

Research article

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Ayloq – the summer pasture tradition in Wakhan in Tajikistan. Part II: Linguistic analysis of an expository Wakhi text with a focus on clausal subordination

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Abstract: This is the second of two articles addressing a Wakhi expository text dealing with *ayloq* ‘summer pasture’, written by Gulbeka Pahlavonova, a Wakhi speaker from Tajikistan. In this article, the same Wakhi text is subjected to linguistic analysis and presented in the form of interlinear linguistic annotations. The discussion focuses on syntactic constructions in the text that are relevant for the study of clausal subordination.

Keywords: Wakhi, East-Iranic, annotated corpus, expository genre, clausal subordination

1 Introduction

This article is a linguistic follow-up to a previously addressed ethnolinguistic Wakhi text describing the summer-pasture tradition in Wakhan, which was written by Gulbeka Pahlavonova, a Wakhi speaker from Tajikistan. While the first article (Obrtelová & Pahlavonova 2025) represents an ethnolinguistic study, this second article has a purely grammatical aim, namely to provide an interlinear linguistic annotation of the Wakhi text and to discuss the syntactic forms used for expressing clausal subordination.

1.1 The relevance of the annotated text for corpus-based linguistic studies

First, the Wakhi text represents an original and carefully edited piece of written discourse. It was composed by an author who considered not only the content, but also the language. Contrary to practices typically observed in spontaneous expression, whether oral or written, the text generally lacks (or the author and the Wakhi reviewers deliberately avoided) the constructions that are typically borrowed from Tajik, the language of wider communication in the area, such as *ezafe* constructions or borrowed conjunctions.¹

Secondly, it represents an example of a non-narrative genre or, more precisely, an expository text with procedural passages, whereas the majority of the written material in Wakhi of Tajikistan published so far has belonged to narrative or poetic folklore genres (see, e.g., Shaidoev 2012; Matrobov & Mirboboev 2015; Obrtelová, Sohibnazarbekova & Nematova 2016; Nematova & Murodalieva 2020). Examples of Wakhi expository and procedural genres have so far been found only in a collection of transcribed Wakhi oral ethnographic texts with Russian translations, which form part of a linguistic study by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976).

¹ For a description of the differences between the spontaneous and the carefully edited Wakhi texts, see Obrtelová (2019). For an overview of the most common grammatical constructions in Wakhi that are borrowed from Tajik, see Obrtelová (2022).

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Thirdly, the linguistic annotations enable the Wakhi text to fill a gap in the corpus of published annotated Wakhi texts. Until now, the only fully glossed and linguistically annotated Wakhi texts available have been published as a part of studies focusing on various aspects of narratives (Obrtelová 2017 & 2019).² The appended Wakhi corpus in the latter publication represents both oral and written modes of production, with texts exhibiting varying degrees of text control ranging from spontaneous oral texts to carefully edited written texts. These linguistically annotated texts belong to the narrative genre. Individual non-narrative genres, such as expository or procedural texts, have not yet been the subject of linguistic analysis and annotation.

The author of the Wakhi text comes from the central part of Tajik Wakhan, and thus, following Pakhalina's (1975: 8) and Steblin-Kamensky's (1999: 10) three-dialect division of Tajik Wakhan, she is a representative of the Central Dialect. According to Lashkarbekov's (2018: 16) two-dialect division, she is a speaker of the Upper (Eastern) Dialect. However, it should be noted that the original article was also reviewed by speakers of other dialects, which may have left some traces.

1.2 Theoretical background of the analysis

The discussion of clausal subordination in this study is primarily based on the functional and construction-based approach formulated by Cristofaro (2003) and Croft (2022). Following the definitions of Cristofaro (2003: 33) and Croft (2022: 463–464, 737), subordination is understood in terms of an asymmetrical cognitive relation between two events, one of which is pragmatically non-asserted (i.e., lacking an autonomous profile) and is dependent on the other, which is pragmatically asserted (i.e., having an autonomous profile).

In a sentence involving subordination, the profile of the asserted event overrides the profile of the non-asserted one (Cristofaro 2003: 33). To identify the assertion and distinguish it from the non-assertion, Cristofaro (2003: 32, 39) proposes testing it through sentential negation, polarity questions, and hedging; see also Croft (2022: 464). Only the asserted event is open to challenge. For instance, when a sentence is negated (e.g., 'It is not true that [...]'), it is the asserted event that is denied, not the non-asserted event; see further discussion and examples in Cristofaro (2003: 32–39) and Croft (2022: 464–465).

This concept of subordination is thus based on slightly different criteria than those applied in traditional grammatical approaches, where subordination is defined primarily on the basis of morphosyntactic criteria and is signalled by the presence of specific forms typically associated with subordination, such as subordinating conjunctions and non-finite verb forms. This difference is discussed in the analytical part of the study.

The term 'event' is used in this study to refer (prototypically) to an action concept, but also more broadly, to a state, situation, or state of affairs ('event' in Croft 2022: 691; 'state of affairs' in Cristofaro 2003: 25). An event, prototypically expressed by a verb and functioning as a predication, grammatically acts as the predicate head of the clause (Croft 2022: 550, 675). The concept of clause in this study is understood in a broad sense. Any form referring to an event (action concept), using balanced and deranked forms, is treated as a clause (Croft 2022: 48). The balanced forms are those that can occur in a simple independent declarative clause, while the deranked ones are verb forms other than the balanced ones, which include subjunctive and non-finite forms (Cristofaro 2003: 54–55; Croft 2022: 476).

An asserted event is coded as the 'main clause', while a non-asserted event is coded as the dependent or subordinate clause. However, in complex subordinate constructions, a dependency relation can exist not only between a non-asserted event and an asserted event, but also between two non-as-

2 Apart from these texts sampling Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan, three glossed texts (two narratives and a dialogue) are available in a sampling of Wakhi of Afghanistan in SanGregory (2018), and a glossed story sampling Wakhi of Pakistan in Bashir (2009).

serted events, when one of them is dependent on the other. Therefore, the asymmetrical relation between two events is referred to in terms of dependent and matrix clauses, rather than main, i.e., asserted, clauses (Croft 2022: 464–465).

Asymmetrical relations between the events are studied from the perspective of the information packaging strategies that are used to express these relations. The aim of the analysis is to identify and describe the strategies used for the three typologically universal types of subordinate relations – complement, relative, and adverbial – that occur in the studied Wakhi text.

Each of these three types expresses a specific function fulfilled by the event coded by the dependent clause in the complex sentence. As Croft (2022: 550) explains, an event that functions as a referent (i.e., an argument of the matrix clause predicate) is coded as a **complement clause construction**, while an event that functions as a modifier of a referent (argument) is coded as a **relative clause construction**. With regard to an event (referent or modifier), all verb forms, both balanced and deranked, are considered.

This approach thus offers a broader understanding of complement and relative clauses than what is found in traditional grammars, as it considers all strategies for action reference and action modification, including nominalisations and participles (Croft 2022: 47–48). The understanding of complementation extends to clauses functioning as any salient argument of the predicate of the matrix clause.

While the complement and relative clauses are more integrated into the matrix clause, in that “something in the complement clause or relative clause functions as an argument of the matrix clause predicate” (Croft 2022: 550, 592), **adverbial clauses** are less integrated in this respect. The matrix clause and the dependent adverbial clause do not necessarily contain a shared referent. The asymmetrical relation is given by the fact that the event in the dependent adverbial clause is non-asserted and expresses a circumstance under which the event in the matrix clause takes place (Cristofaro 2003: 155; Croft 2022: 481). As in the complement and relative clause constructions, both balanced and deranked verb forms are considered in the adverbial clause constructions.

An overview of the subordinating strategies that occur in the studied text is presented in the Conclusion section.

1.3 Methodology of the annotations

The linguistic annotations are organised in the following way:

- The sentences are numbered. Further segmentation of a sentence is marked by letters, e.g., (5a), (5b). The purpose of this segmentation is purely practical – to help orient the discussion with a focus on the subordinating strategies. This means that not all the complex sentences are segmented. Only those that require segmentation to facilitate orientation in the discussion are segmented.
- **The first line** of each numbered sentence presents a phonemic transcription of the Wakhi text. The original text written in the Cyrillic alphabet is not included in this article. However, it can be found in the Appendix of the first article (Obrtelová & Pahlavonova 2025).
- Square brackets in the original Wakhi text mark the boundaries of a dependent clause involving a non-finite verb form. The type of the dependent clause is indicated in subscript small caps after the right square bracket: [...] _{COMP} for a complement clause, [...] _{REL} for a relative clause, and [...] _{ADV} for an adverbial clause.
- Curly brackets in the original Wakhi text mark the boundaries of a dependent clause involving a finite verb form: {...} _{ADV}, {...} _{COMP}, and {...} _{REL}.
- Double square or double curly brackets mark the boundaries of a dependent clause that forms part of another dependent clause.

- **The second line** represents linguistic glosses in a word-by-word alignment pattern. The annotations mainly follow the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules.³ A list of abbreviations used for grammatical glosses can be found in the Abbreviations section.
- Angle brackets in glosses indicate a placeholder for a type, category, or other entity in a specific context. For instance, *pnir* and *iḡəy*, which represent two different types of cheese in Wakhi, are glossed as <cheese> (interpreted as ‘a type of cheese’), rather than providing individual translation for each type. Angle brackets are used when there is no obvious direct translation of the Wakhi word.
- Each glossed sentence is followed by a **free English translation**. This is marked by single quotation marks. Where it is deemed necessary for understanding the linguistic structure, a literal translation of a passage is provided (marked as ‘lit.’), or non-expressed information necessary for the coherence of the English translation is added in parentheses. Further explanatory comments may be added in square brackets.
- Where more than one translation is possible, the variants are listed as (i), (ii), etc. When these involve different syntactic interpretations of the subordinate construction, they are also marked in the original Wakhi text (in the first line) by an italic superscript at the left boundary of the dependent clause delimited by square or curly brackets, and after the clause type marker at the right boundary. Thus, ⁱ{...ⁱⁱ[...]_{REL}}_{ADV}ⁱ should be read as: In variant (i), the dependent clause is interpreted as an adverbial clause; in variant (ii), the dependent clause is interpreted as a relative clause.
- A ‘**Note**’ added after the free translation provides a linguistic discussion of a phenomenon occurring in the given sentence. These discussions focus primarily on subordinating strategies. The notes are numbered; however, this numbering is independent of the sentence numbering in the original text. Therefore, when reference is made to a note, the referenced clause in which the phenomenon occurs is also indicated. For instance, “Note 20 in (30)” refers to Note 20, which discusses a phenomenon in sentence 30.

2 Linguistic annotations of the Wakhi text

2.1 *Ayloq* ‘Summer pasture’

- (1) [*Ayloq* *rəčak*]_{COMP} *ya* *baf* *yark* *təy*.
 summer_pasture go.INF very good work be.PRS
 ‘Going to summer pasture is a very good job.’

Note 1: The form marked as (INF) in Wakhi is a non-finite verb form that can be described as an infinitive, a verbal noun, or a gerund. It can occur with case markers and adpositions. Plural marking is less common. Only one instance of INF with plural oblique (PL.OBL) marking is found in the text; see (140) below. INF typically functions as an argument in complement constructions (COMP), and as a predicate modifier (adjunct) in adverbial constructions (ADV). It can also function as a noun modifier (REL). In sentence (1), it is described as a gerund in the role of the subject argument, and it is interpreted as a complement clause, in which *ayloq* ‘summer pasture’ represents an argument of the dependent predicate *rəčak* ‘go.INF’. This is a non-adpositional construction in both non-finite and finite contexts; cf. (2) for a finite context. In the original Cyrillic Wakhi version, the whole construction *ayloq-rəčak* ‘summer-pasture-going’ is written (and perceived) as a single word.

³ <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>

- (2) *Cə mis dawra-ən to niv ayloq rəč-ən.*
 from before period-ABL until now summer_pasture go.V-1/3PL
 ‘(People) have been going to summer pastures from old times until now.’

Note 2: In Wakhi, the minimal subject-marking requirement for a verb is a person-marking suffix or enclitic. The subject does not need to be expressed by a full noun phrase or a pronoun. Moreover, the 3rd person plural is often used in the impersonal sense, and therefore, it is sometimes translated as a passive construction in English; see (83) below.

- (3) *Tqi xalg-iš ǰu ǰmr-i a t-əm ayloq-vi*
 many man-PL own life-ACC EMP in-PROX summer_pasture-PL.OBL
šaxsvatk=əv.
 make_pass.PF=3PL
 ‘Many people have been spending their days (lit. ‘life’) in summer pastures.’

- (4) *Niv bə pak tobiston xondor ǰnyan-iš*
 now ADD every summer housekeeper woman-PL
ayloq rəč-ən.
 summer_pasture go.V-1/3PL
 ‘Nowadays, too, every summer, housekeeping women go to summer pasture.’

- (5a) *ⁱⁱ{ǰny =ət nan-iš ⁱ{saarī mol-vi [tər sur*
 sister =and mother-PL morning livestock-PL.OBL to/upwards herding
dingak]}_{ADV} cə wəzm-ən}}_{REL}ⁱ_{ADV}ⁱⁱ
 hit.INF SUB bring.V-1/3PL
 (5b) *ǰan-ən ki, {kuy=əš [kum ayloq rəčakəzg-ər]}_{REL}*
 say.V-1/3PL CLM who=IPFV which summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-DAT
*ǰu mol-vi tawil car-t.}*_{COMP}
 own livestock-PL.OBL entrusting do.V-3SG
 i. ‘Women (lit. ‘sisters and mothers’) who bring the livestock out to pasture in the morning say who will entrust their livestock to which herder (lit. ‘to which summer-pasture-going/goer’).’
 ii. ‘When women bring the livestock out to pasture in the morning, they say who will entrust their livestock to which herder.’

Note 3: The subordinator *cə* (SUB) in Wakhi is used in both the relative and the adverbial constructions. A check with native speakers confirmed that both translations of (5) are correct in the given context, depending on whether the dependent clause is perceived as a modifier of the head noun ‘women’ (REL ‘who bring the livestock...’, in the double curly brackets), or as a circumstance of the predicate ‘they say...’ in (5b), (ADV ‘when women bring the livestock...’, in the single curly brackets).

Note 4: The infinitive construction *tər sur dingak* ‘to herd/pasture’ (lit. ‘to hit to pasturing’) in (5a) in the square brackets is part of another subordinate construction (see Note 3) and is interpreted as a purpose adverbial clause.

Note 5: *ayloq-rəčakəzg* ‘summer-pasture-going/goer’ in (5b), is a construction involving a participle. The form labelled as the ‘present participle’ (PRS.PTCP) would be better described as the imperfective participle, as it has no time reference. However, for the sake of compatibility with previous grammatical descriptions of Wakhi, the term ‘present participle’ is retained in this study. In Wakhi, PRS.PTCP can also function as a noun modifier or as an agent noun adopting all the properties of a

noun, such as the ability to be modified by, e.g., adjectives, determiners, and case and number markers.

In the original Cyrillic version, the construction *ayloq-rəčakuzg* ‘summer-pasture-going/goer’ in (5b) is written and perceived as a single word. With respect to its predicative (‘event’-like) properties it is treated as a headless relative clause (REL). The dative case (DAT), marking an oblique argument, modifies the whole dependent clause (‘to which summer-pasture-going/goer’, or ‘to which of those who are going to summer-pasture’).

In traditional approaches, constructions like the infinitive/verbal noun *ayloq-rəčak* ‘summer-pasture-going (going to summer pasture)’ in (1) and the present participle/agent noun *ayloq-rəčakuzg* ‘summer-pasture-going/goer’ in (5b) could be treated as lexical compound nouns (nominalisations), and not as clauses. However, in line with the approach described above and specified in Croft (2022: 48), both constructions are treated as dependent clauses.

Note 6: *Ki* in (5b) is regarded as a clause-linkage marker (CLM), and the immediately following clauses are interpreted as a complement clause construction (COMP). Although the matrix verb is a speech verb, ‘say’, it is not a typical utterance construction. Semantically, it marks a manipulative complement relation.⁴

Note 7: *Ki* is a clause-linkage marker widely used in Iranic languages. In Wakhi, *ki* (CLM) has a wide range of functions, depending on its semantic and syntactic environment. These functions are not limited to the marking of subordinate relations.⁵ The treatment of *ki* (CLM) in the traditional syntactic terminology often gives ambiguous, or even contrasting interpretations. One way of explaining *ki* (CLM) consistently, while encompassing its wide range of syntactic functions, is to approach it from a relevance-theoretic perspective⁶ and treat it as a **marker of interpretive use** (INT), which marks the immediately following clause as a metarepresentation of an utterance, a thought or a state of affairs.⁷

Ki (CLM) deserves a more comprehensive description and discussion of its discourse-pragmatic functions than the scope of this article allows. It will therefore be addressed in a subsequent article. In the present article, the description of the functions of *ki* (CLM) are limited to its individual occurrences in the text studied in this article, with the aim of providing data and discussion for a subsequent comprehensive analysis of *ki*. Note that *ki* (CLM) differs from the subordinator *ki* (SUB-KI) in (28a) discussed in Note 20.

- (6a) *Za-iš* *xuši* *car-ən* *ki*,
child-PL joy do.V-1/3PL CLM
- (6b) *{coyd-ər* *ayloq* *waxt* *wost* *=ət*
when-DAT summer_pasture time become.V.3SG =and
yawiš *də* *xi* *tatnan-v-ən* *yo* *də* *xi* *xištbor-v-ən*
3PL.DIST with own parent-PL.OBL-ABL or with own relative-PL.OBL-ABL
rəč-ən *ayloq.*_{COMP}
go.V-1/3PL summer_pasture
‘Children look forward to the time (lit. ‘rejoice that’) when summer pasture comes so (lit. ‘and’) they can go to summer pasture with their parents and relatives.’

4 For a specification of a manipulative semantic type of complement constructions, see Cristofaro (2003: 104) and Croft (2022: 556).

5 This is contrary to what I claimed in my previous study, where I regarded *ki* solely as a subordinating conjunction (Obrtelová 2019: 77).

6 See, e.g., Blass (1990), Wilson (2000), Wilson & Sperber (2012), and Sperber & Wilson (2015).

7 This interpretation of *ki* (CLM) in Wakhi is in line with the explanation provided by Farrell (2005) and Levinsohn (2013), who treat *ki* in Balochi, another Iranic language, as a marker of interpretive use.

Note 8: *Ki* in (6a) can be explained as the interpretive marker (see Note 7 above). The immediately following (6b) can thus be regarded as a metarepresentation of an utterance or of a thought. This interpretation also accommodates the possibility of treating (6b) as a complement construction, the argument of the verb ‘rejoice’ in (6a).

- (7) *Ta* *štik-ək* *ḡat-ər* *car-ən*,
 in-DIST playing-DIM self-DAT do.V-1/3PL
tər *čwurk* *rəč-ən*,
 to/in.upwards kids_and_lambs go.V-1/3PL
mol-vi *puy-ən* =ət
 livestock-PL.OBL graze.V-1/3PL =and
yan *tirmoī* *wəzy-ən* *ḡu* *xun-ər*.
 then in_autumn come.V-1/3PL own house-DAT
 ‘There, they play together, they walk the kids and lambs, they graze the livestock and then, in autumn, they return to their homes.’

- (8) *Kəli* *tobiston* [*ayloq* *rəčakuzg-iš*]_{COMP/REL}
 every summer summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL
panz *yo* *šad* *bnā-ī* *mol-vi* *durz-ən* =ət
 five or six household->N(coll.) livestock-PL.OBL take.V-1/3PL =and
san-ən *pə* *ayloq*.
 go_up.V-1/3PL to/on.up summer_pasture
 ‘Every summer, the herders (lit. ‘summer-pasture-going/goers’) take the livestock of five or six households and go up to summer pasture.’

Note 9: The construction involving the present (imperfective) participle *ayloq-rəčakuzg-iš* ‘summer-pasture-going/goers’ can be interpreted as a complement clause fulfilling the role of the subject argument. Alternatively, it could also be interpreted as a headless relative clause with an implicit subject argument ‘(those) going to summer pasture’; cf. Note 5 in (5b) above.

- (9a) *Təy* *Pomir* *ayloq-iš*,
 be.PRS (East) Pamir summer_pasture-PL
 (9b) *t-a-vi* *ya* *saro* =ət *ya* *wuš* =ət *wušoč*.
 in-DIST-PL.OBL very plateau =and very grass =and herbs
 ‘There are summer pastures in (East) Pamir, where (lit. ‘in them’) there are plateaus and a plentiful grass and herbs.’

Note 10: Pragmatically, (9b) can be interpreted as an asyndetic non-restrictive relative clause that does not specify the referent, but rather provides additional information. Following Cristofaro (2003: 195), non-restrictive relative clauses are not treated as instances of subordination.

- (10a) *Iḡunī* *xalg-iš* *rəč-ən* *t-ət* *δir* =ət *wuč*
 some(times) man-PL go.V-1/3PL in/to-MED far =and up
ayloq *ḡay-vi*,
 summer_pasture place-PL.OBL
 (10b) *iḡunī* *a* *t-əm* *spo* *ḡu* *ku* *ayloq-vi*,
 sometimes EMP in/to-PROX our own mountain summer_pasture-PL.OBL

*{yəm spo diyor-v-ər qrib=əv cəy.}*_{REL}
 PROX our village-PL.OBL-DAT near=3PL SUB.COP

‘Sometimes people go to those remote and high summer-pasture locations (in East-Pamir), and sometimes to summer pastures here in our local mountains, in the vicinity of our villages.’

Note 11: The form *cəy* (SUB.COP) is a portmanteau realisation of the subordinator *cə* (SUB) and the indicative present form of the verb ‘be’ *təy*, which are merged into a single word. In (10b), *cəy* (SUB.COP) marks an externally headed post-nominal relative clause. In Wakhi, the post-nominal (post-head) position is the default position for relative clauses that involve a finite verb form; see also (88b).

- (11a) *{Pomir ayloq cə rəč-ən.}*_{ADV}
 Pamir summer_pasture SUB go.V-1/3PL
- (11b) *xalg-iš də [ayloq rəčakuzg-v-ən]*_{REL}⁸ *ǰu mol-vi*
 man-PL with summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-ABL own livestock-PL.OBL
yund-ən to Ratm =ət yan pšəw-ən.
 carry.V-1/3PL until Ratm =and then return.V-1/3PL

‘When they go to the summer pastures in (East) Pamir, the people accompany their livestock and the herders (lit. ‘summer-pasture-going/goers’) up to (the village of) Ratm, and then they return.’

Note 12: The subordinator *cə* (SUB) in (11a) marks a dependent clause that represents a condition under which the event in the matrix clause (11b) will take place. A property of the subordinator *cə* (SUB) is that it has a modal function in adverbial constructions, marking hypothetical as well as non-hypothetical generic or unrealised events (cf. also the translation variant (ii) of (5a)), in contrast to realised (witness) past events, which are marked differently; cf. Note 20 in (28a).

- (12) *T-əm spo ku-vi bə ya tqi ayloq-iš.*
 in/to-PROX our mountain-PL.OBL ADD very many summer_pasture-PL
 ‘There are many summer pastures in our local mountains.’
- (13) *Yan tqi-tər [ayloq rəčakuzg-iš]*_{REL/COMP}⁹ *rəč-ən*
 then many-CMPR summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL go.V-1/3PL
a d-ət qribi ayloq-vi.
 EMP in/to-MED nearby summer_pasture-PL.OBL
 ‘Therefore, the majority of the herders (lit. ‘summer-pasture-going/goers’) go to the nearby summer pastures.’
- (14) *Yəm Vrang ayloq, Vnukut ayloq,*
 PROX Vrang summer_pasture Vnukut summer_pasture
Zung ayloq, Šərgin =ət Zmudg ayloq.
 Zong summer_pasture Shirgin =and Zmudg summer_pasture
 ‘These are the summer pasture of (the village of) Vrang, the summer pasture of (the village of) Vnukut, and the summer pastures of (the villages of) Zong, Shirgin and Zmudg.’
- (15) *A yət ziŋn kuli diyor-ən yaw ǰu*
 EMP MED way every village-ABL 3SG.DIST.POSS own

⁸ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 5 in (5b) and Note 9 in (8) above.

⁹ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 5 in (5b) and Note 9 in (8) above.

ayloq *ǰay* *təy*.
 summer_pasture place be.PRS
 ‘In this way, every village has its own place for summer pasture.’

- (16) *D-əm* *ǰərgin* *woz* *spoc-ən* *təy* *i* *ayloq*,
 in/to-PROX Shirgin also 1PL.POSS-ABL be.PRS one summer_pasture
yaw *nung* *Piwg*.
 3SG.DIST.POSS name Piwg
 ‘In (the village of) Shirgin, we also have a summer pasture; it is called (lit. ‘its name’) Piwg.’

- (17) *A* *yaw* *ya* *baf* *ǰay* *təy*.
 EMP 3SG.DIST very good place be.PRS
 ‘It is a very good place.’

- (18a) *Azi* *ǰan-ən* *ki*,
 thus say.V-1/3PL CLM

- (18b) *{yaw* *Pomir* *ǰwob-i* *ran-d.*_{COMP}
 3SG.DIST Pamir answer-ACC give.V-3SG
 ‘It is said to be comparable to (the remote summer pastures in East) Pamir. (lit. ‘they say like this [ki] it answers/corresponds to Pamir’)’

Note 13: *ki* (CLM) in (18a) can be treated as the interpretive marker; see Notes 6 and 7 discussed in (5b) above. The immediately following clause (18b) functions as an utterance type of complement construction.

- (19) *T-ət* *ayloq* *ǰay* *təy* *δas* *ktič* =ət,
 in/to-MED summer_pasture place be.PRS ten hut =and
cə *kufč* *traf* =nag *ǰrav* *yupk* *rwun*.
 from both side =side mountain_stream water going.PTCP (taj)
 ‘At that summer-pasture site, there are ten huts and mountain streams flowing from both sides.’

Note 14: *rwun* is a locally pronounced word borrowed from Tajik – *ravon* (the active participle of the verb ‘go’). Based on consultation with native speakers, the Tajik participle *rwun* ‘going.PTCP’ could be replaced in this sentence by the Wakhi finite imperfective form *rəšt=əš* ‘go.V.3SG=IPFV’, which would give the same meaning. Using the Wakhi present participle *rəčakuzg* ‘go.PRS.PTCP’ would not be suitable in this context, as it would imply a prospective aspectual meaning. The borrowed Tajik active participle in (19) is not treated as an instance of subordination.

- (20) *Tr-ət* *čroxərga-vi* *yupk* =ət *wuš* *bəš-dyatk*.
 to/in.upwards-MED grassland-PL.OBL water =and grass more-hit.PF ‘abundant’
 ‘On these grasslands, there is an abundance of water and grass.’ (lit. ‘On these grasslands, water and grass are abundant.’).

Note 15: *bəšdyatk* ‘abundant’ is a compound made up of *bəš* (Tajik *beš* ‘more’) and the perfect form of the verb *di* ‘hit’. The Wakhi perfect can function as a finite form, in which case it is accompanied by person-marking enclitics. It can also function as a perfect participle without any person-marking. As the perfect participle, it has adjectival properties. In (20), it represents the perfect partici-

ple functioning as an adjectival predicate, and therefore it is not treated as an instance of subordination.

- (21) *Pak tobiston Šərgin, Inif, Driž mərđum-iš t-ət*
 every summer Shirgin Inif Drizh people-PL in/to-MED
rəç-ən ayloq.
 go.V-1/3PL summer_pasture
 ‘Every summer, the people of (the villages of) Shirgin, Inif and Drizh go there for summer pasture.’
- (22) *Sk-a i paləw =ziŷn woz wyin.*
 on/through-DIST one side =across moreover mountain_pass
 ‘Moreover, there is a mountain pass on another side.’
- (23) *Wyin=əş woz far ŷir-d rə Irkil nung ĵay.*
 mountain_pass=IPFV again round turn.V-3SG in/to.down Irkil name place
 ‘The pass turns downward towards a place called Irkil.’
- (24a) *Yaw bə ayloq =rang =ət,*
 3SG.DIST ADD summer_pasture =like =and
- (24b) *nəy=ki t-a ktič-iš nast.*
 NEG=CLM ‘but’ in/to-DIST shepherds’_hut-PL NEG.be.PRS
 ‘It is also like a summer pasture, but there are no huts there.’

Note 16: The adversative conjunction *nəy=ki* ‘but’ is one of the complex conjunctions / discourse markers made with the help of the clause-linkage marker *ki*. While *ki* can be treated as the interpretive marker in this construction, it does not mark a subordinate relation.

- (25) *Də Vrang ayloq-iš təy ʏazg, Korjəv, Dəstkorjəv,*
 in/to Vrang summer_pasture-PL be.PRS ʏazg Korjəv Dəstkorjəv
Plostang, Wambif, Səmanin, ʏəwd.
 Plostang Wambif Səmanin ʏəwd
 ‘The summer pastures of (the village of) Vrang are ʏazg, Korjəv, Dəstkorjəv, Plostang, Wambif, Səmanin (and) ʏəwd.’
- (26) *T-ət ya tqi čroxərga-iš, goz-iš, kək-iš.*
 in/to-MED very many grassland-PL meadow-PL mineral_spring-PL
 ‘There are very many grasslands, meadows, and mineral springs.’
- (27a) *Də bəor, [aŷn=i kuč sənək]_{ADV}*
 in spring point/just=EZ migration go_up.INF
t-ət sof wuč ayloq ĵay-vi sər,
 in/to-MED totally up summer_pasture place-PL.OBL cold
- (27b) *a=sk-a {xalg-iš awəl cə rəç-ən}_{ADV}*
 EMP=on/through-DIST ‘therefore’ man-PL first SUB go.V-1/3PL
- (27c) *a d-ət bən-vi al-ən,*
 EMP in/to-MED bottom-PL.OBL stay.V-1/3PL

- (27d) *dr-at šundr, wuṣ wuṣoč bə təy.*
 in-MED warm grass herbs ADD be.PRS
 ‘In spring, at the time of the spring migration (lit. ‘migration going up’), it is (still) cold in the highest summer pastures; therefore, when people first go there, they stay in lower places where the weather is warmer and there are also grass and herbs.’

Note 17: The infinitive in (27a) is part of the *ezafe* construction *ayn=i* ‘point/just=EZ’, which is borrowed from Tajik. Semantically, the entire infinitival construction in the square brackets in (27a) marks a temporal adverbial relation ‘when the migration up is underway’.

Note 18: *a=sk-a* ‘therefore’, lit. ‘through that’, is an adverbial discourse particle expressing consequence. It is not treated as an instance of subordination.

Note 19: The construction in the curly brackets in (27b), *xalgiš awul cə rəžən* ‘when people first go there’, is interpreted as an adverbial clause with the subordinator *cə* (SUB) marking a generic unrealised event. The construction is specified by the adverb *awul* ‘(at) first’, which implies a presupposed event (people go to summer pastures) and marks a temporal rather than a conditional relation; cf. Note 12 in (11a) above. In the native speakers’ understanding, in the given context there is no choice between ‘going there’ and ‘not going there’, so they ruled out the hypothetical conditional meaning ‘if’. The same type of construction is discussed in Note 59 in (79a).

- (28a) *{Yan tmus ki viti,}*_{ADV}
 then high_summer SUB-KI become.PST
- (28b) *ṣu bəṭpar-vi, qapqča-vi durz-ən =ət*
 own clothes-PL.OBL utensils_and_crockery-PL.OBL take.V-1/3PL =and
san-ən d-a wuč-tər qraw.
 go_up-1/3PL in/to-DIST up-CMPR livestock_camp
 ‘Later, when the summer heat comes, they take their clothes and utensils, and move up to a higher livestock camp.’

Note 20: *Ki* (SUB-KI) in (28a) differs from *ki* (CLM) in (5b), (6a), and (18a) discussed in Notes 6, 7, 8, and 13 above, in that it is placed within the dependent clause that is in the pre-matrix position. This *ki* has a subordinating effect and usually associates with the factual epistemic stance, which is contrary to *cə* (SUB), which associates with hypothetical, non-factual or unrealised events. The modal value is also signalled by the association of *ki* with the witness past tense form (PST). In (28a), *ki* marks a temporal ‘when/after’ adverbial relation and conveys a meaning that could be expressed as: ‘only when/after the summer heat has been witnessed/experienced, do they take...’; cf. Note 12 in (11a).

2.2 *Kuč sənək* ‘The spring migration’

- (29a) *{May muy wos-t =ət}*_{ADV}
 May month become.V-3SG =and
- (29b) *xalg-iš [ayloq rəčək]_{REL/COMP} fikr-i car-ən.*
 man-PL summer_pasture go.INF thought-ACC do.V-1/3PL
 ‘When the month of May comes (lit. ‘the month of May comes, and’), people start thinking about going to summer pasture (lit. ‘they do the thinking of going to summer pasture’).’

Note 21: Based on my observations, constructions that in English are usually expressed by a dependent ‘when’ construction are sometimes linked together in Wakhi with the help of the coordinating conjunction *=ət* ‘and’. However, pragmatically they appear to stand in an asymmetrical relation to

each other. In (29), by the functional criteria, such as sentential negation, polarity questions, and hedging (Cristofaro 2003: 32, 39; Croft 2022: 464), it is the clause (29b) ‘people start thinking about going to summer pasture’ that is open to challenge and thus pragmatically asserted here, while (29a) ‘the month of May comes’ represents the circumstance under which (29b) takes place. A similar type of construction is discussed in Note 27; see (36a) below.

The same relation could also be expressed with the help of the subordinators *ki* or *cə*; however, in that case they would convey an additional epistemic value: either a hypothetical meaning or a factual temporal meaning with the verb in the past tense (as discussed in Note 20 in (28a) above).

Note 22: Since the accusative (ACC) case marker in (29b) attaches to *fikr* ‘thought’, the preceding infinitive construction *ayloq rəçak* ‘going to summer pasture’ is treated as a modifier of *fikr* ‘thought’. However, it can also be interpreted as an argument of the light verb construction *fikr car* ‘think’ (lit. ‘do thinking/thought’); see also (36b), discussed in Note 28.

- (30) A *tr-əm* *bistəm-o* =*nag* [*pərsim=i*
 EMP to/in.upwards-PROX twentieth-PL =side start=EZ
kuč *sənak*]_{COMP/REL} *mal* *wost*.
 migration go_up.INF time become.V.3SG
 ‘Around the twentieth of May, it is time to start the move up (lit. ‘migration going up’) to the summer pasture.’

Note 23: The word *pərsim* denotes the start, beginning, or initial phase of an activity or process. It is used together with the *ezafe* linking particle =*i* (EZ). This suggests that it is a borrowing from Tajik, although its origin is unclear (Steblin-Kamensky 1999: 277). It is typically, but not exclusively, used in constructions with the infinitive (INF) followed by the verb *woc* ‘become’. In (30), the infinitive construction could express a phasal complement relation. However, the insertion of the noun *mal* ‘time’ could also suggest that the infinitive construction could function as its modifier and could thus be treated as a type of relative clause; cf. Note 28 in (36b).

- (31a) [*I* *rwor* *prut* *cə* *kuč* *sənak-ən*,]_{ADV}
 one day front from migration go_up.INF-ABL
 (31b) *yəm* *mərdina* [*ayloq* *rəçakuzg-iš*]_{COMP/REL}¹⁰ *bətpar-vi*
 PROX man.M summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL clothes-PL.OBL
bor-bədok-vi, *qap-qča-vi*, *kərpa-mərpa-vi* *sək*
 load-luggage-PL.OBL utensils-crockery-PL.OBL blanket-<echo>-PL.OBL on/through
[pəndan *kərkin]*_{REL} *xur-vi* *vər* *car-ən* =*ət*
 donkey_blanket make.PF.PTCP donkey-PL.OBL load do.V-1/3PL =and
yund-ən *yavi* *t-a* *ayloq*.
 carry.V-1/3PL 3PL.DIST.OBL in/to-DIST summer_pasture
 ‘The day before the spring migration (lit. ‘migration going up’), the male herders (lit. ‘the male summer-pasture going/goers’) load the clothing, luggage, utensils, crockery, and blankets onto pack-saddled (lit. ‘donkey-blanket-made’) donkeys and take them to the summer pasture.’

Note 24: The adpositional construction in (31a) ‘one day before ... going up’, involving the infinitive and the corresponding case marking (ABL), expresses a temporal adverbial ‘before’ relation.

Note 25: In (31b), the perfect participle *kərkin* ‘make.PF.PTCP’, with the adjectival ending *-in*, functions as a modifier of the noun *xur* ‘donkey’ in the plural. It is regarded as a relative construction. The

¹⁰ See Note 9 in (8) above.

relative clause is in the pre-nominal position where an adjective modifying the head noun would normally be placed.

- (32a) *Waxon ku-iš ya šid,*
Wakhan mountain-PL very steep
- (32b) *nəy=ki¹¹ yaw ayloq-iš saro.*
NEG=CLM ‘but’ 3SG.DIST.POSS summer_pasture-PL flat
‘The mountains in Wakhan are very steep, but the summer pastures there are flat.’

- (33a) *[A sk-ət δir vdək*
EMP on/through-MED far road
[[to t-a ktič sənək-ər,]]_{ADV-TEMP}]_{ADV}
until in/to-DIST hut go_up.INF-DAT
- (33b) *ya [ayloq rəčakuzg-iš]_{COMP/REL}¹²*
DIST summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL
cə pəd-ən ya ʃir-ən.
from foot-ABL very turn_over.V-1/3PL
‘Walking this long way up to the remote hut (lit. ‘on the far way until going up to the hut’), the herders (lit. ‘those summer-pasture going/goers’) become dead on their feet [i.e., are very tired].’

Note 26: The adpositional construction in (33a) is somewhat difficult to describe in syntactic terms. The entire construction in the single square brackets in (33a) represents a circumstance of, or maybe a reason for (33b), and it can thus be regarded as an adverbial construction. The adpositional construction involving the infinitive and the dative case marker ‘to ... INF-DAT’ in the double square brackets conveys a temporal ‘by (the time)’ meaning.

- (34a) *{Yan t-a=əv ki ʃati,}_{ADV}¹³*
then in/to-DIST=3PL SUB-KI arrive.PST
- (34b) *din-ən šat-ər dəldung-ək,*
hit.V-1/3PL self-DAT cooking_place-DIM
čoy goš-ən =ət šu tuša-i yaw-ən.
tea make.V-1/3PL =and own food_supplies-ACC eat.V-1/3PL
‘When/after they arrive, they make a cooking place for themselves; they make tea and eat their food supplies.’

- (35) *Šu vur-vi ku jo-bə-jo car-ən =ət*
own load-PL.OBL all at_their_places do.V-1/3PL =and
ila dam din-ən, woz xam-ən rə diyor.
a_bit rest hit.V-1/3PL again go_down.V-1/3PL to/in.down village
‘They unpack all their loads and take a little rest; then they come back down to the village.’

- (36a) *{Xam-ən =ət}_{ADV}*
go_down.V-1/3PL =and

¹¹ See Note 16 in (24b) above.

¹² See Note 9 in (8) above.

¹³ See Note 20 in (28) above.

- (36b) *[mol-vi yundak]_{REL/COMP} srišta-i car-ən.*
 livestock-PL.OBL carry-INF preparation-ACC do.V-1/3PL
 ‘When they come back down, they make preparations for driving the livestock (lit. ‘they make livestock-driving preparation’).’

Note 27: (36a) represents the same pattern as that discussed in Note 21 in (29a) above. The context of this sentence provides further support for treating this type of construction as pragmatically non-asserted, and thus, pragmatically subordinate. The clauses (35) and (36a) form an example of a tail-head construction, which cross-linguistically often involves a subordinate construction in the ‘head’ part.¹⁴ While in (35), the ‘tail’ *xam-ən* ‘they go down’ is asserted, in (36a), the ‘head’ *xam-ən* is non-asserted and represents a circumstance (or background) of the assertion made in (36b).

Note 28: The infinitive construction in (36b) can be treated as a modifier of the object argument ‘preparation’, which is in the accusative case (ACC). It would then be interpreted as a relative construction. However, the infinitive construction could also be interpreted as an argument of the light verb construction *srišta car* ‘prepare’, in which case it would mark a phasal complement relation; see (29b) discussed in Note 22; cf. also Note 23 in (30).

- (37a) *Vrokər mol-vi yundak rwor,*
 tomorrow livestock-PL.OBL carry-INF day
- (37b) *yəm pərzungī [kuč sənakužg-iš]_{COMP/REL}¹⁵ ǰu bor-bdok-vi*
 PROX evening migration go_up.PRS.PTCP-PL own load-luggage-PL.OBL
ǰurt-ən =ət ǰu tuša-i ǰat-ər din-ən =ət
 gather.V-1/3PL =and own food_supplies-ACC self-DAT hit.V-1/3PL =and
mol-vi nišon gox-ən =ət yan ǰat-i ila bən-ən.
 livestock-PL.OBL mark make.V-1/3PL =and then self-ACC a_bit throw.V-1/3PL
 ‘The next day is the day of driving the livestock, so in the evening the departing herders (lit. ‘those who migrate going up’) gather their baggage, they make food supplies for themselves, they brand the livestock, and then they lay down for a little while (i.e., they take a little sleep).’

Note 29: The infinitive construction in (37a) can be interpreted as a modifier of the noun *rwor* ‘day’; however, the whole expression ‘the day of driving the livestock’ represents a complex nominal predicate. It is not regarded as an instance of subordination.

- (38a) *{Yan naǰdinī, yal torik rang =ət}_{ADV}*
 then at_dawn still dark color =and
- (38b) *giz-ən də bismillo-ən c-əm xun-ən nəwz-ən.*
 get_up.V-1/3PL with bismillah-ABL from-PROX house-ABL come_out.V-1/3PL
 ‘Then at dawn, while it is still dark, they get up and with a ‘bismillah’ [religious formula] they leave (lit. ‘get up ... come out’) the house.’

Note 30: (38a) can be regarded as a verbless clause with the predicate expressed by an adverbial construction. (38a) is conjoined with (38b) by a coordinating conjunction *=ət* ‘and’. However, in functional terms, the clause that is pragmatically asserted is the one in (38b), whereas (38a) represents a

¹⁴ Tail-head linkage is defined by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 8) as “the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the ‘head’) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the ‘tail’).” As observed by Obrtelová (2019: 206–214, 301), tail-head constructions in Wakhi are often made with coordinating conjunctions.

¹⁵ See Note 9 in (8) above.

temporal circumstance of the asserted clause. Along with (29a) and (36a), discussed in Notes 21 and 27, this is an example of a pragmatically asymmetrical relationship between two clauses that is expressed by *=ət* ‘and’, which is formally defined as a coordinating conjunction.

Note 31: The predicate of (38b) is expressed by a serial verb construction.¹⁶ In the translation, it is sometimes translated with a single verb and sometimes with two verbs, either in a coordinate or a subordinate relation. Nevertheless, in Wakhi, a serial verb construction normally refers to a single complex event and is not treated as an instance of subordination. Serial verb constructions are also found in (42b), (48c), (52), (54), (55a), (81b), (89b), (95), (96), (113), (120), (180), and (192).

- (39a) *[Nəwzak-ər]_{ADV}* *ǰu* *čmāṇḍg* *lāngar-i* *ba* *car-ən*,
 come_out.INF-DAT own hearth_ledge top_of_the_hearth-ACC kiss do.V-1/3PL
- (39b) *{kuy lup ʊmʊ-t,}_{REL/ADV}* *yaw* *dast-i* *ba* *car-ən*.
 who big be.SBJV-3.SG 3SG.DIST.POSS hand-ACC kiss do.V-1/3PL
 ‘When/upon leaving, they kiss the sacred top of the front part of the hearth; if there are elders there (lit. ‘whoever would be an elder’), their hands are kissed, too.’

Note 32: The infinitive with the dative case marking *nəwzak-ər* (come out.INF-DAT) ‘upon leaving/when they are about to leave’ in (39a) is interpreted as an adverbial temporal relation expressing a prospective action.

Note 33: In (39b), the clause *kuy lup ʊmʊt* could be interpreted as a free relative clause (‘whoever would/might be an elder’). However, some native speakers perceive it instead as a generic conditional construction (‘if there is any older person/elder’). In Wakhi, free relative constructions and generic conditional constructions expressing a habitual event often use the same strategy, employing the subjunctive verb form, an indefinite noun or pronoun, and (not obligatorily) the subordinator *cə* (SUB). (39b) is peculiar because it is not accompanied by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), which both the relative and the conditional constructions normally use.¹⁷ However, the use of the indefinite pronoun and the subjunctive seems to be a sufficient indicator of the conveyed function, either the generic conditional or the free-choice relative.

- (40a) *Lup-iš* *ǰan-ən* *ki*,¹⁸
 big-PL say.V-1/3PL CLM
- (40b) *{yan tu baf tər* *ǰu* *jaydod* *ǰat* *=ət*
 then you.SG well to/in.upwards own destination arrive.V =and
arwo-iš *taw-i* *didǰ-ən* *=ət*
 ghost-PL you.SG.OBL-ACC look.V-1/3PL =and
tu *woz* *ǰu* *xun-ər* *wəzi,}_{COMP}*
 you.SG again own house-DAT come.V
 ‘The elders say [lit. ki] ‘you will reach your destination safely (lit. ‘well’) and the ghosts will look after you and you will return to your house’.

- (41a) *ⁱ{Woz čiz vʊr ⁱⁱ{[wɾəʃkin]_{REL}ⁱ cə ʊmʊ-t, }_{REL}ⁱⁱ }_{ADV}ⁱ*
 again what load remain.PF.PTCP SUB be.SBJV-3SG

¹⁶ See Obrtelová (2019: 70).

¹⁷ Cf. (139b) discussed in Note 74.

¹⁸ See Note 13 in (18a).

- (41b) *Wəloy-vi* *vur*¹⁹ *car-ən*.
 pack_animal-PL.OBL load do.V-1/3PL
 i. ‘Then, if there is any remaining load (lit. ‘if there is any load that is remaining’), they [i.e., the herders] load (it) onto pack animals.’
 ii. ‘Then, whatever/any load that would be remaining is loaded onto pack animals.’

Note 34: Just as in (39b) discussed in Note 33, the construction with an indefinite pronoun and the subjunctive in (41a) can be interpreted either as (i) a generic conditional clause (in the single curly brackets) with an embedded relative clause represented by the perfect participle *wrəḡkin* ‘remain.PF.PTCP’, or as (ii) a free relative clause (in the double curly brackets), depending on whether the dependent clause in (41a) is perceived as specifying either (i) the whole matrix clause (41b) or (ii) the referent *vur* ‘load’. The translation preferred by native speakers is the one with the generic conditional meaning (i).

- (42a) *Ḳḡ* *mol-vi* *cə* *pəḡt-ən* *niḡv-ən*,
 own livestock-PL.OBL from livestock_pen-ABL take_out.V-1/3PL
 (42b) *moldor-iḡ* *bə* *ḡḡ* *mol-vi* *wəzm-ən*
 livestock_owner-PL ADD own livestock-PL.OBL bring.V-1/3PL
*[kuḡ sənakuḡzg-v-ər]*_{COMP/REL}²⁰ *tawil-ən* *=ət*
 migration go_up.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-DAT entrusting-1/3PL =and
tər *vdək* *yav-i* *kaḡ-ən*.
 to/in.upwards road 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC put.V-1/3PL
 ‘They take out their livestock from the livestock pen, and then the owners of the livestock entrust (lit. ‘take out ... entrust’)²¹ their livestock to the departing herders (lit. ‘to those who migrate going up’) and see them off.’
- (43a) *[Ayloq* *rəḡakuḡzg]*_{COMP/REL}²² *mol-vi* *isob* *car-t*,
 summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP livestock-PL.OBL counting do.V-3SG
 (43b) *{ləcər diḡ-t,* *{cum* *bna* *mol=əv* *wəzmətk.}}*_{COMP} *}ADV*
 let know.V-3SG how_many household livestock=3PL bring.PF
 ‘The herder (lit. ‘summer-pasture goer’) counts the animals in order to know (lit. ‘let/so that he knows’) how many households’ animals they have taken.’

Note 35: (43b) is introduced by the particle *ləcər* ‘let’, which is the present stem of the verb ‘allow/let’. In the predicate function, the verb normally undergoes conjugation, as in (67). The present stem form that does not undergo conjugation can also function as a discourse particle that marks purpose adverbial constructions. In the purpose adverbial clauses introduced by *ləcər* ‘let’, the verb ‘be’ is always in the subjunctive form ‘*ḡmḡ/y*’ ‘be.SBJV’, as in (55 b-c) and (87b). Verbs other than ‘be’ do not mark a distinction between the indicative and subjunctive forms.

The purpose construction in the single curly brackets in (43b) also has an embedded asyndetic complement clause (in the double curly brackets), which represents an argument of the verb ‘know’.

¹⁹ NB. While *vur* ‘load’ in (41a) is a noun, *vur* in (41b) is the nominal element in the light verb construction *vur car* ‘to load’, lit. ‘load do’, and thus is not co-referential with the *vur* ‘load’ in (41a).

²⁰ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 5 in (5b) and Note 9 in (8).

²¹ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

²² Present participle/agent noun; see Note 9 in (8).

- (44) *Moldor-iš* *də* [*ayloq* *rəčakəzɡ-v-ən*]_{COMP/REL}²³
 livestock_owner-PL with summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-ABL
xili vɔək rəč-ən =ət yan pšəw-ən.
 some road go.V-1/3PL =and then return.V-1/3PL
 ‘The livestock owners accompany the herders (lit. ‘with the summer-pasture going/goers’) part of the way and then they return.’
- (45a) *{Kuy-ər for-d,}*_{REL}
 who-DAT be_pleasing-3SG
- (45b) *rəč-ən d-av-ən t-a ayloq.*
 go.V-1/3PL with-3.PL.OBL-ABL in/to-DIST summer_pasture
 ‘Those who wish to, continue with them to the summer pasture.’

Note 36: (45a) represents a headless free relative clause lacking the subordinator *cə* (SUB). Normally, relative clauses are marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), though it is not obligatory; see also (39b) discussed in Note 33.

- (46a) [*Kuč sənəkəzɡ-iš*]_{COMP/REL}²⁴ *d-əm mol-v-ən rəč-ən,*
 migration go_up.PRS.PTCP-PL with-PROX livestock-PL.OBL-ABL go.V-1/3PL
- (46b) *{yəm ir crax-t =ət}*_{ADV}²⁵
 PROX sun rise.V-3SG =and
- (46c) *yəm-iš ila-ila ps-əm pəšta-vi yav-i [pəsim=i*
 PROX-PL a_bit-a_bit after-PROX hill-PL.OBL 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC start=EZ
*pəyak]*_{COMP}²⁶ *woc-ən.*
 graze-INF become.V-1/3PL
 ‘The departing herders (lit. ‘migration-goer-up’) accompany the livestock; when the sun rises (lit. ‘the sun rises and’), and after (passing) the hills, they start grazing the livestock.’
- (47) *Awul sof tər wuč nə-rəč-ən,*
 first totally to/in.upwards up NEG-go.V-1/3PL
a r-əm bən-tər-ək-vi 3aq-ək puy-ən =ət
 EMP to/in.down-PROX bottom-CMPR-DIM-PL.OBL little-DIM graze.V-1/3PL =and
yan xət-i tər wuč =nag dərz-ən.
 then self-ACC to/in.upwards up =side take.V-1/3PL
 ‘First, they do not go too high, they graze the livestock in lower places for a short time, and then they move up to higher places.’
- (48a) *Mis=əv=əš naql kərt,*
 before=3PL=IPFV story do.PST
- (48b) *{ {a yəm ayloq-ər=əš qrib cə vit=əv,} }*_{ADV}
 EMP PROX summer_pasture-DAT=IPFV near SUB become.PST=3PL
- (48c) *awul mərdina rəšt bismillo car-t =ət*
 first man.M go.V.3SG bismillah do.V-3SG =and

²³ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 5 in (5b).

²⁴ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 9 in (8).

²⁵ See Notes 21 and 27 in (29a) and (36a), respectively.

²⁶ See Note 23 in (30).

čirmit *t-a* *ktič.* }_{COMP}
 enter.V.3SG in/to-DIST hut

‘In the past, they used to say (that), as they were getting closer to a summer pasture, a man [male] goes ahead first, says ‘bismillah’ (lit. goes–says),²⁷ and enters the hut.’

Note 37: (48a) introduces an asyndetic complement clause construction (48b and 48c) in the single curly brackets, representing an argument of a speech verb construction *naql kərt* ‘say/tell.PST’.

Note 38: (48b) in the double curly brackets represents an adverbial clause expressing a repeated past generic circumstance simultaneous to the matrix clause in (48c). The use of the imperfective marker (IPFV) indicates the simultaneity, while the use of the witness past tense form (PST) indicates the temporal setting corresponding to that in (48a), as well as the epistemic stance, i.e., the factual meaning. The linguistic and semantic contexts both rule out the conditional meaning, or any type of non-factual, hypothetical, or non-realised meaning.

(49a) *Yan* *d-a* *dəldung-ək* *sar* *vul* *kart,*
 then in/to-DIST cooking_place-DIM head smell/incense put.V.3SG

(49b) *[ləcər* *yəm* *diw-jənd* =ət *prəy-iš* *c-a* *jay-ən*
 let PROX demon/spirit =and pari-PL from-DIST place-ABL
rəd-ən =ət *frišta-iš* *omin* *car-ən,*
 run_away.V-1/3PL =and angel-PL omin/amen do.V-1/3PL
xəsmən *yav-i* *pučəz-d.* }_{ADV}
 spirit 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC accept.V-3SG

‘Then he performs the ritual of burning the incense on the cooking place, so that the demons and paris run away from the place, the angels bless them, and the spirit of the place accepts them.’

Note 39: (49b) is a purpose adverbial construction introduced by the purpose particle *ləcər* ‘let’; see also Note 35 in (43b).

(50) *T-əm* *ayloq* *ýdim* *yumj* *vul-i*
 in/to-PROX summer_pasture wheat flour smell/incense-ACC
yund-ən *[kəʔak.]* }_{ADV}
 carry.V-1/3PL take-INF

‘They bring the incense made from wheat flour to the summer pasture to perform (the sacrificial ritual).’

Note 40: The infinitive construction in (50) represents a purpose adverbial clause.

(51) *Ya* *vul-i* *d-a* *dəldung-ək* *ya* *ayloqčī* *ḡay*
 DIST smell/incense-ACC in/to-DIST cooking_place-DIM DIST herder man
kart *sk-a* *i* *puṭ* *ýar-ək* *cusk,*
 put.V.3SG on/through-DIST one round stone-DIM top
picəv-d *yaw-i* =ət *yaw* *tuxna* *rang-in* *θit.*
 ignite.V-3SG 3SG.DIST-ACC =and 3SG.DIST fume manner-ADJ burn.V.3SG

‘The male herder puts the incense on top of a small round stone in the cooking place; he ignites it and it fumes.’

²⁷ This is a serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

- (52) *Yan rəšt cə jřav-ən yupk wəzəm-d.*
 then go.V.3SG from mountain_stream-ABL water bring.V-3SG
 ‘Then he goes and brings (lit. ‘goes ... brings’)²⁸ water from a mountain stream.’
- (53a) *Yupk čərmvak xan-ən,*
 water make_enter.INF say.V-1/3PL
- (53b) *{brakat də xun tqi wost,}COMP*
 blessing in/to house many become.V.3SG
 ‘Bringing water to a house means that the house will be very blessed. (lit. ‘Bringing/to bring water, they say, there will be a lot of blessing in the house’.)’

Note 41: The infinitival construction *yupk čərmvak* ‘bringing water/to bring water’ in (53a) here represents a left-dislocated hanging topic.²⁹

Note 42: (53b) represents an asyndetic complement clause construction, the argument of a verb of speech; see also Note 37 in (48).

- (54) *A=sk-a yaw rəšt t-a ktič bə*
 EMP=on/through-DIST ‘therefore’ 3SG.DIST go.V.3SG in/to-DIST hut ADD
yupk čərmv-d.
 water make_enter.V-3SG
 ‘That is also why he brings (lit. ‘goes ... brings’)³⁰ water to the hut.’
- (55a) *Rəšt [wəsk kərk]REL sgin =ət dart =ət ýuz*
 go.V.3SG dry do.PF droppings =and dung =and firewood
vər car-t a r-a ýəf,
 load do.V-3SG EMP to/in.down-DIST fireplace
- (55b) *{ləcər {ayloqči xynan cə wizit,}}ADV*
 let herder woman SUB come.V.3SG
- (55c) *[bat xak-ər]ADV/COMP yaw-ər kə tiyora umu-t,}ADV*
 <porridge> make.INF-DAT 3SG.DIST-DAT all ready be.SBJV-3SG
 ‘He loads (lit. ‘goes ... loads’)³¹ the dried (lit. ‘dry made’) droppings and dung and firewood onto the fireplace, so that when the herdsman comes, everything is ready for her to make the ritual porridge.’

Note 43: The perfect verb form in (55a) functions as the perfect participle, and the construction *wəsk-kərk* (dry-do.PF) ‘dry-made’ is interpreted as a relative clause modifying the noun *sgin* ‘droppings’.

Note 44: *ləcər* ‘let’ in (55b) introduces a purpose adverbial clause construction (in the single curly brackets) with the verb ‘be’ in the subjunctive form (55c) *ləcər (...) kə tiyora umut* ‘so that everything is / let everything be ready (...)’.³²

Note 45: The subordinator *cə* (SUB) marks the clause in the double curly brackets in (55b) as a temporal adverbial construction. The clause refers to a generic unrealised event. Wakhi does not

²⁸ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

²⁹ Croft (2022: 697) defines a “hanging topic” as a “phrase that expresses a topic that is not a participant in the predicated event.”

³⁰ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

³¹ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

³² Cf. (43b) and (49b) discussed in Notes 35 and 39.

make a formal distinction between a conditional clause referring to a hypothetical event and a temporal clause referring to a generic or unrealised event. In (55b), the temporal meaning is assigned by the immediate semantic context, and not by any form.

Note 46: The construction in (55c) involving the infinitive with the dative case marking could be interpreted as an adverbial purpose clause. Normally, purpose clauses are in the post-matrix position. In (55c), the infinitive with the case marking in the pre-matrix position can also be treated as a goal argument of the matrix verb, in which case it would be regarded as a complement construction.

- (56a) *Yat yark-v-i kə gox-t =ət*
MED work-PL.OBL-ACC all make.V-3SG =and
- (56b) *yan ya ayloqčī xəynan d-a dgar [kuč*
then DIST herder woman with-DIST other migration
*sənakəzɡ-v-ən]*³³ *də mol-v-ən xat-i ʔatv-ən.*
go_up.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-ABL with livestock-PL.OBL-ABL self-ACC deliver.V-1/3PL
'He does all this work, and then the herdsman arrives together with the other herders (lit. 'goers/going up') and the livestock.'
- (57) *Ayloqčī xəynan čirmit tə ktič, woz vul kart.*
herder woman enter.V.3SG in/to hut again smell/incense put.V.3SG
'The herdsman enters the hut and performs the ritual of burning the incense again.'
- (58a) *Ya xə qraw-i gird-pəs-gird vul*
DIST own livestock_camp-ACC round-after-round smell/incense
kart =ət niyat car-t ki,
put.V.3SG =and intention do.V-3SG CLM
- (58b) *{spo mol-vi brakat tqi wost =ət*
our livestock-PL.OBL blessing many become.V.3SG =and
woz babafī c-əm-ən rə diyor xam-ən.}^{COMP}
again without_difficulties from-PROX-ABL to/in.down village go_down.V-1/3PL
'She censures her livestock camp all around, expecting (lit. 'she intends') that the livestock will be very blessed and that they [i.e., 'the people and animals'] will all return to the village without difficulty (lit. 'she intends that our livestock will be very blessed and we will return to the village without difficulty').'

Note 47: The two events in (58b) immediately following *ki* (CLM) in (58a) are interpreted as a type of complement construction acting as an argument of the verb *niyat car* 'she intends'. However, the use of the 1st person plural possessive pronoun *spo* 'our' in (58b) indicates a deictic shift that is typical of utterance constructions. As argued in Note 7 in (5) above, this type of construction can be regarded as a metarepresentation of an utterance, wish, or thought, and *ki* can be treated as the interpretive marker; cf. also (6a), (18a), and (102a) discussed in Notes 8, 13, and 65.

- (59a) *ʔan-ən,*
say.V-1/3PL
- (59b) *{ {vul-i cə kart,} }_{ADV}*
smell/incense-ACC SUB put.V.3SG

³³ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 5 in (5b), and Note 9 in (8).

- (59c) *frišta =ət xəsmon-iš cə ayson-ən ǰat-i δir durz-ən.*_{COMP}
 angel =and spirit-PL from human-ABL self-ACC far take.V-1/3PL
 ‘It is said that when one performs the ritual of burning incense, the angels and the spirit will stay away from the humans.’

Note 48: (59a) is the matrix clause for the following asyndetic utterance complement construction in the single curly brackets (59b-c); see also Notes 37 and 42 in (48) and (53).

Note 49: In (59b), the construction in the double curly brackets marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB) is interpreted as a conditional ‘when’ clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

Note 50: *frišta=ət xəsmon-iš* (lit. ‘angel=and-spirit-PL’). The plural ending *-iš* that is attached to *xəsmon* ‘spirit’ modifies the noun phrase as a whole, and not just the single word in the noun phrase. The noun *xəsmon* ‘spirit’ does not normally appear with plural marking.

- (60) *Yan ya ayloqči ǰəynan bat goǰ-t.*
 then DIST herder woman <porridge> make.V-3SG
 ‘The herdsman then makes the ritual porridge (*bat*).’

- (61a) *Awqot ya xəsmon-ər goǰ-ən,*
 meal DIST spirit-DAT make.V-1/3PL
 (61b) *{ləcər yaw odmizod-i pəčuz-d.}*_{ADV}
 let 3SG.DIST human_being-ACC accept.V-3SG
 ‘The meal is made for the spirit, so that he accepts the humans.’

Note 51: The particle *ləcər* ‘let’ marks a purpose adverbial clause, just as in (43b) and (49b) above.

- (62) *ǰan-ən,*³⁴ *{ya ǰay təy a yav-ən, frišta-v-ən.}*_{COMP}
 say.V-1/3PL DIST place be.PRS EMP 3PL.DIST.OBL-ABL angel-PL.OBL-ABL
 ‘It is said (lit. ‘they say’) that the place belongs to them, to the angels.’
- (63) *Tər mis ila də dəldung a d-a vul*
 to/in/on before a_bit in/to cooking_place EMP in/to-DIST smell/incense
paləw-ək c-a bat-ən kart=əv=əǰ ǰə,
 side-DIM from-DIST <porridge>-ABL put.PST=3PL=IPFV and
yan ya dgar-v-ər bə xaǰt=əv=əǰ bat
 then DIST other-PL.OBL-DAT ADD pull.PST=3PL=IPFV <porridge>
d-avi qča-vi.
 in/to-3PL.OBL utensil-PL.OBL
 ‘Formerly, they would put a bit of this ritual porridge (*bat*) next to the incense in the cooking area, and only then they would serve the porridge to the others in their crockery.’
- (64) *Kə za zod-v-ər bə c-an-ən ran-d.*
 all child child-PL.OBL-DAT ADD from-3SG.OBL-ABL give.V-3SG
 ‘It is served to all the children, too.’

³⁴ An asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

- (65) *I sar-iš xam-ən, {kuy-ər for-d,}_{REL}³⁵ al-ən.*
 one head-PL go_down.V-1/3PL who-DAT be_pleasing-3SG stay.V-1/3PL
 ‘Some people go back down (to the village), while those who want to stay (lit. ‘whom it pleases’), stay.’
- (66) *Yan za-iš yund-ən yəm mol-v-i*
 then child-PL carry.V-1/3PL PROX livestock-PL.OBL-ACC
tr-əm goz [pəyak.]_{ADV}
 to/in.upwards-PROX meadow graze.INF
 ‘Then the children take the livestock onto the meadow for grazing.’

Note 52: The infinitive in the post-matrix position in (66) is interpreted as an adverbial purpose clause.

- (67) *To ʔb rwor cə diyor-ən əč kuy-i*
 until seven day from village-ABL none who-ACC
tə ayloq nə-ləcr-ən.
 in/to summer_pasture NEG-let.V-1/3PL
 ‘For seven days, no one from the village is allowed on the summer pasture.’
- (68a) *Ǿan-ən ki,³⁶*
 say.V-1/3PL CLM
- (68b) *{ {kumyor to a yət ʔb rwor-ər cə wizit,}_{ADV}*
 someone until EMP MED seven day-DAT SUB come.V.3SG
- (68c) *tə ayloq yo šapt ʔat dəyt, yo sur wost,*
 in/to summer_pasture or wolf self hit.V.3SG or cold become.V.3SG
yo mol-iš məry-ən, yo ičiz dgar nosoišī wost. }_{COMP}
 or livestock-PL die.V-1/3PL or something other unrest become.V.3SG
 ‘It is said (lit. ‘they say’) that if someone comes before the seventh day, either a wolf will attack (the herd), cold weather will come, livestock will die, or something else bad will happen.’

Note 53: The subordinator *cə* (SUB) in (68b) in double curly brackets marks a conditional clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

- (69a) *{Yan ʔb ki viti,}_{ADV}³⁷*
 then seven SUB-KI become.PST
- (69b) *xalg-iš cə diyor-ən wəzy-ən tə ayloq.*
 man-PL from village-ABL come.V-1/3PL in/to summer_pasture
 ‘Then, on the seventh day (lit. ‘when/after the seven became’), the people from the village come to the summer pasture.’
- (70) *A yət rwor woz bat goš-ən =ət*
 EMP MED day again <ritual porridge> make.V-1/3PL =and
zaygardon goš-ən.
 prickly_thrift_twirling make.V-1/3PL

³⁵ An asyndetic headless relative construction; see Note 36 in (45a).

³⁶ See Note 13 in (18a).

³⁷ See Note 20 in (28a).

‘On that day, they make the ritual porridge again, and they perform the ritual of the twirling of the prickly thrift (*zaygardon*).’

- (71) *Gəyo* *ǰu* *u**b* *rwor* *tuyi-i* *tə* *ayloq* *rand-ən*.
supposedly own seven day feast-ACC in/to summer_pasture give.V-1/3PL
‘That is how they prepare the feast of the seventh day on the summer pasture.’

- (72a) *Awəl* *i* *lup-tər* *ǰuynan* (*mərdina*) *zay-i*
first one big-CMPR woman man.M prickly_thrift-ACC
picuv-d =*ət* *dwom* *car-t*
ignite.V-3SG =and continuation do.V-3SG

- (72b) [*yaw-i* *tr-əm* *ǰu* *sar* *far* *ǰirvak*]_{COMP}
3SG.DIST-ACC to/in.upwards-PROX own head round rotate.INF
‘First, an adult woman (or man) lights the prickly thrift and spins is continuously (lit. ‘continues spinning it’) above her/his head.’

Note 54: The infinitive construction (72b) in the square brackets represents a phasal complement clause – the complement of the verb *dwom cart* ‘continue’.

- (73) *Yəm* *za-iš* *bə* *yan* [*pərsim=i* *zaygardon*
PROX child-PL ADD then start=EZ prickly_thrift_twirling
ǰak]_{COMP} *woc-ən*.
make.INF become.V-1/3PL
‘Then the children, too, start performing the ritual of twirling the prickly thrift (*zaygardon*).’

Note 55: The infinitive construction in (73) in the square brackets represents a phasal complement construction; see also Note 23 in (30).

- (74) *ǰay-vi* *sk-əm* *ǰung* *sar-vi* *din-ən*
prickly_thrift-PL.OBL on/through-PROX wood top-PL.OBL hit.V-1/3PL
cuq, *tər* *vərz-vərz* *ǰitr-vi* *vand-ən* =*ət*
vertically to/in.upwards long-long fur_thread-PL.OBL tie.V-1/3PL =and
tr-əm *ǰu* *sar* *yav-i* *ǰirv-ən*.
to/in.upwards-PROX own head 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC rotate.V-1/3PL
‘They attach the prickly thrifts to the top of wooden sticks, tie them to very long strings, and spin them above their heads.’

- (75) *ǰaygardon-i* *ǰumī* =*ət* *naǰd* *goǰ-ən*.
prickly_thrift_twirling-ACC evening =and night make.V-1/3PL
‘The ritual of twirling the prickly thrift (*zaygardon*) is performed in the evening and at night.’

- (76a) *A* *c-ət-ən* *tr-ət* =*nag* *{iǰunī}* *ǰapt*
EMP from-MED-ABL to/in.upwards-MED =side sometimes wolf
yo *nəxčir* *naǰd* *ǰat* *də* *mol* *cə* *dəyt,*]_{ADV}
or fox night self in/to livestock SUB hit.V.3SG
(76b) *woz* *bə* *yəm* *xalg-iš* *zay-vi* *picv-ən* *ǰə,*
again ADD PROX man-PL prickly_thrift-PL.OBL ignite.V-1/3PL and

tr-əm *ǰu* *sar* *yaw-i* *far-far* *ǰirv-ən*.
 to/in.upwards-PROX own head 3SG.DIST-ACC round-round rotate.V-1/3PL
 ‘From that time on, when a wolf or a fox sometimes attacks the livestock at night, the people
 light the prickly thrift again and twirl it above their heads.’

Note 56: The construction in the curly brackets that is marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB) in (76a) is interpreted as a conditional adverbial clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

- (77a) *Ya* *rəxnig* *tr-əm* *tr-a* =*nag* *rəwəz-d* =*ət*
 DIST fire to/in.upwards-PROX to/in.upwards-DIST =side fly.V-3SG =and
ya *ǰapt* *rəlt*,
 DIST wolf run_away.V.3SG
 (77b) *a* *d-ət* *zaygərdon-ən* *yaw-i* *wəǰv-ən*,
 EMP with-MED prickly_thrift_twirling-ABL 3SG.DIST-ACC scare.V-1/3PL
 (77c) *{ləcər* *yaw* *tər* *mol-vi* *qrib* *mə-wizit.* }_{ADV}
 let 3SG.DIST to/in.upwards livestock-PL.OBL near PROH-come.V.3SG
 ‘The fire flies to every side and the wolf runs away; they scare the wolf with the twirling of the
 prickly thrift (*zaygərdon*), so that the animal does not come near the livestock.’

Note 57: The dependent clause (77c), introduced by the discourse particle *ləcər* ‘let’, and the prohibitive (PROH) form of the verb, marks a negative purpose adverbial relation.

- (78a) *{Nosoiši* *cə* *wost.* }_{ADV}
 unrest SUB become.V.3SG
 (78b) *buy* *tru* *rwor* *pəs* *yoman* *zaygərdon* *goǰ-ən*.
 two three day after each_other prickly_thrift_twirling make.V-1/3PL
 ‘If any disturbance appears, the ritual of twirling the prickly thrift (*zaygərdon*) is performed
 for two or three consecutive days.’

Note 58: (78a) marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB) is a conditional clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

2.3 *Sof awul ayloq cə rəčən, čizi ləcər ayloqčī ǰuynan dišt* ‘Important things every herdsman should know when going to summer pasture’

- (79a) *{Awul* *tə* *ayloq* *cə* *rəč-ən.* }_{ADV}
 first in/to summer_pasture SUB go.V-1/3PL
 (79b) *dr-a* *nə* *diǰ* =*ət* *nə* *pay* =*ət* *nə* *žarž* =*ət*
 in-DIST NEG buttermilk =and NEG yogurt =and NEG milk =and
əč *čiz* *nast.*
 none thing NEG.be.PRS
 ‘When (the people) go to summer pasture (lit. ‘when they first go to the summer pasture’),
 at first there is no buttermilk, no yogurt, no milk, no anything.’

Note 59: (79a) is interpreted as a temporal adverbial clause with the subordinator *cə* (SUB) signalling a generic meaning; see also the discussion in Note 19 in (27b).

- (80a) *{Yəm* *ayloqčī* *ǰuynan-iš* *a* *t-əm* *ayloq=əv* *ki*
 PROX herder woman-PL EMP in/to-PROX summer_pasture=3PL SUB-KI

- ŷati*,_{ADV}³⁸
arrive.PST
- (80b) *yəm-vi* *piran* *tr-əm-vi* *doman* =ət
PROX-PL.OBL dress to/in.upwards-PROX-PL.OBL skirt =and
yəm-vi *pərsəŋ-iš* *tr-əm-vi* *dast* =ət
PROX-PL.OBL bracelet-PL to/in.upwards-PROX-PL.OBL hand =and
- (80c) [*pərsim=i* *mol* *δicak* =ət *žarž* *yakšvak* =ət
start=EZ livestock milk.INF =and milk boil.INF =and
pay *kətak* =ət *δiŷ* *šak*]_{COMP}³⁹ =ət
yogurt put.INF =and buttermilk make.INF =and
dgar *yark-v-i* *woc-ən.*
other work-PL.OBL-ACC become.V-1/3PL
‘When/after the herdswomen arrive (lit. ‘when they arrived’) at the summer pasture, they hitch up the lower part of their dresses, and with bracelets on their arms they start milking livestock, cooking milk, making yogurt, making buttermilk, and doing other work.’
- (81a) [*Δiŷ* *šak-ər*]_{ADV}
buttermilk make.INF-DAT
- (81b) *cə* *kəxt-ən* *mis* *yəm* *yəmuk-i* *kən-d* *wəzdəy-t*,
from all-ABL before PROX ephedra-ACC dig.V-3SG wash.V-3SG
yan *čuk-t* *yaw-i*,
then crush.V-3SG 3SG.DIST-ACC
də *yupk-ən* *xub* *lat* *yaw-i* *dəyt* *rə* *i*
with water-ABL good stir 3SG.DIST-ACC hit.V-3SG to/in.down one
qča =ət *yaw* *rang* *nəwəz-d*,
dish =and 3SG.DIST.POSS color come_out.V-3SG
kart *yaw-i* *rə* *məqobain* *qča.*
put.V-3SG 3SG.DIST-ACC to/in.down enamel dish
‘To make buttermilk, first of all, the herdswoman digs up and washes an ephedra plant (lit. ‘digs out–washes’);⁴⁰ she then crushes it, stirs it well with water in a bowl so (lit. ‘and’) it will release its colour, and puts it in an enamel bowl.’

Note 60: The construction involving the infinitive in the dative case in (81a), which occurs in the pre-matrix position, can be interpreted as a purpose adverbial clause (‘to make buttermilk’). A similar purpose clause in the pre-matrix position is found in (55c) and discussed in Note 46. However, this example can also be interpreted as a temporal adverbial clause with a prospective meaning (‘when going to make buttermilk’), like the one in (39a), which is discussed in Note 32.

- (82) *Yan* *žarž-i* *pac-t*,
then milk-ACC cook.V-3SG
yaw *mrikiŷ-i* *c-an-ən* *car-t* *ŷda.*
3SG.DIST.POSS milkfat-ACC from-3SG.OBL-ABL do.V-3SG separated
‘Then (she) cooks the milk and separates the milkfat from it.’

³⁸ See Note 20 in (28).

³⁹ See Note 23 in (30) and Note 55 in (73).

⁴⁰ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

- (83) *Awul ya mrikiŷ-i kaŭ-ən a r-a yəmuk*
 first DIST milkfat-ACC put.V-1/3PL EMP to/in.down-DIST ephedra
mod cusk.
 starter_culture top
 ‘First, the milkfat is put (lit. ‘they put’) on top of the starter culture from ephedra.’
- (84) *Yat-vi ŷiruv-d ar nlag,*
 med-PL.OBL pour.V-3SG to/in.down clay_jug
yan cbas-tər-ək ya šlaŭ žarž-i a r-ət-vi
 then behind-CMPR-DIM DIST tepid milk-ACC EMP to/in.down-MED-PL.OBL
sar ŷiruv-d =ət ya sar-i də nobandək-ən git,
 top pour.V-3SG =and DIST top-ACC with naan-pillow-ABL cover.V.3SG
yaw θin al-d =ət
 3SG.DIST warm stay.V-3SG =and
yan yaw bu rwor cbas mol-t, wost pay.
 then 3SG.DIST two day behind curdle.V-3SG become.V.3SG yogurt
 ‘She pours that into a clay jug, then a little bit later, she pours tepid milk on top of that and covers it with a naan-pillow. It will stay warm, and after two days it will curdle and become yogurt.’
- (85) *Truyəm rwor yaw-i goŭ-ən diŷ.*
 third day 3SG.DIST-ACC make.V-1/3PL buttermilk
 ‘On the third day, the buttermilk is made from it.’
- (86a) *Δiŷ-i zi goŭ-ən:*
 buttermilk-ACC such_way make.V-1/3PL
- (86b) *awul a ya mod-i {cə yəmuk-ən cə goŭti,}REL*
 first EMP DIST starter_culture-ACC from ephedra-ABL SUB make.PST
xoli car-ən a r-a pərnəc.
 empty do.V-1/3PL EMP to/in.down-DIST churn
 ‘Buttermilk is made in this this way: first they pour the starter culture made from ephedra into the churn.’

Note 61: The subordinator *cə* (SUB) in (86b) marks the externally headed, postnominal relative clause (in the curly brackets) that modifies the noun *mod* ‘starter culture’.

- (87a) *Vul d-a bən kaŭ-ən,*
 smell/incense in/to-DIST bottom put.V-1/3PL
- (87b) *{ləcər yət yark-ən brakat umu-t,}ADV⁴¹*
 let MED work-ABL blessing be.SBJV-3SG
 ‘They perform the ritual of burning the incense at the bottom – may this work be blessed.’
- (88a) *Yan ya pədar-i kaŭ-ən a r-ət pay,*
 then DIST wooden_whisk-ACC put.V-1/3PL EMP to/in.down-MED yogurt
- (88b) *{a d-ət pərnəc cəy,}REL⁴²*
 EMP in/to-MED churn SUB.COP

⁴¹ Purpose clause; see Note 44 in (55b).

⁴² Relative clause; see Note 11 in (10b).

- (88c) *čəxtwəʃ-i* *šəxsv-ən* *tər* *pədar,*
 twine-ACC make_pass.V-1/3PL to/in.upwards wooden_whisk
ʃu *rəndaq-i* *bə* *gird* *a* *tr-a* *vand-ən,*
 own strap-ACC ADD round EMP to/in.upwards-DIST tie.V-1/3PL
yan *ya* *sar-i* *car-ən* *ʃux* *də* *dəstor-ən* *yo* *də*
 then DIST top-ACC do.V-1/3PL closed with gauze-ABL or with
- (88d) *son-ən* *=ət* *[pərsim=i* *xəʃak]*_{COMP}⁴³ *woc-ən.*
 linen_cloth-ABL and start=EZ pull.INF become.V-1/3PL
 ‘Then they put a wooden whisk into the yogurt in the churn, they pass the twine over the whisk, they tie the strap around it, and then they cover the top (of the churn) with gauze or linen cloth and start churning (lit. ‘pulling’).’
- (89a) *A* *yət* *ziŷn* *yaw-i* *tqi* *xəʃ-ən* *=ət*
 EMP MED through 3SG.DIST-ACC a_lot pull.V-1/3PL =and
- (89b) *δəʃ-tər-ək* *woz* *ya* *sar-i* *ya* *ayloqčī* *ʃuynan*
 late-CMPR-DIM again DIST top-ACC DIST herder woman
ila-ək *ət* *car-t* *didiŷ-d,*
 a_bit-DIM open do.V-3SG look.V-3SG
- (89c) *{ko* *yaw* *xuf* *dəʃtk-a* *nəy}*_{COMP}
 let’s see 3SG.DIST foam hit.PF-Q not
 ‘Like that, they churn it intensively, and later the herdsman opens the cover (of the churn) a bit to see (lit. ‘opens–looks’)⁴⁴ whether foam has formed or not.’

Note 62: (89c) could represent an asyndetic complement construction, the argument of the perception verb *didiŷd* ‘look, see’. However, the dependent clause (89c) is more of an utterance-like construction, which is signalled by elements such as *ko* (a deictic particle expressing wondering and questioning) and the question particle *-a* (Q). (89c) is a similar construction to the one marked by *ki* (CLM) that serves the function of the interpretive marker. This is discussed in Notes 6, 7, 8, 13, and 47 in (5), (6), (18), and (58), respectively; however (89c) is asyndetic.

- (90a) *{Dəʃtk=i* *cəy}*_{ADV}
 hit.PF=3SG SUB.COP
- (90b) *θin* *yupk* *a* *r=a* *sar* *ŷirv=ən.*
 hot water EMP to/in.down-DIST top pour.V-1/3PL
 ‘If it has, they pour hot water on it.’

Note 63: The form *cəy* (SUB.COP) in (90a) is used in a marked way; it emphasises a function that would normally just be conveyed by the subordinator *cə* (SUB). In (90a), syntactically speaking, the use of *cə* (SUB) is prevented by the fact that the clause consists only of a verb, with the subject being expressed by a person-marking suffix. Since *cə* (SUB) normally occurs only in preverbal position, the clause would have to start with *cə* (SUB), which would be highly unusual, if not impossible. (90a) is also unusual in that the verb ‘hit’ is a so-called light verb that has no full meaning on its own. A light verb always needs a nominal element with which it forms a complex predicate. The nominal element that completes the meaning of the verb ‘hit’ in (90a) is the word *xuf* ‘foam’ found in the immediately

⁴³ Phasal complement construction; see Note 23 in (30) and Note 55 in (73).

⁴⁴ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

preceding sentence in (89c). (90a) thus represents a marked conditional clause in which the conditional meaning is implied by the context.

For the unmarked use of *cəy* (SUB.COP), see (10b) discussed in Note 11.

- (91a) *Woz* [*pəsim=i* *xəʃak*]_{COMP}⁴⁵ *woc-ən*,
 again start=EZ pull-INF become.V-1/3PL
yan woz ya sar-i ət-ən,
 then again DIST top-ACC open.V-1/3PL
- (91b) *didŷ-ən ki, {yaw šlavz vitk-a.}*_{COMP}
 look.V-1/3PL CLM 3SG.DIST slick become.PF-Q
 ‘They start churning again, and then they open the cover again to see if it has become smooth.’
 (Lit. ‘they open the cover, they look that: Has it become smooth?’)

Note 64: The construction in the curly brackets in (91b) can be interpreted as a complement clause representing an argument of a perception verb. However, the dependent clause following *ki* (CLM) is more of an utterance-like construction and can be interpreted as a metarepresentation of an utterance/question. *Ki* can thus be regarded as the interpretive marker. (91b) represents a construction similar to that in (89c) and discussed in Note 62, except that (91b) is a syndetic construction; see Note 7 in (5) and the discussions in Notes, 8, 13, and 47 in (6a), (18a), and (58), respectively.

- (92) *{Vitk=i cəy,}*_{ADV}⁴⁶ *sür yupk r-a kaŧ-ən*.
 become.PF=3SG SUB.COP cold water to/in.down-DIST put.V-1/3PL
 ‘If it has, they add cold water to it.’
- (93) *Yan woz xub yaw-i xaŧ-ən =ət*
 then again good 3SG.DIST-ACC pull.V-1/3PL =and
ya ruŷn wost jda.
 DIST butter become.V.3SG separated
 ‘Then they churn it well again and the butter separates from it.’
- (94a) *Yan yaw sar-i traxk gəw-ən*,
 then 3SG.DIST.POSS top-ACC strongly shut.V-1/3PL
ya pərnəc sar-i də x̣u dast-ən car-ən ba,
 DIST churn top-ACC with own hand-ABL do.V-1/3PL kiss
- (94b) *{ləcər yəm awəl ruŷn alol wost.}*_{ADV}⁴⁷
 let PROX first butter halal become.V.3SG
 ‘Then they shut the lid tightly; they do the ritual kiss with their hands on the top of the churn – may (lit. ‘let/so that’) this first butter be halal [i.e., ritually clean].’
- (95) *Yan rəç-ən x̣u dgar yark-v-i car-ən*.
 then go.V-1/3PL own other work-PL.OBL-ACC do.V-1/3PL
 ‘Then they go to do (lit. ‘go ... do’)⁴⁸ their other work.’

⁴⁵ Phasal complement construction; see Note 23 in (30) and Note 55 in (73).

⁴⁶ Marked conditional clause; see Note 63 in (90a).

⁴⁷ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

⁴⁸ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

- (96) *Cbas-tər wəzy-ən ya ǰu ruǰn-i dərz-ən.*
 behind-CMPR come.V-1/3PL DIST own butter-ACC take.V-1/3PL
 ‘Later, they come to get (lit. ‘come ... take’)⁴⁹ their butter.’
- (97) *Də sur yupk rə məqobain kbun*
 in/to cold water to/in.down enamel big_bowl
yaw-i xub tqi wəzdy-ən,
 3SG.DIST-ACC good much wash.V-1/3PL
ya δiǰiǰ kə c-an-ən rəšt.
 DIST buttermilk_part all from-3SG.OBL-ABL go.V.3SG
 ‘They rinse it thoroughly with cold water in a big enamel bowl, and the entire buttermilk part separates from the butter.’
- (98) *Ya δiǰiǰ-i car-ən ǰda də i qča =ət*
 DIST buttermilk_part-ACC do.V-1/3PL separated in/to one dish and
xoli ruǰn wərəšt.
 plain butter remain.V.3SG
 ‘They separate the buttermilk portion in a dish, so only the butter is left.’
- (99) *Yan yaw-i xub mand-ən =ət*
 then 3SG.DIST-ACC good knead.V-1/3PL =and
din-ən rə nlag.
 hit.V-1/3PL to/in.down clay_jug
 ‘Then they knead it thoroughly and put it in a jug.’
- (100) *Nlag ǰat təy cə dim-ən.*
 clay_jug self be.PRS from clay-ABL
 ‘The jug is made of clay.’
- (101a) *{Yan yaw-i ki dəžd=əv, }_{ADV}⁵⁰*
 then 3SG.DIST-ACC SUB-KI take.PST=3PL
- (101b) *din-ən yaw-i də ǰoga =ət*
 hit.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC in/to container =and
xəšruy ya ruǰn puṭ puṭ-ək goǰ-ən =ət
 nice DIST butter round round-DIM make.V-1/3PL =and
tr-a mlung xat xaš-ən.
 to/in.upwards-DIST middle line pull.V-1/3PL
 ‘Then, after they have taken (the butter), they put it in a container and form it nicely into butter balls, and in the middle of them, they draw a line.’
- (102a) *Yət-ən azi niyat ki,*
 3SG.MED-ABL such purpose CLM
- (102b) *{ {ya awul δiǰi cə goǰ-ən, }_{REL}*
 DIST first buttermilk-ACC SUB make.V-1/3PL

⁴⁹ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

⁵⁰ See Note 20 in (28a).

- (102c) *yaw xəsmən ʃay-ər.* _{REL/INT}
 3SG.DIST spirit place-DAT
 ‘The meaning of this is that (lit. ‘of it such purpose (is) that’) the first buttermilk that is made (lit. ‘that they make’) – it is for the spirit of the place.’

Note 65: The complex clause construction (102b-c) in the single curly brackets represents a specification of the referent (*azi niyat* ‘(such) purpose’ in (102a). *Ki* in (102a) can thus be described as a relativiser introducing an adjoined relative construction (102b-c).⁵¹ However, relative clauses in Wakhi are normally marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), which is not possible in (102). If we interpret (102b-c) as a metarepresentation of a state of affairs, similar to the constructions discussed in Notes 8, 13, 47 and 64 in (6a), (18a), (58), and (91b), respectively, then *ki* in (102a) could also be regarded as the interpretive marker and not a relativiser per se; see Note 7 in (5).⁵²

Note 66: A demonstrative specifying the head noun in constructions with the subordinator *cə* (SUB) usually indicates a relative construction. (102b) in the double curly brackets is interpreted as a correlative clause, with the head noun fulfilling the role of object and having the corresponding case marking (ACC), which is cross-referenced in the matrix clause by a pronoun in the subject role (102c). The cross-referencing normally occurs when the syntactic role of the shared participant in the relative clause differs from its role in the matrix clause.

- (103a) *Xalg-iš zi ʃan-ən:*
 man-PL so say.V-1/3PL
- (103b) *{xəsmən roz cə ʊmʊ-t,}* _{ADV}
 spirit satisfied SUB be.SBJV-3SG
- (103c) *ti [ayloq rəʃak]_{COMP}⁵³ baf ʃəxəs-t,*
 your summer_pasture go.INF good pass.V-3SG
dingī bə tqi wost, pʊčʊz-d taw-i.
 dairy_products ADD many become.V.3SG accept.V-3SG you.OBL-ACC
 ‘People say this: ‘If the spirit is satisfied, your summer pasturing (lit. ‘your summer-pasture-going’) will go well, you will get a large yield of milk, and the spirit will accept you’.

Note 67: (103b) represents a conditional adverbial clause with the verb ‘be’ in the subjunctive.

- (104a) *Bəniyat yan c-a ruʃn-ən ila durz-ən =ət*
 with_intention then from-DIST butter-ABL a_bit take.V-1/3PL =and
yund-ən yaw-i tr-a oston,
 carry.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC to/in.upwards-DIST shrine
- (104b) *{ləcər kumyor ʃat-ər it,}* _{ADV}⁵⁴
 let anyone self-DAT eat.V.3SG
 ‘With this intention, they then take a bit of the butter and bring it to the shrine, for anyone to eat as they please.’

⁵¹ In a previous study (Obrtelová 2019: 91–92), I regarded constructions such as: *azi* NOUN ... *ki* ‘such NOUN ... that’ as relative clauses.

⁵² Cf. the construction in (107b) discussed in Note 69 that is made with both *cə* (SUB) and (*a*)*zi ki* ‘such/thus that’.

⁵³ Infinitive/verbal noun; see Note 1 in (1).

⁵⁴ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

- (105) *Də kəli ayloq oston təy.*
 in/to every summer_pasture shrine be.PRS
 ‘In every summer pasture there is a shrine.’
- (106a) *Oston-iš diwol-dyatk⁵⁵ =ət*
 shrine-PL wall-hit.PF and
- (106b) *ruxn-ruxn ɣar-iš =ət ɟondor-vi ʃəw-iš*
 white-white stone-PL =and ibex/Marco_Polo_sheep-PL.OBL horn-PL
sk-av cusk kətəkin.
 on/through-3PL.OBL top put.PF.PTCP
 ‘The shrines are surrounded by walls (lit. ‘wall-hit’), and (decorated with) white stones and the horns of ibexes or Marco Polo sheep.’

Note 68: Both perfect forms in (106), *diwol-dyatk* ‘surrounded’ (lit. ‘wall-hit’), without the adjectival marking in (106a), and *kətəkin* ‘put.PF.PTCP’, with the adjectival marking *-in* in (106b),⁵⁶ represent an adjectival predicate and are not treated as instances of subordination. The same applies to *wrəxkin* ‘remain.PF.PTCP’ in (107a) below.

- (107a) *Yan woz ruɣn čərg =ət diɣ čərg-iš*
 then again butter line =and buttermilk line-PL
sk-av wrəxkin,⁵⁷
 on/through-3PL.OBL remain.PF.PTCP
- (107b) *[ɜi ki [ayloq rəčakuzg-iš]_{COMP/REL}⁵⁸ cə ɣu*
 such CLM summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL from own
ruɣn-ən =ət diɣ-ən tr-a cə sɨxətək=əv._{REL/INT}
 butter-ABL =and buttermilk-ABL to/in.upwards-DIST SUB smear.PF=3PL
 ‘There is (lit. ‘remained’) also residue of butter and buttermilk there, because (lit. ‘such that’) the herders have smeared it with their butter and buttermilk.’

Note 69: The interpretation of (107b) is not straightforward, as it is marked by both *ki* (CLM) and the subordinator *cə* (SUB). The presence of *cə* (SUB), and the fact that (107b) specifies the head *čərg-iš* ‘lines/residues (of butter and buttermilk)’ in (107a), would normally indicate a relative clause. The construction *ɜi ki* (lit. ‘such/thus that’) usually introduces an explanation, a causal construction (‘because, as’), which normally occurs in the post-matrix position. If we treat *ki* as the interpretive marker (see Notes 6, 7, 8, 13, 47, 64 and 65 in (5), (6), (18), (58), (91) and (102)), then all the functions described for (107b) could be accommodated without any ambiguity. The dependent clause (107b) would then be interpreted as an adjoined relative clause that specifies the head ‘residues of butter and buttermilk’ in (107a) by giving an explanation of their origin.

- (108a) *[diɣ bə cə gox-ən,]_{ADV}⁵⁹*
 buttermilk ADD SUB make.V-1/3PL
- (108b) *də iɣun ɜəqlay qča a ska oston kaɬ-ən,*
 in/to some small dish EMP on/through-DIST shrine put.V-1/3PL

⁵⁵ Perfect participle; see Note 15 in (20).

⁵⁶ Cf. the perfect participle in (31b).

⁵⁷ See Note 68 in (106b).

⁵⁸ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 9 in (8).

⁵⁹ Temporal adverbial clause; see Note 45 in (55b).

- (108c) *{ləcər kumyor yaw-i pit. }_{ADV}⁶⁰*
 let anyone 3SG.DIST-ACC drink.V.3SG
 ‘Also, when they make buttermilk, they place it on the shrine in a small dish for anyone to drink.’
- (109) *C-a diŷ-ən woz goŷ-ən čaka.*
 from-DIST buttermilk-ABL further make.V-1/3PL chaka
 ‘From the buttermilk they further make chaka [dense residue of buttermilk].’
- (110a) *Δiŷ-i ŷirv-ən rə xalta, yaw čak-t,*
 buttermilk-ACC pour.V-1/3PL to/in.down bag 3SG.DIST drip.V-3SG
- (110b) *ya [čkətkin]_{REL}⁶¹ šop-i rand-ən mol-v-ər.*
 DIST drip.PF.PTCP whey-ACC give.V-1/3PL livestock-PL.OBL-DAT
 ‘They pour the buttermilk in a cloth bag, it drips off, and the dripped whey is given to the livestock.’
- (111a) *{Ya tərġī də xalta cə wərašt.}_{REL}*
 DIST sediment in/to bag SUB remain.V.3SG
- (111b) *yaw-i goŷ-ən də dig,*
 3SG.DIST-ACC make.V-1/3PL in/to pot
tqi yaw pac-ən, yaw wost qrut.
 much 3SG.DIST cook.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST become.V.3SG qurut
 ‘They put the sediment that remains in the bag in a pot, they cook it for a long time, and it becomes qurut.’

Note 70: (111a) represents a correlative clause marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), where the head *tərġī* ‘sediment’ in the relative clause (111a) has the role of the subject and is cross-referenced in the matrix clause (111b) by a pronoun in the object role with accusative case marking (ACC); see Note 66 in (102b).

- (112) *Cə saarī-ən to pürz pəšt =ət*
 from morning-ABL until evening boil.V.3SG =and
yan wost šux.
 then become.V.3SG hard
 ‘It is cooked from morning till evening until it becomes solid.’
- (113) *Yan yaw-i yund-ən kaŧ-ən sək kut,*
 then 3SG.DIST-ACC carry.V-1/3PL put.V-1/3PL on/through roof
sək sot cusk-vi,
 on/through flat_stone top-PL.OBL
yaw ska wəsk wost =ət
 3SG.DIST on/through-DIST dry become.V.3SG =and
yan yaw ŷürtən.
 then 3SG.DIST gather.V-1/3PL
 ‘Then they place it (lit. ‘carry–put’)⁶² on the roof, on top of flat stones; it will dry there and then they collect it.’

⁶⁰ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

⁶¹ Perfect participle; see Note 25 in (31b).

⁶² Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

- (114) *Xondor* *ǰynan-iš* *yəm* *ǰu* *δingī-i*
housekeeping woman-PL PROX own dairy_products-ACC
t-əm *ǰu* *bǰor* *ǰurt-ən.*
in/to-PROX own storing_room_for_milk gather.V-1/3PL
‘Housekeeping women store their dairy products in a special storing room.’
- (115a) *Yavi* *də* *baf* *ǰay* *də* *iǰun* *torikī* *ǰay* *kaǰ-ən,*
3PL.DIST.OBL in/to good place in/to some darkness place put.V-1/3PL
- (115b) *{ləcər* *əstar* *mə-woc-ən,*
let nothing PROH-become.V-1/3PL
pərək *ǰat-i* *d-avi* *mə-dəyt. }_{ADV}⁶³
mouse self-ACC in/to-3PL.OBL PROH-hit.V.3SG
‘They put them in a suitable place somewhere in the dark, so that (the products) do not get spoiled and mice do not get in there.’*
- (116) *Pərək-ər* *də* *ayloq* *xondor-ək* *ǰan-ən.*
mouse-DAT in/to summer_pasture housekeeper-DIM say.V-1/3PL
‘In summer pasture, the mouse is called ‘little housekeeper.’
- (117) *Yaw* *nung-i* *nə-wədr-ən.*
3SG.DIST.POSS name-ACC NEG-hold.V-1/3PL
‘Its name is not mentioned.’
- (118) *ǰapt* *nung-i* *bə* *də* *ayloq* *nə-wədr-ən.*
wolf name-ACC ADD in/to summer_pasture NEG-hold.V-1/3PL
‘The wolf is not mentioned in summer pasture either.’
- (119a) *ǰan-ən,*⁶⁴
say.V-1/3PL
- (119b) *{ {yav* *nung-i* *cə* *wədr-ən, } }_{ADV}⁶⁵
3PL.DIST.POSS name-ACC SUB hold.V-1/3PL*
- (119c) *yawiš* *pido* *woc-ən. }_{COMP}
3PL.DIST appeared become.V-1/3PL
‘It is said (lit. ‘they say’) that if they [i.e., wolves] are mentioned, they will appear.’*
- (120) *Gəyo* *ǰapt* *ǰiš* *wost* *dərtov,*
supposedly wolf ear become.V.3SG hot
wizit *ya* *ǰay-ər* *kart* *nosoišiǰ.*
come.V.3SG DIST place-DAT put.V.3SG unrest
‘There is a saying that the wolf’s ear will become hot and it will come and make (lit. ‘come ... make’)⁶⁶ trouble for the place.’

⁶³ Negative purpose clause; see Note 57 in (77c).

⁶⁴ Asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

⁶⁵ See Note 12 in (11a).

⁶⁶ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

- (121) *A=sk-a* *šapt-ər* *šan-ən* *pup-ək*,
 EMP=on/through-DIST ‘therefore’ wolf-DAT say.V-1/3PL grandfather-DIM
sbil-ək *yo* *bu-ŷiš-ək*.
 vagrant-DIM or two-ear-DIM
 ‘That is why a wolf is called ‘granddady’, ‘vagrant’, or ‘two-little-ears’.’

- (122) *Plang-ər* *šan-ən* *xəsmən-ək*.
 snow_leopard-DAT say.V-1/3PL spirit-DIM
 ‘The snow leopard is called ‘little spirit’.’

2.4 *Tə ayloq* ‘Life in the summer pasture’

- (123) *A* *yəm* *ziŷn* *šuy* *=ət* *nan-iš* *də* *ayloq*
 EMP PROX manner sister =and mother-PL in/to summer_pasture
mol-vi *šic-ən*, *pay* *kaŷ-ən*, *diŷ* *goš-ən*,
 livestock-PL.OBL milk.V-1/3PL yogurt put.V-1/3PL buttermilk make.V-1/3PL
čəka *kaŷ-ən*, *qurət* *pac-ən*, *pnir* *goš-ən*.
 chaka put.V-1/3PL qurut cook.V-1/3PL <cheese> make.V-1/3PL
 ‘In this way, the women in summer pasture milk the livestock, make yogurt, make buttermilk, make chaka [i.e., a dense residue of buttermilk], cook qurut [i.e., dried chaka], make cheese.’

- (124) *Woz* *yoman-i* *qəw-ən* *=ət*
 moreover each_other-ACC call.V-1/3PL =and
rəč-ən *yupk-ər* *t-a* *kək-vi*.
 go.V-1/3PL water-DAT in/to-DIST mineral_spring-PL.OBL
 ‘Moreover, they call each other to go to mineral springs for water.’

- (125) *Yav-ər* *šan-ən* *kək* *čəžm-ək*,
 3PL.DIST.OBL-DAT say.V-1/3PL mineral_spring eye-DIM
yavi *yupk* *čəžm* *=rang* *toza* *=ət*
 3PL.DIST.OBL water eye =like clean =and
yawiš *šat* *bə* *təy* *gird-gird*.
 3PL.DIST self add be.PRS round-round
 ‘These are called ‘spring-eyes’, (because) their water is clear like an eye and they are round, too.’

- (126) *D-a* *šə* *čilək* *yupk* *dərz-ən*,
 in/to-DIST own bucket water take.V-1/3PL
kaŷ-ən *yaw-i* *sək* *šə* *isp* *=ət*
 put.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC on/through own shoulder =and
wəzm-ən *rə* *ktič*.
 bring.V-1/3PL to/in.down hut
 ‘They put water in their buckets, put them on their shoulders and bring them to the hut.’

- (127) *Iŷunī* *šəynan-iš* *cə* *tikmay-ən* *də* *naŷək-ən*
 sometimes woman-PL from wool_top-ABL with hand_spindle-ABL
žiŷr *goš-ən* *yo* *ŷrab* *əf-ən*
 fur_yarn make.V-1/3PL or woolen_sock knit.V-1/3PL

yo skid drav-ən.

or skull_cap embroider.V-1/3PL

‘Sometimes, the women make fur yarn from the wool top with the spindle, or they knit wool socks or embroider skull-caps.’

- (128a) {Qrəw-iš yoman-ər qrib cə ɯmy-ən,} _{ADV}
 livestock_camp-PL each_other-DAT near SUB be.SBJV-1/3PL

- (128b) {[diŷ xəʃak]} _{COMP} ⁶⁷ cə nə-ɯmɯ-t, } _{ADV}
 buttermilk pull.INF SUB NEG-be.SBJV-3SG

- (128c) iŷunī qrəw ʃɯynan-iš qti woc-ən =ət
 sometimes livestock_camp woman-PL together become.V-1/3PL =and
 sə i blandī nəzd-ən =ət yan bulbulik ʃan-ən.
 on/through one height sit.V-1/3PL =and then bulbulik say.V-1/3PL

‘If the camps are near each other, sometimes the women from neighbouring camps – if they are not making buttermilk – get together, sit on an elevated place, and sing *bulbulik* [i.e., a nightingale lament song].’

Note 71: (128a) and (128b), both of which are marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB) and the subjunctive form of the verb ‘be’, are interpreted as conditional constructions.

- (129a) {Woz cə diyor-ən xalg tə ayloq cə wizit,} _{ADV} ⁶⁸
 moreover from village-ABL man in/to summer_pasture SUB come.V.3SG

- (129b) ayloqčī ʃɯynan-iš yav-ər nəwz-ən prut =ət
 herder woman-PL 3PL.DIST.OBL-DAT come_out.V-1/3PL before =and
 yan bulbulik ʃan-ən =ət ʃɯ pzɯv-i xoli car-ən:
 then bulbulik say.V-1/3PL and own heart-ACC empty do.V-1/3PL

‘Also, when people from the village come to the summer pasture, the herdswomen come to meet them, and then they sing *bulbulik* songs and pour their hearts out.’

- (130) Zart sprəŷ d-a gərdan,
 yellow blossom in/to-DIST neck
 Ruz=i nik rwor ɯmɯ-t,
 day(taj)=EZ good day be.SBJV-3SG
 Zɯ dast-ək tər lol gərdan.
 my hand-DIM to/in.upwards brother neck
 Bulbul tar nol-əm e.
 nightingale you.SG.DAT lament.V-1SG oh!

‘Yellow flower on the neck,
 May there be a blessed day,
 My hand embraces my brother’s neck,
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.’

- (131a) Səkr-ək kəlbiš,
 red-DIM traditional_braids

⁶⁷ Infinitive/verbal noun; see Note 1 in (1).

⁶⁸ Conditional clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

- (131b) {*Tu* *maž-i* *ǰat-ər* *ǰty* *cə* *diš,*}_{ADV}⁶⁹
 you.SG I.OBL-ACC self-DAT sister SUB know.V
- (131c) *Xat* *bər* *xat* *ǰt* *nung-i* *nəwiš.*
 letter on letter my name-ACC write.V
Bulbul *tar* *nol-əm* *e.*
 nightingale you.SG.DAT lament.V-1SG oh!
 ‘Red braids,
 If you consider me your sister,
 Write my name, letter by letter,
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.’
- (132a) *E* *satk-ək* *bə* *iw* *=ət* *buy,*
 VOC bead-DIM ADD one =and two
- (132b) *A* *rwor* {*ki* *nanjon* *ǰan-əm,*}_{REL}
 EMP day CLM/SUB dear_mother say.V-1SG
- (132c) *Aft-boron* *a* *r-əm* *ǰt* *ruy,*
 seven-rain(taj) EMP to/in.down-PROX my face
Aft-boron *a* *r-əm* *ǰt* *ruy,*
 seven-rain(taj) EMP to/in.down-PROX my face
Bulbul *tar* *nol-əm* *e.*
 nightingale you.SG.DAT lament.V-1SG oh!
 ‘Ey, little beads, one after another,
 The day I remember my dear mother,
 (Tears of) seven rains (pour) down my face,
 (Tears of) seven rains (pour) down my face,
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.’

Note 72: The construction in the curly brackets in (132b) is a relative clause where *ki* functions as a relativiser. This is a pattern borrowed from Tajik. Traditional Wakhi poetic forms are prone to borrowing from Tajik, which, unlike Wakhi, is a literary language in the area.

- (133a) *Mur* *boy-ək* *pəčətk,*
 apple garden-DIM ripen.PF
- (133b) {*Səyl=i* *boy* *ki* *cə* *nəwz=əm,*}_{ADV}
 walk=EZ garden CLM SUB come_out.V-1SG
- (133c) *Ku* *=ət* *baar* *xəzon* *diyətk.*
 mountain =and sea leaf_fall hit.PF
Bulbul *tar* *nol=əm* *e.*
 nightingale you.SG.DAT lament.V-1SG oh!
 ‘An apple garden has ripened;
 When I go out for a walk in the garden,
 Mountains and seas are hit by leaf-fall;
 Oh, I lament to you (like) a nightingale.’

⁶⁹ Conditional clause; see Note 12 in (11a).

Note 73: (133b) represents a temporal clause. The presence of *ki* (CLM) here seems to serve neither a syntactic nor a pragmatic function. Similar to *ki* in (132b), discussed in Note 72, it is an element borrowed from Tajik.

- (134) *Za-iš t-am ayloq tqi štik-ək car-ən,*
 child-PL in/to-PROX summer_pasture much playing-DIM do.V-1/3PL
yan woz rəč-ən tə kək-vi,
 then again go.V-1/3PL in/to mineral_spring-PL.OBL
tr-am čwurk-vi šat-ər čəklək din-ən,
 to/in.upwards-PROX kids_and_lambs-PL.OBL self-DAT <game> hit.V-1/3PL
jarvojərxik car-ən,
 hide_and_seek do.V-1/3PL
xbar nə-woc-ən =ət ipoč ola wost.
 news NEG-become.V-1/3PL =and midday_rest time become.V.3SG
 ‘The children play a lot in summer pasture, and they also go to mineral springs; when they graze the kids and lambs [the young of small livestock] (lit. ‘at kids and lambs’), they play games like *čəklək*; they play hide-and-seek, unaware that (lit. ‘and’) the time for the midday rest has come.’
- (135) *Wəzy-ən tə ktič, diŷ puv-ən =ət mrik yaw-ən.*
 come.V-1/3PL to/in hut buttermilk drink.V-1/3PL =and cream eat.V-1/3PL
 ‘They come to the hut, drink buttermilk and eat cream.’
- (136) *Woz tər pišin =nag yəm xə mol-vi*
 again to/in.upwards afternoon =side PROX own livestock-PL.OBL
ət-ən, rəč-ən [puyak.]⁷⁰
 open.V-1/3PL go.V-1/3PL graze.INF
 ‘Then, towards the afternoon, they release their livestock and go to graze them.’
- (137) *Tmüs-i a t-ət ayloq šəxsv-ən,*
 high_summer-ACC EMP in/to-MED summer_pasture make_pass.V-1/3PL
a=sk-a tobiston-ər ya xuši car-ən.
 EMP=on/through-DIST ‘therefore’ summer-DAT very joy do.V-1/3PL
 ‘The children spend the high summer in summer pasture; that is why they are very fond of summer.’
- (138) *Mərdina bə tə ayloq ya tqi yark-vi gox-t.*
 man.M ADD in/to summer_pasture very many work-PL.OBL make.V-3SG
 ‘Men also do a lot of work in summer pasture.’
- (139a) *Yawiš mol puy-ən =ət*
 3PL.DIST livestock graze.V-1/3PL =and
- (139b) *{yrung yark cə umu-t}_{ADV}*
 heavy work SUB be.SBJV-3SG
- (139c) *yavi gox-ən, čat-vi puy-ən, tbəsk yuz*
 3PL.DIST.OBL make.V-1/3PL cattle-PL.OBL graze.V-1/3PL teresken firewood

⁷⁰ Purpose clause; see Note 52 in (66).

<i>wəzm-ən,</i>	<i>sgin</i>	<i>čəp-ən</i>	<i>tr-a</i>	<i>dašt-vi</i>
bring.V-1/3PL	droppings	pick.V-1/3PL	to/in.upwards-DIST	steppe-PL.OBL
<i>d-əm</i>	<i>bjəy-vi.</i>			
in/to-PROX	sack-PL.OBL			

‘They graze the livestock, and whenever there is any heavy work (to do), they do it; they graze the cattle, they bring teresken (shrub) and firewood; on the steppe, they collect the droppings in the sack.’

Note 74: (139b), marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB) and the subjunctive, is interpreted as a generic conditional clause referring to a habitual event. An alternative translation suggested by one of the native speakers, alongside the translation given above, was: ‘any heavy work that there might be, they do it’. This would be interpreted as a free correlative clause. In this case, the head of the relative clause (139b) *yark* ‘work’ is cross-referenced as a pronoun in a different syntactic role in the matrix clause (139b).⁷¹

- (140a) [*Yəm vər =ət vaš xəšak-vi*]_{COMP} *kə mardina xət-iš gox-ən,*
PROX load =and load pull.INF-PL.OBL all man.M self-PL make.V-1/3PL
- (140b) *dart xošk-ən, wəsk yaw-i car-ən,*
dung disintegrate.V-1/3PL dry 3SG.DIST-ACC do.V-1/3PL
- woz yaw-i din-ən ləy.*
again 3SG.DIST-ACC hit.V-1/3PL pile
- ‘Men do all the pulling of heavy loads themselves, they break up the dung, they dry it, and then they pile it up.’

Note 75: The infinitive construction ‘pulling of heavy loads’ in the square brackets in (140a) represents a complement clause in the role of object with the corresponding case marking.

- (141a) [*lɣun kla məryak-ər cə ɯmɯ-t*]_{ADV}
some sheep/ram die.INF-DAT SUB be.SBJV-3SG
- (141b) *yaw-i čəx-ən.*
3SG.DIST-ACC slaughter.V-1/3PL
- ‘If a sheep is about to die, they slaughter it.’

Note 76: In (141a), marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), the subjunctive and the indefinite pronoun give the meaning of a generic conditional clause; see also (139b) discussed in Note 74. The infinitive with dative case marking gives the prospective aspectual meaning.

- (142a) *Kla {kuy moldor-ən ɯmɯ-t}*_{REL}
sheep/ram who livestock_owner-ABL be.SBJV-3SG
- (142b) *wəzm-d yaw-i rə xun,*
bring.V-3SG 3SG.DIST-ACC to/in.down house
- (142c) [*ayloqčī-ən cə ɯmɯ-t*]_{ADV}
herder-ABL SUB be.SBJV-3SG
- (142d) *čuṭ gušt-i ləcər-t xət-ər,*
part meat-ACC let.V-3SG self-DAT

⁷¹ Cf. correlative clause (111a) discussed in Note 70.

čuṭ-i *stuy-d* *rə* *diyər.*
 part-ACC send.V-3SG to/in.down village
 ‘They bring it to the house of (the person) whose sheep it is (lit. ‘whoever’s sheep it would be’). If it belongs to the herdsman, they keep some of the meat for themselves and send the rest to the village.’

Note 77: (142a) is interpreted as a free correlative clause with the head *kla* ‘sheep’, which is cross-referenced with a pronoun in the object role in the matrix clause (142b).

Note 78: (142c) is a conditional clause; see also (103b) and (128a-b).

- (143a) *Mərdina-iš* *iṣṣunī* *zaygərdon* *goṣ-ən,*
 man.M-PL sometimes prickly_thrift_twirling make.V-1/3PL
woz *iṣṣunī* *d-a* *dgar* *qrəw* *mərdina-v-ən*
 again sometimes with-DIST other livestock_camp man.M-PL.OBL-ABL
- (143b) [*flək* *dingak*]_{ADV} *rəṣ-ən.*
 falak hit.INF go.V-1/3PL
 ‘Sometimes, men perform the ritual of the twirling of the prickly thrift; they also get together with men from other camps to sing falak [a type of a traditional song] (lit. ‘they go to sing falak’).’

Note 79: The infinitive construction in the square brackets in (143b) is interpreted as a pre-matrix purpose clause.

- (144a) [*Kuy* *flək* *kəcər-t*]_{REL} *flək* *dəyt,*
 who falak can.V-3SG falak hit.V.3SG
- (144b) [*kuy* [*nay* *dingakuzg*]_{COMP/REL}⁷² *umə-t*]_{REL} *nay* *dəyt.*
 who flute hit.PRS.PTCP be.SBJV-3SG flute hit.V.3SG
 ‘Those who can (sing) falak, they sing; those who can play flute.’ (lit. ‘Whoever can sing falak, sings falak; whoever would be flute-playing, (he) plays flute.’)

Note 80: The constructions in the curly brackets in (144a) and (144b) are both interpreted as asyndetic free relative clauses involving an indefinite pronoun. (144b) is also marked by the subjunctive verb form in the dependent clause, while in (144a), the verb in the dependent clause is in the default non-tense form, which can indicate both indicative and subjunctive meaning. In the given context, it can be assumed that it conveys the subjunctive meaning; cf. (39b) discussed in Note 33 above, where the same type of asyndetic construction is interpreted as a generic conditional clause.

- (145) *Tə* *ayloq* *ya* *tqi* *dorəwiṣ* *wuṣ* *wuṣoč-iš:* *ambar,*
 in/to summer_pasture very many medicinal grass herb-PL larkspur
məndrič, *jəmbilak,* *bənafš,* *ləndərk,* *širwišn* =ət
 catmint ziziphora violet wild_onion chamomile =and
woz *tqi* *dgar* *wuṣ-iš.*
 more many other herb-PL
 ‘In summer pasture, there are many medicinal herbs: larkspur, catmint, ziziphora, violet, wild onion, chamomile and many other herbs.’

⁷² Present participle/agent noun; see Note 9 in (8).

- (146) *Yan xəşruy xəşruy gəl-iş t-a savz woc-ən.*
 then beautiful beautiful flower-PL in/to-DIST green become.V-1/3PL
 ‘Also, many beautiful flowers grow there.’
- (147) *Bənaş a t-əm zriş bən-vi =ət*
 violet EMP in/to-PROX glacier bottom-PL.OBL =and
d-əm qila jay-vi savz wost.
 in/to-PROX difficult place-PL.OBL green become.V.3SG
 ‘Violets grow along the edge of the glacier and in the difficult-to-access places.’
- (148) *Yaw gard-i xalg-iş ǵurt-ən =ət car-ən wəsk.*
 3SG.DIST.POSS dust-ACC man-PL gather.V-1/3PL =and do.V-1/3PL dry
 ‘People pick their small petals (lit. ‘dust’) and dry them.’
- (149) *ǰan-ən,⁷³ ǰaw [ǰəžm rižak-ər]_{COMP} baf,*
 say.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST eye ache.INF-DAT good
ǰəžm nūr-i tqi gox-t._{COMP}
 eye light-ACC much make.V-3SG
 ‘They say that it is good for aching eyes; it improves the vision (lit. ‘it makes the eye brighter’).’

Note 81: The infinitive form with the dative case marking *ǰəžm rižak-ər* ‘for aching eyes’ is in the pre-matrix position and represents an oblique argument of the matrix predicate. It is thus regarded as a complement clause rather than a purpose clause. A similar construction is discussed in Note 46 in (55c) above.

- (150) *Mərdəm-iş niv bə c-an-ən ǰup-ən,*
 people-PL now ADD from-3SG.OBL-ABL pick.V-1/3PL
wəzm-ən rə diyor.
 bring.V-1/3PL to/in.down village
 ‘Nowadays, people also collect them and bring them to the village.’
- (151) *Ambar-i bə tobiston ǵurt-ən =ət, wəsk car-ən,*
 larkspur-ACC ADD summer gather.V-1/3PL =and dry do.V-1/3PL
yan ǰuk-ən =ət din-ən tər xū ǰafš,
 then crush.V-1/3PL =and hit.V-1/3PL to/in.upwards own hair
ǰafš bət nə-rəšt =ət tqi wost.
 hair anymore NEG-go.V.3SG =and many become.V.3SG
 ‘People collect larkspur in summer, they dry it, then they crush it and put it in their hair; then the hair does not fall out anymore and becomes thick.’
- (152) *ǰan-ən,⁷⁴ {də ayloq cum ki toza =ət*
 say.V-1/3PL in/to summer_pasture how_much CLM (?) clean =and
pogza ǰmuy._{COMP}
 pure be.SBJV
 ‘It is said, (that) in summer pasture, you should be as clean and pure as possible.’

⁷³ Asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

⁷⁴ Asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

Note 82: *Ki* here does not seem to have a clause-linking function.

- (153) *Yaš alyow mə-umə-t, urmat =ət etiom umə-t.*
 quarrel noise PROH-be.SBJV-3SG respect =and honour be.SBJV-3SG
 ‘Let there be no quarrels or noise, let there be respect and honouring (of each other).’
- (154) *Yan ti dingī bə baf wost =ət*
 then your.SG milk_yield ADD good become.V-3SG =and
ti ayloq brakat bə tqi wost.
 your.SG summer_pasture blessing ADD much become.V-3SG
 ‘Then, you will get a good milk yield and your time in summer pasture will be even more blessed.’

2.5 *Kuč xəmak* ‘The autumn migration’

- (155a) *Tirmoī čawak⁷⁵ ola,*
 in_autumn go.INF time
- (155b) *a tr-əm oktyabr məy =nag xalg-iš*
 EMP to/in.upwards-PROX october month =side man-PL
[kuč xəmak]⁷⁶ tyorī-i car-ən.
 migration go_down.INF preparation-ACC do.V-1/3PL
 ‘In autumn, it is time to leave (lit. ‘the leaving time’); towards October, people start preparing for the autumn migration (lit. ‘migration going down’).’
- (156) *ǰə ruŷn =ət qrut-vi kə din-ən də-m qča-vi,*
 own butter =and qurut-PL.OBL all hit.V-1/3PL in/to-PROX dish-PL.OBL
ǰə bətpar-vi kə wəzdy-ən =ət
 own clothes-PL.OBL all wash.V-1/3PL =and
din-ən yav-i sək xur =ət
 hit.V-1/3PL 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC on/through donkey =and
čaw-ən rə diyor =nag.
 go.V-1/3PL to/in.down village =side
 ‘They put all their butter and qurut into dishes [containers], they wash all their clothes and load them onto donkeys, and they set out for the village.’
- (157a) *[Kuč xəmakuzg-v-ər]⁷⁷ tūša din-ən,*
 migration go_down.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-DAT food_supplies hit.V-1/3PL
- (157b) *{ləcər tər vək mərz mə-woc-ən.⁷⁸}*
 let to/in.upwards road hungry PROH-become.V-1/3PL
 ‘They prepare food supplies for the herders going down to the village, so that they will not get hungry on the way.’
- (158) *Ila pnir =ət iğəy a r-a-vi*
 a_bit <cheese> =and <cheese> EMP to/in.down-DIST-PL.OBL

⁷⁵ See Note 29 in (37a).

⁷⁶ See Note 22 in (29b) and Note 27 in (36b).

⁷⁷ See Note 5 in (5b) and Note 9 in (8).

⁷⁸ See Note 57 in (77c).

- δock* *kaṭ-ən.*
leather_sack put.V-1/3PL
'They put a bit of *pnir* and *iḡəy* cheese in their leather bags.'
- (159) *Yawiš* *mol-vi* *pəy-ən* =əṭ
3PL.DIST livestock-PL.OBL graze.V-1/3PL =and
osta-osta *xam-ən.*
slowly-slowly go_down.V-1/3PL
'(On the way), they [i.e., the herders] graze the livestock and descend slowly.'
- (160) *I* *sar* *xalg-iš* *mol-vi* *xamv-ən,*
one head man-PL livestock-PL.OBL bring_down.V-1/3PL
i *sar* *ayloq* *bor-bḡok-vi.*
one head summer_pasture load-luggage-PL.OBL
'Some people bring down the livestock, others (bring down) the ayloq belongings.'
- (161) *ḲḲ* *bəṭpar-vi* *kḲ* *ḡḡrt-ən.*
own clothes-PL.OBL all gather.V-1/3
'They gather all their clothes.'
- (162) *ḲḲ* *mol-vi,* *čwurk-vi* *kḲ* *isob* *car-ən* =əṭ
own livestock-PL.OBL kids_and_lambs-PL.OBL all counting do.V-1/3PL =and
pərsim=i *ṣat* *woc-ən.*
start=EZ self become.V-1/3PL
'They count all their livestock and the kids and lambs, and start (preparing) themselves.'
- (163a) *A* *ya* *rwor* {*kuč* *cə* *xam-d,*}_{REL}
EMP DIST day migration SUB go_down.V-3SG
(163b) *ya* *xondor* *ḡḡynan* *xondor-ək-ər* (*purk-ər*)
DIST housekeeper woman housekeeper-DIM-DAT mouse-DAT
dr-a *ləcər-t* *ruḡn* =əṭ *čəka* =əṭ *ləndič* =əṭ *pnir.*
in-DIST let.V-3SG butter =and chaka =and <cheese> =and <cheese>
'On the day when the household goes back down, the housekeeping woman leaves some butter, chaka and cheese (*ləndič*, *pnir*) for 'the little-housekeeper' [the taboo-replacement word for mouse].'
- Note 83:** (163a) is an externally headed relative clause modifying the head *rwor* 'day'.
- (164a) *Kart* *yav-i* *a* *sk-a* *sot-vi* =cusk,
put.V.3SG 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC EMP on/through-DIST flat_stone-PL.OBL =top
(164b) {*ləcər* *xəsmon* *qaar* *mə-car-t.*}_{ADV}⁷⁹
let spirit anger PROH-do.V-3SG
'She puts them on top of flat stones so that the spirit does not get upset.'
- (165) *Bat* *bə* *goḡ-ən,*
<porridge> ADD make.V-1/3PL

⁷⁹ Negative purpose clause; see Note 57 in (77c).

ila sk-a sot c-an-ən kaṭ-ən, brakatiŷ.
 a_bit on/through-DIST flat_stone from-3SG.OBL-ABL put.V-1/3PL blessing
 ‘They also make the ritual porridge (*bat*); they leave a little bit of it on a flat stone, for a blessing.’

- (166a) *Ḥan-ən*⁸⁰ *{gəyo ʃu brakat-i dr-a ləcər,*
 say.V-1/3PL supposedly own blessing-ACC in-DIST let.V
 (166c) *yaw taw pɯʃɯz-d.}*_{COMP}
 3SG.DIST you.SG.OBL accept.V-3SG
 ‘They say: ‘Leave your blessing there and when you come back (lit. ‘when you go’) next year, (the spirit of the place) will accept you again.’

- (167) *A=sk-a niv bə xalg-iš xəsmon baxš-i*
 EMP=on/through-DIST ‘therefore’ now ADD man-PL spirit portion-ACC
yar-ər ləcr-ən =ət ʃat yan ʃaw-ən.
 3SG.DIST.DAT-DAT let.V-1/3PL =and self then go_away.V-1/3PL
 ‘That is why, even now, the people leave a portion for the spirit, and then they leave.’

- (168) *[Kuč xəmak ola]*_{ADV} *mol-iš kə baj-baj,*
 migration go_down.INF time livestock-PL all fat-fat
yav ʒarʒ bə tqi =ət tərg.
 3PL.DIST.OBL milk ADD much =and thick
 ‘At the time of the autumn migration (lit. ‘migration going down’), all the animals are fat; their milk is also abundant and thick.’

Note 84: The construction involving the infinitive in the square brackets can be interpreted as a temporal clause. Alternatively, the infinitive *kuč xəmak* ‘migration going down’ can be interpreted as a modifier of the noun *ola* ‘time’; cf. (30) and (36b), discussed in Notes 21 and 27.

- (169) *Xalg-iš xušī car-ən [kuč xəmak-ər.]*_{COMP}⁸¹
 man-PL joy do.V-1/3PL migration go_down.INF-DAT
 ‘The people are happy to go back down (to their villages).’

- (170a) *[Kuč xəmak mayor]*_{ADV}⁸²
 migration go_down.INF time
 (170b) *ayloqči ʃəynan-iš piyom-ən ki,*
 herder woman-PL message-1/3PL CLM
 (170c) *{wəzy-əv, sak kuč xamv-ən}*_{COMP}⁸³
 come.V-2PL we migration bring_down.V-1/3PL
 ‘At the return journey (lit. ‘migration going down’), the herdswomen send a message (to the village): ‘Come, we are bringing down the relocated household.’

Note 85: The clause linkage marker *ki* in (170b) marks the immediately following clause (170c) as an utterance clause, the complement of the verb ‘message, announce’. *Ki* in (170b) can be regarded as

⁸⁰ Asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

⁸¹ Complement clause; see Note 81 in (149).

⁸² Temporal adverbial clause; see Note 84 in (168).

⁸³ *xam(u)v* ‘bring down’, lit. ‘make go down, cause to go down’, is a causative form of the verb *xam* ‘go down’.

the interpretive marker; see Note 7 in (5); cf. also Notes, 8, 13, 47 and 64 in (6a), (18a), (58), and (91b), respectively.

- (171) *Qrut-vi* *gox-ən* *də* *xəltə-vi*,
 qurut-PL.OBL make.V-1/3PL in/to bag-PL.OBL
čəka-vi *gox-ən* *də* *čəka-xəltə* =ət
 chaka-PL.OBL make.V-1/3PL in/to chaka-bag =and
kaɬ-ən *yav-i* *rə* *amsang-vi*.
 put.V-1/3PL 3PL.DIST.OBL-ACC to/in.down large_creel-PL.OBL
 ‘They put qurut in bags, chaka in the bags for chaka, and put them in large creels.’
- (172) *Ya* *amsang-v-ər* *gox-ən* *klic-ək*,
 DIST large_creel-PL.OBL-DAT make.V-1/3PL strap-DIM
yan *i* *amsang-i* *kaɬ-ən* *r-a* *xur-ən*
 then one large_creel-ACC put.V-1/3PL to/in.down-DIST donkey
r-əm *paləw*,
 to/in.down-PROX side
ya *iw-i* *kaɬ-ən* *a* *r-a* *i* *paləw*.
 DIST one-ACC put.V-1/3PL EMP to/in.down-DIST one side
 ‘They make straps for the large creels, then they attach one creel on one side of the donkey, and the other creel on the other side (of the donkey).’
- (173) *Xalg-iš* *woz* *cə* *diyor-ən* *rəč-ən* [*kuč* *xəmvak.*]_{ADV}⁸⁴
 man-PL again from village-ABL go.V-1/3PL migration bring_down.INF
 ‘People from the village also come to (help) bring the relocated household (*kuč*) down (lit. ‘go ... to bring down’).’
- (174a) *Yawiš* *də* *šat-ən* *bjəy* =ət *čilək* *durz-ən*,
 3PL.DIST with self-ABL sack =and bucket take.V-1/3PL
- (174b) [*ləcər* *c-a* =nag *ruŷn* =ət *qrut* =ət *čəka* *wəzm-ən.*]_{ADV}⁸⁵
 let from-DIST =side butter =and qurut =and chaka bring.V-1/3PL
 ‘They bring along sacks and buckets to bring the butter, qurut and chaka from there.’
- (175) [*Ayloq* *rəčəkuzg-iš*]_{COMP/REL}⁸⁶ *jam* *woc-ən* =ət
 summer_pasture go.PRS.PTCP-PL gathered become.V-1/3PL =and
šə *ruŷn* =ət *qrut* =ət *čəka-vi* *yoman-ər* *disv-ən*.
 own butter =and qurut =and chaka-PL.OBL each_other-DAT show.V-1/3PL
 ‘The herders (lit. ‘summer-pasture-goers’) get together and show each other their butter, qurut and chaka.’
- (176a) *Šan-ən*,⁸⁷
 say.V-1/3PL
- (176b) [*xa* *me* *žun-ən* *tum* *ruŷn*, *tum*
 well behold.PROX 1SG.POSS-ABL so_much butter so_much

⁸⁴ Purpose clause; see (50) in Note 40 and (66) in Note 52.

⁸⁵ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

⁸⁶ Present participle/agent noun; see Note 9 in (8).

⁸⁷ Asyndetic utterance construction; see Note 37 in (48).

qrut =ə*t* čə*ka*. }_{COMP}

qurut =and chaka

‘They say: “Look, I have this much butter, this much qurut and chaka”.’

- (177a) *I* *rwor* *tər* *mis* *ya* *ḍay-iš* *ya* *ruŷn-vi* *də*
 one day to/in.upwards before DIST man.M-PL DIST butter-PL.OBL in/to
lup *qčə-vi* *goš-ən* =ə*t* *yav* *sar-vi* *vand-ən*,
 big dish-PL.OBL make.V-1/3PL =and 3PL.DIST.OBL top-PL.OBL tie.V-1/3PL

- (177b) *[ləcər* *c-a* =*nag* *sarklapoy* *yawiš* *c-a* *xur-v-ən*
 let from-DIST =side downwards 3PL.DIST from-DIST donkey.PL.OBL-ABL
waz-ən *məy.* }_{ADV}⁸⁸
 fall.V-1/3PL PROH.COP

‘On the day before, the men put the butter in big dishes [containers] and they cover the top, so that it does not fall from the donkey during the descent.’

- (178) *Oxiron* *ya* *surdor* =ə*t* *ya* *ayloqčī* *šnyan-iš*
 finally DIST herder_in_duty and DIST herder woman-PL
t-a *wərəč-ən*.
 in/to-DIST remain.V-1/3PL

‘At the end, only those whose turn it is to graze (lit. ‘herder in duty’) and the herdswomen are still staying there.’

- (179) *Nəwz-ən* *c-a* *ktič-ən*, *ya* *bar-i* *car-ən* *šux*,
 come_out.V-1/3PL from-DIST hut-ABL DIST door-ACC do.V-1/3PL locked
car-ən *yaw-i* *ba*.
 do.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC kiss

‘They come out of the hut, they lock the door, and they kiss it ritually.’

- (180) *Xam-ən* *wəzy-ən* *rə* *diyor*,
 go_down.V-1/3PL come.V-1/3PL to/in.down village
mol *ol-vi* *kə* *jo-bə-jo* *car-ən*.
 livestock <echo>-PL.OBL all place-to-place do.V-1/3PL

‘They come down (lit. ‘go down–come’)⁸⁹ to the village, and they distribute all the livestock and products (to the owners of the livestock).’

- (181) *Rə* *diyor* *moldor-iš* *wəzy-ən* *yət-v-i*
 to/in.down village livestock_owner-PL come.V-1/3PL MED-PL.OBL-ACC
[dəwlatzyod *cərak,*]_{ADV}⁹⁰ *čoy* =ə*t* *ruŷn* =ə*t* *yumj* =ə*t*
 thankfulness do-INF tea =and butter =and flour =and
čilpiran *yav-ər* *yav* *aq-i* *wəzm-ən*.
 clothes_and_fabric 3PL.DIST.OBL-DAT 3PL.DIST.OBL reward-ACC bring.V-1/3PL

‘Down in the village, the owners of the animals come to express their thankfulness. They bring tea, butter, flour, clothing and fabric as remuneration for their work.’

⁸⁸ Negative purpose clause; see Note 57 in (77c).

⁸⁹ Serial verb construction; see Note 31 in (38b).

⁹⁰ Purpose clause; see Note 40 in (50) and Note 52 in (66).

- (182) *Ayloqčī x̣ynan woz d-av qča yav-ər*
 herder woman again in/to-3PL.OBL dish 3PL.DIST.OBL-DAT
ruŷn =ət qurūt =ət čəka dəyt.
 butter =and qurut =and chaka hit.V.3SG
 ‘The herdsman also puts butter, qurut and chaka in their dishes [containers].’

- (183a) *{ⁱii{{Kuy-ən cuk }ⁱⁱ ADV }ⁱ }^{REL} }*
 who-ABL new_born (livestock) cow SUB be.SBJV-3SG

- (183b) *yaw-ər woz tqi-tər ruŷn =ət čəka dəyt.*
 3SG.DIST-DAT again much-CMPR butter =and chaka hit.V.3SG

- i. ‘If anyone has a cow with newborn calves, they get (lit. ‘to them hits’) more butter and chaka.’
 ii. ‘Anyone who would have a cow with newborn calves, to him/her more butter and chaka will/would be given.’

Note 86: (183a), involving the subordinator *cə* (SUB), the subjunctive, and the indefinite pronoun, can be interpreted as (i) a generic conditional adverbial clause (marked by the single curly brackets), or alternatively as (ii) a free relative clause (in the double curly brackets) that is cross-referenced with a pronoun with the dative case marking in the matrix clause (183b). The consulted native speakers prefer the conditional interpretation. Cf. (139b) discussed in Note 74.

- (184a) *A ya p̄r̄z tə ʃəf picv-ən,*
 EMP DIST evening in/to hearth ignite.V-1/3PL
lup dig kaɬ-ən sk-a ʃəf,
 big pot put.V-1/3PL on/through-DIST hearth
 (184b) *{a ya ruŷn t-a ayloq=əv }^{REL} }*
 EMP DIST butter in/to-DIST summer_pasture=3PL SUB make.PF=3SG.OBL
 (184c) *a d-a nlag yaw-i car-ən ob.*
 EMP in/to-DIST clay_jug 3SG.DIST-ACC do.V-1/3PL melted
 ‘That evening, they light the fireplace, they put a big pot on the fireplace, and they melt the butter that they made in the summer pasture in a clay jug.’

Note 87: (184b) represents a correlative dependent clause with the head *ruŷn* ‘butter’ in the subject role. The head is cross-referenced in the matrix clause (184c) by a pronoun in the object role with the accusative case marking (ACC); see also (102b) and (111a) discussed in Notes 66 and 70; cf. also (183a) discussed in Note 86.

The difference between (184b) and (183a) is that in the former, the head has definiteness marking (emphatic particle + demonstrative), which is a default strategy for relative clauses, while in the latter, the head is indefinite, which is a strategy used in both free relative and generic conditional clauses.

- (185) *Yaw ruxn ruŷn,*
 3SG.DIST white butter
kart yaw-i a r-a dig =ət
 put.V.3SG 3SG.DIST-ACC EMP to/in.down-DIST pot =and
dəyt a r-a ila yumj pulm,
 hit.V.3SG EMP to/in.down-DIST a_bit flour sprinkle

yaw *ŷir-d* *qolt* *zart.*
 3SG.DIST turn.V-3SG intense yellow

‘It is the white butter; (the herdsman) puts it in a pot, sprinkles it with a bit of flour, and it turns intense yellow.’

- (186) *C-an-ən* *amki-v-ər* *rand-ən,*
 from-3SG.OBL-ABL relative_and_neighbour-PL.OBL-DAT give.V-1/3PL
čut-i *ləcr-ən* *šat-ər.*
 piece-ACC let.V-1/3PL self-DAT
 ‘They give a portion of it to their relatives and neighbours, and they keep a portion for themselves.’

- (187a) *{Yan* *tuy* *muy* *d-ət* *xojagī* *cə* *wost, }_{ADV}*
 then wedding <echo> in/to-MED household SUB become.V.3SG

- (187b) *durz-ən* *a* *c-ət* *ruŷn-ən,* *kaŷ-ən* *vul,*
 take.V-1/3PL EMP from-MED butter-ABL put.V-1/3PL incense

- (187c) *woz* *ayloqčī* *šan-d:*
 again herder say.V-3SG

- (187d) *Yəm* *žu* *ayloq* *brakatiŷ* *ruŷn* *sav-ər,*
 PROX my summer_pasture blessing butter you.PL.OBL-DAT

- (187e) *{ləcər* *bafiŷ* *sav-ər* *wuzumd, }_{ADV}*⁹¹
 let goodness you.PL.OBL-DAT bring.V.3SG

‘Then, when there is a wedding in that household, they take from that butter, they perform the ritual of the sacrificial burning of incense, and the herder says: “This is the blessing of butter from the summer pasture, may it bring good things for you.”’

Note 88: (187a), marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB), is interpreted as a temporal adverbial clause. The temporal (rather than hypothetical) meaning is signalled by the adverb *yan* ‘then’; see also (27b) and (79a) discussed in Notes 19 and 59.

Note 89: (187c-e) is an instance of the direct report construction; see also (103). It is introduced by a speech verb in (187c) that is followed by an utterance (187d-e). This type of utterance construction differs from other instances of utterance constructions introduced by a speech verb, e.g., those in (59), (62), (119), (149), (152), (166), and (176) in this text, in that there is a discontinuity between the introducing speech verb and the utterance. In writing, this discontinuity is marked by a colon, and in speech, it is marked by falling intonation after the speech verb. In this study, direct report is not treated as an instance of subordination.

- (188) *Čut* *ruŷn-i* *mš-t* *Šogun-ər,*
 piece butter-ACC hide.V-3SG New_Year-DAT
čut-i *šat-ər* *kaŷ-ən* *rə* *širčoy.*
 piece-ACC self-DAT put.V-1/3PL to/in.down milk_tea
 ‘She saves (lit. ‘hides’) part of the butter for the New Year [*Šogun* – a Wakhi term for *Nowruz*, the Persian New Year], and another portion for themselves for the milk-tea.’

- (189) *A* *yəm* *ziŷn* *xondor* *šuyŷan-iš* *pak* *tobiston*
 EMP PROX manner housekeeper woman-PL every summer

⁹¹ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

rəč-ən *ayloq* =ət *ǰu* *xun-xalg-v-ər* =ət
 go.V-1/3PL summer_pasture =and own house-man-PL.OBL-DAT =and
ǰu *xištbor-v-ər* *ruŷn* =ət *qrut* *goǰ-ən*.
 own relative-PL.OBL-DAT butter =and qurut make.V-1/3PL
 ‘Like this, every summer, housekeeping women go to summer pasture and make butter and qur-
 rut for their families and relatives.’

- (190) *Ayloq* *baf* – *obodiŷ!*
 summer_pasture good prosperity
 ‘Summer pasture is a good deal; (it gives) prosperity!’

2.6 *Luyat* ‘Vocabulary’

- (191) *Δiŷ* – *šəǰč-ək* *δingī*,
 buttermilk liquid-DIM dairy_product
cə *pay-ən* *rə* *pərnəc* *goǰ-ən*,
 from yogurt-ABL to/in.down churn make.V-1/3PL
yaw *məza* *trəšp*
 3SG.DIST.POSS taste sour
 ‘Buttermilk (*Δiŷ*) – a liquid (fermented) dairy product that is made of yogurt [curd] in the churn
 and has a sour taste.’
- (192a) *Ipoč* – *mδurī* *mayor*,
 midday_rest midday time
- (192b) *{mol-vi}* *cə* *šbunī-ən* *cə* *wəzm-ən*
 livestock-PL.OBL from pasturing-ABL SUB bring.V-1/3PL
- (192c) *[tə* *šad* *tənyak* *[[dam* *dingak]]*_{ADV} *]*_{ADV} *]*_{REL}
 in/to livestock_pen drive(livestock).INF rest hit.INF
 ‘Midday rest (*ipoč*) – the time around midday when the livestock is taken from the pasture
 and driven to the enclosure to rest. (lit. ‘They bring the livestock from the pasture to drive-
 take rest in the livestock pen’).’

Note 90: (192b-c) modify the head *mδurī mayor* ‘midday time’ and represent a complex externally headed relative clause marked by the subordinator *cə* (SUB). The two infinitives in (192c) can be interpreted as a complex purpose clause involving a serial verb construction (‘drive-take rest’) dependent on the matrix clause (192b), which itself is a dependent construction. Alternatively, the first infinitive in (192c) *tənyak* ‘to drive livestock’ can be interpreted as a purpose clause dependent on (192b) and at the same time as the matrix clause of another purpose clause dependent on it *dam dingak* ‘to take rest’.

- (193a) *Ijgəy* – *tərg-ək* *δingī*
 <cheese> dense-DIM dairy_product
- (193b) *[cə* *may* =ət *tuŷ* *žarž-ən* *ǰətkin]*_{REL}
 from sheep =and goat milk-ABL make.PF.PTCP
- (193c) *rə* *dig* *yət-i* *pac-ən*,
 to/in.down pot 3SG.MED-ACC cook.V-1/3PL
- (193d) *məza* *{crəng* *pnir* *cəy,*_{REL}
 taste how <cheese> SUB.COP

- (193e) *woz də ʃəč-ən bə yət-i yaw-ən*
 also with bread-ABL ADD 3SG.MED-ACC eat.V-1/3PL
 ‘Cheese *ijgəy* – a dense dairy product made of sheep and goat milk. It is cooked in a pot, the taste is like that of a *pnir* cheese. It is eaten with bread.’

Note 91: The perfect participle in (193b) modifies the head in (193a) and is regarded as a relative clause.

Note 92: (193d) employs a relative strategy for an equative construction using the copula subordinator *cəy* (SUB.COP).

- (194) *Ktič – mala [cə ʃar-ən ʃətkin,]⁹²*
 shepherds’hut hut from stone-ABL make.PF.PTCP
cə bu paləw =nag yaw-ən təy raž,
 from two side =side 3SG.DIST-ABL be.PRS raised_platform
woz yaw-ən təy bʃor, dəldung,
 also 3SG.DIST-ABL be.PRS storage_room_for_milk cooking_place
da dəldung yaw-ən təy ʃəf
 in/to-DIST cooking_place 3SG.DIST-ABL be.PRS fireplace
cə tru sot-ən,
 from three flat_stone-ABL
a dr-a ʃəč =ət šot goš-ən
 EMP in-DIST bread =and meal make.V-1/3PL
 ‘Hut (*ktič*) – a construction made of stone with raised platforms on two sides. It also has a storage room for milk and a cooking platform. There is a fireplace on the cooking platform made of three flat stones, where bread and meals are prepared.’

- (195) *Ləndič – ŋingī cə may ʒarž-ən,*
 <cheese> dairy_product from sheep milk-ABL
pac-ən yaw-i =ət mrik car-t =ət wost tərg,
 cook.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC =and cream do.V-3SG =and become.V-3SG thick
yumj din-ən r-a pulm, šur wost,
 flour hit.V-1/3PL to/in.down-DIST sprinkle cold become.V.3SG
kač-ən ar dəstor yaw-i =ət
 put.V-1/3PL to/in.down gauze 3SG.DIST-ACC =and
car-ən yaw-i wəsk
 do.V-1/3PL 3SG.DIST-ACC dry
 ‘Cheese *ləndič* – a dairy product made from sheep milk. The milk is heated until the cream comes to the surface and becomes thick; then they sprinkle it with flour, and when it cools down, they put it in gauze and let it dry.’

- (196) *Mod – trəšp ʒarž,*
 starter_culture sour milk
iʃunī diʃ-i kač-ən rə ʒarž,
 sometimes buttermilk-ACC put.V-1/3PL to/in.down milk
yaw wost mod,
 3SG.DIST become.V-3SG starter_culture

⁹² Relative clause; see Note 90 in (193b).

a *c-ət-ən* *yan* *pay* *=ət* *ðiŷ* *=ət* *čaka* *=ət*
 EMP from-MED-ABL then yogurt =and buttermilk =and chaka =and
qrut *=ət* *ruŷn* *=ət* *pnir* *goŷ-ən*
 qurut =and butter =and <cheese> make.V-1/3PL

‘Starter culture (*mod*) – sour milk; sometimes the buttermilk is put in the milk and it becomes the starter culture. From it they also make yogurt, buttermilk, chaka, qurut, butter, and cheese *pnir*.’

- (197) *Nlag* – *qča* *cə* *dim-ən*,
 clay_jug dish from clay-ABL
yət *ŷaš* *zəqlay* *=ət* *yət* *bən* *lup*,
 MED mouth small =and MED bottom big
pay *r-ət* *kaŷ-ən*, *ruŷn* *r-ət* *din-ən*,
 yogurt to/in.down-MED put.V-1/3PL butter to/in.down-MED hit.V-1/3PL
yət *xalg-ər* *to* *də* *brin-ən*
 3SG.MED man-DAT until with/by knee-ABL
 ‘Clay jug (*nlag*) – a dish of clay, with a small mouth and a large bottom into which they pour yogurt and put butter. It is as high as a person’s knees.’

- (198) *Pərnəc* – *qča* *cə* *dim-ən*,
 churn dish from clay-ABL
yət *ŷaš* *lup* *=ət* *yət* *bən* *zəqlay-ək*,
 MED mouth big =and MED bottom small-DIM
ðiŷ *r-ət* *goŷ-ən*,
 buttermilk to/in.down-MED make.V-1/3PL
yət *xalg-ər* *to* *də* *mad-ən*
 MED man-DAT until with/by waist-ABL
 ‘Churn (*pərnəc*) – a dish/vessel made of clay with a large mouth and a small bottom in which buttermilk is made. It is as high as a person’s waist.’

- (199) *Pnir* – *cə* *žarž-ən* *xətkin*,
 <cheese> from milk-ABL make.PF.PTCP
put *šlot* *dingī*, *yaw* *məza* *təy* *xužg*
 round soft dairy_product 3SG.DIST taste be.PRS sweet
 ‘Cheese *pnir* – made from milk. This is a soft, round dairy product with a sweet taste.’

- (200) *Pučəzak* – *qbul* *cərak*
 accept/receive.INF acceptance do.INF
 (*misol*: *Xəsmən* *taw-i* *pučəz-d*,
 for_example spirit you.SG.OBL-ACC accept.V-3SG
ti *dingī* *baf* *wost*,
 your.SG dairy_product good become.V-3SG
ti *yark-iš* *kə* *rwoj* *woc-ən*.)
 your.SG work-PL all success become.V-1/3PL
 ‘To receive (*pučəzak*) – to accept. (For example: when the spirit accepts you, you get good dairy products and all your work will be successful.)’

- (201) *Qrūt* – *šux* *dingī* [*cə* *diŷ* =*ət*
 qurut solid dairy_product from buttermilk =and
čəka-ən *šətkin*]_{REL}⁹³
 chaka-ABL make.PF.PTCP
yət *soxt* *təy* *puṭ-puṭ*, *yət* *məza* *təy* *trəšp* =*ət* *xužg-trəšp*,
 MED form be.PRS round-round MED taste be.PRS sour =and sweet-sour
diŷ-qrūt *məza* *trəšp* =*ət* *xužg*, *čəka-qrūt* *məza* *ya* *trəšp*
 buttermilk-qurut taste sour =and sweet chaka-qurut taste very sour
 ‘Qurut (*qrūt* in Wakhi) – a solid dairy product made from buttermilk and chaka that has a round shape. It has a sour or a sweet-and-sour taste; the buttermilk-qurut has a sweet-and-sour taste (while) the chaka-qurut is very sour.’
- (202a) *Vayč* – *čəqī* *qčə*, [*mol* =*ət* *ŷtʷ* *šicak-ər*]_{COMP}
 milk_pail suitable(size) dish livestock =and cow milk.INF-DAT
- (202b) [*cə* *dim-ən* *šətkin*]_{REL}⁹⁴
 from clay-ABL make.PF.PTCP
 ‘Milk pail (*vayč*) – a clay dish of a suitable size for milking livestock and cows.’

Note 93: The infinitive with the dative marking in the square brackets in (202a) can be interpreted as complement clause, representing an oblique argument.

- (203) *Wyin* – *qila* =*ət* *šid* *vdək*,
 mountain_pass difficult =and steep road
sk-ət *ziŷn* *xalg-iš* *far* *ŷir-ən*
 on/through-MED through man-PL round turn.V-1/3PL
cə *i* *dur-ən* *ar* *dgar* *dur*,
 from one ravine-ABL to/in.down other ravine
cə *i* *jay-ən* *rəč-ən* *tər* *dgar* *jay*
 from one place-ABL go.V-1/3PL to/in.upwards other place
 ‘Mountain pass (*wyin*) – a difficult and steep path through which people pass from one ravine to the next ravine, from one place to another place.’
- (204a) *Zič-bat* –
 butter_from _summer_pasture-<porridge>
- (204b) *kuč* *sənak* *mayor* =*ət* *kuč* *xəmak*⁹⁵ *mayor*
 migration go_up.INF time =and migration go_down.INF time
- (204c) *a* *yəm* *bat-i* *goš-ən* *xun-xalg-v-ər* =*ət*
 EMP PROX <porridge>-ACC make.V-1/3PL house-man-PL.OBL-DAT =and
amki-v-ər, *yət-i* *goš-ən*
 relatives_and_neighbours-PL.OBL-DAT MED-ACC make.V-1/3PL
- (204d) *a* *d-a* *ruŷn-ən*, [*c-əm* *ayloq-ən* *yaw-i*
 EMP with-DIST butter-ABL from-PROX summer_pasture-ABL 3SG.DIST-ACC
cə *wəzm-ən*]_{REL}
 SUB bring.V-1/3PL

⁹³ Relative clause; see Note 90 in (193b).

⁹⁴ Relative clause; see Note 90 in (193b).

⁹⁵ See Note 29 in (37a).

- (204e) *gəyo* *{ləcər* *ti* *brakat* *wizit,*
 supposedly let your.SG blessing come.V.3SG
woz *cə* *ayloq-ən* *čirmit* *d-a* *ti* *xun.*⁹⁶
 again from summer_pasture-ABL enter.V.3SG in/to-DIST your.SG house
 ‘Porridge *zič-bat* – this ritual porridge is made for neighbours and relatives during the
 spring migration (lit. ‘migration going up’) and during the autumn migration (lit. ‘migra-
 tion going down’); it is made with the butter brought from the summer pasture. Its mean-
 ing is: May your blessing come from the summer pasture, and return to your house.’

Note 94: (204d) represents an externally-headed relative clause in post-head position with a re-
 sumptive pronoun in the relative clause. The pronoun is usually retained when the syntactic role of
 the shared participant in the relative clause differs from that in the matrix clause, which is the case in
 (204d).

- (205a) *Zrič* – *cum-solung* *ič*
 glacier how_many-of_years ice
 (205b) *{sək* *yoman* *cusk* *jam* *cə* *wost*_{REL}
 on/through each_other top gathered SUB become.V.3SG
 ‘Glacier – a field of ice that is many years old, with layers of ice stacked on each other.’

Note 95: (205b) modifies the head *ič* ‘ice’ in (205a) and is interpreted as an externally headed rela-
 tive clause.

3 Conclusion

Based on the analysis and the discussion in Section 2 above, it is now possible to summarise the ob-
 servations and present an overview of the subordinating strategies occurring in this written, expository
 Wakhi text. Most of these strategies involve morphosyntactic forms that are traditionally and
 cross-linguistically associated with subordination, such as specific subordinating morphemes (con-
 junctions) and deranked verb forms. However, the analysis has also revealed that these ‘traditional’
 markers of subordination are not always present, and that subordinate relations may also be ex-
 pressed by asyndetic constructions with a balanced verb, or even by using conjunctions typically
 used for coding coordinate relations. The analysis conducted from a functional perspective is also
 able to accommodate these instances.

The strategies, their functions, and their occurrences in the text are listed below:

- 1) **The subordinator *cə* (SUB)** occurs 39 times. It combines with balanced and deranked verb
 forms and can signal relative and adverbial dependent relations.
 - a) *cə* (SUB) in relative constructions:

Balanced verb strategy

 - A typical pattern is an externally headed post-nominal relative clause, where the
 definite head is usually marked by a demonstrative. The shared participant is usually
 not expressed in the matrix clause (a ‘gap strategy’ in Croft 2022: 589). This pattern
 is found in (86b), (163a), (192b), (204d), and (205b). The construction (5a) with an in-
 definite head can also be interpreted as a temporal adverbial clause.

⁹⁶ Purpose clause; see Note 35 in (43b).

- In externally headed post-nominal relative clause constructions involving the copula, the form *cəy* (SUB.COP) is used, as observed in (10b) and (88b). The same strategy is also used in the equative construction in (193a).
- The correlative strategy, in which the shared participant is expressed by a full noun in the relative clause and is cross-referenced as a pronoun in the matrix clause, can be observed in (102b), (111a), and (184b). The correlative strategy is used when the role of the shared participant in the dependent clause differs from its role in the matrix clause, e.g., when it has the subject role in the relative clause and the object role in the matrix clause.

Deranked verb strategy

- The constructions that can be interpreted as free relative clauses usually involve an indefinite noun or pronoun and the subjunctive form of the verb ‘be’.⁹⁷ They are often (but not always) correlative. Such free relative clauses can also be interpreted as generic conditional adverbial clauses, as seen in (39b), (41a), (139b), (141a), and (183a).
- b) *cə* (SUB) in adverbial constructions (the dependent clause is always in pre-matrix position):

Deranked verb strategy (verb ‘be’)

- When the verb ‘be’ is involved, the conditional relation is signalled by both the subordinator *cə* (SUB) and the subjunctive form of the verb (see footnote 97). This type of conditional clauses is found in (103b), (128a), (128b), and (142c).
- Generic conditional clauses employ the same strategy as the free relative clauses described above, i.e., an indefinite noun or pronoun and the subjunctive when the verb ‘be’ is involved. Therefore, they can be interpreted as both free relative clauses and generic conditional clauses; see (39b), (41a), (183a), (139b), and (141a).

Balanced verb strategy

- Conditional clauses involving verbs other than ‘be’, and temporal clauses referring to unrealised events, use the same strategy of combining the subordinator *cə* (SUB) with the non-tense (V) verb form. Temporal past tense clauses, which refer to realised events, use a different strategy (see below). The distinction between conditional and temporal meaning is not always straightforward. It usually depends on the discourse context or shared knowledge; see (11a), (59b), (68b), (76a), (78a), (55b), (108a), (119b), (129a), and (131b). When a temporal adverb is involved, it usually signals a temporal rather than a conditional relation; see (5a), (27b), (79a), (166b), and (187a). An example of a past temporal clause expressing a repeated generic event is found in (48b), where the verb is in the imperfective past tense (PST.IPFV) and indicates an iterative and habitual aspect.
 - The form *cəy* (SUB.COP), which represents the subordinator *cə* (SUB) merged with the balanced form of a copula, is not normally used in conditional and unrealised temporal clauses. When it does occur, it represents a marked use of such a form; see (90a) and (92).
- 2) **The subordinator *ki* (SUB-KI)** occurs five times. It is combined with the balanced verb forms associated with the witness past (PST) and marks a realised temporal adverbial (‘when/after’) clause. The dependent clause always occurs in pre-matrix position. It is found in (28a), (34a), (69a), (80a), and (101a).

⁹⁷ NB. Only the verb ‘be’ has distinct forms for the subjunctive and the indicative. Other verbs use a single form – the non-tense (marked as V) – to convey both the indicative and subjunctive meanings.

- 3) **The infinitive (INF)** occurs 38 times. It represents a deranked verb form that functions as an infinitive or a verbal noun. It is used to mark adverbial and complement relations.
 - a) The INF in adverbial constructions:
 - The INF marks a purpose clause. Typically, the dependent clause is in the post-matrix position, as in (50), (66), (136), (173), (181), and (102c). However, it can also occur in the pre-matrix position, as in (143b). In the pre-matrix position, it is also found in a prepositional construction in (5a), and with the dative case marking in (55c) and (81a).
 - The INF is also used in temporal clauses, all of which occur in the pre-matrix position. The variety of adpositional constructions that include the INF with the corresponding case marking reflects the variety of temporal meanings they convey; see (27a), (31a), (33a), (39a), (168), and (170a).
 - b) The INF in complement constructions:
 - The INF is used to convey an aspectual meaning, as in (141a), and in phasal complement constructions; see (30), (36), (46c), (72b), (73), (80c), (88d), (91a) and (155b).
 - As a verbal noun, the INF can fulfil the role of an argument of a predicate. In the sentence, it occurs in the position typical of the nominal argument, and it takes the corresponding case marking; see (1), (103c), (128b), (140a), (149), (169), and (202a).
 - c) The INF can act as a noun modifier. In the studied text, the INF modifies a nominal element in nominal predicate constructions, as in (37a) and (155a), in phasal complement constructions, as in (30), (36b), and (155b), and in temporal adverbial constructions, as in (168) and (170a).
- 4) **The present (imperfective) participle (PRS.PTCP)** is a deranked verb form that can also function as an agent noun; it occurs 16 times in the text. As a participle, it can be treated as a headless relative clause (i.e., a modifier). As an agent noun, it can be treated as a complement clause (i.e., an argument), especially when referring to core clausal arguments. It is found in (5b), (8), (11b), (13), (31b), (33b), (37b), (42b), (43a), (44), (46a), (56b), (107b), (144b), (157a), and (175).
- 5) **The perfect participle (PF.PTCP)** is a deranked verb form. It occurs 12 times in the text, but only in eight occurrences does it refer to a dependent clause. The remaining occurrences are treated as adjectival predicates of the main clause. The dependent clauses involving the perfect participle are treated as relative clauses modifying a referent in the matrix clause. These can be pre-nominal, as in (31b), (55a), and (110b), or post-nominal, if they involve a more complex construction, as in (41a), (193b), (194), (201), and (202b).
- 6) **The particle *læcār* ‘let’** occurs 16 times. It functions as a purpose marker introducing a purpose adverbial clause in the post-matrix position. The verb in the dependent clause is in the subjunctive, if it is the verb ‘be’; see (55b) and (87b). Verbs other than ‘be’, which do not have a distinct subjunctive form, are in the non-tense (v) form; see (43b), (49b), (61b), (94b), (104b), (108c), (174b), (187e), (204e). In the negative form, all verbs in this type of construction are marked by the prohibitive particle *mə-* (PROH), rather than the negative *nə-* (NEG); see (77c), (115b), (157b), (164b), (177b). It can thus be inferred that the adverbial purpose clauses introduced by the particle *læcār* ‘let’ use a deranked verb strategy.
- 7) **The deranked verb form subjunctive (SBJV) in asyndetic constructions** occurs three times. All of these occurrences are in relative clauses. Two of the latter are headless free relative clauses that can alternatively be interpreted as generic conditional clauses – see (39b) and (144b) – and one is a correlative clause (142a).
- 8) **The balanced verb form in asyndetic constructions** occurs 14 times. It is found in complement constructions 11 times and in relative constructions three times.

- a) The asyndetic complement clauses using a balanced verb strategy represent clausal arguments of the verbs of knowledge (43b), speech (48), (53), (59), (62), (119), (149), (152), (166), (176), and perception (89b-c). The direct speech in (187) and (103) is not treated as instances of subordination.
 - b) The three asyndetic relative clauses in (45a), (65), and (144a) represent headless free relative clauses; cf. the asyndetic relative clauses using a deranked (subjunctive) verb strategy in point (7) above.
- 9) **Constructions with the clause-linkage marker *ki* (CLM)** occur 14 times; however, not all of them are used in subordinate constructions. *Ki* (CLM) – which is not to be confused with the subordinator *ki* (SUB-KI) discussed in point (2) above – is not treated as a subordinator per se. Rather, it is treated as the interpretive marker (see Note 7 above). It often occurs in complex sentences involving subordination, where it is placed at the end of the matrix clause. The dependent clause, which is usually a complement clause, is always in the post-matrix position. It is found in (5b), (6a-b), (18), (40), (58), (68), (91b), (102), and (170). In all these occurrences, *ki* (CLM) can be interpreted as the interpretive marker. Another example of *ki* (CLM) that can be treated as the interpretive marker is found in a complex subordinate construction in (107b), which involves a relative clause marked parallelly by the subordinator *ca* (SUB).
- Another *ki* (CLM) is the one that is borrowed from Tajik. In this specific Wakhi text, there are only two occurrences of the borrowed *ki* (CLM). Both are found in examples of the poetic genre: in (132b) as a relativiser, and in (133b) as an adverbialiser.
- The other two occurrences of *ki* are part of the complex adversative (non-subordinating) conjunction *naγ=ki* (NEG=CLM) ‘but’; see (24b) and (32b).
- 10) **Pragmatic subordination in constructions involving the coordinating conjunction =ət ‘and’** occurs four times. The pragmatically subordinate clauses in (29a), (36a), (38a), and (46b) are non-asserted temporal clauses preceding the asserted (main) clause. This type of subordination always depends on the discourse context.

The overview of subordinating strategies presented above only reflects the forms occurring in the studied text. It should also be borne in mind that the text represents a specific genre and was produced by a single writer. The annotated Wakhi text thus represents only a small piece of the more comprehensive corpus of Wakhi language data.

The aim of this study was primarily to provide a linguistic annotation of a complete Wakhi expository text, and to contribute to the discussion of clausal subordination and clause-linking strategies in Wakhi more generally. In a subsequent study, these strategies will be compared with those found in other Wakhi texts and examined in relation to a variety of available genres, both published and unpublished, oral and written.

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Abbreviations

-	affix boundary	M	masculine
=	clitic boundary	MED	medial
1	first person	N	noun
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	OBL	oblique
ABL	ablative case	PF	perfect
ACC	accusative case	PF.PTCP	perfect participle
ADD	additive particle	PL	plural
ADJ	adjective, adjectiviser	POSS	possessive
ADV	adverbial clause	PROH	prohibitive
CLM	clause linkage marker	PRS	present
CMPR	comparative	PRS.PTCP	present (imperfective) participle
(coll.)	collective	PROX	proximal
COMP	complement clause	PST	past tense (witnessed)
COP	copula	PTCP	participle
DAT	dative case	Q	question particle
DIM	diminutive	REL	relative clause
DIST	distal	SBJV	subjunctive
EMP	emphatic particle	SG	singular
EZ	<i>ezafe</i> (linking particle)	SUB	subordinator
INF	infinitive/verbal noun	(taj)	Tajik
INT	interpretive	V	non-tense (default tense- and aspect-neutral verb form)
IPFV	imperfective	VOC	vocative
lit.	literally		

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