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HUMAN VALUES EXPRESSED

AN EXAMPLE OF THE APPLICATION OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS IN THE STUDY OF HUMAN VALUES TERMINOLOGY IN THE TAJIK LANGUAGE

ABSTRACT   The present article discusses the problem of how selected human values like am-
bition, freedom, honesty and piety are expressed in the Tajik language. The se-
mantic fields of the forms in question is analysed in order to understand the asso-
ciations and connotations they raise. Analysis of the semantic fields of language
forms denoting a particular value may help us to understand the place of this
value in the value hierarchy of some culture.

Keywords: Tajik language, human values, ambition, freedom, honesty, piety

Human values are difficult to define and even more to classify. This results not only from the complexity of the concept itself, but also from the fact that they are an object of research conducted within various disciplines of science, e.g. philosophy, religious studies, psychology etc. (Salzwedel (2013)).

One of the most successful attempts to do that has been presented in the works of Shalom H. Schwartz. In the present work, in accordance with Schwartz's methodology, we will understand human values as 'desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity' (Schwartz 1994: 21). This definition is elaborated on in other publications by the same author (see e.g. Schwartz 2006: 931).

According to Schwartz, human values may be divided – on the basis of their motivational content – into ten basic types, i.e.,

1. Power,
2. Achievement,
3. Hedonism,
4. Stimulation,
5. Self-direction,
6. Universalism,
7. Benevolence,
8. Conformity,
9. Tradition,
10. Security (Schwartz 1994: 24).

These categories form a continuum with the last one neighbouring both the penultimate and the first one, again. Thus, they may be best imagined in a form of a circular graph, with every category forming one sector (with the exception of Tradition and Conformity sharing the same intersection) (Schwartz 1994: 24). These value types are not discrete. In fact, they overlap with their neighbouring ones (Schwartz 1994: 25). This circular model of value types serves as a map or coordinate system for locating particular values. Values of similar motivational type appear close to each other, while those entirely distinct are placed on the opposing parts of the map (Schwartz 1994: 31). Similarly to the basic value types, particular closely related values may also overlap with each other (Schwartz 1994: 25).

The presented vision is quite similar to the spectrum of colours, with two important differences: it is two-dimensional and it is looped, without a beginning or an end. However, probably every linguist – having thought of this parallel – will remember the variations in the segmentation of the spectrum into base colours in different languages. Thus, it would be interesting to include in the analysis of human value types the problem of semantic fields of the forms used to express them in particular languages. However, unlike in the case of colours, apart from the languages, another factor is important here. Values (or systems of values) are culture-dependent. They are most often studied in relation to cultural circles of religions (Salzwedel (2013)). In fact,

it is possible to draw a cultural map of values which shows that societies belonging to certain cultural and/or confessional circles (e.g. Protestant Europe, Catholic Europe, ex-Soviet, English-speaking, Islamic etc.) share similar value schemes (Inglehart/ Welzel (2013)).

In the present work, the author is going to present an attempt to analyze the semantic field of words denoting values in one particular ethnolect – the Tajik language. Tajikistan is a very promising field for such a research. Linguistically, it is very close to both Iran and Afghanistan (with the Tajik language often classified as a dialect of Persian). It also shares common cultural Iranian roots. On the other hand, denominationally, it is distant from Iran, as Sunni Islam is dominating in this Central Asian country. Moreover, Tajikistan remained for a considerable time under Russian and then Soviet rule. Thus Tajikistan is both Islamic and ex-Soviet, both Iranian and Sunni Muslim etc. In other words, it is a borderland of different cultural environments.

One important remark has to be made – the present work focuses on the Tajik language and the way it expresses certain lexical items related to human values. One should remember, however, that the results found are valid only for the Tajik-speaking part of the population of this country. However, Tajikistan is not a monolingual country, apart from Tajik, Russian, Uzbek and Pamir languages are spoken there. For those ethnolects, separate research should be conducted (Nagzibekova 2008: 228).

We are going to analyse semantic fields of words used to express exemplary values belonging to selected value types defined by Schwartz:

Value Type	Value
Achievement	Ambition (< Ambitious)*
Self-direction	Freedom
Benevolence	Honesty (< Honest)
Tradition	Piety (< Devout)

* To make the linguistic analysis coherent, where Schwartz referred to a value using an adjective, these are converted into a related noun.
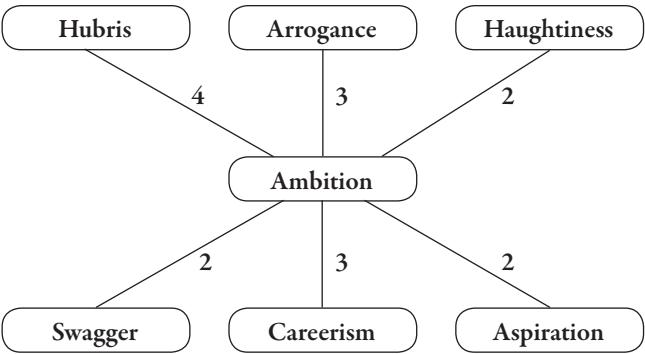
AMBITION

Let us find out, first, what words are used in Tajik to convey the idea of 'ambition', and what other meanings – apart from that – they may possess. In establishing the semantic field of the forms in question the author has used a number of modern Tajik dictionaries (see bibliography). Apart from that, the Steingass' dictionary of Persian, which is based mostly on the classical texts – a part of the common heritage of Persians and Tajiks, was used as well.

No.	Forms	Ambition	Arrogance	Haughtiness	Hubris	Swagger	Careerism	Aspiration	Other	Sources
1	истикбор	+	+	+	+	+				Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 253; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 560; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 499
2	батар	+	+	+	+				ingratitude; (unexpected) joy; disobedience	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 78; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1,158
3	борнома	+	+		+					Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 117; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 232; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 205
4	шумат	+			+	+			greed	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 755; Назарзода et al. 2008: 2, 658; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 604
5	рутбапарастӣ	+					+			Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 502
6	чоҳпарастӣ	+					+			Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 730
7	мансаб-парастӣ	+					+			Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 331
8	иззатталабӣ	+								Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 241
9	шӯхрат-парастӣ	+							vanity	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 757; Moukhtor et al. 2003: 337
10	чадал	+						+	fight, battle	Moukhtor 2003: 318; Назарзода et al. 2008: 2, 576; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 767

No.	Forms	Ambition	Arrogance	Haughtiness	Hubris	Swagger	Careerism	Aspiration	Other	Sources
11	ҳокимият-парастӣ	+							thirst for power	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 692; MOUKHTOR 2003: 303
12	орзу	+						+	wish, aim, etc.	MOUKHTOR 2003: 184

As we see, a number of ideas coinciding with ambition appears repeatedly in the semantic field of the listed forms. We may present their importance (resulting from the number of forms in the semantic fields of which they appear) in the following diagram[1]:

One striking observation is that most of the meanings coinciding with ambition are negative features. Trying to explain this one recalls the negative vision of ambition in the traditional Muslim ethics. Together with solicitude, ambition is believed to be "the root of all misery in the world" (FAKHRY 1994: 171). Ibn Ḥazm sees ambition as a destructive power that brings disagreement (HECK 2009: 104). The origin of such an attitude may be possibly traced back to the Islamic strict monotheism: neither wealth, nor one's ego, nor ambition may be an object of worship (ESPOSITO 2010: 42). It is only the teaching of some modern and – at least in some sense – reformist Islamic activists that ambition is presented in much more favourable ways, e.g. as "a sign of God's love" (HANAFI 2009: 125).

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[1]   The broader the line joining two semantic items, the more often they coexist within the semantic field of one form.

FREEDOM

The next value chosen by the author of the present article is 'Freedom'. Just like in the case of 'Ambition' we shall start with identifying the words which contain this notion in their semantic field and we shall try to find other meanings they may possess.

No.	Forms	Freedom	Liberation	Independence	Will	Other	Sources
1	озодӣ	+	+		+	emancipation; elegance; joy; thanksgiving	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 433-434; M.S. Асимов 1985: 119; Moukhtor et al. 2003: 181
2	парвос	+	+				Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 455; Назарзода et al. 2008: 2, 71
3	ҳуррият	+		+	+	sovereignty	M.S. Асимов 1985: 119; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 695; Moukhtor et al. 2003: 305; Назарзода et al. 2008: 2, 516]
4	истиқлолият	+		+		sovereignty	M.S. Асимов et al. 1985: 119

The case of the form **ҳуррият** is particularly interesting, as its semantic field covers at least two different values described by Schwartz. i.e., freedom and independence (< independent) (SCHWARTZ 1994: 31). In other words, affinity of the two values in the sense of social sciences is reflected by their linguistic relationship. The word **ҳуррият** is a borrowing from Arabic, where حُرِّيَّة ḥurriyya is an abstract noun derived from the adjective حُرّ ḥurr 'free' (ROSENTHAL/LEWIS (2013)). It is related to the verbs حَرَّ 'to be free-born' and حرّر 'to liberate a slave' (LANE 1968: 2, 538). In most of the Qur'ānic passages where the idea of freedom appears, freedom or liberation of slaves as a pious deed is meant (see 5:89, 24:33, etc.). However, already in the pre-Islamic times, apart from the legal meaning (i.e. the antonym of 'slave, unfree'), the adjective ḥurr conveyed the ethic notion 'noble' (referring to character or behaviour) (ROSENTHAL/LEWIS (2013)). Even if the Qur'ān, as stated above, encouraged to liberate slaves, still Islam approved of the institution of slavery, thus denying freedom in the case of a part of the population (Ibid.). The Islamic notion of 'freedom' was later significantly influenced by the translations of Greek literature and some political aspect was added to the meaning of 'freedom' by great philosophers al-Fārābī and Ibn Rušd (Ibid.), which is quite important for us, taking into consideration the affinity of the two values: 'freedom' and 'independence'. However, a clearly political understanding of 'freedom' is to be found in the Muslim world much later, in the 18th-century Turkey (Ibid.).

The form **озодӣ** in its turn is a word of Iranian origin (cf. New Persian آزادی **āzādi**). As we see, the form covers a number of specific meanings not conveyed by the rest of the lexemes used to convey the sense of 'freedom'.

As far as the image of 'freedom' in Islam is concerned, we have to note that the early Muslim works refer to 'freedom' in an unfavourable manner, using the notion as a synonym to 'anarchy' or 'libertinism' (Ibid.). In fact, even in the writings of modern Muslim thinkers, the general concept of 'freedom' is a controversial subject (Alshamsi 2011: 93; Tibi 2007: 35). It is understood as a positive value only as long as it is contained within the limits of what is lawful (*ḥalāl*). Alternatively, these limitations of freedom may be presented as resulting from the prohibition to make harm to others or to oneself by one's deeds (Alshamsi 2011: 93).

A research in understanding freedom in the East and in the West would be a fascinating one, however, this is far beyond the scope of the present article. What we may notice here is that there is a significant difference in the understanding of freedom and the idea of protecting it between the Muslim East and the West. No institutions aiming at protecting the idea of freedom were developed in the previous one, as power in Islam was always associated with individuals and not institutions (Tibi 2007: 35; see also Rosenthal/Lewis (2013)).

Another difference, in the author's opinion, is that while – always and everywhere – freedom is limited by some external (e.g. law) or internal (e.g. conscience) factors, the people of the West tend to look at these limitations as a necessary evil, while the Muslim ethics perceive them in a much more favourable and positive way.

As has already been said, theoretically, the main factor limiting personal freedom is protection of others and the society so that they are not harmed by the deeds of an individual (Alshamsi 2011: 93). This concept is not alien, of course, to the Western World. However, its practical application is surely different, as it leads to opposition to full religious freedom (especially to apostasy from Islam and to undertaking missions among Muslims) or freedom of speech, as no criticism of religion (i.e. Islam) is allowable (Ibid.).

Now, to sum up, 'freedom' (esp. individual freedom) does not seem to be a particularly important value in the Islamic world, especially, when compared to that in the so called Western World. This is supported by the data provided by the World Values Survey, according to which the societies of the Muslim countries significantly prefer the value of 'maintaining order in the society' to 'freedom of the individual' (results starting from 79,10% preferring order in Turkey to 89,50% in the post-Soviet Azerbaijan), while the data from the non-Muslim ex-Soviet countries show a lot of variation, never – however – approaching comparable numbers (in Latvia the preference for order is chosen only by 39,10%, while in the neighbouring Lithuania the result is 54,90%).[2]

Unfortunately, Azerbaijan was the only post-Soviet Muslim state for which this data have been provided and a similar research in Tajikistan would be welcome. Nev-

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[2]   World Values Survey online data analysis <http://www.wvsevsdb.com>.

ertheless, on the basis of this sole example we may at least put forward a hypothesis that the preference for order at the expense of individual freedom is typical of Muslim countries, and the starting point of this factor at the beginning of the Soviet period (not a particularly good era for personal freedom) was at such a level that the communist rule could not have made it any higher.
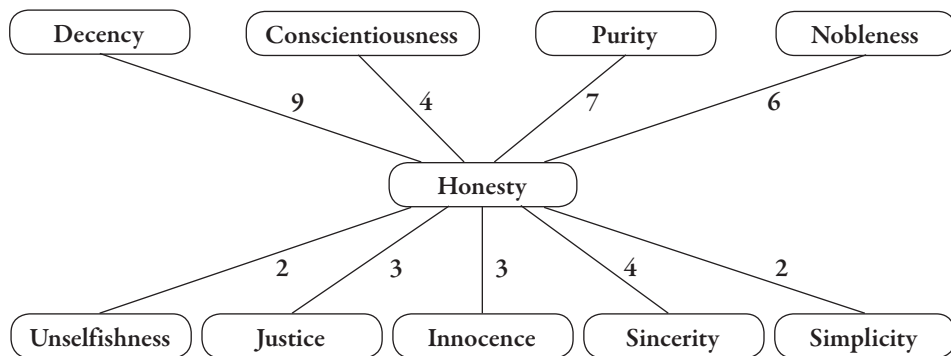
HONESTY

The lexical corpus related to the idea of 'honesty' value is the largest one among the groups of vocabulary analysed in the present work.

No.	Forms	Honesty	Decency	Conscientiousness	Purity	Nobleness	Unselfishness	Justice	Innocence	Sincerity	Simplicity	Other	Sources
1	ахлоқи покиза	+	+										Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 53
2	баномусӣ	+	+										Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 68; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 132
3	бовичдонӣ	+	+	+									Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 108; Калонтаров 2007: 262; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 211
4	боинсофӣ	+		+			+	+					Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 113; Моукнтор et al. 2003: 30
5	бошарафӣ	+				+							Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 120; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 239
6	диёнат	+	+									religiosity, piety	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 198; Моукнтор et al. 2003: 63
7	дилпокӣ	+	+										Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 201

No.	Forms	Honesty	Decency	Conscientiousness	Purity	Nobleness	Unselfishness	Justice	Innocence	Sincerity	Simplicity	Other	Sources
8	дилсофӣ	+	+		+	+	+			+			Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 201
9	дурусткорӣ	+											Калонтаров 2007: 262
10	инсоф	+					+						Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 247; Moukhtor et al. 2003: 87
11	покдоманӣ	+			+				+			righteous-ness	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 472
12	поквичдонӣ	+		+		+							Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 472
13	покӣ	+			+				+				Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 472
14	пок-сириштӣ	+				+						magnani-mity	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 473
15	росткорӣ	+	+					+					Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 499
16	салоҳ	+			+				+			kindness, rightness, benefit, **wisdom**, rationality, etc.	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 515; Moukhtor et al. 2003: 218
17	софдилӣ	+					+			+	+	ingenuity	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 554
18	тозакорӣ	+			+								Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 606
19	хулус	+			+					+	+	friendship	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 662
20	хуштинатӣ	+	+			+							Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 669
21	ҳалолкорӣ	+	+	+									Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 678
22	ҳалолӣ	+											Калонтаров 2007: 262

No.	Forms	Honesty	Decency	Conscientiousness	Purity	Nobleness	Unselfishness	Justice	Innocence	Sincerity	Simplicity	Other	Sources
23	шарофат	+				+						honour, dignity, fame	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 740 Moukhtor et al. 2003: 329
24	якрангӣ	+									+	similarity, simple-mindedness	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 767

Among the meanings coinciding with 'honesty' (a value within the 'Benevolence' type (SCHWARTZ 1994: 31)) in the semantic field of the analysed forms we notice 'friendship' (belonging to the same type (SCHWARTZ 1994: 31)), 'piety' (of the neighbouring 'Tradition' type (SCHWARTZ 1994: 31) – see below), wisdom (adjacent 'Universalism' type (SCHWARTZ 1994: 31)).

Now let us present the proportions between particular coincidences in the semantic field of the analysed words in a diagram. Like in the case of 'ambition', the width of the lines between two ideas reflects how many times one form comprises both of them within its semantic field.

As we see, there is a particularly strong link to the features of purity, decency and nobleness.

In Islam 'honesty' is an important virtue. Ibn Ḥazm understands it as a composite one, comprising features such as courage, generosity, intelligence and justice (FAKHRY 1994: 174). It is an interesting idea, as it partially coincides (cf. justice and generosity/unselfishness) with our semantic findings.

Miskawayh's ideas are less compatible with our results. Following the Platonic classification of virtues, he includes 'honesty' in the set of the temperance virtues together with modesty, self-control, self-discipline, liberality, contentedness, good composition, piety etc. (FAKHRY 1994: 112) From among these, probably modesty may be a counterpart to simplicity with no other evident parallels. Moreover, e.g. piety and self-discipline belong to a different set according both to Schwartz's classification of values and our semantic findings.

Also al-Iṣfahānī's classification of virtues, which places honesty together with contentment does not particularly support the semantic analysis.

In the case of the Soviet reality, it is quite difficult to assess the position of 'honesty' in the value systems of Soviet societies. 'Honesty' was one of the ideas with a kind of 'double life' in the Soviet Union. It was highly praised officially (note Kalinin's urging to teach people 'absolute honesty' (HOFFMAN 2003: 54)). "Moral Code of the Builder of Communism", an official document issued by the Communist Party in 1961, being a manifesto of values of the Soviet society, mentioned 'honesty' among the 12 most important ones (KLUMBYTĖ 2012: 92). Moreover, at least two other Soviet values mentioned in the same document match the lexical items associated in Tajik with 'honesty', namely: 'simplicity' and 'moral purity' (Ibid.). On the other hand, we should not forget that the actual aspects of the Soviet reality practically eradicated 'honesty' from everyday life (HOFFMAN 2003: 54).

The linguistic data support the importance of 'honesty' as a value of modern Tajik society. This is, however, not surprising because, as we have noted, at least on the declaratory level, the Soviet society praised it as well. This makes the situation different from that of the finally discussed value, i.e. 'piety'.

PIETY

Let us now analyse the vocabulary referring to the value of 'piety' understood as "'respect for God and religion, often shown in the way you behave'" (LONGMAN 1995: 1064). Among the analyzed values, 'piety' is the one most strongly associated with the religious aspect of human life. Even if Schwartz excludes 'spirituality values' from the set of universal value types (SCHWARTZ 1994: 23), nevertheless, many of the values either possess an inherent spiritual element ('piety' being an excellent example) or may obtain additional (positive or negative) religious meaning in various cultures. We have already observed such a 'spiritual bias' in the case of the value of 'ambition'. As far as the relationship between values and religion is concerned, they both may be described as two factors coexisting on the social level (Blasi 1995: 29).

Again, we shall start with analysing words for 'piety' used in the Tajik language.

| No.	Forms	Piety	Self-restraint	Righteousness	Fear of God	Honesty	Worship	Other	Sources
1.	вараъ	+	+						Бертельс et al. 1954: 89; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 224; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 131
2.	ибодат	+					+	worship, prayer	Бертельс et al. 1954: 158; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 465; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 239
3.	диндорӣ	+							Бертельс et al. 1954: 132; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 380; Асимов 1985: 508; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 203
4.	парҳез	+	+						Бертельс et al. 1954: 301; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 42; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 458
5.	парҳезгорӣ	+	+						Бертельс et al. 1954: 301; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 42; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 458
6.	покдинӣ	+		+					Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 472
7.	порсой	+	+			+		purity, honesty	Бертельс et al. 1954: 311; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 87; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 474
8.	такво	+		+	+				Бертельс et al. 1954: 389; Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 351; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 575
9.	такводорӣ	+		+					Бертельс et al. 1954: 389; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 575
10.	худотарсӣ	+					+		Бертельс et al. 1954: 429; Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 661

No.	Forms	Piety	Self-restraint	Righteousness	Fear of God	Honesty	Worship	Other	Sources
11.	худошиносӣ	+						recognition of God, monotheism	Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 661
12.	ҳақпарастӣ	+		+	+				Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 676
13.	диёнатпорсой	+		+					Саймиддинов et al. 2006: 198 ; Шукурова et al. 1969: 1, 369
14.	тарсгорӣ (тарскорӣ)*	+			+				Назарзода et al. 2008: 2, 317; Steingass 1892: 294
15.	туко	+			+				Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 381; Steingass 1892: 317
16.	тақия	+			+			caution, 'pious fraud' (esp. concealing one's religious beliefs)	Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 352; Steingass 1892: 317
17.	танассук	+					+	worship	Шукуров et al. 1969: 2, 319; Steingass 1892: 328
18.	зоҳидӣ	+	+						Бертельс et al. 1954: 157; Шукуров et al. 1969: 1, 458; Steingass 1892: 608; Назарзода et al. 2008: 1, 527
19.	худобинӣ**	+							Steingass 1892: 449.
20.	диёнатдорӣ***	+		+		+			Steingass 1892: 550.

* The form is not extensively used in Modern Tajik, however, it is noted in the Nazarzoda's dictionary and Shukurov mentions the adj. тарсгор / тарскор `the one who fears God', порсо (cf. порсой above; Шукуров et al., 1969, vol. 2, p. 333).

** This word is not attested in the modern Tajik lexicography. It appears only in the Steingass' dictionary based on the material of classical Persian. However, it is also present in the modern day Tajik texts (Google search, худобинӣ, 2013-11-01).

*** Not found in the Tajik lexicography, however, possible to be found in Tajik online documents (Google search, диёнатдорӣ, 2013-11-01).

Presenting these coincidences in the semantic field of the analysed forms in a diagram we find out three important and two secondary associations for 'piety' in the Tajik language.
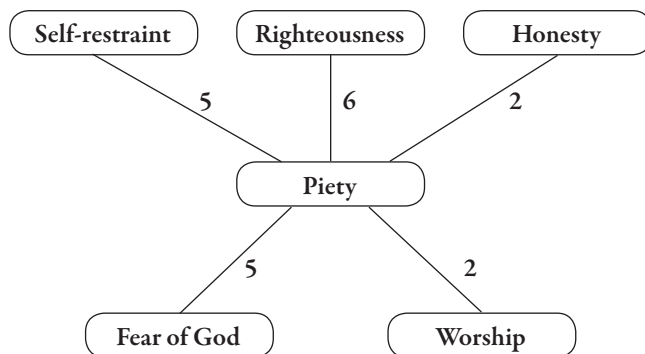
Let us now discuss the idea of 'piety' in Islam. The affinity of 'righteousness' and 'piety' is well attested in Muslim philosophy (FAKHRY 1994: 13). The importance of self-restraint (as a component of piety, in fact) is derived from the Qurʾān itself (RANE 2010: 23-24). So this association is not restricted to the Persian or Tajik languages, but it is also present in Arabic, where both 'piety' and 'righteousness' may be meant by the word بِرّ *birr*, appearing already in the Qurʾān 2:177 (FAKHRY 1994: 13), which may be seen as a guiding direction, indicating true piety (an inner attitude towards God), rather than rituals as a condition to get to paradise (KINBERG (2013)).

Another Arabic term that may denote both concepts is تقوی *taqwā* (FAKHRY 1994: 25). The latter is particularly interesting for us because of its etymology; it is related to the verbal radix <WQY> (hence *taqā*) 'to fear [God]' (LEWISOHN (2013)). And indeed, the association of 'piety' with the fear [of God] seems to be deeply rooted in Islamic philosophy and theology (FAKHRY 1994: 153, 160). In fact, the fear is one of the motives of obedience to God and moral behaviour in Islam (REINHART (2013)).

Apart from *birr* and *taqwā*, the idea of piety happens to be conveyed in the Qurʾān by the word *iḥsān*, which – however – may be also used in the sense of the 'filial piety' (KINBERG (2013)).

Finally, two non-Qurʾānic terms may be used referring to piety, i.e. *waraʿ* (cf. Tajik варав) and *zuhd* (Ibid.).

As a matter of fact, the idea of piety seems to be one of the most important of the religious notions in the Qurʾān (LEWISOHN (2013)). It is important not only in the individual relationship between God and an individual believer, but it has also an important communal aspect. As an attitude shared by all the faithful it helps to introduce peaceful relationship between them (Ibid.).

Among textual meanings of the term *taqwā* in Islamic religious literature, we find the 'pious abstinence', and, even though the studied Tajik lexicographical works do not

ascribe the meaning of 'self-restraint' to the borrowed **тақво**, Persian dictionaries do so (Ibid.). This trait of the Islamic *taqwā* is rooted in fear, as well. It may be explained as an "abstemious fear of following one's passions" (Ibid.).

Contrary to – for instance – understanding of freedom (see above), the notion of piety in Islam seems to be quite universal and is not much different from similar ideas in other religions (Ibid.).

The coincidence of piety and self-restraint, or even asceticism, is typical of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, which, however, is not restricted to the Iranian World, including Tajikistan.

The position of 'piety' as a value probably reflects the position of religion and religiosity and religion in a society. In the Soviet Union, religion was officially deprecated and religious institutions and activists were persecuted. Atheism was one of the new positive values established by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Society (SHLAPENTOKH 2005: 218). Thus, traditionally understood '[religious] piety' was not an important value in the Soviet society[3].

Thus, it would be very interesting to undertake a research focused on finding out how the importance oft is religion in the livesfe offor Tajiks or how important 'piety' is for them as a value. Such a study for involving a large number of countries of the world has been done a number of times within the framework of the World Values Survey project. Unfortunately, as we have already noted, Tajikistan has never been included in this research. However, we may analyze the data provided for other Muslim, ex-Soviet countries of the region, e.g. Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan. One of the questions included in the survey is how much is the religion is important in life, with possible answers: 'Very important', 'Rather important', 'Not very important', 'Not at all important'. What we notice is that the percentage of answers 'Very important' and 'Rather important' is lower in the case of Muslim ex-Soviet countries than in the case of Muslim non-ex-Soviet ones. On the other hand, the results for the Muslim ex-Soviet countries are clearly higher than for the non-Muslim ex-Soviet ones.

Religion very important:[4]

	Average
Muslim, non-ex-Soviet countries	88,89%
Muslim, ex-Soviet countries	30,90%
Non-Muslim, ex-Soviet	25,25%

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[3] The situation is, however, a bit more complicated. It is obvious that a kind of (subconscious?) piety survived and – in fact – flourished. Many phenomena widespread in the Soviet Union, such as the personality cult or reverence for the communist symbolism, strongly resemble certain religiously motivated behiours that are usually associated with 'piety'.

[4] World Values Survey online data analysis <http://www.wvsevsdb.com>.

Religion very important + religion rather important:[5]

	Average
Muslim, non-ex-Soviet countries	97,46%
Muslim, ex-Soviet countries	76,40%
Non-Muslim, ex-Soviet	58,65%

Thus, it is not very surprising that in the Muslim post-Soviet societies, where religion is still esteemed by over ¾ of the population, the positive semantic connotations of 'piety' and e.g. 'righteousness' are preserved, and not over-shadowed by potential negative associations like 'piety' – 'superstitiousness' or 'piety' – '[religious] bigotry'. In other words, the results of the World Values Survey are compatible (even if not referring directly to Tajikistan) with the linguistic connotations of the forms denoting 'religious piety'.

In other words, although the Soviet period certainly influenced the position of religion in the Tajik society, the results of secularization (or atheization) were more humble than in non-Muslim parts of the Soviet Union.

THE HUMAN VALUES TERMINOLOGY
AND LANGUAGE RELATIVISM

From the times of Sapir and Whorf, we are accustomed to the idea that the language spoken by a person influences the way they see the world. In the context of the present article, this means that the language spoken by a person influences her or his value system. This may be seen as an aspect of the relation between the linguistic relativity and cultural relativity, a problem discussed e.g. by S.C. Levinson (LEVINSON 1996: 133ff.). The problem of the impact of the language spoken by a society on its system of values is certainly a very promising field of research, especially taking into consideration the impact of bilingualism (multilingualism) on the value system of individuals and societies. If we accept the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, we have to admit that differences in understanding human values between e.g. Tajik, Russian and Tajik & Russian speakers are to be expected.

Let us pay some attention to the question of correspondence of the analyzed Tajik lexica to the New Persian vocabulary. We find out, that practically all the analyzed Tajik vocabulary items belong to the common Persian-Tajik lexical heritage and exist in both idioms (e.g. **вараъ** *vara':* ورع *vara'*, **диндорӣ** *dindori:* دینداری *dindāri*, **худотарсӣ** *xudotarsi:* خداترسی *xodātarsi*, etc.). Only a very limited number of classical forms seems not to be used in Tajik (e.g. دیانتگری *diyānatgari* 'piety, honesty' (STEINGASS 1892: 550)).

The semantic field of particular lexical items in Tajik and New Persian may differ. For instance, in the case of the form **диндорӣ** /دینداری we find the idea of the 'honesty'

5   Ibid.

and 'righteousness' among its primary meanings in New Persian (apart from 'piety', of course) (Рубинчик 1970, vol. 1: 696), while the Tajik lexicographers do not mention it (see above).

In spite of the differences in particular lexical items, the over-all spectrum of the semantic fields of the 'piety' related terminology *en mass*, we find in New Persian forms an image quite similar to that of Tajik.
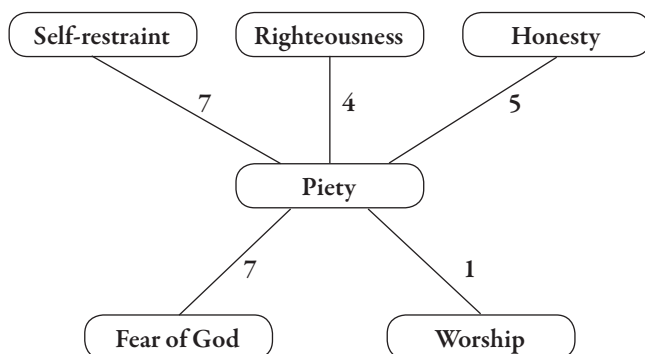
The only noticeable difference in proportions is the higher position of the idea of 'honesty'. Otherwise, the picture is very similar indeed. Strikingly, even the balance between 'self-restraint' and 'Fear of God' is reflected. In the context of the linguistic relativity theory, this would suggest that the value system of the New Persian speakers and that of the Tajik-speakers remain pretty similar.

Now what is the relationship between the semantic fields of the 'piety' terminology in Tajik and Russian? First of all, let us recall the data of the World Values Survey, according to which, religion is far less important for the inhabitants of Russia than for the people of Muslim countries (including post-Soviet ones).

The importance of religion in life for the inhabitants of the Russian Federation[6]

	The percentage of answers in the survey
Very important	13,7%
Rather important	35,1%
Not very important	32,5%
Not at all important	18,7%

In fact, the WVS provides the data for the Russian Federation as a whole, so one may understand that some predominantly Muslim regions in the Caucasus or predominantly Buddhist ones (e.g. Tuva) were included, so the results for the Russian-

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6   World Values Survey online data analysis <http://www.wvsevsdb.com>.

speaking regions may be a bit different (presumably – with the role of religion – even lower). This means, the results are significantly different from that of the Tajikistan population.

Now what about the semantic field? Here we have a striking difference, too. The meanings of the four Russian terms equivalent to the English 'piety', i.e. набожность (adj. набожный) (Волин/Ушаков 1938: 303-304), богомольность (adj. богомольный) (Ушаков 1935: 161), благочестие (adj. благочестивый) (Ушаков 1935: 151; Чернышев 1950: 497), религиозность (adj. религиозный) (Ушаков 1935: 1333) areis extremely narrow when compared to the discussed lexica of the Tajik language. It does not exceed the closely related concepts as 'fulfilling religious duties', '[religious] faith', 'associated with religion (adj.)'. What conclusion may be drawn from this? First of all, this means, that for Russian-speakers (contrary to e.g. Tajiks) ideas such aslike 'honesty' or 'righteousness' have no obvious connotations with religion. From the more general perspective we may put forward a hypothesis that there is a correlation between the extensiveness of the semantic field of the terminology related to a human value in a language and the importance of this value for the society using that language.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the lexical data related to the selected values does not provide any evidence for some significant change of the value system in the Tajik society. The associations resulting from the semantic fields of the names of particular values seem to be in accordance with the ideals of the Muslim ethics. If the results of sociological research indicate some differences between the post-soviet Muslim nations and those with no communist episode in their history, they are rather of quantitative than qualitative nature.

From the more general perspective, the present paper is just an indication of a potentially very promising field of research combining achievements of social sciences, psychology and philosophy in the description and typology of human values with the results of linguistic research. It is certainly too early to propose any decisive conclusions. However, some observations may be made.

First of all, the analysis of the semantic fields of language forms denoting a particular value may help us to understand the place of this value in the value hierarchy of some culture. Repetitive coincidence with obviously negative features may be an indication of its relatively low position (see 'Ambition' above).

Lexical items referring to one particular value tend to comprise similar additional meanings within their semantical field. These may be common to all the analyzed forms (see e.g. 'decency' and 'purity' in the case of 'honesty') or may break the analyzed set into groups (see 'righteousness' group vs. 'self-restraint' group in the case of 'piety').

Some lexical items may refer to more than one value. It is interesting to note that in the analyzed material these values belong either to the same type (as defined by Schwartz) or to neighbouring ones. We may put forward a hypothesis that the contin-

uum of values happens to be reflected – to some extent – by the continua of semantic fields of language forms.

Linguistic research may be helpful in understanding if (and to what extent) external factors influenced the value system of some society, as can be seen in the case of the post-soviet Tajikistan. What the author sees as a particularly promising field of research is the relationship between the extensiveness of the terminology describing a value and its importance for the society that uses it.

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[7] In the case of online electronic sources that may be a subject of numerous subsequent modifications and the original date of publication is not always obvious, the year of access (instead of publication) is given in the references in the body of the text. To avoid confusion, these dates are always put in brackets.

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