The category of gender in the Pamir languages: Part 2
(*Категория рода в памирских языках: Выпуск 2*)
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Preface

§231. The first part of this monographic research on the category of gender in the Pamir languages was dedicated to the detailed analysis of the morphophonological means by which gender is expressed in the Shughni-Rushani group.

This part is an investigation into two different aspects of gender – its syntactic and semantic aspects.

In the analysis of the syntactic means of expressing gender, I examine three distinct constructions which show agreement gender: attributive constructions, predicative constructions, and adverbial constructions.

The investigation into semantic aspects of gender contains an analysis of the gender specification of both inanimate and animate nouns. Within nouns which denote people and other living beings, the correlation between natural sex and grammatical gender is examined and established.

In the examination of gender specification in nouns which do not have natural gender or sex, I attempt to give a classification of abstract and concrete nouns based on their semantic features. Within the sphere of concrete nouns, special attention is paid to the issue of lexical and grammatical meanings of gender, and in particular gender transformation which takes place without any kind of morphological transformation.

An appendix to this work is provided which gives twenty tables illustrating the gender specification of concrete nouns which do not have special morphological gender marking.

Since the first part of this work began with a direct analysis of Pamir data, it is worthwhile here to remind the reader of certain contentious issues regarding the category of gender in Indo-European linguistics. These initial remarks are informed by the content of the latter parts of this book.

This book and its sections are a direct continuation of the sections of my book (with the same name) which was published in 1978, although the page numbering of each book is independent of one another.

This second part of the book is accompanied by two alphabetically ordered indices – an index for content and functional elements which are found in both parts of the book, as well as a bibliography of works used in the preparation of this work.

The formatting of these appendixed indices was carried out by a colleague of mine at the department of Pamirology, A. Mirboboev.

The words in this index are laid out in alphabetical order and are accompanied by their gender specification in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group (with the exception of Sarikoli). A Russian translation is also provided for each word, and the page number(s) on which the word is

found are provided. For words found in the first part of this work, no special marking is given, but for words found in this second part, a marker "II" is given. The page numbers where the word is found are given after these Roman numerals – hence "II: pages". After each word, a marker M. (masculine gender), F. (feminine gender), or N. (neuter gender) is given.

§232. Although a large body of literature is dedicated to the topic of grammatical gender in Indo-European languages, including studies on the formal marking of gender, its relation to semantics, its functional grammatical aspects, and both synchronic and diachronic issues, a number of issues related to gender in a variety of Indo-European languages remain controversial. Disputes take place, in particular, regarding such fundamental issues as the origin and development of grammatical gender in ancient Indo-European languages; the relation of ternary systems of gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) to binary systems (masculine and feminine); and the significance of gender in animate nouns and particularly in inanimate nouns. Moreover, the problem of which grammatical module gender belongs to is still unsolved; that is, whether gender is a morphological category of a syntactic category.

In the formation of a theory on the evolution of gender in Indo-European languages, of paramount importance are the works of A. Meye (1923: 944; 1938: 264-310; 1951: 303-368). Here, the author looks into the existence of two gender systems in ancient Indo-European languages: (i) a system based on the opposition of animate~inanimate and (ii) a system based on the opposition of masculine~feminine~neuter. The establishment of each system took place in different historical periods. According to Meye, the ternary system (masculine-feminine-neuter) in Proto-Indo-European was preceded by a binary system which included *animate* (with subclasses of masculine and feminine) and *inanimate* (later neuter) classes. Analogous systems are found in certain non-Indo-European languages in which in the division of classes one often observes the opposition of active (agentive) and passive (objective) nouns. In historically attested Indo-European languages, however, this opposition is already somewhat clouded, as the grammaticization of gender has already affected the semantic differentiation of gendered forms found in the previous system.

In the gender systems of Indo-European languages there are complex interconnections and intersectionality among the category of gender and animacy, inanimacy, and natural sex. Systems of grammatical gender are considered by researchers to be first and foremost lexical-semantic paradigmatic classes of words.

"The subsequent development of the theory of gender," as noted by Yu. S. Stepanov, "took place in either of two directions: either the syntagmatic sequences in question diminished, stems and roots underwent (re-?)analysis and therefore the lexical-semantic classes corresponding to the three genders broke apart; or on the other hand, the syntagmatic sequences in question were lengthened – syntagms were examined which were made up of several words or entire clauses, and then the lexical-semantic classes of words combined with one another, became larger, and were replaced by 'agreement classes'. Simultaneously the first direction was characterized by an

interest in the implicit reconstruction of previous linguistic systems, and the second was characterized by an interest in neologisms and the newest active processes in the linguistic system. (Stepanov 1975: 23)"

In connection with the in-depth research into agreement paradigms and analytical gendered forms (combinations of nouns with inflecting adjectives, pronouns, and articles), a new conception of gender arose, which, as noted above, has been associated by many researchers precisely with syntactic – agreement factors.

On the basis of this type of interpretation, the point of view is formed in which the history of the rise and development of the Indo-European system of gender is a history and development of agreement, and the system of grammatical gender is first and foremost an agreement and syntactic system (Fodor 1959: 3-29; Zaliznyak 1964: 25-31; 1967: 66-67; Karpinskaya 1969: 61-71; Yoffe 1973: 53-61; Revzina 1976: 4-23).[1]

According to another point of view, grammatical gender is viewed as a lexical-morphological category of nouns. As applied to Russian, this point of view is based primarily on the notion that "the grammatical and lexical-syntactic basis of gender-specified nouns are still strong in their structure (Vinogradov 1947: 87)." The dominating role of morphological marking «is determined by the fact that these markers have to do with the category of gender on the whole, including animate nouns, and by the significance of connections with other morphological-lexical categories (Bondarko 1976b: 40)." Research into the category of gender in the Pamir languages attests to the legitimacy of such a lexical-morphological approach although the grammatical significance of gender in these languages is most often observed in agreement constructions.

Different, sometimes contradictory interpretations are found regarding the analysis of interrelations of gender and lexical-grammatical classes of nouns, and also with respect to the examination of the semantic workload of gender and gendered forms for animate and inanimate nouns. Thus, in some works (see, for example, Durnovo 1924: 208-221), the category of (in)animacy are examined as part of a single grammatical category – or more precisely a single agreement (syntactic) category. Here, of course, the most attention is paid to an analysis of the morphosyntactic appearance of gender, while its semantic aspects are either looked at in passing or are not looked at all.

Still disputed is the issue regarding the interrelations of the category of gender and natural sex, and in particular the extent to which they are interconnected and intersectional in Indo-European languages. Giving the most attention to the agreement markers of gender, some researchers appear to be against the detection and establishment of any interconnection between the category of gender and the category of sex (Yoffe 1973: 53; for more on this see §260).

I distinguish here the point of view of those scholars who find a certain interconnection between the category of gender and the category of sex and who hold that the division of animate nouns into one gender or another depends directly on their sex. "The connection between lexical-grammatical categories of sex and the morphological category of gender is found in the fact that

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[1] For an overview of the various points of view on the category of gender in Indo-European languages see Muchnik 1971: 178-185; Stepanov 1975: 23-27; Bondarko 1976: 26-35.

these categories largely define the belonging of animate nouns to a particular gender – masculine, feminine, and also "general" (Bondarko 1976a: 351).

A close interconnection of the categories of sex and gender is found in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, in which gender is manifest as the opposition of masculine and feminine.

Regarding the interpretation of the semantics of gendered forms among inanimate object nouns, it is generally agreed upon that the category of gender int his case does not possess any semantic workload. However, materials on the Shughni-Rushani languages indicate that the category of gender and gendered forms within inanimate nouns possess specific semantic features which are found in a complex web of grammatical meanings. This is precisely the issue to which the second part of this research is dedicated.

Syntactic means for expressing gender

§233. According to a number of researchers, the presence of the category of grammatical gender can be recognized if the language in question has gender formants in such key categories of words as adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, and these gender formants form agreement paradigms for nouns (Kurilovich 1962: 205; Zaliznyak 1964: 25-26; El'mslev 1972: 134).

For the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, first and foremost, the syntactic manifestation of gender is characteristic, as seen in the presence of agreement constructions. Gender distinction in nouns themselves is limited to only a relatively small number of nouns. This is behind the special role of syntactic means for expressing gender: agreement with nouns by gender-distinguishing demonstrative pronouns (or articles), adjectives, intransitive verb forms, participles, and onomatopoeic words.

Three syntactic types of agreement for grammatical gender can be distinguished: (i) attributive; (ii) predicative; and (iii) adverbial. The essence of each type can be summarized briefly in the following way. With attributive agreement, the modifier may be a gender-distinguishing demonstrative pronoun, adjective, participle, or similar word. This word acts as a syntactic marker of the gender of the modified noun, whether the gender of the word is well-founded (roughly, based on natural sex) – as in *rūšt čux̌* 'red rooster' and *rošt čax̌* 'red hen' – or not well-founded – as in *rūšt qalam* 'red pencil' and *rošt pakol* 'red tyubeteika'.

In predicative agreement, a word in the predicate – e.g. a gender-distinguishing verb, adjective, or other part of speech – agrees in gender with the subject. Here again, agreement occurs independent of whether the gender of the noun in question is well-motivated – as in *čux̌ riwux̌t* 'the rooster flew away' and *čax̌ riwax̌t* 'the hen flew away' – or not well-motivated – as in *qalam virux̌t* 'the pencil broke' and *čīni virax̌t* 'the teacup broke'.
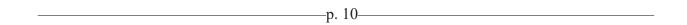
In adverbial constructions, a gender-distinguishing adverbial modifier expresses a onomatopoeic or expressive function, as in *xŭvd čulast tis sut* 'the milk spilled with a gurgle' and *xac čalast tis sat* 'the water spilled with a gurgle.

It should be noted that the ability to distinguish gender is not the same for all of the types of words indicated above. First and foremost, only a subset of words in each category have the ability to inflect for gender. And second, not all words-modifiers can combine with a certain noun. An exception to this is demonstrative pronouns, which can regularly combine with any noun as definite articles.

Attributive means of expressing gender

§233. Almost all gender-distinguishing modifiers can participate in attributive gender distinction (with the exception of inflected verb forms). Those that can participate include adjectives, participles, and pronouns.

Since demonstrative pronouns are widely used as definite articles and are universal specifiers of gender for nouns, we'll start with them in the analysis that follows (for a detailed description of these from a formal standpoint, see §§133-135).

The loss of ancient case and gender endings on nouns in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group led to the very wide use of demonstrative pronouns as qualifiers of gender and case for nouns. With the weakening of their demonstrative function, all of these forms (including both direct and oblique case forms) functionally transition into a series of definite articles. And hence, they mark the number (singular and plural), case (direct and oblique), and gender (masculine and feminine) of the noun.

In this regard, V.S. Rastorgueva (1975: 180) has a justified opinion that "in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, demonstrative pronouns in this functional use are very close to becoming articles, and combinations of nouns (which have lost the ability to decline) with case- (and gender)-showing demonstrative pronouns/articles are equal in function to analytical case (and gender) markers."

The ability to distinguish gender is not found in all nouns, adjectives, and verbs, but rather only in a small number of words in each of these parts of speech. Hence, only demonstrative pronouns can be called universal gender markers for nouns. We can use demonstrative pronouns to reliably determine the gender of any noun. We can use these to determine not only the gender specification of a noun, but also to observe its gender transformation – that is, the transition of a

noun from one gender to another due to a different semantic use (cf. *yā šāb naẙǰād* 'the night passed' and *mi šāb-aθ=at tar-kā rawůn?* 'where are you going in this darkness?'.

§235. The ability to distinguish gender in direct demonstrative pronouns is found only in Shughni-Bajuwi. The other Shughni-Rushani languages have only a single form *yā // ik-ā* for both masculine and feminine.

Because of this ability, Shughni and Bajuwi have a wide range of opportunities to show the gender of nouns. As we know, these pronouns can be used both with an adjectival function and with a pronominal function.

§236. A large syntactic role for the expression of gender is played by the oblique forms of demonstrative pronouns of all three deictic degrees.

§237. These are also used in both an adjectival and a pronominal function.

§238. On potential ambiguity regarding possessive vs. attributive functions of these pronouns.

§239. On the ergative construction in Rushani-Khufi and Bartangi.

§240. More on the important role of demonstrative pronouns in showing the gender of nouns.

§241. A specific attributive role is played by gender-distinguishing adjectives and participial forms. There are many more gender-distinguishing adjectives than nouns (see Karamshoev 1978: §§14-29).

§242. Feminine adjectives (and in the modern language verb forms – CP) are special in that they are used to agree with plural nouns of both genders. This gives them a wider syntactic distribution than masculine forms.

§243. Gender-distinguishing perfect stems of intransitive verbs are preserved in the formation of certain past-tense participles (see Karamshoev 1978: §§92-96).

A bit on labile infinitives here, too. For more, see Sokolova 1973: §126 and also Karamshoev 1978: §§100-105.

Note that in labile infinitives, gender-distinguishing participles occur only for the intransitive version of the verb.

§244. Attributive modification is the most widespread syntactic means of expressing gender. And within this type of gender expression, demonstrative pronouns are the most universal.

Predicative means of expressing gender

§245. In addition to the use of demonstrative pronouns and other attributive measures to distinguish gender, past and perfect verb stems are also widely used (see Karamshoev 1978: §§111-112).

Verbs distinguish the gender of the subject, whether or not the gender is shown in some way in the subject phrase itself (e.g. via demonstrative pronouns).

§246. Agreement in gender only occurs with intransitive verbs and therefore there is no agreement with objects.

§247. In past (and in modern Shughni, perfect stems – CP), the feminine form is used to show plural number of the subject. It is interesting that Karamshoev seems to indicate that the feminine perfect stem is also used in the plural, whereas in the previous (1978) book, he indicates that there is a specific plural form.

§248. For the expression of gender in predicates, an important role is played by participles formed from gender-distinguishing perfect stems, as in *nūsčin* and *nīscin*.

§249. Another important role is played by gender-distinguishing auxiliary verbs *vidow* and *sittow*.

§250. On (stative-like) passive constructions with *vidow*. This section mentions the pluperfect, as in *yu ar tagov suðǰ-at* 'he had gone below'; *yā ar tagov sic-at* 'she had gone down'.

§251. The verb *sittow* is commonly used in nominal predicates, as in *tis sut*, *tis sat* 'spilled'.

§253. Onomatopoeic verbs can also distinguish gender. And unlike other verbs, these verbs can distinguish gender even in their present stems. Examples:

A bob, ar čīz ca tu lap fuxi
'Grandpa, you're breathing something (for some reason ?) very heavy.'

A γac, čīz důnd faxi, wīz=at tulů tīzǰ
'Girl, why are you breathing so heavy, as if you were carrying a load ?'

§254. On gender-distinguishing adjectives in predicate position.

§255. Gender agreement with an adjective can occur with a noun that is in object position, as in:

A γāc, tu=t di sīm čung čūd
'Girl, you bent that piece of wire'

Ik-u γiðā=yi xu angixt čang čūd
'That boy bent his finger'

Munji apparently has a construction in which the perfect form of transitive verbs agrees in gender with the direct object, as in the following Munji sentences:

*may žinkin karγā **āvarya***
'that girl brought a hen'

*may žinkin karkari **āvaray***
'that girl brought a rooster'

Hence we see here a key difference between Munji, where transitive verbs can in some cases agree in gender with the subject, and the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, where this does not occur (except *maybe* in a few onomatopoeic verbs).

§256. Summary of this section.

Adverbial means of expressing gender

§257. Certain onomatopoeic adverbs may distinguish gender (see Karamshoev 1978: §§113-118). From a syntactic and functional point of view, these words can be used in a variety of roles – adverbial modifier, object, subject, and as a nominal (adverbial) part of the predicate. However, the main role in which they are used is that of adverbial modifier. Two forms of this type of word can be distinguished: (i) those which contain the suffix *-ast*, and (ii) those which involve the repetition of the stem. In many cases, these forms are semantically identical. Examples:

*yu čorik **fux̌-fux̌**-ti ded ar čīd*
'the man, breathing hard, entered into the house.

*yā γinik **fax̌-fax̌**-ti ded ar čīd*
'the woman, breathing hard, entered into the house.

*yu čux̌=i wam max̌ **šiqutast** abox̌t*
'the rooster swallowed the pea with a whistle.'

*yā čax̌=i wam max̌ **šiqatast** abox̌t*
'the hen swallowed the pea with a whistle.

§258. In cases where there is an intransitive verb used with gender-distinguishing adverbs, then agreement can occur on both of these elements.

§259. General conclusions about syntactic means of expressing gender:

> **(i)** The loss of the ancient morphological gender system for nouns in the Shughni-Rushani group led not to the loss of gender, but to the activation of syntactic means for expressing it.

> **(ii – vi)** Nothing special here.

Semantic aspects of the category of gender and the problem of the transformation of gender: Introductory remarks.

§260. The predominating opinion in Indo-European linguistics is that grammatical gender is an agreement (formal) category. Correspondingly, the history of the rise of grammatical gender, as well as its development, is examined against the background of the evolution of agreement (see, in particular, Durovno 1924: 208-221; Vandries 1937: 95; Fodor 1959: 1-41; Zaliznyak 1964: 24-25; Yoffe 1973: 53; Revzina 1976: 4-24).

At the same time, attention has been paid to the formal, grammatical character of the category of gender and the lack of motivation of its characteristics regarding correlations between grammatical gender and natural sex. While summarizing the data of different languages and distinguishing the category of gender from the category of (semantic) noun classes (in which the semantic correlations among classes are more clear), L. El'mslev (1972: 115) gives the following characterization to the category of gender: "In its typology, grammatical gender is a strictly grammatical category, or more precisely, a grammaticized category, depending primarily on the pure form, on the scheme of the language itself. In this extreme case, grammatical gender can become (in reality or by appearance), from a semantic point of view, an entirely unmotivated, arbitrary, empty category."

The following remark regarding the semantic workload of the category of gender in Russian is put forth by V. V. Vinogradov (1947: 58) "For the majority of nouns – particularly those which do not denote living beings (humans and animals) – the gender of the form seems to me to be unmotivated and non-contentful."

Hence, the semantics of the category of gender in Indo-European languages (and therefore, also the Pamir languages) boils down to the expression of the sex of people and other living beings.

On the basis of the nature of gender as an "agreement phenomenon", some researchers appear to be against analyses which propose any kind of significant link between the category of gender and the category of sex. They consider that "this is the only approach which allows us to separate gender and sex, which also exists in Indo-European languages, but does not have anything in common with gender. (Yoffe 1973: 53)"

Regarding the expression of gender in the sphere of inanimate nouns, gendered forms are unmotivated.

All of this unambiguously would indicate that semantic aspects of the category of gender, by virtue of their lack of development, continue to be debated in all Indo-European languages. . . . As rightly observed by I. P. Muchnik, "in many of the works on gender which have come out in the past decade, fundamental attention is given to the examination of the morphosyntactic appearance of gender, while its semantic aspects are examined only as an aside. Some linguists do not include a look at the semantics of gender at all.

§261. V. A. Efimov (1975: 38-39) gives a short characterization of the semantic essence of gender in ancient Iranian languages: "Regarding the (semantic?) content of the category of gender, the transition of nouns does not at all facilitate the strengthening of the semantic basis of the gender specification and opposition of nouns. Despite the fact that gender distinction in ancient Iranian languages was a trichotomy, the semantic pivot in these languages was the opposition between masculine and feminine genders, which aided in distinguishing sex. Neuter nouns in ancient Iranian languages, whose syntactic differentiation from nouns of other genders was largely neutralized, were a kind of archaism left over from the class-based system. The logical inconsistency of the gender trichotomy was apparently largely already predetermined in the gender dichotomy of animate and inanimate nouns in ancient noun classes. The division in these nouns classes between masculine and feminine gender (or "animate gender"), on the one hand, and neuter nouns (or "inanimate gender"), which opposed them in some conjugational properties, on the other, did not have a corresponding logical-semantic reinforcement, as the semantics of "inanimacy" was not reserved only for the neuter gender. The transition to the gender trichotomy had in essence a formal nature and involved the mixing of native noun classes via markers of grammatical gender."

Moreover, it is necessary to note that the correspondence between the semantics of gendered forms and their grammatical distribution, which was very complex in ancient Iranian (this is particularly clear in Avestan) and in Sanskrit, requires further investigation. This is even more true for middle and modern Iranian languages which have preserved the category of gender. In these languages, on top of the phenomena already discussed have been layered the results of a multi-century evolution of the grammatical structure of nominal parts of speech and the semantic changes of many lexical groups.

To this day there a method for describing the gender classification of (gender-)unmarked nouns, particularly inanimate nouns, has not yet been worked out for middle and modern Iranian languages. Researchers working in the Shughni-Rushani group of languages, when working on this question, follow a thematic principle for the distribution of gender in inanimate nouns (Karamshoev 1963: 96-97; Fayzov 1966: 22-25; Karamkhudoev 1973: 54-58).

§262. Despite the wide semantic workload of gendered forms in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, the issue of the preservation of gender until modern times was left open until recent times. Only in general terms was it noted that masculine gender is used for general concepts while feminine gender is used for individual objects (Sokolova 1959: 108; Karamshoev 1963: 99; Fayzov 1966: 18; Karamkhudoev 1973: 59).

The analysis of the relevant Pamir languages indicates that the category of gender, along with its formal expression, is characterized by a variety of sematic functions, which is observed in both animate and inanimate classes of nouns.

However, a number of different semantic aspects of the category of gender still have not undergone special investigation. Thus, in particular, the issue of the lexical-grammatical content of the category of gender and its forms has not been investigated; it is not clear whether the

masculine gender form is only a "general concept" marker, or whether it can also indicate "concrete and individual object". Certain aspects of gender transformation are also not clear, including which factors are behind it and what role is played here by logical-semantic factors. Still totally uninvestigated is the word-forming potential of gendered forms, which appears in different lexical and grammatical (gendered) meanings of words.

In this section of the book, I will attempt to lay out an analysis of the category of gender and its forms as regards the sphere of both animate nouns (which will require a look at the interrelations between grammatical gender and sex), as well as inanimate nouns which are not associated with the distinction of sex.

The semantic analysis of the category of gender represents an organization and resolving of the following fundamental questions:

> **(i)** uncovering the semantic essence of the category of gender in the sphere of animate nouns, and on this basis the specification of its interrelations with the category of sex;

> **(ii)** carrying out the gender classification of different living beings via their semantic markers;

> **(iii)** an investigation into the lexical / word-formation workload of gendered forms of inanimate nouns – both those which are formally distinguished (e.g. *xuc* 'bullion' and *xac* 'water'), as well as those which are not formally distinguished but which are semantically motivated and are homonyms (e.g. *γůz* (f.) 'walnut tree' and *γůz* (m.) 'walnut').

> **(iv)** the interpretation of the gender specification of nouns under the influence of synonymic and other lexical-semantic factors;

> **(v)** the analysis of the logical-grammatical meaning of masculine and feminine forms;

> **(vi)** a look at the issue of gender transformation on the level of individual inanimate nouns.

Category of gender in nouns denoting persons, sex, and living beings

§263. In the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, the binary nature of the category of gender is most clearly apparent in the sphere of animate nouns, which are connected with the denotation of natural sex. Nouns which reflect natural sex and have formally distinct gendered counterparts play an important role in the preservation and functioning of gender in these languages.

The dichotomic opposition of gender lies in the opposition of nouns which distinguish natural sex in people and animals. Of course, masculine forms are used with animals and humans belonging to the masculine gender, and feminine forms with those belonging to the feminine gender. It should be noted, however, that the semantic workload of gendered forms is also apparent in the names of living beings which do not have opposing pairs associated with natural sex. In my analysis, of interest are both morphophonological models with clear gender belonging, as well as unmarked forms, the gender of which is defined syntactically in agreement constructions. In the investigation into the names of people and animals, whose gender specification is connected with natural sex, I hold the view that lexical grammatical categories of sex "directly regulate the distribution of lexical units between masculine and feminine, and also general gender". And although within animate nouns, the distribution of words via gender depends on the semantics of lexical-grammatical classes of natural sex, it is impossible to attach the semantics of natural sex directly to grammatical gender, as the category of gender includes not only animate, but also inanimate nouns which do not have any relation to natural sex (Bondarko 1976a: 37-38; 1976b: 191-195).

Semantic gender series in nouns denoting persons

§264. In titles for people which have opposing gendered forms, the masculine gender denotes a person of masculine sex, while the feminine form denotes a person of feminine sex.[2] Meanwhile, another opposition is built on the presence of two grammatical subclasses of nouns. The first class is characterized by the presence of nouns of different etymological origins, including Pamir nouns going back to ancient Iranian stems,[3] as well as nouns of Tajik origin and of Arabic origin which have entered Shughni via Tajik (although these Arabic and Tajik nouns are much fewer in number). These are primarily terms denoting familial relations, such as the following (a longer list of these nouns is provided in Table 1 – I (Clint) have included these in the list below):

dod, tāt, pid	– father
puc	– son
γiδā	– boy
čor	– husband
čorik	– man
bob	– grandfather
mardīnā	– man
(a)mak	– uncle (father's side0

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[2] A number of works are dedicated to the interrelations of the categories of gender, person, and natural sex in other Indo-European languages, including in Russian (see, for instance, Neshchimenko 1960: 159-202; Petrovicheva 1967: 18-21; Yanko-Trinckaya 1966: 167-210; Zemskaya 1970: 4-10; Kopilovich 1971: 5-14; Muchnik 1971: 179-180).

[3] The etymology of a number of the nouns in this class is still not firmly estanlished, including *čor* and *γiδā.*

xolak	– uncle (mother's side) – from Ar. via Tajik
xisur	– father-in-law
xisīrdz	– brother-in-law
šūxolā	– uncle (husband of maternal aunt) – from Tj. шӯи хола
šūmā	– uncle (husband of paternal aunt) – from Tj. шӯи амма
nān	– mother
mūm	– grandmother
rizīn	– daughter
ɣāc	– girl
ɣin	– wife
ɣinik	– woman
kaxoy	– woman
awrat //	– paternal aunt
amā	
vic //	– maternal aunt
xolā	
xīx̌	– mother-in-law
xiyůn	– daughter-in-law
zanxolak	– aunt (wife of maternal uncle) – from Tajik зани холак
zalmak	– aunt (wife of paternal uncle) – from Tajik зани амак

These nouns, from a formal perspective, do not have a clear sign of gender. The type of vowels in them does not act as a fundamental characteristic of gender. Their gender distinction, rather, is linked to their semantics. The gender of these titles of people is observed syntactically via agreement constructions.

Some of these nouns have gender suffixes *-eǰ* (m.)*, -edz* (f.) attached to them, however (on these suffixes, see §§144, 145):

dodeǰ – step-father
(Bj. *pideǰ*)
nānedz – step-mother
(Ru-Kh. *mōdīdz*)
virodeǰ – step-brother
ɣaxedz – step-sister

§265. The second class of nouns includes morphologically marked nouns formed from a single stem. A detailed analysis of this type of nouns is given in the first part of this work in the description of corresponding morphological gender formants which form agentive nouns (see §§167-180, as well as Table 51). Here it is necessary to remind the reader that the formation of titles of people as this type of agentive nouns in Shughni, Bajuwi, and Roshorvi does not distinguish gender. In the other languages of the group the formation of such gendered suffixes

plays a large role in the formation of gender-distinguishing pairs of agentive nominals, particularly in the formation of participles from present stems.

Here we have the following suffixes:

1. Masculine: R-Kh. *-ů̊č, -ů̊ǰ*, Bt. *-ōč, -ö̊č*
   Feminine: R-Kh, Bt. *-ēc, -ēdz*
   *The Shughni form of this suffix is *-īǰ*, as in *nivišīǰ* 'writer'; *xoyīǰ* 'reader'

§266. Masculine and feminine natural sex is also distinguished in proper names for men and women,[4] including the following nouns which are formally distinguished:

M~F
Safar ~ Safār
Důlat/Dawlat ~ Důlāt/Dawlāt
Nazaršo/Nazarbēk ~ Nazarmō/Nazarbēgim
Nawrūzšo ~ Nawrūzmo
Šobēk / Šobēgim

Together with this, there are number of personal names which are used for people of a specific natural sex, but which do not have a formal correlate, such as the masculine names *Māmad, Aliyōr, Čůščabēk, Zūrbēk*, and the feminine names *Sanam(gul), Gulnamō, Zarīdz*.

Grammatically, the gender specification of these names can be seen syntactically: *My virō Čůšabēk **nūst**=at Zarīdz **toyd***.

§267. Many nouns which denote persons do not have gendered pairs:

pitiš   - cousin
yocgār - firekeeper
wistoð – builder; expert
kotib   - secretary
rayīs   -chairman; president
raykům – secretary of the district committee (= Rus. райком acronym of районный комитет)
duxtur – doctor

Such nouns can be called "general gender". Their gender specification as masculine or feminine is observed syntactically:

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[4] A list of the most widely used personal names is provided in Karamshoev 1963: 95; 1978: 279-280; Fayzov 1966: 22; Karamkhudoev 1973: 53; Kurbanov 1976: 60; as well as Tables 54 and 55 in the first part of this work.

Yu rayīs pi tīr sut
'the (male) president went up'

Yā rayīs pi tīr sat
'the (female) president went up'

yu duxtur wam tu pitiš xez vud
'that (male) doctor was with your cousin'

yā duxtur wi tu pitiš xez vad
'that (female) doctor was with your cousin.'

Gender specification in the system of titles of people is very steadfast, as there are no syntactically observed deviations when it comes to specifying the gender of a person via gendered forms. (CP – basically, the gender of these forms basically corresponds to the sex of the person being referred to)

Semantic gender series in nouns denoting animals

§268. The distinction of gender in animals, as with titles of humans, is generally connected to natural sex. Nonetheless, there are a number of important differences in the gender differentiation in names of animals (both real and mythological) compared with the titles of humans. This will be seen in the following description. The distinguishing feature of gender in the names of animals is that here, grammatical gender does not always coincide with the natural sex of the animal in question. Within nouns which distinguish gender in a semantically motivated way, the names of animals can be divided into two groups: (i) those which show morphological distinction via vowel (and consonant) alternations, and (ii) those which undergo suppletion. The first type is characterized by the formation of gender forms through internal inflection, of the type of vowel oppositions such as in *guǰ ~ giǰ* 'baby goat (m/f)'.

The second group is made up of words which are not etymologically connected, of the type *x̌īǰ* 'bull' and *žow* 'cow'.

§269. The number of animal-name nouns which share a stem and distinguish gender (and sex) via these vowel alternations is not very high. To this class we can add nouns which take a gendered suffix. Some examples of nouns in this single-stem class are the following:

kud~kid	'dog'
vorǰ~vêrdz	'stud/mare'
miɣīǰ~maɣ̌	'ram/sheep'

bung(ak)~bing(ak) 'donkey foal'
andzům(īǰ)~andzem 'ram/ewe (up to two years)'
wūrǰ~wirdzin (R-Kh./Bt.-Rv.).

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§270. It should be noted here, moreover, that outside of the gender and sex opposition, in a number of the nouns mentioned above the masculine form can take on a general meaning and therefore take on a comparatively greater frequency of usage. Thus, for instance, the masculine forms *vorǰ*, *wūrǰ*, and *kud*, in cases where the sex of the animal is not being emphasized, or where the word is not referring to a specific animal, are used in a number of aphorisms, sayings, and proverbs. For instance:

vorǰ nolen, x̌irbīǰ xu poð sent
'when they shoe a horse, a frog also has its paw lifted.'

kud jaqt=at, rāyi naǰ̌īst
'dogs bark and a traveler/caravan passes'

wŭrǰ qati parent=at xowand qati nŭd
'with a wolf a sheep is torn to pieces, and with the owner tears fall'

In Rushani the gender-distinguishing forms *puš~piš* 'cat' exist. In the other languages of the group the distinction is made only in compounds: *x̌oybuš* (<*x̌oypuš*) 'wild (male) cat'; *x̌oybiš* (<*x̌oybiš*) 'wild (female) cat'.

Without specific reference to the gender of the animal, the form *piš* is used for a cat, whether it is male or female. Hence, it is used as a general-gender term, which can be seen (as with the masculine forms above) most clearly in idioms:

yu ɣiðā muyi wīnt xu ricūst, piš di as x̌ūvd-ti ca ricīθt
'that boy, seeing me, ran away like a scared cat from milk'

(is this possible with *=yi* in second position? is it maybe some kind of focus?)

But when a specific cat is pointed out (and its gender is known), *piš* is feminine:

piš zūr kočor, kud-aθ as wam x̌oǰ ðêrt
'cats are strong animals; even dogs are afraid of them'

§271. The languages of the Shughni-Rushani group in some cases differ from one another with regard to their inventory of gender-distinguishing forms. Thus, Shughni and Bajuwi here differ from the other languages of the group in their lack of a number of gender-distinguishing forms.

Moreover, there are cases in which a gender-distinguishing form in the other languages corresponds in meaning to an entirely different lexeme in Shughni and Bajuwi. Some examples of these two phenomena include:

No gender distinction in Shughni:

(nīr) šīg   '(male) bull calf'
(*sitiredz*) *šīg*   '(female) bull calf'
cf. Ru. *šog~šēg*

Different lexeme in Shughni:

(nīr) wārg   '(male) lamb'
(*sitiredz*) *wārg*'(female) lamb'
cf. Ru. *ažor~ažēr*

(nīr) markāb // nar xar   '(male) donkey'
(*sitiredz*) *markāb // močak // moča-xar*   '(female) donkey'
cf. Ru. *šor~šār*

§272. Of interest are non-gender-distinguishing nouns denoting animals and their relation to natural sex. Thus, without any special emphasis on the animal's natural sex, the nouns *šīg* 'bull' and *wārg* 'lamb' are associated with masculine gender. For instance:

as sad šīg-and yīwik-aθ šīg wev-and **mūd**
'of a hundred bull calves, only a single one of theirs died'

In this case, the fact that we get masculine gender – for *šīg* in particular – is associated on the one hand with vowel correspondences, where the correspondence Ru. *o*, Sh. *ī* is associated with masculine gender – cf. Ru. *čod*, Sh. *čīd* 'house (m.)'. On the other hand, it may be associated with the general meaning of masculine gender as being associated with general concepts and the overall set of objects.

(But note that *wārg* has a typical feminine vowel – nothing is said about this word.)

The Shughni word *markāb* – borrowed from Arabic via Tajik –has the semantic equivalents Ru-Kh. *šor*, Bt-Rv. *šö̆r* (m.) ~ *šār* (f.). In Shughni and Bajuwi, the word *markāb* is feminine, which is apparently connected to it's *a*-vocalization:

as wev markāb-en miðen-and yīw vār, xokrūɣan **wam**-*ti wīz kinām*

'bring one of those donkeys and we'll load kerosene onto it (her)'

as bīst markāb-and yīw-aθ wi-rd xuš **sat**
'of twenty donkeys, she only liked one of them.

The Shughni word *yūrx̌* 'bear' is masculine, and its corresponding lexeme does not distinguish gender in all Shughni-Rushani languages except Roshorvi, where we have the feminine form *yirx̌an*. The fact that this word is masculine is in all likelihood connected to its *u*-vocalization.

§273. In order to specify the natural sex of animals, the following lexemes are used: *nīr* 'male' (cf. Av. *nairya-*) and *sitiredz* 'female' (cf. Av. *strī-*). The borrowed Tajik words *modā, močā* are also used. These words may be used with both gender-distinguishing nouns and non-gender-distinguishing nouns. Examples:

di nīr markāb pi bānd kin=at dam sitiredz (//močā) tar ǰingāl (cannot see this verb)
'tie that male donkey up and let the female go into the forest'

§274. A special group of nouns, mentioned above, is that in which gender and natural sex are distinguished via distinct lexemes. These include, for instance:

x̌ĩǰ 'bull' ~ **žow** 'cow'
nůbānd 'bull calf' ~ **farɣemc** 'calf (f.)'
buč(ak) 'billy goat' ~ **vaz** 'goat (f.)'

In Shughni, the word *bakal* is used alongside the word *farɣemc* to mean 'female calf':

yā bakal ar boɣ ded
'that female calf went into the garden'

The masculine form of this word *bakul* 'one-year-old' does not show gender-distinction and is used as an adjective with masculine nouns:

bakul wārg=i mu-rd ðod
'he gave me a one-year-old sheep'

The Shughni noun *x̌itur* 'camel', without specific reference to natural sex, is feminine. In order to specify the natural sex of this animal, in addition to the masculine words mentioned above (*nīr, ner, nar*), the masculine word *buɣro* (a Tajik borrowing) is used:

yu buɣro (//nīr) x̌itur zibud ar daryo
'that male camel jumped into the river'

§275. A significant number of nouns denoting animals and other living beings do not have gender-distinguishing pairs to distinguish between the natural sex of these animals. This is true primarily for those animals whose natural sex as masculine or feminine is of no practical significance to farmers. The gender specification of these nouns can be seen only syntactically. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of nouns falling into this category are feminine:

mešak	'argali (mountain sheep'
gowmeẋ	'buffalo'
mīrmūẋǔn	'weasel?'
miminak// maymūn	'monkey;
ðêy̌(g) // ðêy̌(d)	'marten'
gůrkowak	'hyena'
palāng	'lynx'
sangilovi	'otter'
ẋitum // xarguš	'rabbit'
růpc(ak)	'fox'
baðamak	'tailless rat'

Example to indicate the gender specification of one of these nouns as feminine:

yā <u>*růpcak*</u> *as piš ɣuladi* **vad**
'that fox was bigger than (a) cat'

The same nouns mentioned above – *nīr/nar* (m.) and *sitiredz* (// *modā*) are used to indicate the natural sex of these animals.

Certain nouns in this group are masculine, in particular those which have retained a stem vowel typical for masculine nouns:

pūrg	'mouse'
ẋirbīǰ	'frog'
ẋičīf	'marmot'

§276. Nouns denoting mythological creatures can be divided into two groups with respect to their gender specification. The first group has only a few nouns and is characterized by the morphological distinction of gender:

vūyd ~ voyd	'evil spirit' (cf. Av. *baxt-a-*)
žindūrv ~ žindārv	'werewolf' // 'greedy' (cf. Av. *gandarəva-*)

ǰoybŭn ~ ǰoyben   'house spirit; sprite'

The second group consists of nouns which do not have a gender-distinguishing pair but which belong to one or the other gender. It should be noted that the majority of these mythical creatures belong to the feminine gender. The following nouns, in contexts where natural sex // gender is not important, are feminine:

almasti   'supernatural feminine spirit' (Klimov, Edelman 1979: 57-63)
pari   'fairy' also 'beautiful girl'
aў̆dal //   'dragon'
sāγ̆(d)   'viper; serpent with a cat-like head
aždar

---p. 40--

When it is necessary to emphasize the natural sex of these nouns, they can be used as masculine. In these cases, their masculine gender shows up in agreement constructions:

yu pari wam potх̌o rizīn=i cift xu tūyd wam qati pi kūyi qof
'that fairy (male) stole the daughter of the king and took her to the mountain Qof'
(another instance of =i in third position)

Other nouns in this group are masculine, including Shughni *ðew* 'demon':

yu ðew wam γac-ti ošiq **sut**
'the demon fell in love with the girl.'

Similar to the phenomenon discussed above whereby typically feminine nouns denoting mythical creatures can be masculine when referring to a masculine character, this noun can likewise agree as feminine when the demon in question is feminine:

wam *ðew-and=en ðiyŭn ðew-buc sat*
'the (female) demon had two demon children.'

§277. The nouns discussed here denoting animals and mythological creatures can be used with the gender-distinguishing suffix *-buc/-bic* (on these suffixes, see §§194-202). Thus, in these cases, gender is regularly distinguished not only for nouns which have separate lexemes denoting each natural sex or which morphologically distinguish gender and natural sex, but also for this which don't. Hence, we get such nouns as *х̌iturbuc* 'baby (male) camel' and *х̌iturbic* 'baby (female) camel'. These same suffixes may also attach to words which do distinguish gender lexically or morphologically, such as in *guǰ-buc* 'baby (male) goat' and *giǰ-bic* 'baby (female) goat'.

The following pattern occurs when these nouns are used in the plural: when the natural sex of the animal in question is emphasized, both feminine and masculine nouns can be used with the plural suffixes *-en* and *-xel* such as in *guǰen* 'baby (male) goats' and *giǰen* 'baby (female) goats', or also *guǰxel*, *giǰxel*, and in *vorǰen, vêrdzen*, and *vorǰxel, vêrdzxel*.

However, if there is no need for emphasizing the natural sex of the animal, then the following phenomena are observed:

> **(i)** when using the suffix *-en*, *a-* (or *ā-*) vocalization occurs, as in:[5]
>
> *guǰ/giǰ* → *gaǰ-en*   'baby goats'
> *kud/kid* → *kad-en*   'dogs'
> *šīg* → *šag-en*   'bull calfs'
>
> **(ii)** when there are two gender-distinguishing forms in the singular, only one of them is used in the plural (either masculine of feminine):
>
> *wūrǰen* (cf. *wūrǰ* (m.) and *wirdzin* (f.))
> *yūrxen* (cf. Rv. *yūrx* (m.) and *yirxan* (f.))
> *pišen (*cf. *puš* (m.) and *piš* (f.))
>
> **(iii)** for nouns with a collective meaning, either the plural or the singular may be used with plural semantics. Thus, to indicate a set/multitude of animals, the following forms can be used: *sitůr(en)* 'cattle'; *mol(en)* 'livestock – sheep and goats'; *mineč(en)* 'sheep(s)'; *vizneč(en)* 'goats'; *wiloɣ(en)* 'for pack animals, including horses, donkeys, and camels.

§278. Collective nouns in their singular form are used with the masculine meaning, which is connected with the semantic workload of the masculine gender as an indicator of generalness (for more on this, see §§358-401 of this work). Examples:

> *māš* <u>*mol*</u> *ar ɣiǰīd* **vud**
> 'our (small) livestock was in the stable'

The transition of nouns from feminine to masculine also takes place when generality is indicated via the denominal suffixal component *-xel* (in isolation, the word *xel* means 'group; crowd'. In these cases, even for nouns which are feminine, their plural/general forms with *xel* are masculine, as in:

> **yu** *žowxel ar kaxt ðod*

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[5] Note that this phenomenon is not specific to animals. It occurs also, for instance, with the noun *čīd* → *čaden* 'houses'.

‘that group of cows went into the grain’

Thus, nouns which indicate groups of animals are masculine. However, when a noun is used to indicate an individual, concrete animal, gender distinction may take place. When there is no formal gender distinction, nouns denoting animals are predominantly feminine – the vast majority of animal names are feminine. In the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, this phenomenon is a tendency, whereas in Yazghulami this process is virtually complete, as in this language all names of animals (whether male or female) are syntactically feminine (as can be seen through agreement with gender-distinguishing demonstrative pronouns) – Edelman 1966: 39-40. For instance, *way-me uǩtsola bəc vəda, way ž-im* (f.) *ǩǩta-y* ‘he had an eight-year-old goat, and he killed it (f.)’.

Semantic gender series in nouns denoting birds

§279. The gender specification in names of birds is significantly different than that of human titles and animal names. Because the natural sex of the vast majority of birds does not have any practical implications for farmers, we find morphological gender distinction only in one name of a bird species: *čuǩ~čaǩ* ‘rooster / hen’. Nonetheless, the meaning of gender is preserved well in this class of nouns, a fact which can be seen in agreement constructions. Feminine gender is predominant in the names of birds as well. The bulk of bird names are feminine, including the following:

cicu	- snowcock (улар)
čibůd	- dove; pigeon (голубь)
gorð	– quail (перепелка)
kiǩêpc	– magpie (сорока)
mindêdzak	– swallow (ласточка)
ɣ̌až	– alpine chough (альпинская галка)
xiǩtak	– sparrow (воробей)
tazarf	– starling (скворец)
wiðič	– swallow; bird (generally – пташка)
ǰaɣ(ɣ)ā	– stork (аист)
xūrn	– crow (ворона)
zarīdz	– partridge (куропатка)

§280. The names of birds which are borrowed from Tajik or from other languages via Tajik belong to feminine gender:

aqob	– eagle (орел)
bulbul	– nightingale (соловей)
tūti	– parrot (попугай)
kargas	– eagle (орел)

foxtā	– ringdove; wood pigeon (вя́хирь)
būm	– owl (со́ва)
semurɣ	– Simurgh (benevolent mythical bird, equated with the phoenix)
marɣovi	– duck (у́тка)
zoɣovi	– goose (гусь)
indūk	– turkey (инд<u>ю</u>к)

§281. It should be noted that by virtue of the fact that the feminine gender is dominant in the names of birds, in some cases there are certain words associated with birds that are formed with feminine formants, such as *rošt-ðumak* 'red-tailed' (note that *ðum* 'tail' is a masculine noun).

There are a few deviations from the general rule that the names of birds are feminine. Thus, the following nouns are masculine:

abubāk	– hoopoe (уд<u>о</u>д)
čuɣdz //	– eagle owl (ф<u>и</u>лин)
ǰuɣz	
ǰuɣdz	
boz	– falcon (с<u>о</u>кол)
bošā	– red-footed falcon (к<u>о</u>бчик)

The fact that these nouns are masculine can likely be explained by the fact that they have *u*-vocalization. Nonetheless, there are examples in which these names of birds agree as feminine.

§282. The following generalizations can be made about the names of animals and birds in the Shughni-Rushani group:

(i) For a number of names of animals (and one bird), morphologically or lexically formed pairs of words exist which distinguish grammatical gender.

(ii) When there is a lack of such a morphological or lexical opposition, the gender specification depends on semantic factors, or more rarely, on formal factors (e.g. the stem vowel)

(iii) Also when there is a lack of such a morphological or lexical opposition, most of the nouns in question are feminine.

Semantic gender series in nouns denoting other living beings

§283. Other nouns which denote living beings – in this case gender is not distinguished – include insects, flies, worms, fish, snakes, etc. In the majority of cases, these nouns are feminine, such as in the following cases:

tīvd	– mosquito (кома́р)
θêwnak	– small mosquito? (мелкий комар)
čangin	– fly (муха)
civīnc	– wasp (// bee?) (ос<u>а</u>)
wepc	– moth (моль)
žowak	– beetle (жук)
xarɣāx̌	– scorpion (скорпи<u>о</u>н)
šavdzod	– bug (general)? // bedbug (клоп)
firêy̌dz	– flea (блох<u>а</u>)
sipay̌	– louse (вошь)
rax̌č	– nit (louse egg) – гн<u>и</u>да
ɣů̆y̌-tafānak	– a small worm which crawls into the year
čīrm	– worm (черв<u>як</u>)
tānīǰak	– spider (па<u>у</u>к)
vazič	– grasshopper (кузн<u>е</u>чик)
moyi	– fish
seǰibak	– tadpole (голов<u>а</u>стик)
divūsk[6]	– snake (зме<u>я</u>)
fol-folānāk	– ladybug (б<u>о</u>жья кор<u>о</u>вка)

Some examples of these words in phrases are given for the other languages of the group to demonstrate that they agree as feminine nouns.

§284. The fact that the nouns listed above belong to the feminine gender can again be explained by two factors: (i) a logical-semantic factor and (ii) a formal factor. Because the fundamental tendency in the system of gender of nouns without pairs distinguishing natural sex is that they belong to the feminine gender, this tendency includes the nouns in question as well. However, an important role here is also played by the type of vowels in these words: the vast majority of

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[6] The other languages in the group have an *ā* as the stem vowel in the word for 'snake', including Bajuwi *divāsk*. Because of the fact that we get the vowels of the model *ū~ā*, we can posit that this word was a gender-distinguishing pair. Shughni has preserved the masculine form, while the other languages have preserved the feminine form. However, seeing as this word falls into the class of animal names, even the Shughni word belongs to feminine gender: *dam divūsk-tīr mā-nix̌pār* 'don't step on that snake'.

the names of animals listed above contain a stem vowel which is characteristic for the feminine gender, namely *a*- and *i*-type vowels.

The notion that a noun's stem vowel also plays a role in its gender specification is supported by the fact that certain names of insects which contain *u*-like vocalization – typical for masculine gender – are masculine. These include the following:

šīrak[7]   – tick (клещ)
židīšk   – grasshopper (кузнечник)

A phrasal example: *di židīšk dāk* 'give me the grasshopper'.

These facts indicate that the gender specification of nouns denoting the names of animals, but for which sex is not distinguished in the language, is in some cases dictated by logical-semantic factors, and in others it is dictated by formal factors. In many cases, these two factors align to create favorable conditions for these nouns to belong to the feminine gender. That is, in addition to the independent tendency for these nouns to be feminine, many of them also contain stem vowels which are characteristic of feminine nouns.

Category of gender in inanimate nouns

§285. The presence of the category of gender in inanimate nouns which are not connected to natural sex is an important indicator of the strength of this category and its significance within the grammatical system of the Shughni-Rushani languages. We can determine the belonging of a particular noun to either masculine or feminine gender primarily syntactically – i.e. in constructions where gender agreement takes place.

It is not possible in this section to give an analysis of the gender of all inanimate nouns. This task might be undertaken in a comparative dictionary of the languages and dialects of the Shughni-Rushani group.[8]

An analysis of a large amount of data on the Shughni-Rushani languages suggests that the gender specification of inanimate nouns depends in large part on their meaning. In addition to this, the gender specification of nouns is also somewhat significantly tied to the type of stem vowel they have and other formal markers which took root during bygone periods of these languages' development.

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[7] This word has other vowels in the other language, such as in Bt-Rv. *šö̆rak*, R-Kh. *šorak*. This is a case where the historical correspondence of vowels is such that *ī*, when corresponding to Rushani *o* and Bartangi *ȫ* is a marker of masculine gender (for more on this, see §§16-22 in Part 1).

[8] The creation of a dictionary is included in the plan of the Pamirology Department of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR (for the years?) 1976-1985.

§286. Despite the break-up of the ancient morphological system of gender distinction, which used not only oppositions in stem shape to distinguish gender, but also inflectional paradigms, and despite the total loss of the neuter gender, which led to the replacement of a trichotomic system with a dichotomic system, the languages of the Shughni Rushani group have preserved the historical gender specification of a relatively large number of inanimate nouns.

The issue of the presence in the modern Iranian languages – including the Pamir languages – of the ancient gender classification (of nouns) was first looked at by L. A. Khetagurov (1939: 93). On the basis of an analysis of 108 inanimate nouns, he established that in the Shughni language, 68% of nouns (which is more than in other Iranian languages) have preserved their ancient gender specification. According to him, this analysis indicates that there is a tendency for Shughni to preserve ancient gender specifications. My data fully support this conclusion. Below I give examples of modern words which share the same gender specification as their ancient etymological counterparts. Among the examples I give, there are also some which arose as a result of contamination with Tajik or which where borrowed directly from Tajik (including Arabic words borrowed via Tajik).

§287. Many nouns in the Shughni-Rushani group which have etymological counterparts in the ancient Iranian languages, have preserved their masculine gender (see Table 2 in the appendices). The following examples are provided here:

divi/divu	door	cf. Av. *dvar*, O.P. *duvar-*
ðust	hand	cf. Av. *zasta-*, O.P. *dasta-*, Munji *lost*
ðum	tail	cf. Av. *duma-*, Munji *lum*
māɣz, māɣdz	brain	cf. Av. *mazga-*, Munji *maɣz*
yoc	fire	cf. Av. *ātar-, atr-*
θīr	ash	cf. Av. *ātrya-* (neuter)
xīf	foam	cf. Av. *kafa-*, Khot. *kava-*
xūvd	milk	cf. Av. *xšvīvd, xšvīpta-*
yūxk	tear	cf. Av. *asru-* (neuter), Munji *yošk*

(Several more examples are provided in Table 2 on p. 135.)

§288. In some cases, however, we find that ancient Iranian nouns which were masculine have etymological counterparts in the Shughni-Rushani languages which are feminine (see Table 3 on p. 136). In some cases, this discrepancy is connected with formal markers which suggest feminine gender, and in other cases it is connected with semantics. In the following examples, it is perhaps the formal marker which is more at play, as these nouns have either *a-* or *i-* vocalization:

žīr	stone	Av. *gari-*
čêd	knife	Av. *karəta-* (in the Sh.-Ru. group from **karti-*)
yed	bridge	Av. *haetu-*

mêst	moon/month	Av. *mah-* (in the Sh.-Ru. group from *māsti-*)

Thus, a signficant portion of ancient Iranian masculine nouns are still masculine in the modern Shughni-Rushani languages. However, a few ancient masculine nouns have undergone a transition to feminine gender, which is likely connected to the fact that they have developed stem vowels which typically correspond to the feminine gender.

§289. A similar picture can be painted for nouns which continue ancient Iranian feminine nouns (see Table 4). Ancient feminine nouns whose etymological counterparts continue to be feminine in the Shughni-Rushani languages include the following:

wêð	stream/canal	Av. *vaiði-*
wān	willow	Av. *vanā-* ('tree')
sidz	needle	Av. *sukā-*

In some cases, ancient Iranian nouns could belong to multiple genders, while in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group their etymological counterparts belong only to the feminine gender. This is the case for the following:

sitan	column	Av. *stūnā-* (f.), *stūna-* (m.)
ziv	tongue	Av. *hizvā-* (f.), *hizva-* (n.)

A similar phenomenon, whereby a single noun may belong to different genders (sometimes with different gender markings?) is observed in the Shughni-Rushani group, but with different nouns:

Sr.-Kh. *arðon* (m.) 'a small groove'. *arðān-* (f.) 'the main canal in a field for sowing'
cf. Av. *dānu-* (m.)

Sh. *x̌oð* (m.) 'house; farmstead'; *x̌êð* (f.) 'summer pasture'
cf. Av. *šay-*, Tj. *saroy* 'shed; storage building'.

§290. Of particular interest is the issue regarding the fate of ancient Iranian neuter nouns. As far as I can tell, the vast majority of ancient Iranian neuter nouns have come into the modern Shughni-Rushani group as masculine nouns (see Table 5). A few examples are the following:

cem	eye	Av. *čašman*
ðorg	(piece of) wood	**dāruka-*, Av., O.P. *dāru-*
γūnǰ	hair	Av. *gaona-*
růz	(opening in the roof of a Pamir house)	Av. *raočah-*, O.P. *raučah-* 'light'

The fact that these nouns are masculine in the modern Shughni-Rushani languages is connected primarily to their formal characteristics – namely that they have a vowel which is typically found in masculine nouns.

It is much rarer for ancient Iranian neuter nouns be feminine in the modern Shughni-Rushani languages. Examples include the following:

sipaẙ   louse   Av. *spiš-*, cf. Mnj. *spəya, spəga, spuga*

A table is provided here indicating that ancient Iranian nouns of masculine, feminine, and neuter genders have all ended up as both masculine and feminine Shughni nouns.

If we don't take into consideration individual deviations, we can generally conclude that in the sphere of nouns denoting objects, the modern Shughni-Rushani languages have continued the gender specification of these nouns' ancient Iranian counterparts. The vast majority of ancient Iranian neuter nouns, for their part, have come into the modern Shughni-Rushani languages as masculine nouns.

§291. The discussion above allows us to make the conclusion that the gender classification of inanimate nouns in the Shughni-Rushani group is based on formal marking – both the formal marking inherited from the ancient Iranian period, as well as the formal markings developed later and connected to the morphological models which are characteristic for the Shughni-Rushani group. The classification of a specific noun in these languages as masculine or feminine depends on two fundamental factors, a morphological factor and a logical-semantic factor. The morphological factor was discussed in the first part of the book, and this part of the book is dedicated primarily to the semantic factor. The linguistic evidence we have indicates that semantics plays a large role in the gender specification of inanimate nouns. The significance of semantic factors is so great that the role of formal gender markings can be neutralized in the vast majority of cases.

The following discussion on the issue of gender classification of inanimate nouns will look at feminine and masculine nouns in their respective turns. With this goal in mind, I will begin by presenting an analysis of nouns whose gender specification is absolute. This is precisely how abstract nouns are, for instance, as they generally belong to the masculine gender.

Gender classification of abstract nouns

§292. In the ancient Iranian languages, the gender classification of inanimate nouns was not attributed to their status as abstract or concrete (or real). In Avestan and in the manuscripts of Middle Iranian languages, abstract nouns (with the exception of those which were formed with specific suffixes for abstract and general nouns) could belong to any of the three genders (most

often, however, they belonged to either feminine or neuter gender). Thus, the following abstract nouns belonged to feminine gender:

Av. *axšti-* 'peace'
Av. *savā-* 'use'
O.P. *šiyāti-* 'happiness, joy'
Av. *drug-* 'lie'
Av. *daēnā-* 'religion'
etc.

The following abstract nouns belonged to neuter gender:

Av. *aša-* 'truth'
Av. *šyaoθ(a)na-* 'deed; act'
O.P. *xšaθra-* 'kingdom'
O.P. *manāh-* 'mind; intellect'
Av. *tamah-* 'darkness; hell'
Av. *dāmān-* 'creation'

The following abstract nouns belonged to masculine gender:

Av. *ama-* strength
Av. *baršan-, baršn-* height, depth
etc.

In those modern Iranian languages which have preserved the category of gender, abstract nouns belong predominantly to the feminine gender. Thus, for instance, in the dialects of Kurdish (Kurmanji, Mukri, Sorani), all abstract nouns and deverbal nouns belong to the feminine gender (Kurdoev 1978: 52). An analogous phenomenon is found in Pashto (Dvoryankov 1960: 31).

§293. The following specific tendency is found for abstract nouns (whether indigenous or borrowed) in the Shughni-Rushani languages: they are all masculine, independent of their morphological/formal markers.

Regarding their morphological characteristics, abstract nouns can be divided into three groups:

    (i) simplex nouns (i.e. stems), such as *moẙdz* 'hunger' and *x̌oǰ* 'fear;

    (ii) nouns which have derivational suffixes, such as *maẙdzŭnǰgi* 'starvation'; *têri* 'blackness'

    (iii) nouns which are formed from the gender-distinguishing forms of adjectives, such as *rūšti* 'redness', *rošti*

Among abstract nouns, a large portion is made up of those which have been borrowed from Tajik (including Arabic nouns which have come into the Shughni-Rushani languages by way of Tajik), as well as Russian nouns. It is particularly notable that nouns denoting objects which have been borrowed from Russian belong to the feminine gender, while abstract nouns borrowed from Russian belong to the masculine gender.

§294. Here, we look at abstract nouns of the first type, namely those which constitute simplex stems (including borrowed nouns of this type). Examples include the following:

moẙdz	hunger
zů̊ɣ	curse
šito	cold (n.)
wuž (Tj.)//	intellect; senses
ren	
kor (Tj.)	work
noz (Tj.)//	coquetry; primness
wisūl (Ar.)	
dow (Ar.)	purpose; tendency
ameð, umeð (Tj.)	hope
andex̌ā (Tj.)	reflection; thought
fikri (Ar.)	thought
ixtisos (Ar.)//	profession; specialty
sipiciālnust (Ru.)	

Some phrasal examples:

mu umeð as tu kantā sut
'I have no more hope for you.'

tu=t mi šito-ndīr tar kā rawů̊n
'where are you going in this cold ?'

§295. A large number of abstract nouns have been formed with nominalizing suffixes from words of different parts of speech (most often from other nouns, adjectives, and verbal stems). The most productive of these suffixes are *-i* and its variant *-gi*. Examples include the following:

zīrdi	yellowness
têri	blackness
x̌ābi	darkness; the dark of night
meθini	daytime; dawn
lišmi	smoothness
bašāndi	goodness
žīwǰgi //	love

žīwǰgaȟ
čūrði   crookedness
etc.

Words containing this suffix which have been borrowed from Tajik and Russian are also masculine:

duzdi   theft
mudamaɣi   stubbornness
kaǧi   crookedness (Tj. *kažī*)
asgari   military service
rivizori   inspector/auditor duty

Phrasal examples demonstrating the gender specification of these words are given:

mu puc di as di xu saldāti yat, tam=ta wi bozum ȟeytow
'when my son arrives from his military service, I'll send him to study'

Faroz di rivizori-ti ȟeyt=xu šič=en katā wi čūȟǰ
'Faroz studied to be an inspector, and now they've given him a lot of duties'

yā aqob wi lišmi-ti nost
'the eagle sat on the smooth (part of) the mountain'

iku wev mudamaɣi māš kor-i tar zibo patêwd
'their stubbornness set out work back'

---p. 55---

Feminine nouns which take on this suffix also transition to the masculine gender. Examples include the following:

Fem.	Gloss	Masc.	Gloss
ȟac	water	*ȟaci*	wateriness
pūd	ford; sandbar	*pūdi*	an area with sandbars
awz (Tj.)// *awdz*	pool	*awdzi*	depth??
qůl (Tj.)	lake	*qůli*	depth/whirlpool

A phrasal example:

*tar **di** q̊ů̱li mā-sāw, ɣůt niθi*
'don't go into the deep part or you'll sink.'

Abstract nouns formed with other suffixes are also masculine, such as the following:

barɣadax	push
šaladax	interference
abridax	cloudiness
darūnā	interior; inside
warzaX̌	habit; custom
warziX̌	
nolaX̌	moan; groan

Some phrasal examples:

biyor abridax vud
'there was cloudiness yesterday'

wam šer-and iku wam nolaX̌ to rux-ec X̌uð̌ak sut
'the lion's groans could be heard until morning'

Thus, all abstract nouns – both simplex and derived (i.e. formed with derivational suffixes) belong to the masculine gender. Even abstract nouns derived from feminine nouns are masculine.

§296. Of particular interest are abstract nouns which are formed from gender-distinguishing qualitative adjectives via the derivational suffix *-i*. (For a list of these, see Table 6). The distinguishing feature of this group of nouns is that gender-distinguishing qualitative adjectives retain their formal gender specification in abstract nouns formed from them (though grammatically they transition to masculine gender? . . . or maybe they don't).

Hence, in the examples below, the feminine forms of the adjective transition to masculine gender when combined with the derivational suffix *-i*. Examples:

rūšt	(m.)	*rūšti* (m.)	redness
rošt	(f.)	*rošti*	
šut	(m.)	*šuti*	lamemess
šat	(f.)	*šati*	

§297. We see abstract nouns formed from feminine qualitative adjectives belong to feminine gender primarily in attributive constructions. In these cases, the feminine form generally attaches after a feminine noun, such as in the following:

mūn rošti   'the redness of the/a apple // apple redness'
(*mūn* 'apple' is feminine)

ðůɣ tax̌pi   'sourness of the dugh'
(*ðůɣ* 'dugh' is feminine)

qůl karci   'depth of the lake'
(*qůl* 'lake' is feminine)

It should be mentioned, however, that there are few deviations with respect to the gender classification of the feminine form of abstract nouns:

> **(i)** in their attributive agreement, masculine forms can also be used; hence, we can have either *mūn rošti* or *mūn rūšti*; either *qůl karci* or *qůl kurci*; either *žīr žarni* or *žīr žurni* 'the roundness of the stone'.

> **(ii)** Feminine forms of abstract nouns can combine with masculine forms demonstrative pronouns/articles and verb stems. For instance:

> *wam mūn-and ik-u <u>rošti</u> xuš **sut***
> 'I liked the redness of that apple'

§298. Because of the general tendency for abstract nouns to be masculine, morphologically motivated feminine abstract nouns are rarely used. Hence, the masculine correlate is most often used. This is reflected in the fact that the masculine correlates of abstract nouns are used with nouns that denote feminine beings. Some examples:

yā ɣāc xub xušruy=at iku wam šuti wam zebi zox̌č
'that girl is extremely pretty, but her lameness has taken her beauty'

yā kampīr lůd, mu-nd mu dzuliki bašand naɣ̌jīd
"that old woman said: 'my childhood went well'"

It can be added that the rare usage of feminine correlates of abstract nouns in attributive constructions with feminine nouns (of the type *mūn rošti* 'the redness of the apple') has a lexicalized nature (i.e. this is like a compound?). We can therefore conclude that in general, the semantic feature of the category of gender within abstract nouns neutralizes their formal gender markers. For this reason, morphologically motivated feminine abstract nouns agree syntactically as masculine nouns.

It should be emphasized that abstract nouns are formed predominantly from the masculine form of gender-distinguishing adjectives, such as the following:

maўdzůnĵgi	hunger	*maўdzůnĵ~maўdzendz*
poðviyoĵi	barefootness	*poðviyoĵ~poðviyedz*

A phrasal example:

mu nān lůd piro waxt=um as dasti xu poðviyoĵi tar mardum čīd na-ded
'my mother said: in the olden days I couldn't enter into people's houses because of my barefootness'

§299. Words which denote sicknesses – both indigenous and borrowed – also belong to this group and are masculine:

kunok //	diarrhea
risak	
boð	eczema
xaraẋ	scabies
čimnol	trachoma (an infectious disease of the eyelid)
kêxak	cough
piršak	sneezing
šinīgdzak //	cold // flu
girīp	
qů(w)s	appendicitis
nīmsār	migraine // headache
saqo //tuberculosis	
tiburkulos	
suzok	gonorrhea

It can be said that the specification of this group of nouns as masculine is primarily connected to the fact that the noun *dārð* 'pain; disease' is masculine and denotes the general and abstract concept of pain and disease. Phrasal examples:

*wi <u>dārð</u> **ziduẋt***
'he got better (lit. his pain went away)'

***di** tu <u>dārð</u> čāy xub čūd*
'who made your pain better ?'

Moreover, compound nouns formed with *dārð* are masculine, such as the following:

bandak-dārð	'rheumatism (lit. disease of the joints)'
cem-dārð	trachoma; eye disease
qīč-dārð	intestinal disease
sardil-dārð	stomach pain; stomach ulcer
ðindūn-dārð	tooth pain
noy-dārð	tonsillitis
zorð-dārð	heart pain

Phrasal example:

yu wi qīč-dārð anǰūvǰ=i vo
his 'old' stomach pain started up again

§300. Deverbal nouns indicating actions also belong to the class of abstract nouns – both in their semantics and in their gender specification. We can distinguish two groups of deverbal nouns here: (i) infinitives (of the type *cêridz*, *cêrtow* 'plowing'); and (ii) composites, formed via a combination of a noun with a short (truncated) infinitive, as in *čoy-birêx̌t* 'tea-drinking'.

§301. Deverbal nouns ending in *-idz* function as nouns. This type stands out as less common in Shughni. Examples include the following:

cêridz plowing
šandidz laughter; joke
(other languages in the group have more words of this type)

Phrasal example:

yu *wev* <u>*cêridz*</u> *tayor* **sut**=*at vidoǰ sar sut*
'their plowing finished and then the irrigation began.'

§301. I consider infinitives formed with the suffix *-ow* to be deverbal nouns of action. Here are a few examples of infinitives used as masculine nouns:

māš x̌êydow di tayor sut, tiyām=ta pi Pomer
'as soon our studying finishes, we'll go to the Pamirs'

tu=ta as di xu tīdow x̌emūn sāwi
you'll regret your leaving.

wind iku wi šintow as tu bīdi
'his laughing is better than yours'

§303. The second group is made up of nouns formed via combinations of nouns and short infinitive forms. Examples include the following:

guǰ tīžd	buzkashi (lit. goat pulling)
kāl zinêd	hairwashing
čīd ded	housewarming
rux ðed	dawn
gůy bêxt	polo
aga čīd	waking up
pārk rixt	leaf-fall
ǧin vīd	marriage (from a man's perspective?)\

Phrasal example:

guǰ-tīžd tayor **sut**=*at ǧiniken-and* <u>*wulčak-bêxt*</u> *sar* **sut**
'buzkashi finished and the swinging game for the women started'

§304. This examination of abstract nouns allows us to make the following conclusions:

> **(i)** All abstract nouns and deverbal nouns belong to masculine gender.

> **(ii)** The existence of a few nouns formed from the feminine correlate of a gender-distinguishing pair of qualitative adjectives does not change the general picture with respect to the gender specification of this class of nouns.

The dominance of the masculine gender is particularly apparent in the subclass of nouns which are formed from gendered adjectival pairs, such as *rūšti~rošti* 'redness', where the feminine correlate appears to be lexicalized and agrees as a masculine noun. This indicates that the semantic pre-conditions of the category of masculine gender are so significant that the morphological marker is neutralized.

Gender classification of geographical names / toponyms

§305. Despite the fact that the micro-toponyms of the Western Pamir have been studied over the course of a few years by R. Kh. Dodykhudoev (1975a, 1975b), the issue of gender in these terms has remained open.

The analysis of my material indicates that the two usual factors are at play: the semantic and morphological factors. The names of cities, regions, villages, various populated points, and summer pastures, regardless of their formal internal structure, are masculine:

Xaraɣ
Rižůn
Wānǰ
Waxůn
Šikošum
Bǎrtang
Rošorv
ɣund
Poržnev
Žuǰānd
Vůmār
Bajůw
Sožčārv
Dušanbi
Maskow
Leningrād

The fact that the majority of geographic names and toponyms are masculine is likely connected to semantic factors, and in particular with the fact that nouns such as the following are masculine:

ǰoy   – place
qišloq   – village
diyor   – village
žār[9]   – city

The idea is that because these nouns are masculine, names which denote an instance of them are also masculine.

The notion that the names provided above – and ones like them – are masculine can be illustrated syntactically:

*as **di** <u>Sožčārv</u>=um pi **mi** <u>Bajůw</u> wuz beždi žīwǰ*
'I like (or prefer to stay) in Bajuw more than Soxcharv.'

*tām <u>Wāmd</u> xužk **vud**=at **mi** <u>Vůmar</u>-and ɣal žiniǰ vud*
'at that time Vamd was dry (without snow), while there was still snow in Vamar'

as di Maskow=at cawaxt yat? Yid tu-rd lapdi xuš sut-o Leningrād ?
'when did you get back from Moscow? Did you like it more or Leningrad more?'

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[9] The noun *žār* 'city' is used in rare cases as a feminine noun. This is apparently connected to the fact that it contains the vowel *ā* which is typically associated with feminine gender. For instance: *ti tar dam dev žar sāwām* 'let's go to their city'.

It is important to add here that when toponyms are used to indicate a geographical feature that is feminine, the name itself transitions to feminine gender. Thus, for instance, the toponym *Saɣridax̌t* is masculine when it is used to refer to the populated place (i.e. village); however, when it is used to refer to the geographic feature 'mountain pass', which is *kutal* (f.), the name is feminine, as in:

pi dam Saɣridax̌t=ta šič sifîdow na-boftxi, zůn-ti žiniǰ wam-tīr
'one cannot get to the mountain pass Saghridaxt right now; there is knee-deep snow on it right now'

§306. Of particular interest are complex toponyms, which are formed from combinations of micro-toponyms (i.e. names) and masculine or feminine nouns.

In these cases, the gender specification of the entire toponym is dictated by the final component. That is, if the second (nominal) component of the complex toponym is feminine, the entire complex toponym is feminine; on the other hand, if the second component is masculine, the entire complex toponym remains masculine. The following nouns, which may be used as the second component of toponyms, are feminine:

kutal	mountain pass
darā	valley
now	shallow ravine
čīn	bluff; cliff
parīn	a small path which is difficult to go along and runs along side a mountain stream
sel	scree; stream of rocks and dirt with water
sir	a rocky shallow ravine
molā	slope; incline
têdz	cornice (of a mountain)

A phrasal example :

dam kutal-ti=ta ar Xůf ǰāld firāpi
'you'll get through that mountain pass quickly to get to Khuf'

pp. 64-65 are missing

On the first part of p. 66 there is a bit about the interactions of three factors in determining a noun's gender specification. I believe these are:

> **(i)** its historical gender specification in ancient Iranian languages (when relevant)
> **(ii)** its semantics
> **(iii)** its formal morphophonological properties

In some cases, all three factors align. For instance, the noun *x̌āb* 'night' (i) is historically feminine – cf. Av. *xšap-, xšapā-* (f.); (ii) has the vowel *-ā*, which is typical for feminine noun in the modern Shughni-Rushani languages; and (iii) it is associated with other nouns indicating time periods, which are also feminine, such as *meθ, mêst, sol, tiramo*.

We only get these three factors working together in rare cases. More often, one or two factors – generally semantics and morphophonology – play the most important role. Thus, some nouns denoting objects in ancient Iranian were masculine but have transitioned into feminine in the modern Shughni-Rushani languages. Examples include the following:

žīr	stone	Av. *gairi-*
čêd	knife	Av. *karəta-*
x̌itêrdz	star	Av. *stār-*
yed	bridge	Av. *haētu-*

In these cases, in the Shughni-Rushani group the effect of the morphophonological factor is obvious: these nouns all contain front vowels which are characteristic of the feminine gender.

§310. The effect of the semantic factor can be seen in feminine nouns which have preserved a vowel which is typical for masculine nouns (i.e. which have *u*-vocalization). This is the case for the following feminine nouns:

qůl	lake
tūð	mulberry tree
ɣůz	walnut tree
noš	apricot tree

Here, for the nouns denoting trees in particular, the semantic factor is apparently at play in the sense that words which indicate types of trees are typically feminine, such as *wed* 'willow', *wān* 'willow bed'; *rīm* 'poplar', and *zilɣůr* 'barberry'. Also feminine are nouns indicating water reservoirs and irrigation structures, such as *awz* 'pond'; *qůl* 'lake; *daryo*, *šarvidoǰ* 'stream, river'; *bār* 'sea'; *wêð* 'channel; stream'; *čax̌mā* 'spring'. Despite the eclectic collection of vowels in these words, all these nouns form a semantic class and are feminine. Note further that we have both indigenous and borrowed (Arabic, Tajik) words.

Thus, in some cases, the gender specification of nouns denoting objects is morphophonologically motivated, while in other cases it is semantically motivated. Because an important role in gender classification is played by semantic factors, we remain on this topic and examine in more detail individual lexical classes of nouns denoting objects.[10]

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[10] A semantic basis for gender classification in nouns denoting objects takes place in other Indo-European languages as well, notably in Russian. As noted by V. V. Vinagradov (1947: 61), 'in modern Russian, we can see a certain consistency, based on meaning, in the distribution of individual groups of nouns with respect to their gender.' As an example, he gives a number of nouns associated with paper monetary units and types of fire-based weapons. It

§311. If we consider the number of all masculine nouns – both abstract nouns and nouns denoting objects – then we can say that they surpass feminine nouns in number. We should also take into consideration the possibility of . . .

pp. 68-69 are missing

————————————————p. 70————————————————

Page 70 starts off with a section indicating that clothes form a semantic class of feminine nouns. The nouns *šol* 'shawl', *patlůn* 'pants', and *lemol* 'woman's headscarf' are all feminine.

Borrowed Russian nouns denoting clothing are also feminine:

šinīl	large overcoat	шинель
paltoy	overcoat	пальто
kastūm	suit	костюм
pīnǰak	cotton jacket	ватный пиджак
palāš	raincoat	плащ
makintoš	mackintosh (waterproof raincoat)	макинтош
kūrtkā	jacket	куртка
šārf	scarf	шарф
kepkā	peaked cap	кепка
farāškā	service cap	фуражка

A phrasal example:

yā <u>*paltoy*</u> *ar mu qoyil=at* **yā** <u>*kastūm*</u> *murd* **dzal**
'the overcoat fits me perfectly and the suit is small for me.'

§315. The names of bed items and saddle items (including borrowed words) are generally feminine:

lef	blanket
bolaǯ	a small cotton blanket (< Tj. *bolišt*)
namad	large felt mat
palês, pilês	a carpet made from goat wool
kāgān	a small child's mattress filled with straw
pocvāǯ	small lamp for children (in a cradle)

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should be kept in mind that the formal markers of gender in Russian (i.e. types of vowels and conjugation patterns) are much clearer in Russian than in the Shughni-Rushani languages.

čodar	bedsheet
wurmā //	caparison (an ornamental covering for horses)
quramā	
jil	an old blanket used as a caparison for pack animals
qolīn	rug

Borrowed Russian words denoting bed accessories are also feminine:

madrās	mattress
adyāl	blanket
daroškā	carpet

Some phrasal examples:

dam lef tar vaǰ ziwêð
'take that blanket outside'

dam madras weð xu bīr=at mam adyāl xu tīr ðāð
put that mattress under yourself and put this blanket on yourself.

There are a few generalizations to this general tendency, however. Thus, the following words I have recorded as masculine:

padūška	(Ru.)	pillow
takyā	(Tj.)	pillow

di takyā murd dāk
'give me that pillow'

yu padūškā kačūd?
'where is that pillow.'

This deviation is apparently connected to the fact that the indigenous word *vīǧdzeǰ* 'pillow' is morphologically motivated as masculine.

ku di xu viǧdzeǰ ðar kin
'move your pillow away.'

wi viǧdzeǰpast vud
'he had a low pillow.'

§316. The gender classification of **nouns denoting food (i.e. prepared meals)** requires a detailed analysis, as the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group exhibit significant

discrepancies in this regard. In particular, in Shughni and Bajuwi a portion of nouns indicating foods are feminine, and another portion of them are masculine. For Rushani, M. Fayzov (1966: 22) has indicated that all nouns denoting foods are masculine. In Bartangi, like Shughni and Bajuwi, a part of these nouns are masculine and a part are feminine (Karamkhudoev 1973: 56).

I attempted to check the gender classification of the relevant words in all languages and dialects of the group. In certain dubious cases, I checked these in agreement constructions. In what follows, for these cases I have put the number of instances in which they were found to be of each gender.

§317. If we look only at the material for Shughni and Bajuwi, the number of nouns denoting meals/food is not very high. The majority of these nouns belong to the feminine gender. It should be noted that within masculine nouns denoting food, we see commonalities across the languages, while for feminine nouns we see differences. (?? – the previous sentence doesn't make sense.) The following are masculine:

xurok, awqot	food
garðā	bread
kulčā, kulčabuc	small bread
guẍt	meat
kabob	kabob (in R-X. this is seen twice as masculine, once feminine)
ruẙan	oil
ðůn	fried grain (wheat or barley)
marůb	cream
alyok //	curd cheese
wilůxč	
xūvd	milk
tarmurx	egg
xuc	broth

Phrasal examples:

di garðā viraẙ
break the bread

yu māš marůb tuẍp suðǰ
our cream has become sour

§318. The vast majority of the remaining words denoting foods and meals are feminine in Shughni and Bajuwi. In the remaining languages of the group there are discrepancies. In Bartangi and Roshorvi, fewer of these nouns are feminine, and in Rushani and Khufi, they are almost all masculine. Tables 7 and 8 in the appendices give examples. Here we limit ourselves only to a few examples:

dam asal=ta šinīgdzak-ard foydā lửven
'they consider that honey to be healthy for colds

mam bāt=i čāy pêx̌č
'who cooked this kisel?'

The difference is striking between Shughni and Bajuwi, on the one hand, where the majority of nouns denoting food are feminine, and Rushani-Khufi and Bartangi, on the other, where the majority of these nouns are masculine.

§319. The same differences are observed in words borrowed from Russian. All borrowed nouns denoting food in Shughni and Bajuwi are feminine, while in Rushani-Khufi they are all masculine. The following are thus feminine in Shughni:

antirikot	steak (entrecôte)
borš	borsch
gulāš	goulash (meat and vegetable stew)
kampot	compote
kāš(a)	porridge
ragū	ragu (meat sauce)
sūp	soup

Phrasal examples :

mam sūp birêz
'eat that soup!'

dam gulāš mu-rd dāk=at mam ragū xubaθ xa
'bring me the goulash and eat the ragu yourself.'

§320. Overall, the following can be noted regarding nouns denoting food:

(**i**) Most of these nouns in Shughni and Rushani are feminine.

(**ii**) Most of these nouns are masculine in Rushani and Khufi (and fewer of them in Bartangi and Roshorvi). The following fact should also be noted: the word *x̌ac* 'water', traditionally a feminine word continuing the Avestan *xšudrā-* 'moisture; liquid' – also a feminine noun – has the masculine correlate *x̌uc* 'bullion', which continues the masculine Avestan word *xšudra-*. In Rushani, Khufi, and Bartangi, when the word *x̌ac* is used to

mean 'drinking water', is masculine. In Shughni and Bajuwi, the word *x̆ac* is feminine, as in:

> *dam x̆ac lap mā-birêz*
> 'don't drink much of that water'

However, when meaning 'stream water', this word is feminine in all languages. An example from Shughni:

> *yu γiδā as wam x̆ac-and nax̆tūyd*
> 'the boy came out of the water.'

> *yā parům wam x̆ac-ti x̆āčt*
> 'the ferry rocks on the water.'

(iii) Deviations in the gender specification of these nouns are in some cases connected to semantic factors which differ from language to language. As an example we can take the word *δūγ* 'buttermilk', which because of its *u*-like vocalization could be masculine. However, in Shughni and Bajuwi, due to semantic factors this word is feminine. In Rushani, out of ten instances, this word is masculine in nine of them. In Rushani, too, the fact that this noun is typically masculine is also connected to semantics, as all nouns denoting drinks are masculine in this language. In Rushani, its masculine gender is supported by its *u*-vocalization. In both cases, we can see that semantics plays a leading role in determining a noun's gender specification. It should be emphasized that in some languages, the semantics factor works "in favor of" masculine gender, while in others it works "in favor of" feminine gender.

§321. For the gender classification of **body parts** it is difficult to pinpoint any specific pattern. Behind the gender classification of these nouns is primarily their historical gender specification in older stages of Iranian. Independent of their formal structure, some nouns denoting body parts are masculine, while others are feminine. The same distribution holds true for nouns borrowed from Tajik. Here, it is not worthy that Tajik borrowed nouns and their native Shughni synonyms share the same gender.

§322. The following are masculine:

andům	body
bům	beard
cem	eye
diδā	eye (< Tj. *dida*)
ben	palm
bix̆tům	thigh
biš	chest (female); udder

biǰůy̌	armpit
bozi	forearm
dām // arqā	back
ðindůn	tooth
ðust	hand
ɣūnǰ	hair
mūy	hair (from Tj. *mǔy*)
ɣůy̌	ear
kapel	nape of the neck
kīl // kāl	head
lix̌o	jaw
māɣdz	brain
līng	shin
musk	chin
pex̌ůni	forehead
pīc	face
rūy	face (from Tj. *růy*)
poð	leg
pūθč	eyelash
qīč	stomach
rawsaak	crown of the head
saɣri	rump; behind
sewǰi	hip
sīvd	shoulder
tanā	body
wixin // xūn	blood
zůn	knee

Phrasal examples:

di xu pīc čizard na-ziniyi?
why don't you wash your face?

yu wixin tis sut
'the blood spilled'

§323. The following nouns are feminine:

angix̌t	finger
čůmč	pelvis; back
ɣêv	mouth

māk	neck
lāfč	lip; mouth
mīð	waist
nafcak	mouth; throat
noy	throat
noxūn	nail
pêrdz	rib
pibīzg	urinary bladder
rāg	vein (// tendon?)
sec	spleen
talxā	bile
θod // ǰigār	liver
šand	lip
xuǔ	lung
xūn // šarðīdz	butt
ziv	tongue
zorð // dil	heart

Phrasal example (see also Table 9)

wind ɣulā ɣêv vad
'he had a big mouth.'

It should be added that when these body parts which belong to the feminine gender are used with another (non-anatomical) sense, they often change to masculine. Compare the following two examples:

mam *xīǰ* <u>*zorð*</u> *či-rd dākum?*
'who should I give this bull heart to?' (F.)

wi <u>*zorð*</u> *as mu* **viruxt**
'he lost interest in me.' (M.)

§324. A pattern in the gender classification of the **names of plants** is also difficult to pinpoint. It seems that generally a large role is played by a noun's formal morphological characteristics. The following nouns are masculine:

amoǰak	ephedra (a shrub)
cūðm	wormwood (similar to sagebrush)
bob-dzūðmak	lettuce?
kirūx	Heracleum (hogweed)
morǰ	clover
ɣorǰ	alfalfa

wīðn	mint
woǧ	grass
rāgak-woǧ	plantain // ribwort (a weed-looking plant)
šalxā	sorrel
ši(g)-gulak	dandelion
šūð	thorn

Phrasal example:

di <u>cūðm</u> *mā piðin*
'don't light the wormwood.'

§325. The following are feminine:

čičorč	mushroom
mīst	(Bukharan) buckwheat
revzak	(small) ferule
rov	ferule
šitorθk	rhubarb
ǧar	dogrose
šaɣ	thorn
warǧ	prangos
žāš	burdock

Phrasal examples:

mam <u>šitorθk</u> *čāy vūɣǰ*
who brought this rhubarb?

dam <u>mīsk</u> *murd dāk*
'give me that buckwheat'

The fact that these nouns are feminine can be interpreted as founded primarily on their morphophonological markers as either *a-* or *i-*vocalization.

§326. The following nouns denoting vegetables (including borrowed nouns) are masculine:

bodrīng	cucumber
kilo	pumpkin; gourd
xarbuzā	melon
tarbuz	watermelon
kartuškā	potato

zardak	carrot

Phrasal example:

yu <u>xarbuzā</u> *wêx̌t=xu* **virux̌t**
'the melon fell and broke'

The following are feminine:

piyoz	onion
sārb	turnip

The following nouns denoting citrus fruits – borrowed from Russian – are also feminine:

apilsīn	orange
limůn	lemon
mandarīn	mandarin

Phrasal examples:

mam apilsīn tu zet, dam mandarīn murd dāk
take this orange (for yourself) ; give me that mandarin.

§327. The majority of nouns denoting lodgements, other buildings, and parts of buildings are masculine. These include:

γijīd	(animal) stable
čīd	house
wox̌jīc	hayloft
x̌ūvdjīc	storage container for milk products
dišīd	roof
žīv	grain bin
jīcak	bread for small livestock
x̌oð	yard
růz	an opening for light in a Pamir house
wūs	beam (main beam in a ceiling)
sipox̌č	ceiling beam
xidorǰ	mill
yel	lodgement at the summer pasture?

Phrasal example:

wev čīd <u>*wūs*</u> **viruǩt**
'the main beam of the house broke'

For these masculine nouns, there are a variety of stem vowels. There are also some deviations to the rule mentioned above. For instance, in Shughni, *nêx* 'wood plank bed' is feminine. In the remaining languages, this word is masculine.   The word *yel* 'lodgement at the summer pasture' can also be feminine, as in:

pi dam yel yak-bor mi yosum.
'take it/him to the summer pasture lodging once'

§328. Feminine nouns denoting lodgements and parts of the house include the following:

zidůn	pantry
ǩeð	summer pasture for livestock
sitan	column
sānǰ	thick squared beam around the *nar* (plank bed)
xazīnā	barn; storehouse
magazīn //lafkā	store
dālīdz	vestibule; veranda (part of a Pamir house)
wiǩten	hay put on the roof

The correspondence of these nouns to the feminine gender is motivated primarily by their vowels. Some phrasal examples:

lap borůn ðed=xu yā wev xazīnā rixaǩt
'there was a lot of rain and their barn collapsed'

Lexical classes of feminine nouns

§329. Nouns denoting objects are rather clearly grouped by semantics. The semantic motivation for lexical classes of feminine nouns is more consistent, it seems, than for masculine nouns. It should be taken into account, however, that feminine nouns – both those discussed here and in general – when denoting an object as a general representative of its entire class, can transition to masculine gender. Their feminine gender is retained, however, when they are used to indicate concrete, individual objects (for more on this, see §§358-401).

The following sections (§§330-340) discuss lexical-semantic classes of feminine nouns.

§330. Nouns denoting **time periods and intervals**. Although this group includes nouns which have a general, non-concrete meaning, they are virtually all feminine (there are only very rare instances of deviations from this rule which are motivated by semantic and synonymic factors). Names of parts of the day and sequences of days (both indigenous and borrowed) are feminine. Examples include the following:

meθ	day
rūz	day (< Tajik)
x̌āb	night
x̌ům	evening (< Tj.)
barobar x̌āb	midnight (<Tj.)
nur	today
x̌umne	tomorrow
sār, saār, sabo	tomorrow (<Tj.)
afaǰ	day after tomorrow
widir[11]	day after the day after tomorrow
wideb	time before noon
maðor	noon
pex̌īn	time after noon

Phrasal example:

yā meθ naǰǰād=at yā x̌āb naǰǰād=at wam maðor-ard=ām firêpt pi lezar
'that day passed; that night passed only the next noon did we reach the glacier'

It can be proposed that the fact that all these words are feminine is due to synonymic influence of the words *meθ* 'day' and *x̌āb* 'night', which are both feminine.

§331. The names of months merit a detailed analysis – both with respect to their gender classification and with respect to the use of indigenous versus borrowed forms. All names of months, both indigenous and borrowed, are feminine. The following can be said regarding the frequency of these nouns. In modern Shughni, the Russian names of months are used quite frequently in the following forms:

yanvār	*iyūl*
fevrāl	*awgūst // awgust*
mārt	*sintābir*
aprel	*uktābir // oktābir*

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[11] G. Morgenstierne (1974: 88) proposes that *widir* is from **wi-tr̥ya-*, and that the Bartangi form of this word *ɣader* is the result of contamination with Arabic/Tajik *ɣad(a)* > *ɣader* 'tomorrow' (1974: 35).

māy	*nuyabir*
iyūn	*dekābir*

Phrasal examples:

tu=ta dam awgust-and yoðd
'he will arrive (that/next?) August.'
(remind me again what *mam/dam/wam awgust* would mean)

yanvār nax̌toyd=at yu tūyd
'January ended (lit. left) and he left.'

§332. In addition to the Russian names of the months, two additional types of month names are used by older native speakers of the Shughni-Rushani languages. One type of month is the lunar and solar month names of the Islamic calendar:

Lunar:

mu(h)aram
ramazůn
raǰab
šabůn
etc.

Solar:

(h)amal
sawr
ǰawzo
saratůn
sumbulā,
asad
aqrab
dāy
qaws
(h)ūt

These months are also feminine, which can be shown syntactically:

dam ramazůn-and yid as nān suðǰ=at
'he was born during that Ramadan'

yā sumbulā vad, šič aqrab, mu bob mam-and mūy̌ǰ=at
'that month was Sumbula; now it's Aqrab; my grandfather died during that month'

§333. Of particular interest are the local names of months. These months were first discussed in scholarship in the publications of M. S. Andreev (1958: 168-169). The Khufi dialect in this case shows an important archaism. Here, in the name of some months, the very ancient feminine suffix *-endz* has been preserved (in the recordings of Andreev, this suffix is *-inc* or *indz*). In the other languages this suffix has not been preserved. I have recorded the following month names and parts of seasons. Each of these names can be followed by the word *mêst* 'month; moon', which is itself feminine (From **mastī* (f.), cf. also Pashto *myāšt* 'month; moon', also feminine; these are related to Skt. *mās-* and Av. *māh-*, but these are masculine).

Here are the native month names:

čêridzen	'plowing month'
rāz-ð̂ed	'construction of the first furrow'
tūð-badz	'month of the ripening of mulberries'
noš-badz	'month of the ripening of apricots'
ẙdz-badz	'month of the ripening of walnuts'
xarubuzā-badz	'month of the ripening of melons'
(h)ama-x̊m-badz	'month of the ripening of all fruits'
pārk-rez // bārk-rez	'month of the falling of leaves'
dewůnā	(lit. 'crazy')

These nouns are also feminine, which can be seen syntactically:

*yid t̲ū̲ð̲-̲b̲a̲d̲z̲ **nax̌toyd**=at dam noš-badz-and=ām sūr bino čūd*
'the mulberry month ended and in the apricot month we built a yard'

§334. This subsection is on the etymology of the ancient suffix *-endz*, which is used in Khufi with these month names. According to V.A. Livshic, this suffix is a direct etymological correlate of the Sogdian feminine suffix *-anč* (transliterated as –'nc) and goes back to Proto-Iranian **-anakī-*.[12] In Sogdian, the suffix *-anč* also shows up in the names of some months: *nysn'nc* (*nisanānč*) – the third month – this is attested in the Mugsian (мугский) d0cument Nova 6, from Semitic *nisan*); as well as a few other month names.

It is curious that in Sogdian this same suffix appears and that in this language the names of the months also belong to the feminine gender, just as in Shughni-Rushani. This is apparently motivated by the feminine formant.

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[12] I. Gershevich (1954: 158) takes this suffix *-anc* back to Proto-Iranian **anaka-*, wheras Livshic considers it to more likely correspond to *anaki-*, as in this latter case it easier to motivate the palatalization of *-k-* to *-č-* (in the Shughni Rushani group *-ǰ-* and *-č-* become *-dz-/-c-*). The Khufi gendered suffixes *-ůnǰ // -ēndz* (§158) can be taken back to **anaka-* (m.) and **-anakī* (f.).

§335. Nouns denoting **seasons of the year** and sequences of years (generally borrowed) are feminine. Thus, the following are feminine:

sol	year
parwos	last year
sados	year before last
asīd	this year
bu(h)or // ba(h)or	spring
tobistůn	summer
tīramo	fall
zimistůn	winter

Phrasal example:

yā yi baor naÿǰād=at wam yi-gad-ard yu yat
that spring passed and he didn't return until the next (spring)

In cases where these words are used to mean '(a general period of) time' (e.g. springtime) and not an individual instance of this period of time, they all transition to masculine gender, as in the following:

tiramo ida sut
'now it's become fall'

§336. Nouns denoting **cultural, artistic, and literary terms.** It is a regular pattern for words denoting folklore, literary genres, and literary works to be feminine. The vast majority of these nouns are borrowed. Examples of nouns in this class include the following:

sůg	tale
soz	song
soyiri	a song with domestic content
čistůn	riddle
matal(ā)	proverb
latīfā // nazīr	joke
dargīlik //	lullaby
dargīlmodik	
důw-důwik	
raboyi	(a type of song)
ɣazal	ghazal
munejot	religious ode
maqům	tune

Phrasal example:

yi katik sůg turd lůvum xu tu wam niviš
'I'm going to tell you a short story and you write it down.'

§337. It is noteworthy that other nouns – including masculine nouns – when used to stand for one of the nouns listed above, are also feminine. For instance:

a nibos, dam Bārům potẋo=yen turd lůvǰ o?
'grandson, have they told you (the story about) King Bahrum?'

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The word *náqli*, an Arabic word which has come into the Shughni-Rushani languages via Tajik, is masculine when it means 'conversation', but it is feminine when it means 'story':

di xu náqli tayor kin
finish your conversation (m.)

a bob, wam xu naqli mevard mis kin
grandfather, tell your story to them too'

By analogy with the folklore and literary terms – discussed above – which belong to feminine gender, the newest borrowings from Russian denoting literary genres and types of theatrical spectacles and also belong to this same gender. Examples include the following:

růmān	novel	роман
povest	narrative; story	повесть
poyem(a) //	poem	поэма
dustůn (Tj.)	poem	достон
očirk	sketch; essay	очерк
filitůn	feuilleton (a satirical article)	фелъетон
otziv	opinion; review	отзыв
ricenz(iya) //	review; critique	рецензия
taqrīz (Tj./Ar.)	review ; critique	
tiyātir	theatre	театр
pesā	play; piece	пьеса
kancert	concert	концерт
kino	movie	кино
kinožurnal	newsreel	киножурнал
etc.		

Phrasal examples:

dam *rům̐an=at xêyč o?*
have you read that novel?

dam *xu* *kancer(t)=ta ar* ***dam*** *kilūb ðet o, ar* ***wam*** *tiyātir ?*
will you give your concert in that club or in that theater ?

§338. Nouns denoting the names of written productions – documents, orders, and statues – including borrowed Tajik, Arabic, and Russian nouns – are feminine. These include:

xāt // maktūb	letter
arīzā	declaration; statement
qaror	decision; verdict
farmům̐n //	order (Tj.)
pirkāz	order (Ru.)
pirtakol	minutes; record
akt	act (product of a legislative body)
(y)elům̐n	declaration; announcement
gazīt // gazet	newspaper
kanistitūc(iya)	constitution
ǰadwal //	schedule
raspisān	schedule
albům̐	album
dafdar	notebook
kitob	book
žurnal	magazine
kanispekt	summary; abstract
etc.	

Phrasal example :

yā *mu niviščin* xāt ***kačād***
'where did my written letter go?'

§339. Nouns denoting **paper money** are also feminine. All of these nouns are compound nouns whose second part is the word *sům̐ā* (from Tj. -*soma*). Examples include the following:

yak-sům̐ā // yi-sům̐ā	one-somoni bill
se-sům̐ā // ara-sům̐ā	three-somoni bill
pīndz-sům̐ā	five-somoni bill

ðīs-sůmā	ten-somoni bill
panǰo-sůmā	fifty-somoni bill
sad-sůmā	hundred-somoni bill

Phrasal example:

mam *ðīs-sůmā zet=at mu-rd* **dam** *yi pīndz-sůmā dāket*
'take that ten-somoni bill and give me that five-somoni bill'

There are cases in which a numeral itself can be used as a feminine noun, such as in the following:

mam áray-ti qanfet dāk=at mam pīndz-ti birinǰ
give me that candy for this three (-somoni bill) and that rice for this five (somoni-bill)

§340. All musical instruments – all Tajik borrowings – without any deviations belong to the feminine gender. Examples include the following:

dutor	dutar
setor	setar
tor	tar
ɣiǰak	ghijak
nāy // surnāy	flute
rabob	rebab
tambūr	dombra
baland-ziyům	a type of rubab
dāf	tambourine

Nouns denoting musical instruments which are borrowed from Russian are also feminine:

gitār	guitar	гитара
balalāyka	balalaika	
garmoška	garmon (Russian accordion)	
pi(y)anīna	piano	пианино
sikirīpka	violin	скрипка

Phrasal examples:

mam rabob wuz zêm=at dam dāf tu=xu yi soz lůvum
'I'll grab that rebab, you grab that tambourine, and we'll sing a song'

mu gitār viraȟt=atā zêȟt=um ima ik-mam balalāyka
'my guitar broke and I got this one here.'

mu rabob=and wam zīl zidaȟt
a tendon ripped off of my rebab

§341. Nouns denoting **types of trees** are all feminine. Because a more detailed analysis of this class of words will take place in the next chapter as part of a look at the meaning of gender and gender transformation, here I will provide only a few examples:

mūn	apple tree
tūð	mulberry tree
sīzd	olive? (silverberry?)
* y̌ůz*	walnut tree
wed	willow

§342. The vast majority of nouns denoting names of **instruments and tools** are feminine. For instance:

ðêrv	sickle
siporn	wooden plough
fay	iron shovel
čok	pickaxe
anǰān	loop made of willow bush
ambur	pliers
sandůn	anvil
narxůn	chisel
barmāy	drill
arrā	saw
čoy̌dz	awl
čêd	knife
torȟak	adze
tavār	axe

Phrasal examples:

dam tu ðêrv čāy mīžǰ
who made your sickle ?

mam torȟak zet xu-ǰā-t dam tavār pi mu lāket
take that adze for yourself and leave me the axe

Masculine nouns within this class typically have *u*-vocalization, such as the following:

pulk	hammer
yuɣ	yoke
sipun	point of the plough

§343. Numerous nouns denoting **containers and vessels** are feminine. This class of nouns includes kitchen dishware and utensils. Examples include the following:

čib	spoon
čaynak	teapot
čilapči	bowl
čīni	porcelain bowl
čalak	bucket
dek	large cooking pot
lagan(d)	bowl
ǰům	copper bowl
ɣalbel	sieve
firoxbez	sieve with large holes
talaw	wooden butter churn
paў̆nīdz	clay butter churn
piyolā	small (wooden?) teacup
rikebi	mid-sized wooden cup
toθč	large wooden cup
rosti	wooden scoop for measuring grain
kāfč	wooden vessel for measuring loose things?
seў̆ib	large wooden ladle
taɣor	wooden vessel
tās(ak)	small basin
šap	vessel made from animal dung mixed with clay and hair
wisêrn	clay vessel
xêx̌t(ak)	washing tub
sīpt(ak)	wooden ladle for flour

(for phrasal examples see Table 10)

Borrowed Russian nouns denoting tableware and domestic utensils are also feminine:

bočka	barrel; keg
filāg	flag
xaladīlnik	refrigerator
karūškā	mug
kanīstir	canister; jerrycan

kastirūl // kastirūn	saucepan
cistern	storage tank; cistern

§344. Only a small number of names of tableware and kitchen utensils can be masculine. These nouns contain *u*-vocalization which is typically for masculine gender. Examples include the following:

kuzā	jug; pitcher
ǰoyǰūx̌	copper teapot
kūščak	clay pot

After a detailed contextual analysis of these nouns, it becomes apparent that they can also be used as feminine nouns. This shows up in agreement constructions such as the following:

di (///dam) čoyǰūx̌ ar kicor ribi
put the copper teapot in the fire

For this reason we can say that the pattern whereby nouns denoting tableware and kitchen utensils are feminine is generally absolute.

It is also noteworthy that suffixal nouns formed from verb stems and denoting tableware are also feminine, such as the following:

dam <u>*tufīǰak*</u> (// <u>*tufdů̇nak*</u>) *vār, tu bob ar dam naswor tuft*
bring that spittoon over; your grandfather will spit his naswor in it
(from the stem *tuf-:tuft* 'spit', with the suffix -*īǰak, -dů̇nak*)

§345. Other nouns denoting objects which have meanings connected to the concept of *container* are also feminine:

būǰīn	sack
qāp	sack
qanor	large sack
xirǰīn	saddlebag ?
gič	leather sack
kilwor	leather sack
kisipč	large basket
čox̌dů̇n	chest
sandūq	chest
yů̇k	cradle
tavů̇ng	box for flour in a mill
tuvrā	bag; sack

xaltā   small sack

Phrasal example:

yu xidorǰ důnd bašānd yīy̌d idi yā wi tavůng yi sot(-t-)êθ lap sat
the mill grinds so well that its *tavůng* filled up in an hour

§346. Borrowed Russian nouns with similar meanings are also feminine:

čamadān // čimadān	suitcase	чемодан
yāšik	box; chest	ящик
sūmka	handbag	сумка
partfel	briefcase	портфель
karzīnkā	small basket	корзинка
vešmišok	duffel bag	вещмешок

Thus, nouns denoting containers, generally those pertaining to household things, are feminine. These nouns are quite diverse with respect to their formal makeup – i.e. their morphophonological structure and the presence or absence of suffixes. They are also diverse with respect to their provenance – i.e. whether they are native or borrowed, and where they are borrowed from. Thus, the thing that brings together these nouns into a single category indicated by their feminine gender can be considered first an foremost their semantics as nouns denoting containers.

§347. Nouns denoting different types of **firearms** (both indigenous words and borrowed words) are feminine:

can	gun
taq(q)ānak //	small-caliber gun
mālakalībir	small-caliber gun (мелкокалиберное ружьё)
tapůnčā	pistol; revolver
piltayi (can)	fuse gun
tūp	gun; cannon

From the word *can* 'gun', we get the following words which are also feminine:

cankamůnak	bow used for hunting birds
canič	bow used for sorting through wool

Phrasal examples:

*wi <u>can</u> **viraẋt***
his gun broke

***wam** mu <u>can</u>=i Šoyik binêst*
Shoyik lost my gun

§348. All borrowed Russian nouns denoting weapons are also feminine:

pistalet	pistol
aftamāt	automatic rifle
pulmiyot	machine gun
karabīn	carbine (short-barrel rifle)

§349. To this same group of feminine nouns we can add other types of hunting equipment:

ẋiwêzn	hunting pole; stick
pêð	trap
dům	trap
tāk	snare for birds
ẋāst	fishing rod/hook
tūr	fishing net
qapqůn	bear trap; leg trap

Phrasal example:

mu ẋiwêzn viraẋt
my hunting pole broke

We should add, however, that the individual details of firearms and hunting weapons are most often masculine:

moẋā	trigger
sumbā	ramrod
nezā //	bayonet
šitīk	bayonet
qandoq	butt (of a rifle)
poθ	bullet

§350. The names of **rivers, water pools, and irrigation structures** – both indigenous and borrowed – are feminine regardless of their internal structure. Examples include the following:

x̌ac	water; river
šarvidoǰ	mountain stream
čax̌mā	spring
wêð	aryk (a small aqueduct)
daryo	river (Tj.)
bār	sea (Tj.)
qůl	lake (Tj.)
awz // awdz	pool; pond (Tj.)
garðov	whirlpoool
ǰůx̌	waterfall
pūd	ford
guzar	place for crossing a river (Tj.)
zī	rapids
x̌ay(ak)	dam; small lake
riɣův	waterfall
wolč	furrow
mozn	main furrow in a crop field
arðān	primary irrigation trench
ziwor(n)	head of an irrigation canal

§351. Nouns denoting various **types of drinks** are feminine (both ones borrowed from Tajik long ago as well as recent borrowings):

šarob	booze
araq	liquor; vodka
vodkā	vodka
vīno	wine
pīva	beer
sipīrit	spirit
šampān	champage
likyor	liqueur
kanyāk	cognak
kivās	kvas
limanāt	lemonade

It should be mentined that in Rushani and Khufi (and less often in Bartangi and Roshorvi), these names of drinks can also be masculine, apparently via analogy with names of foods, which are generally masculine (see sections §§316-320). Phrasal examples include the following:

mam <u>vino</u> tu birêz=at **dam** <u>šampān</u> murd dak
you drink that wine and give me that champagne

yā *pīva* *tis* **sat**
that beer spilled

§352. Names of **festivals and celebrations** are feminine.

xīr-pi-čor (ayům)	ancient new year
ayům // (y)īd	holiday
rāz-ðêd	hoilday of the first furrow
y̌amund	sowing holiday // gamund? holiday
īdi-qurbůn (ayům)	Kurban holiday
māy (ayům)	May holiday
nūyabir // noyabir (ayům)	November holiday
soli naw	new year

Phrasal examples:

mam Māy ayům nay̌dzimbām=xu tām tiyām
we'll celebrate the May holiday and then we'll leave

§353. The majority of nouns denoting types of **cords, belts, and straps** are feminine.

vax̌	rope
lex̌ak	thin cord for tying local boots
miyend	fabric belt
sarbānd(ak)	cord; belt
kamar	hunting belt
tasmā	strap; leather belt
tarwīd	a type of belt
tanêb	?
zīl	bowstring
tirāng	cinch
qamči	whip; lash
čilbur	leather strap

(see phrasal examples in Table 11)

Some nouns denoting types of cords with *u*-vocalization are masculine:

piðūy̌dz   'thick string made from goat wool'

§354. Many Russian/international and Tajik borrowings denoting objects, including types of **transport, structures, industrial undertakings, and types of industrial products** are feminine. Examples include the following:

aroba	arba (a horse-drawn cart)
birīčkā	brichka (horse-drawn carriage)
poyiz(d)	train
tiramvāy	tram
tiralebus	trolleybus
aftobus	bus
mošīn(ā)	car
mošīn(ā)	sewing machine
mošīnkā // mašīnkā	small car // toy car
volga	Volga (car brand)
maskuwīč	Moskvitch (car brand)
taksī	taxi
vilisped	bicycle
tirāktur	tractor
garāž // girāž	garage
samalot //	airplane
ayrapilān //	airplane
kemā	airplane
parům	ferry
zowūt // žāwod	factory (завод)
fābrīk	factory
tilifůn	telephone
rād(iyo)	radio
piryůmnik	radio receiver
tilivīzor	television
patīfůn // pitīfůn	portable gramophone
magnītafůn	tape recorder
lampučkā	light bulb
sivet	light
lampā // lāmpa	lamp
sikāf	closet; cupboard; cabinet
istol // sitol	table
šifaner	wardrobe
etc.	

(for phrasal examples, see Table 12)

§355. This ample class of nouns belonging to the feminine gender is primarily the result of semantic factors (i.e. as a result of thematic and synonymic associations). It seems to me that this same phenomenon creates ideal conditions for recently borrowed Russian and Tajik words with similar meanings to also be fixed with feminine gender. In some cases, in addition to the

effects of the semantic factor, the morphophonological appearance of borrowed words also plays a role in their gender classification. It is important to note that when both the semantic and formal factors work together, ideal conditions are created for certain nouns to be masculine. Thus, the following are masculine:

rūčkā	pen (apparently also via analogy with *qalam* (m.))
gālistuk	tie
witūk	iron (for clothes) – cf. *čūtmol*, also masculine)
istūl, sitūl	chair

Phrasal examples:

yu mu rūčkā viruẋt
my pen broke

di sitūl-ti niθ
sit on this chair

It should be noted that there are some deviations observed in the gender specification of these nouns: they can also agree as feminine. This again attests to the dominance of the semantic factors. We can say that at this stage of development of the Shughni-Rushani languages, semantic factors play a definite role in gender classifications of nouns borrowed from Russian.

§356. This review of the lexical-semantic classes of nouns denoting objects shows the following:

(i) Semantic factors play a very important role in the gender classification of nouns falling into the semantic categories seen here. This is seen especially clearly nouns recently borrowed from Russian.

(ii) Formal morphophonological factors play a role which is subordinate to semantic factors.

§357. Overall, the analysis of semantic classes of masculine and feminine nouns leads us to the following conclusions:

(i) Abstract nouns (nouns with inherently abstract meaning as well as deverbal nouns) are masculine. The meaning of the noun is the primary factor at play here. These nouns come from a variety of morphophonological forms (especially w.r.t. their stem vowels). Their form does not seem to play a definite role in their gender classification. In general, the class of abstract masculine nouns opposes

the class of feminine nouns which denotes objects. Among nouns denoting objects, there are several classes which consist either solely of masculine nouns or solely of feminine nouns.

(ii)   The gender classification of nouns denoting objects can be motivated by three factors:

       i.   the **historical gender classification** of the noun as inherited from previous stages of the language

     ii.   **morphophonological** factors (particularly the type of stem vowel)

   iii.   **semantics**

(iii)   In a few cases, nouns whose semantics put them into a class of feminine nouns, but whose formal morphophonological factors are typical of masculine nouns, may retain their masculine gender classification and in this sense "resist" the influence of the process of semantic grouping by analogy with feminine nouns who share similar semantics.

(iv)   Two factors work in favor of the distinction and growth of the semantic-based classes of feminine nouns. These are **formal** and **semantic** factors. Regarding the former, in the vast majority of feminine nouns denoting objects we find *a-* or *i-*vocalization, which is typical for feminine nouns. Regarding the semantic factor, a number of feminine nouns are united by similar semantics in that they are related to similar concepts. This can be seen in native nouns, nouns which were borrowed long ago, and nouns which were recently borrowed.

(v)   Deviations in the gender classification of nouns can be explained by the notion that native speakers of these languages sometimes associate gender classification with formal factors, and in other cases, with semantic factors. This same notion may be responsible for deviations of gender classification not only of nouns within individual languages, but also across the languages of the group.

Lexical and grammatical meanings of the category of gender // issues of gender transformation

§358. In works which are dedicated to the description of the languages and dialects of the Shughni-Rushani group, the relations between gender, gendered forms, and models of word formation are generally only examined within the context of qualitative adjectives whose stem vowels distinguish gender and nouns formed with gender-distinguishing suffixes (of the type *dodeǰ* 'step-father' and *nānedz* 'mother-in-law').

This issue is examined in more detail in the present work. I will first of all examine pairs of nouns which differ from one another via the type of vowel, their gender classification and the semantic workload of the members of each pair of correlates. And second – and most importantly – I will analyze to what extent gender transformation leads to the formation of homonyms which differ in meaning in such a way that we can posit the creation of new lexemes.

The lexical meaning of nouns which differ from one another via their formal, morphophonological structure (of the type *x̌uc* 'bullion' (m.) and *x̌ac* 'water' (f.)) can be conditionally called a formally motivated type of word formation in the sphere of gendered forms.

On the other hand, we will call pairs of homonymic lexemes which arise as a result of gender transformation (of the type *čūšč* 'barley' (m.) and *čūsč* 'field for planting barley' (f.)) non-formally motivated.

Word-formation role of motivated gendered forms of nouns

§359. «Motivated gendered forms» are genered forms formed from typical word-formation models. From a formal perspective, we can distinguish two types: (i) nouns which have correlate pairs which oppose one another in gender (e.g. R-Kh. *bog* 'small pot' and *beg* 'big pot' or Sh. *x̌uc~x̌ac*) and (ii) nouns which do not have word-formation correlates (of the type *cāx̌* 'wild onion).

From the perspective of semantic aspects of gender there are also two groups which can be distinguished: (i) gendered forms which are used to indicate the size of an object; and (ii) gendered forms with independent meanings.

Gendered forms used to distinguish the volume/capacity of objects.

§360. There is a group of nouns which consists of gender-distinguishing pairs whose members look similar to the models discussed in the first part of this work. That is, the masculine member typically has *u*-vocalization, while the feminine member typically has *a*-vocalization. However, this group of nouns is different because of their semantics.

There is a special group of a relatively small number of nouns consisting of gendered pairs, whose members are united both formally (via gender vocalization) and lexically-grammatically. However, they vary from language to language. Their semantics is such that it refers to the capacity and size of the object they denote. The masculine noun of the pair denotes a smaller container, while the feminine noun denotes a bigger container.[13] The pairs are listed below:

Masc.	**Fem.**
Kh. *arðon* 'small groove; small furrow'	S-R. *arðān* 'large/main furrow'

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[13] The same phenomenon is observed by Oranskij (1977: 48) for the Indo-Aryan language Parya, spoken in the area of Hisor along the border between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. However, here the masculine noun is the one which denotes the large object, while the feminine noun denotes the smaller object. The masculine word *čamčo* denotes a large ladle-like spoon, while the feminine word *čamči* denotes a smaller ordinary spoon, and the masculine word *kaṭo* denotes a large irrigation canal, while the feminine form *kaṭi* denotes a small furrow.

Kh. *cimūg* 'small basket'   Kh. *cimīg* // Sh. *cimūd* 'large basket'

R-Kh. *bog* 'small pot'   R-Kh. *bēg*, Sh. *bīg* 'large pot

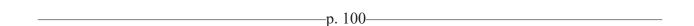R-Kh. *sawoǰ* 'round stone for breaking something'   R-Kh. *sawēc*, Sh. *sêwīǰ* 'flat stone on which something is crushed

§361. Regarding the etymology of these forms and the distinctions among the languages and dialects of the group with respect to their realization, the following can be said: the noun *arðān* 'furrow' and its masculine correlate, which is preserved only in Khufi, are diachronically complex forms. The second part of this word has the formant *-ðon, -ðān*, which it seems to me can be traced back to Av. *dānu-* 'river', Skt. *dānu-* 'liquid; drop' and the verbal stem *dan-*. The following can also apparently be traced back to this source: Yz. *ðond* 'a place where the water of an irrigation canal is distributed' and Ossetian *don* 'river; water' (Abaev 1953: 366). Regarding the source of the first part of the word *ar-*, V. I. Abaev pointed out to me the relatively exact structural and semantic correspondence of *ar-ðon* and *ar-ðān* with Tajik *šoxob* 'branch of a river'.

For the form Kh. *cimūg ~ cimīg* (Sh. *cimīg*) 'small/large basket', G. Morgenstierne (1974: 23) reconstructs these as *čamr̥ta-* (m.) and *čamr̥ti-* (f.), respectively.

In the majority of the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group – with the exception of Shughni and Bajuwi – there is a pair of words which has a participial provenance, namely R-Kh. *sawoǰ ~ sawēc*, from the verb *sēw-* 'mill, grind' plus a suffix.

Gender vocalization in all these cases acts as a kind of means of word formation. The masculine forms, which denote the smaller object, can be accompanied by a diminutive suffix *-ak, -ik, -buc*, hence R. *camūgak, camūgbuc*, Sh. *cimūdak, cimūdbuc* 'small basket'. We can therefore conclude that the masculine forms generally signify smaller objects and are not necessarily correlated with the notion of diminution or endearment.

§362. It is noteworthy that in Munji, the noun with the meaning 'basket' also has gendered forms correlated with size. The form *sāvda* (per Gryunberg) or *sāvdə* (per Sokolova) is a feminine form and denotes a small basket (with dim. form *savdika-*). The masculine form *savdəy*, on the other hand, denotes a large basket for transporting heavy things on one's back (see Gryunberg 1972: 354, 357; Sokolova 1973: 37). It should be noted that we following discrepancy: in Rushani and Khufi, the masculine noun is the one which denotes the smaller object, whereas in Munji and Parya the masculine noun denotes the larger object.

§363. In the Shughni-Rushani group, the notion that masculine forms are used to denote smaller objects, while feminine forms are used to denote larger objects is not restricted to the formally marked gendered forms listed above. This phenomenon is also found in other nouns for which gender is not formally marked. For the nouns listed above, the Shughni and Bajuwi forms – for which there is no formal gender distinction – are used in the same way as in those languages where there are two distinct forms. That is, the Shughni nouns *cimūd* 'basket' and *bīg* 'pot' are masculine when referring to the small version, but feminine when referring to the big version. Examples:

di cimūd zi=xu mev mūnen ar di ribi
'grab that small basket and put these apples in it.'

wam cimūd murd dāk, sām woǯ wam-ec tāžum
'give me that (big) basket, and I'll go put carry some straw in it.'

§364. Judging by their vowels, the words Sh. *cimūd*, Bj. *cimu*, and Bt. *camū* 'basket', can be considered to have been initially masculine. The use of these words as feminine might have been facilitated by the fact that there are a number of feminine synonyms, such as the following:

kisipč	large basket for carrying straw	(unclear etymology)
wisêrn	large pot (for milking)	**wi-sāranī*
ɣůǯc	large pot (for milking)	**ganša-či-*

Phrasal example:

yā kisipč (// cimūd) woǯ qati pi dišīd vad
that large basket was full of grass on the roof

When these words are used to emphasize the small nature of the object they are denoting, they can be used with the suffix *-buc*, as in *cimūdbuc* 'small basket', *bīgbuc* 'small pot'. An example sentence: *yu bīgbuc viruǯt*. When this occurs, they are somewhat distanced from their homonymic feminine forms.

§365. In connection with the phenomenon discussed above whereby masculine nouns denote smaller objects and feminine nouns denote larger objects, there is another interesting pattern to be noted: the names of large-sized objects are feminine, while the names of their details and parts are masculine, regardless of their formal morphophonological properties. Take the following examples to illustrate:

Masc.		**Fem.**	
bun // *wiyêš*	root	*diraxt*	tree
xêx // *xêxčak*	branch; small branch	*mūn* *wed* *rīm*	apple (tree) willow poplar
gul	flower	*yŭz*	walnut tree
pārk	leaf		
čilyak	bark (of poplar, willow)	*siporn*	wooden plough
taxč	bark (of small saplings)	*bel*	small shovel
bojak	walnut (in shell)	*ðêrv*	sickle
sipun	tip of a wooden plough		
filwod	shaft/drawbar of a plough		
dastā	handle (of a sickle, shovel, etc.)		

Some phrasal examples are given here, but they are unclear to me.

§366. The veracity of the pattern described above is further supported by the fact that it is seen in borrowed forms as well. That is, borrowed forms which denote different kinds of large industrial products, transport, and structures, are feminine (§§355-356), but borrowed words which refer to their parts and details are by and large masculine. A few examples are provided below:

Masc.		**Fem.**	
rūl	steering wheel	*mošīn*	car
kabīnka	cab (of a truck)	*taksī*	taxi
karburātur	carburetor	*samalot*	airplane
mator	motor	*tirāktur*	tractor
wagŭn	railway car	*paraxod*	steamboat
balŭn	cylinder; inner tube	*poyiz(d)*	train
kāmur	inner tube (of a tire)	*tilifŭn*	telephone
tirūbkā	telephone receiver	*magnītafŭn*	tape recorder
lent	tape (e.g. for a recording)		

Phrasal examples:

ik mi mam mu mošīn rūl yak bor čis
check the steering wheel of my car real quick
(note that *mi* is for *rūl*, *mam* is for *mošīn*)

dam *magnītafŭn čust kin, yam γiðā **di** dam* <u>lent</u> *na-zidêrðd vo*
'turn off that tape recorder so that boy doesn't take off its tape'

dam tilifŭn dam ǰoy-ti lāk=at di tirūbka murd dāk
'leave the phone where it is and give me the receiver'

Thus, the use of gendered forms in correlation with the size of objects is a regular phenomenon which is rather widespread throughout the grammar. While only a few morphologically motivated (i.e. words which are gendered pairs differing in internal vocalization) participate, many words which are unmarked for gender participate in this phenomenon. Moreover, both native and borrowed words participate. This is therefore a living, productive phenomenon taking place in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, as evidenced by the gender distribution of borrowed Russian words, which depends on the size of the objects they denote.

Gendered forms with independent meanings

§367. This group of words includes gendered pairs whose members have independent meanings which appear to have nothing to do with gender. The connection between the members of each pair therefore appears to be primarily etymological. The feminine member of each pair typically has *a-* or *i*-vocalization, while the masculine form typically has *u*-vocalization. Some examples include the following:

x̌uc	***x̌ac***
liquid; broth; infusion	water; river
Av. *xšuðra-*	Av. *xšuðrā-*
cox̌ // cux̌	***cix̌***
brushwood; rags	brushwood; rags
ǰul	***ǰil/ǰ̌l***
rag; bedcover	old caparison (covering for animals)
luq	***lêq***
old rag; old cloth	torn blanket
	lāq
	old trousers

poð
leg
pīð
footprint; 'one (time?)'
Av. *pad-, pāða-*

pêð
trap; snare
*pādyā-; Av. *paiðyā-*

cūθčk
bit of leather
for holding a stone
in a sling
(unclear etymology)

toθčak
ladle used in a mill
toθč
wooden bowl
(etymology unclear)

wux̌ton (Bj.)
hayloft
*wāstra-dānya-
(Morg. 1974: 95)
wox̌jīc (Sh.)
hayloft

wix̌ten
hay placed on the top of a roof

---p. 105---

xīf
foam
Av. *kafa-*
Skt. *kapha-*

xāf
tinder (small dry sticks used for making a fire)
Zarubin (1960:264) has this word as masculine

xům̌č
chaff (inedible parts of
a grain-producing plant)
*hwāmakī-, according to
Livshic

xemc // pīnǰ-xemc
processed? straw
*hwaimavri- or **hwāmači-* ?
Morgenstierne 1974: 97

x̌oð
house; homestead
*srādya- ?
(according to
M. 1974: 101)
cf. Tj. *saroy*

x̌êð
summer pasture for livestock
*sradyā- ?

ðum
tail
*dumba-
Av. *duma-*

ðam
vulva
*dumbā-
according to M. 1974: 31

§368. The semantic discrepancies between the lexemes of the pairs listed above are so great that if we didn't take into account their morphophonological connections, then on a synchronic level it would be difficult to say that they form pairs.[14] It should be further noted that the members of each pair also differ in their frequency of use, whether or not they have multiple meanings, and in some cases whether or not they can be used to form compound words. Thus, for instance, the feminine word *pêð* 'snare; trap' formally opposes two words, namely *poð* 'leg' and *pīð* 'footprint'; 'one (time)'.

The masculine word *x̌uc* 'liquid; broth; bullion' can also be used as an adjective meaning 'weak; liquidy'. It therefore differs from its correlate *x̌ac* 'water; river' not only in its meaning, but also in the fact that it can be of a different syntactic category. Note that as an adjective *x̌uc* does not distinguish gender. Phrasal example:

yid tu xux̌pā lap x̌uc
'your porridge is very liquidy' – *xux̌pā* (f.) 'porridge'

The noun *ǰil* 'old caparison', unlike its masculine correlate *ǰul* 'rag', can be used in the complex verb *ǰil čīdow* 'to saddle'.

Moreover, in some cases we find significant differences among the languages in question with respect to these lexemes. Thus, in Bartangi the word *x̌oð* is used as a masculine noun only with the meaning 'summer pasture', whereas in Shughni and other languages this word also has the meaning 'house; homestead'. For this meaning, in Bartangi, the word *čȫd* is used – cf. Sh. *čīd*. In Bajuwi, a masculine word with the meaning 'rag' has not been preserved, although the feminine word *lêq* 'torn blanket' exists for this dialect. This word, however, is used only in compound nouns, as in *lêq-par* 'bedding(s)'. Phrasal examples:

yu *ǰul* θud
that rag burnt

dam x̌ac kin ar di x̌uc xu, yoc piðinām
'pour that water into the broth and let's light the fire'

§369. Yet another two pairs of words are attested, but for these, unlike for the pairs discussed above, there are some deviations in their gender classification. Examples:

Masc.	**Fem.**
pux̌č	**pax̌č**
dry-dung fuel	dung of small livestock (or mountain goats)
*puška- (m.)	**puškā-* (f.)

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[14] Semantic discrepancies in gendered forms also occur in Dardic languages. On Khowar, see Edelman 1965: 82, who lists the forms *dunga* (m.) 'knee' and *dungi* (f.) 'elbow'.

(Morg. 1974: 164)
cf. Yz. *bax̌x̌ag*, Wkh. *pəšk*
Ish., Persian *pušk*; as well as from **pr̥skā-*:
Ygn. *pursk*, Khot. *pulska-*

xamuč
interior of the hearth;
ash inside the hearth
etymology unclear,
cf. Ish. *xamuč*

xamix̌c
burning hot coals
(etymology unclear)

In these pairs, the feminine correlates – namely *pax̌č* and *xamix̌c* – can appear as either feminine or masculine:

yu pax̌č di qoq sut, ǰām wi kin
'when that dung dries, gather it up'

Bt. *az dim pax̌č ar zimc kin*
'put some of that dried dung on the ground'

This deviation, where we find the feminine form used as a masculine noun in agreement constructions, is possibly connected with influence of the masculine synonyms *pux̌č* and *xamuč*. Moreover, other semantically similar words are masculine, including *θīr* 'ash', *sargin* 'dung of pack animals', and *γaθ* 'dung of cattle'.

§370. In the end, we can conclude the following:

> **(i)** The gender-distinguishing vocalization of each of the correlates in each of the pairs above has led to lexicalization. The gender-distinguishing vowels in the modern languages are explained historically in cases where it is possible to find or reconstruct the relevant etymons.

> **(ii)** For some nouns, gender specification appears to be weakening. In particular, the feminine correlate, under the influence of its synonymic masculine correlate, can transition to masculine gender.

§371. Another group of words is characterized by the lack of a second correlate. That is, here we have only a single morphophonologically-motivated gendered word. In these cases, the feminine words show special 'vitality' (or possibly 'productivity'), which can be seen in the fact that they

can be formed from gender-distinguishing qualitative adjectives.[15] This phenomenon occurs when the feminine form of certain adjectives becomes substantivized and ends up as a noun. When this occurs, the newly formed noun preserves its gendered vocalization. Semantically, these nouns denote objects and are feminine in their gender classification. Some of these words continue to be used as the feminine correlate in a pair of gender-distinguishing qualitative adjectives. When they are used as nouns, however, there is no gendered correlate. There are no more than ten such feminine nouns which have arisen from the feminine correlate of a gender-distinguishing pair of qualitative adjectives. The following are examples (spread out over the course the next few sections):

cāx̌   'wild onion'   <   *cīx̌~cāx̌*   bitter
cf. Yz. *čaš* 'wormwood', *čūš* 'bitter' – in Yz. gender distinction in adjectives is lost
*θraxša- < **tarxša-* (Morgenstierne 1974: 24-25), although it should be noted that htis for mis not found in any other Iranian languages – but cf. Pers. *talx* (CP) ? Livshic proposes that this form should be reconstructed as **θrifša-, *θrifšā-* < **trifšā-* (cf. Parthian *trifš, trišf*, where *-fš-* would become *-x̌*).

§372. Shughni-Bajuwi ***coy̌dz*** 'awl' is another feminine noun from a gender-distinguishing pair of qualitative adjectives. Compare also Yz. *əncāwz*, Wakhi *cārzn*,[16] Sanglechi *corz(n)* with the same meaning. The proposed ancient form **drafša-či-* (R. Kh. Dodykhudoev 1962: 26) can hardly be considered satisfactory, as it doesn't explain the development of *-fš-č-* > Sh. *-y̌dz*. G. Morgenstierne (1974: 23) also has doubts about this reconstruction and proposes the form **čarzana-*.

In light of the formal and semantic analysis of feminine nouns derived from the feminine forms of adjectives, we can posit another interpretation of the word *coy̌dz* in which it comes from the substantivization of the feminine correlate of the adjective Sh.-Bj. *cūy̌dz~coy̌dz* 'having a sharp point'.[17] Cf. Sh-Ru. *cūy̌dz-nůl* 'sharp-beaked', where *nůl* 'beak' (m.). The feminine form of this adjective, however, is not preserved and under this analysis would show up only in the form of the noun *coy̌dz* 'awl'. Another adjective with a similar structure is *vūy̌dz~voy̌dz* 'long'.

§373. Another example is ***čāxt*** 'wooden ring/hook', which comes from the adjectival pair *čêxt~čāxt* 'bent; crooked'. Compare Tajik *čuxt* 'straight; standing'. In this case, the feminine form of the adjective has been preserved (as an adjective) only in Shughni and Bajuwi. In Yazghulami, the masculine form *čůxt* 'bent' is used independently, while the feminine form is used in compounds, such as *čaman-čaxt* '(a pot) with a bent handle'.

A phrasal example:

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[15] The preservation of a feminine form while a masculine form has been lost takes place also in other Pamir languages: cf. Yz. *ɣārn* 'round' // 'bread / coin'; Sh.-Ru. *žarn~žurn* 'round'.
[16] The Wakhi form, according to I. M. Steblin-Kamenskij, is an ancient borrowing from Shughni (according to his manuscript "Etymologyical dictionary of Wakhi").
[17] This adjective is not attested in the other languages of the group.

yā mu coy̌dz vifax̌t
my awl broke.

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§374. Some feminine nouns are formed from words of other parts of speech, including nouns and verb stems: Sh. *tanêb* 'the rope of a spinning wheel', as in *mu čārx tanêb zidax̌t* 'the rope on my spinning wheel came out'. The masculine form *tanob* 'cord' is also attested. The masculine form may be associated with masculine synonyms such as *wūry̌* 'thread' and *bānd* 'cord'. (I don't really understand this section.)

§375. Feminine nouns which are formed from verb stems include the following:[18]

θod   liver
According to Morgenstierne (1974: 83), this word comes from the verb *θêdow* (past stems *θud~θad*). In Russian, the word for 'liver' is also related to the verb meaning 'bake': пе́чень 'liver' and печь 'bake'.

θow   stamp; the mark of a searing, cauterization (a type of treatment)
This word is connected to the verb *θêdow* as well. In Ru. and Kh., it can also be masculine, which is apparently connected to the association of the vowel *ů* in these languages with masculine nouns.

Word-formation functions of gender transformation in non-gender-motivated nouns

§376. The word-formation functions of gendered forms play a significant role in the enrichment in the lexicons of the Shughni-Rushani languages. It can be most clearly seen in nouns which are not morphophonologically motivated for gender. Here, the transformation of a single word from one gender to another is not accompanied by any morphophonological marking and acts as a means for word formation. This phenomenon, which we can call "non-(morphologically)-reflected derivation – невыраженная деривация –was already mentioned above in connection with the analysis of the semantics of gendered forms (§§360-364).

The use of unmarked masculine forms to denote small objects and feminine forms to mark larger objects (see §§360-363) is observed also among homonymic nouns. Compare for instance *čārx* 'spinning wheel' (f.) and *čārx* 'grinding wheel // wheel of a cart' (m.):

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[18] The formation of gender-motivated nouns from verb stems was also characteristic of other Pamir languages, particularly Sarikoli and Yazghulami. Cf., for instance, Yz. *vrax̌t* 'flour' (from the feminine past stem of the verb meaning 'break'). In this case, the modern verb stem for 'break' continues the feminine form: *vӹrax̌t*.

dam *mu* <u>*čārx*</u> *nêў*
twist my spinning wheel (f.)

wi *mu* <u>*čārx*</u>*-ti reg nist*
there is no sand on my grinding wheel (m.)

wam arobā-nd ***iku*** *wam* <u>*čārx*</u> *ðod ar wêð=xu viruẋt*
the araba's wheel fell into the canal and broke

The fact that the third meaning of the word *čārx* as 'wheel of a cart' is masculine can be attributed to the fact that it is a detail/part of a larger object (on this phenomenon, see §§ 360-363).

§377. For some inanimate nouns which do not distinguish natural sex, the gender opposition is also connected to their size. Thus, *zarīdz* 'partridge' is generally feminine, as in *yā wi zarīdz mīўdz* 'his partridge died'. However, when used to mean 'small partridge', this noun transitions to masculine gender.

Analogous meanings are found in the Shughni noun *markāb* 'donkey' (from Arabic via Tajik), which is generally a feminine noun. When this noun is used to mean a baby donkey, it transitions to masculine:

as wev ðīs markāb-and wam yīw vār yoўǰ wam-ti wīz kinām
'bring one of those ten donkeys and we'll load some flour onto it.'

aða, di markāb lāk yid dam xu nān rovd
'boy, let the (small) donkey here so it can suckle from its mother'

§378. In some cases, the masculine noun denotes the entire object, while the feminine form denotes a part of it. Thus, *līng* (from Tajik) 'leg' (as well as its native counterpart *poð*) is masculine, but when it is used to mean 'shin' it transitions to feminine.

The word *tāx* (borrowed from Turkic), when meaning 'mountain; slope' (as well as its synonym *kū* < Tj. *kůh*) is masculine, but in the meaning '(individual) stone', is feminine. This also occurs with the semantically related word *žīr*.

Thus, gender can be used to distinguish between large and small objects, or to distinguish between parts of objects from their whole. Generally, feminine nouns refer to large objects, while masculine objects refer to smaller objects (without taking into consideration isolated examples such as *tāx* and *kū*, where the situation is seemingly reversed).

§379. The meaning-distinguishing function of gendered forms is observed in nouns which belong to different lexical groups. The attribution of a noun to masculine or feminine gender is generally accompanied by the presence of certain semantic nuances. It should be noted that the gender transformation of a single noun is different from grammatical transformation, which is connected with notions of general and individual (as in, for instance *dam mūn=at wīnt-o?* vs. *di mūn=at wīnt o?*) (see §§385-390). In the case of grammatical transformation, the gender of nouns which are traditionally feminine changes to masculine. In the sphere of semantic gender transformation, both nouns which are traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine are implicated.

§380. The change of gender in nouns denoting measurements of loose material, which are typically feminine, is connected to semantic nuances and can be seen as a type of word formation. For instance, the following nouns can change from feminine to masculine when denoting the measurement of a loose substance:

kāfč //	wooden vessel which measures about 24 kg of grain
pemůnā	
rosti	wooden ladle which measures about 4 kg of grain
toqi	tyubeteika – measures about 2kg of grain

Phrasal example:

yā mu toqi=ta ðu kilo yêst
my tyubeteika will carry two kilos
(tyubeteika here as an object rather than a measurement is feminine)

These four nouns are commonly used to quantify measurements of loose material (e.g. grain). When the noun being measured is masculine, the quantifying noun transitions to masculine gender:

ik-as wi pīndz kāfč čūsč-andi wi yi kāfč yos tar xidorǰ
of those five *kāfč* of barley, take (that) one to the mill
(*kāfč* here is a quantifier, *čūšč* is masculine, so *kāfč* is masculine)

The word *pemůnā* can also be used metaphorically as a quantifier for lifetimes. A saying *wi pemůnā pur sut* seems to go roughly that 'one's lifetime measurement filled up (and the person passed away). Note that here the word *pemůnā* is also masculine.

§381. In some cases, gender transformation is a kind of word-forming factor. Below is a list of words which can be either masculine or feminine, with distinct meanings. For phrasal examples, see Table 13.

Word	Masc.	Fem.
dalyā (< Tj.)	fried crushed grain; coarsely ground flour	soup (made from the flour)
ẙůz	walnut (nut)	walnut tree
guzar	existence, subsistence; means for living; life; time	ford; a place to cross a river
so(h)at // *sot* (< Ar.)	time; hour	watch
tor	thread; string	tar (musical instrument)
tāxt	throne	bed

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§382. Gender transition is seen in certain nouns which denote body parts. Here, the feminine form has the anatomical sense, while the masculine form has a wider and more abstract senese. Examples include the following:

Word	Masc.	Fem.
ẙêv	cover; lid; opening; door	mouth
ziv	language; speech	tongue
zorð	heart (figuratively, as the location of one's feelings)	heart (anat.)
ǰigār	effort; endeavor; zeal	liver
sīnā (< Tj.)	sternum	chest; thorax; ribcage

§383. We also find gender transformation in certain nouns denoting some grains and the fields used for cultivating them. Here, the noun denoting the grain itself is masculine, while the noun denoting the field for cultivating the grain is feminine. This apparently occurs via analogy with nouns such as *zimc* 'field' and *čakāl* 'small plot of land', which are both feminine. Examples include the following:

Word	Masc.	Fem.
čūšč	barley	barley field
žindam	wheat	wheat field
ɣorǰ	clover/alfalfa	clover/alfalfa field
tamoki	tobacco	tobacco field
xarbuzā	melon	melon field

It is noteworthy that borrowed words (Tajik and Arabic) can also undergo this kind of transformation. Thus, for instance, the word *tārīx* (Ar. via Tj.) as a masculine noun means 'date; story; event', and as a feminine noun means 'history (school subject)' or 'history book'. Phrasal examples:

a bob, wi xu tārīx mevard lǔv
'grandpa, tell them about your story (i.e. what happened to you)'

dam tārīx=ta xumne siporām
'we're testing in history tomorrow'

dam aštum sinf-ard tārī mu-rd dāx
'give me the (textbook for) 8th-grade history'

§384. The existence of indigenous synonyms may play a role in the gender classification of borrowed words. Thus, for instance, the word *būtal* 'bottle' is generally masculine – apparently because of its *u*-vocalization:

yu būtal viruxt
'the bottle broke'

However, when referring to a bottle of alcohol (i.e. wine, vodka, etc.), the word *būtal* is feminine:

mam būtal birêzet
drink up that bottle (of alcohol)

This gender transformation apparently takes place because words denoting alcohol, such as *vino, vodka, sipīrt, kanyāk*, etc., are feminine.

Thus, gender transformation plays a role within the sphere of different lexical categories of nouns and plays an important role in the formation of new homonymic words. Gender classification is used to denote the size of an object as well as the opposition of whole to part.

The grammatical role of gender transformation

§385. The issue of the specifics of grammatical meaning of gender in the Shughni-Rushani group was first examined by V.S. Sokolova in connection with her analysis of gender in Rushani. She came to the conclusion that nouns not connected to the distinction of natural sex can be either masculine or feminine, with masculine expressing the general concept and feminine expressing an individual instantiation of the concept (Sokolova 1959: 108).

This conclusion has been confirmed in research on the grammar of various languages of the group (see Karamshoev 1963: 98; Fayzov 1966: 18; Karamkhudoev 1973: 59; Kurbanov 1976: 61-62). The question has remained open as to whether masculine gender expresses only the general concept or whether it can also express an individual object. Considering this problem in her short work on the languages and dialects of the Shughni-Rushani group (published in the first volume of *Languages of the SSSR*, uses more precise wording: "feminine gender of nouns not connected to natural sex always indicates (a) unique object(s). When one refers to the general concept, the same word takes on masculine gender. Masculine gender is used both to denote individual objects and to denote general concepts. An auxiliary means for expressing general concepts is the use of nouns in the masculine gender.

Individuality or uniqueness is expressed by means which indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of nouns. Feminine gender is a secondary or auxiliary means for expressing uniqueness (Sokolova 1966: 371-372).

It has remained unclear, however, as to which lexical-semantic classes of nouns can undergo grammatical gender transformation, whether it can occur for all inanimate nouns or only in certain subclasses of them.

Research has been required, moreover, to establish the precise conditions under which gender transformation occurs. Ultimately, we had to tease apart the type of gender transformation used to express grammatical meanings of general vs. individual, on the one hand, and the type of gender transformation which is used in the formation of new lexemes, on the other. This is a

problem which is at once practical and relevant for lexicographical works as well as theoretically significant.

§386. It should be noted that in the ancient Iranian languages (Avestan in particular), it was also possible for noun stems to belong to two genders (most often masculine and neuter – less often masculine and feminine or neuter and feminine). V.A. Livshitz pointed out that in Sogdian, which preserved the opposition between masculine and feminine genders, we can also find a few nouns which may be either masculine or feminine. However, in Sogdian we do not find that this is implicated in the opposition between general and individual. Hence, we can suppose that the use of gender to deal with notions of general and individual is a specific trait of the Shughni-Rushani languages, as this is apparently a phenomenon which developed relatively late from a historical perspective. According to Sokolova (1973: 84), there are also signs that this function of the category of gender is also at play in Munji.

§387. In the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group, traditionally masculine nouns are used as such in instances when they denote individual objects as well as in instances when they denote general concepts. For these nouns, as a rule, there is no gender transformation. This is in opposition to feminine nouns, which can transform into masculine when denoting general concepts. Thus, as a rule, gender transformation only occurs for feminine nouns. It would be incorrect to consider inanimate feminine nouns to be «unspecified» for gender, and that their gender classification depends entirely on context. In reality, we are right to speak of the "transformation" of feminine nouns (to masculine). The gender classification of feminine nouns is violated in certain contexts when these nouns denote general concepts and take on the grammatical meaning of masculine gender.

Masculine nouns are used to indicate both individual objects as well as general concepts. A few examples:

yu wev čīd bar mi tama-nd ɣuladi vud
'their house was bigger than yours'

wi důnd čīd padam ca vud, šič yīwaθ reðǰ
'there were so many houses there; now there is only one'

Because within the scope of masculine nouns gender transformation happens only very rarely, the analysis which follows looks only at feminine nouns. The focus here will be on the transformation of feminine nouns into masculine.

§388. Some examples here are given in which a single noun is used either as feminine or masculine, depending on whether it is denoting an individual object or a general concept.

pi dam mūn sifãn
go up to that apple tree (f.)

wev-and be-x̌aci sut=xu yu wev mūn ziyux̌t
they had a drought and all their apple trees (m.) dried up

dam yi piyoz murd dãk
give me that (one) onion

tar bozor nur piyoz navud
there was no onion in the market today

§389. The phenomenon whereby feminine gender is used with an individual object and the masculine is used when referring to the totality of a type of an object or of a general mass of that object occurs for a variety of lexical-semantic classes of feminine nouns. It can be most clearly seen in names of trees, plants, grains, domestic objects, and insects, all of which are typically feminine categories (see the list of these objects above in sections 312-355).

§390. For the names of fruit-bearing trees, each noun is typically feminine regardless of whether it is referring to the tree or to the fruit. A list of such nouns which can undergo gender transformation is provided below:

Noun	Fem.	Masc.
mūn	apple tree (individual) apple (individual)	apple tree (general) apple (general) pile of apples

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noš	apricot " "	
olboli	cherry " "	
šaftoli	peach " "	
tūð	mulberry " "	
angūrð	grape " "	
anor	pomegranate " "	

anǰīr   fig " "

Phrasal example (for more see Table 16):

dam *yi* <u>*noš*</u> *mird dāk,* ***dam*** *mazā čost*
give him an apricot so he can see its taste

The same phenomenon is found in the names of bushes and their fruits, as well as in the names of other types of trees:

x̌ar	dogrose (bush // fruit)
x̌icīc	currant (bush // berry)
wed	willow
rīm	poplar

(for phrasal examples see Table 17)

It should be noted that when denoting a specific group of objects, either masculine or feminine may be used:

mam xicīc=i (//mi xicīc=i) ar mam dek čāy čūy̌ǰ?
who put these currants in this pot?

ku wam x̌icīc mazā čis, xuš turd aga sůd, vo ven as dam turd
try the flavor of that currant; if you like it they'll bring you more.

§391. Gender transformation can occur for grasses and other types of plants which are traditionally feminine:

mīsk	Bukharan buckwheat
warx̌	?
šitorθk	rhubarb

(for phrasal examples see Table 19)

§392. Gender transformation occurs in the names of grains which are typically feminine:

max̌	pea
lašak	rye
pīndz	millet
ziyer	flax

birinǰ   rice

(for phrasal examples see Table 19)

§393. The names of tableware and other domestic items which typically belong to feminine gender can be used as masculine when referring to the concept or a totality. These include the following:

toθč   wooden bowl
ribeki   small wooden plate
piyola   wooden bowl (small)
čīni   teacup (porcelain)
čibak   spoon
dek   pot
čêd   knife
sidz   needle
torǩak   adze
tavār   axe
nuqroz   scissors
vāǩ   rope; line
miyend   belt; girdle

(for phrasal examples see Table 20)

§394. In summary:

It is important to note that when these nouns are direct or indirect objects and therefore used with gender-distinguishing forms of demonstrative pronouns, they are in a context in which they are individualized and are therefore feminine. When they are subjects, however, they often transition to masculine. These is observed even in cases where they are denoting a concrete, individual object.

Examples are given.

§395. Nouns of other lexical-semantic classes can also transition to masculine gender when used in a collective sense. In order to highlight the totality of the objects, other lexical means can be used, such as words like *adis* and reduplication:

di čoy-poy šič tar piro vet=at di palow tām zibo-ra ðen
'give the guests the tea and all that, and then the palow and all the rest give them later'

šič-aθ mi xu čīni-pīni (// čīni-adis) ziniyet
'now wash your teacups and all that'

§396. When feminine nouns transition into masculine, demonstrative pronouns, which in the Shughni-Rushani group act as articles, might be absent. In these cases, we can see the gender of the noun in question via something in the predicate, usually a verbal stem. Examples:

ida vegā sut
well now it's evening

compare:

yam meθ vegā ida sat
this day has turned into night.

§397. Gender transformation occurs even for Russian nouns, which, when used to denote an individual, concrete object, are feminine, and when used to denote a concept or totality are masculine. Examples:

dam tilifůn dāk xubaθ gāp ðām
'give me that phone and I'll speak myself'

fukaθ-and tilifůn vud
'everyone had a telephone.'

mam rād wizêwum o?
should I turn this radio off?

tām-ard māš-and yīwaθ rād vad
'at that time we only had one radio.

ar magazīn rād na-vud, aga nay zox̌čat=um turd
'there were no radios at the store; otherwise, I would have bought one for you.'

CP note: it looks like this masculine/feminine distinction is somehow related to definiteness. It reminds me of the use of partitive articles in French and the genitive/partitive in Russian

§398. The same phenomenon is observed in nouns denoting living beings (including insects and birds), for which there are no gender-distinguishing correlates and which are feminine when referring to concrete beings. These include for instance:

mǔrdzak	ant
čīrm	worm
čangin	fly

tīvdak	mosquito
sipaў	louse
civīnc	wasp; bee
divūsk	snake
kiẋêpc	magpie
wiðič	sparrow; bird (generally)
aqob	eagle
mindêdzak	swallow

etc. (see §§279-284 in Part 1)

Phrasal examples:

dam firêŷdz zīm
'I'm going to kill that flea'

důst=ām ŷīpt=xu firêŷdz nest sut
We poured some DDT (*dust* – chemical compound), and the fleas were no more.

§399. It is noteworthy that this phenomenon occurs in the sphere of animate nouns – even those denoting humans – which specifically denote a feminine living being and sometimes have a masculine correlate. These are of the type:

ɣāc ~ ɣiðā
ŷinik ~ čorik
žow ~ ẋīŷ
čuẋ ~ čaẋ

A group of feminine people beings can be expressed with compound nouns, the second part of which is a denominal suffix denoting plurality, such as *xel* 'group; crowd', *-galā* 'herd; flock'; *-guftā* 'herd; flock'. The nouns formed with these suffixes are always masculine, such as in the following example:[19]

yu *ŷinik-xel ar sūr ded*
'the crowd of women entered into the wedding'

§400. As mentioned above, the general tendency whereby gender transformation takes place primarily for feminine nouns, whereas masculine nouns are capable of denoting either concrete,

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[19] However, when the speaker wishes to emphasize the plurality of the noun in question (as opposed to an aggregate or totality), these nouns are formed with the plural marker and do not distinguish gender – namely because all plural nouns agree as feminine. In other words, these suffixes can be used as proper plural suffixes, as in the example: *wāð ɣāc-xél-en ded ar boɣ // wāð ɣāc-én=end ed ar boɣ* 'those women entered the garden'.

individual objects or general concepts and therefore do not typically change gender, was first pointed out in the works of V.S. Sokolova. Nonetheless, this is merely a tendency and not an absolute rule. There are some instances in which the transition of masculine nouns to feminine is observed when they denote a concrete, single, individual object. For instance:

ti pi dam sūrxŭnā sāwām
'let's go to that wedding house (where weddings are celebrated)'
sūrxŭnā is typically masculine

what about:

dam dori murd dāk
'give me that medicine'
(*dori* – 'medicine' is usually masculine)
*This is a Roshorvi example.

Masculine nouns which are used as direct or indirect objects and denote concrete objects often appear as feminine nouns. We can see this via the demonstrative pronouns which accompany them. On the other hand, when used as subjects, these nouns are more likely to preserve their masculine classification. Examples:

*va **dam** tu <u>čakkā</u> xārām*
'let's eat your thick (cream?)'

*tu <u>čakkā</u> **tuX̌p***
your thick (cream?) is sour

dam čoyǰūX̌ dāk, pis X̌ac sāwum
give me the teapot and I'll go get water

mu čoyǰūX̌ viruX̌t
my teapot broke

§401. Thus, we can make the following conclusions:

> **(i)** feminine nouns which are not connected with natural sex can undergo gender transformation to masculine. For these nouns, feminine gender is associated with individualness and concreteness, while masculine gender is connected with generalness and totality. This phenomenon is possible for all lexical-semantic classes of feminine nouns, including even nouns which denote humans.

> **(ii)** the notion of totality and generalness, which is associated with masculine gender, can be emphasized via the use of particles such as *-adis, -das*, and by the use of alliterative

(reduplication) constructions. It can also be expressed with the use of denominal components acting as suffixes, such as *-xel, -galā, -guftā*. In the latter case, the first noun – i.e. the noun preceding the denominal suffix – can be either masculine or feminine.

(iii) there are also instances attested – though more rarely – in which a traditionally masculine noun transitions to a feminine noun when the object it refers to is concrete/individual/etc. This speaks to the productivity/activeness of the process of gender transformation and of the close connection it has with grammatical meanings of individual vs. general and concrete vs. abstract. Gender oppositions are closely intertwined with the oppositions of generalness/totality and individualness/concreteness. Moreover, gender classification is becoming (or *is*) one of the most important means for expressing notions of definiteness and indefiniteness. This is seen, in particular, in the gender marking of individual nouns in different positions in the clause (I think he is referring to the tendency of direct/indirect objects to be feminine and subjects to be masculine).

Conclusion

§402. Because each section of this work was ended with its own respective takeaways, this section includes only general conclusions of this work.

1. The loss of the ancient Iranian system of case and gender paradigms for nouns in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group has led not to the loss of grammatical gender (with the exception of Sarikoli), but rather to the preservation of certain old gender markings and the activization and solidification of new means for expressing gender.

2. Morphophonological models for distinguishing gender, in addition to certain series of nouns and other gender-distinguishing components (such as onomatopoeic and other figurative words), encompass the many classes of words which can show gender agreement with nouns, including adjectives, demonstrative pronouns (articles), participles, and intransitive past and perfect verb stems. In general, the formal properties of gender-distinguishing models are identical, with *a-* and *i*-vocalization (from ancient Iranian *-ā- and *-ī-) serving as markers of feminine gender in all classes of gender-distinguishing words. This vocalization is opposed by the neutral vocalization which is typical for masculine gender (i.e. from ancient stems ending in *-a- and *-u-). In the modern languages, this shows up primarily as *u*-vocalization. The significance of these types of vocalization for distinguishing gender shows up even on inanimate nouns not connected with natural sex, but which have gender-distinguishing correlates.

3. A significant role in gender distinction is played by suffixal and word-formational means, particularly within classes of nouns, adjectives, and present participles used to indicate agentive nouns (see §§142-230).

The productiveness of this means of gender distinction is found not only in the preservation and participation of primary (derivational?) gendered suffixes which have been inherited from the ancient period, such as *-ǰ* from **(a)ka-* and *-dz, -c* from **(a)či-*, but also in the grammaticization of new denominal and deverbal formants and their wide usage in the sphere of nouns and adjectives (see §§167-214). The formant *-buc/-bic* (from *buc* 'male child of an animal' < Sh. *puc* < ancient Iranian *puθra-* 'son'). This formant can attach to a variety of classes of concrete nouns, regardless of their animacy. Examples include *xêrbuc* 'nephew' // *xêrbic* 'niece'; *šīgbuc* 'bull calf' // *šīgbic* 'heifer'; *qalambuc* 'little pen'; *sitūlbuc* 'little chair'; *kitobbic* 'little book'; *sitolbic* 'little table'.

4. The gender of compound nouns depends on the gender of the second (latter) component. Hence, we can find masculine compound nouns whose first component is either feminine or masculine, as long as the second component is masculine, and feminine compound nouns whose first component is either masculine or feminine, as long as the second component is feminine (see §§224-229). This rule holds even for compound nouns whose components are not morphologically motivated, as in *xidorǰ-zīr* 'millstone' – a feminine noun where *xidorǰ* 'mill' is masculine and *žīr* 'stone' is feminine. Of course, the rule applies for compound nouns whose components *are* morphologically motivated, such as in *guǰ-bůst* 'baby (male) goat skin', where *guǰ* 'baby (male) goat' is masculine, and *bůst* < *půst* is masculine, and in *giǰ-bůst* 'baby (female) goat skin', where *giǰ* 'baby (female) goat' is feminine. The gender classification of compound adjectives which are made up of (a) morphologically motivated component(s) does not depend on the position of each component within the compound. Examples include *têr-ǰūǰ ~ têr-ǰāǰ* (m~f) 'checkered black; *žurn-bīc ~ žarn-bīc* (m~f) 'round-faced'. In general, we can say that morphophonological markers of gender play an important role in the retention of the category of grammatical gender in the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group.

5. For the languages of the Shughni-Rushani group at the present stage in their development, the grammatical gender of nouns shows up primarily in agreement constructions. Because all nouns can function as subjects or objects (whether direct or indirect), and because they can enter into agreement constructions with demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, intransitive verbs, and onomatopoeic words, we have the possibility to detect the gender classification of all nouns syntactically, both morphophonologically motivated and unmotivated nouns.

6. There are three different types of gender agreement:

> **(i)** attributive: subject/object with gender-distinguishing forms of adjectives, participles, and pronouns

> **(ii)** predicative: subject with gender-distinguishing intransitive verb or adjective

(iii) adverbial: noun with onomatopoeic words which distinguish gender and modify the noun's action

Agreement in such constructions is not inhibited when there is a lack of morphophonological markers of gender on the noun in question. Among the means of expressing gender syntactically, the most commonly used are gender-distinguishing demonstrative pronouns. The most unique means for expressing grammatical gender, however, are the onomatopoeic adverbs and verbs which shows the gender of the noun whose action they denote or modify.

7. It can be said in general that the morphophonologically and syntactic means of expressing gender which are available to the Shughni-Rushani languages at the present stage of their development allows for the normal, stable functioning of the category of gender.

8. The semantic workload of the category of gender within the sphere of animate nouns is primarily to distinguish natural sex. When there is a lack of gender-distinguishing correlates for a given noun, in the vast majority of cases the noun is feminine.

9. Semantic factors also play an important role in the gender classification of inanimate nouns. The distribution of gender in inanimate nouns on the basis of semantic factors is quite regular. This pattern can be seen, for instance, in the fact that all abstract nouns are masculine (§§292-308), and that a large portion of nouns denoting objects are feminine, with a large role being played by thematic classes and synonyms. All of these notions hold true for borrowed Russian nouns and nouns of other provenances (§§329-356).

10. The category of gender and gendered forms figure into a variety of lexical and grammatical meanings. The lexical meaning of gender consists in the fact that gender classification can have a word-formation role within a single noun/lexeme, and gender transition plays an important role in the formation of new nouns. In addition, gender classification is used as a means for expressing the size and volume of an object and figures into oppositions between the whole object and its parts. Here, masculine gender is associated with objects of smaller size, while feminine gender is associated with larger objects, and masculine gender is associated with the parts of an object, while feminine is associated with the whole. This pattern holds for both morphophonologically motivated and unmotivated nouns (§§360-366).

11. The grammatical meaning of the category of gender, for its part, has to do with the fact that we find the feminine to be associated with notions of concreteness and individualness, and masculine to be associated with general and abstract. Feminine nouns not associated with the denotation of natural sex undergo gender transformation to masculine when they denote a totality or general concept rather than an individual instantiation of it.

12. Regarding the interaction of the languages and dialects of the Shughni-Rushani group within the sphere of the category of gender, the following an be said: there are many commonalities and a few discrepancies in the way that these languages use morphophonological gender-distinguishing models and syntactic constructions which show gender via agreement. The differences, however, are sometimes significant and can be found in both the gender vocalizations and suffixes that constitute the formal means for expressing gender, as well as in the syntactic means for expressing gender. In this regard, there are essentially four types of morphophonological and syntactic differentiations of gender:

> a) **Shughni-Bajuwi** are characterized by a somewhat different vocalization for masculine gender and a relatively lesser use of gendered suffixes. These varieties are also distinct for the presence of gender-distinguishing direct demonstrative pronouns, where the other dialects have only gender-distinguishing oblique demonstrative pronouns;

> b) **Rushani-Khufi** are characterized by a different type of masculine vocalization and the presence of a large number of gender-distinguishing suffixes. In these dialects we also find ergative constructions in which the subject's gender is shown through oblique demonstrative pronouns;

> c) **Bartangi** is characterized by a distinct type of masculine vocalization, the presence of the ergative construction, and also a large number of gender-distinguishing suffixes, including some which are particular to this variety;

> d) **Roshorvi** has a similar masculine vocalization to Bartangi, but is distinct in its unification and standardization of feminine vocalization and in its lack of the ergative construction.

There are also discrepancies among the languages in the gender classification of inanimate nouns. This can be better recorded in lexicographical studies.

Appendices

Tables

§403. The tables here show the gender classification of nouns denoting object which do not have morphological markers of gender. Unlike the tables in the first part of this work, these tables are accompanied by short comments which speak to the semantic nature of these forms. In parentheses one can find the publications in which the examples are found.

In Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 some examples are given of ancient Iranian nouns and their corresponding reflexes in the Shughni-Rushani languages.

Tables 7 and 8 show the discrepancies and deviations with respect to the nouns denoting drinks in the Shughni-Rushani languages.

In seven tables (13-20), gender transformation is exhibited for several semantic classes of nouns.