

CHAPTER III NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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

1. NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

Table 3.1. Examples of Yaghnobi nouns identified by semantic category

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

2.1.2. THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

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

(2) Plural suffixes:

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

2.1.3. COUNTED NOUNS

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

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

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

Table 3.2 Possessive suffixes.

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

(6) Use of the possessive personal suffixes

a. 1st person singular

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

b. 1st person plural

No example was elicited or found in texts.

c. 2nd person singular

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

d. 2nd person plural

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

e. 3rd person singular

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

f. 3rd person plural

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

3.2. DIMINUTIVE

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

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

4. DETERMINERS

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

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

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

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

⁷ This suffix also appears in Tajik.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(11) Definite and indefinite plural nouns

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

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

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

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

5. PRONOUNS

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

Table 3.3. Personal pronouns

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

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

(13) Uses of personal pronouns

a. 1st person singular

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

b. 2nd person singular (unmarked case)

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

- c. 3rd person singular (unmarked case)

ax nihedok -i xoj
he right.here -CS was
 (LOC)
 ‘**He** was right here.’

- d. 1st person plural

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

- e. 2nd person plural

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

- f. 3rd person plural (unmarked case)

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

- g. 3rd person plural (marked case)

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

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

- (14) *otfa -m taβ baxfa kultfa a- puxson*
 mother -1S **you** for roll PST- bake
 ‘My mother baked **you** a roll.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1. PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Table 3.4. Proximal demonstratives

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

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

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

a. Determiner

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

b. Pronoun

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

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

a. Determiner

man kat it men -i xæst

I house **this** village - of be

‘My house is in **this** village.’

b. Pronoun

it -i man kor -om -ift

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

(ACC)

‘I will look at **this**.’

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

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

a. unmarked

nihef kajk man hamsinf xast

this.very girl I classmate be

‘**This very** girl is my classmate.’

b. marked

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

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

(ACC)

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

6.2. DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Table 3.5. Distal demonstratives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3. SELECTIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Table 3.6. Selective demonstratives.

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

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

6.4. SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Table 3.7. Spatial demonstratives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(41) Examples of the use of distal spatial demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

6.5. COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Table 3.8. Conventionalized compounds involving demonstratives.

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

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

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

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

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

6.6. WESTERN DIALECT

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

Table 3.9. Western dialect demonstratives.

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

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

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

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

(46) Western dialect demonstratives

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

7. SPATIAL RELATORS

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

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

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

7.1. PREPOSITIONS

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

Table 3.10. Prepositions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. Comparative

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

‘He is two years older **than** me.’

d. Cause

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

‘This sickness is **from** coldness.’

e. Source

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

7.2. POSTPOSITIONS

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

Table 3.11. Postpositions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(53) Postpositions are formally genitive dependents of NPs

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

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

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

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

(54) Postposition *-pi* ‘with’

a. Accompanying

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

b. Mutual involvement

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

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

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

d. Instrumental

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

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

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

(55) Use of *nit* ‘at, on, over, by’

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

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

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

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

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

(LOC) (LOC)

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

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

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

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

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

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

a. Toward a spatial goal

safar kat -i -sa tir -tʃi:

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

(LOC)

‘Safar is going **to** his house.’

b. Toward a temporal limit

fumox to firona -i -sa kor -s

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

‘Watch **until** tomorrow.’

c. Spatial orientation

fah arus -i -sa vo -tʃi:

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

‘The groom said **to** the bride.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.3. RELATOR NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

Table 3.12. Relator nouns.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘His **head** doesn’t have hair.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(65) *tak* 'bottom'

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

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

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

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

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

'There is gold under the tree.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(67) *citam* ‘back, behind’

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

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

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

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

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

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

(68) *pahlu* ‘side’

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

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

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