

THE POLYSEMOUS YAGHNOBI -I AFFIX

IS IT REALLY A SINGLE PHONEME?

January 12, 2007

BRIAN A. BIRD

University of Oregon, Eugene

1. THE SEMANTICS OF *i*

The list below shows the various meanings of /i/. When it precedes the word it modifies it can mean 'one' (the quantity), or 'a' (the indefinite article). When it follows the word it modifies it has one of at least ten grammatical functions.

1.1 PRECEDING A WORD (PROCLITIC)

1.1.1 'ONE'. This is simply the number one.

Ман дас сутури панч вузи й ҶОВ ХОЙ.

man das sutur -i panj vuz -i i: ʝov xoɨ

I ten sheep -QTY five goat -QTY **one** cow was

'I had ten sheep, five goats, and one cow.'

1.1.2 'A'. This is the indefinite article, which is clearly semantically related to the number one. In fact, it is difficult to find a context where the meaning are clearly distinct.

Ман й ҶОВ АВЕНИМ.

man i: ʝov a- ven -im

I **a** cow PST- see -1SG

'I saw a cow.'

1.2 FOLLOWING A WORD (SUFFIX)

1.2.1 LOCATION. The suffix marks the location at which a thing is or where an action takes place.

Бозори тав кадут авеним.

bozor -i taʁ kadu -t a- ven -им

bazar -LOC you squash -P PST- see -1

‘I saw your squash in the bazar.’

1.2.2 GENITIVE. This case marks the possessor of an object either literally or figuratively.

Сафари кат аст.

safar -i kat ast

Safar -GEN house have

‘Safar has a house.’

1.2.3 QUANTITY. The *-i* suffix appears on any noun that is preceded by a number. It seems to indicate that the noun is being counted.

Ду мортии агир.

du morti -i a- tir

two man -QTY PST- go

‘Two men left.’

1.2.4 DIRECT OBJECT. The *-i* suffix only marks direct objects that are definite and animate. Interestingly, vehicles are considered animate.

Наҳав сафед сутури куш.

nahav safed sutur -i kuʃ

that.very white sheep -ACC kill.2S

‘Kill exactly that white sheep.’

1.2.5 SUBJECT IN CONTINUOUS ASPECT. The subject of continuous aspect verbs is marked with the *-i* suffix. This is true for both transitive and intransitive verbs and therefore fits the pattern of absolutive case marking.

Малимти арки кар ой.

malim -t -i ark -i kar oĭ
teacher -P -ABS work -GEN do had
'The teachers were working.'

1.2.6 DENOMINALIZER. The suffix *-i* derives a non-finite verbal form from a noun.

Ах мох кат хушгони авов.

ax moh kat xuʃgon -i -i a- vov
1Per we house marriage.proposer -DeNom -Purp PST- come
'He came to our house to propose marriage.'

1.2.7 COUPLES ELEMENTS OF COMPLEX VERBS. The nominal element of a complex verb is coupled to verbs by *-i*. But, when the verb is finite the *-i* is not used.

Ави одамти ёрдами карак аст.

avi odam -t -i jordam -i kar -ak ast
that person -P -LOC help -CPL do -Part have
'That person is helping.'

1.2.8 PURPOSE IN COMPOUND SENTENCES. The purpose of an action is marked by *-i*.

Ах й сутури носаки бахша Яғноб ашав.

ax i: sutur -i nos -ak -i baxʃa jaynob a- ʃav
he a sheep -ACC take -PART -PURP for Yaghnob PST- go
'He went to Yaghnob to get a sheep.'

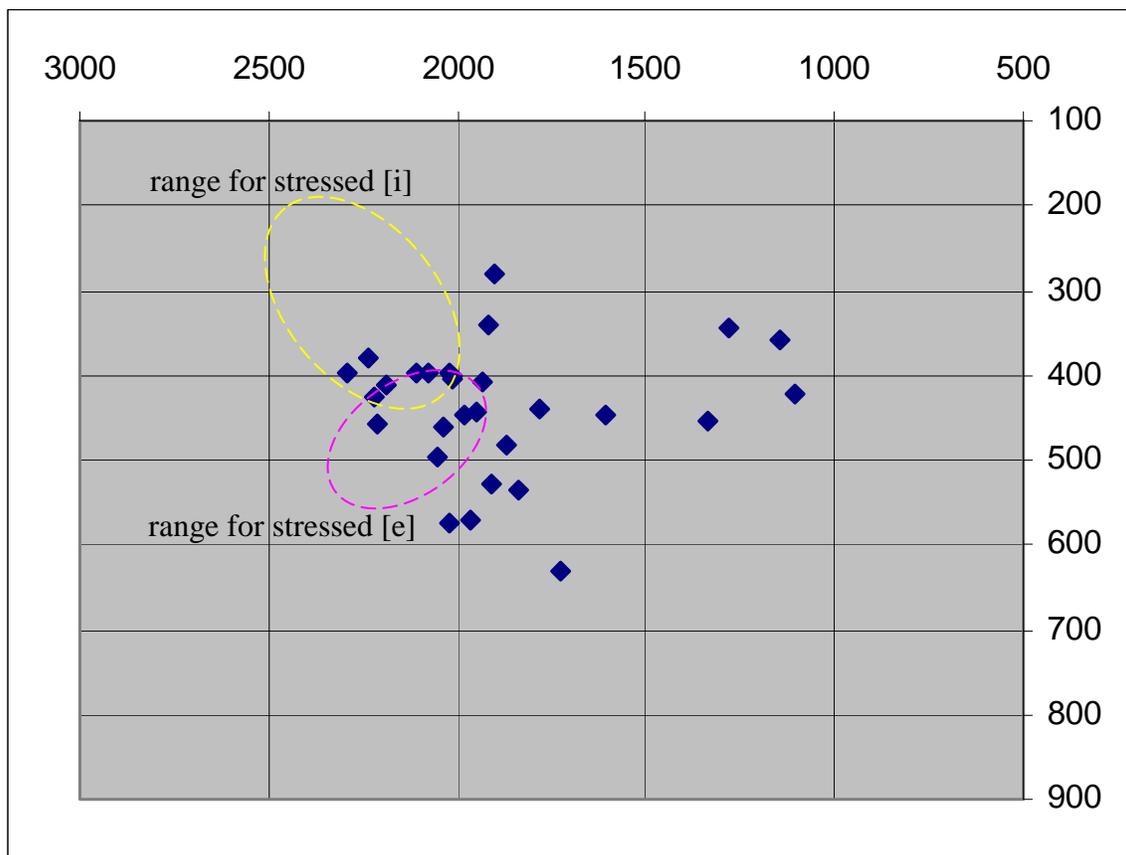
2. SEGMENTAL FEATURES OF THE SUFFIX I

In the two tables below, segmental features of the suffix /i/ are compared to the function of the suffix in the utterance from which the data was taken. One or two of the words following the suffix are included to clarify the context. The line number from a transcription of the frog story is also included.

The first table is sorted by F1, since this is the main differentiator of [i] and [e] which are the two vowel sounds which most often instantiate /i/ word finally. The rows in yellow correspond to the F1 range for [i], and the rows in pink correspond to the F1 range for [e]. Although many (7 out of 9) of the /i/ suffixes with genitive function (GEN) have an F1 corresponding to [i], there are also many /i/ suffixes with other functions that have this range as well. There does not appear to be any definite correlation between function and F1.

Function	F1	F2	Yagnobi word	Gloss	No.
GEN	279	1898	'kut-i-pi-f	dog-GEN-with-3SING	001
LOC	342	1916	daj'ro-tʃa.-i-sa	river-little-GEN-toward	003
GEN	344	1284	'ros-i bidon-i	road-GEN middle-LOC	007
ABS	359	1145	i zu'tak-i	a boy-ABS	001
CPL	380	2233	mo'hi.-i	fish-CPL	001
LOC	396	2110	'lap-i i sank	bank-LOC a rock	039
ACC?	396	2080	zu'tak-i	boy-ACC	103
LOC	397	2295	'tak-i a-ʉst	under-LOC PAST-go	073
GEN	398	2017	ka'paʃ-i-f	lap-GEN-3SING	073
GEN	401	2012	tire'za.-i tak-i	window-GEN under-LOC	073
GEN	403	2016	da'raxt-i bidon	tree-GEN middle	003
GEN	407	1936	'howz-i lap-i	pond-GEN edge-LOC	002
GEN	413	2188	'kut-i-f	dog-GEN-3SING	073
QTY	422	1104	sam'baqa.i otʃa.at	frog-QTY mother-3SING	122
ACC	426	2223	sam'baqa.-i tʃi	frog-ACC from	025
ACC	439	1780	'kut-i-sur	dog-ACC-expel	092
LOC	444	1946	di'raxt-i peʃpoi.-i	tree-LOC trip-CPL	015
GEN	448	1979	'kut-i-sa	dog-GEN-toward	015
LOC	448	1609	'sar-i a-san	top-LOC PAST-ascend	015
			sam'baqa.-i tʃag-	frog-ACC catch-have-3PL-	
ACC	457	2211	dor-ante	PURP	030
GEN	462	2039	'kut-i-pi-f	dog-GEN-with-3SING	001
LOC	484	1872	'lap-i a-ʉst	bank-LOC PAST-come	002
CPL	496	2054	peʃ'poi.-i xort	trip-CPL ate	015
CPL	527	1906	'ʃorak-i ave	see-CPL become	015
LOC	535	1839	'sar-i a-san	top-LOC PAST-ascend	039
CPL	570	1965	'ʃorak-i ave	see-CPL become	003
LOC	573	2022	bi'don-i i daraxt	middle-LOC tree	007
ACC	631	1728	sam'baqa.-i na	frog-ACC no	006

The plot of F1 vs. F2 below shows all the /i/ suffixes. The range for [i] and [e] in stressed syllables that was determined by the analysis in the paper “Yagnobi Vowels” is marked on this plot. It can be seen that the suffix /i/ tends to be more centralized, but also more widely scattered which is what one would expect in an unstressed syllable. It is interesting to note however, that the scattering is greater for the suffix /i/ than it was for /i/ in unstressed syllables in general.



In the next table, the length of the segment instantiating the suffix /i/ is compared to the function of the suffix. No correlation between vowel length and function is discernable.

Func	Len	Yaghnobi word	Gloss	No.
GEN	0	di'raxt-ø sar-i	tree-GEN top-LOC	015
PURP	0	no'sak-i ja'vak-f	catch-PURP go-3SING	001
GEN	0	'sank-i sar-i	rock-GEN top-LOC	039
GEN	0.018	'kut-i-sa	dog-GEN-toward	015
ACC	0.021	sam'baqa.-i tʃag-dor-ot	frog-ACC catch-have-3SING	018
LOC	0.021	'sar-i a-san	top-LOC PAST-ascend	039
ACC	0.023	'kut-i-sur	dog-ACC-expel	092
ACC	0.035	sam'baqa.-i na	frog-ACC no	006
LOC	0.039	daj'ro-tʃa.-i-sa	river-little-GEN-toward	003
LOC	0.041	'tak-i a-ʏft	under-LOC PAST-go	073
ACC	0.042	sam'baqa.-i tʃag-dor-ante	frog-ACC catch-have-3P-PRP	030
LOC	0.044	di'raxt-i peʃpoi.-i	tree-LOC trip-CPL	015
GEN	0.045	'kut-i-pi-f	dog-GEN-with-3SING	001
GEN	0.048	'kut-i-pi-f	dog-GEN-with-3SING	006
GEN	0.053	ka'paʃ-i-f	lap-GEN-3SING	073
GEN	0.054	'ros-i bidon-i	road-GEN middle-LOC	007
GEN	0.054	'kut-i-f	dog-GEN-3SING	073
GEN	0.058	tire'za.-i tak-i	window-GEN under-LOC	073
CPL	0.061	'yorak-i ave	see-CPL become	015
GEN	0.064	'howz-i lap-i	pond-GEN edge-LOC	002
QTY	0.064	sam'baqa.i otʃa.at	frog-QTY mother-3SING	122
GEN	0.071	'kut-i-pi-f	dog-GEN-with-3SING	001
LOC	0.084	'sar-i a-san	top-LOC PAST-ascend	015
CPL	0.089	peʃ'poi.-i xort	trip-CPL ate	015
LOC	0.103	'lap-i a-ʏft	bank-LOC PAST-come	002
CPL	0.104	'yorak-i ave	see-CPL become	003
ACC?	0.109	ʒu'tak-i #	boy-ACC	103
ACC	0.135	sam'baqa.-i tʃi	frog-ACC from	025
LOC	0.141	bi'don-i i daraxt	middle-LOC tree	007
CPL	0.145	mo'hi.-i	fish-CPL	001
ABS	0.204	i ʒu'tak-i	a boy-ABS	001
GEN	0.232	da'raxt-i bidon	tree-GEN middle	003

LOC	0.71	'lap-i i sank	bank-LOC a rock	039
-----	------	---------------	-----------------	-----