BRIEF CONTENTS

List of illustrations lix
Notes on contributors lxv
Foreword lxix
List of abbreviations lxxi

1 Introduction to The Iranian Languages 1
Gernot Windfuhr

2 Dialectology and Topics 5
Gernot Windfuhr

3 Old Iranian 43
Prods Oktor Skjæervo

4 Middle West Iranian 196
Prods Oktor Skjæervo

5 Sogdian 279
Yutaka Yoshida

6 Khwarezmian 336
Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst

7 Khotanese and Tumshuqese 377
Ronald E. Emmerick†

8 Persian and Tajik 416
Gernot Windfuhr and John R. Perry

9 Zazaki 545
Ludwig Paul

10 Kurdish 587
Ernest N. McCarus

11 Balochi 634
Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn

12 Parachi 693
Charles M. Kieffer

13 Pashto 721
Barbara Robson and Habibullah Tegey†

14a The Pamir Languages 773
D. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva
14b Shughni
D. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva

15 Wakhi
Elena Bashir

Notes 859
Acknowledgements 859
Bibliography and references 860
Index 863
FULL CONTENTS

List of illustrations
Notes on contributors
Foreword
List of abbreviations

1 Introduction to The Iranian Languages  Gernot Windfuhr  1
  1 Overview 1
  Bibliography 3

2 Dialectology and topics  Gernot Windfuhr  5
  1 Introduction 5
    1.1 Origins: The Central Asian component 5
    1.2 Ancient non-Iranian contact languages 8
    1.3 Listing of Iranian languages 9
    1.4 Predecessors of Modern Iranian languages 15
    1.5 Modern non-Iranian contact languages 15
  2 Phonology 18
    2.1 Early Iranian dialects 18
    2.2 West Iranian consonantal developments 18
    2.3 Innovations: SW drift vs. NW 20
    2.4 East and West Iranian 21
    2.5 Stress 21
  3 Morphology and syntax 22
    3.1 Gender and animacy 22
    3.2 Cases and personal enclitics 23
    3.3 Deixis 23
    3.4 The verbal quincunx system 24
    3.5 Markers of aspect 25
    3.6 Present marker *-ant 26
  4 Syntax 27
    4.1 Word order typology: adjectival noun phrase 27
      4.1.1 Diachrony 28
      4.1.2 Urartian and Elamite substrates 28
      4.1.3 Iranian as a “buffer zone” 29
    4.2 Bundling West Iranian isoglosses 29
    4.3 The Iranian ergative construction 31
    4.4 Differential object marking 33
    4.5 Clause complementation 35
  Bibliography and references
    A Selected topical references 35
    B Alphabetical 36
3 Old Iranian  Prods Oktor Skjervo  43

1 Introduction  43
  1.1 The Old Iranian languages  43
    1.1.1 The Old and Young Avesta, Old and Young Avestan  44
    1.1.2 The oral background of the Avestan text  44
    1.1.3 The Avestan alphabet  45
    1.1.4 Stages of Avestan  46
    1.1.5 Old Persian  46
    1.1.6 The Old Persian script  47
    1.1.7 Old Iranian grammars  47
  1.2 The phonology of Indo-Iranian  48
    1.2.1 Consonants  48
      1.2.1.1 Ir. Velars  48
      1.2.1.2 Ir. Affricates  48
      1.2.1.3 Ir. š ž  48
      1.2.1.4 Ir. The laryngeals  49
      1.2.1.5 Ir. Liquids and nasals  49
    1.2.2 Vowels  49
    1.2.3 Proto-Indo-Iranian phoneme inventory  49
    1.2.4 Ablaut  49
  1.3 The phonology of Proto-Iranian  50
  1.4 Early Iranian dialects  50
  1.5 Writing systems  51
    1.5.1 The Avestan script  51
    1.5.2 The Old Persian script  52

2 Phonology  53
  2.1 The phonology of Avestan  53
    2.1.1 Vowel systems  54
      2.1.1.1 Notes on the vowels  54
      2.1.1.2 Vocalic length  54
      2.1.1.3 Diphthongs  55
      2.1.1.4 Hiatus  55
      2.1.1.5 Ir. ŋ  55
      2.1.1.6 Nasalised vowels  55
    2.1.2 Consonant systems  56
      2.1.2.1 Notes on the consonants  56
      2.1.2.2 Sibilants  57
      2.1.2.3 ‘Shibilants’  57
      2.1.2.4 Distribution  57
  2.2 The phonology of Old Persian  58
    2.2.1 The vowels ā, ĭ, ĭ  58
    2.2.2 Consonants  58
      2.2.2.1 Notes on the consonants  58
    2.2.3 Late Old Persian  59
  2.3 The morphophonology of Avestan and Old Persian  59
    2.3.1 Vowels  59
      2.3.1.1 Centralising of a, ā > o (ţ)  59
      2.3.1.2 Rounding of a, ā > ř or ŭ  60
2.3.1.2a Old Avestan initial šā- < a-lā-
2.3.1.3 Raising of of a, ā > e
2.3.1.4 Combined centralising and raising and rounding of a
2.3.1.5 Shortening of ā and lengthening of a
2.3.2 Consonants
2.3.2.1 Assimilation and dissimilation
2.3.2.1a Voice assimilation
2.3.2.1b 'Bartholomae's law'
2.3.2.1c Geminates
2.3.2.1d Dissimilation
2.3.2.2 Spirantisation
2.3.2.2a Unvoiced stops and the unvoiced fricatives f θ x
2.3.2.2b Voiced stops b d g and voiced spirants β δ γ
2.3.2.3 Consonant groups and anaptyxis
2.3.2.3a Groups at morpheme boundary
2.3.2.3b Anaptyxis in Old Persian
2.3.2.4 Palatalisation and labialisation of consonants
2.3.2.4a i- and u-epenthesis in Avestan
2.3.2.4b Dissimilation of ij and uy to aj, aj, and uy
2.3.2.4c Epenthesis in Old Persian
2.3.2.5 Glides
2.3.2.6 Simplification of consonant groups
2.3.3 Sandhi
2.3.3.1 Anaptyxis in sandhi
2.3.3.2 Final vowels and diphthongs in sandhi
2.3.4 Stress-related alternations
2.3.5 Metro-phonology
2.3.5.1 Disyllabic long vowels and diphthongs
2.3.5.2 Siever's law
2.3.6 Phonological changes associated with inflection and endings
3 Morphology: Nominal morphology
3.1 Nouns
3.1.1 Gender
3.1.2 Number and case
3.1.3 Stem classes and declensions
3.1.3.1 Derived feminine adjectives and nouns
3.1.4 Protero-, hystero- and holo-kinetic declensions
3.1.5 Case endings
3.1.5.1 The zero ending
3.1.5.2 Endings in b-
3.1.5.3 Added -ā
3.1.6 Individual declensions
3.1.6.1 The i- and u-stems
3.1.6.2 Monosyllabic and polysyllabic ai- and au-stems
3.1.6.3 Holo-kinetic stems
3.1.6.4 r-stems
3.1.6.5 Stem-formants containing $n$
3.1.6.5a Stems in -an-
3.1.6.5b Stems in -fan-
3.1.6.5c Stems in -yan-, -man-, -Han-
3.1.6.5d Stems in -ant-
3.1.6.5e Stems in -uant-, -mant-, -Hant-
3.1.6.5f Stems in -Hank, -iHank-
3.1.6.6 Stems in -ah-, -iah-, -ttuah-
3.1.6.7 Neuter r/-stems
3.1.6.8 Stems in laryngeals
3.1.6.9 Other consonant stems
3.1.6.10 Suppletive stem-systems
3.2 Adjectives: comparative and superlative
3.3 Adverbs
3.4 Pronouns
3.4.1 Personal pronouns
3.4.2 Possessive pronouns (adjectives)
3.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns
3.4.4 Relative pronoun
3.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns
3.4.6 Reflexive pronouns and reciprocity
3.4.7 Pronominal case endings
3.5 Adpositions
3.6 Numerals and measure
3.6.1 'One' to 'four'
3.6.2 The remaining numerals
3.6.3 Derived numerals
3.6.3.1 Multiplicatives
3.6.3.2 '-th time'
3.6.3.3 Fractions
4 Morphology ii: Verbal morphology
4.1 Stem classes
4.1.1 Present stems
4.1.1.1 Athematic present stems
4.1.1.2 Thematic present stems
4.1.1.3 The future stem
4.1.1.4 Passive stem
4.1.1.5 Causative stem
4.1.1.6 Denominative stem
4.1.2 Aorist stems
4.1.3 Perfect stems
4.1.4 Suppletive stem systems
4.1.5 Periphrastic formations
4.2 Moods
4.2.1 The subjunctive
4.2.2 The optative
4.3 Voice
4.3.1 The passive in -ja-
4.3.2 The 3rd singular passive in -i
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Person marking (endings)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Preverbs</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Nominal forms of the verb</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1</td>
<td>Participles</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1.1</td>
<td>Present, future and aorist active participles</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1.2</td>
<td>Perfect active participles</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1.3</td>
<td>Middle participles</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1.4</td>
<td>Past participles in -ta-</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.2</td>
<td>Verbal adjectives in -0a-, -0βa-, -iia-</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.3</td>
<td>Infinitives</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Syntax i: Word order and clause structure</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Word order</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1</td>
<td>Adpositions</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2</td>
<td>Preverbs</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3</td>
<td>Repetition of preverb in tmesis</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Topicalisation: 'raising' and 'lowering'</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Raising of verb</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>Raising of direct object</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Lowering of subject</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.4</td>
<td>Lowering of direct/indirect object</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.5</td>
<td>Lowering of adverbial complements</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Special types of clauses</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Exhortations and commands</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Parenthetical clauses in the nominative</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Reported speech</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Syntax ii: Nominals</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Specificity and reference</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.1</td>
<td>Antecedent outside the relative phrase</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.1a</td>
<td>With invariable yaf</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.2</td>
<td>Antecedent inside the relative phrase</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>Neuter plural</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Grammatical concord</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>Dual determinants</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3</td>
<td>Plural subject and singular verb</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Uses of the cases</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1.1</td>
<td>The Old Persian nominative naming phrase</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3.1</td>
<td>Direct object and predicate of direct object</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3.2</td>
<td>Direct objects with nouns and adjectives expressing actions</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3.3</td>
<td>Double accusative</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4.4 Genitive
6.4.4.1 Possessive genitive
6.4.4.2 Subjective and objective genitive
6.4.4.3 Defining or descriptive genitive
6.4.4.5 Partitive genitive
6.4.4.6 Genitive with adjectives and verbs
6.4.4.7 Genitive with adpositions
6.4.5 Dative
6.4.5.1 Indirect object
6.4.5.2 Final dative
6.4.5.3 Dativus commodi
6.4.5.4 Dative with nouns and adjectives
6.4.5.5 Dative of agent
6.4.6 Ablative
6.4.6.1 Ablative of separation
6.4.6.2 Ablative of comparison, difference, and preference
6.4.6.3 Ablative of time or place throughout which
6.4.6.4 Ablative with adpositions
6.4.6.5 Young Avestan ablative = genitive
6.4.7 Instrumental
6.4.7.1 Instrumental of means
6.4.7.1a Instrumental of space through which
6.4.7.1b Instrumental of reason and cause
6.4.7.1c Instrumental of respect
6.4.7.1d Measure and price
6.4.7.2 Instrumental of accompaniment and dissociation/deprivation
6.4.7.2a Accompaniment
6.4.7.2b Dissociation/deprivation
6.4.7.3 Instrumental with adpositions
6.4.7.4 Case replacements
6.4.8 Locative
6.4.8.1 Locative of place and time
6.4.8.2 Locative of prize won
6.4.8.3 Locative with adpositions
6.5 Uses of pronouns and pronominal forms
6.5.1 Personal pronouns
6.5.1.1 1st and 2nd persons, tonic forms
6.5.1.2 3rd person
6.5.2.2a ha-, ta-
6.5.2.2b The oblique pronominal stem a-
6.5.2.2c i-, hi-/si-, di-
6.5.1.3 Enclitic pronouns 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person
6.5.1.3a Nominative 118
6.5.1.3b Accusative 118
6.5.1.3c Genitive-dative 119
6.5.1.3d Ablative 119
6.5.2 Possessive pronouns 119
6.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns 119
  6.5.3.1 The near-deictic imo-la- 120
  6.5.3.2 The near deictic aēša-laēta- 120
  6.5.3.3 The demonstrative pronoun huuūō, ana- 121
  6.5.3.4 The far-deictic auua- 121
6.5.4 Reflexive pronouns 122
  6.5.4.1 Use of tanū- ‘body’ as ‘self’ 122
6.5.5 Reciprocal expressions and ‘other’ 123
6.5.6 Interrogative pronouns 123
6.5.7 Indefinite pronouns 123
6.6 Uses of the numerals 124
6.7 Uses of comparative and superlative 124
  6.7.1 Comparative 124
    6.7.1.1 Comparative + positive in contrasting pairs 125
    6.7.1.2 Comparative in compounds 125
  6.7.2 Superlative 125
7 Syntax iii: The verb 126
  7.1 Tenses 126
    7.1.1 Present indicative 126
      7.1.1.1 Av. present indicative with ‘before’ = past 127
      7.1.1.2 Young Avestan, Old Persian present asti for imperfect 128
      7.1.1.3 Old Persian present for continuing state 128
    7.1.2 Present injunctive and imperfect 128
      7.1.2.1 Present injunctive 128
      7.1.2.2 Narrative past 128
      7.1.2.3 Negation and prohibition 129
    7.1.3 Future in -Siia- 130
  7.1.4 Aorist 130
    7.1.4.1 Aorist indicative 130
    7.1.4.2 Aorist injunctive 130
      7.1.4.2a Aorist injunctive expressing anteriority 131
      7.1.4.2b Aorist injunctive expressing future 131
      7.1.4.2c Contrasting aspects of present and aorist injunctive 131
      7.1.4.2d Mythical events 131
    7.1.4.3 Negated aorist injunctive to express prohibition 132
    7.1.4.4 Young Avestan and Old Persian aorist 132
  7.1.5 Perfect 132
    7.1.5.1 Perfects without present 132
    7.1.5.2 Perfect expressing resulting state 133
    7.1.5.4 The past perfect/pluperfect 133
  7.1.6 The verb ‘to be’ and noun clauses 133
    7.1.6.1 The copula 134
7.1.6.2 The existential verb 134
7.1.6.3 Possession 134

7.2 Moods 134
7.2.1 Subjunctive present and aorist 135
7.2.1.1 The subjunctive in main clauses 135
7.2.1.1a 1st person 135
7.2.1.1b 2nd and 3rd persons 135
7.2.2 Optative present and aorist 136
7.2.2.1 Optative in main clauses 136
7.2.2.2 Optative of past action in Young Avestan and Old Persian 137
7.2.3 Imperative 138

7.3 Middle, passive, causative 139
7.3.1 Middle 139
7.3.2 Passive 139
7.3.2.1 Passive with agent 140
7.3.2.2 Old Persian alternatives to passive with agent 140

7.4 Participles 141
7.4.1 Present, future, aorist, and perfect participles 141
7.4.1.1 Present participles 141
7.4.1.2 Other participles 142
7.4.2 Past participles in -ta- 142
7.4.2.1 Medial-reflexive function of the participle in -ta- 143
7.4.2.2 Past participle with copula 143
7.4.3 The Old Persian perfect 144
7.4.3.1 Without agent 144
7.4.3.2 With agent 145
7.4.4 The Old Persian potential construction 145

7.5 Infinitives 145
7.5.1 Infinitive with intentional verbs 145
7.5.2 Infinite with verbs of speaking and thinking 146
7.5.3 Independent use 146

7.6 Verbal adjectives of necessity/gerundives 146

8 Syntax iv: complex sentences 147
8.1 Coordination 147
8.1.1 Parataxis 147
8.1.2 Repetition 147
8.1.3 Conjunctions 149
8.1.3.1 Coordination 149
8.1.3.2 Disjunction 150
8.1.4 Coordinating particles 150
8.1.4.1 Sentence-introductory at, ā“l 150
8.1.4.2 Emphatic particles 152
8.1.4.3 zī ‘for’ 152
8.1.4.4 Responsive bā, bōi 153
8.1.4.5 OAv. òβat, YAv. bādā ‘sometimes, *again and again’ 153
8.1.4.6 Interjections 153
8.2 Subordination
  8.2.1 Substantial that-clauses 153
  8.2.2 Relative clauses 154
    8.2.2.1 The use of moods and tenses in relative clauses 155
    8.2.2.2 Old Avestan relative clauses 155
      8.2.2.2a Relative clause precedes the main clause 155
      8.2.2.2b Relative clause follows the main clause 156
      8.2.2.2c Case attraction of relative pronoun 157
    8.2.2.3 Young Avestan relative clauses 158
      8.2.2.3a Relative clause precedes main clause 158
      8.2.2.3b Relative clause follows the main clause 158
      8.2.2.3c asti ya- ‘there is/some of which’ 158
    8.2.2.4 Old Persian relative clauses 159
    8.2.2.5 Indefinite relative clauses 159
    8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses 159
  8.2.3 Adverbial clauses 160
    8.2.3.1 Clauses of time 160
      8.2.3.1a Old Avestan 160
      8.2.3.1b Young Avestan 160
      8.2.3.1c Old Persian 161
    8.2.3.2 Clauses of place 162
    8.2.3.3 Clauses of purpose 162
    8.2.3.4 Clauses of result 162
    8.2.3.5 Clauses of cause 163
    8.2.3.6 Clauses of manner, degree and comparison 163
  8.2.4 Conditional clauses 164
    8.2.4.1 Conditional clauses in Old Avestan 164
    8.2.4.2 Conditional clauses in Young Avestan 165
      8.2.4.2a yezi-clauses: simple conditions 165
      8.2.4.2b yezi-clauses: hypothetical conditions 165
      8.2.4.2c Conditions contrary to fact 166
      8.2.4.2d yat-clauses 166
      8.2.4.2e Periphrasis with present participle 166
    8.2.4.3 Conditional clauses in Old Persian 166
  9 Lexis 167
    9.1 Word Formation 167
      9.1.1 Derivation 167
        9.1.1.1 Suffixes 167
        9.1.1.2 Prefixation 168
          9.1.1.2a Preverbs used as prefixes 168
          9.1.1.2b Nominal prefixes 168
      9.1.2 Compounding 168
        9.1.2.1 Form of first and second members of compounds 168
        9.1.2.2 Adverbial анредита compounds 169
        9.1.2.3 ‘Dual’ or ‘open dvandvas’ 169
  10 Stylistic features 169
    10.1 Old Avestan poetic word order 169
    10.2 Parallelism and chiasmus 170
      10.2.1 Parallelism 170
10.2.2 Chiasmus 171
10.2.3 Combined parallelism and chiasmus 171
10.3 Ellipsis in Old Avestan poetry 171
10.4 Formulaic diction in Old Persian 172
10.5 Figura etymologica 173

11 Sample texts 174
11.1 Old Avestan 174
11.2 Young Avestan 179
11.3 Old Persian 185

Abbreviations of texts 189
Avestan texts 189
Old Persian texts 190

Bibliography and references 190
Linguistic descriptions 190
Bibliographies 190
Further readings 195

4 Middle West Iranian Prods Oktor Skjærvø 196

1 Introduction 196
1.1 Overview 196
1.2 Writing Systems 197
1.2.1 Merger of letter shapes 198

2 Phonology 200
2.1 Inventory and distribution 200
2.1.1 Vowels 200
2.1.2 Consonants 201
2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant groups 201
2.2 Non-segmental aspects 202
2.3 Relationship between orthography and phonology in Pahlavi 202
2.3.1 Vowels 202
2.3.2 Consonants 202
2.3.3 Historical and pseudo-historical orthography 203
2.3.4 Arameograms 203
2.3.5 Transliteration and transcription systems 203

3 Morphology 204
3.1 Nominal morphology 204
3.1.1 Nouns 204
3.1.1.1 Gender 204
3.1.1.2 Number and case 205
3.1.1.3 Definiteness 205
3.1.1.4 Address 205
3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison 206
3.1.3 Adverbs and particles 206
3.1.3.1 Adverbs of time, place, and manner 207
3.1.3.2 Adverbs formed by repetition 207
3.1.4 Pronouns and deixis 207
3.1.4.1 Personal pronouns 207
3.1.4.2 Possessive pronouns 208
### 3.1.4.3 Reciprocity and reflexivity
3.1.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns
3.1.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

#### 3.1.5 Adpositions
- 3.1.5.1 Nouns and adjectives as adpositions

#### 3.1.6 Numerals
- 3.1.6.1 Cardinals and ordinals
- 3.1.6.2 Distributives
- 3.1.6.3 Multiplicatives
- 3.1.6.4 Fractions
- 3.1.6.5 Quantity

#### 3.2 Verb morphology

##### 3.2.1 Stem formation and semantic modification
- 3.2.1.1 Present and past stems
- 3.2.1.2 Causative and denominative verbs
- 3.2.1.3 Compound verb phrases
- 3.2.1.4 Preverbs

##### 3.2.2 Nominal verb forms
- 3.2.2.1 Nominal forms derived from the present stem
  - 3.2.2.1a Agent noun in -āg
  - 3.2.2.1b Participle in -āndag
  - 3.2.2.1c Active participle in -ān
  - 3.2.2.1d Participle of necessity in -āšān
- 3.2.2.2 The verbal adjective in -ag from the past stem
- 3.2.2.3 Infinitives

##### 3.2.3 'To be'

##### 3.2.4 On the endings
- 3.2.4.1 Notes on the present endings

#### 3.2.5 System of tenses and moods
- 3.2.6 Intransitive and transitive
  - 3.2.6.1 Intransitive-transitive verbs
  - 3.2.6.2 Morphological passive
  - 3.2.6.3 Periphrastic passive

### 4 Syntax and use of forms

#### 4.1 Coordination and negation

#### 4.2 Noun phrase structure
- 4.2.1 Modification of nouns by adjectives and nouns
- 4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns and numerals
- 4.2.3 Possessive pronouns
- 4.2.4 Periphrastic adnominal constructions
- 4.2.5 The use and word order of adpositions
- 4.2.5.1 Enclitic and relative pronouns governed by adpositions
  - 4.2.5.2 Adpositions governing complex noun phrases

#### 4.3 Semantics and use of verb forms
- 4.3.1 'To be'
4.3.1.1 ‘To be’ and the existential verb 226
4.3.1.2 ‘Belonging to’ 226
4.3.1.3 ‘To have’ 226

4.3.2 Agreement between (grammatical) subject and verb 227

4.3.3 The ergative construction 227

4.3.3.1 Reflexive pronouns in ergative constructions 229

4.3.4 The use of the tenses 229

4.3.4.1 Present indicative 229
4.3.4.2 Imperfect and past imperfect 229
4.3.4.3 Preterite and past preterite 230
4.3.4.4 Present and past perfect 231

4.3.5 Passive and agency 232

4.3.5.1 Instrument 232
4.3.5.2 Passive agent 232
4.3.5.3 Unspecified agent 232

4.3.6 Direct and indirect object marking 233

4.3.6.1 Unmarked and adpositional direct object 233
4.3.6.2 Direct object marked by the preposition 233
4.3.6.3 Indirect object 233
4.3.6.4 Indirect object and possessor raising 234

4.3.7 The use of the moods 234

4.3.7.1 Subjunctive 234
4.3.7.1a Main clauses 234
4.3.7.1b Subordinate clauses 235
4.3.7.2 Optative 236
4.3.7.2a Impossible conditions (irrealis) 236
4.3.7.2b Irrealis in questions 237
4.3.7.2c The ‘parabolic’ optative 237

4.3.7.3 Imperative 238
4.3.7.3a The ‘pseudo-imperative’ 239

4.3.8 Aspectual and modal particles 239

4.3.8.1 hamē 239
4.3.8.2 239
4.3.8.3 bē 240
4.3.8.4 240
4.3.8.5 kāc 240

4.3.9 Impersonal constructions 241

4.3.9.1 Impersonal verbs 241
4.3.9.2 Impersonal constructions with adjectives 242

4.3.10 The use of verbal nouns and adjectives 242

4.3.10.1 The participle of necessity in 242
4.3.10.2 Infinitive constructions 243
4.3.10.2a Infinitive as subject 243
4.3.10.2b Infinitive as direct object 243
4.3.10.2c Infinitive with adpositions 244

4.3.10.3 Participial constructions 244
4.3.10.3a Present agent noun in -āg. 244
4.3.10.3b Present verbal adjective (participle) in -andag 245
4.3.10.3c Active participle in -ān
4.3.10.3d Past verbal adjective in -ag
4.3.10.3e Past participle

5 Complex sentences
5.1 Clause structure and word order
5.1.1 Word order in ergative constructions
5.1.1.1 Sequence of enclitics
5.1.1.2 Fronted verb
5.1.1.3 Agent resumption
5.1.1.4 Fronted agent and resumptive pronoun
5.1.2 Questions
5.2 Coordination and connectors
5.2.1 Sentence connectors
5.2.2 Coordination and disjunction
5.2.2.1 Coordination
5.2.2.2 Adversative conjunctions
5.2.2.3 Correlative negation
5.2.2.4 Coordination and negation by repetition
5.2.2.5 Disjunction
5.2.2.6 Restriction
5.2.2.7 Parataxis
5.2.2.8 Particles introducing exegetical passages
5.3 Subordination
5.3.1 Conjunctions
5.3.2 Relative clauses
5.3.2.1 Generic statements
5.3.2.2 Complex relative clauses
5.3.3 Nominal clauses
5.3.3.1 Reported speech
5.3.4 Adverbial clauses
5.3.4.1 Adverbial phrases
5.3.5 'Subordination' by means of derived nouns and adjectives
5.3.6 Dating

6 Lexis: word formation
6.1 Nominal derivation
6.1.1 Prefixation
6.1.2 Suffixation
6.1.2.1 Nouns
6.1.2.2 Action nouns in -išn
6.1.2.3 Agent nouns in -tārl-dār
6.1.2.4 Abstract nouns in -iḥ
6.1.2.4a Quotational -iḥ
6.1.2.5 Nouns and adjectives
6.1.2.6 Adjectives
6.2 Compounding
6.2.1 Nouns
6.2.2 Adjectives
7  Lexicon and styles 263
   7.1  Dialectology and loans 263
   7.2  Religious terminology 263
   7.3  Sociolinguistic aspects: styles and levels of speech 264
8  Sample texts 265
   8.1–2  Middle Persian and Parthian Inscriptions of Šābuhr I at Hajiabad 265
   8.3  Pahlavi Psalter, from Psalm 127 268
   8.4  Pahlavi Bundahišn (Bd.33.0–4) 269
   8.5  Pahlavi Dēnkard (Dk.9.45.4) 270
   8.6  Manichaean Middle Persian 271
   8.7  Manichaean Parthian poetic text 272
Abbreviations of texts 273
Linguistic descriptions 273
Bibliography and references 274

5  Sogdian  Yutaka Yoshida  279
1  Introduction 279
   1.1  Overview 279
      1.1.1  History 279
      1.1.2  Materials 280
   1.2  Scripts, orthography, and phonetic values 281
2  Phonology 284
   2.1  Inventory and distribution 284
      2.1.1  Vowels and diphthongs 284
         2.1.1.1  Vowel system 284
         2.1.1.2  Rhotacised vowels 285
         2.1.1.3  Diphthongs 285
      2.1.2  Consonants 285
         2.1.2.1  Consonantal system 285
         2.1.2.2  Marginal l, h, ts, and y 286
      2.1.3  Syllable structure and clusters 286
   2.2  Non-segmental features and rhythmic law 286
   2.3  Alternations and combinatory phenomena 287
3  Morphology 287
   3.1  Nominal morphology 287
      3.1.1  Stem classes and declensions 288
         3.1.1.1  Light stems 288
         3.1.1.2  Heavy stems 289
         3.1.1.3  Irregular plural forms, -ar-t, -īš-t 289
         3.1.1.4  aka- and ākā-stems 289
         3.1.1.5  Indeclinables and archaic plural -ān 290
      3.1.2  Adjectives 290
         3.1.2.1  Degree 290
         3.1.2.2  Elative 290
      3.1.3  Pronouns and deixis 290
         3.1.3.1  Personal pronouns 290
         3.1.3.2  Reflexive and reciprocal forms 291
3.1.3.3 Articles and demonstrative pronouns and adverbials

3.1.3.4 Interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Fused prepositions

3.1.4.2 Postpositions and circumpositions

3.1.5 Adverbs and interjections

3.1.5.1 Adverbs

3.1.5.2 Interjections

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

3.1.6.2 Distributives, multiples, and fractions

3.1.6.3 Ordinal numbers

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

3.2.1.2 Imperfective stems

3.2.1.3 Derived voice stems

3.2.2 Nominal forms

3.2.2.1 Infinitives and verbal nouns

3.2.2.1a Past infinitive

3.2.2.1b Present infinitives

3.2.2.1c Verbal noun

3.2.2.2 Gerund and participles

3.2.2.2a Gerund

3.2.2.2b Present participles

3.2.2.2c Passive participles

3.2.3 System of tenses, aspects, and moods

3.2.3.1 Forms based on the present and imperfect stems

3.2.3.1a Major conjugations

3.2.3.1b New minor and secondary conjugations

3.2.3.1c Progressive or durative particle: skun, archaic -oštan

3.2.3.1d Future and past prospective particle: kām

3.2.3.2 Copula and existential verb

3.2.3.3 Forms based on the past stem

3.2.3.3a Preterite

3.2.3.3b Ergative construction

3.2.3.3c Potentialis system

3.2.3.4 Forms based on the past participle

3.2.3.4a Periphrastic perfect

3.2.3.4b Periphrastic passive

3.2.3.5 Voice and causativity

3.2.3.5a Passive and middle

3.2.3.5b Causativity

3.2.4 Negation

3.2.5 Synopsis of the system of tense, aspect, and mood

4 Syntax and use of forms

4.1 Use of cases
4.1.1 Light stems 305
4.1.2 Heavy stems 306
4.1.3 Direct object and animacy hierarchy 306

4.2 Use of verb forms 307
4.2.1 Possession 307
4.2.2 Use of tense and aspect 307
4.2.2.1 Examples 308
4.2.2.2 Imperfect and preterite 309

4.2.3 Use of modal forms 310
4.2.3.1 Functions 310
4.2.3.2 Merger of modal categories: non-indicative 310
4.2.3.3 Modal particles 310
4.2.3.3a Hypothetical particle xat 310
4.2.3.3b Hypothetical particle -(a)n 311

4.2.3.4 Examples 311

4.2.4 Modal constructions 312
4.2.4.1 Necessity construction 312
4.2.4.2 Desiderative construction 312

4.3 Concord and agreement 312
4.3.1 Light and heavy stems 312
4.3.2 Group inflexion and nouns after cardinal numbers 313
4.3.2.1 Group inflexion 313
4.3.2.2 Nouns after cardinal numbers 313

4.3.3 Agreement of the subject and the predicate 313

5 Syntax of simple and complex sentences 314
5.1 Order of constituents 314
5.1.1 Noun phrase structure 314
5.1.2 Clause structure and word order 314
5.1.2.1 Complementizer 314
5.1.2.2 Enclitics 315
5.1.2.3 Word order 315
5.1.2.3a SOV 315
5.1.2.3b Counter-examples 316

5.2 Question 316

5.3 Complex sentences 317
5.3.1 Conjunctions 317
5.3.2 Relative clauses 318
5.3.2.1 Correlatives and gaps 318
5.3.2.2 Other relatives 318
5.3.2.3 Indefinite relative clauses 319

5.3.3 Adverbial clauses 319
5.3.4 Nominal clauses and direct quotation 320
5.3.4.1 Nominal clauses 320
5.3.4.2 Direct quotations 320

5.3.5 Use of infinitives and verbal nouns 320
5.3.5.1 Past infinitives 320
5.3.5.2 Present infinitives and verbal nouns 321

6 Lexis 321
6.1 Sogdian lexicon 321
2.1.1.1 Unstable vowels 341
2.1.1.2 Position and marking of stress 341
2.1.1.3 Unstressed lengthening 341
2.1.1.4 Pre-pausal position 341

2.3 Morphophonemic change 342

3 Morphology 342

3.1 Nominal morphology 342

3.1.1 Categories 342

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and case 342
3.1.1.2 Animate terms 343
3.1.1.3 Dual and numerative 343
3.1.1.4 -Definiteness and indefiniteness 343
  3.1.1.4a Definite article 343
  3.1.1.4b Indefiniteness 343
3.1.1.5 Nouns and inflectional classes 343

3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison 344

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis 344

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns 344
3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns 344
3.1.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns 344
3.1.3.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronominals 344

3.1.4 Adpositions 344

3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions 344
3.1.4.2 Circumpositions 346
3.1.4.3 Nominal inflection and adpositions 346
  3.1.4.3a Masculine singular 346
  3.1.4.3b Masculine dual/numerative 347
  3.1.4.3c Masculine plural 347
  3.1.4.3d Feminine singular 347
  3.1.4.3e Feminine plural 347

3.1.5 Adverbs and adverbial phrases 348

3.1.6 Numerals 348

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers 348
3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers 348
3.1.6.3 Fractions 348
3.1.6.4 Distributives 348
3.1.6.5 Multiplicatives 348

3.2 Verb morphology 349

3.2.1 Stem formation 349

3.2.1.1 Present and imperfect stems 349
3.2.1.2 Intransitive stem classes and derived causatives 349
3.2.1.3 Compound verbs 350
3.2.1.4 Directional adpositional particles 350

3.2.2 Nominal forms 351

3.2.2.1 Present stem 351
  3.2.2.1a Present participles 351
  3.2.2.1b Verbal nouns 351
3.2.2.2 Past stem 351
4.3.2.2a Duration, δṟay-
4.3.2.2b Incipient action, ByVersion-
4.3.2.2c Ingressive action, 'about/close to', *
    (-m-)ah-; ('ʰxt 'b-)

4.3.2.3 Modal constructions
4.3.2.3a Optative particles ās and ā(n)
4.3.2.3b Potential construction, -k-
4.3.2.3c Necessity, ɣun-

5 Complex sentences
5.1 Conjunctions, particles, and clitics
5.2 Subordination
5.3 Relative clauses, ki
5.4 Subject and object clauses
    5.4.1 Subject clauses, cā
    5.4.2 Object clauses, ka
        5.4.2.1 Basic pattern
        5.4.2.2 Direct speech
        5.4.2.3 Topicalized object clause
5.5 Adverbial clauses
    5.5.1 Temporal clauses, ka
        5.5.1.1 'at time that, when'
        5.5.1.2 'as soon as'
        5.5.1.3 'while'
        5.5.1.4 'when(ever)'
    5.5.2 Conditional clauses, ka . . . da
        5.5.2.1 Basic patterns
        5.5.2.2 Implicit conditional, imperfect
        5.5.2.3 Wishes, ɦān
    5.5.3 Causal clauses, ka
5.5.4 Final clauses
    5.5.4.1 Basic patterns, ka
    5.5.4.2 'until, so that', camend
5.6 Nominalized clauses

6 Lexis
6.1 Word formation
    6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives
        6.1.1.1 Suffixation
            6.1.1.1a Verbal nouns and infinitives
            6.1.1.1b Abstract nouns
            6.1.1.1c Adjectives
            6.1.1.1d Diminutives
        6.1.1.2 Prefixation
    6.1.2 Compounding
        6.1.2.1 Verbal components
        6.1.2.2 Nominal component
6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects
    6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers
    6.2.2 Kinship terms

7 Language development, loan component
7 Khotanese and Tumshuqese  Ronald E. Emmerick†  377

1 Introduction  377
1.1 Overview  377
1.1.1 Historical background  377
1.1.2 Textual material  378
1.1.2a Khotanese  378
1.1.2b Tumshuqese  379
1.2 Writing systems  379
1.3 Orthography  381

2 Phonology  382
2.1 Inventory and distribution  382
2.1.1a Khotanese  382
2.1.1a.1 Vowels  382
2.1.1a.2 Consonants  382
2.1.1b Tumshuqese  383
2.1.1b.1 Vowels  383
2.1.1b.2 Consonants  383
2.1.2 Syllable and clusters  383
2.2 Non-segmental features  383

3 Morphology  384
3.1 Nominal morphology  384
3.1.1a Nominal stem classes and declensions—Khotanese  384
3.1.1a.1 Vocalic declensions  385
3.1.1a.2 Declensions, āa- and āā- stems  385
3.1.1a.3 Consonantal declensions  386
3.1.2a Adjectives—Khotanese  386
3.1.1/2b Declension of nouns and adjectives—Tumshuqese  387
3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis  387
3.1.3.1a Personal and demonstrative pronouns—Khotanese  387
3.1.3.1b Personal and demonstrative pronouns—Tumshuqese  388
3.1.3.2 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns  388
3.1.3.3 Indefinite and interrogative pronouns and adverbials  388
3.1.4a Adpositions—Khotanese  389
3.1.4a.1 Postpositions  389
3.1.4a.2 Prepositions  389
3.1.4b Adpositions—Tumshuqese  389
3.1.5 Adverbs  389
3.1.6a Numerals—Khotanese  390
3.1.6a.1 Cardinal numbers  390
3.1.6a.2 Ordinal numbers  390
3.1.6a.3 'Both' and indefinite adjectives  390
3.1.6b Numerals—Tumshuqese 391

3.2 Verb morphology 391
3.2.1 Stem formation—Khotanese 391
3.2.1.1 Present and past stems 391
3.2.1.2 Directional particles 391
3.2.2 Nominal forms 392
3.2.2.1 Present participles 392
3.2.2.2 Past participles 392
3.2.2.3 Infinitives 392
3.2.2.4 Gerundives and gerunds 393
3.2.3 Person marking and 'to be' 393
3.2.4 Conjugation classes 394
3.2.5 Negation 395
3.2.6 System of tenses 395
3.2.6.1 Present and past 395
3.2.6.2 Periphrastic perfect and pluperfect 396
3.2.7 Modal and aspectual constructions 396
3.2.7.1 Potential-completive construction and passive 396
3.2.7.1a Ability 397
3.2.7.1b Completed action 397
3.2.7.1c Passive 397
3.2.7.2 Infinitive-based constructions 398
3.2.7.3 Gerundives, gerunds, and necessity construction 398
3.2.8 Diathesis 398

4 Syntax and use of forms 399
4.1 Coordination 399
4.1.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics 399
4.1.2 Enclitic particles and words 399
4.2 Noun phrase structure 399
4.2.1 Concord and agreement 399
4.2.1.1 Adjectives 399
4.2.1.2 Group inflection 399
4.2.1.3 Demonstrative adjectives 400
4.2.2 Dependent nouns 400
4.2.3 Extended noun phrase 400
4.3 Clause structure and word order 400
4.3.1 Nominal sentence 401
4.3.2 Order of constituents 401
4.3.3 Enclitic pronouns 401
4.3.4 Topicalisation 402
4.3.5 Questions 402
4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms 403
4.4.1 Use of cases 403
4.4.1.1 Genitive-dative 403
4.4.1.2 Locative 403
4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms 404
4.5.1 Possession 404
4.5.2 Tense and aspect 404
4.5.2.1 Future 404
4.5.2.2 Accomplishment of past action 404
4.5.2.3 Immediacy 404
4.5.3 Use of modal forms 404

5 Complex sentences 405
5.1 Quotative clitic 406
5.2 Relative clauses 406
5.2.1 Indicative, factual 406
5.2.2 Relative pronoun in genitive-dative 406
5.2.3 Injunctive, potential 406
5.2.4 Clauses with head noun 406
5.3 Adverbial clauses 406
5.3.1 Temporal and local clauses 406
5.3.1.1 Temporal 406
5.3.1.2 Local 407
5.3.2 Conditional clauses 407
5.3.3 Consecutive and comparative clauses 407
5.4 Nominalised clauses 407
5.4.1 Infinitival constructions 407
5.4.2 Participial-adjectival clauses 408

6 Lexis and sociolinguistic aspects 408
6.1 Word formation 408
6.1.1 Derivation 408
6.1.1.1 Suffixation 408
6.1.1.2 Prefixation 408
6.1.2 Composition 409
6.1.3a Loanwords—Khotanese 409
6.1.3a.1 Iranian 409
6.1.3a.2 Indian 409
6.1.3b Loanwords—Tumshuqese 410
6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects 410

7 Dialects and language development 410
7.1a Khotanese 411
7.1b Tumshuqese 411
7.2 Demise of the languages 411

8 Sample Khotanese text 411
Acknowledgements 412
Bibliography and references 412

8 Persian and Tajik 416
Gernot Windfuhr and John R. Perry 416

1 Introduction 416
1.1 Overview 416
1.1.1 Historical background 416
1.1.2 Persian and related groups 417
1.1.2.1 Varieties of Persian 417
1.1.2.2 Related varieties and dialect groups 418
1.1.2.3 Number of speakers 418
1.1.3 Evolution of Standard Persian 419
1.1.3.1 Early linguistic groups 419
3.1.3.1b Attachment of object marker 435
3.1.3.2 Possessive construction 435
3.1.3.3 Enclitic pronouns and oblique 435
3.1.3.4 Demonstratives and quasi-articles 436
3.1.3.4a Emphatic ham-
3.1.3.5 Reflexive-emphatic pronoun 436
3.1.3.5a Reflexive 436
3.1.3.5b Emphatic 437
3.1.3.6 Reciprocals 437
3.1.3.7 Interrogatives, indefinites, and related adverbials 438
3.1.3.7a Basic interrogatives and indefinite determiners 438
3.1.3.7b Pronominal quantifiers and demonstratives 438
3.1.3.7c Compound indefinite forms 439
3.1.3.7d Other indefinites 439
3.1.3.7e Compounds with ēe-lēa-
3.1.3.7f digarldigar ‘other, else’ 440
3.1.3.7g Tajik hybrids 440
3.1.4 Adpositions and case relations 440
3.1.4.1 Prepositions 441
3.1.4.1a Primary prepositions 441
3.1.4.1b Secondary prepositions 442
3.1.4.2 Postposition -rāl-ro 442
3.1.4.2a Specific direct object 442
3.1.4.2b Temporal and local extension 443
3.1.4.2c Tajik circumpositional -ro 443
3.1.4.2d Northern Tajik EZ with -ro 443
3.1.4.3 Other Tajik postpositions 443
3.1.5 Adverbs 444
3.1.5.1 Nouns 444
3.1.5.2 Adverbs proper 444
3.1.5.3 Adjective-adverbs and noun-adverbs 444
3.1.6 Numerals 445
3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers 445
3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers 446
3.1.6.3 Fractions 446
3.1.6.4 Distributive adverbs 446
3.2 Verb morphology 446
3.2.1 Stem formation 446
3.2.1.1 Present and past stems 446
3.2.1.2 Denominal verbs 447
3.2.1.3 Derived causative verbs 448
3.2.1.4 Preverbs 448
3.2.2 Nominal forms 449
3.2.2.1 Forms derived from Stem I 449
3.2.2.1a Present participle 449
3.2.2.1b Active participle 449
3.2.2.2 Forms derived from Stem II 449
3.2.2.2a Infinitive 449
3.2.2.2b Short infinitive 449
3.2.2.2c Past (perfect) participle 449
3.2.2.2d Tajik participle 449
3.2.2.2e Future participle or gerundive 449
3.2.3 Person marking and 'be' 450
3.2.4 Aspectual-modal markers and negation 451
  3.2.4.1 Prefix mi-lme- 451
  3.2.4.2 Prefix be-lbi- 451
  3.2.4.3 Negation na-lna- 452
3.2.5 Basic system of tense, aspect, and mood 452
  3.2.5.1 Present-future 452
  3.2.5.2 Imperfect 452
  3.2.5.3 Preterite, or "aorist" 454
  3.2.5.4 Present perfect 455
  3.2.5.5 Pluperfect or distant past 455
  3.2.5.6 Imperative 456
  3.2.5.7 Present-future subjunctive 456
  3.2.5.8 Past (perfect) subjunctive 457
  3.2.5.9 Imperfect counterfactual 458
  3.2.5.10 Pluperfect counterfactual 458
  3.2.5.11 Defective verbs 459
    3.2.5.11a 'be' 459
      3.2.5.11b 'have' 460
3.2.6a Extended verb system of Modern Standard Persian 461
  3.2.6a.1 Evidential or non-witnessed mode 461
  3.2.6a.2 Progressive 461
3.2.6b Extended verb system of Modern Standard Tajik 462
  3.2.6b.1 Evidential mode 462
    3.2.6b.1a Perfect as evidential form 463
    3.2.6b.1b Evidential pluperfect 463
    3.2.6b.1c Evidential durative 464
    3.2.6b.1d Evidential progressive 464
  3.2.6b.2 Progressive forms 465
    3.2.6b.1a Present progressive 465
    3.2.6b.2b Past progressive 465
  3.2.6b.3 Subjunctive forms 465
    3.2.6b.3a Durative perfect subjunctive 465
    3.2.6b.3b Present progressive subjunctive 466
  3.2.6b.4 Conjectural mood 466
    3.2.6b.4a Past conjectural 466
    3.2.6b.4b Present-future conjectural 467
    3.2.6b.4c Present progressive conjectural 467
    3.2.6b.4d Pluperfect counterfactual conjectural 467
  3.2.6b.5 Synopsis of Tajik verb forms 467
3.2.7 Synopsis of Persian and Tajik verb systems 468
4 Syntax and use of Forms I: noun phrase structure 468
  4.1 Coordination 468
    4.1.1 Single and paired conjunctions 468
4.1.2 Concatenation and group inflection 470
4.2 Constituents following the head: Ezafé 470
4.2.1 Basic structure 470
   4.2.1.1 NP levels 470
   4.2.1.2 NP clitics 471
   4.2.1.3 Alternate attachment of indefinite marker 472
4.2.2 Types of noun phrases and complements 473
   4.2.2.1 Overview 473
   4.2.2.2 Nominal heads and valence relationships 473
   4.2.2.3 Possessor 474
      4.2.2.3a Preposed possessor 474
      4.2.2.3b Tajik Turkic-type possessor inversion 474
   4.2.2.4 Adjectives and ordinals 475
      4.2.2.4a Superlatives and ordinals 475
      4.2.2.4b Preposed affective adjectives 475
      4.2.2.4c Pronouns as heads 475
   4.2.2.5 Nominalized complements 475
      4.2.2.5a Verbal nouns as head 475
      4.2.2.5b Compound participles and adjectives 476
      4.2.2.5c Participial phrases as complements 476
      4.2.2.5d Tajik nominalized relative clauses 477
      4.2.2.5e Tajik constructions with participle in -agf 477
4.3 Constituents preceding the head noun 477
   4.3.1 Overview 477
   4.3.2 Classifiers 478
      4.3.2.1 Numerative classifiers 478
      4.3.2.2 Mensurative classifiers 479
      4.3.2.3 Kind and manner classifiers 479
5 Syntax and use of forms II: clause structure 479
   5.1 Order of constituents 479
      5.1.1 OSV and OVS 480
         5.1.1.1 Object raising 480
         5.1.1.2 Concomitant subject lowering 480
      5.1.2 Adverbials 480
      5.1.3 Questions 481
      5.1.4 Exclamations 482
   5.2 Definiteness and subject and object marking 482
      5.2.1 Marking of definiteness and specificity 482
         5.2.1.1 Definiteness 483
         5.2.1.2 Specificity 483
      5.2.2 Marking of subjects 483
         5.2.2.1 Verbal agreement 483
         5.2.2.2 Copular predicates and ellipsis 484
         5.2.2.3 Specified and unspecified subjects 485
      5.2.3 Marking of direct objects 485
         5.2.3.1 Definite direct objects 485
         5.2.3.2 Indefinite specific and non-specific direct objects 485
         5.2.3.3 Scale of specificity 485
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Use of pronominal clitics</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Pronominal direct and indirect objects</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Indirect experience</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Subject and object complements</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Complex predicates</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1</td>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2</td>
<td>Modal constructions, verb + verb</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.1</td>
<td>Definite future</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.2</td>
<td>Volition</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.3</td>
<td>Intention and expectation</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.4</td>
<td>Obligation and presumption</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.4a</td>
<td>Obligation and necessity</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.4b</td>
<td>Presumption</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.5</td>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.6</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3</td>
<td>Aktionsart constructions, V + V</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3.1</td>
<td>Inception, non-intentional</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3.2</td>
<td>Inception</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3.3</td>
<td>Inception, completive</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3.4</td>
<td>Inception, ingressive</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.4</td>
<td>Tajik conjunct verb constructions</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.5</td>
<td>Light verb constructions</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.5.1</td>
<td>Reflexivity</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.5.2</td>
<td>Experiencer-subject LVCs</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.6.1</td>
<td>Passive voice</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.6.2</td>
<td>Scale of agency and causation</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Syntax and use of forms III: Complex sentences</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Clause linking</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>Coordinating conjunctions and clitics</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Subordinate clauses and linking</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>Restrictivity and specificity</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>Gapping and anaphora</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3</td>
<td>Ordering of restrictive RCs</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4</td>
<td>Use of moods</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.5</td>
<td>General-indefinite RCs</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.6</td>
<td>Head incorporation</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.7</td>
<td>Tajik nominalized relative clauses</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.7.1</td>
<td>Levels of nominalizations</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Complement clauses</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1</td>
<td>Subject and object clauses</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1.1</td>
<td>Use of TMA</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2</td>
<td>Embedded speech</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2.1</td>
<td>Levels of integration</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3</td>
<td>Adpositional and EZ complement clauses</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.4</td>
<td>Tajik Turkic-type nominal clauses</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.5</td>
<td>&quot;Idiomatic&quot; clitic ke</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5 Adverbial clauses 516
   6.5.1 Position and use of TMA 517
   6.5.2 Pre-matrix clauses 518
      6.5.2.1 Locative clauses 519
      6.5.2.2 Temporal clauses 519
         6.5.2.2a Since-clauses 519
      6.5.2.3 Conditional clauses 519
      6.5.2.4 Concessive clauses 521
      6.5.2.5 Causal clauses 521
   6.5.3 Post-matrix clauses 521
      6.5.3.1 Causal-explanatory clauses 521
      6.5.3.2 Temporal clauses 522
         6.5.3.2a Subordinator switch 522
      6.5.3.3 Result clauses 522
      6.5.3.4 Purpose clauses 522
      6.5.3.5 Consecutive clauses 523
      6.5.3.6 Comparative clauses 523
      6.5.3.7 Conditional exception clauses 523
   6.5.4 Tajik Turkic-type nominal clauses 523
      6.5.4.1 Participial relative clauses in -agi 524
      6.5.4.2 Infinitival clauses 524
         6.5.4.2a Object clauses 524
         6.5.4.2b Adverbial clauses 525
      6.5.4.3 Embedded infinitival clauses 525
      6.5.4.4 Persian conjunct participle 525

7 Lexis and sociolinguistics 526
   7.1 Word formation 526
      7.1.1 Homonymy and conversion 526
      7.1.2 Suffixation 526
      7.1.3 Prefixation 527
      7.1.4 Compounding 528
   7.2 Loanwords 529
      7.2.1 Arabic 529
      7.2.2 Turkic 530
      7.2.3 Russian 530
   7.3 Lexical distribution, Persian–Tajik 530
   7.4 Sociolinguistic aspects 531
      7.4.1 Registers and ta‘ārof 531
      7.4.2 Kinship terms 532
      7.4.3 Modes of address 532

8 Diachrony and dialectology 533
   8.1 Phases 533
   8.2 Comparative dialectology 533
   8.3 Innovative constructions, summary 534
      8.3.1 Progressive 534
      8.3.2 Uncertainty constructions 534
      8.3.3 Evidentiality 534
   8.4 Isoglosses West vs. East 534
      8.4.1 Conjunct constructions and complementizer 534
8.4.2 Persian homoglossia
8.4.3 Topical references to Chapter 2
9 Sample texts
  9.1 Persian
  9.2 Tajik
9 Zazaki Ludwig Paul
  1 Introduction
    1.1 Overview
  2 Phonology
    2.1 Inventory and distribution
      2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs
        2.1.1.1 Vowels
        2.1.1.2 Diphthongs
      2.1.2 Consonants
    2.2 Non-segmental features
  3 Morphology
    3.1 Nominal morphology
      3.1.1 Nouns
        3.1.1.1 Gender
        3.1.1.2 Number and case
        3.1.1.3 Vocative
        3.1.1.4 Definiteness and unity
      3.1.2 Adjectives
        3.1.2.1 Gender, case and number
        3.1.2.2 Comparison
      3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis
        3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns
        3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns
        3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronoun
        3.1.3.4 Reciprocal pronoun
      3.1.4 Adpositions
        3.1.4.1 Primary adpositions
          3.1.4.1a Simple preposition
          3.1.4.1b Simple postpositions
        3.1.4.2 Secondary adpositions
          3.1.4.2a Secondary prepositions
          3.1.4.2b Secondary postpositions
        3.1.4.3 Circumpositions
    3.1.5 Adverbs
    3.1.6 Numerals
      3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers
      3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers
      3.1.6.3 Quantifiers
  3.2 Verb morphology
    3.2.1 Stem formation
      3.2.1.1 Subjunctive, past, and present stems
      3.2.1.2 Causative and passive stems
3.2.1.3 Preverbs 556
3.2.1.4 Compound verbs 556

3.2.2 Nominal forms 557
3.2.2.1 Infinitives 557
3.2.2.2 Past participle 557
3.2.2.3 miš-participle 557

3.2.3 Person marking and 'be, become' 557
3.2.3.1 Person marking 557
3.2.3.2 Existential verb 557

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative affixes and particles 558
3.2.4.1 Modal prefix bi- 558
3.2.4.2 Negative prefixes ne- and me- 558
3.2.4.3 Imperfective particle -ē 558
3.2.4.4 Future particle do 558
3.2.4.5 Optative particle wā 558

3.2.5 System of tense, mood, and aspect 559
3.2.5.1 Forms based on present stem 559
3.2.5.1a Present indicative 559
3.2.5.1b Continuous present 559
3.2.5.1c Present subjunctive 559
3.2.5.1d Future 560
3.2.5.1e Optative 560
3.2.5.1f Imperative 560
3.2.5.2 Forms based on past stem 560
3.2.5.2a Preterite 560
3.2.5.2b Imperfect 560
3.2.5.2c Past subjunctive 560
3.2.5.2d Past conditional 561
3.2.5.2e Past optative 561
3.2.5.3 Perfect forms 561
3.2.5.3a Present perfect 561
3.2.5.3b Non-witnessed function 561
3.2.5.3c Perfect II 562
3.2.5.3d Pluperfect 562

3.2.5.4 Overview of system of tenses 562

4 Syntax and use of forms 563
4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics 563
4.2 Noun phrase structure 563
4.2.1 Ezāfe constructions and case marking 563
4.2.1.1 Adjectival ezāfe constructions 563
4.2.1.2 Nominal ezāfe constructions 564
4.2.1.3 Group inflection 565
4.2.1.4 Multiple ezāfe constructions 565
4.2.1.5 Indefinite head noun 566
4.2.1.6 Inalienable possession 566
4.2.1.7 Elliptic ezāfe forms 567

4.3 Clause structure and word order 567
4.3.1 Pre- and postverbal placement 567
4.3.1.1 Preverbal placement 567
xxxviii  FULL CONTENTS

4.3.2 Other conditions for word order  568
4.3.2.1 Omission of bi-  568
4.3.2.2 Adverbial complements  568
4.3.2.3 Topicalization  568

4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms  568
4.4.1 Use of cases  568
4.4.1.1 Ergative  568
4.4.1.2 Verbal reflection and transitivity  569
4.4.2 Subject marking  569
4.4.2.1 Impersonal subjects and expressions  569
4.4.2.2 Non-specific past agents  570
4.4.3 Object marking  570
4.4.3.1 Implicit direct object  570
4.4.3.2 Compound verbs  570

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms  570
4.5.1 Possession, 'have'  570
4.5.2 Aspectual construction  571
4.5.2.1 Incipient action  571
4.5.2.2 Instantaneous action  571
4.5.3 Modal constructions  571

4.6 Sentence types and word order  571
4.6.1 Nominal sentences  571
4.6.2 Other types  572
4.6.2.1 Interrogative sentences  572
4.6.2.2 Imperative sentences  572
4.6.2.3 Optative sentences  572
4.6.2.4 Exclamative sentences  573

5 Complex sentences  573
5.1 Coordinate clauses  573
5.2 Subordinate clauses  574
5.3 Relative clauses  574
5.3.1 Functions of RC in the main clause  574
5.3.2 Resumptive pronouns  575
5.3.3 Topicalized relative clauses  575
5.3.4 Head incorporation  575
5.4 Nominal clauses  576
5.4.1 Subject clauses  576
5.4.2 Object clauses  576
5.4.3 Quotations  576
5.5 Adverbial clauses  576
5.5.1 Temporal and local clauses  576
5.5.1.1 Anterior temporal clauses  577
5.5.1.2 Simultaneous temporal clauses  577
5.5.1.3 Posterior temporal clauses  577
5.5.1.4 Local clauses  578
5.5.2 Conditional clauses  578
5.5.2.1 Possible conditions  578
5.5.2.1a Present and subjunctive  578
5.5.2.1b Preterite 579
5.5.2.1c Perfect 579
5.5.2.2 Impossible conditions 579
5.5.3 Concessive clauses 579
5.5.4 Causal clauses 580
5.5.5 Final clauses 580
5.5.6 Consecutive clauses 581
5.5.7 Comparative clauses 581

6 Lexis and registers 582
6.1 Word formation 582
   6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives 582
   6.1.2 Compounding 582
6.2 Sociolinguistic features 582
   6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers 582
   6.2.2 Kinship terminology 583
   6.2.3 Terms of address 583

7 Sample text 583
Bibliography and references 586

10 Kurdish Ernest N. McCarus 587
1 Introduction 587
   1.1 Overview 587
   1.2 Writing systems 589
2 Phonology 591
   2.1 Inventory 591
      2.1.1 Vowels 591
      2.1.2 Consonants 591
         2.1.2.1 Overview 591
         2.1.2.2 Pharyngeals 592
         2.1.2.3 Labio-dental r 592
         2.1.2.4 l and l 592
         2.1.2.5 r and r 592
         2.1.2.6 Nasals 593
         2.1.2.7 Gemination 593
         2.1.2.8 Diphthongs and glides 593
         2.1.2.9 Distribution 593
      2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters 593
   2.2 Non-segmental features 594
   2.3 Conditioned and morphophonemic changes 595
      2.3.1 Vowels 595
         2.3.1.1 Glide insertion, V-G-V 595
         2.3.1.2 Conditioned shortening 595
         2.3.1.3 Contraction 595
         2.3.1.4 Unstressed i 596
         2.3.1.5 Clusters and homorganic glides 596
      2.3.2 Consonants 596
         2.3.2.1 Voice assimilation 596
         2.3.2.2 Palatalization and fronting 597
2.3.2.3 Fronting of \( w \)  
2.3.2.4 Dentals  
2.3.2.5 The "Zagros \( d \)"  
2.3.2.6 Nasal assimilation  
2.3.2.7 Intrusive \( d \)  
2.3.2.8 Deletion of \( h \)

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and definiteness  
3.1.1.2 Vocative  
3.1.1.3 Locative

3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal and demonstrative pronouns  
3.1.3.2 Possessive forms  
3.1.3.3 Reflexive-emphatic pronouns  
3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and related adverbials

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions  
3.1.4.2 Absolute forms  
3.1.4.3 Circumpositions  
3.1.4.4 Compound absolute forms

3.1.5 Adverbs

3.1.5.1 Lexical adverbs  
3.1.5.2 Adverbial phrases  
3.1.5.3 Izafa construction

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers  
3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers  
3.1.6.3 Quantifiers

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation and modifiers

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems  
3.2.1.2 Morphological passive and causative  
3.2.1.3 Preverbs and postverbs  
3.2.1.4 Adpositions  
3.2.1.5 Compound verbs

3.2.2 Nominal forms

3.2.2.1 Infinitive  
3.2.2.2 Past participles

3.2.3 Person marking and 'to be, become'  
3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative prefixes  
3.2.5 System of aspect, mood, and tense  
3.2.6 Transitivity and ergativity  
3.2.7 Individual verb forms

3.2.7.1 Present tense  
3.2.7.2 Preterite  
3.2.7.2a "Aorist" function  
3.2.7.2b Present tense

3.2.8 Deletion of /h/
4 Syntax and use of forms

4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

4.2 Noun phrase structure

4.2.1 Post-head modifiers

4.2.2 Dependent nominals

4.2.2.1 Definite nominal phrases

4.2.2.2 Indefinite nominal phrases

4.2.3 Láfa-construction

4.2.4 Specific dependents

4.2.5 Naming, apposition

4.2.6 Infinitival head or dependent

4.3 Clause structure

4.3.1 Word order

4.3.2 Verbal modifiers

4.3.3 Questions

4.3.4 Topicalization

4.4 Syntax and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Pronouns

4.4.2 Personal enclitics

4.4.3 Subject and object marking

4.4.4 Past agent suffixes

4.4.5 Particles Ñôn and wà

4.4.6 Verb-only phrases

4.4.7 Preposing of adpositional suffixes

4.4.8 Past tense object and possessor raising

4.4.9 Three-place verb 'to give to'

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession

4.5.2 Aspectual constructions

4.5.2.1 Virtual accomplishment

4.5.2.2 Progressive action

4.5.2.3 Continued intensive action

4.5.3 Modal constructions

4.5.3.1 Ability

4.5.3.2 Desire, necessity, and assumption

5 Complex sentences

5.1 Coordinate clauses

5.2 Subordinate clauses

5.3 Relative clauses

5.3.1 Subject

5.3.2 Pronoun other than subject
5.4 Subject and object clauses 622
  5.4.1 Subject clauses 622
  5.4.2 Object clauses 622
  5.4.3 Quotations 622
  5.4.4 Predicative clauses 623
  5.4.5 Appositive complement clauses 623
5.5 Adverbial clauses 623
  5.5.1 Temporal clauses 623
  5.5.2 Conditional clauses 623
    5.5.2.1 Real, possible, irreal conditions 623
    5.5.2.2 agīna ‘if not, otherwise’ 625
    5.5.2.3 Wishes 625
  5.5.3 Causal clauses 625
  5.5.4 Purpose clauses 625
    5.5.4.1 Potential action 625
    5.5.4.2 Non-factive phrases 626
    5.5.4.3 Suggestions 626
6 Lexis 626
  6.1 Word formation 626
    6.1.1 Derivation 626
      6.1.1.1 Nouns 626
      6.1.1.2 Nouns or adjectives 626
      6.1.1.3 Adjectives 627
      6.1.1.4 Negation 627
    6.1.2 Compounding 627
      6.1.2.1 With or without a composition vowel 627
      6.1.2.2 Verbal component 627
      6.1.2.3 Reduplication 627
  6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects 627
    6.2.1 Registers 627
    6.2.2 Modes of address 628
7 Dialectology 628
  7.1 Phonology 628
  7.2 Nominal inflection 629
  7.3 Verb system 630
8 Sample Sörâni text 630
Acknowledgment 632
Bibliography and references 632
11 Balochi Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn 634
  1 Introduction 634
    1.1 Overview 634
    1.2 Dialects and other variations 636
      1.2.1 Western Balochi 637
      1.2.2 Southern Balochi 637
      1.2.3 Eastern Balochi 637
    1.3 Writing systems 638
    1.4 Descriptive approach 640
2 Phonology 641
  2.1 Inventory 641
    2.1.1 Vowels 641
      2.1.1.1 Common Balochi vowel phonemes 641
      2.1.1.2 Vowel systems of Balochi dialects 641
    2.1.2 Consonants 642
      2.1.2.1 Specific consonant classes 643
      2.1.2.2 Pronunciation of loanwords 645
      2.1.2.3 Consonant systems of Balochi dialects 645
    2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters 647
      2.1.3.1 Syllable patterns 647
      2.1.3.2 Diphthongs 648
      2.1.3.3 Geminated consonants 648
  2.2 Non-segmental features 648
    2.2.1 Word stress 648
    2.2.2 Intonation 649
  2.3 Conditioned morphophonemic changes 649
    2.3.1 Nasal vowels 649
    2.3.2 Consonants 650
      2.3.2.1 Hiatus 650
      2.3.2.2 The modal prefix bi- 650
      2.3.2.3 Verbal suffixes 650
      2.3.2.4 Metathesis 650
3 Morphology 651
  3.1 Nominal morphology 651
    3.1.1 Nouns 651
      3.1.1.1 Nominal categories 651
      3.1.1.2 Case system 651
    3.1.2 Pronouns and deixis 653
      3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns 653
      3.1.2.2 Pronominal suffixes 654
      3.1.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns 655
      3.1.2.4 Other pronouns 655
    3.1.3 Adjectives 655
    3.1.4 Adverbs 657
    3.1.5 Adpositions 657
    3.1.6 Numerals 658
  3.2 Verb morphology 658
    3.2.1 Simple and complex verbs 658
    3.2.2 Stem formation 659
      3.2.2.1 Present and past stems 659
      3.2.2.2 Causatives and double causatives 659
    3.2.3 Non-finite forms 659
      3.2.3.1 Infinitive 659
      3.2.3.2 Participles 659
      3.2.3.3 Gerundive 659
      3.2.3.4 Agent noun 660
    3.2.4 Person marking and auxiliaries 660
    3.2.5 Aspectual-modal affixes and negation 661
3.2.5.1 Imperfective markers 661
3.2.5.2 Modal markers 661
3.2.5.3 Negation 661

3.2.6 System of tense, aspect, mood and voice 662
3.2.6.1 Tense 662
3.2.6.2 Aspect 662
3.2.6.3 Mood 662
3.2.6.4 Voice 662

3.2.7 Transitivity and ergativity 663
3.2.8 Individual verb forms 664
3.2.8.1 Simple tenses 664
3.2.8.2 Compound tenses 664
3.2.8.3 Basic Balochi TAM-forms 665
3.2.8.4 Possession 666

4 Syntax 667
4.1 Noun phrase structure 667
4.2 Definiteness 667
4.3 Clause structure and word order 668
4.3.1 Word order 668
4.3.2 Focus and prominence 668
4.3.3 Nominal clauses 669

4.4 Case marking 669
4.4.1 Subject marking 669
4.4.2 Object marking 669
4.4.2.1 Direct object 669
4.4.2.2 Indirect object 670

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms 670
4.5.1 Concord 670
4.5.2 Use of TAM-forms 671
4.5.2.1 Present indicative 671
4.5.2.2 Present subjunctive 671
4.5.2.3 Imperative 671
4.5.2.4 Optative 672
4.5.2.5 Preterite 672
4.5.2.6 Imperfect 673
4.5.2.7 Present perfect 673
4.5.2.8 Past perfect 673
4.5.2.9 Past subjunctive 674

4.5.3 Aktionsart and modal constructions 675
4.5.3.1 Aktionsart constructions 675
4.5.3.2 Modal constructions 677

5 Complex sentences 678
5.1 Coordinate clauses 678
5.2 Subordination 678
5.2.1 Complement clauses 679
5.2.2 Relative clauses 680
5.2.3 Adverbial clauses 681
5.2.3.1 Temporal clauses 681
5.2.3.2 Locational clauses 681
5.2.3.3 Clauses of manner 682
5.2.3.4 Causal clauses 682
5.2.3.5 Consecutive and final clauses 683
5.2.3.6 Conditional clauses 683
5.2.3.7 Concessive clauses 684

6 Word formation 684
   6.1 Nominal word formation 684
   6.2 Verbal word formation 684

7 Sample texts 685

Acknowledgements 688
List of abbreviations 689
Bibliography and references 689

12 Parachi Charles M. Kieffer 693

1 Introduction 693

2 Phonology 694
   2.1 Inventory and distribution 694
      2.1.1 Vowels 694
         2.1.1.1 Diphthongs 694
      2.1.2 Consonants 694
   2.2 Non-segmental features: stress 695
   2.3 Morphophonemic changes 695

3 Morphology 696
   3.1 Nominal morphology 696
      3.1.1 Nouns 696
         3.1.1.1 Gender 696
         3.1.1.2 Number 696
         3.1.1.3 Declension 696
      3.1.2 Adjectives 697
   3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis 697
      3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns 697
         3.1.3.1a Exlusive forms 697
      3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns 697
      3.1.3.3 Reflexive pronouns 698
      3.1.3.4 Interrogative-indefinite pronouns and related
            adverbials 698
   3.1.4 Adpositions 699
      3.1.4.1 Prepositions 699
      3.1.4.2 Ablative -in and postpositions 699
   3.1.5 Adverbs 699
   3.1.6 Numerals 699
      3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers 699
      3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers 700
      3.1.6.3 Distribution 700
      3.1.6.4 Other numerals and measure 700
      3.1.6.5 Numerals and case marking 700
         3.1.6.5a Numerative -a 700
         3.1.6.5b Genitive of measure 700
3.1.6.5c Plural of specificity 700
3.2 Verb morphology 701
3.2.1 Stem formation 701
3.2.2 Nominal forms 701
3.2.2.1 Forms based on the present stem 701
3.2.2.2 Forms based on the past stem 701
3.2.3 Person marking and ‘to be’ 701
3.2.4 Negation 702
3.2.5 System of tenses and moods 702
3.2.5.1 General present and past 703
3.2.5.1a Past immediacy marker 703
3.2.5.1b Continuous present and past 703
3.2.5.1c Temporary state present and past 703
3.2.5.2 Present perfect and past perfect 703
3.2.5.3 Dubitative 704
3.2.5.3a Dubitative-future 704
3.2.5.3b Dubitative future perfect 704
3.2.5.4 Subjunctive and conditional 704
3.2.5.4a Present subjunctive and conditional 704
3.2.5.4b Continuous subjunctive 704
3.2.5.4c Perfect subjunctive and conditional 704
3.2.5.5 Note on contracted past and perfect forms 705
3.2.5.6 Overview of past and perfect forms 705
3.2.5.7 Overview of tenses, moods, and aspect 705
3.2.6 Aktionsart and modal constructions 706
3.2.6.1 Incipient action 706
3.2.6.2 Intention 706
3.2.6.3 Ability and possibility 706
3.2.6.4 Necessity and obligation 707
3.2.7 Passive and causative formations 707
3.2.7.1 Passive and gerundive 707
3.2.7.1a Passive 707
3.2.7.1b Potential passive 707
3.2.7.1c Adjectival gerundive 707
3.2.7.2 Causation 707
4 Syntax and use of forms 708
4.1 Conjunctions and clitics 708
4.2 Noun phrase structure 708
4.2.1 Noun and adjective 708
4.2.2 Noun and dependent noun 708
4.2.3 Functions of the oblique 709
4.3 Clause structure and word order 709
4.3.1 Order of constituents 709
4.3.2 Semantics and use of nominal forms 709
4.3.2.1 Animacy 709
4.3.2.2 Plurality and agreement 709
4.3.2.3 Definiteness and specificity 710
4.3.3 Subject and object marking: ergative 710
4.3.3.1 Patient ending 710
4.3.3.2 Indirect object 711
4.3.3.3 Indirect object raising 711
4.3.3.4 Attachment of personal enclitics 711
4.3.4 Types of possession 712
4.3.5 Future and modal clause clitics 712
   4.3.5.1 Future clitic *te 712
   4.3.5.2 Assertive clitic *e 712
5 Complex sentences 713
   5.1 Coordinate clauses 713
   5.2 Subordinate clauses 713
   5.3 Relative clauses 713
      5.3.1 Generalized clauses 713
      5.3.2 Anaphoric pronouns 713
      5.3.3 Case attraction 714
   5.4 Object clauses 714
   5.5 Adverbal clauses 714
      5.5.1 Temporal clauses 714
      5.5.2 Conditional clauses 714
      5.5.3 Causal clauses 715
      5.5.4 Final clauses 715
      5.5.5 Other clauses and conjunctions 715
6 Lexis and sociolinguistic aspects 716
   6.1 Word formation 716
   6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects and loan component 716
7 Dialectology and language development 717
8 Sample text 717
Bibliography and references 719

13 Pashto  *Barbara Robson and Habibullah Tegey†* 721
1 Introduction 721
   1.1 Overview 721
   1.2 Writing systems 722
2 Phonology 723
   2.1 Inventory 723
      2.1.1 Vowels 723
         2.1.1.1 Conditioned variation 723
         2.1.1.2 Distribution 723
      2.1.2 Consonants 723
         2.1.2.1 Inventory 723
         2.1.2.2 Distribution 725
      2.1.3 Clusters and syllable structure 725
   2.2 Stress 725
3 Morphology 726
   3.1 Nominal morphology 726
3.1 Nouns
  3.1.1 Gender
  3.1.1.2 Inflectional classes
    3.1.1.2a Irregular nouns and ablaut
    3.1.1.2b Dialectal variation
    3.1.1.2c Singular-only and plural-only nouns
    3.1.1.2d Inflection of infinitives and of nominal clauses
  3.1.1.3 Use of cases
    3.1.1.3a Direct case, subject in present and intransitive past tense
    3.1.1.3b Direct case, direct object in all tenses
    3.1.1.3c Oblique case, subject in transitive past tenses
    3.1.1.3d Oblique case, object of adpositions
    3.1.1.3e Oblique case, vocatives

3.1.2 Adjectives
  3.1.2.1 Classes
  3.1.2.2 Irregular adjectives
  3.1.2.3 Comparison

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis
  3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns
    3.1.3.1a Enclitic pronouns
    3.1.3.1b Independent pronouns
  3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns
  3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns
  3.1.3.4 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

3.1.4 Adpositions
  3.1.4.1 Prepositions and postpositions
  3.1.4.2 Ambipositions

3.1.5 Adverbs

3.1.6 Numerals
  3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers
  3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

3.2 Verb morphology
  3.2.1 Person marking and 'be, become'
    3.2.1.1 Basic forms
    3.2.1.2 Third person existential and modal forms
  3.2.2 Stem formation and tense/aspect
    3.2.2.1 Simple verbs
    3.2.2.2 Derivative verbs
    3.2.2.3 Prefixed stress-shifting verbs
  3.2.3 Nominal forms
    3.2.3.1 Present participle
    3.2.3.2 Perfect participle
    3.2.3.3 Conditional participle
    3.2.3.4 Infinitive
  3.2.4 Aspectual-modal particles and negation
3.2.4.1 Future, necessity, and obligation
3.2.4.2 Negation
3.2.5 Overview of tense, mood, and aspect
3.2.6 Preliminary notes on inflectional pattern
   3.2.6.1 Inflection of verb classes
   3.2.6.2 Transitivity and ergative construction
   3.2.6.3 Order of presentation
3.2.7 Basic tense constructions
   3.2.7.1 Present time constructions
      3.2.7.1a Imperative
      3.2.7.1b Imperfective present
      3.2.7.1c Perfective present
      3.2.7.1d Present future
   3.2.7.2 Past time constructions
      3.2.7.2a Imperfective past
      3.2.7.2b Perfective past
   3.2.7.3 Perfect constructions
      3.2.7.3a Present perfect
      3.2.7.3b Past perfect
      3.2.7.3c Future perfect
      3.2.7.3d Conjectural perfect
3.2.8 Modal constructions
   3.2.8.1 Ability
      3.2.8.1a Present ability
      3.2.8.1b Past ability
      3.2.8.1c Future ability
   3.2.8.2 Necessity and assumption
   3.2.8.3 Obligation
3.2.9 Passive constructions
3.2.10 Infinitives as subject and object
4 Syntax and use of forms
   4.1 Noun phrase structure
      4.1.1 Agreement
      4.1.2 Dependent noun phrases
      4.1.3 Topcialization
   4.2 Clause structure and word order
      4.2.1 Basic word order
      4.2.2 Split-ergativity and agreement
   4.3 Rules of clitization
      4.3.1 Sentence
      4.3.2 Order of particles
   4.4 Conjunctions
      4.4.1 Agreement
      4.4.2 Reduplicative conjunctions
   4.5 Questions
5 Complex sentences
   5.1 Relative clauses
   5.2 Noun clauses
      5.2.1 Subject clauses
5.2.2 Object clauses
  5.2.2.1 Quotations as object clauses
  5.2.2.2 Infinitival direct object clauses

5.3 Complement clauses
  5.3.1 Clauses as objects of adpositions

5.4 Adverbial clauses
  5.4.1 Causal clauses
  5.4.2 Temporal clauses
  5.4.3 Conditional clauses
    5.4.3.1 Overview
    5.4.3.2 Examples of conditional clauses
  5.5.4 Consecutive clauses

6 Dialectology, lexis and sociolinguistic aspects
  6.1 Sub-groupings of dialects
  6.2 Contacts
  6.3 Lexis

7 Sample text

Acknowledgement

Bibliography and references

14a The Pamir Languages  D. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva

1 Introduction
  1.1 Overview
  1.2 Social status and survival

2 Linguistic setting and dynamics
  2.1 Substrate and superstate
  2.2 Genetic relationships and Sprachbund

3 Main linguistic characteristics and typology
  3.1 Phonology
    3.1.1 Vocalic systems
    3.1.2 Consonantal systems
      3.1.2.1 Velar and uvular fricatives
      3.1.2.2 Palatalized affricates and fricatives
      3.1.2.3 Labialized velars and uvulars
      3.1.2.4 Cerebrals
    3.1.3 Suprasegmental features

3.2 Morphology
  3.2.1 Nominal morphology and categories
    3.2.1.1 Gender
    3.2.1.2 Number
    3.2.1.3 Case marking
    3.2.1.4 Definiteness
  3.2.2 Adjectives
  3.2.3 Pronouns
  3.2.4 Numerals

3.3 Verb morphology and system
  3.3.1 Past tenses
4 Lexis

4.1 Word formation and semantic sets

4.2 Loans

Bibliography and references

14b Shughni  D. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

1.2 Writing systems

2 Phonology

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Back-lingual k g and fronting

2.1.2.2 Uvular x y vs. velar x ʃ

2.1.2.3 Palatal ʃ j vs. dental c j

2.1.2.4 Labio-dental v vs. bilabial w

2.1.2.5 Non-phonemic h

2.1.3 Consonant clusters

2.1.3.1 Clusters and structural assimilation

2.1.3.2 Metathesis

2.1.3.3 Voice assimilation

2.1.3.4 Assimilation of n

2.1.3.5 v > δ, θ > f

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Word stress

2.2.2 Phrasal stress

2.2.3 Sentence stress and intonation

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

3.1.1.1a Morphological gender

3.1.1.1b Gender marking by attributives and verb forms

3.1.1.1c Classificatory gender

3.1.1.2 Number

3.1.1.3 Case marking by demonstratives

3.1.1.4 Definiteness

3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns

3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and indefinites and related adverbials

3.1.4 Adpositions
3.1.4.1 Prepositions 796
3.1.4.2 Postpositions 796
3.1.4.3 Case functions 796
3.1.5 Adverbial demonstratives and adverbs 797
3.1.6 Numerals 797
  3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers 797
  3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers 797
  3.1.6.3 Distributives 797
3.2 Verb morphology 797
  3.2.1 Stem formation 797
    3.2.1.1 Present, past, and perfect stems 797
    3.2.1.2 Causative stems 798
    3.2.1.3 Compound verbs 798
  3.2.2 Nominal forms 798
    3.2.2.1 Agent noun 798
    3.2.2.2 Infinitive 798
    3.2.2.3 Perfect participle 798
    3.2.2.4 Adjectival participle 799
    3.2.2.5 Future participle 799
  3.2.3 Person marking and ‘to be’ 799
  3.2.4 Negation 799
  3.2.5 System of tenses 800
    3.2.6 Transitivity and voice 800
      3.2.6.1 Transitivity 800
      3.2.6.2 Passive 800
4 Syntax and use of forms 800
  4.1 Coordination 800
  4.2 Noun phrase structure 801
    4.2.1 Attributive adjectives 801
    4.2.2 Pronominal adjectives 802
    4.2.3 Dependent nouns and noun phrases 802
    4.2.4 Izāfa 803
  4.3 Clause structure and word order 803
  4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms 803
    4.4.1 Person, animacy, and alienability 803
    4.4.2 Syntactic cases 804
      4.4.2.1 Subject marking 804
      4.4.2.2 Direct object marking 804
      4.4.2.3 Indirect object marking 804
      4.4.2.4 Adverbial phrases 804
  4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms 804
    4.5.1 Possession 804
    4.5.2 Person, number, and agreement 805
      4.5.2.1 Person and number 805
      4.5.2.2 Subject-verb agreement 805
      4.5.2.3 Predicates 805
    4.5.3 Use of “tenses” 806
      4.5.3.1 Present-future, modal function 806
      4.5.3.2 Factual enclitic ta 806
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.5.3.3</td>
<td>Modal function of the perfect</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.3.4</td>
<td>Evidential function of the perfect</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Aktionsart constructions</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1</td>
<td>Anticipated action</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.2</td>
<td>Inception</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.3</td>
<td>Habitual action</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Modal constructions</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.1</td>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.2</td>
<td>Wishes</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.3</td>
<td>Intention</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.4</td>
<td>Necessity and obligation</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.5</td>
<td>Supposition</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.6</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Complex sentences</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Coordinate clauses</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Subordinate clauses</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Basic structure</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Generalized relative clauses, ar- 'each, all'</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Head noun incorporation</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Focused restrictive clauses</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Object clauses</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Adverbial clauses</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1</td>
<td>Temporal clauses</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2</td>
<td>Conditional clauses</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.1</td>
<td>Real or likely conditions</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.1a</td>
<td>Present + imperative</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.1b</td>
<td>Present + present</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.2</td>
<td>Possible conditions</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.2a</td>
<td>Present + perfect</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.2b</td>
<td>Perfect + perfect</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.3</td>
<td>Irreal conditions</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.3a</td>
<td>Past perfect + past</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.3b</td>
<td>Past perfect + past perfect</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3</td>
<td>Concessive clauses</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.4</td>
<td>Consecutive clauses</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.5</td>
<td>Causal clauses</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.6</td>
<td>Final clauses</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.7</td>
<td>Wish clauses</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.8</td>
<td>Request clauses</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.9</td>
<td>Narration and dependent speech</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lexis</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Word formation</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.1</td>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.2</td>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>Compounding</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2.1</td>
<td>Basic types</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2.2</td>
<td>Determinative compounds</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects
   6.2.1 Naming
   6.2.2 Kinship terms
   6.2.3 Familiar address and phraseology

7 Dialectology and contact
   7.1 Internal dialectology of Shughni
   7.2 Adjacent languages and dialects
   7.3 Loan component
   7.4 Pamir languages and Indo-Aryan
   7.5 Turkic Kyrgyz
   7.6 Substrate features

8 Sample texts
   8.1 The Spring Equinox Festival
   8.2 The Prodigal Son

Bibliography and references

15 Wakhi Elena Bashir

1 Introduction
   1.1 Overview
   1.2 Writing systems

2 Phonology
   2.1 Inventory and distribution
      2.1.1 Vowels
      2.1.2 Consonants
         2.1.2.1 Overview
         2.1.2.2 Fricatives and affricates
         2.1.2.3 Interdental δ
         2.1.2.4 q and k
      2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters
   2.2 Non-segmental features

3 Morphology
   3.1 Nominal morphology
      3.1.1 Nouns
      3.1.2 Adjectives
      3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis
         3.1.3.1 Personal and demonstrative pronouns
         3.1.3.2 Possessive forms
         3.1.3.3 Reflexive-emphatic and reciprocal pronouns
         3.1.3.4 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials
      3.1.4 Adpositions
         3.1.4.1 Prepositions
         3.1.4.2 Postpositions
         3.1.4.3 Circumpositions
      3.1.5 Adverbial demonstratives and adverbs
      3.1.6 Numerals
         3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers
         3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers and distributives
3.1.6.3 Classifiers 833

3.2 Verbal morphology 833
  3.2.1 Stem formation 833
    3.2.1.1 Overview 833
    3.2.1.2 Present and past stems 834
    3.2.1.3 Perfect stems 834
    3.2.1.4 Causative stems 834
  3.2.2 Non-finite forms 834
    3.2.2.1 Verbal nouns or infinitives 834
    3.2.2.2 Participles 834
      3.2.2.2a Present participles 834
      3.2.2.2b Perfect participles 835
  3.2.3 Person marking and the verb 'to be' 835
    3.2.3.1 Overview 835
    3.2.3.2 Existential verb 'to be' 835
  3.2.4 Aspectual-modal affixes and negation 836
    3.2.4.1 Aspectual clitic -$\hat{E}$ 836
    3.2.4.2 Particle -(V)p 836
    3.2.4.3 Negative particles 836
  3.2.5 System of tense, mood, and aspect 837
    3.2.5.1 Overview 837
    3.2.5.2 Present-future 837
      3.2.5.2a Subjunctive function without particle 837
      3.2.5.2b Specificity and immediacy with -$\hat{E}$, 837
      3.2.5.2c Future and tenseless/generic function with -(V)p 837
    3.2.5.3 Past 838
      3.2.5.3a Anterior to present and conditional perfective 838
      3.2.5.3b Imperfective meanings and conditional irrealis with -$\hat{E}$ 838
    3.2.5.4 Distant past 839
      3.2.5.4a Anterior to past event and distant past 839
      3.2.5.4b Unrealized actions and conditional irrealis with -$\hat{E}$ 839
    3.2.5.5 Perfect 839
    3.2.5.6 Perfect subjunctive 839
    3.2.5.7 Distant perfect 840
      3.2.5.7a Unwitnessed/inferred action 840
      3.2.5.7b Irrealis wishes in past time 840

4 Syntax and use of forms 840
  4.1 Coordination 840
  4.2 Noun phrase structure 840
    4.2.1 Genitive phrases 840
    4.2.2 Definiteness marking 841
  4.3 Clause structure and word order 841
    4.3.1 Clitics 841
    4.3.2 Questions 841
    4.3.3 Nominal sentences 841
4.4 Case marking
4.4.1 Subject marking
4.4.1.1 Non-past tenses
4.4.1.2 Past tense and perfect
4.4.1.2a Lower dialect of Wakhan W (Namadgut)
4.4.1.2b Upper dialect of Wakhan W
4.4.1.2c Hunza W
4.4.1.3 OBL₁ and OBL₂
4.4.1.4 Oblique intransitive subjects
4.4.2 Direct object marking
4.4.2.1 Wakhan Wakhi
4.4.2.2 Hunza Wakhi
4.4.3 Causee marking
4.4.3.1 Pronominal causees
4.4.3.2 Causees with analytical causatives
4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms
4.5.1 Possession
4.5.2 Aspectual-phasal constructions
4.5.2.1 Prospective action
4.5.2.2 Intended action
4.5.2.3 Inception
4.5.3 Modal constructions
4.5.3.1 Deontic modality
4.5.3.2 Presumption
4.5.3.3 Ability
4.5.3.3a Wakhan Wakhi
4.5.3.3b Hunza Wakhi
5 Complex sentences
5.1 Coordinate clauses
5.2 Subordination
5.3 Relative clauses
5.3.1 Finite relative clauses
5.3.1.1 Relative noun in matrix clause
5.3.1.2 Relative noun in relative clause
5.3.1.3 Demonstrative + head noun in matrix clause
5.3.1.4 ki and tsa in relative clause
5.3.1.5 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns
5.3.1.6 Headless relative clauses
5.3.2 Participial relative clauses
5.3.2.1 Present and perfect participles
5.3.2.2 Substantival perfect participle
5.4 Temporal clauses
5.4.1 Finite temporal clauses
5.4.1.1 Simultaneous actions/events
5.4.1.2 Sequential actions
5.4.1.3 Punctual event
5.4.1.4 Time after which
5.4.1.5 Time up to which
5.4.2 Infinitival temporal constructions
5.4.2.1 Inception of an event 852
5.4.2.2 Sequence of two events 852
5.5 Reason and purpose clauses 853
  5.5.1 Reason clauses 853
  5.5.2 Purpose clauses 853
    5.5.2.1 Infinitival construction 853
    5.5.2.2 Finite-verb clause 853
5.6 Complement structures 853
5.7 Conditional clauses 854
  5.7.1 Realis 854
    5.7.1.1 Present 854
    5.7.1.2 Simple past 854
    5.7.1.3 Present subjunctive 854
    5.7.1.4 Perfect subjunctive 855
  5.7.2 Irrealis 855
    5.7.2.1 Simple past 855
    5.7.2.2 Distant past 855
6 Lexis and word formation 855
7 Dialectology and contact phenomena 855
  7.1 Wakhi dialects 855
  7.2 Adjacent languages and dialects 856
  7.3 Regional contact languages 856
    7.3.1 The Pamir linguistic area 857
    7.3.2 Dardic 857
8 Sample text 858
Notes 859
Acknowledgements 859
Bibliography and references 860
Index 863