

# **Selected Topics in Shughni Grammar**

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## 1. Introduction

Shughni is an Indo-European language, of the Indo-Iranian branch. The Ethnologue further classifies it as Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, and Pamir. Together with its nearest relatives Sarikoli of China and Yazghulami of Tajikistan, it makes up the largest branch of the Pamir language family. The four most closely related languages in Afghanistan are Wakhi, Munji, Ishkashimi and Sanglechi, which together with Yadgha of Pakistan complete the Pamir family<sup>1</sup>. It is spoken in the Pamir mountains on both sides of the Afghan-Tajik border. According to the Ethnologue, dialects of Shughni include Rushani, Shughni, Bartangi, Oroshori, and Khufi, of which Shughni is the largest. Speakers of Shughni refer to their own language as *xujnɔm*. The Ethnologue code for Shughni is sgh. The trade language in the Shughni area is Dari and Arabic is used in the religious domain, so the influence of these languages can be seen on Shughni too.

Research on the Shughni language has been conducted by some other scholars. The most notable English work is a grammar sketch entitled “Shughni” by E. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva, published in *The Iranian Languages* in 2009. A phonology was written by Karen Olson in January of 2017. Other works have been produced in Russian. Works in Dari include *Grammar-e Zaban-e Shughnani* (2015) by Khair Muhammad Haidari, Assistant Senior Researcher at the Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan and unpublished works by Khush Nazar Pamir Zad.

Shughni is a head-final language with a basic SOV word order and adjectives precede the head noun. It is a nominative-accusative language as evidenced through pronouns and subject-agreement clitics. It uses a variety of case endings to show syntactic and semantic relationships between constituents.

This paper does not attempt to give an overview of every aspect of Shughni grammar, but rather focuses on selected topics that will be useful for translators and language learners. It also highlights areas of interest for further study and provides a springboard for those who wish to do more research<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2024. Ethnologue: Languages of the World. Twenty-seventh edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

<sup>2</sup> This paper was written during a workshop in grammatical analysis led by Andreas Joswig at the Canada Institute of Linguistics in the summer of 2022. Many thanks go to Juha Yliniemi, the linguistics consultant who advised in the writing process. The data was collected in Afghanistan and Minnesota prior to the workshop and transcribed by Heather Steiner and Karen Olson. Credit is given to the following language informants and story tellers: Boi Muhammad Muhammadi, Mae Awal, Laila Darkhani, Faiz Muhammad Tofan, Sarvibonu Tofan Nasrat, Mirza Jan Atta, Misre Nama Aqju, Guldad Aqju, Qurban Bek Wahiz, Khuda Nazar Bek, and Khush Nazar Pamir Zad.

## 1.1 *Abbreviations*

For pronouns:

1	1 <sup>st</sup> person
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
D	distal
F	feminine
M	masculine
MD	medial
NOM	nominative
NN	non-nominative
PL	plural
PX	proximal
S	singular

Case endings:

ALL	allative	<i>-adʒ</i>
CAUS	causal	<i>-aven, -dʒat</i>
DAT	dative	<i>-ard, -ra</i>
LOC	locative/possessive	<i>-and</i>
LOC2	locative/temporary possessive	<i>-dʒa</i>
PROL	prolative	<i>-va</i>
SUPESS	superessive	<i>-ti</i>
TERM	terminative	<i>-ets</i>

For verb stems:

CS	causative
(INF)	infinitive
(NP)	non-past
(PRS)	present
(PST)	past (and present perfect)
(SBJ)	subjunctive
(IMP)	imperative

Other:

ADVZ	adverbializer
ANT	anterior

CERT	certainty
CN	connective
CNTF	contrafactual
COMP	complementizer
DIM	diminutive
DISC	discourse marker
EMP	emphatic
EZ	ezafe
HAB	habitual
INC	inceptive
INEG	negative of an imperative
INF	infinitive suffix
NEG	negative
NMLZ	verbal nominalizer
PN	proper name
PQ	polar question
PRF	perfect
PROSP	prospective
PTCP	participlizer
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
TPN	toponym

#### Data References:

Data references from stories are denoted by Story Title followed by sentence number. Data references other than stories are denoted by first the initials of the elicitor, followed by the speaker code, and the date using the format of YYYYMMDD (e.g. HS.GD.20200516).

HS	Heather Steiner
KO	Karen Olson
GD	Guldad Aqju
JL	Shughni speaker 2
MN	Misre Nama Aqju

## 2. Verbal Morphology

### 2.1 *Verb Stems*

Shughni verbs exhibit a three-stem system. Similar to other Pamir languages and to Dari, stems distinguish between past and non-past. Non-past verbs include simple present, future, and habitual actions; imperatives are also derived from this stem. The past stem is used for simple past, perfect, and resultative verbs. Unlike other Pamir languages or Dari, Shughni uses a third stem for infinitives, which are also used in the formation of inceptive and prospective aspect. Edelman and Dodykhodoyeva (2009) identified two more stems, present perfect and past perfect, in their analysis. However, in this analysis, perfect stems are considered to be phonological variants of the past tense resulting from the addition of the perfect suffix. Evidence for what Edelman and Dodykhodoyeva considered a past perfect was not found in this data.

There are a few deviations from this three-stem system. In some verbs, all three stems are identical (such as *neð* ‘to plant’ in the table below). Also, the non-past stem undergoes phonological changes with the addition of the third person suffix *-t*, such as vowel raising (*-xar-* changes to *xir-t* ‘s/he eats’ and *-niθ-* changes to *niθ-t* ‘s/he sits’ in the table below) and sometimes the resulting form is identical to the infinitive stem (as is the case with *niθt* ‘s/he sits’ and *vist* ‘s/he binds’). In addition, the past (and perfect) stem has masculine and feminine variants in some verbs (see the variants of *-nust-* in the table below), while infinitive and non-past stems never change for gender.

Table 1: Sample Verbal Paradigms

Stem 1 Infinitive		Stem 2 Non-past		Stem 3 Past (and Present Perfect)	
-xid-	xid-ow ‘to eat’ tʃɪ-xid ‘about to eat’ darow xid ‘in the process of eating’	-xar-	xar-um ‘I eat’ xar-ɪ ‘you (s) eat’ xir-t ‘s/he eats’ xar-am ‘we eat’ xar-et/x-et ‘you (pl) eat’ xar-en ‘they eat’	-xud-	xud ‘(someone) ate’ xuj-dʒ ‘has/have eaten’ xuj-dʒ-m ‘eaten’
-niθt-	niθt-ow ‘to sit’ tʃɪ- niθt ‘about to sit’ darow niθt ‘in the process of sitting’	-niθ-	niθ-um ‘I sit’ niθ-ɪ ‘you (s) sit’ niθ-t ‘s/he sits’ niθ-am ‘we sit’ niθ-et ‘you (pl) sit’ niθ-en ‘they eat’	-nust-	nust ‘(someone) sat (m)’ nɔst ‘sat (f)’ nus-tʃ ‘has sat (m)’ nis-ts ‘has sat (f)’ nus-tʃ-m ‘seated (m)’ nis-ts-m ‘seated (f)’
-vist-	vist-ow ‘to bind’ tʃɪ- vist ‘about to bind’ darow vist ‘in the process of binding’	-vis-	vis-um ‘I bind’ vis-ɪ ‘you (s) bind’ vis-t ‘s/he binds’ vis-am ‘we bind’ vis-et ‘you (pl) bind’	-vust-	vust ‘(someone) bound’ vus-tʃ ‘has bound’ vus-tʃ-m ‘bound’

			vis-en ‘they bind’		
-neð-	neðd-ow ‘to plant’ tʃɪ-neðd ‘about to plant’ darow neðd ‘in the process of planting’	-neð-	neð-um ‘I plant’ neð-ɪ ‘you (s) plant’ neð-d ‘s/he plant’ neð-am ‘we plant’ neð-et ‘you (pl) plant’ neð-en ‘they plant’	-neð-	neð-d ‘(someone) planted’ neð-dʒ ‘has planted’ neð-dʒ-in ‘planted’

## 2.2 Verbal Inflection

### 2.2.1 Subject Agreement Inflection

The basic tense distinction of past and non-past is reflected not only in the verbal stem but also in the subject agreement markers: non-past verbs must always take the verbal suffixes, while in past or perfect clauses these can attach as a clitic to other elements in the clause.

As shown above in the verb paradigm, verbs must agree with the subject in person, number, and sometimes gender. Thus, when subjects have been previously mentioned or can otherwise be inferred from context, the subject noun phrase is syntactically optional. In non-past verbal predicates, subject agreement endings are suffixed to the verb stem:

- (1) *sarakɪ ta aft badʒa andɪdz-am*  
morning HAB seven o'clock arise(NP)-**1PL**  
'At seven in the morning we get up.' (Our Daily Schedule in Minnesota 1.1)
- (2) *xujnəni-en ta bafand tu nɪga kɪn-en*  
shughni-PL CERT good 2S guard do(NP)-**3PL**  
'Shughni people will care for you well.' (Don't Marry As You Wish 47.2)

However, in past and present perfect clauses, these personal endings act as clitics, attaching either to the verb if the verb is the first element in the clause (as in example (5) below), or to another element in the clause if it comes before the verb.

- (3) *xʊ dɪrefɪ=am pɪnujd*  
REFL uniform = **1PL.NOM** put.on(PST)  
'We would put on our uniforms.' (My Student Life 7.2)
- (4) *tʃɔr badʒaj=en maʃ baxətɪrɪ namɔz andəʒd.*  
four o'clock = **3PL** 1S because.of ritual.prayers get.up.CS(PST)  
'They got us up at four o'clock because of doing the ritual prayers' (My Student Life 5)
- (5) *xʊ tɔjd=am tar xʊ smf-en*  
REFL go(PST).F = **1PL** to REFL class-PL  
'And we went on over to our classes.' (My Student Life 10.3)

The following chart displays these personal endings:



Table 2: Subject Agreement Suffixes and Clitics

	Non-Past Verbal Suffixes	Past and Perfect Clitics
1S	-um	= um
1PL	-am	= am
2s	-(a)t	= (a)t
2PL	-et	= et
3S	-t/d	= (j)ɪ (transitive clauses) = ∅ (intransitive clauses)
3PL	-en	= en

Of note, third person verbs act differently than other verbs. Transitive clauses in the past tense require the third-person subject-agreement clitic *-jɪ* whereas intransitive clauses do not. Compare the first, intransitive clause with the second coordinated, transitive clause in (6) below. The intransitive clause (with the verb *jaθ-tʃ* ‘come’) has no agreement clitic while the second one (with the transitive verb *zið-dʒ* ‘kill’) does contain the subject-agreement clitic.

- (6) *duzd jaθ-tʃ, dɪ=jɪ mis zið-dʒ*  
 thief come(PST)-PRF 3SG.M.NN.MD = **3SG** also kill(PST)-PRF  
 ‘The thief came, (and) killed him too.’ (Long Fairy Tale, 61)

Similarly, in (7) the clause is transitive and the third-person subject agreement marker is necessary to identify the subject, which would otherwise be ambiguous as it omits a subject noun phrase (who shooed whom?).

- (7) *maʃ=ɪ aj tʃud*  
 1PL = **3S** shoo do(PST)  
 ‘He shooed us away.’ (Long Fairy Tale, 67.1)

However, the agreement marker is necessary for transitive clauses even when the subject is present, as in the following:

- (8) *at tarsu-jɪ wam win-tʃ at ʃɔdʒ-ɪ ðui-dʒ at dʒɔ-jɪ xɔ*  
 and Scaredycat = **3S** 3SG.F.NN.D see-PRF and fear-**3S** do-PRF and hide-**3S** REFL  
*tʃuj-dʒ*  
 do(PST)-PRF

Example (9) is another example of an intransitive clause with the verb *suð-dʒ* ‘become.’

- (9) *jɪd mis dev xu viɾɔd-ar dʒɪnɔw suð-dʒ*  
 3SG.NOM.MD also 3PL.NN.MED REFL brother-PL like become(PST)-PRF  
 ‘He also became like his brothers.’ (Long Fairy Tale, 60.2)

## 2.2.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are derived from the non-past indicative stem; second-person singular endings are dropped, and stems are often truncated. For example, the imperative *xa* ‘eat (s)’ is derived from the indicative *xar-I* ‘you eat’, and imperative *xet* ‘eat (pl)’ is derived from indicative *xar-et* ‘you (pl) eat’. However, other verbs undergo no such truncation, such as *nɪθ* ‘sit (s)’ and *nɪθ-et* ‘sit (pl)’. In the following example the imperative *ki* ‘do’ is derived from the present stem *kim*.

- (10) *tʊ*            *wɪ=rd*            *tʃɔr*            *ki*  
 2S.NOM        3S.NN=DAT    husband        **do(IMP)**  
 ‘You marry him.’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 15.5)

## 2.2.3 Past Tense Stem Modification

A subset of past and perfect verbs undergoes stem change by ablaut for gender and number agreement. In these cases, verb clauses with plural subjects pattern in the same way as verb clauses with feminine subjects.

The following three examples demonstrate vowel modification in the stems for the simple past tense of the verb ‘to go’. In the first example, the verb *tujd* agrees with the masculine subject; in the next example, the form *tɔjd* agrees with the female subject; and in the third, it agrees with the plural subject.

- (11) *mʊ* *xʊsʊr*            *qɪsa*    *kɪnum*            *ɪdɪ*  
 my father-in-law    story    I’m doing        COMP

*ju*    *az*        *bajɪ*    *tsa*        *tujd*  
 he    of        within    SUBR    **go(PST).M**

‘I’m telling the story of when my father-in-law passed away.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 1)

- (12) *xʊ*    *dɪga*    *az*        *bajɪ*    *tɔjd*  
 and so        of        within    **go(PST).F**

‘So then she died.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 68.1)

- (13) *xʊ*    *ar*        *tʃɪz-at*            *dam-ard*            *tsa*    *lɔd*  
 and every    thing-2S        3SG.F.NN.MD-DAT        SUBR    say(PST)

*dam-and*            *dam*            *juçk-en-en*        *dɪ=ɪ*  
 3SG.F.NN.MD-LOC    3SG.F.NN.MD    tear-PL-3PL        3SG.M.NN.MD = SUPESS

*tɔjd*            *ameça*  
**go(PST).PL**    always

‘No matter what was said to her, her tears were always flowing like this.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 50.1, 2)

## 2.2.4 Perfect Aspect Suffixes *-dʒ*, *-tʃ*, *-dz*, *-ts*

In clauses with masculine subjects, the suffix *-dʒ* (or its variant *-tʃ*) is attached to the past tense stem to form the present perfect which is also used as a narrative tense. The *-tʃ* variant is found attached to voiceless root-final consonants. In clauses with feminine or plural subjects, this suffix takes a different form, *-dz* or its voiceless counterpart *-ts*. The addition of the suffix also results in phonological changes on the root: root-final stops become fricatives, and in verbs that add the feminine/plural variant of the suffix, the vowel is raised and fronted (from [ɔ] to [i] and from [a] to [ɪ]); for example, *nɔst* sit(PST).F ‘she sat’ becomes *nɪs-tʃ* sit(PST).F.-PRF ‘she has sat’, and *vad* COP(PST).F ‘she was’ becomes *vɪts* COP(PST).F.-PRF ‘she has been’.

Table 3: Verbs that Distinguish Gender and Number in the Past and Perfect

Gloss	Past Masculine	Present Perfect Masculine	Past Feminine/Plural	Perfect Feminine/Plural	Stem Change Processes in the Perfect
‘sit’	nust	nus-tʃ	nɔst	nɪs-ts	vowel raising (u → ɔ → i)
‘get up’	andujd	anduj-dʒ	andɔjd	andi-ts	vowel raising (uj → ɔj → i)
‘escape’	ritsust	ritus-tʃ	ritsɔst	ritsis-ts	vowel raising (u → ɔ → i)
‘go’	tujd	tuj-dʒ	tɔjd	ti-ts	vowel raising (u → ɔ → i)
‘break’	vɪrɔʃt	vɪrɔʃ-tʃ	vɪrɔʃt	vɪrɪʃ-ts	vowel raising (u → a → ɪ)
‘hit’	ðɔd	ðɔð-dʒ	ðɔd	ðe-ts	fricativization (d → ð) vowel raising (ɔ → ɔ → ɛ)
‘die’	mud	muj-dʒ	mɔd	mij-dz	fricativization (d → j) vowel raising (u → ɔ → i)
‘be (copula)’	vud	vʊð-dʒ	vad	vɪ-ts	fricativization (d → ð) vowel raising (ʊ → a → ɪ)
‘become’	sut	sʊð-dʒ	sat	sɪ-ts	fricativization (t → ð) vowel raising (ʊ → a → ɪ)

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of this suffix in its masculine, feminine, plural, voiced, and voiceless forms.

- (14) *duzd*      *jaθ-tʃ*      *dɪ = jɪ*      *mɪs*      *zið-dʒ*  
 thief      come(PST)-**PRF.M**      3SG.M.NN.MD-3SG.NOM also      kill3(PST)-**PRF.M**  
 ‘The thief comes and kills him, too.’ (Long Fairy Tale, 61)

- (15) *xuðm-ɪ dev andʒuv-dʒ,*  
 sleep-3S 3PL.NN.MD take-PRF.M  
*dað-en vɔ ʒɛv-dʒ*  
 3PL.NOM.MD-3PL then sleep-PRF.PL  
 ‘They fell asleep, (lit. sleep has taken them), then they’re sleeping...’ (Long Fairy Tale 49.1,49.2)

- (16) *ʃɪ ʃɪm vɪ-ts pari-zɔd*  
 one wife COP(PST).F-PRF.F fairy-born  
 ‘One wife was fairy-born,  
*at ʃɪ ʃɪm vɪ-ts xɔksɔr*  
 and one wife COP(PST).F-PRF.F earthly  
 ‘and one was made of dust.’ (Long Fairy Tale 3.1, 3.2)

*ʃɪ ruz ɪk = ed-and ɪk = dað wazɪr -en = en*  
 one day EMP = there.MD-LOC EMP = 3PL.NOM.MD advisor 3PL 3PL.NOM

*dʒam vɪ-ts*  
 gathered COP(PST).PL-PRF.PL  
 ‘One day the (king’s) advisors were gathered together there.’ (Long Fairy Tale 13.1)

### 2.2.5 Counterfactual Suffix *-at*

The suffix *-at* attaches to the past stem with the perfect suffix to form a counterfactual verb. This was described in Edelman and Dodykhodoyeva (2009) as a past perfect; and while this past perfect exists, it is rare and evidence for it was not found in the data used in this study. More often, the suffix signals a counterfactual. Subject-agreement clitics may be attached after this suffix. The suffix attaches to the verb in both protasis and apadosis, as demonstrated by example (17).

- (17) *ʃɔjad dɪga dʒa-ra-ʃum tsa vɪ-ts-at*  
 maybe other place-DAT-1S SUBR COP(PST)F-PRF.F-CNTF  
*disga xuf-um na-vɪ-ts-at*  
 like.this happy-1S NEG-COP(PST)F-PRF.F-CNTF  
 ‘Maybe if I had been in a different place, I wouldn’t have been this happy.’ (HS)

- (18) *tʊ baxt = and mʊ ðʊst ar xamir vʊd*  
 2S luck = LOC 1S.NN hand down.in dough COP(PST).3S  
*aga naj tʊ mʊrðə = ʃum patɛw-dʒ-at.*  
 if no 2S death = 1S throw(PST)-PRF-CNTF

‘You’re lucky my hand was in the dough, otherwise, I would have thrown you to your death!’ (SB, Story of a Husband and Wife)

## 2.3 Verbal Derivations

### 2.3.1 Infinitive Suffix -ow

The infinitive suffix can be -ow added to the infinitive stem to form an infinitive.

- (19) *tu ta maʃ mardom = ard xidmat tʃid-ow na-varðl-ji.*  
 2S.N CERT 1.PL.N people = DAT serve do(INF)-INF NEG-be.able(NP)-2S  
 ‘You won’t be able to serve our people.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 45)

- (20) *at waxt-i xu mid-ow-i wasijat tʃud*  
 and time-EZ REFL die(INF)-INF-3s last.request do(PST)3  
 ‘And at the time of her death she made a last request’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death 68.2)

However, the suffix may also be dropped and the stem used alone as an infinitive. In the following two examples, the -ow suffix could be added to the infinitive and the sentences would still be grammatical. On the other hand, the infinitive root without the suffix is used for non-finite verbs in the inceptive and progressive aspects and it would be ungrammatical to add the -ow suffix to those constructions (see section 33).

- (21) *xu sat-am çab garða xid*  
 and go(PST).PL-1.PL.NOM night food eat(INF)  
 ‘And we went to eat dinner.’ (My Student Life)
- (22) *xu ʒeçt = at win-tʃ at xu weçt naj*  
 REFL run(INF) = 2S see(PST)-PRF and REFL fall(INF) no  
 ‘You’ve considered your running but not your falling.’ (Shughni proverb)

### 2.3.2 Causative Derivation

Some causative forms of verbs are morphologically derived from their non-causative counterparts, such as the following:

- (23) *xavd-ow* ‘to get down’ → *xambent-ow* ‘to drop (someone or something) off’
- (24) *sifid-ow* ‘to climb’ → *sifent-ow* ‘to raise’
- (25) *wurv ðed-ow* ‘to boil’ → *warvent-ow* ‘to cause to boil’
- (26) *famt-ow* ‘to know’ → *fament-ow* ‘to explain’
- (27) *fiript-ow* ‘to arrive’ → *firept-ow* ‘to deliver’
- (28) *niθt-ow* ‘to sit’ → *neðd-ow* ‘to plant/seal’
- (29) *andid-ow* ‘to get up’ → *andøzd-ow* ‘to cause to get up’

(30) *bed-ɔw* ‘to get lost’ → *bimest-ɔw* ‘to lose’

(31) *θr-dow* ‘to burn’ → *prǝid-ɔw* ‘to cause to burn’

Some morphological patterns can be observed, such as the *-en-* infix in (23), (24), (25), and (26), and the *i/ε* alternation in (27) and (28). However, these apply to a small subset of verbs and cannot be predicted for all verb forms.

### 2.3.3 Negation *na-* and *ma-*

Negation of a clause occurs by the addition of the prefix *na-* to an indicative verb stem (see example (32) below) or *ma-* to an imperative verb stem (see (33) below).

(32) *daǝ-en*                      *maq*    *mardum*                      *na-ziwdʒ*  
3PL.MED.NOM-3PL    1PL    people                      NEG-love  
‘They do not love our people.’ (Don’t Marry as you Wish, 4)

(33) *naj*    *tu*                      *ʃitʃ*    *ma-*    *sa*  
no    2s                      now    INEG    go(IMP)  
‘No, don’t go now.’ (Long Fairy Tale 65.2)

### 2.3.4 Nominalizer *-idʒ*

When the verbal nominalizer *-idʒ* is added to the non-past form of the verb, the resulting form is a noun that may semantically be either agent or instrument of the action. Note that other nominal suffixes, such as the diminutive *-ak*, may also be added to this form of the word (see example (35)).

(34) *bıçtʃar-idʒ*  
scoop(NP)-NMLZ  
‘ladle’

(35) *andʒav-idʒ-ak*  
take(NP)-NMLZ-DIM  
‘hot pad’

(36) *nɪvɪʃ-idʒ*  
write(NP)-NMLZ  
‘writer/author’

### 2.3.5 Participlizer *-ak*

The participlizer suffix *-ak* is attached to the present or perfect stem of the verb. The resulting form can be a noun as in (37), or an adjective-like modifier as in (38), in which the resulting form means ‘contagious’ and modifies *darǝ* ‘pain’. The resulting form may also be a dependent verb that expresses manner as in (39), or a noun when used together with the prolativ case marker *=va* in (40).

- (37) *wev-i kex-ak andʒuv-dʒ*  
 3PL.NN-3S cough(NP)-PTCPtake(PST)-PRF  
 ‘They got a cough’ (lit. ‘A cough took them’) (KO.LR.20220714)
- (38) *wɪ xez-and ma-nɪθ-et, wɪ darð piðaf-ts-ak*  
 3S.NN by-DAT INEG-sit(NP)-2s 3S.NN pain stick(NP)-PRF.F-PTCP  
 ‘Don’t sit by him, his disease is contagious’ (KO.LR.20220714)
- (39) *bad dɪga jɪd rɪtsust*  
 then so 3S.NOM.MD escape(PST)  
 ‘So then he escaped,
- at jɪd røptsak = ga pɪs dɪ-jaθ kɪrɛç-ts-ak sød.*  
 and 3S.NOM.MD fox = ADD after 3.s.NN-ADVZ drag-PRF.F-PTCP go(NP).3S  
 and the fox also goes sliding after him.’ (Scaredycat 18a,b)
- (40) *at tarsu dɪ kɪrɛç-tf-ak = va andujd*  
 and Scaredycat 3S.M.NN drag-PRF.M-PTCP = PROL arise.PST  
 ‘and Scaredycat followed the trail where he had been dragged and went after them.’  
 (Scaredycat 23a)

### 2.3.6 Resultative Participlizer -m

The suffix *-m* added to past stem + perfective suffix results in a resultative form of the verb. The resulting forms could be adjectival (such as in (41), (42), and (43)) or nominal (such as in (44) and (45)).

- (41) *çej-dʒ-m ju vɪ-d*  
 read(PST)-PRF-RES 3S.NOM COP(SBJ)-3S  
 ‘He must be educated.’ (Don’t Marry as you Wish)
- (42) *wurv ðɔð-dʒ-m çats*  
 boil hit(PST)-PRF-RES water  
 ‘boiled water’
- (43) *xvðɔj ðɔð-dʒ-m vɪ at arwɔ ðɔð-dʒ-m*  
 God hit(PST)-PRF-RES COP(IMP) and spirit hit(PST)-PRF-RES  
*naj.*  
 no  
 ‘Be stricken by God, not by spirits.’ (local proverb)
- (44) *az tu nɔf-en reð-dʒ-m jast*  
 from 2s apricot-PL leave(PST)-PRF-RES COP(PRS)

*jɔ nɪst?*

or NEG.COP(NP)

‘Are there leftovers of your apricots or not?’ (KO.LR.20220714)

(45) *xu nɪvɪf-tʃɪn-at ɕejd-ɔ?*

REFLwrite(PST)-PRF-RES-2S read(PST)-Q

‘Have you read your writing?’ (KO.HM.20220712)

## 2.4 Copular Verb and Stative Predicates

Shughni has a copula, the verb *vid-ɔw*, which is used for stative predicates. Similar to other verbs, it has a three-stem system of infinitive, past, and non-past; however, the non-past forms of the copula are always used in an irrealis sense and not in the certain present tense (and thus are considered to be subjunctive). As with other verbs, subject agreement clitics mark person and number in past and present perfect, while subjunctive forms take the subject agreement markers as suffixes.

Table 4: Copular Verb *Vid-ɔw*

Infinitive	Past	Present Perfect	Subjunctive (Irrealis)
<i>vid(-ɔw)</i> COP(INF)(-INF)	<i>vud</i> COP(PST).M <i>vad</i> COP(PST).F	<i>vud-dʒ</i> COP(PST).M-PRF <i>vi-ts</i> COP(PST).F-PRF	<i>vi-m</i> COP(SBJ)-1S <i>vi-ji</i> COP(SBJ)-2S <i>vi-d</i> COP(SBJ)-3S <i>vi-jam</i> COP(SBJ)-1PL <i>vi-jet</i> COP(SBJ)-2PL <i>vi-jen</i> COP(SBJ)-3PL

In the realis sense, the copula *vid-ɔw* is absent and present tense stative predicates occur in two ways: first, simple juxtaposition of the subject and stative predicate, and secondly, the modified use of the loaned Dari copula, *jast* or more frequently, its negative counterpart *nɪst*.

The first way, juxtaposition, is shown in the following examples:

(46) *maʃ mardum = am xub mardum*  
1PL.NN people = 1PL.NOM good people  
‘We people are good people.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 60.2)

(47) *dað = en qajt*  
3PL.NOM.MD = 3PL strict  
‘They are strict.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 25)

As illustrated by these two examples, in stative clauses, the subject agreement clitic occurs even in the absence of a verb. The exception to this rule is when the subject is in the third person singular.



These clauses pattern the same way as intransitive verb clauses in which the subject-agreement clitic does not occur. This is the case in the following example, where there is no subject-marking clitic.

- (48) *at jid pənd band*  
 and 3S.NOM.MD way closed  
 ‘And the way is closed.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 73.3)

The second way of forming present-tense stative predicates, with *jast* and *nist*, is shown in the following two examples. In the first example, the copula follows the word *gap* ‘news,’ and the idea is that there *is* news (in the context of questioning whether something had happened). Since juxtaposition is the unmarked way to form a stative, the use of *jast* is inherently emphatic. On the other hand, the only way to negate a stative predicate is through the use of *nist*, as the negative prefix *na-* can only be attached to a verb.

- (49) *xu ləd=i ik=id ar tʃiz tsa*  
 and say(PST)=3SG.NOM EMP=3SG.NOM.MD every thing SUBR  
  
*gap jast*  
 news COP(PRS)  
 ‘And (she) said, “Whatever this is, there is news.”’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 31.3)

- (50) *jid az maʃ mardum nist*  
 3S.NOM.MD from 1PL.NN people NEG.COP(PRS)  
 ‘He’s not of our people.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 2)

### 3. Aspect Markers in Non-Finite Verb Phrases

#### 3.1 *Inceptive Aspect Marker daraw*

Inceptive aspect, also called ingressive aspect, codifies an action that has started but is still in process at a reference point in the storyline. In Shughni this is marked by use of the aspect marker *daraw* placed right before the non-suffixed infinitive form of the verb. The verb is followed by an auxiliary verb which is fully inflected for tense and agrees with the subject in gender and number.

- (51) *diga Nargis tar sur daraw sit sat*  
 so Nargis to wedding INC go(INF) go(PST).F  
 ‘So Nargis started to go to a wedding’ (Listen To Your Elders 26)
- (52) *diga xu tʃər qatɪ daraw ɖəd səd*  
 so REFL husband with INC fight(INF) go(PRS).3S  
 ‘So she starts to fight with her husband’ (Listen to Your Elders 28)

### 3.2 *Prospective Aspect Marker tʃr-*

The prospective aspect codifies an action that has not yet started but is anticipated to start in the imminent future. Similar to the inceptive aspect, it is encoded by an aspect marker *tʃr-* attached to the infinitive form of the verb. It may be followed by a fully inflected auxiliary verb (as in (53)) or used without an auxiliary verb in a stative sense (the state of being about to do something). This is the case in (54) where the verb occurs in a relative clause.

- (53) *jɪd*                      *wɪ*                      *axən*    *dɪga andizd*                      *tʃr-ðed*  
          3S.NOM.MD   3SM.NN.D           teacher so   stand(PRES).3S           **PROSP-fight**1  
          *wɪ*                      *səd*  
          3SM.NN.D    go(PRES).3S  
          ‘His teacher then stands and is about to fight him’ (Shah Ziayi 13b)
- (54) *xub a*                      *rɪzɪn*                      *dʒən*    *tu-t*    *ɪk = dɪ*                      *ɣuða-jard*  
          well hey           daughter           dear    2S-2S    EMP = 3S.MED    boy-DAT
- tʃɔr*                      *tʃr-tʃɪd*                      *tsa*  
          husband           **PROSP-do**(INF)    SUBR  
          ‘Well, dear daughter, this boy that you’re about to marry—’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish)

## 4. Modality

### 4.1 *Ability*

Ability is expressed through the verb *varðed-ɔw* ‘to be able’ along with the fully-inflected finite form of the verb. In the second person, the second-person verbal suffix on the finite verb may be dropped and the stem (identical to imperative stem) used, as in (56).

- (55) *bad az*                      *wɪ*                      *varðr-jam*                      *xu*                      *garða*                      *xar-am*  
          then from           3SM.NN.D           **be.able(NP)-3PL** REFL    food           **eat(NP)-1PL**  
          ‘After that we can eat our food.’ (Health Lesson 5a)
- (56) *tu*                      *varðr-jɪ*                      *tar*                      *ar*                      *dʒɔ*                      *saw*  
          2sg   **be.able(NP)-2SG**to           over.in every    place           **go(NP)**
- varðr-jɪ*                      *xu*                      *awloden*                      *tar*                      *kudakɪstən*                      *jɔs*  
          **be.able(NP)-2SG**           REFL    children-3PL    over.in preschool           **take(NP)**  
          ‘You can go anywhere, you can take your children to preschool.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 22.1, 22.2)

Inability is expressed through the negated form of the verb *varðed-ow* ‘to be able’ along with an infinitive verb form<sup>3</sup>.

- (57) *wuz dɪga na-varði=m tar tu tfid jat-ow.*  
 1S.N so NEG-be.able(NP)=1S to 2S.NN house come(INF)-INF  
 ‘So I can't come to your house (if you marry him).’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 43)
- (58) *dɪ-rd ta tu na-varði-ɪ tʃɔr tfid*  
 3SG.M.NN.SG-DAT CERT 2S NEG-be.able(NP)-2SG husband do(INF)  
 ‘You cannot marry him.’
- (59) *at atf-aθ=en tafxis tfid-ow na-varðod*  
 and none-ADVZ=3PL.NOM assess do(INF)-INF NEG-be.able(PST)  
 ‘and they weren't able to diagnose (her) at all.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 64.4)

## 4.2 Obligation

The modal auxiliary *bɔjad* ‘must’ is used together with the imperative to express obligation.

- (60) *tu bɔjad arɔ az maf mardum xuf kɪ*  
 2S must DISC from 1PL people choose do(IMP)  
 ‘You must choose from our people.’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 39.2)

If the utterance is not a command, it can also be used with a declarative verb form. In the following example, the speaker person being obligated is the speaker herself.

- (61) *bɔjad xu tʃɔr palɪ-jand wuz dafin sa-m*  
 must REFL husband side-LOC 1SG.NOM bury become2-1S  
 ‘I must be buried beside my husband.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 68.6)

## 5. Particles

### 5.1 Anterior Adverbial Clause Marker *dɪ*

The particle *dɪ* (not to be confused with its homonym, the third-person singular medial nominative pronoun) marks an adverbial clause which expresses anteriority: it signals the completion of an action before the beginning of the next action. It can be used with past tense verbs (as in (62)) or non-past (as in (63)).

- (62) *vega garða=am dɪ xud*  
 evening food=1PL.NOM ANT eat(PST)  
 ‘Having eaten dinner,

<sup>3</sup> There are two types of infinitives, one with the infinitive stem alone and the other with the infinitive stem and the infinitive suffix *-ow*. See section 2.3.1.

*jɪ kɪtɔb-i qɪsa ta xujnəni-tɪ ʧɔj-am*  
 one book-EZ story HAB Shughni-SUPESS read(NP)-1PL  
 'we read a story book in Shughni.' (Our Daily Schedule in Minnesota, 7.1, 7.2)

- (63) *ʧɪtʊr ɔum dɪ ar zɪmað firɪpt*  
 camel tail ANT down.to ground arrive(NP).3S  
 'When the camel's tail reaches the ground' (Shughni proverb; an expression of uncertainty about the likelihood of an event)

- (64) *xaj dað tʃɔɾɪk-en=en dɪ fəmt ɪdɪ*  
 well 3PL.NOM.MD man-PL=3PL ANT know(NP) COMP  
 'Well, those men, when they realized that

*maf=am mis pa-ded kam kam xabar sat*  
 1PL=1PL also up.in-MD.LOC little little aware become(PST).PL  
 we had become a little bit aware that something happened,

*bad=en dʒʊrat xu-rd ɔɔd*  
 then=3PL.NOM courageREFL-DAT give(PST)  
 then they gave themselves courage.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 42.1, 2, 43.1)

## 5.2 The particle *ɪdɪ*

The particle *ɪdɪ* (or *jɪdɪ* when it occurs after a vowel) functions as either a complementizer or a relativizer.

The first function, to mark a complement clause, is illustrated in the following two examples. (The complement clause is in square brackets).

- (65) *ej vrɔd-ar! jɪd xub nɪst [ɪdɪ]*  
 hey brother-pl 3S.NOM.MD good NEG.COP(PRS) COMP  
 'Hey brothers! This isn't good that

*ar maf bɔɣ jɪ duzd peðɔ suð-dʒɪ]*  
 down.in 1PL orchard one thief find become(PST)-PRF  
 a thief has appeared in our orchard.' (Long Fairy Tale 15.2)

- (66) *kuɕɪɕ kɪ [jɪdɪ tʊ jɪ xujnəni ɣɪðə=ra]*  
 effort do(IMP) COMP 2S one Shughni boy=DAT

tʃər            kɪ]  
 husband      do(IMP)  
 'Try to marry a Shughni boy.'

Speech clauses, which are a type of complement clause, optionally use this particle. The use of the particle is illustrated in the following examples. In (68) there are two speech clauses, the first marked with *ɪdr* and the second without it. The first clause may be more indirect, as evidenced by the words *ar tsənd*, 'however much,' which signify that the narrator is reporting the gist of what was said over some time rather than direct words at a particular moment. The second clause quotes the speaker directly. Both of these methods are rhetorical devices to deal with reported speech in a story.

(67) *dr*                                  *nan*    *peçts-tʃ*                  [*ɪdr*    *tʃiz*    *gap*    *sut*    ?]  
 3SG.M.NN.MD                  mother ask(PST)-PRF    **COMP**    thing    news    become(PST).m  
 'His mom asks what happened.' (Long Fairy Tale, 63)

(68) *dað*                                  *wazir-en*                  *mis*    *ar*                  *tsənd=en*                  *tʃuj-dʒ*                  [*ɪdr*  
 3PL.NOM.MD                  advisor-3PL                  also    every    many = 3PL    do.PST-PRF                  **COMP**  
 'And however much the king's advisors said,

*tu=nd*                  *dalil*    *nist]*  
 2s = dat                  reason    NEG.COP(PRS)  
 "You have no reason,"

*ləv-dʒ=ɪ*    [*naj*    *wuz*    *ta*    *ba*    *tanɔ-ji*                  *sam.*]  
 say-PRF = 3S no                  1s                  CERT    by                  alone-ADVZ                  go  
 'he said, "No, I'm going alone.'" (Long Fairy Tale, 75.1-75.3)

Another type of complement clause that uses the particle *ɪdr* is one which expresses intensity. The intensifier *dɪs* is used with the particle, followed by the phrase *atʃaθ na-bɔft* 'it doesn't work at all', and this is an idiomatic way of expressing intensity.

(69) *dɪs*    *lap*                  *mardom*                  [*ɪdr*    *atʃ-aθ*                  *na-bɔft.*]  
 so    many    people                  **COMP**    none-ADVZ                  NEG-work  
 'So many people that you wouldn't believe.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 30)

The expression *ɪdr atʃ-aθ na-bɔft* has become so lexicalized as an expression of intensity that the phrase *atʃ-aθ na-bɔft* can be dropped, leaving *ɪdr* dangling at the end of a clause to express intensity in the same way that the entire phrase would. This is the case in the following:

(70) *dɪga*                  *dɪs*                  *xaɸa*    *sat*                                  [*ɪdr*    ...]  
 again                  so                  upset    become(PST).F                  **COMP**  
 'And she got so upset.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 45.1)

A second function of the particle is as a relativizer, marking a dependent clause that modifies a noun phrase. In the following example *ɪdɪ* marks a clause that describes the noun ‘talk’ (or ‘information’).

- (71) *jat jiw-ɪ gap xU=ɪd zɪ [ɪdɪ*  
 and one talk REFL=DAT take(IMP) REL  
 'And obtain a little information for yourself that'
- zɪbɔ=ra tu-rd ba darð xir-t.]*  
 behind=DAT 2S=DAT by pain eat(NP)-3s  
 'in the end will be useful to you.'

The particle is often used in relative clauses that also contain the particle *tsa*. See discussion and examples of this in section 5.3.

### 5.3 The particle *tsa*

Like the particle *ɪdɪ*, the particle *tsa* is a dependent clause marker. While it always marks a subordinate clause (and will thus be glossed as SUBR ‘subordinator’ in this paper), the type of subordination is contextually determined. Some contexts in which the particle occurs are in if/when clauses, in some relative clauses (and especially those with pronouns such as whenever/wherever/whoever), and in some relative and complement clauses that are also marked by *ɪdɪ*. In most instances, the particle is placed immediately before finite verbs in a dependent clause.

One function of *tsa* is to mark an if-clause or a when-clause, putting the clause in the irrealis mood. The use of this particle in this way is demonstrated by the following examples:

- (72) [*maʃ tsa niyɔj-ɪ ɔrɔm vi-ʃɪ*  
 1PL SUBR listen(NP)-2SG calm COP(SBJ)-2S  
 'If you agree with us, you will have a comfortable life.' (Don't Marry As You Wish, 34.1, 2)

- (73) *arɔ xU [wuz ta ʃɪtʃ mɪ gap*  
 hm and 1S.NOM CERT now 3SG.PX.NN talk

*tar pɔdɕɔ tsa na-fɾɛp-um...]*  
 over.to king SUBR NEG-deliver-1S

*mu ta pɔdɕɔ zin-t*  
 1SG.NN CERT king kill.PRS-3S

“‘Look here, if I don't deliver this news to the king...the king will kill me.’” (Long Fairy Tale, 12.3, 12.5)

The clause may optionally include the word *aga*, ‘if’, as in the following.

- (74) *ata lød=um [aga wuz tsa mar-um]*  
 and say.PST=1SG.NOM if 1SG.NOM SUBR die.PRS-1SG  
 'And I said that if I die,  
*bojad xu tʃor palɪ-jand wuz dafin sa-m*  
 must REFL husband side-LOC 1SG.NOM bury become(NP)-1S  
 I must be buried beside my husband.' (68.5,6)

Similarly, the clause may optionally contain the word *waxti*, ‘when.’

- (75) [*waxt-i garða xi tsa jad-am,*]  
 when-EZ food eat(INF) SUBR come(NP)-1PL  
 ‘When we come to eat food,

*xo ʔust-en awal zinɟ-am soʔbun at ʃats qatr*  
 REFL hand-pl first wash(NP)-1PL soap and water with  
 we first wash our hands with soap and water.’ (Health Lesson 4b,c)

Another function of *tsa* is to mark a relative clause that modifies a pronoun such as whatever, whenever, or wherever. In Shughni these words are formed by the addition of *ar* ‘every’ as a preposition to the interrogative pronouns. The phrases *ar tsənd* ‘however much’ and *ar tʃiz* ‘whatever’ are used in the following two examples. Since the examples are in past tense, the result is a backgrounded action.

- (76) *di nan [ar tsənd=i tsa ləv-dʒ]*  
 3SG.M.NN.MD mother every much=3S SUBR say-PRF

*[nəj tu ʃitʃ ma-sa] ... ]*  
 no you now INEG-go(IMP)

*ləv-dʒ=i [nəj mu-nd=en mu vɪrɔd-ar]*  
 say-PRF=3SG.NOM no 1S-LOC=3PL.NOM 1S brother-pl

*az bajn tɔjd*  
 from within go.PST.PL

*nur ta ʃitʃ wuz sam]*  
 today CERT now 1s go(NP)1S

‘However much his mother said “No, don't go now...” He said, “No, my brothers died (and) now today I'm going.”’ (Long Fairy Tale, 65.1, 2, 69.1, 2)

(77) *xu*     *[ar*     *tʃiz-at*             *dam-ard*                     *tsa*     *lød]*     *dam = and*  
 and     every     thing-2S             3SG.F.NN.MD-DAT             SUBR     say(PST) 3SG.F.NN.MD = LOC

*dam*             *juçk-en-en*             *dɪ = tɪ*                     *tɔjd*             *ameça*  
 3SG.F.NN.MD     tear-PL-3PL             3SG.M.NN.MD = SUPERS     go(PST).PL             always  
 ‘No matter what you said to her, her tears were always flowing.’ (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 50.1, 2)

Note that (76), like (68) in the previous section, uses *ar tsənd* ‘however much’ as a backgrounding device, followed by a backgrounded speech clause. While *ɪdɪ* was used in (76) to mark the complement speech clause, *tsa* is used as a relative speech clause here.

In relative clauses with *tsa*, tense determines whether the clause is irrealis or not. In past tense, as seen in the previous two examples, the relative clause could be a backgrounding device. Another function of these clauses in the past tense is to simply identify the participant, as in the following:

(78) *[ar*             *tʃɪ-nd*             *wɪ*                     *nubat*     *tsa*             *vud]*  
 every             who-DAT             3SG.M.MOM.D     turn             SUBR     COP(PST).M  
 ‘And whoever’s turn it was,  
*ju*             *utɔq*     *darun*     *red*  
 3SG.M.NN.D barrack inside     be.left(PST)  
 he would be left in the barracks.’

In the next two examples, the words ‘anything,’ ‘anywhere,’ ‘however much,’ and ‘any kind’ occur together with *tsa*, but this time the relative clause is in a future irrealis sense.

(79) *[ar*     *tʃiz*     *tʊ*             *tsa*     *pɪndz-ɪ]*  
 any thing     2s             SUBR     wear(NP)-2SG  
 ‘Anything you wear, ’

*[ar*     *dʒɔ*             *tsa*             *saw-ɪ]*  
 any place     SUBR     go(NP)-2SG  
 ‘Anywhere you go,’

*[ar*     *tsənd*     *dars*             *tsa*             *çɔj-ɪ]*  
 any much     lessons     SUBR     read(NP)-2SG  
 ‘any learning you do, ’

*[ar*     *tsənd*     *kɔr*             *tsa*             *kɪn-ɪ]*  
 any much     work     SUBR     do(NP)-2SG  
 ‘however much work you do,’



[ar raqam kər tsa kin-ɪ]  
 any kind work SUBR do(NP)-2SG  
 ‘any kind of work you do,’

wað=en tu qatɪ rɔzi at xuf=en  
 3pl.nom.dist=3pl 2s with pleased and happy=3pl.nom  
 ‘they are pleased and happy with you.’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 49)

(80) varðɪ-ji [ar raqam tu xuf tsa vi-d]  
 be.able.np-2s any kind 2s choice SUBR COP(SBJ)-3S

tu zɪndagɪ kɪ  
 2s live do(IMP)  
 ‘You can live in whatever way you choose (lit. ‘whatever your choice may be’).’  
 (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 23.1, 2)

In the example below, the participant (the boy) is named in the second clause, and then described in the following two relative clauses, which use *tsa* and the copula. In this case, the copula is in the subjunctive and the sense is irrealis.

(81) tu varð-ɪ [jɪdɪ  
 2sg be.able(NP)-2S COMP  
 ‘You can (take)’

ji baʃand yuða [jɪdɪ  
 one good boy REL  
 ‘a good boy,’

[az maʃ qawm tsa vi-d]  
 from1PL tribe SUBR COP(SBJ)-3S  
 ‘who is from our tribe,’

[az maʃ mardom tsa vi-d]]]  
 from1PL people SUBR COP(SBJ)-3S  
 ‘who is from our people,’

tu wɪ-rd tʃər kɪ

2S 3SG.M.NN.D-DAT husband do(IMP)  
 ‘you marry him.’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 15)

In stative or non-finite verbal relative clauses, the placement of *tsa* deviates from the norm. In these instances, the marker occurs at the end of the clause. Examples (82) and (83) show the contrast in meaning between these subordinate clauses and a regular stative clause. The subordinate clause marker at the end of the clause requires additional information to follow.

(82) *wuz = um* [ *tu nan tsa* ]  
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.NOM 2S.NN mother SUBR  
 ‘I, who am your mother--’ (Don’t Marry as you Wish, 14.1)

(83) *wuz = um* *tu nan*  
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.NOM 2S.NN mother  
 ‘I am your mother.’

The next example shows how the particle can be placed at the end of a clause with a non-finite verb (but again, more information is expected in following clauses).

(84) *xub a rizin dʒon tu = t [ɪk = dɪ yuða = jard*  
 well hey daughter dear 2S = 2S EMP = 3S.MD boy = DAT  
 ‘Well, dear daughter, this boy that you’re

*tʃɔr tʃɪ-tʃɪd tsa*  
 husband PROSP-do.INF SUBR  
 about to marry—’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish 1)

As noted in section 5.2, the particle *ɪdɪ* may be used along with the particle *tsa*. This is illustrated in the following examples. In (85) *ɪdɪ* marks a complement clause that is effectively backgrounded in the narrative. In (86) it marks a relative clause.

(85) *at jɪ maʃ = am xabar nɪst*  
 and one 1PL = 1PL.NOM aware NEG.COP(NP)  
 ‘But not one of us is aware’

[ *ɪdɪ dɪ = jen tsa zið-dʒ ar-ed* ]  
 COMP 3SG.M.NN.MD = 3PL SUBR kill(PST)-PRF down.in-MD.LOC  
 ‘that they’ve killed him there.’

(86) *ɔxɪr-ard jɪ sar dzulɪk yuða [ɪdɪ*  
 end-DAT one most small.M boy REL

'Finally the youngest boy,

<i>wam</i>	<i>pari-zɔd</i>	<i>puts</i>	<i>tsa</i>	<i>vuð-dʒ]</i>	<i>lɔv-dʒ = ɪ</i>
3SG.F.NN.D	fairy-born	son	<b>SUBR</b>	COP(PST)-PRF	say-PRF = 3SG

the one that was fairy-born, said,' (Long Fairy Tale, 15.1)

#### 5.4 *The particle ta*

*Ta* is a particle that is used in non-past clauses. Native intuition suggests that it marks future tense (see Haidari 2014 pg. 87), but context shows that the reality is more complex than this, as many future clauses do not use the particle. A full exploration of the function of the particle is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a few examples will be given here, and two possible functions explored: first, the function of marking a habitual action, and secondly, the function of marking certainty.

Actions that happened habitually but stopped at some point in the past use regular past tense verbs with no special marking. However, habitual action in present tense is marked by the particle *ta*.

(87) *tʃɔj ta birez-am*  
 tea **HAB** drink(NP)-1PL

<i>xu</i>	<i>kɔr</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>fɪru</i>	<i>kɪn-am</i>
REFL	work	<b>HAB</b>	begin	do(NP)-1PL

'We drink tea and begin work.' (Our Daily Schedule in Minnesota 1.2, 1.3)

The particle *ta* also occurs in some (but not all) present and future clauses in a non-habitual sense. In the following two examples, the clauses are nearly identical. Context suggests that the particle *ta* may indicate certainty (or a more emphatic utterance) in (88), in which the speaker repeats his previous proposal with more insistence.

(88) *lɔv-dʒ-ɪ wuz sam ba tanɔ-ji*  
 say-PRF-3S 1S.NOM go(NP)-1S by alone-ADVZ  
 'He said, "I'm going alone."' (Long Fairy Tale 74)

(89) *lɔv-dʒ-ɪ naj wuz ta ba tanɔ-ji sam*  
 say3-PRF-3S no 1S.NOM **CERT** by alone-ADVZ go(NP)-1S  
 'He said, "No, I'm going alone."' (Long Fairy Tale 75.3)

In this next example, the function of *ta* is harder to discern. All three clauses are in present time and show an ongoing, habitual action; however, the particle is only present in the final clause in which the actor switches. This may still be marking a habitual action, or it could be signaling a third function of *ta* that has to do with contrast or focus. More research is needed.

- (90) *wað*            *jɔð*            *andʒ-en*  
 3PL.NOM.D    memory            grasp(NP)-3pl  
 'They're learning  
*am*   *tadʒrɪba*            *z-en*  
 also   experience            take(NP)-3pl  
 and also getting experience
- at*    *tu*        **ta**        *ʃɪtʃ*        *pɪ*        *mu-nd-ɪ*                    *nɪθ-ɪ*  
 and    2S        **HAB**        now        up.to        1SG.NN-LOC-2SG                    sit(NP)-2SG  
 and you're just sitting here with me.' (Long Fairy Tale 26.1, 26.2)

## 6. Additives

### 6.1 *Additive clitic = ga*

*Ga* is a clitic that attaches to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and numerals. As an additive, it carries meanings such as 'more,' 'another,' 'other,' or 'also'.

Attached to the numeral 'one,' the basic sense is 'another' or 'other'.

- (91) *dɪga=ʃɪ*    *ʃɪ*        *nəl*        *tʃud*    *xɔ*        *mið=ɪ*  
 so = 3S        one        end        do(PST) REFL    waist = SUPERS  
 'So she put one end around her own waist

*ata* *ʃɪ=ga=ʃɪ*        *tʃud*    *wɪ*                    *mið=ɪ*  
 and   one = **ADD** = 3S   do(PST) 3.M.DIST.NN    waist = SUPERS  
 and the other around his (the troll's) waist.' (Scaredycat, 13a, b)

- (92) *ʃɪd*                            *ʃɪ=ga*                    *viɾɔd*    *lap*        *qin*        *səd*  
 3SG.NOM.MD                    one = **ADD**                    brother very    sad        become(NP).3S  
 'The other brother gets really sad.' (Long Fairy Tale, 39)

In the next example, the clitic attaches not to the numeral but to the word *ruz* 'day'. The meaning (together with the preceding numeral) is 'another'.

- (93) *ʃɪ*    *ruz=ga=ʃɪ*    *ʃɪ*        *tʃaɕ*    *zɔɕt*    *xɔ*        *tɔjd*.  
 one   day = **ADD** = 3S   one        hen        take(PST)            and        leave.PST.F  
 'On another day, she took a hen and left.' (Scaredycat, 7a, b)

Attached to the adverb *ʃɪlav* 'some' the clitic carries the sense of 'more.'

- (94) *at jilav=ga xεç at par=ı viruç-tf*  
 and some=ADD branch and leaf=3SG.NOM break(PST)-PRF  
 'And he broke some more branches and leaves.' (Long Fairytale 11.2)

The clitic can also attach to the adverb 'then' and in that sense means 'again' as in the following:

- (95) *vç=ga=jı jıd mu xçla jeltfı-zan*  
 then=ADD=3S 3S.NOM.MD 1S.NN aunt pasture-woman

*az dı peçts-t*  
 from 3S.M.NN.MD ask(PST)-3S

'Again, my aunt, the pasture-woman, asked of him.' (An Interesting Story from my Life, 12)

Attached to a noun, the clitic carries the sense of 'other' or 'else' as in the following examples.

- (96) *jata dam=and atf=aθ ılçdç=ga fıtf nıst*  
 and 3SG.F.NN.MD-LOC none-ADVZ treatment=ADD now NEG.COP(NP)  
 'And now there is no other treatment for her.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 66.2)

- (97) *jıd albat kudøm gap=ga vı-d*  
 3SG.NOM.MD surely some news=ADD COP(SBJ)-3SG  
 'Surely this is some other matter.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 38.1)

- (98) *at na=jam varðçd jı tfız dam-ard=ga*  
 and nor=1PL.NOM be.able(PST) one thing 3SG.F.NN.MD-DAT=ADD

*kın-am*  
 do(NP)-1PL

'Nor was there anything else we were able to do for her.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 80.2)

In some cases, the clitic acts on the clause level rather than phrase level, in which case the meaning is 'also' or 'what's more'. In the next example, the *ga* on *çımdç* 'snow' means 'more' (since snow had been mentioned earlier too) but the *ga* attached to *çıl* 'year' is operating on the clause level, carrying the sense of 'also.'

- (99) *at ık=dıs çımdç=ga ık=wam çıl=ga vud ıdı*  
 and EMP=so.much snow=ADD EMP=3SG.F.NN.D year=ADD be COMP  
 'And there was also so much more snow that year.' (My Father-in-Law's Death, 74.1)

Similarly, in example (100) even though the clitic is attached to the word 'egg' it is operating on the clause level in the sense of 'also' (rather than 'another').

(100) *at Tarsu waxt-aθ jɪ bandak zamin-and gər tʃuj-dʒ*  
 and PN time-ADVZ one cord ground-DAT bury do(PST)-PRF  
 ‘And Scaredycat had beforehand buried a cord

*at jɪ tarmury=ɪ=ga ɔɔθ-dʒ tar xɔ zuj*  
 and one egg=3S=ADD hit(pst)-prf across.to REFL sleeve  
 and also put an egg in his sleeve.’ (Scaredycat, 33a)

Sometimes the function of *=ga* appears to be the same as the additive adverb *mis* (see section 6.2) when it is used in a parallel sense. In the next example, the troll escapes and the action of the fox, being dragged after the troll, is compared to the troll’s escape in a parallel sense (and is translated ‘also’).

(101) *bad dɪga jɪd rɪtsust*  
 then so 3S.N escape.PST  
 ‘So then he escaped,

*at jɪd rəptsak=ga pɪs dɪ-jaθ kɪrɛʧtsak səd.*  
 and 3S.N fox=ADD after 3.s.NN-ADVZ sliding go.3S  
 and the fox also goes sliding after him.’ (Scaredycat 18a,b)

It is also noteworthy that *=ga* and *mis* can be used together in the same clause (see section 6). Additionally, the clitic can stack with other clitics or suffixes. It appears after the adverbial suffix *-aθ* (see example (111)) but closer to the root than the personal clitics (see example ((91))).

## 6.2 Additive Adjective *mis*

This additive adverb appears after a noun phrase but before the verb (or non-verbal predicate) in a clause. It seems to be used in each of the three ways mentioned by Levinsohn (2002): to show parallelism, confirmation, and concession.

### 6.2.1 *Mis* as Parallelism

The following is an example of parallelism. In the text, the narrator recounts an incident in his life where he saw hallucinations after drinking a drugged cup of tea. In this example the ‘many other things’ coming into his view are compared to items previously mentioned that have already come into his view.

(102) *qaldʒat: wurdʒ, rəpts-ak, maj, mɪjɪdʒ, vaz, butʃak, zarɪdʒ,*  
 example: wolf fox-DIM ram ewe goat.F goat.M partridge

*tsɪtʊ, divusk, at fana tʃɪz-ɪ dɪga*  
 bird snake and many thing-EZ other

*mis mu dar nazar jat*

**also** 1S.NN in opinion come(PST)

‘For example: wolf, fox, ram, ewe, male goat, female goat, partridge, bird, snake and many other things also came into my view.’ (Interesting Story 27c)

In the next example of parallelism, subjects (Asad and Nargis) are compared, and the point of comparison is the manner in which they accept each other for marriage. *Mis* is used in an adverbial sense as it modifies the verb *qabul* ‘accept’ and the verb *andžam* ‘I take’.

(103) *bad=ɪ Nargis az Asad ləvdʒ:* “*wuz ta tu=rd tʃɔr=um*”  
 then = 3S Nargis.PN from Asad.PN said: 1S.N CERT 2S = DAT husband = 1S  
 ‘Then Nargis said to Asad: “I will marry you.”’

*Asad=ɪ mis qabul tʃuj-dʒ xu ləv-dʒ=ɪ:*  
 PN = 3S **also** accept do(PST)-PRF and say(PST)-PRF = 3S  
 ‘Asad also accepted and said:’

“*wuz ta mis tu andž=am*”  
 1S CERT **also** 2S take(NP) = 1S  
 ‘I will also take you (as my wife)’. (Listen to Your Elders, 4a-5c)

In the next example, the addressee is being compared with the speaker. The speaker says he brings the hens from Scaredycat’s place, and adds that if it *also* pleases the speaker, he would take him along next time he goes. Again, the two participants are being compared and the point of comparison is their desire to go on the trip. The additive is used twice, once in the narrative clause and once in the speech clause.

(104) *wuz ta az Tarsu dʒɔj mev va-m.*  
 1S.N CERT from Scaredycat place 3PL.NN.PX bring(NP)-1S  
 ‘I bring them from Scaredycat’s place.’

*tu=rd mis tsa fɔrt, tu mis jɔs=um xɔ qatr.*  
 2S = DAT **also** SUBR please 2s **also** take = 1s REFL with  
 ‘If it also pleases you, I will also take you with me [next time I go to Scaredycat’s house].’  
 (Scaredycat 9b-10)

This parallelism is repeated a few clauses later, in which the same participants are compared, but this time the point of comparison is inclusion in a trip:

(105) *ar waxt tsa saw=ɪ, mu mis xabar kɪ.*  
 every time SUBR go = 2S 1S.NN **also** inform do(IMP)  
 ‘Whenever you go, let me know too.’ (Scaredycat 11d)

In the next example the use of parallelism could be what Blass (in Levinsohn 2002) calls ‘parallel premises’—two pieces of evidence that together support a point—in this case, the historicity of the travels of Shah Ziayi, a legendary figure.

- (106) *diga fitf nala az qablan divi pi-bir wi qabir*  
 so now QUOT from before door up-under 3S.NN grave  
 ‘So now they say from before, under the door is his grave’
- at dev ðu bait=i mis rauzan burdʒ=tɪ nivɪf-tʃ*  
 and 3PL.NN.M two line=3S also shrine pillar=SUPESS write.PRF  
 ‘and these two verses are also written on the pillar of the shrine.’ (Shah Ziayi 28 a-c)

### 6.2.2 *mis* as Confirmation

The second use of an additive as described by Levinson is confirmation. In this use, the added information comes as confirmation of the first information, adding greater force to a statement already made. In English, this use of *mis* would be expressed as ‘even’. See the following example, in which the second statement (that his family would fight with him) adds force to the first statement (that his teacher would beat him):

- (107) *ar meθ=i wi oxon*  
 every day=3S 3S.NN.DIST teacher  
 ‘Every day, his teacher,
- wi dars nɔ-fam-tɔw-aven wi çiv-dʒ ðɔð-dʒ*  
 3S.NN.DIST lesson NEG-know-INF-CAUS 3S.NN.DIST beat(PST)-PRF hit(PST)-PRF  
 because of his not knowing his lesson, would beat him,
- pi tfid mis tsa jaθ-tʃ*  
 up.to house even SUBR come(PST)-PRF  
 and even when he came up to his house
- wi tfid-dʒamat-en wi qatr ðed tfuj-dʒ*  
 3S.NN.DIST house-gathering-PL 3S.NN.DIST with fight do(PST)-PRF  
 his family would fight with him.’ (Shah Ziyayi 2a-c)

It seems that this is a confirmation involving the least likely possibility as Levinson (2002, 174) describes. The house should be a place of safety; but even when he would go there, his household would fight with him.

Similarly, the following example also illustrates confirmation involving the least likely scenario. It is not likely that a horse’s hoofprints would be visible in the stone after so many years; but they are visible even now. The point of comparison is, by implication, past time and present time. The present



time is highlighted by the emphatic particle *ik* and its use along with *mis* serves to highlight the weight of the idea that the hoof prints could still be visible. In this instance, the predicate is non-verbal, so *mis* is modifying the adjective *ot* ‘clear’.

- (108) *fo zijaɪ ik = wam tax = ti xuðm tsa win-tʃ*  
 Shah Ziyayi EMP = 3F.DIST rock = SUPRESS sleep SUBR see(PST)-PRF  
 ‘Shah Ziyayi on the very rock on which he dreamed,  
*wɪ vɔrdʒ sumb dʒɔj ɣal ik = ʃɪtʃ mis ot*  
 3S horse hoof place still EMP = now even clear  
 his horse’s hoof prints are still clear even now.’ (Shah Ziyayi 30a)

### 6.2.3 *mis* as a Concessive

The third way in which *mis* is used is the concessive use, which would be expressed in English as ‘although...still’. The following example shows this use:

- (109) *jɪd ɟats mis lap ʃɪtɔ vud*  
 3S.MED.N water although very cold COP(PST).M  
 ‘Although the water was very cold,  
*ata atf = aθ = ɪ tɔsɪr mu = tɪr na-tʃud*  
 and none = ADVZ = 3S effect 1S.NN = SUPRESS NEG-do.PST  
 still it had no effect on me.’ (Interesting Story 46a,b)

The use of *mis* here highlights the unexpected; cold water should have an effect on a person, but even so, it had no effect on the drugged character in the story. Note that *mis* comes in the first of the coordinated clauses.

Sometimes, however, *mis* appears in both clauses, as in the following example:

- (110) *dað mu tʃaɟ-en-en mis tʃɪ- na-red*  
 MED.3PL.NOM 1S.NN chicken-PL-3PL although INC-NEG-left  
 ‘Although those chickens of mine are nearly gone,  
*ata jɪd rɔptsak = ɪ ðew = ga mis vud.*  
 AND 3S.MED fox = 3S troll = ADD even bring.PST  
 this fox has even brought a troll!’ (Scaredycat 15c-d)

The concessive use of *mis* here seems to highlight the unfairness of the situation. The fox had been stealing Scaredycat’s chickens until they were almost gone; but as if this was not enough, he even brought a troll (in addition to himself). *mis* modifies the verb phrases of both clauses, carrying the sense of ‘although’ in the first clause and ‘even’ in the second.

The next example is similar in its concessive use of *mis*:

- (111) *tʃɪ-zid=at*                      *mis*                      *mu*                      *sat*  
 INC-kill = 2S                      **although**                      1S.NN                      go(PST).F  
 ‘Although you were about to kill me,
- at*    *yal-aθ=ga*                      *mis*                      *ʃand=ɪ*  
 and still-ADVZ = ADD                      **even**                      laugh = 2S  
 even still you are laughing.’ (Scaredycat 21c, d)

Again, this example features a double use of *mis* that illustrates the concessive use of the additive; and again it highlights the irony of the situation. Murderers should not be laughing, but even so the fox *was* laughing.

Note also the additive clitic *=ga* attached to the noun ‘troll’ in example (110) and the adverb ‘still’ in (111). This clitic was discussed in the section on clitics and it carries the sense of ‘more’ or ‘in addition to’; here, it is noteworthy that it can be used together with *mis*. When attached to the adverb ‘still’ it seems to add force to the concessive, through triple-marking (*yal*, *=ga*, and *mis*). Another way to translate it in this sense would be ‘what’s more’.

## 7. Questions

### 7.1 Polar Questions

#### 7.1.1 Polar Question Suffix

Shughni uses an interrogative suffix, *-ɔ* (phonologically realized as *-ɔ* after a consonant), to form questions that require a yes or no response.

- (112) *wazifa*                      *tu-nd*                      *jast-ɔ?*  
 job                      2S-LOC COP(PRS)-PQ  
 ‘Do you have a job?’ (HS.SJ.201013)
- (113) *tu*                      *ʃamil*                      *reza*                      *tu-t*                      *ar-ed*                      *tsa*                      *jaθ-tʃ-ɔ?*  
 2S                      family                      pleased 2S-2S                      down.in-MED.LOC                      SUBR                      come.PST-PRF-PQ  
 ‘Is your family pleased that you have come here?’ (HS)

While the interrogative suffix typically occurs at the end of the interrogative clause, it may also come in the middle of a complex question clause. In contrast to the previous example, the following clause puts the interrogative particle after the verb of the matrix clause rather than after the complement clause at the end of the sentence.

- (114) *xuʃ-en-ɔ*                      *tu-t*                      *xojnen*                      *tsa*                      *jaθ-tʃ?*  
 happy-3PL-PQ                      2S-2S                      Shughnan                      SUBR                      come.PST-PRF  
 ‘Are they happy that you have come to Shughnan?’

The interrogative particle can occur with either a positive or negated verb, depending on the nuance of the question. Generally, a positive verb indicates a request for information (as in the three previous examples). A question clause with a negated verb has other functions such as invitation (as in (115)) or criticism (as in (116)).

- (115) *pr jɔts na-niθ-i-jɔ?*  
 up.to fire NEG-sit(NP)-2S-PQ  
 ‘Won’t you sit by the fire?’ (Badakhshani Girl, pg. 2)
- (116) *ruyan-at na-win-tf tɔθtf bajn-and-ɔ?*  
 oil-2S NEG-see(PST)-PRF bowl in-LOC-PQ  
 ‘Didn’t you see the oil in the bowl?’ (Badakhshani Girl)

Of note is that strong invitations are generally expressed with a positive imperative; an invitation expressed as a negated question such as in (115) is an expression of politeness but may not carry the same illocutionary force.

### 7.1.2 Periphrastic Construction and Polar Question Particle *ɔjɔ*

Another way to form polar questions is to omit the interrogative suffix but add the periphrastic construction *jɔ naj*, ‘or not,’ after the utterance. The question may optionally be preceded by the interrogative particle *ɔjɔ*, a Dari loan which also signals a polar question.

- (117) *win-tf-en wɪ jɔ naj?*  
 see(PST)-PRF-3PL 3PL.NN.DIST or no  
 ‘Did they see him or not?’ (Badakhshani Girl, pg. 30)
- (118) *ɔjɔ tu dɪl jast arusi tfid-ɔw jɔ naj?*  
 PQ 2S heart COP(PRS) bride do(INF)-INF or no  
 ‘Do you want to get married or not?’ (HS.N)
- (119) *ɔjɔ tu-rd mis xuf jaθ-tf jɔ naj?*  
 PQ 2S-DAT also happy come(PST)-PRF or no  
 ‘Do you also like it or not?’ (HS)

### 7.1.3 Tag Questions formed with a Double Negative Particle

Another type of polar question is formed through the occurrence of the negative prefix *na* as a tag after a negated verb. This tag communicates a need for confirmation of the statement made in the utterance.

- (120) *ka-dʒa-jum vuð-dʒ, na-fam-i na?*  
 where-LOC2-1S be(PST)-PRF NEG-know(NP)-2S NEG  
 ‘You know where I was, don’t you?’ (Badakhshani Girl, pg. 4)

Another form of the tag question is the contraction of the negated present copula *nist* with the negative particle *na* at the end of the sentence, as shown in the following example:

- (121) *aga na-niyøj-ɪ*                      *tu*      *dɪl*                      *nɪs-na*  
 if    NEG-listen(NP)-2S              2s      heart                      NEG.COP(PRS)-NEG  
 ‘If you don’t listen, then whatever you want. Right?’ (Don’t Marry As You Wish, 62)

#### 7.1.4 Tag Questions formed with a Single Negative Particle

Rhetorical questions are formed with a single use of the negative particle *na* at the end of a non-negated verb clause. The expected answer is negative.

- (122) *pr*                      *xɔʃdara*                      *ta*      *tam*      *ji*      *tʃaj*      *xɔ*      *ziriɔt*  
 up.in                      xɔʃdara.PN                      CERT      then      one      who      REFL      children  
  
*ðid*                      *na?*  
 give.PRES      NEG  
 ‘Up to Khoshdara, who would give their child?’ (nobody!) (Badakhshani Girl, pg. 8)

#### 7.1.5 Summary of Polar Questions

Polar questions can be very nuanced and context-dependent in their meaning. To verify the data presented thus far, three language informants were given a scenario with six possible responses. Informants were asked to interpret each of the responses. In the scenario, a young man is in love with a young woman and is considering asking for her hand in marriage. Before doing so, he talks to his friend, who asks about the likeliness of her parents giving the girl. Each of the friend’s possible questions and interpretations of these responses are presented below.

- (123) *wað*                      *ta*                      *wam*                      *ð-en-ɔ?*  
 3PL.NOM.D    CERT    3SF.NN.D                      give(NP)-3PL-PQ  
 ‘Will they give her?’

Illocution: a request for information. The speaker is ill-informed of the situation and unaware whether the girl’s parents will give her or not.

- (124) *wað*                      *ta*                      *wam*                      *na-ð-en-ɔ?*  
 3PL.NOM.D    CERT    3SF.NN.D                      NEG-give(NP)-3PL-PQ  
 ‘Won’t they give her?’

Illocution: encouragement/request for information. The speaker is unaware whether the girl’s parents will give her or not, but possibly more hopeful than in (118) and wanting to encourage his friend to pursue her.

- (125) *wað*        *ta*        *wam*        *ð-en*        *naj-na?*  
 3PL.NOM.D   CERT   3SF.NN.D        give(NP)-3PL   **no-NEG**

‘They’ll give her, right?’

Illocution: a request for confirmation. The speaker is certain but wanting his friend’s assurance.

- (126) *wað*        *ta*        *wam*        *na-ð-en*        *na?*  
 3PL.NOM.D   CERT   3SF.NN.D        **NEG-give(NP)-3PL**        **NEG**

‘They’ll give her, right?’

Illocution: a request for confirmation. The speaker is hopeful, but perhaps slightly less certain than in (125).

- (127) *wað*        *ta*        *wam*        *ð-en*        *na?*  
 3PL.NOM.D   CERT   3SF.NN.D        give(NP)-3PL   **NEG**

‘They would give her?!’

Illocution: an expression of doubt. The speaker is doubtful that the parents would give the girl and possibly expressing surprise.

- (128) *wað*        *ta*        *ɔjɔ*        *wam*        *ð-en*  
 3PL.NOM.D   CERT   **PQ**        3SF.NN.D        give(NP)-3PL

‘I wonder if they would give her!’

Illocution: an expression of doubt. The speaker thinks that the parents may or may not give the girl and is cautioning his friend.

Note that even in this elicitation, language informants had slightly different interpretations of some of the questions; in particular, one speaker interpreted (127) as an expression of confidence rather than doubt. All speakers agreed that (125) was the question that expresses most certainty. It is important to note that context, intonation, and non-linguistic cues all play into the interpretation, especially since Shughni is primarily an oral language with only a recent written tradition.

## 7.2 *Content Questions*

Content questions are formed with a variety of question words. The table below shows a non-exhaustive list of these, many of which combine with various case endings to form different meanings. Some common question phrases have a non-literal meaning, and these are listed in the third column below.

Table 5: Question Words

Locative Interrogative Pronoun	Variations with Case Endings	Idiomatic Variations
ka ‘where’	kad = and (where-LOC) ‘where/where from’ kad = ard (where-DAT) ‘where/where to’ ka = d3a (where-LOC2) ‘where/where to’	ka-tʃud/ka-tʃad (where-do(PST).M/where-do(PST).F) ‘Where did (he/she/it) go?’
<b>Interrogative Pronouns with <i>tʃ</i></b>		
tʃiz ‘what (thing)’ tʃir ‘what (action)’ tʃidom ‘which’ tʃiqj ‘who’ (nominative) tʃi ‘who’ (non-nominative)	tʃi = nd (who.NN-LOC) ‘whose (permanent possession)’ tʃi = d3a (who.NN-LOC2) ‘whose (temporary possession)’ tʃiz = ard (what-DAT) ‘why/what for’ tʃi = rd (who-DAT) ‘to whom’	
<b>Interrogative Pronouns with <i>tʃa/ts</i></b>		
tsawaxt ‘when (lit. what time)’ tsarang ‘how (lit. what color)’ tsənd ‘how many’ tsənd-ik ‘how much’	tsawaxt = ets (when-TERM) ‘until when’ tsarang-ad3 (how = ALL) ‘what kind/in what way’	tʃa-kin-i (what-DO(NP)-2S) ‘What’s it to you?’  tʃa-di ‘What happened?’

In a question, stress is always on the interrogative pronoun. Word order is the same as for that of declarative clauses, and content questions do not use any additional question marking; the interrogative pronouns are sufficient to show that the clause is a question.

Here are a few examples of some content questions:

- (129) *dað-en*                      *xu*      *rizin*                      ***tʃi-rd***                      *ðoð-d3*  
3PL.NOM.MD-3PL      REFL      daughter                      **who-DAT**                      give(PST)-PRF  
‘To whom have they given their daughter?’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 10.2)
- (130) *maʃ ta*      *diga*      *tar*      *mardom*                      *pits*      ***tsarang*** *tʃis-am*  
1PL CERT      again      over.in      people                      face      **how**      look(PRS)-1PL  
‘How will we face people then?’ (Don’t Marry as You Wish, 10.2)
- (131) *at*      *diga=jɪ*                                      *peçts-tʃ*                      *dam*                      *tu-rd*                      ***tsadɪ***  
and again=3SG.NOM                      ask.PST-PRF                      3SG.F.NN.MD      2SG-DAT                      **what.happened**  
‘Then he asked her, "What happened to you?"' (My Father-in-Law’s Death, 58)

## 8. Topics for Further Research

Since this paper is only a partial study of some topics in Shughni grammar, there are many areas of residue. There is evidence that Shughni has a case system, but it has not been explored in other literature. In this study, preliminary glosses of case endings were given, but the case system was not comprehensively explored. Likewise, nouns and noun phrases, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and clause structure were not presented.

In the topics that were presented, only a preliminary glance was given to the particles *tsa* and *ta* and they are not completely understood. More data and comprehensive research are needed to fully describe their function.

In the section on questions, no data about stress and intonation was presented, though these create important distinctions in meaning.

## 9. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to explore several topics in Shughni grammar. First of all, verbal morphology was explored with attention to both inflectional and derivational processes on verb roots. Next, markers of aspect and modality were presented. Four particles were identified with an attempt to describe their functions in Shughni clauses. Then the paper gave a detailed look at additives with reference to Lehvinson's research on additives (2002). Finally, various ways of forming questions were explored and the differences in meaning were identified. It is hoped that other researchers will build on the data presented in this paper and produce a fuller explanation of Shughni grammar. It is also hoped that the topics described in this paper will be of use to future language learners, linguists and translators.

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