or re-narrated true stories that were not witnessed by the narrator, are told using the non-tense forms for the foreground (event-line), e.g., (45), combined with the perfect for background, as in (47). In this way, in Wakhi narratives, evidentiality is distinguished on the discourse level (Obrtelová 2017: 47) and reflected in the choice of the verb forms; see Table 3.

**Table 3:** Verb forms in Wakhi narratives

	<b>Witnessed narration</b> (direct experience)	<b>Non-witnessed narration</b> (second-hand knowledge)
Foreground (event-line)	Past tense	Non-tense
Background	Past tense Past tense imperfective Perfect	Perfect Non-tense

Tajik verbs are also marked for evidentiality; however, the evidential distinction is marked differently in Tajik than in Wakhi. The tense forms in the indicative mood in Tajik are simple past, distant past and non-past together with their imperfective and progressive equivalents (with added aspectual value). The future tense form is only used in literary Tajik.

The inferential mood<sup>7</sup> in Tajik is represented by four verb forms: inferential past<sup>8</sup>, inferential past imperfective, inferential past perfect and inferential past progressive (Ido 2005: 59–61). The inferential forms are used for reporting events that were not directly experienced by the speaker.

In Tajik, evidentiality is usually marked on the level of individual utterances. On the discourse level, however, there is no strict distinction between witnessed and non-witnessed narration. The vast majority of published Tajik narratives are written using the simple past tense form combined with the past imperfective forms, regardless of whether or not the narrated events were witnessed. An example of a fictional story using the past tense forms is illustrated in (48). An alternative to this is a narrative using the inferential past (in the examples glossed as PF for perfect), as in (49), or a narrative in the present imperfective form, as in (50). However, the latter two patterns of narration occur rarely in the written literature; narration using the present imperfective form is mainly used in short anecdotal stories.

(48) Tajik (Obidov, 2009: 29)

*bud na-bud yak mard-i soda-e bud*  
 be.PST NEG-be.PST one man-EZ simple-IND be.PST  
 ‘Once upon a time (lit. ‘there **was** – there **was not**’), there **was** a simple man.’  
*be-zan bud in mard-i soda*  
 without-wife be.PST PRX man-EZ simple  
 ‘This simple man didn’t have wife (lit. ‘**was** without wife’).’  
*zan ki na-došt*  
 wife SUB NEG-have.PST  
*xudaš ham xūrok me-puxt=u jomašūī me-kard=u (...)*  
 self even meal IPFV-cook.PST=and laundry IPFV-do.PST=and  
 ‘Since he **didn’t have** a wife, he even **used to prepare** his meals and **do** his laundry himself (...).’  
*yak ruz kurta šusta ba tor partoft*  
 one day shirt wash.PTCP in string throw.PST  
 ‘One day, having washed the shirt, he **hung** (lit. ‘threw’) it on a clothesline.’

(49) Tajik (Amonov 1963: 106)

*yak mard-i dehqon budaast*  
 one man-EZ farmer be.PF.3SG  
*du pīsar=u yak duxtar doštaast*  
 two son=and one daughter have.PF.3SG  
 ‘There **was** a farmer; he **had** two sons and one daughter.’  
*hamsoya-i ū boy-i kalon budaast*  
 neighbour-EZ he rich-EZ big be.PF.3SG  
 ‘His neighbour **was** a rich and important man.’  
*boy ruz-e zan giriftanī šudaast=u*  
 rich day-IND wife taking become.PF.3SG=and  
*ba nadim-on=aš guftaast (...)*  
 to mate-PL=his say.PF.3SG  
 ‘One day the rich man **decided** to get married and **said** to his mates (...).’

7 Term used by Ido (2005: 58); Windfuhr and Perry (2009: 462) refer to it as the “evidential mode”.

8 Windfuhr and Perry (2005: 463) refer to it as the “perfect as evidential form” and describe it as “the perfect tense”, which “apart from its role as resultative, also functions as an evidential past (preterit, aorist) as well as evidential perfect (resultative)”.

(50) Tajik (Amonov 1963: 176)

*du kas hamroh baroi hezum ba kūh ravon me-šav-and*  
 two person together for wood to mountain going IPFV-become-3PL  
 ‘Two people **set out** together to the mountain for wood.’  
*onho dar tag-i kūh az hamdigar judo šuda*  
 they in bottom-EZ mountain from each\_other separated become.PTCP  
*ba du kūhteppa-i baland baromada me-rav-and*  
 to two peak-EZ high go\_up.PTCP IPFV-go-3PL  
 ‘At the bottom of the mountain, having become separated from each other they **go/went up** to two peaks of the mountains.’

Regarding the language contact occurring between written literary Tajik and Wakhi, there are areas where the Tajik verb system, illustrated in (48), interferes with the native Wakhi deictic-centre/evidentiality based system. This leads to alternation – usually unconscious and random – between the two verb systems. A typical context where this occurs is in narration of non-native genres, and the explanation is relatively straightforward. Since Wakhi culture is primarily oral, in order to get access to genres that are not directly related to Wakhi culture, Wakhi narrators memorize literature written in other languages. Some of the stories they re-narrate (usually folktales, religious legends or historical narratives) were originally written in Tajik.

It could thus be claimed that the overlapping of the two verb systems mainly occurs in the transmission of literature from written Tajik to oral Wakhi. The majority of Wakhi narrators, however, consistently follow the Wakhi witnessed vs. non-witnessed distinction, which may indicate oral transmission, i.e., that narrators re-narrate what they have heard, not what they have read. Dialectal differences do not play any significant role in this case, as the language contact occurs on the individual level, and the overlapping of the two systems is observed across the entire Wakhan region. Instead, it is individual Wakhi speakers’ exposure to Tajik literature that makes the difference. This alternation of the verb systems is therefore usually observed among educated and lettered Wakhi speakers across dialects.

Table 4 illustrates the distribution of verb systems in 49 Wakhi oral folktales recorded among Wakhi speakers in the villages of Wakhan in 2013. The Wakhi verb system is the one based on the witnessed vs. non-witnessed distinction, while the Tajik verb system is the one using the past tense regardless of the type of narration.

**Table 4:** Distribution of verb systems in Wakhi oral folktales

Verb system	Number of folktales	%
Entirely Wakhi	33	68%
Predominantly Wakhi	8	16%
Mixed	4	8%
Predominantly Tajik	3	6%
Entirely Tajik	1	2%

As can be seen, the majority of the folktales (84 %) are entirely or predominantly told using the Wakhi verb system typical of non-witnessed stories. When alternation occurs, it usually takes one of the following forms:

- 1) An entire paragraph is told using the Tajik system. Usually it is the introductory paragraph, after which the narration switches to the native Wakhi system.
- 2) Quotations, saying, proverbs and verses are given in Tajik, including its verb system, whereas the narration itself is in the Wakhi system.
- 3) The alternation occurs randomly, with no discernable regularities.

It is interesting to note that during the process of editing the oral stories for written publication, the Wakhi editors unified the verb system of each published story. In the published version of *Wakhi folktales* (Obrtelová et al. 2016), out of 32 folktales, three are written consistently using the Tajik system (those that were entirely or predominantly told using the simple past tense), while all the other folktales were edited to consistently use the Wakhi system (those told entirely or predominantly using the native Wakhi system and those with the mixed systems).

While the Wakhi deictic-centre/evidentiality based verb system seems to be more or less resistant to the influence of the Tajik system, a rather rare instance of Wakhi influence on the Tajik verb system is found in a translation of Wakhi legends into Tajik (Qurbonshoev 2009). In the publication, Wakhi legends were primarily collected in oral form and then edited and translated into Tajik. Even though the translation is in high literary Tajik (“inter-Pamiri Farsi”), the discourse-pragmatic functions of the verbs in the Tajik translation correspond to the Wakhi system, not Tajik. Thus, the non-tense in Wakhi is translated as the present-future (non-past) tense in Tajik and is used in the event-line, which is typical for Wakhi non-witnessed stories. Verbs that in Wakhi are in the perfect form are also in perfect<sup>9</sup> in Tajik, but are only used in the background setting (as is typical for Wakhi non-witnessed stories), not in the event-line, as would be the case with the inferential past in Tajik. Since there are no eyewitness narratives in the book, the past tense forms are not used in the narration. Occasional uses of the past tense correspond to the occasional mixing of the Tajik and Wakhi verb system attested in the Wakhi stories (as described above). The published legends made sense to the Tajik readers,<sup>10</sup> who unanimously confirmed that the book is written in a high literary language, but who also expressed a certain discomfort when reading it. As one of them said, it was “as if the book was written by a foreigner”, because the Tajik verb forms were not used in a natural Tajik way.

It must be noted, though, that this does not constitute an argument for bi-directional Tajik-Wakhi language contact. First, this is because Wakhi culture is primarily oral, and when Wakhi speakers write in Tajik, it is nearly always in a non-Wakhi context, and the Wakhi speakers writing in Tajik have no problem using the Tajik tense-based verb system. Secondly, incomparably more Tajik literature has been written in literary Tajik by Tajik writers than has been written in Tajik by Wakhi writers. Moreover, translation is a special case of language use and cannot be compared with natural language use. The possibility of any lasting influence of Wakhi on Tajik is thus close to zero.

## 12 Conclusion

In this study, language contact occurring between Tajik and Wakhi has been addressed from a synchronic perspective. That is, the current sociolinguistic situation of the two languages and the dynamics of the interaction between them serve as the background for discussion of specific linguistic effects resulting from such contact. On the one hand we have Tajik, the majority and official language of Tajikistan and the exclusive language of media, education, administration and religion, and on the other hand, there is Wakhi, one of several endangered minority languages spoken in Tajikistan, a language with no literary tradition, and used in a limited number of domains, mainly in home and village contexts. The vast majority of Wakhi speakers live in a bilingual (or even multilingual) setting. Due to this difference in status, it can be claimed that Tajik-Wakhi language contact, in the current situation, is unidirectional. It is Wakhi that succumbs to the influence of Tajik, not vice versa.

All linguistic domains in Wakhi are affected by the language contact: phonetics, lexis, morphology, syntax, and discourse. Not only individual lexical items or expressions are borrowed, but also patterns, and this leads to change in the language structure.

<sup>9</sup> Perfect in Tajik is referred to as *zamon-i guzašta-i naqli* ‘narrative past tense’.

<sup>10</sup> Discussed at Tajik National University in Dushanbe.

With the recent introduction of a Wakhi alphabet and the emergence of written Wakhi literature, new domains of language use have opened up for Wakhi speakers (e.g., published books or written communication on social media). Time will tell whether this will have a positive or negative impact on Wakhi language development and on the preservation of the native language structure. The study of the Wakhi oral and written corpus (Obrtelová 2017, 2019b) in the current stage of language development revealed two trends. First, the Wakhi writers and editors tend consciously to replace the non-native elements with native ones. This happens primarily on the lexical level and on the level of morphology and noun phrases, e.g., replacing *ezafe* constructions with native word order, or Tajik words with Wakhi ones (Obrtelová 2019b: 303). Very helpful in this regard is the lively discussion among Wakhi speakers on social media. Thanks to these publications and discussions, many native Wakhi words and expressions are being re-introduced into the language. The second trend has the opposite effect; i.e., sometimes the non-native structure not only interferes with the native one but outcompetes it. This is observed mainly on the level of clause combining in the use of the borrowed conjunctions (Obrtelová 2019b: 302). The influence of written Tajik literature is indisputable in these cases. Revitalizing the Wakhi structure will require more than just exchanging one lexical item for another one.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Wakhi people in Tajikistan, especially those who contributed to this study by answering my questions, explaining the nuances of their language and always being helpful: Raihon Sohibnazarbekova, Bibijon Nematova, Gulbeka Pahlavonova, Sadi Alidodov and others. I am also thankful to Shinji Ido for his constructive feedback, comments and discussion in the process of finalization of this article.

Research funding: This study is part of the project *Competing subordinating strategies in East Iranian Pamir languages*, supported by the Swedish Research Council (2021-00465).

## Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADD	additive particle
DAT	dative case
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal demonstrative
EMP	emphatic particle
EZ	<i>ezafe</i> (linking particle)
IND	indefinite/individuation
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
MED	medial demonstrative
NEG	negative
OBJ	direct object
OBL	oblique
PF	perfect

PL	plural
PROH	prohibitive
PRX	proximal demonstrative
PST	past tense (witnessed)
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator

## References

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