

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN B

# SHUGHNI

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

The Shughni, or Shughnani, ethnic group, ethnonym *xuŷnī*, *xuŷnīnī*, populates the mountain valleys of the West Pamir. Administratively, the Shughni-speaking area is part of the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region (Tajik *Viloyati Mukhtori Kuhistoni Badakhshon*) of the Republic of Tajikistan, with its major center of Khorog, Taj. Khorogh (37° 30'N, 71° 31'E), and of the adjacent Badakhshan Province of Afghanistan.

In Tajikistan, the Shughn(an)i live along the right bank of the longitudinal stretch of the river Panj from (Zewar) Dasht in the North to Darmorakht in the south, as well as along the valleys of its eastern tributaries, the Ghund (*Gund*, Tajik *Gunt*) and the Shahdara (*Xāšdarā*), which meet at Khorog. They also constitute the major population group in the high mountain valley of Baju(w)dara (*Baǰū(v)darā*) to the north of Khorog. Small, compact groups are also found in central Tajikistan, including Khatlon, Romit, Kofarnikhon, and other regions.

In Afghanistan, the Shughn(an)i have also compact settlements, mainly on the left bank of the river Panj in Badakhshan Province. A sizeable Shughn(an)i-speaking community is also found in Kabul (cf. Nawata 1979) and in Faizabad, the capital of Afghan Badakhshan.

Linguistically, the Shughn(an)i language, endonym (*xuŷn(i)nī*), *xuŷn(i)nī ziv*, *xuŷnīnī ziv*), belongs to the Shughn(an)i-Rushani sub-group of the North Pamir languages. This group includes, in addition, Yazghulami as well as the now extinct Old Wanji in Tajikistan, relatively close to the former. These languages are genetically closely tied together, and it is quite possible to reconstruct the common North Pamir proto-language, defined by numerous shared innovations in historical phonetics and morphology, a task that has been undertaken by V. S. Sokolova (1967) and by D. (Joy) I. Edelman (1980, 1986, 1987, 1990, 2009). Altogether, the Pamir languages belong to the East Iranian branch of the Iranian language family (see Chapter 14a).

The Shughni-Rushani group itself consists of some seven members. Though varying in types and degree of relationships, four genetic sub-groups can be distinguished (see also 7 Dialectology):

- (1) Shughni, Bajuwi, and Barwozi;
- (2) Rushani with Khufi to the north;
- (3) Bartangi with Roshorvi to the north-east (widely known in its Kyrgyz form Oroshori);

(4) isolate Sarikoli spoken in the Xinjiang-Uygur province of China.

Specifically, the location of the members of the first group and their varieties of speech are as follows:

- (1) Shughni proper, spoken on the banks of the river Panj from Sokhcharv in the north to Darmorakht in the south, and in the provincial center Khorog;
- (2) the micro-dialect Bajuwī (*Bajūwī*) in the high Bajū(w)darā valley, with the micro-dialects of the villages of Bajū(w) and Bajū(w)-pastev north to Khorog;
- (3) the micro-dialects of Barwoz (*Barwoz*) in the highest part the Shahdara valley now confined to a few families and in the process of being replaced by the common variety;
- (4) in addition, there are the micro-dialects of the Ghund valley, and of the lower and upper villages of the Shahdara valley, specifically from Khorog to Tavdem, and from Tavdem to Jawshanghoz. The varieties in these two valleys are to a considerable degree due to the admixture of immigrant population from Rushan, Bartang, Roshorv, Sarez, and the Wakhan-speaking areas.

The speakers of Shughn(an)i consider themselves an ethnic minority in Tajikistan. The official statistics and the census record them simply as Tajiks of the Mountainous-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. The census of 1989 gave the following numbers for that region: total population 154, 554; Shughan district 48,806; the census of 1999 gave: Shughnan 37,574; Roshtqala 23,915; and Bajū(w) (which is included to Rushan region) 4,150; total 65,639; for the town of Khorog, ca. 21,000 and 25,557, respectively. By unofficial indirect estimate, the total number of the Shughn(an)i-speaking residents of historical Shughnan is ca. 80,000 and 100, 000.

Shughn(an)i is used mainly as a spoken language. As elsewhere in Tajikistan, Tajik is the official language. It is the only language that can be legally used for official purposes, and is mandatory in school, the mass media, etc. Accordingly, Tajik dominates even in verbal communication. For less formal purposes, however, oral communication may be conducted in the Shughn(an)i language.

In fact, Shughn(an)i serves as the de facto lingua franca for the entire Pamir linguistic area besides Tajik. In addition, a kind of regional Tajik vernacular has traditionally evolved in Badakhshan, which has at least three major inputs: It is based not only on the local dialects, and on the linguistic norms of official Soviet Tajik, which were formed not later than the 1980s and are now predominant in schools, but also on classical Farsi-Tajiki, which is popular in the region, as well as on contemporary Farsi and Dari norms.

## 1.2 Writing systems

Shughn(an)i, even today, is regarded as an oral language. However, in the 1930s an alphabet was developed based on Roman characters, soon after which several textbooks as well as a few works of fiction were published. For several years afterward, reading and writing instruction was conducted in Shughn(an)i in the elementary schools of the region. In the 1980s a new alphabet was created based on Cyrillic characters, with diacritics for specific Shughn(an)i phonemes (see Table 14a.1 in Chapter 14a).

## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Inventory and distribution

#### 2.1.1 Vowels

Vowels are characterized by qualitative and partly quantitative phonological oppositions:

TABLE 14b.1: SHUGHN(AN)I VOWELS

Qualitative Characteristics			Quantitative Characteristics			
	Front	Center	Back			
High	<i>ī</i>		<i>ū</i>	Long	<i>ī ē ê</i>	<i>ā</i> <i>ū ũ ō</i>
High Mid	<i>ē i</i>		<i>u ũ</i>	Short	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i> <i>u</i>
Mid	<i>ê</i>		<i>ō</i>			
Low	<i>a</i>		<i>ā</i>			

The three long phonemes *ū, ũ, ō* are opposed to the single short phoneme *u*, which has a wide range of phonetic variants [u, y, o, ɔ] corresponding in quality to the long three vowels. The same holds for long *ī, ē, ê* as opposed to the single *i* with variants [i, ɪ, e, ε, ɛ, ê]. The low vowels *a, ā* constitute a single pair. In general, long vowels are stable, and the degree of variation is rather low.

The phoneme *ũ*, moved forward compared to *ū*, is the result of, or may occur as a conditioned variant of the following: (1) long *ō* in prenasal position: *pōnd* > *pũnd* ‘road’; (2) *aw* in preconsonantal contraction: *sāw-d* > *sũ-d* ‘goes, is going’; (3) short *u* with compensatory lengthening and loss of pharyngeal: *muhlat* > *mũlat* ‘(granted) period’. In addition, *ũ* occurs in expressive vocabulary, as in the interrogative emotive particle *ũ*, and the interjection *ũx̣x̣a*.

The trend towards monophthongization is well developed, and affects inherited, old and recent loans, such as *nawbat* > *nowbat* > *nubat* ‘(one’s) turn’.

Similarly, the phoneme *ē* reflects the contraction of the diphthong *\*ai*: *sipēd* ‘white’. The phoneme *ê*, besides its occurrence in indigeneous words such as *nix̣ēb* ‘to make sleep’, reflects a further level of contraction, that of the diphthong *-ey*: *xeyr* > *xēr* ‘an emotional particle of surprise, also of endorsement’, and is also found in pre-uvular or pharyngeal position in loans: *tēy* ‘razor’.

Prenasal raising. In general, in most of the Shughni local dialects the long mid-high phonemes are raised before nasal to the next level of narrowness: *ê* > *ē* > *ī* and *ō* > *ũ* > *ū*: *\*divēn-* > *divēn-* ‘winnow’, *\*x̣ēn* > *x̣ūn* ‘blue’ and *\*nōm* > *nūm* ‘name’, *\*ỵūnj* > *ỵūnj* ‘hair’. Bajuwī and some Shughn(an)i micro-dialects, however, tend to retain the broader vowels: Sh. *mūn*, Bj. *mūn* ‘apple’. Nevertheless, vowels of one and the same word in Shughni and Bajuwī, while similar in their linguistic characteristics, may form different lexical variants.

Final *ī, i* and *ā, a*. (1) Long *ī* in final position is reduced to short *i*: *tūr* > *tī* ‘upwards, upper part’, *dī* > *di* ‘village’. (2a) Long *ā* in final pre-pausal position serves as an archiphoneme for both *a* and *ā*: *garḍa-y-um zoxt* ‘I took a flat bread’, but *garḍā* ‘flat bread’. (2b) In turn, short *a* may occur in final position as the result of truncation: *sāw* > *sa* ‘go!’, *a yidā* > *a ḍa* ‘address to a young man’.

## 2.1.2 Consonants

The system of Shughn(an)i consonants may be shown as follows:

TABLE 14b.2: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>		<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricates		<i>c</i> ( <i>ts</i> ) <i>j</i> ( <i>dz</i> )	<i>č</i> <i>ǰ</i>			
Fricatives	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>θ s</i> <i>ð z</i>	<i>š</i> <i>ž</i>	<i>χ</i> <i>ʁ</i>	<i>x</i> <i>ɣ</i>	<i>(h)</i>
Glides	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
Liquids		<i>r, l</i>				

2.1.2.1 Back-lingual *k g* and fronting

In Shughni proper the phonemes *k g* are always back-lingual. However, in the larger Shughn(an)i group, including Bajuwī, these two are palatalized to [k̟, g̟] under two conditions: before front vowels, and in final position after any vowel. In Bajuwī, pre-vocalic fronting occur in some other positions as well: *gāχt* [g̟āχt, ʃāχt] ‘appealed’, *kā* [k̟ā, čā] ‘where’.

2.1.2.2 Uvular *x ɣ* vs. velar *χ ʁ*

The uvular phonemes *x ɣ* are opposed to the velar pair *χ ʁ*. These are articulated with the back of the tongue raised high, while the remainder of the tongue remains flat, or its tip is lowered. Therefore, those sounds could be considered single-focus, or double-focus phonemes with pronounced front focus: *χac* ‘water’, *wōχ* ‘grass’.

2.1.2.3 Palatal *č ǰ* vs. dental *c j*

Among the affricates, the double-focus palatal pair *č ǰ* is opposed to the dental single-focus pair *c j*. The latter tends to soften, or lose, occlusion, and merge with *z*. In turn, the fricative *s* may be occluded to *c* after consonants: *wižafcl/s-* ‘to return’.

2.1.2.4 Labio-dental *v* vs. bilabial *w*

Labio-dental *v* is opposed to bilabial *w*. The latter is groove or slit depending on position. In word- or syllable-final position it appears as a semivowel resulting in phonetic diphthongs: *žōw* ‘cow’, *baǰū(w)* ‘Bajuw’.

2.1.2.5 Non-phonemic *h*

For Shughn(an)i, the absence of phonemic *h* is typical, although [h] occurs in recent loans from Tajik, and as an onset glide before initial vowel, alternating with [w] or [y]. This process thus contrasts with the truncation of final vowels or syllables mentioned above.

### 2.1.3 Consonant clusters

There are some positional alternations connected with historical processes or with the modern implementation of phonemes.

#### 2.1.3.1 Clusters and structural assimilation

In general, there are no initial clusters. Final clusters in loans which deviate from permitted indigenous clusters are assimilated by release vowels: *umr* > *umri* 'life', *naql* > *naqli* 'narration'.

#### 2.1.3.2 Metathesis

Further, metathesis of phonemes and syllables, which is distinctive for Iranian languages, particularly East Iranian, is an intriguing phenomenon in Shughni: *naḡq* < Tajik *naqš* 'ornament, ornamentation', *ġārx* 'wheel' < OIr. *caxra*.

#### 2.1.3.3 Voice assimilation

Consonants show voice assimilation: *bad-qār* > *bat-qār* 'angry', but *tūd-piḡt* > *tūd-biḡt* 'mulberry flour', *tūd-paj* > *tūd-baj* 'the season when mulberry is ripe'.

#### 2.1.3.4 Assimilation of *n*

The nasal *n* may have dental, palatal, and guttural varieties: *rang* [raŋg] 'color', *carang* [caraŋg] 'how'. Before palatalized [k̟, ɡ̟], *n* could occur as post-alveolar palatalized sound.

#### 2.1.3.5 $v > \delta, \theta > f$

In some words, *v* is changed to  $\delta$  due to noise intensification: *vδidirm* 'besom'. In turn, the voiceless non-strident fricative  $\theta$  may change to labial: Sh. *ḡirf* 'slippery', Barwozi *ḡirθ*, Sh. *ḡagarf* 'proper name' < *ḡagarθ* < *ḡagarδ* < *ḡogard* < Tajik *ḡogird* 'pupil'.

## 2.2 Non-segmental features

### 2.2.1 Word stress

- (1) Enclitics, including person markers, postfixes, postpositional *-i* (*izāfa*), are unstressed, or have no primary stress.
- (2) Otherwise, nominal stress is final, including final derivative suffixes.
- (3) Composite forms may have primary and secondary stress.
- (4) Similarly stress is on the final syllable of verbal stems, and always on the negative and prohibitive markers *na* and *mā*.

### 2.2.2 Phrasal stress

Word stress is rather weak and is subordinated to that of the sentence or clause. Parts of a syntagm are grouped around a word on which the phrase stress falls. Phrase stress is achieved by increasing the stress of one of the words included into the syntagm, which

has a slight rise on the stressed syllable. On the last syllable of the syntagm the tone rises sharply and simultaneously the vowel is lengthened.

### 2.2.3 Sentence stress and intonation

- (1) In declarative sentences, a syntagm, especially at the end of a phrase, has a sharp drop in the tone of the syllable on which the phrase stress rests.
- (2) Interrogative sentences have distinct interrogative intonation with rising tone, which is rather prominent in Shughni: *sāv-i-y-o?* 'are you going?'

## 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

- (1) Like other Iranian languages, Shughni inherited the morphophonological alternations between present and past stems of the verb. In addition, morphological change is found in perfect and infinitive stems as well as in forms of the 3s.
- (2) A subset of nouns shows both gender and number alternation, and a subset of adjectives shows gender alternation.

## 3 MORPHOLOGY

Traditionally, the following basic parts of speech are distinguished: noun, pronoun, numerals, verb, preposition, postposition, particle, and conjunction. For nominal morphology, the absence of the morphological distinction between the word classes: noun, adjective, and adverb is typical, so that the identification of some words as belonging to one of these categories requires additional semantic and syntactic data.

Agglutination together with elements of internal inflection for nominal forms appears frequently, as is the case in verbal inflection in the present-future tense and the analytical structure of forms of the past tenses.

Modal and aspectual-temporal constructions are formed analytically.

### 3.1 Nominal morphology

Nominals possess the category distinctions between masculine and feminine gender, singular and plural number, definite and indefinite, as well as person and non-person, and alienable and inalienable possession (marked syntactically).

#### 3.1.1 Nouns

##### 3.1.1.1 Gender

##### 3.1.1.1a Morphological gender

Nouns are either masculine or feminine. However, morphologically, this distinction is preserved only in a small set of substantives, animate nouns and adjectives, and is marked by ablaut: m. *kud*, f. *kid* 'dog'; m. *vūyd*, f. *vōyd* 'demonic creature'; m. *čux* 'cock', f. *čax* 'hen'.

Similarly, a small set of nouns functions as lexical gender markers in compounds, such as m. *-buc*, f. *-bic* 'child'; m. *-gil*, f. *-gāl* 'head'; m. *-vor*, f. *-vēr* 'a person bringing some-

thing’: m. *têr-gāl*, f. *têr-gāl* ‘with black hair’; m. *žīz-vōr*, f. *žīz-vêr* ‘a person bringing firewood’.

Similarly, natural gender is inherent in derived nouns such as *virod-ēj* ‘stepbrother’, *nān-ēj* ‘stepmother’, *xaray-ēj* ‘inhabitant of Khorog’, either male or female.

Otherwise, animate gender is expressed lexically: *čōrik* ‘man’, *ŷinik* ‘woman’.

### 3.1.1.1b Gender marking by attributives and verb forms

Nouns are not morphologically marked, but whether animate or inanimate, their gender becomes apparent by gender-marking attributive demonstratives, adjectives, and intransitive forms of the past tenses. Thus, in the adverbial phrase: *wi rūz-at wam xāb* ‘(for) that-OBLm day-and that-OBLf night’, the oblique pronouns masculine *wi* and feminine *wam* indicate the masculine and feminine gender of ‘day’ and ‘night’, respectively.

### 3.1.1.1c Classificatory gender

There is a tendency to transform the category of gender into a classificatory system according to the principles of semantic classes. Essentially, abstract nouns, such as *mōj* ‘famine’, are masculine, while concrete nouns are classified as masculine or feminine by semantic class, or cognitive sets. Thus, generally feminine are particular parts of the body, parts of clothes, and tools, as well as parts of landscape. The common denominator appears to be “body”, of both human and of earth, with its parts and cover, and tools to shape them. Also feminine are: *mêst* ‘moon’, *xāb* ‘night’, and *xitêrj* ‘star’, as opposed to masculine *xīr* ‘sun’.

Following this tendency, terms for inanimate objects and those for animals appear in the masculine gender when referring to the general category or species in their entirety, irrespective of natural gender. For example, masculine *yu rubcak* ‘fox’ refers to the fox species, while the feminine *yā rubcak* refers to a concrete object, here a particular fox irrespective of natural gender ‘this fox’ (in some situations, even without further indication of sex).

### 3.1.1.2 Number

Generally the singular is unmarked. The most productive and polyfunctional plural suffix is *-(y)-ēn* (in Shahdara *-jēv*, *-ēv*): *ŷinik-ēn* ‘women’, *čōrik-ēn* ‘men’, *māraka-y-ēn* ‘social gatherings’; [*sūr mēθ*]-*ēn* ‘wedding days’, [*žōw-at šag*]-*ēn* ‘cows-and calves’; with ablaut: sg. *čīd* ‘house’, pl. *čad-ēn*; sg. *puc* ‘son’, pl. *pac-ēn*. The marker *-jēv* is found in Shughni with terms denoting time periods: *tōbistūn-jēv* ‘summers’, *ar sōl buōr-jēv* ‘springs of every year’, *madōr-jēv* ‘afternoons’.

The kinship terminology uses specific suffixes side by side *-ēn*, including *-yūn*, *-gūn*, *-jūn*; and *-êrj*, *-ōrj*, *-ār*: *xolak-ēn* ~ *xolak-yūn* ‘uncles’; *xêr-ēn* ~ *xêr-yūn* ‘nephews, nieces’; *yax-ēn* ~ *yax-jēn* ~ *yax-jin-ēn* ‘sisters’; *abīn-ēn* ~ *abīn-êrj* ‘co-wives’ (Bajuwi *abīn-ōrj*).

The expression for plurality may be indicated by specific markers such as *-xēl* ‘group’, and *-gal(l)ā*: ‘flock’: *bač-galā* ‘children’, *vaz-xēl* ‘goats’.

*Indefinite collectiveness* may be expressed by using alliterative patterns of the form *c—m/p—*, or suffixed *-adis* (lit. ‘and such’): *tōč-mōč* ‘all sorts of dishes’; *tōč-adis* ‘dishes and such’.

*Named human groups* may be indicated by the direct and oblique 3p demonstrative pronouns, such as *wād*, *dād*, *mād*, and *wēv*, *dēv*, *mēv* ‘those, they’ added to the name, though usually pronouns of the 1st and 2nd series are used (see 14b.3 Table of pronouns):

*Mādbēk-wāδ* ‘Madbek and those connected with him, his group, family’ (cf. Persian [*Name*] *in-hā*). Similar meaning is expressed by the suffixes *-yūn* and *-ēn*: *Mādbēk-yūn*, *Mādbēk-ēn* ‘Madbek and those connected with him, his group, family’.

### 3.1.1.3 Case marking by demonstratives

Nouns do not distinguish case. The syntactic direct and oblique case in singular or plural of a noun or noun phrase is indicated by the case of demonstrative pronoun.

### 3.1.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness is formally expressed by preposing forms of the remote demonstrative pronoun, serving as definite articles: m. *yu*, f. *yā*, and their corresponding oblique and plural forms: *yā yāc* ‘that girl’, *yu yīδā* ‘that boy’.

Indefiniteness is formally expressed by the cardinal number (*y*)*īw* ‘one’, usually in its reduced form (*y*)*i*, serving as an indefinite article: *tar yi jīngāl yō puχtā* ‘to a forest or a mountain plain’; cf. its use as cardinal number in: *yi mēθ . . .*, *wi yi-ga mēθ-ard* ‘for (-ard) one day . . ., (and) the other day . . .’

### 3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

Gender is still distinguished by ablaut in a small subset: m. *rūšt*, f. *rōšt* ‘red’; m. *tuχp*, f. *taχp* ‘sour’. There is no number distinction.

The *comparative* of qualitative adjectives is marked by *-di*. In addition, the comparison may be differentiated by degree: *-di-di*, approximately ‘much more’; and *-dar-di*, approximately ‘some, yet more’: *jāld* ‘fast’, *jāld-di* ‘faster’, *jāld-(d)ar-di* ‘more fast, faster yet’. The *elative* is expressed lexically by *lap* ‘very’: *lap xušrūy* ‘very beautiful’. Note *as kor yu gāp lap-di δī-d* ‘he talks more than he works’ (*lap δāδ-* ‘to chat, talk without result’).

The *superlative* is expressed adverbially by words and phrases such as *sar* ‘top; over’, *as fuk* ‘than all’, *bar fuk* ‘upon all’, added to the comparative form: *sar jāld-di* ‘most fast one’, *as fuk bašand-di* ‘best of all’, *bar fuk xušrūy-di* ‘most beautiful’.

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

Shughni distinguishes personal, demonstrative, reflexive-possessive, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns, which may combine with emphatic and negative components.

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns occur for the 1st and the 2nd person; the 3rd person is indicated by demonstrative pronouns. Only the 1s has retained case distinction, *wuz/mu*. The 2p Sh. *tama* (Bartangi, Rushani, Sarikoli *tamaš*) is a historical innovation with initial *t-* copied from 2s *tu*, built on a substrate model.

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and deixis

The demonstrative pronouns distinguish gender, and direct and oblique case in singular and plural. They preserve the ancient Indo-European triple deixis based on bicentric system that is defined by degree of distance relative to the object:



- 1) *ich*-deixis, proximate, nearest to the speaker, ‘this’;
- 2) *du*-deixis, referring to the sphere of communicator, ‘not that far’, ‘this’ ~ ‘that’;
- 3) *jener*-deixis, remote ‘that’. Similarly adverbials have triple deixis.

*Du*-deixis also serves as an emphatic and anaphoric: ‘that very’, ‘that which’, while *jener*-deixis serves as a definite article, as well as the 3rd person pronoun.

TABLE 14b.3: PRONOUNS AND DEICTIC ADVERBIALS

Person	1	2	3/Jener-Deixis		Du-Deixis		Ich-Deixis	
			m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
DIRs	<i>wuz</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>yid</i>	<i>yid</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>yam</i>
OBLs	<i>mu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>wam</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mam</i>
DIRp	<i>māš</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>wāḏ</i>		<i>dāḏ</i>		<i>māḏ</i>	
OBLp	<i>māš</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>wēv</i>		<i>dēv</i>		<i>mēv</i>	
ADV			<i>yam</i> ‘there’ (far)		<i>yēd</i> ‘there’		<i>yūd</i> ‘here’	
-ard ‘for’			<i>yam-ard</i>		<i>yēd-ard</i>		<i>yūd-ard</i>	
<i>tar</i> ‘to’			<i>tar-am</i>		<i>tar-ēd</i>		<i>tar-ūd</i>	
<i>az</i> ‘from’			<i>az-am</i>		<i>az-ēd</i>		<i>az-ūd</i>	

The plurals of all personal and demonstrative pronouns may have secondary forms with the nominal plural marker *-ēn*: *māš-ēn*, *tamaš-ēn* ~ *tama-y-ēn*; *wāḏ-ēn*, *wēv-ēn*.

*Emphatic and anaphoric* forms are marked by *yik-* (*ik-*) preceding the demonstrative forms, ‘the very, that which’, etc. Thus, the remote or neutral demonstrative combines as follows: singular, direct case, m. *yik-u*, f. *yik-ā*; oblique, m. *yik-wi*, f. *yik-wam*; and so forth: direct case, *xu vō yik-u bōzī* ‘then, again (there was) the very same entertainment’; oblique, *māš-ām [ik-wi kōr] čūj* ‘we (*-ām*) would do (all) this (very) work’; [*yik-di kōr*] *pōc lūv-ēn* ‘this (very) activity they call *pōc*’. Note the adverb of manner *dis* ‘thus, in such a way’; emphatic *yik-dis* ‘(exactly) this way’.

These forms are prominently found with restrictive relative clauses (see 5.3).

### 3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns

Reflexive: *xuba0* ‘oneself’, oblique *xu*, note *yu xu-rd-a0-i lūd* ‘he said to (*-rd*) himself’; possessive: *xu(d)* ‘(one’s) own’.

### 3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and indefinites and related adverbials

*Interrogative-relative*: human, *čāy*, oblique *či* ‘who’; animal, non-human, *čīz* ‘what (thing)’; *ca* ‘what, which’; *ca* + N: *ca-waxt* ‘what time, when’; *ca-rāng* ‘how’; *čīz-ardlrad* ‘what for, why?’ *čīdīm* ‘which one?’; *cūnd* ‘how much’, *dūnd* ‘so much’.

*Generic*: *ar* ‘each, every (one)’; *ar-čāy* ‘every, each one’; *fuk(-a0)* ‘all’; *var0* ‘both’.

*Indefinite*: (*y*)*i-čāy* ‘anybody; somebody’; exclusive: (*y*)*ič(-a0)* — (*na-*) ‘(not) any’: *atā yi-čāy as wēv-andi na ris-t* ‘and not anyone from among them remains’.

*Interrogative adverbials* follow the triple deictic system, with post- and prepositions: *k-u*, *k-id*, *k-am*; *kā-* ‘where when’: *kād-and* ‘where’.

### 3.1.4 Adpositions

Numerous syntactic particles and words are commonly used in Shughni as in any other oral language. The adpositions selected here are based on forms that occur frequently and in multiple contexts. They reflect a highly developed system of spatial orientation and movement characteristic for the linguistic area.

#### 3.1.4.1 Prepositions

The main prepositions are:

<i>tar</i>	horizontal movement, 'towards, to';
<i>as, az</i>	source, 'from', 'about (a topic)'; also specific direct object;
<i>pī</i>	upwards, 'on, up(to)';
<i>ar</i>	downwards, 'down, in(to)';
<i>pīs</i>	final and spatial orientation and time, 'after, following';
<i>čī</i>	position, 'on, at, to'; intention;
<i>mī</i>	position of something, 'at, in';
<i>par</i>	means of movement, 'by';
<i>tō</i>	limit in time, space, 'till';
<i>ba</i>	instrumental; manner of action.

#### 3.1.4.2 Postpositions

The main postpositions are:

<i>-(a)nd</i>	constant availability, presence; possession; (< * <i>ana-</i> , contamination with * <i>antar-</i> , cf. Av. <i>ana</i> , Yazgh. <i>na</i> );
<i>-ja</i>	location, possession;
<i>-ti</i>	location on some surface, 'at, on, upwards, for';
<i>-avēn</i>	'for (the sake of)';
<i>-aǰ</i>	direction;
<i>-andīr, -and(i)</i>	definite, exact direction or location (often inside), location both 'in' and 'from' (inside); definite time (< * <i>antar-</i> );
<i>-(a)rd, -ra(d)</i>	indefinite location and time; direction, both 'towards' and 'from'; addressee of the speech, action, aim;
<i>-ēc</i>	limit, period; instrument;
<i>-qati</i>	sociative-instrument.

Postpositions require the oblique case of the pronouns.

Pre- and postpositions may combine, such as *az, as* 'from' with *-and* and directional *-ard*: *az wi xēz-and* 'from his house'; *as yiǰīd-ard* 'out from the sheds'.

#### 3.1.4.3 Case functions

As indicated, three of the postpositions also function as markers of main syntactic cases:

- (1) directional *-ard* for dative and experiencer or beneficiary: *mu-rd dāk* 'give me', *māš-ard lūv* 'tell us';
- (2) definite locational-directional *-(a)nd(i)* as ablative: *wēv-andi* 'from them';

- (3) *-and* for possessive: *yu mu-nd* ‘this is mine’. Note that some are bi-directional, such as *-andi* ‘from’ in the preceding example vs. *-and* ‘in’ in *qišlōq-and* ‘in a village’.

### 3.1.5 Adverbial demonstratives and adverbs

Similar to the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, the pronominal adverbs are used concretely with pre- and postpositions, such as the directional suffix *-ard* in *yam-ard* ‘there’ (far), *yēd-ard* ‘there (to)’, *yūd-ard* ‘here (to)’, or the locational suffix *-and* in *kād-and* ‘where’, *yam-and* ‘there’, *yūd-and* ‘here’; *tar kā* ‘to(wards) where’.

### 3.1.6 Numerals

#### 3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers up to ten are indigenous: *(y)īw* ‘one’, *ḍiyūn* ‘two’, *aray* ‘three’, *cavōr* ‘four’, *pīnj* ‘five’, *xōj* ‘six’, *wūvd* ‘seven’, *wāxt* ‘eight’, *nōw* ‘nine’, *ḍīs* ‘ten’. The teens follow an additive pattern, ‘ten’ + N: *ḍīs-at yīw* ‘ten-and one’, *ḍīs-at ḍiyūn* ‘ten-and two’.

Higher numbers are loaned from the Tajik. However, the older generation still preserves the indigenous decimal system and compound numbers: The three upper teens are counted by subtraction, e.g.: *yīw kam ḍu ḍīs* ‘one less of two ten’ = ‘nineteen’. The higher units are multiples of ten: *ḍu ḍīs* ‘two ten’ = Taj. *bīst* ‘twenty’; *cavōr ḍīs* ‘four ten’ = Taj. *čil* ‘forty’; *ḍīs-ḍīs(-ak)* ‘ten ten’ = Taj. *sad* ‘one hundred’; *ḍīs-ḍīs-ḍīs-ak* = *hazor* ‘one-thousand’.

#### 3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the suffix *-(y)um*: *yīw-um*, ‘first’, *aray-um* ‘the third’; but the Tajik ordinal numerals are widely used.

#### 3.1.6.3 Distributives

Distributive numerals are formed by adding the stressed suffix *-(y)j̄*: *yīw-ī̄* (*yīw-ī̄*) ‘one by one’.

## 3.2 Verb morphology

The verb system distinguishes tense, mood, person, number, transitivity, and voice. A small set of intransitive verbs have gender distinction in past tenses.

### 3.2.1 Stem formation

#### 3.2.1.1 Present, past, and perfect stems

In terms of morphophonemic alternations, there are regular and irregular verbs. Because of such alternation, a total of five (present, past, perfect, past perfect and infinitive) stems can be distinguished. In addition, the form of the 3s present may be distinct from the other persons, and the mentioned set of past intransitives has different masculine, feminine and plural stems.

- (1) The present stems reflect most of the productive Old Iranian present stem classes.
- (2) Past stems are formed by adding *-t*, *-d*, reflecting the Old Iranian perfect participle in *\*-ta*. Regular verbs simply add *-t*, *-d* to the present stem: pres *fām-*, past *fām-t-* ‘to understand, know’; irregular verbs show considerable stem alternation: pres. *xāw-*, past *xīw-d-* ‘to eat’.
- (3) Perfect stems are formed by the suffix *č* or *ǰ* (reflecting *\*-ka-*): regular pres. *palōys-*, past *palōys-t*, perf. *palōys-č-* ‘to work’; irregular pres. *sāw-*, past m. *sūt-t*, f. *sa-t*, perf. m. *su-δ-ǰ*, f. *si-c*, pl. *sa-δ-ǰ* ‘to become’.
- (4) Past perfect stems are derived from the perfect stem by suffix *-at* (Shd. *-it*; originally a past of ‘to be’): *su-δ-ǰ-at* ‘had become’.

### 3.2.1.2 Causative stems

Causative stems, intersecting with transitivity, partially reflect the Old Iranian patterns, notably in the pattern non-causative *CaC-* vs. causative *Cč/čC-*, mostly with further stem alternation. Newer causative stems are derived by *-ēn*, which is infixed before root labial, *-ē(m)b*; also *-ūn*, *-ūn*:

	Present/Past ‘to fly up’	Present/Past ‘to stick to’	Present/Past ‘to be fried’	Present/Past ‘to crumble’
Intr.	<i>rivāz-irivuxšt</i>	<i>piδafs-lpiδūw-d</i>	<i>sitafs-lsitūw-d</i>	<i>raz-lrišt</i>
Caus.	<i>rivēz-irivēz-d</i>	<i>piδēmb-lpiδēm-t</i>	<i>sitēb-lsitēb-t</i>	<i>raz-ēn-lraz-ēn-t</i>

Note denominative: *tult* ‘rag’ > *tult-ūn-t-ōw* ‘to drag’.

### 3.2.1.3 Compound verbs

There are numerous denominal compound verbs, formed by a nominal with a common verb serving as auxiliary verb: *vār-δēd-ōw* ‘to be able’, *kōr čīd-ōw* ‘to do work, work’, onomatopoetic *taq-taq* ‘rat-tat’ > *taq-t-ōw* ‘to knock’. These include calques from Tajik: *naqli čīd-ōw* ‘to make a narration, to tell’, Taj. *naql kard-an*.

## 3.2.2 Nominal forms

The following description is confined to the most frequently found nominal forms.

### 3.2.2.1 Agent noun

Agent noun, present stem + *-īǰ*: *lūw-īǰ* ‘speaker’.

### 3.2.2.2 Infinitive

The infinitive corresponds to the past stem, usually with *i*-umlaut (reflecting *\*-ti*): past *tūyd-*, inf. *tīd* ‘to go’; extended form past stem + *-ōw*: *čēvd-ōw*, beside *čēvd* ‘to sleep’.

### 3.2.2.3 Perfect participle

The perfect participle consists of the perfect stem + *-ak*: intransitive *nīvǰ-ak* ‘weeping’, transitive *nivīšt-ak* ‘written’.

### 3.2.2.4 Adjectival participle

The adjectival participle consists of the perfect stem + *-in*: *zinōđj-in* ‘washed’; gender is distinguished where retained in the verb: m. *tūyǰ-in*, f. *tīc-in* ‘somebody who has gone away’.

### 3.2.2.5 Future participle

The future participle consists of the infinitive + *-mēj* and connotes intention: *tūd-mēj* ‘preparing to go’.

### 3.2.3 Person marking and ‘to be’

The type of conjugation of the present-future tense differs significantly from that of the past tenses. Thus, in the present-future the three persons in singular and plural are the inherited personal endings added to the present stem. In the three past tenses, however, the three persons in singular and plural are indicated by personal enclitic pronouns (resulting from the merger with the earlier copula). Unlike the personal endings, these markers are as a rule attached to the first constituent part of the clause.

The distinction between copula and present and past person marking is leveled except in the 2s and 3s. The forms of the verb *vi-*, *vud-* ‘to be’ replace the copula in all other tenses and contextual uses.

TABLE 14b.4: COPULA AND PERSONAL ENDINGS

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Copula	<i>-um</i>	<i>-at</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ēt</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
Present	<i>-um</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-t/-d</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ēt</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
Past	<i>-um</i>	<i>-at</i> imp. <i>-∅</i>	intr. <i>-∅</i> , tr. <i>-(i)</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ēt</i> imp. <i>-ēt</i>	<i>-ēn</i>

The existential verb is 3s *yast*, neg. *nist*, which also serves to express possession (see 4.5.1 below).

### 3.2.4 Negation

The general negative marker is *na*, which precedes the verb, including preverbs: *yatt-ōv-um na-vār-đōđ* ‘I could not come’; *nist* ‘is not’. The subjunctive and prohibitive marker is *mā*:

*mā-ya(d)* ‘don’t come’;

*parwōs Sindēv bōyad yu mā-vi-d*  
last year Sindev must he not to be  
‘last year he must not have been in Sindev’.

### 3.2.5 System of tenses

The basic inflectional system of tenses is four-fold: present-future, past, perfect, past perfect:

Present-Future	Past
Perfect	Past Perfect

The imperative is distinguished by 2s -Ø; the present subjunctive by the use of the negative marker *mā-*: *bōyad yu mā-vi-d* 'he must not be'.

The following exemplifies typical intransitive and transitive conjugations.

TABLE 14b.5: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE STEMS AND IMPERATIVE

Intransitive verbs								
Present	Past		Perfect			Infin.	Imper.	
	m.	f./pl.	m.	f.	pl.	•		
<i>vi-</i>	<i>vud-</i>	<i>vad-</i>	<i>vidǰ-</i>	<i>vic-</i>	<i>vaδǰ-</i>	<i>vid</i>	<i>vi</i>	'to be'
<i>sāw-</i>	<i>sut-</i>	<i>sat-</i>	<i>sudǰ-</i>	<i>sic-</i>	<i>saδǰ-</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>sāw, sa</i>	'to become'
<i>ti-</i>	<i>tūyd-</i>	<i>tōyd-</i>	<i>tūyǰ-</i>	<i>tīc-</i>	<i>tōyǰ-</i>	<i>tīd</i>	<i>tī, tē</i>	'to go'
Transitive verbs								
Present	Past		Perfect			Infin.	Imper.	
<i>kin-</i>	<i>čūd-</i>		<i>čūǰǰ-</i>			<i>čīd</i>	<i>ki(n)</i>	'to do'
<i>palōys-</i>	<i>palōyst-</i>		<i>palōysč-</i>			<i>palōyst</i>	<i>palōys</i>	'to work'
<i>āžēr-</i>	<i>āžért-</i>		<i>āžérč-</i>			<i>āžért</i>	<i>āžér</i>	'to moisten'

### 3.2.6 Transitivity and voice

#### 3.2.6.1 Transitivity

The differential marking of the 3s is a major indicator of transitive verbs as opposed to intransitives. In turn, the distinction of transitivity is marked in intransitive verbs where in a small, but significant set gender and number are marked by means of ablaut. Both features reflect an earlier ergative system (see section 7 Dialectology).

#### 3.2.6.2 Passive

Passive is expressed by the perfect participle of transitive verbs usually marked by the suffix *-ak*, followed by the auxiliary verb *sitt-ow* 'to become': *yā xat nivīšč-ak sat* 'that (f.) letter (*xat*) written was (f.)'.

## 4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

### 4.1 Coordination

Some of the coordinating conjunctions are enclitic. Both noun phrase and clause clitics are *-at* 'and', *yō* 'or'. Paired conjunctions include *ām-ām* 'both . . . and', *yō . . . yō* 'either . . . or'.

TABLE 14b.6: INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

'to be'							
	Present	Past, m.	f./pl.	Perf. m.	f.	Past Perf. m.	f.
1s	<i>vi-y-um</i>	<i>vud-um</i>	<i>vad-um</i>	<i>vuđj-um</i>	<i>vic-um</i>	<i>vuđj-at-um</i>	<i>vic-at-um</i>
2s	<i>vi-y-i</i>	<i>vud-at</i>	<i>vad-at</i>	<i>vuđj-at</i>	<i>vic-at</i>	<i>vuđj-at-at</i>	<i>vic-at-at</i>
3s	<i>vi-d</i>	<i>vud</i>	<i>vad</i>	<i>vuđj</i>	<i>vic</i>	<i>vuđj-at</i>	<i>vic-at</i>
1p	<i>vi-y-ām</i>	<i>vad-ām</i>	<i>vad-ām</i>	<i>vađj-ām</i>	<i>vic-ām</i>	<i>vađj-at-ām</i>	<i>vic-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>vi-y-ēt</i>	<i>vad-ēt</i>	<i>vad-ēt</i>	<i>vađj-ēt</i>	<i>vic-ēt</i>	<i>vađj-at-ēt</i>	<i>vic-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>vi-y-ēn</i>	<i>vad-ēn</i>	<i>vad-ēn</i>	<i>vađj-ēn</i>	<i>vic-ēn</i>	<i>vađj-at-ēn</i>	<i>vic-at-ēn</i>
'to become'							
	Present	Past, m.	f./pl.	Perf. m.	f.	Past Perf. m.	f.
1s	<i>sāw-um</i>	<i>sut-um</i>	<i>sat-um</i>	<i>suđj-um</i>	<i>sic-um</i>	<i>suđj-at-um</i>	<i>sic-at-um</i>
2s	<i>sāw-iyi</i>	<i>sut-at</i>	<i>sat-at</i>	<i>suđj-at</i>	<i>sic-at</i>	<i>suđj-at-at</i>	<i>sic-at-at</i>
3s	<i>sū-d</i>	<i>sut</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>suđj</i>	<i>sic</i>	<i>suđj-at</i>	<i>sic-at</i>
1p	<i>sāw-ām</i>	<i>sat-ām</i>	<i>sat-ām</i>	<i>sađj-ām</i>	<i>sic-ām</i>	<i>sađj-at-ām</i>	<i>sic-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>sāw-ēt</i>	<i>sat-ēt</i>	<i>sat-ēt</i>	<i>sađj-ēt</i>	<i>sic-ēt</i>	<i>sađj-at-ēt</i>	<i>sic-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>sāw-ēn</i>	<i>sat-ēn</i>	<i>sat-ēn</i>	<i>sađj-ēn</i>	<i>sic-ēn</i>	<i>sađj-at-ēn</i>	<i>sic-at-ēn</i>
'to go'							
	Present	Past, m.	f./pl.	Perf. m.	f.	Past Perf. m.	f.
1s	<i>tī-y-um</i>	<i>tūyd-um</i>	<i>tōyd-um</i>	<i>tūyj-um</i>	<i>tīc-um</i>	<i>tūyj-at-um</i>	<i>tīc-at-um</i>
2s	<i>tī-y-i</i>	<i>tūyd-at</i>	<i>tōyd-at</i>	<i>tūyj-at</i>	<i>tīc-at</i>	<i>tūyj-at-at</i>	<i>tīc-at-at</i>
3s	<i>tīz-d</i>	<i>tūyd</i>	<i>tōyd</i>	<i>tūyj</i>	<i>tīc</i>	<i>tūyj-at</i>	<i>tīc-at</i>
1p	<i>tī-y-ām</i>	<i>tōyd-ām</i>	<i>tōyd-ām</i>	<i>tōyj-ām</i>	<i>tīc-ām</i>	<i>tōyj-at-ām</i>	<i>tīc-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>tī-y-ēt</i>	<i>tōyd-ēt</i>	<i>tōyd-ēt</i>	<i>tōyj-ēt</i>	<i>tīc-ēt</i>	<i>tōyj-at-ēt</i>	<i>tīc-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>tī-y-ēn</i>	<i>tōyd-ēn</i>	<i>tōyd-ēn</i>	<i>tōyj-ēn</i>	<i>tīc-ēn</i>	<i>tōyj-at-ēn</i>	<i>tīc-at-ēn</i>

Clause clitics include: *-atā* (*-ata*, *-at*, *-tā*, *-ta*, *-ā*, *-a*) 'and, but'; *-xu* 'and, then'; *-mis* 'also'; *-vō* 'again'; others include: interrogative *-ō*; referential *-ik*; and intensifying *-aθ*. Particles include: vocative *a/ē*, *ō*; interjections: *ā*, *aγ*, *(w)uč*, *učča*.

## 4.2 Noun phrase structure

Shughni is a head-final language. The unmarked sequence is:

Determiner – Possessive – Numeral – Adjective – Head Noun, and  
Dependent Noun Phrase – Head Noun Phrase.

The attribute may be represented by pronoun, noun, numeral, adjective, participle, or an infinitive and as a rule precedes the head noun.

### 4.2.1 Attributive adjectives

In general, adjectives precede the head noun by parataxis, and agree in gender with the head where gender is retained, thus ADJ (gender) – NOUN:

*xuŷmūn ziv* 'Shughni language'; with gender agreement: *rōšt mūn* 'red-(f.) apple',  
*tīc-in γāc* 'walking (f.) girl'; *tēr cimūd* 'black basket', pl. *tēr cimūd-ēn*.

TABLE 14b.7: TRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

'to do'				
	Present	Past	Perfect	Past Perfect
1s	<i>kin-um</i>	<i>čūd-um</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-um</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at-um</i>
2s	<i>kin-i</i>	<i>čūd-at</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at-at</i>
3s	<i>kin</i>	<i>čūd-(i)</i>	<i>čūγ̌j(-i)</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at(-i)</i>
1p	<i>kin-ām</i>	<i>čūd-ām</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-ām</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>kin-ēt</i>	<i>čūd-ēt</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-ēt</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>kin-ēn</i>	<i>čūd-ēn</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-ēn</i>	<i>čūγ̌j-at-ēn</i>
'to work'				
	Present	Past	Perfect	Past Perfect
1s	<i>palōys-um</i>	<i>palōyst-um</i>	<i>palōysč-um</i>	<i>palōysč-at-um</i>
2s	<i>palōys-i</i>	<i>palōyst-at</i>	<i>palōysč-at</i>	<i>palōysč-at-at</i>
3s	<i>palōys-t</i>	<i>palōyst</i>	<i>palōysč</i>	<i>palōysč-at</i>
1p	<i>palōys-ām</i>	<i>palōyst-ām</i>	<i>palōysč-ām</i>	<i>palōysč-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>palōys-ēt</i>	<i>palōyst-ēt</i>	<i>palōysč-ēt</i>	<i>palōysč-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>palōys-ēn</i>	<i>palōyst-ēn</i>	<i>palōysč-ēn</i>	<i>palōysč-at-ēn</i>
'to moisten'				
	Present	Past	Perfect	Past Perfect
1s	<i>āžêr-um</i>	<i>āžêrt-um</i>	<i>āžêrc-um</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-um</i>
2s	<i>āžêr-i</i>	<i>āžêrt-at</i>	<i>āžêrc-at</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-at</i>
3s	<i>āžêr-t</i>	<i>āžêrt-(i)</i>	<i>āžêrc-(i)</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-(i)</i>
1p	<i>āžêr-ām</i>	<i>āžêrt-ām</i>	<i>āžêrc-ām</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-ām</i>
2p	<i>āžêr-ēt</i>	<i>āžêrt-ēt</i>	<i>āžêrc-ēt</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-ēt</i>
3p	<i>āžêr-ēn</i>	<i>āžêrt-ēn</i>	<i>āžêrc-ēn</i>	<i>āžêrc-at-ēn</i>

#### 4.2.2 Pronominal adjectives

Pronominal adjectives precede the head noun with gender and number agreement: PROADJ (gender/number) – NOUN:

*yu rūz* 'that (m.) day'; *wam xāb* 'that (f.) night'; *dāδ γ̌inik-ēn* 'these women'.

Note that pronouns are also marked for case, here direct *yu* and oblique *wam*, and thus not only indicate the gender of the noun, but also the case of the noun phrase.

#### 4.2.3 Dependent nouns and noun phrases

Dependent nouns and noun phrases paratactically precede the head noun or postposition, and are in the oblique case, which is evident with pronouns: NP2 (Oblique) – NP1:

*[mu bāx̌] mirōs* 'my share of the inheritance', *[wi sūrdōr] nūm* 'the name of that wedding-holder'.

Postpositional phrases: *[wi] garginūxā* 'around him'; *[wi] pāli-ndi* 'on his side, beside him'.



#### 4.2.4 Izāfa

The Tajik-type *izāfa* construction NP1-*i* NP2 is found frequently:

Shughni, *sōl-ō-y-i sōl-ēc* ‘for many years’ (with Shughni temporal *-ēc*), cf. Tajik, *sol-ho-y-i sol*; *kām-i kām* ‘little of little, at least’. Even in this loan construction, the oblique case may be marked: *as nūm-i [wi]* ‘in his name, on his behalf’.

#### 4.3 Clause structure and word order

The standard sentence structure is subject-object-verb, SOV.

The syntactic function of a noun phrase is specified by its place in a sentence, pre- and postpositions, and other markers.

The predicate is usually located at the end of the sentence. However, depending on intonation, reflecting the sense and other circumstances of the utterance, the predicate can be transferred to the beginning of the sentence, thus placing it before the subject:

*sāt-ām māš tar sūr*  
‘went-1p we to the wedding’.

In turn, location and particularly direction which semantically depends on the verb rection are often placed after the verb:

*yu naštūyd tar vaš*  
‘he went out’.

Otherwise, adverbial phrases locating or qualifying the sentence as a whole are often in initial position.

In emotional speech, however, the word order can be disregarded. In oral Shughni speech, intonation is highly important as a means to convey the syntactical connection of words in a phrase.

#### 4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms

##### 4.4.1 Person, animacy, and alienability

The category of person vs. non-person is conveyed by lexical means, and in reduced form by the interrogative-indefinite pronouns, such as personal *čāy* ‘who’ vs. *čīz* for animal, non-human, and *ca* for inanimate.

The category of *alienable* vs. *inalienable* possession is denoted by lexical means as well, and is overt with inalienable possession, including parts of the body, kinship terms, and others, by preposed personal pronouns: *[mu] yōδ* ‘my memory’, *[mu] δūst* ‘my hand’. This distinction becomes more evident in the presence of a preposition. In that case, the possessive pronoun is focused and precedes the preposition, whereas it precedes the noun directly if alienable:

*mu [pi] tanā* ‘on my body’; *mu [tar] δūst* ‘in my hand’; *mu [ba] yōδ* ‘in my memory’; as opposed to the unmarked order; *[tar] mu čīd* ‘in my house’.

Note also *tu-(a)t [ca] nūm* ‘what’s your name?’ and the split of *(y)ik-wi* in the prepositional phrase: *pirō yik[az]wi* ‘before (this that)’ (Persian *piš az ān ke*).

#### 4.4.2 Syntactic cases

##### 4.4.2.1 Subject marking

Subjects are unmarked and in the direct case.

##### 4.4.2.2 Direct object marking

Direct objects are in the oblique case, where distinct, and may be preceded by the preposition *as*:

*mu nān [wēv] wīnt* ‘my mother saw [them]’;  
*nēδ-ēn [wi]. . .* ‘they place [him] on. . .’;  
*tu [as wēv] na wīnt* ‘you have not seen [them]?’.

##### 4.4.2.3 Indirect object marking

Indirect objects are generally marked by postpositions, but may be unmarked with the verb *δēd-ōw* ‘to give’:

*qamōč [mu-rd] vār* ‘bring [me] some bread’;  
*šinōwari [wi] δ-ēn* ‘they give [him] a washing’.

##### 4.4.2.4 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may stand as the plain oblique case where distinct:

*[wi] sar pirō rūz* ‘on [that-m] very first day’;  
*[wam] xāb* ‘(during) [that-f] night’;

or may otherwise be unmarked:

*xumnē sūr-ēt* ‘tomorrow you (will arrange) a wedding’;  
*tarû ya* ‘come here’.

More often they are more specified by pre- and postposition:

*[pi] mazōr sāv-um* ‘I am going [to] the shrine’;  
*[tar] mu xēz ya* ‘to my place come!’;  
*čīd xēz[-and]* ‘[at] a house’s location, place’.

### 4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

#### 4.5.1 Possession

Possession and ownership is expressed by a locative construction, where the possessor is marked by the postposition *-and*, and the verb is the copula, the existential verb *yast*, or other forms of ‘to be’, i.e. ‘to X is/was’:

*mu[-nd] ič-aθ pūl nīst*  
 ‘I have (at all) no money’, lit. ‘to me’;  
*tu[-nd] cūnd puc*  
 ‘how many sons do you have?’, lit. ‘to me’;

*wēv[-and] virōdyast*  
‘they have a brother’, lit. ‘to them’;

*mu dōd[-and] wi dūnd xizmatgōr*  
‘my father has so many servants’ (3s copula regularly zero), lit. ‘to my father’s’;

#### 4.5.2 Person, number, and agreement

##### 4.5.2.1 Person and number

The singular refers to a single object, concept, or objects in their entirety as a class; hence numerals larger than one generally require the singular. The plural expressedly refers to plurality. It is morphologically marked by agglutinative suffixes, together with ablaut in a small subset of nouns, as discussed above.

Indefinite agents are as a rule expressed by the 3p.

##### 4.5.2.2 Subject-verb agreement

The verb is in agreement with the subject in person, number, and gender:

*[wuz]-ta tiy[-um]* ‘I am going’;

*[māš] mūm-ēn tiy[-ēn]* ‘our grandmothers are going’.

However, if the subject contains components like *-gal(l)ā* or *-xēl*, which connote collectivity, the predicate may be in the singular:

*civinc [-xēl]-ta rivōz[-d]* ‘these wasps are flying’.

Similarly, collective nouns like *mardum* ‘people’ and *ōdam* ‘people, humans’ usually show the 3s (for the particle *-ta* see 4.5.3.2)

##### 4.5.2.3 Predicates

- (1) Predicative noun phrases, even when referring to plural subjects, may be singular or plural (*-ēn*):

*māš-ām tama ziryōt(-ēn)*  
‘we are (*-ām*) your child/children (*-ēn*)’.

- (2) The predicate may be expressed by finite verb forms, nouns, or other parts of speech with separable predicative copulas:

*māš tama na-wzūn[-ām]*    *kasal[-um] vud*    *dāδ[-ēn] γal nist*  
‘we don’t know you’;    ‘I was sick’;    ‘they have not (come) yet’.

- (3) Nominal sentences in the 3s have zero marking:

*tu-t ca nūm* ‘what (is) thy name?’, lit. ‘thou-thy what name’.

## 4.5.3 Use of “tenses”

Given the fact that there are only four morphologically distinct tenses, each form functions in a variety of semantic-cognitive contexts.

The basic functions are temporal. Thus, the present-future refers to ongoing, habitual, or future actions. The past refers to past actions. The present perfect expresses present relevance: *sic* ‘she has gone, left’. The past perfect refers to a past or remote result or state: *šinik-ēn ya0č-at-ēn* ‘the women had come’.

Contextually all four also have modal connotations (see 5.2 Subordinate clauses).

The following notes are confined to the more salient points, here focusing on the present-future.

## 4.5.3.1 Present-future, modal function

*tar kāl-têxēj sut, xu kāl [têx-t]*  
to barber he went, that his head he shaves  
‘he went to the barber to shave his head’.

4.5.3.2 Factual enclitic *ta*

The enclitic particle *ta* disambiguates the various functions of present-future, and emphasizes the reality or fact of an action. It is usually attached to the first constituent part of the clause, as in the first sentence in Sample Text 1 below:

*ar sōl [ta] buōr-jēv bāt ayūm īd [anj-ēn]*  
each year *ta* springtime Bat Ayom fest they celebrate  
‘every year they celebrate the Bat Ayom festival during springtime’.

The text describes the fact that the ancient customs of the New Year festival continue to be performed to this day. In fact, with its first occurrence *ta* predicates that text as a whole.

Similarly, the factual function of *ta* together with the present-future may contextually connote certainty in the completion of an action:

*naw [ta] yu [yōd-d], xu māš ta tar maktab [sāw-ām]*  
new *ta* he comes, then we *ta* to school we go  
‘as soon as he comes, then we to school will go’;

*yu [ta] ca waxt [yōd-d], māš [ta] awqōt [xār-ām]*  
he *ta* what time comes, we *ta* dinner we eat  
‘when he comes, we (shall) have dinner.’

The contrast between the presence and absence of *ta* is shown in the following examples with present-future forms, where the second sentence implies that the coming may be an accomplished fact:

*mu gumūn yu šič kōr [kič-t]*  
me assumption (is) he now work does  
‘I think he may be working now (*šič*)’;



#### 4.6.2 Inception

The inception of an action may be expressed by replacing ‘to be’ with the action verbs *sāw-*, *sut-* ‘to become’, *kin-*, *čūd-* ‘to do’, or *δād-*, *δōd-* ‘to give’. Here *dar*, *daraw*, *dawum* are often used instead of *pay* and *či*:

Present: [Subject] [X *pay* Infinitive] *sāw*-Personal Ending.  
 Past: [Subject]-Person [X *pay* Infinitive] *sut*, or  
 [Subject] [X *pay* Infinitive]-Person *sut*

##### (1) Present:

*γac-ēn [dar/daraw/pay nīwd]* *s-ēn [daraw dēwōl čīdōw] s-ēn*  
 ‘girls begin to cry’; ‘(they) begin to build the walls’;  
*[zamīn dar čērt] kin-ām* *dī ųin [pāy vid]*  
 ‘(we) begin to plough the land’; ‘his wife is waiting (for a child)’.

##### (2) Past:

*γac-ēn [dar/daraw/pay nīwd] sat* *[wi pay-ām daraw mīzd] sat*  
 ‘girls began to cry’; ‘that sour milk (we) began to churn’;  
*yā talaw [pay tīd] sat*  
 ‘that barrel began to leak’;  
*tama γal dakō xār-ēt-at,* *wuz [sōz dar/ daraw lūwd] sāw-um*  
 ‘you-2p are still eating, and I begin to sing songs’.

#### 4.6.3 Habitual action

Habitual action is expressed by preposing the adverbial *dōyim(-ik)* ‘continuing’ in the present and past:

*atā [dōyim-ik]-ēn bēx-di yō bāt ayum [lūd], yō xidīr ayum*  
 but [continuing]-AG3p more either Bat Ayom [called], or Xidir Ayom  
 ‘but they used to call (*lūd*) it Bat Ayom, or Xidir Ayom’.

### 4.7 Modal constructions

A broad range of modal meanings can be expressed by constructions with modal words and auxiliaries.

#### 4.7.1 Ability

Ability is expressed by the verb *vār-đi-*, past *vār-đōd-*, perf. *vār-đōđj-* ‘can, to be able’. The form of the dependent verb is either (1) the present-future; (2) the full infinitive form or (3) the infinitive in *-ōw*. The infinitives may precede or follow the auxiliary, e.g.:

- (1) Present-future: *wuz vār-δīm [sāw-um]* ‘I can go’.  
 (2) Infinitive: *yu [xīnōwari] na vār-δ-ēd* ‘he can not swim’.

- (3) Infinitives in -ōw:  
*wuz [nivišt-ōw] vār-δ-iy-um* ‘I can write’;  
*wuz-um vār-δōδj [di kōr čīd-ōw]* ‘I could do this work’.

*biyōr mu mūm [siḥd-ōw] na- vār-δōd*  
 ‘yesterday my grandmother was unable to get up’.

#### 4.7.2 Wishes

In wishes, the subject-experiencer is marked by the dative *-ard*, with the transitive auxiliary *fōrt*, and the extended infinitive if the action refers to the subject:

- Pres.: [N-*ard*] Infinitive-ōw *fōrt*: *mu-rd īd-ōw fōrt* ‘I want to go (home)’;  
 Past: [N-*ard*]-*i* Infinitive-ōw *fōrt*: *mu-rd-i īd-ōw fōrt* ‘I wanted to go (home)’.

*biyōr mu-rd fōrt, idi tu-t tarūd yaθč*  
 yesterday me-for wish, *idi* you-you-2s here have-come-PF  
 ‘yesterday I wished you would have come’.

Alternatively the explicit term *xōyiḥ kin-lčūd* ‘make wish, want’ is used (see also Wish clauses):

*rēdž-in ta wuz xōyiḥ čūd-um, wūn wēδ-um*  
 ‘on the remainder (of it) *ta* I want to place wool myself’.

#### 4.7.3 Intention

Intention may be expressed by the participle *-mēj*. This construction is confined to the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to stay’: *yu īd-mēj* ‘he is going to go’ (zero copula); *yā tīd-mēj na-vad* (fem.) ‘she had no intention to go’.

#### 4.7.4 Necessity and obligation

- (1) Necessity as well as obligation is expressed by *bōyad* ‘must, to have to’, followed by the present-future for present action, and by the perfect for past action; thus:

Present: [Subject] *bōyad* [Present-Personal Ending]  
 Past: [Subject]-Person *bōyad* [Perfect]

- (a) Present:

*wuz bōyad [nur memūnī sāw-ām]*  
 ‘I must [go to visit my friends today (*nur*)].’

- (b) Perfect:

*wuz-um bōyad [parāxīb memūnī suδj]*  
 ‘I had to go to visit my friends the day before yesterday’.

- (2) Suggested obligation may be expressed by *bōyad* followed by the imperative; thus: *bōyad* [X Imperative]:

*tu bōyad [namīnā sa]*  
‘you should [be(come) an example (for others)]’;

*tu bōyad [qīw] wi*  
‘you should [call him]’.

#### 4.7.5 Supposition

Supposition may be expressed by *bōyad* followed by the present-future; negated action requires prohibitive *mā*, rather than *na*:

*parwōs Sindēv bōyad [yu mā-vi-d]*  
last year Sindev must [he not to be]  
‘last year he must not have been in Sindev’.

#### 4.7.6 Assumption

Assumption may be expressed by *gumūn* ‘assumption, thought’, extended *mu gumūn* ‘my assumption (is)’, or *wuz gumūn kin-um* ‘I make the assumption’. The dependent verb phrase is in the present-future, with additional *ta* when referring to a possible completion of the action:

ongoing: *gumūn* [X Present-Personal Ending]  
completed: *gumūn* [X *ta* Present-Personal Ending]

*mu gumūn [yu šič kōr kīx-t]*  
‘I think [he may be working]’;

*wuz gumūn kin-um gumūn [yā ta yōd-d]*  
‘I make the assumption [she may have come]’.

## 5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

As Shughni is an oral language, the structure of the clause is usually simple. However, simple clauses may be combined into complex sentences in two ways, by coordination and by subordination, which may be conveyed by suprasegmental means of intonation and by conjunctions.

### 5.1 Coordinate clauses

The structure of the coordinating sentence may be asyndetic, i.e. with the omission of conjunctions in sentence constructions in which they would usually be used. This is prominently the case in case of simultaneous, sequential, or contrasting events:

*yu xēyd, yā xōvd*  
‘he read, she slept’.



More frequently, clauses are connected by *clitic* coordinating conjunctions conveying sequential or consecutive actions, or actions resulting from another, *atā*, *at* ‘and’ and *xu* ‘then, and so’:

*šič qarōr niθ-atā*, *wuz luv-um*  
‘you now keep quiet, and I (will) speak’;

*wuz-um rinūxt-at*, *yu-i yōdōwarī na-čūd*  
‘I forgot, and he (-i AG) did not remind (me)’;

*yu as xu jōy-ti andīyd-at*, *māš-ām sat tar wi xēz*  
‘he stood up from his place, and we (-ām) went to his house’;

*yu as xu jōy andūyd-xu*, *māš-ām sat tar wi xēz*  
‘he stood up from his place, then we went to his house’;

*tar yi-či-aθ-i na čūxt-xu*, *ricūst*  
‘he (-i AG) did not look at anybody, then he ran away’ (i.e. ‘without looking’).

## 5.2 Subordinate clauses

Most of the subordinate clauses in a complex sentence perform a function similar to the syntactical functions of the parts of a simple sentence. Since subordinating conjunctions have a broad range of use and functions, they occur in different types of subordinate clauses. The relative position of subordinate clauses and the placement of conjunctions and particles vary. The most frequent conjunctions and their main uses, together with the unmarked sequence of the dependent clauses, are:

Dependent clauses preceding the main clause

*ca* preverbal: relative, concessive, temporal, and conditional clauses;  
*aga* clause initial: conditional clauses, often with *ca*;  
*idi(idē)*, *di*, *didi* clitic: causal clauses.

Dependent clauses following the main clause

*idi*, *di* clause initial: object, restrictive relative, consecutive, and final clauses;  
*xu* clitic to main clause: final clauses.

Conjunctive phrases

These are mostly calqued on Persian, and include:

*dūnd-ēc-i idi to* ‘until’ (‘so much-TIME that’);  
*kād-and ca* ‘while, if’ (‘where-in that’);  
*ba jō-i di* ‘instead of’ (Persian *be jā-ye in ke*);  
*pirō yik az wi di* ‘before (this that)’ (Persian *piš az ān ke*);  
*dūnd-avēn idi* ‘for (the sake of)’ (Persian *ba-rā-ye ān ke*).

## 5.3 Relative clauses

### 5.3.1 Basic structure

Relative clauses are usually marked by preverbal *ca*, which is, however, not obligatory. The pronominal referent in the relative clause takes the appropriate case marker, but is usually absent:

*yid tu pūxōk, narm-at safēd ca, dūnd-ga xizmat tu-rd kiš-t, yō nay?*  
 this your dress, soft-and white-ca, such service you-to make, or not  
 ‘this dress of yours-2s, which is soft and white, will it serve you this long as well?’.

### 5.3.2 Generalized relative clauses, ar- ‘each, all’

*ar čīz wi-nd ca vud, fuk-a0-i binēst*  
 every-thing him-POSS what was, all he (-i AG) lost  
 ‘he lost everything that he had’.

### 5.3.3 Head noun incorporation

*ar čī-nd nawna vē-d, zinōdž-in ta pinīz-d*  
 to every whom new not is, washed ta he-puts on  
 ‘everyone who has no new clothes puts on clean ones’.

### 5.3.4 Focused restrictive clauses

In focused restrictive clauses the antecedent is marked by pronominal forms with the particle (y)ik-, followed by the conjunction *idi*, *idē*, with or without *ca*:

*ōdam yast, idē ayūm mē0 sad tarmurx yēs-t*  
 person exists, that fest day 100 egg takes away  
 ‘there are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the fest’;

*yid ik-u čōrik idi vēgā-y-um di ar bōzōr ca wīnt*  
 this-very-he man that yesterday-I him at bazaar ca saw  
 ‘this is a man whom I saw at the bazaar yesterday’;

*id ik-u čōrik idi dam mūn az wi xēz-and-um zōšt*  
 this-very-he man that this-OBLf apple from his-OBLm place-LOC-I took  
 ‘this is a man from whom I brought the apple’;

*yid ik-ā ŷinik idi wuz ik-wām rizīn-um čī-vīd*  
 this-very-she woman that I very-her-OBLf daughter-I am going-to marry  
 ‘this is the woman whose daughter I am going to marry’.

## 5.4 Object clauses

Object clauses directly follow the main clause; here with interrogative pronoun:

*wuz na fām-um, yu tar kā ravūn*  
 I not know, he to where goes  
 ‘I don’t know where he goes’.

## 5.5 Adverbial clauses

### 5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses may precede or follow the main clause, depending on the sequence of action, with or without preverbal *ca*, or with conjunctive phrases, and may be followed by the clitic *xu* ‘then, so’:

*yu ta ca waxt yōd-d, māš ta awqōt xār-ām*  
 he *ta ca* what time comes-PR, we *ta* dinner eat-PR  
 ‘when he comes, we (would) have a dinner’;

*naw ta yu yōd-d-xu māš ta tar maktab sāv-ām*  
 newly *ta* he comes-PR-then we *ta* to school we-go-PR  
 ‘as soon as he comes, then we will go to school’;

*ptrō yik az tar čīd dēd-ōw, ōdam bōyad xu būt wēd-d*  
**before this from** to house to enter-INF, person must own shoe removes-PR  
 ‘before going inside the house, people should put off their shoes’.

### 5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are marked by the preverbal conjunction *ca*, and are often introduced by the conjunction *aga* ‘if’. These clauses are of three main types:

#### 5.5.2.1 Real or likely conditions

Real or likely conditions are expressed by the present-future, followed by the imperative and present-future, or perfect; or by the perfect in both clauses:

##### 5.5.2.1a Present + imperative:

*aga yu ca yōd-d, lū wi-rd (idi wuz ta pi wi ni0-um)*  
**if** he *ca* comes-PR, say-IMP him-for (that I *ta* for him sit-I-PR)  
 ‘if he comes, tell him that I will wait for him’.

##### 5.5.2.1b Present + present:

*sūr purrā ca naǰjimb-ēn, kām-i kām array mē0 darkōr*  
 wedding full *ca* they-perform-PR, little-IZ little three day necessary-PR  
 ‘if one wants to, to hold the wedding ceremony in full, at least three days is necessary’.

#### 5.5.2.2 Possible conditions

Possible conditions are expressed by the present-future or perfect in their subjunctive function:

##### 5.5.2.2a Present + perfect:

*tu wi ca fām-i, tu-rd yu xuš yaθč*  
 you-2s him *ca* you-understand-PR, you-2s-for he well has-come-PF  
 ‘if you get to know him, you would like him’.

5.5.2.2b *Perfect + perfect:*

*aga yu ca yaθč,*            *māš-ām ik-wi*    *kōr čūjǰ*  
 if he *ca* has-come-PF, we-we the-same work have-done-PF  
 ‘if he would come, we would do this work’.

Here the perfect appears to connote possible or assumed future fact, approximately ‘once he has arrived/will have come, we will certainly have completed’, or ‘we will complete all this work’.

## 5.5.2.3 Irreal conditions

Irreal or desirable conditions are expressed by the past perfect, followed by the past, or more generally by the past perfect:

5.5.2.3a *Past perfect + past:*

*aga yu ca yaθč-at,*            *wi fāmt*            *(idi yi čōrik mūjǰ-at)*  
 if he *ca* had-come-PP, he understood-PT (that one man has-died-PP)  
 ‘if he would have come, he would have seen that a man had been dying for him’.

5.5.2.3b *Past perfect + past perfect:*

*tu-t*            *wi ca fāmč-at,*            *tu-rd yu xuš na yaθč-at*  
 you-you-2s him *ca* had-understood-PP, you-for he well not had-come-PP  
 ‘if you knew him, you would dislike him’;

*aga yu šič-ard ca yaθč-at,*            *māš-ām ik-wi*            *kōr čūjǰ-at*  
 if he now-for *ca* had-come-PP, we-AG this-very-OBLm work had-done-PP  
 ‘should he have come by now/already, we would do this work’;

*aga yu ca yaθč-at,*            *fuk sōz sudǰ-at*  
 if he *ca* had-come-PP, all fitting had-become-PP  
 ‘if he had come, everything would be alright’.

5.5.3 *Concessive clauses*

Concessive clauses precede the main clause, and are marked by the enclitic conjunction *ca*:

*kōr-i*            *mis ca čūd, pūl-ēn*            *wi-rd na-δōd*  
 work-AG3s though *ca* did, money-they him-to not-gave  
 ‘although he did his work, he was not given money’;

*pi wi ca qīw-um, yu na-yat*  
 to him *ca* call-I, he not came  
 ‘though I called him, he did not come’;

*ar cūnd-i*            *yu qīwd, wuz-um na-yat*  
 every how-much-AG3s he called, I-I not came  
 ‘however often he called me, I did not come’ (Persian *har čand*).

### 5.5.4 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses have a cataphoric antecedent and are introduced by *idi*:

*wi-nd dis lap kōr vud, idi yi čīz-a0-i uspēt na-čūd*  
 he-for so much work was, so that one thing-3SAG in time not did.  
 ‘he had so much work, that he could not do one thing in time’;

*yu dūnd-ēc-i kōr čūd, idi tō ušmand na-suđj*  
 he so much-TIME-AG3s work did, so that till skilled not has become-PF  
 ‘he worked hard, until he finally became skilled enough’.

Note the negation in *tō na suđj*, lit. ‘till not he has become’.

### 5.5.5 Causal clauses

Causal clauses either precede the main clause, marked by the conjunction *di*, or follow the main clause introduced by an explanatory phrase, such as *di jāt* ‘(for) this reason’ (Pers. *az in jāhat*):

*parwōs di kasāl-um vud, yat-ōw-um na-vār-đōd*  
 last year di ill-I was, to come-INF-I not was able  
 ‘because I was ill last year, I could not come’;

*šitō sut, dijāt mōl ar yi jīd*  
 cold became, this reason animals in sheep-cote  
 ‘it got cold; this is why the cattle (are) in a sheep-cote’.

### 5.5.6 Final clauses

Final clauses follow the main clause and may be introduced by the clitic *xu* ‘then, so (that)’. The verb is usually in the present-future in its subjunctive function:

*tar kāl-tēxēj sut-xu kāl tēx-t*  
 to barber he-went, so that head he-shaves-PR  
 ‘he went to the barber to shave his head’.

### 5.5.7 Wish clauses

Wish clauses are introduced by *idi* and are followed by the present-future or the present perfect in their subjunctive function:

*mu-rd xōyiš, idi tu ya(d)*  
 me to wish, that you come  
 ‘I wish that you (would) come-PR;

*parwōs-um xōyiš vud, idi tu-t tarū yaθč*  
 Last year-I wish was, that you-you here have come  
 ‘last year I wished that you would (have) come here-PP’.

### 5.5.8 Request clauses

Clauses implying request are usually expressed as direct speech which is introduced by the particles *nā* (*la*), the conjunction (*d*)*i-di*, with or without the verb *lūvd-ōw* ‘to speak’:

*yā tar mu gāxt dīdi ti tar čīd*  
she to me turned that you to house!  
‘she turned to me: “go to the house” ’;

*yu mu-rd lūd idi tu niθ*  
he me-to said that you sit!  
‘he told me: “sit down/take a seat” ’.

### 5.5.9 Narration and dependent speech

Constructions of indirect narration are practically not used. The usual way of conveying direct speech are the verbs *lūvd-ōw* ‘to speak’, *qīvd-ōw* ‘to call’, *pēxst-ōw* ‘to ask’: *lūd: vār dēv* ‘(he) said: “bring them”, followed by the conjunction (*d*)*idi*, such as *yu lūd idi* ‘he said that’:

*yu yat, (lūd) idi ti-y-ām*  
‘he came (said) that: “let us go” ’;

*aga yu ca yō δ-d, lū wi-rd, idi niθ-um pi wi*  
‘if he comes, tell him that I wait for him’.

Alternatively, the particles *nā*, *nāla*, with the meaning ‘says that’:

*yā nāla, mu-nd mu kōr lap*  
she says mine my work much  
‘she (says): “I have a lot of work” ’;

*yu nāla, pi yēl garm sut*  
‘he (says): “in the mountain pasture it got hot” ’.

## 6 LEXIS

### 6.1 Word formation

#### 6.1.1 Derivation

The derivation by affixes is mostly by suffixation, some of which are closely related to Tajik equivalents. Prefixation as a model of formation is rarely used, and mostly loaned from Tajik.

##### 6.1.1.1 Suffixation

- ī abstract nouns: *rūšt-ī* ‘redness’;
- gar agent nouns: *vidōj-gar* ‘irrigation-worker’;
- ēj (a) the geographic origin of a person; *xūf-ēj* ‘from Khuf’, *xaray-ēj* ‘from Khorog’;

- (b) general relationship of things: *vidīrm-ēj* ‘bush used for making brooms’;  
 (c) step-kinship for masculine gender: *virōd-ēj* ‘stepbrother’;

-*ēj* step-kinship for feminine gender: *nān-ēj* ‘stepmother’;  
 -*ik*, -*ak* diminutives: *julik-ik* ‘very small’, *čib-ak* ‘small spoon’;

- in* (a) adjectives from nouns: *šar0k-in-ak* ‘earthenware toy’ (*šar0k* ‘clay’);  
 (b) participles: *tīc-in* ‘having come (f.)’.

### 6.1.1.2 Prefixation

Adjectival *ba-* ‘with’, *bē nō* ‘without’, form adjectives: *ba-mazā* ‘delicious, taste-ful’, *bē-tamīz* ‘shame-less’.

## 6.1.2 Compounding

### 6.1.2.1 Basic types

Juxtaposition, simple reduplicated: *xêx-tabōr* ‘relatives’ (Persian *xiš-tabūr*); *pêx-palak* ‘shoes, lit. (high) boot-foot-cloth’; *dil-dil čīdōw* ‘to rock to sleep (child)’.

Alliteration, with substitution of the initial consonant mainly with *m-* or *p-*: *čōy-pōy* ‘tea’; *bač-kač* ‘children; family’; *cīlīγ-pīlīγ* ‘noise’; *pūl-mūl* ‘money’; *xōriji-mōriji* ‘foreigner’.

Connective formants are: (a) *-at* ‘and’, e.g. *šin-at čōr* ‘wife and husband, couple’; (b) others include *-o*, *-tar*, *-a*, *-či*, *-ba*, e.g. *γēv-tar-γēv* ‘abuse’, *šab-o-šab* ‘till dawn’.

### 6.1.2.2 Determinative compounds

Noun-noun: *būy-wōx* ‘aromatic herb’ (*būy* ‘aroma’ + *wōx* ‘herb’), *can-kamūnak* ‘sling’ (*can* ‘gun’ + *kamūnak* ‘bow’), *xidōrj-žīr* ‘millstone’, *gul-γunčā* ‘bud’ (‘flower bud’).

Adjective + noun: *safēd-gāl* ‘an old woman’ (*safēd* ‘white’ + *gāl* ‘head’, fem. form).

Numeral + noun: *du-zivak* (*du* ‘two’ + *zivak* ‘tongue’), *var0-tanā* ‘both persons’.

Noun + verb stem or agent noun: *žīz-vōr* ‘fuel gatherer’, *žīndam-xōr* ‘wheat eater’, *šac-vārīj* ‘water carrier’.

Noun + lexical gender marker: m. *tēr-gīl*, f. *tēr-gāl* ‘with black hair’, m. *žīz-vōr*, f. *žīz-vēr* ‘a person who brought firewood’.

## 6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

### 6.2.1 Naming

Shughn(an)i anthroponyms merged with Iranian Muslim anthroponymics and are partly canonized, but have retained some specific features. Thus the tradition of preserving the name of a deceased ancestor is carried out by a ritual of transferring his name to a descendant. Ritually preserved names consist of two or three components: *Mast-āli*, lit. ‘intoxicated (by love for the shiite champion) Ali’, *Yusuf-āli-šō* < *Yusuf-Ali-Shāh*.

Nicknames are a unique source of language materials, for their anthroponymy is based on appellatives that are rarely used or not used at all in the modern language, e.g. the proper names f. *Kanginā* ‘a type of vessel’, m. *Yūr-ak* ‘(bear) cub’.

## 6.2.2 Kinship terms

The Shughni kinship terminology is mostly indigenous (for plural forms see Section 3.1.1.2 Number).

TABLE 14b.8: KINSHIP TERMS

<i>pid</i>	'father'	<i>nān</i>	'mother'
<i>bōb</i>	'grandfather'	<i>mūm</i>	'grandmother'
<i>puc</i>	'son'	<i>rizīn</i>	'daughter'
<i>nibōs</i>	'grandson'	<i>nibēs</i>	'grandson, -daughter'
<i>virōd</i>	'brother'	<i>yax</i>	'sister'
<i>xisūr</i>	'father-in-law'	<i>xīx</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>amak</i>	'uncle (paternal)'	<i>ammā</i>	'aunt (paternal)'
<i>xōlak</i>	'uncle (maternal)'	<i>xōlā</i>	'aunt (maternal)'
<i>virōd-ēj</i>	'step-brother'	<i>xēr</i>	'nephew, niece'
<i>nān-ēj</i>	'step-mother'	<i>abīn-ēn</i>	'co-wives'

Note, *pid* also 'father-in-law'; *dōd*, *tāt* 'father' (nursery term).

Members of the family commonly address each other using these terms. To indicate an extended family or a kin, the term *awlōd* is used: *Nazaršō awlōd*. The term for blood relatives is *xēx-tabōr*; others: *xēl*, *zōt*, *qawmiyōt* (*qawm* 'relative'); *tōyfā* 'kinship; ethnic group'.

## 6.2.3 Familiar address and phraseology

Polite phraseology is represented by some words of address, which are used in Shughn(an)i for socialization and friendly small talk:

*a-ḡa* 'guys' < *a-yiḡā*; *a-rō* 'brothers' < *a-virōd*; *a-čēn* 'children' < *a-bačēn*;  
*a-lō* 'girl', address among girls and women; *a-lā* 'you-all', address to everybody.

When an elder family member addresses a young person (son or daughter, boy or girl), he or she uses the term for his or her own kinship relation:

*a-tāt* 'dad', father to youngster; *a-nān* 'mom', mother to youngster;  
*a-mūm* 'grandmother', elder female to young; *a-bōb* 'grandfather', elder male to young.

When a son or a daughter is born, the person who brings the news is called *xuš-pōy-i qadam* 'who has easy-going step, brings happiness'. This person greets the happy father with the ritual phrase *Mubōrak-i tirandōz* 'congratulations by a shooter' in case of a son, and *Mubōrak-i (h)alvō-pāz* 'congratulations by a person preparing sweets' if a daughter was born.

Frequent are also such verbal formulae as *salōmōlēk!* 'How do you do; welcome', cf. less official *salūm* greetings, 'hi'. A polite answer for greeting is *wālēk bar salūm*, accompanied by a *das(t)-būsi* 'a gesture of ritual kissing each other's hand'.



## 7 DIALECTOLOGY AND CONTACTS

### 7.1 Internal dialectology of Shughni

The Shughn(an)i linguemes that are located in neighboring valleys have rather clear geographical boundaries, but remain mutually intelligible. In their contact zones transitional dialects develop, and their level of linguistic affinity varies.

In vocabulary, there are found series of differentiations, particularly in the most active stratum of cultural lexemes. In the Shahdara subdialect the speech of residents of the lower villages, i.e. those from Tavdem to Khorog, closely resembles that of Shughni, while higher up the Shahdara river, from Tavdem to Jawshanghoz, are found some subdialectal distinctions.

The subdialect of Barwoz, which is located in highest part of the valley, is quite exclusive and can clearly be distinguished. It has developed some specific phonetic, grammatical, and lexical characteristics, which still need to be investigated in detail. This dialect is now limited to use within a few families.

The distinctive criteria applied for dialects and subdialects are usually those of a phonetic and/or grammatical nature. Regarding the consonant system, one can find several distinctions in special features of several phonemes, together with particular lexemes: in the Shughn(an)i proper and Shahdara subdialects the consonants *k g* are postdorsal in all positions. In the Bajuwi and Barwoz subdialects these consonants differ from Shughn(an)i, and by their articulation approaches that of Rushani and Khufi palatalized *k g*. The fricative *ɣ* in the Shughn(an)i proper and Shahdara subdialects also has permanent postdorsal articulation. In the Bajuwi and Barwoz subdialects, fricative *ɣ* in some positions approaches that of Rushani and Khufi palatalized *ɣ*. Thus, for example, in the Bajuwi subdialect the articulation of the fricative *ɣ* in position before frontal *i*, *i* substantially moves forward, and develops into a sonant palatal variant (Karamshoev 1963: 69). Particularly noteworthy is the correspondence between Bajuwi *w* – Shughni *ɥ*, which reflects deeper divergent historical developments.

Distinguishing features in grammar include the prevalence of different grammatical markers, such as the plural marker Shughn(an)i *-ēn* vs. Shahdara *-(j)ēv*, mentioned above.

Of major importance for the larger Shughn(an)i-Rushani sub-group is the distinction between transitive and intransitive inflection in past tenses. In particular, the ergative construction is retained in Shughn(an)i only minimally by the marker *-i* for the 3s agent, whereas the ergative construction is relatively better preserved in Rushani and Bartangi.

### 7.2 Adjacent languages and dialects

The relatively large geographic area where Shughn(an)i is spoken is adjacent to a large variety of linguistic neighbors. In the North, the neighboring languages are Rushani and Khufi, which are closely related to Shughni. In the south, the prevalent languages are Tajik, and then Ishkashmi and Wakhi. In the east and north-east are the Turkic Kyrghyz dialects.

The Shahdara and Ghund valleys were the destination for numerous immigrants from various regions of the West Pamir, including Rushan, Bartang, Roshorv, and even more distant Sarez and Murghab. In the upper reaches of the Shahdara valley, where the almost inaccessible mountain pass to Wakhan is located, the local people trace their grandparents to Wakhan. To this day their relationship has not been interrupted

completely, and close marriages and social contacts with the Wakhi-speaking community are still common there.

The closest contacts and connections with the Tajik language are those with the Badakhshan Tajik subdialects in the south-west of the region, Ghoron, Ishkashim, and with some other Tajik dialects, such as Munji in Shahdara. In the west there are close contacts with the Dari dialects of Afghanistan.

### 7.3 Loan component

Indigenous forms are preserved in verbs, pronouns, nouns (cultural terms, body parts, crafts and occupations, agricultural, ritual terms). However, numerous terms related to traditional culture, such as the names of the seasons in the folk calendar, house utensils, types of buildings, ritual dishes, clothes, etc. are disappearing, and the older terms tend to be preserved only in bound contexts such as collocations and phraseology.

Most numerous in the contemporary language are loans from Tajik. These include terms relating to modern technology as well as traditional Islam: *šarāt* 'shariat' (the Islamic law), and *šaytūn-arōba* 'bicycle', adopted in the 1920s. Some loans include terms, which have become obsolete in the Tajik itself, and are only preserved in the Pamir languages, sometimes with shift of meanings, such as *jamāt* 'family' (beginning of the twentieth century) in the term *jamōat-xinā* used by the Ismaili community for a place for prayer.

There are some loanwords from Arabic that entered via classical Farsi or Tajik, but have become archaisms in contemporary Tajik. Such Shughni terms include *šitō* 'cold' < A. *šitā* 'winter', *saxrā* 'stubborn fellow, country man', Taj. *saxra* 'rocks; country man (or person who lives in high mountains)', Ar. *saxrā* 'rock; stubborn'; *yalīz* 'crude; inadmissible', *yalīz gāp* 'crude word(s)', Ar. *yalīz* 'coarse; large, fat'.

In turn, numerous Shughni words or their phonetic variants are used in Tajik dialects, such as *yūrš* 'dung', Taj. dial. *yūruš*, f. Taj. *yūšā* id.; *yūr-ak* 'unripe fruit', Taj. Badakhshan *yurk*, *yuruk* id., Northern Taj. dial. *yurak* 'fruiting, ovary', *yur* 'nutshell'.

### 7.4 Pamir languages and Indo-Aryan

There are some loan words from other Pamir languages, including the following loaned via Wakhi: "mountain stream, flow; tributary", Barwoz micro-dialect *zirāv* < Wakhi *īerav* (vs. Shughni proper *šarvidōi* and similar in other varieties); "wolf", Sarikoli *xīθπ* < Wakhi *šapt*, an old taboo term < Dardic Khowar *šapir* < \**āpita-*, OInd. *āapta-* 'cursed' (vs. lexemes derived from \**wārka-* in most Shughni varieties, e.g. Shughni proper *wūri*). In general, terms borrowed from Indo-Aryan relate to material culture, such as *birūi* 'birch bark'; *čipōs rūgan* 'cotton oil' < MInd. \**kappāsa-* (as in Pali), OInd. *karpāsa-* 'cotton'; *kappur* 'vessel made of pumpkin' < MInd. \**kappara-*, OInd. *karpāra-* 'bowl'.

### 7.5 Turkic Kyrghyz

A number of loanwords are from Turkic, especially Kyrghiz, most of which relate to cattle breeding, dairy farming, housekeeping equipment (especially associated with summer pasturing).

## 7.6 Substrate features

A certain lexical stratum is of substrate origin. There is also a group of “areal words” which are used in different languages of the region (Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Dardic, and non-Indo-European), but whose origins are unknown.

The substratum influence was significant, and not only resulted in supplying new vocabulary items, but also caused a shift in the semantics of words that already existed in Shughni. For example, *dawūm čīd-ōw* ‘to begin’, loaned from Arabic *davām* via Tajik *davōm* ‘continuation’, could change its meaning from ‘continuation’ to ‘beginning’ not spontaneously but only under the influence of a substratum form like Burushaski *dohon* ‘beginning, the beginning’ (with substitution *h* for *w*). Substrate influence is also reflected in the innovative derivation of *t-ama*, the pronoun of the 2p, from the singular pronoun *t-u*.

## 8 SAMPLE TEXTS

### 8.1 *Bāt Ayūm* ‘The Spring Equinox Festival’

*ar sōl ta buōr-jēv bāt ayūm īd anj-ēn.*  
each year ta spring-TIME Bat Ayom fest they-set about  
‘In the spring of every year they celebrate the Bat Ayom fest.’

*yid as fuk-a0 yulla-di ayūm māš-and,*  
this from all biggest fest us-POSS  
‘This is our greatest holiday.’

*šič ta bēx mardum dam ayūm nawrūz luv-ēn*  
now ta more people this-OBLf fest Nawruz they-say  
‘Nowadays most people call it Nawruz.’

*atā dōyim-ik-ēn bēx-di yō bāt ayūm lūd yō xidīr ayūm.*  
and continuous-they more this-OBLm either Bat Ayom call-PT or elder Ayom  
‘but they used to call it either Bat Ayom or Xidir Ayom.’

*ažda-um-i mārta yō bīst-u-aft-um-i amal*  
18-th-iz March or 27-th-iz Amal  
‘On March 18, or Amal 27’

*atā mardum ta xu kōčōr fuk-a0 as čīd-and ziwēd-ēn-xu*  
and people ta own thing all from house-LOC they-bring out, then  
‘people take all their belongings outside, then’

*xu čad-ēn tōzā kin-ēn, sipē-gil yō gāč wēv δ-ēn,*  
own houses fresh they-make, white-clay or lime those-OBLp they-hit  
‘clean their houses, whitening them with white clay or lime’

*dōyim-ēn yīnik-ēn xu čīd būrj-ēn gul-buri mis čūd yōyǰ qati.*  
continuous-AG3p women own house columns decoration also made-PT flour with  
‘women usually decorated the walls of their houses with flower ornaments made with flour.’

*wi ayūm mē0 ta mardum fuk-a0 naw pūxōk pinīz-d,*  
that-om fest day ta people all new dress he-puts on  
'On the day of the holiday people put on new clothes,'

*ar čī-nd naw na vē-d, zinōđj-in ta pinīz-d-at*  
each who-to new not is, washed ta put on, and  
'those who have no new clothes put on clean clothes, then'

*bād naḫti-y-ēn tar māraka-yēn,*  
after they-leave to social gatherings  
'afterwards go to social gatherings,'

*ḡinik-ēn dišad-ēn ti dāf di-y-ēn,*  
women roofs on drum they-hit  
'women play local drums on the roofs of their houses,'

*čōrik-ēn guj tāž-ēn-at qastīn anj-ēn.*  
men kid they-drag-and wrestling they-take up  
'while men compete in goat-dragging and wrestling (and similar sporting events).'

*atā as fuk-a0 bēx-di ta tarmurx δēd wēδ-ēn,*  
and from all more ta egg fighting they-put  
'And the best of all is the egg cracking competition,'

*ōdam yast idē ayūm mē0 sad tarmurx yēs-t.*  
person exists that fest day 100 egg takes away  
'there are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the fest.'

## 8.2 The Prodigal Son, Luke 15, 11–32

*atā yēsō dawūm-i čūd: yi ōdam-and-ēn du puc vad.*  
and Jesus begin-AG3s made: one man-to-3p two son were  
'And Jesus began to speak: One man had two sons.'

*fištīr puc xu dōd-ard-i lūd: mu bāx mīrōs mu-rd dā-k.*  
younger son own father-for-AG3s said: my portion inheritance me-for give  
'The younger son told his father: Give me my portion of the inheritance.'

*atā yu čōrik xu mōl-at ōl-i xu pac-ēn-ard bāx čūd*  
and that man own property-and wealth-AG3s own sons-for division made  
'And that man divided his (own) livelihood between his sons.'

*bād as δu-aray mē0 yu fištīr puc fuk-a0-i xu mōl*  
after from two-three day that younger son all-AG3s own property  
*jām čūd,*  
collection made

'After two three day the younger son gathered all his livelihood'

*xu pūl-qati tar ḍaraki jōy tūyd. tar-am-i yik-dis ayš čūd*  
 own money-with to far-off place went there-AG3s such-way enjoyment made  
 ‘And went with his money to a far country. There he so enjoyed himself’

*idē ar čīz wi-nd ca vud, fuk-a0-i binēst.*  
 that every thing his-POSS ca was-m all-AG3s lost  
 ‘that he lost everything that he had.’

*atā yik-di waxt-and yik-wi mumlakat-and mōjĵ sut-at*  
 and very-this-OBLm time-LOC very-that-OBL-1m country-LOC famine it-became-and  
 ‘And just at that time in that country famine arose, and’

*yu sōf bē-navō sut.*  
 he plain poor he-became  
 ‘he became completely poor.’

*bād as maĵbūri sut tar yi bōy xēz kōr tilāpt,*  
 after from necessity he-went to one rich-man house work requested  
 ‘After that he became forced to ask for work at one rich citizen’s farm,’

*atā yu bōy wi-y-i tar xu qišlōq xūg-būni čīd-ōw bōxt.*  
 and that rich him-AG3s to own village swine-herding making sent  
 ‘And that citizen sent him to his village to herd the swine.’

*yu amēxā, yik-dis maĵjūnĵ vud idē xūg-ēn xurōk-ā čī-xīd sut,*  
 he always such-way hungry he-was that swine fodder to-eating he-became  
 ‘He was always so hungry that he began to eat the fodder of the swines,’

*dūnd-avēn idē wi-rd-ēn yi čīz-a0 na-ḍōd.*  
 such-sake that him-for-AG3s one thing not gave  
 ‘because they gave nothing to him.’

*dāḍ wi wux tar wi yat-xu yu xu-rd-a0-i lūd:*  
 then his conscience to him came-then he self-to-AG3s said  
 ‘Then this awareness came to him, and he said to himself:’

*mu dōd-and wi dūnd xizmat-gōr*  
 my father-to that-many servant  
 ‘My father has so many servants’

*atā yi-čāy as wēv-andi maĵjūnĵ na-ris-t-at,*  
 and one from them-among hungry not remains-and  
 ‘and none of them stays hungry, and’

*wēv xurōk bēx mis ḍēd.*  
 their food more also remained  
 ‘there are always leftovers of their food’.

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