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DEIXIS IN SHUGHNI:
GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS

by

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Katechetin, Missionhaus Bibelschule Malche 1996
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This thesis, submitted by Katja S. Mueller in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

Dr. Keith Slater, Chair

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Wayne Swisher,
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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
CT	coding time
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIST	distal
DST	Deictic Shift Theory
EMP	empathetic
F	feminine
FUT	future
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INGR	ingressive
IMPV	imperative
LOC	locative

M	masculine
MED	medial
N	noun
NEG	negation
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique
P	plural V agreement maker
PART	particle
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfect tense
PL	plural
POCS	Post-core slot
PP	adpositional phrase
PRES	present tense
PREP	prepositional phrase
PRO	pronoun
PROX	proximal
Q	question particle
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative particle
RP	reference phrase
RT	receiving time
S	sentence

S	singular V agreement marker
SG	singular
V	verb

ABSTRACT

Shughni is one of the best documented and described languages of the Pamirs. Linguistic research so far has focused on the verbal system of Shughni grammar but no detailed study has been done on the deictic system of the language. In this thesis I will describe grammatical and semantic aspects of the deictic system in Shughni.

During the course of the project I observed natural conversations, and listened to stories and discussions, and additionally I elicited sentences or conversations in order to clarify structures or understanding of previous observations.

In this thesis I describe the grammatical structures of Shughni deixis using Role and Reference grammar as theoretical framework. I describe how Shughni expresses the three basic semantic categories of deixis: person, space and time. Furthermore I present evidence that Shughni uses a deictic hierarchy and a landmark system to express location and direction. In local deixis river-flow supersedes mountain-slope, which are both superseded by the flow of the Panj River when using a global perspective.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Shughni people live in the Pamir mountain range of Central Asia. The Shughni language belongs to the Pamiri group of Eastern Iranian languages, spoken by approximately 130,000 people in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. The topography of the homeland of the Shughni people has influenced not only their lifestyle as primarily pastoralists, but also their language. The Shughni language has an elaborate system of deictic (spatial) pronouns, prepositions and adverbials. In this thesis I will describe the deictic system of Shughni in the grammatical framework of Role and Reference Grammar and explore its use through semantic considerations.

1.1 Research goals

Shughni is one of the best documented Pamiri languages. Linguistic research so far (e.g. Sokolova 1966, Nawat 1979, and Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009) has focused on the verbal system of Shughni grammar, but no detailed study has been done on the deictic system of the language. Therefore, in this thesis I describe the deictic system of the Shughni language from a grammatical point of view and investigate the semantic and pragmatic background of this system. I propose that the mountainous environment has influenced the development of a deictic landmark system so that people are able to orient themselves within local and broader contexts.

A survey of the literature on deixis showed that not many landmark systems have been described so far (Harrison 2014, Levinson 2003). Therefore a study of the deictic system of Shughni will help our cross-linguistic understanding of the characteristics of landmark systems.

1.2 People and language

The Shughni people live in the Pamir Mountains, on both sides of the Panj River (upper Amu Darya). Their traditional homeland includes the Shughnon and Roshqal'a administrative regions of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province (GBAP) in Tajikistan and the Shighnan district of Badakhshan Province in Afghanistan (Mueller 2005: 3). The Shighnan district is situated in the Northeast of Badakhshan Province, the most northeastern Province of Afghanistan, with Faizabad as its capital (Beck 2013: 238). Faizabad and Shighnan Center are connected by road but are often cut off from each other during the winter months. A small airstrip provides weather dependent travel opportunities between the centers. The terrain consists mostly of (high) mountain ranges and valleys with the high plateau of Shewa being especially remote.

Most Shughni belong to the Ismaili branch of Shi'a Islam. According to tradition, Ismaili Islam was brought to Badakhshan by Nasir Khusrav around 1000 AD. The spiritual head of the Ismaili is the Aga Khan who guides his followers on their spiritual journey through sermons, books and other publications (Mueller 2005: 4).

According to Lewis et al. (2015), the languages specification for Shughni-Roshani are as follows:

- ISO Code: [sgh]
- Alternate names: Shugni, Shighnhi, Shughnani, Shugan, Khugni, Kushani, Saighani, Ghorani Roshani, Rushan, Oroshani

- Dialects: Roshani, Shughni (*in Afghanistan and Tajikistan*)¹, Bartangi, Khufi, Roshorvi, Bajuvi (*in Tajikistan*)
- Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamir, Shughni-Roshani

Lewis et al (2015), following Sokolova (1966), claim that Shughni is one of five dialects that make up a single language, the other dialects being Roshani², Khufi, Bartangi and Roshorvi³. In Tajikistan, speakers of all five varieties refer to their language as ‘Pamiri’, but no researcher has used this name. Instead, most researchers have used ‘Pamiri’ to refer to all languages spoken in the Pamirs, including Yazghulami, Wakhi, and Eshkashimi. Lewis et al (2015) use Shughni as the name for both the dialect and the language, which includes the other four dialects. According to them, Shughni; Sarikoli, spoken in China; and Yazghulami make up the Shughni-Yazghulami family of Eastern Iranian languages (Clifton 2005: 153). Figure 1 shows the relationship of Shughni within the group of Pamiri languages:

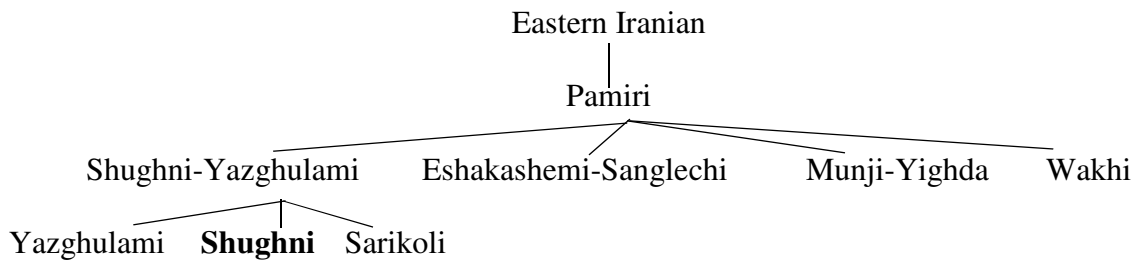


Figure 1: Pamiri Languages

¹ All text in italics is my additions.

² There is a discrepancy in spelling of the Pamiri languages between researchers following the Russian tradition, and those who have been working in Afghanistan. In this thesis I will follow the conventions used in Afghanistan.

³ Lewis et al., following Soviet scholars, refer to the fifth variety as Oroshor. This is the result of a misunderstanding of pronunciation; the correct name is Roshorvi.

Mirzabdinova (1983) calls the six varieties the “Shughni-Roshani cluster of Pamiri languages”, following most Russian scholarship, which considers the varieties of the Shughni-Roshani cluster closely related but separate languages. Pakhalina (1960: 18) argues that Sarikoli is a dialect of the Shughni-Roshani language group, though a “rather peculiar” one from a phonological point of view. The *Ethnologue* (2015) lists Sarikoli [srh] as a separate language belonging to the Shughni-Yazghulami group of languages. I believe that the six varieties, Shughni, Bajuvi, Roshani, Khufi, Bartangi, and Roshorvi, are a dialect chain belonging within one language, Shughni lending its name to the whole.

In terms of the number of speakers and its prestige, Shughni is the dominant variety of the Shughni-Roshani dialect cluster. Only Shughni and Roshani are spoken in the Badakhshan Province of Afghanistan (Beck, 2013: 238); this can also be seen in Figure 2:

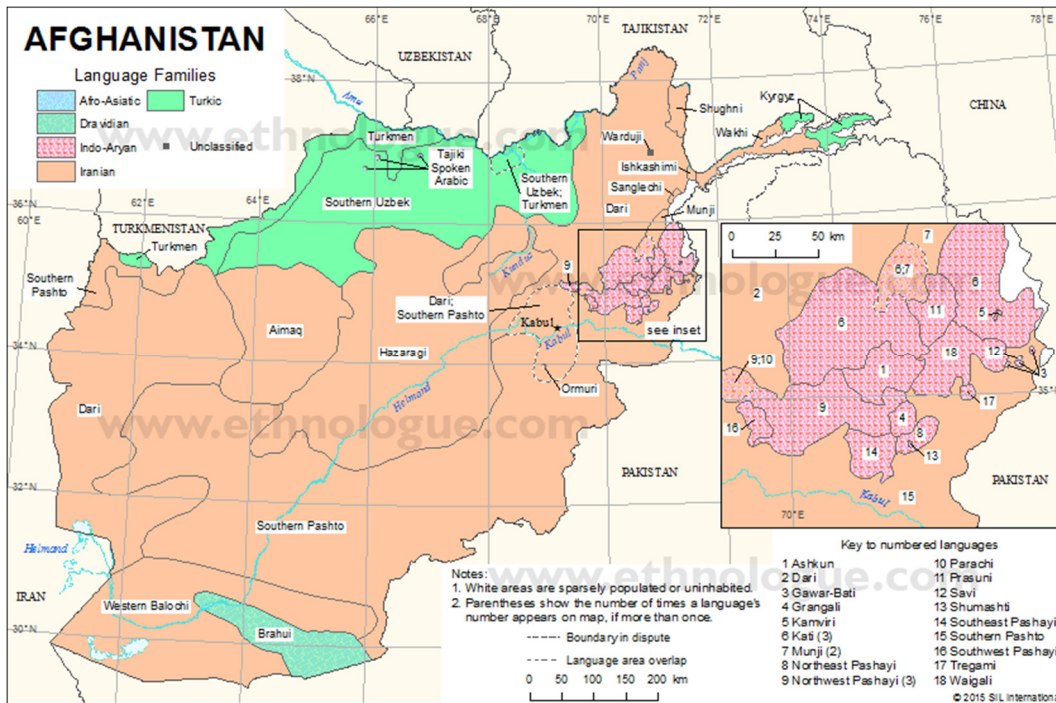


Figure 2: Linguistic map of Afghanistan⁴

The Shughni call their own language *xuynöne zev* ‘Shughni tongue’. Although Shughni is not a literary language several attempts have been made to establish an alphabet for it, especially during the time of Soviet rule. Karamshoev and Alamshoev (1996) published a primer in Shughni in Tajikistan, using the Cyrillic script; scholars of Khorugh University are currently using an adapted Latin script that includes Greek and IPA characters. On the internet and when using cell phones Shughni often use a simplified Latin script to communicate with each other.

In Afghanistan a curriculum for teaching Shughni in school for grades 1-6 was published a few years ago. A number of Shughni people from the Shighnan district have voiced their concerns about and objections to the proposed orthography, as they feel that the symbols don’t represent the sounds of their language correctly and that there is possible confusion when

⁴ This map is used under the conditions outlined in Lewis et al (2005).

spelling Arabic loan words. Since 2012 SIL has been working with the Academy of Science (AoS) of Afghanistan and the Shughni community in order to reach a better understanding and agreement on the orthography.

The orthographic situation is complicated and confusing to many. In this thesis I am using a mixture of Latin Script with IPA symbols. If not indicated differently, the symbols used correspond to the IPA value. The consonant š corresponds to ʃ, č to tʃ, ž to dʒ, ġ to ɣ, γ to j, and ǰ to ɟ. The vowel ö corresponds to ø. A line over a vowel, e.g. ī indicates a lengthened vowel.

1.3 Previous research in Shughni

Research in the Pamiri languages has a long tradition and can be traced back to two German scholars, Tomashek (1880) and Geiger (1895-1901). Although these languages received considerable attention from Russian scholars, only a few described Shughni itself. Sokolova (1966) and R. Kh. Dodykhudoev (1977) were the main researchers of Shughni during the past century. Karamshoev described the Bajuvi, a dialect of Shughni, in 1963. More recently, L. R. Dodykhudoeva (1999, 2003) studied and described linguistic, comparative lexographic, and sociolinguistic aspects of Shughni. Edelman and Dodykhudoyeva (2009b) give an overview of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Shughni spoken in Tajikistan.

Badakshi (1960) published a comparative dictionary of the Pamir languages Munji, Eshakashemi, Wakhi, Sanglechi, and Shughni with glosses in Farsi and Pashto. Nawata (1979) described the phonology and morphology of Shughni in Afghanistan.

In 2003-2004, an SIL team working in cooperation with the National State University of Tajikistan conducted sociolinguistic research on the Shughni-Roshani cluster in Tajikistan; the results were published in Clifton (2005). In 2006 there followed a sociolinguistic survey of Shughni in Afghanistan (Miller et al 2006), and in 2007, a sociolinguistic survey of the Roshan

variety in cooperation with the International Assistance Mission (IAM) (Beck 2013). The most recent research is the “Shughni Grammar Project”: a collaboration of the University of Kentucky with Khorugh State University in Tajikistan. Out of this project came a study of Shughni syntax, with a focus on cleft-sentences (Barie 2009).

1.4 Research Methodology

1.4.1 Language data

The data for this project were gathered between 2009 and 2013 under the IRB proposal IRB-200908-042, involving five language consultants.

Traditional descriptive linguistics uses collecting, transcribing, translating, and analyzing data as means to study languages resulting in abstract and often idealized analysis of structures that do not quite reflect languages as a living medium (Dimmendaal 2010: 152). Harrison (2014: 22-23) argues for using ethnographical methods in language research, including: (a) participant observation; (b) use of the target language as the contact language; (c) privileging speech and discourse that is culturally embedded, spontaneous, and ecologically valid etc.; and (d) adopting an ‘emic’ perspective. His description corresponds the research to methodology used for this paper:

- (1) In all of my interactions with Frank, Lilly, Naomi, Hank and Stephen⁵ only Shughni was used.
- (2) During the course of four years (2009-2013), I observed natural conversations and listened to discussions and stories.

⁵ The names of the language consultants have been changed in order to protect their privacy and safety.

(3) I elicited sentences from Naomi and Lilly, and transcribed and translated them. This was done to clarify what I had already observed during conversations. These data were recorded in notebooks.

This research strategy enhanced my access to (a) grammatical structures that may not otherwise be visible, and (b) a ‘knowledge system’ grounded in the local environment and essential to understanding the content of what people say (Harrison, 2014: 24-25).

One of the stories told to me was Frank’s story about a trip to Shighnan. I recorded his story about a trip on which I was not present. After the travelers’ return the events of the trip were discussed in many ways in the NGO office and Frank was willing to give me an account of the trip. Frank is a good story teller who can bring stories “alive”. Hank and Stephen were present when the story was told and each of them said it was a “good story”. They also agreed that the account was accurate. Therefore I chose to analyze this story based on Hank and Stephen’s judgment that the story was told well and accurate in its content. I will analyze this story as an example of Shughni travel stories.

Even though I was not present on this particular trip, I had been present on several trips to and from Shighnan and Shewa in the past, and therefore Frank assumed that I would not only know the locations in the story but be able to follow it. The following map shows the travel route from Faizabad to Shighnan via Shewa:

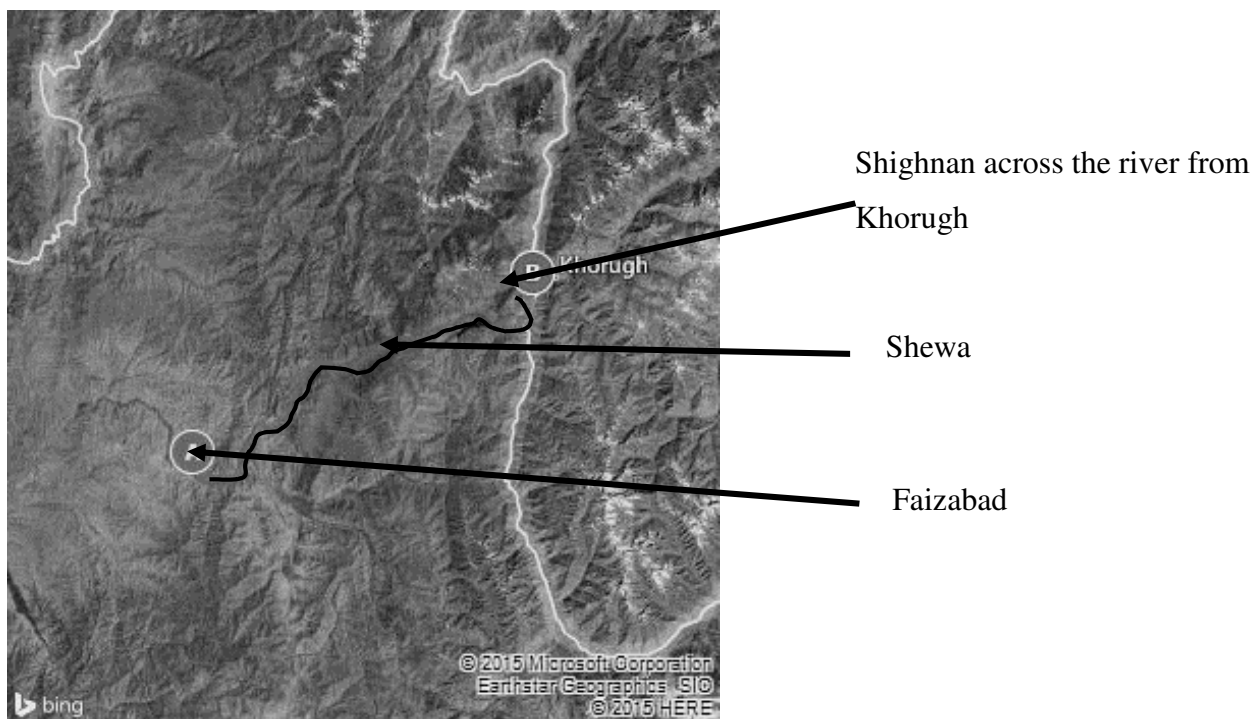


Figure 3: Map showing the travel of Frank and company from Faizabad to Shighnan via Shewa⁶.

I listened to the story several times and transcribed, translated and checked it with Frank for possible mistakes and clarifications. The story can be found in the Appendix. Hank and Stephen told me similar stories of their own travels over the course of four years, always being patient to explain and include a joke to make us laugh.

The elicitations of grammatical structures were done during language lessons with Naomi and Lilly. I often would come with a sentence or grammatical structure I heard during conversations with Shughni friends and colleagues and they were able to give me additional

⁶ This map is used under the copyright of Microsoft Map Print Rights. URL: <http://www.microsoft.com/maps/product/print-rights.html> [accessed 2015-06-30]

examples and/or expand the topic. For example, the telephone conversation discussed in section 4.3.1.2 was described to me by Lilly, when I asked her about how to use the spatial pronouns *we/wam/waδ* as articles, whether there is a distinction between visible and invisible and if yes, how we would know.

1.4.2 Theoretical frameworks

In the first part of my thesis, I will present Role and Reference Grammar and its application to Shughni. Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (Van Valin & LaPolla 1998, Van Valin 2005) seeks to explain the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in a language. Then I will use Role and Reference Grammar to describe deictic pronouns, adpositions, adverbials and other morphemes, like locative or directional suffixes, that express location and direction. Their place in the sentence indicates their illocutionary force and/or focus.

In the second part of my thesis, I will first follow Levinson (2003) and Huang (2007) and describe the three basic deictic concepts of person, space and time deixis. Harrison (2014) showed that Tuvan has a deictic hierarchy and a landmark system. I will present evidence that suggests that Shughni also uses a deictic hierarchy and landmark system to communicate about locations and directions in the speakers' mountainous homeland.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR AND ITS APPLICATION TO SHUGHNI

In this chapter I will give an overview of Role and Reference Grammar and apply it to the phrase structure in Shughni. This chapter gives the background to the description of the deictic system in chapter Chapter 3.

2.1 Overview

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) was inspired by typological and theoretical concerns. It tries to answer two questions:

- (1) What would a linguistic theory look like if it was based on the analysis of languages with diverse structures rather than the analysis of English?, and
- (2) How can the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems best be described and explained? (Van Valin 2005: 1).

The result is a linguistic theory where semantics and pragmatics play a significant role, resulting in a bi-directional mapping of syntax and semantics. RRG produces a linking algorithm from semantics to syntax and from syntax to semantics which is an idealization of what speaker

and hearer do, respectively (Van Valin 2005: 3). Figure 4 gives an overview of the organization of RRG (Van Valin 2005: 2):

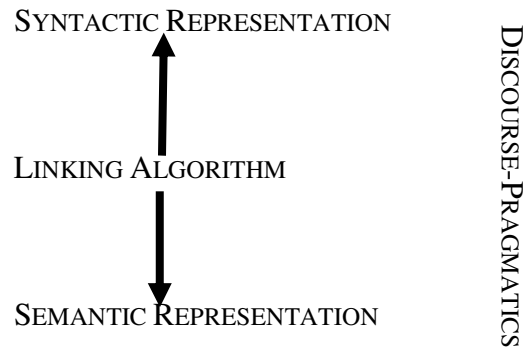


Figure 4: Organization of RRG

The SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION of clause structure should satisfy two conditions:

- (a) To capture all of the universal features of clauses without imposing features on languages that show no evidence for them, and
- (b) To represent comparable structures in different languages in comparable ways (Van Valin 2005: 3).

RRG does this by using a semantically-based model known as the “layered structure of the clause” whose essential components are (i) the NUCLEUS, (ii) the CORE, and (iii) a PERIPHERY for each layer. The following table (Van Valin 2005: 5) summarizes the semantic units underlying the layered structure of the clause:

Table 1: The layered structure of the clause, primary syntactic units

Semantic Element(s)	Syntactic Unit
Predicate	Nucleus
Arguments in semantic representation of predicate	Core argument
Non-arguments	Periphery

Non-arguments are those units which are not arguments of the predicate (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 26). Core and Clause represent combinations of predicate, arguments, and non-arguments as seen in Table 2 (Van Valin 2005: 5).

Table 2: The layered structure of the clause, core and clause

Semantic Element(s)	Syntactic Unit
Predicate + Arguments	Core
Predicate + Arguments + Non-Arguments	Clause

Van Valin argues that the distinctions in Table 1 and Table 2 are universal and can be derived from the fact that all languages refer and predicate. RRG uses the term “reference phrase” (RP) as a functional definition; that is, RPs refer and do not predicate. They may include noun phrases (NP) or even whole clauses. The predicate in the nucleus does not need to be a head or a verb; a nominal phrase or adpositional phrase can take the place of a verb with an auxiliary rather than a full verb functioning to carry tense.

2.2 The layered phrase in RRG

One way to develop the analysis of the syntactic structure of verb phrases in a language is from the inside out. Following this strategy I look first at the predicate, second at the core, third at the clause and fourth (very briefly) at the sentence in Shughni. Though I have analyzed many sentences, due to space only a few examples can be given.

The predicate in Shughni can consist of a noun, verb, or adjective, or even question particle, when a person agreement suffix is added. In Example (1) the suffix is added to the present stem of the verb *pizdow* ‘to bake’:

- (1) *Piž-en*
bake.PRES-3PL
They are baking.

Example (2) shows a compound verb in Shughni. The compound verb is created with the help of the auxiliary verb *čidow* ‘to do’, *vidow* ‘to be’, or *sitow* ‘to become’. In the present tense the verb agreement marker is attached to *kin-*, the present stem of the auxiliary verb *čidow* ‘to do’.

- (2) *Kor kin-um.*
work do.PRES-1S
I am working.

Although the noun *kor* denotes an event rather than an object, it is lexically a noun that can be modified by determiners, adjectives, or possessors; in other words it can be the head of a noun phrase when it is not part of a compound verb.

- (3) *mu ozön kor*
OBL.1S easy work
My easy work

In the present tense the auxiliary verb can be dropped and the verb agreement marker is attached to the noun of the compound verb. Example (4) shows this *kor čidow* ‘to work’ (literally: to do work); the auxiliary verb *čidow (kin-)* ‘do’ can be dropped and the verb agreement marker attached to the noun *kor*.

- (4) *Kor-am*
 work-1P
 We are working.

In Examples (5) and (6) the suffix is attached to an adjective and question particle respectively, turning each into a predicate. Adjectives or question particles can form compound verbs with the auxiliary verbs *vidow* ‘to be’ or *sitow* ‘to become’. In the present and future tense the auxiliary verb is completely dropped and the verb agreement marker is attached to the noun phrase. Because Shughni is a pro-drop language the NP can be dropped, too, and the verb agreement marker is directly attached to the adjective or question particle. Examples (5) and (6) show the verb agreement maker being attached to the pronoun versus being attached to the adjective or question particle respectively.

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (5) a. <i>Wuz-um</i> | <i>xuš.</i> | b. <i>Xuš -um.</i> |
| 1SG-1S | happy | Happy-1S |
| I am happy. | | I am happy. |
| | | |
| (6) a. <i>Tam-et</i> | <i>carang?</i> | b. <i>Carang-et?</i> |
| 2PL-2P | how | How-2P? |
| How are you? | | How are you? |

It needs to be noted that only nouns which appear in compound verbs can assume predicate status. Verb agreement markers cannot be attached to nouns that denote objects⁷. The following phrase is ungrammatical:

- (7) **Kitōb-um*
 Book-1s
 *I book.

The past tense is expressed by using the auxiliary verb *vidow* ‘to be’ as seen in Example (8):

- (8) *Xuš-um* *vad.*
 Happy-1s be.PAST.F.3SG
 I was happy.

We can summarize the above examples in the following logical predicate template in Figure 5:

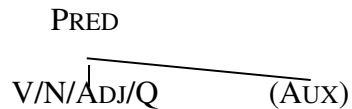


Figure 5: Predicate template

The information shown in Figure 5 can be restated in the logical structure (LS) as seen in Example (9):

- (9) PREDICATE {V/N/ADJ/Q > (Aux)}

The representation in Example (9) is also called a linear precedence rule. According to Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 69-71), there are universal linear precedence rules and language specific

⁷ If the book were a participant in a children’s story the phrase *kitob-um* ‘book-1Sg’ would still sound odd. In this case the participant would have to be introduced by using the relevant pronoun and *kitob* would have to be qualified with an article, e.g. *Wuz-um ye zulik kitob*. ‘I (am) a small book’.

rules which specify linear ordering among elements of a syntactic structure. To simplify the representation of the logical structure, I refer to any predicate argument as X.

Having established the innermost level we can move on to the core. The next two examples show how the core is built.

- (10) *Maryam oš piž-d.*
 Maryam noodle.soup cook.PRES-3S
 Maryam cooks noodle soup.

- (11) *Oš piž-d.*
 noodle.soup cook.PRES-3S
 (She) cooks noodle soup.

Maryam is the subject in Example (10), and while there is no corresponding subject core argument in (11), still person and number are marked on the verb⁸. In Example (10) the suffix agrees with the overt subject of the sentence, while in Example (11), the verb agreement marker agrees with the implied subject core argument. Therefore it can be represented as PRO relating to the core and the X in the predicate. The tree representations of the CORE templates for (10) and (11) are shown respectively in Figure 6:



Figure 6: Core 1 and core 2

The information of these two Figures is restated in Examples (12) and (13):

⁸ See further discussion on this under 1.3.1 Focus marking.

(12) CORE1: CORE{ RP_(SU) > (RP(O)) > NUC > {PRED > {X}}}

(13) CORE2: CORE{ (RP(O)) > NUC > {PRED > {X > PRO}}}

An additional set of core templates can be derived from the following examples elicited from Naomi:

(14) *Maryam xu rezin-ard oš piž-d.*
 Maryam OBL.REFL daughter-DIR noodle.soup cook.PRES-3S
 Maryam cooks noodle soup for her daughter.

(15) *Oš xu rezin-ard piž-d.*
 noodle.soup OBL.REFL daughter-DIR cook.PRES-3S
 (She) cooks noodle soup for her daughter.

In Examples (14) and (15) Naomi uses the bound postposition *-(y)ard* ‘to’. It also seems that the omission of the RP_(SU) changes the default order within the core in Example (15). The peripheral PP moves to the preverbal position. We can see this by comparing the logical structures for Examples (14) and (15) in Figure 7.

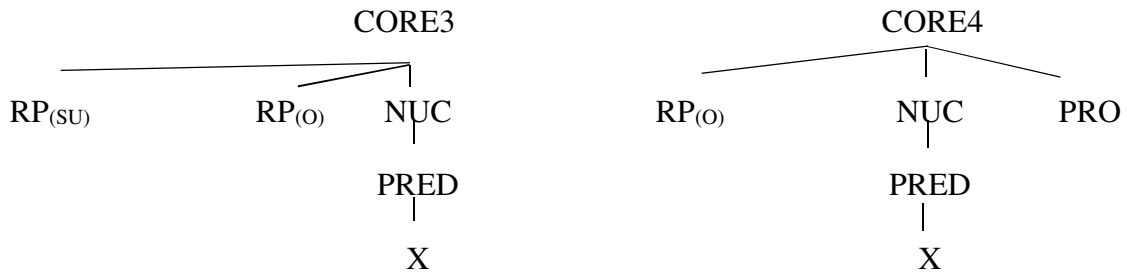


Figure 7: Logical structure for Examples (14) and (15)

The information for Figure 9 is restated in (16) and (17):

(16) CORE3: CORE{ RP_(SU) > RP(O) > {NUC > {PRED > X}}}

(17) CORE4: CORE{ RP(O) > {NUC > {PRED > X > PRO}}}

Clause and sentence templates are established in a similar way; Examples (18) and (19) and Figure 8 show how the clause structure in Shughni is developed:

- (18) *Maryam oš tar čīd piž-d.*
 Maryam noodle.soup in house cook.PRES-3S
 Maryam cooks noodle soup in the house.
- (19) *Maryam oš piž-d tar čīd.*
 Maryam noodle.soup cook.PRES-3S in house.
 Maryam cooks noodle soup in the house.



Figure 8: Clause templates for Examples (18) and (19)

Examples (18-19) correspond to clause templates in Figure 8, respectively. In Example (18) the PP is in the periphery, while in Example (19) it is placed into the post-core slot (PoCS). The PoCS is a feature of some verb-final languages (Van Valin 2005: 5); in (19) *tar čīd* ‘in the house’ is moved to the PoCS in order to focus on the place of action. The information for Figure 8 is restated in (20) and (21) respectively:

(20) CLAUSE1: {RP_{CORE} > PERIPHERY { PP } > NUC }

(21) CLAUSE2: { CORE > PoCS }

The sentences in Examples (22) and (23) show how adverbial phrases can be either part of the clause or be placed in the left-detached position (LDP):

(22) *Maryam oš nur piž-d.*
 Maryam noodle.soup today cook.PRES-3S
 Maryam cooks noodle soup today.

(23) *Nur Maryam oš piž-d.*
 Today Maryam noodle.soup cook.PRES-3S
 Today, Maryam cooked noodle soup.

The templates for Examples (22) and (23) are shown in Figure 9:

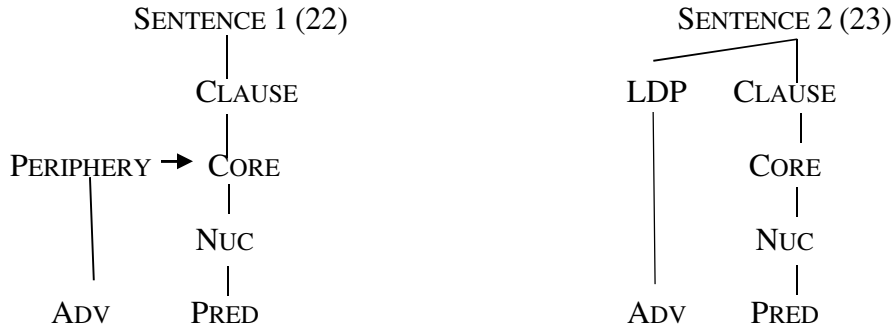


Figure 9: Sentence templates for Examples (22) and (23)

The information for Figure 9 is restated in Examples (24) and (25):

(24) SENTENCE1: {CLAUSE > {PERI > CORE}}

(25) SENTENCE2: {LDP > CLAUSE}

The manner in which the adverb is placed in the periphery of the core (intra-clausal) or into the LDP of the clause is very similar to the way a PP is placed into either the core or the POCS of the core. In both cases I suspect this change in word order might indicate the focus. In section 2.3.3 I look more into the issue of word order and focus.

In this section I have presented templates for predicate, core, clause, and sentence. In the next section I look at the operator structure of Shughni verb phrases.

2.3 Operators in RRG

An important notion in RRG is the theory of OPERATORS, which are closed-classed grammatical categories that modify specific layers of the clause. Table 3 summarizes operators according to layer (Van Valin 2005: 6):

Table 3: Clause operators

Clause Layer	Operators
Nuclear operators	Aspect, Negation, Directionals (without reference to participants)
Core operators	Directionals (orientation or motion of one participant with reference to another participant or speaker), Event quantification, Modality (e.g. ability, permission, obligation), Internal negation
Clausal operators	Status (epistemic modals, external negation), Tense, Evidentials, Illocutionary Force (IF)

Illocutionary force (IF) can be divided into four subtypes: declarative, optative, imperative and interrogative (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 41). In Shughni, a simple assertion (declarative IF) is contrasted with a strong wish (optative IF). An assertion has a declarative morphological marking on the verb as seen in the Example (26):

- (26) *Maryam xu kitōb ǰey-d.*
 Maryam REFL.OBL book read.PRES-3S
 Maryam reads her book.

Wishes (optative IF) can be expressed in different ways. The modal verb *xoxiǰ čidow* ‘to wish’ (literally: ‘to do a wish’) is a compound verb⁹, and can be used in two syntactic constructions. The modal verb *xoxiǰ čidow* expresses *a very strong wish*, as can be seen in Example (27):

⁹ See the discussion earlier in section 2.2. on compound verbs consisting of a proper noun and an auxiliary verb.

- (27) *Maryam xu kitōb x̣eydow xoxiḥ kiḥ-t.*
 Maryam REFL book read.INF wish do.PRES-3S
 Maryam wants to read her book.

The tree diagram for Example (27) is the extended layered structure for wishes shown in Figure 10. The dotted lines connect the operator to the syntactic unit, and the arrows indicate the level at which the operator functions.

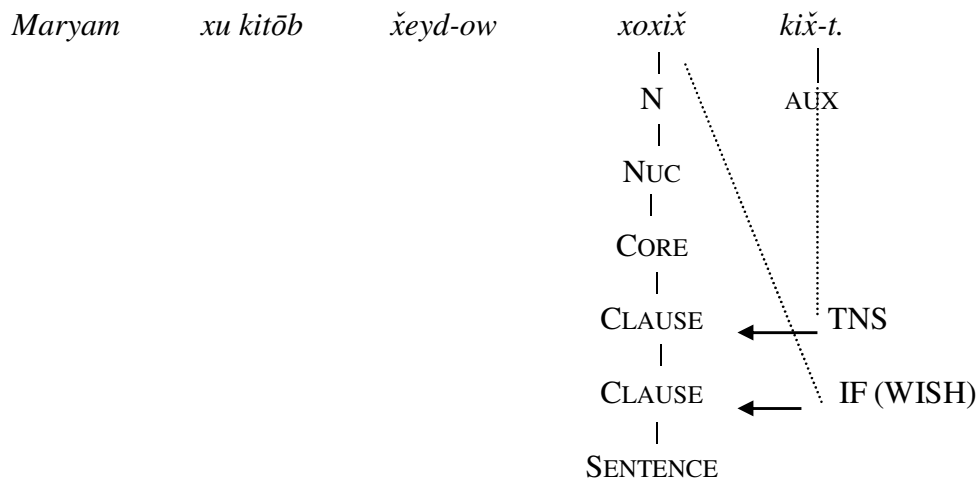


Figure 10: Clause operators tense and illocutionary force

The noun *xoxiḥ* ‘wish’ of the compound verb *xoxiḥ čidow* ‘to wish’ expresses the illocutionary force (wish), while the inflected form of *čidow*, *kiḥt* ‘does’ expresses tense.

2.3.1 The layered structure of the reference phrase (RP)

In RRG noun phrases have a layered structure similar to clauses. The main difference between NP and CLAUSE structure is that the nucleus of an NP contains a referent (REF) instead of a predicate (PRED). Analyzing the NP “the acceptance of their arguments by Churchill in August 1940” Butler (2003: 281-282) notes several things: (1) nominalizations take the same number of arguments as the verbs they are derived from; (2) pronouns and proper nouns don’t have a layered structure themselves; (3) the prepositions ‘of’ and ‘by’ are essentially case

markers for the NP they introduce while 'in' is predicative; and (4) the definite article is part of the operator structure, but not the layered structure of the noun phrase (LSNP). According to him the modifying adjective is treated as a qualifying NP operator (Butler 2003: 283). This notion has been further developed in recent years. Van Valin (Van Valin Jr 2005: 26-27) follows Jeruen Dery (RRG discussion list) who points out that adjectives would be the only lexical category with an operator function. The best way forward is treating adjectives in the NP like adverbs in the clause; that is 'as constituents of the nuclear periphery'¹⁰. Even the constraints on the adjective position are similar to those of adverbs in the clause. Other similarities of the LSNP with the LS of the clause (LSC) are pre-and post-core positions (left-detached position, right-detached position, noun phrase initial position, noun phrase final position). It is important to note that the nucleus of an NP is not tied to a lexical category; it can be a noun, a verb, an adjective, a prepositional phrase, noun phrase as Van Valin (2005: 28) shows with examples from Nootka. He notes that the label 'noun phrase' doesn't really fit the described unit. 'RP' that is "referential phrase," is far more appropriate as it allows more than just nouns to be the nucleus of the phrase.

As the layered structure of the RP is similar to that of the clause, it seems logical that the operator structure would be similar too. Van Valin (2005: 24) summarizes these operators:

- (1) NuclearN operators: nominal aspect
- (2) CoreN operators: number, quantification (quantifiers), negation
- (3) NP (RP) operators: definiteness, deixis (locality)

¹⁰ In RGG the periphery is a syntactic unit that encompasses NPs/ PPs that are either secondary participants or modifiers of the core (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 29). Here, the adjective is treated as part of the core, modifying the nucleus.

Locality operators modify the NP as a whole; they are primarily concerned with expressing the location of the referent with respect to a reference point. The interlocutors (deictics) indicate the speaker's assumption about the identifiability of the referent by the hearer; their formal expressions being determiners, in particular, articles and demonstratives. They are the outermost operators, and are therefore analogous to the illocutionary force indicators in the clause (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 58).

2.3.2 *Semantic representation*

The SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION of a sentence is based on the lexical properties of the predicate, most often the verb, based on Vendler's theory of *Aktionsart*. *Aktionsart* is the German word for action and the way an action is accomplished; Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 91-92) use it for "the inherent temporal properties of verbs". Van Valin (2005: 32) distinguishes Vendler's four basic classes of verbs: (a) state; (b) achievement; (c) accomplishment; and (d) activity; but adds two additional classes: (e) semelfactives; and (f) active accomplishments. All of these have causative counterparts. Each predicate (verb) can be represented in a logical structure (LS), as seen in Examples (28) and (29) (Van Valin 2005: 45):

(28) STATE **predicate'** (x) or (x, y)

(29) ACHIEVEMENT INGR¹¹ **predicate'** (x) or (x, y) or INGR **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x) or (x, y)])¹²

¹¹ INGR = ingressive, coding instantaneous changes (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 104)

¹² Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 105) give the following examples: "The balloon popped" – INGR **popped'** (balloon) versus "John glimpsed the picture" – INGR **do'** (John, [**see'** (John, picture)])

The semantic interpretation of an argument (x, y) is a function of its position in the LS of the predicate. Instead of the traditional notions of subject and object, RRG uses two generalized SEMANTIC MACROROLES, ACTOR and UNDERGOER, which are the primary arguments of a transitive predication. The relationship between LS argument positions and macroroles is captured in the ACTOR-UNDERGOER-HIERARCHY (AUH) (Van Valin 2005: 61) as shown in Figure 11:

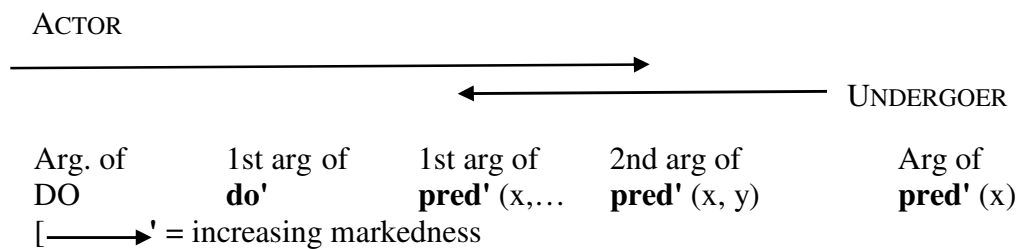


Figure 11: Actor-undergoer hierarchy (AUH)

The left most argument of DO is an agent, the 1st arg of **do'** an effector, the 1st arg of **pred'** a theme, and the right most argument of **pred'** a patient (Van Valin 2005: 48). The left-most argument is always the actor, and the right-most argument is the undergoer; any shift of the position of actor or undergoer results in an increase in markedness (Van Valin 2005: 60-62).

2.3.3 *Focus structure*

The FOCUS STRUCTURE of a sentence encompasses the morpho-syntactic means for expressing the discourse-pragmatic status of elements within a sentence. Van Valin (2005: 68) builds on Lambrecht's work (1986) in claiming that there are three recurring patterns in the organization of information across languages, called "focus types": (a) predicate focus, (b) sentence focus, (c) narrow focus. Predicate focus corresponds to the traditional topic-comment distinction, sentence focus sees the whole sentence as focal, and narrow focus involves the focus on a single argument of the sentence. Each language has a potential focus domain which may or

may not be constrained. The actual focus domain is contextually determined. Information structure is represented by an additional projection of the clause, the focus structure projection. (Van Valin 2005: 77).

While in English focus is expressed by focal stress, Shughni employs morphological markers, such as the verb agreement marker in the past tense or the future tense marker. The future tense marker *-ta* also serves as the focus marker as we see in the Examples (30-32):

(30) *Najiba kitōb ǰey-d-ta.*
 Najiba book read.PRES-3S-FUT
 Najiba will **read** the book.

(31) *Najiba kitōb-ta ǰey-d.*
 Najiba book-FUT read.PRES-3S
 Najiba will read **the book**.

(32) *Najiba-ta kitōb ǰey-d.*
 Najiba-FUT book read.PRES-3S
Najiba will read the book.

All three sentences are grammatical but draw the hearer's attention to a different part of the sentence. Information structure is represented by the focus structure projection, which includes the following components: (1) basic information units (ARG, NUC), (2) the actual focus domain (represented by a dotted line), and (3) the potential focus domain (represented by a dashed line) (Van Valin N.d.: 77-78). Like English, Shughni allows any constituent to be part of the potential focus domain. The actual focus then is determined by the context of the communication and the intention of the speaker. The focus structure for each sentence is shown respectively in Figure 12:

- a. *Najiba kitōb ǰeyd-ta.* b. *Najiba kitōb-ta ǰeyd.* c. *Najiba-ta kitōb ǰeyd.*
- ARG ARG NUC ARG ARG NUC ARG ARG NUC



Figure 12: Focus structure of Examples (30-32)

The focus in each sentence is on the constituent marked with the future tense marker. In Example (30) the focus is on the predicate, while in (31) it is on what is traditionally called the direct object (see section 2.3.5). In sentence (32) the focus is on the “subject” of the sentence. A similar phenomenon is seen in the past tense. As above, the first example shows the unmarked focus:

- (33) *Najiba kitōb ǰeyd-e.*
 Najiba book read.PAST-3S
 Najiba **read** the book.
- (34) *Najiba kitōb-e ǰeyd.*
 Najiba book-3S read.PAST
 Najiba read **the book**.
- (35) *Najiba-ye kitōb ǰeyd.*
 Najiba-3S book read.PAST
Najiba read the book.

The focus structures of Examples (33-35) are identical to the future tense marking as shown in Figure 13 below:

- a. *Najiba kitōb ǰeyd-e.* b. *Najiba kitōb-e ǰeyd.* c. *Najiba-ye kitōb ǰeyd.*
- ARG ARG NUC ARG ARG NUC ARG ARG NUC



Figure 13: Focus structure of Examples (33-35)

2.3.4 *Privileged syntactic argument in RRG*

Van Valin (2005: 94) has argued that the traditional notions of subject and object are not universal and, therefore, cannot be taken as an adequate basis for grammatical theories. Therefore, RRG employs the notion of PRIVILEGED SYNTACTIC ARGUMENT (PSA), which is a “construction-specific relation” and defined as “restricted neutralization of semantic roles and pragmatic functions for syntactic purposes” (Van Valin 2005: 94). RRG does not have a notion corresponding to direct or indirect objects but classifies the other arguments in a clause as either direct or oblique arguments. In an accusative language like English, this notion makes it possible for an undergoer to be the PSA in a passive construction. An actor may serve as PSA in an antipassive construction in an ergative language like Pashto.

2.3.5 *Macroroles in RRG*

Logical structures, macroroles, and the hierarchy linking them have very little variation cross-linguistically, but languages differ substantially in how macroroles and other arguments link into the syntax (Van Valin 2005: 128). The linking between syntax and semantics is governed by the “Completeness Constraint Principle” which states that “all of the specified arguments in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized in the syntax in some way, conversely that all of the expressions of syntax must be linked to something in the semantic representation of a sentence, in order to be interpreted” (Van Valin 2005: 129-130). The linking includes finite verb agreement, case, and preposition assignment. RRG treats constructions as part of syntax; they are represented as constructional templates.

Using clauses in past tense in Shughni, I show how the information is organized into a template table and which information will need further research. Examples (36) and (37) show typical Shughni sentences in past tense:

(36) *Mu verod-ar xu dars-en ĵeyd.*
 OBL.1SG brother-PL OBL.REFL lesson-3P study.PAST
 My brothers studied their lesson.

(37) *Mu verod-ar-en xu dars ĵeyd.*
 OBL.1SG brother-PL-3P OBL.REFL lesson study.PAST
 My brothers studied their lesson.

Figures 14 and 15 show the syntactic, operator, and focus structure for each sentence respectively:

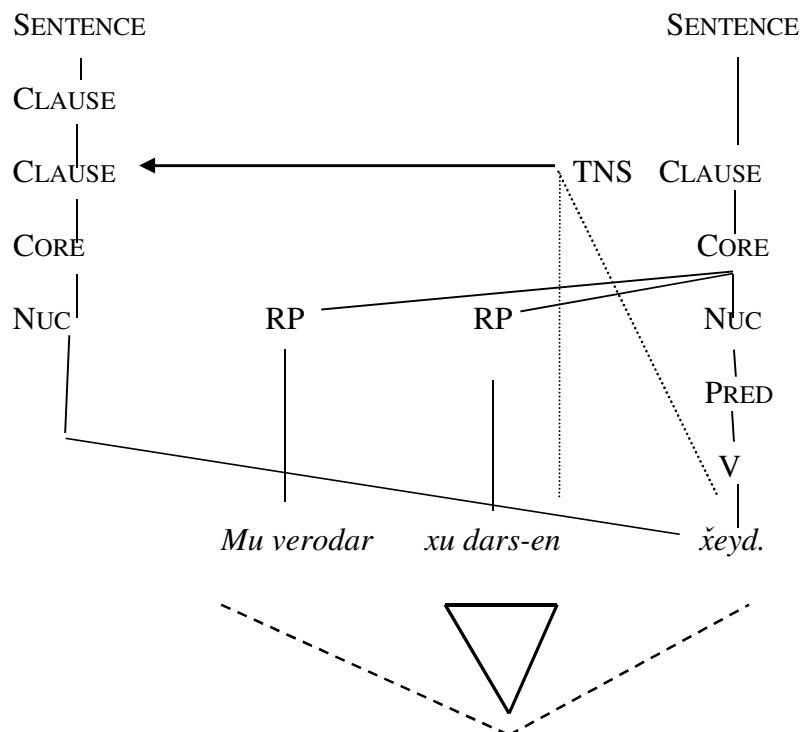


Figure 14: Syntactic, operator and focus structure for Example (36)

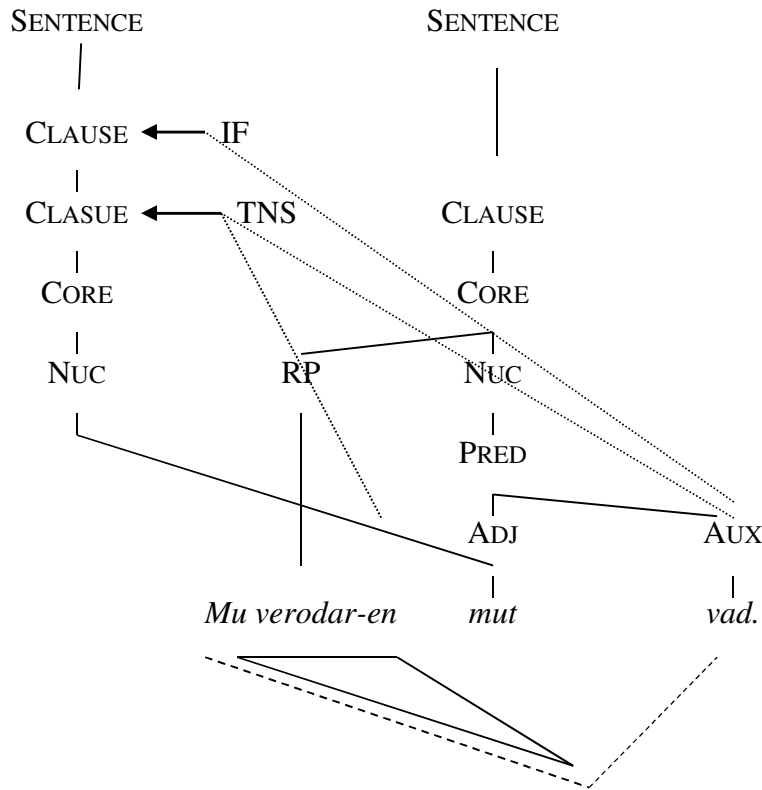


Figure 15: Syntactic, operator, and focus structure for Example (37)

The information in these figures can be restated as parts of the constructional template of the simple past tense in Shughni. Under SYNTAX we have the template. We could assign the actor as PSA though this discussion is not part of this thesis. The linking algorithm needs further research. In the MORPHOLOGY section we can note: past stem of the verb *or* N/Adj/Q + AUX past stem. The verb agreement maker was placed differently in the two examples, but generally it can be on the verb; therefore we can put it in brackets (+PSg/Pl). Further research is needed in the SEMANTIC section of the template. In the PRAGMATICS section we have the declarative IF as unmarked and focus narrowed down by the PSg/Pl suffix. Table 4 summarizes the information above into a constructional template table. Known information is written in plain font, information still needing research *in italics*:

Table 4: Constructional template of the past tense

Constructional Template
CONSTRUCTION: Simple Past tense
SYNTAX: Template(s): Core {RP (> PP) > NUC} PSA: <i>default (research not covered in this thesis)</i> Linking: <i>further research needed</i>
MORPHOLOGY: past stem or N/Adj/Q + AUX past stem (+PSg/Pl) Auxiliary: Past of 'be' according to gender
SEMANTICS: <i>further research needed</i>
PRAGMATICS: Illocutionary force: n/a Focus structure: narrowed by PSg/Pl suffix

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced Role and Reference Grammar and applied it to Shughni. Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (Van Valin & LaPolla 1998, Van Valin 2005) seeks to explain the interaction of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics in a language. A distinctive characteristic of RRG is its bidirectional linking algorithm (syntax-semantics, semantics-syntax). Cross-constructional and cross-linguistic generalizations are captured in terms of the general principles of the linking algorithm. Language specific grammatical constructions are then represented in constructional templates, such as the constructional template for the past tense in Shughni above. These templates include syntactic (privileged syntactic arguments (PSA), and

linking), morphological, semantic, and pragmatic (illocutionary force, focus structure) information. Shughni uses pronouns, adpositions, adverbials, and other morphemes, like locative or directional suffixes, to express location and direction; their place in the sentence indicates their illocutionary force and/or focus, respectively. Therefore, because RRG links syntactic with semantic/pragmatic information, it is an especially useful framework in describing the deictic system of Shughni.

CHAPTER 3

DEIXIS IN SHUGHNI IN AN RRG FRAMEWORK

In the previous chapter I introduced Role and Reference Grammar as a grammar model that seeks to explain the interaction of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics in a language. I showed how RRG can account for the structure of noun and verb phrases in Shughni. In this chapter, I will describe deictic structures in Shughni using the RRG framework. In the first section, I will look at articles and determiners, in the second section at adpositions, and in the third section at adverbs.

3.1 Articles and determiners

Definiteness and deixis are noun phrase operators in RRG. In Shughni definiteness is shown by placing indefinite and definite articles before the noun. In any reference phrase (RP) in isolation (no context) or in a PSA position the indication of definiteness is obligatory. The NPs in Example (38) show NPs in isolation with and without the indefinite article. Example (38c) is ungrammatical as it does not have any article.

(38)	a. <i>ye</i>	<i>deraxt</i>	b. <i>ye</i>	<i>sāvz</i>	<i>deraxt</i>	c. * <i>sāvz</i>	<i>deraxt</i>
	INDEF	tree	INDEF	green	tree	green	tree
	a tree		a green tree			green tree	

In Shughni third person pronouns are used as articles. Table 5 summarizes these articles:

Table 5: Articles in Shughni

Case	Distance	Singular		Plural
		Masculine	Feminine	
Nominative		yu	ya	waδ
Oblique	Proximal	me	mam	maδ
	Medial	de	dam	daδ
	Distal	we	wam	waδ

All Shughni nouns have either female or male gender. The definite article is the same as the third person feminine or masculine pronoun in the nominative case; the definite plural article is always the feminine third person plural distal pronoun.

- (39) a. *ya* *xīr* b. *yu* *deraxt* c. *waδ* *abre-yen*
 DEF.F sun DEF.M tree DEF.PL.F.DIST cloud-Pl
 the sun the tree the clouds

In addition to the singular and plural articles in the nominative case, Shughni also has a set of spatial deictic determiners. These articles are identical to the third person singular and plural pronouns in the oblique case and are gender specific in the singular. Examples are given in (40a-c):

- (40) a. *Mam* *yac* *na-famt.*
 DEF.F.PROX girl NEG-understand.PAST
 This (PROX) girl didn't understand.
- b. *De* *yeda* *čes!*
 DEF.M.MED boy look.IMPV.SG
 Look at this (MED) boy!

- c. *Wam* *yac* *ar* *Dušanbe* *na-vint-um.*
 DEF.F.DIST girl down.in Dushanbe NEG-see.PAST-1S
 I did not see that (DIST) girl down in Dushanbe.

The determiners in Example (40a-c) show three degrees of distance: proximal, medial, and distal from the speaker. Additionally two more distinctions of space can be indicated by articles as shown in Example 41:

- (41) a. *yed* *savz* *deraxt*
 DEF.PROX green tree
 this (in front of speaker) green tree
- b. *yam* *xušruy* *piola*
 DEF.PROX beautiful cup
 this (beside speaker) beautiful cup

In these two examples the deictic article is placed in front of the periphery. These two spatial articles have the notion of closeness to the speaker; while *yam* is close and beside the speaker, *yed* is close but in front of the speaker.

The tree diagrams in Figure 16 summarizes the operator functions of direct/indirect and deictic articles respectively:

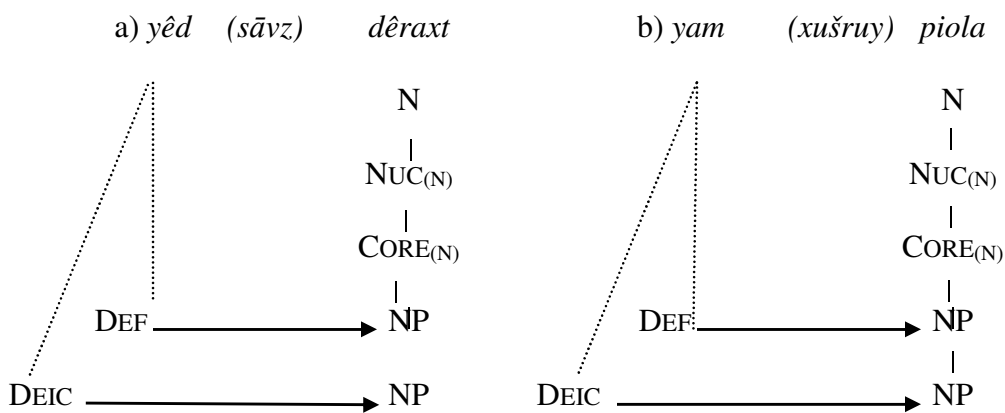


Figure 16: Operator structure of Example (41a. and b.)

The definite or indefinite article fulfills exactly the function of its name; the deictic article functions to indicate both definiteness and deictic distance. The linear precedence rule for (in-) definite or deictic articles is shown in Rule 1:

(42) **Rule 1:** NP {ART > (PERIPHERY_(N)) > NUC_(N) {N}}

The article is placed before the periphery or the nucleus.

In Shughni, the deictic article can be combined with a quantifier as shown in Example 43:

(43) *Maš-am waδ δu yac vint.*
 1PL-1P the.F.PL.DIST two girl see.PAST
 We saw those two girls.

The example shows that in combination the deictic article has scope over the quantifier.

Therefore, we can establish a further rule for linear precedence as shown in Rule 2:

(44) **Rule 2:** NP {ART(DEIC) > QUANT > (PERIPHERY_(N)) > {NUC_(N) {N}}}

3.2 Spatial Adpositions

Spatial adpositions help the speaker and hearer to orient themselves in location and movement (Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009b: 796). In this section I will place Shughni spatial adpositions into the RRG framework. First, I will look at spatial prepositions (section 3.2.2), and then at postpositions (section 3.2.3). Table 6 gives an overview of Shughni deictic adpositions:

Table 6: Spatial adpositions in Shughni

Spatial prepositions	Spatial postpositions (unbound)	Spatial postpositions (bound)
ar ‘down (to)’	pero ‘in front of’	-and ‘at’
tar ‘at/to’	xez ‘near’	-ard ‘to(wards)’
pe ‘up (to)’		-te ‘on’
az ‘from’		

3.2.1 Adpositions in RRG

Adpositional phrases can be classified according to whether they license the occurrence of an NP or not. “For example, the preposition ‘to’ in ‘Kim gave the book to Sandy’ does not license the NP ‘Sandy’ in the clause. It is a function of the meaning of the verb ‘give’. Adpositions in these kind of phrases are referred to as non-predicative” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 52). On the other hand, the preposition ‘in’ in the sentence ‘Ruth read the book in the library’ is predicative because the verb ‘read’ does not require a location and thus the preposition ‘in’ makes the occurrence of the NP ‘the library’ possible. Predicative and non-predicative PPs have different structural representations (Van Valin & LaPolla: 53) as the following examples elicited from Naomi show:

(45) *Wuz tar čīd sa-m.*
 1SG to house go.PRES-1S
 I go home.

(46) *Wuz tar čīd xu kor kin-um.*
 1SG in house REFL work do.PRES-1SG
 I am working at home.

The prepositional phrase *tar čīd* ‘to the house’ in Example (45) is part of the structure of the verb *sitow* ‘to go’ and therefore non-predicative. The same phrase is predicative in Example (46), for it is in the periphery of the clause. Figure 17 shows the representations for the prepositional phrases in Examples (45) and (46) respectively:

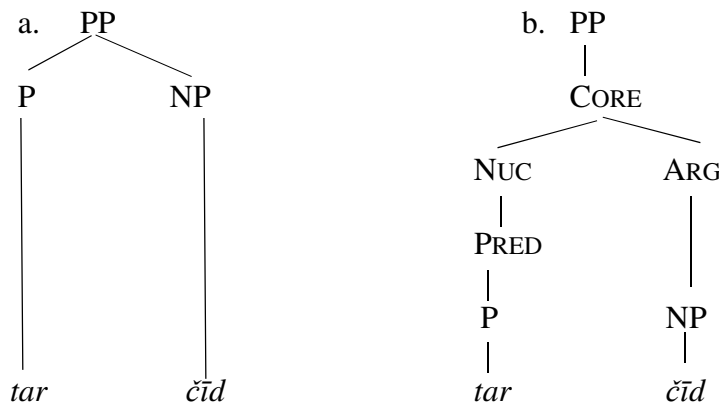


Figure 17: Syntactic representation for Examples (45 and 46) respectively

A predicative PP has an adpositional predicate in its nucleus and the NP as the argument of the core. The non-predicative PP is itself an argument within the clause, having a simple structure of P and NP (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 50-53). Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 159) quote Joly:

“According to Joly there are three types of prepositions: (1) argument marking, (2) adjunct-marking, and (3) argument-adjunct prepositions. Types (2) and (3) are predicates in their own right, introducing a NP or an argument into the clause. Type (2) head PP which are peripheral modifiers of the core, while type (3) shares the logical structure of the core rather than taking the logical structure of the core as an argument.”

Argument-adjunct adpositions are predicates, as they introduce an argument rather than a modifier. Using the verb of motion ‘run’ as an example, Van Valin & LaPolla argue the following: “‘run’ is an activity while ‘run to (the store)’ is an active accomplishment.” The logical structure (LS) is significantly different for each (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 11. 160):

- (47) a. do' (x, [run' (x)]) activity
b. do' (x, [run' (x)]) & BECOME be-at' (y, x) active accomplishment

Van Valin & LaPolla explain that ‘to’ in (47b) functions like a predicate with its own logical structure, introducing the argument ‘the store’. The meaning of the argument does not derive from the verb as arguments of argument-marking adpositions do. It does not take the logical structure of one of its arguments like adjunct prepositions do, but rather shares an argument with the logical structure of the verb. This shared argument is the defining feature of argument-adjunct adpositions in Van Valin & LaPolla’s (1997: 160):

- (48) do' (Paul, [run' (Paul)]) & BECOME be-at (store, Paul)
Paul ran to the store.

This three-way distinction occurs within all types of Shughni prepositional phrases.

3.2.2 *Spatial prepositions in Shughni*

In this section I look at prepositional phrases first as arguments, then as adjuncts, and lastly as argument-adjuncts.

3.2.2.1 Prepositional phrases (PrP) as arguments

In Example (49), part of sentence 60 in Frank’s travel story, the preposition *ar* ‘down’ functions as an argument of the verb *redow* ‘to stay’.

- (49) S60 ... *xu* *ar* *Qalai Mirzoshoyam red.*
 ... and down.in *Qalai Mirzoshoyam* stay.PAST
 ... and (we) stayed in Qalai Mirzoshoyam.

- (50) LS: be-Loc' ((down) in QM, 1PL)

The three spatial prepositions *ar*, *tar*, and *pe* have a non-predicative structure when they function as arguments; their meaning here is ‘down in’, ‘in’, and ‘up in’ respectively. The verb ‘stay’ is a two-argument verb of ‘pure location’, its LS can be described (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 115):

- (51) LS: be-LOC' (x,y)

In Shughni, predicative prepositions can be omitted without the hearer losing his spatial orientation. Example (52) shows sentence 8 in the story has the same structure as sentence 60 in Example (49) but the predicative preposition has been omitted:

- (52) S8 *Sat-am* *Xolodod joy.*
 go.PAST.F-1P *Xolodod* place
 We went to Xolodod’s place...

Figure 18 shows the syntactic representation for Example 52:

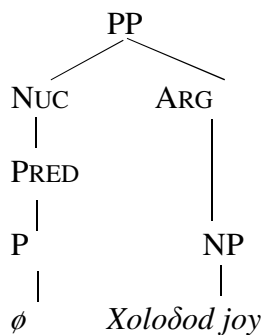


Figure 18: Syntactic representation the PreP in Example (52)

The empty position could be filled with *ar*, *tar*, or *pe*, showing the relative position of Xholodod’s place compared to the previous place of the journey. Two explanations could be

given to justify the omission of the preposition: (a) Frank made a production error, and/or (b) the speaker assumes the spatial deixis to be so obvious that he doesn't think the preposition is needed. I think the speaker assumes when the spatial position of a location is obvious to the hearer, the preposition may be omitted, as seen in Examples (53) and (54), used by Hank when asking me to join him and visit with his family:

- (53) *Pe čĩd saw-am*
 Up to house go.PRES-1P
 Let's go up to the house.
- (54) *Čĩd saw-am.*
 House go.PRES -1P
 Let's go up to the house.

Figure 19 shows the syntactic representation and focus structure for Example (54):

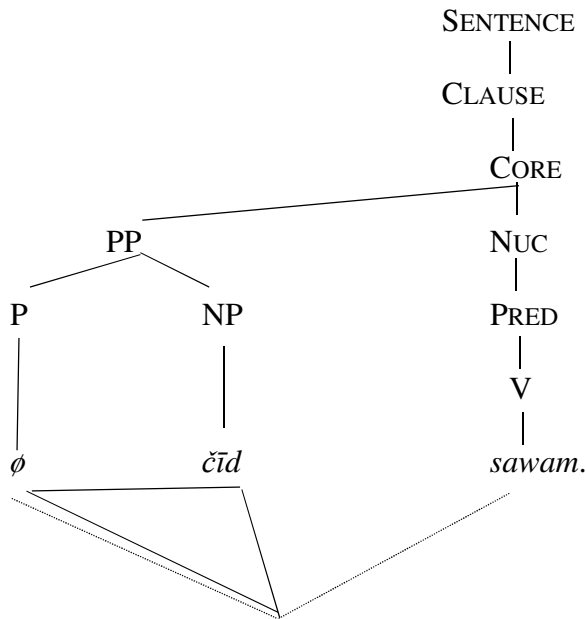


Figure 19: Syntactic representation and focus structure of Example (54)

Both examples are grammatical; the location of Hank's 'house' may or may not be known to the addressee in Example (53), but it is certainly known to me in Example (54). In both scenarios, the focus is on the location, the omission of the preposition doesn't change the focus structure of the sentence; the difference is certainty of knowledge.

3.2.2.2 Prepositional phrases as adjuncts

There is no example in this particular story text where a spatial preposition licenses the following NP, but peripheral PreP are common in Shughni stories and dialogues. Their position may be either in front of the predicate or after it as the following elicited examples show:

- (55) *Mu nān pe dešid xu kor kiǰ-t.*
 OBL.1SG mother on roof REFL work do.PRES-3S
 My mother does her work on the roof.
- (56) *Mu rezin dars ǰei-d tar maktab.*
 Obl.1SG daughter lesson read.PRES-3S in school.
 My daughter studies in school.

In both sentences the PREP is peripheral, though the position in the clause differs according to focus. The pre-verbal position of the PreP in Example (55) is the unmarked position in Shughni, therefore the focus is on the action. In Example (56) the PREP is in a post-verbal, and therefore marked position which shows a shift in focus to the location rather than the action itself.

3.2.2.3 Prepositional phrases as argument-adjunct

The following examples mirror Van Valin & LaPolla's analysis of 'run' versus 'run to' (Van Valin, Jr & LaPolla 1997: 111):

- (57) a. **do'** (x, [**run'** (x)]) Activity
 X runs
- b. **do'** (x, [**run'** (x)]) & BECOME **be-at'** (y,x) Active accomplishment
 X ran to y.
- (58) *Harakat-am ǰud.* Activity
 travel-1P do.PAST
 We started our travel.
- (59) ... *az daftar-am harakat ǰud.* Active accomplishment
 ... from office-1P travel do.PAST
 ... we left from the office.

Examples (58) and (59) can be represented as seen in (60-61):

(60) LS ‘do travel’: **do'** (we, [**do travel'** (we)]) Activity

(61) LS: do travel from: **do'** (we, [**do travel'** (we)])

& BECOME **be-at'** (not-at-office, we) Active accomplishment

The argument-adjunct PreP changes the Aktionsart of the verb from an ‘activity’ to an ‘active accomplishment’, and shares the participant (1PI) with the verb.

3.2.3 Spatial postpositions in Shughni

There are two kinds of spatial postpositions in Shughni: bound¹³ and unbound ones. The unbound postpositions *xez* ‘near’ and *pero* ‘in front of’ are non-predicative. The three bound postpositions *-(y)and*, *-ard/-ra*, and *-te* ‘at/to(wards)/on’ can be either non-predicative or predicative.

3.2.3.1 Postpositional phrases as argument

The logical structure for the bound postpositions *-(y)and* ‘at’ and *-te* ‘on/at’ are similar when their meaning is ‘at’, conveying “pure location”. The logical structure (LS) is: *be-at'* (x,y) (Van Valin, & LaPolla 1997: 115,125). This is mirrored in sentence S9 in Frank’s story, even though ‘sit’ does not require a location when the focus is on the action itself:

(62) S9 *Xoloδod joy-and nist-am.*
Kholodod place-LOC sit.PAST.F-1P
We stayed at Kholodod’s place.

(63) LS: **sit-at'** (Kholodod’s place, 1P)

¹³ Edelman and Dodykhudoeva (2009b.: 796) give a list of bound postpositions in Shughni.

Postpositions as well as prepositions can be omitted in Shughni when the situation is clear to both speaker and hearer. The adposition is always included in an elicited sentence. A similar logical structure is found in sentence 15 but the bound postposition *-and* ‘at’ is omitted as can be seen in Example (64) and the corresponding logical structure in (65):

- (64) S15 *Xolodod joy čoy-am beruxt...*
 Kholodod place tea-1P drink.PAST
 We drank tea at Kholodod’s place.

- (65) LS: **drink tea-at'** (Kholodod’s place, 1PI)

In Example (66), the postposition *-te* ‘on/at’ seems to be used in an argument-adjunct way, *-te* occurs as subpart of the logical structure of the verb *tidow* ‘to go’; its argument is the NP *maš dam* ‘our back’.

- (66) S32 *Löd-am maš dam-te tiz-d.*
 Say.Past-1P OBL.1P back-at go.PRES-3S
 We told (them) to follow (along) behind us.

The postposition *-ard/-ra* ‘to’ is almost always used with verbs of ‘saying’ and ‘giving’ and is therefore used non-predicatively. The following examples were elicited from Naomi:

- (67) *Wuz-um löd, disga na-bof-t.*
 1SG-1S say.PAST this way NEG-be.acceptable.PRES-3S
 I said this is not acceptable.

- (68) *Wuz-um mu rezin-ard löd, disga*
 1SG-1S OBL.1SG daughter-DIR say.PAST this.way
na-bof-t.
 NEG-be acceptable.PRES-3S
 I told my daughter that this is not acceptable.

The verbs of ‘saying’ behave similar to the verbs of motion (see section 3.2.), Example (67) is an ‘activity’, while Example (68) is an active accomplishment. The logical structure of Examples (67) and (68) can be seen below:

(69) LS: **do'** (I, [**express. in.language.**])

(70) LS: **do'** (I, [**express.(y).to.(z). in.language.** (I, my daughter)] & BECOME **known'** (y, z), where y= it is not acceptable, z = my daughter

3.2.3.2 Postpositional phrase as adjunct

Postpositional phrases in the periphery are not arguments of the verb (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 26). They are always predicative (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 52). Consider the following example, sentence 63 from the story as Example (71):

(71) S63 *Mutar-am jelön čud [∅] pero-yam zebud.*
 car-1P lighten do.PAST [∅] before-1P sweep.PAST
 We started the car, we swept (the snow) before (it).

In the POP [...] *pero* ‘in front of (the car)’, the place of the NP is empty as ‘car’ can easily be inferred from the beginning of the sentence. The other empty space in the second clause is ‘snow’ which is assumed from the previous sentence in the story (S62 ‘There was much/heavy snow.’). The pronoun *maš* ‘we’, which would have been the argument of the core, is dropped, and the verb agreement marker *-yam* ‘1PL’ is attached to the postposition of the PoP. Taking this into consideration, the structure of the clause *pero-yam zebud* in Example (71) will look as shown in Figure 20:

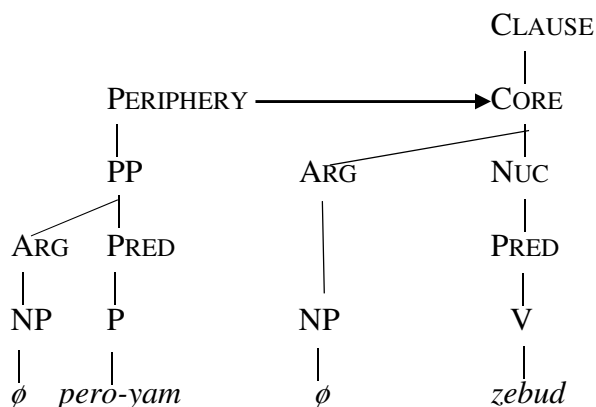


Figure 20: Structure of the clause *pero-yam zebud* of Example (71)

The meaning of ‘in front of the car’ is related to the meaning of the verb ‘sweep’ in this particular clause, but it is not required by the meaning of the verb. The unbound postposition *pero* licenses the possible existence of the NP *mutar* ‘car’, even though it is omitted in this clause.

3.2.3.3 Argument-adjunct postpositional phrase

Post-positional phrases in an argument-adjunct position are intermediate between argument-marking and adjunct postpositions; they are always predicative. Because they do not take the whole logical structure of the core as an argument or introduce a modifier, they do not occur in the periphery but are part of the core. Since they need to be distinguished from other arguments of the main predicate, they are labeled differently with ‘AAJ’ for ‘argument adjunct’ (Van Valin, Jr & LaPolla 1997: 161). In Example (72), *maš xes* ‘to us’ (literally: ‘near us’) is functioning as an ‘AAJ’:

- (72) S51 *Bad-en we ver maš xez ay čud.*
 then-3P 1SG.M.DIST horse 1PL.OBL near send do.PAST
 Then they sent the horse back to us.

The logical structure of the verb ‘send’ differs from that of the verb ‘send to us’ of Example (72) in the following way:

- (73) LS of send: **do'** (3Pl, [**send'** (3Pl, horse)]) Activity
- (74) LS of send to us: **do'** (3Pl, [**send'** (3Pl, horse)]) CAUSE **be-at** (us, horse)
 Accomplished Activity

Van Valin & LaPolla (Van Valin, Jr & LaPolla 1997: 50) distinguish between S-transitivity (number of syntactic arguments a verb can take) and M-transitivity (the number of semantic macroroles a verb can take). In Example (72), the verb ‘send’ has three syntactic arguments but only two semantic macroroles, the actor and undergoer. In this sentence the actor ‘they’ is

dropped and is only known by the verb agreement marker *-en* ‘3PI’; the undergoer is *we ver* ‘the horse’. The LS of ‘send to us’ includes a specific source (they), a path (from them to us), and a goal (to us), which is one of the three basic situations mentioned by Van Valin & LaPolla that allow the occurrence of an ‘AAJ’ (Van Valin, Jr & LaPolla 1997: 161-162). Figure 21 shows the syntactic representation of Example (72):

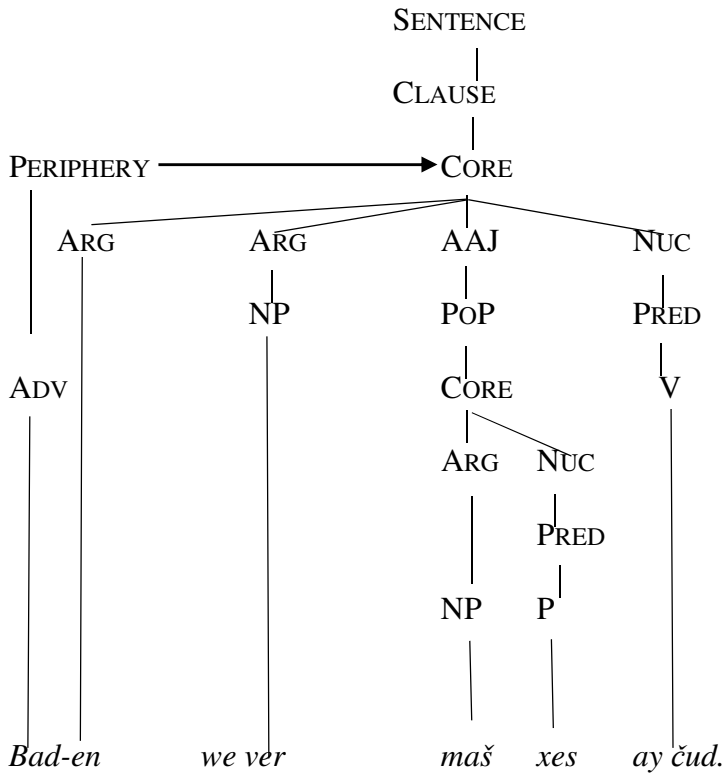


Figure 21: Syntactic representation of Example (72)

The ‘AAJ’ in this sentence occupies the ‘normal’ spot in the sentence according to the SOV structure. Focus here is indicated by the verb agreement marker that is added to the adverb of time at the beginning of the sentence.

3.3 Spatial Adverbs

In Shughni, spatial adverbs mirror the spatial adpositions; in fact, spatial adpositions are an essential part of forming spatial adverbs. Additionally, two degrees of distance are given, proximal and distal, for example *paddöd* ‘up here’ and *paddam* ‘up there’. Again, these are always used from the view point of the speaker. The preposition *pe* ‘up’ is also used in forming the spatial adverbs *petir* ‘up’ and *pebir* ‘below’. The pair *petir/pebir* can be used to indicate direction or location while *paddöd/paddam* ‘up here/up there’ and *arröd/arram* ‘down here/down there’ are only used to show location. The adverb *yammand* ‘there/there in the place mentioned before’ shows a location where elevation is not important since it refers to the last mentioned place which has already been positioned into the deictic understanding of the speaker and hearer, as will be shown in section 5.3.

According to Van Valin & LaPolla, adverbs “are not restricted to the periphery of the clause and may modify any layer of the clause” (Van Valin, Jr & LaPolla 1997: 161-162). In Shughni, spatial adverbs indicate direction or location; they can modify either the nucleus of the core within a clause or the core as a whole. I will look at these constructions in turn, and finally at an example where the spatial adverb in connection with a PreP modifies the whole clause.

3.3.1 *Spatial adverbs as arguments of the verb*

When spatial adverbs are connected to a specific location they may become an argument of the verb, and as such are part of the core itself. In the text, we have two examples of *petir* ‘up there’ used in this way. It seems that spatial adverbs modify the nucleus of a clause when the predicate is a verb of location. In sentence 22 in the story, the verb *rextow* ‘to stay’ demands a location, and *petir* ‘up there’ gives a general but not specific location, as seen in Example (75):

(75) S22 *Petir ca res-e...*
 Up.there if stay.PRES-2S
 If you stay up there...

(76) LS: : **be-at'** (stay'up there, 2SG)

The syntactic representation of Example 75 is shown in Figure 22:

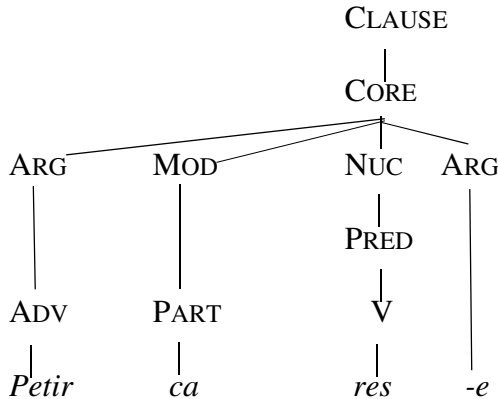


Figure 22: Syntactic representation of Example (75)

In this example *petir* ‘up there’ is an argument of the verb *rextow* (*res-e*) ‘to stay’.

In Example (77), sentence 12 of the story, the story teller gives advice to his travel companions: “We should go to Shighnan first, for... *kutal az peř* ‘the mountain pass (is) in front (of us)’. This is an existential construction where the existential copula *yast* ‘is’ is omitted.

(77) S12 ... *čun kutal az peř.*
 ... for mountain. Pass from front.
 ... so that the mountain pass is in front (of us).

The logical structure of Example (77) is as follows:

(78) LS: **be-at'** (in front (of us), pass)

The predicate of the nucleus is empty but directly modified by ‘in front (of)’ as the tree structure in Figure 23 shows:

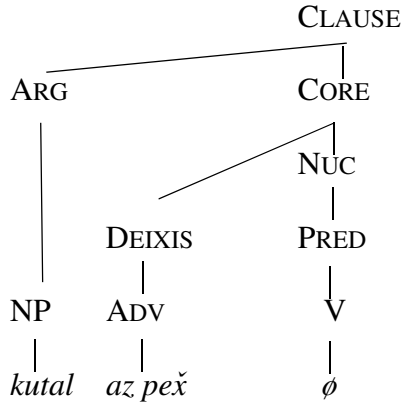


Figure 23: Syntactic structure of Example (77)

3.3.2 *Spatial adverbs modifying the core*

When directionals modify the direction of one of the core arguments and/or directional parameters independently of the basic meaning of the verb, these directionals modify the core rather than the nucleus (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 45). The normal position of the spatial adverb, as observed in conversations and elicited in language learning, would be between the argument and the core. There is no example of this in the text, because either the argument is omitted or the spatial adverb is moved for focus purposes. Let us consider an example where the spatial adverb is moved into a post-verbal position, and then an example where it is in the pre-core slot (PrCS).

In Example (79), sentence 33 in the story, *petir* ‘up there’ is used as a spatial adverb. One could argue that it is in fact the spatial postposition *petir* with an empty argument such as *kutał* ‘mountain pass’. But the fact that the position of *petir* in the clause is flexible shows that it is the spatial adverb and not the postposition. The focus of the sentence is spatial direction.

- (79) S33 *Sat-am* *petir...*
 Go.PAST.F-1P up there
 We went up there...

The logical structure and the syntactic representation of Example (79) is shown in (80):

(80) LS: **do'** (1P, [**go'** (1P)]) & BECOME **be-at'** (up there, 1P)

Figure 24 restates the information given in (80):

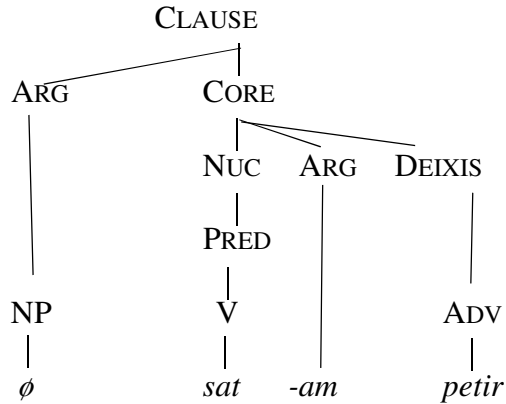


Figure 24: Syntactic representation of Example (79)

The core participant ‘we’ is omitted in this example; its position in the structure is empty.

Still, it is a participant whose movements are given direction.

3.3.3 *Spatial adverbs in the Pre-Core Slot*

The spatial adverb can also move into a PrCS, as shown in Example (81) with its syntactic representation in Figure 25:

(81) S18 Arram *mu* *xambend* *wuz-um* *xafc...*
 Down.there OBL.1SG corner 1SG-1S get.off.PAST
 Down there, at my corner, I got off (the car)...

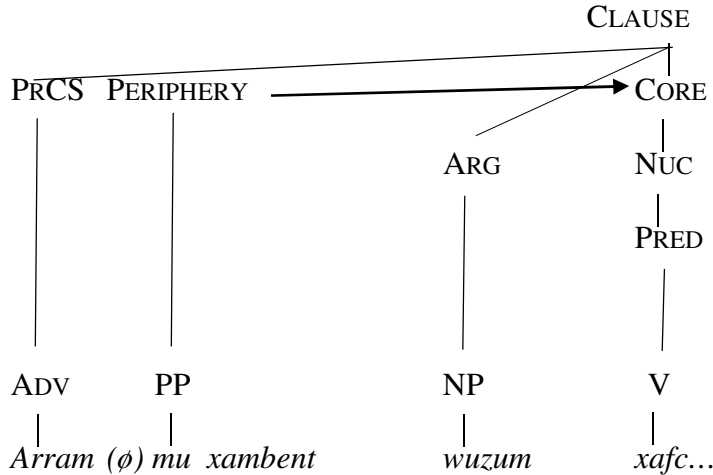


Figure 25: Syntactic representation of Example (81)

Both the spatial adverb and the PreP represent a location rather than a direction. The specific location is highlighted by the use of both expressions next to each other. At the same time, the preposition *ar* ‘down at’ can be dropped in the PreP because the spatial location ‘down there’ has already located ‘my corner’. Thus, the spatial adverb *arram* in the PrCS signifies the importance of the deictic position of the location ‘my corner’ from the point of view of the speaker.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the deixis of pronouns and articles, adpositions, and adverbs as operators in Shughni, using an RRG framework.

According to Van Valin & LaPolla, deixis as well as definiteness are operators within the NP (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 56-57). In Shughni, articles fulfill the function of both definiteness and deixis; they are NP_(RP) operators. Therefore, we can write the following procedural rule:

$$(82) \quad \mathbf{Rule\ 2:} \text{ NP } \{ \text{ART(DEIC)} > \text{QUANT} > (\text{PERIPHERY}_{(N)}) > \{ \text{NUC}_{(N)} \{ \text{REF}_{(N)} \{ \text{N} \} \} \}$$

Spatial adpositions and adverbs can be described as directionals (or locatives), which in turn modify either the nucleus or the core of the clause (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 47). Spatial

prepositions and postpositions can occur in predicative and non-predicative structures modifying the core of the clause.

It needs to be noted that the position of either the NP or the adposition in a PP can be empty as seen in Example (71) and Example (52), respectively. Empty slots require that the speaker thinks the deictic location, and the visual scene is clear in the mind of the hearer. Often the PPs are placed in positions other than the unmarked pre-verbal position of an SOV structure in order to modify the focus structure of the clause. In Example (81), the adverb in the PreCS strengthens the focus on the PreP as location, even to the point that the following preposition can be omitted.

Thus the RRG framework has given the means to describe the phenomena of empty slots (dropped adpositions, NPs) and varying positions of spatial adverbs.

CHAPTER 4

SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS PART I: THE THREE BASIC DEICTIC CATEGORIES IN SHUGHNI

4.1 Introduction

The term 'deixis' is derived from the Greek word meaning 'to show' or 'to point out'. Deixis is directly concerned with the relationship between the structure of language and the context in which the language is used (Huang 2007: 133) and thus it is also concerned with the ways in which the interpretation of an utterance or speech event depends on the analysis of its context (Levinson 1983: 54). Deixis orients the hearer in a situation without calling attention to itself (Galbrath 2009: 22). All human languages contain deictic terms; no language can serve the communicative needs of its users effectively and efficiently without them (Huang 2007: 133). A deictic expression is a linguistic unit or morpheme for which the deictic usage is basic or central even though it might have non-deictic usages (Levinson 1983: 64-65). Ehlich (1983: 85-86,93) argues that the use of deixis puts elements of the utterance into focus because the speaker wants the hearer to follow his focus. Levinson (1983: 65) and Huang (2007: 133-134) distinguish two kinds of deictic usage, gestural and symbolic. Gestural usage requires a physical monitoring of the speech event while symbolic usage refers to contextual coordinates available to the participants antecedent to the utterance (Levinson 1983: 65-66). Fortis & Fagard (2010: 7) argue that the major parameter encoded in deixis is distance from a deictic center, which can shift from one participant to another. Imai says (quoted in Fortis & Fagard 2009:7) that not all languages

encode distance in their pronouns but all have forms such as adverbs to encode at last two degrees of distance or more. The three basic categories of deixis are *person*, *place*, and *time deixis* (Levinson 19983: 62). In this chapter I first describe person deixis in Shughni, then introduce space deixis and look at its extension to possession in Shughni, and finally describe time deixis in Shughni.

4.2 Person deixis

Person deixis is concerned with the identification of the participant roles such as speaker (source or transmitter) and hearer (recipient or overhearer) of an utterance. Person deixis is reflected in pronouns and if relevant, in their associated predicate agreements, or in vocatives such as kinship terms or titles. Third personal pronouns express person, number, and gender, and sometimes they also encode distance and social relations (Huang 2007: 136). All other forms encode only person and number.

Huang (2007: 132ff) identifies at least four common systems for demonstratives (or deictic adverbs of space), ranging from one-term systems (unmarked for distance) to four-term systems (marking degrees of remoteness from the speaker). Languages with more than four terms are less common.

In Shughni, the first and second person pronouns encode person and number. The third person pronoun encodes person, number, and often gender in the nominative¹⁴. Table 7 summarizes the pronouns in Shughni in the nominative case.

¹⁴ Edelman and Dodokhudoeva (2009b :794) call the nominative the “direct case”.

Table 7: Pronouns in nominative case

	Singular		Plural
	masculine	feminine	
1	wuz		maš
2		tu	tama
3	yu	ya	waδ

Edelman and Dodykhudoeva (2009b:295) give the third person plural pronoun as *waδ* ‘they’. But the third plural pronoun shows three degrees of distance in the nominative case: proximal *maδ*; medial *daδ*; and distal *waδ*. In Example (83) the medial pronoun *daδ* is used.

- (83) S19 ***Daδ-en*** *toid* *pe* *Weyud*
 2PL.MED-3P go.PAST.F up.to Weyud
 They (Med) went up to Weyud.

The oblique case is used for direct and indirect object and possession and is only marked on pronouns (Nawato 1979: 6, Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009b: 795). In the oblique case the third person pronoun shows degrees of distance both in singular and plural. Table 8 summarizes the Shughni pronouns in the oblique case.

Table 8: Shughni pronouns and demonstratives in the oblique case

Distance	Singular	Plural
1	mu	maš
2	tu	tama
3		
Proximal to speaker	me	mam
Medial to speaker	de	dam
Distal to speaker	we	wam
		maδ
		daδ
		waδ

The pronoun may be dropped in the subject position, as seen in Example (84):

- (84) a. **Wuz-ta** *yad-um* b. *Yad-um-ta*
 1SG-FUT come.PRES-1S Come.PRES-1S-FUT
 I will come. (I) will come.

Languages that allow the dropping of a personal pronoun in the subject position of a finite clause are called ‘null subject’ or ‘pro-drop’ languages.

In Shughni, third person pronouns can be used either as pronouns, or as determiners specifying a person, object, place or time contrast. The system is distance-oriented and describes a contrast between proximal, medial, and distal from the speaker. All distances point to a location relative to the deictic center, which in Shughni refers to the speaker. When speaker and hearer are in the same location and share the same cognitive environment the deictic center is similar to both. The medial distance is the least clearly defined, thus its use is least predictable.

In Examples (85-87) deictic pronouns are used in all three degrees of distance.

- (85) **Mam** *γac* *xu* *nān* *xez* *boz*
 1SG.PROX.F girl REFL mother near send.IMPV
 Send this girl to her mother.
- (86) **Dam** *γac* *čes!*
 2SG.MED.F.OBL girl look.IMPV
 Look (at) this girl!

- (87) *Maš-am* *wam* *γac* *qiw̄t.*
 1PL-1P the.DIST.F.OBL girl call.PAST
 We called the girl.

Figure 26 shows how the spatial distance between the speaker and hearer and ‘the girl’ are perceived, when using third person pronouns as demonstratives:

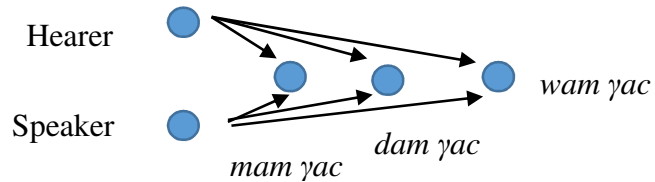


Figure 26: Distances of a third referent from speaker and hearer, Examples (85-87)

4.3 Spatial deixis

Space is a basic human experience and therefore people often communicate about their spatial environment (Grabovski & Weiss 1996: 19). People perceive and understand (geographical) space differently due to culture, prior knowledge, and background. Language is thought to be closely related to the cognitive organization of space (Giannakopoulo et. all 2013: 64).

Spatial deixis is concerned with the specification of locations relative to anchor points in the speech events. There are two basic ways of referring to a referent: (a) naming it, and (b) locating it (Levinson 1983: 79). Spatial deixis is commonly expressed by the use of (a) demonstratives (pronouns or adjectives), (b) deictic adverbs of space, (c) deictically marked third-person pronouns, and (d) verbal affixes of motion and/or verbs of motion (Huang 2007: 150-151). In this section I first look at space around a person, secondly at locative and directional forms as an example of spatial deixis in Shughni and then at their extension to possession. Lastly I will look at deictic ellipsis.

4.3.1 Space around a person using demonstratives

Demonstratives in Shughni, as summarized in Table 8 in section 4.2, are either masculine or feminine and always indicate spatial proximity or distance from the point of the speaker and hearer. Additionally, Shughni uses *yam* to indicate space proximal and beside the speaker and *yed* to indicate space proximal and in front of the speaker.

4.3.1.1 Space proximal to the speaker

The space around the speaker is clearly defined in Shughni, especially when talking about a third person or object in close proximity. The determiners *yed* ‘this’ and *yam* ‘this’ are centered around the speaker and are perceived as such by the hearer, as seen in Figure 27:

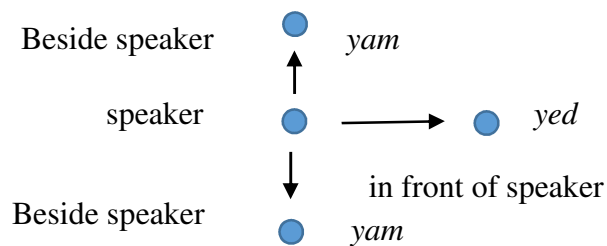


Figure 27: Proximate space around the speaker

A person on either side of the speaker can be referred to as *yam*. It is clear for the hearer that this person is located in close proximity beside the speaker. A person in front of the speaker, for example sitting opposite to him at the table, will be referred to with *yed*. The reference point is the speaker, for both speaker and hearer. If a referent was at the back of the speaker, the speaker would turn around to face the referent and refer to it with *yed* as if it was right in front of her.

The determiners *me/mam/maδ*, on the other hand, have both speaker and hearer as reference point. The third person that is talked about has to be in the proximity of both but not in a specific location with respect to either speaker or hearer, as Figure 28 shows:

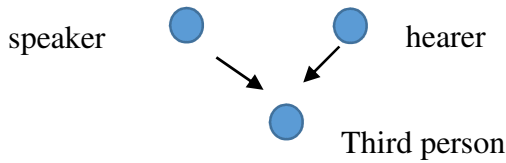


Figure 28: Proximate space to speaker and hearer

There is no difference whether the speaker or the hearer is closer to this third person, the difference between *yed/yam* ‘this’ and *me/mam/maδ* ‘this’ is that the first set requires a specific position of the referent with respect to the speaker. All five demonstratives, though, require close proximity.

4.3.1.2 Distances and visibility in Shughni

In addition to distance, visibility plays an important role in Shughni. In proximate and medial distance visibility is assumed, but in the distal degree of the deixis visibility can differ. Before the invention of telephones the referent was either visible or invisible to both speaker and hearer, as shown in Figure 29:

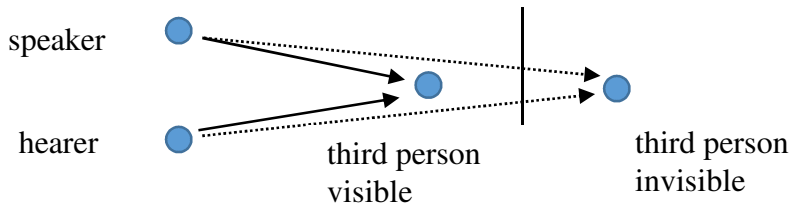


Figure 29: Third person visible and invisible from Speaker and Hearer

The pronouns *we/wam/waδ* ‘the.Dist/that’ can be used as articles to specify a particular person or object, as a third person anaphoric pronoun, or as a determiner pointing to a person in the far distance from both speaker and hearer. My consultants reported that in the recent past, the

domain of *we/wam/waδ* has been extended by the advent of cell phones¹⁵. When speaking on the phone, speaker and hearer are not in the same location and thus do not share a similar cognitive environment. The person or object referred to with *we/wam/waδ* has to be distal only from either speaker or hearer. In addition it is possible that the person or object is visible or invisible to at least one of them.

The following scenario was described by Lilly, Frank's wife: "*I was on the telephone with my husband and we were talking about something our daughter needed to do. My daughter was standing right next to me, later in the conversation she left the room.*"¹⁶

(88) Frank to Lilly while their daughter was in the room with Lilly:

Mu rezin, wam mu xez boz.
 OBL.1SG daughter, 1SG.DIST.OBL I.OBL near send.IMPV
 My daughter, send her to me.

(89) Lilly to Frank after their daughter left the room:

Wam-ard löd-um, tu xez ca yoθ-t.
 3SG.OBL.DIST-DIR say.PAST-1S 2SG.OBL near PART come.PRES-3S
 I told her, that she should come to you.

(90) Lilly to Frank concerning a book at the far end of the room:

Ya we kitōb tu-rd vir-d.
 3SG 3SG.DIST.M book you-DIR bring.PRES-3S
 She will bring you the book.

In Example (88), his daughter was invisible to Frank but visible (actually close by) to Lilly. Therefore, Frank used *wam* 'her (distal)' when referring to her. With her daughter standing right

¹⁵ People in Shighnan, really in most of Afghanistan, skipped the landline telephone stage and went straight from no phones to cell phones.

¹⁶ Personal conversation, translated by me.

next to her Lilly could not have used *wam* ‘her (distal)’ but would have used *mam* ‘her (proximal)’ since her daughter was in a proximate space in relation to her.

In Example (89), the *rezin* ‘daughter’ is invisible to both Lilly as speaker and Frank as hearer, therefore it was proper for Lilly to use *wam* too. But in Example (90), the *kitōb* ‘book’ was visible and distal from Lilly and invisible to Frank. Again, the use of the article *we* in front of ‘book’ was appropriate. The same would hold true if the book had been visible but distal from Frank and invisible to Lilly. Table 9 summarizes possible visibility conditions for the use of *we/wam/waō* ‘he/she/they (distal)’ during a telephone conversation:

Table 9: Possible visibility during telephone conversations

To Speaker	To Hearer
Visible	Visible
Visible	Invisible
Invisible	Visible
Invisible	Invisible

There is a limited number of scenarios where the referent could be visible to both speaker and hearer when speaking on the phone. One could be speaker and hearer standing at different ends of the village looking at the same object/landmark/person. The speaker would have to know that the object or person is in sight of the hearer; in this scenario distance is the determining factor for using the distal pronoun *we/wam/waō* ‘he/she/they’. The same applies for scenarios where the object or person talked about is visible for the speaker but not the hearer. But if the third person or object is invisible to speaker and/or hearer, the invisibility is the determining factor.

4.3.2 *Locative and Directional phrases as examples of spatial deixis in Shughni*

Neither Huang (2007) nor Levinson (1983) mention adpositions as means to express spatial directions. Grabowski and Weiss (1996: 20), however, point out that prepositions are an appropriate means to specify spatial relations between referents, referring to the topological structure of space ('in' or 'near') or the dimensional structure of space ('beside', 'behind', or 'above') or to a combination of both ('on' being 'contact' and 'above'). I look at spatial adpositions and their adverbial counterparts in chapter 5.3. In this section I want to look at two bound and one unbound postposition that show location and direction.

The bound postposition *-(y)and* 'at' identifies a location where something is happening.

Example (91) shows sentence 59 of his story where Frank identifies such a location:

- (91) S59 *Bad yamm-and band doδj.*
Then here-LOC closed hit.PERF
Then here (the trail) was closed.

It appears that *-(y)and* 'at' can be used to express the location of an object; neither Frank and Naomi could think of an example where the use of a spatial preposition *ar/tar/pe* 'down to/to/up to' is preferred.

The demonstrative *yam* 'this' (proximal beside the speaker), together with the bound postposition *-(y)and* 'at' is used by the speaker to convey the stationary nature of the location, similar to Example (92), where an actual place is used with *-and*:

- (92) S9 *Xoloδod joy-and nist-am*
Kholodod place-LOC sit.PAST.F-1P
We stayed at Kholodod's place.

The location could also be expressed by using prepositions combining horizontal and vertical deixis, which I will look at in the next section. The use of the bound postposition puts the place itself into focus for the speaker and hearer.

A similar observation can be made regarding the use of the locational bound postposition *-te* ‘on/at’, the directional bound postposition *-(y)ard* ‘to’ and also for the unbound postposition *xez* ‘near’. The directional postposition *-(y)ard* ‘to’ and the postposition *xez* ‘near’ can only be used with an actual person, not with a place or object. The postposition *xez* ‘near’ is used for a movement towards or a location near a specific person, as Example (93) shows:

- (93) *Mu xez ya!*
 1SG.OBL near come.IMPV
 Come to me!

The directional *-(y)ard* is especially used if an action is directed towards a person, especially with actions of ‘giving’ as seen in Example (94).

- (94) *Mu verod we kitōb mu-rd dak kiĥ-t.*
 1SG.OBL brother 3SG .DIST.M.OBL book 1SG .OBL-DIR give do.PRES-3S
 My brother is giving me that book.

I will discuss the action of giving more in section 4.3.3. The bound postposition *-(y)ard* ‘to’ is also used with the verbs of ‘saying’. The person addressed can be the speaker herself, the hearer, or a third person, as seen in Example (95) where the specific person is the hearer:

- (95) Lilly to Frank after their daughter left the room:

Wam-ard löd-um, tu xez ca yoθ-t.
 3SG.DIST.OBL-DIR say.PAST-1S 2SG.OBL near PART come.PRES-3S
 I told her, that she should come to you.

In this example, we find both the directional *-ard* ‘to’ with a verb of ‘speaking’ and the postposition *xez* ‘near’ with a verb of motion, both having a specific person as reference point. The postposition *xez* cannot be used to indicate a specific place; it would be ungrammatical, as shown in Example (96):

- (96) **Wuz dafter xez sa-m.*
 1SG office near go.PRES-1S
 I go to the office.

Here the speaker has to use the deictic prepositions (see section 5.3). The directional bound postposition *–(y)ard* ‘to’ and the postposition *xez* ‘near’ are used to show movement towards a specific person while the locative bound postposition *–(y)and* is used to specify locations of actions. In the following section I will discuss a case where the locative bound postposition can be extended to a specific person.

4.3.3 Possession as extension of spatial deixis

Before coming to possessive clauses that show an extension of spatial deixis I want to briefly mention possessive noun phrases. According to Payne (1997: 45), possessive noun phrases contain two elements: a possessor and a possessed item. In Shughni, the possessor, whether pronoun or noun, always precedes the possessed item. The possessor noun is not morphologically marked. Example (97) shows a possessor-possessed noun phrase found in sentence 8 of Frank’s story:

- (97) S15... *Xoloδod joy*
 ... *Kholodod place*
 ... *Kholodod’s place*

Possessive pronouns in a possessive noun phrase are in the oblique case; the following Examples in (98) were elicited from Naomi:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (98) | a. <i>mu</i> | <i>nān</i> | b. <i>wam</i> | <i>verod</i> | c. <i>maš</i> | <i>mutar</i> |
| | 1SG.OBL | mother | 3SG.Obl.DIST.F | brother | 1PL.OBL | car |
| | my mother | | her brother | | our car | |

The head noun of the NP that includes a possessive pronoun can be either the subject, the object or an oblique of a sentence.

Edelman and Dodykhudoeva (2009a: 803) argue that in Shughni alienable and inalienable possession can be distinguished by the presence of a preposition. In cases of inalienable possession the possessive pronoun precedes the preposition (e.g. *mu pe tana* ‘on my body’),

while the preposition precedes a noun phrase involving alienable possession (e.g. *tar mu čīd* ‘in my house’). However, all of my consultants agreed that the construction *mu pe tana* ‘on my body’ sounds ungrammatical.

Payne (1997: 169) gives Russian and Estonian as examples of languages in which the possessive clause is built on the model of locationals while in English predicate locatives are modeled on possessive clauses. Shughni addresses the question of whether someone possesses a referent¹⁷ by using a locative construction; the use of the existential copula¹⁸ *yast* ‘is’ or *nest* ‘is not’ is optional in this construction. The locative is expressed by the same form as the locative postposition *-(y)and* ‘at’ (Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009: 804).

The dialogue in Example (98) was elicited from Naomi and shows first the ‘location’ of an object, and then the request to re-locate the object to another person using the bound postposition *-(y)ard* ‘to’:

- (99) A: *Qalam tu-nd yast-o?*
Pencil 2SG OBL-LOC COP-Q
Do you have a pencil?
- B: *Yast mu-nd.*
COP 1SG.OBL-LOC
I have (one).
- A: *Dak mu-rd.*
Give.IMPV 1SG.OBL-DIR
Give (it) to me.

¹⁷ Payne (1997: 145) points out that a possessive phrase does not always refer to a semantic relationship of possession, e.g. “my professor”. This observation holds true for locative clauses in Shughni: *Verod tu-nd yast?* ‘Do you have a brother’ doesn’t ask about the semantic relationship of possession but of kinship. Thus it would be in theory possible to use this locative construction to ask about the existence of body parts or other inalienable possessions.

¹⁸ The existential copula is not a full verb. Even though it has a negative form, it can’t be marked with any morphology such as tense, aspect, or person marking that define verbs in Shughni.

The pencil talked about in this dialogue is not necessarily A’s own pencil (in which case both A and B would have use the appropriate possessive pronoun), but an object that A has (at this particular moment). Thus, the bound postposition *–(y)and* ‘at’ is extended from purely spatial description to possessive clauses. The concept of ‘giving’ includes moving an object from one location (possessor) towards another; the bound postposition *–ard* ‘to’ is used to show the change of location and possessor.

4.3.4 Deictic ellipsis

The assumed knowledge of geography and deictic hierarchy allows another phenomena: deictic ellipsis. As shown in section 3.2.2.1 predicative prepositions can be omitted without the hearer losing his spatial orientation. There are several examples of this in Frank’s story. Examples (100) and (101) refer to the beginning of the story. In Example (100) the travelers left the office to travel to Pilo. In Example (101) they had left Pilo and went to Kholodod’s place:

(100) S1 *Sarake-yam* *šaš=u* *nim* *aft* *baja* *az* *dafter*
Morning-1P six=and half seven hour from office

harakat *čud,* *sat-am,* *da* *baja* ***Pilo-yand.***
travel do.PAST go.PASTF-1P ten hour Pilo-LOC
In the morning, six thirty or seven o’clock, we left from the office, traveled,
(and were) at 10 o’clock in Pilo.

(101) S8 *Sat-am* ***Xoloδod*** *joy.*
Go.PAST.F-1P Kholodod place.
We went to Kholodod’s place.

Frank could have used the preposition *pe* ‘up to’ to show the relative place of Kholodod’s place in relationship to Pilo. But the focus of this sentence is the act of leaving the tea house behind and finding a different place to warm up and drink tea. As I said in section 3.2.2.1, the omission of the preposition is either a production error or Frank assuming that his hearer knows the geography of the area. It is very unlikely that Frank would repeat this kind of error several

times in the story. It is more reasonable that Frank assumes that the location of Kholodod's house in relationship to Pilo as source location is known.

In Example (102), that is sentence 21 of the story, Sulaimon assumes that Frank knows where the village of Pastew is situated.

- (102) S21 *Pastew ya, toid-am.*
 Pastew come.IMPV go.PAST.F-1P
 Come (to) Pastew, (and) we will leave.

Later in sentence 22 Sulaimon refers to Frank's place as *petir* 'up there', and in sentence 26 Frank comes *ar* 'down to' Pastew. Figure 30 shows the locations in this part of the journey:

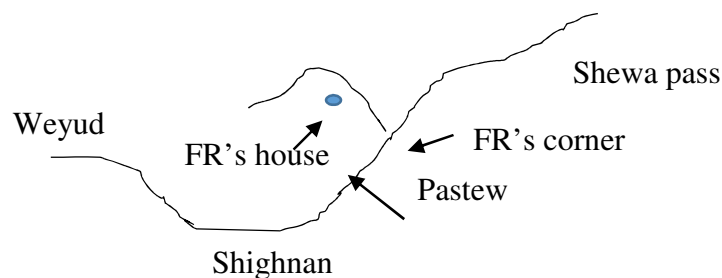


Figure 30: Locations in Frank's story

Both men are so familiar with the geography that they can omit a deictic preposition without confusing any geographical parameter, in fact they are able to use the 'proper' one in the continuation of the conversation or story.

A third example from the story is found in sentence 39. In Example (103) the travelers just reached Shewa before sentence 39 and they continue to the village of Toqacha:

- (103) S39 *Toqača-yam yat, abre čud.*
 Toqacha-1P come.PAST cloud do.PAST.3S
 (When) we came to Toqacha, it got cloudy.

No spatial preposition is given in this sentence, which leaves the hearer to infer where the village of Toqacha is in relationship to Shewa. The village of Toqacha is located on the high

plateau of Shewa. Then, in sentence 40 Frank refers to this knowledge openly as seen in Example (104):

- (104) S40 *Tarram* *res-am=at...*
 there.level stay.PRES-1P=and
 There we stay(ed)...

Spatial adverbs always include the vertical dimension, and therefore the spatial adverb *tarram* ‘there (level)’ has to refer back to Shewa and thus tells the hearer that Toqacha is considered straight (at the same level) from Shewa. The perspective could be either from within the story (Frank coming from Shighnan) or from Frank’s current location outside the story since *tarram* ‘there’ level’ indicates a greater distance from the deictic center. Whichever perspective Frank is assuming, he is able to pick up the ‘right’ deixis after the elliptic expression.

All three examples in the story suggest that deictic ellipsis is possible because of the familiarity of speaker and hearer with the geography. The speaker is able to continue the story using the ‘proper’ deixis because the listener does not need any extra orientation even when there was no orientation in the previous sentence.

4.4 Time deixis

In most languages systems of measuring time seem to be natural and use prominent cycles such as day and night, lunar months, seasons and years (Levinson 1993: 73). Time deixis is concerned with the encoding of temporal points and spans relative to the time at which an utterance is produced (Huang 2007: 144). Time deixis makes ultimate reference to the participant role (Levinson 1983: 73). Huang (2007: 145) defines ‘now’ as ‘proximal time’, a pragmatically given time span that includes the time of speaking, in other words the coding time (CT). In most oral communication situations CT is close to receiving time (RT) which is also called deictic

simultaneity. Complexity arises wherever there is a departure from this assumption, e.g. in letter writing (Levinson 1983: 73) or telling a story.

According to Huang (2007: 146-147), time is one-dimensional and unidirectional; either time is the constant the world is moving through or the world is the constant time is moving through. It is possible to define time periods by their beginning and end points, such as days, months, and years, and lexicalize them. Time deixis is “commonly grammaticalized by (i) deictic adverbs of time and (ii) tense” (Huang, 2007, p. 145). I do not discuss tense in this thesis but describe the use of time adverbs, comparing them in related languages, look at the metaphorical extension from space to time, and finally describe how relative time mirrors degrees of spatial distance.

4.4.1 Time deixis in Shughni

Like English, Shughni uses deictic adverbs of time as temporal demonstratives. It borrows the names of days and months from Dari or Tajik, the languages of wider communication (LWC), in Tajikistan following the Western calendar, in Afghanistan following the Persian calendar with the year starting in mid-March.

Huang (2007:145-147) argues that the use of deictic anchored terms for days, such as yesterday-today-tomorrow, has priority cross-linguistically over the use of calendrical names for the days. These terms have their anchor in the speaker’s (and therefore in the hearer’s) time. Typologically, we find three possible systems, starting from ‘today’ into the past and the future. English, for example, encodes ‘today’, ‘yesterday’ (-1 day), and ‘tomorrow’ (+1 day) as deictic adverbs, but has only periphrastic constructions such as ‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’ for further away days. Table 10 summarizes the typology shown in (Huang 2007: 147). I have added Shughni and Sarikoli as well as Dari, a related language of wider

communication. Dari also belongs to the western branch Iranian family of languages, while Shughni and Sarikoli both belong to the eastern branch. Because of their relationship I placed these three languages on the same line of the table.

Table 10: Languages encoding names of the day according to system

Today +/-1 day	Today +/-2 days	Today +/-3 days
English	Arabic	Greek
Diyari	Chinese	
	German	
	Punjabi	
Dari	Shughni	Sarikoli

Table 11 shows the five-term system of Shughni along with the systems of closely related languages and the language of wider communication Dari:

Table 11: Lexicalized terms for days in Shughni and related languages plus Dari

Language	Today -2	Today -1	Today	Today +1	Today +2	Today +3
Shughni	arǰib	biyor	nur	ǰumnē	afaǰ	
Sarikoli	paraǰjeb	ǰjeb	nur	puǰan	fal	ƚadar
Wakhi		jəz	wodǰ	sarǰ	'tərtər	tsə'brəmər
				'vrəkər		
Munji	ǰirizən	wəzir	dər	sar		
				jəma		
Dari		diruz	imruz	fardo		

Dari has a three term system. In Wakhi and Munji the systems seem unbalanced; both languages have (periphrastic) terms up to ‘today +3’ but lack terms for ‘today -2/-3’ or ‘today -3’ respectively. The terms for ‘today +2/+3’ in Munji are likely periphrastic, so is ‘today -3’ in Sarikoli. Sarikoli uses the term *wadir* for ‘today +4’. According to Hank, the use of *arxib* ‘the day before yesterday’ and *afax* ‘the day after tomorrow’ is declining among the younger generation but there is pride among the older generation for having a more developed system than speakers of the LWC Dari.

4.4.2 *Metaphorical extension of deictics from space to time*

Huang (2007: 145) defines ‘now’ following Levinson as the “pragmatically given (time) span including CT” (coding time) or proximal time. He continues arguing that ‘then’ “refers to distal time and can be reduced to meaning ‘not now’.”

The future marker *-ta* can be used to refer to an event in the ‘now’ but changes its content from future tense (FUT) to certainty of action (DEF). When Shughni people talk, they always entertain the possibility of their intentions to do one thing or the other being interrupted or prevented by natural or political forces. Only when it is clear to the speaker that an action cannot be prevented she will use the marker *-ta*. The hearer will know then that the event will definitely happen, in other words, the marker *-ta* conveys a certainty of action. A good example of this is seen in Examples (105-106) involving the verb *sitow* (*saw-*) ‘to go’.

(105) *Maš saw-am*
 1PL go.PRES-1P
 We are (maybe) going (now).

(106) *Maš-ta saw-am*
 1PL-FUT go.PRES-1P
 We are going (now).

In Example (105), there is an intention to ‘go’ but it is not known whether or not this will happen; maybe someone will come to talk to us or it will start to rain heavily. But in Example (106) nothing is going to prevent ‘us’ from ‘going’, we are *certain* that we are leaving now. Another example of this definiteness of action is found in sentence 5 of the story. After being presented with meat from the night before, the travelers answered as seen in Example (107):

- (107) S5 *Löd-am:* *Xai* *we* *xar-am-ta* *maš.*
 Say.PAST-1P Ok 3SG DIST.M.OBL eat.PRES-1P-FUT we
 We said Ok, we will eat it.

When an adverb of time is added as in Example (108), the marker *-ta* still conveys definiteness of the intention of going (which still can be prevented though), with the addition of a time adverb the focus is more on the future tense of the verb:

- (108) *Afaš* *maš-ta* *saw-am.*
 Day.after.tomorrow 1PL-FUT go.PRES-1P
 We will go the day after tomorrow.

Shughni uses compound prepositions, such as *bad az* ‘after’ (literally ‘after from’) and *peš az* ‘before’ (literally ‘before from’) to relate time to specific events or actions. These prepositions are created by adding the preposition *az* ‘from’ to time adverbs, as Table 12 shows:

Table 12: Time adverbs and compound prepositions

Time adverb	Compound preposition with <i>az</i>
<i>peš</i>	<i>peš az</i>
<i>bad</i>	<i>bad az</i>

These compound prepositions have to have an object, or in semantic terms a point of reference which can be a time, or an event or an action as seen in Examples (109) and (110):

- (109) *Peǰ az Eid-e Ramazon mu rezin-ard naw*
 before from Holiday.of Ramadan 1SG.OBL daughter-DIR new
kurt-ta az bozor xar-um.
 dress-FUT from bazar buy.PRES-1S

I will buy my daughter a new dress before the Ramadan holiday.

- (110) *Bad az xu kor ca kiǰ-t*
 After from REFL work PART do.PRES-3S
ya tu kïmak-ta kiǰ-t.
 she 2SG.OBL help-FUT do.PRES-3S

After finishing her work she will help you.

In Example (109) the ‘Ramadan holiday’ is the reference time, while in Example (110) the active accomplishment or the event of working in focus is the reference, ‘after’ which she will help. If there was no verb in Example (110) ‘work’ itself would be the reference point. Thus the coding time itself is not the reference point but a time indicated in the reference phrase.

4.4.3 Relative time mirroring spatial distance

More complicated is the situation in temporal clauses with temporal reference when the speaker is referring to an event in the past or future. Shughni uses definite NP’s where the deictic pronouns of space are used as articles with the noun *vaxt* (time) to indicate proximate, medial and distal time, for both past and future. Examples (111-113) show the use of the definite NP with the future tense:

- (111) *Tu mu-rd ca qi-w-e, me vaxt-ta yad-um*
 2SG 1S.OBL-DIR PART call.PRES-2S 1SG.PROX.M time-FUT come.PRES-1S
 When you call me, that time I will come. (**very soon**).

- (112) *Tu mu-rd ca qi-w-e, de vaxt-ta yad-um*
 2SG 1S.OBL-DIR PART call.PRES-2S the.MED.M time-FUT come.PRES-1S
 When you call me, that time I will come. (**sometime soon**).

- (113) *Tu mu-rd ca qi-w-e, we vaxt-ta yad-um*
 2SG 1S.OBL-DIR PART call.PRES-2S the.DIST.M time-FUT come.PRES-1S
 When you call me, that time I will come. (**much later, almost unknown**).

All three sentences have the same point of reference, ‘when you call me’, but the use of the deictic demonstratives specifies and therefore clarifies the time frame in the mind of the hearer. Both near proximal (medium) and distal time are somewhat vague; the relatively near time is rarely used and the distal time may have the connotation of ‘unknown’ time (‘I don’t really know when I will come after you call me’). According to Naomi, relatively proximal and distal time are not distinguished, the distal article *we* is used for any time that is proximate. Thus, even though Example (112) is possible, it is unlikely to be used in everyday conversation. Example (114) shows that any unspecified distal time can be expressed by using the article *we/wam/waδ*:

- (114) *We* *vaxt* *Dušanbe-yum* *ca* *vad*,
 3SG.DIST.M time Dushanbe-1S Part be.PAST.F

 wuz-um *tu-rd* *vint.*
 1SG-1S you.OBL-DIR see.PAST
 That time (when) I was in Dushanbe, I saw you.

It is impossible to say if that time in Dushanbe was one week, one month, or one year ago, but it is that far enough removed from the speaker (and hearer) that it requires the use of the distal pronoun *we*.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have described the three basic categories of deixis; person, space, and time; and how they are realized in Shughni. In Shughni, third person pronouns encode degrees of distance: while proximal pronouns *me/mam/maδ* and medial pronouns *de/dam/daδ* always indicate visibility, the distal pronouns *we/wam/waδ* are used for visible and invisible referents. The third person deictic pronouns are also used as determiners which together with *yam* ‘proximal beside the speaker’ and *yed* ‘proximal opposite the speaker’ describe the space around the speaker (and when present, the hearer).

I showed spatial deixis in Shughni with the example of locational and directional bound and unbound postpositions and the extension of the locational and directional bound postposition to possession. In Shughni the possession clause is modeled on the locational.

Shughni uses deictic adverbs to lexicalize time around ‘today’. I used Huang’s (2007: 146-147) typology to compare Shughni to other Pamiri languages such as Sarikoli, Wakhi, and Munji. Shughni has a balanced five-term system encoding today, today +/-1, and today +/-2. Shughni uses deictic determiners to metaphorically extend space to time, mirroring the degrees of spatial distance in the degrees of distance an event has from coding time (CT). The future tense marker not only indicates future events but also the speaker’s certainty about them.

In the next chapter, I return in more detail to spatial deixis. In particular, I look at its encoding through prepositions and adverbs, the shifting of perspective in stories, deictic ellipsis, and finally propose a landmark system for Shughni.

CHAPTER 5

SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS PART II: TOWARDS A LANDMARK SYSTEM IN SHUGHNI

5.1 Observations and claims

In countless conversations with Shughni people in Faizabad I heard them talking about going *ar* ‘down’ to Shewa or Shighnan. Similarly, Shughni people in Shighnan talk about going *pe* ‘up’ to Faizabad. Faizabad is at an elevation of circa 4600 feet, while Shighnan is located at circa 7200 feet. Even more surprising was to hear people in Faizabad talking about going *ar* ‘down’ to Shewa, the high plateau at 10,800 feet on the way to Shighnan. In this chapter I suggest that Shughni employs a landmark system that uses the flow of the Panj River as absolute geographical feature for the whole region of Shighnan, superseding the flow of local rivers and the elevation of local mountains. I will first present some theoretical background, and then two kinds of evidence: (a) the use and hierarchy of spatial prepositions and adverbs, and (b) the shifting of perspective in Frank’s travel story. Finally, I will summarize the evidence and suggest a hierarchy of deictic centers with the flow of the Panj River as absolute geographical feature of a landmark system.

5.2 Theoretical background

According to Levinson (2003: 65-66) most spatial descriptions refer to both figure and ground and thus allow people to talk of spatial relations as specifications between figure and

ground. The prominent ground object is chosen from which a search domain is specified at a certain angle; it is not unusual that these systems include a vertical dimension (Levinson 2003: 75-76).

Huang (2007: 149) refers to coordinate systems used to compute and specify the location of a referent as 'frames of reference' and distinguishes (a) intrinsic, (b) relative, and (c) absolute. Intrinsic frames of reference are based on object-centered coordinates which are determined by an object's 'inherent features' such as the sides of the referent when used as ground. Relative frames of reference are roughly egocentric systems expressing a spatial relation between a viewpoint, a figure and a ground that are distinct from the view point. The absolute frame of reference is based on absolute coordinates such as north/south/east/west.

Levinson (2003: 65-69) takes a slightly different approach in systematizing spatial relations. Firstly, he distinguishes place names, deixis and topology as domains in which no frame of reference or coordinate system is employed. Secondly, he divides spatial relations that employ a coordinate system into vertical and horizontal. He further divides horizontal systems into intrinsic, absolute and relative systems. Absolute systems are divided into cardinal and landmark systems (Levinson 2003: 66).

Huang (2007: 157) argues that the deictic center is a construct in the speaker's mind. Elevation is the physical dimension of the height relative to the deictic center, which is typically set against a horizontal line in the mind of the speaker. Based on work by Diessel (1999) he characterizes different systems: two-term systems of 'up/upwards' and 'down/downwards' and systems with three dimensions of space, 'above the speaker', 'below the speaker', and 'level with the speaker'. Variations of this three-dimensional system involve the use of geographical parameters such as 'upriver' and 'downriver', or 'uphill' and 'downhill' (Huang 2004: 157.)

Imai (2003: 43-45) distinguishes between cardinal directions (north, east, south, and west) and geographical parameters such as ‘upriver’ and ‘downriver’, ‘uphill’ and ‘downhill’, directions centered to and from the coast or the bush. He gives examples of languages encoding ‘inland’ and ‘sea-ward’ (West Greenlandic Inuit), ‘up-/downriver’ (e.g. Yupic Eskimo), ‘up-/downhill’ (e.g. Idu), or both river-and hill-orientation (e.g. Aghu). He gives Dyirbal as an example of a language that employ two sets of deictic markers, one that shows the elevation relationship to the speaker and the other showing the relationship to river and hills (Imai 2003:44). Shughni belongs to the type of languages that employs geographical parameters in order to describe location and direction in relation to rivers and mountains.

Harrison (2014: 25-28) describes a landmark system for Tuvan, a Siberian language. Tuvan speakers use verb roots that refer to ground slope and the direction of the river. These terms stand in a hierarchy in which one system dominates the other and presupposes speaker’s and hearer’s knowledge of the topography in order to use the system correctly. Harrison discovered that the direction of the river flow and not the hill slope is the underlying emic category. Tuvan directional verbs can package topographic or other ecologically valid knowledge. Harrison (2014: 28) points out that one cannot understand or use such a system unless one decodes the mental map it is built upon.

5.3 Spatial prepositions and adverbs in Shughni

Spatial prepositions and adverbs are central means for Shughni people to communicate about space in their mountain homeland. Even away from their home they will use vertical references. For example *pe* ‘up to/in’ or *ar* ‘down to/in’ are used when talking about orientation in a multi-story house when living in Kabul.

There are four spatial prepositions which are paralleled by spatial adverbs, which in turn also display proximity, though in this subsystem there are only two degrees of distance, ‘here’ and ‘there’, instead of the three degrees of distance found in determiners (section 4.3.1.2). This is shown in Table 13:

Table 13: Spatial prepositions and adverbs

Spatial Preposition	Spatial Adverb	Gloss
ar	arröd	down here
	arram	down there
tar	tarröd	here (same level)
	tarram	there (same level)
pe	paddöd	up here
	paddam	up there
	petir	up (unspecified)
	pebir	down (unspecified)
az/as	assöd	from down here
	assam	from down there
-	yammand	there (reference to previously mentioned location)

The additional spatial adverb *yammand* ‘there’ does not correspond to any spatial preposition but refers back to a previously mentioned location. The preposition *az/as* ‘from’ is used to show movement from a departure point. The three deictic prepositions *ar* ‘down to’, *tar* ‘to’, and *pe*

‘up to’ are used to describe a three dimensional system that is oriented along rivers and mountains as shown in Figures 31 and 32:

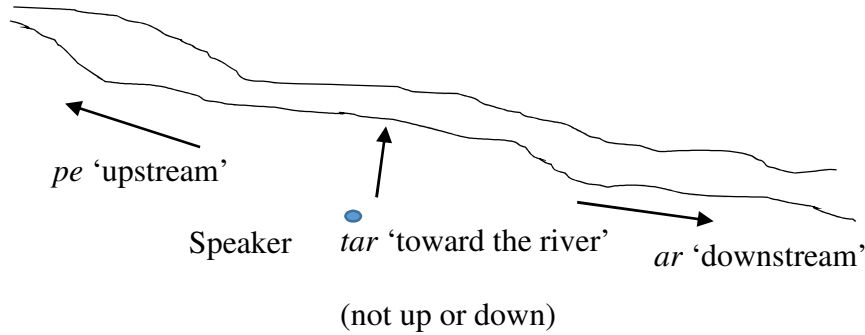


Figure 31: River orientation in Shughni

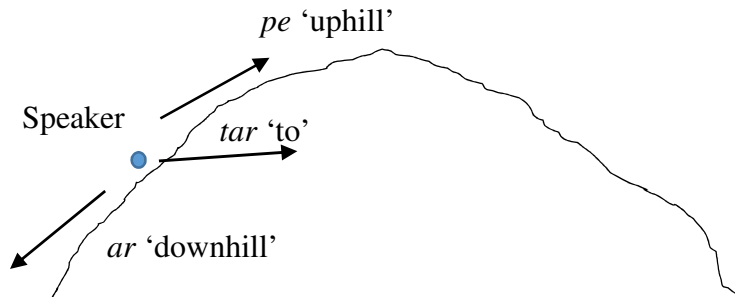


Figure 32: Mountain orientation in Shughni

Directions and locations follow either the river or mountains. Example (115a, b) shows two examples that follow the river-flow that were elicited from Naomi:

- (115) a. *Maš-am toid pe Bartang.*
 1PL-1P go.Past.F up to Bartang
 We went up the Bartang River.
- b. *Waδ-en ar Reḫön toid.*
 3PL-3P down to Roshan go.Past.F
 They went down to Roshan (along the river).

In Example (115a), the speaker traveled *pe* ‘up’ the Bartang River, while in Example (115b) Roshan is located *ar* ‘down’ the Panj River from the speaker’s location (Shighnan). In Example (115b) the Panj River is the local river on whose flow the speaker orients herself.

The two sentences in Example (116) are taken from Frank’s travel story. Sentence 33 is part of the story line when the car is going up from Shighnan towards the mountain pass. Even though *petir* ‘up there’ doesn’t specify a location it still has the orientation up the mountain. Sentence 34 on the other hand describes the movement in the opposite direction, back down the mountain.

- (116) a.S 33 *Sat-am* ***petir*** *ye* *flying koč* *mis* *čečič-t.*
 Go.PASTF-1P up.there a minibus also slip.PRES-3S
 (When) we went up there a minibus was slipping too.
- b.S34 ***Ar*** *Xuynön* *pas* *gač-t.*
 Down.to Shighnan back turn.PAST-3S
 (It) turned back down to Shighnan.

There is still another example of using the mountain orientation in Frank’s story. The travel party has arrived at their destination and Frank is alone in his house. Stephen calls him in order to make arrangements for the next day. Sentences 21 and 22 in Example (117) are part of the reported phone conversation between Frank and Stephen, which is another example of mountain-orientation:

- (117) a.S21 *Pastew* *ya,* *toid-am*
 Pastew come.IMPV go.PAST.F-1P
 Come (to) Pastew, (and) we will go (leave).
- b. S22 *Petir* *ca* *res-e...*
 Up.there Part stay.PRES-2SG
 If you stay up there...

In sentence 21 the location Pastew is established and in 22 Frank’s current location in the story is established as *petir* ‘up there’ from it. The next morning Frank is doing what he has been asked by Stephen, reflected in sentence 26, Example (118):

- (118) S26 *Sarake* *maš-am* *andoid*,
 Morning 1PL-1P get-up.PAST.F
- mu* *verod* *kate* *yat* *ar* *Pastew*.
 1SG.Obl brother with come.PAST down to Pastew
 In the morning we got up, I came down to Pastew with my brother.

Frank, who was said to be *petir* ‘up there’ in Example (117b) is now going ‘down to’ the location, the village of Pastew, mentioned in (117a).

The ‘upstream/downstream’ direction of river correlates often with the ‘up/down hill’ direction in Shighnan. The ‘up/down hill’ direction is needed to express elevation that goes up on either side of the river or simply relates to a particular local mountain, as shown in Figure 33:

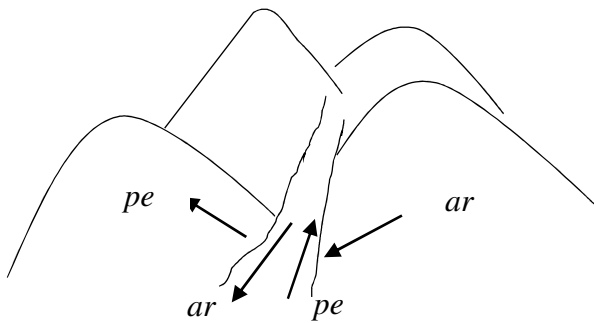


Figure 33: Local river and mountain deixis

Sometimes, though, mountain elevation and river flow do not match up. When Hank lived in Faizabad he had a friend in the same city, who lived *pe* ‘up’ a hill on one side of the river and at the same time *ar* ‘down’ the Kokcha River. Needing to visit him during work time he asked me the following question:

- (119) *Mumkin*, *ar* *mu* *δust* *čīd* *sa-m?*
 Possible, down to 1SG.OBL friend house go.PRES-1S
 May I go down to my friend’s house?

Hank knows that he will climb the hill to his friend’s house but because it is down the river from his current location, he uses the preposition *ar* ‘down to’ to communicate where he is going.

In the same way, Hank, Frank and Stephen will talk about going *ar* ‘down to’ Sar Chashma, a village north of Shighnan Center, *ar* ‘down’ the Panj River, even though we might actually visit a house up on the hilly slope. In this case Shighnan is the deictic center and the Panj River is the local river on which Sar Chashma is situated.

This example suggest that the river-flow-orientation supersedes the mountain-orientation:

(120) **River-flow > Mountain-slope**

5.4 Shifting perspective: An example from Frank’s travel story

In ordinary usage the three deictic components of a situation— space, time, and person— are interpreted from the speaker’s and hearer’s environmental situation, the deictic center being the ‘here’ and ‘now’ and ‘I’. Segal (2009: 15) describes Deictic Shift Theory (DST) which proposes that authors and readers often shift their deictic center from the real-world situation to an image of themselves at a location within the story world and interpret the text from that perspective. He continues by saying that this perspective often contains elements of a particular time and place within the fiction. The deictic center is not fixed but moves within the story, thus allowing the reader (or listener) to follow along with the story.

In this section I will analyze a passage, sentences 17-19 from Frank’s story. The complete story can be found in the Appendix. Example (121) shows sentences 17 to 19 of the story and sentences 15 and 16 are given as background. In this sequence Frank shifts his perspective in and out of the story, that is he shifts the deictic centers constantly between his location while narrating the story and locations within the story itself. After drinking tea in sentence 15 and warming up in sentence 16, the travelers continue their journey:

(121)

S15 *Xolođod joy čoy-am beruxt=at masle'at δis söd-e-de*
Kholodod place tea-1P drink.PAST=and council so become.PRES-3S-EMP

Xuynön saw-am.
Shighnan go.PRES-1P

We drank tea at Kholodod's place and agreed that we would go to Shighnan.

S16 *Kaš-am sat, sat-am.*
warm-1P become.PAST.F become.PAST.F-1P
We warmed up and left.

S17 *Ar Xuynön-am yat se=yu nim čor baja vad.*
Down.to Shighnan-1P come.PAST three=and half four hour was.PAST.F
We arrived down in Shighnan about three thirty or four o'clock.

S18 *Arram mu xambend wuz-um xaŋc*
down.there 1SG.OBL corner 1SG-1S get.off.PAST
tuid-um pe xu čīd.
go.PAST.M-1S up.to REFL.OBL house
Down at my corner I got off and went up to my house.

S19 *Daδ-en toid pe Weyud.*
3PL.MED.-3P go.PAST.F up.to Weyud.
They went up to Weyud.

This part of the journey can be seen in Figure 34. The travelers come from Kholodod's place, cross the Shewa pass, and travel down towards Shighnan. Frank gets off at his corner and walks up to his house, while the other travelers continue first down to Shighnan and then up to the village of Weyud.

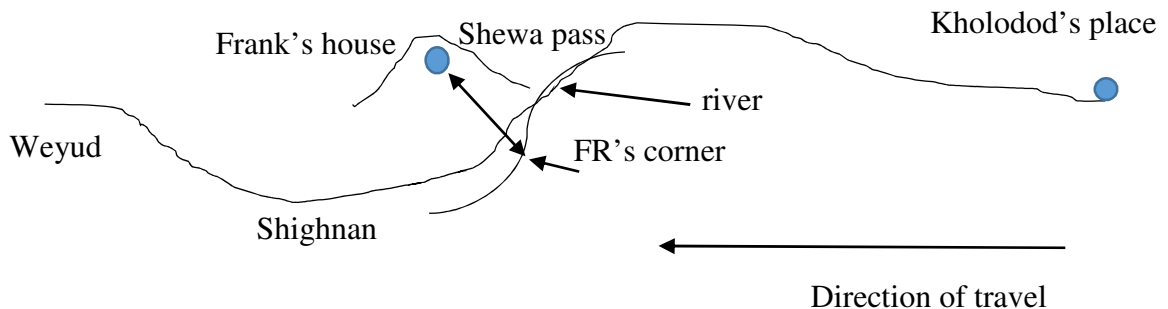


Figure 34: Travel schema of Franks' travel story, S17-19

In sentence 17 from Example (121), Frank gives a specific location:

- (122) S17 *Ar* *Xuynön* *yat,* *se-yu* *nim* *čor* *baja* *vad.*
 down.to Shighnan come.PAST three-and half four hour be.PAST.F
 We arrived down in Shighnan at three thirty or four o'clock.

In Example (122), Shighnan is situated both down the mountain and down the river from the last location in the story, mentioned in sentence 15 *Xolodod joy* ‘Kholodod’s place’. At the same time, Shighnan is also *ar* ‘down’ from Frank’s current place, Faizabad. When in Faizabad, Hank and Frank will frequently talk about ‘going down to Shighnan’. The expression in sentence 17 is ambiguous; multiple interpretations of sentence 17 are possible, and the hearer can associate *ar Xuynön* ‘down to Shighnan’ with Kholodod’s place in the story or with Faizabad or with both.

In sentence 18 from Example (121), the first place Frank is referring to is (a) below a certain point of reference *arram* ‘**down** there’, and (b) removed from his current position *arram* ‘**down there**’.

- (123) S18 *Arram* *mu* *xambend* *wuz-um* *xafc*
 down.there 1SG.OBL corner 1SG-1S get off.PAST

 tuid-um *pe* *xu* *čīd.*
 go.PAST.M-1S up to REFL.OBL house.
 Down there at my corner I got off and went up to my house.

The adverb *arram* ‘down there’ is not a specific location but refers in a general sense back to Shighnan of sentence 17 in Example (121). Frank consequently uses the distal form while telling his story. From Frank’s present point of view—that is, the place he is located while telling the story—each place is some distance away, and that is reflected in his use of the distal adverb *arram* ‘down there’. In the same sentence, Frank uses the deictic center *mu xambend* ‘my corner’, from which he ‘went’ up to his house.

As the story continues, the deictic center is anchored in the story, starting from Shighnan in sentence 17, Example (122). After Shighnan was specified as being *arram* ‘down there’ in

sentence 18, Example (123), Frank introduces a new location in sentence 19 of Example (121), the village of Weyud:

- (124) S19 *Daδ-en* *toid* *pe* *Weyud.*
 3PL.MED-3P go.PAST.F up to Weyud
 They went up to Weyud.

Why would Frank still use the upward direction when talking about going to the village of Weyud if its relative position is down-hill from Frank’s corner? There are two indicators that the deictic center is firmly within the story: (a) the use of *daδen* ‘they’ (medial to speaker) indicates that these people were somewhat close to him when they left him in the story, and (b) the village of Weyud is ‘uphill’ from Shighnan (Center).

Just within these three sentences Frank shifted the anchor of deictic center several times between the story itself and his current location at the time of storytelling.

Another example of shifting perspective is found in sentence 38. When talking with Frank or Hank while being in Shighnan each would say about the return journey to Faizabad *pe Faizobod sawam* ‘up to Faizabad we go’. In Example (125), which is sentence 38 of the story, Frank talks about the traveler’s return journey:

- (125) S38 *Yat=at* *yat* *ar* *Ǟewa,* *arröd* *na-red.*
 Come.PAST=and come.PAST down to Shewa down here NEG-stay.PAST
 Walked and walked down to Shewa, (but) didn’t stay down here.

In this sentence Frank talks about his travel all the way *ar* ‘down’ to Faizabad. This is the only time in the story Frank uses *arröd* ‘down here’, referring to Ǟewa (Shewa) as a place nearby. The travelers were coming down from the mountain pass that separates Shighnan from Shewa; they ‘came’ to Shewa, therefore the use of *ar* ‘down’ in the first part of the sentence is a local reference within the story. But then, in the second part of the sentence, Frank shifts the

deictic center out of the story to his storytelling location, Faizabad, using the lesser degree of distance *arröd* ‘down here’.

I propose that Frank can only shift his perspective in and out of the story if the perspective of the location of storytelling supersedes the perspective within the story:

(126) **Story-telling-perspective > In-story-perspective**

The in-story-perspective uses the *local* deixis of river-flow and mountain-slope with the locations within the story as deictic center. But when Frank shifts his perspective out of the story he uses a *global* perspective that takes the whole area into consideration. He uses the Panj River as the deictic center of the global spatial orientation. All locations or movements are either *pe* ‘up’ or *ar* ‘down’-river along the Panj River. In fact, I propose that the perspective shift in and out of the story is only possible because Frank and his hearer share this *global* perspective. The global perspective has to supersede the local perspective so that the speaker can shift between those two perspectives and the hearer is able to follow him.

(127) **Global perspective > local perspective**

5.5 Towards a landmark system

In my introduction to this chapter, I mentioned that people talk about going *ar* ‘down to’ Shighnan or Shewa or *pe* ‘up to’ Faizabad.

When being in or traveling from Faizabad, the consistent use of *ar/arram* ‘down (to)/down there’ when referring to Shewa and Shighnan does not reflect the mountains as indicated in

Figure 35:

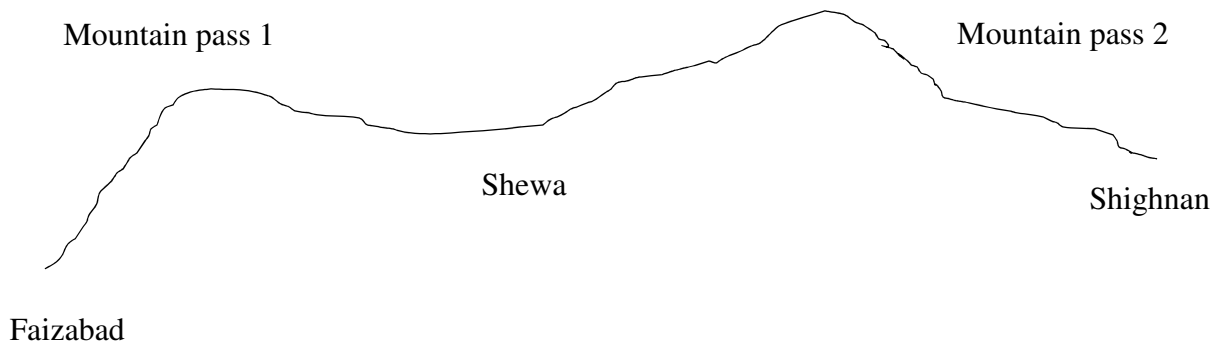


Figure 35: Travel schema of Frank's travel story

Table 14 shows the altitudes of points in the travel story and the schema above:

Table 14: Altitudes in Frank's travel story

Location	Altitude in ft (rounded)
Faizabad	4600
Mountain pass 1	9500
Shewa	10500
Mountain pass 2	12800
Shighnan	7200
Weyud	8100

Every location is at a higher altitude compared to Faizabad; still Frank uses *ar/arram* (*arröd*) 'down (to)/down there', which seems to contradict the basic elevation system described above. I proposed that Shughni employs a landmark system with the flow of the Panj River as global and absolute, superseding the flow of other rivers and mountain-slope.

Levinson (2003: 93) attests the possibility of languages using absolute landmark systems in combination with coordinate systems, including Tzetal (Mayan) and Hailom (Khoisan).

Harrison (2014: 25-28) demonstrates the existence of a deictic hierarchy and the use of an

absolute landmark system in Tuvan. Harrison (2014: 23-24) and Dimmendaal (2010: 152) argue that pure linguistic language data need to be supplemented by cultural knowledge. Harrison further asserts that knowledge systems are grounded in the local environment and are essential to understanding what people say, and that cultural knowledge clarifies structures that might be misunderstood otherwise (Harrison 2014: 24). If I were to analyze Frank's story by itself I might hypothesize that some of the deictic shifts and centers are attributable to production errors. But the fact that Shughni people, both in Faizabad and Shighnan, use the same deictic expression when talking about their homeland supports the hypothesis that Frank was using the expressions felicitously and that there is in fact some cultural and geographic knowledge that needs to be taken into account.

In section 5.3 I showed that river-flow and mountain-slope operate *on a local movement and location level*, taking local geographic features into account. Levinson (2003: 67) calls this kind of deixis a coordinate system, where a referent is located at a specific angle from a specific landmark. In his story, Frank used preceding locations as landmarks in order to establish deictic relations of his movements. I established that river-flow supersedes mountain-slope in Shughni. I showed that even if a location is up-hill, the preposition *ar* 'down (to)' or the adverbs *arröd/arram* 'down here/down there' will be used to indicate direction or location if it is down-river. Harrison (2014: 26) calls this uncovering the underlying emic (internal) categories.

Spatial deixis is concerned with the specification of locations relative to anchor points in the speech events. Local anchor points are used when adopting a local perspective, while the flow of the Panj River is used when the speaker adopts a global perspective. In section 5.4 I showed that a story teller can shift his perspective in and out of a story. Within the story, the story teller's perspective follows local deixis, which is the river-flow and the mountain-slope.

But when the story teller shifts his perspective outside the story, he uses the same deixis that I have observed with people talking in Faizabad: *ar* ‘down to’ Shighnan or Shewa. It seems there is an ‘agreed on’ or global perspective regarding where the locations of the Shughni homeland are situated. The travel map in Figure 36 shows a consistent movement north. This northward movement parallels the down-river flow of the Panj River in Shighnan.

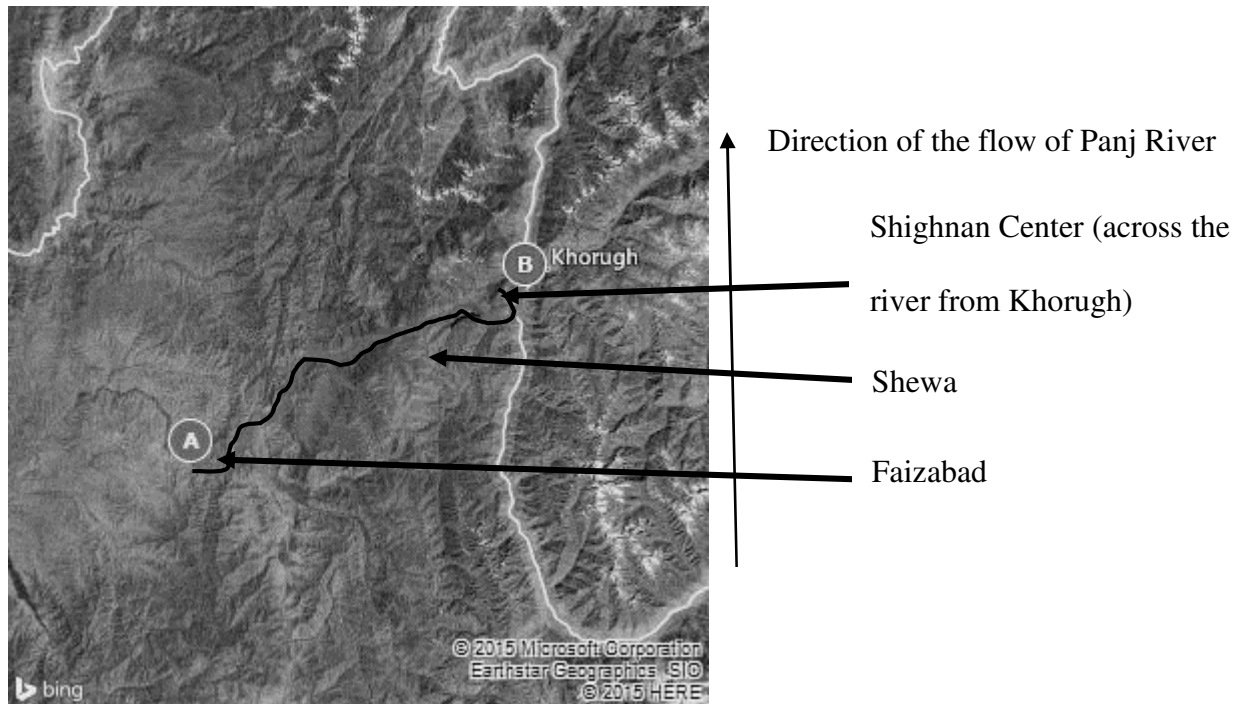


Figure 36: Travel map of Frank’s story

Both Shewa and Shighnan can be considered down-river *ar* of the Panj River with respect to Faizabad. Both Shewa and Faizabad can be considered up-river *pe* with respect to Shighnan.

In Shughni, the local deictic hierarchy (river-flow > mountain slope) is superseded by the global perspective with the River Panj as absolute deictic center. Figure 37 summarizes the deictic hierarchy that I suggested at the beginning of the chapter.

Panj River	Absolute	Global
↓		
River-flow	Coordinate	Local
↓		
Mountain-slope	Coordinate	Local

Figure 37: Deictic hierarchy in Shughni

The Shughni people use mountain-slope and river-flow when orienting themselves, locally whether it is in their mountainous homeland or outside (for example in Faizabad and Kabul). But when talking about their homeland as a whole, the Shughni of Afghanistan use the flow of the Panj River as absolute orientation point. Speakers shift freely between those two perspectives and can do so assuming that the hearer shares their knowledge of both.

5.6 Further research

In Example (128), which is sentence 14 of the story, Frank is giving advice to his fellow travelers:

(128)	S14	Az	<i>Xuynön</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>taž-am-at</i>	<i>yat-am</i>	ar	<i>ǰewa,</i>
		from	Shighnan	REFL	pull.PRES-1PL-and	come.PRES-1P	down.to	Shewa
		<i>ar</i>	<i>ǰewa</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>res-am</i>	<i>ward-im</i>		<i>sitow</i>
		down.in	Shewa	Part	stay.PRES-1P	be able.PRES-1P		go.INF
		<i>ar</i>	<i>Faizabad.</i>					
		down.in	Faizabad					

We get ourselves out of Shighnan and arrive down in Shewa, down in Shewa we are able to stay (till) we are able to go down to Faizabad.

The speaker's perspective within the story seems to show a steady descent down from Shighnan to Faizabad as shown in Figure 38:

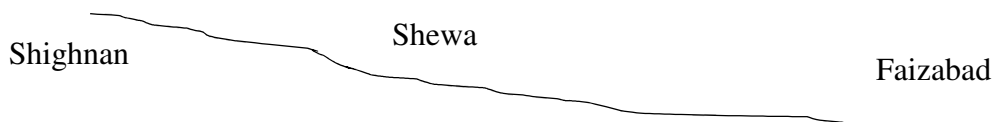


Figure 38: Perceived decline from Shighnan to Faizabad

This is a direct contradiction of the proposed landmark system in section 5.5. This could have been due to several reasons: (a) my hypothesis of a landmark system is wrong, (b) a simple production error by Frank, (c) Frank assumes a local (in-story) perspective where most of the journey is downhill once the travelers had climbed the mountain pass separating Shighnan and Shewa, or (d) the anticipation of the return *home* to Faizabad motivated the ‘reversal’ use of the deictic prepositions. My intuition is that option (c) or (d) are the most likely ones, but at this point it is speculation and should be part of further research.

In this chapter I have given two kinds of evidence that suggest that Shughni uses a deictic hierarchy that includes a landmark system: (a) a hierarchy of local deixis (river-flow > mountain-slope), and (b) the possibility of a story teller shifting her perspective in and out of a story and expecting her hearer to follow. Further research should include phenomena like the ‘reversal’ of the deictic orientation. Another topic would be to compare the Shughni landmark system with landmark systems in other languages like Tuvan.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have described the grammatical and semantic aspects of the deictic system in Shughni. The three basic semantic categories of deixis are person, space, and time. Shughni uses articles and determiners, spatial adpositions and adverbs to index each category.

Articles and determiners carry the noun phrase operators DEFINITENESS and DEIXIS. Shughni uses the third person deictic pronouns as articles in the oblique case, distinguishing three degrees of distance. The linear precedence Rule 2 (section 3.1) states that the article or determiner is always placed on the far left of the NP:

(129) **Rule 2:** NP { ART(DEIC) > QUANT > (PERIPHERY_(N)) > NUC_(N) { REF_(N) { N } } }

The proximal determiners *me/mam/mad* ‘the’, the medial determiners *de/dam/daδ* ‘the’, and two additional determiners *yam* ‘the, here beside the speaker’ and *yed* ‘the, here opposite the speaker’ are used when describing the space around a person. The distal determiner *we/wam/wad* ‘the’ carries also the possibility of being out-of-sight (invisible to speaker or hearer).

Shughni uses adpositions and adverbs to describe space. The main spatial prepositions are *pe* ‘up’, *tar* ‘to’, *ar* ‘down’, and *as/az* ‘from’. Shughni has bound postpositions *-(y)and* ‘at’, *-(y)ard* ‘to’ and *-te* ‘on’ as well as unbound postpositions *xez* ‘near’ and *pero* ‘in front of’. Prepositions and postpositions are usually predicative and are used as arguments (sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.3.1), adjuncts (sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.3.2), and argument-adjuncts (sections 3.2.2.3

and 3.2.3.3). A predicate preposition or its argument may be omitted if the argument either has been mentioned before or is obvious from the discourse. The bound postpositions *-(y)and* ‘at’ and *-(y)ard* ‘to’ describe location and direction and can be metaphorically extended to possession.

Spatial adverbs in Shughni mirror the spatial prepositions *ar* ‘down’, *tar* ‘to’, and *pe* ‘up’ and show two degrees of distance; the medial distance is omitted. They can be arguments of the verb (section 3.3.1), modify the core of a clause (section 3.3.2), or be placed in the pre-core slot (section 3.3.3). The spatial adverb *yammand* ‘there’ refers back to a location previously introduced.

Like many languages, Shughni uses time adverbs to describe time deixis. It has a balanced system of adverbs describing today, +/-1 day, and +/-2 days which fits typologically with the other Pamiri languages (section 4.4.1). In Shughni space is metaphorically extended to time; the language uses the same determiners to describe relative time (proximal, medial, and distal) that it uses to describe space.

The Shughni homeland is part of the Pamir mountain range in Central Asia, and the use of spatial prepositions such as *ar* ‘down’, *tar* ‘to’, and *pe* ‘up’, as well as the corresponding adverbs, shows that the mountainous homeland of the Shughni people influences the way the Shughni people communicate. Local deixis uses the river-flow and mountain-slope as deictic centers when describing location and direction. When mountain-slope and river-flow contradict each other, for example when a house is uphill but down-river, the river-flow location or direction supersedes the mountain-slope. But Shughni people in Faizabad (outside the Shughni homeland) talk about going *ar* ‘down’ to Shewa and Shighnan, while people in Shighnan go *pe* ‘up’ to Faizabad.

In chapter Chapter 5 I explored two phenomena. In section 5.3 I presented a hierarchy of local deixis. In section 5.4 I explained the possibility of shifting one's perspective in and out of a story is due to a global perspective shared by speaker and hearer. When a speaker uses the global perspective he will use the flow of the Panj River as global and absolute orientation and give all locations or directions relative to its flow, which is the absolute center of the Shughni landmark system.

Not many absolute landmark systems have been described in the linguistic literature. Harrison (2014) describes Tuvan, a Siberian language, and Levinson (2009) mentions Tzeltal (Mayan) and Hai//om (Khoisan). My hope is that this thesis not only contributes to a better understand of Shughni as a language, but also enriches the body about literature of landmark systems.

APPENDIX

Frank's (FR) travel story

S1

Sarake-yam *šaš-u* *nim* *aft* *baja* *az* *daftar* *harakat* *čud,*
morning six-and half seven hour from office travel do.PAST
sat-am, *da* *baja* *Pilo-yand.*
go.PAST.F-1P ten hour Pilo-LOC

In the morning, six thirty or seven o'clock, we left from the office, traveled, (and) were at 10 o'clock in Pilo.

S2

Yamand-e *löd-e-de:* *Šeč* *yek-de* *laza* *awkod* *tayor*
there-EMP say.PAST-3S-EMP Now one-EMP kind food ready
sö-d *xarj* *neθ-et*
become.PRES-3S food sit.IMPV.PL

There he said: Now (if) there is any food ready, let's have some.

S3

Maš-am *az* *mutar* *naxtoid* *xu* *fokaθ* *awkok* *xar-am.*
1PL-1P from car get.out.PAST.F and all food eat.PRES-1P

We got out of the car and ate something.

S4

Yu *čorik* *löd-e-de:* *Arro* *vegayen* *guxt* *yast*
3SG.M man say.PRES-3S-EMP well yesterday.ADJ meat COP
dega *yečθ* *nest.*
other nothing NEG.COP

The man said: Well, there is meat from last night, but nothing else.

S5

Löd-am *Xai* *xar-am-ta* *maš.*
say-1P Ok eat.PRES-1P-FUT 1PL

We said: Ok, we'll eat it.

S6

Löd-e-de: *Goz* *gal* *nest.* *Guxt* *yast* *ata* *goz*
say.PAST-3S-EMP gas now NEG.COP Meat COP but gas
nest *we* *kaš-um*
NEG.COP 3SG.OBL.DIST.M. hot-1S

He said: I don't have any (propane) gas. I have meat but no gas to heat it.

S7

Löd-am: *Xai* *ben-es* *maš-ard* *der* *sö-d.*
say.PRES-1P Ok forget-IMPV.PL 1SG.OBL-DIR late become.PRES-3S

We said: Ok, leave it, it's getting late for us.

S8

Sat-am *Xolođod* *joy.*
go.PAST.F-1P Kholodod place.

We went to Kholodod's place

S9

Xolođod joy-and nist-am xu wuz-um ye nazar đod.
Kholodod place-LOC sit.PAST.F-1P and 1SG-1S a advice beat.PAST
We paused at Kholodod's place and I gave some advice.

S10

Wuz löd-um: Maš boyad awal Xuynön saw-am.
1SG say.PAST-1S 1PL should first Shighnan go.PRES-1P
I said: We should go first to Shighnan.

S11

Karim awal ikede vos: Awal Toqača saw-am
Karim first this be.PAST.M.3S First Toqacha go.PRES-1P
bad Xuynön saw-am.
then Shighnan go.PRES-1P
First Karim wanted it this way: We will go to Toqacha first, then we will go to Shighnan.

S12

Yed-e mu nazar muxalif-um đod, löd-um:
this-EMP 1SG.OBL advice need-1S beat.PAST say.PAST-1S
Awal saw-am Xuynön čun kotal az peš.
first go.PRES-1P Shighnan for pass from front.
So I emphasized my advice and said: We (should) go to Shighnan first to have the mountain pass in front of us.

S13

Awal Toqača saw-am đe-d ženij
first Toqacha go.PRES-1P beat.PRES-3S snow
dega Xuynön sitow na-bof-t.
other Shighnan go.INF NEG-fit.PRES-3S
If we go to Toqacha first and it snows, we won't make it to Shighnan.

S14

Az Xuynön xu taž-am ar Ğewa, ar Ğewa
from Shighnan OBL.REFL pull.PRES-1P down to Shewa down in Shewa
ca res-am warđ-im sitow ar Faizobod.
PART stay.PRES-1S be.able.PRES-1P go.INF down.to Faizabad.
If we get ourselves out of Shighnan down to Shewa, (and) stay in Shewa we will be able to do down to Faizabad.

S15

Xolođod joy čoy-am beruxt=at masle'at đis söd-e-de
Kholodod place tea-1P drink.PAST=and council so become.PRES-3S-EMP
Xuynön saw-am.
Shighnan go.PRES-1P
We drank tea at Kholodod's place and agreed that we would go to Shighnan.

S16

Kaš-am sat, sat-am.
warm-1P become.PAST.F become.PAST.F-1P
We warmed up and left.

S17

Ar Xuynön-am yat se=yu nim čor baja vad.
down.to Shighnan-1P come.PAST three=and half four hour was.PAST.F
We arrived down in Shighnan about three thirty or four o'clock.

S18

Arram mu xambend wuz-um xaƒc tuid-um pe xu čīd.
down.there 1SG.OBL corner 1SG-1S get.off.PAS go.PAST.M-1S up to REFL.OBL house.
T

Down at my corner I got off and went up to my house.

S19

Daδ-en toid pe Weyud.
3PL.MED.-3P go.PAST.F up to Weyud.
They went up to Weyud.

S20

Sarake-yum anduid=at telefon-e mu-rd čud Sulaimön:
morning-1S get up.PAST.M=and phone-3S 1SG.OBL-DIR do.PAST Sulaimon.
In the morning I got up and Sulaimon called me:

S21

Pastew ya, toid-am.
Pastew come.IMPV.SG go.PAST.F-1P
Come to Pastew, (and) we will be on our way.

S22

Petir ca res-e sarake waħt mu čīd ya.
up.there PART stay.PRES-3S morning time 1SG.OBL house come.IMPV.SG
If you stay up there, come early to my house early in the morning.

S23

Hošem mis zang δa, omada sö-d.
Hashem also call give.IMPV.SG ready become.PRES-3S
Also give Hashem a call, so he will be ready.

S24

Wuz-um Hošem zang δod-e-de:
1SG-1S Hashem call give.PAST-3S-EMP
I called Hashem:

S25

Omada ve yad-en pes tu.
Ready be.IMPV.SG come.PRES-3P for you
Be ready, they will come for you.

S26

Sarake maš-am andoid, mu verod kate yat ar Pastew.
Morning 1PL-1P get.up.PAST.F 1SG.OBL brother with come.PAST down to Pastew
In the morning we got up, I went down to Pastew with my brother.

S27

Waδ-en mis yat.
3PL.DIST also come.PAST
They came too.

S28

Mutar-am sat, abre čud.
car-1P go.PAST.F cloud do.PAST
We left by car, (and) it got cloudy.

S29

Sarake vod, kotal-am sat abre anjuvdj.
morning be.PAST.M pass-1P go.PAST.F cloud take.PERF
It was morning, (when) we went to the (mountain) pass. There the clouds closed in.

S30

Ženij-e δod.
snow-3S beat.PAST
It snowed.

S31

Šams del čoxpuc.
Shams heart male.chick
Shams became very afraid.

S32

Ye flaying coč maš pero vud.
INDEF flying coach 1PL.OBL in front of be.PAST.M
A minibus was right in front of us.

S33

Sat-am petir, yu flaying coč mis čečix-t.
Go.PAST.F-1P up there, 3SG.M flying coach also slip.PRES-3S
We went up (towards the mountain pass), the minibus was slipping.

S34

Ar Xuynön pas gaxt.
down.to Shighnan back turn.PAST
(It) returned down to Shighnan.

S35

Kotal-am δod.
pass-1P beat.PAST
We reached the (mountain) pass.

S36

Yega flaying coč maš pero vud.
another flying coach 1PL.OBL in front of be.PAST.M
There was another minibus in front of us.

S37

Löd-am maš dam-te tiz-d.
say.PAST-1P 1PL.OBL back-at go.PRES-3S
We told them to follow us.

S38

Yat=at yat ar Xšewa, arröd na-red.
come.PAST=and come.PAST down to Shewa, down.here NEG-stay.PAST
We made down to Shewa, (but) did not stay down here.

S39

Toqača-yam yat, abre čud.
Toqacha-1P come.PAST cloud do.PAST
(When) we came to Toqacha, it got cloudy.

S40

Tarram res-am=at mutar maš kate ca res-t,
there.level stay.PRES-1P=and car 1PL.OBL with Part stay.PRES-3S
sarake band res-t.
morning closed stay.PRES-3S
There we stay, (if) the car had stayed with us, it would have been snowed in.

S41

Šams-am Qalai Mirzošo boxt.
Shams-1P Qalai Mirzoshoh send.PAST
We sent Shams (with the car) to Qalai Mirzoshoh.

S42

Sarake andoid-am yed ženij=at yed loy-ede,
morning get.up.PAST.F-1P this snow=and this mud-EMP
yed-e dega joy sec.
this-3S other place become.PAST.F
In the morning there was so much snow and mud, the place had become totally different.

S43

Bad kaš-am đod xu famt-am fardo xavdow na-boft.
then warm-1P beat.PAST and understand.PAST-1P tomorrow descend.INF NEG-fit.PAST
Then we warmed up and understood that tomorrow we would not be able to descend (down to Faizabad).

S44

Maš-am đust anjuvd=at xambent.
1PL-1P hand take.PAST=and descent.PAST
We took (each other) by the hand and went down (the mountain).

S45

Karim xuğ nafar petew-d.
Karim six person throw.PRES-3S
Karim needed six people to push him.

S46

Xuğ nafar pe we-yen anjuvd.
six person up to 3PL.OBL,DIST-3P take.PAST
Six people took hold of him.

S47

Zamön-eke we poθ xato ca xir-t wađ xuğ nafar
time-EMP 3SG.M foot slipping PART eat.PRES-3S 3PL.DIST six person
yak bor xir-d.
one time eat.PRES-3S
When his foot slipped, he took those six people with him.

S48

Xu toid-am xu yat-am ye daryo-te.
and go.PAST-1P and come.PAST-1P a river-at.
And we went and came to a river.

S49

Ver-en maš-ard vurd.
horse-3PL 1PL.OBL-DIR bring.PAST
They brought us a horse.

S50

Sar pero-yen Sulaimön=at Abdulrahim sawor čud.
head in.front.of-3P Sulaimon=and Abdulrahim mount do.PAST
First (of all) they put Sulaimon and Abdulrahim (on the horse).

S51

Bad-en we ver maš xez ay čud.
then-3P 3SG.DIST.M horse 1PL.OBL near send do.PAST
Then they sent the horse (back) to us.

S52

Karim sawor sut.
Karim mount become.PAST.M
Karim mounted the horse.

S 53

Sat-am tarram.
go.PAST.F-1P there.level
(So) we went there.

S54

Bad dega joy-am sat.
then other place-1P go.PAST.F
Then we went to another place.

S55

Bad yammand band δod.
then there closed beat.PAST
Then (the trail in that place) there was closed.

S56

Hošem=at wuz der sat.
Hashem=and 1SG late become.PAST.F
Hashem and I were behind.

S57

Dega-yen šeč-ek yede Sulaimön xu δust mulak δodj, čor-poθ-en
other-3P now-EMP like Sulaimon REFL.OBL hand bandage beat.Perf four.leg-3PL
δodj.
beat.PERF

The other now went like Sulaimon who had bandaged his hand(s) on all four.

S58

Az yed Karim yed daf čud sent vo činust sent vo činust
from this Karim this try do.PAST slip again crawl.PAST slip again crawl.PAST
After him Karim tried and slipped, again crawled and slipped, again crawled.

S59

Xuğ nafar de poθ-en čud.
six person 3SG.OBL.MED leg-3P do.PAST
Six people pushed him.

S60

Bad-am harakat čud, yat-am xu ar Qalai Mirzošo red.
then-1P travel do.PAST come.PAST-1P and down in Qalai Mirzoshosho stay.PAST
Then we took off and came to and stayed down in Qalai Mirzoshosho.

S61

Sarake Āewa ženij.
morning Shewa snow
In the morning it had snowed in Shewa

S62

Qoqin ženij.
heavy snow
It was heavy (and much) snow.

S63

Mutar-am jelön čud, pero-yam zelud poθ-en polka čud.
car-1P ignite do.PAST in.front.of-1P sweep.Past leg-PL clean do.PAST
We started the car, swept before it and cleaned (its) wheels.

S64

Baze mardum-en sat jam bade mutar jelön čud xu
some man-3P become.PAST.F together after car ignited do.PAST and
odam-en maš landcruiser-lak tela-yen čud.
man-PL 1PL.OBL land.cruiser-DIM push-3P do.PAST
Some people gathered and after (we) started the car, the people pushed our little land cruiser.

S65

Yat-am ar Pilo dönd ženij.
come.PAST-1P down to Pilo little bit snow.
We came down to Pilo, (and) there was (only) a little snow.

S66

Bad-am az kotal gašt, arram yaθč.
then-1P from pass turn.PAST down there come.PERF
Then we went over the (mountain) pass and arrived down there.

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