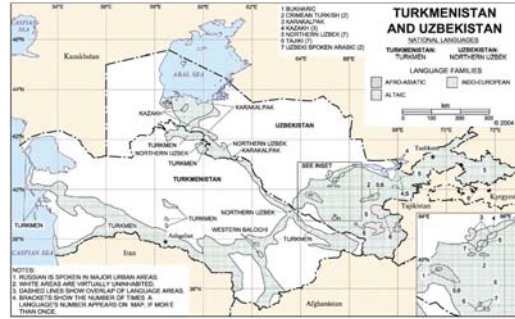


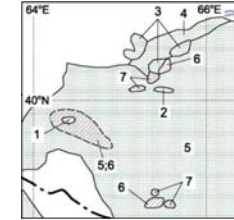
One vowel system for two languages

The vowel inventory of Bukharan Tajik-Uzbek bilinguals

Bukhara



Bukharan Tajik 1



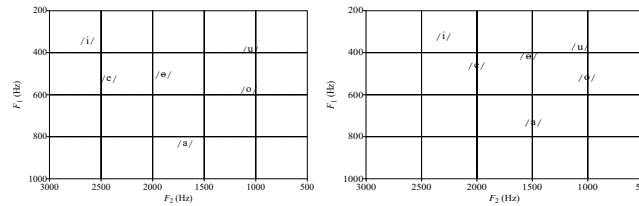
1. Bukharan Tajik (of Jews)
2. Tatar
3. Karakalpak
4. Kazakh
5. Uzbek (Bukhara dialect)
6. Bukharan Tajik
7. Central Asian Arabic

©2019 SIL International

Bukharan Tajik 2

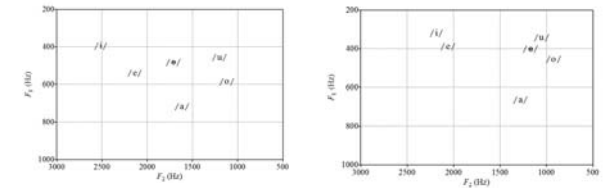
- Bukharan Tajik is divergent from Standard Tajik.
- Virtually every Bukharan Tajik speaker is bilingual in Bukharan Tajik (Iranian lg.) and Uzbek (Turkic lg.).
- Native Uzbek speakers who grow up in the city of Bukhara usually acquire some command of Bukharan Tajik.

Bukharan Tajik vowels



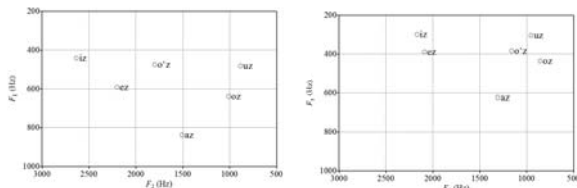
Mean F1 and F2 values of the Bukharan Tajik vowels produced by nine female speakers (left) and ten male speakers (right).

Bukharan Tajik vowels



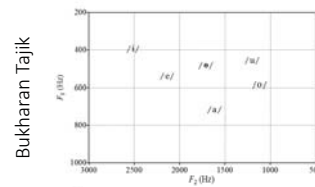
Bukharan Tajik vowels produced by a female (1988) and male (1986) Bukharan Tajik speakers

Uzbek vowels

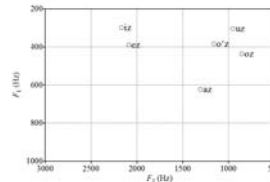
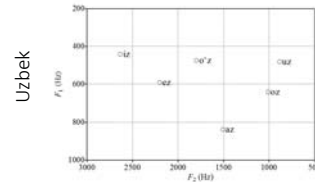
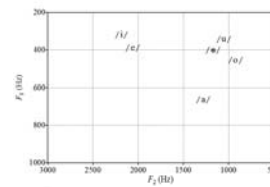


Uzbek vowels produced by a female (1988) and male (1986) Bukharan Tajik speakers

Female BT speaker



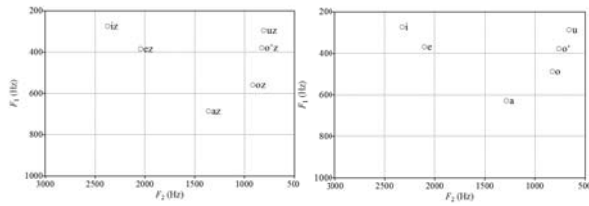
Male BT speaker



So BT speakers utilize a single vowel system for both BT and Uzbek.

- An interlingual consistency exists between the informants' Bukharan Tajik and Uzbek vowel systems.
- Does this mean that Uzbek happens to have a vowel system that is identical with that of Bukharan Tajik?
- Evidently not.

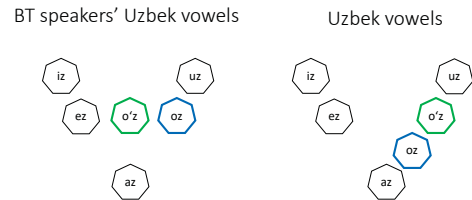
Uzbek vowels are different from the BT speakers' Uzbek vowels.



Uzbek vowels produced by a male (1985) Tashkent (standard) Uzbek speaker

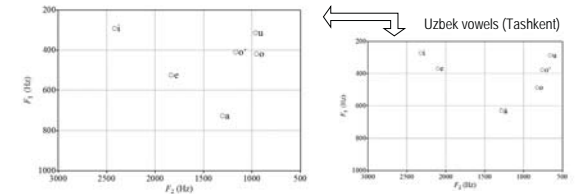
The non-standard features that render the BT speakers' Uzbek vowel system practically identical with the BT vowel system are:

- closeness of the vowel in /o/
- frontness of the vowel in /ɔʷ/



Interestingly,

These two non-standard features are also found in the Uzbek vowel system of a native Uzbek speaker from Bukhara district (bilingual in BT and Uzbek).



Uzbek vowels produced by a male (1988) Uzbek speaker from Bukhara region

Contact-induced conversion?

- Bilinguals from Bukhara, regardless of their first languages, utilize similar Uzbek vowel systems which are characterized by their resemblance to the Bukharan Tajik vowel system.
- This allows the assumption: language contact reorganized the vowel systems of Tajik and Uzbek in the Bukhara area in such a way that they resemble each other.

Circumstantial evidence 1

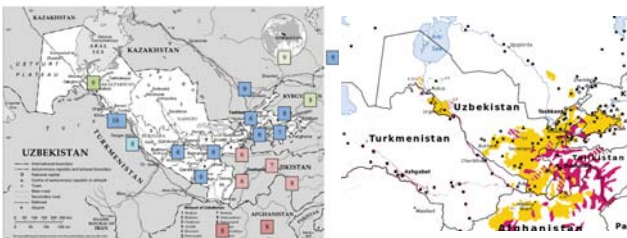
- Central Asian Arabic vowel shift
'[ommon] A[rabic] /ā/' and /aw/' shifted to a position close to that of Tajik /o/ and the position of Tajik /e/, respectively (Tsereteli 1970)
- (Contact-induced?) Reorganization of a vowel system can and did occur in the Bukhara area
- /e/ exists in genetically different languages in Bukhara (Iranian, Turkic, and Semitic)
/e/ is not used in all (six-vowel) Uzbek dialects that are classified into the same dialect group as the Bukhara dialect, nor is it widespread among Tajik dialects.

Circumstantial evidence 2

- Vowel inventory sizes of Tajik and Uzbek dialects



Circumstantial evidence 2 (cont'd)



Summary

- In Bukhara, BT speakers *and* Uzbek speakers use similar Uzbek vowel systems which are characterized by their resemblance to the BT vowel system.
- This resemblance may be ascribed to the language contact in Bukhara, as evidence exists that appears to suggest that the language contact induced Bukharan Tajik and Uzbek vowel systems to resemble one another.