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official regional language. Most Tajiki are trilingual in Uzbek, Russian, and Tajiki. So-called 'Tajiki' in China is actually Shughni or possibly Wakhi.

Takestani: 220,000 speakers reported living in towns and villages in a mainly Azerbaijani-speaking region to the south and southeast of Tehran, Iran. Also called Takistani. Speakers are bilingual in Persian.

Talishi: 165,000 to 195,000 speakers estimated in 1982, with 130,000 in the Azerbaijan SSR, USSR, along the Caspian coast, and 35,000 to 65,000 in Iran. Also called Talysh or Talesh. Azerbaijani is used as a literary language.

Tangshewi: spoken in the far northeast of Badakhshan, Afghanistan. May also be spoken in the USSR. Also called Tangshuri or Tajiki.

Tati, Jewish: 240,000 speakers reported in 1979, with 220,000 in Iran (including Mussulman Tat) and 20,000 in the USSR. Also called Judeo-Tat, Judeo-Tatic, Hebrew Tat, Jewish Tat, or Dzhuhuric. Speakers are called Bik. Difficult mutual intelligibility with Mussulman Tat. Jewish Tati is a literary language in the USSR.

Tati, Mussulman: 22,000 or more speakers reported in the USSR, plus others in Iran. Also called Mussulman Tat or Muslim Tat. Difficult mutual intelligibility with Jewish Tati. Speakers use Azerbaijani as a literary language in the USSR.

Vafsi: spoken in the Tafres area, Iran. Speakers are bilingual in Persian.

Wakhi: 25,000 speakers reported in 1979, centered around Khandud, Afghanistan. Also spoken in Pakistan, China, and the USSR. Also called Wakhani, Wakhigi, Vakhan, or Khik. The speakers are called Guhjali.

Wanechi: possibly 3,000 speakers reported in northeastern Baluchistan Province, Pakistan. Also called Wanetsi or Vanechi. May be mutually intelligible with Pashto.

Warduji: spoken in the Werdoge River area of northeast Afghanistan. May be a Pamir variety of Persian.

Yaghnobi: 2,000 speakers reported in 1975. Formerly spoken in the valley of the Yaghnob River, USSR; resettled in northern Tajikistan in 1971. Also called Yagnobi. Speakers are bilingual in Tajiki, which is used as a literary language.

Yazgulami: 2,000 speakers reported in 1986, along the Yazgulyam River in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, USSR. Also called Iazgulem or Yazgulyam. Speakers are bilingual in Tajiki, which is used as their literary language.

Zaza: centered around the town of Tunceli, Turkey. Also spoken in West Germany. Also called Kurmanjiki or Ale-vica. Most men know some Turkish, but the group is mainly monolingual.

IROQUOIAN LANGUAGES. The Iroquoian family is indigenous to eastern North America. It is remotely related to two other families, Caddoan and Siouan. [See

North American Languages; Siouan Languages.] The Southern branch of the family is represented by a single language, Cherokee. The Northern branch, at the time of first European contact, consisted of Tuscarora, Nottoway, Meherrin, Huron, Petun, Laurentian, Wenro, Erie, Neutral, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Susquehannock (Andaste), Oneida, and Mohawk (see Map 1). Seven Iroquoian languages are still spoken: Cherokee in North Carolina and Oklahoma; and the Northern languages Tuscarora, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk in New York state, Quebec, Ontario, and Wisconsin. The modern languages are not mutually intelligible, but they are structurally similar in many ways (for distribution, see Map 2). [For details on individual languages, see the Language List at the end of this article.]

An overview of the Iroquoian family, and a bibliography of works on Iroquoian languages through 1977, can be found in Mithun 1979. For more recent work, see Mithun 1981, 1982, 1984, Mithun & Woodbury 1980, Mithun & Henry 1982, Rudes 1981, 1987, and Rudes & Crouse 1987.

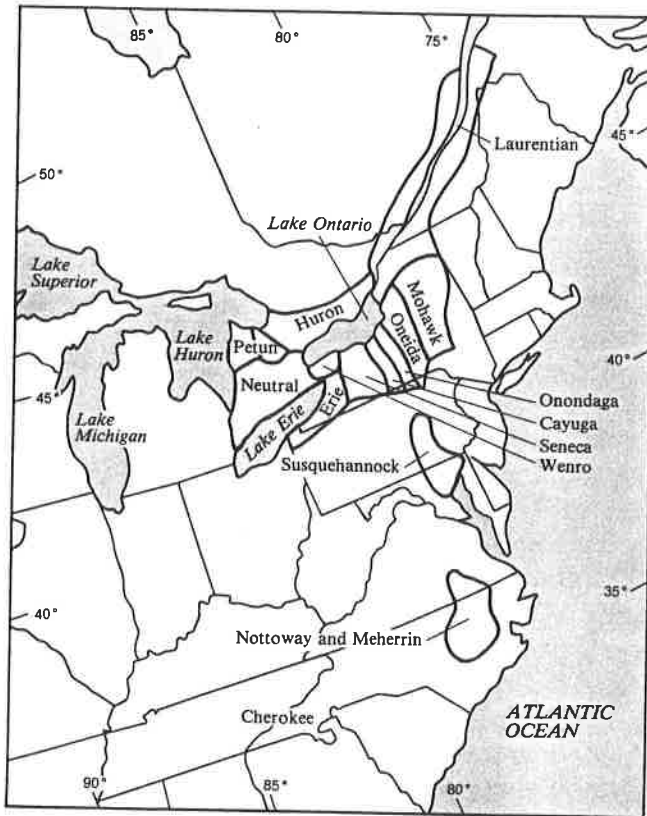
1. Phonology. The consonant and vowel inventories of Proto-Iroquoian and of the modern languages are simple. Each contains a single series of oral obstruents (with no bilabials)—*t k s k^w ts*; three or four resonants, *n r/l w y*; and two laryngeals, *h ʔ*. There are four or five oral vowels, and one or two nasalized vowels. Stress in Proto-Iroquoian was penultimate; open stressed syllables were long.

There have been several interesting phonological innovations in the daughter languages. The Oklahoma dialect of Cherokee has developed tone. It now has three level tones, a rising tone, a falling tone, and a sharply falling tone characteristic of most final syllables: cf. North Carolina *su:ta:li* with Oklahoma *su²³ta³li⁴¹* 'six'.

Oneida and Mohawk have developed pitch accent. Thus syllable-final laryngeals are replaced by falling tone in stressed syllables. Glottal stop is deleted there before any consonant: cf. P[roto-]N[orthern] I[roquoian] **káʔkhalʔ* 'petticoat' with Oneida *kà:khareʔ* and Mohawk *kà:khareʔ*. The laryngeal *h* falls only before a resonant: cf. PNI **oʔkəhraʔ* 'powder, dust, ash' with Oneida *oʔkì:lqʔ* and Mohawk *oʔkì:raʔ*.

Stress is still penultimate in some of the languages; however, in Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, stress placement is also affected by syllable count from the beginning of the word, and by syllable structure.

Voiceless vowels have arisen in several languages. In



MAP 1. Original Territories of Iroquoian Tribes

Oneida, utterance-final syllables are devoiced. In Cayuga, certain medial vowels are devoiced because of a development involving laryngeals (Foster 1982). When odd-numbered vowels precede a laryngeal, the laryngealization moves leftward over all sonorants in the syllable. If an odd-numbered vowel precedes ʔ , then all sonorants in the syllable are laryngealized, and a preceding stop becomes ejective: cf. PNI $*\text{ɛyakwɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{tr}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:ta}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{k}$ with Cayuga $\text{ɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{yakwɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{tr}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:ta}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{k}$ 'they and I will stay home'. If an odd-numbered vowel precedes h , all sounds in the syllable become voiceless: compare PNI $*\text{ɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{tiswahas}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:wɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$ with Cayuga $\text{ɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{tisw}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{qas}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:wɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 'you all will start'.

In Cherokee, final vowels are not usually pronounced. North Carolina Cherokee also shows a process similar to the Cayuga laryngeal spreading. Thus syllable-final h metathesizes leftward over any short, unstressed vowels and resonants: $*\text{kahnawo}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ka} > \text{khanawo}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ka}$ 'he is cold'. If the metathesizing syllable is not followed by a resonant, the vowel disappears: $*\text{a}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{kwahthv}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:ki}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{a} > \text{a}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:khwthv}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{:ki}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{a}$ 'he hears me'.

2. Morphology. The Iroquoian languages are highly polysynthetic. Words are of three morphological types: unanalyzable particles, nouns, and verbs.

Morphological nouns typically contain (i) a pronomi-

nal prefix specifying the referent or its possessor, (ii) a noun root or verb stem with nominalizer, and (iii) one or more suffixes. Most nouns are followed by a nominal suffix. In the Northern languages, they may also contain a typicalizer ('original, genuine'), locative ('at, to, on, etc. '), residential ('person from'), characterizer ('in the style/language of'), diminutive, augmentative, distributive pluralizer, and/or decessive ('the late, the former'). Note Mohawk $\text{ɔkwɛh}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{wɛh}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{nɛ}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{h}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 'Indian language', literally 'in the style of the real people' (e - 'indefinite agent pronoun', -ɔkwɛh 'person', -wɛh 'typicalizer', -nɛ 'locative', $\text{-h}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 'characterizer').

Verbal morphology is more complex. Verbs may contain one or more pre-pronominal prefixes. In most of the Northern languages, these include contrastive, coincident, partitive, negative, translocative ('motion away'), aorist, dualic ('change of state or position'), future, optative, cislocative ('motion toward or position at'), and repetitive.

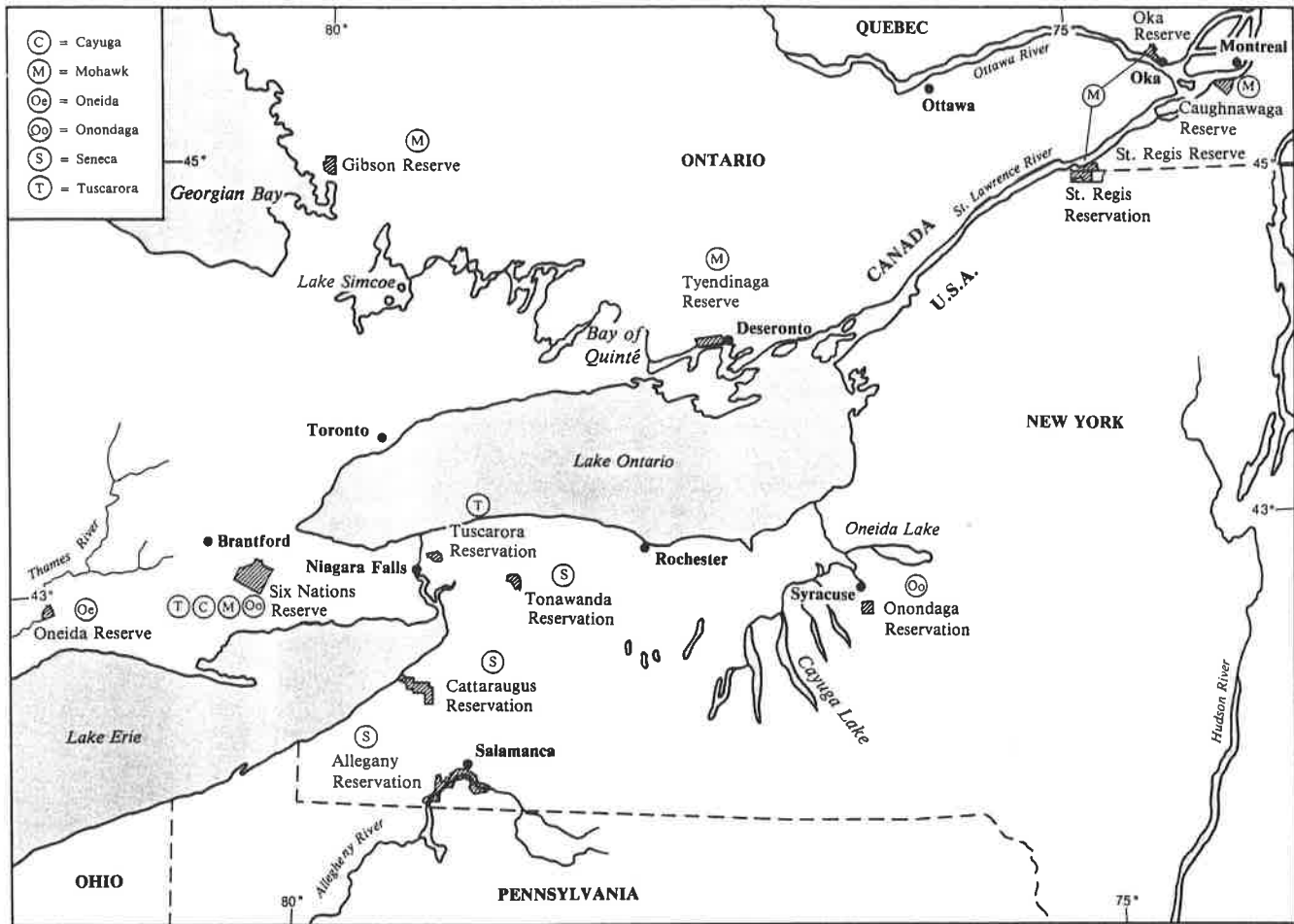
All agents and/or patients must be specified by pronominal prefixes in the verb. The pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and plural number; first, second, and third persons; inclusive and exclusive in the 1st person; and, in the Northern languages, masculine, feminine, and neuter genders in the 3rd person. The total number of agent, patient, and transitive prefixes is generally around sixty.

The pronominal prefix may be followed by a reflexive or semi-reflexive prefix and an incorporated noun stem before the verb root. A variety of derivational morphemes may follow the root, including inchoative, reversive, causative, instrumental, dative/benefactive, distributive, facilitative, eventative, intensifier, purposive, and andative suffixes. The derivational morphology is highly productive, but speakers are aware of which combinations have been lexicalized.

The verb stem must be followed by an aspect suffix: imperative, punctual, habitual, or stative. Suffixes may be added to the habitual to yield a former habitual, or to the stative to yield a past stative, remote stative, or progressive. A continuative suffix may follow any of the imperfective aspects.

The morphological structure of verbs is typically elaborate, as in the Mohawk $\text{khyahanya}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{kwakwarthysya}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{te}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 'he drank it right down', literally 'he straightened his throat right out' (kh - 'contrastive', y - 'translocative', -a - 'aorist', -ha - 'masculine singular agent', $\text{-nya}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{kw}$ - 'esophagus', -a - 'epenthetic', -kwari - 'crooked', -hsy - 'reversive', $\text{-a}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{t}$ - 'causative', $\text{-e}^{\text{ʔ}}$ 'punctual').

3. Syntax and discourse. Because of their elaborate



MAP 2. Modern Reservations of Iroquoian Tribes

morphology, Iroquoian sentences often exhibit less syntactic complexity than those of Indo-European. Iroquoian verbs contain obligatory pronominal prefixes referring to their primary arguments; hence they can constitute complete clauses in themselves. When separate noun phrases appear, their syntactic status is not equivalent to the subjects and objects of IE languages. They function essentially as appositives to the bound pronouns. Because the primary grammatical relations relate verb roots and the bound pronouns, rather than full verbs and external noun phrases, word order is not syntactically based. Constituents are ordered according to their newsworthiness within the discourse.

Similarly, subordination is often not tightly grammaticalized. Clauses that would function as complements or relatives in IE languages are often simply juxtaposed to main clauses.

Skill in language use has long been appreciated and cultivated by Iroquoian peoples in all contexts—from elaborate ceremonial and political oratory, through story-

telling, to snappy repartee. Speakers of Iroquoian languages have a rich repertoire of stylistic tools at their disposal, and they exploit them to the fullest.

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LANGUAGE LIST

- Cayuga:** 380 speakers reported in 1977 from a population of 3,000, in Six Nations, Ontario, Canada, and in New York and Oklahoma, USA. In Ontario most speakers are middle-aged or older; in the USA, only a few older people speak the language.
- Cherokee:** around 11,000 speakers reported in 1986, including 10,000 from a population of 70,000 in northeastern Oklahoma, USA, and 1,100 in western North Carolina. Also called Tsalagi. Language use is vigorous in some Oklahoma communities; elsewhere some younger people prefer English.
- Erie:** an extinct language formerly spoken near Lake Erie.
- Huron:** now extinct, formerly spoken in the Great Lakes area, Canada, and in northeastern Oklahoma, USA. The ethnic population numbers 2,500. A related variety is Wyandot.
- Laurentian:** an extinct group of languages spoken by people encountered by Jacques Cartier along the St. Lawrence River in 1534 and 1535. Also called St. Lawrence Iroquoian.
- Meherrin:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the area of Virginia and North Carolina, USA.
- Mohawk:** some 3,000 total speakers reported in 1977 from a population of 10,000 in southwestern Quebec and southern Ontario, Canada, and in northern New York, USA. Most speakers are middle-aged or older.
- Neutral:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the Great Lakes area, Canada.
- Nottoway:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the area of Virginia and North Carolina, USA.

- Oneida:** 250 speakers reported in 1977 from a population of 7,000, in central New York, USA, and eastern Wisconsin. Also spoken by a few in southern Ontario, Canada. All speakers are middle-aged or older.
- Onondaga:** 100 speakers reported in 1977 from a population of 1,500, in southern Ontario, Canada, and south of Syracuse, New York, USA. Sometimes spelled Onandaga. Most speakers are middle-aged or older.
- Petun:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the Great Lakes area, Canada.
- Seneca:** 200 speakers reported in 1977 from a population of 8,000, in western New York, USA, and mixed with Cayuga in northeastern Oklahoma; also spoken on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, Canada. Most speakers are middle-aged or older.
- Susquehannock:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the central Atlantic coastal area. Also called Andaste.
- Tuscarora:** 30 elderly speakers reported in 1977 from a total population of 1,000 on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and near Niagara Falls, New York, USA.
- Wenro:** an extinct language formerly spoken in the Great Lakes area.

ITALIAN, one of the Romance languages [*q.v.*], is the principal national language of Italy, where it is spoken by approximately sixty million people. It is also an official language of Switzerland, with about 250,000 speakers in the canton of Ticino. Pockets of Italian survive in northern Yugoslavia, and it has retained the status of a language of culture and/or education in Malta and Somalia. The language of Corsica is closely related to Tuscan dialects, although the island has been officially Francophone since 1769. Conversely, Sardinia—although an autonomous region of Italy, where Italian is in the ascendant for political and socio-economic reasons—contains about one million speakers of Sardinian, generally recognized as an independent and notably archaic Romance language. By far the largest Italophone communities outside Italy owe their origin to successive waves of emigration in the 19th and 20th centuries. There are four million Italian speakers in the United States, one and one-half million in Argentina, and about half a million each in Australia, Canada, and Brazil. After many years of neglect, the last quarter of the 20th century has seen a marked increase in language awareness and promotion by the members of these communities.

Nonetheless, the central question still remains: What is Italian? The peninsula is characterized by extreme linguistic heterogeneity; the local dialects exhibit consid-