

ASPECTS OF YAGHNOBI GRAMMAR

by

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A THESIS

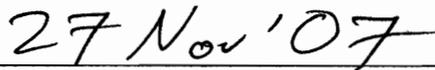
Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

December 2007

“Aspects of Yaghnobi Grammar,” a thesis prepared by Brian Arnett Bird in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Linguistics. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:



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An Abstract of the Thesis of

Brian Arnett Bird for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Linguistics to be taken December 2007

Title: ASPECTS OF YAGHNOBI GRAMMAR

Approved: 

Dr. Eric Pederson

Yaghnobi is an Eastern Iranian language spoken by approximately 12,500 people in Tajikistan. Considered by some to be endangered, it has received little previous study. Documentation of this language will contribute to ongoing revitalization efforts.

This thesis describes the basic morphosyntax of the language up to the level of the clause from a functional-typological perspective. Descriptions of aspects of the grammar not published elsewhere include: two different copulas; additional tenses of the verb-auxiliary complex; delineation of directional and locational functions of adpositions; identification of two different case forms for pronouns and demonstratives; and a system of grammatical relations which is split on aspect, with a nominal accusative system for perfective aspect and an unusual system which does not distinguish S and O arguments for imperfective verbs.

The appendix contains parsed and glossed Yaghnobi texts and a Yaghnobi - Tajik - English dictionary based on field work conducted during the fall of 2006.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the assistance of Dr. Saifiddin Mirzozoda, head of the language department at the Rudaki Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Tajikistan. His extensive consultations on the Yaghnobi language, which is his first language, were crucial to my analysis of Yaghnobi grammar. In addition, he provided many of the Yaghnobi texts used in this thesis. I am also indebted to the other members of the Yaghnobi community in the villages of Dughoba and Kuk Teppa, Tajikistan, who provided consultation on this project. Thanks also are due to my advisor at the University of Oregon, Dr. Eric Pederson, for his helpful critique and suggestions for this manuscript. Finally, a heartfelt thanks to my wife Amanda for financing our trip to Tajikistan and for her patience and support throughout this project.

Dedicated to the Yaghnohi people of Tajikistan.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1. HISTORY OF THE YAGHNOBI PEOPLE

The Yaghnobi, who have inhabited the high mountain valley of Yaghnob in west-central Tajikistan for centuries, speak a language that scholars believe is descended from the ancient Sogdian language.¹ The kingdom of Sogdiana existed from before the sixth century BCE until the Arab conquests of the eighth century CE. The Sogdian territory occupied what is now northern Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan (Raspopova and Shishkina, 1999). From the fifth to the eighth centuries, the Sogdians were the main caravan merchants of the Silk Road, which passed through the Sogdian cities of Samarkand (their capital) and Bukhara (Vaissiere, 2004). The Sogdians also established extensive colonies in what is now western China. Their influence was so extensive that Sogdian, an East-Iranian language, was the lingua franca of Central Asia during the seventh century (Dien, 2007). The region to the south of Sogdiana, Ustrashana (also called Soroushna), was also populated by Sogdian-speaking people (Negmatov, 1999). Its capital, Bunjikat, was near present day Istravshan in northwest Tajikistan (Bosworth, 2005). The dialect of Sogdian spoken in Ustrashana in the eighth century has been

¹ Bielmeier (2006) cites the following scholars who have presented evidence that Yaghnobi is descended from one of the dialects of Sogdian: N. Sims-Williams, "Sogdian," in R. Schmitt, ed., *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 173-92; I. M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion* I-II, The Hague and Paris, 1975; Khromov, A. L. "Yagnobski yazyk" (Yaghnobi language), in *Osnovy iranskogo yazykoznanija, Novoiranskije yazyki: vostochnaya grupa* (Essentials of Iranian linguistics, New Iranian languages: eastern group), Moskva, 1987, pp. 644-701.

identified through lexical and phonological similarities as the language from which modern Yaghnobi has descended.

After the Sogdians were defeated by Arab invaders at the battle of Mount Mugh in 722 CE, many of them fled Arab domination to live in the high mountain valleys (Whitfeld, 2005). According to Belyakov (2003) the village of Pskon in the Yaghnob valley became a de facto capital for the Sogdian refugees. It appears that the Sogdian refugees remained fairly isolated from outside authority and influence, although significant numbers were subject to forced conversion to Islam. Eventually all of the Yaghnobi adopted Islam, but they also retained Zoroastrian beliefs, which continue to be a part of their religious practice (Donovan, 2007).

In the 17th century a significant number of Yaghnobis migrated to the Varzob valley (Bielmeier, 2006), which is mainly populated by Tajiks and closer to the lowland population centers. A sizable Yaghnobi population remains there in half a dozen villages today. The Yaghnobis' land came under control of the tsar in 1870, but Russian authority was mainly in name only. Aside from tax collection, from which the Yaghnobis were exempted in 1895, there was little control exercised by the Russians, and the Yaghnobi remained isolated by the high mountains surrounding their homeland. The first scientific records of the Yaghnobi language were made in 1870 by the Russian scholar Alexander L. Kuhn and his Tajik companion and interpreter Mirza Mulla Abdurrakhman, from Samarkand.

In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks took control of Russian Turkestan, but because of the rugged terrain surrounding the Yaghnob valley they exercised no real control until 1930

when the first soviet was established in the village of Naumetkan in Yaghnob. In 1929 the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic was created. The Yaghnob valley was in the territory of the Tajik SSR and is about sixty miles from Dushanbe, which was designated the capital of the Tajik SSR. With the Soviet political apparatus developing at closer proximity to the Yaghnob valley, further attempts were made to sovietize the Yaghnobi, including the establishment of two largely unsuccessful collective farms in the 1930s. In spite of the increasing Soviet control over the Tajik SSR, the Yaghnobi continued to remain relatively isolated and autonomous because of the absence of roads through the high passes into the Yaghnob valley (Donovan, 2007).

During 1970 and 1971 the Soviet authorities forcibly deported the entire population of the Yaghnob valley to the cotton plantations in the area of Zafarabod on the northwest border between the Tajik and Uzbek SSRs. The deportation was both politically and economically motivated. The fact that the Yaghnobis' remote location had allowed them to effectively resist sovietization, coupled with the pressing economic need for laborers in the cotton fields, motivated the government to send armed soldiers to remove the Yaghnobi people from their mountain homes by force and fly them by helicopter to grow cotton in irrigated desert land. The population of the Yaghnob valley at that time numbered between three and four thousand. Due to the harsh desert climate with temperatures over 105 degrees Fahrenheit, inadequate housing, lack of sanitary drinking water, and exposure to tuberculosis, between 400 and 700 Yaghnobis died during their first year in Zafarabod (Donovan, 2007). During the first few years some of the Yaghnobi fled back to the Yaghnob valley, only to be deported again (Loy, 2006).

In 1990 the Dushanbe based Council of Ministers passed a resolution to reestablish all villages from which people had been deported (Bielmier, 2006). Tajikistan became an independent country in 1991. Since independence the government of Tajikistan has promoted national awareness of the country's Sogdian heritage as part of an effort to construct a national identity. Although the Yaghnobi are now permitted to return to live in the Yaghnob valley, only about three hundred have done so, since all of the homes have been destroyed and the valley is completely lacking any kind of infrastructure or economic base. About 6,500 Yaghnobis remain in Zafarabod, the largest Yaghnobi population center (Paul et al., 2005). In spite of the suffering and hardship they have experienced, they have retained much of their culture and continue to speak Yaghnobi as their first language.

2. STATUS OF THE YAGHNOBI LANGUAGE

The Yaghnobi language is classified as endangered in the *UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages*² (2003). However, a survey conducted during 2003 and 2004 (Paul et al., 2005) indicated that the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Yaghnobi language is strong.

The *UNESCO Red Book* gives only a brief summary of the criteria used for determining the language status. This is the entire entry on Yaghnobi:

- Children speakers: very few
- Mean age of youngest speakers: 10-?

² Another UNESCO publication, *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing* (2001), does not list Yaghnobi as an endangered language.

- Distribution by sex: even;
- Total number of speakers, members of the ethnic group: 2,000 -
- Degree of speakers' competence: medium or less, to good
- Published and unpublished material (of the language): Khromov, A.L. 1972, *The Yaghnobi Language* (in Russian), Moscow.
- Competent scholar(s) and institution(s): c/- V.I. Belikov, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

It is difficult to assess the accuracy of the UNESCO classification of the Yaghnobi language since the researchers do not give sources or dates for the data they used. Sources from the first half of the twentieth century, however, do list a similar number of Yaghnobi speakers.

- 1913: Junker (1930) reported that there were approximately 2,200 native speakers in 21 villages.
- 1926: According to the government census the number of Yaghnobi was 1,800.
- 1960s: Khromov reported 2,400 Yaghnobi speakers; 1500 living in 22 villages in the Yaghnob valley and 900 living outside the valley.

Several aspects of the language situation described in the brief UNESCO entry are quite different from those described by Paul, et al. Most significantly, the latter reported that there are approximately 13,500 mother-tongue Yaghnobi speakers and that the overwhelming majority of children are learning Yaghnobi as a first language.

The map in Figure 1.1 shows the areas of Tajikistan with sizable Yaghnobi populations. According to Paul et al. (2005), the Yaghnobi population for each region is:

- Yagnobi river valley (traditional homeland): 322
- Zafarabad area (largest population center): 6,549
- Upper Varzob river valley: 1,288
- Lower Varzob river valley: 1,111
- Southern Tajikistan: 700
- Dushanbe (capital of Tajikistan): 3,500

Figure 1.1. Map of Yagnobi communities



Base map © United Nations Development Programme, Tajikistan.

Paul et. al. (2005) conducted extensive interviews in a number of Yagnobi villages over a two year period. Table 1.1 summarizes the results of their interviews and observations for three key population centers:

1. The Yagnob valley, which is the most isolated location, as well as being the original homeland and cultural center for the Yagnobi people.
2. Zumand village, one of the more isolated, yet populous (population 655), villages in the upper Varzob valley.
3. The Zafarabad region, which is by far the major population center.

Table 1.1. Language situation in three Yaghnobi villages

	Yaghnob valley	Zumand	Zafarabod
Ethnic identity	Self identity based on speaking Yaghnobi and having Sogdian ancestry. Being Yaghnobi is considered good.		
Tajik proficiency (scale of 1 - 5)	Women: 2+ Men: 3+	Women: 2+ Men: 3+	All: 3 - 4
Contact with Tajik	All: Currently low, medium-high in the past	Women: Low Men: Medium-high	All with occupations outside the home: High Others: Low
Domains of use	Yaghnobi for all domains	Tajik for official domains, Yaghnobi for informal domains.	
Attitudes to Yaghnobi literature	Positive	Positive	Positive, with preference for audio-visual media

These results show that the Yaghnobi communities are maintaining a strong positive sense of self identity, contact with the majority (Tajik) community remains fairly low, and very few people are fully fluent in Tajik. Most importantly, Tajik is only being used in domains where it is required for communication with non-Yaghnobi speakers.

Paul et al. (2005) also assessed the status of the Yaghnobi language according to eleven factors known to affect language shift (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). These factors are shown in Table 1.2 and are marked positive if they indicate linguistic vitality and negative if they indicate language shift. The authors conclude that since seven indicators are positive, three mixed, and only one negative, the vitality of the language is strong.

Table 1.2. Assessment of sociolinguistic factors affecting language shift

Demography: positive	The total population of 13,500 is well above 3,000, the typical critical level for Asia (Grimes 1986), and they tend to live in homogenous villages or homogenous neighborhoods in villages with both Tajik and Yaghnobi.
Sociology: positive	Both parents in most families are Yaghnobi speakers and are transmitting the language to their children.

Linguistics: mixed	Tajik is easy for Yaghnobis to learn since it has the same basic word order as Yaghnobi (subject, object, verb) and a large shared vocabulary.
Psychology: positive	Contentment and commitment to existing social networks among Yaghnobis is high, although the younger generation in some of the communities is more willing to form associations with Tajiks than the older generation.
History: positive	Yaghnobi people take pride in their Sogdian heritage. The injustice of the Soviet forced migrations in the '70s has left them feeling united in the just cause of seeking reparation from the outside world.
Politics: positive	The government has given official recognition to the Yaghnobi language and allows Yaghnobi literacy to be taught to Yaghnobi children in grades one through four.
Geography: positive	The isolation produced by the rugged mountains surrounding the Yaghnob valley and the upper Varzob discourage in-migration and limit contact with Tajiks.
Education and literacy: mixed	Although classes about the Yaghnobi language have been taught in elementary schools, the classes were taught in Tajik. On the other hand, literacy in Tajik is easily transferred to Yaghnobi since both languages use the same orthography.
Religion: negative	The vast majority follow Sunni Islam which is the same religion as the majority population. In addition, surveys show a consensus that Tajik and Persian are the appropriate languages for religious literature.
Economics: neutral	Economic pressures have not produced significant migration to Tajik speaking communities. Rural communities practicing subsistence farming only need to know rudimentary Tajik to sell their surplus in neighboring Tajik communities.
Media: positive	Radio and/or television are available in most Yaghnobi communities. Frequent, positive references are made to the Yaghnobi. Although the majority of programming is in Tajik and Russian, Yaghnobi songs and poems are heard with some regularity.

The conclusion of Paul et al. is that since seven indicators are positive, three mixed, and only one negative, the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language is strong. However, two of the factors they evaluated as positive, education and the economy, need to be reevaluated. Education is now a more negative factor, since the government is not

providing funding for printing Yaghnobi text books or hiring Yaghnobi teachers. As a result, Yaghnobi classes were no longer being taught as of the school year of 2006.

The economy could actually be a negative factor. In the mountainous areas of Yaghnob and the upper Varzob, the main agricultural activity is raising livestock. In Zafarabod it is mainly cultivation of cotton and vegetable crops. In these regions it makes sense that the economy is a neutral factor. However, in the lower Varzob and Dushanbe much of the economy is dependant on employment in the nation's capital, Dushanbe. In addition, seasonal work in Russia accounts for a major percentage of cash income. According to the Tajik government, 600,000 Tajiks are employed in seasonal work in Russia (RFE/RL, 2007), although unofficial estimates are double this number. Since the male population of Tajikistan between 15 and 64 years of age is approximately 2.145 million (CIA, 2007), 1.2 million migrant workers constitute about half of the male working population. If the same proportion of Yaghnobi men were going to Russia as in the overall population, this would have a negative impact on the language situation, since it further breaks down the isolation of the Yaghnobi community and increases contact with majority languages.

In spite of these revisions to the assessment of sociolinguistic factors, this conclusion that the ethnolinguistic vitality of Yaghnobi is strong concurs with our observations made during the three months spent living in Dughoba, in the upper Varzob. However, it was apparent that the form of language passed on from parents to their children contains more borrowed Tajik words and sometimes borrowed Tajik grammatical constructions.

The Yaghnobi language as it is spoken now, and even as it was spoken in the mid-1900s (Andreev, 1957), has been heavily influenced by Tajik. The Yaghnobi data analyzed for this thesis bears this out. Out of a spoken corpus of 7,585 words, containing 1,020 distinct words and affixes, 360 are identical with Tajik words. An additional 80 words are phonetically very similar to Tajik words, which results in a total of 480 words, or 47% of the lexicon, that appear to be borrowed. The majority of the borrowed words are nouns, while the verbs, pronouns, prepositions, and the basic grammatical structure remain significantly different from Tajik, although these categories have also been affected to some degree. This kind of "dilution" of the language does not qualify a language as being in danger of disappearing, but the language is in danger of losing more and more of its distinctiveness. If this trend continues, Yaghnobi will one day become mutually intelligible with Tajik and yet another aspect of the cultural distinctiveness of the Yaghnobi people will be lost.

3. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the morphosyntax of the Yaghnobi language from the level of the morpheme to the level of the simple clause. This paper is written from functional-typological and synchronic perspectives. This means that this grammar description is organized primarily by categories of language function which have been identified as typologically universal.³ Each category is described in terms of the language structures (i.e. grammar) that are used to accomplish these functions. This

³ Typologists use the term *universal* to mean that a particular language property is represented by a statistically significant sampling of the world's languages, but not necessarily every language.

description gives only a synchronic description of the contemporary use of the language. An investigation into the historical development of the language needs to be done but will require further research.

This description is based on data provided by six first-language Yaghnobi speakers. The majority of the data was transcribed by the author of this paper, although some of the texts were transcribed by Yaghnobi professor Dr. Saiffidin Mirzozoda. The data that was analyzed for this paper consists of 720 elicited sentences and 560 sentences of narrative texts. The elicited sentences were provided by three consultants ranging in age from twenty to forty-five. The texts were provided by four consultants who ranged from middle-aged to elderly.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF THE YAGHNOBI LANGUAGE

1. LANGUAGE FAMILY

Yaghnobi is classified as a Northeastern Iranian language.¹ The criteria for distinguishing the two main genetic divisions of Iranian languages, Eastern and Western, is preservation of the Proto-Iranian voiced stops **b*, **d*, **g*. Western Iranian languages preserve these, but Eastern Iranian has the corresponding fricatives *v*, *ð*, *ɣ*. For example, in Tajik, a Southwestern Iranian language, the word *barodar* ‘brother’ preserves the voiced initial stop, while the Yaghnobi word *viru:t* ‘brother’ has the corresponding initial fricative. The Northeastern subgroup is distinguished by a morphological innovation,² which is the regular plural suffix *-t* (in Yaghnobi), or *-tə* (in Ossete). For example, Yaghnobi has the singular *po:da* ‘foot’ and plural *po:do:t* ‘feet’ (Comrie, 1989).

¹ Comrie (1981) explains that Iranian languages have been traditionally divided into two genetic groups: Western and Eastern. These groups are subdivided into Northwestern, Southwestern, Northeastern, and Southeastern subgroups. The geographical designations are derived from the distribution of forms of Old and Middle Iranian rather than the locations of the modern Iranian languages. See Appendix C for a full listing of languages in the Iranian language family.

² Comrie is not contrasting the Northeastern Iranian regular plural suffix to another particular, regular Southeastern suffix. Innovation and irregularities in morphology are typical of Eastern Iranian languages; a suffix involving the consonant *t* is just the innovation that is characteristic of the two Northeastern Iranian languages. For example, Pashto, a Southeastern Iranian language, has the singular *p̄sa* ‘foot’ and plural *p̄sə:* ‘feet’. (This is in the absolutive case. Pashto also has a variety of other plural suffixes that depend on the case and class of the noun.) Shughni, another Southeastern Iranian language, has the singular *pað* ‘foot’ and the plural *paðe:u* ‘feet’.

In the Middle Persian period (the fourth century BCE to the ninth century CE), the Northeast Iranian language subgroup was composed of Khwarezmian, Alan (Scythian), and Sogdian. Sogdian is well known through a wealth of Manichean, Buddhist, and Christian (Nestorian) texts from the seventh through ninth centuries CE. Khwarezmian has no modern descendants. Ossete is a modern descendant of Alan, and Yaghnobi is believed to be a descendant of Sogdian.

Yaghnobi has been identified as a descendant of Sogdian, in part, by its vocabulary. Table 2.1 shows examples of Sogdian words that have reflexes in Yaghnobi (Mirzozoda, 1998). The Tajik (Southwest Iranian) translation of each word is given for comparison to show that these words are not from a common Middle Persian source.

Table 2.1. Reflexes of Sogdian words in modern Yaghnobi

Sogdian	Yaghnobi	Tajik	English
<i>jatak</i>	<i>jota</i>	<i>gu:ft</i>	‘meat’
<i>afkamp, fkamp</i>	<i>famp</i>	<i>fift</i>	‘ceiling’
<i>tʃi</i>	<i>tʃi</i>	<i>az</i>	‘from’
<i>akut, kut</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>sag</i>	‘dog’
<i>zaj</i>	<i>zoj</i>	<i>kiftzor</i>	‘cultivated field’

2. TYPOLOGY

In this section the two main traditional categories of typology (morphology and word order) will be described. Many other categories could be addressed, but typological classification is not the focus of this thesis.

2.1. MORPHOLOGY

The morphology of the Yaghnobi language is agglutinating³ and, to a limited degree, polysynthetic.⁴ The words in examples 1 and 2 exhibit both agglutination and polysynthesis.

(1) *intf -af*
 wife -3S
 ‘his wife’

(2) *na- mun -om -ift*
 not- permit -1S -PRS
 ‘I won’t permit him’

Since both of these words have more than one morpheme, and these morphemes are invariant and have fixed boundaries, they exemplify agglutination. These same words also exhibit polymorphism, since each word incorporates multiple morphemes

³ The term agglutinating is being used in the sense defined by Comrie (1981): “In an agglutinating language, a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear-cut; moreover, a given morpheme has at least a reasonably invariant shape.”

⁴ Comrie (1981) defines a polysynthetic language as a type of language in which “it is possible to combine a large number of morphemes, be they lexical or grammatical, into a single word, often corresponding to a whole sentence of English.”

and incorporates both grammatical and lexical morphemes. The polysynthesis is limited, since the only subjects and objects that can be incorporated are pronominal suffixes. Furthermore, these polysynthetic words rarely stand alone as a sentence; the pronominal suffixes usually correspond to nouns elsewhere in the sentence and function as grammatical agreement suffixes, as shown in example 3. In this sentence, *-om* 1S.PRS agrees with *man* ‘I’.

(3) *man amonatdor -im hitfuxs -i tisak na- mun -om -ift*
 I steward -1S no.one -CS enter not- put -1S -PRS
 (LOC)

‘I have been entrusted [with guarding the door]. I won’t let anyone in.’

2.2. WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY

The basic word order is subject, object,⁵ verb (SOV), although there is some flexibility in word order, which will be discussed in the section on grammatical relations. Greenberg (1966) observed certain word order tendencies for SOV languages, which are shown in the left column of Table 2.2. The right column indicates whether or not Yaghnobi has the predicted word order.

⁵ The terms *subject* and *object* are used to mean respectively: most agent like, and most patient like. They do not necessarily correspond to the categories of *subject* and *object* in English.

Table 2.2. Greenberg's word order predictions vs. word order in Yaghnobi

Greenberg's prediction	Compared to Yaghnobi
Adjectives precede nouns.	Yes.
Genitives precede nouns.	Yes.
Relative clauses precede nouns.	No. Relative clauses follow nouns.
Noun phrases precede adpositions.	No, but becoming yes. There are both prepositions (older) and postpositions (newer) in Yaghnobi.
Verbs precede auxiliaries.	Yes.
Standard of comparison precedes comparative adjective.	Yes.

Samples of sentences with each of type of word order are shown in example 4.

These examples are self-explanatory, with the exception of 4d. Yaghnobi does not have fully developed postpositions, but it does have relator nouns that appear to be well along the way to becoming postpositions and function as postpositions. This is discussed further in chapter III in the section on spatial relators.

(4) Examples of word order in Yaghnobi

a. Adjectives precede nouns

ADJ N

man xun -i fov kut a- ven -im

I dream -CS **black dog** PST- see -1SG

(LOC)

'I saw a **black dog** in a dream.'

b. Genitives precede nouns

N -GEN N

safar karim -i tup a- nos

Safar **Karim** -CS **ball** PST- take

(GEN)

'Safar took **Karim's** ball.'

3.1. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of the Yagnobi language are shown in tables 1 through 3 which present a summary⁶ of the phonological analysis done by Khromov (1972, 1987) and Vinogradova (2000).⁷ Vinogradova observes that the distinction between long and short vowels is disappearing; all vowels appear as short, except in stressed syllables, where the long vowels listed in Table 2.4 may still occur. Neither Khromov nor Vinogradova described the methodology⁸ used to determine the Yagnobi phonemes, so it is unknown what minimal pairs or complementary distributions they may have found.

⁶ These tables were adapted from tables compiled by Lubomír Novák who translated the material from Russian to English (Internet: Phonology of Yagnobi. *The Yagnobi*. <http://yagnobi.wordpress.com/2007/07/25/phonology-of-yagnobi/>)

⁷ These tables have been modified to use the IPA rather than the phonetic transcription system used by Khromov (1972, 1987) and Vinogradova (2000).

⁸ There are a number of issues with the analysis presented in these tables. First, a number of the words presented in the examples are Tajik words (*gird* ‘round’, *xær* ‘donkey’, *fer* ‘lion’). These words may reflect Tajik rather than Yagnobi phonology. Second, some of the choices for “basic realization” seem rather arbitrary. For example, why was /u/ chosen as the target (underlying form) rather than /ʊ/, or /o/?

Table 2.3. Short vowels

Phoneme	Allophones	Environment	Examples
/i/	[i]	Basic realization with a wide range of free variation: [i - ɪ - e]	
	[ĩ] (extra short)	In an open syllable preceding a stressed syllable	<i>xĩ'fift</i> 'milk', <i>tĩ'raʃ</i> 'three'
	[i]	Adjacent to fricatives and in closed syllables following palatal or velar stops	<i>fĩ'rok</i> 'tomorrow', <i>vi'rot</i> 'younger brother', <i>kif-</i> 'to plant', <i>gird</i> 'round'
	[e]	In word-final position and preceding a pharyngeal or uvular	<i>'morti</i> 'man', <i>'aβi</i> 'his/her', <i>ix</i> 'this(?)', <i>dih-</i> 'to hit'
/a/	[a]	Basic realization	
	[a:]	Result of a compensatory lengthening in case of loss of /h/ or /ʔ/	<i>ka:du:m</i> 'squash' < <i>kahdu:n</i> , <i>ʒa:m</i> 'to gather' < <i>ʒa:ʔm</i> < <i>ʒam</i>
	[æ]	Adjacent to a uvular	<i>ɣæɾ</i> 'mountain', <i>xæɾ</i> 'donkey'
/u/	[u]	Basic realization with free variation of [u - ʊ - o]	
	[ũ] (ultra short)	In open pre-stressed syllables	<i>su'tur</i> 'sheep', <i>ʃu'mox</i> 'you', <i>puxóy-</i> 'to cut'
	[u]	Adjacent to a fricative	
	[o]	In closed syllables containing a plosive	<i>urk</i> 'wolf', <i>uxf</i> 'six', <i>kut</i> 'dog'
	[y]	Preceding a uvular or pharyngeal. (Dialectal feature?)	

Table 2.4. Long vowels

/i:/	[i]	Basic realization	
	[i:] (lowered)	Between plosives	<i>tik</i> ‘also, again’
/e:/	[e:]	In stressed syllables word medially and finally	
	[e] (raised)	Adjacent to /ʃ, ʒ, m, n/	<i>fer</i> ‘lion’, <i>met</i> ‘day’
	[ɛ:]	In the Eastern dialect (from historical <i>*a^j</i> , usually merges with the historical <i>*e</i>)	<i>men</i> ‘village’, <i>βeʃ</i> ‘grass’
	[aḯ]	In the Western dialect (maintains historical <i>*a^j</i>)	<i>majn</i> ‘village’, <i>βajf</i> ‘grass’
/o:/	[ɔ:]	Basic realization	
	[o:]	In stressed, closed syllables	
	[u:]	Before nasals	<i>nom/nu:m</i> ‘name’, <i>pi'rɔnt-/piru:nt-</i>
/u:/	[u:]	Basic realization	
	[y:]	Variant of historical <i>*u:</i> in stressed position; pronunciation can merge with /i/. Dialectal feature.	<i>xu:r/xy:r</i> (<i>xir</i>) < <i>*xu:r</i> ‘sun’, <i>kabu:d/kaby:d</i> (<i>kabi:d</i>) < <i>*kabu:d</i> ‘blue’

Table 2.5. Consonants

/p/	[p]	
	[p ^h]	In word-initial or word-final position
/b/	[b]	
/t/	[t]	
	[t ^h]	In word-initial or word-final position

/d/	[d]	
/tʃ/	[tʃ]	
/ɕ /	[ɕ]	
/k/	[k]	
	[k ^h]	In word-initial or word-final position
	[c]	Articulation of /k/adjacent to a front vowel
	[c ^h]	In word-initial or word-final position when adjacent to a front vowel
/g/	[g]	
	[ʝ]	Adjacent to a front vowel
/q/	[q]	
/m/	[m]	
/n/	[n]	
	[ŋ]	Preceding a velar
/f/	[f]	
/v/	[v]	
/s/	[s]	
/z/	[z]	
/ʃ/	[ʃ]	Yaghnobi pronunciation of /ʃ/ is more palatal than in Tajik
/ʒ/	[ʒ]	Yaghnobi pronunciation of /ʒ/ is more palatal than in Tajik
/ɣ /	[ɣ]	

/x/	[x]	
/xʷ/	[xʷ]	In Yaghnobi there can be no consonant clusters word initially, so /xʷ/ is considered to be single labialized vowel, not a cluster of /x/ + /w/.
/h/	[h]	
	[ħ]	Pronunciation of /h/ as [ħ] is a hyper-correct pronunciation of Arabic loans by Mullahs, ordinary people usually pronounce [h].
/ʕ/	[ʕ]	Realization of <i>ʕayn</i> as a pharyngeal fricative in words borrowed from Arabic often disappears or is pronounced as [ʔ] (a glottal stop) or [.] (a pause) in some words.
/β/	[β]	According to Khromov (1972) Yaghnobi /w/ is realized as a bilabial approximant; on the other hand, Vinogradova (2000) claims that it is realized more like a bilabial fricative.
	[β]	
	[w̥]	Following a vowel at the end of a syllable
/j/	[j]	
/r/	[r]	
/l/	[l]	

3.2. ORTHOGRAPHY

The transcriptions in this thesis were originally done using a modified version of the Cyrillic alphabet. This modified version is the same alphabet that is used for writing Tajik. In order to make the work in this thesis more widely accessible, all of the

transcriptions have been converted from Tajik Cyrillic to IPA. Table 2.6 shows the correlation of Tajik Cyrillic to IPA used to make this conversion. This system represents the phonological system used by Saifiddin Mirzozoda⁹, the primary Yaghnobi consultant on this project, who based his determination of phonemes on his own analysis and intuition as a Yaghnobi speaker as well as on the work of Khromov (1972) and Vinogradova (2002) which was summarized in the first part of this section.

There are a few differences between Mirzozoda's determination of phonemes and Khromov's: 1) Mirzozoda only recognizes two long vowels: /i:/ and /u:/, while Khromov¹⁰ recognizes three: /i:/, /a:/, and /u:/. 2) Mirzozoda does not distinguish /χ^w/ as a separate phoneme. There are also some issues with the Tajik Cyrillic transcription system used by Morzozoda. 1) He transcribes /ju/, /ja/, and /jo/ using single Cyrillic characters. This is a byproduct of using Cyrillic orthography¹¹ and does not indicate that these are single phonemes. 4) One shortcoming of the Tajik Cyrillic alphabet is that it does not distinguish /v/ and /w/. Mirzozoda does, however, recognize these as separate phonemes. 5) Mirzozoda uses a separate character, *й*, to represent glided [i], but this does not mean that he considers it to be a distinct phoneme. The decision to represent the Tajik Cyrillic character *й* in IPA as a non-syllabic vowel *j* (a glide), rather than *ɨ* (an extra short vowel) was the author's.

⁹ His name appears elsewhere as Mirzoyev, since he has published using both his official Tajik surname as well as his preferred Yaghnobi surname. Recently the Tajik government has ceased using russified patronymics for official documents, so Mirzozoda will become his official surname.

¹¹ In Mirzozoda's earlier works he transcribed [ja] as *йа* (*ja*), [ju] as *йу* (*ju*), and [jo] as *йо* (*jo*). It is not clear whether he changed his transcription system for phonological reasons or to make the writing system easier to learn for students familiar with Russian and Tajik.

Table 2.6. Orthography

Tajik Cyrillic	IPA	Tajik Cyrillic	IPA
А а	a	Н н	N
Б б	b	О о	O
В в	v	П п	P
В в	β	Р р	R
Г г	g	С с	S
Ғ ғ	κ	Т т	T
Д д	d	У у	U
Е е	e	Ӯ ӯ	u:
Ё ё	jɔ	Ф ф	F
Ж ж	ʒ	Х х	X
З з	z	Ҳ ҳ	H
И и	i	Ҷ ҷ	tʃ
Ӣ ӣ	i:	Ҷ ҷ	dʒ
Й й	j̣	Ш ш	ʃ
К к	k	Ю ю	Ju
Қ қ	q	Я я	Ja
Л л	l	Ъ	?
М м	m		

CHAPTER III NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

In this chapter we will discuss Yaghnobi nouns, their affixes (inflectional and derivational), the lexical classes that modify nouns at the phrase level (such as determiners, quantifiers, and adjectives), and the lexical classes that share some or all of the same properties as nouns (such as pronouns and relator nouns).¹

1. NOUNS

Our primary interest in this section is to describe Yaghnobi nouns in terms of their grammar. Nouns are grammatically differentiated from other lexical classes by the type of suffixes they take,² by the lexical classes³ that modify them within a phrase (such as determiners or adpositions), and by the way they are associated with lexical classes that relate one phrase or clause to another (such as conjunctions and relativizers).

¹ The discussion of these four groups will not be strictly sequential. This is because some lexical classes do not fit neatly into any one of the four groupings just described. For example, demonstratives can function as determiners, which would put them in the second group, or as pronouns, which would put them in the fourth group. In addition, there are some groups of morphemes that were historically derived from others, such as pronominal possessive suffixes and personal pronouns. For the sake of clarity, it is better to describe the original form first.

² Yaghnobi nouns only take suffixes; they do not take prefixes or infixes.

³ The members of these lexical classes can be words or clitics.

Before identifying the grammar associated with nouns, however, at least a few prototypical nouns should be identified. Since we are seeking to discover the grammatical structures that distinguish nouns as a lexical class, we can't initially use these structures to identify nouns. Initially we can identify some nouns semantically using the traditional designation of nouns as the lexical class that includes the names of most persons, places, and things. Shopen (1985) points out that this does not constitute a definition of the class but, rather, identifies words that cross-linguistically form a major part of the class. Once we have identified the grammar associated with these core nouns, we can then identify other members of the class by the grammatical structures in which they occur. A sampling of Yaghnobi nouns from each of the traditional semantic categories is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Examples of Yaghnobi nouns identified by semantic category

Category	Yaghnobi	English
Person	<i>zurafo</i>	'Zurafo' (a woman's name)
	<i>kaik</i>	'girl'
	<i>potsoh</i>	'king'
Place	<i>kharmen</i>	'Gharmen' (the name of a village)
	<i>maktab</i>	'school'
	<i>deh</i>	'village'
Thing	<i>vuz</i>	'goat'
	<i>kitob</i>	'book'
	<i>kurda</i>	'eye'

2.1.2. THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

The suffix *-tit* is used to form third person plural pronouns and plural demonstrative pronouns, as shown in 2.⁴ The use of *-tit* will be explained further in sections 3 on pronouns and 6 on demonstratives.

(2) Plural suffixes:

- a. *ax -tit kitob ʒoʔ -oft*
 3 -**PL** book read -3P.PRS
 ‘They are reading a book.’
- b. *if -tit man -ik or*
 this -**PL** I -3S.Poss are
 ‘**These** are mine.’

2.1.3. COUNTED NOUNS

The suffix *-i* always occurs on nouns that are preceded by a numeral, as shown in example 3. The plural *-t* suffix does not occur on these nouns, either alone or in combination with the numerative *-i* suffix. The use of a numeral with a demonstrative will be described in section 6.

- (3) *du xar -i a- tir*
 two donkey -**CS** PST- go
 (NUM)
 ‘Two donkeys went.’

⁴ In example (2), *iftit* ‘these’, could refer to either humans or inanimate objects. This is important since the use of *-tit* as a suffix on numerals is restricted to counting humans.

2.2. CASE SUFFIX

There is only one case marker, *-i*, which is used for a variety of functions.⁵ An example of this suffix being used to mark genitive and locative cases⁶ is shown in 4.

This suffix will be described further in Chapter VI, Grammatical Relations.

- (4) *man zamin -i sar -i a- nid -im*
 I earth -CS top -CS PST- sit -1
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘I sat on the ground.’ (literally: ‘I sat **on** the earth’s top.’)

3. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

3.1. POSSESSION

Yaghnobi has a general possessive suffix as well as person specific possessive suffixes. The suffix *-ik* is used to form general possessive pronouns, as shown in example 5. This suffix is only used on pronouns.

- (5) *if vuz man -ik xast*
 this goat I -'s be
 ‘This goat is mine.’

Possession can also be expressed by using one of the personal suffixes shown in Table 3.2. These suffixes correspond in form and function to the personal suffixes of the past tense verb paradigm. Examples of the use of each suffix are shown in 6.

⁵ The suffix *-i* also has functions that do not clearly fit the category of grammatical case, such as marking of counted nouns (CHAPTER III 2.1.3) and marking preverbs of compound verbs in imperfective aspect (3.2.1).

⁶ Since there is only one case marker, it is always glossed as CS; where appropriate, an interpretation of the case function is added in parentheses under the symbol CS.

Table 3.2 Possessive suffixes.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>-im</i>	<i>-im</i>
2 nd	<i>-t</i>	<i>-fint</i>
3 rd	<i>-f</i>	<i>-fint</i>

(6) Use of the possessive personal suffixes

a. 1st person singular

tʃi ʁurda -t -im op tir -tʃi:
 from eye -P -1S water go -3S.PR
 ‘Water is running from **my** eyes.’

b. 1st person plural

No example was elicited or found in texts.

c. 2nd person singular

ʁov -t nihedok -i hast
 cow -2S right.here -CS be
 (LOC)
 ‘**Your** cow is right here.’

d. 2nd person plural

ʁurda -fint daxʃ -tʃi:
 eye -2/3P hurt -3S.PRS
 ‘Do **your(pl)** eyes hurt?’

e. 3rd person singular

av -i dast -i tʃilik -if daxʃ -tʃi:
 he -CS hand -CS finger -his hurt -3S.PR
 (GEN) (GEN)
 ‘**His** finger hurts.’

f. 3rd person plural

asos -i dzogah -fint nihedoka vi -ta xast
 main -NOM place -2/3P right.here happen -PFT be
 ‘**Their** main place had been right here.’

3.2. DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive suffix *-tfa* is used to describe something that is small or as a term of endearment. It can also refer to the young of animals or humans.⁷ In sentence 7 *sambaqatfa* means juvenile frog.

- (7) *tik uxʃ avd sambaqa -tfa -i jaxʃ -a a- vor a- vov*
 also six seven frog **-little** -CS appear -ing PST- carry PST- come
 (NUM)
 ‘They came bringing six or seven **little** frogs.’

4. DETERMINERS

Yaghnobi has an indefinite article but no definite article. The indefinite article *i:* is polysemous with the number one. An example of its use as a number is shown in 8a. An example of its use as an indefinite article is shown in 8b, where it introduces a discourse participant. The identity of the participant is known to the speaker but presumed to be unknown to the hearer.

(8) Use of *i:* as the number one and as an indefinite article

- a. *man das sutur -i pandʒ vuz -i i: kov oʻj*
 I ten sheep -NUM five goat -NUM **one** cow had
 ‘I had ten sheep, five goats, and **one** cow.’

- b. *i: vi -ta i: na- vi -ta i: potʃoh vi -ta*
 a happen -PFT a not happen -PFT **a** king was -PFT
 ‘There was, there wasn’t, there was **a** king.’⁸

⁷ This suffix also appears in Tajik.

⁸ “There was, there wasn’t...” is the presentational formula used to introduce folk tales in Yaghnobi, and also in Tajik, and Farsi.

The indefinite article can also be used when the identity of the noun it precedes is unknown to the speaker or deemed irrelevant for the purpose of the discourse. The example shown in 9 could be uttered in either situation.

- (9) *i: odam -i xar -i deh -ak -f ast*
a person -CS donkey -CS hit -NOM -3S is
 (NOM) (ACC)
 ‘**a/some** person is hitting the donkey.’

The interrogative *qom* ‘which’, in example 10a, can also be used as an indefinite determiner when the identity of the noun it precedes is unknown, as shown in 10b.

- (10) Use of *qom* ‘which’ as an interrogative and as an indefinite determiner
- a. *taβ kat qom men -i xast*
 you house **which** village -CS be
 (LOC)
 ‘**Which** village is your house in?’
- b. *qom odam piskon -i malim -i -sa xapar tifar -tʃi:*
some person Piskon -CS teacher -CS -toward news give -3S.PRS
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘**Someone** gave news to the teacher at Piskon.’

There is no plural indefinite article. Plural nouns can be either definite or indefinite. Definiteness of plural nouns is inferred from the context. An example of a plural noun that is indefinite is shown in example 11a. In this example, some *malim -t* ‘teachers’ are introduced and are presumed by the speaker to be unknown to the hearer. In the same narrative, after the same teachers have been identified and mentioned again

in example 11b, they are still called *malim -t* without any grammatical indication of definiteness.

(11) Definite and indefinite plural nouns

- a. *tʃi rajon malim -t can -oft ark -i kar -i vi -or*
 from region **teacher -P** ascend -3P.PRS work -CS do -CS become -3P.PST
 (GEN) (PUR)
 ‘**Teachers** came up from (other parts of) the region to take jobs.’
- b. *juma vo -tʃi ki malim -t -i fuk kun -im -ift*
 Juma say -3S.PRS that **teacher -P** -CS silent do -1 -PRS
 (ACC)
 ‘Juma said that we will silence (kill) **the teachers**.’

In contrast to plural nouns, singular nouns that are not preceded by a determiner are assumed to be definite. In the example already discussed in 8, *i: potfoh* ‘a king’ occurs in the first sentence of a narrative; in subsequent sentences the king is referred to without an article, as shown in example 12.

- (12) *ax bad -i if gap potfoh -i rit -i a- fav*
 3S after -CS this speech **king** -CS near -CS PST- go
 (LOC) (LOC) (LOC)
 ‘After he heard these words, he went before **the king**.’

While there is no definite article, Demonstratives can function as definite determiners. The use of demonstratives as determiners is discussed further in section 6, Demonstratives.

5. PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are shown in Table 3.3. Three of the personal pronouns have a marked and unmarked case. The functions of these forms are described in detail in Chapter VI Grammatical Relations. Note that the third person personal pronoun and distal demonstrative have the same form.

Table 3.3. Personal pronouns

Person	Case	Singular	Plural
1	None	<i>man</i>	<i>mox</i>
2	Unmarked	<i>tu</i>	<i>fumox</i>
	Marked	<i>taβ</i>	-
3	Unmarked	<i>ax</i>	<i>ax -tit</i>
	Marked case	<i>av -i</i>	<i>aβ -tit -i</i>

The use of each of the personal pronouns is shown in example 13.

(13) Uses of personal pronouns

a. 1st person singular

man idoka -i: xaft mox -i -im
I here -CS seven we -CS -1S
 (LOC) (NUM)
 ‘I will be here for seven months.’

b. 2nd person singular (unmarked case)

tu idoka tfu a- vov -i:
 you.S here why PST- come -2S.PST
 ‘Why did you come here?’

- c. 3rd person singular (unmarked case)

ax nihedok -i xoj
he right.here -CS was
 (LOC)

‘**He** was right here.’

- d. 1st person plural

mox tʃi pijon kor -ak ast
we from yesterday look -Part have
 ‘**We** have been watching since yesterday.’

- e. 2nd person plural

man tʃi ʃumox katta -tar -im
 I from **you.pl** big -Inten -1S
 I am older than **you**.

- f. 3rd person plural (unmarked case)

axtit tʃi etk a- gudar -or
they from bridge PST- cross -3P.PST
 ‘**They** crossed the bridge.’

- g. 3rd person plural (marked case)

mox tʃi karmen avtit -i men a- ʃav -im
 we from Gharmen **them -CS** village PST- go -1S
 (GEN)
 ‘We went from Gharmen to **their** village.’

The next examples show how the pronominal marked case forms are equivalent in function to nouns marked with the *-i* case suffix. Example 14 shows *taβ* ‘you’ as a beneficiary. If a noun were used in the place of *taβ* it would have the suffix *-i* as ‘*Mehrangez*’ does in example 15.

- (14) *otʃa -m taβ baxʃa kultʃa a- puxson*
 mother -1S **you** for roll PST- bake
 ‘My mother baked **you** a roll.’

- (15) *farzona darvoza -i rit -i mehrangez -i baxfa kitob a- zoj*
 Farzona gate -CS before -CS Mehrangez -CS for book PST- read
 (GEN) (LOC) (BEN)
 ‘Farzona read a book for Mehrangez near the gate.’

The pronoun *tu* ‘you’ is the unmarked case form; it is used in places where a noun would not get the suffix *-i*. In sentence 16 a proper noun, *safar*, without an *-i* suffix is used, as expected for the S argument in non-progressive aspect.

- (16) *safar idoka tfu a- vov - ∅*
Safar here why PST- come -3S.PST
 ‘Why did **Safar** come here?’

In sentence 17 *tu* ‘you’ is used in the same place.

- (17) *tu idoka tfu a- vov -i:*
you.sing here why PST- come -2S.PST
 ‘Why did **you** come here?’

Example 18 shows the marked case form of the 3S pronoun, *avi* ‘his/hers’, with a genitive (possessive) function. Compare this with 19, which shows the marked case noun *maktabi* ‘school’s’ with the same possessive function.

- (18) *av -i i: obron vi -ta*
 3Per -CS a irrigator have -PFT
 (GEN)
 ‘He had an irrigator.’

- (19) *kance -i maktab -i i: malim vi -ta av -i tuxoj -oft*
 Kanse -CS school -CS a teacher have -PFT 3Per -CS kill -3P.PRS
 (GEN) (GEN) (ACC)
 ‘Kanse’s school had a teacher. They kill him.’

Compare this with the use of the distal demonstrative determiner in example 21, where *ax* ‘that’ has a discourse deictic function.¹⁰ It is used to refer to a boy who has been previously mentioned, but it does not describe his distance from any spatial reference point in the scene being portrayed; in other words, it is distal relative to the introduction of the boy in the narrative.

- (21) *ax zuta -ak kat -i -f a- fav*
that boy -little house -CS (LOC) -3S PST- go
 ‘**That** little boy went to his house.’

Demonstratives used as determiners do not take a plural suffix, as shown in example 22, in which the demonstrative *if* ‘this’ is singular even though the noun that follows it is plural.

- (22) *if sank -t dajro -i lap -ik or*
this stone -P river -CS (GEN) bank -3S.Poss they.are
 ‘These rocks are at the edge of the river.’

Demonstratives functioning as pronouns can either refer to inanimate or animate entities. Example 23 shows *it* ‘this’ used as a pronoun for an inanimate object, while example 24 shows *it* used as a personal pronoun.

¹⁰ The proximal demonstrative can also have a discourse deictic function, as in the example below. More research is needed to determine how the proximal and distal demonstratives differ in function as discourse deictics.

- it virot -i -f bobobeg num vi -ta*
 this younger.brother -LOC -3S Bobobeg name have -PFT
 ‘This younger brother's name was Bobobeg.’

Demonstratives functioning as pronouns also occur in marked and unmarked case forms, as was seen in examples 20 with *it* and 25 with *if*.

There are emphatic forms of the demonstratives which occur with the *ni-* prefix. In example 27b the speaker emphasizes that the very place at which one arrives after crossing the bridge (in 27a) is the village of Dughoba.

(27) Emphatic use of the *ni-* prefix

- a. *tʃi* *ɛtk* *a-* *gudar -im*
 from bridge PST- cross -1
 'I come across the bridge.'
- b. *a-* *vo -or* *ki* ***nihedoka*** *dughoba* *xast*
 PST- say -3P.PST that **right.here** Dughoba be
 '**Right here** is what they call Dughoba'

The emphatic forms of demonstratives also function anaphorically, referring back to something previously mentioned in discourse. In example 28b, for instance, *nihipti* 'this very' refers back to the situation just mentioned in 28a, that is, that the noodle soup had just been dipped from the pot. This is in contrast to *nihedoka* in 27b, which has no prior reference.

(28) Anaphoric use of the *ni-* prefix

- a. *omotʃ* *naxke* *tʃi* *tʃuvan* *xaf -ta* *-ʃint* *vi* *-ta* *-x*
 soup now from pot dip -PFT -3P became -PFT -be
 'They had just taken the noodle soup from the pot.'
- b. ***nihipti*** *baxʃa* *omotʃ* *bisijor* *dʒuʃ* *vi -ta -x*
this.very for noodle.soup very boiling became -PFT -AUX
 'Because of **this**, the soup they brought was burning hot.'

6.1. PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Table 3.4 lists all the forms of the proximal demonstrative. The top two rows are the neutral unmarked and marked case forms, and the bottom two rows are the emphatic unmarked and marked case forms.

Table 3.4. Proximal demonstratives

	Case	Singular	Plural
Neutral	unmarked	<i>if</i> ‘this’	<i>if-tit</i> ‘these’
	marked	<i>it, id</i> ‘this’	<i>it-titi</i> ‘these’
Emphatic	unmarked	<i>nihef</i> ‘this very’	<i>Nihef-tit</i> ‘these very’
	marked	<i>nihed, nihet</i> ‘this very’	<i>Nihe-titi</i> ‘these very’

Example 29 shows the use of the unmarked case form as a determiner in (a), and a pronoun in (b). Example 30 shows examples of the marked case form being used as a determiner in (a) and a pronoun in (b). Each of these utterances would only be made when the thing being described was near the speaker.

(29) Use of the unmarked demonstrative *if* as determiner and pronoun

a. Determiner

if op toza xast
this water clean be
 ‘**This** water is clean.’

b. Pronoun

if naxke a- xirin -im
this new PST- buy -1
 ‘I bought **this** new.’

(30) Use of the marked demonstrative *it* as determiner and pronoun

a. Determiner

man kat it men -i xæst

I house **this** village - of be

‘My house is in **this** village.’

b. Pronoun

it -i man kor -om -ift

this -CS I look -1S.PRS -PRS

(ACC)

‘I will look at **this**.’

The emphatic form of the demonstrative occurs in both the unmarked form, *nihef*, and in the marked forms, *nihed* and *nihet*, as shown in example 31. The four variants of the singular marked emphatic demonstrative appear to all have the same meaning and function.

(31) Use of the emphatic form of the proximal demonstrative

a. unmarked

nihef kajk man hamsinf xast

this.very girl I classmate be

‘**This very** girl is my classmate.’

b. marked

*tʃi bozor nihed ruvon -i a- xirin -im / *nihef*

from bazaar **this.very.CS** lamb -CS PAST- buy -1 / (this.very)

(ACC)

‘I bought **this very** lamb from the bazar.’

c. marked

nihpti baxfa umotf bicijor dzuf vi -ta xast
this.very.CS for noodle.soup very boiling became -PFT be
 'For **this very** reason, the soup has become boiling hot.'

The examples in 32 show the use of the plural form of the proximal demonstrative.

(32) Usage of the plural demonstrative pronoun

a. Unmarked

if -tit osta - osta -i ves -oft
 this -3P slow - slow -CS descend -3P.PRS
 'These [people] are slowly descending.'

b. Marked

it -it -i man kor -om -ift
 these -CS I look -1S.PRS -PRS
 (ACC)
 'I will look at these.'

c. Emphatic unmarked:

nihēf -tit man a- deh -or
 this.very -3P I PST- hit -3P.PST
 'These very ones hit me.'

d. Emphatic marked

nahe -tit -i var koj -i xaf
 these.very -P -CS take stable -CS pull
 (ACC) (LOC)
 'Take these very ones to the stall.'

6.2. DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Table 3.5 lists all the forms of the distal demonstrative. The top two rows are the unmarked and marked case forms, and the bottom two rows are the emphatic unmarked and emphatic marked case forms.

Table 3.5. Distal demonstratives.

	Case	Singular	Plural
Neutral	unmarked	<i>ax</i> 'that'	<i>ax-tit</i> 'those'
	marked	<i>aβ</i> 'that'	<i>Aβ-tit</i> 'those'
Emphatic	unmarked	<i>nahax</i> 'that very' <i>na</i> (shortened form)	<i>nahax-tit</i> 'those very'
	marked	<i>nahaβ</i> 'that very'	<i>nahaβ-tit</i> 'those very'

Example 33 shows examples of the unmarked case form being used as a determiner and a pronoun. Example 34 shows examples of the marked case form being used as a determiner and a pronoun. Each of the utterances in which the distal demonstrative is functioning as a determiner (33a and 34a) would only be made when the thing being described is far from the speaker. But the examples in which the demonstrative is functioning as a pronoun (33b and 34b) could be uttered regardless of the distance of the person being described from the speaker.

(33) Use of the unmarked case form *ax* 'that'

- a. ***ax*** *kat* *βar -i* *sar -i* *xast*
that house mountain -CS head -CS be
(GEN) (LOC)
'**That** house is on top the mountain.'

- b. *ax man dodo xast*
 3.S I father be
 'He/she is my father.'

(34) use of the marked case form *aβ* 'that'

- a. *man aβ kov -i a- ven -im*
 I that cow -CS (ACC) PAST- see -1SG
 'I saw **that** cow.'
- b. *aβ -i kat kar -i sar -i xast*
 3.S -CS house mountain -CS top -CS be
 (GEN) (GEN) (LOC)
 'His/her house is on the mountain.'

6.3. SELECTIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

These demonstratives, shown in Table 3.6, are used to select or differentiate a particular object.

Table 3.6. Selective demonstratives.

<i>ani</i> 'another'
<i>anoki</i> 'another place'
<i>i:f</i> 'one of'

These fit into the category of demonstrative determiners because they function as deictics, and they occur in the same syntactic structure, preceding a noun, as the proximal and distal demonstratives.

6.4. SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Spatial demonstratives consist of either the proximal or distal demonstrative with the suffix¹² *-oka* ‘place’. Spatial demonstratives are deictics that refer to locations relative to the speaker. Table 3.7 lists all of the spatial demonstratives. There are no other words in Yaghnobi that mean ‘here’ or ‘there’.

Table 3.7. Spatial demonstratives.

	Case	Proximal	Distal
Neutral	unmarked	<i>ifoka</i> ‘here’	---
	marked	<i>idoka</i> ‘here’	<i>aβoka</i> ‘there’
Emphatic	unmarked	<i>nihefoka</i> ‘right here’	---
	marked	<i>nihedoka</i> ‘right here’	<i>nahaβoka</i> ‘right there’

The suffix *-oka* appears to be a productive part of the language,¹³ and the proximal spatial demonstratives (‘here’ and ‘right here’) are the result of that normal productivity. They do not show evidence of being grammaticalized, since they still have the case properties of the proximal demonstrative. This can be seen in example 38a, where *nihed oka* ‘right here’ and *idoka* ‘here’ are locative obliques. The marked case is required here just as it would be for *nihed* ‘this.very’ and *id* ‘this,’ as evidenced by the ungrammatical sentences represented in 38b.

¹² *-oka* is either a suffix or a clitic. It never occurs as an independent word.

¹³ It is also possible that *oka* ‘place’ is an archaic noun that has been preserved in about a dozen spatial compounds. Some historical investigation needs to be done to see if this is the correct analysis.

(38) Use of marked case forms of the proximal spatial demonstratives.

- a. *man pijon nihed -oka / id -oka a- vov -im*
 1.S yesterday **this.very.CS -place** / **this.CS -place** PST- come -1
 ‘Yesterday, I came **right here** / **here.**’
- b. **man pijon nihef -oka / if -oka a- vov -im*
 1.S yesterday **this.very -place** / **this -place** PST- come -1
 (‘Yesterday, I came / **right here** / **here.**’)
- c. *man kat id -oka xæst*
 1.S house **this.CS -place** be
 ‘My house is **here.**’

The unmarked form of the proximal spatial demonstratives is used infrequently. The only examples obtained were in equational copular clauses, as shown in 39.

(39) Use of unmarked case forms of the proximal spatial demonstratives

- a. *if -oka man kat -i paj xast*
this -place 1.S house -CS (GEN) place be
 ‘**Here** is my house’s place.’
- b. *nihef -oka man kat -i dzogah xast*
this.very -place 1.S house -CS (GEN) place be
 ‘Right here is my house’s place.’

This is consistent with the grammar of other nominals. Example 40 shows that full nouns do not require marked case in equational copular clauses.

- (40) *ax kat man kat xæst*
 that **house** I house be
 ‘That **house** is my house.’

According to the primary language consultant, there are no unmarked case forms for the distal spatial demonstratives. If this is true, then it may be that the distal spatial demonstratives are beginning to grammaticalize into a single form. Examples are shown in 41.

(41) Examples of the use of distal spatial demonstratives

- a. *aβ -oka na fav dodo -t deh -tʃi -t*
that.CS -place not go father -2S hit -from -3S
 ‘Don’t go **there**, your father will hit (you).’
- b. *man fironta nahəβ -oka fav -om -ift*
 I tomorrow **that.very.CS -place** go -1S.PRS -PRS
 ‘Tomorrow I will go **right there**.’
- c. *man kat aβoka xæst*
 I house **there.CS** be
 ‘My house is **there**.’

When interlocutors do not share perceptual space, the deictic center appears to shift to the second person. Separation of perceptual space can occur in situations such as speaking on a telephone or calling over a wall. For example, a man calling over the wall to his neighbor to see if his neighbor’s son, Horshed, is there asks the question shown in 42. The neighbor would give the answer shown in 43. Note that the first person uses the second person’s location as a point of reference when he says *nihedoka* ‘right here’

and that the second person continues to be the point of reference when he answers with *nihedoka*.

(42) *huršed* *nihedoka -i* *xast*
 Horshed **right.here** -CS (LOC) be
 ‘Is Horshed **right here**?’

(43) *nihedoka -i* *xast*
right.here -CS (LOC) be
 ‘Horshed is **right here**.’

6.5. COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVES

Table 3.8 lists compounds that are formed with demonstratives. These are notable because some of the compounds contain a modified form of the demonstrative and others contain a word that is not otherwise used in contemporary Yaghnobi.

Table 3.8. Conventionalized compounds involving demonstratives.

Proximal	Distal
<i>nihipti</i> ‘this much’	---
<i>nisheranka</i> ‘this way’	<i>niharanka, nahaβranka</i> ‘that way’

The word *nihipti* ‘this much’, shown in example 44, is a compound of the emphatic demonstrative *niheti* ‘this very’ and *ipti* ‘so much’. It is notable that *eti* has been dropped. This shortening is conventionalized in that *nihipti* no longer represents the result of a synchronically productive process of compounding. There does not appear to be any corresponding compound using the distal demonstrative. According to my primary language consultant, there is no distal complement to *nihipti* ‘this much’.

- (44) *man nahipti ark a- kun -im ani na- kun -om -ift*
 I **this.much** work PST- do -1 other.one not- do -1S.PRS -PRS
 ‘I already worked this much, I won’t work anymore.’

The word *niharanka* ‘this way’, shown in example 45, is a compound of the emphatic demonstrative *nihet* ‘this very’ with *ranka* ‘way’.¹⁴ The word *niharanka* ‘that way’¹⁵ and its variant *nahaßranka* are compounds of *nahaß* ‘that very’ with *ranka*. The word *ranka* does not appear to be used anywhere else in the Yaghnobi language and is probably an archaic word that has been preserved in these compounds.

- (45) *niharanka dajro -i kad -i tir -i vi*
 this.way river -CS height -CS go -2S become
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘Go **this way** along the length of the river.’

6.6. WESTERN DIALECT

There are a number of demonstratives that have different forms in the western dialect of Yaghnobi. These forms are listed in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9. Western dialect demonstratives.

<i>tat</i> ‘here’	<i>vat</i> ‘there’
<i>natat</i> ‘right here’	<i>nahvat</i> ‘right there’
	<i>ijoka</i> ‘somewhere’

Sentences illustrating the use of each of these demonstratives except *vat* ‘there’ (no example was elicited) are given in example 46.

¹⁴ *Ranka* never appears as an independent word. It means ‘way’ with either the sense of ‘route’ or ‘manner’.

¹⁵ No examples of the usage of *niharanka* and *nahawranka* were elicited.

(46) Western dialect demonstratives

- a. *tat nid tfoj zav -im*
here sit tea drink -1
 ‘Sit **here**, we'll drink tea.’
- b. *ax pijon vijor natat xoj*
 3.S yesterday night **right.here** was
 ‘He was **right here** last night.’
- c. *sumox kov -t nahvat ijor*
 you.pl cow -P right.there was
 ‘Your cattle were right over there.’
- d. *man kitob -t ijoka -i mun*
 I book -P **somewhere** -CS (LOC) put
 ‘Put my books **somewhere**.’ (or ‘anywhere’)

7. SPATIAL RELATORS

Yaghnobi has prepositions as well as words that function like postpositions, although the latter do not appear to be fully grammaticalized as adpositions. There are also relator nouns, which most likely are in the process of grammatical change but are even further from being grammaticalized as adpositions.

Before looking at the grammatical context in which potential postpositions occur, we will examine the grammatical context of prepositions. The lexical category of preposition seems clear, so establishing the syntax associated with prepositions should

help identify the lexical category of potential postpositions, since it seems reasonable to expect both types of adposition to occur in similar syntactic environments.

7.1. PREPOSITIONS

Yaghnobi has three prepositions.¹⁶ One of these, *to* ‘to, until’ is also used in Tajik¹⁷ and is either borrowed from Tajik or came into both Tajik and Yaghnobi from a common source.

Table 3.10. Prepositions

<i>par</i> ‘to’	<i>tʃi</i> ‘from’
<i>to</i> ‘to, until’	

The preposition *par* ‘to’ is rarely used. Its function is to indicate destinations. An example of its usage is shown in example 47. Note that the noun in the prepositional phrase headed by *par* has no case marking. This is significant, since one of the functions of the marked case *-i* is locative. Apparently locative function is performed by *par* so case marking is not needed.

- (47) *ax tim par kat na-ras -ta xast*
 3Per also **to** house not arrive -PFT be
 ‘He has not yet reached (**to**) the house.’

¹⁶ The preposition *be* ‘without’ appears in expressions borrowed from Tajik, but it is not productive in Yaghnobi. It only appears in frozen forms like *bepul* ‘free’, shown in the example below:

safar karim -i baxʃa be-pul ark kun -tʃi:
 Safar Karim -CS (BEN) for **without**- money work do -3S.PRS
 ‘Safar works for Karim **without** pay.’

¹⁷ The preposition *ba* ‘to’ is another Tajik preposition that is occasionally used in Yaghnobi, but usually with borrowed expressions like *ba tʃi* ‘to what’, meaning ‘to what extent’.

The preposition *to* ‘to, until’ is used to indicate limits or destinations. The preposition *to* is almost always followed by a noun with the suffix *-sa* ‘to, until’. However, *-sa* does frequently occur without *to*. In some sentences, like example 48, *to* is optional and does not seem to change the meaning of the sentence.¹⁸

- (48) *ax (to) mox men -i -sa fav -tʃi: tamom*
 he (to) we village -CS -to go -3S.PRS finished
 'He is just going to our village.'

Since *to* is almost never used without *-sa*, it is difficult to assign an independent meaning to *to*.¹⁹ (See section 7.2 on postpositions for further discussion of *-sa*). When used together they indicate either a physical destination or limit, as shown in 49a, or a temporal destination or limit, as shown in 49b. Out of thirty occurrences of *to* in the data collected for this project, it occurs with *-sa* in all but one sentence, 49c, which is a fixed colloquial expression.

(49) Spatial and temporal uses of the preposition *to* ‘to’

- a. *to ros -i oxir -i -sa fav -s*
 to road -CS end -CS -to go -2P.PRS
 (GEN)
 ‘Go to the end of the road.’

¹⁸ Tajik and other modern southwest Iranian languages have the preposition *to* (or *ta*), it seems likely that it has been borrowed into Yaghnobi.

¹⁹ In Tajik, *to* is used to indicate an ultimate destination (he went ‘as far as’), or a limit. This is in contrast to the Tajik preposition *ba* which can be used to indicate either a direction or a destination but not a limit.

- b. *to av -tit -i vov -ak -i -sa man aβqot puxs -tʃi:*
to 3 -P -CS come -NOM -CS -**to** I food cook -3S.PRS
 (GEN)
 ‘Cook my food **until** they arrive.’
- c. *to purta -f kun -if rust na vot man rit -i na- vov -ak -tʃi:*
to crap -3S do- 3S straight not become.3S I front -CS not- come -3S.PRS
 ‘Don’t come before me **until** your crap doesn’t come out straight.’
 (Don’t bother me again until you have a real problem.)

The preposition *tʃi* ‘from’ has a number of functions, as shown in example 51.

- (50) *ax tʃi maktab a- vov*
 he **from** school PST- come
 ‘He came **from** the school.’

The nouns in the prepositional phrases headed by *tʃi* in examples 50a, b, and c do not have the *-i* marked case suffix. But the nouns in the prepositional phrases in example 51c and d do have an *-i* suffix. It isn’t immediately apparent why, although the semantic role of *tʃi* in these last two sentences could be considered source.

- (51) Use of the preposition *tʃi* ‘from’.

- a. Spatial: point of origin
ax tʃi maktab a- vov
 he **from** school PAST- come
 ‘He came **from** the school.’
- b. Spatial: point of reference
ax tʃi mox dur xoj
from we far was
 ‘He was far **from** us.’

c. Comparative

ax tʃi man du sol-i katta xast
 he **from** 1.S two year -CS big be
 (NUM)

‘He is two years older **than** me.’

d. Cause

if kasal-i: tʃi xunuk-i -ji xast
 this sick -NZR **from** cold -NZR -CS be
 (LOC)

‘This sickness is **from** coldness.’

e. Source

man tʃi hasan-i i: davar a- xirin-im
 I **from** Hasan -CS (BEN) a door PST- buy -1
 ‘I bought a door **from** Hasan.’

7.2. POSTPOSITIONS

The Yaghnobi postpositions are shown in Table 3.11. None of these is used in Tajik. All of them except perhaps *baxʃa* ‘for’ appear to be clitics.²⁰ None of them occurs without a noun phrase preceding and following them.

Table 3.11. Postpositions.

<i>-pi</i> ‘with’	<i>-nit</i> ‘at, on, by’
<i>-sa</i> ‘toward’	<i>-ako</i> ‘direction, manner’
<i>baxʃa</i> ‘for’	<i>-vik</i> ‘on, at, with, in’

²⁰ This is the intuition of my primary language consultant who consistently transcribes *baxʃa* ‘for’ as a separate word but writes the other postpositions as connected to the preceding word.

The postpositions are always preceded by *i*. This *i* is apparently the marked case suffix, since it does not appear before the postpositions when they are bound to a pronoun. This is significant since the marked case suffix, *-i*, follows the rule that it does not occur on pronouns, even when the pronoun is in a syntactic context where a full noun would require the *-i* suffix. This is strong evidence that the *-i* that precedes postpositions is the marked case suffix.

While the *i* preceding postpositions behaves syntactically like the marked case suffix, it does not seem to have any semantic or grammatical function. This is evidenced by the intuition of native speakers²¹ that *i* is part of the postposition and not a separate morpheme.

The presence of the marked case suffix between the noun and the postposition could make the categorization of these suffixes as postpositions questionable, since there is no corresponding case marking associated with prepositions, the other category of adposition, as shown in example 52.

(52) Prepositions head adpositional phrases and are not case marked

- a. [PP]
kat par kat laks -oft nava sol mubor -ak vo -or
house **to** house go -3P.PRS new year congratulations say -3P.PST
‘They went from house to house wishing everyone happy New Year.’

²¹ The collocation of *-i* with postpositions is probably becoming conventionalized, since my primary language consultant did not consider *-i* to be an affix, but rather part of the postposition. He named the postpositions as: *ipi*, *isa*, *init*, and *ivik*.

- b. [PP]
aštiti kat tʃi mox kat dur -x
 They house **from** we house far -be
 ‘Their house is far from our house.’

However, the case marking on the noun appears to be genitive marking, which is probably left over from a NP -GEN NP construction from which these postpositions evolved. This erstwhile genitive suffix makes the postpositions appear to be syntactic dependents of the case marked NP, as shown in example 53. If this really is a genitive suffix, it would mitigate against an analysis identifying these as postpositions, since adpositions are universally heads of adpositional phrases rather than dependents of NPs.

(53) Postpositions are formally genitive dependents of NPs

- a. NP -GEN -Post
Karim davar kalit -i -pi a- pen
 Karim door key -CS -**with** PST- open
 ‘Karim opened the door with a key.’
- b. NP -GEN -Post
Man amerika -i -sa šav -om -ift
 I America -CS -**to** go -1S.PRS -PRS
 ‘I am going to America.’

In spite of the case marked NPs preceding Yaghnobi postpositions, it can still be argued that these are adpositions, since the marked case suffix does not appear to have any function except to serve as “glue” to attach the postposition to the noun. It appears that these postpositions are in the last stages of evolving from nouns and the marked case suffix is still formally required but no longer has a genitive function. It seems

likely that the seemingly useless marked case suffix, *-i*, will eventually either disappear or become frozen as a part of the postposition (i.e. would also occur following pronouns).²²

The postposition *pi* ‘with’ is used to indicate accompaniment, mutual involvement, and use of an instrument, as shown in example 54. As discussed above, it is always preceded by *-i*, except when it follows a personal pronoun, as shown in 54a.

(54) Postposition *-pi* ‘with’

a. Accompanying

vov man -pi anvar -i tui: -i san -im
 come I **-with** Anvar -CS (GEN) Celebration -LOC go up -1SG
 ‘Come, go up **with** me to Anvar’s party.’

b. Mutual involvement

man it -i -pi na- buzon -om -ift
 I this -CS **-with** not- know -1S.PRS -PRS
 ‘I don’t know these people.’

c. *safar kov -i hamsoja -i -pi a- piron*

Safar cow -CS neighbor -CS **-with** PST- sell
 ‘Safar sold his cow **to** (his) neighbor.’

d. Instrumental

zuta tup poda -i -pi -if a- dex
 boy ball foot -CS (INS) **-with** -his PST- hit
 ‘The boy kicked the ball **with** his foot.’

²² An alternative analysis is that these are not postpositions but dative suffixes. In this analysis, *-ipi* ‘with’, *-isa* ‘toward’, etc. are single case suffixes. In order to develop this analysis further an explanation for the omission of the initial /i/ following pronouns would be needed. A plausible historical explanation would also be needed.

The postposition *nit* does not have any exact equivalent in English. Its range of meaning includes collocation, as shown in 55a and b, or to travel, on as shown in c.

(55) Use of *nit* ‘at, on, over, by’

a. *i: ros -i -nijf ast tak -i -nit*

a road -CS (GEN) -other have under -CS (LOC) -**at**

‘There is another road, **at** the bottom.’

b. *axtit dajro -i -nit it lap -i -sa a- gudar -or*

they river -CS -**over** this lip -CS -toward PST- cross -3P.PST

(LOC) (LOC)

‘They crossed **over** the river to this side.’

c. *teg -i -nit sar -i ros -i vik san -oft*

edge -CS -**by** top -(CS) LOC road -(CS) LOC at ascend -3P.PRS

‘They came up **by** (means of) the ridge, then by the upper road.’

The postposition *-sa* ‘toward’ can indicate spatial movement toward a goal, as in example 56a, temporal progress toward a goal, as in 56b, or spatial orientation, as in example 56c. As mentioned in section 7.1 “Prepositions,” *-sa* occurs in the same phrase with *to* in situations where a spatial or temporal destination will be or has been reached. While phrases with the preposition *to* ‘to, until’ almost always occur with the postposition *-sa*, the opposite is not true; phrases with the postposition *-sa* frequently do not occur with any preposition.

(56) Use of the postposition *-sa* ‘toward’

a. Toward a spatial goal

safar kat -i -sa tir -tʃi:

Safar house -CS **-toward** leave -3S

(LOC)

‘Safar is going **to** his house.’

b. Toward a temporal limit

fumox to firona -i -sa kor -s

you.pl **to** tomorrow -CS **-toward** look -2P.PRS

‘Watch **until** tomorrow.’

c. Spatial orientation

fah arus -i -sa vo -tʃi:

groom bride -CS (LOC) **-toward** say -3S.PRS

‘The groom said **to** the bride.’

It is important to note the use of *-sa* with the verbs *tirak* ‘leave’ (which is shown with a single argument in 57a) and *favak* ‘go’. When *tirak* is used with a location, the location is always marked with *-sa*, as shown in 57b, and the interpretation is that the location indicates the direction the teacher went, not the destination the teacher reached. The postposition *-sa* is not used by itself with the verb *favak*. The destination just has the *-i* marked case suffix, as shown in 57c. However, the preposition *to* ‘to, until’ can be used together with *-sa* and the verb *favak*, as shown in 57d. This suggests that *-sa* is only used to indicate direction, while the combination of *to* and *-sa* indicates destination.²³

²³ This is similar to English ‘toward,’ which is a combination of *to* and *-ward*.

(57) Use of *-sa* ‘toward’ with intransitive and transitive verbs

- a. *ax morti a- tir*
that man PST- leave
‘That man left.’
- b. *malim maktab -i -sa a- tir*
teacher school -CS (LOC) **-toward** PAST- leave
‘The teacher went **toward** the school.’
(This can be said when the teacher went in the direction of the school, without conveying whether or not the school was the intended destination.)
- c. *malim maktab -i a- fav*
teacher school -CS (LOC) PAST- go
‘The teacher went to the school.’
(This can be said if the school was the teacher’s intended destination, without conveying whether or not the teacher reached the school.)
- d. *av -i pagohi dzax -oft to bidev -i -sa fav -or*
that -CS morning rise -3P.PRS **to** Bidav -CS **-toward** go -3P.PST
(?) (LOC)
‘They get up that morning and go to Bidev.’
(This can only be said if they reached their destination.)

The postposition *baxfa* ‘for’ indicates purpose or benefit. The beneficiary, which is the noun in the adpositional phrase headed by *baxfa*, always appears in the marked case. This can be seen on *taβ* ‘you’ in example 58. It also occurs when *baxfa* has a purposive function, as shown in example 59, where *tifarak* has the marked case suffix *-i*.

- (58) *otfam taβ baxfa kultfa apuxson*
mother -1S you.CS **for** roll PST- bake
‘My mother baked you a roll.’

- (59) *man bist somon safar -i tifar -ak -i baxfa maktab -i a- fav -im*
 I 20 somoni Safar -CS give -PAR -CS for school -CS PST- go -1
 (LOC) (PUR) (LOC)
 ‘I went to the school **to** give twenty somoni to Safar.’

The postposition *-ako* is used to indicate direction, as shown in example 60a, or manner, as shown in example 60b.

- (60) Use of *-ako* ‘direction, manner’

- a. *ax zuta -ak a- tfiker tfav baxfa sitam -ako*
 that boy -little PST- afraid from.him.CS for back -ward

a- gard a- pirez
 PST- return PST- flee

‘That little boy was afraid of him, so he turned back and fled.’

- b. *man if ark kurda -vast -ako kun -om -ift*
 I this work eye - closed -ward do -1S.PRS -PRS
 ‘I did this work **with** my eyes closed.’ (I didn’t do this work very well.)

The postposition *vik* ‘at’ has a wide range of meaning that includes ‘in’, ‘on’, or ‘at’. It seems to have the general meaning of being at a location or place.

- (61) Use of the postposition *-vik* ‘at’

- a. *fom -t -i -vik tfi karmen dzax -oft rosi tis*
 -or

late.evening -P -LOC **at** from Gharmen rise -3P.PRS road -GEN enter -3P.PST

‘**In** the late evenings they get up and start down the road from Gharmen.’

- b. *ald ros -i -vik gudar -oft i: xaram -i -sa*
 straight road -LOC **on** cross -3P.PRS a threshing.floor -GEN -toward
 ‘Go straight **on** the road toward a threshing floor.’

c. *niheti* **-vik** *tis* *-om* *-ift* *tik*
 this.very.CS **-place** enter -1S.PRS -PRS also

nihed *rit -i* **vik -t** *niz* *-om*
 this.very.CS near -LOC **at** -2.S go.out -1S.PRS
 ‘I will enter right here and I will also go out right here by you.’

7.3. RELATOR NOUNS

Relator nouns are a syntactic class of noun that describe the relationship of one thing to another but do not have all the syntactic properties of full nouns (DeLancey 2003: 106). This word class has also been referred to as *noun auxiliary* or has been sometimes misleadingly categorized as adposition (Starosta 1985). Starosta states that it is misleading to categorize these as prepositions or postpositions, “since adpositions as a class are uninflected and form exocentric²⁴ constructions with noun phrases.” The Yaghnobi prepositions and postpositions described in the preceding sections are examples of this. They never take articles or appear with any noun inflection and are always followed by a noun phrase²⁵ that completes the prepositional phrase they head. Yaghnobi relator nouns, on the other hand, can be inflected.

It is not yet certain that relator nouns are a syntactically distinct word class in Yaghnobi, but it appears likely. If it is not a distinct class syntactically, it is

²⁴ Exocentric refers to a phrase or other syntactic grouping in which there is no head word in the sense that there is no one word that has the same functional distribution as the whole phrase (Crystal 2003). In other words, there is no word within the phrase that could replace the entire phrase without making the sentence ungrammatical.

²⁵ The grammaticality of counterexamples has not been tested, but counterexamples have not been observed in several hundred sentences from elicited sentences and narrative texts.

semantically. Table 3.12 lists Yaghnobi nouns that name a part of something and are homophonous with a relator noun²⁶ that expresses a spatial relationship which is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the full noun.

Table 3.12. Relator nouns.

Yaghnobi	Full noun meaning	Relator noun meaning
<i>sar</i>	'head, top'	'on top, above'
<i>rugah</i>	'top'	'on top, over'
<i>tak</i>	'bottom'	'under'
<i>rit</i>	'front'	'in front of, near'
<i>citam</i>	'back'	'behind'
<i>paxlu</i>	'side'	'beside'
<i>kabat</i>	'layer'	'along'
<i>davar</i>	'door, outside'	'outside of'
<i>darun</i>	'inside'	'inside of'
<i>bidon</i>	'waist, middle'	'between'
<i>lap</i>	'lip, edge'	'on the edge'

DeLancey gives an example of the different syntax used with the English relator noun *top*. The phrase 'on *the top* of the refrigerator' (full noun use), refers to a part of the refrigerator; but 'on *top* of the refrigerator' (relator noun use) refers to a spatial relationship. The refrigerator could be lying on its side and we would still say that anything on the uppermost portion of the refrigerator was 'on top'.

The Yaghnobi word *sar* 'head, top, above' can be used in the same way. It can name either a part of something or a relative spatial location, but there is often no difference in the grammar of these two types of phrases. Example 62a shows a sentence

²⁶ There are other nouns in Yaghnobi that appear to function as relator nouns, but not enough data was collected to support this assumption. These words are: *cetfi* 'above', *nutfi* 'below', *bar* 'beside', *vekpora* 'outside', *burdʒ* 'corner', *paraj* 'edge', and *qad* 'height'.

in which *sar* names a part of the body.²⁷ Example 62b shows a sentence that describes the head as the location of an object (this is not a relative location, merely a location). Notice that the syntax is the same: N -i, *sar* -i, V. Example 62c contains a phrase describing a relative location that is very similar to the English example of ‘on top of the refrigerator’. The tree being described in this example is a fallen tree and the frog goes up on a hump in the trunk of the tree. Even though *daraxt -i sar -i* ‘on top of the tree’ does not describe a part of the tree, the syntax in this example is still N -i, *sar* -i, V. In example 62d, *sar* can either mean that the sheep is on the hillside above the house or that the sheep is standing on top the house. In this sentence *sar* is describing a relative spatial location, but the syntax has still not changed; only the interpretation has changed.

(62) Use of *sar* ‘head’ with possessive and locational semantics

- a. Literal use of *sar* ‘head’ describing a body part

<i>av -i</i>	<i>sar -i</i>	<i>paʃm</i>	<i>na- ast</i>
3S -CS	head -CS	hair	NEG- have
(GEN)	(LOC?)		

‘His **head** doesn’t have hair.’

²⁷ While *sar* as a possessor could be interpreted as an abstract location in this sentence, the communicative function of the sentence is to describe an attribute of the head, not the spatial location of the nonexistent hair.

- b. Literal use of *sar* ‘head’ to describe a location

nahax sitil zut -ak -i sar -i rust av -i
 that.very pail boy -little -CS **head** -CS straight PST- become
 (GEN) (LOC)

‘That very pail ended up right on the little boy’s **head**.’

- c. Use of *sar* ‘top’ as a spatial relator with a possessor

sambaqa nahaf daraxt -i sar -i a- san
 frog that.very tree -CS **top** -CS PST- go up
 (GEN) (LOC)

‘The frog went up **on top** that very tree.’ (This tree is lying on its side.)

- d. Use of *sar* ‘above’ to describe a relative location

sutur kat -i sar -i xast
 sheep house -CS **head** -CS be
 (GEN) (LOC)

‘The sheep is **above** the house.’ or ‘The sheep is on **top** the house.’

The use of the rest of the words in Table 3.12 is shown in examples 63 through 73. In most of these examples the syntax of phrases with relator nouns is no different from the syntax of any regular noun phrase, with a few exceptions, such as 63c and 70b, where there is no grammatical marker showing that *sar* is possessed. This may be special syntax that occurs only with relator nouns. Also, it is notable that while relator nouns can occur in adpositional phrases, can be inflected for case, or can have personal possessive suffixes, in over 250 sentences collected for this project, they never occur with determiners and are never inflected for number. This may be a syntactic restriction on Yaghnobi relator nouns.

(65) *tak* 'bottom'

- a. Use of
- tak*
- 'bottom' naming a part

kuti -i tak duk vi: -ta -x
 box -CS **bottom** hole become -PFT -AUX
 (GEN)

'The **bottom** of the box got a hole.'

- b. Use of
- tak*
- 'bottom' as a spatial relator with a possessor

diraxt -i tak -i tiloh ast
 tree -CS **under** -CS gold have
 (GEN) (LOC)

'There is gold under the tree.'

- c. Use of
- tak*
- 'below' as a spatial relator with a preposition

džuma -i odam -t tji sar atrat -t tji tak
 Juma -CS person -P from top soldier -P from **bottom**
 (GEN)

'Juma's men were above and the soldiers were **below**.'

(66) *rit* 'face, front, near'

- a. Literal use of
- rit*
- 'face' naming a body part

tim dasta -t rit nafjint sino -jt -oj.
 yet hand -and **face** not- -2/3P wash -P -AUX
 'They haven't washed their hands and **face** yet.'

- b. Use of
- rit*
- 'front' as a spatial relator with a possessor

mox kat fohmansur -i bozor -i rit -i xast
 we house Shohmansur -CS bazar -CS **front** -CS be
 (GEN) (GEN) (LOC)

'Our house is in **front** of the Shohmansur bazaar.'

- c. Use of
- rit*
- 'near' as a spatial relator with a possessor

tj- av -tit -i rit odam vov -ta
 from- 3 -P -CS **near** person come -PFT
 (GEN)

'A man came from **near** them.'

- d. Use of *rit* ‘front’ as a spatial relator with a prefix and suffix

man par- rit -ako a- divi: -im
 I to- **front** -ward PST- fall -1S
 ‘I fell forward.’

(67) *citam* ‘back, behind’

- a. Use of *citam* ‘back’ naming a part

mojin -i sitam -i vor ast
 vehicle -CS **back** -CS load have
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘There is a load in the back of the car.’

- b. Use of *citam* ‘behind’ as a spatial relator with a possessor

asp -i tji kov -i sitam tirakʃ -ast
 horse -CS from cow -CS **behind** go -PAR have
 (ABS) (LOC)
 ‘The horse is going **behind** the cow.’

- c. Use of *citam* ‘behind’ as a spatial relator with a postposition

sutur rit -i xoj ki sitam -i -sa a- tir
 sheep front -CS was that **behind** -CS -to PST- go
 (LOC) (GEN)
 ‘The sheep was in front (of me), then it went **behind**.’

(68) *pahlu* ‘side’

- a. Use of *pahlu* ‘side’ naming a part

i: sank harra a- vi; mojin -i pahlu -i a- deh
 a stone rolling PST- become vehicle -CS **side** -CS PST- hit
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘A rock rolled and hit the **side** of the car.’

involving Yaghnobi relator nouns do not require special syntax, but there may be special syntax that is possible only with relator nouns, and there may also be special restrictions on syntax of phrases with relator nouns. More examples of the use of Yaghnobi relator nouns need to be collected to answer these questions and to determine whether relator nouns form a syntactically distinct subset of the Yaghnobi noun class.

CHAPTER IV
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The verbal morphology of Yaghnobi, described in the following sections, includes the tense, aspect, number, and person affixes on verbs; forms of copulas; complex verbs; nominalizers; and adverbs.

1. VERBS

Yaghnobi verbs always occur with at least one affix; the bare root is only used in imperative clauses, as shown in example 1, where *vov* ‘come’ is uninflected for person or number but is understood to apply to the second person singular, since this is an imperative construction. The citation form is generally the nominalized (non-finite) form with the suffix *-ak* (See section 1.1). Verbs are more conservative than nouns; verbal morphosyntax is quite distinct from the Tajik, the dominant language of the region, and there are far fewer borrowed verbs than nouns in the Yaghnobi language.

- (1) *kat -i -sa* *vov*
 house -CS -to come
 ‘Come to (my) house.’

1.1. THE NOMINALIZED FORM

The non-finite form of Yaghnobi verbs consists of the root plus the suffix *-ak*. This is the form most often used by the consultants on this project when naming the verb. These are some of the syntactic features of the nominalized form: it can be possessed, it can be the subject of a sentence, and it can accept case and postpositions. These are shown in example 2. From these sentences it can be seen that this form is nominal, although it does not seem to occur in all the places in which a noun would occur (for example, it doesn't appear to take the plural suffix).

(2) Use of the nominalized verb form

a. *tfak -i kar -ak -f ajoib xoġ*
 climb -GEN do -NZR -3S amazing was
 'His **climbing** was amazing.'

b. *to pulla -i kar -ak -i -sa -f otfa -i kat -i -f nid -tġi*
 to birth -CS do -NZR -CS -until -3S mother-CS house-CS-3S sit-3S.PR
 (GEN) (GEN) (GEN) (GEN)
 'She is staying at her mother's house until **giving birth**.'

c. *axtit tfidoka zav -ak -i op zavar -oft*
 they from.here drink -NZR -CS water take.out -3P.PR
 'They are getting **drinking** water from here.'

1.2. TENSE

Yaghnobi has two tenses, a past and a present/future.¹ The primary morphological difference between the two tenses is that past tense is signaled by the prefix *-a*, while there is no prefix on the verb in present tense. In addition, the person and number suffixes differ between the tenses. The verb root does not change with tense.

1.2.1. PAST TENSE

The past tense is formed by prefixing the verb root with *a-* and adding the appropriate suffix, as shown in Table 4.1. The use of each suffix in this table is shown in example 3.

Table 4.1. Past tense verb paradigm

	singular	plural
1 st person	<i>-im</i>	<i>-im</i>
2 nd person	<i>-i:</i>	<i>-si:</i>
3 rd person		<i>-or</i>

(3) Past tense verb inflection

a. First person singular

man it kat -i nahke aven -im
 I this house -CS now PST- see -1
 (ACC)

‘I saw this house just now.’

¹ This is also true of Tajik, the majority language of Tajikistan which is spoken as a second language by most Yaghnobis.

b. Second person singular

tfuki futur -i vi:ta pak -a a- kun -i:
 why sheep -CS rope cut -ing PST- do **-2S.PST**
 ‘Why did **you** cut the sheep’s rope?’

c. Third person singular

ax tʃi sar a- ves -∅
 he from above PST- descend **-3S**
 ‘**He** came down from above.’

d. First person plural

mox naxke tʃi sar -i karmen a- ves -im
 we now from top -CS Gharmen PST- descend -1
 (GEN)

‘We are just now going down from upper Gharmen.’

e. Second person plural

if hamom fumox a- kun -si:
 this bath.house you.pl PST- do **-2P.PST**
 ‘Did you build this bath house?’

f. Third person plural

axtit tʃi etk a- gudar -or
 they from bridge PST- cross **-3P.PST**
 ‘They crossed the bridge.’

1.2.2. NON-PAST TENSE

The present tense consists of the verb root followed by one of the suffixes (or pairs of suffixes) shown in Table 4.2. In this paper, the suffix *-ift* is analyzed as a present tense suffix, but it may also be possible to analyze it as an imperfective aspect suffix.

to karmenisa dah duvozdah soati ras -im -ift
 to Gharmen -CS -toward ten twelve hour -CS arrive -1P -PRS
 ‘The morning of the next day we get up and in ten - twelve hours reach
 Gharmen.’

e. Second person plural

it murk -t -i jumox kor -s -ift
 this chicken -P -CS (ACC) you.pl look -2P -PRS
 ‘Do **you (pl)** take care of these chickens?’

f. Third person plural

axtit kitob zoj -oft
 they book read -3P.PRS
 ‘**They** are reading a book.’

(5) Non-past verb inflection used for the future
(the same paradigm as shown in 4)

a. First person singular

man firona avoka fav -om -ift
I tomorrow there go -1S -PRS
'Tomorrow **I** will go there.'

b. Second person singular

No data was elicited.

c. Third person singular

ax ark na- kun -tʃi
he work not- do -3S.PRS
'**He/she** won't do that.'

d. First person plural

dʒuma vo -tʃi ki malim -t -i fuk kun -im -ift
Juma say -3S.PRS that teacher -P -CS silent do -1P -PRS
(ACC)
'Juma says, **we** will silence the teachers.'

e. Second person plural

nihedoka exi nov du -j -if deh -sift
right.here Ekhi Nov two -CS -3S hit -3S -PRS
'Right here, (at) Ekhi Nov **you (pl)** will shoot two of his (men).'

f. Third person plural

awtiti vo firona kat -i vov -ant
to.them say tomorrow house -LOC come -3P
'Tell **them** to come to the house tomorrow.'

1.2.3. PRESENT IN THE PAST

Mirzoev (1998:31) describes this construction (Mirzoev calls it the “storytelling tense”), which is formed by adding the prefix *a-* and the suffixes shown in Table 4.3 to the verb root. It is interesting to note that this construction reflects a combination of the past tense prefix and an approximation of the present/future tense suffixes (rather than past tense suffixes) described in the previous sections.

Table 4.3 Present in the past verb paradigm

	singular	plural
1 st person	<i>-im-ift</i>	<i>-im-ift</i>
2 nd person	<i>-ift</i>	<i>-s-ift</i>
3 rd person	<i>-ift</i>	<i>-oft</i>

Example 6 shows use of the “story telling” tense with second/third person singular in (a), and third person plural in (b).

(6) Historical present verb inflection

a. *neki sambaqa tim nahaw -tit -i -sa a- kor -ift*
 but frog also that.very -3P.HUM -CS -toward PST- look -2/3S
 ‘The frog also looks right at them.’

b. *diraxt -i sar -i kut -i -pi -f sambaqa -j a- kov -oft*
 tree -CS top -CS dog -with -3S frog -CS PST- search -3P.PRS
 (GEN) (LOC) (LOC)
 ‘From on top the tree with his dog they were looking at the frog.’

1.3. ASPECT

Yaghnobi has several morphological forms used to mark perfective and imperfective aspect, or a verb may also be unmarked for aspect. The unmarked past

form is usually understood to be perfective, and the unmarked present/future form is usually understood to be imperfective.² Two types of imperfective aspect have been identified in Yaghnobi: habitual and progressive.

1.3.1. PERFECTIVE

Perfective aspect is the default aspect for the past tense.³ It is the default in the sense that a hearer will interpret the action as completed even though there is no explicit perfective grammatical marking. In example 7, *a- nipif -i*: ‘you wrote’ is understood to be a completed action.

(7) *xajr zuta -i takdir -i tfo a- nipif -i*
 well son -CS fate -CS what PST- write -2S.PST
 ‘Well, what fate did **you write** for the child?’

1.3.2. IMPERFECTIVE

Imperfective aspect is the default interpretation for non-past tense clauses when describing the present. They may be interpreted as either progressive or habitual. This is cross-linguistically quite common since “the present tense is used essentially to describe, rather than to narrate” (Comrie, 1976:66). For example, in sentence 8a *zoi -oft* ‘they read’ is interpreted as a progressive action even though progressive aspect is not grammatically marked. The sentence in 8b would be understood to mean that the boy sleeps in that place regularly.

² The unmarked form can also be used to express states or ongoing activities.

³ The suffix *-ta* may be a perfective marker, but it will not be discussed in this chapter. Its function is currently not clear; it may intersect with evidentiality. More data needs to be analyzed in order to understand the uses of this suffix.

(8) Imperfective interpretation of present tense clauses

a. Progressive interpretation

axtit kitob zoj -oft
 they book read -3P.PRS
 ‘They are reading a book.’

b. Habitual interpretation

zut -am nahawoka nipidtfi:
 son -1S that.very -place sleep -3S.
 ‘My son sleeps right there.’

Clauses with verbs inflected for either present or past tense can be interpreted as habitual if the O argument is not definite, as shown in example 9.

(9) Habitual interpretation with non-definite O arguments

a. Present tense with no aspect marking

ax har pions -tʃi
 he donkey sell -3S.PRS
 ‘He sells donkeys.’

b. Past tense with no aspect marking

har a- pions -im
 donkey PST- sell-1
 ‘I sold donkeys.’

Progressive aspect in the present tense is indicated by combining the infinitive form of the verb with the copula *ast* ‘has.’ Sentence 10a is an example of present perfective, and example 10b is an example of past perfective.

(10) Perfective aspect in present and past tense

- a. *man maktab -i fav -ak ast*
 I school -CS go -Part have
 (LOC)
 ‘I am **going** to the school.’

- b. *karim -i tup -ak xoj*
 Karim -CS go -Part was
 (NOM)
 ‘Karim **was going**.’

1.4. COMPLEX PREDICATES

“Complex predicate” is the term used in Iranian language studies for what are in other places called “light verb constructions” or “compound verbs.” A complex predicate is composed of a nominal element (frequently called a “preverb”) followed by a verb, as shown in example 11. A complex predicate can occur with all the same morphosyntax as a simple verb.

- (11) *ark kun -ift*
 work do -2S.PRS
 ‘Are you working?’

1.4.1. PREVERBS

A preverb can be a noun or adjective that occurs in the usual distribution for these word classes, or it can be a word from a special nominal class only used in complex predicates. Examples of words from the preverb word class are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Elements of complex predicates

Preverb	verb	complex predicate
<i>putʃa</i>	<i>karak</i> ‘do’	<i>putʃai karak</i> ‘to break’
<i>tʃak</i>	<i>dorak</i> ‘have’	<i>tʃaki dorak</i> ‘to catch’
<i>Pijoda</i>	<i>ʃavak</i> ‘go’	<i>pijoda ʃavak</i> ‘to walk’
<i>Top</i>	<i>xvarak</i> ‘eat’	<i>topi xvarak</i> ‘to turn’

Preverbs in complex predicates are marked with the suffix *-i*, which does not seem to have any function other than to “glue” the preverb to the verb, as shown in the sentences in example 12.

(12) Clauses with complex predicates

- a. Complex predicate with progressive aspect

av -i odam -t -i jordam -i kar -ak ast
 3S -CS person -P -CS help -CS do -Part have
 ‘That person is helping.’

- b. Complex predicate with present tense

man xvart -im toza kun -om -ift
 I self -1S clean do -1S -PRS
 ‘I will wash myself.’

- c. Complex predicate with past tense

aw -i burda a- kun -or
 1Per -CS eye PST- do -3P.PST
 ‘They gave him the evil eye.’

2. COPULAS

There are two copulas in the Yaghnobi language, although they only have distinct forms in the third person. The form *xast* ‘be’ is used in sentences describing location, equation, and attribution. The other, *ast* ‘be, have’, is used for possession and existence. (See Chapter VI for a discussion of the copular functions of location, equation, attribution, possession, and existence.)

Both *xast* and *ast* are inflected for person and tense, but they are irregular verbs; they do not follow the inflection paradigms of any other Yaghnobi verb. Table 4.5 shows the inflection paradigms of the two copulas. The following sections will show the data and analysis used to discover the paradigms shown in this table.

Table 4.5. Copula paradigms

Semantics	Person	Present tense		Past tense	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Possession & existence	1 st person	<i>ast</i>	<i>ast</i>	<i>oġim</i>	<i>ijom</i>
	2 nd person	<i>ast</i>	<i>ast</i>	<i>oġi:</i>	<i>ijot</i>
	3 rd person	<i>ast</i>	<i>ast</i>	<i>oġ</i>	<i>ijor</i>
Location, attribution, equation, and proper inclusion	3 rd person	<i>xast</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>xoġ</i>	<i>xoġ</i>

2.1. NUMBER

The singular form of *xast* is shown sentences 13a, b, and c. Sentence a shows the singular form in a clause expressing possession with a possessive suffix, *-ik*;

sentence b with possession expressed by word order, *man kat* ‘my house’; and sentence c with possession indicated by the genitive case.

(13) Singular form of *xast* ‘be’

a. *ax kat man - ik xast*
 he house I - 's be
 ‘That house is mine.’

b. *ax kat man kat xast*
 he house I house be
 ‘That house is my house.’

c. *mox zivok jəknob -i xast*
 we language Yaghnob -CS be
 ‘Our language is Yaghnobi.’

Both *xast* and *ast* have plural forms in the past tense, but only *xast* has a plural form,⁴ *or*, in the present tense, as can be seen in Table 4.5. Examples of this usage are shown in sentences 14, 15, and 16. These sentences also show that *or* is used in clauses with the semantic functions associated with *xast*. Note that the copula agrees with the nominal element of the predicate (not the subject) in number.

Sentence 14 is an example of *or* occurring in a clause with the function of proper inclusion. Note that the copula is agreeing in number with the subject, *if* ‘this’, not the predicate, *manik* ‘mine’.

⁴ No data was elicited for first and second person present plural forms of *xast* ‘be’.

- (14) *if -tit man -ik or*
 this -3P I -3S.Poss **be.3P**
 ‘These **are** mine.’

Sentence 15 is an example of *or* occurring with the function of attribution. There is only one nominal element, *sankt* ‘stones’, for the copula to agree with in number.

- (15) *if sank -t darkor or*
 this stone -P necessary **be.3P**
 ‘These rocks **are** necessary.’

Sentence 16 is an example of *or* occurring in a clause with the function of location.

- (16) *tfi odam -t -i purs -oft ki bosmatfi -t kumoka or*
 from person -P -CS ask -3P.PRS that rebel -P where **be.3P**
 ‘They ask people where the rebels **are**.’

For the copula *ast* ‘have, is’, there is no plural form. This can be seen in example 17, where it doesn’t matter whether the subject is plural as in (a) or plural as in (b); the form of the copula is still *ast*.

- (17) Use of *ast* ‘be, have’

- a. With a singular subject

<i>nihet</i>	<i>havz -i</i>	<i>op -i</i>	<i>hufru</i>	<i>mohi -t -i</i>	<i>ast</i>
this	pond -CS	water -CS	pretty	fish -P -CS	have
	(GEN)	(LOC?)		(ACC?)	

‘This pond’s water **has** good fish.’

- b. With a plural subject

awtiti avd kov-i ast
 they seven cow -QTY **have**
 ‘They **have** seven cows.’

2.2. TENSE AND PERSON

The past tense conjugation of *xast* ‘be’ and *ast* ‘be, have’ is shown in Table 4.6.

The distinction in the form of the two copulas disappears in the past tense, since all copular functions are expressed by the forms in this one paradigm.

Table 4.6. Past tense copula paradigm

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>o₁im</i>	<i>Ijom</i>
2	<i>o₂i:</i>	<i>Ijot</i>
3	<i>o₃, xo₃</i>	<i>Ijor</i>

Sentence 18 is an example of the first person singular form of the past tense copula.

(18) Past tense, singular forms of *xast* ‘be’

- a. First person

ax intʃ anos man na- o₁-im
 he wife PST- take I **not - was -1S**
 ‘I **wasn’t** there when he got married.’

- b. Second person

(No example was elicited.)

c. Third person

idoki *i:* *sutur* *oĵ*
 here -CS a sheep had.3S.PST
 ‘A sheep was here.’ (‘This place had a sheep.’)

Sentences 19, 20, and 21 are examples of the past tense third person singular form of the copula. Notice that there are two forms: *oĵ* ‘had, was’ and *xoĵ* ‘was’. The copula *oĵ* appears in sentence 19 expressing possession and in sentence 20, expressing existence. These are obviously the same functions as the present tense form *xast*.

(19) Possession

aw -i *nihed* *men* *kat* *oĵ*
 3 -CS this.very village -CS house **had**
 ‘He **had** a house in this very village.’

(20) Existence, state

vijor *oĵ*
 night **was**
 ‘It **was** night.’

Sentence 21 shows the third singular past tense form *oĵ*, expressing location, which corresponds to the present tense form *ast*.

(21) Location

ax nihedok *-i* *xoĵ*
 he right.here -CS **be.PST.3S**
 ‘He **was** right here.’

Both past tense third person forms are shown in sentence 22, where their associated semantic functions are clear: possession for *oĵ* and attribution for *xoĵ*.

- (22) *obron -i intʃ oʃ ax dujon xoʃ*
 irrigator -CS wife **had.3S** she pregnant **was.3S**
 (GEN)

‘The irrigator **had** a wife; she **was** pregnant.’

The past tense first person plural form is shown in sentence 23, where it is expressing existence.

- (23) First person plural (Existence)

mox panj -tit ijom
 1P five -3S **1P.PST**

‘There **were** five of us.’

The past tense third person plural form is shown in sentence 24, where it is expressing existence.

- (24) Third person plural (Existence)

ax -tit panj -tit ijor
 Pro -3P five -3P **be.3P.PST**

‘There **were** five people.’

2.3. NEGATION

Negative copular clauses are formed by prefixing the copula with *na-* ‘not’, as shown in sentences 25, 26, and 27.

(25) Negative form (showing location)

malim kat -i na xast

teacher house -CS not be

(LOC)

‘The teacher isn’t in the house.’

(26) Negative form (showing location)

if odam piḡn kat -i n - xoḡ

this person yesterday house -CS not- was

(LOC)

‘This man wasn’t in the house yesterday.’

(27) Negative form (showing possession)

it dajro -i mohi: na -ast

This river -CS fish not - have

(LOC)

‘This river doesn’t have fish.’

2.4. CONTRACTION

The copula *xast* ‘be’ is commonly contracted to *-x* and becomes a suffix on the predicate, as shown in sentence 28. This contraction does not appear to be the result of any phonological conditioning, as *-x* occurs following a diverse variety of phonemes, including vowels, nasals, and voiced and unvoiced stops. It is a common occurrence in rapid, connected speech.

(28) *if kata koḡaz safed -x*

this big paper white -be

‘This big paper is white.’

CHAPTER V GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

In our discussion of the core grammatical relations, we will use the abbreviations S, A, and O, in which S is the single argument of an intransitive clause; A is the argument of a transitive clause that corresponds most closely with the semantic role of agent; and O is the argument of a transitive clause that corresponds more closely with the role of patient.¹

The non-core grammatical relations, or obliques that are distinguished by adpositions, were already discussed in Chapter III. In this chapter we will discuss the obliques that are marked with the *-i* case suffix, the same case suffix that is used to mark A, O, and S core arguments.

¹ The SAO model was developed by Dixon (1979) and also by Comrie (1981b:64) (who uses the abbreviations S, A, and P) and developed further by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:2). Dixon & Aikhenvald give this definition for S, A, and O: “There are two universal clause types: intransitive clause, with an intransitive predicate and a single core argument which is in S (intransitive subject) function; transitive clause, with a transitive predicate and two core arguments which are in A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) functions. That argument whose referent does (or potentially could) initiate or control the activity is in A function. That argument whose referent is affected by the activity is in O function.”

1. CORE VERB ARGUMENTS

Yaghnobi has a nominative-accusative system of grammatical relations with Differential Object Marking² (DOM) (Bosong, 1991). In addition, it has a split in the system of grammatical relations on aspect. When progressive aspect³ is not marked in the verb complex, the system is just DOM, while in phrases with progressive aspect it has a quasi-tripartite system of grammatical relations in which the A and S arguments are also marked.

Grammatical relations are distinguished by case marking, agreement of the pronominal verb suffixes, and word order.

1.1. CASE MARKING

There is only one case marker, *-i*. This case marker has the same distribution as the “marked case” forms of pronouns and demonstratives as described in Chapter III. Case marking is split on aspect, but animate definite O arguments are marked, regardless of aspect. In clauses with verbs that are not inflected for progressive aspect, the system of grammatical relations is nominative-accusative with DOM. In clauses

² Differential Object Marking is described by Bosong (1991) as an object marking system in which the grammatical case and semantic content of an object (O argument) NP interact to determine case marking. Bosong identifies three semantic dimensions which typically affect object marking: inherence (animacy hierarchy), reference/definiteness, and to a lesser degree constituency in the verbal predicate (participation in the semantic frame of the verb). The evolution of DOM is a virtually universal phenomenon. It typically develops in a language which has lost a well developed case system through phonetic erosion. Its occurrence is widespread and has been observed in language families as disparate as Semitic, Romance, Slavic, Iranian, and Turkic.

³ The split appears to be on progressive aspect vs. non-progressive aspect rather than on imperfective vs. perfective since imperfective sentences like the one below show nominative-accusative marking. More data needs to be analyzed for different types of imperfectives before establishing whether the split is just on progressive aspect or on the broader category of imperfective aspect.

with progressive aspect, the system is quasi-tri-partite, meaning that the S, A, and O arguments may potentially all be in the marked case, or, if the O argument is not definite and animate, only the A and S arguments will be marked.

1.1.1. CASE MARKING WITHOUT PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

The S argument of intransitive clauses is not marked with the *-i* case suffix in clauses without progressive aspect morphology, as can be seen in example 1, where *karim* ‘Karim’ does not have the *-i* suffix, even though ‘Karim’ is animate and definite.

- (1) *karim a- tir*
 Karim PST -go
 ‘Karim left.’

The A argument of intransitive clauses is not marked, but the O argument is marked if it represents a definite, animate entity, as shown in example 2. This pattern, in which the O argument is distinguished from the S and A arguments, is a nominative-accusative system of grammatical relations.

- (2) *nahav safed sutur -i kuf*
 that.very white sheep -ACC kill.2S
 (ACC)
 ‘Kill exactly that white sheep.’

The sentences in example 3 illustrate the types of O arguments that do and do not take the *-i* case suffix. In sentence a, the O argument, *tup* ‘ball’, does not take the *-i* suffix because it is both indefinite and inanimate. In sentence b, the O argument, *tup* ‘ball’, is now definite but does not take the *-i* suffix because it is inanimate. In sentence

- d. With a definite, animate O argument

safar *naxfir -i* *miltik -i -pi* *a- deh*
 Safar **deer** -CS rifle -CS -with PST- hit
 A O (ACC) (GEN)
 ‘Safar shot (hit) the **deer** with his rifle.’

- e. With a mechanical definite, animate O argument

av -i *mo fn -i* *man* *a- xirin -im*
 3Per -CS **vehicle** -CS I PST- buy -1S
 (GEN) O (ACC) A V
 ‘I bought his **car**.’

1.1.2. CASE MARKING WITH PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

In intransitive clauses with progressive aspect, S is marked with the *-i* case suffix, as shown in example 4. It doesn’t matter whether the S argument is indefinite and inanimate, as in sentence a, or definite and animate, as in b.

(4) Intransitive sentences with progressive aspect

- a. With an indefinite, inanimate S

sank -i *harra -i* *vi* *-ak* *ast*
stone -CS rolling -CS become -Part AUX
 S (NOM) V
 ‘A **rock** is starting to roll’

- b. With a definite, animate S

karim -i *tir -ak ast*
Karim -CS go -Part is
 S (NOM) V
 ‘Karim is going.’

In transitive clauses with progressive aspect, the A argument is also marked with the case suffix *-i*, as in example 5. Just as with the S argument, the A argument has the -

i case suffix whether or not it is animate or definite, as can be seen in each of these sentences. These sentences also show that the *-i* case suffix does not appear on inanimate O arguments, as in a, but does appear on the animate O arguments,⁴ as in b and c.

(5) Transitive sentences with progressive aspect

- a. With a definite, inanimate A argument and an inanimate O argument

zamin -i kat dʒunbon -ak -f ast
earth -CS house rock -Part -3S AUX
 A (NOM) O V
 ‘The **earth** is shaking the house.’⁵

- b. With an indefinite, animate A argument and an animate O argument

i mort̃i -ji xar -i kor -ak -f ast
 a **man -CS donkey -CS look -Part -3S have**
 A (NOM) O (ACC) V
 ‘A **man** is taking care of the **donkey**.’

- c. With a definite, animate A argument and an animate O argument

safar -i xar -i kor -ak -f ast
Safar -CS donkey -CS look -Part -3S have
 A (ACC) O (NOM) V
 ‘**Safar** is taking care of the **donkey**.’

The system of grammatical relations in progressive aspect is almost a tripartite system, since S arguments and A arguments are always marked with the *-i* case suffix in

⁴ No examples were elicited for indefinite, animate O arguments in progressive aspect, but it is expected that the O argument would not take the *-i* case suffix, just as with non-progressive aspect.

⁵ This sentence was elicited from the Yagnobi language consultant as grammatical, but he said that this isn’t the usual way to say that an earthquake shook the house.

progressive aspect clauses, and the O argument is marked when it is animate (and probably definite).

1.2. VERB AGREEMENT

The subject usually agrees with the verb in person and in number. In clauses without progressive aspect, the pronominal suffix on the verb corresponds to A or S argument in person and number. In the transitive clause in example 6a the verb *axiʃoi:* ‘bit’ has no suffix, which indicates third person singular. This agrees with the A argument, *kut* ‘dog’. Verbs in transitive clauses may also have two pronominal suffixes, the first corresponding to the A argument, the second corresponding to the O argument, as shown in example 6b.

In the intransitive clause in example 6c, the verbs have the suffixes *-im* ‘I’, and *-om* ‘I’, which agree with the S argument *man* ‘I’. Notice that unlike all other pronominal suffixes, the past tense pronominal suffix *-im* on the verb *avovim* ‘I/we came’ only indicates person, not number.

(6) Verb agreement with perfective aspect

a. Transitive

<i>kut</i>	<i>safar -i</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>xifoi:</i>
dog	Safar -CS	PST-	bite - 3S
A	O (ACC)	V	
‘A dog bit Safar.’			

b. Transitive verb with two pronominal suffixes

asp -t -i vor -ak v -oʃt atrat -t ven -oʃt - jint
 horse -P -CS load -NOM become -3P.PRS soldier -P see -3P.PRS -2/3P
 O (ACC) A V

‘The soldiers see the horses that have been loaded.’

c. Intransitive clause

man a- vov -im taw -pi maslihat kun -om
 I PST- come -1 you -with consultation do -1S.PRS
 S V V

‘I came to consult with you.’

In clauses with progressive aspect there is no person or number agreement, since the main verb is non-finite and the AUX is *ast*, which does not inflect for person or number, as shown in example 7.

(7) *mox tʃi piʃon yor -ak ast*
 we from yesterday look -Part AUX
 S V
 ‘We have been watching since yesterday.’

1.3. WORD ORDER

Basic word order is SV in intransitive clauses and AOV in transitive, as discussed in Chapter II, section 2.2. Grammatical relations are often not apparent from verb marking, nominal marking, or context and are resolved by word order. In examples 8 and 9 the S and O arguments both have the *-i* case suffix and are only distinguished by word order and context. (Donkeys don’t usually wield canes, and humans don’t have hooves.)

- (8) *safar -i xar -i tijoq -i -pi deh -ak -f ast*
 Safar -CS donkey -CS cane -CS -with hit -Part -3S have
 A O OBL V
 ‘Safar is hitting the donkey with a cane.’
- (9) *xar -i safar -i lakat -i -pi deh -ak -f ast*
 donkey -CS Safar -CS hoof -CS -with hit -Part -3S have
 A O OBL V
 ‘The donkey is hitting Safar with its hoof.’

But word order in transitive clauses is somewhat flexible when the O argument is the only argument with marked case. This is shown in example 10, where the O argument precedes the A argument but the O argument is distinguished by the *-i* suffix.

- (10) *av -i kut a- xifoj*
 he -CS dog PST- bite
 O A V
 ‘The dog bit him.’ (lit: ‘Him the dog bit.’)

2. OBLIQUES

Since the same case marker, *-i*, is used on both oblique verb arguments and core arguments, it does not serve the function of differentiating the obliques from the core verb arguments. One way obliques are differentiated is by use of adpositions.⁶ The oblique can be identified by collocation with the adposition, as shown in example 11, where the phrase *aspi rugah* ‘top of the horse’ follows the preposition *tji* ‘from’.

⁶ Although the *-i* suffix is used in conjunction with adpositions, it doesn’t seem to have any semantic content of its own. The meaning is provided by the adposition.

- (11) *ax tʃi asp -i rugah a- divi:*
 3Per **from** horse -CS top PST- fall
 (GEN)
 ‘He fell off a horse.’ (lit: ‘He fell **from** on top a horse.’)

When there are no adpositions, obliques can usually be differentiated from core arguments by word order, since the obliques normally follow the core arguments, as shown in example 12, where *Safar*, *tup* ‘ball’, and *Karim* follow the default word order for transitive sentences of A, O, oblique.

- (12) *safar ax tup karim -i a- tifar*
Safar that **ball** **Karim** -CS PST- give
 (LOC)
 ‘**Safar** gave that **ball** to **Karim**.’

Interpretation of the functions of *-i* on obliques is dependant on context, especially on the semantics of the verb.⁷ Assignment of the functions of *-i* to traditional categories like locative and genitive is admittedly subjective, since the grammatical construction in each case is identical. The traditional case names are used purely for the purpose of describing the functions in terms that will be readily understood. The following sections enumerate the functions of the *-i* case suffix on obliques.

2.1. LOCATIVE

There are at least two functions of the *-i* case suffix that can be classified as types of locative: concrete locations and recipients.

Concrete locations such as destinations and points of departure usually occur with a verb of motion (intransitive) or caused motion (transitive), as in example 13.

⁷ Since there is only one case suffix, it might be more accurate to say that these are functions of the verb and the only function of the *-i* suffix is to indicate a general association between words.

(13) Use of the suffix *-i* to mark concrete locations

- a. *virot -im fahr -i a- fav / a- vov*
 younger.brother -1S city -CS PST- go / PST- come
 (LOC)

‘My younger brother went / came **to** the city.’

- b. *Man zamin -I sar -I a- nid -im*
 I earth -GEN top -CS PST- sit -1
 (LOC)

‘I sat **on** the ground.’

- c. *rufka kuti -i fun -om -ift*
 pen box -CS put -1S.PR -PRS
 (LOC)

‘I put the pen **in** the box.’

- d. *ɣajk -t maktab -I a- fav -or*
 girl -P school -CS PST- go -3P
 (LOC)

‘The girls went **to** school.’

Recipients can be regarded as abstract locations. Recipients that occur with a verb of caused motion (ditransitive) are marked with the suffix *-i*, as shown in sentence 14, where the *suturt* ‘sheep’ are the recipients of the *vef* ‘grass’.

- (14) *if sutur -t -I vef tifar*
 this sheep -P -CS grass give
 (LOC)

‘Give grass **to** these sheep.’

2.2. PURPOSE

Participles that are the purpose or goal of another verb are marked with the suffix *-i*; as shown in sentence 15, where reason the person went to Yaghnob was to get a sheep.

- (15) *ax i sutur -i nos -ak -i baxfa jaynob a- fav*
 1Per a sheep -CS take -Part -CS for Yaghnob PST- go
 (ACC) (PUR)
 ‘He went to Yaghnob **to** get a sheep.’

2.3. GENITIVE

The functions of the case suffix *-i* that can be classified as genitive are relationships or associations like possession, shown in example 16a; part to whole shown in example 16b, where the *tfilik* ‘finger’ is part of the *dast* ‘hand’; association by use, as shown in example 16c, where the *kat* ‘house’ is associated with the *kalit* ‘key’ that is used to unlock it; and type, as shown in 16d, where *zavak* ‘drinking’ describes a type of *op* ‘water’.

(16) Genitive functions of the suffix *-i*

- a. Possessor to possessed relationship⁸

if safar -i kat xast
 this **Safar** -CS house be
 (GEN)

‘This is **Safar's** house.’

⁸ Note that the copula *xast* denotes equation, not possession. Possession is indicated by the suffix *-i*.

e. Whole to part relationship

av -i dast -i tʃilik -ʃdaxf -∅ -tʃi:
 he -CS **hand** -CS digit -3S hurt -3S -PRS
 (GEN) (GEN)
 ‘His finger hurts.’ (lit: ‘His **hand**’s digit hurts.’⁹)

f. Association by use

ijʃ kat -i kalit xast
 this **house** -CS key be
 (GEN)
 ‘This is the key to the **house**.’

b. Association by type

axtit tʃidoka ʒav -ak -i op ʒavar -oʃt
 they from.here drink -Part -CS water take.out -3P.PRS
 (GEN)
 ‘They are getting drinking water from here.’

⁹ The genitive in this sentence could also be interpreted as indicating type rather than a part-whole relationship, since both toes and fingers are called *tʃilik* and it is necessary to say *dast -i tʃilik* to distinguish fingers from toes.

CHAPTER VI COPULAR CLAUSES

The grammar of arguments of copulas does not correspond with the grammatical relations of other types of verbs. For example, one of the arguments is frequently an adjective rather than a full noun. In addition, the semantics of the arguments frequently do not correspond with those associated with S, A, and O. The arguments of copulas are traditionally referred to as subject and predicate, where subject is the thing being described and predicate is its description.

This is the terminology that will be used here just to facilitate description of the relationship between structure and semantics. There is actually no grammatical marking in Yagnobi that distinguishes the categories of subject and predicate.¹

There are two copulas, *xast* 'be' and *ast* 'be, have,' as discussed in Chapter III. The primary distinction between these two forms is apparent in the Tajik translation given by the language consultants. The copula *ast* is translated with either the Tajik verb *doftan* 'to have' or the Tajik copula *hast* 'be'. There is no other Yagnobi verb meaning 'have'. The Yagnobi copula *xast* is translated by either of the Tajik copulas *hast* 'be' or *ast* 'be'.²

¹ A future research project would be to test the topicality of the arguments of copulas to see if there are constructions in which one argument is consistently more topical. This would give validity to designating one of the arguments as a subject.

² It appears that the Tajik copula *hast* 'be' is used for location and existence, while the Tajik copula *ast* is used for all other copular functions. More research needs to be done to verify this, such as investigating

According to Payne (1997), there are six potential functions for copular clauses cross linguistically: equation, proper inclusion, attribution, location, possession, and existence. The grammar of Yaghnobi does not make a distinction between equation and proper inclusion, but there are structural differences that distinguish the other five functions, as shown in Table 6.1.³ These are explained in detail in the sections that follow.

Table 6.1. Correlation of syntax of copular clauses with semantic function

Semantic function	Subject	Predicate	Yaghnobi copula	Tajik copula
equation or proper inclusion	NP	NP	<i>xast</i> ‘be’	<i>ast</i> ‘be’
attribution	NP	ADJ	<i>xast</i> ‘be’	<i>ast</i> ‘be’
location	NP NP	NP -CS DEM _{Spatial}	<i>xast</i> ‘be’	<i>ast</i> ‘be’
location	DEM _{Spatial} NP -CS	NP NP	<i>ast</i> ‘be, have’	<i>hast</i> ‘be’
existence	NP		<i>ast</i> ‘be, have’	<i>hast</i> ‘be’
possession	NP -CS	NP	<i>ast</i> ‘be, have’	<i>doftan</i> ‘to have’

1. EQUATION AND PROPER INCLUSION

The copula *xast* ‘be’ is used in clauses expressing equation. In Yaghnobi, there is no morphosyntactic difference between clauses expressing equation and proper

the use of verbs associated cross linguistically with existence, such as ‘see’ or ‘appear,’ with these copulas.

³ Morphosyntactic structures were correlated to semantic functions of copulas in a database containing over 250 copular clauses.

inclusion.⁴ Both types of clauses have the structural pattern of NP NP COP. It is not clear whether there is a morphosyntactic distinction between subject and predicate in equational copular clauses; although it appears (from a limited number of examples) that the first NP (subject) typically refers to a listener's concept of something and the second NP (predicate) equates a previously unknown concept with the first.

The sentence in 1 is an example of equation in which *ax* 'he,' presumably an entity known to the listener, is equated with *man dodo* 'my father', presumably a relationship unknown to the listener.

- (1) NP [NP] COP
ax man dodo xast
 he I father be
 'He is my father.'

The sentence in 2 is an example of proper inclusion since *if* 'this' is identified as belonging to the category *kobaz* 'paper'.

- (2) NP NP COP
if kobaz xast
 This paper be
 'This is paper.'

The sentence in example 3 is another example of the copula *xast* 'be' being used to indicate proper inclusion. The function of the copula in this sentence is not to identify Karim but to describe him according to a category to which he belongs.

⁴ The conceptual difference between equation and proper inclusion is that equation is identification of one object or entity as being the same as another, while proper inclusion is identification of an object or entity as belonging to a category or group. The English sentence "He is a father" is an example of proper inclusion, since 'he' belongs to the set of all fathers; 'He is my father' is an example of equation since 'he' is being identified as 'my father.'

- (3) *karim malim xast*
 Karim teacher be
 'Karim is a teacher.'

While there do not seem to be any grammaticalized constructions that distinguish equation from proper inclusion, the two concepts are pragmatically distinguished in Yaghnobi when both the subject and predicate of the copula are specific, as illustrated by the equational clause in example 4, in which *if malim* 'this teacher' (definite) is equated with 'Karim'. Compare this with example 3, in which 'Karim' is identified as 'a teacher' (indefinite).

- (4) *if malim karim xast*
 this teacher Karim be
 'This teacher is Karim.'

The sentence in example 5 may appear to be possessive, but it is actually expressing the concept of proper inclusion, since it is not predicating that the river bank has rocks, but that the rocks are part of the group of things belonging to the river bank.

- (5) [NP] [NP] COP
if sank -t dajro -i lap -ik or
 this stone -P river -GEN bank -3S.Poss 3P.are
 'These rocks are at the edge of the river.' (lit: 'These stones are the river bank's.')

2. ATTRIBUTION

Clauses with the copula *xast* 'be' and the structure NP ADJ COP are used to express attribution. The NP is the subject and the ADJ is the predicate. In sentence 6 the predicate, or characteristic described, is the length of someone's beard.

- (6) [NP] ADJ COP
av -i ri:fa van xast
 he -CS beard long be
 (GEN)
 ‘His beard **is** long.’

Sentence 7 shows another example of an attributive sentence with the plural form of the copula:

- (7) [NP] ADJ COP
if sank -t darkor or
 this stone -P Necessary they.are
 ‘These rocks are necessary.’

3. LOCATION

Both the copula *xast* ‘be’ and *ast* ‘be, have’ can be used to express location. The copula *xast* ‘be’ is used to express location in clauses with all of the following structures:

NP NP-CS COP
 NP-CS NP COP
 NP DEM_{Spatial} COP
 DEM_{Spatial} NP COP

These structural patterns can be generalized by saying that the subject of the copula is the argument that is neither marked for case nor lexically locational, and the predicate is the argument that is either marked for case or is locationally lexical. In addition, the subject can either precede or follow the predicate. Examples of each of the four structural patterns are shown in sentences 8, 9, 10, and 11.

- (8) [NP] [NP] -CS COP
av -i kat yar -i sar -i xast
 he -CS house mountain -CS top -CS be
 (GEN) (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘His house is on top the mountain.’
- (9) NP-CS [NP] COP
idok -i mol -i dzogah xast
 here -CS livestock -CS place be
 (LOC) (GEN)
 ‘This is a place for animals.’
- (10) [NP] DEM_{Spatial} COP
man kat awoka xast
 1S house there be
 ‘My house is there.’
- (11) DEM_{Spatial} [NP] COP
ifoka man kati paj xast
 this -place I house -CS place be
 (GEN)
 ‘This is where my house is.’

As described in Chapter III, the suffix *-i* never occurs on place names. An example is shown in sentence 12. The NP *jaɣnɒb* ‘Yaghnob’ is not marked for case because it is a place name, but the clause still fits the structural pattern for locational copular clauses since place names are lexically locational.

- (12) [NP] NP COP
man kat jaɣnɒb xast
 I house Yaghnob be
 ‘My house is in Yaghnob.’

Sentence 13 shows a locational clause with the plural form of the copula.

- (13) [NP] NP
aw kat -i yajik -t or
 that.CS house -CS daughter -P they.are
 (GEN) (LOC)
 ‘There are girls in that house.’

Location can also be expressed with the copula *ast* ‘be, have,’ rather than *xast* ‘be’. These clauses occur with the structures NP -CS NP COP, and DEM_{Spatial} NP COP. The subject appears to be the marked NP (the location).⁵ In these clauses there are two possible interpretations. The first is that the location of a thing is expressed grammatically as a possessor. An example that lends itself to either interpretation can be seen in sentence 14. Note that the only formal difference between this clause and a locational clause is the copula.

- (14) [NP] -CS NP COP
diræxt -i tæk -i tiloh ast
 tree -CS under -CS gold has
 (LOC or GEN) (GEN)
 ‘There is gold under the tree.’ or ‘The underside of the tree has gold.’

Locational copular clauses with *ast* also occur with lexically locational subjects, as shown in example 15.

⁵ In all the examples the location is always the first argument. More data needs to be collected to see if the location is always the subject and if it is always the first argument.

- (15) DEM_{Spatial} NP COP
idoki odam ast
 here -LOC person is
 ‘There is a person here.’

4. EXISTENCE

The structure of copular clauses expressing existence is NP COP, where the NP is the subject. There is no predicate. Sentence 16 is an example of a classic expression of existence.

- (16) *xudo ast*
 God is
 ‘God exists.’

The following question and answer in sentences 17 and 18 provide further examples of existence expressed with the copula *ast*. In sentence 17 the possessive/existential copula is used in asking a question; the same copula is used in the answer in 18.

- (17) *davar -i tfo tʃizi -t -i ast*
 outside -CS what thing -P -CS have
 (LOC) (QTY)

‘What things are outside?’

(lit: ‘What does the outside have?’ or ‘What exists outside?’)

- (18) *xur ast, mahtob ast, urk ast, xirs ast, yov ast, asp ast*
 sun is moon is wolf is bear is cow is horse is
 ‘There is the moon, there is the sun, there is the bear, there is the cow, there is the horse.’

5. POSSESSION

Possession is expressed in copular clauses with the structural pattern NP -CS NP COP with the copula *ast*. The case marked argument is the subject and the unmarked argument is the predicate. Examples are shown in 19 and 20.

- (19) NP -CS NP COP
av -i rifa ast
 he -CS beard have
 (GEN)
 'He has a beard.'

- (20) NP -CS [NP] COP
karim -i i: farbeh sutur ast
 Karim -NOM one fat sheep have
 'Karim has a fat sheep.'

The pronouns *man* 'I', *mox* 'we', and *fumox* 'you (pl.)' do not have marked case forms and do not take the marked case suffix *-i*, so although the sentence in 21 does not have a marked case subject, it is not an exception, since case marking is always absent on the pronoun *man*.

- (21) Sub Pred COP
man kitob ast
 I book have
 'I have a book.'

The plural form of the copula in possessive clauses is shown in sentence 22.

- (22) *man tiraj virot -i ast*
 I three younger.brother -CS have
 (GEN)
 'I have three younger brothers.'

Possessors represented by proper nouns in copular clauses are marked with the *-i* suffix, as shown in sentence 23.

- (23) *Safar -i kat ast*
Safar **-CS** house have
(GEN)
'Safar has a house.'

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUX	Auxiliary verb
BEN	Benefactive case
CS	Marked case
GEN	Genitive case
INS	Instrumental case
LOC	Locative case
NEG	Negation
NF	Non-final
NOM	Nominative
NZR	Nominalizer
PFT	Perfective aspect
POS	Possessive
PUR	Purposive case
P	Plural
PRS	Present (Non-past)
PST	Past
QTY	Quantified
S	Singular
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

APPENDIX B

IRANIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Comrie (1981) lists the following modern Iranian languages by genetic subgroup.

Spelling and geographic designations follow Comrie.

NORTHERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Northwest subgroup:

Kurdish (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, U.S.S.R.: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaydzhan, and Turkmenia)

Talysh (U.S.S.R., Iran)

Beludzh (Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Azerbaydzhan S.S.R., Persian Gulf)

Gilaki (Iran)

Mazandarani (Iran)

Parachi (Afghanistan)

Ormuri (Afghanistan, Pakistan)

Some dialects of central Iran

Southwest subgroup:

Persian (Iran, Afghanistan, U.S.S.R.: Uzbekistan, Turkmenia)

Tadzhik (Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Tat (Azerbaydzhan S.S.R.)

Luri (Iran)

Baxtiari (Iran)

Dialects of Fars (Iran)

EASTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Northeastern subgroup:

Ossete (North-Ossete A.S.S.R. in Russia and South-Ossete A.S.S.R. in Georgia)

Yagnob (Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Southeastern subgroup:

Rushan (Tadzhik S.S.R., Afghanistan)

Bartang (Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Oroshor (Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Shugn (Tadzhik S.S.R., Afghanistan)

Yazgulyam (Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Ishkashim (Afghanistan, Tadzhik S.S.R.)

Sangelechi (Afghanistan)

Zebaki (Afghanistan)

Vakh (Afghanistan, Tadzhik S.S.R., Pakistan, China)

Sarikoli (China)

Munzhi (Afghanistan)

Pashto (Afghanistan)

APPENDIX E

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