Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
Cover illustration: Sarikoli Tajik girl wearing a kulto. Photo by Gawar Deyqn.

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Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

PROEFSCHRIFT

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1

Introduction

In far western China, to the north and northwest of the Himalayas, along the border with Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, the Sarikoli\(^1\) (Uyghur: sariqoli) people live in the high valleys of the eastern Pamir mountains, which exceed 3000 meters in elevation. This group of people, numbering about forty thousand, speaks a language that is distinct from its Turkic neighbors.

Sarikoli [srh]\(^2\) is an Eastern Iranian language of the Indo-European language family. It is easternmost of the extant Iranian languages, and the only Indo-European language spoken exclusively in China. Within the Iranian languages, it belongs to the Pamir sprachbund, which is spread across the Pamir Mountains in eastern Tajikistan, eastern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, and western China. Due to its physical and political isolation from the other Pamir languages, Sarikoli is one of the most poorly described.

The present research describes the syntax of Sarikoli as it is spoken today. In the following sections of this chapter, the Sarikoli people are introduced in terms of their geographical, cultural, and historical situation (§1.1). This is followed by a linguistic overview of the Sarikoli language, including its classification, sociolinguistic situation, typological profile, and previous research (§1.2). Finally, the framework, data, and organization of the present study are presented (§1.3).

---

\(^1\)Sarikoli is not a native designation; rather, it is a Western interpretation of the Uyghur word for the people group. Native speakers refer to themselves and their own language as tudzik, sariquli, or sarikuj. tudzik is the preferred endonym, as shown in examples (2.71), (2.118), (2.215), (3.73), (5.18), (6.47), (7.63), (10.7), (10.8), (10.42), (10.154), (10.194), (11.8), and (12.8), as well as in texts A.1, A.2, A.7 in Appendix A. When it is necessary to distinguish this group from the Tajik people of Tajikistan, the more specific ethnonyms ts'in tudzik or dsonggo tudzik 'China Tajik' may be used.

\(^2\)ISO 639-3 code (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016)
1.1 The Sarikoli people

1.1.1 Geographical and physical context

Sarikoli speakers primarily live among the mountains of Varhide (varɕide), which is one of the westernmost counties in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. This county, known in the Uyghur-based English name as Tashkorgan Tajik Autonomous County (塔什库尔干塔吉克自治县), is mostly settled by the Tajik ethnicity of China. The ethnonym “Tajik (塔吉克族)” in China covers Iranian peoples who speak three distinct native languages: Sarikoli, spoken by the majority, Wakhi (also Eastern Iranian), and Uyghur (Turkic). Even though Sarikoli and Wakhi are both Eastern Iranian languages, they are mutually unintelligible, and their speakers are culturally similar but ethnically distinct. Speakers of these three languages became an officially recognized ethnic minority of the PRC in 1954, the same year that their homeland officially became Tashkorgan Tajik Autonomous County. According to the Sixth National Population Census of the People’s Republic of China conducted in 2010, there were 51069 Tajiks in China. Since the majority of Chinese Tajiks speak Sarikoli, we estimate that there are about 40000 speakers of Sarikoli. The remainder of the Tajik ethnicity in China speaks Wakhi or Uyghur as their primary language. The Uyghur-speaking Tajiks speak neither Sarikoli nor Wakhi, but they identify with the Sarikoli and Wakhi speakers culturally and religiously.

Varhide County is officially composed of eleven gunɡɕi (公社), or communes³, which represent the main villages. The commune names are listed below in 1.1, followed by three other place names that have significant communities of Sarikoli residents and are frequently mentioned in conversations. The right-hand column shows how the village names are spelled in Neikramon Ibrukhim’s orthography. The central town and administrative county seat established by the Chinese government is also called Varshide, bearing the same name as the county itself. There are smaller villages which fall under the administration of each of the eleven main villages. Thavthor has the largest settlement of Wakhi speakers, although the Wakhi are thoroughly spread out among the other villages as well, partially due to intermarriage between the Sarikoli and Wakhi speakers. Kekyor is officially a Kyrgyz village which is primarily settled by the Kyrgyz, as it is the northernmost village and geographically closest to the Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture. Another

³Communes are a result of Maoist era Chinese government policy that dates only to the 1950s or later, not a Sarikoli cultural feature.
noteworthy village is a small village called Tor, located between Koghushluk and Teeng, but lying just outside the county border; it is the home of most Uyghur-speaking Tajiks.

Table 1.1 The eleven main villages of Varshide County, and other place names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA transcription</th>
<th>Orthographical spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 varɕide</td>
<td>Varshide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tuuznɛf</td>
<td>Teeznef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 baldir</td>
<td>Baldir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kɔɾuɬuk</td>
<td>Koghushluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 watça</td>
<td>Wacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tung</td>
<td>Teeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ɖavdɔr</td>
<td>Thavthor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 marjɔŋ</td>
<td>Maryong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 brunsol</td>
<td>Brumsol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tasarmi</td>
<td>Tagharmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 kekjɔr</td>
<td>Kekyor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 todzikobod</td>
<td>Tojikobod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 xwor</td>
<td>Kashgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 urumtɛi</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following map shows the locations of these eleven main villages. Their numbering is in the same order as they are listed in 1.1 above.
Figure 1.1 Map of the main villages of Varshide (created by Moss Doerksen)
There are a few Tajik resettlement towns outside of Varshide County, such as in Poskam County of Kashgar Prefecture (喀什地区泽普县), Akto County in Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture (克孜勒苏州阿克陶县), and Hotan Prefecture (和田地区), but the biggest and most prominent resettlement town is Tojikobod Town in Kashgar Prefecture (喀什地区塔吉克阿瓦提镇). These have started as Chinese government-initiated resettlements due to extensive flooding in Varshide, particularly in the villages of Teeng, Brumsol, and Koghushluk. However, Tojikobod Town now has many residents who have migrated from various villages of Varshide for reasons such as lower altitude, wider range of agricultural options, better educational opportunities, and proximity to the city of Kashgar. Tojikobod Town is inhabited by speakers of Sarikoli, Wakhi, and Uyghur, but residents in some of the other resettlement towns have virtually given up speaking Sarikoli and Wakhi in favor of Uyghur as they have lived in constant contact with Uyghur neighbors.

According to folk etymology, the ethnonym sarikuj derives from the Persian words sar ‘head’ and kuh ‘mountain’, which reveals the sense of pride and identity they take in living on the “Roof of the World” among some of the world’s highest mountains. The Pamir Mountains stretch from the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan in the west, to Varshide in the east. The average elevation of Varshide County is 4000 meters, and the Muztagh Ata (7509 meters) and the Kongur Tagh (7649 meters) peaks are in the close vicinity of these people. The central town of Varshide is about 3000 meters.

The Sarikoli people are traditionally farmers and semi-nomadic herders. As farmers, they grow wheat, highland barley, green peas, and have begun to grow highland maka (Lepidium Meyenii) as a cash crop. As herders, they move to higher pasturelands in the summertime to graze their sheep, goats, and yaks for months at a time. Naturally, their diet primarily consists of meat, wheat, and dairy, although consumption of fruits and vegetables brought from Kashgar has been on the increase for those living in the central town of Varshide. Teeng and Koghushluk, the villages lower in elevation, also produce large quantities of fruits, especially apricots.

1.1.2 Religious and cultural context

Most Sarikoli people adhere to the Ismaili branch of Shi’a Islam, and claim continuity with Zoroastrian traditions as well. The three most significant festivals of the year are Sheaueenbahor/Neaureez Eid (šawqunbahr/nawruz ejd), Qeerbun Eid (qurbun ejd), and Pilik Eid (pilik ejd). Sheaueenbahor Eid is the Iranian New Year and Zoroastrian festival, which begins on March 21 of the Western calendar. It is a three-day celebration during which everyone cleans their home (which is why it is also commonly called čed čadar ejd
‘house cleaning festival’), wears new clothes, and visits all of the houses in their village to pass on good wishes and enjoy festival food. Qeerbun Eid, the ‘sacrifice festival’ of Islam, is celebrated on the tenth day of Dhu al-Hijjah in the Islamic calendar, in remembrance of Ibrahim’s willingness to obey God and sacrifice his son, Ishmael. At daybreak on the first day of this three- or four-day celebration, a ram is sacrificed on the rooftop, and its meat is shared with numerous guests who pay their visits throughout the day. Pilik Eid, the ‘wick festival’, is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of Sha’ban in the Islamic calendar. The first day is called ted pilik ‘home pilik’, on which they light a fire at home for the living family members. The second day is called zurat pilik ‘graveyard pilik’, as they go to the graveyards of their ancestors and light a small fire on the tomb of each deceased relative.

The Sarikoli people are patrilineal and patrilocal. Intermarriage with non-Tajik ethnicities is extremely rare, and currently all marriages are monogamous. Sarikoli people have preferred to marry within their extended family because travel to other villages has been difficult in the past, as well as the fact that relatives could assist each other financially and expected reasonable dowry and bride price. However, with improved road conditions and mobile communications, marrying a non-relative from another village has become possible and even commonplace. Before a wedding, the prospective groom’s male relatives first visit the prospective bride’s home to seek permission from her parents, taking some animals as gifts. Once permission has been granted, the engagement party (rejmultarkol, lit. ‘scarf to head’) is celebrated in both the prospective groom’s and bride’s homes. The wedding occurs a few months after this, and is celebrated for four to five days. The bride wears a red dress, adorns herself with jewelry and ornaments of silver and jade, and covers her face with a white veil (tɕɯmband). The groom wears black, with a red and white cloth (sala) braided around the usual black wool hat (tɯmoɾ) worn by men. Large celebrations take place at both the groom’s and the bride’s homes, each with crowds of guests, an abundance of food and sheep-slaughtering, and hours of dancing accompanied by loud music. Relatives and neighbors help with preparing and serving food, and guests enjoy themselves by dancing and watching others dance. On the third day or so, the groom, accompanied by a female relative (rawots) and two groomsmen (xanitsamɯɡ), goes to the bride’s home to pick up the bride. After the bride and groom arrive at the groom’s home, they participate in the niku, a solemn religious ceremony performed by the χalifa, the religious leader. This is when they officially become bride and groom. On the final day of the wedding, the white veil covering the bride’s face is lifted, and the guests are able to see the bride’s face. Almost all weddings take place in the summertime or after harvest in the fall.
The eagle is the symbol for the Sarikoli people, as it is for the Pamir peoples in general. It represents freedom, strength, and beauty. The Sarikoli people mimic the eagle when they dance, play flutes (the noj) made of eagle wing bones, and claim that their noses resemble the eagle’s beak.

The Sarikoli people’s favorite leisurely activities include dancing, singing, and embroidery. Every major festival or significant event reserves special time and space for dancing and singing, but these activities may spring up at any gathering of Sarikoli people, often for no particular reason at all. The women are constantly embroidering pillows, home decorations, and ethnic hats whenever they have free time. When a woman gets married, she is expected to give a newly-embroidered ethnic cap (cedoi or kulto) to every female relative in the groom’s extended family. As each cap generally takes at least a month to make, girls and their mothers are always busy embroidering caps when a wedding is imminent.

Colors, especially as shown on clothing, are significant for signalling social emotions. χɯɕi ‘happiness’ is expressed by colors like red, orange, yellow, and pink. Since a wedding is a happy occasion, the bride is dressed in red from head to toe and the groom also wears red and white cloths around his hat. The bride is expected to wear red for at least one year after the wedding as well. Recently married women or women who are young and youthful generally wear traditional embroidered caps with happy colors. χafaɡi ‘sadness’, on the other hand, is expressed by colors like blue, green, and black. Everyone at a funeral wears these sad colors, often also with a blue or green cloth around their waist, and relatives and close friends of the deceased wear these colors for at least a year. They also refrain from activities that are perceived to be happy, such as dancing and singing or having a wedding within the family. Older women nearing death or women whose relatives have passed away recently will wear traditional caps containing more of the sad colors.

1.1.3 Historical context

Sarikoli lacks a native account of origins and history. The people themselves often claim to have been living in the Pamir Mountains since the beginning of time, and that they are the oldest Iranian civilization speaking the original or most ancient variety of Persian. Given the harsh conditions on the eastern Pamir plateau, Sarikoli people reason that no one would choose to ascend the mountain; instead, they conveniently descended from their mountain dwellings.

Shughni and Rushani, the most closely-related languages to Sarikoli, are spoken in eastern Tajikistan and Afghanistan. According to Dodykhudoeva, the
Sarikoli people migrated several centuries ago from the Upper Bartang of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan. More populations fled from Upper Bartang in 1911, when the massive Sarez-Pamir earthquake triggered landslides and destroyed their villages (2004:2).

1.2 The Sarikoli language

1.2.1 Classification: The place of Sarikoli in Iranian languages

The Iranian languages are a branch of the Indo-European language family, and are subdivided into eastern and western groups. The Western Iranian languages include Kurdish, Balochi, and Persian languages. The Eastern Iranian language family includes the Pamir languages, as well as Pashto, Ormuri, Parachi, Yaghnobi, and Ossetian. The Pamir languages, which are spread across the Pamir Mountains in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and China, are located on the far eastern edge of the area where Iranian languages are spoken today.

There is general agreement that the Pamir languages constitute a common Pamir sprachbund, or areal grouping, rather than a genetic grouping (Morgenstierne 1938; Sokolova 1967; Paxalina 1969 & 1983; Payne 1989; Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009a; Wendtland 2009). Within the Pamir sprachbund, etymological evidence suggests that Sarikoli, Shughni, Rushani, and possibly Yazgulyam comprise a genetically-related subgroup, whereas the others—such as Wakhi, Ishkashimi, Munji, and Yidgha—are not closely related genetically (Sokolova 1967; Payne 1989; Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009a).

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic situation

Sarikoli is surrounded by unrelated languages. The political border between China and the Central Asian countries limits Sarikoli speakers’ contact with speakers of other Pamir languages to the west, while increasing their relative contact with speakers of Turkic languages. Xinjiang is the homeland of tens of millions of speakers of Turkic languages, including Uyghur, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Uzbek, and Tatar. Mandarin Chinese is also increasing in prominence due to education policies and socioeconomic pressures.

Besides the Tajik ethnicity, the three largest ethnic groups living in the county of Varshide are Han (the Chinese majority), Uyghur, and Kyrgyz, but they constitute an extremely small portion of the overall population of the county. The Hans and Uyghurs come to Varshide to run small businesses, a trade which
the Tajiks rarely get involved in. The Uyghurs come from various places in Xinjiang, especially Kashgar, the nearest city in China which is 300 kilometers northeast of Varshide. The Hans come from much more distant places all over China. The Kyrgyz are generally farmers and herders, just like the Tajiks, and they are close to their homeland because they belong to the Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture and Kekyor, the Kyrgyz village in Varshide.

Currently, each of the 10 main villages besides the county seat has a small elementary school, and the county seat has a very large elementary school with thousands of students, which provides room and board for students from other villages. Elementary school education is six years, followed by three years of middle school and three years of high school. The only middle school in the entire county is located in the county seat, and is also a boarding school with thousands of students. There are no high schools in Varshide, so students must leave Varshide and go to cities such as Kashgar, Urumqi, or other cities in Xinjiang or Innerland China to pursue higher education. Rather than the national-level Law on Nine-Year Compulsory Education, Varshide complies with southern Xinjiang’s Law on Twelve-Year Compulsory Education, so all Tajik children must leave their hometown and spend at least three years in a generally Han- or Uyghur-speaking city. The majority of students attend the No. 6 High School and No. 2 High School in Kashgar, but the top students are granted the privilege of receiving their high school education in a city in eastern China on a government scholarship. Tajik students who attend high school in Innerland China (outside of Xinjiang) are obligated to also attend college in Innerland China, and these students usually become more comfortable with Mandarin than their native language.

Sarikoli is not taught in schools, neither as the language of instruction nor as a separate language subject. Up until a few years ago, the languages of instruction at the schools in Varshide were Mandarin and Uyghur. When being enrolled in first grade, students and their parents were to choose either the Mandarin track or the Uyghur track, a decision which lasted until the end of their education career. Initially, most chose Uyghur, which is why many people from the middle-aged generation now are more comfortable with Uyghur than Mandarin. However, around 2010, the Uyghur track has been abolished in the first grade, leaving Mandarin as the only option for the entire class. As the Mandarin-only classes move up each year, Tajik children are increasingly speaking more Mandarin. Mandarin is the only language that is permitted in school, both in class and outside of class, and children are forbidden to communicate with each other in Sarikoli or other languages.

Television and radio are available in Uyghur and Mandarin only. Families watch Uyghur television together after the evening meal, as Uyghur continues
to be the language understood by the older and younger generations alike. However, based on current trends, Mandarin seems likely to take over as the dominant second language in the future.

As the Language of Wider Communication and one of the official government languages of the province, Uyghur is naturally viewed as having higher prestige than Sarikoli. It also has a rich literary tradition and has been a language of instruction in schools, which have not been opportunities for Sarikoli. Apart from these official domains, Uyghur is also ubiquitous in popular media, both on television and radio. It is the language spoken by an ethnic group with a much larger population and greater political power than the Sarikoli people. It provides far greater socio-economic opportunities.

The Sarikoli people retain a positive attitude toward their own language. They have a strong sense of identity as the only Iranian-speaking group in China, and take great pride in their language and culture. Language use is vigorous, and speakers of all generations are fluent in their language, unless they have spent most of their lives studying in Innerland China. As Varshide is isolated from other Han- or Uyghur-majority cities, Sarikoli speakers still use their native language for most interactions with people in their daily lives. In addition, they show great enthusiasm and passion for cultural artifacts in Sarikoli, such as songs, poetry, and proverbs.

Within the Tajik ethnicity of China, Sarikoli has a higher prestige than Wakhi because it is spoken by the majority. Most of the Wakhi people also learn to speak Sarikoli fluently in order to communicate with other Tajiks, but some communicate with them through Uyghur. Sarikoli speakers rarely learn to speak Wakhi fluently; if they do, it is usually because they were raised by Wakhi-speaking family members. Intermarriage between the Sarikoli and Wakhi groups is common. However, the Uyghur-speaking Tor Tajiks (*tor tudžik*) tend to take more pride in their unique identity and are less likely to intermarry with Sarikoli or Wakhi Tajiks.

Because speakers are spread out throughout the mountains and valleys across 52400 square kilometers of land, Sarikoli is not homogenous. Paxalina (1966:3) noted dialectical differences among three general regions: central (including the county seat of Varshide, Teeznef, Cheekhmon, and parts of Baldir), near eastern (including Wacha, Maryong, and parts of Baldir), and far eastern (including Teeng and Brumsol). Differences among these variants are mostly phonetic, with some lexical variation as well.
1.2.3 Typological overview

Sarikoli is a moderately agglutinating language with SOV basic word order. Peripheral arguments and adverbial modifiers are typically placed between the subject and the object. Head-final morphosyntactic behavior is shown through the ordering of constituents: objects precede the verb, nominal modifiers precede the head noun, and degree words precede the adjective. Both prepositions and postpositions are used, some of which are coded for relative elevation. Suffixes are more prevalent than prefixes. Interrogative words occur in situ in content questions, and the question enclitic which marks polar questions occurs sentence-finally. Grammatical relations are signaled through case and function marking on nouns and pronouns, constituent order, and pronominal subject-verb agreement clitics. Verbs can be analyzed in five different stems, and aspect is indicated through a combination of the choice of verb stem, aspectual agreement clitics, and the form and placement of pronominal clitics.

1.2.4 Previous research

Sarikoli is an underdescribed and poorly documented language. Arlund describes it as “the most isolated and understudied of the [Pamir] languages” as a result of its confinement to a remote border area of China, presenting great challenges to linguists in terms of geographical remoteness, requirement of Mandarin proficiency, and the red tape and surveillance of the Chinese government (Arlund 2006:6). Paxalina speculates that Sarikoli has kept many words and forms lost in other Pamir languages due to its geographical and political isolation from other Pamir languages (Paxalina 1966:4).

Few linguists have produced descriptions of Sarikoli based on data from their own fieldwork, and they will be introduced in this section. Although Sarikoli has also been mentioned in several general works on Pamir languages or the Shughni-Rushani subgroup (Lentz 1933; Sköld 1936; Morgenstierne 1938 & 1974; Payne 1989; Skjervø 1989; Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009a; Wendtland 2009), those works are based on materials published by those who did original research in the 1870s and 1950s: Shaw (1876) and Paxalina (1966).

The first English mention of Sarikoli appeared in 1875, when Britain sent an official mission to Eastern Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang) led by diplomat Thomas Douglas Forsyth in 1873, during the closing decades of the Great Game, the struggle between Victorian Britain and Tsarist Russia for geopolitical power in Central Asia. Two of the participants of this expedition, medical Dr. Henry Walter Bellew and Colonel John Biddulph, collected substantial wordlists and twenty phrases of Sarikoli (to which they refer as Sarigh Culi...
and Sirikolee, respectively). These data are in chapter 15 of Forsyth’s report on this mission, which also includes rich historical, geographical and ethnographical information on western Xinjiang (Forsyth 1875). Bellew and Biddulph’s wordlists can be useful for historical-comparative work.

The first English description of Sarikoli was written by Robert B. Shaw, a British political agent who was on special duty at Kashgar (Shaw 1876). In 1868, he was “the first Englishman who ever went to Yarkund” (Forsyth 1871), a county off the northeast border of Varshide, just a short distance away from the village of Teeng. In 1872, when he returned to England, he was awarded the patron’s gold medal by the Royal Geographical Society for his service in exploring Eastern Turkestan (Lee 1897). He also published several linguistic descriptions of the languages of Xinjiang and the Pamir Mountains, including: On the Ghachalhah languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli) (1876), On the Shigni (Ghalchah) dialect (1877), A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkestan (1878a), and On the Hill Canton of Salar: the most easterly settlement of the Turk race (1878b).

In On the Ghachalhah languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli) (1876), Shaw provides a brief sketch of Wakhi and Sarikoli grammar, followed by several narrative texts in each language, accompanied by literal English translations. He also includes a lengthy lexicon of Sarikoli and Wakhi. This work is a resource for a diachronic study of Sarikoli, with texts and lexicon from the 1870s. It is useful for investigating how the language has changed and developed since then, and which elements have remained constant. Paxalina (1966) evaluates Shaw’s work as beneficial, even though there are mistakes and inaccuracies because he was not a trained linguist.

About eight decades later, in the 1950s, a Russian linguist named Tatiana N. Paxalina came to research Sarikoli and related Pamir languages, including Shughni, Rushani, Ishkashimi, and Wakhi. She collected Sarikoli data in 1956.4 In 1966, she produced a sketch of Sarikoli grammar which also includes narrative texts with literal translations into Russian, and later in 1971 published a Sarikoli-Russian dictionary. Because of the amount of detail she provides in her description of Sarikoli and her extensive experience researching Pamir languages, her work is considered the most reliable and in-depth grammatical analysis of the Sarikoli language to date.

In the 1960s, a Chinese linguist, Gao Erqiang, conducted research on Sarikoli and Wakhi, the two Iranian languages spoken by the “Tajik” ethnicity of China.

---

4My field research has put me in contact with someone who remembers Paxalina conducting research in Varshide when he was a child.
(Gao 1963). This was part of the Chinese initiative to produce brief descriptions of each of the minority languages of China. In 塔吉克语简志 (Outline of the Tajik language), which appeared in 1985, he presents an overview of the phonetics, lexicon, morphology, and syntax of Sarikoli, and also includes a description of Wakhi, referring to it as a “dialect” of Sarikoli. In 1996, he published a Tajik-Mandarin dictionary.

In the 1990s, Pamela Arlund, an American linguist, began researching Sarikoli. Her PhD dissertation, an acoustic analysis of Sarikoli diphthongs, appeared in 2006. A few years later, she co-authored an English-language primer intended for non-linguist learners of Sarikoli, in cooperation with Neikramon Ibrukhim, a native speaker of Sarikoli. This primer does not contain original native texts, but has grammatically acceptable translations of Uyghur texts, as well as word lists with English, Mandarin Chinese, and Uyghur glosses.

Neikramon Ibrukhim is a Sarikoli scholar who is passionate about promoting and developing his own language. He is a professor of Russian at Xinjiang University and also works at the Foreign Affairs Office of the university. In addition to co-authoring the English-language primer with Arlund, he has developed a Roman-script-based orthography of Sarikoli and published a primer introducing his alphabet (Ibrukhim 2012; see Appendix B for correlations with the IPA). Although his alphabet is still far from being widely used within the Sarikoli community, he transcribes stories, poems, song lyrics, and news articles with his orthography and disseminates it on social media. By doing so, he hopes to pass on the language to younger generations and maintain its vitality.

Publications based on the most recent original linguistic research conducted on Sarikoli include works by Kim (2014, 2015) and Palmer (2016). These are not comprehensive grammars, but descriptions of specific phenomena of Sarikoli syntax and morphology.

1.3 The present study

1.3.1 Scope and descriptive theoretical framework

This dissertation presents an analysis of selected topics in the syntax of Sarikoli. It was originally intended to form half of a joint dissertation, but the demands of life, family, and education have made it more prudent to write separate dissertations covering different topics. Upon completion of Timothy Palmer’s dissertation on topics including Sarikoli phonology, morphology, and the verb
and verb phrase, the two dissertations will be joined together as a single comprehensive grammar of Sarikoli. While this description focuses on syntactic topics, the verb phrase is not covered in detail here, because analysis of verbs and verb phrases include much analysis of morphology and especially of aspect, which my partner is better prepared to address. In order to help the reader understand the discussions in this dissertation, a brief phonological and morphological sketch including verbal morphology is provided in §1.4.

The present study is a synchronic description of the syntactic structure of Sarikoli. As such, I do not theorize about the place of Sarikoli within Iranian languages through diachronic analysis, though the data and description provided here may be useful for historical-comparative work in future studies. Because this is a descriptive grammar, I have chosen to use a descriptive theoretical framework, Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006), rather than an explanatory theory, to analyze and present my data. The descriptive focus of this grammar assumes a minimal amount of theoretical knowledge on the part of the reader, and I use terms that are generally familiar to all linguists. In exceptional cases where it is necessary to use terms specific to Sarikoli, they are explained as they are introduced.

1.3.2 Fieldwork and data

This section summarizes the process of fieldwork and the scope of data on which this grammar is based.

We conducted the fieldwork for this dissertation between September 2014 and December 2016. The three principal locations of field research for this grammar are: 1) various villages in Varshide County (Varshide, Teeznif, Tagharmi, Rabut, Teeng, Wacha); 2) Tojikobod Town, the Sarikoli resettlement town in Kashgar Prefecture; and 3) Urumqi, the provincial capital of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Data collection was carried out in Sarikoli, as it is the language that I use to communicate with the Sarikoli people. Most of the writing of this grammar was done on-site during fieldwork, and all of the examples have been checked by native speakers.

We recorded 15 folktales (142 minutes), 25 cultural, traditional, and historical texts (239 minutes), 10 personal experience texts (32 minutes), 15 conversation texts (35 minutes), 20 procedural texts (16 minutes), 4 poems (6 minutes), 3 hortative texts (3 minutes), 7 traditional songs (22 minutes), and a collection of proverbs (29 minutes). Texts were transcribed, analyzed and glossed in FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx), and translated into English. This dissertation is based on these texts and conversations. Some sample texts representing various genres and topics are provided in Appendix A. In addition
to sentences taken from this corpus of recorded natural data, many examples are taken from utterances that occurred in natural conversations, which were transcribed on the spot.

Twenty-nine Sarikoli speakers of a variety of ages, occupations, village origins, and genders contributed oral texts for this study. Of these, twenty-eight were born and raised in Varshide County and one was born and raised in Tojikobod Town. A large number of native speakers also assisted by providing and translating data. Neikramon Ibrukhim, who is originally from the Varshide county seat, provided great help by introducing us to Sarikoli speakers in various villages who were willing to share oral texts. Gawar Deiqun, a native of Wacha, has accompanied us when collecting some of the oral texts and has worked with us for countless hours on transcription and translation. He has provided much insight into his language and culture.

In cases where there are differences among the dialects, we describe the majority or most pervasive form.

1.3.3 Transcription

In this grammar I use a phonemic IPA representation of Sarikoli, as this is a dissertation written in English primarily geared towards an international linguistic audience. Sarikoli does not have an officially implemented orthography yet, and different members of the Sarikoli community wish to use different types of script for their orthography, so a phonemic IPA representation appears to be the most appropriate and politically neutral choice for the purposes of this grammar.

In the free translations of examples, proper nouns (mainly names of people, places, and festivals) and names of cultural items or concepts that are unique to Sarikoli are given in the orthography developed by Neikramon Ibrukhim, which is based on the Roman script. This orthography and correlations with the IPA are presented in Appendix B.

1.4 Phonological and morphological sketch

This section gives a brief overview of the phonology and morphology of Sarikoli in order to provide the reader a basis for understanding the discussions on syntax in the following chapters. The present study does not include an in-depth examination of phonology, morphology, and verbs (including aspect and transitivity) beyond what is discussed in this short section.
1.4.1 Phonology

1.4.1.1 Consonant and vowel phonemes

Sarikoli distinguishes thirty consonant phonemes and eight vowel phonemes, as listed in table 1.2 and 1.3 below.

Table 1.2 Sarikoli consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tɕ</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dʑ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td></td>
<td>κ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 Sarikoli vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.1.2 Stress

In general, primary stress falls on the final syllable of nouns, adjectives, and adverbial modifiers. Verb stress is more variable and sometimes falls on the first syllable, as shown in (1.1). In a compound verb, stress usually falls
on the final syllable of the nominal element, and not on the inflected verb that follows, as in (1.2). Most grammatical morphemes, such as pronominal agreement clitics, function-marking clitics and adpositions, aspectual morphemes, conjunctions, and modal particles like the conditional tsa and the ability marker tɕi, are not stressed, as in (1.3). The nominalizer -i, diminutive suffix -ik, and negators (na, nist, mo, naj) are exceptions, as they do receive stress, as in (1.4). In the following examples, stress is indicated in the second line.

(1.1)  
askar-ʃe j əf a = be jro q nay mug  
as k’ar-ʃe j əf a = be j’ro q ’nay mug  
soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV ACC = flag hide.PFV  
‘The soldiers hid the flag.’

(1.2)  
niso pa mak tab xtsu vd u s u l  ʃ wu mand sut  
ni so pa mak’tab x’tsu vd u’su l  ʃ wu’mand sut  
Niso LOC school eagle dance learn become.PFV  
‘Niso learned the eagle dance at school.’

(1.3)  
nad ar tɛdz tsa pa pu i s ’de j d tɕi  
na’dar ’tɛdz tsa pa pu’iz ’dejd tɕi  
three.days.hence go.PFV COND LOC train enter.INF CAP  
ka  
’ka  
do.PFV  
‘If you go three days from today, you can get on the train.’

(1.4)  
χal i sa az turik-i xud z na d ord  
χali sa az turik- ɬ i xud z ’na d ord  
Halisa ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.3SG.PFV  
‘Halisa is not afraid of the dark.’

1.4.1.3 Glide epenthesis

The glide [j] is epenthized between two adjacent vowels as a hiatus resolution strategy. In the following examples, the first line represents the bare lexical forms and the second line accounts for morphophonemic epenthesis.
18  Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(1.5) \( \text{watça at baldir} \)
\( \text{watça jat baldir} \)
Wacha  CONJ  Baldir
‘Wacha and Baldir’

(1.6) \( \text{na=am vusond} \)
\( \text{na=jam vusond} \)
NEG = 1SG.PFV  show.PFV
‘I did not show it.’

(1.7) \( \text{samu=at tɕəwɡ=o} \)
\( \text{samu=jat tɕəwɡ=o} \)
walk=2SG.PFV  do.PFV = Q
‘Did you take a walk?’

(1.8) \( \text{a=di muu=ri hat ka=o} \)
\( \text{a=di muu=ri hat ka=jo} \)
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX  1SG.NNOM = DAT  open  do.IPFV = Q
‘Will you open this for me?’

(1.9) \( \text{ar ujnak agar m=k= dos tقوة tsa} \)
\( \text{ar ujnak agar m=k= dos tقوة tsa} \)
LOC  glass  if  CATA = ANA = manner  look.3SG.IPFV  COND
u
ju
COND
‘If he looks into the mirror like this...’

1.4.2 Morphology

1.4.2.1 Verb stems

Each Sarikoli verb can be analyzed as having an infinitive stem, as well as four finite stems: imperfective, third-person singular imperfective, perfective, and perfect. The formation of these aspectual stems is somewhat predictable for some verbs; in these regular verbs, the perfective stem is usually formed by adding a /t/ or /d/ ending to the imperfective stem (depending on the voice of the segment it attaches to), and the perfect stem is formed by changing those endings to /tɕ/ or /dʑ/ (Payne 1989:436). Sometimes the infinitive stem is identical to the perfective stem. The third-person singular imperfective stem
is identical to the past stem or the infinitive stem, or sometimes unique. Some regular verbs and their stems are presented in table 1.4.

Table 1.4 Examples of regular verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IFV</th>
<th>3SG IFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
<th>INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'say'</td>
<td>lev</td>
<td>lev</td>
<td>lev</td>
<td>lev</td>
<td>lev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gather'</td>
<td>wix</td>
<td>wix</td>
<td>wix</td>
<td>wix</td>
<td>wix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ask'</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>pars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dig'</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>kaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'write'</td>
<td>navic</td>
<td>navic</td>
<td>navic</td>
<td>navic</td>
<td>navic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'use'</td>
<td>rafon</td>
<td>rafon</td>
<td>rafon</td>
<td>rafon</td>
<td>rafon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'know'</td>
<td>wazon</td>
<td>wazon</td>
<td>wazon</td>
<td>wazon</td>
<td>wazon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there are a number of more morphologically variable verbs whose stems cannot be predicted. The stem modification in these irregular verbs involves vowel and consonant alternation, but the first segment of the verb usually remains the same in all five stems. 1.5 lists some irregular verbs and their stems. The first is a morphologically suppletive paradigm.

Table 1.5 Examples of irregular verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IFV</th>
<th>3SG IFV</th>
<th>IFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
<th>INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'do'</td>
<td>ka(n)</td>
<td>kaxt</td>
<td>tɔwg</td>
<td>tɔwɔdz</td>
<td>tejg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become'</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>sawd</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>seddz</td>
<td>set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>xor</td>
<td>xird</td>
<td>xug</td>
<td>xudz</td>
<td>xig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>jɔd</td>
<td>jɔd</td>
<td>jut</td>
<td>ʊt</td>
<td>jut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bring'</td>
<td>vor</td>
<td>vird</td>
<td>vɔwg</td>
<td>vɔwɔdz</td>
<td>vejg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grind'</td>
<td>jon</td>
<td>jɪd</td>
<td>jug</td>
<td>juydz</td>
<td>jig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'disappear'</td>
<td>bis</td>
<td>bast</td>
<td>bej</td>
<td>bebjd</td>
<td>bej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences are formed by combining a verb stem with the appropriate subject-verb agreement clitic, based on the person (1/2/3) and number (singular/plural) of the subject. This pronominal agreement clitic attaches to the verb in the imperfective aspect and to a preverbal element in the perfective and perfect aspects. The forms of these agreement clitics are given in §3.2. The infinitive stem is only used for subordinate clauses, so it generally does not occur with pronominal agreement clitics. Table 1.6 below shows the conjugations of the verb xig 'eat'.
1.6 Conjugations of ɕig 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic:</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>was ɕor = am</td>
<td>waz = am ɕug</td>
<td>waz = am ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'I ate.'</td>
<td>'I have eaten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tow ɕor = Ø</td>
<td>tow = at ɕug</td>
<td>tow = at ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'You ate.'</td>
<td>'You have eaten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>jɯ ɕird</td>
<td>jɯ = Ø ɕug</td>
<td>jɯ = Ø ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'S/he (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'S/he ate.'</td>
<td>'S/he has eaten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mac ɕor = an</td>
<td>mac = an ɕug</td>
<td>mac = an ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'We (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'We ate.'</td>
<td>'We have eaten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tamaɕ ɕor = it</td>
<td>tamaɕ = af ɕug</td>
<td>tamaɕ = af ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'You(pl) (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'You(pl) ate.'</td>
<td>'You(pl) have eaten.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>woð ɕor = in</td>
<td>woð = af ɕug</td>
<td>woð = af ɕuyds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'They (will) eat.'</td>
<td>'They ate.'</td>
<td>'They have eaten.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (1.10) - (1.19) illustrate how the five verb stems of ɕig 'eat' are combined with pronominal agreement clitics to form sentences. In the imperfective aspect, the imperfective stem, ɕor, has an imperfective clitic attached to it. (1.10) has the first person singular imperfective clitic, = am, and (1.11) has the second person plural imperfective clitic, = it.

(1.10)  waz ɕor = am ɕipik 1SG.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I (will) eat flatbread.'

(1.11)  tamaɕ ɕor = it ɕipik 2PL.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'You(pl) (will) eat flatbread.'

(1.12) & (1.13) have the third-person singular imperfective verb stem, ɕird, and no overt agreement clitic, which is a feature of the imperfective aspect with a third person singular subject.

(1.12)  mɯ  jaχ  ɕipik  ɕird 1SG.NNOM sister flatbread eat.3SG.IPFV 'My sister eats/will eat flatbread.'
Introduction

(1.13) \textit{jɯ xipik χird}  
\textit{3SG.NOM.DIST flatbread eat.3SG.IPV}  
‘He eats/will eat flatbread.’

The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective stem, $\chi\text{ug}$, with the perfective clitic attached to a preverbal element. (1.14) has the first person plural perfective clitic, $=\text{an}$, and (1.15) has the third person plural perfective clitic, $=\text{af}$.

(1.14) \textit{mac = an ingum xipik χug}  
\textit{1PL.NOM = 1PL.PVF just.now flatbread eat.PVF}  
‘We ate flatbread just now.’

(1.15) \textit{doð = af ingum xipik χug}  
\textit{3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PVF just.now flatbread eat.PVF}  
‘These people ate flatbread just now.’

The perfect aspect contains the perfect stem, $\chi\text{uydz}$, as well as the perfective clitic attached to a preverbal element. (1.16) has the second person singular perfective clitic, $=\text{at}$, and (1.17) has the third person plural perfective clitic, $=\text{af}$.

(1.16) \textit{taw = at xipik tagw na χuydz}  
\textit{2SG.NOM = 2SG.PVF flatbread at.all NEG eat.PRF}  
‘You have not eaten any flatbread at all. (Evidential/New information)’

(1.17) \textit{woð = af xipik tagw na χuydz}  
\textit{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PVF flatbread at.all NEG eat.PRF}  
‘They have not eaten any flatbread at all. (Evidential/New information)’

Finally, (1.18) & (1.19) use the infinitive stem, $\chi\text{ig}$, which does not occur with an agreement clitic because it is within a subordinate clause.

(1.18) \textit{jad puqan χig = itsuz xipik}  
\textit{3SG.NOM.PROX tomorrow eat.INF = REL flatbread}  
‘This is flatbread that will be eaten tomorrow.’

(1.19) \textit{mu dil xipik χig}  
\textit{1SG.NOM heart flatbread eat.INF}  
‘I want to eat flatbread.’
Causative verbs are formed through stem modification. They cannot be formed for all verbs, although many verbs do have a causative counterpart. Causative forms are not completely predictable because the vowel and/or consonant from the final syllable of the non-causative form is sometimes altered, but they are often recognizable as causatives because they generally end with /ond/. Causatives typically have the same form for infinitive, perfective, and third person singular imperfective stems, as they all end with /ond/. The imperfective stem does not have a final /d/ and the perfect stem always ends in /dʑ/. Table 1.7 presents some causatives that are commonly used, along with the corresponding non-causative verb.

Table 1.7 Examples of causative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
<th>INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>alos</td>
<td>alost</td>
<td>alud</td>
<td>aludz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lie.CAUS’</td>
<td>alazon</td>
<td>alazon</td>
<td>alazon</td>
<td>alazondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘reach’</td>
<td>frops</td>
<td>fropst</td>
<td>fript</td>
<td>fript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘reach.CAUS’</td>
<td>frapon</td>
<td>frapon</td>
<td>frapon</td>
<td>frapondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>xufst</td>
<td>xufst</td>
<td>xuvd</td>
<td>xuvdz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep.CAUS’</td>
<td>xafson</td>
<td>xafson</td>
<td>xafson</td>
<td>xafsondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>xujd</td>
<td>xujd</td>
<td>xojd</td>
<td>xojdz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘read.CAUS’</td>
<td>xajond</td>
<td>xajond</td>
<td>xajond</td>
<td>xajondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>χor</td>
<td>χird</td>
<td>χug</td>
<td>χuydz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat.CAUS’</td>
<td>χuron</td>
<td>χuron</td>
<td>χuron</td>
<td>χurondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td>naw</td>
<td>nawd</td>
<td>niwd</td>
<td>niwdz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cry.CAUS’</td>
<td>nawond</td>
<td>nawond</td>
<td>nawond</td>
<td>nawondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>θaw</td>
<td>θawd</td>
<td>θud</td>
<td>θoddz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘burn.CAUS’</td>
<td>θawond</td>
<td>θawond</td>
<td>θawond</td>
<td>θawondz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘move’</td>
<td>dzumb</td>
<td>dzumbd</td>
<td>dzumbd</td>
<td>dzumbdz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘move.CAUS’</td>
<td>dzumbond</td>
<td>dzumbond</td>
<td>dzumbond</td>
<td>dzumbondz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following pairs of sentences contrast how causatives and non-causatives are used. The subject of a non-causative verb becomes the direct object (as in (1.20b) & (1.21b)) or indirect object (as in (1.22b)) of a causative verb, and the causative verb takes an additional argument as its subject:

(1.20) a. \( \text{jad} = \text{ik} \quad \text{uz} \quad \text{nawd} \quad 3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{cry.3SG.IPFV} \) ‘This one is crying again.’
b. \texttt{tsoj a = wi nawond} \\
who.NOM ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX cry.CAUS.PFV
‘Who caused her to cry?’

(1.21) a. \texttt{tamaɕ dzald χɯ lisq pamedz = it,} \\
2PL.NOM fast REFL.NOM clothing wear.IPV = 2PL.IPV
\texttt{tamoq χor = it} \\
food eat.IPV = 2PL.IPV
‘Put your(pl) clothes on quickly and eat.’

b. \texttt{waz = am a = tamaɕ δes sul} \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPV ACC = 2PL.NOM ten year
\texttt{χurond pamedzond} \\
eat.CAUS.IPV wear.CAUS.IPV
‘I have fed you and clothed you for ten years.’

(1.22) a. \texttt{mu bob xats bruxt} \\
1SG.NOM grandfather water drink.IPV
‘My grandfather drank water.’

b. \texttt{waz = am χu bob = ir xats} \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPV REFL.NOM grandfather = DAT water
\texttt{braxond} \\
drink.CAUS.IPV
‘I fed my grandfather water.’

\subsection*{1.4.2.2 Compound verbs}

Verbs are not an open lexical class in that new verb stem paradigms are not regularly added to the lexicon. Instead, Sarikoli uses a large number nouns and adjectives in combination with other existing verbs to express verbal meanings. \texttt{tsecj ‘do’}, \texttt{set ‘become’}, \texttt{dod ‘give’}, and \texttt{chiq ‘eat’} are among the most common verbs to be used in compound verbs. Table 1.8 lists some examples of frequently-used compound verbs.
Table 1.8 Examples of compound verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound verb</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iɕtɕejɡ</td>
<td>cold + do</td>
<td>‘be cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tej tɕejɡ</td>
<td>wedding + do</td>
<td>‘marry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat tɕejɡ</td>
<td>open + do</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap tɕejɡ</td>
<td>word + do</td>
<td>‘talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jordam tɕejɡ</td>
<td>help + do</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ub set</td>
<td>melt + become</td>
<td>‘melt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago set</td>
<td>awake + become</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aluk set</td>
<td>tired + become</td>
<td>‘get tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xafo set</td>
<td>upset + become</td>
<td>‘get upset’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azmud set</td>
<td>born + become</td>
<td>‘be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mut ɗod</td>
<td>fist + give</td>
<td>‘punch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lutc ɗod</td>
<td>kick + give</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para ɗod</td>
<td>sell + give</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fand ɗod</td>
<td>false + give</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzeq ɗod</td>
<td>squat + give</td>
<td>‘squat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lex ɕig</td>
<td>bump + eat</td>
<td>‘bump into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χam ɕig</td>
<td>bend + eat</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dićur ɕig</td>
<td>encounter + eat</td>
<td>‘encounter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasun ɕig</td>
<td>wither + eat</td>
<td>‘wither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawuds ɕig</td>
<td>thriving + eat</td>
<td>‘thrive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominal (noun or adjective) element of a compound verb does not function as the direct object of the verb, as it is part of the verb. This is exemplified in (1.23) – (1.25), in which compound verbs occur with accusative arguments. Other compound verbs, as shown in (1.26) – (1.28), are used intransitively and do not take accusative arguments. Morphologically, the nominal elements of compound verbs are distinct from both verbs and NP arguments. Unlike verbs, they do not occur in five different stems and do not host pronominal agreement clitics in the imperfective aspect. Whereas NP arguments are usually marked with function-marking clitics or adpositions, the nominal element of a compound verb is not. It is part of the compound verb but does not take inflections that are limited to verbs or nouns. But it is a separate word which can anchor enclitics, as in (1.24).

(1.23)    farzana  a = sandeq  hat  tɕwɡ
           Farzana  ACC = box  open  do.PFV
           ‘Farzana opened the box.’
Introduction

\[(1.24)\]  
\(a=maɕ=at\)  
\(\text{ACC} = 1\text{PL.N NOM} = 2\text{SG.PFV} \)  
\(\text{false give.PRF}\)  
‘You have lied to us. (Evidential/New information)’

\[(1.25)\]  
\(χɯ\)  
\(\text{refl.N NOM}\)  
\(\text{radzɛn daughter how sell give.IP FV = 1SG.IP FV}\)  
‘How could I sell my own daughter?’

\[(1.26)\]  
\(nɯr=af\)  
\(\text{today = 3PL.PFV early awake become.PFV}\)  
‘They woke up early today.’

\[(1.27)\]  
\(kalo-χejl=af\)  
\(\text{sheep-PL.NOM = 3P L.PFV also cold do.PRF}\)  
‘The sheep also got cold.’

\[(1.28)\]  
\(waz=am\)  
\(\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV one hour squat give.PFV}\)  
‘I have squatted for one hour.’

1.4.2.3 Clitics

In this grammar, clitics are defined as grammatically separate morphemes that are phonologically dependent on another word (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2003). A clitic is attached to its host after phonological rules have been applied, so it usually does not receive primary stress even if it is the final syllable of a phonological word. Unlike affixes, which are more restricted in their choice of host, clitics can attach to words belonging to multiple lexical classes, or to entire clauses. There are eight categories of clitics in Sarikoli, as presented in table 1.9:

Table 1.9 Categories of clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>Shows person and number of the subject; indicates aspect through form (perfective vs. imperfective form) and placement (attaching to the verb vs. preverbal element), in combination with the type of verb stem</td>
<td>Introduced in §3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1.4.2.4 Aspect

Major aspects—perfective, imperfective, and perfect—are indicated through a combination of the type of verb stem and the form and placement of pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in examples (1.10) - (1.18). Besides the major aspects, lesser aspects are formed by adding the durative enclitic $=\text{ik}$ or cessative suffix $-\text{it}$. $=\text{ik}$, which Palmer analyzes as a durative marker (2016:106), is used with situations that are ongoing, occurring, or coming about. It may attach to the verb but more commonly attaches to a preverbal element that is not an adposition or adnominal modifier. It is a key element in a number of different constructions, as shown in the following examples.

It is used with the imperfective stem for present continuous aspect:

\[(1.29)\quad m\text{-ono}=\text{ik}\quad tamoq\quad kaxt\quad 1\text{SG.N NOM}-\text{mother}=\text{DUR}\quad \text{food}\quad 3\text{SG.IP FV}\]

‘My mother is making food.’
Introduction

(1.30) \[\text{malum-χejl = ik a = tamač tços = in}\]
\[
\text{teacher-PL.NOM = DUR ACC = 2PL.NOM watch.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV}
\]
‘The teachers are waiting for you(pl).’

It is used with the perfective stem for past habitual aspect, which involve iterative events that have occurred in the past:

(1.31) \[\text{paləw = am = ik χɯg}\]
\[
\text{pilaf = 1SG.PFV = DUR eat.PFV}
\]
‘I have eaten pilaf (multiple times).’

(1.32) \[\text{malum pa tɕɛd = am = ik dejd}\]
\[
\text{teacher LOC house = 1SG.PFV = DUR enter.PFV}
\]
‘I have gone to the teacher’s house (multiple times).’

It is used with the perfect stem and cessative suffix -it in counterfactual adverbiacl clauses:

(1.33) \[\text{tamač = af uz i maθ = ik tsa naluɕtɕ-it}\]
\[
\text{2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV again one day = DUR COND sit.PRF-CESS}
\]
\[
\text{mac = an = ik tуп amad ar tej}\]
\[
\text{1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV = DUR group Amad LOC wedding}
\]
\[
\text{sečdz-it}
\]
\[
\text{become.PRF-CESS}
\]
‘If you(pl) had stayed one more day, we would have all gone to Amad’s wedding together.’

(1.34) \[\text{mu-an hansu ziv kasp vid tɕi dzuj}\]
\[
\text{1SG.NNOM-GEN Han tongue major be.INF LOC place}
\]
\[
\text{ingles ziv kasp = ik tsa vɛðdzi-it}\]
\[
\text{English tongue major = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS}
\]
\[
\text{waz = am = ik az ta ingles ziv}\]
\[
\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR ABL 2SG.NNOM English tongue}
\]
\[
\text{χumand sečdz-it}
\]
\[
\text{learn become.PRF-CESS}
\]
‘If my major had been English instead of Mandarin, I would have learned English from you.’
It is used with the perfective stem in temporal adverbial clauses:

(1.35) \( az \ dars = am = ik \) \( \chiovd \) \( tu = ri \)
\( \text{ABL lesson = 1SG.PFV = DUR go.down.PFV 2SG.NNOM = DAT} \)
\( \text{lev = am say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv} \)
\( 'I will tell you when I have gotten out of class.' \)

(1.36) \( jad \) \( kinu = ik \) \( adu \) \( sut \) \( pa \) \( buzur \)
\( \text{3SG.NOM.PROX movie = DUR finish become.PFV LOC bazaar} \)
\( so = an \)
\( \text{become.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv} \)
\( 'We will go to the bazaar once this movie is finished.' \)

Finally, it is used with the imperfective stem for reporting direct speech:

(1.37) \( na \ sswd = ik \) \( lcvd \)
\( \text{NEG become.3SG.IPfv = DUR say.3SG.IPfv} \)
\( 'He is saying, “It is not okay”.’ \)

(1.38) \( ta \) \( dil = ik \) \( lev = in \)
\( \text{2SG.NNOM heart = DUR say.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv} \)
\( 'They are saying, “It is up to you”.’ \)

The cessative suffix \(-it\) attaches to the perfect stem of verbs to form the pluperfect aspect, which is used for situations which “have been completed at a past time reference” and whose resultant state is also in the past (Palmer 2016:103). It is also used in counterfactual adverbial clauses, as in (1.33) & (1.34). The following examples contain sentences in the pluperfect aspect:

(1.39) \( i \ maθ = am \) \( a = wi \) \( wandz-it \)
\( \text{one day = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS} \)
\( 'I saw/(had seen) her the other day.’ \)

(1.40) \( woθ = af \) \( parus \) \( i \) \( uots \) \( mu = ri \)
\( \text{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV last.year one girl 1SG.NNOM = DAT} \)
\( \text{buxts-it send.PRF-CESS} \)
\( 'They sent me a girl last year.’ \)
(1.41) \textit{waz nardxed alo təw = at mɯ tɕi}  \\
1SG.NOM pass.INF TEMP 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NOM LOC  \\
\textit{kol cindʑ-it}  \\
head laugh.PRF-CESS  \\
‘When I passed by, you laughed at me.’

(1.42) \textit{nɯr kampir a = mɯ pa tɕɛd levɗ-z-it}  \\
today old.lady ACC = 1SG.NOM LOC house say.PRF-CESS  \\
\textit{tɕoŋ brox= t = ir}  \\
tea drink.INF = DAT  \\
‘Today the old lady invited me to her house for tea.’

(1.43) \textit{waz = am uʨ tur scɔdʑ-it, pa}  \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV very thirsty become.PRF-CESS LOC  \\
\textit{tɕɛd = am dejd, tazo xats = am bruxt}  \\
house = 1SG.PFV enter.PFV very water = 1SG.PFV drink.PFV  \\
‘I got very thirsty, went into the house, and drank a lot of water.’

(1.44) \textit{eej juu tcurik mɯ = ri levɗ-z-it iko}  \\
INTJ 3SG.NOMDIST man 1SG.NNOM = DAT say.PRF-CESS SC  \\
\textit{ditɕur χuuydʑ = endʑ a = rusq tagɔw mo}  \\
encounter eat.PRF = REL ACC = portion ever PROH  \\
\textit{patɔw}  \\
throw.IPfv  \\
‘Oh yeah, that man told me, “Never throw away an offered portion that you come across”.’

(1.45) \textit{ha dɔd = ir = ik vɯw budiŋ -- mabudon qati}  \\
INTJ give.INF = DAT = DUR be.IPfv saddle = RDP COM  \\
\textit{do, ingum = at mɯ pa gap na}  \\
give.IPfv just.now = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC word NEG  \\
\textit{tɕimbdʑ-it}  \\
be.willing.PRF-CESS  \\
‘Ah, if you are going to give it to me, give me the saddle as well, since you were unwilling just a moment ago.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
2

Nouns

This chapter describes nouns in Sarikoli. §2.1 introduces the scope, source, and possible functions of nouns, and describes two nominal categories, number (§2.1.1) and definiteness (§2.1.2). The last two subsections present two special types of noun that behave differently from common nouns: proper nouns (§2.1.3) and derived nouns (§2.1.4).

The second section (§2.2) examines grammatical functions, which are marked on all noun phrases (NPs) through a combination of the morphological form of nouns and function-marking clitics or adpositions. Simple (§2.2.1) and compound function markers (§2.2.2) are presented, along with examples of usage. §2.2.3 explains how the placement of function markers in relation to NP-internal determiners affect the semantics of the NP.

The final section (§2.3) deals with the structure of the NP, presenting the relative ordering of NP-internal constituents and describing each of the constituents that may function as an adnominal modifier. §2.3.2 shows how two or more NPs are conjoined.

2.1 Nouns: Introduction

The class of nouns is an open lexical class. It includes words referring to concrete objects, people, and places, as well as abstract nouns, which are mostly derived from other lexical classes. Uyghur and Mandarin are common sources of new lexical items (loan words) in the noun class. Sarikoli also makes use of nouns that are derived from adjectives and verbs, which are discussed in §2.1.4.

Nouns occur within NPs, most often functioning as phrasal heads. The NP, an argument of a predicate, may be S, A, O, copula subject, copula complement, or peripheral argument. A noun may also serve as a modifier or possessor of the NP head.
Nouns are also combined with inflecting verbs to form hundreds of compound verbs.

Nouns may be inflected for number and definiteness, as will be described in §2.1.1 & §2.1.2, respectively. Whereas the other languages in the Shughni-Roshani group have grammatical gender (Payne 1989:428), Sarikoli nouns do not, so gender distinctions will not enter into this discussion. The final two subsections describe proper nouns (§2.1.3) and derived nouns (§2.1.4).

### 2.1.1 Number

An argument of a predicate may be realized through an NP and/or, in the case of one in subject function, a pronominal clitic bound to a verb. Finite verbs are obligatorily marked for number, because the bound pronoun specifies the number of the argument in subject function, whether it attaches to the verb itself or another constituent within the clause. This number specification on bound pronouns is combined with information about the person of the subject and verb aspect. Likewise, free pronouns always indicate number because number specification is built into the paradigm.

However, number marking is optional on non-pronoun NPs, as not every NP is specified for number. There is a two-term inflectional system of number marking: plural is shown by one of the plural suffixes -\(\chi e j l\) or -\(\varepsilon f\), and their absence signals 'neutral, unspecified for number (one or more)'. A plain noun without plural marking is neutral regarding number, and may refer to any number as determined by context. The plural suffixes may optionally be used to indicate a number more than one. To unequivocally refer to a single item, the lexical number word \(i\) ‘one’ or a singular demonstrative determiner\(^1\) is added as a modifier (e.g. \(i\chi a l g\) ‘one person’; \(jad\chi a l g\) ‘this person’).

For core and peripheral arguments realized as NPs, number reference is shown by a morphological process only applying to the NP head—that is, the modifiers within an NP are not marked for number—with the exception of demonstrative determiners. Demonstrative determiners only take a special plural form if the head noun is a human referent (see §3.3.1 for a more detailed description). However, the plural suffixes may attach to any count noun specifying plural number, regardless of whether it is animate, non-animate, human, or non-human.

\(^1\)Singular demonstrative determiners are only exclusively singular when modifying human participants in the nominative case. Singular and plural demonstrative determiners share the same forms when modifying non-human objects or arguments in the non-nominative case.
The plural suffix -χεjil is used for pluralizing nominative arguments, while -ɛf is used for pluralizing non-nominative arguments. Any argument specifying plural number takes one of these two suffixes, depending on its case:

(2.1)  mejmun-χεjil = af  twjd
       guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV  go.PFV
       ‘The guests have left.’

(2.2)  mu  vrud  a = wi  ktub-ɛf
       1SG.NNOM  brother  ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST  book-PL.NNOM
       zuxt
       buy.PFV
       ‘My brother bought those books.’

In general, there is a restriction that number can only be marked once within the NP, preferably on the head noun. Most non-numeral modifiers, such as adjectives (§2.3.1.4), do not have number distinctions. Inherently numbered forms such as the human nominative demonstratives are an exception to this restriction; see §3.3.1, especially examples (3.48) & (3.49). Due to this restriction, NP arguments modified by a numeral do not take a plural suffix. Even if the underlying argument is specified for plural number, in surface structure it is only realized by the numeral, and not by the plural suffix. In the following pairs of sentences, compare the grammatical examples without the plural suffix with the ungrammatical examples, which contain the plural suffix in addition to a numeral modifier.

(2.3)  a.  veđdz  na  veđdz  haroj  vrud = af  veđdz
       be.PRF  NEG  be.PRF  three  brother = 3PL.PFV  be.PRF
       ‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)’

       b.  *veđdz  na  veđdz  haroj  vrud-χεjil = af
           be.PRF  NEG  be.PRF  three  brother-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

           veđdz
           be.PRF
           ‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.4)  a.  nur = af  tsavur  kalo  kaxt
       today = 3PL.PFV  four  sheep  slaughter.PFV
       ‘They slaughtered four sheep today.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

b. *nɯr = af tsavur kalo-ɛf kaxt
   today = 3PL.PFV four sheep-PL.N NOM slaughter.PFV
   ‘They slaughtered four sheep today.’

Nouns used in the generic or collective sense are also not marked with the plural suffix and take singular verb agreement. They are unspecified for number, and may refer to one or more.

(2.5) χalɡ mu tsi kol cond
   person 1SG.N NOM LOC head laugh.3SG.IP FV
   ‘People will laugh at me.’

(2.6) kud a = ta waðord
   dog ACC = 2SG.N NOM grab.3SG.IP FV
   ‘Dogs will bite you.’

2.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness are not always marked. Indefiniteness is optionally marked on singular nouns by the numeral i ‘one’ which includes singular number and specificity. In the following examples, the nouns modified by i refer to a specific person, place, time, or thing that not definite:

(2.7) mu = ri i tcini vor
   1SG.N NOM = DAT one bowl bring.IP FV
   ‘Bring me a bowl.’

(2.8) amad maɕ = ir i bejt lev d
   Amad 1PL.N NOM = DAT one song say.3SG.IP FV
   ‘Amad will sing us a song.’

(2.9) pa tɕɛd i χalɡ iθɛς
   LOC house one person come.PRF
   ‘Someone came to the house. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.10) woð i dʑuj so = in = o
   3PL.NOM.DIST one place become.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV = Q
   ‘Are they going somewhere?’

(2.11) az amriko mu = ri i tsiz vor = o
   ABL America 1SG.N NOM = DAT one thing bring.IP FV = Q
   ‘Will you bring something for me from America?’
Definiteness may be indicated in two ways, both of which also involve other semantic categories besides definiteness. First, definite direct objects are obligatorily marked with the accusative proclitic $a=\notag$. The following pair of sentences demonstrates $a=$ marking definiteness on direct objects.

(2.13) \textit{ingum = am xtur w\textsc{and}} \\
\textit{just.now = 1SG.PFV camel see.PFV} \\
‘I saw a camel/camels just now.’

(2.14) \textit{ingum = am a = xtur w\textsc{and}} \\
\textit{just.now = 1SG.PFV ACC = camel see.PFV} \\
‘I saw the camel(s) just now.’

In addition to the accusative marker, definiteness may be marked by demonstrative determiners, which are NP modifiers. Demonstrative determiners not only express definiteness, but also encode number, case, and deixis. Below are examples of demonstratives modifying a subject (2.15), direct object (2.16), and indirect object (2.17). If an accusative argument takes a determiner, it must also take the proclitic $a=$, since the determiner indicates that it is definite, as in (2.16).

(2.15) \textit{ju + x\textsc{alg} pa x\textsc{wu} jet az zabu} \\
\textit{3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC REF\textsc{L.N NOM} come.INF ABL back} \\
\textit{dijur x\textsc{alg}-x\textsc{ejl} = af a = wi} \\
\textit{region person-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST} \\
\textit{x\textsc{wu} ar madon zuxt} \\
\textit{RE\textsc{L.N NOM} LOC middle get.PFV} \\
‘After that person returned to consciousness, the villagers surrounded him.’

(2.16) \textit{alima malum a = di bat\textsc{g}o-\textsc{ef}} \\
\textit{Alima teacher ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX child-PL.NNOM} \\
\textit{rond} \\
\textit{scold.PFV} \\
‘Teacher Alima scolded these children.’
2.1.3 Proper nouns

A proper noun may function as an NP head and fill an argument slot in the clause, just like a common noun. It takes all the grammatical function markers that a common noun does. However, NPs headed by proper nouns are more limited in morphological and syntactic properties. Morphologically, they generally do not inflect for number. Syntactically, they have fewer possibilities for modification. It is possible to devise contexts in which it is grammatical for a proper noun to take modifiers, but that would be unusual.

The most common proper nouns are personal names and place names, which are discussed in the following subsections.

2.1.3.1 Personal names

There are four main sources for personal names: names of relatives who have passed away recently, religious names from a book, names reflecting circumstances of the birth, and common nouns. If a relative in the family has recently passed away, it is customary to give that person’s name to a newborn baby, as a sign of remembrance of the deceased. Sometimes, upon a person’s death, the dead relative’s name may even be given to a young child who already has another name, so that the publicly known name is changed. A sizable portion of the Sarikoli community are named after their dead relatives.

Family members may choose to name their child with a religious name from an Islamic book. The parent goes to the local califa (religious leader), who can read out the religious books. The parent listens and selects a name that sounds good or suitable for the baby. Meanings of such names are not widely known. Examples of such names include: ali, mamad, sulton, racid, asan, ibruhim, ismoil, usuf, ejo, dowud, abdul, and akram for male names; alima, fatima, mastyra, marjam, mina, omina, nigor, and nadia for female names.

The circumstances surrounding a child’s birth is also a common source of names. These situational names are generally related to the time or date when the child is born. The following are some examples:
Table 2.1 Examples of personal names based on birth circumstances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nəwrɯz ‘Neaureez Eid’</td>
<td>born on Neaureez Eid, a festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qɯrbun ‘Qeerbun Eid’</td>
<td>born on Qeerbun Eid, a festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejdboj ‘Eid rich person’</td>
<td>born on an Eid (festival)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canbe ‘Saturday’</td>
<td>born on a Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzuma ‘Friday’</td>
<td>born on a Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕorɕanbe ‘Wednesday’</td>
<td>born on a Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sovdzi ‘greenness’</td>
<td>born in the Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɑnɡɡanɡ ‘Hong Kong’</td>
<td>born on July 1, 1997 (Hong Kong’s return to China)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The father’s name functions as a person’s family name and follows the given name. It is often used to disambiguate between people whose given names are identical.

Besides names which are used for naming human beings, personal names also include names of spiritual beings: ɤϕudɔj ‘God’ and ɕεjtun ‘Satan’.
2.1.3.2 Place names

Varshide County is officially composed of 11 communes, which represent the major villages. The names of these communes and other significant places are listed in 1.1. Other place names, including countries and continents, are borrowed mainly from Uyghur.

2.1.4 Derived nouns

Nouns are often derived from other word classes. The first example of this makes use of the -i nominalizer, which attaches to an adjective to derive a noun denoting that quality:

(2.18)  
\[ iɕ-i \quad mu = ri \quad χɯʑ \quad nist \]  
\[ \text{cold-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy NEG.be.IPfv} \]  
‘I do not like coldness.’

(2.19)  
\[ wi \quad ləwr-i \quad m = dund \]  
\[ 3SG.NNOM.DIST big-NMLZ CATA = AMT \]  
‘Its size is this big.’

(2.20)  
\[ waz \quad wef \quad garun-i \quad isub \]  
\[ 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST heavy-NMLZ calculate \]  
\[ ka = am \]  
\[ \text{do.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv} \]  
‘I will calculate their weight.’

(2.21)  
\[ waz \quad az \quad turik-i \quad xudʑ \quad na \quad δor = am \]  
\[ 1SG.NOM ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv \]  
‘I am not afraid of the dark.’

(2.22)  
\[ ta \quad χɯdʑm \quad pɛχtɕ = o \quad ta \quad aluk-i \]  
\[ 2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF = Q 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ \]  
\[ naxtwydz = o \]  
\[ \text{go.up.PRF = Q} \]  
‘Has your dream ripened? Has your tiredness gone out? (Evidential/New information)’

(2.23)  
\[ sofia \quad kako \quad zird-i \quad na \quad χird \]  
\[ \text{Sofia egg yellow-NMLZ NEG eat.3SG.IPfv} \]  
‘Sofia does not eat the egg yolk.’
Another derivational suffix is the nominalizer -əw, which derives nouns by substantivizing adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, expressing the meaning ‘one that is X (where ‘X’ is the word that takes -əw)’.

Table 2.2 Nouns derived with -əw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzulik-əw ‘small one’</th>
<th>xuørj-əw ‘pretty one’</th>
<th>builand-əw ‘tall one’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lswr-əw ‘big one’</td>
<td>sart-əw ‘ugly one’</td>
<td>daruz-əw ‘long one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zit-əw ‘bad one’</td>
<td>digar tw-əw ‘other one’</td>
<td>kut-əw ‘short one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕards-əw ‘good one’</td>
<td>iw-əw ‘one/someone’</td>
<td>itang-əw ‘some’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another example is the -gi suffix, which attaches to adjectives and nouns to derive abstract nouns:

Table 2.3 Nouns derived with -gi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ɕta-ɡi ‘coldness’</th>
<th>batca-ɡi ‘childhood’</th>
<th>zunda-ɡi ‘everyday life’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pukzo-ɡi ‘cleanliness’</td>
<td>ruwat-ɡi ‘enjoyment’</td>
<td>nawazond-ɡi ‘ignorance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajut-ɡi ‘life’</td>
<td>ɡafa-ɡi ‘sadness’</td>
<td>ɡabar-ɡi ‘news informedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talva-ɡi ‘enthusiasm’</td>
<td>qilo-ɡi ‘hardship’</td>
<td>riznu-ɡi ‘brightness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuørj-ɡi ‘beauty’</td>
<td>aziz-ɡi ‘love’</td>
<td>atobalo-ɡi ‘father-child relationship’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Grammatical functions

All NPs are marked for their grammatical functions, whether those functions are clausal or phrasal. Function markers indicate the function an argument has in its clause, and are one of the ways grammatical relations are expressed in Sarikoli, in addition to bound pronouns (§3.2) and constituent order (§8.1). In addition to clausal functions, there are strategies for marking NP-internal functions, such as possessors. This section describes how NP arguments are marked for clausal functions. Besides this section, §3.1 and §3.3 show how personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives operate on a case system based on person and number, and §4.1 examines how NP-internal possession is marked.
2.2.1 Simple function markers

Sarikoli has a nominative-accusative grammatical system, as shown in the following two examples. The S argument in (2.24) and A argument in (2.25) are both zero-marked for case, while the O argument in (2.25) is marked with the a = proclitic.

(2.24) \textit{jad kampir tizd} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX old.lady go.3SG.IPFV} \\
\text{‘This old lady will leave.’}

(2.25) \textit{nɯr maɕ a=tamaɕ mejmun ka=an} \\
\text{today 1PL.NOM ACC = 2PL.NNOM guest do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV} \\
\text{‘We will treat you today.’}

Some descriptions of other Iranian and Pamir languages employ the terms “direct” case, referring to the unmarked nominative case, and “oblique” case, referring to a fused morphological form used for all non-n nominative functions (Payne 1989; Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009a; Edelman & Dodykhudoeva 2009b; Bashir 2009; Wendtland 2009; Tegey & Robson 1996). In this grammar, we contrast “nominative” and “non-nominative” cases, where “nominative” is used only for subjects and copula complements, while “non-nominative” is used for all other purposes which are marked more specifically for NP function. Nominative and non-nominative cases are morphological categories for pronouns, demonstratives, and nominal plural markers. Some examples of nominative vs. non-nominative forms are shown in table 2.4. Pronouns and demonstratives have distinct nominative and non-nominative forms; common nouns only have a single form, so the nominative/non-nominative case distinction is only differentiated in plural marking. The non-nominative case is the marked form, in the sense that it accepts further function marking, as will be shown in the examples throughout this section. Thus, “accusative”, “dative”, and all peripheral NP functions are indicated with function markers in addition to the “non-nominative” case morphology, and those terms are used here in their standard traditional senses.

| Table 2.4 Some examples of NOM vs. NNOM forms |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| pronoun          | NOM          | NNOM         |
| was  ‘I’            | mu pa buun  ‘next to me’ |
| twa ‘you’           | ta qati  ‘with you’ |
| demonstrative     | doð ‘these’   | a = def ‘these(ACC)’ |
Grammatical functions are marked by a combination of case (nominative or non-nominative) and function-marking clitics, adpositions, or affixes. The different combinations and their functions are listed in table 2.5. The last two functions, possessive determiner and genitive, are NP-internal functions, while the others are argument functions within a clause. Non-nominative forms without additional function marking are possessive determiners.

Table 2.5 NP functions (combination of case + function marker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM Ø</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a = NNOM</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM =ri/ =ir</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM qati</td>
<td>comitative/instrumental</td>
<td>§2.2.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM indɛr</td>
<td>‘on person’</td>
<td>§2.2.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM avon</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>§2.2.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM rang</td>
<td>semblative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM buntɕa</td>
<td>‘according to’</td>
<td>§2.2.1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) NNOM its</td>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa NNOM</td>
<td>locative/allative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar NNOM</td>
<td>locative/allative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar NNOM</td>
<td>locative/allative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕi NNOM</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az NNOM</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par NNOM</td>
<td>lative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paz NNOM</td>
<td>perlative</td>
<td>§2.2.1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM Ø</td>
<td>possessive determiner</td>
<td>§3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNOM -an</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>§4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.1.1 Nominative

The nominative function is the unmarked nominative case. There is zero function marking on the nominative case for S or A arguments, copula subjects, copula complements, and vocative NPs. The following two examples show S arguments with the nominative function. Arguments in the nominative function are pluralized with the nominative plural suffix -χejl, as shown in (2.27).

(2.26)  
\[ t\text{iloyon pa } d\text{uwut}w\text{u}t\text{uno } w\text{oxt ma}\theta a\text{lud } \]
Tilohon  LOC hospital  eight  day lie.PFV
‘Tilohon lay in the hospital for eight days.’

(2.27)  
\[ n\text{wrat-}\chi ejl pa te\text{ed ris }= i n \]
woman-PL.NOM LOC house remain.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘The women stay home.’

The next two examples show A arguments, which are zero-marked for nominative function.

(2.28)  
\[ i \text{ ma}\theta i r\text{uz } j\text{u } u\text{gej } w\text{rud } b\text{don}\]
one  day  one  day  3SG.NOM.DIST  non-blood  brother  saddle
\[ t\text{uxt}\]  
carve.3SG.PFV
‘One day, the non-blood brother carved a saddle.’

(2.29)  
\[ a\text{to } a\text{n}\text{o-}\chi ejl\text{ } \chi u\text{ } b\text{a}\text{t}z\text{o } a\text{von}\]
father  mother-PL.NOM  REFL.NNOM  child  BEN
\[ a = \chi u\text{ } q\text{urtun } k\text{a }= i n\]
ACC = REFL.NNOM  sacrifice  do.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘Fathers and mothers sacrifice themselves for their children.’

The following sentences contain examples of copula subject arguments, which have no overt function marking.

(2.30)  
\[ m\text{u } t\text{e}i \text{ t}\text{e}r-nendz w\text{ez } u\text{t}z \text{ garun}\]
1SG.NNOM  LOC  high-ADJ  burden  very  heavy
‘The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.’
(2.31) paraxeb iθtɛ = endz mejmun-χejl nəwz pa teed
two.days.prior come.PRФ = REL guest-PL.NOM still LOC house
‘The guests who came two days ago are still at home.’

Arguments in copula complement function are also not marked for function. In (2.32), the pronoun in copula complement function is in the nominative form, and the copula complement in (2.33) takes the nominative plural suffix.

(2.32) nu = ri tilfon ʦəwydz = endz χalg was
2SG.N NOM = DAT phone do.PRФ = REL person 1SG.N NOM
‘The person who called you is me.’

(2.33) jad dzam mu = ri nasib
3SG.NOM.PROX all 1SG.N NOM = DAT grant

sɛdɛdz = endz narsa-χejl
become.PRФ = REL thing-PL.NOM
‘These are all things that have been granted to me.’

Finally, arguments used vocatively also occur in the nominative form. They are often preceded by optional vocative particles such as a, ej, hej, or iː, but are not marked with any NP function markers.

(2.34) a mom i sawg maç = ir lev
VOC grandmother one story 1PL.N NOM = DAT say.IPFV
‘Grandma, tell us a story.’

(2.35) ej wots suv dos mo ka
VOC girl calm manner PROH do.IPFV
‘Hey girl, be quiet, don’t do that!’

(2.36) iː χɯdoj i batọ mu = ri nasib tsa ka
VOC God one child 1SG.N NOM = DAT grant COND do.IPFV
‘O God, if only you would grant me a child.’

(2.37) a batọ-χejl tamaç = af nur tsejz tɔwɔg
VOC child-PL.NOM 2PL.NOM = 2PL.IPFV today what do.IPFV
‘Hey children, what did you(pl) do today?’
2.2.1.2 Accusative $a=$

The accusative function, which is the second core argument, is marked by the non-nominative case plus the proclitic $a=$ (introduced in §2.1.2). $a=$ is a differential object marker which encodes definiteness on direct objects of transitive and ditransitive clauses. Indefinite direct objects are unmarked, as in (2.39). However, definite objects are obligatorily marked with $a=$, as in (2.40). Plural arguments in the non-nominative case take -ɛf instead of -χejl, as in (2.41).

(2.38) $mu$ $azizdzin$ $j$ $vrud-$χejl $tamaç=ir$
$1SG.NOM$ $dear$ $sister$ brother-PL.NOM $2PL.NNOM=DAT$

χucomadi
welcome
‘My dear brothers and sisters, welcome!’

(2.39) $waz$ qalam $vor=am$
$1SG.NOM$ pen bring.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I will bring a pen.’

(2.40) $waz$ $a=qalam$ $vor=am$
$1SG.NOM$ ACC=pen bring.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I will bring the pen.’

(2.41) a. $a=qalam-ɛf=am$ $vɔwɡ$
ACC=pen-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFVF bring.PFVF
‘I brought the pens.’

b. $*a=qalam-χejl=am$ $vɔwɡ$
ACC=pen-PL.NOM = 1SG.PFVF bring.PFVF
‘I brought the pens.’

If the direct object of a transitive or ditransitive clause is a personal or demonstrative pronoun, as in (2.42) & (2.43), $a=$ is obligatory, since pronouns are always definite. In the following pairs of sentences, compare the grammatical examples containing $a=$ with the ungrammatical examples lacking $a=$.

(2.42) a. $a=mu=at$ $bo$ $na$ $tɔwɡ$
ACC=1SG.N NOM=2SG.PFVF kiss NEG do.PFVF
‘You have not kissed me.’
b. *mu = at bo na tɔɔwɛ
1SG.N NOM = 2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
‘You have not kissed me.’

(2.43) a. m-o to a = tamaɕ rond
1SG.N NOM-father ACC = 2PL.N NOM scold.3SG.IP F V
‘My father will scold you( pl)! ’

b. *m-o to tamaɕ rond
1SG.N NOM-father 2PL.N NOM scold.3SG.IP F V
‘My father will scold you( pl)! ’

Direct object NPs modified by a demonstrative determiner, as in (2.44) & (2.45), are also obligatorily marked by a = because they are definite, as shown by the ungrammatical examples.

(2.44) a. m = a = di kef wəдоров
CATA = ACC = 3SG.N NOM.PROX wallet grab.IP F V
‘Grab this wallet.’

b. *mi = di kef wəдоров
CATA = 3SG.N NOM.PROX wallet grab.IP F V
‘Grab this wallet.’

(2.45) a. k = a = wi ɡuxt zɔɔt = ir = af
ANA = ACC = 3SG.N NOM.DIST meat get.INF DAT = 3PL.PFV
tuɔdz
‘They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)’

b. *ki = wi ɡuxt zɔɔt = ir = af tuɔdz
ANA = 3SG.N NOM.DIST meat get.INF DAT = 3PL.PFV go.PRF
‘They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)’

NPs containing a possessive determiner usually also take a =, but it is not required. In the following two examples, a = is optional.
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(2.46) $\text{doð} = \text{af}$ wef $(a = \text{tæxd})$

3PL.NOM.PROX = PL.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = house
tcakt
demolish.PFV

‘These people demolished their house.’

(2.47) $\text{mu}$ (a =) $\text{dsun}$ kalt $\text{na}$ $\text{ka} = \text{o}$

1SG.NNOM ACC = life save NEG do.IPVF = Q

‘Will you not save my life?’

2.2.1.3 Dative = ir/ = ri

The dative function is marked with the $= \text{ir/ } = \text{ri}$ enclitic on the non-nominative case. The form of this function marker is phonologically conditioned by the final segment of its host: consonant-final words take $= \text{ir}$ and vowel-final words take $= \text{ri}$. The dative marker attaches to arguments with semantic roles of recipient (2.48) & (2.49), addressee (2.50), benefactive (2.51) & (2.52), experiencer (2.53) & (2.54), and purpose (2.55) & (2.56):

(2.48) $\text{ju}$ wi $\text{yin}$ $\text{chi}$ $\text{lq}$

3SG.NOM.DIST 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife REFL.NNOM clothing
tojzd kanejzak = ir $\text{did}$
pull.3SG.IPVF servant = DAT give.3SG.IPVF

‘She—his wife—pulls off her clothing and gives it to a servant.’

(2.49) $\text{a} = \text{di}$ rasim $\text{chi}$-oto

ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX picture REFL.NNOM-father

$\text{chi}$-ono = ri $\text{mo}$ $\text{vuison} = \text{it}$

REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT PROH show.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF

‘Do not show this picture to your parents.’

(2.50) $\text{bato}-\text{ef} = \text{ir} = \text{am}$ $\text{nawz}$ na $\text{lvd}$

child-PL.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV still NEG say.PFV

‘I have not told the children yet.’
(2.51) \( \text{waz} \ \chiu \ \text{radzen} = \text{ir} \ \text{baron} \)
1SG.NOM  REFL.N NOM daughter = DAT dress

\( \text{intsov} = \text{am} \)
sew.IP = 1SG.IP
‘I will sew a dress for my daughter.’

(2.52) \( \text{mu} = \text{ri} \ \text{tsez} \ \text{samsut} \ \text{vor} \)
1SG.NOM = DAT what gift bring.IP
‘What gift will you bring for me?’

(2.53) \( \text{ uwz} \ \text{di} = \text{ri} \ \chiu \)
walnut 3SG.NOM.PROX = DAT happy
‘This person likes walnuts.’ (lit. Walnuts are pleasing to this person.)

(2.54) \( \text{az} \ \text{mac} \ \text{dow} \ \text{tu} = \text{ri} \ \text{twoj} \ \text{lwfr} \)
ABL 1PL.N NOM two 2SG.NOM = DAT who.NOM big

\( \text{numujd} \)
seem.3SG.IP
‘Of the two of us, who seems bigger to you?’

(2.55) \( \text{mu} \ \text{vits} \ \text{a} = \text{mac} \ \text{tamoq} = \text{ir} \ \text{qiw} \ \text{tsowg} \)
1SG.N NOM aunt \ ACC = 1PL.N NOM food = DAT call \ do.IP
‘My aunt invited us over for food.’

(2.56) \( \text{mac} \ \text{sed} \ \text{qurbun} \ \text{ejd} = \text{ir} \ \text{varcid} \ \text{na} \)
1PL.NOM this.year Qeerbun festival = DAT Varshide NEG

\( \text{wazefs} = \text{an} \)
return.IP = 1PL.IP
‘We are not returning to Varshide for Qeerbun Festival this year.’

The dative enclitic \( = \text{ir} / = \text{ri} \) is also used for deriving evidential or new information constructions from imperfective propositions (§12) and purpose adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.6).

2.2.1.4 Comitative and instrumental qati

The postposition qati ‘with’ is the comitative-instrumental marker. As a comitative marker, it indicates accompaniment, as in (2.57) & (2.58), or other associational relationships, as in (2.59) - (2.61). Since this is a marked function, any argument marked by qati occurs in the non-nominative case.
In addition to marking the comitative function, *qati* also functions as an instrumental marker, which encodes the following types of arguments: an instrument or medium for accomplishing an action, materials from which something is composed, the manner in which an action is performed, or the cause of something. (2.62) - (2.67) are examples that contain an instrument or medium through which an action is accomplished.

(2.62) *χɯ dust qati χor = o tɕib qati*  
REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPfv = Q spoon COM  
‘Will you eat with your hand or with a spoon?’
In the following examples, arguments which are materials or ingredients for making things are marked with *qati*.

(2.63) *qalam qati χɯ vrəw=at tizd = o*
pen COM REFLEX.NOM eyebrow = 2SG.PFV draw.PFV = Q
‘Did you draw your eyebrow with a pen?’

(2.64) *parwejdz qati ʑaw puk kan = an*
sieve COM grain sift do.PFV = 1PL.PFV
‘We sift the grain with a sieve.’

(2.65) *pa varçi će tur qati muji na wədor = in*
LOC Varshide net COM fish NEG catch.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘In Varshide they do not catch fish with a net.’

(2.66) *mocin (qati) naj, ɕer qati so = an*
car COM NEG donkey COM become.PFV = 1PL.PFV
‘We will not go by car, but by donkey.’

(2.67) *ano-χejl i dust qati praxt dzumbon = in,*
mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.PFV = 3PL.PFV

uz i dust qati a = dinju dzumbon = in
again one hand ACC = world move.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘Mothers move cradles with one hand and move the world with the other.’

(2.68) *tor ʑerbasq tumor ka = in*
black lambskin COM male.hat do.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘They make hats for men with black lambskin.’

(2.69) *safts qati intsuvdz = endz vejdo ɡarun*
bead COM sew.PRF = REL Sheydoi heavy
‘Sheydois (female cap) sewn with beads are heavy.’

(2.70) *karpić qati qalmo tsa do dejwul χɯruij*
brick COM masonry COND give.PFV wall beautiful

*naxtizd*
go.up.3SG.PFV
‘If you build the wall with bricks, it will turn out to be beautiful.’
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(2.71)  cirgirinʐ  xcvd  at  girindʐ  qati  twɔwys =  endʐ  tudʑik
Shirgirinj  milk  CONJ  rice  COM  do.PRF =  REL  Tajik

tamoq

food

‘Shirgirinj is a Tajik food made with milk and rice.’

Sentences (2.72) - (2.74) show examples in which the argument marked with qati indicates the manner in which an action is performed.

(2.72)  maɕ  dʑam  di  tær-an  nejk-i  qati
1PL.NOM  all  3SG.NNOM.PROX  work-GEN  good-NMLZ  COM

adu  set  umejò  ka =  an
finish  become.INF  hope  do.IPFV =  1PL.IPFV

‘We all hope that this matter will end on a good note.’

(2.73)  agar  mejmun=ir  sit  tæm  qati  tsa  tsos  az  teed
if  guest = DAT  bad  eye  COM  COND  look.IPFV  ABL  house

barakat  ratsaθt
blessing  escape.3SG.IPFV

‘If you view your guests with contempt, blessing will escape from your house.’

(2.74)  maɕ  χu  dʑwlat  χu  dzun  qati
1PL.NOM  REFL.NNOM  country  REFL.NNOM  life  COM

nigo  ka =  an,
protection  do.IPFV =  1PL.IPFV  so  ACC =  1PL.NNOM

muhofiz  lev= in
protector  say.IPFV =  3PL.IPFV

‘We protect our country with our lives, that is why they call us “protectors”.’

Finally, examples of qati being used to mark cause or reason are shown in (2.75) - (2.78).

(2.75)  dʐeq  død  qati  mu  peŋ  aluk  sut
squat  give.INF  COM  1SG.NNOM  foot  tired  become.PFV

‘My legs got tired from squatting.’
He aged quickly with the pain from his son.

Our ears have gone deaf with this loud noise.

Sunwukong eats an apple, and from that becomes a possessor of eternal life.

qati is not only a comitative-instrumental function marker, but also a manner adverbial that means ‘together’ (see §6.3). When used in these two different senses, qati may occur twice consecutively:

Many people of the city went up together with the widow.

‘on person’ inder

inder ‘on person’ follows a non-nominative noun or pronoun and indicates a fixed location with respect to the body of that argument.

‘How much money do you have with you?’
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(2.81) $mu$  qowaz tsi  inder
1SG.NNOM paper who.NNOM on.person
‘Who has my paper?’

(2.82) $a=di$  narsa-ef  dstaw $mu$
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX thing-PL.NNOM all REFL.NNOM

inder  laka
on.person put.IPVF
‘You can keep all of these things.’ (lit. Leave all of these things
with yourself.)

(2.83) $wi$  ʧurik inder  hitʧ  tsiz  nist=o
3SG.NNOM.DIST man on.person none thing NEG.be.IPVF = Q
‘Does that man have nothing with him?’

(2.84) akbar inder  pul  mas  na  veddz  tilfon  mas  na
Akbar on.person money also NEG be.PRF phone also NEG

veddz
be.PRF
‘Akbar has neither money nor his phone with him.’

2.2.1.6 Benefactive avon

The postposition avon is a benefactive marker which is used on the non-
nominative case to indicate beneficiary, representation, sake, and purpose.
The following sentences are examples in which avon is used for marking ben-
eficiaries, as in (2.85), and represented arguments in which another argument
does something on their behalf, as in (2.86) - (2.87).

(2.85) baxtiguel $mu$  radzen avon pur  kamput  zuxt
Bahtigeel REFL.NNOM daughter BEN much candy buy.PFV
‘Bahtigeel bought a lot of candy for her daughter.’

(2.86) $mu$  avon hitʧ  tsiz=at  na  levd
1SG.NNOM BEN none thing=2SG.PFV NEG say.PFV
‘You did not say anything on my behalf.’
If a situation happens for the sake of an argument, that argument is also marked with *avon*, as in (2.88)-(2.91).

(2.87) *mæc avon a = di χabar sodil = ir*

1PL.NNOM BEN ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX news Sodil = DAT

*frapon = o reach.CAUS.IPV = Q*

‘Will you deliver this news to Sodil for us?’

Sentences (2.92) & (2.93) are examples of *avon* marking purpose.
The postposition *avon* is also used for forming purpose adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.6).

### 2.2.1.7 Semblative *rang*

The postposition *rang* co-occurs with a non-nominative case and marks similarity of that argument to another. It may also be used to make a statement of equivalence when comparing two arguments (§5.4) or describe the manner of an action through an adverbial clause (§10.2.3.10).

(2.94) \[\text{jad } \text{batso } \text{purg } \text{rang } \text{kam } \text{χird}\]

\[3\text{SG.NOM.PROX } \text{child } \text{mouse } \text{SEMB } \text{little } \text{3SG.IPVF}\]

‘This child eats little, like a mouse.’

(2.95) \[\text{wong } \text{rang } \text{gap } \text{mo } \text{ka}\]

\[\text{nasaly.speaker } \text{SEMB } \text{word } \text{PROH } \text{do.IPVF}\]

‘Do not talk like a nasaly person.’

(2.96) \[\text{dowud } \text{mu=ri } \text{vrud } \text{rang } \text{numujd}\]

\[\text{Doweed } \text{1SG.NNOM=DAT } \text{brother } \text{SEMB } \text{seem.3SG.IPVF}\]

‘Doweed feels like a brother to me.’

(2.97) \[\text{ju } \text{vots } \text{most } \text{rang } \text{mur } \text{ðext}\]

\[3\text{SG.NOM.DIST } \text{girl } \text{moon } \text{SEMB } \text{light } \text{shine.3SG.IPVF}\]

‘That girl shines like the moon.’
(2.98)  
\[\text{haraq mas di rang mast na twi} \]
\[\text{alcohol also 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB drunk NEG CAP} \]

\[kaxt\]
\[\text{do.3SG.IPFV}\]

‘Even alcohol cannot cause one to get drunk to this degree.’

(2.99)  
\[\text{mur = af uz tilu rang qimat bawu-in} \]
\[\text{today = 3PL.IPFV again gold SEMB expensive price-ADJ} \]

\[\text{gap-ef tɛ̃wɔydɔ} \]
\[\text{word-PL.NNOM do.PRF} \]

‘Yet again today, you(pl) have shared words as valuable as gold. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.100)  
\[\text{mac har tsund zɛn-in mas tsə} \]
\[\text{1PL.NOM every how.much intelligence-ADJ also COND} \]

\[\text{vow = an uz pa tamash rang ləwr} \]
\[\text{be.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV again LOC 2PL.NNOM SEMB big} \]

\[\text{vɾud-ef na dej = an} \]
\[\text{brother-PL.NNOM NEG fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV} \]

‘No matter how intelligent we are, we are no better than elder brothers like you(pl).’

When combined with \text{tsa}, the shortened form of \text{tsejz} ‘what’, the semitative marker forms the interrogative word \text{tsaranɡ} ‘how’, which questions manner and condition (see §7.3.4):

(2.101)  
\[\text{tamaʃ awul tsaranɡ} \]
\[\text{2PL.NNOM situation how} \]

‘How is your(pl) situation?’

(2.102)  
\[\text{mu mom mɯdʑuz tsaranɡ} \]
\[\text{1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling how} \]

‘How is my grandmother feeling?’

2.2.1.8 ‘according to’ \text{buntʃa}

\text{buntʃa} ‘according to’ marks an argument in the non-nominative case to indicate the model or instruction for how something is done. It may also mark a headless relative clause, as in (2.105).
(2.103)  
\[ \text{di} \quad \text{buntəa} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad \text{pa} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX according.to ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC} \]
\[ \text{imi} \quad \text{do} \]
\[ \text{RECP give.IPVF} \]
‘Put that together according to this.’

(2.104)  
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{gap} \quad \text{buntəa} \quad \text{ka} = \text{am} \]
\[ 2\text{SG.NNOM word according.to do.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF} \]
‘I will do according to your word.’

(2.105)  
\[ \text{duŋtəur} \quad \text{levdʑ = endʑ} \quad \text{buntəa} \quad \text{hara} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{duri} \]
doctor say.PR = REL according.to every day medicine
\[ \text{χor} = \text{am} \]
\[ \text{eat.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF} \]
‘I take medicine every day according to the doctor’s instructions.’

(2.106)  
\[ \text{mu} \quad \text{χor} \quad \text{canbe} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{odat} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NNOM nephew Saturday day REFL.NNOM custom} \]
\[ buntəa \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ktubχuno} \quad \text{sedʑ-it} \]
\[ \text{according.to LOC library become.PR = CESS} \]
‘On Saturday my nephew went to the library according to his habit.’

(2.107)  
\[ \text{tamaɕ} \quad \text{vid} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{vid} \quad \text{qonun} \quad \text{buntəa} \]
\[ 2\text{PL.NOM be.INF NEG be.INF law according.to} \]
\[ a = \text{di} \quad \text{tɕer} \quad \text{ka} = \text{it} \]
\[ \text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF} \]
‘You(pl) must do this work in accordance with the law.’

(2.108)  
\[ \text{putxu} \quad \text{χambahonds = endʑ} \quad \text{amr} \quad \text{buntəa} \]
king go.down.CAUS.PR = REL command according.to
\[ \text{dejqun-ɕejl = af} \quad \text{dzam} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{dijur} \]
farmer-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV all REFL.NNOM LOC region
\[ \text{waŋχvd} \]
\[ \text{return.PFVF} \]
‘All of the farmers went back to their hometown according to the king’s command.’
(2.109)  merona  χ-ono  dil  buntca
Merona  REFL.N NOM-mother  heart  according.to

  abdumamad = ir  fript
Abdumamad = DAT  reach.PFV

‘Merona married Abdumamad according to her mother’s wishes.’

2.2.1.9 Terminative to... its

The circumposition to... its marks the terminative function, which may be a
terminal point in space, as in (2.110) & (2.111) or terminal point in time, as
in (2.112) - (2.114). The to part of this circumposition, which precedes
the argument it marks, is optional, and may be omitted in any of the examples
below. As with other markers of grammatical function, to... its only occurs
with the non-nominative case.

(2.110)  az  varɕidɛ  (to)  marjong  its  tsund  waχt
ABL  Varshide  TERM  Maryong  TERM  how.much  time

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV

‘How long does it take to get from Varshide to Maryong?’

(2.111)  ejdboj  az  tureq  (to)  naburg  its  soq  salomat
Eidboy  ABL  head.top  TERM  heel  TERM  well  healthy

‘Eidboy is healthy from head to heel.’

(2.112)  waz  hara  maθ  (to)  suat  des  its
1SG.NOM  every  day  TERM  hour  ten  TERM

  xuʃs = am
sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I sleep until 10 o’clock every day.’

(2.113)  (to)  χɯ  marɡ  its  i  yin  qati  nardʑes
TERM  REFL.N NOM-death  TERM  one  wife  COM  pass.IPFV

‘Until your death, be with one wife.’
2.2.1.10 Locative and allative pa, ar, and tar

The prepositions pa, ar, and tar are used to mark locative and allative functions, indicating location or destination. As a language spoken in hilly country, Sarikoli codes reference to height in its adpositions. ar is used with locations that are at a lower level than the speaker, pa is used with locations that are at a higher level than the speaker, and tar is used for marking locations which are at the same level of height as the speaker, and thus require horizontal movement. When these adpositions are used in combination with local demonstratives, they can express locations such as pa dawd ‘up here’, pa dum ‘up there’, arumd ‘down here’, arum ‘down there’, tarumd ‘towards here’, and tarum ‘towards there’. NPs marked with pa, ar, and tar are always in the non-nominative case. Examples (2.115) - (2.123) show pa, ar, and tar used for marking location.

(2.115) ɡawar χɯ tilu ar sit ɡəwr tɕəwɡ
Gawar REFL.N NOM gold LOC bury do.PFV
‘Gawar buried his gold in the dirt.’

(2.116) mɛndʑ waχt mu υrɛd-ɬɛjł pa qir
summer time 1SG.N NOM brother-PL.NOM LOC mountain
kalo puj=in
sheep herd.PFV = 3PL.PFV
‘In the summertime, my brothers herd sheep on the mountains.’

(2.117) jad i tar doxt tɕudir ɬid
3SG.N.PROX one LOC wilderness tent give.3SG.PFV
‘This one pitches a tent in a wilderness area.’

(2.118) def pa maktab pindz tudʑik batɕo jost
3PL.N.PROX LOC school five Tajik child be.PFV
‘There are five Tajik kids at their school.’
(2.119) guilbarg χu batɛo-ɛf pa tɛed
Geelbarg REF_PRESS child-PL.NOM LOC house

rejzond
remain.CAUS.PFV
‘Geelbarg left her children at home.’

(2.120) jad gap faqat pomejr ar ziv jost
3SG.NOM.PROX word only Pamir LOC tongue be.IPV
‘This word only exists in Pamir languages.’

(2.121) mac ar həwly i wəwz daraχt jost,
1PL.NOM LOC yard one walnut tree be.IPV

juu daraχt uṭe purmiwa
3SG.NOM.DIST tree very fruitful
‘There is a walnut tree in our yard and it is very fruitful.’

(2.122) tar maðon ingaxt wi-an ktɕawi jost
LOC middle finger 3SG.NOM.DIST-GEN ring be.IPV
‘On her middle finger she has a ring.’

(2.123) tar dinju beginu χalɡ nist
LOC world sinless person NEG.be.IPV
‘There is no sinless person in the world.’

In (2.124) - (2.128), pa, ar, and tar mark the allative function, indicating movement towards a destination.

(2.124) pa dəx so = am
LOC upriver become.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘I am going up.’

(2.125) muu nabus dzul vid alo iχil pa daraχt
1SG.NOM grandchild small be.INF TEMP often LOC tree

paðɛvd pa dejwul paðɛvd
climb.PFV LOC wall climb.PFV
‘When my grandson was little he always climbed up the trees and walls.’
(2.126) was dzul vid alo mu mom = ik
1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother = DUR

\[ a = mu \quad ixil \quad pa \quad dom \quad tçωg \quad ar \]
ACC = 1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC

bordza = ik jud
garden = DUR take.PFV

‘When I was young, my grandmother would always carry me on
her back and take me to the garden.’

(2.127) ar nusasur so = am
LOC downriver become.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘I am going down.’

(2.128) a = di ar darju patow = an,
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC river throw = 1PL.IPV

jad laka mɛrd
3SG.NOM.PROX let.IPV die.3SG.IPV

‘Let us throw him into the river, let him die.’

(2.129) tar ko = at tujd
LOC where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
‘Where are you headed?’

(2.130) dijur χalɡ tar um tar əwd ratsaθt
region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPV
‘The villagers run away this way and that way.’

(2.131) ɕejtun a = χalɡ tar zit pond jod = itɕuz
Satan ACC = person LOC bad road take.INF = REL
‘Satan is one who leads people down the bad path.’

(2.132) mu ʃowl tar ta
1SG.NNOM ear LOC 2SG.NNOM
‘My ears are towards you (i.e. I am ready to listen to you).’

(2.133) pugan jowl = ik δud mač tar pond
tomorrow dawn = DUR give.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road

naxtedz = an
go.up.IPV = 1PL.IPV
‘Tomorrow when dawn breaks, we will go out to the road.’
These locative prepositions may be omitted if the context makes it clear that the argument has a locative or allative function, as long as it does not cause confusion between the zero-marked locative or allative argument and the zero-marked nominative argument. (2.134) & (2.135) are examples in which the locative markers are absent, and in (2.136) & (2.137) the allative markers are absent.

(2.134)  
\[
\text{m-oto sič tung}  
\]  
\[
1\text{SG.NNOM-father now Teeng}  
\]  
‘My father is in Teeng now.’

(2.135)  
\[
\text{varsčide mewo na past}  
\]  
\[
\text{Varshide fruit NEG ripen.3SG.IPVF}  
\]  
‘Fruit does not grow in Varshide.’

(2.136)  
\[
\text{dud dodik pugan xwor χofst}  
\]  
\[
\text{uncle Dodik tomorrow Kashgar go.down.3SG.IPVF}  
\]  
‘Uncle Dodik will go down to Kashgar tomorrow.’

(2.137)  
\[
\text{maɕ=an todžikobod fript}  
\]  
\[
1\text{PL.NOM}=1\text{PL.PFV Tojikobod reach.PFV}  
\]  
‘We have arrived in Tojikobod.’

2.2.1.11 Locative tɕi

The preposition tɕi, which correlates to ‘on’ in most instances, also marks the locative function, but generally points to a locational point that is more restricted in area than those marked with pa, ar, or tar. The argument marked with tɕi is in the non-nominative case:

(2.138)  
\[
\text{haroj vrud i tɕi dzuj so = in}  
\]  
\[
\text{three brother one LOC place become.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF}  
\]  
‘The three brothers come together in one place.’

(2.139)  
\[
\text{tɕi waxin mo naxpor}  
\]  
\[
\text{LOC blood PROH step.IPVF}  
\]  
‘Do not step on the blood.’

(2.140)  
\[
\text{dzul tɕuχ tɕi wov istχun veǔdʑ}  
\]  
\[
\text{small puppy LOC mouth bone be.PRF}  
\]  
‘The little puppy has a bone in its mouth. (Evidential/New information)’
past laka tɕi maðon balak sawd
Skin let.IPVF LOC middle part become.3SG.IPVF
‘Let the leather split down the middle.’

(2.142) a = bejroq tɕi builand-i tik ðo = an
ACC = flag LOC high-NMLZ straight give.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF
‘Let us stick the flag in a high place.’

(2.143) jɯ 3sg. NOM.DIST puts i sulo set alo
3SG.NOM.DIST son one year.old become.INF TEMP

wi tɕi ðɯst mon ðo = in
3SG.NOM.DIST LOC hand apple give.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF
‘When that son turns three, they put an apple in his hand.’

The function of tɕi as a locative marker may be extended to mark abstract locations (2.144) & (2.145), substitution (2.146) - (2.148), and time (2.149).

(2.144) waz asto asto ka = am a = mu
1SG.NOM slow slow do.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF ACC = 1SG.NNOM

waz tɕi dzat mo wejð
LOC hurry PROH put.IPVF
‘I will do it slowly, do not put me in a hurry.’

(2.145) jɯ χɯ 3SG.NOM.DIST tɕi qasam na waruvd
REFL.NNOM LOC oath NEG stand.PFV
‘He did not keep his oath.’

(2.146) təw mu tɕi dzuj putxu so
2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM LOC place king become.IPVF

waz tə 1SG.NOM wazir so = am
2SG.NNOM minister become.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘You be king in my place, and I will become your minister (second in command).’
(2.147)  
\[ \text{jɯ} \quad \text{ŋu} \quad \text{mul} \quad \text{mɯlk} \quad \text{parə} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{livestock} \quad \text{land} \quad \text{all sell} \]
\[ \text{ðid} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{pul} \]
\[ \text{give.3SG.IPFV} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{money} \]
\[ k = a = \text{wi} \quad \text{zzmdz} \quad \text{zəzd} \]
\[ \text{ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{field} \quad \text{buy.3SG.IPFV} \]

‘He sells all of his possessions and gets that field for that money.’

(2.148)  
\[ a = \text{di} \quad \text{gap-tʃ} \quad \text{mu} = \text{ri} \]
\[ \text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-PL.NNOM} \quad \text{word} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \]
\[ \text{hansu} \quad \text{tʃi} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{sefən} \]
\[ \text{Han LOC tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV} \]

‘Translate these words into Chinese for me.’

(2.149)  
\[ \text{maʃ} \quad \text{suat} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{iw} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ləwr} \quad \text{darwuzo} \quad a = \text{imi} \]
\[ \text{1PL.NOM} \quad \text{hour} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{big gate} \quad \text{ACC = RECP} \]
\[ \text{wejn = an} \]
\[ \text{see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV} \]

‘Let us see each other at the big gate at one o’clock.’

tʃi is also used for marking the inceptive aspect when a situation is beginning to take place. It precedes a verb in the infinitive stem, which is then followed by set ‘become’, as in (2.150) - (2.153):

(2.150)  
\[ a = \text{wi} \quad \text{toz} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{dɔd} \]
\[ \text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{bald person} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{hit.INF} \]
\[ \text{so = in} \]
\[ \text{become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV} \]

‘They begin beating up the bald guy.’

(2.151)  
\[ \text{tur-ʃeʃl = af} \quad \text{tʃuʃ} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{χig} \quad \text{sut} \]
\[ \text{net-PL.NOM = 3PL.PVF} \quad \text{tear LOC eat.INF} \quad \text{become.PVF} \]
\[ \text{kema-ʃeʃl = af} \quad \text{tar} \quad \text{bun} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{dɔd} \quad \text{sut} \]
\[ \text{ship-PL.NOM = 3PL.PVF} \quad \text{LOC base} \quad \text{LOC give.INF} \quad \text{become.PVF} \]

‘The nets began to rip, and the ships began to sink.’
(2.152)  
\[
\text{batɕo-χejl = af} \quad \text{marzundz} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{set} \\
\text{child-PL.NOM} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{hungry} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{become.INF}
\]

\[
\text{seḍḍiz} \quad \text{become.PRF}
\]

‘The children have begun to get hungry. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.153)  
\[
a = \text{sawɡ = am} \quad \text{bur} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{levd} \quad \text{sut} \\
\text{ACC = story} = 1\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{say.INF} \quad \text{become.PFV}
\]

‘I have begun to tell a story, then.’

Finally, \text{tɕi} is used for expressing perfective events with an internal reference point. It precedes a verb in the infinitive stem, which is then followed by \text{vɯd ‘be.PFV’}, as in (2.154) - (2.156):

(2.154)  
\[
zarnigor \quad \text{bejt} \quad \text{levd} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{maç = an} \quad \text{tamoq} \quad \text{tɕi} \\
\text{Zarnigor} \quad \text{song} \quad \text{say.INF} \quad \text{TEMP} \quad 1\text{PL.NOM} = 1\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{LOC}
\]

\[
twejg \quad \text{vɯd} \\
\text{do.INF} \quad \text{be.PFV}
\]

‘When Zarnigor sang, we were in the middle of making food.’

(2.155)  
\[
ingum = \text{af} \quad \text{kalo} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{kaxt} \quad \text{vɯd}, \\
\text{just.now} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{sheep} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{slaughter.INF} \quad \text{be.PFV}
\]

\[
kazwi = \text{af} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{tilfon} \quad \text{zuxt} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{tɕɔwɡ} \\
\text{so} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad 2\text{SG.NNom} \quad \text{phone} \quad \text{get.INF} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{CAP} \quad \text{do.PFV}
\]

‘They were in the middle of killing sheep just now, that is why they could not answer your phone call.’

(2.156)  
\[
tɔw = \text{at} \quad \text{mu = ri} \quad \text{tilfon} \quad \text{tsa} \\
2\text{SG.NOM} = 2\text{SG.PFV} \quad 1\text{SG.NNom} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{phone} \quad \text{COND}
\]

\[
tɔwɔyds-it, \quad \text{waz = am} \quad \text{leq} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{znod} \\
\text{do.PRF-CESS} \quad 1\text{SG.NNom} = 1\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{clothing} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{wash.INF}
\]

\[
\text{vɯd} \quad \text{be.PFV}
\]

‘You know how you called me? I was in the middle of washing clothes.’
2.2.1.12 Ablative az

The ablative preposition az, which is used with the non-nominative case, marks a variety of clausal functions: locational sources, as in (2.157) & (2.158), personal sources, as in (2.159) - (2.161), origin/source of being, as in (2.162), beginning of a time frame, as in (2.163), reason or cause, as in (2.164) - (2.166), or a set from which a choice or smaller part may be drawn, as in (2.167) & (2.168). It also marks the Standard of comparison in a comparative construction (§5) and reason adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.4).

(2.157)  
mɯu  paryɔx  az  watɛa  
1SG.N NOM  wife  ABL  Wacha  
‘My wife is from Wacha.’

(2.158)  
jad  mɯu  az  qɛtɛ  naxtuydz=ɛndz  
3SG.NOM.PROX  1SG.N NOM  ABL  belly  go.up.PRF = REL  
  radzen  
  daughter  
‘This is a daughter that came out of my belly.’

(2.159)  
χɯ  na  wazond=itɛuz  dzuij  az  malum-ɛf  
REFL.N NOM  NEG  know.INF = REL  place  ABL  teacher-PL.N NOM  
  pars  
  ask.IPFV  
‘Ask the teachers about the parts you do not know.’

(2.160)  
waz  χ-oto  az  qotil  itoqom  
1SG.NOM  REFL.N NOM-father  ABL  murderer  revenge  
  zoɔ = am  
  get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
‘I will avenge my father’s murderer.’

(2.161)  
faridun  χɯ  az  ato  ano  barakat  
Faridun  REFL.N NOM  ABL  father  mother  blessing  
  zuxtɛ = endz  
  get.PRF = REL  
‘Faridun is one who received prosperity from his parents.’
(2.162) \(\text{χαλγ} \ \text{az} \ \text{mejmun} \ \text{pejdu} \ \text{sejdz} = \text{endz} = \text{o} \ \text{χɯdοj}\)
person ABL monkey appear become.PRF = REL = Q God

\(\text{ufarid} \ \text{tɛɛwydz} = \text{endz}\)
creation do.PRF = REL

‘Is mankind something that came about from monkeys, or something that God created?’

(2.163) \(\text{mardon} \ \text{az} \ \text{batɔagi} \ \text{ktub} \ \text{xojd} = \text{ir} \ \text{utɛ} \ \text{χɯdur}\)
Mardon ABL childhood book read.INF = DAT very happy

\(\nuud\)
be.PFV

‘Mardon has really enjoyed reading books since his childhood.’

(2.164) \(\text{wi} \ \text{ɕtu} \ \text{zord} \ \text{mu} \ \text{az} \ \text{gap} \ \text{ub}\)
3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart 1SG.NNOM ABL word melt

\(\text{sɯt}\)
become.PFV

‘Her cold heart melted from my words.’

(2.165) \(\text{mu} \ \text{θud} \ \text{az} \ \text{sam} \ \text{kabub} \ \text{sɯt}\)
1SG.NNOM liver ABL worry kebab become.PFV

‘My liver became roasted into a kebab from worrying.’

(2.166) \(\text{az} \ \text{mu = at} \ \text{χafo} \ \text{sɯt = o}\)
ABL 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV upset become.PFV = Q

‘Did you get upset because of me?’

(2.167) \(\text{az} \ \text{maç} \ \text{ðow} \ \text{twɔj} \ \text{bawr} \ \text{numujoj}\)
ABL 1PL.NNOM two who.NOM big seem.3SG.IPFV

‘Of the two of us, who seems bigger?’

(2.168) \(\text{tɔw} \ \text{nuluzim} \ \text{ktub-ɛf} \ \text{az} \ \text{luzim}\)
2SG.NOM unnecessary book-PL.NNOM ABL necessary

\(\text{ktub-ɛf} \ \text{surɔw}\)
book-PL.NNOM separate.IPFV

‘Separate the useless books from the useful books.’
2.2.1.13 Lative *par*

The preposition *par*, in combination with the non-nominative case, marks the lative function. The lative generally indicates motion to a location and has several different functions in Sarikoli. First, when occurring with a verb of movement, it marks the goal of the movement, as in (2.169) - (2.171):

(2.169) *waz par ta so = am*

1SG.NOM LAT 2SG.NNOM become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I will go to you.’

(2.170) *χɯ batɕo-ɛf az iw-i par mɯ*

REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM

bus

send.IPfv

‘Send your children to me one by one.’

(2.171) *piɕ ʑoxtɕ par pɯrɡ, pɯrɡ ʑoxtɕ mɛrɡan par*

cat run.PRF LAT mouse mouse run.PRF hunter LAT

kamar

bullet.clip

‘The cat ran to the mouse, and the mouse ran to the hunter’s bullet clip. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.172) *m-ono = ik par xipik χɯ duust*

1SG.NNOM-mother = DUR LAT flatbread REFL.NNOM hand

jord

extend.3SG.IPfv

‘My mother is extending her hand towards the flatbread.’

Second, it marks the undergoer of certain actions, as in (2.173) - (2.175):

(2.173) *muu vrud par mac nary χɯ wedd*

1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1SG.NNOM trouble put.PFv

‘My brother has placed trouble upon us.’

(2.174) *raimdzon par mac qor tɛwɛg*

Rayimjon LAT 1PL.NNOM anger do.PFv

‘Rayimjon made us angry.’
Finally, it may also mark the spatial relation of ‘beneath’ something, as in (2.176) & (2.177):

(2.176)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
gul & \text{tc} & \text{pond} & \text{woxtc} & \text{\&} & \text{\&} & \text{\&} & \text{\&} & \text{\&} & \text{\&} \\
\text{flower} & \text{LOC} & \text{road} & \text{fall.PR} & \text{person} & \text{LAT} & \text{foot} & \text{remain.PR} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{naxpwydz} & \text{sc\&d\&z} \\
\text{step.PR} & \text{become.PR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The flowers fell on the road and got trampled on under people’s feet. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.177)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
amir\text{\&}u & \text{\&}u & \text{batco} & \text{ejb-ef} & \text{par} \\
\text{Amirshu} & \text{REFL.NNOM} & \text{child} & \text{transgression-PL.NNOM} & \text{LAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{\&}u & \text{\&}ud \\
\text{REFL.NNOM} & \text{give.PF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He covered up his child’s wrongdoings under himself.’

2.2.1.14 Perlative \textit{paz}

The preposition \textit{paz} marks the perlative and also occurs with the non-nominative case. The perlative function indicates movement along something, as in (2.178) & (2.179), or immediately following something else that is moving, as in (2.180) - (2.182):

(2.178)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
ma\text{\&}c & \text{paz} & \text{\&}arju & \text{lab} & \text{t\&dz = an} \\
\text{1PL.NOM} & \text{PER} & \text{river} & \text{bank} & \text{go.IP} = \text{1PL.IP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Let us go along the bank of the river.’

(2.179)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
tar & \text{z\&mdz} & \text{na} & \text{t\&dz = an,} & \text{paz} & \text{pond} \\
\text{LOC} & \text{field} & \text{NEG} & \text{go.IP} = \text{1PL.IP} & \text{PER} & \text{road} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
t\&dz = an \\
\text{go.IP} = \text{1PL.IP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Let us not go toward the fields, but along the road.’
It also marks the person or thing through which an action is accomplished, as in (2.183) & (2.184):

(2.183) \[
\text{waz } \text{paz } \text{kuraʃ } \text{tu}=\text{ri } \text{χalto}
\]
\[
1\text{SG.NOM PER Keerash } 2\text{SG.NOM } \text{DAT } \text{sack}
\]
\[
\text{bus } = \text{am}
\]
\[
\text{send(IPFV) = 1SG.PFV}
\]
\[
\text{’I will send you a sack via Keerash.’}
\]

(2.184) \[
\text{fəχirdin } \text{paz } \text{dʒonoro } \text{bejt } \text{zwust}
\]
\[
\text{Fahirdin PER Jonoro song pull.out.PFV}
\]
\[
\text{’Inspired by Jonoro, Fahirdin wrote a song.’ (lit. Fahirdin pulled out a song from Jonoro.)}
\]

2.2.2 Compound function markers

In addition to the function-marking clitics and adpositions introduced in §2.2.1, there are compound function markers which mark other NP functions within a clause. Compound function markers consist of a preposition and a noun which has become somewhat grammaticalized. They typically mark arguments that are related to spatial and temporal settings. As with the other markers of grammatical functions, they occur with the non-nominative form of the NP.
The following are examples of nouns which combine with prepositions to form compound function markers, along with example sentences.

**prud** ‘front’ (in front of; before)

(2.185) \[\text{đa} \text{most} \text{ći prud} \text{adu sut} \]
\[\text{two month LOC front finish become.PFV}\]
'It ended two months ago.'

(2.186) \[\text{mu} \text{dikun dzul maktab pa prud}\]
\[\text{1SG.NNOM store small school LOC front}\]
'My store is in front of the elementary school.'

**zabu** ‘back’ (behind; after)

(2.187) \[\text{χɯ} \text{pets znod az zabu xufs} \]
\[\text{REFL.NNOM face wash.INF ABL back sleep.IPVF}\]
'Sleep after washing your face.'

(2.188) \[\text{ta} \text{tilfon a=mu tar zabu wɛðd} \]
\[\text{2SG.NNOM phone ACC=1SG.NNOM LOC back put.PFV}\]
'Your phone call made me late.'

(2.189) \[\text{wɛf} \text{tɕɛd az zabu sar qul buw jost} \]
\[\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST house ABL back side flower garden be.IPVF}\]
'There is a flower garden behind their house.'

(2.190) \[\text{təw wi pa zabu a=χɯ} \]
\[\text{2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC back ACC=ref.NNOM}\]
\[\text{naymedz tɛdz} \]
\[\text{hide.IPVF go.IPVF}\]
'You hide yourself and follow him.'

**arqo** ‘upper back’ (behind)

(2.191) \[\text{tɕɛd pa arqo i tup kalo waruwdz} \]
\[\text{house LOC upper.back one group sheep stand.PRF}\]
'There is a flock of sheep standing behind the house. (Evidential/New information)'
(2.192) putxu yin χiɕ wi tsi arqo
   king  wife  secret 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC upper.back

   tizd
   go.3SG.IPFV
   ‘The king’s wife secretly goes behind him.’

dum ‘behind’ (behind)

(2.193) mɯ 1sg.nnom
   kɯd 1sg. nnom
   paz 3sg. nnom
dum 1sg. ipfv
tid = itɕuz
   ‘My dog follows me around.’

madon ‘middle’ (in the middle; between; among)

(2.194) mɯ 1sg.nnom
   maɕ 1pl. nnom
   tar loc
   maďon=af 3pl. pfv
   cejtun-i Satan-NMLZ do.pfv
   ‘They have interfered in our relationship.’

(2.195) putxu a=χɯ acc refl
   bɔr na wazond
   king  acc=refl.nnom big neg know.3SG.IPFV

   dejqun-ɛf farmer-pl.nnom
   or mađon 3pl. loc
   jot come.pfv
   odi simple

   χalɡ-ɛf person-pl.nnom
   qati work
   tɕɛr tɕəwɡ do.pfv
   ‘The king did not view himself as great, came among the farmers,
   and worked with ordinary people.’

darun ‘inside’ (inside; among)

(2.196) mɯ 1sg.nnom
   qalamdun loc
   ar darun hitɕ
   tsiz 3sg.
   nist neg.be.ipfv
   ‘There is nothing in my pencil case.’

vate ‘outside’ (outside of; outdoors)
(2.197) \text{tom} = \text{af} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad t\text{ür}ik \quad \text{buw} \quad \text{tar}
\text{then} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{LOC}
\text{vat}ì \quad \text{zwu}st
\text{outside} \quad \text{pull.out.PFV}
‘Then they took that man out of the garden.’

\text{bun} 'base; foundation' (under; beside)

(2.198) \text{mu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{bu}n \quad \text{nî}\d{1}
\text{1SG.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{base} \quad \text{sit.PFV}
‘Sit next to me.’

(2.199) \text{w}ód \quad \text{cî}t\d{1} \quad \text{důr}x\text{t}u\text{r}c\text{u}n\d{0} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{bu}n
\text{3PL.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{hospital} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{base}
‘They are near the hospital now.’

(2.200) \text{mo}cīn \quad \text{ta}r \quad \text{bu}n \quad \text{i} \quad \text{z}êd \quad \text{ve}d\d{0}z
\text{car} \quad \text{toward} \quad \text{base} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{thief} \quad \text{be.PRF}
‘There is a thief under the car. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.201) \text{ta} \quad \text{rejm}u\d{1} \quad \text{t}e\text{i}n\d{1} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{bu}n \quad \text{ve}d\d{0}z
\text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{handkerchief} \quad \text{bowl} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{base} \quad \text{be.PRF}
‘Your handkerchief is under the bowl. (Evidential/New information)’

\text{atrof} ‘area’ (near)

(2.202) \text{tsi} \quad \text{p}o\text{nd} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{a} = \text{χ}a\text{lg} \quad \text{mo}c\d{1}n \quad \text{d}u\d{1}z \quad \text{wi}
\text{LOC} \quad \text{road} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{person} \quad \text{car} \quad \text{hit.PRF} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST}
\text{pa}z \quad \text{atrof} \quad \text{lej} \quad \text{χa}lg \quad \text{w}i\text{x}t \quad \text{s}êd\d{0}z
\text{PER} \quad \text{area} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{gather.INF} \quad \text{become.PRF}
‘A car hit a person on the road and many people gathered around its vicinity. (Evidential/New information)’

\text{basefr} ‘except’ (except; besides)
(2.203) ta az bæfr hitc twɔj mu = ri
 2SG.NNOM ABL except none who.NOM 1SG.NNOM = DAT

χuc nist
happy NEG.be.IPfv
‘I do not like anyone besides you.’

ter ‘top; high place’ (above; on top of)

(2.204) a = wi kerpa tɛi ter laka
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST mat LOC top put.IPfv
‘Put it on top of the mat.’

post ‘bottom; low place’ (under; below)

(2.205) asan mu az post xufst
Asan 1SG.NNOM ABL bottom sleep.3SG.IPfv
‘Asan sleeps beneath me.’

(2.206) m = a = di dɛnci az post laka
  CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX television ABL bottom put.IPfv
‘Put this under the television.’

babɛr ‘underside’ (under; below)

(2.207) m = a = di wadsejn tɛi babɛr
  CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX folded.bedding ABL low

laka
put.IPfv
‘Put this under the folded bedding.’

pala ‘rib’ (side)

(2.208) tar pala tços
  LOC rib look.IPfv
‘Look to the side.’

kol ‘head’ (first)
(2.209) uz az kol lev=am
again ABL head say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will say it again from the beginning.’

(2.210) zejmura pa kol naxtwu
Zeynura LOC head go.up.PFV
‘Zeynura won first place.’

(2.211) ta tei kol cond=in
2SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
‘They will laugh at you.’

nov ‘mouth’ (opening)

(2.212) buzur pa nov a=ta tsp=$am
bazaar LOC mouth ACC=2SG.NNOM watch.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will wait for you at the entrance of the bazaar.’

2.2.3 Placement of function markers

All nominal modifiers within an NP precede the head noun. When an NP is marked for its function with clitics or adpositions, the placement of the function marker in relation to the NP modifiers is noteworthy. If the function of an NP is marked by a simple or compound function marker or enclitic, the function marker is simply placed after the head noun and all of its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets in the examples below):

(2.213) mɯ patie ja$ [qadimi] $alg rang gap
1SG.NNOM cousin sister ancient person SEMP word

kaxt
do.3SG.IPfv
‘My cousin talks like an ancient person.’

(2.214) [mɯ $iri] $un az bau$ h$ $e $oj
1SG.NNOM sweet life ABL except none who.NOM

mɯ=ri $uc $ist
1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPfv
‘I do not like anyone besides my sweet life.’
If the function of the NP is marked by a preposition or proclitic, the most common placement of the function marker is immediately before the head noun, between the head noun and its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets). This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences. The examples marked with asterisks below illustrate that it is ungrammatical to place the preposition or proclitic before the entire NP:

(2.218) a. *amruk nur [χu dest] pa tɕɛd woxt suat
   Amruk today REFL.NOM friend LOC house eight hour

   skit tɕəwɡ
   play do.PFV

   ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’

b. *amruk nur pa [χu dest] tɕɛd woxt suat
   Amruk today LOC REFL.NOM friend house eight hour

   skit tɕəwɡ
   play do.PFV

   ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(2.219) a. [mejmun-ef] ar təj marəb at zird rəwn mas
guest-PL.NNOM LOC tea cream CONJ yellow oil also

\[ \text{wej}=in \]
\[ \text{put.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \]

‘They also put cream and butter in the guests’ tea.’

b. *ar [mejmun-ef] təj marəb at zird rəwn mas
LOC guest-PL.NNOM tea cream CONJ yellow oil also

\[ \text{wej}=in \]
\[ \text{put.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \]

‘They also put cream and butter in the guests’ tea.’

(2.220) a. jad ujnak [m-ono] az ðust
3SG.NOM.PROX glass 1SG.NNOM-mother ABL hand

\[ \text{woxt} \]
\[ \text{fall.PFV} \]

‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’

b. *jad ujnak az [m-ono] ðust
3SG.NOM.PROX glass ABL 1SG.NNOM-mother hand

\[ \text{woxt} \]
\[ \text{fall.PFV} \]

‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’

(2.221) a. sofia [dud kuzmamad] pa dikun tujd
Sofia uncle Kuzmamad LOC store go.PFV

‘Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad’s store.’

b. *sofia pa [dud kuzmamad] dikun tujd
Sofia LOC uncle Kuzmamad store go.PFV

‘Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad’s store.’

(2.222) a. [dud qurbun teed] təį nox tamoq χig na
uncle Qeerbun house LOC Noh food eat.INF NEG

\[ \text{laka}=in \]
\[ \text{let.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \]

‘They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Qeerbun’s house.’
When a numeral or quantifier is the only modifier of the noun that is marked by a function marker, the function marker may either immediately precede the head noun or precede the entire NP with its modifier, as shown by the following pairs of sentences which are all grammatical.

\[
\text{(2.224) a. } \text{mu} = \text{ri} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{urmqtɕi} \quad \text{jet} = \text{ir} \quad \text{[i]} \quad \text{az} \\
\text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{come.INF = DAT} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{ABL} \\
\text{afto ter sut} \\
\text{week high become.PFV} \\
\text{‘It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.’}
\]

\[
\text{b. } \text{mu} = \text{ri} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{urmqtɕi} \quad \text{jet} = \text{ir} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{[i]} \\
\text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{come.INF = DAT} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{one} \\
\text{afto ter sut} \\
\text{week high become.PFV} \\
\text{‘It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.’}
\]
The placement of prepositional and proclitic function markers is particularly significant when occurring with an NP that contains a possessive or demonstrative determiner, as it resolves the ambiguity resulting from the determiners, which are mostly identical in form. When a preposition or proclitic marks the function of a noun modified by a possessive determiner, it occurs between the prenominal modifiers and the head noun; but when it marks the function of a noun modified by a demonstrative determiner, it precedes the entire NP, including all of its modifiers. The examples in the following table demonstrate the difference in function marker placement between NPs that are modified by possessive determiners and those modified by demonstrative determiners.

The following pairs of examples show how the placement of prepositions differ based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.
(2.226) maɕ  nuɾ  di  pa  tɕɛd  na
1PL.NOM  today  3SG.NNOM.PROX  LOC  house  NEG

xufs = an,  wi  pa  tɕɛd
sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  3SG.NNOM.DIST  LOC  house

xufs = an
sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
‘We are not sleeping at this person’s house tonight, but at that person’s house.’

(2.227) maɕ  nuɾ  pa  di  tɕɛd  na
1PL.NOM  today  3SG.NNOM.PROX  house  NEG

xufs = an,  pa  wi  tɕɛd
sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  LOC  3SG.NNOM.DIST  house

xufs = an
sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
‘We are not sleeping at this house tonight, but at that house.’

(2.228) tar  jəwl  di  az  tɕɛd  ruwun
LOC  dawn  3SG.NNOM.PROX  ABL  house  leave

so = in
become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘They are leaving from this person’s house in the morning.’

(2.229) tar  jəwl  az  di  tɕɛd  ruwun
LOC  dawn  ABL  3SG.NNOM.PROX  house  leave

so = in
become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘They are leaving from this house in the morning.’

(2.230) wi  tar  sar  tɕos
3SG.NNOM.DIST  LOC  side  watch.IPFV
‘Look toward that person’s side.’

(2.231) tar  wi  sar  tɕos
LOC  3SG.NNOM.DIST  side  watch.IPFV
‘Look toward that side.’
The following pairs of examples show how the placement of the accusative marker $a = \text{mon}$ differs based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.

(2.232) $\text{waz = am} \quad \text{wi} \quad a = \text{mon} \quad \chiug$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} &= \text{ACC} = \text{apple} \\
\text{eat.PFV} &= '\text{I ate his apple.'} \\
\end{align*}

(2.233) $\text{waz = am} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad \text{mon} \quad \chiug$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{ACC} &= \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \\
\text{apple} &= \text{eat.PFV} \\
\text{‘I ate that apple.’} &= \\
\end{align*}

(2.234) $\text{waz = am} \quad \text{def} \quad a = \text{ktub-ef}$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{3PL.NNOM.PROX} &= \text{ACC} = \text{book-PL.NNOM} \\
\end{align*}
xojd
\begin{align*}
\text{read.PFV} &= '\text{I read these people’s books.’} \\
\end{align*}

(2.235) $\text{waz = am} \quad a = \text{di} \quad \text{ktub-ef}$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{ACC} &= \text{3PL.NNOM.PROX} \\
\text{book-PL.NNOM} &= \text{kojd} \\
\text{read.PFV} &= '\text{I read these books.’} \\
\end{align*}

(2.236) $\text{waz = am} \quad \text{wef} \quad a = \text{ktub-ef}$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST} &= \text{ACC} = \text{book-PL.NNOM} \\
\end{align*}
xojd
\begin{align*}
\text{read.PFV} &= '\text{I read those people’s books.’} \\
\end{align*}

(2.237) $\text{waz = am} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad \text{ktub-ef}$
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{ACC} &= \text{3PL.NNOM.DIST} \\
\text{book-PL.NNOM} &= \text{kojd} \\
\text{read.PFV} &= '\text{I read those books.’} \\
\end{align*}
2.3 Noun phrase

In this section, the structure of the NP is described. The first subsection (§2.3.1) lays out the relative ordering of NP-internal constituents and explores a number of those constituents in more detail. The second subsection (§2.3.2) shows how two or more or more NPs are conjoined.

2.3.1 Modifiers

An NP may consist of just a noun, or it may additionally have one or more of the following nominal modifiers, most of which are described in the following subsections: determiner (§3.3.1), possessive determiner (§3.1.1), possessor NP (§4.1), relative clause (§10.2.1), adjectival phrase (§2.3.1.6), numeral (§2.3.1.1), classifier (§2.3.1.2), quantifier (§2.3.1.3), adjective (§2.3.1.4), or common noun (§2.3.1.7). The NP allows the most variety of modifiers when headed by a common noun, whereas NPs headed by a pronoun or a proper noun have limitations for accepting modifiers. Figure 2.1 shows the relative ordering of the constituents of the NP.

As a head-final language, Sarikoli places all of the modifying elements before the head noun. None of the elements are strictly obligatory; an NP may consist only of the head noun. Even the head noun may be omitted if it can be understood from context, in which case the NP will consist of just a modifier, usually a relative clause, adjectival phrase, numeral/classifier, quantifier, or adjective. Quantifiers do not co-occur with numerals and classifiers within the same NP, and in general, relative clauses and adjectival phrases also do not co-occur within the same NP.

Most NPs are headed by a common noun; alternatively, they may be headed by a proper noun, personal or demonstrative pronoun, or an interrogative word. NPs headed by these alternatives are structurally more restricted, as they have fewer possibilities for modification. Pronouns and interrogative words never take determiners, possessors, numerals, classifiers, or quantifiers. Proper nouns usually do not take any modification, but they may be modified in exceptional cases when two people or places share the same name.
2.3.1.1 Numerals

A cardinal numeral precedes the noun it modifies. Numerals are distinct from adjectives in that they may occur with classifiers and precede the adjective slot. They may also function as substantives, with the head noun omitted, as in (2.276) & (2.280). Distributive numerals are described in §6.

Sarikoli has a decimal numbering system. All of the single-digit values and lower base multiples are native forms, while the higher base multiples (‘sixty’, ‘seventy’, ‘eighty’, and ‘ninety’) are borrowed from Uyghur or Persian. Most people use the Uyghur forms, as the Persian forms are only known by some members of the oldest generation. Compound numerals are formed additively by inserting the conjunction at (or a when preceding da) ‘and’ between each place value.

Table 2.7 Cardinal numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iw (i)</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>des ‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δω (da)</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>des a da ‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haroj</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>des at haroj ‘thirteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsavur</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>tsal ‘forty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pindz</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>pindʑu ‘fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χεl</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>cast/otmic ‘sixty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvxd</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>afdot/sakta ‘seventy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woxt</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>acto/saksan ‘eighty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naw</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td>nawad/toqsan ‘ninety’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms for iw ‘one’ and δω ‘two’ are shortened to i and da, respectively, when they function as adnominal modifiers (unless the head noun and classifier are both omitted) or occur as part of compound numerals (as in tsal at i ‘forty-one’). There are three different words for ‘zero’: 1) nist, the native form, is the negative existential predicate that may also function as the numeral ‘zero’, but this is not in common usage; 2) mül is the Uyghur loanword that is used most frequently; 3) sifr is the Arabic loanword that came through Persian and is used among a minority of speakers.

Sarikoli speakers often use numbers in Mandarin for telephone numbers and ID numbers, Uyghur numbers for months and sometimes prices in stores, and native numbers for counting things.

The following sentences present examples of cardinal numerals functioning as adnominal modifiers.
Nouns

(2.238) m-ono now batɕo vəwɨdʑ=ɛndʑ
1SG.NNOM-mother nine child bring.PRF=REL
‘My mother is one who has had nine children.’

(2.239) haroj tɕini tɕoj=am bruxt
three bowl tea =1SG.PFV drink.PFV
‘I drank three bowls of tea.’

(2.240) tu =ri uj tɕejɡ =ir ᰆa mɯnɯt
tu =ri uj tɕejɡ =ir 2SG.NNOM =DAT thought do.INF =DAT two minute
dʊ = am
give.IPV=1SG.IPV
‘I will give you two minutes to think.’

(2.241) ar ɯrɯmtɕi ᰆes at uvd sul = af naluɕtɕ
LOC Urumqĩ ten CONJ seven year = 2PL.PFV sit.PRF
‘You have lived in Urumqĩ for seventeen years. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.242) maɕ hara maθ sad at jɛmɕ xipik
1PL.NOM every day hundred CONJ seventy flatbread
dan = an
do.IPV=1PL.IPV
‘We make a hundred and seventy flatbreads every day.’

Markers for ordinal numerals are borrowed from Persian or Uyghur, in addition to traditional ordinal numeral constructions that have become obsolete. The Persian construction makes use of Persian cardinal numerals followed by the Persian suffix –um, which precedes the noun it modifies. This construction is no longer commonly used.

(2.243) pandʑ-um dars
five.ORD lesson
‘the fifth lesson’

(2.244) aft-um kalo
seven.ORD sheep
‘the seventh sheep’

In the Uyghur construction, which is now predominantly used, Uyghur cardinal numerals are followed by the Uyghur suffix –intɕi, which precedes the noun it modifies:
The traditional Sarikoli construction for ordinal numerals makes use of *ma* or *az*, followed by a Sarikoli cardinal numeral which functions as the NP head. The usage of this construction is restricted to the day of the month and cannot be used as ordinals for anything else, and has fallen out of use.

(2.247) \( \text{wi} \text{ } 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \text{ } \text{most} \text{ } \text{ma} \text{ } \text{wist} \text{ } \text{month} \text{ } \text{ORD} \text{ } \text{twenty} \)  
‘the twentieth of next month’

(2.248) \( \text{wi} \text{ } 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \text{ } \text{most} \text{ } \text{az} \text{ } \text{wist} \text{ } \text{month} \text{ } \text{ORD} \text{ } \text{twenty} \)  
‘the twentieth of next month’

(2.249) \( \text{mart} \text{ } \text{March} \text{ } \text{most} \text{ } \text{ma} \text{ } \text{wist} \text{ } \text{at} \text{ } \text{CONJ} \text{ } \text{iw} \text{ } \text{one} \)  
‘the twenty-first of March’

(2.250) \( \text{mart} \text{ } \text{March} \text{ } \text{most} \text{ } \text{az} \text{ } \text{wist} \text{ } \text{at} \text{ } \text{CONJ} \text{ } \text{iw} \text{ } \text{one} \)  
‘the twenty-first of March’

### 2.3.1.2 Classifiers

Sarikoli uses several nominal classifiers as measure words, although not all of them are still commonly used. Classifiers are optional but may only be used with cardinal numerals, and occur between the cardinal numeral and the head noun. They cannot occur with other quantifiers besides cardinal numerals.

The classifier that is most widely used in Sarikoli today is *tol*, the general semantically unmarked classifier which is used for a wide variety of countable objects, including words such as: *ktub* ‘book’, *xipik* ‘flatbread’, *dars* ‘lesson’, *swrat* ‘woman’, *çalg* ‘person’, *batço* ‘child’, *kalo* ‘sheep’, *dzuj* ‘seat; space’, *balax* ‘pillow’, *daraxt* ‘tree’, *qalam* ‘pen’, *xad* ‘hair’, *gugurt* ‘match’, and *gul* ‘flower’. 
However, it cannot be used for certain words, such as *maθ* ‘day’, *dowlat* ‘country’, *izə* ‘village’, or *zemdz* ‘field’; these objects are directly modified by the cardinal numeral. The following is an example of how *tol* is used:

(2.251)  
\[ \begin{array}{lll} 
\text{da} & \text{tol} & \text{xipik} \\
\text{two} & \text{CL} & \text{flatbread} \\
\end{array} \]  
\text{‘two flatbreads’}

The classifier *duno* ‘seed’ is used for counting kernels of grains or similar small objects, such as *zəw* ‘wheat’, *max* ‘pea’, *tcuɛtɛ* ‘barley’, *girindʑ* ‘rice’, *rikʨi* ‘bitter almond’, and *quməq* ‘corn’. It cannot be used for slightly larger objects, such as *ʁəwz* ‘walnut’ or *gili* ‘dried apricot’.

(2.252)  
\[ \begin{array}{lll} 
\text{ɯvd} & \text{duno} & \text{max} \\
\text{seven} & \text{CL} & \text{pea} \\
\end{array} \]  
\text{‘seven peas’}

The classifier *bun* ‘base; foundation’ is used for trees, with words such as *daragj* ‘tree’ and *dzirin* ‘seedling’.

(2.253)  
\[ \begin{array}{lll} 
\text{haroj} & \text{bun} & \text{dzirin} \\
\text{three} & \text{CL} & \text{seedling} \\
\end{array} \]  
\text{‘three seedlings’}

The classifier *nafar* is used for any word that refers to people, such as *χalɡ* ‘person’, *tsɛɾeɾjn* ‘man’, *batɕo* ‘child’, *malɯm* ‘teacher’, and *bejitɡar* ‘singer’. In the following example, the head noun, *batɕo* ‘child’, may be omitted, leaving only the numeral and classifier.

(2.254)  
\[ \begin{array}{llllll} 
\text{mac} & \text{pa} & \text{sumuf} & \text{wist} & \text{batɕo} & \text{jost, az} \\
\text{1PL.NNOM} & \text{LOC} & \text{class} & \text{twenty} & \text{child} & \text{be.IPV ABL} \\
\text{wi} & \text{χɛl} & \text{nafar} & \text{(batɕo) = af} & \text{magstəɾi} & \\
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{six} & \text{CL} & \text{child} = \text{3PL.PFV Master’s} \\
\text{xojd} = \text{ir} & \text{nardzɛd} & \\
\text{read.INF = DAT} & \text{pass.PFV} \\
\end{array} \]  
\text{‘Out of the twenty students in our class, six got admitted to a Master’s program.’}
The classifier *bɯno* 'family' is used for households. In the following example, *χalg* 'person' is optional.

(2.255)  
\[ \text{ar bromsul tar umm tar awd wist at pindz bɯno} \]  
\[ \text{LOC Bromsol LOC there LOC here twenty CONJ five \ CL} \]  

*(χalg)* \ jost  
person be.IPfv  
‘There are approximately twenty-five families in Brumsol.’

The classifier *dʑɯft* ‘pair’ is used for two objects that form a pair, such as: *dust* ‘hand’, *ped* ‘foot’, *χej* ‘shoes’, *peχ* ‘traditional shoes’, *dʑɯrob* ‘socks’, *pardust* ‘bracelet’, *surqo* ‘earring’, *guxwur* ‘silver ornaments on a bride’s headdress’, *kujza* ‘chopsticks’, *χalg* ‘person’, *padiom* ‘twin’, *xaniisamug* ‘groomsmen’, and *gap* ‘word’.

(2.256)  
\[ \text{i dʑɯft padiom} \]  
one CL twin  
‘a pair of twins’

The classifier *χil* ‘kind; type’ is used for different types of things.

(2.257)  
\[ \text{maɕ pa sumuf uvd χil milat jost} \]  
1PL.NNOM LOC class seven CL nationality be.IPfv  
‘In our class there are seven kinds of nationalities.’

(2.258)  
\[ \text{rusalet az dʑul-ik-i was tsaʋur χil ziv} \]  
Reesalet ABL small-DIM-NMLZ time four CL tongue  
\[ \text{wazond} \]  
know.PFV  
‘Reesalet knew four kinds of languages since she was young.’

The classifier *nov* ‘mouth’ is used for phrases.

(2.259)  
\[ \text{ingles ziv mu = ri da nov gap χumand} \]  
English tongue 1SG.NNOM = DAT two mouth word teach  
\[ \text{ka} \]  
do.IPfv  
‘Teach me two phrases of English.’
The classifier *baʁmoq* ‘bundle’ is used for long, thin objects that are tied up into bundles, and may be used with words such as: *wax* ‘grass’, *ʑez* ‘firewood’, *zɔw* ‘grain’, *qalam* ‘pen’, *ɡui* ‘flower’, and *vdir* ‘broom’.

(2.260)  
\[ \text{tsavur} \quad \text{baʁmoq} \quad \text{ʑez} \]  
\[ \text{four} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{firewood} \]  
‘four bundles of firewood’

(2.261)  
\[ \text{haroj} \quad \text{baʁmoq} \quad \text{vdir} \]  
\[ \text{three} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{broom} \]  
‘three brooms’

The classifier *tup* ‘group’ is used for groups of things that are count nouns.

(2.262)  
\[ \text{haroj} \quad \text{tup} \quad \text{ejwun} \]  
\[ \text{three} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{animal} \]  
‘three groups of animals’

(2.263)  
\[ \text{i} \quad \text{tup} \quad \text{ɕɯð} \]  
\[ \text{one} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{thornbush} \]  
‘an outcropping of thornbushes’

The classifier *lej* ‘pile’ is used for a pile of objects that are count nouns, and may be used with words such as: *ktub* ‘book’, *ʑer* ‘rock’ *mon* ‘apple’, *kuɾsu* ‘chair’, *xipik* ‘flatbread’, *ɡirindʑ* ‘rice’, and *sandɐq* ‘box’. *lej* is more commonly used as a quantifier that means ‘many’ (see §2.3.1.3).

(2.264)  
\[ \text{woxt} \quad \text{lej} \quad \text{ʑer} \]  
\[ \text{eight} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{rock} \]  
‘eight piles of rocks’

The classifier *dɯm* ‘pile’ is used for a pile of mass nouns, and may be used with words such as: *sit* ‘dirt’, *ɕuc* ‘sand’, *joydz* ‘flour’, *warp* ‘hardened cow/yak feces used for burning’, *poxtɕ* ‘fecal powder that remains after cow feces are dried and trampled’, and *ɡig* ‘fertilizer’.

(2.265)  
\[ \text{i} \quad \text{dɯm} \quad \text{ɡig} \]  
\[ \text{one} \quad \text{Cl.} \quad \text{fertilizer} \]  
‘a pile of fertilizer’
The classifier \textit{dzend} ‘book cover’ was used for books, but is not used commonly anymore.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.266)  tsavur  dzend  daftar
         four    CL    notebook
         ‘four notebooks’
\end{verbatim}

The classifier \textit{sar} ‘head’ was used for animals, but has fallen out of use.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.267)  pindz  sar  tɕat
         five    CL    cow
         ‘five cows’
\end{verbatim}

\textit{pɛd} ‘foot’ is a verbal classifier which indicates how many trips are made, but occurs as a modifier in an NP, as in the following examples.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.268)  uz  i  peð  xats  vor
         again  one    CL    water  bring.IPFI
         ‘Bring water one more time (i.e. make another trip).’

(2.269)  tilu  tsavur  peð  zez  vəwɡ
         Tilu  four    CL    firewood  bring.PFV
         ‘Tilu brought firewood four times (i.e. made four trips).’
\end{verbatim}


\begin{verbatim}
(2.270)  tsavur  tɕini  tɕoj
         four    CL    tea
         ‘four bowls of tea’

(2.271)  i  ingruv  max
         one    CL    pea
         ‘a double-handful of peas’

(2.272)  i  ɕɯrɯm  zəw
         one    CL    grain
         ‘one threshing floor of grain’
\end{verbatim}
The classifier is optional; when omitted, the cardinal numeral simply precedes the head noun, as in (2.274) & (2.278). If the situational context and the choice of classifier make the intended noun obvious, the classifier phrase may also occur in a headless NP, in which case it modifies an understood head noun that is not explicitly stated, as in (2.275) & (2.279). Finally, both the classifier tol and the head noun may be omitted, leaving only the cardinal numeral as a substantive numeral, as in (2.276) & (2.280).

(2.273) \textit{faqat da tol mon re\textpdf{d}z}\newline
only two Cl. apple remain.PRF\newline
‘There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.274) \textit{faqat da mon re\textpdf{d}dz}\newline
only two apple remain.PRF\newline
‘There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.275) \textit{faqat da tol re\textpdf{d}dz}\newline
only two Cl. remain.PRF\newline
‘There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.276) \textit{faqat daw re\textpdf{d}dz}\newline
only two remain.PRF\newline
‘There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.277) \textit{i tol tɕib mu=ri jur}\newline
one Cl. spoon 1SG.NNOM = DAT hand.IPfv\newline
‘Hand me one spoon.’

(2.278) \textit{i tɕib mu=ri jur}\newline
one spoon 1SG.NNOM = DAT hand.IPfv\newline
‘Hand me one spoon.’

(2.279) \textit{i tol mu=ri jur}\newline
one Cl. 1SG.NNOM = DAT hand.IPfv\newline
‘Hand me one.’

(2.280) \textit{iw mu=ri jur}\newline
one 1SG.NNOM = DAT hand.IPfv\newline
‘Hand me one.’
2.3.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers reveal the amount or quantity of the head noun. They occur in the same slot as numerals (with or without classifiers), preceding the head noun and any adjectives or modifier nouns. The following table presents some commonly used quantifiers. All of these quantifiers occur with a head noun that is either marked as plural or left unmarked, with the exception of *har*, which only occurs with a singular head noun.

Table 2.8 Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dʑam</th>
<th>bax der</th>
<th>iʨand</th>
<th>&quot;all&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;most&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;several&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pɯtɯn</td>
<td>pur</td>
<td>tsund</td>
<td>&quot;all&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;much; many&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;some; a few&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet</td>
<td>lej</td>
<td>iw kond</td>
<td>&quot;all; completely&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;much; many&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;few; little&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har</td>
<td>itang/ tanɡ</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>&quot;every&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;some&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;few; little&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantifiers *dʑam*, *pɯtɯn*, and *pet* indicate wholeness or entirety:

(2.281)  
dʑam χalɡ laka maɕ putxu stɔwd  
all person let.IPFV 1PL.NNOM king praise.3SG.IPFV  
‘Let all the people praise our king.’

(2.282)  
pɯtɯn xtɯr-ɛf tar kol waxin ʔɛxt  
all camel-PL.NNOM LOC head blood sprinkle.3SG.IPFV  
roft  
spread.3SG.IPFV  
‘He sprinkles and spreads blood on all of the camels’ heads.’

(2.283)  
ki=wi bijur-i χu  
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST evening-NMLZ REFL.NNOM  
tɕed-nendʑ-ʃeʃl pet wixt so=in  
house-ADJ-PL.NNOM all gather.IPFV become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
i  tɕi  dʑuŋ  niθ=in  
one LOC place sit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
‘That evening, their families all gather together and hang out in one place.’

The quantifier *har* is used to refer to every single item within the set defined by the head noun:
The quantifiers *bax der, pur*, and *lej* indicate majority or large amount:

(2.285)  
\[
\text{bax } \text{der } \text{joč } \text{batšo-χejl } a = wi \quad \text{ gap}
\]
\[
\text{much CPRV young child-PL.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST word}
\]
\[
\text{na } \text{wazon } = \text{in}
\]
\[
\text{NEG know.IPfv } = \text{3PL.IPfv}
\]

‘Most young people do not know that word.’

(2.286)  
\[
\text{wɔd } = \text{af } \quad \text{mač } = \text{ir } \quad \text{pur } \quad \text{samwut}
\]
\[
\text{3PL.NOM.DIST } = \text{3PL.PFv} \quad \text{1PL.NNOM } = \text{DAT much gift}
\]
\[
\text{vɔwŋ}
\]
\[
\text{bring.PFv}
\]

‘They brought us many gifts.’

(2.287)  
\[
\text{tuc } \text{pur } \text{oado } \text{batšo } \text{qati } \text{balad } \text{mo } \text{so}
\]
\[
\text{very much boy child COM acquainted PROH become.IPfv}
\]

‘Do not get acquainted with too many boys.’

(2.288)  
\[
\text{ar } \text{dzangal } \text{lej } \text{xtur } \text{waruvdz}
\]
\[
\text{LOC forest much camel stand.PRF}
\]

‘There were many camels standing in the forest. (Evidential/New information)’

The quantifiers *itang/tang, itʃand*, and *tsund* indicate partial amount. *itang/tang* is an indefinite determiner that refers to some members of a class to which the head noun belongs. As introduced in §7.3.4, *tsund* is an interrogative pronoun, but may also be used as a quantifier, as in (2.292) & (2.293).
Finally, the quantifiers *iw kond* and *kam* indicates little amount.

A quantifier may also occur without a head noun. In such cases, the phrase containing the quantifier functions as a headless NP within the sentence.
Nouns

2.3.1.4 Adjectives

Sarikoli has a large, open class of adjectives which includes hundreds of members. New members are regularly added, both through deriving adjectives from other word classes and through borrowing words from other languages, most frequently from Uyghur.

In Sarikoli, adjectives may: 1) function as a modifier within an NP, which helps to specify the referent of the head noun; 2) act as a copula complement, which states that the copula subject has a certain property; 3) serve as the parameter of comparison in a comparative construction; and 4) sometimes function as an adverb, which helps to specify the reference of the verb.

Adjectives do not have number, case, definiteness, or gender distinctions, as the prior three are marked directly on the head noun and the latter does not exist in Sarikoli. When used adnominally, adjectives occur two slots away from the head noun, only preceding the optional modifier noun.

Adjectives describe various qualities. Below is a list of some common adjectives, organized into “semantic types” recognized by Dixon (2010b:73). Adjectives are a large class that spans all of the semantic types, and includes several derived forms as well, as shown by some words with the adjectivizers -in, -mand, -dzin, and -nendz. Derived adjectives and adjectivized phrases are described in §2.3.1.5 and §2.3.1.6, respectively.


8. Difficulty: *usun* ‘easy; comfortable’, *qilo* ‘difficult; uncomfortable’

9. Similarity: *digar* ‘other’, *tarabex* ‘opposite’, *tuqo* ‘separate’

10. Qualification: *nurmol* ‘normal’, *dɯrɯst* ‘whole; correct’, *tajin* ‘certain; sure’

11. Position: *nizd* ‘near’, *ðar* ‘far’, *tɕop* ‘left’, *χejz* ‘right’

12. Numbers: *awal-nɛndʑ* ‘first’, *uxir-nɛndʑ* ‘last’

Adjectives are a distinct class from verbs and nouns, as they have distinct grammatical properties. Unlike verbs, an adjective cannot function as a predicate, but only as a complement within a copula or verbless clause. Adjectives do not come in five different stems (as verbs do), and do not require any pronominal agreement clitics or aspect marking. They cannot be used in imperative mood or be used to derive causatives, in the same way that a verb can. An adjective is always able to directly modify a head noun within the NP by simply preceding it, but a verb must be embedded in a relative clause in order to modify a noun.

Adjectives share more grammatical similarities with nouns than verbs. Both adjectives and nouns can occur alone as a copula complement, without any additional elements like determiners. As copula complements, adjectives and nouns are both negated with *nist*, rather than with *na*, which is used to negate verbs. Both adjectives and nouns are frequently used as the nominal element of compound verbs, and both are verbalized using *tɕejɡ* ‘do’ or *sɛt* ‘become’. In some cases, there is a very fine line separating adjectives and nouns, as some adjectives and nouns share an identical form, such as *boj* ‘rich (adj); rich person (n)’, *kambabaal* ‘poor (adj); poor person (n)’, and *istuð* ‘skillful (adj); craftsman (n)’. The sentences in (2.301) & (2.302), respectively, illustrate that *boj* and *istuð* may be used either as a noun or as an adjective. In (2.301c), the copula is omitted because it is in the imperfective aspect (see §8.4 for more information on copula clauses).

(2.301) a. *wi tɕed-nɛndʑ-χejl = aʃ boj der*
   3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV rich CPRV
   *vɛðdz*
   be.PRF
   ‘His family is richer. (Evidential/New information)’
b. \texttt{vɛdʑ na vɛdʑ i boj vɛdʑ} \\
be.PRF NEG be.PRF one rich.person be.PRF \\
‘Once upon a time, there was a rich person. (Evidential/New information)’

c. \texttt{jɯ boj} \\
3SG.NOM.DIST rich \\
‘He is a rich person.’ OR ‘He is rich.’

(2.302) a. \texttt{vɪts χonim kulto pa imi ðod = ir utc istuð} \\
aunt Honim Keelto LOC RECP give.INF = DAT very skillful \\
‘Aunt Honim is very skilled at putting together Keeltos (female cap).’

b. \texttt{jad na tei tejg = ir vɛdʑ, maɕ} \\
3SG.NOM.PROX NEG CAP do.INF = DAT be.PRF 1PL.NOM \\
\texttt{kinu pa imi ðod = ituz a = istuð qiw} \\
movie LOC RECP give.INF = REL ACC = craftsman call \\
\texttt{kan = an} \\
do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV \\
‘This person cannot do it, apparently; let us call a professional in film production.’

Either a noun or an adjective may be the sole lexeme within an NP, although it is much less common for adjectives than nouns. Adnominal adjectives may occur without the head noun, as illustrated by examples (2.303), (2.305), and (2.307) below. If the head noun is omitted and the adjective stands alone, it is preferred to attach the derivational suffix \texttt{-əw}, which converts it into a noun (as introduced in §2.1.4). The resulting noun expresses the meaning ‘one that is X (where ‘X’ is the adjective that takes the \texttt{-əw}).’

(2.303) \texttt{a = dzul mu = ri} \\
ACC = small 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV \\
‘Give me the small (one).’

(2.304) \texttt{a = dzul-əw mu = ri} \\
ACC = small-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV \\
‘Give me the small one.’ (preferred)
Despite sharing various similarities with nouns, adjectives also show grammatical properties that are different from those of nouns. Adjectives generally do not take plural suffixes and clausal or phrasal function markers in the same way that a noun does. Adjectives may be directly modified by degree adverbs such as ɯtɕ ‘very; too’ or kam ‘a little’, but nouns cannot. Adjectives cannot be the possessor or the possessed item within a possessive construction, but nouns can.

Adjectives are distinct from both verbs and nouns in that they can form comparative constructions and can take the comparative particle der. Also, adjectives do not take any of the inflectional affixes available to nouns and verbs.

Some adjectives may function as adverbs, modifying the verb, either in plain form or in a derived form with the suffix -i. In (2.309) - (2.316) the same word functions both as an adjective and an adverb in its plain form.

(2.309)  
\[
\text{dzul-ik} \quad \text{batɕo} \\
\text{small-DIM} \quad \text{child}
\]
‘small child’

(2.310)  
\[
\text{dzul-ik} \quad \text{χor} \\
\text{small-DIM} \quad \text{eat.IPFV}
\]
‘Eat a little.’

---

\(^2\)Yuan is the primary unit of the official currency of China.
In (2.317) - (2.319), the adjectives have been derived into adverbs with the addition of suffix -i.

(2.311) \( \text{χɯɕrɯj gɯl} \)

beautiful flower

‘beautiful flower’

(2.312) \( \text{χɯɕrɯj gap ka} \)

beautiful word do.IPV

‘Speak properly.’

(2.313) \( \text{dzıl̄d mɔcɪn} \)

fast car

‘fast car’

(2.314) \( \text{dzıl̄d na tɛdz=an tsa dejr sawd} \)

fast NEG go.IPV = 1PL.IPV COND late become.3SG.IPV

‘We will be late if we do not go fast.’

(2.315) \( \text{asto bejt} \)

slow song

‘slow song’

(2.316) \( \text{jad aftovuʃ tsabalu asto tid=ir veddz} \)

3SG.NOM.PROX bus how slow go.INF = DAT be.PRF

‘How slow this bus is going! (Evidential/New information)’

In (2.317) - (2.319), the adjectives have been derived into adverbs with the addition of suffix -i.

(2.317) \( \text{juu əwrat χu hajut vid its} \)

3SG.NOM.DIST woman REFL.NNOM life be.INF TERM

χu tɕur=ir zit-i naj, tɕardʑ-i

REFL.NNOM husband = DAT bad-ADV NEG good-ADV

kaxt
do.3SG.IPV

‘That woman, as long as she has life, does good, not bad, to her husband.’
(2.318) \(waz = am\) \(fand-in-i\) \(a = \chiɯ\) \(kasal\)
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV false-ADJ-ADV ACC = REFL.NNOM sickness

\(weðd, ar \chiuzmat = am\) \(na\) \(tuJD\)
put.PFV LOC work = 1SG.PFV NEG go.PFV
‘I falsely put myself to sickness (i.e. pretended to be sick) and did not go to work.’

(2.319) \(bɛadab-i\) \(mo\) \(ka\)
impolite-ADV PROH do.IPV
‘Do not be impolite!’

### 2.3.1.5 Derived adjectives

Just as nouns derived from adjectives are very common (see §2.1.4), adjectives derived from nouns are also common. The adjectivizer –in is a highly productive suffix that attaches to nouns to form adjectives. It can be attached to almost any common noun and expresses the meaning ‘with’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-in</th>
<th>‘with meat’</th>
<th>oily; greasy</th>
<th>polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guuxt-in</td>
<td>rown-in</td>
<td>adab-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xats-in</td>
<td>‘watery; soupy’</td>
<td>‘happy’</td>
<td>‘multi-storied’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zer-in</td>
<td>baxt-in</td>
<td>qawat-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namoðdzin</td>
<td>mazo-in</td>
<td>xung-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɯl-in</td>
<td>‘flowery’</td>
<td>qete-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xɯnɡ-in</td>
<td>‘wooden’</td>
<td>kuuto-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namoðdʑ-in</td>
<td>‘salty’</td>
<td>aql-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɯtɕ-in</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>kuts-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qɛtɕ-in</td>
<td>‘pregnant’</td>
<td>kuts-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɯlto-in</td>
<td>‘women (with cap)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The opposite meaning is expressed by the adjectivizer prefix \(bɛ–\). It also attaches to nouns to form adjectives, and expresses the meaning ‘without’. Some examples of adjectives derived with \(bɛ–\) are presented in table 9.1.

Also used for deriving adjectives from nouns, but less productive, is the suffix –mand. It only attaches to a limited number of nouns to form adjectives that express propensity or tendency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-mand</th>
<th>‘sickly’</th>
<th>knowledgeable’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kasal-mand</td>
<td>donis-mand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣadzal-mand</td>
<td>‘shy’</td>
<td>zudiat-mand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulej-mand</td>
<td>‘lucky’</td>
<td>dard-mand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.9 Adjectives derived with \(-in\)
Table 2.10 Adjectives derived with \(-mand\)
Another suffix used for deriving adjectives is -dʑin, which is also not very productive.

Table 2.11 Adjectives derived with -dʑin

| xudʑa-dʑin  | ‘scary’  | uvla-dʑin | ‘sad’ |
| aziz-dʑin   | ‘beloved’ | walta-dʑin | ‘lonely’ |

2.3.1.6 Adjectivized phrases

Another type of adjectivizer is -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ, which attaches to a wider range of lexical categories to mark them as adnominal modifiers. It may attach to nouns (mostly locations), time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases, and is usually used to specify time or place. =ɛndʑ is also the marker of the perfective relative clause (introduced in §10.2.1.1). Unlike -in and be-, which form regular adjectives, these adjectivizers form adjectivized phrases. Adjectivized phrases are placed farther away from the head noun, preceding regular adjectives.

Table 2.12 Some nouns that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

| izo-ɛndʑ  | ‘village (adj)’ | maktab-ɛndʑ  | ‘school (adj)’ |
| qir-nɛndʑ  | ‘mountain (adj)’ | tɕed-nɛndʑ-χejl | ‘family’ (lit. house (adj)-pl) |
| urumtɕi-ɛndʑ | ‘Urumqi (adj)’ | daraχt-ɛndʑ  | ‘tree (adj)’ |

Table 2.13 Some time words that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

| sɪcɛ-ɛndʑ | ‘now (adj)’ | nuɾ-ɛndʑ  | ‘today (adj)’ |
| ɣɛb-ɛndʑ | ‘yesterday (adj)’ | parus-ɛndʑ | ‘last year (adj)’ |
| zɛjn-ɛndʑ | ‘winter (adj)’ | awal-nɛndʑ | ‘first (adj)’ |
| az kol-ɛndʑ | ‘beginning (adj)’ | sabu-nɛndʑ | ‘later (adj)’ |
Table 2.14 Some spatial references that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prud-ɛndʑ</th>
<th>‘front (adj)’</th>
<th>umik-ɛndʑ</th>
<th>‘there (adj)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zabu-ɛndʑ</td>
<td>‘back (adj)’</td>
<td>jwd-ɛndzd</td>
<td>‘here (adj)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-ɛndzd</td>
<td>‘low (adj)’</td>
<td>kum-ɛndzd</td>
<td>‘there (adj, cataphoric)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕi  ter-ɛndzd</td>
<td>‘above (adj)’</td>
<td>pa  bun-ɛndzd</td>
<td>‘next to (adj)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below illustrate how adjectivized phrases function as modifiers of the head noun.

(2.320) xipik tɕi  ter-ɛndzd  ɡɯxt  
flatbread  LOC  top-ADJ  meat  
‘meat on top of flatbread’

(2.321) qɛtɕ ar  darun-ɛndzd  batɕo  
belly  LOC  inside-ADJ  child  
‘the child inside the belly’

(2.322) tsej  buzur  pa  wov-ɛndzd  dikun  
vegetable  bazaar  LOC  mouth-ADJ  store  
‘the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar’

(2.323) ojmira  pa  bun-ɛndzd  sots  
Oimira  LOC  base-ADJ  girl  
‘the girl near Oimira’

(2.324) mu  sardor  pa  dúst-ɛndzd  tɕer  
1SG.NNOM  leader  LOC  hand-ADJ  matter  
‘a matter that is in my leader’s hands’

2.3.1.7 Nouns modifying a noun

A noun may also be modified by another noun. Among NP-internal modifiers, the modifier noun occurs closest to the head noun, immediately preceding it. The modifier noun often refers to the material, purpose, or type of the head noun. Since they are two phonologically separate words, both the modifying noun and the head noun retain their primary word stress.
Some words are a single phonological word with one primary word stress, but are comprised of two separate lexical nouns. These are compound nouns that serve as the single head of the NP, rather than a head noun modified by another noun. Both compound nouns and nouns modified by another noun are pluralized in the same way as other nouns, with the plural marker -χejl or -ɛf, given that they are count nouns.

Table 2.16 Compound nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qalamˈdun</td>
<td>pen + box</td>
<td>‘pencil case’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mejmunˈcu’no</td>
<td>guest + room</td>
<td>‘living room’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktubyu’no</td>
<td>book + room</td>
<td>‘library’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duɾχturyu’no</td>
<td>doctor + room</td>
<td>‘hospital’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣerna’list</td>
<td>sun + sitting</td>
<td>‘west’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampirˈzul</td>
<td>old lady + sleeve</td>
<td>‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todʑiko’bod</td>
<td>Tajik + town</td>
<td>‘Tojikobod’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsemujˈnak</td>
<td>eye + glasses</td>
<td>‘eye glasses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xantis’a mug</td>
<td>groom + basket</td>
<td>‘groomsman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceʃˈtu n’i gast</td>
<td>Satan + finger</td>
<td>‘ring finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceʃtunara’bo</td>
<td>Satan + vehicle</td>
<td>‘bicycle; peddle cart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spidˈbun</td>
<td>white + beard</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Coordination of NPs

The coordinating conjunction at is most often used for conjoining two NPs. A pair of conjoined NPs may be in various functions, as illustrated by the examples below. When a clitic or adposition is used for marking the function of conjoined NPs, it is generally unnecessary and less preferred to use
it twice to mark both NPs, although it is still grammatical to use them multiple times. However, conjoined NPs of certain grammatical functions must each be marked with a function marker, such as NPs comprised of personal or demonstrative pronouns, as in (2.327), and substantival genitive NPs, as in (2.332).

(2.325) \[\text{waz at m\=u j\=a\=x a\=r\=d\=o na}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1\text{SG.NOM} & \text{CONJ} & 1\text{SG.NNOM} & \text{sister} & \text{similar} & \text{NEG}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\delta \text{ej = an}
\]
\[
\text{fall.IPV = 1PL.IPV}
\]

‘My sister and I do not look alike.’ (nominative)

(2.326) \[a = belat at rasim = at \gamma \omega g = o\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ACC = ticket} & \text{CONJ} & \text{picture = 2SG.PFV} & \text{bring.PFV = Q}
\end{array}
\]

‘Did you bring the ticket and the photo?’ (accusative)

(2.327) \[\text{waz = am m = a = di at}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1\text{SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV} & \text{CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{CONJ}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\text{m = a = di \gamma \omega g}
\]
\[
\text{CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{bring.PFV}
\]

‘I brought this and this.’ (accusative)

(2.328) \[a = di sojra at baxtig\=ul = ir \delta o\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{Soyra} & \text{CONJ} & \text{Bahtigeel = DAT give.IPV}
\end{array}
\]

‘Give this to Soyra and Bahtigeel.’ (dative)

(2.329) \[\text{pa wacta at baldir jost}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{LOC = Wacha} & \text{CONJ} & \text{Baldir be.IPV}
\end{array}
\]

‘There are in Wacha and Baldir.’ (locative)

(2.330) \[\text{cer harabo at d\=u\=st harabo qat = af jud}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{donkey vehicle} & \text{CONJ} & \text{hand vehicle COM = 3PL.PFV} & \text{take.PFV}
\end{array}
\]

‘They took it with a donkey cart and a hand cart.’ (instrumental)

(2.331) \[\chi a\=l g az aq\=likul at naf\=sikul pejdu\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{person ABL big.wisdom} & \text{CONJ big.spirit appear}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\text{se\=ddz = endz}
\]
\[
\text{become.PRF = REL}
\]

‘Humans came into being from Wisdom and Spirit.’ (ablative)
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(2.332) \[ \text{mu-an at ta-an i tƣi suomat} \]
\[ 1SG.NNOM-GEN CONJ 2SG.NNOM-GEN one LOC appearance \]
\[ veddz \]
\[ be.PRF \]

‘Mine and yours are identical. (Evidential/New information)’ (substantival genitive)

When more than two NPs are conjoined to form a list, the conjunction \textit{at} is not strictly necessary, and may be completely omitted or used only once. It may also be used between all the NPs, although this is less preferred. If \textit{at} is used once, its preferred location is between the last two NPs, but it may occur between any other two contiguous NPs that are part of the list. The function-marking clitics and adpositions are generally used for each NP in the list, as in (2.334), (2.335), and (2.336), but may be used only once to mark all of the conjoined NPs, as in (2.335) & (2.336). Some of the examples below do not contain function markers because (2.333) contains nominative NPs which are unmarked, (2.337) omits the locative prepositions, and (2.338) contains indefinite accusative NPs. In (2.334), the locative function marker \textit{ar} is used in the allative sense, indicating movement toward the destination.

(2.333) \[ \text{dowron soqzon sobir at racid puis qati=af} \]
\[ \text{Deauron Soqjon Sobir CONJ Rashid train COM=3PL.PFV} \]
\[ tujd \]
\[ go.PFV \]

‘Deauron, Soqjon, Sobir, and Rashid went by train.’

(2.334) \[ \text{mubir-æejl=af ar zer qala ar guz} \]
\[ \text{journalist-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV LOC stone castle LOC grassland} \]
\[ pa kowg at ar tej=af sut \]
\[ \text{LOC hot.spring CONJ LOC wedding=3PL.PFV become.PFV} \]

‘The journalists have gone to the Stone Fortress, the grasslands, the hot springs, and a wedding.’

(2.335) \[ \text{swdugur-æejl az pokiston az tudziston az} \]
\[ \text{merchant-PL.NOM ABL Pakistan ABL Tajikistan ABL} \]
\[ avrunistan at az iron iðtæ =ɛndz} \]
\[ \text{Afghanistan CONJ ABL Iran come.PRF =REL} \]

‘The merchants are those who came from Pakistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.’
(2.336) *nuwonds* *χu*  *χɛx=ir*  *χu*
bridereflnommother.in.law=DATreflnom

*χajun-ef=ir*
*at*
*digar*  *χɛx*
sister.in.law-PL.NNOM=DATCONJotherrelative

*əwrat-ef=ir*
*cejdoi*
*at*
*kulto*  *intsivd*
woman-PL.NNOM=DATSheydoiconjKeeltosew.3SG.IPVF

‘The bride sews Sheydois (female cap) and Keelto (female cap) for her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and other female relatives.’

(2.337) *jad*  *xtuur*  *tasarmi*  *baldir*  *watça*  *at*
3SG.NOM.PROXcamelTagharmiBaldirWachaCONJ

*ðavðor*
*tujdz=ɛndz*
Thavthorgo.PRF=REL

‘This camel has been to Tagharmi, Baldir, Wacha, and Thavthor.’

(2.338) *was=am*  *i*  *ujnak*  *i*  *waxerdz*  *at*  *i*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PVFoneglassonecombCONJone

*bundz*  *χu*  *qati*  *zuxt*
graphite.eyebrow.pencilreflnomcomget.PVF

‘I took a mirror, a comb, and a Bunj (graphite eyebrow pencil) with me.’
This chapter describes two types of deictic shifters: pronouns, whose reference shifts when the roles of speech act participants change, and demonstratives, whose reference shifts when spatial locations change (Dixon 2010a:114). Both free pronouns and nominal demonstratives may occur in all clausal functions.

Personal pronouns (§3.1), which come in first and second persons, refer to participants in a speech act. Bound pronouns (§3.2) in the form of enclitics indicate the subject argument of the clause.

Demonstratives have deictic reference to non-speech act participants, including persons or objects in the vicinity of the speech act or those that are out of sight. They serve a deictic function, distinguishing their referents according to their relative distance from the speaker, as well as an anaphoric or cataphoric function, substituting for a full NP in order to avoid repetition of it. Nominal demonstratives (§3.3) occur in an NP; they may make up a complete NP as an unmodified head of the NP, or serve as a determiner to a common noun functioning as the NP head. Their referents may be animate or inanimate, human or non-human. Anaphora and cataphora are also indicated by special demonstrative clitics (§3.4). Local demonstratives (§3.5) have deictic reference to a place; they function as locational adverbs to a clause. Manner demonstratives (§3.6) have deictic reference to a certain manner of performing an action, and function as manner adverbs to a clause.

Finally, reflexive pronouns (§3.7) and reciprocal pronouns (§3.8) are used when the participants of an activity are not all distinct from one another.

### 3.1 Personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are a small closed class of grammatical words which show person, number, and case distinctions. They can be head of an NP with any clausal function. They operate on a 1/2 person system and a singular/plural number system. Table 3.1 below shows the forms of Sarikoli
pronouns. Case is neutralized in the first and second person plural forms, as they are maɕ and tamaɕ, respectively, for both nominative and non-nominative forms.

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.NOM</td>
<td>waz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.NNOM</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NOM</td>
<td>təw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NNOM</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sarikoli also has a system of bound pronouns (see §3.2) in the form of clitics which agree with the person and number of the subject, and also marks aspect in combination with verb stems; the overt forms of these bound pronouns are obligatory in all finite clause types except the vid copula clause in the imperfective aspect. Because these bound pronouns occur in almost every finite clause and provide information about the subject, free pronouns are used more sparingly; they are generally employed for showing contrast or emphasis, or as the O or copula complement argument, which are not represented by bound pronouns.

As with other nouns, if pronouns occur in the nominative case, they take the subject-verb agreement clitics, as in (3.1) - (3.4). Pronouns in the accusative function always take the accusative marker a = , since pronouns are always definite, as in (3.1) & (3.2).

(3.1)  
\[ \text{waz} \quad a = ta \quad \text{tɕardʑ} \quad \text{wejn} = \text{am} \]  
1SG.NOM  ACC = 2SG.NNOM  good  see.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv  
‘I love you.’

(3.2)  
\[ \text{tamaɕ} = \text{af} \quad a = \text{mu} \quad \text{qiw} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tɕəw}_g \]  
2PL.NOM = 2PL.IPfv  ACC = 1SG.NNOM  call  NEG  do.IPfv  
‘You(pl) did not invite me.’

(3.3)  
\[ \text{təw} = \text{at} \quad \text{dʒafu} \quad \text{wand}, \quad \text{ɕitɕ} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{bor} \]  
2SG.NOM = 2SG.IPfv  toil  see.IPfv  now  3SG.NNOM.DIST  fruit  
\[ \text{wejn} \quad \text{see.IPfv} \]  
‘You have seen toil; now see its fruit.’
Although free personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives function as the head of NPs, they have more restricted possibilities for syntactic modification than common nouns. The ungrammatical examples (3.5) - (3.9) demonstrate that pronouns and demonstratives cannot take any of the modifiers that a common noun in NP head function can, which were introduced in §2.3.1. The only exception is adjectivized phrases, which may sometimes directly modify pronouns, as in (3.10).

(3.4)  
\[ \text{pɯɡan} \quad \text{jəwl} = \text{ik} \quad \text{dud,} \quad \text{maɕ} \quad \text{tar} \quad \text{pond} \]  
\[ \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{dawn} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{fall.PFV} \quad 1\text{PL.NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{road} \]  
\[ \text{naxtɛdz} = \text{an} \]  
\[ \text{go.up.PFV} = 1\text{PL.PFV} \]  
‘When the dawn breaks tomorrow, we will go out on the road (i.e. start our journey).’

(3.5)  
\[ \text{*pindz} \quad \text{(nafar)} \quad \text{maɕ} = \text{an} \quad \text{jot} \]  
\[ \text{five} \quad \text{CL} \quad 1\text{PL.NOM} = 1\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{come.PFV} \]  
‘Five we came.’ (numeral/classifier)

(3.6)  
\[ \text{*pur} \quad \text{tamaɕ} = \text{af} \quad \text{teed} \quad \text{zuxtɕ} \]  
\[ \text{many} \quad 2\text{PL.NOM} = 2\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{buy.PRF} \]  
‘Many you have bought houses. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.7)  
\[ \text{*χɯɕrɯj} \quad \text{ju} \quad \text{nur} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{usuł} \quad \text{kact} \]  
\[ \text{beautiful} \quad 3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{today} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{dance} \quad \text{do.3SG.IPV} \]  
‘Beautiful she will dance today also.’ (adjective)

(3.8)  
\[ \text{*qatɛʁin} \quad \text{tɕoj} \quad \text{bruxtɕ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{woð} = \text{af} \quad \text{kutɕin} \]  
\[ \text{topping} \quad \text{tea} \quad \text{drink.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad 3\text{PL.NOM} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{strong} \]  
\[ \text{sut} \]  
\[ \text{become.PFV} \]  
‘They who drank the milk tea became strong.’ (relative clause)

(3.9)  
\[ \text{*baɕo} \quad \text{woð} \quad \text{hara} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{skit} \quad \text{ka} = \text{in} \]  
\[ \text{child} \quad 3\text{PL.NOM} \quad \text{every day} \quad \text{play} \quad \text{do.IPV} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \]  
‘Children they play every day.’ (modifier noun)
Pronouns may be elaborated in order to provide additional information on their referents. This elaboration occurs in the same NP as the pronoun, by apposing the pronoun with an NP. The elaborating NP is just a noun in (3.11), a numeral (with or without a classifier) in (3.12), an NP with a relative clause in (3.13), and an NP with a headless relative clause in (3.14).

(3.11)  
\[ \text{maɕ} \quad \text{əwrat-χejl} \quad \text{diɡar} \quad \text{dzu} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tɛdz=an} \]  
\[ 1\text{PL.NOM woman-PL.NOM other place NEG go.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv} \]  
‘We women do not go anywhere else.’

(3.12)  
\[ \text{maɕ} \quad \text{haroj (nafar)} \quad \text{puiz} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{tɛdz=an} \]  
\[ 1\text{PL.NOM three CL train COM go.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv} \]  
‘We three will go by train.’

(3.13)  
\[ \text{nɯr} \quad \text{maɕ} \quad \text{tej} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tɛwɔydz=ɛndz} \]  
\[ \text{today 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF = REL} \]  
\[ \quad \quad \quad \text{batɕo-χejl=an} \quad \text{tup} \quad \text{tamoq} \quad \text{χɯɡ} \]  
\[ \text{child-PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV group food eat.PFV} \]  
‘Today we unmarried kids ate a meal together.’

(3.14)  
\[ \text{woð} \quad \text{qatesin} \quad \text{ʨo} \quad \text{bruxtɕ = endz-χejl = af} \]  
\[ 3\text{PL.NOM.DIST topping tea drink.PRF = REL-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV} \]  
\[ \quad \quad \quad \text{kɯtɕin} \quad \text{sut} \]  
\[ \text{strong become.PFV} \]  
‘They who drank the milk tea became strong.’

3.1.1 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

The non-nominative personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives, when not marked with any function markers, function as the possessor within an NP. The non-nominative personal pronouns are used for first and second persons, and nominal demonstratives are used for third person. They function
as determiners and precede their head noun, marking distinctions for person, number, and deixis. They are presented in Table 3.2 below.

### Table 3.2 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.NOM</td>
<td><em>mu</em></td>
<td><em>mač</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NNOM</td>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td><em>tamač</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td><em>di</em></td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with free personal pronouns, first- and second-person non-nominative pronouns in determiner function have only human referents.

(3.15)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{waz} \quad \text{dzul} \quad \text{vid} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{mom}=\text{ik} \\
  & 1\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{be.INF} \quad \text{TEMP} \quad 1\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{grandmother}=\text{DUR} \\
  & \quad a=\text{mu} \quad i\text{čil} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{dom} \quad t\text{ɔwŋ}, \quad \text{ar} \\
  & \quad \text{ACC}=1\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{often} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{back} \quad \text{do.PFV} \quad \text{LOC} \\
  & \quad \text{bordza}=\text{ik} \quad \text{jud} \\
  & \quad \text{garden}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{take.PFV} \\
  & \text{‘When I was little, my grandmother often used to put me on her back and take me to the garden.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(3.16)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{di} \quad \text{buland} \quad \text{awudz} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{mač} \quad \text{ʁəwl} \quad \text{t}\text{ɕun} \\
  & 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{high} \quad \text{sound} \quad \text{COM} \quad 1\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{ear} \quad \text{deaf} \\
  & \quad \text{sut} \\
  & \quad \text{become.PFV} \\
  & \text{‘Our ears have gone deaf with its loud noise.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(3.17)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{ta} \quad \text{gap}=\text{am} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{zord} \quad \text{kandakuri} \\
  & 2\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{word}=1\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{heart} \quad \text{engrave} \\
  & \quad t\text{ɔwŋ} \\
  & \quad \text{do.PFV} \\
  & \text{‘I engraved your words on my heart.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(3.18) \[ \text{waχt naxtzd tsa tamaɕ χeqz} \]
\[ \text{time go.up.3SG.IPV COND 2PL.NNOM side} \]
\[ so = am \]
\[ \text{become.IPV} = 1SG.IPV \]
\[ \text{‘If I have time, I will come over to your(pl) place.’} \]

When nominal demonstratives are used to indicate a third person possessor, they are marked for proximal or distal deixis and may be used as references to human as well as to non-human nouns. In the following examples, the possessive pronouns in (3.22) - (3.24) are ambiguous, as they may either refer to human beings or to objects.

(3.19) \[ \text{waz = am wi χtu zord ub} \]
\[ 1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPV 3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart melted} \]
\[ tɕawg \]
\[ \text{do.IPV} \]
\[ \text{‘I melted his cold heart.’} \]

(3.20) \[ \text{wef iw-ik batɕo kasal sut} \]
\[ 3PL.NNOM.DIST one-DIM child sick become.IPV \]
\[ \text{‘Their only child has gotten sick.’} \]

(3.21) \[ \text{cie def ato ano-ef = ir} \]
\[ \text{now 3PL.NNOM.PROX father mother-PL.NNOM = DAT} \]
\[ lev = am \]
\[ \text{say.IPV} = 1SG.IPV \]
\[ \text{‘Now I will tell these ones’ parents.’} \]

(3.22) \[ \text{di χuɕbuj-i putun a=tɕe}d zuxt} \]
\[ 3SG.NNOM.PROX fragrant-NMLZ all ACC=house get.IPV \]
\[ \text{‘This one’s fragrance filled the whole house.’} \]

(3.23) \[ \text{wef daru-z-i naviɕ = am} \]
\[ 3PL.NNOM.DIST long-NMLZ write.IPV = 1SG.IPV \]
\[ \text{‘I will write down their length.’} \]
Pronouns and demonstratives

(3.24) \( \text{di} \quad \text{name} = \text{at} \quad \chiɯ \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{juð} \)
\[3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad \text{name} = 2SG.PFV \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{memory}\]
\(\text{zuxt} = o\)
\(\text{get.PFV} = Q\)
‘Have you committed this one’s name into memory?’

3.2 Bound pronouns

Sarikoli has bound pronouns in the form of clitics, as shown in table 3.3. The overt forms are obligatory in all finite clause types, including non-verbal sentences, with the exception of the \( \text{vid} \) copula clause in imperfective aspect (§8.4). In each clause, there is a single bound pronoun relating to the argument in subject function. Bound pronouns operate on a nominative/non-nominative system, showing agreement with the nominative (S, A, or copula subject) argument, which correlates with the nominative/non-nominative system of case marking on free pronouns and nouns. There are no bound pronouns indicating non-nominative or copula complement arguments.

The bound pronouns operate on a 1/2/3 person and singular/plural number system. There are two paradigms for bound pronouns; one for clauses in the imperfective aspect and the other for clauses in the perfective aspect. Aspect is not only shown by the form of these clitics, but in combination with the placement of the clitics and the type of verb stem. The imperfective aspect is formed with the imperfective verb stem plus the imperfective agreement clitics attached to the verb. The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective verb stem plus the perfective agreement clitics attached to another constituent in the clause which precedes the verb, except when the verb is the sole constituent in the clause, as in (3.25) - (3.28) and in the second clause in (3.29). The perfective agreement clitics must attach to the end of a phrase, most commonly the first phrase in a clause or the phrase that immediately precedes the verb, but it may attach to the end of any other phrase in the entire clause. The imperfective and perfective aspects each have a zero-marked clitic: in the imperfective aspect, a second person singular subject simply occurs with the imperfective verb stem with no agreement clitic, and in the perfective aspect, a third person singular subject occurs with the perfective verb stem with no agreement clitic. A third person singular subject in an imperfective clause occurs with what is more conveniently analyzed as a special verb stem to which the agreement clitic is fused, as it always has a final -t or -d. Cross-linguistically, person distinctions are often found to be neutralized in non-singular numbers (Dixon 2012:90); the person distinction is neutralized
in the second and third person plural forms in perfective aspect, as they are both \(=af\).

### Table 3.3 Subject-verb agreement pronominal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.IPVF</th>
<th>PL.IPVF</th>
<th>SG.PFV</th>
<th>PL.PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(am)</td>
<td>(am)</td>
<td>(an)</td>
<td>(an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>(it)</td>
<td>(at)</td>
<td>(af)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(special stem: (-t/-d))</td>
<td>(in)</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>(af)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An utterance may consist of just the predicate and bound pronominal clitic. In the imperfective aspect, the imperfective clitic attaches to the verb, its regular host:

(3.25) \(\text{naviɕ} = am\)

\(\text{write.IPVF} = 1\text{SG.IPVF}\)

‘I will write.’

(3.26) \(tɕos = it\)

\(\text{watch.IPVF} = 2\text{PL.IPVF}\)

‘Watch(pl).’

If a perfective or perfect sentence consists of a single predicate, the perfective clitic attaches to the verb, as there is no preverbal element:

(3.27) \(\chiɯɡ = am\)

\(\text{eat.PFV} = 1\text{SG.PFV}\)

‘I ate.’

(3.28) \(iθtɕ = af\)

\(\text{come.PRF} = 3\text{PL.PFV}\)

‘They came. (Evidential/New information)’

When two clauses with the same subject are coordinated, the subject NP in the second clause is often omitted; however, a bound pronoun is never omitted, as shown in (3.29) & (3.30). The argument in subject function is always shown by bound pronouns, whether or not it is also shown by another NP.
Pronouns and demonstratives

(3.29) \(waz = am\) \(\text{a = wi}\) \(\text{wand} \chi \text{u}\)

1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM see.PFV TEMP.CONJ

\(\text{levd} = am\)

say.PFV = 1SG.PFV

‘I saw him and told him.’

(3.30) \(\text{awal tamoq} \chi \text{o} = it\)

first food eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

χɯ temp.

\(\text{tedz} = it\)

‘First eat and then leave.’

3.3 Nominal demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives are a small closed class of grammatical words which shows number, case, and deixis distinctions. They function as NP heads and do not take modifiers, and distinguish between proximal and distal deixis. The distal forms are not only used for referring to people and objects that are far from the speaker, but also those that are out of sight. Table 3.4 below shows the current distribution of Sarikoli nominal demonstratives. These forms are also used as possessive pronouns (§3.1.1) and demonstrative determiners (§3.3.1) with minor differences. For the non-nominative forms of these nominal demonstratives, the paradigm may be segmented into person and number morphemes, as the plural forms are derived by simply attaching the non-nominative plural suffix \(-ɛf\) to the singular forms.

Table 3.4 Nominal demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NOM</td>
<td>(jam)/jæd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td>(mi)/di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominal demonstratives may have deictic reference to any person or thing, as it is equally acceptable for them to refer to humans as to all other varieties of nouns (non-human, animate, inanimate, concrete, abstract, etc.). In the following examples, the nominal demonstratives may be interpreted as references to people, as in (3.31) & (3.32), other nouns, as in (3.33) - (3.35), or either, depending on the context, as in (3.36) - (3.39) are ambiguous.
(3.31)  \textit{jɯ mas varɕide tuijdz = endz}  \\
3SG.NOM.DIST also Varshide go.PRF = REL  \\
‘He has also been to Varshide.’

(3.32)  \textit{doð mu patiɕ vrud-χejl}  \\
3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM cousin brother-PL.NOM  \\
‘These are my male cousins.’

(3.33)  \textit{χor, jad χig = ir zuxtɕ = endz}  \\
eat.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.INF = DAT buy.PRF = REL  \\
‘Eat, these were bought to be eaten.’

(3.34)  \textit{awal m = a = di teust ka = am}  \\
first CATA = ACC 3SG.NOM.PROX lock do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  \\
‘I will lock this first.’

(3.35)  \textit{a = def mas waz χɯbaθ}  \\
ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX also 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM  \\
\textit{intsɯvdʑ = endz}  \\
sew.PRF = REL  \\
‘These are also things that I have sewn myself.’

(3.36)  \textit{a = wi mas na wazond = ir vɛðdʑ}  \\
ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST also NEG know.INF = DAT be.PRF  \\
‘(One) does not even know that/him/her. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.37)  \textit{a = def = am vɔwɡ}  \\
ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 1SG.PVF bring.PVF  \\
‘I brought these.’

(3.38)  \textit{woð = af pukzo na vɛðdʑ}  \\
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PVF clean NEG be.PRF  \\
‘They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.39)  \textit{təw a = wɛf mu = ri az kol}  \\
2SG.NOM ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM = DAT from head  \\
\textit{buz = o}  \\
send.IPFV = Q  \\
‘Will you send them to me again?’
In addition to the distinctions of case and number, Paxalina (1966:33) and Payne (Payne 1989:431) have reported that demonstratives (or third person pronouns) have a three-way distinction of deixis: proximal (near speaker), medial (mid-distance to speaker), and distal (far from speaker). However, Sarikoli in its present state has lost the distinction between proximal and medial deixis. That is, the original forms for proximal deixis have predominantly fallen out of use and the originally medial forms are now used for spatial references near the speaker. For the singular nominative proximal demonstrative, \textit{jam} and \textit{jad} are used interchangeably referring to objects that are near, as in (3.40), but usage of \textit{jam} is very rare. For the singular non-nominative proximal demonstrative, \textit{mi} and \textit{di} may be used interchangeably for objects in the same distance, as in (3.41), but \textit{mi} is exceedingly rare and has nearly fallen out of use. For the plural proximal demonstratives, the forms \textit{moð} and \textit{mɛf} have completely fallen out of use, so again, both the plural forms and singular forms only have two distinctions of deixis, proximal and distal, as in (3.42) & (3.43).

(3.40) \quad \textit{jam/jad} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{batɕo}
\quad 3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM child
\quad ‘Whose child is this?’ (jam/jad interchangeable)

(3.41) \quad \textit{m=a=mi/di} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{ka=o}
\quad CATA = ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX lift CAP do.IPFV = Q
\quad ‘Can you lift this?’ (\textit{m=a=mi}/m = a = \textit{di} interchangeable)

(3.42) \quad \textit{m=doð} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{amrikə} \quad \text{iθtɕ=ɛndz}
\quad CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX ABL America come.PRF = REL
\quad mejmun-χəjl, \quad u \quad \text{woð} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{kanada}
\quad guest-PL.NNOM there 3PL.NOM.DIST ABL Canada
\quad \text{iθtɕ=ɛndz}
\quad come.PRF = REL
\quad ‘These are guests from America, and those are from Canada.’

(3.43) \quad \textit{m=a=def=am} \quad \text{dejd} \quad \text{na}
\quad CATA = ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.PFV enter.INF NEG
\quad latɕəwɡ, \quad a = wɛf=am \quad latɕəwɡ
\quad let.PFV ACC = 3PL.NOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV let.PFV
\quad ‘I did not allow these to enter, but I allowed them.’
3.3.1 Demonstrative determiners

Nominal demonstratives may also serve a determiner function, being used as modifiers within NPs of both nominative and non-nominative cases. They reveal the case of the NP by taking different forms. They show the same distinctions for case, number, and the two degrees of deixis: proximal and distal. As with the nominal demonstratives, these demonstrative determiners may be used for modifying both humans and all other varieties of nouns (animate, inanimate, concrete, abstract, etc.), and they additionally have a human/non-human distinction. They are presented in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Demonstrative determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
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<th>SINGULAR</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NOM</td>
<td>(jam)/jad</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>doð (human)</td>
<td>woð (human)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(jam)/jad (non-human)</td>
<td>ju (non-human)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td>(mi)/di</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>(mi)/di</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there are some differences in form when demonstratives are used as determiners as opposed to NP heads. Unlike nominal demonstratives (3.4), demonstrative determiners have no distinct plural non-nominative forms that are fused with the plural marker -ɛf. In accordance with the general restriction on marking plural more than once within the NP, the demonstrative determiners do not have -ɛf built into them, and it is the head noun that takes the plural marking instead. Also, the plural nominative forms make distinctions for human vs. non-human.

As with the nominal demonstratives, both jam and jad may be used for the singular nominative proximal forms, but jam is used very rarely. In (3.44) and (3.45), jam and jad may be used interchangeably. The singular nominative distal form is jiu, which is also identical when used as a nominal demonstrative.

(3.44)  jam/jad          batɕo pa gap na tɕombd  
        3SG.NOM.PROX child LOC word NEG be.willing.3SG.IPfv  
        ‘This child is disobedient.’

(3.45)  jam/jad          batɕo uʈɕ aqlin veðdʑ  
        3SG.NOM.PROX child very smart be.PRF  
        ‘This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)’
Pronouns and demonstratives

The plural nominative forms also distinguish between human participants and non-human objects. The forms doð (proximal) and woð (distal) are only used for humans, as in (3.48) & (3.49); for non-human objects, whether animate or inanimate, the same forms as the singular nominative forms are used, as in (3.50) - (3.53).

(3.46)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad tsem \quad ujnak \quad \text{dudz} = \text{endz} \quad \text{batɕo} \quad \text{az} \]
\[ \text{there} \quad \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{eye} \quad \text{glass} \quad \text{give.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{ABL} \]
\[ \text{watʃa} \]
\[ \text{Wacha} \]
‘That child who is wearing glasses is from Wacha.’

(3.47)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad \text{txəd} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{dud-an} \]
\[ \text{there} \quad \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM} \quad \text{uncle-GEN} \]
‘That house over there is my uncle’s.’

(3.48)  
\[ \text{doð} \quad \text{batɕo-χejl} \quad \text{puɡan} \quad \text{xwor} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} \quad \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{Kashgar} \]
\[ \text{tedz} = \text{in} \]
\[ \text{go.IPFV} = \text{3PL.IPFV} \]
‘These children are going to Kashgar tomorrow.’

(3.49)  
\[ \text{woð} \quad \text{batɕo-χejl} = \text{af} \quad \text{uʃɛ} \quad \text{pukzo} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} = \text{3PL.PVF} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{clean} \]
\[ \text{χɪɡ} = \text{ir} \quad \text{veḍdz} \]
\[ \text{eat.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{be.PRF} \]
‘Those children eat very clean. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.50)  
\[ \text{mi = jad} \quad \text{kalo-χejl} \quad \text{zɯlfia-an} \]
\[ \text{CATA} = \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{sheep-PL.NOM} \quad \text{Zeelfia-GEN} \]
‘These sheep are Zeelfia’s.’

(3.51)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad \text{kalo-χejl} \quad \text{zɯlfia-an} \]
\[ \text{there} \quad \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{sheep-PL.NOM} \quad \text{Zeelfia-GEN} \]
‘Those sheep are Zeelfia’s.’
The singular and plural non-nominative determiners share the same form, so there are no distinctive forms for the plural non-nominative determiners. The following pairs of sentences illustrate how the same forms of determiners are used for singular and plural non-nominative NPs. Unlike the plural nominative forms, they do not distinguish between human and non-human objects. For the non-nominative proximal determiner, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for nearby objects, but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has almost completely fallen out of use.
(3.58)  \( m = a = mi/di \)  
\( \text{CATA} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \)  
\( \text{ter} \)  
\( \text{ter} \)  
\( \text{tɕi} \)  
\( \text{ka} = o \)  
\( \text{do.IPV} = Q \)  
‘Can you lift this rock?’

(3.59)  \( m = a = mi/di \)  
\( \text{CATA} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \)  
\( \text{ter} \)  
\( \text{ter} \)  
\( \text{tɕi} \)  
\( \text{ka} = o \)  
\( \text{do.IPV} = Q \)  
‘Can you lift these rocks?’

(3.60)  \( \text{waz} = \text{am} \)  
\( \text{di} \)  
\( \text{tɕurik} = \text{ir} \)  
\( \text{hamru} \)  
\( \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PFV} \)  
\( \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \)  
\( \text{man} = \text{DAT} \)  
\( \text{companion} \)  
\( \text{suut} \)  
\( \text{become.PFV} \)  
‘I became a companion for this man.’

(3.61)  \( \text{waz} = \text{am} \)  
\( \text{di} \)  
\( \text{əwrat-ɛf} \)  
\( \text{avon} \)  
\( \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PFV} \)  
\( \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \)  
\( \text{woman-PL.NNOM} \)  
\( \text{BEN} \)  
\( \text{χɯ} \)  
\( \text{REFL.NNOM} \)  
\( \text{az} \)  
\( \text{dʑuj} \)  
\( \text{undəwd} \)  
\( \text{get.up.PFV} \)  
‘I got up from my seat for these women.’

For distal non-nominative objects, the determiner \( wi \) is used, again regardless of their number or whether they are human or non-human. Compare the following three pairs of sentences which demonstrate that \( wi \) may be used for both singular and plural non-nominative NPs, whether they are human (3.62) & (3.63), non-human animate (3.64) & (3.65), or non-human inanimate (3.66) & (3.67).

(3.62)  \( \text{waz} = \text{am} \)  
\( a = wi \)  
\( \text{χalɡ} \)  
\( \text{qiw} \)  
\( \text{tɕəwɡ} \)  
\( \text{do.PFV} \)  
\( \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PFV} \)  
\( \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \)  
\( \text{person} \)  
\( \text{call} \)  
\( \text{do.PFV} \)  
‘I called that person.’

(3.63)  \( \text{waz} = \text{am} \)  
\( a = wi \)  
\( \text{batɕo-ɛf} \)  
\( \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PFV} \)  
\( \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \)  
\( \text{child-PL.NNOM} \)  
\( \text{rond} \)  
\( \text{scold.PFV} \)  
‘I scolded those children.’
(3.64) \(a = wi\) \(\text{kal}o\) \(keji = an\)  
\(\text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{sheep}\) \(\text{slaughter.IPfv} = 1\text{PL.IPfv}\)  
‘Let us slaughter that sheep.’

(3.65) \(waz = am\) \(a = wi\) \(\text{kal}o-\text{ef}\)  
\(1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}\) \(\text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{sheep-PL.NNOM}\)  
\(\text{poj}d\)  
\(\text{herd.IPfv}\)  
‘I herded those sheep.’

(3.66) \(waz = am\) \(a = wi\) \(\text{mon} \ \chiug\)  
\(1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}\) \(\text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{apple} \ \text{eat.IPfv}\)  
‘I ate that apple.’

(3.67) \(waz = am\) \(a = wi\) \(\text{kt}ub-\text{ef}\)  
\(1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}\) \(\text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{book-PL.NNOM}\)  
\(\text{xoj}d\)  
\(\text{read.IPfv}\)  
‘I read those books.’

(3.68) \(m\nu \ \gammain \ \text{ki} = \text{wi}\) \(\chi\text{adurdz}t\chi\) \(\text{qati}\)  
\(1\text{SG.NNOM}\) \(\text{wife} \ \text{ANA} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{miller} \ \text{COM}\)  
\(\text{skit} = \text{ik} \ \text{kaxt}\)  
\(\text{play} = \text{DUR} \ \text{do.3SG.IPfv}\)  
‘My wife is playing with that miller.’

(3.69) \(\text{azizmamad} \ \text{ki} = \text{wi}\) \(\chi\text{alg-ef}\) \(\text{qati}\)  
\(\text{Azizmamad} \ \text{ANA} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST}\) \(\text{person-PL.NNOM} \ \text{COM}\)  
\(\text{gap} \ \text{t}\text{cowg}\)  
\(\text{word} \ \text{do.IPfv}\)  
‘Azizmamad talked with those people.’

The proximal forms are used for referents near the speaker, while distal forms are used for referents far away from the speaker. By analogy, the spatial reference of demonstratives may be extended to temporal reference. The proximal demonstrative \(\text{di}\) is often used when referring to a point in time that is near the point of utterance, while the distal demonstrative \(\text{wi}\) is used when referring to a point in time that is distant from the point of utterance, usually in the future.


3.4 Demonstrative clitics

When referring to other participants or objects in the discourse or physical context, nominal demonstratives substitute for full NPs in order to avoid repetition of them. They may always be used anaphorically, and often also cataphorically (Dixon 2010b). However, in addition to using nominal demonstratives, Sarikoli has special demonstrative clitics used for indicating anaphora and cataphora as well as distance to the speaker or addressee. Sarikoli uses two demonstrative clitics to specify whether reference is being made about something earlier in the discourse (anaphora) or closer to the addressee, or later in the discourse (cataphora) or closer to the speaker (Levinsohn 2011). These demonstrative clitics attach to nouns, pronouns, determiners, local demonstratives, and prepositions.

\( k(i) = \) is an anaphoric demonstrative clitic used for activated referents. It is coreferential with participants, objects, or portions of the discourse that have already been mentioned, or objects that are near the addressee. The following examples demonstrate how \( k(i) = \) refers to objects that have already been introduced in the same sentence. In (3.73), \( k(i) = \) refers to the ‘pure Tajik word’ in the subordinate clause. In (3.74), it refers to ‘wherever the donkey stops’ in the first clause. In (3.75), it refers to ‘how you ask’ in the subordinate clause.
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(3.73)  suf  tudsik  gap  tsa  vid  
pure  Tajik  word  COND  be.3SG.IPVF

\[ k = a = wi \]
\[ \chiumand  ka \]
\[ ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  teach  do.IPVF \]

‘If there is a pure Tajik word, teach that one.’

(3.74)  kudʑur = ik  čer  waruvd  k = um = aθ  taw
where = DUR  donkey  stop.PFV  ANA = there = EMP  2SG.NOM

\[ bejg  at  \chion  set = ir \]
\[ veđdz  ruler  CONJ  king  become.INF = DAT  be.PRF \]

‘Wherever the donkey stops, that is where you will become a ruler and a king. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.75)  taw  pars  tsa  waz = am
2SG.NOM  ask.IPVF  COND  1SG.NOM = 1SG.PVF

\[ ki = wi \]
\[ rang  parst \]
\[ ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  SEMB  ask.PFV \]

‘You know how you ask questions? I asked like that.’

\[ k(i) = \]
may refer to objects and participants introduced in the discourse prior to the sentence containing \( k(i) = \). In the conversation preceding (3.76), the speakers have talked about a certain hotel, and \( k(i) = \) refers to that hotel. In the conversation preceding (3.77), the speakers have talked about ’today’, which is what \( k(i) = \) is referring to. In (3.78), \( k(i) = \) refers to a spoken description or an actual physical demonstration of a certain manner of eating.

(3.76)  jiu  mas  k = ar  wi  mejmunχuno
3SG.NOM.DIST  also  ANA = LOC  3SG.NNOM.DIST  hotel

\[ tcer  kaxt \]
\[ work  do.3SG.IPVF \]

‘He also works at that hotel.’

(3.77)  mw-an  ki = jad  i  maθ  rejd,
1SG.NOM-GEN  ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX  one  day  remain.PFV

\[ puγan  waz  tedz = am \]
\[ tomorrow  1SG.NOM  go.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF \]

‘I only have this one day left, I am leaving tomorrow.’
(3.78)  \[
\text{waz mas ki=wi rang χig = itauz}
\]
\[1\text{SG.NOM also ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB eat.INF = REL}
\]
‘I also eat like that.’

\(k(i)=\) may make reference to a clause or to any stretch of discourse that has been previously uttered. For example, if one wishes to express agreement for opinions articulated by another speaker in the conversation, one would say the sentence in (3.79). When another speaker asks about a certain situation and one is fairly sure about its validity, one would say the sentence in (3.80). When someone is profusely expressing thanks or apology, the sentence in (3.81) is a common response. In all of these examples, \(k(i)=\) refers to larger portions of the previous discourse.

(3.79)  \[
\text{ki=gap}
\]
\[\text{ANA = word}
\]
‘That is what I mean.’ (lit. That word.)

(3.80)  \[
\text{k = dos = o ku}
\]
\[\text{ANA = manner = Q SUP}
\]
‘It is so, I think.’

(3.81)  \[
\text{ki=wi=rang mo lc}=\text{v}
\]
\[\text{ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = SEMB PROH say.IPVF}
\]
‘Don’t say it like that.’

\(k(i)=\) is also used in the causal conjunction \(kazwi\), which links together a reason clause and a result clause. It is derived from \(k=az\ wi\) and literally means ‘from (i.e. because of) that’:

(3.82)  \[
\text{nɯr çamul u tü kutsiin kazwi mɔdz u tü buland}
\]
today wind very strong so wave very high

\[\text{sɛdʑ}
\]
become.PRF
‘The wind is strong today, so the waves have gotten very high. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.83)  \[
\text{waz = am χu pond bunost kazwi = am}
\]
\[1\text{SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM road lose.PFV SO = 1SG.PFV}
\]
\[\text{dejr jot}
\]
late come.PFV
‘I got lost, that is why I came late.’
On the other hand, \(m(i)\) is a cataphoric demonstrative clitic that points forward to referents which have yet to be stated or shown, or to objects that are closer to the speaker. It alludes to information that will be introduced in the following discourse or will be shown in the physical context. The sentence in example (3.84) may be followed by either a spoken description or an actual physical description of how to do something, and \(m(i)\) may refer to either kind of information.

\[
\text{(3.84)} \quad m = \text{dos} \quad ka = \text{it} \quad tsa \quad na \\
\text{CATA} = \text{manner} \quad \text{do.IPVF} = \text{2PL.IPVF} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{səwd = o} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF = Q} \quad \text{‘Can’t you(pl) do it this way?’}
\]

\(m(i)\) is frequently used for specific objects that may be pointed to in the immediate physical context. In (3.85) - (3.89), none of the occurrences of \(m(i)\) are strictly necessary, but they make their hosts more specific by referring to specific objects, and must be accompanied by a pointing gesture.

\[
\text{(3.85)} \quad m = \text{əwd-ik} \quad \text{laka} \\
\text{CATA} = \text{here-DIM} \quad \text{put.IPVF} \\
\text{‘Put it down here.’}
\]

\[
\text{(3.86)} \quad m = \text{jad} \quad \text{dʑuj = ik} \quad \text{dɪzd} \\
\text{CATA} = \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{place = DUR} \quad \text{hurt.3SG.IPVF} \\
\text{‘This place hurts.’}
\]

\[
\text{(3.87)} \quad m = \text{ar} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{səwn} \quad \text{did} \\
\text{CATA} = \text{LOC} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{sack} \quad \text{enter.IPVF} \\
\text{‘Go into this sack.’}
\]

\[
\text{(3.88)} \quad m = a = \text{di} \quad \text{duri} \quad \text{χor} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \\
\text{CATA} = \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{medicine} \quad \text{eat.IPVF} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{səwd} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF} \\
\text{‘You must not take this medicine.’}
\]
(3.89)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{təw} & \text{mi} = \text{di} & \text{rang} & \text{cejdoi} \\
& \text{2SG.NOM} & \text{CATA} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{SEMB} \text{ Sheydoi} & \text{sew.INF} \\
\text{tɕi} & \text{ka} = \text{o} \\
& \text{CAP} & \text{do.IPFV} = \text{Q} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like this?’

Whereas \( k(i) = \) attaches to pronouns, determiners, local demonstratives that are both proximal and distal, \( m(i) = \) only attaches to proximal ones, as the referent must be close to the speaker:

(3.90)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{tɕi} & \text{loc} & \text{dʑuj} & \text{niθ} = \text{an} \\
& \text{1PL.IPFV} & \text{sit.IPFV} = \text{1PL.IPFV} & \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{here} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘We gather here in one place.’

(3.91)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{niθ} = \text{an} \\
& \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{here} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).’

(3.92)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{təw} & \text{mi} = \text{di} & \text{rang} & \text{cejdoi} \\
& \text{2SG.NOM} & \text{CATA} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{SEMB} \text{ Sheydoi} & \text{sew.INF} \\
\text{tɕi} & \text{ka} = \text{o} \\
& \text{CAP} & \text{do.IPFV} = \text{Q} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like that?’

\( k(i) = \) and \( m(i) = \) sometimes co-occur on proximal pronouns, determiners, and local demonstratives. Some speakers combine these clitics frequently, while others virtually never do so. The conditions of the use of the \( mi = ki = \) forms are not yet fully understood, but the reasons may be phonotactic, discourse-related (i.e. for focus marking), or as a historical vestige of a convention that is no longer meaningful or productive.

(3.93)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{tai} & \text{dʑuj} & \text{niθ} = \text{an} \\
& \text{one} & \text{LOC} & \text{place} \\
\text{m} = \text{k=} \text{əwd} \\
& \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{here} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘We gather here in one place.’

(3.94)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nuwondz} & \text{m} = \text{k=} \text{pa} & \text{di} & \text{noχ} \\
& \text{bride} & \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{LOC} & \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \text{ Noh} \\
\text{warifst} \\
& \text{stand.3SG.IPFV} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).’
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(3.95) \( m = ki = di \) \( rang \) gap-cf = ik  
CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX  SEMB  word-PL.NNOM = DUR
\[ m = ri \] \[ kaxt \]  
1SG.NNOM = DAT  do.3SG.IPFW  
‘He says such and such things to me.’

(3.96) \( maq-an \) \(imi = ri \) tcwymdz = cndz  tser  
1PL.NNOM-GEN  RECP = DAT  do.PRIF = REL  matter
\[ m = k = dund \]  
CATA = ANA = AMT  
‘This is the extent of what we did to each other.’

(3.97) putxu  radzen  a = wi \( tcost \)  
kimg  daughter  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  watch.3SG.IPFW
\[ \chi \mu \] \[ levd \] \[ ik \] \[ a \]  
TEMP,CONJ  say.3SG.IPFW  SC  INTJ
\[ mi = k = jad \] \[ wado \]  
CATA = ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX  boy  
‘The king’s daughter takes a look at him and says, “Ah, yes, it is this boy.”’

(3.98) \( m = k = az \) \( di \) \( uots-cf \)  
CATA = aca = ABL  3SG.NNOM.PROX  girl-PL.NNOM
\[ tu = ri = ik \] \[ tcidum \] \[ \chi \mu \] \[ sut \]  
2SG.NNOM = DAT = DUR  which  happy  become.PFV
\[ tu = ri \] \[ do = am \]  
2SG.NNOM = DAT  give.IPFW = 1SG.IPFW  
‘I will give you whichever one of these girls you like the most.’
(3.99)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
m & = k = a = di \\
CATA & = \text{ANA} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \\
\text{living} & = \text{do.PR} = \text{REL} \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*} 
i & \ \text{beziv} \\
\text{one} & \ \text{tongueless} \\
i & \ \text{nejk} \\
\text{tongueless} & \ \text{one} \\
\text{good} & \ \text{thing} \\
\end{align*} \]

dwo\d = an 
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{bring.in.IP} = 1\text{PL.IP} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘We bring in one good tongueless thing (animal) that has worked alongside us to make a living.’

In summary, \( ki = \) and \( mi = \) are clitics that refer to objects or participants in the physical context or portions of the discourse. \( ki = \) is for activated referents and \( mi = \) is for referents that will be shown or expressed. The following pair of examples contrast the use of \( ki = \) and \( mi = : \) the first speaker says the sentence in (3.100), and then shares her line of thought; after hearing this, the second speaker says the sentence in (3.101) to show that he thought of things in the same way.

(3.100)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
m & = dos = am \\
\text{CATA} & = \text{manner} = 1\text{SG.IP} \\
\text{thought} & = \text{do.IP} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘I thought of it this way.’

(3.101)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{was} & = am \\
\text{mas} & = dos \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & = 1\text{SG.IP} \\
\text{Also} & \ \text{AN} = \text{manner} \\
\text{thought} & = \text{do.IP} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘I thought of it that way, too.’

### 3.5 Local demonstratives

Sarikoli has two local demonstratives making spatial reference, which show deictic contrast: \( \text{awd} \) ‘here’ and \( \text{um}/\text{um} \) ‘there’ (showing dialectical variation). These are locational adverbs to a clause, and they generally occur in clause initial position, or immediately after the subject or a time word. They do not have restrictions in terms of the clause types they may occur in, and are used in verbal, existential, and copula clauses. The diminutive suffix \( -ik \) sometimes attaches to \( \text{awd} \) or \( \text{um} \), but it does not seem to change the meaning of these spatial shifters. These local demonstratives have less adpositional marking.
than on locations expressed by common nouns, as they are sometimes not required to occur with a locational adposition, as in (3.102) - (3.105).

(3.102) \[waz \quad swd \quad hitc \quad a = tci \quad na\]
\[\text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{who.NNOM} \quad \text{NEG}\]
\[\text{wazon} = \text{am}\]
\[\text{know.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}\]
\[\text{‘I do not know anyone here.’}\]

(3.103) \[\text{varɕidɛ} \quad \text{dzul-ik} \quad \text{dzuj} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{vid} \quad \text{um}\]
\[\text{Varshide} \quad \text{small-DIM} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be.3SG.IPfv} \quad \text{there}\]
\[\text{ladza} \quad \text{jost}\]
\[\text{dialect} \quad \text{be.IPfv}\]
\[\text{‘Even though Varshide is a small place, there are dialects there.’}\]

(3.104) \[waz \quad \text{um-ik} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{malum} \quad \text{wand}\]
\[\text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{there-DIM} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{teacher} \quad \text{see.PFV}\]
\[\text{‘I saw my teacher over there.’}\]

(3.105) \[\text{um-ik} \quad \text{der} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{ajoɣ} \quad \text{wejð}\]
\[\text{there-DIM} \quad \text{CPRV} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{shoe} \quad \text{put.IPfv}\]
\[\text{‘Take your shoes off over there a little bit.’}\]

These two local demonstratives are frequently combined with the locative preposition \text{ar}, as in (3.106) & (3.107), locative preposition \text{tar}, as in (3.108) & (3.109), and ablative \text{az}, as in (3.110) & (3.111). The locative preposition for upriver locations, \text{pa}, is only used for \text{um} ‘there’ or \text{swd} ‘here’ if the place of reference is higher than the place of the hearer, as in (3.112) & (3.113), and the resulting form is \text{padɯm} or \text{padəwd}, respectively. When local demonstratives occur with prepositions, they do not take the diminutive suffix \text{–ik}.

(3.106) \[a = \text{putxu} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{swd} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{vor}\]
\[\text{ACC} = \text{king} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{bring.IPfv}\]
\[\text{‘Do not bring the king here.’}\]

(3.107) \[waz = \text{am} \quad \text{turpon} \quad \text{tujdz-it,} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{um} \quad \text{ nawz}\]
\[\text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.IPfv} \quad \text{Turpan} \quad \text{go.PFV-CESS} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{still}\]
\[\text{hawu} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ðudz}\]
\[\text{precipitation} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{fall.PRF}\]
\[\text{‘I went to Turpan, and there it had not snowed yet. (Evidential/New information)’}\]
Some of these combinations of preposition and local demonstrative may be used idiomatically for expressions related to space and time, as shown in 3.6. (3.114) - (3.117) are illustrations of these idiomatic expressions containing prepositions and local demonstratives.
Table 3.6 Idiomatic expressions with local demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tar um tar əwd</em></td>
<td>‘in various directions; approximately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di tar əwd</em></td>
<td>‘from now on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>az tarat</em>¹</td>
<td>‘since (a certain time in the past)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.114) *dijur ɣalg tar um tar əwd ratsasɬt*
region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPfv
‘The villagers run away this way and that way.’

(3.115) *i ɕejdoi intsivd=ɬr tar um tar əwd i most*
one Sheydoi sew.INF=DAT LOC there LOC here one month
tizd
go.3SG.IPfv
‘It takes approximately one month to make one Sheydoi (female cap).’

(3.116) *di tar əwd az mu u tc dzul*
3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small
tsiz-ɛf mo pars, muq kol
thing-PL.NNOM PROH ask.IPfv 1SG.NNOM head
warst
turn.3SG.IPfv
‘From now on, do not ask me questions about very small things. My head will spin.’

(3.117) *a=ta wand az tarat jə xovd na*
ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG
tsi tɕejɡ=ɪtɛus sut
CAP do.INF=REL become.PFV
‘Since seeing you, he has become unable to sleep.’

In addition to prepositions, local demonstratives also frequently co-occur with the demonstrative clitics *k̂* and *m̂*. The cataphoric clitic *m̂* only attaches to *əwd* and occurs with a pointing gesture, making it more specific by assigning it a smaller scope, as in (3.118). The diminutive suffix –*ik* may also occur, without changing the meaning in any significant way.

¹*az tarat* may have originated from *az tar əwd*, but this is not certain.
Pronouns and demonstratives

(3.118)  \( m = \textit{awd}(-ik) \quad \textit{niθ} \)
\[ \text{CATA} = \text{here-DIM sit.IPV} \]
‘Sit here.’

The anaphoric clitic \( k = \) may attach to either \( \textit{awd} \) or \( \textit{um} \), and is used when the spatial reference is already known or mentioned in the physical context or discourse. In conversations previous to (3.119), the speakers have mentioned the place where they are currently situated. In conversations previous to (3.120) & (3.121), a place other than the place of speech has been mentioned.

(3.119)  \( \textit{was} = \textit{am} \quad \textit{k = awd}(-ik) \quad \textit{azmud sut}, \)
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.IPV} \quad \text{ANA = here-DIM born become.IPV} \]
\[ \textit{k = awd}(-ik) = \textit{am} \quad \textit{lowr sut}, \]
\[ \text{ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.IPV big become.IPV} \]
\[ \textit{k = awd}(-ik) = \textit{am} \quad \textit{xojd} \]
\[ \text{ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.IPV read.IPV} \]
‘I was born and raised here and studied here.’

(3.120)  \( \textit{k = um}(-ik) \quad \textit{mu} \quad \textit{malum mas jost = o} \)
\[ \text{ANA = there-DIM 1SG.NOM teacher also be.IPV = Q} \]
‘Is my teacher also there?’

(3.121)  \( \textit{intawum} \quad \textit{do = an}, \quad \textit{kudzür = an = ik} \quad \textit{nardzed}, \)
\[ \text{exams give.IPV = 1PL.IPV where = 1PL.IPV = DUR pass.IPV} \]
\[ \textit{k = um} \quad \textit{so = an} \]
\[ \text{ANA = there become.IPV = 1PL.IPV} \]
‘We will take an exam, and wherever we get accepted to, we will go there.’

When referring to things that are far away, a lengthened /u/ occurs before the demonstrative determiner modifying that noun, as in (3.122) - (3.124), or occurs as part of a local demonstrative, as in (3.125). The farther away the object is, the longer the /u/ is pronounced.

(3.122)  \( u \quad \textit{jiu tzed mu dud-an} \)
\[ \text{there 3SG.NOM.DIST house 1SG.NOM uncle-GEN} \]
‘That house (far away) is my uncle’s.’
(3.123)  
\[ uː\/jɯ\text{\text{-nom}}\text{\text{-dist}}\text{\text{-3sg}}/\text{all}\text{\text{-3sg-nnom-dist}}\]
\[ \text{kalo-\text{\text{-ejl=af}}/\text{sheep-pl-nom=3pl-pfv be-prf}}\]
‘Those (far away) are all his sheep. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.124)  
\[ uː/\text{\text{-woð\text{-nom\text{-dist}}\text{-3pl-nnom\text{-dist}}}}\]
\[ \text{batɕo-\text{\text{-ejl=af}}/\text{child-pl-nom=3pl-pfv be-prf}}\]
‘Those (far away) are all his children. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.125)  
\[ \text{mɯ/\text{-1sg-nnom}}\text{\text{-tɕɛd\text{-house}}/\text{\text{-umik\text{\text{-there}}} ‘My house is all the way over there (far away).’}}\]

Local demonstratives are often the sole spatial reference within their clause, but may also be apposed to an NP bearing locational specification, as in (3.126) & (3.127).

(3.126)  
\[ \text{waz/\text{-1sg-nom}}\text{\text{-m=əwd-ik\text{-cata=here-dim}}\text{\text{-tsein\text{-vegetable}}\text{\text{-buzur\text{-local}}\text{\text{-mouth}} ‘I am here at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar.’}}\]

(3.127)  
\[ \text{k=ɯm/\text{-ana\text{\text{-there}}}\text{\text{-pa\text{-maktab\text{-school}}\text{\text{-1pl-nnom-gen\text{-father}}\text{\text{-mother}}\text{\text{-nist\text{-neg\text{-be-IPFV}} ‘There at school we do not have our father and mother.’}}}}\]

3.6 Manner demonstratives

Sarikoli has manner demonstratives that serve an adverbial function within the predicate. Corresponding to the anaphoric and cataphoric demonstratives \(\text{ki=}\) and \(\text{mi=}\) are the following manner demonstratives: \(\text{d=}\) ‘in that way/manner’, \(\text{ki=}\text{\text{-rang/ki=wi\text{-rang}} ‘like that’, m=\text{\text{-dos ‘in this way/manner’, and mi=\text{\text{-di rang ‘like this’}}. They are formed with the manner word dos and}}\)

Pronouns and demonstratives

The semblative marker rang, in combination with \( k(i) = \) and \( m(i) = \). These demonstratives have both deictic and anaphoric or cataphoric reference to an activity. \( k = dos \) and \( ki = rang/ki = wi rang \) are used to refer to a distal activity, as well as having anaphoric function; \( m = dos \) and \( mi = di rang \) are used to refer to a proximal activity, in addition to serving a cataphoric function.

As an anaphoric manner demonstrative, \( k = dos \) may be used to refer to direct speech that has already been uttered, while \( m = dos \), as a cataphoric demonstrative, may be used to introduce direct speech. In (3.128), the \( k = dos \) refers to what the addressee has already said, and \( m = dos \) refers to what the speaker is about to say.

(3.128) \[ k = dos \quad mo \quad lev, \quad m = dos \quad lev \\
\text{ANA} = \text{manner} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{say.IPV} \quad \text{CATA} = \text{manner} \quad \text{say.IPV} \]

‘Do not say it that way, say it this way.’

3.7 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive construction refers to activities where the participants are not distinct from one another; it is used when two arguments of a verb have identical reference (Dixon 2012:159). A reflexive is used in a transitive clause if the A and O arguments have the same reference, such as the underlying sentence (3.129), by employing the reflexive pronoun \( \chi u \) in O slot, giving the sentence in (3.130). The transitive verb of the clause maintains its transitivity. (3.129) is ungrammatical if both instances of Rashid refer to the same person.

(3.129) \[ *raɕid \quad a = raɕid \quad dud \]
\[ \text{Rashid ACC=Rashid hit.PFV} \]
‘Rashid hit Rashid.’

(3.130) \[ raɕid \quad a = \chi u \quad dud \]
\[ \text{Rashid ACC=REFL.NOM hit.PFV} \]
‘Rashid hit himself.’

Sarikoli has a special reflexive pronoun, \( \chi u \) ‘self’. Morphologically, \( \chi u \) has an invariant form and shows no person or number distinction, but is always interpreted as having the same person and number as the subject of its clause, as demonstrated by (3.131) - (3.134).
The reflexive χɯ is subject-oriented: the antecedent of χɯ must be the subject of the clause. With respect to reflexives, A, S, and copula subject arguments will all be referred to as ‘subject’. χɯ must be less prominent than its antecedent, and occurs as a non-nominative argument or non-argument. It may function as a full NP or as a possessor within an NP. Whichever syntactic function it takes on, it occurs in the regular slot for that function.

Because χɯ is subject-oriented, its antecedent is rarely ambiguous, despite its invariant form. Even when non-subject arguments appear closer to χɯ than the subject does, they cannot function as the antecedent because they are not the subject of the clause, as shown in (3.135)- (3.137).

(3.135) alima malɯm a=batɕo-ɛf χɯ pa tɕɛd Alima teacher ACC=child-PL.NNOM REFL.NNOM LOC house
jud
take.PFV
‘Teacher Alima took the children to her house.’ (χɯ→ Alima)

(3.136) canbe tursun=ir χɯ qalam ðud Shanbe Tursun=DAT REFL.NNOM pen give.PFV
‘Shanbe gave his pen to Tursun.’ (χɯ→ Shanbe)
Even when the subject NP is ellipsed, the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, which must be the subject, can still be known from the pronominal agreement clitics in the sentence, as in the following examples.

(3.138) \( χ\text-ono = ri \) tilfon \( ka = am \)
\( \text{REFL.NNOM-mother} = \text{DAT} \) \( \text{phone} \) \( \text{do.IPVF} = \text{1SG.IPVF} \)
‘I will call my mother.’

(3.139) \( χ\text-ɯ = pa \) tɕed \( nahuχtɕ = endz \) rang
\( \text{REFL.NNOM} \) \( \text{LOC} \) \( \text{house} \) \( \text{sit.IPVF} = \text{REL} \) \( \text{SEMB} \)

\( \text{niθ = it} \)
\( \text{sit.IPVF} = \text{2PL.IPVF} \)
‘Sit as if you are at your(pl) own home.’

(3.140) \( χ\text-ɯ \) mɯdʑuz tsa wazond tar jʊwl
\( \text{REFL.NNOM} \) feeling \( \text{COND} \) know.\text{3SG.IPVF} \( \text{LOC} \) dawn

\( \text{noɕta} \) na kaxt tsa səwd
\( \text{breakfast} \) \( \text{NEG} \) \( \text{do.3SG.IPVF} \) \( \text{COND} \) \( \text{become.3SG.IPVF} \)
‘If she knows her own feeling, she can not eat breakfast in the morning.’

Reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns are in complementary distribution within a simple clause: any pronoun referring to the subject must take the reflexive form, and non-reflexive pronouns can never take a subject antecedent within their minimal clause. Non-reflexive pronouns can be coreferential to any argument except the subject, so they can only function as a subject or refer to non-subject arguments. This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences.

(3.141) a. \( \text{mina} \) \( χ\text-ɯ \) batɕo = ri mon δud
\( \text{Mina} \) \( \text{REFL.NNOM} \) child = \( \text{DAT} \) \( \text{apple} \) \( \text{give.PFV} \)
‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ (\( χ\text-ɯ \) \( \rightarrow \) Mina)

b. \( \text{mina} \) wi batɕo = ri mon δud
\( \text{Mina} \) \( \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \) child = \( \text{DAT} \) \( \text{apple} \) \( \text{give.PFV} \)
‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ (\( \text{wi} \) \( \rightarrow \) NOT Mina)
(3.142) a. \textit{waz = am} \textit{\chi\nu} \textit{numur ranuxtc}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & = & 1SG.PFV & REFL.NNom \\
\chi\nu & = & number & forget.PRF
\end{tabular}

'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)' \((\chi\nu \rightarrow 1)\)

b. \textit{\textasciitilde{waz = am}} \textit{\textit{mu}} \textit{numur ranuxtc}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & = & 1SG.PFV & 1SG.NNom \\
\textit{mu} & = & number & forget.PRF
\end{tabular}

'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)' \((\textit{mu} \rightarrow \text{ungrammatical})\)

Even in a sentence with a subordinate clause and two different subjects (the main clause subject and subordinate clause subject), the antecedent of \textit{\chi\nu} is not ambiguous because a \textit{\chi\nu} within a subordinate clause takes the subordinate clause subject as its antecedent. In finite subordinate clauses, as in (3.143), \textit{\chi\nu} refers to the embedded clause subject instead of the main clause subject. In subordinate clauses with an explicit subject, as in (3.144), \textit{\chi\nu} also refers to the embedded clause subject and not the main clause subject. In a subordinate clause that lacks an explicit subject, as in (3.145), \textit{\chi\nu} may have no apparent antecedent within the minimal clause, but it may be theorized that the embedded clause has a null subject that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject, which provides a local subject antecedent for \textit{\chi\nu}.

(3.143) \textit{ojmira levd iko [awagul \chi\nu pa ted]}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Oimira & say & SC & Awageel & REFL.NNom & LOC & house
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{rejd} & \text{remain.PFV}
\end{tabular}

'Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home]'. \((\chi\nu \rightarrow \text{Awageel})\)

(3.144) \textit{was = am} \textit{[sobir \chi\nu yin qati]}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
1SG.NOM & = & 1SG.PFV & Sobir & REFL.NNom & wife & COM
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{jet = i} & \text{come.INF} & SC & \textit{na} & \text{wazond} & \\
\text{NEG} & \text{know.PFV}
\end{tabular}

'I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife]. ' \((\chi\nu \rightarrow \text{Sobir})\)

(3.145) \textit{amad} \textit{[\chi\nu = ri zuxtɕ = ndz] a = k\text{tub-ef}}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Amad & REFL.NNom & = & DAT & buy.PFV & REL & ACC = book-PL.NNom
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{mu = ri} & \text{give.PFV} & \\
1SG.NNom & = & DAT & give.PFV
\end{tabular}

'Amad gave me the books [that he bought for himself]'. \((\chi\nu \rightarrow \text{Amad})\)
In all three types of clauses above, χɯ is used as a local reflexive referring to the embedded clause subject, whether it is an explicit subject or one that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject. However, there is one exception to this pattern: in a reason adverbial clause with an explicit subject, the use of χɯ results in an ambiguous antecedent, as it is equally acceptable for χɯ to refer to the main clause subject or the embedded clause subject, as shown in (3.146) & (3.147). When χɯ is interpreted as being coreferential with the main clause subject, it is used as a long-distance reflexive; when it is interpreted as being coreferential with the AC subject, it is used as a local reflexive.

(3.146)    sojra  [az  guilmira  χɯ  a=qalam  wejrun
Soyra   ABL  Geelmira   REFL.N NOM   ACC=pen  broken
       twejg =i]    χafo  sur
do.INF=SC  upset  become.PFV
 ‘Soyra got upset [because Geelmira broke her pen].’ (χɯ→Geelmira OR Soyra)

(3.147)    raɕid  [sobir  χɯ  a=kilit  az  bunost=i]  telan
Rashid  Sobir   REFL.N NOM   ACC=key  ABL  lose.INF=SC  fine
       dud
       give.PFV
 ‘Rashid gave a fine [because Sobir lost his key].’ (χɯ→Rashid OR Sobir)

In addition to its function as an invariant reflexive pronoun, χɯ also has two extended meanings. First, it may be used as an emphatic pronoun which emphasizes the identity of an argument’s referent. The emphatic pronoun occurs as an NP modifier which is apposed to the argument or possessor to be emphasized. It takes the form χɯbaθ in the nominative and χɯ in the non-nominative. χɯbaθ cannot be used as a reflexive because reflexives must refer to subjects.

(3.148)    waz    soq,  tɔw  χuabaθ
1SG.NOM  healthy  2SG.NOM  REFL.NOM
 ‘I am healthy, you yourself?’

(3.149)    ta  χɯ  mudiʑuz  tɔrdʑ=o
2SG.N NOM  REFL.NNOM  feeling  good=Q
 ‘Is your own feeling good?’
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(3.150) \text{\texttt{ta \ χɯ-an = at \ kudzur \ latɔwq}}
\text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{REFL.NOM-GEN} \quad \text{2PFV} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{put.PFV}
‘Where did you put your own?’

(3.151) \text{\texttt{putxu \ a = yin = af \ χɯ \ zed}}
\text{king} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{wife} = \text{2PL.PFV} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{kill.PFV}
‘You have killed the king’s wife herself!’

Second, \text{χɯ} may also serve an adverbial function with the meaning ‘by self’ or ‘alone’, creating a nuance that the participant is capable of doing something without anyone’s help. This function is only available for the argument in subject function, and \text{χɯbaθ} serves as a modifier which is apposed to the subject, as in (3.152) & (3.153). Alternatively, to express the same meaning, the adverbial \text{χɯ tɛi tɛn} ‘by self’ may be used, as in (3.154).

(3.152) \text{\texttt{tɔw \ χɯbaθ \ a = wi \ hat \ ka}}
\text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{open} \quad \text{do.IPVF}
‘You open that yourself.’

(3.153) \text{\texttt{mu \ radzɛn \ χɯbaθ \ tid \ tɛi \ kaxt}}
\text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{daughter} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{go.INF} \quad \text{CAP} \quad \text{do.3SG.IPVF}
‘My daughter can go by herself.’

(3.154) \text{\texttt{m-ono \ digar \ dzuʃ \ tuaʃ, \ was = am}}
\text{1SG.NOM-mother} \quad \text{other} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{go.PFV} \quad \text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV}
\text{χɯ \ tɛi \ tɛn \ palaʃ \ tɔwq}
\text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{body} \quad \text{pilaf} \quad \text{do.PFV}
‘My mother went somewhere else, I made pilaf all by myself.’

3.8 Reciprocal pronoun

As with the reflexive, the reciprocal construction is used in activities with overlapping participants. If there are two clauses with the same verb, and the O argument of each verb has the same reference as the A argument of the other, as in the underlying sentence (3.155), then a reciprocal construction is used, as in (3.156). The two participants are conjoined into \text{raɕid at sobir} and function as the A argument, while the O slot is filled by reciprocal pronoun \text{imi}. The subject, as the fully-specified NP, serves as the antecedent.
As with the reflexive pronoun $\chi$u, the reciprocal pronoun $imi$ is usually subject-oriented, and is less prominent than its antecedent, occurring in a non-subject slot—such as accusative, as in (3.156) & (3.157), dative, as in (3.158) & (3.159), ablative, as in (3.160) - (3.162), comitative, as in (3.163), locative/allative, as in (3.164) & (3.165), or a possessor within an NP, as in (3.166) & (3.167).

(3.155) \texttt{|raɕid\ a = sobir\ dud,\ sobir\ a = raɕid\ dud|}
\texttt{Rashid\ ACC = Sobir\ hit.PFV\ Sobir\ ACC = Rashid\ hit.PFV}
‘Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.’

(3.156) \texttt{|raɕid\ at\ sobir = af\ a = imi\ dud|}
\texttt{Rashid\ CONJ\ Sobir = 3PL.PFV\ ACC = RECP\ hit.PFV}
‘Rashid and Sobir hit each other.’

(3.157) \texttt{|ar\ di\ af\ a = imi|}
\texttt{LOC\ 3SG.NNOM.PROX\ week\ ACC = RECP}
\texttt{\text{wejn = an = o}\ see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q}
‘Shall we see each other this week?’ (accusative)

(3.158) \texttt{|woð = af\ imi = ri\ $\chiu$\ surat|}
\texttt{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV\ RECP = DAT\ REPL.NNOM\ picture}
\texttt{\text{vusond}\ show.PFV}
‘They showed each other their picture.’ (dative)

(3.159) \texttt{|woð = af\ imi = ri\ samʁut\ dud|}
\texttt{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV\ RECP = DAT\ gift\ give.PFV}
‘They gave gifts to each other.’ (dative)

(3.160) \texttt{|woð = af\ az\ imi\ $\chiumand$\ sut|}
\texttt{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV\ ABL\ RECP\ learn\ become.PFV}
‘They learned from each other.’ (ablative)

(3.161) \texttt{|manos\ at\ mina = af\ az\ imi\ surud|}
\texttt{Manos CONJ\ Mina = 3PL.PFV\ ABL\ RECP\ separate.PFV}
‘Manos and Mina broke up.’ (ablative)
(3.162) ɡɯlbarɡ at tiloχon = af az imi χafo
Geelbarg CONJ Tilohon = 3PL.PFV ABL RECP upset

sutz
become.PFV

'Geelbarg and Tilohon got upset at each other.' (ablative)

(3.163) χsrəw at kɯraɕ = af
Hsreau CONJ Keerash = 3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted

sutz
become.PFV

'Hsreau and Keerash got acquainted with each other.' (comitative)

(3.164) waz at mu wajɛ tɑr imi ardo na
1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG

δeʃ = an
fall.IPV = 1PL.IPV

'My sister and I do not look alike.' (allative)

(3.165) maʃ = an tɑr imi ʃuzd
1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV

'We ran towards each other.' (allative)

(3.166) woʃ = af imi(-an wi) ktub
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book

wazapt
return.PFV

'They returned each other's books.' (genitive)

(3.167) woʃ = af imi(-an wi)
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

a = eʃb-ɛf wazond
ACC = transgression-PL.NNOM know.PFV

'They found out about each other's transgressions.' (genitive)

However, unlike the reflexive pronoun χu, imi may also take as its antecedent the O argument of the clause, as in (3.168) & (3.169).
Pronouns and demonstratives

\[(3.168)\]  
\[\text{mu}_1 \text{jay}_2 a=\text{gulbarg}\ at\ \text{tursun} imi=ri\]  
1SG.NNOM sister ACC=Geelbarg CONJ Tursun RECP = DAT  
\[\text{balad} \text{təwğ} do.PFV\]  
‘My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.’

\[(3.169)\]  
\[\text{alima}_1 \text{malum}_2 a=\text{canigul}\ at\ \text{asal} imi qati ep\]  
Alima teacher ACC=Shanigeel CONJ Asal RECP COM fix  
\[\text{təwğ} do.PFV\]  
‘Teacher Alima reconciled Shanigeel and Asal to each other.’

\text{imi} shows no person distinction and always maintains the same form, being interpreted as having the same person and number as its antecedent. A reciprocal construction may be formed from a transitive or intransitive clause, and does not change the transitivity of the clause. It may express either a simultaneous meaning describing a single unit of activity, as in \((3.157)\) \& \((3.163)\), or a sequential meaning for a series of activities, as in \((3.158)\) \& \((3.159)\).
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4

Possession

This chapter describes three varieties of possessive construction: 1) NP-internal possessive construction (§4.1), 2) predicative possessive construction (§4.2), and 3) substantival possessives (§4.3). The predicative construction is used to establish a relationship of possession, while the NP-internal construction presupposes the possessive relationship (Dixon 2010b:256). Substantival possessives may serve either function.

Within these possessive constructions, the nature of the possessor does not influence the structure in any way. The construction maintains the same structure whether the possessor is a common noun, pronoun, proper noun, or a kin term, or whether it is animate or non-animate, human or non-human. The nature of the possessive relationship, in terms of time or permanence, also does not affect the structure. As for the possessed item, no distinction is made between alienable and inalienable nouns.

In addition to marking NP-internal, predicative, and substantival possession, the genitive marker -an is also used to mark the underlying subject of a nominalized complement clause (§10.2.2.1).

4.1 NP-internal possessive construction

NP-internal possession is realized in two ways, as described below. In both constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed item, and the possessed item is the head of the NP. The possessive construction within an NP may be used to express a wide range of relationships, some of which go beyond mere possession. It may express ownership (4.3), whole-part relationship (4.6), kinship relationship (4.1), an attribute (4.2), or association (4.4).

1. Juxtaposition: The possessor and the possessed item are simply juxtaposed within the NP. This involves no additional marking, besides the ordering of elements. The possessor may be a common noun or proper noun, as in the following examples.
(4.1) *putxu radzen*
    king daughter
    ‘the King’s daughter’

(4.2) *mɯ vits sul*
    1SG.NNOM aunt year
    ‘my aunt’s age’

(4.3) *kurac tɛd*
    Keerash house
    ‘Keerash’s house’

(4.4) *amad bejt*
    Amad song
    ‘Amad’s song’

If the possessor is expressed as a pronoun, then non-nominative forms are used (as described in §3.1.1). As with common nouns and proper nouns, the two elements are simply juxtaposed, with the possessor preceding the possessed item.

(4.5) *mɯ jaktu*
    1SG.NNOM shirt
    ‘my shirt’

(4.6) *ta tsem*
    2SG.NNOM eye
    ‘your eye’

(4.7) *mæc dəwlat*
    1PL.NNOM country
    ‘our country’

(4.8) *wef pij*
    3PL.NNOM.DIST cat
    ‘their cat’

This way of marking possession may sometimes lead to ambiguity; when two nouns are juxtaposed, they could potentially be interpreted as a possessor followed by a possessed item, or as a modifier noun followed by a head noun. For example, the two-noun sequence in (4.9) may be understood as Alima’s teacher or as a teacher named Alima; in (4.10) the two possible interpretations are Tilu’s reins or reins made of gold.
(4.9)  
\[ \text{alima malum} \]
\[ \text{Alima teacher} \]
‘Alima’s teacher’ or ‘Teacher Alima’

(4.10)  
\[ \text{tilu tizgin} \]
\[ \text{gold reins} \]
‘Tilu’s reins’ or ‘golden reins’

2. The pronominal genitive construction: The genitive marker \(-an\) is attached to the end of the possessor NP, followed by the non-nominative pronoun which agrees (in person and number, and deixis, if applicable) with the possessor, and then followed by the possessed item. This construction is less ambiguous than the juxtaposition construction above, in that: 1) the noun to which the genitive marker attaches is clearly marked as a possessor, and 2) the non-nominative pronoun preceding the possessed item specifies the person and number of the possessor.

(4.11)  
\[ \text{kuraɕ-an wi dest} \]
\[ \text{Keerash-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST friend} \]
‘Keerash’s friend’

(4.12)  
\[ \text{mu jay-an wi tsur} \]
\[ 1SG.NNOM sister-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband \]
‘my sister’s husband’

(4.13)  
\[ \text{batɕo-ɛf-an wɛf skit} \]
\[ \text{child-PL.NNOM-GEN 3PL.NNOM.DIST play} \]
‘children’s play/game’

(4.14)  
\[ \text{kalo-ɛf-an wɛf wux} \]
\[ \text{sheep-PL.NNOM-GEN 3PL.NNOM.DIST grass} \]
‘sheep’s grass’

If the possessor is expressed as a pronoun, the possessor pronoun is in the non-nominative form and still takes the genitive marker \(-an\), followed by the same pronoun in non-nominative form repeating the person and number information of the possessor, which is then followed by the possessed item.

(4.15)  
\[ \text{mu-an mu orzu} \]
\[ 1SG.NNOM-GEN 1SG.NNOM hope \]
‘my hope’
(4.16)  ta-an  ta  daftar
2SG.NNOM-GEN 2SG.NNOM  note
‘your notebook’

(4.17)  wi-an  wi  num
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST  name
‘his name’

(4.18)  mac-an  mac  dijur
1PL.NNOM-GEN 1PL.NNOM  region
‘our hometown’

4.2 Predicative possessive construction

Besides the NP-internal possessive construction, there is also a predicative pos-
sessive construction. Sarikoli lacks a verb ‘have’ and uses another strategy for
establishing a possessive relationship predicatively: it employs the existential
predicate jost ‘exist’ or its negative counterpart nist, in combination with the S
argument NP which is headed by the possessed item. As existential predicates,
jost and nist can only take a single core argument, which is nominative. The
possessor is marked as a possessor within the NP, in the non-nominative form
plus the genitive marker -an, rather than as an A argument. Semantically,
these possessive clauses are expressed as ‘[the possessed item] exists’ or ‘[the
possessed item] does not exist’, as shown in the following examples:

(4.19)  wi-an  harabo  jost
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN  vehicle  be.IPFV
‘He has a vehicle.’ (lit. Of his, there is a vehicle.)

(4.20)  wi-an  harabo  nist
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN  vehicle  NEG.be.IPFV
‘He does not have a vehicle.’ (lit. Of his, there is no vehicle.)

As with the NP-internal construction, the predicative possessive construction
covers a number of relationships, including ownership (4.21), whole-part re-
lationship (4.22), association (4.23), and kinship relationship (4.24) & (4.25).
Attributes are generally not expressed through this construction; the NP-internal
construction is the preferred way to state that someone has a certain attribute.
(4.24) & (4.25) show that a numeral or interrogative word tсуд ‘how many’
may be added to the S argument NP to indicate how many items are possessed.
Possession

(4.21) *maɕ-an*  
1PL.NOM GEN  
*yak*  
NEG be.IPFW  
‘We do not have yaks.’ (lit. Of ours, there is no yak.)

(4.22) *ta-an*  
2SG.NOM GEN  
*tooth*  
be.IPFW = Q  
‘Do you have teeth?’ (lit. Of yours, are there teeth?)

(4.23) *muu-an*  
1SG.NOM GEN  
*one*  
question  
be.IPFW  
‘I have a question.’ (lit. Of mine, there is a question.)

(4.24) *tamaɕ-an*  
2PL.NOM GEN  
*how.much*  
*child*  
be.IPFW  
‘How many children do you(pl) have?’ (lit. Of yours(pl), how many children are there?)

(4.25) *wef-an*  
3PL.NOM DIST GEN  
*three*  
*child*  
be.IPFW  
‘They have three children.’ (lit. Of theirs, there are three children.)

Proper nouns and common nouns followed by the genitive marker *-an* may also act as the possessor in this construction:

(4.26) *tursun-an*  
Tursun-GEN  
*money*  
NEG be.IPFW  
‘Tursun does not have money.’ (lit. Of Tursun’s, there is no money.)

(4.27) *rajon-an*  
Rayon-GEN  
*red*  
*dress*  
be.IPFW  
‘Rayon has a red dress.’ (lit. Of Rayon’s, there is a red dress.)

(4.28) *di*  
3SG.NOM PROX  
*child-GEN*  
*father*  
mother  
NEG be.IPFW  
‘This child does not have a father and mother.’ (lit. Of this child’s, there are no father and mother.)

(4.29) *kalo-ɛf-an*  
sheep-PL.NOM GEN  
*grass*  
be.IPFW  
‘The sheep have grass.’ (lit. Of the sheep’s, there is grass.)
The substantive possessive is formed by attaching the genitive marker -an to a non-nominative NP, as in (4.31) - (4.34). A substantive possessive is the head of an NP rather than just a modifier within an NP; it is used independently, without a possessed item acting as the head of the NP.

(4.31) \[ \text{jad} \quad \text{muu-an} \]

\[ 3SG \text{NOM.PROX} \quad 1SG \text{NNOM-GEN} \]

‘This is mine.’

(4.32) \[ \text{muu-an} \quad \text{mas} \]

\[ 1SG \text{NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{also} \]

‘Mine, too.’

(4.33) \[ \text{ta-an} \quad \text{az wi-an} \quad \text{lowr vɛdʑ} \]

\[ 2SG \text{NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{ABL} \quad 3SG \text{NNOM.DIST-GEN} \quad \text{big be.PRF} \]

‘Yours is bigger than hers. (Evidential/New information)’

(4.34) \[ \text{tamas-an} \quad \text{muu = ri} \quad \text{χəwɛ} \]

\[ 2PL \text{NNOM-GEN} \quad 1SG \text{NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{happy} \]

‘I like yours(pl).’

Substantival possessive forms may also be derived from common nouns, as in (4.35) & (4.36), and proper nouns, as in (4.37) & (4.38) by attaching the genitive marker -an to the possessor.

(4.35) \[ \text{jad} \quad \text{χɛvəd} \quad \text{piɛ-an} \]

\[ 3SG \text{NOM.PROX} \quad \text{milk cat-GEN} \]

‘This milk is the cat’s.’

(4.36) \[ \text{a = batɛo-an} \quad \text{muu = ri} \quad \text{do} \]

\[ \text{ACC = child-GEN} \quad 1SG \text{NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{give.IPfv} \]

‘Give me the child’s.’
A substantival possessive may function as the subject of an intransitive clause (4.39), subject or object of a transitive clause (4.40), copula subject (4.41), copula complement (4.42), or even an indirect object of a ditransitive clause (4.43) & (4.44).

(4.37)  
\[ \text{jad qalam kuræ-an nist} \]  
\[ 3\text{SG.NOM.PROX pen Keerash-GEN NEG.be.IPVF} \]  
‘This pen is not Keerash’s.’

(4.38)  
\[ \text{romila-an mas tu=ri doi=am} \]  
\[ \text{Romila-GEN also 2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF} \]  
‘I will also give Romila’s to you.’

(4.39)  
\[ \text{zuroχon-an mas na məwɡ} \]  
\[ \text{Zurohon-GEN also NEG die.PFV} \]  
‘Zurohon’s has not died, either.’

(4.40)  
\[ \text{muu-an a=wi-an χɯɡ} \]  
\[ 1\text{SG.NNOM-GEN ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN eat.PFV} \]  
‘Mine ate his.’

(4.41)  
\[ \text{muu nabus-an eng ɕlet} \]  
\[ 1\text{SG.NNOM grandchild-GEN SUPL soft} \]  
‘My grandchild’s is the softest.’

(4.42)  
\[ \text{juu ktub-χejl dzɯl batso-ɛf-an} \]  
\[ 3\text{PL.NOM.DIST book-PL.NOM small child-PL.NNOM-GEN} \]  
‘Those books are for little children.’

(4.43)  
\[ \text{wɛf-an=ir xats na doi=an} \]  
\[ 3\text{PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN = DAT water NEG give.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF} \]  
‘Let us not give water to theirs.’

(4.44)  
\[ \text{nuur χu-an kan=an,} \]  
\[ \text{today REFл.NNOM-GEN do.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF} \]

\[ \text{wɛf-an=ir uz digar maθ woɕt} \]  
\[ 3\text{PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN = DAT again other day time} \]

\[ \text{zwoð=an} \]  
\[ \text{pull.out.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF} \]  
‘Let us do our own today, and make time for theirs another day.’
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5

Comparison

The comparative scheme consists of three obligatory components: Comparee, Standard of comparison, and the Parameter, which is the property in terms of which they are compared (Dixon 2012:344). The Standard is a non-nominative argument marked with the ablative preposition *az*. The Index of comparison, which is optional, is the comparative particle *dɛr* ‘more’ which follows the Parameter adjective.

Sarikoli has two ways of expressing comparison. The mono-clausal construction (§5.1) will be introduced first, followed by the bi-clausal construction (§5.2). The superlative (§5.3), which is an extension from the comparative construction, will be described next. The fourth section (§5.4) will present how a statement of equivalence is expressed when the Comparee and Standard have the same degree in regards to the Parameter. The correlative comparative will be presented in the final section (§5.5).

The superlative Index *ɛnɡ*, which is one of the two markers of superlative, is borrowed from Uyghur; the optional comparative Index *dɛr* is cognate with Persian.

5.1 Mono-clausal construction

The mono-clausal comparative construction involves a copula clause construction (which is a verbless clause in the imperfective aspect), with the Parameter as the copula complement. In Sarikoli, a statement that something has a certain property involves an adjective in copula complement function, as in (5.1). The comparative construction is formed by adding a non-nominative NP as the Standard of comparison, marked by the ablative preposition *az*, as in (5.2) & (5.3). The comparative particle *dɛr* may optionally be added as a post-head modifier to the adjective within the copula complement. The Comparee and Standard are expressed as NPs headed by any of the elements that can serve as an NP head. The NP containing the Standard may be moved to sentence-final
or sentence-initial position, as shown in the pairs of sentences in (5.2) & (5.3), respectively.

(5.1)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{varɕidɛ} & \quad \text{iɕ} \\
\text{Varshide} & \quad \text{cold} \\
\text{‘Varshide is cold.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.2)  
\[
\begin{align*}
a. \quad & \text{varɕidɛ} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{xwor} \quad \text{iɕ} \quad (dɛr) \\
& \text{Varshide} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{Kashgar} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{CPRV} \\
& \text{‘Varshide is colder than Kashgar.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b. \quad & \text{az} \quad \text{xwor} \quad \text{varɕidɛ} \quad \text{iɕ} \quad (dɛr) \\
& \text{ABL} \quad \text{Kashgar} \quad \text{Varshide} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{CPRV} \\
& \text{‘Varshide is colder than Kashgar.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.3)  
\[
\begin{align*}
a. \quad & \text{az} \quad \text{qatlamo} \quad \text{arzɛq} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri} \quad \text{χɯɕ} \quad (dɛr) \\
& \text{ABL} \quad \text{Qatlamo} \quad \text{Arzeq} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{happy} \quad \text{CPRV} \\
& \text{‘I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savoury folded pastry).’ (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b. \quad & \text{arzɛq} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri} \quad \text{χɯɕ} \quad (dɛr), \quad \text{az} \quad \text{qatlamo} \\
& \text{Arzeq} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{happy} \quad \text{CPRV} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{Qatlamo} \\
& \text{‘I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savoury folded pastry).’ (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)}
\end{align*}
\]

The Parameter of comparison may be a single adjective in copula complement function, as in (5.2) & (5.3) above, an adnominal adjective, as in (5.4) & (5.5), or an adjective, quantifier, or prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial modifier, as in (5.6) - (5.9). Adnominal adjectives generally do not take the comparative marker \textit{dɛr} when occurring in a comparative construction. Since adverbs are typically derived from adjectives, and some plain adjectives may also be used in adverbial function, an adverb can naturally function as the Parameter. However, unmodified nouns or verbs may not serve as the Parameter, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.10) & (5.11).

(5.4)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{varɕidɛ} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{urumqɩi} \quad \text{χɯeruij} \quad \text{dzuij} \\
& \text{Varshide} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{beautiful} \quad \text{place} \\
& \text{‘Varshide is a more beautiful place than Urumqi.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(5.5) \( mu \) \( pati \) \( az \) \( ta \) \( mas \) \( asto \) \( \chi ig = it \) \( azuz \)
1SG.N NOM cousin ABL 2SG.N NOM also slow eat.INF = REL
‘My cousin is one who eats even slower than you.’

(5.6) \( waz \) \( az \) \( racid \) \( dzald \) \( (der) \) \( \chi uz = am \)
1SG.N OM ABL Rashid fast CPRV run. IPFV = 1SG.IP FV
‘I run faster than Rashid.’

(5.7) \( ju \) \( az \) \( di \) \( \chi u\nu ruj \) \( (der) \)
3SG.N OM.DIST ABL 3SG.N OM.PROX beautiful CPRV

\( levd \)
say.3SG.IP F V
‘He speaks/sings more beautifully than this one.’

(5.8) \( mu \) \( bob \) \( az \) \( mu \) \( pur \) \( (der) \)
1SG.N NOM grandfather ABL 1SG.N NOM much CPRV

\( wazond \)
know.3SG.IP F V
‘My grandfather knows more than I do.’

(5.9) \( \cept \) \( az \) \( wef \) \( tar \) \( prud \) \( (der) \) \( tizd \)
donkey ABL 3PL. N OM.DIST LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IP F V
‘The donkey goes ahead of them.’

(5.10) \( *\epsilon dboj \) \( az \) \( mu \) \( dejqu n \) \( (der) \)
Eidboy ABL 1SG.N OM farmer CPRV
‘Eidboy is more farmer than I am.’

(5.11) \( *\j ad \) \( \z ow \) \( az \) \( wi \) \( \chi i r d \) \( (der) \)
3SG.N OM.PROX cow ABL 3SG.N OM.DIST eat CPRV
‘This cow eats than that one.’

The Standard of comparison, along with the ablative marker \( az \), may be omitted when it can be inferred from the physical or discourse context, with the help of the comparative marker \( der \):

(5.12) \( mu = ri \) \( pur \) \( der \) \( do \)
1SG.N NOM = DAT much CPRV give. IPF V
‘Give me more.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(5.13) χɯ refl bob=ir nom nizd der niθ
grandfather = DAT near sit.IPfv
‘Sit closer to your grandfather.’

(5.14) pɯɡan tomorrow waχti early der joð=it
come.IPfv =2PL.IPfv
‘Come(pl) earlier tomorrow.’

One of the NP quantifiers, bax der ‘most’, is composed of the adjective bax ‘much; extra’ and the comparative marker der (see §2.3.1.3).

To express that the Comparee is less X (where ‘X’ is the Parameter) than the Standard, the Parameter adjective phrase is modified by a preceding kam ‘few’, optionally followed by the comparative marker der, as in (5.15). kam may also function as the Parameter itself, since it can serve an adverbial function, as in (5.16).

(5.15) waz az muŋ jay kam (der) χɯɕrɯj
1SG.NOM ABL 1SG.NNOM sister few CPRV beautiful
‘I am less beautiful than my sister.’

(5.16) ɕanbɛ az muŋ kam (der) xuvdʑ
Shanbe ABL 1SG.NNOM few CPRV sleep.PRf
‘Shanbe slept less than I did. (Evidential/New information)’

In addition to comparing two participants, it is also possible to compare two activities with this construction. In such cases, the two activities are expressed as nominalizations (in the infinitive verb stem), and the subjects of those nominalizations are expressed as possessors (in the unmarked non-nominative form).

(5.17) wi navist az muŋ xoŋ dʑald
3SG.NNOM.DIST write.INF ABL 1SG.NNOM read.INF fast
(der)
CPRV
‘His writing is faster than my reading.’

The examples presented so far have shown the Comparee as the copula subject with the Parameter as the copula complement. However, the Comparee may also function as the O argument, with a shared subject as the A argument and a shared predicate as the Parameter. The Index, pur ‘much’ or kam ‘few’,
serves an adverbial function and may be followed by the comparative marker *der*. For example, in (5.18), the shared A argument is *waz* ‘I’, the Comparee is *hansu ziv* ‘Mandarin language’, the Standard is *tudzik ziv* ‘Tajik language’, the Index is *pur (der)* ‘more’, and the Parameter is the shared predicate *wazon* ‘know’.

(5.18)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{waz} & \text{az} & \text{tudzik} & \text{ziv} & \text{a} = \text{hansu} & \text{ziv} & \text{kam (der)} \\
1SG.NOM & ABL & Tajik & tongue & ACC=Han & tongue & few & CPRV
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wazon} = \text{am} \\
\text{know.IPFV} = 1SG.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘I know less Mandarin than I know Tajik.’

(5.19)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{merdin} & \text{az} & \text{tsɛr} & \text{skit} & \text{pur (der)} & \text{kaxt} \\
\text{Merdin} & ABL & work & play & much & CPRV & do.3SG.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘Merdin plays more than he works.’

As with all other copula clauses, the comparative construction is negated by adding the clause-final negator *nist*. The comparative marker *der* is not used in a negative comparative construction.

(5.20)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{m-ono} & \text{az} & \text{m-oto} & \text{kam} & \text{xojdʑ = endʑ} \\
1SG.NNOM-mother & ABL & 1SG.NNOM-father & few & read.PRF = REL
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nist} \\
\text{NEG.be.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]

‘My mother is not one who is less educated than my father.’

(5.21)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{waz} & \text{az} & \text{ta} & \text{aqlin} & \text{mas} & \text{nist} \\
1SG.NOM & ABL & 2SG.NNOM & intelligent & also & NEG.be.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kutɕin} & \text{mas} & \text{nist} \\
\text{strong} & also & NEG.be.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘I am not more intelligent than you or stronger than you.’

### 5.2 Bi-clausal construction

The bi-clausal comparative construction involves a subordinate clause and has the following structure:
‘when looking to (i.e. compared with) [Standard], [Comparee] is [Parameter]’.

The verb tɕixt ‘look’ is followed by the temporal particle alo, forming a temporal adverbial clause. As with the mono-clausal construction, the main clause is a copula clause with the Comparee as the copula subject and the Parameter as the copula complement. However, the standard is marked as dative instead of ablative, and the Index der is obligatory. The bi-clausal construction may be used with adjectives in copula complement function (5.22) & (5.23), adverbials (5.24) & (5.25), and adnominal adjectives (5.26).

(5.22) zɯlfia dest=ir tɕixt alo mu dest long
Zeelfia friend=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.N NOM friend limpy

der
CPRV

‘Compared to Zeelfia’s friend, my friend is more limpy.’

(5.23) ta cejdoi=ri tɕixt alo mu-an
2SG.NOM Sheydoi=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.N NOM GEN

garun der
heavy CPRV

‘Compared to your Sheydoi (female cap), mine is heavier.’

(5.24) χɯ refl χajun=ir tɕixt alo was
REFL.NOM sister.in.law=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NOM

χuŋruj der intsov=am
beautiful CPRV sew.IPV = 1SG.IPV

‘Compared to my sister-in-law, I sew more beautifully.’

(5.25) digar qanatin=ir tɕixt alo xtsuvd buland der
other bird=DAT look.INF TEMP eagle high CPRV

rawozd
fly.3SG.IPV

‘Compared to other birds, the eagle flies higher.’
As with the mono-clausal construction, to express that the Comparee is of a greater or lesser degree than the Standard in terms of the Parameter, the Parameter adjective may be modified by a preceding pur ‘much’ or kam ‘few’ followed by the comparative marker der, as in (5.27) & (5.28), or with uburo ‘more’ without the comparative marker der, as in (5.29).

(5.27)  
\[
\text{omira xad = ir twixt alo şanigul xad pur}
\]

Oimira hair = DAT look.INF TEMP Shanigeel hair much

der zird
CPRV yellow

‘Compared to Oimira’s hair, Shanigeel’s hair is more yellow.’

(5.28)  
\[
\text{mu tɛd-nendz-ef = ir twixt alo}
\]

1SG.NOM house-ADJ-PL.NNom = DAT look.INF TEMP

mu xojd kam der mujim
1SG.NOM read.INF few CPRV important

‘Compared to my family, my studies are less important.’

(5.29)  
\[
\text{wi puuts = ir tɛixt alo mu puuts}
\]

3SG.NOM.DIST son = DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NOM son

tur set = ir uburo der lujɛq
husband become.INF = DAT more CPRV worthy

‘Compared to her son, my son is more worthy to become a husband.’

The bi-clausal construction may also be used for comparing two different activities. The two activities, which are the Comparee and Standard, are both expressed as nominalizations (in the infinitive verb stem), and the Parameter is followed by der, as in (5.30).
(5.30)  
\[ \text{pul vig}=ir \text{ twixt alo pul rafond usun} \]
\[ \text{money find.INF = DAT look.INF TEMP money use.INF easy} \]
\[ \text{der} \]
\[ \text{CPRV} \]

‘Compared to earning money, spending money is easier.’

Alternatively, a bi-clausal comparative strategy may be formed by conjoining two independent clauses with the conjunction hammo or lekin ‘but’. The second clause is essentially the same as a mono-clausal construction, with the Standard omitted because it is mentioned in the first clause. The parameter is an adjective, and either the comparative marker der or uburo ‘more’ may function as the Index of parameter. The first clause often includes an optional mas ‘also’.

(5.31)  
\[ \text{di qad (mas) buhand, hammo} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX height also high but} \]
\[ \text{di puts qad uburo buhand} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX son height more high} \]

‘This person is (also) tall, but his son is even taller.’

(5.32)  
\[ \text{ɕindʑanɡ tamoq (mas) tsex, lekin suttwan tamoq tsex der} \]
\[ \text{Xinjiang food also spicy but Sichuan food spicy CPRV} \]

‘Xinjiang food is (also) spicy, but Sichuan food is even spicier.’

### 5.3 Superlative

The superlative construction is an extension from the comparative construction. Whereas a comparative adjective compares two participants of similar status (Comparee & Standard), the superlative adjective identifies a single individual as one that is of the greatest degree in regards to the Parameter. The superlative is expressed through a comparative construction, with the Standard being specified as dzam ‘all’ and marked with the ablative preposition az. The Comparee is stated first, followed by the Standard az dzam, followed by the Parameter. The Comparee may be an adjective in copula complement (5.33), adnominal (5.34) - (5.36), or adverbial (5.37) function.

(5.33)  
\[ \text{jad cer az dzam kutɕin} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all strong} \]

‘This donkey is the strongest.’
(5.34) \( jad \text{ az dżam kūtɕin cɛr } \)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{ABL} \\
\text{strong} & \text{donkey}
\end{array}
\]

‘This is the strongest donkey.’

(5.35) \( mɯ \text{ az dżam nizd hamru mɯ = ri } \)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{1SG.NNOM} & \text{ABL} \\
\text{near} & \text{companion} \text{1SG.NNOM = DAT}
\end{array}
\]

\( \chi’unat \text{ tɛwŋ} \)
betrayal do.PFV

‘My closest friend betrayed me.’

(5.36) \( aftovus-an \text{ az dżam prud-nendz a = dʒuŋ-e} \)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{bus-GEN} & \text{ABL} & \text{front-ADJ} & \text{ACC = place-PL.NNOM}
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{pɛɕqadam} \chi’alג-e = ir \text{ dəd luzim} \)
elderly person-PL.NNOM = DAT give.INF necessary

‘It is necessary to give the foremost seats of the bus to the elderly.’

(5.37) \( wi \text{ dud bejtɡar, ju az dżam } \)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{uncle} & \text{singer} & \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL all}
\end{array}
\]

\( \chi’ueruij \text{ lɛvd} \)
beautiful say.3SG.IPFV

‘His uncle is a singer, he sings the most beautifully.’

Alternatively, the Uyghur loanword \( ɛnɡ \) ‘most’ may be used as a distinct superlative Index, replacing the native \( \text{az dżam} \) ‘than all’. As in the native superlative construction introduced above, the Comparee is followed by the Index \( ɛnɡ \) and then the Parameter. It is ungrammatical to use both \( \text{az dżam} \) and \( ɛnɡ \) for a single adjective, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.38b) & (5.39b).

(5.38) a. \( jad \text{ cɛr } ɛnɡ \text{ kūtɕin } \)
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{donkey} & \text{SUPL strong}
\end{array}
\]

‘This donkey is the strongest.’

b. \( *jad \text{ cɛr } \text{az dżam } ɛnɡ \text{ kūtɕin } \)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{donkey} & \text{ABL all} & \text{SUPL strong}
\end{array}
\]

‘This donkey is the strongest.’
(5.39) a. mu eng nizd hamru mu = ri
1SG.NNom SUPL near companion 1SG.NNom = DAT
χiunat tɕwɡ
betrayal do.PFV
‘My closest friend betrayed me.’

b. *mu az dʑam eng nizd hamru
1SG.NNom ABL all SUPL near companion
mu = ri χiunat tɕwɡ
1SG.NNom = DAT betrayal do.PFV
‘My closest friend betrayed me.’

5.4 Statement of equivalence

Sometimes the Comparee and Standard may be of equal degree in regards to the Parameter. In such cases, a statement of equivalence is made by stating the Comparee, followed by the Standard marked with the semblative postposition rang, followed by the Parameter. As with the regular mono-clausal construction, the statement of equivalence may be formed from adjectives in copula complement (5.40), adnominal (5.41), and adverbial function (5.42).

(5.40) waz dowud rang aqlin
1SG.NOM Doweed SEMB intelligent
‘I am as intelligent as Doweed.’

(5.41) maɕ tamaɕ rang pur dʑuj tujdʑ = endʑ
1PL.NNom 2PL.NNom SEMB much place go.PRF = REL
nist
NEG.be.IPfv
‘We are not those who have been to as many places as you(pl) have.’

(5.42) batɕo-χejl maɕ rang dzald levl na tɕi
child-PL.NNom 1PL.NNom SEMB fast say-INF NEG CAP
ka = in
do.PFV = 3PL.IPfv
‘Children cannot speak as fast as we do.’
5.5 Correlative comparative

In a correlative comparative construction, two comparative clauses are juxtaposed (Dixon 2012:389). The correlative comparative construction consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause contains a verb in infinitive stem followed by a special correlative comparative particle, araɕi. The subordinate clause generally occurs sentence-initially, or after the subject if the two clauses share the same subject, as in (5.43) & (5.48).

(5.43) manos xa̱g araɕi farbe sowd
Manos eat.INF CORR fat become.3SG.IPFV
‘The more Manos eats, the fatter he gets.’

(5.44) nwqt bawu tar set araɕi zoxt=iʨuz χalg
thing price high become.INF CORR buy.INF=REL person
kam sowd
few become.3SG.IPFV
‘The higher the price of things, the fewer the people who by them.’

(5.45) tɔw tɔcərti pur tejeq araɕi ta zarat
2SG.NOM sow much do.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM harvest
k=dund pur sowd
ANA=AMT much become.3SG.IPFV
‘The more you sow, the more you reap.’

(5.46) χalg=ir vusond araɕi ta gamayq bsqr
person=DAT show.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM styə big
sowd
become.3SG.IPFV
‘The more you show your styə to other people, the bigger it will get.’

(5.47) hawu buland set araɕi mɛwɔ k=dund kam
atmosphere high become.INF CORR fruit ANA=AMT few
sowdz sowd
green become.3SG.IPFV
‘The higher the altitude, the less fruit will grow.’
(5.48)  wi  awudʑ səwl wɛd  araɕi
   3SG.NOM.DIST sound ear put.INF CORR

   mu = ri = ik  χɯɕrɯj  nɯmɯj
   1SG.NOM = DAT = DUR beautiful seem.3SG.IPFV

‘The more I listen to her voice, the more beautiful it seems to me.’

(5.49)  ta  mul  mɯlk pur  set  araɕi  alukat
   2SG.NOM livestock land much become.INF CORR trouble

   mas  pur  səwd
   also much become.3SG.IPFV

‘The more possessions you have, the more troublesome it gets.’
6

Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial modifiers are a category which includes modifiers of predicates, clauses, adjectives, and other adverbial modifiers. Since they are functionally defined notions, they not only include adverbs but also nouns, demonstratives, and clauses (discussed in §10.2.3), as long as they function adverbially (Sohn 1994:86). Adverbials always precede the element they are modifying. This chapter describes various adverbials that modify the action or state expressed by a verb, including those that describe time (§6.1), frequency (§6.2), manner (§6.3), degree (§6.4), and epistemic likelihood (§6.5), as well as adverbs derived from other lexical categories (§6.6). Adverbials describing place are discussed in the section on local demonstratives (§3.5).

6.1 Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials include temporal shifters, definite time specifications, and duration adverbials. Temporal shifters are words whose reference shifts when the time changes (Dixon 2010a:114). Temporal shifters referring to days, years, and other points in time are presented in tables 6.1 - 6.3 below. Besides these temporal adverbials, §13.7 describes how to tell time and date.

Table 6.1 “Day” shifters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purparaxeb</td>
<td>‘three days prior’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraxeb</td>
<td>‘two days prior’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xeb</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nur</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pugan</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fai</td>
<td>‘two days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadar</td>
<td>‘three days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadir</td>
<td>‘four days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paswadir</td>
<td>‘five days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jonwadir</td>
<td>‘six days hence’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

\[\text{wijonwadir} \quad \text{‘seven days hence’}\]
\[\text{wijonpaswadir} \quad \text{‘eight days hence’}\]
\[\text{wijonsulpaswadir} \quad \text{‘nine days hence’}\]

Table 6.2 “Year” shifters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pɯrsadus</td>
<td>‘two years before last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadus</td>
<td>‘year before last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parus</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seð</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulir</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jonsul</td>
<td>‘year after next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wijonsul</td>
<td>‘two years after next year’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Other points in time shifters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prud</td>
<td>‘before; previously’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar waχt</td>
<td>‘a while ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa waχt</td>
<td>‘a while ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingum/inguv</td>
<td>‘just now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɪtɛ</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzir</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i dαm dɛr</td>
<td>‘a while later; in a moment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilu dɛr</td>
<td>‘a while later; in a moment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilu zabu</td>
<td>‘a while later; in a moment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zabu</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal ki wi waχt</td>
<td>‘exactly at that time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Definite time specifications are usually nouns which often function adverbially and whose reference does not change, always referring to the same point in time regardless of the time of utterance. 6.4 shows definite time specifications referring to different periods of the day.

Table 6.4 Time of day adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xjejn tanuv</td>
<td>‘before dawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jswl</td>
<td>‘daybreak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverbial modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χερ tsurajχ</td>
<td>‘sunrise time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar jəwl</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maður prud</td>
<td>‘before noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maður</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadub</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maður zabu</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pejɕin</td>
<td>‘late afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xom</td>
<td>‘when sky starts to get dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χερ nalist</td>
<td>‘sunset time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijur</td>
<td>‘evening/bedtime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xob</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some common adverbials that express a duration of time are presented in 6.5:

**Table 6.5 Duration adverbials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilundʑik</td>
<td>‘for a short time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i dam i zamun</td>
<td>‘instantaneously’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsem hat tɕeŋ baymig its</td>
<td>‘instantaneously (lit. in the blink of an eye)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maθ paqad</td>
<td>‘all day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramadon</td>
<td>‘all day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raxob</td>
<td>‘all night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i sul paqad</td>
<td>‘for a whole year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umr paqad</td>
<td>‘for a lifetime’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sequence adverbials designate the timing of a situation with respect to a context or other situations:

**Table 6.6 Sequence adverbials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awal</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uz</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uχir</td>
<td>‘finally’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The default position of temporal modifiers is immediately after the subject, as in (6.1), or sentence-initial position if the subject is omitted, as in (6.2).
(6.1)  
\[ mardon \ pejɕin \ az \ tɕed \ naxtizd \]
\[ \text{Mardon late.afternoon ABL house go.up.3SG.IP} \]
\[ \text{‘Mardon will go out (from the house) in the late afternoon.’} \]

(6.2)  
\[ pɯrparaxɛb = am \quad a = wi \quad wandaʑ-it \]
\[ \text{three.days.prior = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS} \]
\[ \text{‘I saw her three days ago.’} \]

6.2 Frequency adverbials

Frequency adverbials are used to indicate how often a situation occurs. 6.7 presents some commonly-used frequency words.

Table 6.7 Frequency adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kam tar kam</td>
<td>‘very rarely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>‘rarely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igun igun; igun = ir</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itang waɕt</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go waȼt</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur</td>
<td>‘often’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iχil</td>
<td>‘constantly; incessantly; frequently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dojim</td>
<td>‘constantly; incessantly; frequently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har dojim</td>
<td>‘very frequently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har waɕt</td>
<td>‘always; all the time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maθ tar maθ</td>
<td>‘(increasingly) day by day’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with temporal words, frequency words generally occur immediately after the subject, as in (6.3) & (6.4). If the subject is omitted, they occur sentence-initially, as in (6.5). In (6.6), the frequency word occurs after the spatial setting, which follows the subject slot. When used as a frequency word, igun ‘sometimes’ is either reduplicated or takes the dative marker = ir.

(6.3)  
\[ maɕ \quad dver \quad har \quad waɕt \quad tamaɕ = ir \quad hat \]
\[ 1PL.NNOM door every time 2PL.NNOM = DAT open \]
\[ \text{‘Our door is always open to you(pl).’} \]
6.3 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbials are used to describe the manner in which an action is performed. Some common manner adverbials are presented in table 6.8 below. *dzald* ‘fast’, *asto* ‘slow’, and *χɯɕrɯj* ‘beautiful’ may function as manner adverbials as well as adjectives in adnominal or copula complement position. The comitative function marker *qati* may also be used adverbially to mean ‘together’. The numeral *i* ‘one’ may be used as a hedge against full effort or commitment when trying something out initially.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner adverbials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hargiz</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tag</em>(əw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dzald</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gupəθ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dzup</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>asto</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>χɯɕrɯj</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iwds</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qati</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tup</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tang</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

`dal` ‘exactly; just right’

`tsing` ‘fully; firmly’

`atuin` ‘purposefully’

`odata` ‘by habit (usually)’

`i` ‘once (on a trial basis)’

In general, manner adverbials occur immediately after the subject (6.7) - (6.9) or direct object (6.10), or sentence-initially when the subject is omitted, as in (6.11).

(6.7) `merona gupaθ χɯ az dzuj umdawd` Merona very.quickly `REFL.NNOM ABL` place `get.up.PFV`

`χ-ono=ri tilfon tsowg` `REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT` phone `do.PFV` ‘Merona got up from her seat very quickly and called her mother.’

(6.8) `woθ=af utc χwemuj lɛvd=ir ve打猎` `3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV` very `beautiful` `say.INF=DAT` be `PFV` ‘They speak/sing very beautifully. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.9) `waz i uj k=am` `1SG.NOM` once `thought` `do.PFV=1SG.PFV` ‘I will think about it.’

(6.10) `ju χɯ tsini tsing na waordinator` `3SG.NOM.DIST` `REFL.NNOM` bowl `firmly` `NEG` `grab.PRIF` ‘He did not hold on to his bowl firmly. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.11) `dal=an lɛvdz` exactly `=1PL.PFV` say `PFV` ‘We said it exactly right. (Evidential/New information)’

### 6.4 Degree adverbials

Degree adverbials are adverbial modifiers that indicate the degree of an action or attribute. They modify some combination of verbs, adjectives, and manner adverbials, and always precede the element that they modify. Table 6.9 lists some frequently-used degree adverbials, with the third column specifying
what they modify. In addition to functioning as adverbial modifiers of verbs, adjectives, and adverbials, some of these words are also quantifiers (*kam, pur*) or adjectives (*dzulik*) which directly modify the head noun of an NP.

Table 6.9 Degree words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Modifies which constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kam</em></td>
<td>‘few’</td>
<td>verb, adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dzulik</em></td>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td>verb, adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pur</em></td>
<td>‘much’</td>
<td>verb, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tag(əw)</em></td>
<td>‘at all’</td>
<td>verb, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>χeji</em></td>
<td>‘fairly’</td>
<td>adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uburo</em></td>
<td>‘more’</td>
<td>adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uç</em></td>
<td>‘very/too (much)’</td>
<td>verb, adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>adzab</em></td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gando</em></td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tazo</em></td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>adjective, manner adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pɛt</em></td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rəwrɯz</em></td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iwaθ</em></td>
<td>‘completely; for good’</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in (6.12) - (6.25) below illustrate the use of each of these degree adverbials.

*tag(əw)* has three different usages: 1) as a degree adverb indicating no degree ‘at all’ (as shown in (6.14) & (6.15) below); as an epistemic adverb which means ‘ever’ (§6.5); or 3) as an epistemic adverb used for intensifying questions (§6.5). In the first two usages, *tag(əw)* is only used in negative sentences, occurring either with the negative particle *na*, negative predicate *nist*, or prohibitive particle *mo*. The third usage is reserved for content questions and for alternative questions with a negative tag.

(6.12)  
\[
\text{pur = an \hspace{1em} na \hspace{1em} tɕɯxt, \hspace{1em} kam = an \hspace{1em} tɕɯxt}
\]
\[
\text{much = 1PL.PFV \hspace{1em} NEG \hspace{1em} watch.PFV \hspace{1em} few = 1PL.PFV \hspace{1em} watch.PFV}
\]
\[
\text{‘We did not wait long, just for a short time.’}
\]

(6.13)  
\[
\text{dzul-ik \hspace{1em} waχti \hspace{1em} naxtɛdz = it}
\]
\[
\text{little-DIM \hspace{1em} early \hspace{1em} go.up.IPfv = 2PL.PFV}
\]
\[
\text{‘Go out a little bit early.’}
\]
(6.14) \( ta \quad gap=am \quad tagəw \quad na \quad famd \)
2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV at.all NEG understand.PFV
‘I did not understand what you said at all.’

(6.15) \( wi \quad leq \quad tɛq, \quad tagəw \quad zɛj \quad na \)
3SG.NNOM.DIST clothing watch.IPV at.all match NEG
‘
1sg nag

give.PRF
‘Look at her clothes, they do not match at all. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.16) \( mu \quad mom \quad mudʑu \quad ʃɛli \quad ʨards \quad sut \)
1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling fairly good become.PFV
‘My grandmother has gotten fairly well.’

(6.17) \( tw=at \quad uburo \quad ɕuɾu\quad seddz \)
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV more beautiful become.PRF
‘You have become more beautiful. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.18) \( mu \quad ʨi \quad ter-nɛndʑ \quad wez \quad utc \quad garun \)
1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy
‘The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.’

(6.19) \( di \quad rang \quad ktub-ɛf \quad waz \quad utc \)
3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB book-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM very

\( xuj=am \)
read.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘I read a lot of these kinds of books.’

(6.20) \( a=diɡaru-ɛf=am \quad ɛdʑab \quad tɛards \quad ɡəwl \quad tɕəwɡ \)
ACC=other-PL.NNOM=1SG.PFV very good trick do.PFV
‘I tricked the other people very well.’

(6.21) \( jad \quad qirut \quad gando \quad teng \)
3SG.NOM.PROX Qirut very hard
‘This Qirut (dried yogurt) is very hard.’

(6.22) \( nurbia \quad gando \quad teʃ \quad sʊzd \)
Nurbia very speedy run.3SG.IPV
‘Nurbia runs very speedily.’


6.5 Epistemic adverbials

Epistemic adverbials indicate the speaker’s commitment to or certainty about a situation. Some common epistemic adverbials are presented in 6.10.

Table 6.10 Epistemic adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i vid</th>
<th>‘maybe’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>magam</td>
<td>‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albatta</td>
<td>‘of course’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag(σω)</td>
<td>‘ever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harbīs</td>
<td>‘ever’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*i vid*, *magam*, and *albatta* are epistemic likelihood adverbials, which express the speaker’s belief or assessment about the likelihood of a situation occurring:


(6.26) \[\text{χɯɕnamo } i \ \text{vid } \text{pugan } \text{jet } \text{na } \text{tei}\]

Heeshnamo one be.INF tomorrow come.INF NEG CAP

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV

‘Heeshnamo might not be able to come tomorrow.’

(6.27) \[\text{wi } \text{radzen } \text{magam } \text{kasal } \text{sczdz}\]

3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter probably sick become.PRF

‘Her daughter probably got sick. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.28) \[\text{albatta } \text{mu } \text{puts } \text{utup } \text{tɛwŋ}\]

of.course 1SG.NNOM son win do.PFV

‘Of course my son won.’

tag(\text{sw}) and hargiz occur with the prohibitive particle \text{mo} and are used for intensifying the prohibition.

(6.29) \[\text{a } = \text{di } \text{ktɛawi } \text{tagw } \text{mo } \text{bunos}\]

ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX ring ever PROH lose.IPFV

‘Don’t ever lose this ring.’

(6.30) \[\text{hargiz } \text{bos } \text{mo } \text{ka}\]

ever give.up PROH do.IPFV

‘Never give up.’

tag(\text{sw}) has the additional function of intensifying a question and expressing the speaker’s confusion, impatience, eagerness to know, or difficulty understanding a situation. It may be used in a content question, as in (6.31) - (6.36), or in an alternative question with a negative tag, as in (6.37) - (6.39). tag(\text{sw}) also functions as a degree adverb (§6.4).

(6.31) \[\text{ta} = \text{w } \text{tagw } \text{tɛum } \text{indiz}\]

2SG.NOM ever when get.up.IPFV

‘When on earth are you going to get up?’

(6.32) \[\text{waz } \text{tagw } \text{tsund } \text{su} = \text{ta}\]

1SG.NOM ever how.much year ACC = 2SG.NNOM

\[\text{tɛos } = \text{am}\]

watch.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘However many years am I to wait for you?’
(6.33)  
**ki=di**  
*rang*  
*xudʑ*  
*mas*  
*na*  
*ðord*  

ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX  
SEMB = fear  
also = NEG  
fear.3SG.IPVF  

*putxu*  
*a = zit*  
*gap*  
*tsejg = itcuz*  
*jad*  
*χalg*  

king  
ACC = bad  
word  
do.INF = REL  
3SG.NOM.PROX  
person  

*tag*  
*tsoj*  

ever  
who.NOM  

‘Who on earth is this, who fearlessly speaks ill of the king?’

(6.34)  
**tamaɕ = af**  
*na_xtug*  
*a = tsejz = af*  
*tagəw*  

2PL.NOM = 2PL.IPVF  
go.up.PFV  
ACC = what = 2PL.IPVF  
ever  

*wand*  
*mejdz*  
*vud*  

see.INF  
INTEN  
be.PFV  

‘You(pl) went out; what on earth were you planning to see?’

(6.35)  
**ato**  
*sado,*  
*puɡan-ndʑ*  
*intawum*  
*uτɕ*  
*qilo = ik*  

INTJ  
boy  
tomorrow-ADJ  
exam  
very  
difficult = DUR  

*lev = in,*  
*tow*  
*tag*  
*tsasa*  
*ka*  

say.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF  
2SG.NOM  
ever  
how  
do.IPVF  

‘O my, boy, they say tomorrow’s exam is going to be very difficult; how on earth are you going to manage?’

(6.36)  
**mu-an**  
**ato**  
*ano*  
*vud,*  
*yin*  
*vud,*  
*wist*  

1SG.NNOM-GEN  
father  
mother  
be.PFV  
wife  
be.PFV  
twenty  

*sul*  
*sut*  
*a = wef*  

year  
become.PFV  
ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST  
NEG  
see.INF = DAT  

*wef = ir*  
*tag*  
*tsejz*  
*sut,*  
*tsejz*  
*naj*  

3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT  
ever  
what  
become.PFV  
what  
NEG  

‘I had a father and a mother, I had a wife; it has been twenty years since I saw them; what on earth has happened to them, and what has not?’

(6.37)  
**tamaɕ**  
**tagəw**  
*ka = it = o,*  

2PL.NOM  
ever  
move  
do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF = Q  
NEG  

‘Are you(pl) going to move or not?’

(6.38)  
**sobir**  
**tagəw**  
*pa*  
*χuʂmat*  
*tizd = o,*  

Sobir  
ever  
LOC  
work  
go.3SG.IPVF = Q  
NEG  

‘Is Sobir going to work or not?’
(6.39)  woð  tagɔw  a = batɔo  kalt  ka = in = o,  
3PL.NOM.DIST  ever  ACC = child  save  do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q 

nej  
NEG 
‘Are they going to save the child or not?’

6.6 Derived adverbs

Adverbial modifiers are often derived from adjectives and nouns with the adverbializer -i. In the following examples, -i is added to an adjective (6.40) & (6.41) or a noun (6.42) to form an adverb.

(6.40)  tɔw = at  tom  wɛf = ir  tɕardz-i  
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV  then  3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT  good-ADV 

\text{tɕɔwydz}  
do.PRIF 
‘You treated them well, then. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.41)  beadab-i  mo  ka  
impolite-ADV  PROH  do.IPFV 
‘Do not be impolite.’

(6.42) ɯlfat  asl-i  na  tɕimbd  hammo  
Eelfat  origin-ADV  NEG  be.willing.PFV  but 

\text{waz = am}  a = wi  ruzi  tɕɔw\text{g}  
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  agreeing  do.PFV 
‘Eelfat originally did not want to, but I convinced him.’

Adverbials may also be derived from cardinal numerals. When cardinal numerals take the adverbializer -i, they become distributive numerals which are used adverbially. Distributive numerals may be reduplicated, as in (6.44). Example (6.49) is taken from a song, so the word order is not standard for conversation or narrative discourse.
Adverbial modifiers

(6.43) χɯ batɕo-ɛf az iw-i par mu
REFL.NNOM child.PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM

dez
send.IPFW
‘Send your children to me one by one.’

(6.44) kalo-χejl = af ðow-i ðow-i ar kal
sheep-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV two-ADV two-ADV LOC stable

dejd
enter.PFV
‘The sheep entered the stable in pairs.’

(6.45) jɯ hara maθ i az kal ðow-i məwl
3SG.NOM.DIST every day one ABL stable two-ADV sheep
χird
eat.3SG.IPFW
‘He eats two sheep from a stable every day.’

(6.46) əwrat-χejl laka tar pindʑu-i niθ = in
woman-PL.NOM let.IPFW LOC fifty-ADV sit.IPFW = 3PL.IPFW
‘Let the women sit in groups of fifty.’

(6.47) i pa sumuf tsavur-i tudʑik batɕo jost
one LOC class four-ADV Tajik child be.IPFW
‘There are four Tajik students in each class.’

(6.48) i pa tung woxt-i nəw-i tala xats wid
one LOC barrel eight-ADV nine-ADV bucket water fit.INF
setir
become.INF = REL be.PRF
‘In each barrel eight or nine buckets of water could fit. (Eviden-
tial/New information)’

(6.49) χɯ pa wɔv = ik ðid az pindʑ-i
REFL.NNOM LOC mouth = DUR give.3SG.IPFW ABL five-ADV
əwɔd = ir = ik kaxt dzat-i
chew.INF = DAT = DUR do.3SG.IPFW hurry-NMLZ
‘She puts five into her mouth at a time, and is in a hurry to munch on it.’
‘They live behind their father, and have twenty or thirty sheep each and one to three cows.’
7

Mood

This chapter describes the morphosyntactic marking of the three major moods, which are a property of the sentence: declarative (§7.1), imperative (§7.2), and interrogative (§7.3). These three mood types grammatically express different speech acts: the declarative mood serves the function of providing information, the imperative mood is for issuing commands, and the interrogative mood is used for requesting information. The imperative and interrogative moods can be further divided into different sentence types. Moods and their subtypes are summarized in 7.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>§7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>2.IPVF</td>
<td>§7.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>1PL.IPVF</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>§7.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive</td>
<td>laka; nɯɡɯr</td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>§7.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>2.IPVF</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>§7.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehensive</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>§7.2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>Polar Q</td>
<td>=o</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>§7.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative Q</td>
<td>=o + tag</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>§7.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tag Q</td>
<td>nej</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>§7.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Content Q</td>
<td>interrogative word</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>§7.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect Q</td>
<td>(=ir) + vid</td>
<td>PRF/INF</td>
<td>§7.3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1 Declarative

The declarative mood correlates with the speech act of expressing statements. It is often used for descriptive speech acts, such as asserting or describing something (Velupillai 2012:346). The affirmative declarative sentence is struc-
urally least restricted and may take any of the available person, number, aspect, and modality options. The major constituents in a declarative sentence are commonly arranged in the basic constituent order, SOV. Sentences (7.1) - (7.3) are in the declarative mood.

(7.1) mɯ i kuj mas nist
1SG.N NOM on.person one Chinese yuan even NEG.be.IPFV
‘I don’t even have 1 yuan with me.’

(7.2) wi mom prud-nɛndʑ afto az
3SG.NNOM.DIST grandmother front-ADJ week ABL
dɯχtɯrχuno naxtwug
hospital go.up.PFV
‘His grandmother came out of the hospital last week.’

(7.3) kɯraɕ=ir stəwr gɯxt χɯɕ
Keerash=DAT yak meat happy
‘Keerash likes yak meat.’

In a declarative sentence with no special focus, the stressed syllable of the final constituent (usually the verb) generally carries a higher pitch than the other constituents of the sentence. If there are any non-stressed syllables attached to the end of the verb, such as pronominal agreement clitics or aspectual suffixes, they are marked by a fall in pitch. If a particular element is in focus, it carries the highest pitch instead.

7.2 Imperative

The imperative mood most often correlates with the speech act of giving commands, in which the speaker tells the addressee to do something. Imperatives may be subdivided into imperative, hortative, jussive, prohibitive, and apprehensive moods, which cover direct and indirect commands as well as wishes and desires. The imperative and hortative do not require overt morphological marking besides the verb form (which is pragmatically interpreted for mood), while the jussive is marked with laka/nugur ‘let’ and the prohibitive and apprehensive are marked with the particle mo.
7.2.1 Imperative

The basic imperative mood is used for direct commands. Since a direct command is directed at the addressee, the second person is the subject of the verb. Structurally, it is an unmarked sentence in imperfective aspect with a second person singular agreement clitic (\(=\emptyset\), as in (7.4) - (7.6)), or, in the case of giving a command to more than one person, a second person plural agreement clitic (\(=\textit{it}\), as in (7.7) - (7.9)). As is common in most other languages (Kroeger 2005:199), the second person pronoun in an imperative sentence is typically dropped from the subject position. Since the imperative mood is not marked, and shares the same structure as a sentence describing a habitual or future activity with a second person subject, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to interpret such sentences as commands.

(7.4) \[
\begin{align*}
a & = \textit{dvɛr} & \textit{bawej} \\
\text{ACC} & = \textit{door} & \text{close.IPV}\end{align*}
\]
‘Close the door.’

(7.5) \[
\begin{align*}
purs & \quad \textit{ziv} & \quad \textit{mu}=ri \\
\text{Persian} & \quad \text{tongue} & \quad 1\text{SG.NOM}=\text{DAT} & \quad \textit{χumand} & \quad \textit{ka} \\
\text{teach} & \quad \text{do.IPV}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Teach me Persian.’

(7.6) \[
\begin{align*}
az & \quad \textit{mu} & \quad \chi-\textit{oto} & \quad \chi-\textit{ono}=ri \\
\text{ABL} & \quad 1\text{SG.NOM} & \quad \text{REFL.NOM}-\text{father} & \quad \text{REFL.NOM}-\text{mother}=\text{DAT} \\
salum & \quad \textit{lev} \\
\text{hello} & \quad \text{say.IPV}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Say hello to your parents for me.’

(7.7) \[
\begin{align*}
awal & \quad \chi\textit{u} & \quad \delta\textit{ust} & \quad \znej=it \\
\text{first} & \quad \text{REFL.NOM} & \quad \text{hand} & \quad \text{wash.IPV}=\text{2PL.IPV}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Wash your(pl) hands first.’

(7.8) \[
\begin{align*}
nur & \quad \textit{pa} & \quad \textit{ted} & \quad \textit{dam} & \quad \textit{zoz}=it \\
\text{today} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{rest} & \quad \text{get.IPV}=\text{2PL.IPV}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Rest(pl) at home today.’

(7.9) \[
\begin{align*}
az & \quad \textit{xwor} & \quad \textit{ma}=\textit{r} & \quad \textit{anur} \\
\text{ABL} & \quad \text{Kashgar} & \quad 1\text{PL.NOM}=\text{DAT} & \quad \text{pomegranate} \\
vor & =\textit{it} \\
\text{bring.IPV}=\text{2PL.IPV}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Bring(pl) pomegranates for us from Kashgar.’
Sometimes an imperative overtly expresses the second person subject, as in (7.10) & (7.11). In such cases, the overt subject is often stressed.

(7.10) \textit{təw you lseg znej}  
\hspace{1.5cm} 2SG.NOM REFL.N NOM clothing wash.IPVF  
‘You wash your clothes.’

(7.11) \textit{taməc mocin qati tədz = it}  
\hspace{1.5cm} 2PL.NOM car COM go.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF  
‘You(pl) go by car.’

In some cases, an imperative may even be formed without a verb. In (7.12) & (7.13), the imperative consists of an adverb and the second person agreement clitic; in (7.14), the imperative consists of a noun and the agreement clitic. The second person pronoun subject and the verb are omitted.

(7.12) \textit{dʑald = it}  
\hspace{1.5cm} fast = 2PL.IPVF  
‘Hurry up(pl)!’

(7.13) \textit{asto = it}  
\hspace{1.5cm} slow = 2PL.IPVF  
‘Slow down(pl)!’

(7.14) \textit{dʑuj = it}  
\hspace{1.5cm} space = 2PL.IPVF  
‘Give(pl) me space (move out of the way)!’

In order to soften a command and make it into a more polite request, the interrogative enclitic \textit{= o} is often added at the end of a sentence in imperative mood, as in (7.15) - (7.17).

(7.15) \textit{mu = ri jordam ka = it = o}  
\hspace{1.5cm} 1SG.N NOM = DAT help do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF = Q  
‘Will you(pl) help me?’

(7.16) \textit{az amrıkə mu = ri ɾi tsiz}  
\hspace{1.5cm} ABL America 1SG.N NOM = DAT one thing  
\hspace{1.5cm} vor = it = o  
\hspace{1.5cm} bring.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF = Q  
‘Will you(pl) bring something for me from America?’
7.2.2 Hortative

Hortative mood is used when the speaker is encouraging or urging the addressee to do something with the speaker. The hortative mood is also unmarked, but only occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person plural subject and agreement clitic (\(=\,\)an). This construction is potentially ambiguous, in that it may be interpreted as either a declarative or a hortative. As with the imperative, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to determine whether it should be interpreted as a statement or mutual encouragement. Hortatives may either be affirmative or negative: (7.18) - (7.20) express mutual encouragement, while (7.21) - (7.23) express mutual discouragement.

(7.17) \(\chiwu\text{ }ar\text{ }tej\text{ }a=mu\text{ }qiw\text{ }ka=o\text{ }\n\)  
\text{REFL.NNOM LOC wedding ACC=1SG.NNOM call do.IPFV =Q} 
‘Will you invite me to your wedding?’

(7.18) \(qatɛʁin\text{ }tɕoj\text{ }broz=an\) 
\text{topping tea drink.IPFV =1PL.IPFV} 
‘Let us drink milk tea.’

(7.19) \(batɕo-ɛf=ir\text{ }\chiat\text{ }navi=an\) 
\text{child-PL.NNOM =DAT letter write.IPFV =1PL.IPFV} 
‘Let us write letters to the children.’

(7.20) \(pa\text{ }tɕɛd\text{ }di=an,\text{ }a=\chiwu\text{ }θɯm\) 
\text{LOC house enter.IPFV =1PL.IPFV ACC =REFL.NNOM warm} 
\text{ka=an} 
\text{do.IPFV =1PL.IPFV} 
‘Let us go into the house and warm ourselves.’

(7.21) \(nɯr\text{ }hawu\text{ }iɛ,\text{ }na\text{ }tɛdz=an\) 
\text{today weather cold NEG go.IPFV =1PL.IPFV} 
‘The weather is cold today, let us not go.’

(7.22) \(alima\text{ }na\text{ }wazond=o\text{ }ku,\text{ }az\text{ }wi\text{ }na\) 
\text{Alima NEG know.3SG.IPFV =Q SUP ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG} 
\text{pars=an} 
\text{ask.IPFV =1PL.IPFV} 
‘Alima does not know, I think; let us not ask her.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.23) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{jad} & \quad \text{poj} & \quad \text{uto} & \quad \text{tuwash} & \quad \text{vëdëz}, & \quad \text{na} \\
3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} & \quad \text{yogurt} & \quad \text{very} & \quad \text{sour} & \quad \text{be.PRF} & \quad \text{NEG}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{fur} = \text{an} \]

\text{slurp.IPfv} = \text{1PL.IPfv}

‘This yogurt is very sour (Evidential/New information), let us not slurp it.’

Hortatives may be softened into suggestions with the addition of the sentence-final interrogative enclitic \( = \text{o} \), as in (7.24) \& (7.25).

(7.24) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & = \text{batço-ef} & \quad \text{tços} & = \text{an} & = \text{o} \\
\text{ACC} = \text{child-PL.NNOM} & \quad \text{watch.IPfv} & = \text{1PL.IPfv} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*} \]

‘Shall we wait for the kids?’

(7.25) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{az} & \quad \text{dars} & \quad \text{tços} & = \text{an} & \quad \text{χu} & \quad \text{samu} \\
\text{ABL} & \quad \text{lesson} & \quad \text{go.down} & = \text{1PL.IPfv} & \quad \text{TEM.P.CONJ} & \quad \text{walk}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{kan} = \text{an} = \text{o} \]

\text{do.IPfv} = \text{1PL.IPfv} = \text{Q}

‘Shall we take a walk after we get out of class?’

To ask the addressee whether or not one should perform a certain action, the speaker uses an imperfective polar question with a first-person singular subject, as in (7.26) \& (7.27), or first-person plural subject in the exclusive sense, as in (7.28) \& (7.29). This is known as the deliberative (Palmer 2001), and is closely related to hortatives in meaning and form. This is also closely related to the form and purpose of asking another person whether that person might be willing to do something, introduced in the end of §7.2.1.

(7.26) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{tçoj} & \quad \text{tu} = \text{ri} & \quad \text{wejð} & = \text{am} & = \text{o} \\
\text{tea} & \quad \text{2SG.NNOM} & = \text{DAT} & \quad \text{put.IPfv} & = \text{1SG.IPfv} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*} \]

‘Shall I pour you tea?’

(7.27) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & = \text{dver} & \quad \text{bawe}j = \text{am} & = \text{o} \\
\text{ACC} = \text{door} & \quad \text{close.IPfv} & = \text{1SG.IPfv} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*} \]

‘Shall I close the door?’

(7.28) \[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & = \text{ta} & \quad \text{tços} & = \text{an} & = \text{o} \\
\text{ACC} = \text{2SG.NNOM} & \quad \text{watch.IPfv} & = \text{1PL.IPfv} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*} \]

‘Shall we wait for you?’
Mood

(7.29)  
\[ \text{az xwor tamač=ir i tsiz} \]
\[ \text{ABL Kashgar 2PL.NNOM = DAT one thing} \]
\[ \text{vor=an=o} \]
\[ \text{bring.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv = Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Shall we bring something for you from Kashgar?’} \]

7.2.3 Jussive

Jussive mood expresses indirect commands as well as expressing wishes and desires. It is most commonly formed by adding the verb *laka* ‘let’ immediately before or after the main verb in the imperfective aspect (or sometimes even before the object, as in (7.31)). The jussives in (7.30) - (7.34) express indirect commands.

(7.30)  
\[ \text{tsi muu ta ram laka joð} \]
\[ \text{LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPfv come.3SG.IPfv} \]
\[ \text{‘May your mercy come upon me!’} \]

(7.31)  
\[ \text{wi radsen laka batɕo vird} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter let.IPfv child bring.3SG.IPfv} \]
\[ \text{‘May his daughter give birth to the child.’} \]

(7.32)  
\[ \text{askar-χejl laka χw tci asl} \]
\[ \text{soldier-PL.NOM let.IPfv REFL.NNOM LOC origin} \]
\[ \text{joð=in} \]
\[ \text{come.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv} \]
\[ \text{‘May the soldiers return to their original state.’} \]

(7.33)  
\[ \text{dinju-ɛndʑ dzam χalg-χejl a=mac putxu} \]
\[ \text{world-ADJ all person-PL.NOM ACC = 1PL.NNOM king} \]
\[ \text{laka stw=in} \]
\[ \text{let.IPfv praise.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv} \]
\[ \text{‘May all peoples of the world praise our king.’} \]
Jussives may also express wishes (7.35), curses (7.36), and blessings or good wishes (7.37) - (7.40).

(7.35)  
\[ \text{hawu dejd laka} \]
\[ \text{rain fall.3SG.IPVF let.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘Let it rain/snow.’} \]

(7.36)  
\[ \text{χɯðoj laka ta tsəm kəwr kaxt} \]
\[ \text{God let.IPVF 2SG.NNOM eye blind do.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘May God cause your eyes to be blind.’} \]

(7.37)  
\[ \text{χɯðoj laka tu = ri i puuts nasib kaxt} \]
\[ \text{God let.IPVF 2SG.NNOM = DAT one son grant do.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘May God grant you a son.’} \]

(7.38)  
\[ \text{χɯðoj laka a = ta az balu qazu} \]
\[ \text{God let.IPVF ACC = 2SG.NNOM ABL disaster judgment} \]
\[ \text{nigaduri kaxt protection do.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘May God protect you from disasters and judgment.’} \]

(7.39)  
\[ \text{spejd pond laka tu = ri vid} \]
\[ \text{white road let.IPVF 2SG.NNOM = DAT be.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘May there be a white road for you.’} \]

(7.40)  
\[ \text{wef tan laka salomat vid} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NNOM.DIST body let.IPVF healthy be.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{wef umr laka daruz swd} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NNOM.DIST lifetime let.IPVF long become.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘May their bodies be healthy; may their lives become long!’} \]
Although jussives most frequently occur with third person subjects, they may also occur with first or second person subjects:

(7.41)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{iː } \chi\text{uðoj } ut\text{ɛ } na \text{ vid-i=am } \text{ wand} \\
\text{VOC } \text{ God } \text{ very } \text{ NEG be.INF-NMLZ=1SG.PFV see.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ was } \text{ laka } \text{ dzald } \text{ der } \text{ boj} \\
\text{1SG.NOM } \text{ let.IPFV } \text{ fast } \text{ CPRV rich.person}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ so }=\text{ am} \\
\text{become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘O God, I have experienced much penury; may I become rich more quickly.’

(7.42)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{diɡar mas mejli waz } \text{ laka } \text{ k = az} \\
\text{other also okay 1SG.NOM let.IPFV ANA=ABL}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ di } \text{ intawum } \text{ nardỳs }=\text{ am} \\
\text{3SG.NNOM.PROX exam pass.IPFV=1SG.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘Other things aside, just let me pass this exam.’

(7.43)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{maɕ } \text{ laka } \text{ wi } \text{ marg wejn }=\text{ an} \\
\text{1PL.NOM let.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST death see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘May we see his death.’

(7.44)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{a } \text{ balo } a=\text{ di } \text{ tang-i=an} \\
\text{VOC child ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX difficult-NMLZ=1PL.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ maɕ } \text{ wand } \text{ təw } \text{ laka } \text{ tɕardỳ } \text{ xu}j \\
\text{1PL.NOM see.PFV 2SG.NOM let.IPFV good read.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ boj } \text{ so} \\
\text{rich.person become.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘O child, we have gone through difficulty; may you study well and become rich.’

(7.45)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{tamaɕ } \text{ laka } \text{ tɕardỳ } \text{ xirs }=\text{ it } \text{ dastmand} \\
\text{2PL.NOM let.IPFV good turn.IPFV=2PL.IPFV wealthy}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ so }=\text{ it} \\
\text{become.IPFV=2PL.IPFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘May you have a pleasant journey and become wealthy.’
In addition to *laka*, the word *nɯɡɯr* ‘let’ also serves the same function of forming jussives, but is used less frequently:

(7.46) \[ di \copur \mocin \nɯɡɯr \tɕɔwl \]
\[ 3SG.NNOM.PROX \text{driver} \text{car} \text{let} \text{worthless} \]
\[ səwd \]
\[ \text{become.3SG.IPFV} \]
‘May this driver’s car get broken.’

(7.47) \[ adzab \tɕardʑ \bata=at \vɛdʑ \barakat \nɯɡɯr \]
\[ \text{very} \text{good} \text{child=2SG.PFV} \text{be.PRF} \text{blessing} \text{let} \]
\[ vɾej \]
\[ \text{find.IPFV} \]
‘You are a very good child (Evidential/New information); may you find blessing.’

### 7.2.4 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood is used for giving negative commands, when commanding the addressee not to do something. It is formed with the particle *mo* immediately before or after an imperfective verb, and is used with second person subjects. Prohibitives are discussed in §9.4.

### 7.2.5 Apprehensive

The apprehensive mood is formed by negating the jussive. It is a subtype of the prohibitive, as it is also marked with the particle *mo*. It is described in §9.5.

### 7.3 Interrogative

Interrogative mood correlates with the speech act of asking questions. Polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, and content questions are described in this section. All four of these question types may be formed with all possible combinations of aspect, person, number, polarity, and evidentiality. The section on content questions also describes other functions and aspects of interrogative words, including: interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1), negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2), reduplication for pluralization (§7.3.4.3), and interrogatives used as filler words (§7.3.4.4). Finally,
§7.3.5 describes indirect questions and §7.3.6 discusses some other pragmatic aspects of questions.

7.3.1 Polar question

A polar question presents a statement and seeks confirmation or denial of it (Dixon 2012:411). It is marked by a special interrogative enclitic =o plus intonation. The interrogative enclitic =o, which is only used for marking polar questions, is a sentence-final enclitic. It typically occurs after the predicate or copula complement, but may also follow other constituents that are questioned as long as they are sentence-final, as in (7.52). Polar questions do not have a distinctive constituent order, as the constituent order is the same as the corresponding declarative sentence, SOV. The following examples demonstrate a variety of aspect and clause type possibilities for polar questions: perfective verbal clause (7.48), imperfective verbal clause (7.49), copula clause with a headless relative clause as the copula complement (7.50), copula clause with a substantival genitive as the copula complement (7.51), and a question with just a single argument as the sole constituent, with all other elements omitted (7.52).

(7.48) \( \text{tamoq = at} \quad \chi \text{ug = o} \)
\( \text{food = 2SG.PFV} \quad \text{eat.PFV = Q} \)
‘Have you eaten?’

(7.49) \( \text{dud dodik} \quad \text{tɛrd-nɛndz-ɛjɛl} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{joð = in = o} \)
\( \text{uncle} \quad \text{Dodik} \quad \text{house-ADJ-PL.NOM} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{come.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv = Q} \)
‘Will Uncle Dodik’s family also come?’

(7.50) \( \text{tɔw} \quad \text{tej} \quad \text{tɛwɛndz = ɛndz = o} \)
\( \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{wedding} \quad \text{do.PRf = REL = Q} \)
‘Are you married?’

(7.51) \( \text{jad} \quad \text{ktub} \quad \text{ta-an = o} \)
\( \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{book} \quad \text{2SG.NNOM-GEN = Q} \)
‘Is this book yours?’

(7.52) \( \text{waz = o} \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM = Q} \)
‘Me?’

In addition to the sentence-final interrogative enclitic, polar questions are marked by intonation. In a polar question, the stressed syllable of the final
constituent carries a high pitch, followed by a sharp fall on the final syllable containing the interrogative enclitic =o. However, when the negator na or nist occurs in the sentence, it usually receives the high pitch instead.

A polar question may be general in scope, or it may be focused, enquiring about the reference of a particular constituent. To place the focus on a particular constituent instead of the whole question, that constituent may receive the primary stress. As with declarative sentences, word order is quite free and certain elements may be fronted, although changing the word order is not the primary way to signal the focused constituent.

A polar question prompts əʔə ‘yes’ or naj/nist ‘no’ as an answer, but there is no expectation as to whether the answer will be positive or negative.

When responding to a negative polar question, a ‘no’ answer agrees with the negative expectation of the question. For example, in response to the polar question in (7.53), a ‘no’ answer, as in (7.54), indicates that the speaker is not going and a ‘yes’ answer, as in (7.55), indicates that the speaker is going.

(7.53)  
taw        nur     mac       qati     na   tɛdz = o  
 2SG.NOM  today  1PL.NNOM  COM  NEG  go.IPFV = Q  
‘Are you not going with us today?’

(7.54)  
naj,     na         tɛdz = am  
NEG  NEG  go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
‘No, I am not going.’

(7.55)  
əʔə,  tɛdz = am  
yes  go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
‘Yes, I am going.’

7.3.2 Alternative question

An alternative question, which offers a choice of answers to the addressee, is formed from a regular polar question with the interrogative enclitic, followed by the alternative choice as a tag:

(7.56)  
wi       gap  rust = o,  fand  
3SG.NNOM.DIST word  true = Q  false  
‘Is his word true, or false?’
Even though Sarikoli has the conjunction *jo* ‘or’, it is not used for conjoining two alternative choices to form an alternative question1, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.57) & (7.58) below. Occasionally, the alternative choice is added slowly and the interrogative enclitic occurs a second time, as in (7.59), but this is rare.

(7.57)  *wi gap rust jo fand*
        3SG.N NOM.DIST word true or false
‘Is his word true or false?’

(7.58)  *wi gap rust = o, jo fand = o*
        3SG.N NOM.DIST word true = Q or false = Q
‘Is his word true, or false?’

(7.59)  wi gap rust = o... fand = o
        3SG.N NOM.DIST word true = Q false = Q
‘Is his word true... or is it false?’

The alternative choice that occurs as the tag may either be an alternative to a verbal predicate (7.60), copula complement (7.61) & (7.62), core argument (7.63) & (7.64), peripheral argument (7.65), adverbial or adnominal element (7.66) & (7.67), or even simply a negator, either as *naj* for verbal predicates (7.68) or *nist* for existential or copula predicates (7.69). As with regular polar questions, the basic constituent order in the main clause of the alternative question is SOV.

(7.60)  *təw citɕ χɯ tɕɛr ka = o, xufs*
        2SG.NOM now REFL.NOM work do.IPV = Q sleep.IPV
‘Will you do your work now, or sleep?’

(7.61)  *jad mu-an = o, ta-an*
        3s.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM-GEN = Q 2SG.N NOM-GEN
‘Is this mine, or yours?’

(7.62)  nurbia pa maktab = o, pa tɕɛd
        Nurbia LOC school = Q LOC house
‘Is Nurbia at school, or at home?’

---

1However, since [*j*] is often inserted between two vowels as a hiatus resolution strategy, the interrogative enclitic *o* has the same phonetic realization as *jo* ‘or’ when preceded by a vowel (see §1.4.1.3).
The alternative question is different from a polar question in that it should be answered with one of the choices given, rather than əʔə ‘yes’ or naj/nist ‘no’ (unless one of the alternative choices is a negator). Even though alternative questions are a type of tag question, it is a neutral question with no expectation concerning the answer, as to whether the answer will be positive or negative. Alternative questions are used very frequently in conversations, and a question like (7.70) is not considered impolite in the slightest degree.
In an alternative question, each of the two alternatives is stressed, and the alternative in the tag carries a high pitch.

### 7.3.3 Tag question

A tag question is a leading question (or biased question), in which the speaker expects the addressee to answer “yes”, agreeing with the main clause. It may be used when the speaker is uncertain about the truth of the statement and wants to seek confirmation, or when the speaker believes that the statement is correct and wants to seek agreement from the addressee. In either case, a tag question expects the supposition of the main clause to be confirmed or agreed with. Tag questions are used very frequently in conversations among Sarikoli speakers.

A tag question is formed by adding *nej*, a variant of the independent polarity form, *naj* ‘no’, after a declarative sentence and thereby converting it into a question. Whether the main clause is positive, as in (7.71) & (7.72), or negative, as in (7.73) & (7.74), the negative tag *nej* is used. Both positive and negative statements, when followed by a tag, assume the answer əʔə ‘yes’.

In a tag question, the main clause has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and the tag carries a high pitch.

(7.70) \[ təw \ mas \ muu \ qati \ so = o, \ neg \]
\[ 2SG.NOM \ also \ 1SG.NNOM \ COM \ become.IPfv = Q \ NEG \]
‘Are you also going with me, or not?’

(7.71) \[ mejmun-χejl = ik \ kinu \ tɕos = in, \ neg \]
\[ guest-PL.NOM = DUR \ movie \ watch.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv \ NEG \]
‘The guests are watching a movie, aren’t they?’

(7.72) \[ ibruhim \ purs \ ziv \ wazond, \ neg \]
\[ Ibruhim \ Persian \ tongue \ know.3SG.IPfv \ NEG \]
‘Ibruhim knows Persian, doesn’t he?’

(7.73) \[ təw = at \ nəwz \ χu \ dust \ na \ znud, \ neg \]
\[ 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv \ still \ REFL.NNOM \ hand \ NEG \ wash.PFv \]
‘You still didn’t wash your hands, did you?’
7.3.4 Content question

A content question seeks information by employing an interrogative word which replaces a constituent of a particular functional slot in the corresponding declarative sentence. The interrogative word stands for the content or information that the speaker is requesting. It occurs in situ, in the normal syntactic position appropriate to its function in the clause, and the other remaining elements all occur in the basic constituent order, SOV. The interrogative words are listed below in 7.2.

Table 7.2 Interrogative words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Questions what</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɕoj</td>
<td>who.NOM</td>
<td>identity of person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>who.NNOM</td>
<td>identity of person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsejz</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>identity of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsidum</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>identity of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsum</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>point in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa wɔxɛt</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>point in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudʑur</td>
<td>where.NOM</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>where.NNOM</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsarang</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>manner; condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawa</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>means; method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsund</td>
<td>how.much</td>
<td>quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsejzr</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>purpose; reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`tsejz ‘what’ has a variant, tsa, which is used in certain contexts, as in (7.75) & (7.76).

(7.75) tsa ɣuʃruj

what beautiful

‘How beautiful!’

(7.76) tsa ɣeg

what sweet

‘How sweet!’
The forms of interrogative words show recurring sequences—all forms besides kudʑur/ko ‘where’ begin with the sequence ts or tɕ. Some of these forms can be analyzed morphologically, as tsa combines with other morphemes to form some of the interrogative words: tsa wajt (what + time), tsarang (what + semblative), tsejzir (what + dative/purpose marker), and tsund (what + amount/size/extent).

Each interrogative word is associated with a different word class. For ‘who’ and ‘where’, case inflections (nominative vs. non-nominative) are parallel to that of nouns. There is no interrogative verb that can be used as the sole verb in a predicate; instead, the verb phrase tsejz tsejɡ ‘do what’ may be used.

Despite being related to different word classes, the interrogative words are linked together as another class of their own as they share some common grammatical properties: 1) they convert a statement into a question; 2) they are used to form interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1); 3) they are used for deriving negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2); 4) they may be reduplicated for pluralization (§7.3.4.3). In Sarikoli, interrogative words are not used as markers of relative clauses.

In a content question, the interrogative word is always stressed, and the question does not have a rising intonation.

*tɕoj* ‘who’ and *tɕi* ‘whom/whose’ are interrogative pronouns. As in the system of regular personal pronouns, they come in distinct forms for the nominative and non-nominative cases. *tɕoj* is a pronoun which may only function as the head of an NP; as with regular free pronouns, it cannot function as an NP modifier, nor can it take any modifiers. *tɕi* is the non-nominative form, and is used with all function markers signaling non-nominative functions, as in (7.79) & (7.80).

(7.77)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{tɕoj } a = \text{ta} \quad \text{bo } \text{tɕəwɡ} \\
& \text{tɕoj NOM = 2SG.NOM kiss do.PFV} \\
& \text{‘Who kissed you?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.78)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{mu } \text{vits } a = \text{mu} \quad \text{bo } \text{tɕəwɡ} \\
& \text{1SG.NOM aunt ACC = 1SG.NOM kiss do.PFV} \\
& \text{‘My aunt kissed me.’}
\end{align*}
\]
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

b. \textit{asan} \textit{a=ɡɯlpia} \textit{tɕardʑ} \textit{wand}
\textit{Asan} ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPVF
‘Asan loves Geelpia.’

\textbf{(7.79)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{woð=af} \textit{tɕi} \textit{qati} \textit{jot}
\textit{3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PVF who.NNOM COM come.PVF}
‘Whom did they come with?’
\item \textit{woð=af} \textit{amad} \textit{qati} \textit{jot}
\textit{3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PVF Amad COM come.PVF}
‘They came with Amad.’
\end{enumerate}

\textbf{(7.80)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ɡɯlpia} \textit{a=tɕi} \textit{tɕardʑ} \textit{wand}
\textit{Geelpia ACC=who.NNOM good see.3SG.IPVF}
‘Whom does Geelpia love?’
\item \textit{ɡɯlpia} \textit{a=ramon} \textit{tɕardʑ} \textit{wand}
\textit{Geelpia ACC=Ramon good see.3SG.IPVF}
‘Geelpia loves Ramon.’
\end{enumerate}

tsejz is related to the open lexical class of nouns. It may either be an NP head, as in (7.81), or a modifier within an NP, as in (7.82). It is also possible to construct a content question with \textit{tsejz} as an NP head even if it has modifiers, as in (7.83).

\textbf{(7.81)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{təw=at} \textit{tsejz} \textit{χɯɡ}
\textit{2SG.NOM=2SG.PVF what eat.PVF}
‘What did you eat?’
\item \textit{waz=am} \textit{anur} \textit{χɯɡ}
\textit{1SG.NOM=1SG.PVF pomegranate eat.PVF}
‘I ate pomegranates.’
\end{enumerate}

\textbf{(7.82)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{təw=at} \textit{tsejz} \textit{mɛwo} \textit{χɯɡ}
\textit{2SG.NOM=2SG.PVF what fruit eat.PVF}
‘What fruit did you eat?’
\item \textit{waz=am} \textit{anur} \textit{χɯɡ}
\textit{1SG.NOM=1SG.PVF pomegranate eat.PVF}
‘I ate pomegranates.’
\end{enumerate}
\(\text{putxu yu\textsubscript{ubun-an} wi tsejz zuxt} \)
\(\text{king shepherd-GEN 3SG.NOM.DIST what take.PFV}\)
‘What of the shepherd did the king take?’

t\textit{sidum} is an NP modifier which is related to demonstrative determiners, as in (7.84), and, as with demonstratives, may also function as the sole element in an NP when the head noun is omitted, as in (7.85).

(7.84) a. \(\text{tsidum pi}\text{c tu} = \text{ri} \text{ as } \text{dsam } \text{\textgreek{chu}\textgreek{c}}\)
Which cat 2SG.NOM = DAT ABL all happy
‘Which cat do you like the most?’

b. \(\text{jad pi}\text{c mu} = \text{ri} \text{ as } \text{dsam } \text{\textgreek{chu}\textgreek{c}}\)
3SG.NOM.PROX cat 1SG.NOM = DAT ABL all happy
‘I like this cat the most.’

(7.85) a. \(\text{wo}\text{d} = \text{af tsidum xujd}\)
3PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV which read.PFV
‘Which one did they read?’

b. \(\text{m} = \text{a} = \text{di} = \text{af xujd}\)
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV read.PFV
‘They read this one.’

There are two forms for ‘when’, which are completely interchangeable, but one is used more frequently than the other. The more commonly used form is \textit{tsum}; the other form is composed of two morphemes, \textit{tsa} ‘what (shortened form)’ plus \textit{wakt} ‘time’. In (7.86a), either \textit{tsum} or \textit{tsa wakt} may be used.

(7.86) a. \(\text{nurbia tsu} \text{m jod} \)
Nurbia when come.3SG.IPFV
‘When is Nurbia coming?’

b. \(\text{nurbia fal jod}\)
Nurbia two.days.hence come.3SG.IPFV
‘Nurbia is coming on the day after tomorrow.’

The interrogative word for ‘where’ comes in two distinct forms for nominative and non-nominative cases. \textit{kudzur} is used when there are no co-occurring function markers, as in (7.87) & (7.88), often when used in the locative or allative sense (the function markers \textit{pa} and \textit{ar} are omitted when \textit{kudzur} occurs).
ko is always used when there is a function marker, and is most frequently used with the ablative az and the locative/allative tar, as in (7.89) & (7.90).

(7.87)  a. *mac kudzur niθ = an*
1PL.NOM where.NOM sit.IP = 1PL.IP
‘Where shall we sit?’

b. *əwd-ik niθ = it*
here-DIM sit.IP = 2PL.IP
‘Sit(pl) over here.’

(7.88)  a. *soqdzon tɕɛd kudzur*
Soqjon house where.NOM
‘Where is Soqjon’s house?’

b. *soqdzon tɕɛd pa qir*
Soqjon house LOC mountain
‘Soqjon’s house is on the mountain.’

(7.89)  a. *a =di ktub az ko = at*
ACC = 3SG.NN.PROX book ABL where.NN = 2SG.PF
zuxt
buy.PF
‘Where did you get this book?’

b. *az tur = am zuxt*
ABL net = 1SG.PF buy.PF
‘I got it from the internet.’

(7.90)  a. *tar ko = at tujd*
LOC where.NN = 2SG.PF go.PF
‘Where are you headed?’

b. *tar buzur = am tujd*
LOC bazaar = 1SG.PF go.PF
‘I am headed to the bazaar.’

tsaranɡ and tsasa are both manner adverbials, but have slightly different functions. tsaranɡ, which is composed of the morphemes tsa ‘what (shortened form)’ plus the semitative marker rang ‘form/manner’, is a manner adverbial which pertains to the condition of something, or the manner in which the action of a verb is carried out. tsasa pertains to the means or method by which
the action is carried out. These generally occur before the verb as adverbial modifiers, as in (7.91) - (7.94), or as a copula complement, as in (7.95).

(7.91) \( \text{ta tɕi} \text{xit its jad } \text{dinju tsarang} \)
\[ \text{2SG.N NOM look.INF TERM 3SG.N NOM.PROX world how} \]
\( \text{pejdu scød}=\text{ɛndz} \)
appear become.PRF = REL
‘In your opinion, how did this world come into being?’

(7.92) \( \text{k=dos kam kam tsa ɕor tsawa tʃi peð} \)
\[ \text{ANA = manner few few COND eat.IPFV how LOC foot} \]
warofs stand.IPFV
‘If you eat so little like that, how do you stand on your feet?’

(7.93) \( \text{wi num tsawa } \text{ta ar dil} \)
\[ \text{3SG.N NOM.DIST name how 2SG.N NOM LOC heart} \]
rejd remain.PFV
‘How did you not forget his name?’ (lit. How did his name remain in your heart?)

(7.94) \( \text{mɔw}=\text{ɛndz}=\text{ir tsawa zundo } \text{did} \)
\[ \text{dead.PRF = REL = DAT how live give.3SG.IPFV} \]
‘How does he give a live one for a dead one?’

(7.95) a. \( \text{ta awul tsarang} \)
\[ \text{2SG.N NOM situation how} \]
‘How is your situation?’

b. \( \text{mɯ awul tʃardz} \)
\[ \text{1SG.N NOM situation good} \]
‘My situation is good.’

\( \text{tsund} \) is the interrogative word questioning quantity. It is a fused form derived from the morphemes \text{tsa} ‘what (shortened form)’ and \text{dund}, which is used for measuring size, amount, or extent. There are no distinct words for ‘how many’ (referring to countables) and ‘how much’ (referring to non-countables), as shown by (7.96) & (7.97). \( \text{tsund} \) relates to the class of lexical numerals, as it can be substituted for a numeral in various contexts: 1) A numeral may be
accompanied by a classifier, as may tsund, as in (7.98). 2) The morphological process for deriving an ordinal from a cardinal numeral also applies to tsund. The ordinal suffix –intɕi or particle ma or az, which attach to cardinal numerals, also attach to tsund, forming tsund-intɕi or ma/az tsund ‘the how-many-th’ (having what position in a numerical series), as in (7.99) & (7.100).

3) tsund may be coordinated with a numeral to form compound numerals with the coordinating conjunction at, as in (7.101).

(7.96) a. tamaɕ-an  tsund  batɕo  jost
    2PL.NNOM-GEN  how.much  child  be.IPVF
    ‘How many children do you have?’

b. mac-an  tsavur  batɕo  jost
    1PL.NNOM-GEN  four  child  be.IPVF
    ‘We have four children.’

(7.97) a. təw  a = mu  tsund  azs
    2SG.NOM  ACC = 1SG.NNOM  how.much  love
    ‘How much do you love me?’

b. m = dund
    CATA = AMT
    ‘This much.’

(7.98) a. tsund  tol  tu = ri  luzim
    how.much  CL  2SG.NNOM = DAT  necessary
    ‘How many do you need?’

b. haroj  tol
    three  CL
    ‘Three.’

(7.99) a. təw  pa  tsund-intɕi  sumuf  xuj
    2SG.NOM  LOC  how.much-ORD  class  read.IPVF
    ‘Which (the how-many-th) grade are you studying in?’

b. pindz-intɕi
    five-ORD
    ‘Fifth.’
(7.100) a. ta dars most ma tsund adu
   2SG.NOM lesson moon ORD how.much finish
   sawd become.3SG.IPFW
   ‘Which (the how-many-th) month will your classes be finished?’

b. most ma uwd
   moon ORD seven
   ‘July.’

(7.101) wi radzen ðes at tsund sulô
   3SG.NOM.DIST daughter ten CONJ how.much year.old
   ‘His daughter is ten-and-something years old (is a teenager).’

In addition to being used as an interrogative numeral, tsund may be combined
with some nouns or adjectives to form more specific interrogatives referring to quantity or degree, such as: tsund waχt ‘how long, how much time’, tsund suat
‘how many hours’, tsund sul ‘how many years’, tsund pul ‘how much money’,

tsejzir is a sentential adverbial that is used for questioning purpose or reason, and literally means ‘for what’. It usually occurs sentence-initially or immediately after the subject.

(7.102) ta dud tsejzir xw tilfon na zozd
   2SG.NOM uncle why REFL.NOM phone NEG get.3SG.IPFW
   ‘Why is your uncle not picking up his phone?’

(7.103) tsejzir a = maɕ dejd na laka = in
   why ACC = 1PL.NOM enter.INF NEG let.IPFW = 3PL.IPFW
   ‘Why are they not letting us enter?’

It is possible to use multiple interrogative words in a single sentence, if there are multiple constituents being questioned, as in (7.104) - (7.108).

(7.104) a = tɕi wand = ir tar ko
   ACC = who.NOM see.INF = DAT LOC where.NNOM
   tedz = it
go.IPFW = 2PL.IPFW
   ‘Where are you(pl) going, to see whom?’
Since interrogative words occur in situ, it is straightforward to question a constituent in a subordinate clause. In (7.109), the interrogative word ʨi occurs within a relative clause, and in (7.110), tsejz occurs within a purpose adverbial clause, and both of these interrogative words occur in the slot that is expected for its function. Interrogative complement clauses are described in the next subsection (§7.3.4.1).

(7.105) | suat tɕi tsund tɕi pa tɕɛd so |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hour LOC how.much who.NNOM LOC house become.IPV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘At what time are you going, to whose house?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.106) | tɕoj tɕum tsejzir jet = ir vɛdʑ |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who.NOM when why come.INF = DAT be.PRF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Who is coming, when, for what purpose? (Evidential/New information)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.107) | tɕoj ʨi = ri tsejz ḏudʑ |
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who.NOM who.NNOM = DAT what give.PRF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Who gave what to whom? (Evidential/New information)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.108) | tɕoj az ko tsejz vəwɡ |
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who.NOM ABL where.NNOM what bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Who brought what from where?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In their bare forms, interrogative words may also express meanings such as ‘X-ever (where ‘X’ is the interrogative word)’:

(7.109) | jad [ʨi qati iθtɕ=ɛndʑ] mejmun |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM COM come.PRF = REL guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Whose guest is this?’ (lit. This is a guest who came with whom?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.110) | [tsejz ʨeṣg = ir] = at tɯjdʑ-it |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what do.INF = REL = 2SG.PFV go.PRF-CESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Why did you go?’ (lit. You went to do what?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.111) | tsejz tsa vid səwd |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what COND be.3SG.IPV become.3SG.IPV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Whatever is fine.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.112) | tɕum tsa vid səwd |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>when COND be.3SG.IPV become.3SG.IPV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Whenever is fine.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(7.113) tsund pul tsa vid mejli
how.much money COND be.3SG.IPFV okay
‘However much money is fine.’

(7.114) tow kudzur tsa tedz was ta paz
2SG.NOM where COND go.IPFV 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM PER
dum tedz = am
behind go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
‘Wherever you go, I will follow you.’

(7.115) tamaɕ pa prud tsejz tsa lakaxt
2PL.NNOM LOC front what COND put.3SG.IPFV
k = a = wi ɔɔr = it
ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
‘Whatever she sets before you(pl), eat that.’

(7.116) tɕoj aθ vid tsa a = wi
who.NOM = EMP be.3SG.IPFV COND ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
ɕawguni levdz na səwd
Sheaugeeni say.PRF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
‘We cannot just make any random person the Sheaugeeni.’ (lit. Whoever it is, it is not okay to just call him the Sheaugeeni.)

(7.117) wi = ri = ik twidum kampɯt χuɕ
3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT = DUR which candy happy
suj wi = ri soz = in
become.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT buy.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘Whichever candy he likes, they buy it for him.’

(7.118) intawum ðo = an, kudzur = an = ik narzdzed,
exam give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV where = 1PL.IPFV = DUR pass.PFV
k = um so = an
ANA = there become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
‘We will take an exam, and wherever we get accepted to, we will go there.’
(7.119)  
\[ \text{ar} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{tsarang} \quad \chiɯɕ-i \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{ka} \]  
\[ \text{LOC} \quad \text{3SG.N NOM.PROX} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{happy-NMLZ} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{do.IP FV} \]  
\[ \text{tsarang} \quad \text{narzamb} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{set} = \iota \text{tɛuz} \quad \text{ejd} \]  
\[ \text{how} \quad \text{celebrate.IP F V} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{become.I NF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{festival} \]  
‘This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.’

### 7.3.4.1 Interrogative complement clauses

Questions that would be content questions as main clauses may be embedded in another main clause as interrogative complement clauses. Since mood is a property of the main clause, a sentence with an interrogative complement clause is not necessarily in interrogative mood. Interrogative complement clauses take the subordinating conjunction =i, and the interrogative word occurs in situ within the embedded clause. (7.120) - (7.130) illustrate how each of the interrogative words introduced in §7.3.4 may be used in an interrogative complement clause.

(7.120)  
\[ \text{waz} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{vits-an} \quad \text{tɕoj} \quad \text{vid} = i \quad \text{na} \]  
\[ \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{2SG.N NOM} \quad \text{aunt-GEN} \quad \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{be.I NF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{NEG} \]  
\[ \text{wazon} = \text{am} \quad \text{know.IP F V} = \text{1SG.IP F V} \]  
‘I do not know who your aunt is.’

(7.121)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \quad \text{tamaɕ-an} \quad \text{imore} \quad \text{tɕi} \]  
\[ \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.IP F V} \quad \text{2PL.N NOM-GEN} \quad \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{who.NNOM} \]  
\[ \text{pa} \quad \text{tɕɛd} \quad \text{tid} = i \quad \text{ramuxtɕ} \]  
\[ \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{go.I NF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{forget.P RF} \]  
‘I forgot whose house you(pl) are going to tomorrow. (Evidential/New information)’

(7.122)  
\[ \text{waz} \quad \text{ta-an} \quad \text{parus} \quad \text{tsejs} \quad \text{tɕɛ} \quad \text{wejg} = i \]  
\[ \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{2SG.N NOM-GEN} \quad \text{last.year} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{do.I NF} = \text{SC} \]  
\[ \text{wazon} = \text{am} \quad \text{know.IP F V} = \text{1SG.IP F V} \]  
‘I know what work you did last year.’
woð = af mu-an tsidum gül
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PVF 1SG.NOM-GEN which flower

surid = i wand
separate. INF = SC see. PFV
‘They saw which flower I chose.’

waz rejmagul-an tsum ɣw tej
1SG.NOM Reimageel-GEN when REFL.NOM wedding

tεej = i tεač = ir lcε = am
do. INF = SC 2PL.NOM = DAT say. PFV = 1SG.PVF
‘I will tell you when Reimageel will get married.’

waz ajdʒmol-an ɣw batco kudzur
1SG.NOM Ayjamol-GEN sefl.NOM child where.NOM

naymig = i na wazon = am
hide. INF = SC NEG know. PFV = 1SG.PVF
‘I do not know where Ayjamol hid her child.’

waz wɛf-an az ko
1SG.NOM 3PL.NOM.DIST-GEN ABL where.NOM

jɛt = i wazon = am
come. INF = SC know. PFV = 1SG.PVF
‘I know where they came from.’

wi-an mudzuz tsarang vid = i az
3SG.NOM.DIST-GEN feeling how be. INF = SC ABL

wi pars = an
3SG.NOM.DIST ask. PFV = 1SG.PVF
‘We ask how she is feeling.’

arzęq-an tsawa tεej = i tu = ri ɣumand
Arzęq-GEN how do. INF = SC 2SG.NOM = DAT learn

ka = am
do. PFV = 1SG.PVF
‘I will teach you how to make Arzęq (a wedding pastry).’
Questions that would be alternative questions (polar question with a tag) as main clauses may also be embedded as nominalized interrogative complement clauses with the subordinating conjunction $=i$. Since alternative questions do not employ interrogative words to begin with, they do not contain interrogative words. Instead, the question is stated without any changes in word order, and the conjunction $jo(\text{ki})$ ‘or’ is used to conjoin the two alternatives, as shown in (10.53) - (7.134). Unlike in a regular alternative question, both alternatives must contain a predicate in the infinitive stem.

(7.131) $wef-an$ $batço$ $vid = i$ $jo$ $na$

$3\text{PL.NOM.DIST-GEN}$ $\text{child}$ $\text{be.INF} = \text{SC}$ $\text{or}$ $\text{NEG}$

$vid = i = am$

$be.INF = \text{SC} = 1\text{SG.PFV}$ $\text{forget.PRF}$

‘I forget whether they have children. (Evidential/New information)’

(7.132) $pugan$ $wi-an$ $waχt$ $vid = i$ $jo$ $na$

$\text{tomorrow}$ $3\text{SG.NOM.DIST-GEN}$ $\text{time}$ $\text{be.INF} = \text{SC}$ $\text{or}$ $\text{NEG}$

$vid = i$ $az$ $wi$

$be.INF = \text{SC}$ $\text{ABL}$ $3\text{SG.NOM.DIST}$ $\text{ask.PFV} = 1\text{SG.PFV}$

‘I will ask whether she has time tomorrow.’
7.3.4.2 Negative indefinite pronouns

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative words—the addition of hitɕ (which is very frequently shortened to i) ‘none’ to the beginning of some interrogative words creates a negative indefinite: hitɕ tɕoj ‘no one (NOM)’, hitɕ tɕi ‘no one (NNOM)’, hitɕ tsarang (sometimes shortened to hitɕ rang) ‘in no way, in no form’, hitɕ tsawa ‘in no way, in no form’, hitɕ tsiz ‘nothing’, hitɕ tɕidum ‘no kind of’. The use of each of the negative indefinites is illustrated in (7.135) - (7.140) below. Interrogative words which are exclusively interrogative and cannot be used as negative indefinites with hitɕ are tɕum/ʦa wajt, kudʑur/ko, tsejzir, and tʂund. For time and location, hitɕ is used with common nouns instead of interrogative words: hitɕ wajt ‘never; no time’ and hitɕ dzuj ‘nowhere’, as in (7.141) & (7.142).

(7.133) sulir maɕ = ir hansu ziv dars
next.year 1PL.NNOM = DAT Han tongue lesson

\[ \text{dod} = i \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{dod} = i \quad \text{new} \]
give.INF = SC or NEG give.INF = SC still

\[ \text{maɕ} = \text{ir} = \text{af} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{levd} \]
1PL.NNOM = DAT = 3PL.PFV NEG say.IPVF
‘They did not tell us yet whether they will offer Mandarin classes next year.’

(7.134) ki = di-an rust ki = di
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN true ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX

\[ \text{rang} \quad \text{vid} = i \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{vid} = i \quad \text{maɕ} \quad \text{i} \]
SEMB be.INF = SC or NEG be.INF = SC 1PL.NOM one

\[ \text{wejn} = \text{an} \]
see.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF
‘Let us see whether it is truly as they say or not.’

\[ \text{pa} \quad \text{tɕed} \quad \text{hitɕ} \quad \text{tɕoj} \quad \text{nist} \]
LOC house none who.NOM NEG.be.IPVF
‘There is no one at home.’

\[ \text{hitɕ} \quad \text{tɕi} = \text{ri} \quad \text{salum} \quad \text{avon} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{warofs} \]
none who.NNOM = DAT peace BEN PROH stop.IPVF
‘Do not stop to greet anyone.’
(7.137) \[ \text{jad batço hitç tsarang guxt mas na} \]
3SG.NOM.PROX child none how meat also NEG
\hline
\text{χird} \hline
\text{eat.3SG.IPFV} \hline
‘This child does not eat any form of meat.’

(7.138) \[ \text{wi=ri hitç tsawa mo ka} \]
3SG.NOM.DIST = DAT none how PROH do.IPFV
‘Do not do anything to it.’

(7.139) \[ \text{hitç tsiz nj, hitç tsiz = am na levd} \]
none thing NEG none thing = 1SG.PFV NEG say.PFV
‘Nothing, I did not say anything.’

(7.140) \[ \text{hitç tsidum gul mu=ri γauγ nist} \]
none which flower 1SG.NOM = DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
‘I do not like any of the flowers.’

(7.141) \[ \text{maɕ hitç waχt di rang tɛr} \]
1PL.NOM none time 3SG.NOM.PROX SEMB work
\hline
\text{wandz = endz nist} \hline
\text{see.PRF = REL NEG.be.IPFV} \hline
‘We have never seen anything like this before.’

(7.142) \[ \text{doð=af hitç dʑuj na tujd} \]
3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV none place NEG go.PFV
‘They did not go anywhere.’

These negative indefinites always co-occur with a predicate negator (\text{na}, \text{nist}, \text{naj}, \text{mo}), whether in a question or a statement, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.143) & (7.144) which do not contain negators.

(7.143) \[ \text{\text{’hitç tcoj pa duʁtuyɾuno jɔd dtsa}} \]
none who.NOM LOC hospital come.3SG.IPFV COND
\hline
\text{sawd} \hline
\text{become.3SG.IPFV} \hline
‘No one may come to the hospital.’

(7.144) \[ \text{\text{’tə az dʑiłt hitç tsiz wuxt=o}} \]
2SG.NOM ABL bag none thing fall.PFV = Q
‘Did nothing fall from your bag?’
7.3.4.3 Interrogative reduplication for pluralization

Interrogatives are unique in that they are reduplicated for pluralization, rather than taking the plural markers -χεjl or -ɛf. Interrogative words with a plural referent are reduplicated, without any changes in word order, as illustrated in (7.145) - (7.150):

(7.145)  \( tɕoj \ tɕoj \ ji\dd \)
\( \text{who.NOM} \ \text{who.NOM} \ \text{come.3SG.IPFV} \)
‘Who all are coming?’

(7.146)  \( kudʐur \ kudʐur \ tɛdz = i\n \)
\( \text{where.NOM} \ \text{where.NOM} \ \text{go.IPFV} = 3\text{PL.IPFV} \)
‘Where all are they going?’

(7.147)  \( təw \ a = tɕi \ tɕi \ wazon \)
\( \text{2SG.NOM} \ \text{ACC} = \text{who.NNOM} \ \text{who.NNOM} \ \text{know.IPFV} \)
‘Who all do you know?’

(7.148)  \( tsejz \ tsejz \ vɛdːz \)
\( \text{what} \ \text{what} \ \text{be.PRF} \)
‘What all are there? (Evidential/New information)’

(7.149)  \( ta-an \ \text{dars} \ \text{tɕum} \ \text{tɕum} \ \text{jost} \)
\( \text{2SG.NNOM-GEN} \ \text{lesson} \ \text{when} \ \text{when} \ \text{be.IPFV} \)
‘When are the times you have class?’

(7.150)  \( təw \ tɕidum \ tɕidum \ dəwlat \ tuijdz = ɛndʑ, \ tɕidum \ tɕidum \ ziv \ wazon \)
\( \text{2SG.NOM} \ \text{which} \ \text{which} \ \text{country} \ \text{go.PRF} = \text{REL} \ \text{which} \ \text{which} \ \text{tongue} \ \text{know.IPFV} \)
‘Which countries have you been to, and which languages do you know?’

7.3.4.4 Interrogatives used as filler words

The interrogative words \( tɕoj, \ tɕi, \) and \( tsejz \) may be used as filler words in statements and non-content questions if the speaker cannot remember the right word or name for something, as in (7.151) - (7.153). In such cases, the interrogative word is used in the normal syntactic position of the word it is substituting, and the originally intended word is later added on to the end
of the sentence when the speaker remembers it. For locations, *kudzur* is not used, but *k=um* 'there' is used instead, as in (7.154).

(7.151)  
\[ \text{tsoj} \quad \text{jot} = o \ldots \quad \text{qurbun} \]  
\[ \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{come.PFV} = Q \quad \text{Qeerbun} \]  
‘Did he come... Qeerbun?’

(7.152)  
\[ \text{a} \quad \text{tci} \quad \text{pars} = an \ldots \quad \text{kuzmamad} \]  
\[ \text{ABL} \quad \text{who.NNOM} \quad \text{ask.PFV} = 1 \text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{Kuzmamad} \]  
‘Let us ask him... Kuzmamad.’

(7.153)  
\[ \text{a} = \text{wi} \quad \text{znej} = \text{in} \quad \chi \mu \quad \text{ar} \]  
\[ \text{ACC} = 3 \text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{wash.PFV} = 3 \text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{LOC} \]  
\[ \text{tsesz} \quad \text{wej} = \text{in} \ldots \quad \text{dejg} \]  
‘They wash it an put it in the thing... pot.’

(7.154)  
\[ \text{awal} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tsiz} \quad \text{zoz} = \text{an} \quad \chi \mu \quad \text{k} = \text{um} \]  
\[ \text{first} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{buy.PFV} = 1 \text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{ANA} = \text{there} \]  
\[ \text{so} = \text{an} \ldots \quad \text{nizamidin} \quad \text{dzu} \]  
\[ \text{become.PFV} = 1 \text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{Nizamidin} \quad \text{place} \]  
‘First we will go buy something and then go there... Nizamidin’s place.’

### 7.3.5 Indirect question

In Sarikoli, questions may be posed indirectly. The construction indicating indirect questions has two forms, depending on whether the situation in question has already occurred or not: a perfect verb followed by *vəw* ‘be (PFV)’ for the former, and an infinitive verb with the dative marker =*ir* followed by *vəw* for the latter. The ‘be’ verb is fully inflected for person and number with the pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in the following examples of indirect questions containing the perfect verb *sədzə*:

(7.155)  
\[ \text{i} \quad \text{tsaw} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{sədzə} \quad \text{vəw} \]  
\[ \text{none} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.PRF} \quad \text{be.PFV} \]  
‘You are fine, right?’
The choice between direct and indirect questions is often determined by the level of politeness the speaker wishes to convey, as well as the kind of response sought by the speaker. Indirect questions generally imply less speaker involvement and greater distance away from the situation (Watters 2002:301). Whereas a direct question clearly demands a response, an indirect question may be perceived as implying little more than slight concern or curiosity, even if it is a real request for information.

However, in general, direct questions are also not perceived as being rude or presumptuous. They are much more frequently used than indirect questions, and usually do not give an impression of intrusiveness. Indirect questions are often used for extra politeness, as in the following:

(7.159) \textit{təw ｚafo ｎa ｓɛt=ir ｖωw,}
\textit{a = di ｇap ｍaｌum = ir ｆrapon}
\textit{ＡCC = 3SG.NNom.PROX ｗoｒd ｔeａcher = DAT ｒeａch.CAUS.IPFV}
‘If it will not trouble you, could you deliver this message to the teacher?’ (lit. You will not get upset, will you? Deliver this message to the teacher.)

(7.160) \textit{ｗaz = am ａ = ta ｍejｍun ｎa ｔwi}
\textit{tɔwɡ, ｔw ｚafo ｎa ｓɛt=ir ｖωw}
\textit{dο.PFV 2SG.NNom ｕpset ｎEG ｂecome.INF = DAT ｂe.IPFV}
‘I am sorry I was unable to invite you, and hope you understand.’ (lit. I was unable to invite you for a meal. You will not get upset, will you?)
All indirect questions are polar questions, and they almost always occur with negative presuppositions. An indirect question expresses a negative assumption about a situation and asks for a confirmation of whether it is correct (Watters 2002:305). This is illustrated by the following pair of examples. The indirect question in (7.164) presupposes that the addressee will not leave, whereas the direct question in (7.165) is without presupposition.
In this respect, the indirect question is similar to a tag question, which also comes with a presupposition. The tag question in (7.166) expresses a similar meaning to that of (7.164):

\[(7.166)\]

\[waz\quad i\quad afto\quad az\quad zabu\quad tar\quad varɕidɛ\]
\[1SG.NOM\quad one\quad week\quad ABL\quad back\quad LOC\quad Varshide\]
\[so = am,\quad \text{tama}=wi\]
\[\text{become.IPfv} = 1SG.IPfv\quad 2PL.NOM\quad \text{ANA} = 3SG.NNOM.DIST\]
\[\text{waχt}\quad \text{its}\quad \text{na}\quad \text{tedz}=it,\quad \text{nej}\]
\[\text{time}\quad \text{TERM}\quad \text{NEG}\quad \text{go.IPfv}\quad =2PL.IPfv\quad \text{NEG}\]
\[\text{‘I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?’}\]

In addition to expressing politeness or presupposition, indirect questions may also be used when the speaker does not necessarily require a response from the addressee. Lyons (1977:755) draws a distinction between “asking” and “posing” a question: asking assumes that the addressee knows the answer and demands an answer, whereas posing a question does not. This is exemplified in the examples below. In (7.167), the speaker is a boss addressing a lazy man who has come to work for him; after seeing that the man is unwilling to do anything, he angrily sends him away. In (7.168), a bird threatens a thorn tree, which has refused to give the bead back to the bird. In (7.169), the speaker is expressing annoyance that the addressee has been slow to believe him.

\[(7.167)\]

\[təw\quad tɕer\quad na\quad tɕejɡ=ir\quad vow,\quad tom\quad wazefs\]
\[2SG.NOM\quad work\quad NEG\quad do.INF\quad be.IPfv\quad then\quad return.IPfv\]
\[tsa\quad sawd\]
\[\text{COND}\quad \text{become.3SG.IPfv}\]
\[‘You are not going to work, right? Then you can go back.’\]
(7.168)  *ilu, mɯ safts = ik  mɯ = ri  na*
wait  1SG.NNOM  bead = DUR  1SG.NNOM = DAT  NEG

   *ðod = ir  vəw,  waz  juts = ir*
   give.INF = DAT  be.IPfv  1SG.NOM  fire = DAT

   *lev = am,  juts  laka  a = ta*
say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv  fire  let.IPfv  ACC = 2SG.NNOM

θawond
burn.CAUS.3SG.IPfv
‘Wait, you are not giving me my bead, right? I will tell Fire, and may Fire burn you.’

(7.169)  *ɕitɕ = aθ  pa  mɯ  icandz  tɕɔwyo  vəw*
now = EMP  LOC  1SG.NNOM  trust  do.PRF  be.IPfv
‘Now do you believe me?’

7.3.6 Other pragmatic functions of questions

In addition to their basic function of requesting information, questions also serve other pragmatic functions. They may serve as rhetorical questions, idiomatic expressions, and phatic expressions. Rhetorical questions share the same structure as questions, but are used to make an assertion about something that the speaker considers self-evident, and often includes some kind of negative judgment (Overall 2007:479; Watters 2002:307). (7.170) is an example of a parent scolding a child, and uses both a content question and an alternative question. The rhetorical questions in (7.171) & (7.172) provide reasons for rejecting a request, and are in polar question form. Through (7.173), the speaker asserts that everyone sheds tears for their own daughter, because they always wish their daughter could live a better life.

(7.170)  *təw  tsarang  batɕo,  pa  gap  tɕɔmbo = o,  nej*
2SG.NOM  how  child  LOC  word  be.willing.IPfv = Q  NEG
‘What kind of child are you? Will you obey or not?’
Some rhetorical questions have become idiomatic expressions through widespread usage. (7.174) is frequently uttered when the speaker does not know the answer to a question. (7.175) is used as an agreeable response to a request or suggestion. (7.176) is used as a tag after a statement when the speaker is not completely certain about the validity of the statement that she has just uttered.
Questions also play a role in phatic exchanges. In Sarikoli culture, it is very customary and appropriate to present a series of phatic utterances in polar question form in certain contexts, such as: upon encountering someone on the street, when welcoming guests into one's home (or when entering someone’s home), after seating the guests in the guest-receiving room (or after being seated in someone else’s home), after the guests wake up (or when seeing the hosts in the morning), etc. These questions are uttered in both directions, and they are rhetorical in nature, as they are followed by phatic (rather than informative) responses. Examples of these phatic utterances are included in §13.
8

Clause

This chapter identifies and describes the basic constituent order (§8.1) and basic clause types in Sarikoli. Each clause consists of a predicate and one or more core arguments, which are obligatorily stated or understood from the context, and peripheral arguments, which are optional. The predicate determines the argument structure of a clause, that is, the number and type of arguments which should be included in the clause. In the following subsections, seven different clause types are described: intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, and extended transitive clauses, all of which take verbal predicates (§8.2), existential clauses (§8.3), copula clauses (§8.4), and extended copula clauses (§8.5). Table 8.1 presents the argument structure of each of these clause types. S is the intransitive subject, A is the transitive subject, O is the transitive object, CS is the copula subject, CP is the copula complement, and E is the extended argument, which is an additional core argument required by the predicate. §8.7 describes the typical placement of peripheral arguments.

Table 8.1 Clause types and core arguments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause type</th>
<th>Core argument(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended intransitive</td>
<td>S, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>A, O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended transitive</td>
<td>A, O, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>CS, CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended copula</td>
<td>CS, CP, E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1 Constituent order
The dominant constituent order of major constituents in unmarked verbal clauses is SXOV, where ‘X’ stands for dative or other peripheral arguments. In this discussion regarding constituent order, the core clause constituents will be referred to as ‘subject (S)’, ‘object (O)’, and ‘verb (V)’, where ‘subject’ refers to the most agent-like argument and ‘object’ refers to the most patient-like argument of the transitive clause (Velupillai 2012:237). Peripheral arguments and most adverbs typically occur between the subject and the object. Constituent order is not rigid, so these elements often occur in other positions in the clause as well. A list of constituent order pairings is given in table (8.2).

Table 8.2 Sarikoli constituent order pairings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituent order pairings</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive clause</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive clause</td>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of object, peripheral argument, verb</td>
<td>XOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of noun and function marker</td>
<td>N, FM &amp; FM, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of genitive and noun</td>
<td>Gen, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of adjective and noun</td>
<td>Adj, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of demonstrative and noun</td>
<td>Dem, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of numeral and noun</td>
<td>Num, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of relative clause and noun</td>
<td>Rel, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of degree word and adjective</td>
<td>Deg, Adj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of interrogative enclitic</td>
<td>sentence-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of interrogative words</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of adverbial subordinators</td>
<td>end of subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of comparative construction elements</td>
<td>marker-standard-Adj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since Sarikoli has both prepositions and postpositions, it would be classified as Greenbergian type 19 (SOV, Preposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) and type 24 (SOV, Postposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) (Greenberg 1963).

8.2 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates are lexical verbs that come in five different stems. With the exception of the third person singular imperfective, every finite clause with a verbal predicate takes a pronominal agreement clitic. The semantic content of the verb determines whether its clause will be intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, or extended transitive.
An intransitive predicate takes a single core argument: S, which is marked as nominative case. The sentences in (8.1) - (8.3) are examples of intransitive clauses.

(8.1)  

\textit{olim nalust}  
\textit{Olim sit.PFV}  
‘Olim sat.’

(8.2)  

\textit{mu ped xuvod}  
1SG.N NOM foot sleep.PF V  
‘My foot fell asleep.’

(8.3)  

\textit{mejmun-χeił = af tujd}  
guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PF V go.PF V  
‘The guests left.’

Some intransitive predicates, despite being intransitive, take two core arguments. However, the second argument is marked with the locative function marker \textit{pa} rather than being marked as accusative, as in a transitive clause. This second core argument is E, the “extended argument” coined by Dixon (2010a:99). The extended intransitive predicate takes two core arguments: S, which is marked as nominative case, and E, which is marked with \textit{pa}. Only a few verbs serve as predicates in the extended intransitive, including: \textit{iɕandʒ tćejg} ‘trust’ (8.4) & (8.5), \textit{buwar tćejg} ‘believe’ (8.6), \textit{julamnic set} ‘rely on’ (Uyghur loanword)’ (8.7), \textit{tɕimbd} ‘be obedient to; be willing to listen to’ (8.8), \textit{jur set} ‘possess (as when a demon possesses someone)’ (8.9), \textit{buzejd} ‘touch’ (8.10), and \textit{lɛχχiɡ} ‘encounter; bump into’ (8.11). While extended intransitives and regular transitives both take two core arguments, the E argument in an extended intransitive is generally not nearly as affected by the action of the verb as most of the O arguments in a transitive clause.

(8.4)  

\textit{pa tɕi iɕandʒ ka = am}  
\textit{LOC who.N NOM trust do.PFV = 1SG.PF V}  
‘Whom shall I trust?’

(8.5)  

\textit{mu iɕandʒ tsa na ka χuðojl}  
1SG.N NOM trust COND NEG do.PF V God  
\textit{mu = ri quwu}  
1SG.N NOM = DAT witness  
‘If you do not trust me, God is my witness.’
A transitive predicate takes two core arguments: A, in the nominative case, and O, marked for accusative function if it is definite. Sentences (8.12) - (8.15) show examples of transitive clauses.

(8.12)  *zuelfia poj furd*
Zeelfia yogurt slurp.3SG.IPfv
‘Zeelfia will slurp yogurt.’

(8.13)  *maːc = an cir navist*
1PL.NOM = 1PL.IPfv poem write.IPfv
‘We wrote poems.’

(8.14)  *m-ono xaxits kaxt*
1SG.N NOM-mother Hak’ts do.3SG.IPfv
‘My mother will make Hak’ts (a fudge-like sweet).’
Clause 221

(8.15) \( wi \ yin \ a = vurdz \ vijojd \) 3SG.NOM wife ACC= horse ride.PFV

‘His wife rode the horse.’

An extended transitive (or ditransitive) predicate takes three core arguments: A, marked as nominative; O, marked as accusative; and E, which is marked as dative. Extended transitive constructions feature verbs such as \( \partialod \) ‘give’ (8.16), \( \text{levd} \) ‘tell’ (8.17), \( \text{vusond} \) ‘show’ (8.18), \( \chiumand \ tsejg \) ‘teach’ (8.19), \( \text{para} \ \partialod \) ‘sell’ (8.20), and \( \text{boxt} \) ‘send’ (8.21), which require three arguments to be stated or implied.1

(8.16) \( kura\c{c} \ mu = ri \ tsemak \ \partialud \) Keerash 1SG.NNOM=DAT wink give.PFV

‘Keerash winked at me.’ (lit. Keerash gave me a wink.)

(8.17) \( awal \ \chiu \ num \ at \ \chi-o\text{-}to \ num \) first REFLL.NNOM name CONJ REFLL.NNOM-father name

\( \text{batco-} cf = ir \ \text{l}e\text{v} \) child-PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPV

‘First tell your name and your father’s name to the kids.’

(8.18) \( ilu, \ waz \ tu = ri \ i \ tsiz \) hold.on 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing

\( \text{vuson} = am \) show.IPV=1SG.IPV

‘Hold on, I will show you something.’

(8.19) \( wod \ \text{imi} = ri \ \chiu \ ato \ ziv \) 3PL.NOM.DIST RECP=DAT REFLL.NNOM father tongue

\( \chiumand \ ka = in \) teach do.IPV=3PL.IPV

‘They teach each other their father tongue.’

(8.20) \( waz = am \ \text{haroj} \ \text{mon} \ \text{para} \ \partialud, \) 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV three apple sell give.PFV

\( wi = ri \) 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT

‘I sold three apples to him.’

1Causatives (table 1.7) of transitive verbs also require three arguments, as they take on an additional dative- or accusative-marked argument.
(8.21) \( \chi \mu \) \( \text{rasim} \) \( m\mu = ri \) \( \text{buz} \)  
REFL.N NOM picture 1SG.N NOM = DAT send.IP FV  
‘Send me your picture.’

### 8.3 Existential predicates

An existential predicate takes a single argument: copula subject (CS), which is marked as nominative. Sarikoli has two existential predicates: \( \text{vid} \) expresses positive existence while \( \text{na vid} \) expresses negative existence. As with the other predicates, they occur clause-finally. The stem system of these existential predicates differ depending on whether it occurs in the main clause or a subordinate clause; they are presented in table 8.3 below. The abbreviations used in table 8.3 are: \( \text{P} = \) positive, \( \text{N} = \) negative, \( \text{MC} = \) main clause, \( \text{SC} = \) subordinate clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPF V</th>
<th>3SG.IP F V</th>
<th>PF V</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P (MC)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>jost</td>
<td>( v\mu d )</td>
<td>( \nu \mu d )</td>
<td>( \nu \varepsilon \delta \mu z )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (MC)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nist</td>
<td>( n\mu d )</td>
<td>( n\nu \mu d )</td>
<td>( n\varepsilon \delta \mu z )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (SC)</td>
<td>( \text{vid} )</td>
<td>( \nu \omega )</td>
<td>( \text{vid} )</td>
<td>( \nu \mu d )</td>
<td>( \nu \varepsilon \delta \mu z )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (SC)</td>
<td>( \text{na vid} )</td>
<td>( \text{na \nu \omega} )</td>
<td>( \text{na vid} )</td>
<td>( \nu \mu d )</td>
<td>( \nu \varepsilon \delta \mu z )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas finite verbal predicates always occur in combination with pronominal agreement clitics, \( \text{jost} \) and \( \text{nist} \) are special predicates in the imperfective aspect that do not take pronominal agreement clitics, both for a third person singular subject (which normally has its own verb stem) and other subjects.

(8.22) \( \text{ar} \) \( \text{tung} \) \( \nu \varepsilon \) \( \text{jost} \)  
LOC Teeng apricot be.IP FV  
‘There are apricots in Teeng.’

(8.23) \( \text{wi} \) \( \text{ar} \) \( \text{ind\varepsilon q} \) \( \text{pu} \) \( \text{jost} \)  
3SG.N NOM.DIST LOC pocket money be.IP FV  
‘There is money in his pocket.’

(8.24) \( \text{pa} \) \( \text{t\varepsilon d} \) \( \text{mejm\nu-\yj} \) \( \text{n\mu s} \)  
LOC house guest-PL.NOM NEG.be.IP FV  
‘There are no guests at home.’
(8.25)  
\[ \text{mu } \text{pa } qete \text{ bateo } \text{nist} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NNOM LOC belly child NEG.be.IPfv} \]

‘There is no child in my belly.’

In subordinate clauses, just and nist occur in the infinitive stem, as in (8.26), or imperfective stems that are different from just and nist: vid and na vid for third person singular subjects, as in (8.27), and vəw and na vəw for all other subjects, as in (8.28). As with verbal predicates, the infinitive and third person singular imperfective stems do not occur with pronominal agreement clitics.

(8.26)  
\[ \text{mu-an tɛur na } \text{vid}=i=at \text{ tsawa} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NNOM-GEN husband NEG be-INF = SC = 2SG.IPfv how} \]

\[ \text{wazond} \]
\[ \text{know.IPfv} \]

‘How did you know that I do not have a husband?’

(8.27)  
\[ \text{waɛt tsə } \text{vid } \text{joð} \]
\[ \text{time COND be.3SG.IPfv come.IPfv} \]

‘Come over if you have time.’

(8.28)  
\[ \text{pa } \text{tɛɛd mejmun-cejɛl } \text{tsa } \text{vəw}=\text{in} \text{ na} \]
\[ \text{LOC house guest-PL.NOM COND be.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv NEG} \]

\[ \text{so = am} \]
\[ \text{become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv} \]

‘I will not go if there are other guests at home.’

If not in the infinitive or imperfective stems, the positive and negative existential predicates take the form vud/veðdz and na vud/na veðdz, respectively, and do require pronominal agreement clitics, as in (8.29) & (8.30).

(8.29)  
\[ \text{a. putxu-an } \text{haroj } \text{puts}=\text{af } \text{vud} \]
\[ \text{king-GEN three son = 3PL.IPfv be.IPfv} \]

‘The King had three sons.’

\[ \text{b. putxu-an } \text{haroj } \text{puts}=\text{af } \text{veðdz} \]
\[ \text{king-GEN three son = 3PL.IPfv be.PRF} \]

‘The King had three sons. (Evidential/New information)’
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(8.30)  a.  ar  wi  dzu j  a = sarlabzamin  nigo
        LOC  3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC = border watch

        tɕejɡ = iʦuz  askar-χe jl = af
        do.INF = REL soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV NEG be.PFV

        ‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.’

b.  ar  wi  dzu j  a = sarlabzamin  nigo
        LOC  3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC = border watch

        tɕejɡ = iʦuz  askar-χe jl = af
        do.INF = REL soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV NEG be.PR F

        ‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.
        (Evidential/New information)’

8.4 Copula predicates

A copula predicate takes two core arguments: copula subject (CS), marked as nominative case, and copula complement (CP), which is a unique argument type. Both CS and CP are in the nominative case in terms of function marking (zero marking), plural marking (with the -χe jl suffix), and pronominal forms. Pronouns occurring in both CS and CP positions take the nominative form. Neither of the two core arguments of the copula clause is marked as non-nominative.

The default copula in Sarikoli is vid ‘be’, which may be negated with the pre-verbal negator particle na, forming na vid. vid is used as an existential predicate when taking just one argument, CS, and as a copula predicate when taking two core arguments, CS and CP. It has also developed further functions of marking different modalities, as it is used for marking indirect questions (§7.3.5) and evidentiality (§12). The five different stems of vid as an existential predicate and as a copula predicate, along with the stems that occur in subordinate clauses, are presented in 8.4:

Table 8.4 Stems of vid (existential & copula)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IP F</th>
<th>PF V</th>
<th>PR F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENTIAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>jost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPULA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>vɯd vɛdʑ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate clause</td>
<td>vid</td>
<td>vəw</td>
<td>vid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike verbal predicates, which have referential meaning, the copula predicate carries relational meaning, as the copula clause expresses a certain semantic relation between CS and CP (Dixon 2010b:159). The copula *vid* marks the following relations: 1) IDENTITY (in which CP is an NP or complement clause); 2) ATTRIBUTION (in which CP is an adjective); 3) POSSESSION (in which CP is a possessive phrase); and 4) LOCATION (in which CP is an NP marked by an adposition or a local demonstrative). CP is usually an NP or an adjective; it is not part of the predicate because it does not take any aspect or subject agreement marking as predicates do.

The copula *vid* is omitted from an imperfective copula clause, producing a verbless clause. Thus, a copula clause of positive polarity in imperfective aspect shows the semantic relations of CS and CP simply by apposition. This is demonstrated in (8.31) - (8.34), which contain no overt copula.

(8.31) nur di əzmud sədəz = endəz maθ
        today 3SG.NOM.PROX born become.PRF = REL day
    ‘Today is this person’s birthday.’ (IDENTITY)

(8.32) wi vɾɔw uɾɛ tor
        3SG.NOM.DIST brow very black
    ‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.33) u jiu spin qala maɕ putxu-an
        there 3SG.NOM.DIST metal castle 1PL.NNOM king-GEN
    ‘That metal castle over there is our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)

(8.34) mɯ tɕɛd ar guz
        1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland
    ‘My house is in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)

The imperative mood is an exception. In a *vid* copula clause in the imperative mood, *vid* is required, even in the imperfective aspect, as shown in (8.35), and later in (8.56).

(8.35) tɔw iχil iʃjur vɔw
        2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFW
    ‘Always be on your guard.’

The copula *vid* appears when aspects other than the unmarked imperfective are used, or is negated or subordinated, since the copula must be used to carry the inflection for aspect and pronominal agreement clitics. The copula clause
and the verbless clause will be analyzed as the same construction type because they are identical in all other aspects except for the presence or absence of the copula, and because the absence of the copula is always predictable—it has zero surface realization within a main clause of positive polarity in the imperfective aspect. In all other environments, some stem of the copula *vid* always occurs and shows the same aspect and agreement marking as verbal predicates. The following examples demonstrate that *vid* occurs in perfect aspect (8.36) & (8.37), perfective aspect (8.38) & (8.39), negative polarity (8.40) & (8.41), and subordinate clauses (8.42) & (8.43).

(8.36)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  xɛb & di & azmud & sɛdʑ = ɛndʑ & maθ \\
  \text{yesterday} & 3SG.NOM.PROX & \text{born} & \text{become.PRF} = \text{REL} & \text{day} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{ve}\ddz\]  
\[\text{be.PRF}\]

‘It was this person’s birthday yesterday. (Evidential/New information)’ (IDENTITY)

(8.37)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  wi & vrəw & utɕ & tor & ve\ddz \\
  3SG.NOM.DIST & \text{brow very} & \text{black} & \text{be.PFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.38)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  u & jiʃ & spin & qala & maƙ & putxu-an \\
  \text{there} & 3SG.NOM.DIST & \text{metal castle} & 1PL.NOM & \text{king-GEN} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{vu}\dd\]  
\[\text{be.PFV}\]

‘That metal castle over there used to be our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)

(8.39)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  mu & tɛd & ar & guz & vu\dd \\
  1SG.NOM & \text{house} & \text{LOC grassland} & \text{be.PFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My house used to be in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)

(8.40)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  waz & sots & nist \\
  1SG.NOM & \text{girl} & \text{NEG.be.IP}FV \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I am not a girl.’ (IDENTITY)

(8.41)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  wi & vrəw & utɕ & tor & nist \\
  3SG.NOM.DIST & \text{brow very} & \text{black} & \text{NEG.be.IP}FV \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Her eyebrows are not very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)
‘They do not know that he is their own brother.’ (IDENTITY)

‘If your intentions are right, your work will turn out well.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

Sarikoli has another copula: set ‘become’. While vid refers to a state, set refers to a change of state. Whereas the copula vid is omitted in the imperfective aspect, producing a verbless clause with no aspect or agreement marking, set is not omissible and always requires pronominal agreement clitics. In these respects, set shares more similarities with verbal predicates, but is still a copula because it takes CS and CP as its arguments. The five different stems of set are presented in 8.5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>set</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>sawd</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>sedz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

set can be used in all four of the semantic relations expressed by the copula clauses with vid, as shown by the following examples. When used for expressing the LOCATION relation, set carries the meaning ‘to go’, as in (8.47).

‘These have become husband and wife.’ (IDENTITY)
(8.45)  
\[ tuːc \ tɕi \ pond \ tsa \ tɛdz \ ta \ pond \ kɯt \]
straight \ LOC \ road \ COND \ go.IPFV \ 2SG.NNOM \ road \ short

\[ səwd \]
become.3SG.PFV

‘If you walk the straight path, your journey will become shorter.’

(ATTRIBUTION)

(8.46)  
\[ awal \ wef-an \ puuts \ sut \]
first \ 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN \ son \ become.PFV

‘First, they got a son.’ (lit. Of theirs, a son first became.) (SESSION)

(8.47)  
\[ nuur \ pa \ buzur \ so=an \]
today \ LOC \ bazaar \ become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘We are going to the bazaar today.’ (LOCATION)

When expressing the LOCATION relation, the NP in CP function is generally marked with an adposition indicating locations, as in (8.48), unless it is a local demonstrative \( \text{əwd} \) ‘here’ or \( \text{ɯm/um} \) ‘there’, as in (8.49). The locative or allative preposition is occasionally omitted, leaving only the locational NP as the sole lexeme in the CP position, as in (8.50) & (8.51). Structurally, these cannot be distinguished from copula clauses showing IDENTITY relations; the LOCATION meaning of these clauses is understood from context and general knowledge.

(8.48)  
\[ wi \ tɕur \ az \ tuznɛf \]
3SG.NNOM.DIST \ husband \ ABL \ Teeznef

‘Her husband is from Teeznef.’

(8.49)  
\[ mu \ tɛd \ um-ik \]
1SG.NNOM \ house \ there-DIM

‘My house is over there.’

(8.50)  
\[ m-oto \ sɪtɛ \ varɕɪde \]
1SG.NNOM-father \ now \ Varshide

‘My father is in Varshide now.’

(8.51)  
\[ waz \ xwor \]
1SG.NOM \ Kashgar

‘I am in Kashgar.’
Copula and verbless clauses show a similar constituent order to transitive and intransitive clauses. CS (like A and S arguments) generally occurs first, followed by CP (like the O argument), and the predicate comes last. As with transitive and intransitive clauses, the order of constituents has some flexibility, even though CS and CP are indifferentiable because neither of them take function markers. CP always precedes the slot where the copula occurs, but CS may be moved to clause-final position, as in (8.52) - (8.54), whether or not the copula is overt.

(8.52)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mu} & \text{cirin} & \text{dzun}, & \text{jad} \\
\text{1SG.N NOM} & \text{sweet} & \text{life} & \text{3SG.N NOM. PROX}
\end{array}
\]

‘This one is my sweetheart.’ (IDENTITY)

(8.53)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{qobil,} & \text{mu} & \text{radzen} \\
\text{admirable} & \text{1SG.N NOM} & \text{daughter}
\end{array}
\]

‘My daughter is admirable.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.54)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{um-ik} & \text{vud,} & \text{mu} & \text{tCED} \\
\text{there-DIM} & \text{be.PFV} & \text{1SG.N NOM} & \text{house}
\end{array}
\]

‘My house used to be over there.’ (LOCATION)

The CS slot has the same structural possibilities as an S or A argument in that it can be filled by an NP or a complement clause. The pronominal agreement clitics, which show person and number agreement between the S or A argument and the verb, also shows agreement between the CS and the copula, but only in non-imperfective aspects, as in (8.55). As with S and A arguments, CS may be omitted in the imperative mood, as in (8.56) & (8.57) below.

(8.55)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{haroj} & \text{verθ=af} & \text{aqlin} & \text{vud} \\
\text{three} & \text{both=3PL.PFV} & \text{intelligent} & \text{be.PFV}
\end{array}
\]

‘All three of them were intelligent.’

(8.56)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{salomat} & \text{vw=it} \\
\text{healthy} & \text{be.IP} = \text{2PL.IP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Be healthy.’

(8.57)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{χafo} & \text{mo} & \text{so} \\
\text{upset} & \text{PROH} & \text{become.IP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Do not get upset.’

CP is unique among the argument types in that it may consist of a single adjective, whereas in the S, A, O, and CS positions an adjective generally occurs as a
modifier within the NP. CP is an adjective for the ATTRIBUTION relation and an NP for the other three relations; additionally, it takes the genitive marker -an for the POSSESSION relation, and sometimes an adposition for expressing LOCATION. CP may also contain subordinate clauses. In (8.58), the CP is a complement clause, and in (8.59), it consists of a headless relative clause. A CP expressing LOCATION may also be used to express a perfective event with internal reference point, as in (8.60).

\[(8.58)\]
\[
di \quad orzu \quad [duyqtur \quad set]
\]
\[
3SG.NOM.PROX \quad dream \quad doctor \quad become.INF
\]
\`
This person’s dream is [to become a doctor].'
\]

\[(8.59)\]
\[
maɕ \quad [χu \quad bʊst \quad qati \quad χig = itcuʃ]
\]
\[
1PL.NOM \quad REFL.NNOM \quad hand \quad COM \quad eat.INF = REL
\]
\`
We are ones [who eat with our hands].'
\]

\[(8.60)\]
\[
waz = am \quad [leq \quad tɛi \quad znod] \quad vʊd
\]
\[
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV \quad clothing \quad LOC \quad wash.INF \quad be.PFV
\]
\`
I was washing clothes.'
\]

### 8.5 Extended copula predicates

An extended copula clause consists of a copula predicate, vid or set, and three core arguments: CS, marked as nominative, CP, which is a unique argument type, and E (the “extended argument” (Dixon 2010a:99)), marked as dative. The CP in an extended copula clause is an adjective. Whether or not a copula clause may take an extended argument is determined by the type of adjective that occurs in the CP slot. A few CP adjectives may take an extended argument, including: χɯɕ ‘happy’ (8.61) & (8.62), luzim ‘necessary’ (8.63) & (8.64), and bos ‘enough’ (8.65). Even though E is marked as dative, it tends to be semantically more affected by the CP than the CS is, as shown by the English free translations in the examples below. As in the regular copula clause, the copula vid does not occur in the imperfective aspect, as in (8.61), (8.63), and (8.65), but the copula occurs in other aspects, subordinate clauses, imperatives, and when the copula set is used.

\[(8.61)\]
\[
ɾəwz \quad m-ono = ri \quad utɕ \quad χuɕ
\]
\[
walnut \quad 1SG.NNOM-mother = DAT \quad very \quad happy
\]
\`
My mother likes walnuts very much.'
\]
Non-finite clauses do not contain any aspectual marking or subject-verb agreement clitics. They do not constitute a sentence by themselves and are subordinate to another clause. The verb in a non-finite clause is in the infinitive stem, as in (8.66) - (8.68), with the exception of the =ɛndʑ RC, which takes a verb in the perfect stem, as in (8.69).

(8.66)  maθ paqad  dzul batco qati skit tɕejɡ
day whole.duration small child COM play do.INF

\[ a = \chi a \underline{l} g \quad \underline{al} u k \quad k a x t \]
ACC = person tired do.3SG.IPfv

‘Playing with little children all day makes a person tired.’

(8.67)  mu  dil  χ-oto  χ-ono  qati
1SG.N NOM heart REFL.N NOM-father REFL.N NOM-mother COM

\[ n a l i s t \]
sit.INF

‘I want to live with my parents.’
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(8.68) muрод shit pur pul vig mazamun
Meerod now much money find.INF since

wi yin utc sut
3SG.NOM.DIST wife happy become.PFV
‘Meerod’s wife has become happy since he is now making much money.’

(8.69) ju fil vijojdz = endz tsurik = ik
3SG.NOM.DIST elephant ride.PR F = REL man = DUR

jodd
come.3SG.IPFV
‘That man riding an elephant is coming.’

Some non-finite clauses do not take a nominative argument. Even an actor argument that would normally be marked as nominative in a main clause receives non-nominative marking, as in the nominalized CC construction in (8.70):

(8.70) was = am wef-an ar xwor katɕ
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN LOC Kashgar move

twef = i na xeddz
do.INF = SC NEG hear.PRF
‘I have not heard that they are moving to Kashgar. (Evidenti-al/New information)’

Other types of non-finite clauses take nominative arguments, as in the RC in (8.71) and the AC in (8.72):

(8.71) ju was parus xeddz = endz ar
3SG.NOM.DIST 1SG.NOM last.year become.PR F = REL LOC

maktab tujd
school go.PFV
‘He went to the school I went to last year.’
8.7 Peripheral arguments

This section describes non-obligatory clause structure. Peripheral arguments of a clause usually occur between the subject and the object.

NPs that indicate the locational setting, such as NPs marked as locative (8.73), allative (8.74), and ablative functions (8.75) and local demonstratives (8.76), generally occur after the subject but before the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.77) & (8.78).

(8.72)  
\[
\text{batço-xejl} \quad \text{lawr} \quad \text{set} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{zabu}
\]
child-PL.NNOM big become.INF ABL back

\[
a = \text{di} \quad \text{para} \quad \text{do} = \text{am}
\]

\[
\text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{give.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}
\]

‘I will sell this after the children grow up.’

(8.73)  
\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{vrud} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{buzur} \quad \text{mcwo} \quad \text{para}
\]
3SG.NNOM.DIST brother LOC bazaar fruit sell

\[
\text{ðid}
\]
give.3SG.IPfv

‘His brother sells fruit at the bazaar.’

(8.74)  
\[
\text{tɕulpon} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{urumtɕi} \quad \text{χat} \quad \text{buxt}
\]
Chulpon LOC Urumqi letter send.PFV

‘Chulpon sent a letter to Urumqi.’

(8.75)  
\[
\text{sejfik} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{haroj} \quad \text{sad} \quad \text{kuj}
\]
Seyfik ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX three hundred Chinese.yuan

\[
\text{zuxt}
\]
take.PFV

‘Seyfik took 300 yuan from him.’

(8.76)  
\[
\text{woð} = \text{af} \quad \text{um-ik} \quad \text{bargo} \quad \text{kaxt}
\]
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV there-DIM lamb slaughter.PFV

‘They slaughtered the lamb over there.’

(8.77)  
\[
\text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tecd} = \text{an} \quad \text{skit} \quad \text{tɕawg}
\]
3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house = 1PL.PFV play do.PFV

‘We played at their house.’
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(8.78)  
\[ pa \ qir=af \qquad kalo \ pojd \]  
\( \text{LOC} \ 	ext{mountain} = \text{3PL.PFV sheep herd.PFV} \)  
‘They herded the sheep in the mountain.’

NPs that indicate time also usually occur after the subject and before the object, as shown in (8.79) - (8.81).

(8.79)  
\[ omil \ scð \ pidz \ tej \ kaxt \]  
\( \text{Omul this.year fall wedding do.3SG.PFV} \)  
‘Omul is getting married this fall.’

(8.80)  
\[ waz \ sulir \ amriko \ wazefs = am \]  
\( \text{1SG.NOM next.year America return.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \)  
‘I will return to America next year.’

(8.81)  
\[ woð = af \paraxeb \ palaw \ χug \]  
\( \text{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV two.days.prior pilaf eat.PFV} \)  
‘They ate pilaf two days ago.’

If there is no overt subject, they generally occur clause-initially, still preceding the object:

(8.82)  
\[ cita = am \tamoq \ χug \]  
\( \text{now = 1SG.PFV food eat.PFV} \)  
‘I had some food just now.’

(8.83)  
\[ nur = af \ a = wi \ na \ wands \]  
\( \text{today = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST NEG see.PRF} \)  
‘They did not see him today. (Evidential/New information)’

NPs marked for instrumental (8.84) & (8.85) or comitative functions (8.86) also commonly occur between the subject and the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.87).

(8.84)  
\[ dud \ maysat \ hуст \ harabo \ qati \ a = qotaci \ vawg \]  
\( \text{uncle Mahsat hand vehicle COM ACC = jade bring.PFV} \)  
‘Uncle Mahsat brought the jade with a wagon.’
(8.85) *mač = an di ktub qati purs*
1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV 3SG.NOM.PROX book COM Persian

ziv χɯmand sut
tongue learn become.PFV

‘We learned Persian with this book.’

(8.86) *abdilu χɯ mom qati zez vəwɡ*
Abdilu REFL.N NOM grandmother COM firewood bring.PFV

‘Abdilu brought firewood with his grandmother.’

(8.87) *χɯnɡ teib qati poj fur = in*
wood spoon COM yogurt slur.PFV = 3PL.PFV

‘They slurp yogurt with a wooden spoon.’

NPs marked for benefactive (8.88), semblative (8.89), and terminative functions (8.90) also usually occur between the subject and the object.

(8.88) *dolkun χɯ nabus avon riktɕi zuxt*
Dolkun REFL.N NOM grandchild BEN bitter.almond buy.PFV

‘Dolkun bought bitter almonds for his grandchild.’

(8.89) *miriam bulbul rang χɯɕrɯj bejt levd*
Miriam nightingale SEMB beautiful song say.3SG.IPV

‘Miriam sings beautifully like a nightingale.’

(8.90) *waz to pugan its hitɕ tsiz na*
1SG.NOM TERM tomorrow TERM none thing NEG

χor = am eat.IPV = 1SG.IPV

‘I am not eating anything until tomorrow.’

Sentences often contain more than one of the non-obligatory elements mentioned above. In such cases, time words usually occur first, followed by words indicating locational setting, followed by other peripheral arguments, as in (8.91).

(8.91) *waz = am xɛb pa maktab qalam qati cirt*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV yesterday LOC school pen COM poem

naviɕt
write.PFV

‘Yesterday at school I wrote a poem with a pen.’
Negation

Negation is marked syntactically with uninflected particles\(^1\) which precede or follow the verb. This chapter introduces clausal negators *na* (§9.1) and *nist* (§9.2 & §9.3), imperative and jussive negator *mo* (§9.4 & §9.5), *mo* used as a negator in declarative sentences (§9.6), constituent negator *naj* (§9.7), and the independent polarity forms *ʔə* and *naj* (§9.8). Negative lexemes may also be formed morphologically with the privative prefix *be-* or negative prefix *nu-* (§9.9).

9.1 Negation of verbal predicates

Clausal negation produces the negative counterpart of an affirmative declarative. For negation of clauses with verbal predicates, the preverbal particle *na* is used. *na* is placed immediately before the verb; in the case of compound verbs, the *na* occurs between the nominal element and the inflecting verb. If the negator and verb are the only constituents within the clause, the pronominal agreement clitic for perfective aspect often attaches to *na*, which is the only preverbal constituent it can attach to, as in (9.1) & (9.2).

\[(9.1) \quad na = am \quad \chiw\]
\[
\text{NEG = 1SG.PFV} \quad \text{eat.PFV}
\]
\`
I did not eat.'
\`
\[
\text{NEG = 3PL.PFV} \quad \text{go.PFV}
\]
\`
They did not go.'
\]

*na* very rarely occurs in other positions. In our data, there were only two sentences in which *na* does not immediately precede the verb, which are shown

\(^1\)The term particle is widely used in linguistics and language discussion, but there is no rigorous definition. For the purposes of this work, a particle is a separate word that is grammatically dependent on a clause constituent.
in (9.3) & (9.4). In these sentences, *na* may be functioning as a correlating conjunction with the meaning ‘neither... nor...’.

(9.3)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
ju & k = dos & tizd \\
3SG.NOM.DIST & ANA = manner & go.3SG.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
wi-an & hitç & tsiz & nist, & na \\
3SG.NOM.DIST-GEN & none & thing & NEG.be.IPFV & NEG
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
χu & qetç = ir & lw= der & xipik \\
REFL.NNOM & stomach = DAT & big & CPRV & flatbread
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
vrejd, & na & χu & tan=ir & be & der \\
find.3SG.IPFV & NEG & REFLEX.NNOM & body = DAT & fine & CPRV
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
lɛq & vrejd \\
clothing & find.3SG.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘He leaves like that and has nothing; he does not find a big flatbread for his stomach, nor decent clothing for his body.’

(9.4)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
taw & χu & az & tɛd & hitç & tsiz & mo \\
2SG.NOM & REFLEX.NNOM & ABL & house & none & thing & PROH
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
vor, & na & xavung, & na & balax, & na & lingi, & na \\
bring.IPFV & NEG & blanket & NEG & pillow & NEG & towel & NEG
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
sfun, & hatto & i & bax & jaktu & mas & mo & vor \\
soap & even & one & extra & shirt & also & PROH & bring.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘Do not bring anything from your house; no blanket, nor pillow, nor towel, nor soap, do not even bring an extra shirt.’

Sarikoli has a symmetric negation strategy, in which “the structure of the negative is identical to the structure of the affirmative, except for the presence of the negative marker(s)” (Miestamo 2011). The following pairs of sentences demonstrate that the presence of the negative particle *na* is the only difference between the affirmative and negative sentences, regardless of whether the clause is in the imperfective (9.5) & (9.6), perfective (9.7) & (9.8), or pluperfect (9.9) & (9.10) aspect.

(9.5)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
lidia & tizd \\
Lidia & go.3SG.IPFV
\end{array}
\]

‘Lidia will go.’
Subordinate clauses are negated in the same way, with the preverbal particle *na*. Every variety of subordinate clause may be negated, independently of whether the main clause is affirmative or negative. The following examples illustrate negation of headless relative clauses (9.11), complement clauses (9.12), and conditional adverbial clauses (9.13). Subordinate clauses are bracketed in (9.11) - (9.13).

(9.11)  

a. *mu* *puuts [nɔwz tej na tɕəwɛndz =ɛndz]*

1SG.NOM son still wedding NEG do.PRF = REL

‘My son is one who has not married yet.’

b. *niso [tar jəwl qatesìn tɕoŋ na broxt =ɪtɕuz]*

Niso LOC dawn topping tea NEG drink.INF = REL

‘Niso is one who does not drink milk tea in the morning.’

(9.12)  

a. *waz = am [gulpi-aŋ wi tej]*

1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NOM.DIST wedding

‘I knew that Geelpia will not get married.’
b. \textit{waz = am} \textit{[gulpi-a-n \textit{wi} tej}  \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding  \\
\textit{na tsejg = i]}  \textit{na wazond}  \\
NEG do.INF = SC NEG know.PFV  \\
‘I did not know that Geelpia will not get married.’

(9.13) a. \textit{[maɕ ɕitɕ na tedz = an tsa]}  \\
1PL.NOM now NEG go.PFV = 1PL.PFV COND  \\
\textit{sawd}  \\
become.3SG.IPVF  \\
‘It is okay if we do not go now.’

b. \textit{[maɕ ɕitɕ na tedz = an tsa] na}  \\
1PL.NOM now NEG go.PFV = 1PL.PFV COND NEG  \\
\textit{sawd}  \\
become.3SG.IPVF  \\
‘It is not okay if we do not go now.’

9.2 Negative existential

In the imperfective aspect, affirmative existential clauses use the existential predicate, \textit{jost} ‘there is’, and negative existential clauses are formed with \textit{nist} ‘there is not’. \textit{nist} is placed clause-finally, where predicates normally occur.

(9.14) \textit{pa wi ted tɛd juts nist}  \\
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST house fire NEG.be.IPVF  \\
‘There is no fire in that house.’

(9.15) \textit{wi alo χandasur tsejg = ir dɯχtɯr}  \\
3SG.NNOM.DIST TEMP circumcision do.INF = DAT doctor  \\
\textit{nist}  \\
NEG.be.IPVF  \\
‘In those days, there are no doctors to do circumcisions.’
Negation

(9.16) \[ qɛtɕ = ir \quad tamoq \quad nist \quad nalɪst = ir \quad tɛd \]
\[ \text{stomach} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \quad \text{sit.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{house} \]
\[ \text{nist} \]
\[ \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \]
‘There is no food for the stomach, and no house to live in.’

Existential clauses may be used to form the predicative possessive construction (introduced in §4.2). This construction may be negated by \text{nist}, as shown in the following examples.

(9.17) \[ \text{oriona-an} \quad ɬɯst \quad \text{harabo} \quad \text{nist} \]
\[ \text{Oriona-GEN} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{vehicle} \quad \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \]
‘Oriona does not have a wagon.’

(9.18) \[ \text{ejdboj} \quad \text{tuqo,} \quad \text{wi-an} \quad jaχ \quad \text{vrud} \]
\[ \text{Eidboy} \quad \text{separate} \quad 3\text{SG.N NOM.DIST-GEN} \quad \text{sister} \quad \text{brother} \]
\[ \text{nist} \]
\[ \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \]
‘Eidboy is alone, he does not have brothers or sisters.’

(9.19) \[ \text{ar} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{afto} \quad \text{maɕ-an} \quad \text{dars} \]
\[ \text{LOC} \quad 3\text{SG.N NOM} \quad \text{week} \quad 1\text{PL.N NOM-GEN} \quad \text{lesson} \]
\[ \text{nist} \]
\[ \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \]
‘We do not have classes next week.’

In aspects other than the imperfective, as in (9.20) with perfect aspect and (9.21) with perfective aspect, or in subordinate clauses, as in (9.22) with a conditional adverbial clause, \text{na vid} is used instead of \text{nist}, with \text{vid} taking the same inflections as verbal predicates.

(9.20) \[ \text{pa} \quad \text{varɕide} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{puṭiɡ} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{veŋdʑ} \]
\[ \text{LOC} \quad \text{Varshide} \quad 3\text{SG.N NOM.PROX} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad \text{thread} \quad \text{NEG be.PRF} \]
‘In Varshide there is no thread like this. (Evidential/New information)’

(9.21) \[ \text{xeb} \quad \text{mu-an} \quad \text{digar} \quad \text{tɛɾ} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{vud} \]
\[ \text{yesterday} \quad 1\text{SG.N NOM-GEN} \quad \text{other} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{NEG be.PFV} \]
‘Yesterday I did not have other work.’
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(9.22) \( \text{ta} \ \text{inder} \ \text{pul} \ \text{na} \ \text{vid} \ \text{tsa} \ \text{mo} \)
\[2\text{SG.N NOM on. person money NEG be.3 SG.IPVF COND PROH}\]
\[\text{zoz}\]
\[\text{buy.IPVF}\]
‘Do not buy it if you do not have money.’

9.3 Negative copula

As with existential clauses, a copula clause in the imperfective aspect is negated with \(\text{nist}\). The corresponding affirmative sentence, which does not contain a copula, is followed by \(\text{nist}\). While \(\text{nist}\) as a negative existential predicate takes a single NP as its argument, it takes both CS and CP arguments as a negative copula. Depending on the semantic relation between the CS and CP, the CP may be an NP (9.23) & (9.24), adjective (9.25) & (9.26), substantival genitive (9.27) & (9.28), or NP marked by a function marker (9.29) & (9.30).

(9.23) \( \text{taw} \ \text{di} \ \text{tar} \ \text{swd} \ \text{mu} \ \text{batso} \)
\[2\text{SG.NOM 3SG.N NOM.PROX LOC here 1SG.N NOM child}\]
\[\text{nist}\]
\[\text{NEG.be.IPVF}\]
‘From now on, you are not my child.’

(9.24) \( \text{wi} \ \text{gap} \ \text{at} \ \text{amal} \ \text{i} \ \text{suxt} \)
\[3\text{SG.N NOM.DIST word CONJ action one appearance}\]
\[\text{nist}\]
\[\text{NEG.be.IPVF}\]
‘His words and actions are not the same thing.’

(9.25) \( \text{di} \ \text{leq} \ \text{sufat} \ \text{tcardz} \ \text{nist} \)
\[3\text{SG.N NOM.PROX clothing quality good NEG.be.IPVF}\]
‘This article of clothing’s quality is not good.’

(9.26) \( \text{varside} \ \text{citc} \ \text{utc} \ \text{ic} \ \text{mas} \ \text{nist} \ \text{utc} \ \text{zurm} \ \text{mas} \)
\[\text{Varshide now too cold also NEG.be.IPVF too warm also}\]
\[\text{nist}\]
\[\text{NEG.be.IPVF}\]
‘Right now Varshide is not too cold and not too hot.’
Negation

(9.27)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{u juu xtuur-xeij muu} \\
&\text{there 3PL.NOM.DIST camel-PL.NOM 1SG.NNOM} \\
&\text{bob-an nist} \\
&\text{grandfather-GEN NEG.be.IPVF} \\
&\text{‘Those camels over there are not my grandfather’s.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(9.28)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{jad xeidoi muu xiu-an} \\
&\text{3SG.NOM.PROX Sheydoi 1SG.NNOM REFLECT.NNOM-GEN} \\
&\text{nist} \\
&\text{NEG.be.IPVF} \\
&\text{‘This Sheydoi (female cap) is not my own.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(9.29)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{di xajun az marjong nist} \\
&\text{3SG.NOM.PROX sister.in.law ABL Maryong NEG.be.IPVF} \\
&\text{‘This person’s sister-in-law is not from Maryong.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(9.30)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{waz ta ar dil nist = o} \\
&\text{1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM LOC heart NEG.be.IPVF = Q} \\
&\text{‘Do you not remember me?’ (lit. Am I not in your heart?)}
\end{align*}
\]

A copula complement may not be negated with the verbal negator na, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.31) & (9.32):

(9.31)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{‘jad tsini na pukzo} \\
&\text{3SG.NOM.PROX bowl NEG clean} \\
&\text{‘This bowl is not clean.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(9.32)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{‘hansu ziv xumand set na usun} \\
&\text{Han tongue learn become.INF NEG easy} \\
&\text{‘Learning Mandarin is not easy.’}
\end{align*}
\]

As in negative existential clauses, na vid is used in all other aspects besides the imperfective, and in subordinate clauses. vid is an inflected verbal predicate, negated by preverbal negator na, as in (9.33) & (9.34).

(9.33)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{di qad parus mi = di} \\
&\text{3SG.NOM.PROX height last.year CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} \\
&\text{rang buland na vud} \\
&\text{SEMB high NEG be.PFV} \\
&\text{‘Her height was not this high last year.’}
\end{align*}
\]
9.4 Prohibitive (Negation of imperatives)

The negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed with a positive imperative plus a special negator, which is the prohibitive particle \textit{mo}. The indicator of an imperative construction, which is the second person verb in imperfective aspect, is the same for both positive and negative imperative constructions, but the negation particle in negative imperatives, \textit{mo}, is different from the negation particle in negative declaratives, \textit{na}.

The default position of the prohibitive particle \textit{mo} is the same as that of the lexical verb negator \textit{na}, immediately preceding the verb, as in (9.35) - (9.38), and between the nominal element and inflecting verb in a compound verb, as in (9.39).

(9.34) \textit{nizamidin} pa \textit{təd} na \textit{vezdz}  
\text{Nizamidin LOC house NEG be.PRF}  
\text{‘Nizamidin is not home. (Evidential/New information)’}

(9.35) \textit{fand} \textit{mo} do  
\text{false PROH give.IP}  
\text{‘Do not lie.’}

(9.36) \textit{hejrun} \textit{mo} ris  
\text{surprise PROH remain.IP}  
\text{‘Do not be surprised.’}

(9.37) \textit{digar} \textit{χalg = ir} \textit{mo} lev  
\text{other person=DAT PROH say.IP}  
\text{‘Do not tell other people.’}

(9.38) \textit{m = a = di} xipik \textit{mo}  
\text{CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX flatbread PROH}  
\text{\textit{χor = it} eat.IP=2PL.IP}  
\text{‘Do not eat this flatbread.’}

(9.39) \textit{pa} wi \textit{icandz} \textit{mo ka = it}  
\text{LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST trust PROH do.IP=2PL.IP}  
\text{‘Do not believe her.’}
However, *mo* is more flexible than *na*, as it is equally acceptable to place the *mo* after the verb. Below are some examples in which the *mo* is used post-verbally.

(9.40) \( \text{wux} \quad \text{mo} \)  
\( \text{fall.IPV} \quad \text{PROH} \)  
‘Do not fall.’

(9.41) \( \text{mu} \quad a = \text{dust} \quad \text{wador} \quad \text{mo} \)  
\( 1\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{hand} \quad \text{grab.IPV} \quad \text{PROH} \)  
‘Do not hold on to my hand.’

(9.42) \( \text{wi} \quad \text{qati wazfs} \quad \text{mo} \)  
\( 3\text{SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{return.IPV} \quad \text{PROH} \)  
‘Do not return with him.’

(9.43) \( \text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tedd} \quad \text{alos = it} \quad \text{mo} \)  
\( 3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{lie.IPV} = \text{2PL.IPV} \quad \text{PROH} \)  
‘Do not lie down (sleep over) at their house.’

(9.44) \( \chi-\text{oto} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{ranos} \quad \text{mo} \)  
\( \text{REFL.NOM-father} \quad \text{tongue} \quad \text{forget.IPV} \quad \text{PROH} \)  
‘Do not forget your father tongue.’

Unlike *na*, which may be used to negate both main clauses and subordinate clauses, *mo* used as a prohibitive marker can only negate the main clause. A subordinate clause may not take *mo* as a prohibitive particle, as shown in the ungrammatical example (9.45):

(9.45) \( \text{tpugan} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{sawd} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{come.IPV} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{become.3SG.IPV} = \text{Q} \)  
‘Is it okay if you do not come tomorrow?’

The prohibitive particle *mo* is also used for marking apprehensive mood, which is discussed in §9.5, as well as a rare construction for negating verbal, existential, and copula predicates, described in §9.1.
9.5 Apprehensive (Negation of jussives)

Apprehensive mood is the negative counterpart of jussive mood (Overall 2007:357). It expresses indirect prohibitives or wishes for something not to happen. It is most commonly used with third person subjects, and is also marked with the particle mo immediately before or after the main verb, which is in imperfective aspect. Optionally, the jussive verb laka ‘let’ may be added before mo. Sentences in apprehensive mood often occur with another independent clause, one of them serving as the explanation for the other, as in (9.48) - (9.52).

(9.46) xɛb vəwɔdz =ɛnɔz ɛɛɛd pruv, nuw-nɛndɔ yesterday bring.PRF =REL milk become.sour.PFV today-ADJ

xɛɛd (laka) mo pejd milk let.PFV PROH become.sour.3SG.PFV

‘The milk we brought yesterday became sour; may today’s milk not get sour.’

(9.47) omil a =χɯ (laka) mo ðid = am Omil ACC=REFL.NNOM let.PFV PROH hit.3SG.PFV = 1SG.PFV

levd, a = wi = am voust say.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV tie.PFV

‘Thinking, “Lest Omil hit himself”, I tied him up.’

(9.48) tow ɔmy komputur aboj ka, wejrun 2SG.NOM REFLEX.NNOM computer careful do.PFV broken

(laka) mo səwd let.PFV PROH become.3SG.PFV

‘Take care of your computer, lest it get broken.’

(9.49) was = am a = χɯ naymɯɡ, χalg 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = REFLEX.NNOM hide.PFV people

a = mu (laka) mo wand ACC = 1SG.NNOM let.PFV PROH see.3SG.PFV

‘I hid myself, lest people see me.’
(9.50)  \( a = di \)  \( guxt \)  \( dsald \)  \( \chi or = it, \)  \( pić \)
\( ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \)  \( meat \)  \( fast \)  \( eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV \)  \( cat \)

\((laka) \)  \( mo \)  \( \chi ird \)
\( \text{let.IPFV} \)  \( \text{PROH} \)  \( eat.3SG.IPFV \)

‘Eat this meat quickly, lest the cat eat it.’

(9.51)  \( waz \)  \( a = ta \)  \( bawej = am, \)  \( ta \)
\( 1SG.NOM \)  \( ACC = 2SG.NNOM \)  \( close.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV \)  \( 2SG.NNOM \)

\( ped \)  \( (laka) \)  \( ic \)  \( mo \)  \( kaxt \)
\( \text{foot} \)  \( \text{let.IPFV} \)  \( \text{cold} \)  \( \text{PROH} \)  \( do.3SG.IPFV \)

‘I will tuck you in, lest feet get cold.’

(9.52)  \( taw \)  \( ixil \)  \( ixjur \)  \( vow, \)  \( wazd \)  \( \chi alg- \chi ejl \)
\( 2SG.NOM \)  \( always \)  \( alert \)  \( be.IPFV \)  \( dirty \)  \( \text{person-PL.NOM} \)

\( a = ta \)  \( (laka) \)  \( gowl \)  \( mo \)  \( ka = in \)
\( ACC = 2SG.NNOM \)  \( let.IPFV \)  \( trick \)  \( PROH \)  \( do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV \)

‘Always stay on your guard, lest bad people trick you.’

Less commonly, first and second person subjects also occur in apprehensive sentences. The jussive verb \( laka \) is more strongly preferred in these sentences:

(9.53)  \( waz \)  \( laka \)  \( kambasal \)  \( mo \)  \( so = am \)
\( 1SG.NOM \)  \( let.IPFV \)  \( poor \)  \( PROH \)  \( become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV \)

‘May I not get poor.’

(9.54)  \( \chi u \)  \( leq \)  \( dvez \)  \( der \)  \( pamedz, \)  \( jong \)  \( laka \)
\( \text{REFL.NNOM} \)  \( clothing \)  \( thick \)  \( CPRV \)  \( wear.IPFV \)  \( cold \)  \( let.IPFV \)

\( mo \)  \( so \)
\( \text{PROH} \)  \( become.IPFV \)

‘Wear thicker clothing, lest you catch a cold.’

9.6 Negation of declaratives with \( mo \)

Another, less common, negative construction uses the prohibitive particle \( mo \) to negate verbal (9.55), existential (9.56), or copula predicates (9.57) in declarative sentences. In this construction, \( mo \) precedes the O or CP argument,
and sometimes even the subject (as in the second clause in (9.56)), and the existential or copula predicate *vid* 'be' is added at the end of the clause:

(9.55) \[ a = di \quad narsa = am \quad waz \quad \chiuba\theta \quad \nuug \quad mo \quad az \quad ta \quad taipta \quad \nu\omega = am \quad \text{be.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv} \]

'I found this thing myself, I will not beg you for it.'

(9.56) \[ mu-an \quad mo \quad walo\w v\ wiz \quad mo \quad vurdz \quad \text{1SG.Nnom-gen} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{vehicle} \quad \text{be.3SG.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{horse} \]

'I have no vehicle, I have no horse; what would I do if I go there?'

(9.57) \[ waz \quad mo \quad kinu \quad tculpon \quad \nu\omega = am \quad \text{be.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{movie} \quad \text{celebrity} \quad \text{every} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{clothing} \]

'I am not a movie star, I am not a celebrity, to wear new clothes every day.'

This negative construction formed with *mo* can be combined with a different type of negative clause in the same sentence. For example, the sentence in (9.58) contains a negative clause formed with *mo* and a negative existential clause formed with *nist.*
(9.58)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{wi} & \quad \text{uado} & \quad \text{inder} & \quad \text{pul} & \quad \text{mas} & \quad \text{nist} \\
& \quad 3SG.NOM.DIST & \quad \text{boy} & \quad \text{on.person} & \quad \text{money} & \quad \text{also} & \quad \text{NEG.be.IPFV}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mo} & \quad \text{ju} & \quad \text{ingles} & \quad \text{ziv} & \quad \text{wazond} = \text{ir} \\
& \quad \text{PROH} & \quad 3SG.NOM.DIST & \quad \text{English} & \quad \text{tongue} & \quad \text{know-INF = DAT}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{vid} & \quad \text{χu} & \quad \text{tar} & \quad \text{χu} & \quad \text{amrika} \\
& \quad \text{be.3SG.IPFV} & \quad \text{REFL.NOM} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{REFL.NOM} & \quad \text{America}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{səwd} & \quad \text{tsa} & \quad \text{tsejz} & \quad \text{kaxt} \\
& \quad \text{become.3SG.IPFV} & \quad \text{COND} & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{do.3SG.IPFV}
\end{align*} \]

‘That boy has no money, nor does he know English; what would he do if he goes to America on his own?’

9.7 Negation of constituents

For negation of a constituent, the negative polarity form \textit{naj} is placed immediately after the negated constituent, which may be an NP or a verb.

When an NP is negated, the negated constituent is topicalized through stress and fronting. The NP, which may be a nominative or non-nominative argument, is placed sentence-initially, followed by \textit{naj}. Another NP, which is the correction of the negated constituent, occurs immediately after \textit{naj} and is also stressed. In (9.59) - (9.61), the negated constituent is an NP headed by a nominative proper noun, non-nominative common noun, and numeral, respectively.

(9.59)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{perizat} & \quad \text{naj}, & \quad \text{mejnaχon} & \quad \text{nu} = \text{ri} & \quad \text{tilfon} & \quad \text{tsəwg} \\
& \quad \text{Perizat} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{Meynahon} & \quad 2SG.NOM = \text{DAT} & \quad \text{phone} & \quad \text{do.PFV}
\end{align*} \]

‘It was not Perizat but Meynahon who called you.’

(9.60)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{moɕin} & \quad \text{naj}, & \quad \text{ɕɛr} & \quad \text{qati} & \quad \text{so} = \text{an} \\
& \quad \text{car} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{donkey} & \quad \text{COM} & \quad \text{become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV}
\end{align*} \]

‘It is not by car but by donkey that we will go.’

(9.61)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{iw} & \quad \text{naj}, & \quad \text{tsavur} & \quad \text{batco} & \quad \text{jost} \\
& \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{four} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{be.IPFV}
\end{align*} \]

‘It is not one but four children.’

If the negated constituent is a verb, the verb and the aspect and pronominal agreement markers are followed by \textit{naj}. The clause may also include arguments of the predicate, as in (9.64) & (9.65), but the negator only has scope
over the verb, not the whole clause. Constituent negation with the post-verbal 
*naj* is only applicable for verbal predicates, and not existential or copula 
predicates, as shown by the ungrammatical example (9.66). Instead, existential 
and copula predicates are negated with *nist*, as described in §9.2 & §9.3.

(9.62) \[ χɯɡ = am \text{naj} \]
\[ \text{eat.PFV} = 1SG.PFV \quad \text{NEG} \]
‘I did not eat.’

(9.63) \[ ranuxxtɕ = at \text{naj} \]
\[ \text{forget.PFV} = 2SG.PFV \quad \text{NEG} \]
‘You did not forget.’

(9.64) \[ soqdzon \; \text{tizd} \; \text{naj}, \text{mac} \; qati \; \text{rast} \]
\[ \text{Soqjon \; go.3SG.IPVF \; NEG \; 1PL.NNOM \; COM \; remain.3SG.IPVF} \]
‘Soqjon will not go, but will stay with us.’

(9.65) \[ a = wi \; \text{patɔw} = \text{in} \; \text{naj}, \; \text{uz} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad \text{throw.IPV} = 3PL.IPVF \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{again} \]
\[ \text{rafon} = \text{in} \]
\[ \text{use.IPVF} = 3PL.IPVF \]
‘They do not throw it away, but use it again.’

(9.66) \[ ‘pa \; \text{tɛɛd} \; \text{mejmun} \; \text{jost} \; \text{naj} \]
\[ \text{LOC \; house \; guest \; be.IPVF \; NEG} \]
‘There are no guests at home.’

*naj* cannot be used for NP-internal negation. A modifier within an NP, such 
as an adjective, cannot be negated with the simple addition of a negator like 
*na* or *naj*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.67) & (9.68). Instead, 
it must become part of an RC with a predicate that is negated with *na*, as in 
(9.69).

(9.67) \[ ‘na \; χɯɛɾuij \; \text{wɔts} \; \text{batɔo} \]
\[ \text{NEG \; beautiful \; girl \; child} \]
‘an unbeautiful girl’

(9.68) \[ ‘χɯɛɾuij \; \text{naj} \; \text{wɔts} \; \text{batɔo} \]
\[ \text{beautiful \; NEG \; girl \; child} \]
‘an unbeautiful girl’
Negation

(9.69)  [χɯɕrɯj na vɛdʑ=ɛndʑ wots batɕo]
        beautiful  NEG  be.PRF=REL  girl  child
        ‘a girl who is not beautiful’

9.8 Independent polarity forms

To respond to a polar question, it is unnecessary to use a full clause. Sarikoli has independent polarity forms ʑdә ‘yes’ and naj/nist ‘no’ which can serve as one-word responses to a polar question. The choice between naj and nist for ‘no’ depends on the full answer—if the full answer requires the preverbal negator na, then naj is used as the one-word response, as in (9.70); if the full answer involves the negative copula or negative existential predicate nist, then nist is used as the one-word response, as in (9.71).

(9.70)  a.  nuur  mu  pa  qetɕ  xufs=o
        today  1SG.NNOM  LOC  belly  sleep.IPfv=Q
        ‘Will you sleep in my stomach (next to me, under the same covers) today?’

        b.  naj
        NEG
        ‘No.’

(9.71)  a.  stawr  guxt  tu=ri  χɯɕ=o
        yak  meat  2SG.NNOM=DAT  happy=Q
        ‘Do you like yak meat?’

        b.  nist
        NEG,be.IPfv
        ‘No.’

9.9 Derivation of negated lexemes

Negative lexemes may be derived morphologically. The privative prefix be- ‘without; lacking’, borrowed from Persian, attaches to common noun ‘X’ to produce an adjective with the meaning ‘without X’. Table 9.1 below presents some examples of adjectives that have been derived from nouns with the be-prefix.
Table 9.1 Negative lexemes with be-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>be-ginu ‘innocent (sinless)’</th>
<th>be-arzɛɕ ‘worthless’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be-pujun ‘boundless’</td>
<td>be-bawu ‘priceless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-wosta ‘directly (without means)’</td>
<td>be-ʁam ‘worry-free’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-fam ‘stupid’</td>
<td>be-ɕart ‘unconditional’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-aql ‘foolish’</td>
<td>be-ku-te ‘weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-tartib ‘messy; orderless’</td>
<td>be-teuro ‘pitiable; solutionless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-ziv ‘mute (tongueless)’</td>
<td>be-χabar ‘uninformed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-adab ‘impolite’</td>
<td>be-miwa ‘unfruitful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-barakat ‘unprosperous’</td>
<td>be-bor ‘unfruitful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-tulej ‘unlucky’</td>
<td>be-χatar ‘safe (danger-free)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-χaχ ‘listless’</td>
<td>be-χadẓal ‘having no sense of shame’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The privative prefix be- is highly productive and may attach to almost any common noun. The meanings of some commonly-used adjectives with be- are not completely predictable, however. For example, bawu ‘price; value’ and arzɛɕ ‘worth; value’ are close synonyms; but after the addition of be-, they become antonyms.

There is another negative prefix, nu-, which attaches to adjectives to form the negative counterpart of its host. nu- is not productive and does not affix readily to all adjectives; it only occurs with fixed hosts. Table 9.2 shows some examples in which nu- is used.

Table 9.2 Negative lexemes with nu-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nu-luzim ‘unnecessary’</th>
<th>nu-balad ‘stranger’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu-udil ‘unjust’</td>
<td>nu-duurrust ‘incorrect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-haq ‘unjust’</td>
<td>nu-qatur ‘unranked (low-ranking)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-lujɛq ‘unworthy’</td>
<td>nu-pejdu ‘rare (un-appearing)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-suf ‘impure’</td>
<td>nu-ɛp ‘unfit; mismatched’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in §9.7, there are no productive morphological processes to derive negative lexemes from adjectives. Adjectives as adnominal modifiers must be negated in a relative clause, as in (9.69), and adjectives as copula complements must be negated with nist, as in (9.25) & (9.26).
In Sarikoli, clauses may be combined by means of coordination (§10.1) or subordination (§10.2). This chapter describes the various types of clause combinations and the syntactic strategies that mark those constructions.

### 10.1 Coordination

Coordination is the conjoining of two or more elements of the same grammatical status. §2.3.2 showed how nouns within an NP may be coordinated, while this section describes how independent clauses may be coordinated.

Independent clauses may be coordinated by means of conjunctions or by simple juxtaposition without any conjunctions, and both are common ways to achieve coordination. If the conjuncts contain verbal predicates, each of the verbs is in the finite stem and has its own agreement clitic. Table 10.1 summarizes the types of coordination presented in this chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordination type</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative</td>
<td><em>ham</em>; <em>mas</em>; <em>at</em></td>
<td>§10.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td><em>χu</em></td>
<td>§10.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td><em>kazwi</em></td>
<td>§10.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversative</td>
<td><em>hammo</em>; <em>lekin</em></td>
<td>§10.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunctive</td>
<td><em>jo(ki)</em>; <em>χu</em></td>
<td>§10.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asyndetic</td>
<td><em>Ø</em></td>
<td>§10.1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.1.1 Cumulative coordination

There are three ways of achieving cumulative coordination. The first is to use the coordinating conjunction ham ‘and’, which is used for conjoining two or more predicates together. When clauses are coordinated with ham, all of the conjuncts must have the same type of predicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. ham is placed before the object and predicate of each conjunct, but the ham in the first conjunct is optional and may be omitted. (10.1) - (10.4) are examples of cumulative coordination with verbal predicates and (10.5) - (10.7) contain non-verbal predicates. If the first predicate is modified by a degree adverbial, ham in the first conjunct is usually omitted, as in (10.6) & (10.7); alternatively, both conjuncts have ham as well as the same degree adverbial, as in (10.8).

(10.1) ar tej (ham) usul ka=in ham
LOC wedding CONJ dance do.IP = 3PL.IPV CONJ
dof noj xej = in
	tambourine flute play.IP = 3PL.IPV
‘At a wedding they dance and play the tambourine and flute.’

(10.2) waz sit (ham) χuzmat ka=am ham
1SG.NOM now CONJ work do.IP = 1SG.IPV CONJ
xuj=am ham kalo poj=am
read.IP = 1SG.IPV CONJ sheep herd.IP = 1SG.IPV
‘I am now working and studying and herding sheep.’

(10.3) wi tar um jam batco fand-an
3SG.NOM.DIST LOC there 3SG.NOM.PROX child false-GEN
tsarang sit vid=i wazondz ham tagow fand na
how bad be.INF = SC know.PRF CONJ at.all false NEG

‘Since then, this child learned how bad it is to lie, and has become someone who never tells lies at all. (Evidentiality/New information)’
Clause combinations

(10.4) \((\text{ham})\text{ rasim toz in }\text{ham awudz}\)
CONJ picture pull.IP = 3PL.IPFV CONJ sound

\(\text{toz in}\)
get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They take pictures and record audio.’

(10.5) \(\text{muu puts (ham) duxtur ham olim}\)
1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar

‘My son is a doctor and a scholar.’

(10.6) \(\text{muu }\chi\text{or utc cun }\text{ham aqlin}\)
1SG.NNOM nephew very well behaved CONJ smart

‘My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.’

(10.7) \(\text{tudzik xalg-an wi vraw utc pur ham}\)
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ

\(\text{tor}\)
black

‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and dark.’

(10.8) \(\text{tudzik xalg-an wi vraw ham utc pur}\)
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

\(\text{ham utc tor}\)
CONJ very black

‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and very dark.’

The second type of cumulative coordination involves the use of the particle \(\text{mas} ‘\text{also’}, which is placed before the predicate of each conjunct. The predicate in the second clause may be omitted. This is exemplified in (10.9) - (10.13):

(10.9) \(\text{palaw mas ka an, xirgin dz mas}\)
pilaf also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also

\((\text{ka = an})\)
do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.’

(10.10) \(\text{ong mas wazond, adabot mas (wazond)}\)
tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics also know.3SG.IPFV

‘He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.’
The conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs (as shown in §2.3.2), but it is also used for conjoining repeated verbs in narratives. In narratives, sometimes the same verb is repeated multiple times to indicate that the activity is continuous. The following examples are taken from narratives, and *at* occurs after each repetition of the verb, unless the last repetition is followed by the subordinating conjunction *iko*, as in (10.16).

(10.11) \[ puγan \quad mas \quad joð=it, \quad fal \quad mas \]
\[ \text{tomorrow also come.IP} \quad 2\text{PL.IP} \quad \text{two.days.hence also} \]
\[ (joð=it), \quad \text{badar} \quad mas \]
\[ \text{come.IP} \quad 2\text{PL.IP} \quad \text{three.days.hence also} \]
\[ (joð=it) \quad \text{come.IP} \quad 2\text{PL.IP} \]

‘Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.’

(10.12) \[ sarikuj \quad ziv \quad mas \quad lev=\text{in}, \quad pursi \quad ziv \quad mas \]
\[ \text{Sarikoli tongue also say.IP} \quad 3\text{PL.IP} \quad \text{Persian tongue also} \]
\[ (lev=\text{in}) \quad \text{say.IP} \quad 3\text{PL.IP} \]

‘They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.’

(10.13) \[ gɯlbibi \quad mas \quad qet\text{cin}, \quad \text{caniguli} \quad mas \quad (qet\text{cin}) \]
\[ \text{Geelbibi also pregnant Shanigeel also pregnant} \]

‘Geelbibi is pregnant, as well as Shanigeel.’

The conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs (as shown in §2.3.2), but it is also used for conjoining repeated verbs in narratives. In narratives, sometimes the same verb is repeated multiple times to indicate that the activity is continuous. The following examples are taken from narratives, and *at* occurs after each repetition of the verb, unless the last repetition is followed by the subordinating conjunction *iko*, as in (10.16).

(10.14) \[ k = \text{ar} \quad wi \quad doxt \quad wajəw \quad \text{did} \]
\[ \text{ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST wilderness walk give.3SG.IP} \]
\[ \text{at} \quad \text{did} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{did} \quad \text{at} \]
\[ \text{CONJ give.3SG.IP} \quad \text{CONJ give.3SG.IP} \quad \text{CONJ} \]
\[ \text{δid} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{aluk} \quad \text{sawd} \quad \chiw \]
\[ \text{give.3SG.IP} \quad \text{CONJ tired become.3SG.IP TEMP.CONJ} \]
\[ xufst \]
\[ \text{sleep.3SG.IP} \]

‘He walks and walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and gets tired and falls asleep.’
After going, he goes around and around and around and around and around like that and one son finds a scoop.

He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his brothers is riding and camel and going around.

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place sequentially. The temporal conjunction χɯ is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses. χɯ occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation, χɯ belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of χɯ occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.
(10.17)  \(a = di\)  \(tɛɛr\)  \(adu\)  \(ka = am\)  
\(\text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX}\)  \(\text{work}\)  \(\text{finish}\)  \(\text{do.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}\)  
\(\chi_u,\)  \(skit\)  \(ka = am\)  
\(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  \(\text{play}\)  \(\text{do.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}\)  
'I will finish this work and then play.'

(10.18)  \(tom\)  \(so = am\)  \(\chi_u,\)  
then  \(\text{become.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}\)  \(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  
\(jʊɔ = am\)  
\(\text{come.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv}\)  
'Then I will go there and come back.'

(10.19)  \(awal\)  \(mejmun-ɛf = ɪr\)  \(tɛɔj\)  \(wejɔ\)  \(\chi_u,\)  
\(\text{first}\)  \(\text{guest-PL.NNOM = DAT}\)  \(\text{tea}\)  \(\text{put.IPfv}\)  \(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  
\(mu = ri\)  \(jɔrdam\)  \(ka\)  
\(\text{1SG.NNOM = DAT}\)  \(\text{help}\)  \(\text{do.IPfv}\)  
'First pour tea for the guests and then help me.'

(10.20)  \(wɔd\)  \(i\)  \(maθ\)  \(dam\)  \(zɔz = in\)  \(\chi_u,\)  
\(\text{3PL.NOM}\)  \(\text{one}\)  \(\text{day}\)  \(\text{rest}\)  \(\text{get.IPfv} = \text{3PL.IPfv}\)  \(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  
\(jʊɔ = in\)  
\(\text{come.IPfv} = \text{3PL.IPfv}\)  
'They rest for one day and then come.'

(10.21)  \(amirɕu\)  \(\chi_u\)  \(ɣiŋ\)  \(qati\)  \(jɔt\)  \(\chi_u,\)  \(uʒ\)  
Amirshu  \(\text{REFL.NNOM}\)  \(\text{wife}\)  \(\text{COM}\)  \(\text{come.PFv}\)  \(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  \(\text{again}\)  
\(tuijɛ\)  
\(\text{go.PFv}\)  
'Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.'

(10.22)  \(tamaɕ = af\)  \(\chi_uɡ\)  \(\chi_u\)  
\(\text{2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFv}\)  \(\text{eat.PFv}\)  \(\text{TEMP.CONJ}\)  
\(jɔt = ɛf = o\)  
\(\text{come.PFv} = \text{2PL.PFv} = \text{Q}\)  
'Did you(pl) eat and then come?'

The following are examples of \(\chi_u\) occurring in narrative. In (10.23) - (10.25), it is preceded by a pause and belongs to the second clause. (10.26) & (10.27) contain instances of \(\chi_u\) occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.
(10.23) **tom** then **wi = ri** clothing **lxq** give **did**

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ted} & \text{jw} & \text{kaxt, } & \chi_u \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \text{do.3SG.IPVF} & \text{TEMP.CONJ}
\end{array}
\]

Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold a wedding ceremony.

(10.24) **uz** again **warst** turn, **ki = di** rang, **rang,**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{\chi}_u & \text{uvd} & \text{sul} & \text{fropst} & \text{7} & \text{year} & \text{reach.3SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]

He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.

(10.25) **səwd** become **\chi_u** ar **mala** housing.compound

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{dɛðd,} & \text{\chi}_u & \text{az} & \text{fil} & \text{\chiofst}
\end{array}
\]

He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the elephant.

(10.26) **jad** also **mas joŋd** \chi_u, **\chiofst**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{come.3SG.IPVF} & \text{TEMP.CONJ} & \text{ACC = ring}
\end{array}
\]

He also comes and pulls the ring off her hand and returns and goes down, and comes to his sheep.
This construction may be used with perfective situations, as in (10.21) & (10.22), and in imperfective situations, as in the remaining examples, but all of the conjoined clauses within a sentence have the same aspect.

The temporal conjunction xCE is also used for causal coordination (§10.1.3) or for expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction (§13.9).

10.1.3 Causal coordination

Sarikol most commonly uses the causal conjunction kazi to link one clause with another clause providing the reason or explanation for it. The conjunction kazi is derived from the merging of $k(i) = az$ wi ‘from that’ (anaphoric clitic + ablative marker + 3sg non-nominative distal demonstrative), and indicates a causal relation between two situations. In this construction, the reason clause is given first, followed by kazi, and then the result clause. Syntactically, kazi belongs to the result clause. This type of coordination is illustrated in (10.28) - (10.34) below. As shown in these examples, each of the conjuncts in causal coordination may take any aspect, and does not necessarily share the same aspect as the other conjunct within the same sentence.

(10.28) mu dud a = mu qiw t§w§, kazi = am
1SG.NNOM uncle ACC = 1SG.NNOM call do.PFV so = 1SG.PFV

jot
come.PFV

‘My uncle called me, so I came.’
(10.29) \textit{m-oto kasal sut, kazwi = am} \\
1SG.NNOM = father sick become.PFV so = 1SG.PFV \\
\textit{wi = ri tamoq jud} \\
3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT food take.PFV \\
‘My father has gotten sick, so I took him food.’

(10.30) \textit{wəd = af a = di δud,} \\
3PL.NNOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX hit.PFV \\
\textit{kazwi = ik niwd} \\
so = DUR cry.3SG.IPVFV \\
‘They hit him, that is why he is crying.’

(10.31) \textit{wef-an pul nist, kazwi ejd na} \\
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN money NEG.be.IPVFV so festival NEG \\
\textit{narzambon = in} \\
celebrate.IPVFV = 3PL.IPVFV \\
‘They do not have money, that is why they do not celebrate the festival.’

(10.32) \textit{sojra = ri χue, kazwi = am vawg} \\
Soyra = DAT happy so = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV \\
‘Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.’

(10.33) \textit{i dam der uz χor = am, kazwi ciτ = na} \\
one rest CPRV again eat.IPVFV = 1SG.IPVFV so now NEG \\
\textit{χor = am} \\
eat.IPVFV = 1SG.IPVFV \\
‘I will eat again later, so I will not eat right now.’

(10.34) \textit{sodil pugan jodd, kazwi = an} \\
Sodil tomorrow come.3SG.IPVFV so = 1PL.PFV \\
\textit{a = wi znud} \\
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.PFV \\
‘Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.’

The temporal conjunction \textit{χu} sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:
Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions hammo and lekin ‘but’, which are cognate with Persian and may be used interchangeably. The adversative conjunction occurs between the two conjoined elements, and syntactically belongs to the second clause. There are no aspect restrictions for the conjuncts in adversative coordination. The sentences in (10.37) - (10.43) are examples of clauses coordinated in adversative relations.

(10.37)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{asl-i} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \chi'ez = \text{am} & \quad \text{tid} & \quad \text{mejdz} & \quad \text{vud}, \\
\text{origin-ADV} & \quad 2\text{SG.NOM} & \quad \text{side} = 1\text{SG.PFV} & \quad \text{go-INF} & \quad \text{INTEN} & \quad \text{be.PFV} 
\end{align*} \]
\[\text{hammo} \quad \text{mu-an} \quad \text{digar} \quad \text{tɕɛr} \quad \text{naxtɯɡ} \quad \text{go.up.PFV} \]
\(\text{‘I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something else came up.’}\)

(10.38)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{mu} & \quad \text{dil} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{tid}, & \quad \text{lekin} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{tedz} = \text{am} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} & \quad \text{heart} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{go.INF} & \quad \text{but} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{go.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv} 
\end{align*} \]
\[\text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{sawd} \quad \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.3SG.IPfv} \]
\(\text{‘I do not want to go, but I must go.’}\)
10.1.5 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunction is a type of coordination which presents alternative possibilities. In Sarikoli, disjunction is expressed by the conjunction jo(ki) ‘or’, which may be repeated to form the correlating conjunction jo(ki)... jo(ki)... ‘either...
or...’. These conjunctions link two finite clauses together and present them as alternatives. The disjunctive conjunction in each conjunct immediately precedes the specific alternative element. If the conjuncts have different subjects which are presented as alternatives, the disjunctive conjunctions are placed at the beginning of each clause, as in (10.44) & (10.45). Likewise, if the alternatives are objects, jo(ki) precedes the object of each conjunct, as in (10.46), and so on. The following examples show the two clauses presenting different alternatives for the subject (10.44) & (10.45), object (10.46), verb without a shared object (10.47), verb with a shared object (10.48), polarity (10.49), or adversial or other element (10.50), but the other elements in the sentence are usually identical in both clauses. For the sake of parsimony, the redundant elements are often omitted in the second clause, as shown by the parentheses around the omissible elements in the examples below.

(10.44)  jo  waz  navič = am,  jo  amad  (navičt)
    or  1SG.NOM  write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or  Amad  write.3SG.IPFV
    ‘Either I will write it or Amad will.’

(10.45)  joki  mu  dud  belat  zozd,  joki  mu
    or  1SG.NNOM  uncle  ticket  buy.3SG.IPFV or  1SG.NNOM
    vrud  (zozd)
    brother  buy.3SG.IPFV
    ‘ Either my uncle will buy the ticket or my brother will.’

(10.46)  waz  jo  m = a = di  baron
    1SG.NOM  or  CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX  dress
    zoz = am,
    buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  or  CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX

    (zoz = am)
    buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
    ‘I will buy either this dress or this one.’

(10.47)  waz  joki  ktub  xuj = am,  joki
    1SG.NOM  or  book  read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or
    xufs = am
    sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
    ‘I will either read a book or sleep.’
The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is used for both clausal and phrasal coordination, as shown in the following examples containing phrase-level coordination:

(10.51) **xjejn jo sovdz lcq pamedz=in**
blue or green clothing wear.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
‘They wear blue or green clothes.’

(10.52) **wef=ir t=tat jo kalo mas buz=in**
3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT cow or sheep also send.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
‘They also send them cows or sheep.’

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is not used for alternative questions, which take the form of a tag question instead (§7.3.2). However, it is frequently used in interrogative complement clauses expressing a ‘whether or not’ relation between two clauses (§7.3.4.1), as demonstrated by the following example:
Although used less frequently, χu is another disjunctive conjunction that serves the same function as jo(kt). As shown in the following examples, χu may be used with first, second, or third person subjects.

(10.54) χu ar χuzmat tedz χu pa ted ɛm niθ
or LOC work go.IPfv or LOC house calm sit.IPfv
‘Either go to work or stay home and behave yourself.’

(10.55) χu əwqut ɛv χu barakat æ di ɗow
or thing say.IPfv or blessing ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two

iw surow
one separate.IPfv
‘Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.’

(10.56) χu zundagi ka χu naj mir hammo
or life do.IPfv or NEG die.IPfv but

zundagi=at=ik tɛwqg duɾust ɕalɡ so
life=2SG.IPfv=DUR do.IPfv whole person become.IPfv
‘Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome person.’

(10.57) waz χu pa ted ɛm niθ=am kalo
1SG.NOM or LOC house sit.IPfv =1SG.IPfv sheep

puj=am χu naj amriko xojd=ir
herd.IPfv =1SG.IPfv or NEG America read.INF =DAT

tedz=am
go.IPfv =1SG.IPfv
‘I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to study.’
Asyndetic coordination, in which a series of clauses which are conjoined through juxtaposition rather than by means of conjunctions, is common in Sarikoli. It is frequently used when the conjuncts have no other constituents besides the predicate, and the interpretation is usually sequential. As with other types of coordination, each of the conjoined clauses is finite and has its own pronominal agreement clitic:

(10.59)  sɯt = at  jot = at = o  
become.PFV = 2SG.PFV  come.PFV = 2SG.PFV = Q  
‘Did you go and come back?’

(10.60)  χɯɡ = af  jot = af = o  
eat.PFV = 3PL.PFV  come.PFV = 3PL.PFV = Q  
‘Did they eat and come back?’

(10.61)  i  nɔts  surɔwd  zozd  tizd  
one  girl  separate.3SG.IPfv  get.3SG.IPfv  go.3SG.IPfv  
a = wi  χw = ri  yin  kaxt  
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  REFL.NNOM = DAT  wife  do.3SG.IPfv  
‘He selects a girl, takes her, goes, and makes her his wife.’

10.2 Subordination

Clauses may be combined so that one clause is the main clause and the other is dependent on the main clause, and the two clauses do not have the same grammatical status. In a sentence with subordination, the main clause is always finite and the subordinate clause is often, but not always, infinitival. Three types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in this section: relative clauses (§10.2.1), complement clauses (§10.2.2), and adverbial clauses (§10.2.3).
10.2.1 Relative clause

Relativization involves two clauses, the relative clause (RC) and the main clause, which share a common argument. The RC modifies the common argument within the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). Sarikoli uses two enclitic relativizers for creating RC constructions, =ɛndʑ and =itɕuz, which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs, =ɛndʑ is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the =ɛndʑ and =itɕuz relativizers is determined by whether the verb within the RC is in the finite or non-finite stem. Externally-headed RCs precede the common argument, and headless RCs occupy the slot where the common argument normally occurs. RCs do not contain pronominal agreement clitics.

10.2.1.1 RC with the =ɛndʑ relativizer

The relativizer =ɛndʑ is used with RCs that contain: 1) situations that have already been completed (10.62) - (10.65), and 2) states (10.66) & (10.67). It is the only relativizer that attaches to a finite verb stem, as it occurs with the perfect stem of verbs. It cannot attach to verbs in the imperfective or infinitive stems, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.68b) & (10.68c):

(10.62) sofia mu=ri [az amriko wawydʑ=ɛndʑ] kampuẗ dud
give.PFV
‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’

(10.63) watɕa [waz ləwr sedʑ=ɛndʑ] dzuij
say.PRF=REL place
‘Wacha is the place [where I grew up].’

(10.64) [wod levdʑ=ɛndʑ bejt mu=ri utɕ]
say.PRF=REL song 1SG.NNOM = DAT very
χɯɕ happy
‘I really like the song [that they sang].’

1I use the term relativizer, not participle, because these morphemes are clitics that attach to an entire clause rather than suffixes that transform a verb into an adjective.
(10.65) [nuur ʔōtɕ = endz] mejmun-χejl maɕ xeįx
today come.PRF = REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
‘The guests [who came today] are our relatives.’

(10.66) [aːto ano na vɛdʑ = endz] baːtsɔ aːz dʑam ivul
father mother NEG be.PRF = REL child ABL all pitiable
‘[Children who do not have parents] are the most pitiable.’

(10.67) m-ono [mu = ri ƙuwɛ vɛdʑ = endz]
1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRF = REL
tamoq teawg
food do.PFV
‘My mother made food [that I like].’

(10.68) a. *tamaɕ [ƙu xuxtɕ = endz] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF
‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

b. *tamaɕ [ƙu zoɔt = endz] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPVF = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF
‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

c. *tamaɕ [ƙu zoɔxt = endz] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF
‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

10.2.1.2 RC with the = iʨuz relativizer

The relativizer = iʨuz attaches to the infinitive stem and is not inflected for aspect, but aspect is inferred based on the matrix clause situation and context. This includes: 1) ongoing events with present time reference (10.69) - (10.73), including habituals; 2) future events (10.74) & (10.75a); and 3) agentives, as shown in table 10.2. = iʨuz cannot attach to a finite verb, as demonstrated by
the ungrammatical examples (10.75b) & (10.75c). Without the specific time reference words, the RCs in (10.69), (10.70), (10.74), and (10.75a) can be interpreted as having either present or future time reference.

(10.69) \[\text{woð citc twxt = itcz} \text{ kinu waz}\]
3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF = REL movie 1SG.NOM

tɕuxtc = endz
watch.PRF = REL
‘The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.’

(10.70) \[\text{zulfico citc lvd = itcz} \text{ bejt wi vrud}\]
Zeelfisho now say.INF = REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

naviaxc = endz
write.PRF = REL
‘The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.’

(10.71) \[\text{tung [nuç az dsam pur pctx = itcz]} \text{ dijur}\]
Teeng apricot ABL all much ripen.INF = REL region
‘Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].’

(10.72) \[\text{jad [m-oto hara maθ broxt = itcz]}\]
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-father every day drink.INF = REL

duri medicine
‘This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].’

(10.73) \[\text{mu jax χuζmat tɕəwɡ = itcz}\]
1SG.NNOM sister work do.INF = REL place very far
‘The place [where my sister works] is very far.’

(10.74) \[\text{sulir lvd = itcz} \text{ bejt = an maq tɕawg}\]
next.year say.INF = REL song = 1PL.PFV training do.PFV
‘We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].’
Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with =itčuś

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agentive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wazuwond =itčuś</td>
<td>‘eraser’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamoq tsejg =itčuś</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para ḏod =itčuś</td>
<td>‘seller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talip =itčuś</td>
<td>‘beggar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəwd =itčuś</td>
<td>‘digger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mocin det =itčuś</td>
<td>‘driver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batsono tșixt =itčuś</td>
<td>‘one that watches children’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.1.3 Headless RC

Expression of the common argument is not required. The common argument may be omitted if it can be understood from the situational context in which the utterance occurs. Headless RCs may be formed with both =ɛndʑ, as in (10.76) - (10.79), and =itčuś, as in (10.80) - (10.83). Headless RCs most
commonly occur as the copula complement argument, but also occupy other argument and non-argument slots as well. In the following examples, the RC modifies the implicit S argument in (10.76), O argument in (10.80), copula subject in (10.77) & (10.81), and copula complement in (10.78), (10.79), (10.82), and (10.83).

(10.76) \[m\ddz=ɛndzd\] tik tsi peð səwd sundo
die.PRF = REL straight LOC foot become.3SG.IPFV live

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
‘The one [who had died] stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.’

(10.77) \[mɯ=ri\] az dzam pur χɯmand te\wyzd = endzd]
1SG.N NOM = REL ABL all much learn do.PRF = REL

jad malum
3SG.NOM.PROX teacher
‘The (one) [who has taught me the most] is this teacher.’

(10.78) m-oto m-ono verθ [nu\znef lawr
1SG.NOM-father 1SG.NOM-mother both Teeznef big

se\ddz = endzd]
become.PRF = REL
‘My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].’

(10.79) jad hansu s\wra \[pa varɕide hanor sul
3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year

nalɯs\t = endzd]
live.PRF = REL
‘This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].’

(10.80) do\d = af a = [rasim zoxt = i\τuz] qiw na
3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PVF ACC = picture get.INF = REL call NEG
tə\wyzd
do.PRF
‘These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)’
(10.81) \[ \text{waz} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{dzam} \quad \text{pur} \quad \text{tɛej}g = \text{itɛus} \] \text{palw}  \\
1SG.NOM ABL all much do.INF = REL pilaf  \\
‘(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.’

(10.82) \[ \text{maɕ} \quad \text{1sg. nom} \quad \text{χɯ refl. nnom} \quad \text{ðɯst hand} \quad \text{qati COM eat.INF = REL} \]  \\
‘We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].’

(10.83) \[ \text{zejnura} \quad \text{[tar loc jəwl dawn} \quad \text{xɛvd milk} \quad \text{broxt=itɛus]} \]  \\
‘Zeynura is (one) [who drinks milk in the morning].’

### 10.2.1.4 Unmarked RC

RCs may be completely unmarked, with no relativizer indicating that a clause is modifying a noun. In this type of RC, an infinitive clause simply precedes the head noun, as shown in the following examples. This type of unmarked RC is not very common in Sarikoli.

(10.84) \[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \quad \text{[hawu} \quad \text{ðod]} \quad \text{awudz na} \]  \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG  \\
xuđ  \\
hear.PFV  \\
‘I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].’

(10.85) \[ \text{canbe} \quad \text{jakɕanbe} \quad \text{[dam zoxt]} \quad \text{maθ} \]  \\
Saturday Sunday rest get.INF day  \\
‘Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].’

Negative RCs with =ɛndʑ or =ɛndʑ RCs within another subordinated clause may optionally omit the relativizer, with no change in meaning. These are structurally similar to other unmarked RCs, but either contain negated verbs in the perfect stem, as in (10.86) - (10.90) below, or occur in another subordinate clause, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b) presented in §10.2.3.1.

(10.86) \[ \text{nur} = \text{am} \quad \text{[na} \quad \text{xɛddz] i gap xuđ} \]  \\
today = 1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV  \\
‘Today I heard something [I had not heard before].’
(10.87) $\text{nɯr} = af \quad [\text{na} \quad \chiɯydz] \quad \text{tamoq} \quad \chiɯg$

\> today = 3PL.PVF \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{eat.PRF} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{eat.PVF}

‘Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].’

(10.88) $[\text{makola} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{naviʨe}] \quad \text{batɕo-ʨeļ} \quad \text{intawum}$

\> essay \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{write.PRF} \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} \quad \text{exam}

\> $\partial = \text{in}$

\> give.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF

‘Students [who have not written essays] take exams.’

(10.89) $\text{xeb} \quad \text{maɕ} \quad [\text{tej} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tɕɔwɔydz}]$

\> yesterday \quad 1PL.NOM \quad \text{wedding} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{do.PRF}

\> $\text{batɕo-ʨeļ} = \text{an}$

\> child-PL.NOM = 1PL.PVF \quad \text{together} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{eat.PVF}

‘Yesterday, those of us [who are not married] ate a meal together.’

(10.90) $\text{m-ono} \quad \text{a = wi} \quad \text{rasim}$

\> 1SG.NNOM-mother \quad \text{ACC} = 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad \text{picture}

\> $\chiɯ-an$ \quad [\text{ðes} \quad \text{sul} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wʌndz}] \quad \text{hamru}=\text{ri}$

\> REPL.NNOM-GEN \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{year} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{see.PRF} \quad \text{companion} = \text{DAT}

\> $\text{vusond}$

\> show.PVF

‘My mother showed that picture to her friend [whom she has not seen for ten years].’

RCs with positive polarity that are not embedded in another subordinate clause may not omit the $=\text{endz}$, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) & (10.92).

(10.91) $^*\text{sofia} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri}$

\> Sofia \quad 1SG.NNOM = DAT \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{America} \quad \text{bring.PRF} \quad \text{candy}

\> $\text{ðud}$

\> give.PVF

‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’

(10.92) $^*\quad [\text{wɔd} \quad \text{kevɛz} \quad \text{bejɛ}] \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri}$

\> 3PL.NOM \quad \text{say.PRF} \quad \text{song} \quad 1SG.NNOM = DAT \quad \text{very} \quad \text{happy}

‘I really like the song [they sang].’
10.2.2 Complement clause

A complement clause (CC) is a proposition that functions as an argument of another proposition. Dixon (2006) proposes three basic properties of CCs: 1) having the internal constituent structure of a clause; 2) functioning as a core argument of a higher clause; and 3) describing a proposition, containing someone involved in an activity or state.

Sarikoli has at least two CC constructions which fulfill all three of these requirements, both of which are used for reported speech and have the most structural similarity to a main clause. The other two constructions are non-finite complements with more limited grammatical marking. Nevertheless, their internal constituent structure does resemble that of a clause to some extent, and they do fulfill the latter two properties.

This section introduces two regular CC constructions: the nominalized complement with a subordinating conjunction (§10.2.2.1) and the infinitival complement (§10.2.2.2). Both constructions function as a core argument of a higher clause, and occur in the normal syntactic position of whichever argument they function as. In addition, two CC constructions used for reported speech will be presented (§10.2.2.3): the preverbal finite complement, used only for reporting speech, and the post-verbal finite complement with a subordinating conjunction, most often used for reporting speech, but also used as other CCs as well.

10.2.2.1 The nominalized complement

Sarikoli uses what Dixon describes as nominalization as a complementation strategy: “a process by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective, or from a complete clause” (2006:36). Verbs that take nominalized complements include: verbs of attention (wand ‘see’, xid ‘hear’, vusond ‘show’), verbs of thinking (wazond ‘know’, famd ‘understand’, uj tsejg ‘think’, isandz tsejg ‘believe’, ranixt ‘forget’, tar ɛwdam wand ‘dream about’), and verbs of speaking (levd ‘say, tell’). The subordinating conjunction =i plays a role similar to that of a complementizer. It attaches to a verb in the infinitive stem and makes it an argument of the main clause. The other component of this complementation strategy is the genitive marker -an, which attaches to the subject of the nominalized complement, structurally marking the subject of the embedded clause as a possessor of an NP. Since the embedded clause is nominalized, the entire embedded clause after the possessor-marked subject becomes the possessed item. This nominalized complement functions as a regular argument of the predicate of the main clause,
as with NPs. It does not carry any aspectual information, using time words to specify time reference when necessary, as in (10.95) & (10.96).

(10.93) sejifik <gulpia-an wi tej tsejg = i >
Seyfik  Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF = SC

wazond
know.3SG.IPFV

‘Seyfik knows about <Geelpia’s getting married>.’

(10.94) malum-yejI = of <batso-eʃ-an a = imi
teacher-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC = RECP

ɔdog = i >  wond
hit-INF = SC see.PFV

‘The teachers saw <the children’s hitting each other>.’

(10.95) was <tamaʃ-an xxb tsejz χig = i >
1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN yesterday what eat.INF = SC

wazon = am
know.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I know <what you(pl) ate yesterday>.’

(10.96) was <tamaʃ-an pugan kudzur tid = i >
1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow where go.INF = SC

wazon = am
know.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I know <where you(pl) will go tomorrow>.’

(10.97) putxu <χu radzen-an wi marg = i >
king REFL.NNOM daughter-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST die.INF = SC

xud
hear.PFV

‘The king heard about <his daughter’s dying>.’

10.2.2.2 Infinitival complement

The infinitival complement is formed with an infinitive verb stem and no agreement clitics. It does not contain an explicit subject, and the embedded clause subject is the same as one of the arguments in the main clause. It
functions as an argument of the predicate of the main clause. Verbs that take infinitival complements include: liking verbs (təmbd ‘be willing to’, χɯ uc vid ‘be pleasing to (like)’, dil...vid ‘heart be (desire to)’, pixm untəje ‘regret’, xudz dərd ‘fear’) and certain speaking verbs (qasam untəje ‘swear, promise’, ranud ‘cause, order’, latəje ‘let, allow’).

(10.98) aqlia < kalo guxt χɪɡ > na təcomb
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPVF
‘Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.’

(10.99) waŋ χu jaj = ir < cejdoi insivd>
1SG.NOM REFL.NOM sister = DAT Sheydoi sew.INF
ramej = am
cause.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I will cause my sister < to embroider a Sheydoi (female cap) >.’

(10.100) m-oto a = mu < bejt lɛvd > na
1SG.NNOM-father ACC = 1SG.NNOM song say.INF NEG
lakaxt
let.3SG.IPVF
‘My father does not allow me < to sing songs >.’

(10.101) < tər vate skit təje > wi = ri χɯc
LOC outside play do.INF 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT happy
‘He likes < playing outside >.’ (lit. < Playing outside > is pleasing to him.)

(10.102) qandik dil < χɯ pati-ɛf qati pa buzur
Qandik heart REFL.NNOM cousin-PL.NNOM COM LOC bazaar
tid>
go.INF
‘Qandik wants < to go to the bazaar with her cousins >.’

(10.103) < maθ paqad ktub xojd > a = χalɡ aluk
day whole.duration book read.INF ACC = person tired
kaxt
do.3SG.IPVF
‘< Reading books all day > makes a person tired.’
10.2.2.3 Reported speech

Most reported speech in Sarikoli takes the form of a direct quotation, described in this section, or hearsay, which is treated in §12. Sarikoli has two CC constructions for reporting direct speech. The first is a preverbal finite CC construction embedded in the main verb levator ‘say, tell’ in the imperfective stem. In addition, the durative clitic =ik is attached to some element before the verb. (10.104) - (10.106) exemplify this way of quoting direct speech. Sometimes the meaning of levator may be extended to cover ‘think’, as in (10.105).

(10.104)  "tamaɕ awal tedz=it, waz maɗur sabu
2PL.NOM first go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV 1SG.NOM noon back

  tedz=am > =ik  lev=am
  levd
  go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=DUR say.3SG.IPFV

‘S/he is saying, “You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon”.’

(10.105)  waz=ik  "< nur ḍorcambe > lev=am
1SG.NOM=DUR today Wednesday say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘I thought, “Today is Wednesday”.’ (lit. I am saying, “Today is Wednesday”.)

(10.106)  "pa tɕɛd  dið=it > =ik  lev=in
LOC house enter.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=DUR say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They are saying, “Come into our home”.’

This construction may also be used in an interrogative sentence. If someone yells “Don’t!” but it is unclear who the intended addressee was, one might ask the speaker the question in (10.107). The quoted material may also be replaced by an interrogative word, as in (10.108); although it is not an example of reporting direct speech, it shows how this preverbal finite CC construction is often used. This sentence may be used in a situation like the following: a prince sends a message to his lover through a messenger and awaits a response. As soon as the messenger returns, he asks him the question in (10.108).

(10.107)  taw  tɕi=ri<i</mo>  lev
2SG.NOM who.N NOM=DAT=DUR PROH say.IPFV

‘To whom are you saying “Don’t”?’

(10.108)  tsejz=ik  lev=am
what=DUR say.3SG.IPFV

‘What is she saying?’
The second construction for reporting direct speech is a post-verbal finite CC, which is used for reporting direct speech as well as other perceptions. In this construction, the quoted material is placed after the verb in the main clause and introduced by the subordinating conjunction *iko*. *iko* belongs to the main clause and not the embedded clause. The verb in the main clause is not restricted to *levd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

(10.109)  
*Baytigul mu = ri levd iko < mur*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bahtigeel</th>
<th>1SG.N NOM = 1SG.PFV say.PFV COMP today</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mu-an</em></td>
<td>1SG.N NOM-GEN other <em>work</em> be.IP FV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Bahtigeel told me < I have other things to do today >.’

(10.110)  
*xud = am iko < tursun ar wi*

| hear.PFV = 1SG.PFV COMP Tursun LOC 3SG.N NOM.DIST |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|
| *afto chiu tej kaxt>* | week REL.N NOM wedding do.3SG.IP FV |

‘I heard < Tursun will get married next week >.’

(10.111)  
*ar ujak tcost iko wi vrud i*

| LOC glass look.3SG.IP FV COMP 3SG.N NOM.DIST brother one |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|
| *dzu = ik varst wi tzi dust* | place = DUR turn.3SG.IP FV 3SG.N NOM.DIST LOC hand |

| k = ju dzom | ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST *scoop* |

‘He looks into the mirror and sees < his brother going around in a place with the scoop in his hand >.’

(10.112)  
*was = am ʒuðm wand iko < mač = an*

| 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|
| *ar anglia sajoat = ir tuijdz>* | LOC England travel = DAT go.PRF |

‘I dreamed < we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information) >.’
iko may also, especially in narratives, occur with other types of main verb, followed by the embedded clause containing that which is perceived after the main verb, as in (10.115) - (10.119).

(10.115) \[ \text{wod naxtedz = in iko spejd vurdz = ik} \]
\[3\text{PL.NOM.DIST go.up.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv COMP white horse = DUR} \]
\[\text{tasin \ did neighing give.3SG.IPfv} \]
\[\text{‘They go out (and find that) < a white horse neighing >.’} \]

(10.116) \[ \text{ju dɛdd iko wi yin} \]
\[3\text{SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPfv COMP 3SG.NOM.DIST wife} \]
\[\text{ar qe\text{t}\text{e} i \text{c}h\alpha l g\text{h}ludz} \]
\[\text{LOC stomach one person lie.PRF} \]
\[\text{‘He enters (and finds that) < there is a person lying next to his wife >. (Evidentiality/New information)’} \]

(10.117) \[ \text{ar wi dinju so = am iko} \]
\[\text{LOC 3SG.NOM.DIST world become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv COMP} \]
\[\text{m-\text{oto mas veddz m-\text{ono mas}} \}
\[1\text{SG.NOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NOM-mother also} \]
\[\text{veddz be.PRF} \]
\[\text{‘I go to that other world (and find that) < my father is there, and my mother is also there >. (Evidentiality/New information)’} \]
(10.118)  
**tar jawl indezd iko di tar**  
LOC dawn get.up.3SG.IPfv COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC  
*tuɕ uz i tup tɕudir woɕtɕ*  
straight again one group tent be.PRF  
‘He gets up in the morning (and finds that) <there is another group of tents straight ahead of him> . (Evidentiality/New information)’

(10.119)  
**k = dos k = tar wi ɕadurdz**  
ANA = manner ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST mill  
diɗ = am iko mu yin  
enter.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv COMP 1SG.NNOM wife  
ki = wi ɕadurdtɕi qati skit = ik  
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST miller COM play = DUR  
kaxt  
do.3SG.IPfv  
‘I enter the mill like that (and find that) <my wife is playing with that miller>.’

In this construction, the verb *levd* frequently occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person subject, which usually yields the meaning ‘think’, as in (10.120) & (10.121).

(10.120)  
**waz = ik lev = am iko < nur sej’ambe >**  
1SG.NOM = DUR say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv SC today Tuesday  
‘I thought <today is Wednesday>.’

(10.121)  
**waz = ik lev = am iko < zulfiia tɕur**  
1SG.NOM = DUR say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv SC Zeelfiia husband  

cwatejdz ve’dz  
Wacha.person be.PRF  
‘I thought <Zeelfia’s husband is from Wacha (Evidentiality/New information)>.’

In addition to marking the post-verbal CC construction, the subordinating conjunction *iko* may also be used with the negator *na* to yield the interpretation ‘otherwise’, as illustrated by (10.122) - (10.124).
(10.122)  
\[ i \quad sawg \quad maɕ = i r \quad lev, \quad na \quad iko \quad maɕ \]
\[ zɯq \quad so = a n \]
\[ bored \quad become.IPFV = 1.PL.IPFV \]
‘Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.’

(10.123)  
\[ tamać \quad χu \quad ato \quad ziv \quad lev = i t, \quad na \]
\[ 2.PL.NOM \quad REFL.NNOM \quad father \quad tongue \quad say.IPFV = 2.PL.IPFV \quad NEG \]
\[ iko \quad tamać \quad ziv \quad bast \]
\[ COMP \quad 2.PL.NNOM \quad tongue \quad disappear.3SG.IPFV \]
‘Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.’

(10.124)  
\[ a = di \quad dzald \quad pa \quad duỹtuyrũno \quad jus, \quad na \]
\[ ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad fast \quad LOC \quad hospital \quad take.IPFV \quad NEG \]
\[ iko \quad di \quad kasal \quad garun \quad sawd \]
\[ COMP \quad 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad illness \quad heavy \quad become.3SG.IPFV \]
‘Take her to the hospital quickly, otherwise her illness will get serious.’

\[ iko \] is also used in certain exclamations. The manner word \[ dos \] occurs at the beginning of the exclamation, followed by an adjective and optionally also a verb, followed by \[ iko \], as exemplified in (10.125) & (10.126).

(10.125)  
\[ dos \quad zuirm \quad iko \]
\[ manner \quad warm \quad COMP \]
‘It is so hot!’

(10.126)  
\[ dos \quad χuɾruj \quad xuνdz \quad iko \]
\[ manner \quad beautiful \quad sleep.PRF \quad COMP \]
‘She has fallen asleep so soundly! (Evidentiality/New information)’

10.2.3 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses (ACs) function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. In this section, ten types of Sarikoli ACs, or those functioning as ACs without having genuine AC constructions, will be introduced. They are presented in the following order: 1) finite ACs, 2) infinitival ACs with function markers,
and 3) RC constructions, which are not genuine adverbial subordinations. Table 10.3 presents the types of ACs that will be covered in the subsections that follow, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 10.3 Adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AC types</th>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Marker(s)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>§10.2.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>mas tsa</td>
<td>§10.2.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>pluperf</td>
<td>tsa + = i̝k</td>
<td>§10.2.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanatory reason</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>az + = i</td>
<td>§10.2.3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suppositional reason</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>mazamun</td>
<td>§10.2.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>= i̝r; avon</td>
<td>§10.2.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means/simultaneity</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>qati</td>
<td>§10.2.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>= i̝k</td>
<td>§10.2.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>INF (RC)</td>
<td>alo/waχt</td>
<td>§10.2.3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>PRF (RC)</td>
<td>= ends/itɕus + dʑuj</td>
<td>§10.2.3.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thompson & Longacre & Huang (2007) list three devices that are typically used for indicating ACs: subordinating morphemes, special verb forms, and word order. Sarikoli uses various subordinating morphemes for marking ACs, as shown in the third column of table 10.3. Most of these subordinating morphemes are clause-final, occurring at the end of the AC, although some of them are placed immediately before the verb in the AC.

Most Sarikoli ACs are also marked with special verb forms, as they are marked with the infinitive stem of the verb and a lack of subject-verb agreement clitics. Only conditional, counterfactual and concessive ACs and one variety of temporal AC contain finite verb stems and agreement clitics.

Finally, Sarikoli ACs may also be recognized, to some extent, by their position. They usually precede the entire main clause or immediately follow the subject of the main clause, as with other adverbial modifiers (§6).

10.2.3.1 Condition

The conditional AC is formed by placing the conditional particle tsa either before or after the predicate of the protasis.\(^2\) agar ‘if’ may optionally be

\(^2\)Another usage of tsa is as a variant of the interrogative word tsejz ‘what’ (see §7.3.4).
added to the beginning of the protasis. Conditional ACs, along with counterfactual ACs (§10.2.3.3), concessive ACs (§10.2.3.2) and one type of temporal AC (§10.2.3.8), are unique among the Sarikoli ACs in that they are finite; even though they are dependent clauses, they take finite verbs as well as pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in (10.127) & (10.128).

(10.127)  
tu = ri i tsiz luzim tsa  
2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing necessary COND  
sawd uz jod  
become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV  
'Come again if you need something.'

(10.128)  
sitɕ tɯnɡ tɛdz=in tsa pond uʦ qilo  
now Teeng go.IPFV =3PL.IPFV COND road very difficult  
'If they go to Teeng now the roads are very bad.'

When the embedded clause is an existential clause with jost or nist, as in (10.129), or when the embedded clause is a vid copula clause, as in (10.130), the copula vid 'be' within the conditional AC occurs in the embedded imperfective stem.

(10.129)  
мон tsa vid mu=ri i tol vor  
apple COND be.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT one CL bring.IPFV  
'If there are apples, bring me one.' OR 'If they are apples, bring me one'.

(10.130)  
cu tsa vid mo broz  
cold COND be.3SG.IPFV PROH drink.IPFV  
'Do not drink it if it is cold.'

The conditional AC cannot take the perfective stem of the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.131a), (10.132a), and (10.133a). Perfective situations are further embedded in an RC with the =ɛndʑ relativizer, which may be shortened into an unmarked RC, followed by tsa and the imperfective form of vid 'be', as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b):

(10.131)  
a.  *wejrun tsa sut mu=ri vor  
broken COND become.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT bring.IPFV  
'If it broke, bring it to me.'
b. *wejrun seðdz(=ɛndz) tsa vid
   broken become.PRF = REL COND be.3SG.IPFW

   mɯ = ri
   1SG.NNOM = DAT bring.IPFW

   ‘If it is broken, bring it to me.’

(10.132) a. *tamoq = at na χɯg tsa maɕ qati
   food = 2SG.PFW NEG eat.PFW COND 1PL.NNOM COM

   χor
   eat.IPFW

   ‘If you have not eaten, eat with us.’

b. tamoq na χuydz(=ɛndz) tsa νωw maɕ
   food NEG eat.PRF = REL COND be.IPFW 1PL.NNOM

   qat χor
   COM eat.IPFW

   ‘If you have not eaten, eat with us.’

(10.133) a. *wɔd = af tuijd tsa digar mocin qati
   3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFW go.PFW COND other car COM

   tɛdz
   go.IPFW

   ‘If they left, take another car.’

b. wɔd tuijdz(=ɛndz) tsa νωw = in
   3PL.NOM.DIST go.PRF = REL COND be.IPFW = 3PL.IPFW

   digar mocin qati tɛdz
   other car COM go.IPFW

   ‘If they left, take another car.

Optionally, an additional conditional particle *u may be used after the verb and *tsa, but it is used very infrequently. The following are examples that contain *u in the conditional AC.
10.134  *ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tcọst tsa*
   LOC glass if CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND
   
   *u putuŋ a=dzawun jad k=ar*
   COND all ACC=world 3SG.NOM.PROX ANA=LOC
   
   *wi wand*
   3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
   ‘If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.’

(10.135)  *waz χu pa dzom a=xats iw*
   1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop ACC=water one
   
   *zoz =am məwjdʒ =endʒ ar uvo*
   get.IPFV =1SG.IPFV die.PRF =REL LOC mouth
   
   *wejə =am tsa u zundo jad*
   pour.IPFV =1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX
   
   *sawd*
   become.3SG.IPFV
   ‘If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person’s mouth, he becomes alive.’

(10.136)  *naj putxu-an wi yin tsa vid*
   NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV
   
   *u təw k=az di wots-ef*
   COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM
   
   *surəw a=iw zoz trdz di*
   separate.IPFV ACC=one get.IPFV go.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX
   
   *putxu = ri*
   king = DAT
   ‘If this is the king’s wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to the king.’

10.2.3.2 Concession

The concessive AC is a type of conditional AC and also uses *tsa*, but *tsa* is preceded by the particle *mas* ‘also’. *mas* and *tsa* may precede, follow, or occur
on either side of the finite verb, forming the literal meaning, 'If it is also that....' The finite verb is in the imperfective stem and co-occurs with the appropriate pronominal clitic.

(10.137) m-oto a = mu rond mas tsa
1SG.N NOM-father ACC = 1SG.N NOM scold.3SG.IPFV also COND

mejli
okay
'It's okay even if my father scolds me.'

(10.138) təw mujim was marzundz mas tsa
2SG.N OM important 1SG.N OM hungry also COND

ris = am mejli
remain.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV okay
'You are important; it's okay even if I starve.'

(10.139) wi peð dzed mas tsa
3SG.NOM.DIST foot hurt.3SG.IPFV also COND

wi dil χu dest-ef qati
3SG.NOM.DIST heart REFL.NOM friend-PL.NOM COM

tup skit tɕejg
ball play do.INF
'Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.'

(10.140) dɛdł mas tsa ωwgaunbahor mɯburak
enter.3SG.IPFV also COND Sheaugeenbahor congratulations

levd dɛdł
say.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV
'Even when he enters, he says “Happy Sheaugeenbahor” and enters.'

(10.141) um xani-χejl tedz = in mas tsa xabor
there groom-PL.NOM go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV also COND sleepover

rejd = iʦuẓ dʑuj-χejl jost
remain.INF = REL place-PL.NOM be.IPFV
'Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.'
(10.142)  tamaɕ  əwd-ik  skit  mas  tsa  ka=it
2PL.NOM  here-DIM  play  also  COND  do.IPV = 2PL.IPV

səwd  hammo  tɛk  ar  darun
become.3SG.IPV  but  boundary  LOC  inside

ka=it
do.IPV = 2PL.IPV

‘It’s okay even if you(pl) play here, but play inside the boundaries.’

It is very common for an RC to be embedded within the concessive clause, in which case the finite verb of the AC is the imperfective stem of vid ‘be’, as shown in (10.143) - (10.148).

(10.143)  dɯvɛz  lɛq  pamɔwydz=ɛndz  mas  tsa
thick  clothing  wear.PR = REL  also  COND

vəw=am  iç=am  tɕəw
be.IPV = 1SG.IPV  cold = 1SG.PFV  do.PFV

‘Even though I am wearing thick clothes, I am cold.’ (lit. Even though I am one who has put on thick clothes, I am cold.)

(10.144)  woð  ɖes  sul  tar  prud  tej  tɕɔwydz=ɛndz
3PL.NOMDIST  ten  year  LOC  front  wedding  do.PR = REL

mas  tsa  vəw=in  ɕiʦ  its
also  COND  be.IPV = 3PL.IPV  now  until

wɛf-an  batɕɔ  nist
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN  child  NEG.be.IPV

‘Even though they got married ten years ago, they have no child until now.’ (lit. Even though they are ones who have gotten married ten years ago, they have no child until now.)
(10.145) \begin{align*}
\text{waz} & \quad \text{bedzin} \quad \text{ajoy} \quad \text{zoxt}=\text{it}=\text{uz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
1SG.NOM & \quad \text{Beijing} \quad \text{shoes} \quad \text{buy}.INF=\text{REL} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{COND} \\
\vow & =\text{am} \quad \text{uz} \quad \text{iw} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{uz} \\
\text{be}.IPFV & =1SG.IPFV \quad \text{again} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{again} \\
\text{zoxt}=\text{am} \quad \text{buy}.IPFV & =1SG.IPFV \\
\end{align*}

‘Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.’ (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.)

(10.146) \begin{align*}
\text{i} & \quad \text{tsawa} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{sedz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
\text{none} & \quad \text{how} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become}.PRF \quad \text{also} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be}.IPFV & =3PL.IPFV \\
\text{hammo} & \quad \text{utc} \quad \text{xudz}=\text{af} \quad \text{dowg} \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{very} \quad \text{fright}=3PL.IPFV \quad \text{scare}.PFV \\
\end{align*}

‘Even though they were fine, they were very frightened.’ (lit. Even though they are ones who have not become in any way, they were very frightened.)

(10.147) \begin{align*}
\text{utc} & \quad \text{pur} \quad \text{xoijdz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{vaw}=\text{it} \quad \text{hammo} \\
\text{very} & \quad \text{much} \quad \text{read}.PRF \quad \text{also} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be}.IPFV & =2PL.IPFV \quad \text{but} \\
\text{akram} & \quad \text{du}=\text{u}=\text{t} \quad \text{pur} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wazon}=\text{it} \\
\text{Akram} & \quad \text{AMT} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{tongue} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{know}.IPFV & =2PL.IPFV \\
\end{align*}

‘Even though you(pl) are very well educated, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.’ (lit. Even though you(pl) are ones who have read much, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.)

(10.148) \begin{align*}
\text{waz} & \quad \text{utc} \quad \text{pur} \quad \text{gap} \quad \text{tajur} \quad \text{tawydz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
1SG.NOM & \quad \text{very} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{word} \quad \text{ready} \quad \text{do}.PRF \quad \text{also} \quad \text{COND} \\
\vow & =\text{am}, \quad \text{hammo} \quad \text{pet}=\text{am} \quad \text{ranuxt} \\
\text{be}.IPFV & =1SG.IPFV \quad \text{but} \quad \text{all}=1SG.IPFV \quad \text{forget}.PFV \\
\end{align*}

‘Even though I prepared so much to say, I forgot everything.’ (lit. Even though I am one who has prepared many words, I forgot everything.)

Since the concessive AC is a conditional clause, \textit{vid} occurs in the embedded imperfective stem when the embedded clause is a copula clause, as in (10.149) - (10.152), or when the embedded clause is an existential clause, as in (10.153).
(10.149)  **juu**  **ingum**  **tamoq**  **χɯɣdʑ**  **mas**  **tsa**  
3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food eat.PRF also COND  

**vid**  **uz**  **marzndz**  
be.3SG.IPFV again hungry  

‘Even though he just ate food, he is hungry again.’ (lit. Even though he is one who has just eaten food, he is hungry again.)

(10.150)  **sofia**  **dzojza**  **zuxtɕ**  **mas**  **tsa**  **vid**  **juu**  
Sofia prize get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST  

**lowr**  **dzun**  **na**  **sut**  
big life NEG become.PFV  

‘Even though Sofia won the prize, she has not become arrogant.’  
(lit. Even though Sofia is one who got the prize, she has not become arrogant.)

(10.151)  **sejfik-an**  **wi**  **ato**  **ano**  **post**  **qad**  **mas**  
Seyfik-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST father mother low height also  

**tsa**  **vow=in**  **juu**  **χɯbaθ**  **buland**  
COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM high  

**qad**  
height  

‘Even though his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.’

(10.152)  **χsrəw**  **pugan**  **tid=itɕuz**  **mas**  **tsa**  **vid**  
Hsreau tomorrow go.INF = REL also COND be.3SG.IPFV  

**tɕing**  **az**  **zord**  **tɕɛr**  **kaxt**  
genuinely ABL heart work do.3SG.IPFV  

‘Even though Hsreau is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.’ (lit. Even though Hsreau is one who is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.)

(10.153)  **ta-an**  **pul**  **na**  **mas**  **tsa**  **vid**  
2SG.NNOM-GEN money NEG also COND be.3SG.IPFV  

**joð**  
come.IPFV  

‘Come even if you do not have money.’
10.2.3.3 Counterfactual

The counterfactual is a type of conditional AC in which the speaker asserts the protasis not to be true. This construction is formed by adding the tsa particle immediately before or after the verb in the protasis, adding the =ik durative marker to any preverbal element in both the protasis and the apodosis, and using the pluperfect form of the verb (perfect verb stem + cessative marker -it) in both the protasis and the apodosis. (10.154) - (10.158) are some examples of counterfactuals.

(10.154) *tuḍzik tej=ik tsa veḍḍz-it,*
Tajik  wedding = DUR  COND  be.PRF-CESS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{was} &= \text{am} = \text{ik} \\
\text{a} &= \text{ta} \\
\text{juḍdz-it} \\
\end{align*}
\]
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR  ACC = 2SG.NNOM  take.PRF-CESS

‘If it had been a Tajik wedding, I would have taken you.’

(10.155) *mu-an radzen=ik tsa veḍḍz-it,*
1SG.NNOM-GEN  daughter = DUR  COND  be.PRF-CESS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu} &= \text{r} = \text{am} = \text{ik} \\
\text{dudz-it} \\
\end{align*}
\]
2SG.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV = DUR  give.PRF-CESS

‘If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.’

(10.156) *was = am = ik purs ziv tsa*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR  Persian  tongue  COND

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wazondz-it,} \\
\text{iron} &= \text{am} = \text{ik} \\
\text{tu;jdz-it} \\
\end{align*}
\]
know.PRF-CESS  Iran = 1SG.PFV = DUR  go.PRF-CESS

‘If I had known Persian, I would have gone to Iran.’

(10.157) *ta-an pasport=ik tsa veḍḍz-it,*
2SG.NNOM-GEN  passport = DUR  COND  be.PRF-CESS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kudzur} &= \text{at} = \text{ik} \\
\text{tu;jdz-it} \\
\end{align*}
\]
where = 2SG.PFV = DUR  go.PRF-CESS

‘If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?’

(10.158) *was = am = ik varɕide tsa veḍḍz-it,*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR  Varshide  COND  be.PRF-CESS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} \\
\text{ar} \\
\text{tej} &= \text{am} = \text{ik} \\
\text{iθtɛ-it} \\
\end{align*}
\]
2SG.NNOM  LOC  wedding = 1SG.PFV = DUR  come.PRF-CESS

‘If I had been in Varshide, I would have come to your wedding.’
10.2.3.4 Explanatory reason

The explanatory reason AC consists of an infinitival clause with the AC verb preceded by the ablative marker *az* and followed by the subordinating conjunction =i. The reason clause generally occurs at the beginning of the main clause, and is used when a speaker is offering new information in the subordinate clause to support a claim made in the main clause. (10.159) - (10.161) below illustrate this type of reason clause.

(10.159)  
\[ \text{mu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tīfon} \quad \text{tuk} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{rej}d=i \]  
1SG.NOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF = SC  
\[ tui=r=am \quad \text{tīfon} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tci} \quad \text{tɔwɔg} \]  
2SG.NOM=DAT =1SG.PFV phone NEG CAP do.PFV  
'I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.'

(10.160)  
\[ \text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tɛd} \quad \text{lɔw}r \quad \text{mejmun-ɔje}l \quad \text{az} \]  
3PL.NOM.DIST LOC house big guest-PL.NOM ABL  
\[ jɛt=i \quad a=\text{kalo}=af \quad \text{kaxt} \]  
come.INF = SC ACC = sheep = 3PL.PFV slaughter.PFV  
'They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.'

(10.161)  
\[ \text{nurbia} \quad \text{ɔwu} \quad \text{tɛjdo}i \quad \text{az} \quad \text{burno}st=i \]  
Nurbia REFL.NOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF = SC  
\[ wi \quad \text{ano} \quad \text{ʃafo} \quad \text{sut} \]  
3SG.NOM.DIST mother upset become.PFV  
'Nurbia’s mother got upset because Nurbia lost her Sheydoi (female cap).'

10.2.3.5 Suppositional reason

The suppositional reason AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by *mazamun* ‘since’, and the main clause follows the AC. This type of reason AC may be considered “echoic”, meaning that the information in the subordinate clause is supposed to be contextually available to the speaker, and usually to the hearer. This is exemplified in the following examples.
Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a party for the village people.

Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle’s house.

Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can reconcile with him.

Since I have been studying continuously, I do not know a lot of people in Wacha.
### 10.2.3.6 Purpose

The purpose AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by the benefactive marker *avon*, as in (10.166) - (10.169) or the dative marker *=ir*, as in (10.170) - (10.173). Both types of purpose ACs typically occur before the entire main clause or immediately after the subject, but it may also be postposed to sentence-final position, as shown in (10.173).

(10.166) *χɯ puts ar amriko xajond avon mɑɣsat*
   REFL.N NOM son LOC America study.CAUS.INF BEN Mahsat
   
   dam na zoxt tɛr kaxt
   rest NEG get.INF work do.3SG.IPFV
   ‘In order to let his son study in America, Mahsat works without resting.’

(10.167) *tilak batɕo-ɛf=ir samɑut zoxt avon pa dikun*
   Tilak child-PL.N NOM = DAT gift buy.INF BEN LOC store
   
   dejd enter.PFV
   ‘Tilak went into the store to buy gifts for the children.’

(10.168) *mu puts χɯ tɛd zoxt avon az*
   1SG.NOM son REFL.N NOM house get.INF BEN ABL

   *mu pul zuxt*
   1SG.N NOM money get.PFV
   ‘My son got money from me to buy his house.’

(10.169) *waz = am joɕ-i alo uʨ pur gɨnu*
   1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV young-NMLZ TEMP very much sin

   *tɛwɪdʒ-ɪt sɪtɛ = ik χɯ gɨnu znod avon*
   do.PR-CESS now = DUR REFL.N NOM sin wash.INF BEN

   *kɪxɪɛ k = am*
   endeavor do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
   ‘I sinned very much when I was young, and now I am endeavoring to purge my sin.’
The purpose AC construction is also used for indicating how long it has been since a certain situation has happened, or how much time remains until a certain situation will happen, as in (10.174) & (10.175), respectively.

(10.174) a. \(tu = ri\) \(varɕide\) \(jet = ir\) \(tsund\)
\[2SG.NNOM = DAT\ Varshide\ come.INF = DAT\ how.much\]
\[waxt\ sut\]
\[time\ become.PFV\]
‘How long has it been since you came to Varshide?’

b. \(mu = ri\) \(varɕide\ jet = ir\) \(woxt\ sul\)
\[1SG.NNOM = DAT\ Varshide\ come.INF = DAT\ eight\ year\]
\[sut\]
\[become.PFV\]
‘It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.’
a. \( təw \quad χɯ \quad tej \quad tɕejɡ=ir \quad tsund \quad wazt \quad rejd \)  
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much time remain.PFV

‘How long will it be until you get married?’

b. \( waz \quad χɯ \quad tej \quad tɕejɡ=ir \quad tsavur \quad most \quad rejd \)  
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much time remain.PFV

‘I have four months before until I get married?’

### 10.2.3.7 Means and simultaneity

One of the ways to express the means of performing an action is by using an AC construction, marked with an infinitival clause followed by the comitative and instrumental function marker \( qati \):

(10.176) \( ɕaniɡɯl \quad pa \quad ristron \quad tɛr \quad tɕejɡ \quad qati \quad puil \)  
Shanigeel LOC restaurant work do.INF COM money

\( vrejd \quad tɕɛd \quad waʑɛvd \quad pa \quad tɕɛr \quad tɕejɡ \quad qati \quad puil \)  
find.3SG.IPV COM house return.3SG.productive work

‘Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.’

(10.177) \( waz=am \quad kinu \quad tɛxt \quad qati \quad ziv \quad χumand \)  
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV movie watch.INF COM tongue learn

\( sut \quad tɕixt \quad χɯmand \quad qati \quad puil \)  
become.PFV watch.INF COM time money

‘I learned the language by watching movies.’

This AC construction may also be used to indicate that a situation occurred at the same time as another situation (the situation in the main clause). If the two situations happen simultaneously in a very short moment, the word \( tang \) ‘simultaneous’ may be added after \( qati \), as in (10.179).

(10.178) \( nizamidin \quad bejt \quad levd \quad qati \quad pa \quad tɕɛd \quad wazɛvd \)  
Nizamidin song say.INF COM LOC house return.PFV

‘Nizamidin went home singing.’
(10.179) **ojmira naxtig qati tang amad dejd**
Oimira go.up.INF COM simultaneous Amad enter.PFV
‘Amad entered as Oimira came out.’

### 10.2.3.8 Time

Sarikoli forms temporal clauses in two ways: 1) a genuine temporal AC with the durative marker =ik, and 2) an RC construction with a time word as its head. The first construction makes use of aspect and juxtaposition. The temporal AC, which precedes the main clause, takes a verb in the perfective stem and the durative enclitic =ik, which attaches to a preverbal element. The main clause which follows the AC takes an imperfective verb, and the two clauses are juxtaposed. This type of construction is only used when neither of the situations in the two clauses has happened yet.

(10.180) **cejdoi-χejl = af = ik** fript, was
Shejdoi-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM

tu = ri tilfon ka = am
2SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.’

(10.181) **suat ðɛs a ða = ik sut = aθ, mač**
hour ten CONJ two = DUR become.PFV = EMP 1PL.NOM

tɛdz=an
go.IPV = 1PL.IPV
‘Once it is 12 o’clock, we will go.’

(10.182) **varɕidɛ = at = ik** fript, mu = ri tilfon
Varshide = 2SG.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone

ka
do.IPV
‘Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.’

(10.183) **urumtɕi = am = ik jet mejdʑ sut, tom**
Urumqi = 1SG.PFV = DUR come.INF INTEN become.PFV then

χabar ka = an
news do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
‘When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.’
(10.184)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{muu} & \quad \text{batco-jej} = \text{af} = \text{ik} \\
\text{1SG.NNOM} & \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} = \text{3PL.PFV} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{become.PFV} \\
\text{tom} & \quad \text{dam} \quad \text{zos} = \text{am} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{rest} \quad \text{get.IPV} = \text{1SG.IPV} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.’

(10.185)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{dil} = \text{ik} \quad \text{jot} \quad \text{muu} = \text{ri} \\
\text{2SG.NNOM} & \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{heart} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{come.PFV} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \\
\text{lev} & \\
\text{say.IPV} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘Tell me when you remember it.’ (lit. Tell me when it has come to your heart.)

The second way of forming temporal clauses involves an unmarked infinitival RC with a time word as its head. When pointing directly to the time in the embedded clause, the unmarked infinitival RC is headed by the noun \( \text{waxt} \) ‘time’ or the temporal particle \( \text{alo} \), without any function markers.

(10.186)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{cawgunbahor} & \quad \text{ej} \quad \text{narzambond} \quad \text{waxt} \quad \text{nudz} \quad \text{lsq} \\
\text{Sheaugunbahor} & \quad \text{festival} \quad \text{celebrate.INF} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{clothing} \\
\text{pamedz} & = \text{in} \\
\text{wear.IPV} & = \text{3PL.IPV} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheaugeenbahor festival.’

(10.187)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{waz} & \quad \text{des} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{uw} \quad \text{mulo} \quad \text{vid} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{tej} \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{seven} \quad \text{year.old} \quad \text{be.INF} \quad \text{TEMP} \quad \text{wedding} \\
\text{twowydz} & = \text{endz} \\
\text{do.PRF} & = \text{REL} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘I am one who got married when I was seventeen years old.’

Different function markers are used for indicating different temporal relations between the main clause and the embedded situation, such as ‘before’ and ‘after’. To point to a time before the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker \( \text{tci prud} \) or \( \text{tar prud} \) ‘in front of; before’.
(10.188) \( a = \text{dustar}_\text{un} \quad \text{wixt} \quad tci \quad \text{prud} \quad \text{futa} \quad ka = \text{in} \)
\[
\text{ACC} = \text{tablecloth} \quad \text{gather.INF} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{front} \quad \text{pray} \quad \text{do.IPFV} = \text{3PL.IPFV}
\]
‘They pray before gathering the tablecloth.’

(10.189) \( ma = \text{ar} \quad \text{maktab} \quad \text{fript} \quad tci \quad \text{prud} \)
\[
\text{1PL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{reach.INF} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{front}
\]
\[
\mu = \text{ri} \quad \text{tilfon} \quad ka
\text{1SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{phone} \quad \text{do.IPFV}
\]
‘Call me before you reach our school.’

To point to a time after the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker \( az \text{ zabu} \) ‘behind; after’:

(10.190) \( a = \text{kalo} \quad \text{kaxt} \quad az \quad \text{zabu} \quad a = \text{wi} \)
\[
\text{ACC} = \text{sheep} \quad \text{slaughter.INF} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{back} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST}
\]
\[
guxt \quad \text{pedz} = \text{in}
\text{meat} \quad \text{cook.IPFV} = \text{3PL.IPFV}
\]
‘After killing the sheep they cook that meat.’

(10.191) \( xipik \quad tcej\text{g} \quad az \quad \text{zabu} \quad a = \text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \)
\[
\text{flatbread} \quad \text{do.INF} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{back} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3PL.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC}
\]
\[
nohija \quad \text{para} \quad \text{do} = \text{an}
\text{county} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{give.IPFV} = \text{1PL.IPFV}
\]
‘After making the flatbread we sell it in the county seat.’

### 10.2.3.9 Location

Sarikoli makes use of an RC construction to express location with a clause. The locative clause may take either the \( = \text{endz} \) or \( = \text{itsuz} \) relativizer, and the head of the RC is often \( \text{dzuj} \) ‘place’, but it may also be a more specific location word. Optionally, a function marker may immediately precede or follow the RC head, indicating the spatial relationship between the RC head and the relativized ‘place’ in the main clause, as shown in (10.192) - (10.194).

(10.192) \( \text{canbe} \quad \text{\chiu} \quad \text{tilfon} \quad \text{latc\text{wyz}d} = \text{endz} \quad tci \quad \text{dzuj} \quad \text{alima} \)
\[
\text{Shanbe} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{phone} \quad \text{put.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{Alima}
\]
\[
nalust
\text{sit.PFV}
\]
‘Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.’
(10.193) $\textit{woð} \, \textit{tej} \, \textit{twejg} = \textit{itcuz} \, \textit{dzuj} \, \textit{pa} \, \textit{prud}$
\hspace{1cm} $3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} \, \text{wedding} \, \text{do.INF} = \text{REL} \, \text{place} \, \text{LOC} \, \text{front}$
\hspace{1cm}$\chiu\textit{eruj} \, \textit{gul-ef} = \textit{af}$
\hspace{1cm}$\text{beautiful} \, \text{flower-PL.NNOM} = 3\text{PL.PFV}$
\hspace{1cm}$\textit{dzuj}$
\hspace{1cm}$\text{put.PFV}$
\hspace{1cm} ‘They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are getting married.’

(10.194) $\textit{maɕ} \, \textit{xojdʑ} = \textit{ɛndʑ}$
\hspace{1cm} $1\text{PL.NOM} \, \text{read.PRF} = \text{REL} \, \text{LOC} \, \text{school} \, \text{this.year} \, \text{ten} \, \text{Tajik}$
\hspace{1cm}$\textit{batɕo} \, \textit{iθtɕ}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{child} \, \text{come.PRF}$
\hspace{1cm} ‘This year, ten Tajik students came to the school where we studied.’

The same structure may be used for expressing substitution, or the replacement of one situation with another. The RC takes the unmarked infinitival form, and the locative marker $\textit{tuij}$ precedes the head noun $\textit{dzuj}$. The literal meaning of this construction is ‘in the place of doing X’, where ‘X’ represents the situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) - (10.197) below.

(10.195) $\textit{kafton} \, \textit{χɯu} \, \textit{dars} \, \textit{xojd} \, \textit{tui} \, \textit{dzuj} \, \textit{skit}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{Kafton} \, \text{REFL.NNOM} \, \text{lesson} \, \text{read.INF} \, \text{LOC} \, \text{place} \, \text{play}$
\hspace{1cm}$\textit{twejg} = \textit{ir}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{do.INF} = \text{DAT} \, \text{go.PFV}$
\hspace{1cm} ‘Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.’

(10.196) $\textit{ramon} \, \textit{ejd} \, \textit{narzambond} \, \textit{tui} \, \textit{dzuj} \, \textit{χɯu} \, \textit{χeʃx}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{Ramon} \, \text{festival} \, \text{celebrate.INF} \, \text{LOC} \, \text{place} \, \text{REFL.NNOM} \, \text{relative}$
\hspace{1cm}$\text{ar} \, \text{margi} \, \textit{tuij}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{LOC} \, \text{funeral} \, \text{go.PFV}$
\hspace{1cm} ‘Ramon went to his relative’s funeral instead of celebrating the festival.’

(10.197) $\textit{samʉut} \, \textit{dɔd} \, \textit{tui} \, \textit{dzuj} \, \textit{pul} \, \textit{maɕ} = \textit{ir}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{gift} \, \text{give.INF} \, \text{LOC} \, \text{place} \, \text{money} \, 1\text{PL.NNOM} = \text{DAT}$
\hspace{1cm}$\textit{dɔ} = \textit{it}$
\hspace{1cm} $\text{give.IPfv} = 2\text{PL.IPfv}$
\hspace{1cm} ‘Give us money instead of giving us gifts.’
10.2.3.10 Manner

The manner clause is also expressed through an RC construction, with the semblative function marker *rang* as the head. This strategy for expressing manner takes the perfect verb stem and *=ɛndʑ* relativizer, regardless of whether the embedded situation has already happened, as in (10.198) & (10.199), or has present time reference, as in (10.200) & (10.201).

(10.198)  
\[ \text{wod} = \text{af} \quad \text{dsan} \quad \text{tɕəwydz} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{koʃ} \]
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV war do.PRF = REL SEMB fight

\[ \text{wod} \quad \text{put.PFV} \]

‘They fought as if they were fighting a war.’

(10.199)  
\[ \text{sobir} \quad \text{haɾoj} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tsiz} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ɕyuɔdʑ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{uʨ} \]
Sobir three day none thing NEG eat.PRF = REL SEMB very

\[ \text{pur} \quad \text{ɕuɡ} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{eat.PFV} \]

‘Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.’

(10.200)  
\[ \text{ɕw} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tɕəd} \quad \text{naluɕtɕ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \]
REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF = REL SEMB

\[ \text{niθ} = \text{it} \quad \text{sit.IPV} = \text{2PL.IPV} \]

‘Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.’

(10.201)  
\[ \text{pɯrg} \quad \text{a} = \text{ɡirindʑ} \quad \text{tɕardʑ} \quad \text{waz} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{waz} \]
mouse ACC = rice good see.PRF = REL SEMB 1SG.NOM

\[ \text{a} = \text{ta} \quad \text{tɕardʑ} \quad \text{wejn} = \text{am} \quad \text{ACC = 2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{see.IPV} = \text{1SG.IPV} \]

‘As a mouse loves rice, I love you.’
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11

Modality

Sarikoli uses modal constructions to express semantic contrasts that are related to the speaker’s or the agent’s perspective on a situation. This chapter describes various modal constructions, most of which are indicated through subordination and a special particle or word marking the modality. Many of these modalities are expressed in an infinitival CC (complement clause) or conditional AC (adverbial clause). Table 11.1 presents the different types of modalities that are described in this chapter, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 11.1 Modality

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11.1 Possibility

Possibility is marked by expressing the content of possibility as an infinitival CC, in combination with the main verb səwd ‘become’. səwd in the third
person singular imperfective stem carries the meaning ‘be possible; be okay’. This construction indicates that the content in the embedded clause is possible, whereas the addition of the preverbal negative particle na indicates that the content is impossible. In each of the sentences in (11.1) - (11.4), na may be added to indicate impossibility. This construction may occur in an interrogative sentence, as in (11.3) & (11.4).

(11.1)  
\[ a = wi \ \text{tɕɛɾ} \ \text{wazond} \ (na) \ \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \ \text{matter know-INF NEG become.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘That matter is (un)knowable.’} \]

(11.2)  
\[ \text{kọwʌluk tid = iʈɛz pond nist, mocin qati} \]
\[ \text{Koghushluk go-INF = REL road NEG.be.IPVF car COM} \]
\[ \text{tid} \ (na) \ \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{go-INF NEG become.3SG.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{‘There are no cars that go to Koghushluk, it is (not) possible to go there by car.’} \]

(11.3)  
\[ \text{tamaɕ pa jatoq χɯruk prɛt (na)} \]
\[ \text{2PL.NNOM LOC dormitory food cook.INF NEG} \]
\[ \text{səwd = o} \]
\[ \text{become.3SG.IPVF = Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Is it (not) possible to cook food in your dormitory?’} \]

(11.4)  
\[ \text{az marjɔŋ muʃtɔʁato wand (na) səwd = o} \]
\[ \text{ABL Maryong Muztagh.Ata see.INF NEG become.3SG.IPVF = Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Is it (not) possible to see Muztagh Ata from Maryong?’} \]

Alternatively, the word mɯmkin ‘possible’ may be added to the end of the infinitival CC containing the content of possibility. If the content is impossible, nist ‘NEG.be.IPVF’ is added after mɯmkin, as in (11.6). Although not obligatory, mas ‘also’ often precedes mɯmkin. This construction is commonly used in longer lists of possibilities, as in (11.7). Examples (11.6) & (11.7) contain both constructions for expressing possibility, with sawd and mɯmkin.

(11.5)  
\[ wi \ \text{tɛɾ} \ az di \ \text{dɛjw vid} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX crazy be-INF} \]
\[ (\text{mas}) \ \text{mɯmkin} \]
\[ \text{also possible} \]
\[ \text{‘Maybe her husband is crazier than this person.’} \]
(11.6)  

\[az \, di \, dźuj \, tamać \, ar \, dźuj \, hitač\]  
ABL 3SG.N NOM.PROX place 2PL.N NOM LOC place none  
\[tsoj \, tid \, na \, səwd, \quad k = az\]  
who.NOM go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV ANA = ABL  
\[wi \, dźuj \, səw-ik \, jet \, mas \, mumkin\]  
3SG.N NOM.DIST place here-DIM come.INF also possible  
\[nɪst\]  
NEG.be.IPFV  

‘It is not possible for anyone to go from our place to your place, nor to come from there to here.’

(11.7)  

\[sodeq \, sulir \, xuw \, tej \, tɕejg \, mas \, mumkin,\]  
Sodeq next.year REFL.N NOM wedding do.INF also possible  
\[xəzmat = ir \, dıgar \, dźuj \, tid \, mas \, mumkin, \, us\]  
work = DAT other place go.INF also possible again  
\[xojd \, mas \, mumkin, \, pa \, tɕed \, kalɔ \, pojd \, mas\]  
read.INF also possible LOC house sheep herd.INF also  
\[mumkin, \, a = wi \, wazond \, na\]  
possible ACC = 3SG.N NOM.DIST know.INF NEG  
\[səwd\]  
become.3SG.IPFV  

‘Next year, Sodeq may get married, go to another place for work, continue his education, or herd sheep at home; it is impossible to know.’

11.2 Ability

Ability is expressed as an infinitival CC and marked by the preverbal particle tɕi and the main verb tɕejg ‘do’ in any aspect. The embedded verb, which is the action of ability, occurs in the infinitive stem and precedes tɕi. If the embedded verb is a compound verb formed with tɕejg, only the nominal element precedes tɕi tɕejg, as in (11.10) & (11.11). If the main verb is negated, the preverbal negative particle na is placed between tɕi and the infinitival verb, as in (11.10) - (11.12). While possibility is impersonal, ability is personal.
(11.8) tudzık ziv levd tɕi ka=am
Tajik tongue say.INF CAP do.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I can speak Tajik.’

(11.9) tɔw moɕin det tɕi ka=o
2SG.NOM car drive.INF CAP do.IPVF = Q
‘Can you drive a car?’

(11.10) a. dzɯl batɕo-χejl m=a=di hat
small child-PL.NOM CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX open

na tɕi ka=in
NEG CAP do.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF
‘Little children cannot open this.’

b. *dzɯl batɕo-χejl m=a=di hat
small child-PL.NOM CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX open

 tsejɡ na tɕi ka=in
do.INF NEG CAP do.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF
‘Little children cannot open this.’

(11.11) a. χafo mo so nu=r=am
upset PROH become.IPVF 2SG.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV

 jordam na tɕi tɕəwɡ
help NEG CAP do.PFV
‘Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.’

b. *χafo mo so nu=r=am
upset PROH become.IPVF 2SG.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV

 jordam tsejɡ na tɕi tɕəwɡ
help do.INF NEG CAP do.PFV
‘Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.’

(11.12) zɯlfia warmand na tɕi tsejɡ=ir veddb
Zeelfia massage.INF NEG CAP do.INF = DAT be.PRF
‘Zeelfia cannot massage. (Evidentiality/New information)’

In (11.12), the ability construction co-occurs with evidentiality marking; the speaker has heard or discovered that the agent does not have the ability to massage well.
11.3 Intentional

The intentional construction is formed with the intended action expressed as an infinitival CC, followed by the word *mejdʑ*. It is used to indicate intended or imminent action. If the intention is in a non-imperfective aspect, the copula predicate *vid* ‘be’ in that aspect is added at the end of the sentence, along with the appropriate pronominal clitic attached to some constituent preceding it, as in (11.15) - (11.17):

(11.13) *m-oto sulir pokiston tid mejdʑ*
1SG.N NOM-father next.year Pakistan go.INF INTEN
‘My father is planning to go to Pakistan next year.’

(11.14) *waz cɪtɕ si mɯnut dam zʊxt mejdʑ*
1SG.NOM now thirty minute rest get.INF INTEN
‘I am planning to rest for thirty minutes now.’

(11.15) *tamaɕ pa tɕɛd set mejdʑ=af ve̞dʑ*
2PL.N NOM loc house become.INF INTEN=3PL. PFV be.PRF
‘They were planning to go to your(pl) house. (Evidentiality/New information)’

(11.16) *waz=am tu̞=ri tɪjɔŋ tɕɛd mejdʑ*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 2SG.N NOM=DAT phone do.INF INTEN

*vu̞d*
be.PFV
‘I was planning to call you.’

(11.17) *na brox t mejdʑ=at vu̞d=o*
NEG drink.INF INTEN=2SG.PFV be.PFV=Q
‘Were you planning not to drink it?’

(11.18) *marɡ mejdʑ=an sut*
die.INF INTEN=1PL.PFV become.PFV
‘We are about to die.’

Unlike verbal predicates, *mejdʑ* does not come in five different stems, nor does it take any pronominal subject-verb agreement clitics. It also neither takes adnominal modifiers, as shown in (11.19) & (11.20), nor functions as an adnominal modifier, as shown in (11.21).
11.4 Desiderative

Sarikoli also has a special desiderative construction which may express the desire of any person, even if the desirer is not the speaker. The desiderative construction consists of an infinitival CC which functions as the copula complement within the main clause. The copula subject of the main clause is always dil ‘heart’, and the content of desire is expressed in the infinitival CC which follows dil. The person who experiences the desire is structurally the possessor of dil, and may be a proper noun (11.22), common noun (11.23), or a possessive pronoun (11.24) - (11.26). In the imperfective aspect, the copula subject dil and copula complement are simply juxtaposed. If the content of desire occurs in a non-imperfective aspect, the copula predicate vid ‘be’ in that aspect occurs sentence-finally, as in (11.26); no pronominal agreement clitics are used because the subject is always dil, which is third person singular.

(11.22)  zu∫fia dil anur xats broxt  
Zeelfia heart pomegranate water drink-INF  
‘Zeelfia wants to drink pomegranate juice.’

(11.23)  m-ono  dil  a=tamaɕ utɕ wand  
1SG.NNOM-mother heart ACC=2PL.NNOM very see-INF  
‘My mother really wants to see you(pl).’

(11.24)  mu  dil  hitɕ tsiz na χiɡ  
1SG.NNOM heart none thing NEG eat-INF  
‘I do not want to eat anything.’

(11.25)  wi  dil  amriko tid  
3SG.NNOM.DIST heart America go-INF  
‘He wants to go to America.’
(11.26) asl-i muu dil mas sejdoi insivd vuud
origin-ADV 1SG.NNOM heart also Sheydoi sew.INF be.PFV
‘Originally, I also had wanted to sew a Sheydoi (female cap).’

11.5 Imminent

Imminent modality is used for events which are on the verge of taking place. The imminent event is expressed through an infinitival CC, with the infinitive verb preceded by the imminent marker *bar* and followed by *sɯt* ‘become.PFV’:

(11.27) mosin a=wi bar dod sɯt
car ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST IMM hit.INF become.PFV
‘The car almost hit him.’

(11.28) bar tid=am sɯt χɯ az
IMM go.INF = 1SG.PFV become.PFV REFL.NNOM ABL
tatan hometown
‘I am about to leave my hometown.’

(11.29) wi tɕur a=wi tɕɛr bar
3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST matter IMM
ranixt sɯt
forget.INF become.PFV
‘Her husband almost forgot about that matter.’

(11.30) namak az qor a=χɯ bar zɛd
Namak ABL anger ACC = REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF
sɯt
become.PFV
‘Namak almost killed himself from anger.’

(11.31) muu mudʑuz mas tɕardʑ jonɡ mas a=mu
1SG.NNOM feeling also good cold also ACC = 1SG.NNOM
bar latɕeig sɯt
IMM let.INF become.PFV
‘I am also feeling well, and my cold has almost let go of me.’
(11.32) χɛr ar ʐɛr bar dejd set waχt
sun LOC rock IMM enter.INF become.INF time

ɣɯbun-χɛj=af wi pa ɑɡɑm
shepherd-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC front

ˈyot
come.PFV
‘When the sun was about to set, the shepherds came to him.’

Alternatively, to emphasize the extent of a situation, the infinitival CC containing the imminent event may preceded by bar and followed by dʑuj jot ‘place come.PFV’:

(11.33) namak aʔ qor a=χɯ bar ʐɛd dʑuŋ
Namak ABL anger ACC=REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF place

ˈyot
come.PFV
‘Namak almost came to the point of killing himself from anger.’

(11.34) hawu dos pur ɑdɯ iko, maɕ
precipitation manner much fall.PFV COMP 1PL.NNOM

tɕɛd~matɕɛd bar ɑɛɾ dʑuŋ jot
house~rdp IMM turn.INF place come.PFV

‘It rained so much that our house almost came to the point of collapsing.’

11.6 Permission

Permission is expressed as a conditional AC, and is marked by the conditional particle tsə and the main verb sawd ‘become’, which has the meaning ‘be possible; be okay’. As with any other conditional AC, the verb in the embedded clause, which contains the action that is permitted, remains in the finite form, and tsə either immediately precedes or follows it. The main verb sawd occurs at the end of the sentence. In this basic structure, the speaker is either granting permission or informing someone that something is permitted, as in (11.35) & (11.36). If the speaker is asking for permission, the interrogative enclitic =o is added at the end, as in (11.37) - (11.39). Both the embedded verb and the main verb sawd may be negated with the preverbal particle na,
as in (11.39a) & (11.40), respectively. If the embedded verb is negated, *tə* occurs either before or after the negator and the verb, but not in between, as shown by the ungrammatical example (11.39b).

\[(11.35)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iwd} & \ \text{niθ}=\text{it} & \ 	ext{tə} & \ 	ext{iwd} \\
\text{here} & \ \text{sit.IPVF}=\text{2PL.IPVF} & \text{COND} & \text{become.3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]
‘It is okay for you(pl) to sit here.’

\[(11.36)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m-ono}=\text{ri} & \ 	ext{tilfon} & \ 	ext{tə} & \ 	ext{ka} \\
1\text{SG.NNOM-mother}=\text{DAT} & \text{phone} & \text{COND} & \text{do.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{iwd} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF}
\]
‘It is okay for you to call my mother.’

\[(11.37)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{az} & \ 	ext{ta} & \ 	ext{i} & \ 	ext{gap} & \ 	ext{pars}=\text{am} & \ 	ext{tə} \\
\text{ABL} & \ 2\text{SG.NNOM} \text{one} & \text{word} & \text{ask.IPVF}=\text{1SG.IPVF} & \text{COND}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{iwd}=\text{o} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF}=\text{Q}
\]
‘Is it okay if I ask you something?’

\[(11.38)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{romila} & \ 	ext{ɕitɕ} & \ ɕui & \ 	ext{pa} & \ 	ext{ted} & \ 	ext{tə} & \ 	ext{tizd} \\
\text{Romila} & \ \text{now} & \text{REFL.NNOM} & \text{LOC} & \text{house} & \text{COND} & \text{go.3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{iwd}=\text{o} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF}=\text{Q}
\]
‘Is it okay if Romila goes home now?’

\[(11.39)\]  
\[(11.39\text{a})\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
p\text{ugan} & \ 	ext{pa} & \ 	ext{dars} & \ 	ext{na} & \ 	ext{so}=\text{am} & \ 	ext{tə} \\
\text{tomorrow} & \ \text{LOC} & \text{lesson} & \text{NEG} & \text{become.IPVF}=\text{1SG.IPVF} & \text{COND}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{iwd}=\text{o} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF}=\text{Q}
\]
‘Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?’

\[(11.39\text{b})\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
p\text{ugan} & \ 	ext{pa} & \ 	ext{dars} & \ 	ext{na} & \ 	ext{tə} & \ 	ext{so}=\text{am} \\
\text{tomorrow} & \ \text{LOC} & \text{lesson} & \text{NEG} & \text{COND} & \text{become.IPVF}=\text{1SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{iwd}=\text{o} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF}=\text{Q}
\]
‘Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?’
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(11.40)  \[ a = \text{di} \quad \text{mon} \quad \text{χor} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{apple} \quad \text{eat.IP} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \]
\[ \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{become.3SG.IP} \]
\[ ‘\text{Is is not okay to eat this apple.’} \]

11.7 Obligation

The construction for expressing obligation is the inverse of the permission construction, negating both the protasis and the apodosis of the permission construction (§11.6). The content of obligation is expressed as a conditional AC, and both the main verb səwd and the verb that contains the obligated action are negated, with the particle tsa occurring either before or after the embedded verb and its negator. To question or express regret about the obligation, the interrogative enclitic =o is added at the end, as in (11.44) & (11.45).

(11.41)  \[ \text{pa} \quad \text{dars} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{LOC} \quad \text{lesson} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.IP} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.3SG.IP} \]
\[ ‘\text{You must go to class.’ (lit. It is not okay for you to not go to class.)} \]

(11.42)  \[ \text{nur} \quad \text{a = di} \quad \text{tɛr} \quad \text{adu} \quad \text{na} \]
\[ \text{today} \quad \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{NEG} \]
\[ \text{ka = am} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{do.IP} = 1\text{SG.IP} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.3SG.IP} \]
\[ ‘\text{I must finish this work today.’ (lit. It is not okay for me to not finish this work today.)} \]

(11.43)  \[ \text{tamaq} \quad \text{pɯɡan} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{waʑɛfs = it} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \]
\[ 2\text{PL.NOM} \quad \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{return.IP} = 2\text{PL.IP} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \]
\[ \text{səwd} \]
\[ \text{become.3SG.IP} \]
\[ ‘\text{You(pl) must return tomorrow.’ (lit. It is not okay for you(pl) to not return tomorrow.)} \]

(11.44)  \[ \text{na} \quad \text{tedz} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{səwd = o} \]
\[ \text{NEG} \quad \text{go.IP} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.3SG.IP} = Q \]
\[ ‘\text{Must you go?’ (lit. Is it not okay for you to not go?)} \]
In addition, there are two modal words that may be used interchangeably to form constructions expressing strong obligation or necessity: luzim and darkur ‘necessary’. Although they are interchangeable, luzim is much more commonly used than darkur. To form these obligation constructions, luzim or darkur is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation. luzim and darkur do not have five different stems as verbal predicates do, and are not marked for subject-verb agreement through pronominal clitics.

(11.45) tej tsa na ka = am na
wedding COND NEG do.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv NEG

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPfv = Q

‘Must I get married?’ (lit. Is it not okay for me not to do my wedding?)

(11.46) mac vijojdzs = endz xtur-čejł dam xoxt
1PL.NNOM ride.PRf = REL camel-PL.NOM rest get.INF

luzim/darkur
necessary

‘The camels that we rode need to get rest.’

(11.47) sulir xojd adu tēejg = ičuś batəo-čejł az
next.year read.INF finish do.INF = REL child-PL.NOM ABL

čitę čiuzmat xikejg luzim/darkur
now work search.INF necessary

‘The students who will finish their studies next year need to begin searching for jobs now.’

(11.48) čalŋ suōdz = endz a = čalŋ vid na vid
person kill.PRf = REL ACC = person be.INF NEG be.INF

zed luzim/darkur
kill.INF necessary

‘Someone who has killed another person must be killed.’
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(11.49)  \( pa \ aftovuz \ nalist=itɛuz \ a=dzɛj-ɛf \ pesqadam \)
\( \text{LOC bus sit.INF=REL ACC=place-PL.NNOM elderly} \)
\( \text{majif garun puj swrat udɛz batɕo pa} \)
\( \text{disabled heavy perseverance woman weak child LOC} \)
\( \text{masowt tɛwɔŋ=ɛndz ɛalɡ-ɛf=ir dɔd} \)
\( \text{lap do.PRF=REL person-PL.NNOM=REL give.INF} \)

\( \text{luzim/darkur necessary} \)

'The seats on the bus need to be given to the elderly, disabled, pregnant, weak, and people who are carrying children.'

Weaker obligation or duty is expressed by the modal word ɛegiɛ 'should', which is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation:

(11.50)  \( jad \ tsavur xipik ɛzuf ɛvid ɛtegiɛ \)
\( \text{3SG.NOM.PROX four flatbread pair be.INF should} \)

'The four flatbreads should be stacked up in twos.'

(11.51)  \( raḥmat mo ɛlev jad ɛmu \)
\( \text{thanks PROH say.IPV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM} \)
\( \text{tɛwɛj=ir ɛtegiɛ} \)
\( \text{do.INF=DAT should} \)

'Do not thank me, this is my responsibility.' (lit. Do not say thank you, this is something that I should do.)

(11.52)  \( sala-an wi rang mas rusɛ at spejd \)
\( \text{turban-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST color also red CONJ white} \)
\( \text{vid ɛtegiɛ} \)
\( \text{be.INF should} \)

'The color of the turban should also be red and white.'

(11.53)  \( pa \ aftovuz \ nalist=itɛuz \ a=dzɛj-ɛf \ pesqadam \)
\( \text{LOC bus sit.INF=REL ACC=place-PL.NNOM elderly} \)
\( \text{ɛxalɡ=ir dɔd ɛtegiɛ} \)
\( \text{person=DAT give.INF should} \)

'The seats on the bus should be given to the elderly.'
11.8 Hypothetical

The hypothetical modality expresses that a proposition may easily be true, even if it may not be true in actuality. It is expressed as a conditional AC, marked by adding the conditional *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the imperfective stem, and optionally adding the word *bɛχala* ‘what if’ at the beginning of the sentence. As with other conditional ACs, it is ungrammatical for the verb to be in a non-imperfective aspect, as shown by the ungrammatical example (11.58b). But unlike other conditional ACs, it constitutes an entire sentence by itself. This construction is used when the speaker is not certain of the actual situation and wants to express fear or concern, usually expecting some kind of response or change in the course of action, so it is posed as a question.

(11.54)  
\begin{verbatim}
(bɛχala) ranos = in  tsa
what.if forget.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv COND
\end{verbatim}
‘What if they forget?’

(11.55)  
\begin{verbatim}
(bɛχala) a = mac na laka = in tsa
what.if ACC = 1PL.Nnom NEG let.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv COND
\end{verbatim}
‘What if they do not allow us?’

(11.56)  
\begin{verbatim}
(bɛχala) tilfon tu = ri tsa joðd
what.if phone 2SG.Nnom = DAT COND come.3SG.IPfv
\end{verbatim}
‘What if you get a phone call?’

(11.57)  
\begin{verbatim}
(bɛχala) bast tsa
what.if disappear.3SG.IPfv COND
\end{verbatim}
‘What if it disappears?’

(11.58)  
\begin{verbatim}
a. (bɛχala) pa puiz dziş tsa na rast
what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.IPfv
\end{verbatim}
‘What if there will be no seats left on the train?’

b. *(bɛχala) pa puiz dziş tsa na rejd
what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.PFv
\end{verbatim}
‘What if there are no seats left on the train?’
11.9 Optative

The optative indicates that the speaker is hoping or wishing that something would be true, and directly expresses the wish of the speaker. The optative is expressed as a conditional AC, marked with the *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the imperfective stem, and optionally adding the word *kuɕki* ‘wish’ at the beginning of the sentence. As with the hypothetical modality, the optative conditional AC constitutes an entire sentence by itself and is not followed by an apodosis. In the following examples of the optative, (11.59) is a copula clause showing an attribution relation, (11.60) & (11.61) are existential clauses, and (11.62) - (11.64) are clauses with verbal predicates.

(11.59) *(kuɕki)* pugan mas hawu hat *tsa* vid
    wish tomorrow also weather open COND be.3SG.IPVF
    ‘If only it will be sunny again tomorrow...’

(11.60) *(kuɕki)* pugan mu-an dars na *vid* 
    wish tomorrow 1SG.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.3SG.IPVF
    *tsa*
    COND
    ‘If only I didn’t have class tomorrow...’

(11.61) *(kuɕki)* m-oto m-onο mu χεjz
    wish 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM side
    *vωw = in*
    COND
    ‘If only my father and mother were by my side...’

(11.62) *(kuɕki)* waz uće pur ziv wazon=am
    wish 1SG.NOM very much tongue know.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
    *tsa*
    COND
    ‘If only I knew very many languages...’

(11.63) *(kuɕki)* ingles ziv *mu=ri* δa *kov* gap
    wish English tongue 1SG.NNOM = DAT two mouth word
    *χumand* *tsa* *ka*
    teach COND do.IPVF
    ‘If only you would teach me two phrases of English...’
(11.64) (kuɕki) uz i wejn = am tsa
    wish again one see.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND
    ‘If only I could see it again one more time...’

11.10 Reminder

The reminder modality is used when the speaker is reminding the addressee of something or bringing up a topic that she assumes the addressee already knows about. It is expressed as a conditional AC, in which the tsa particle occurs immediately before or after the finite verb. Unlike other conditional ACs, however, the reminder construction is not limited to using imperfective verbs and may occur with any aspect specification: perfective aspect (11.65) - (11.67), imperfective aspect (11.68), and pluperfect aspect (11.69). It may also occur with words or phrases that do not constitute a complete clause, as in (11.70). The propositional content must be something that has actually happened or certainly will happen and is assumed to be known by both the speaker and the addressee, rather than a mere possibility. The reminder construction is not posed as a question, and is often followed by other thoughts related to the topic which was reminded, as in the examples below.

(11.65) təw = at mu = ri tsa levd,
    2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT COND say.PFV
    was = am na ranuxt
    1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV NEG forget.PFV
    ‘You know how you told me? I did not forget.’

(11.66) mu-an tɕɛr uʨ pur tsa vud, kazwi = am
    1SG.NNOM-GEN work very much COND be.PFV so = 1SG.PFV
    dejr xuvd
    late sleep.PFV
    ‘You know how I had so much work to do? That is why I went to bed so late.’

(11.67) ɪŋɡum a = mu qiw tsa tɕawg, ju
    just.now ACC = 1SG.NNOM call COND do.PFV 3SG.NOM.DIST
    ɪrots mu χor
    girl 1SG.NNOM niece
    ‘You know the one who called me just now? That girl is my niece.’
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(11.68) $təw\,\, pars\,\, tsa,\,\, waz=am$

$2SG.NOM\,\, ask.IPfv\,\, COND\,\, 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFv$

$ki=wi\,\, rang\,\, parst$

$ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST\,\, SEMP\,\, ask.PFv$

‘You know how you ask? I asked like that.’

(11.69) $təw=at\,\, mɯ=ri\,\, tilfon\,\, tsa$

$2SG.NOM=2SG.PFv\,\, 1SG.NNOM=DAT\,\, phone\,\, COND$

$tcɛwɛdʒ-it,\,\, was=am\,\, lɛq\,\, tɕi\,\, znod$

$do.PRf-CESS\,\, 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFv\,\, clothing\,\, LOC\,\, wash.INF$

$vɯd$

$be.PFv$

‘You know how you called me? I was in the middle of washing clothes.’

(11.70) $parus\,\, tej\,\, tcɛwɛdʒ=ɛndʑ\,\, nɔts\,\, tsa,\,\, jɯ$

$last.year\,\, wedding\,\, do.PRf=REL\,\, girl\,\, COND\,\, 3SG.NOM$

$padiom\,\, vəwɡ$

$twin\,\, bring.PFv$

‘You know the girl who got married last year? She gave birth to twins.’

11.11 Supposition

Supposition is marked by adding the tag $=okɯ$ to the end of any declarative sentence. The $=o$ is the interrogative enclitic used to mark polar questions. When using $=o\, ku$, the speaker is making a guess or assumption that something is true based on previous experience from similar situations, but does not have complete certainty because there is no evidence for that particular case. The following examples show that the supposition construction may be formed from an existential clause (11.71) & (11.72), copula clause (11.73) & (11.74), verbal clause (11.75) & (11.76), and even words that do not constitute a complete clause (11.77). The part preceding $=o\, ku$ has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and $ku$ carries a high pitch.

(11.71) $pa\,\, tɕɛd\,\, ɣalg\,\, nist=o\,\, ku$

$LOC\,\, house\,\, person\,\, NEG.be.IPfv=Q\,\, SUP$

‘There is nobody at home, I think.’
(11.72) \( ki = wi \) \( \text{rang bejt mas jost} = o \) \( ku \)  
\( \text{ANA} = \text{3SG.NOM.DIST SEMP song also be.IPVF = Q SUP} \)  
‘There is also a song like that, I think.’

(11.73) \( \text{sulejmon teed utɕ ɗar} = o \) \( ku \)  
Seeleymon house very far = Q SUP  
‘Seeleymon’s house is very far, I think.’

(11.74) \( u \) \( juu \) \( owrat tej tɕɔwdy} = e}ndz = o \) \( ku \)  
there \ 3SG.NOM.DIST woman wedding do.PRF = REL = Q SUP  
‘That woman is married, I think.’

(11.75) \( wɔd \) \( sɛd \) \( ejd na \)  
3PL.NOM.DIST this.year festival NEG  
\( \text{narsambon = in = o ku} \)  
celebrate.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF = Q SUP  
‘They are not celebrating the festival this year, I think.’

(11.76) \( wi \) \( tɛd-nɛndz-χejl = af \) \( hitɕ \) \( rang \)  
3SG.NOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV none SEMP  
\( \text{zijun na wand} = o \) \( ku \)  
harm NEG see.PFV = Q SUP  
‘His family did not suffer any kind of harm, I think.’

(11.77) \( k = dos = o \) \( ku \)  
\( \text{ANA = manner = Q SUP} \)  
‘It is so, I think.’
320 Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
This chapter describes two categories in which information is coded, both of which are marked by the perfect stem of the verb: 1) evidentiality, or how the information was obtained, and 2) new information, which has been perceived or recognized by the speaker but has not yet been assimilated into her existing body of knowledge. Evidentiality and new information are not the only contexts in which the perfect is used, but are extended uses to the primary verbal meaning of the perfect, which is stative.

For evidentiality, Sarikoli does not have a complex system of marking specific information sources, but has a single evidential: information can be marked as non-firsthand/indirect experience, as opposed to information acquired directly through firsthand observation, which is unmarked. Non-firsthand experience includes information obtained through verbal report from someone else (hearsay) or conclusions that have been inferred based on general knowledge or specific evidence. This non-firsthand meaning is semantically related to the perfect: just as the perfect marks a situation that is completed but whose results are still relevant for the present, an inference or verbal report is made based on the results of a completed situation (Aikhenvald 2004:112, Comrie 1976:110).

New information is something that has not been integrated into the speaker's existing knowledge structure at the time of perception or discovery. It includes information that is newly discovered, unexpected, or surprising to the speaker. It is not limited to information that is perceived at the speech moment, but also includes perceptions that were new to the speaker in the past. It is marked differently from the unmarked factual statement. Factual statements are felicitous only if the propositional content is already part of the speaker's body of knowledge and assumed to be unknown to the addressee:

(12.1) \[ m-oto \quad az \quad ta \quad xafo \quad sut \]
\[ 1SG.NNOM-father \quad ABL \quad 2SG.NNOM \quad upset \quad become.PFV \]

‘My father has gotten upset at you.’
The sentence in (12.1) is a factual statement, which is conveyed as the speaker’s exclusive knowledge. It presupposes that the speaker is already fully aware of this information and the addressee is not, and serves an informative function. Information that is new to the speaker, however, cannot be expressed as a factual statement. It must take the perfect verb stem, as in (12.2):

\[(12.2) \quad m\text{-}oto \quad as \quad ta \quad χafo \quad se\ddz\]

\[1\text{SG.NOM-father} \quad ABL \quad 2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{upset} \quad \text{become.PRF}\]

‘My father has gotten upset at you. (Evidential/New information)’

In (12.2), the speaker’s intention is not to inform the addressee of a fact, but to communicate that the perception, discovery, or realization of this fact was new to the speaker at the time of perception.

Various terms have been used to describe the grammatical marking of new information: immediate (Nichols 1986), unprepared mind (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986), mediative (Lazard 1999), and mirative (DeLancey 1997; Watters 2002; Aikhenvald 2004). This grammar will simply refer to it as new information.

Since the same form is used for marking non-firsthand information and firsthand evidence for newly apprehended knowledge, a sentence using the perfect verb can be ambiguous between the two senses, and speakers rely on context to distinguish between the two. These two extended meanings of the perfect share a semantic similarity in that the speaker is making the discovery or inference herself, and claims personal responsibility for the veracity of the proposition. Unlike direct quotations which specify a source of information, propositions marked as non-firsthand or new information are based directly on the speaker’s perception of the situation (Watters 2002:297).

The marking of evidentiality and new information interacts with aspect, as its form is determined by the aspect and predicate type of the neutral expression. Perfective propositions are marked by the perfect stem of the verb (§12.1), while imperfective ones are marked by means of the copula \(\text{ved}\ddz\) (the perfective stem of \(\text{vid}\)) in combination with an infinitive verb with the dative marker \(=\text{ir}\) (§12.2). Non-verbal clauses take \(\text{ved}\ddz\) (§12.3), regardless of whether the neutral expression is perfective or imperfective. The three sections of this chapter present additional examples showing the contexts in which the evidential or new information perfect is used. Each of the examples is accompanied by the neutral expression that the speaker is reporting, which is the unmarked proposition that is assumed to have a firsthand information source and is part of the speaker’s existing body of knowledge. Evidential or new information uses of the perfect are restricted to declarative and interrogative main clauses, and do not occur in subordinate clauses.
12.1 Perfective propositions

In a perfective situation which the speaker has learned about through a second-hand source, or discovered as new information through direct observation, the perfect stem of the verb is used, along with the appropriate perfective pronominal clitic attached to a constituent before the verb. Optionally, veðdz may occur sentence-finally, so that there are two adjacent perfect predicates, as in (12.3). In this example, the speaker may have heard from another person that the people in question have moved, or have seen physical evidence from which their move could be inferred, or have directly observed those people as they were moving, as long as the speaker had not been expecting it.

\[(12.3)\quad \text{kat} = af \quad \text{te} = \text{w}ydz \quad (\text{ve} = \text{d}z)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{move} &= \text{3PL.PFV} \\
\text{do} &= \text{PRF} \\
\text{be} &= \text{PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They have moved. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: kat = af tɛwɛg)

The new information use of the perfect commonly occurs with a first person subject, and implies lack of control, inadvertent action, and ensuing surprise. For the speaker to be unaware of a situation that she participated in, it “requires inattention or lack of consciousness” (Watters 2002:292). The following examples of newly discovered information contain a first person subject in a perfective situation. In these examples, the speaker realizes that she has not done something she was supposed to. The sentence in (12.4) is exclaimed when the speaker was planning to wake up early in the morning, but realizes that she slept much longer than planned. (12.5) is used when the speaker discovers a mistake in her writing. (12.6) is uttered when the speaker realizes that she has still not sent the photos that she had promised to send the addressee.

\[(12.4)\quad \text{waz} = \text{am} \quad \text{ut} = \text{dejr} \quad \text{und} = \text{wdz}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG.NOM} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{very} &= \text{late} \\
\text{get.up} &= \text{PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I got up so late! (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: waz = am ut = dejr ind = wdz)

\[(12.5)\quad \text{ɔatu} = \text{am} \quad \text{navist}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{incorrect} &= \text{1SG.PFV} \\
\text{write} &= \text{PRF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I wrote it incorrectly (Evidential/New information)!’ (Neutral expression: ɔatu = am navist)
If the speaker has directly heard someone express something eloquently, or speak Tajik fluently, and was impressed or surprised by it, the perfect is the appropriate form for a compliment, as in (12.7) & (12.8), respectively. Alternatively, even if the speaker has not heard it directly, she may be informed about these impressive abilities through someone else and give the same compliments.

(12.7)  
\[ \text{tɕardʑ} = \text{at} \quad \text{levdʑ} \]  
\[ \text{good} = \text{2SG.PVF} \quad \text{say.PRF} \]  
‘You spoke well. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{tɕardʑ} = \text{at levd} \))

(12.8)  
\[ \text{tudʑik} \quad \text{ziv} = \text{at} \quad \text{pur} \quad \text{χɯmand} \quad \text{sedʑ} \]  
\[ \text{Tajik} \quad \text{tongue} = \text{2SG.PVF} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{learn} \quad \text{become.PRF} \]  
‘You have learned so much Tajik. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{tudʑik} \text{ ziv} = \text{at pur χɯmand suit} \))

A person has arrived at his destination and pulls out a watch to look at the time, only to realize that he and his companions have arrived three hours early, and says (12.9), because it is new information. Or, if he does not have a watch and someone else informs him about the time, (12.9) is how he reports this fact to his companions, as the information was obtained through hearsay.

(12.9)  
\[ \text{haroj} \quad \text{suat} \quad \text{waχti} = \text{an} \quad \text{friptɕ} \]  
\[ \text{three} \quad \text{hour} \quad \text{early} = \text{1PL.PVF} \quad \text{reach.PRF} \]  
‘We have arrived three hours early. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{haroj} \text{ suat waχti} = \text{an fript} \))

A person has a conversation on the phone regarding the arrival or departure of a group of people, and afterwards reports the information he has learned to the people around him, saying (12.10) or (12.11), respectively. Or he may see that they have not arrived yet and say (12.10), or see them walking out the door and say (12.11), if he is surprised by those situations.
(12.10) \( nəwz = af \quad na \quad iθtɕ \)
\[\text{still} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{come.PRF} \]
‘They still have not come. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( nəwz = af \quad na \quad iθtɕ \))

(12.11) \( woð = af \quad cɨtɕ \quad naxtɯɣdʑ \)
\[3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{go.up.PRF} \]
‘They have gone out just now. (Evidential/New information)’
(Neutral expression: \( woð = af \quad cɨtɕ \quad naxtɯɣdʑ \))

Example (12.12) comes from someone who has inferred that a child has gotten tired. The child might have even told her that he is tired. (12.12) is what she says to inform the child’s grandmother. Similarly, in (12.13), the speaker may have seen the angry people with her own eyes when she was not anticipating it, came to that conclusion based on other evidence, or heard about their anger from another person. She is now reporting the situation to someone else with the sentence in (12.13).

(12.12) \( ta \quad nabus \quad aluk \quad sɛðdʑ \)
\[2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{grandchild} \quad \text{tired} \quad \text{become.PRF} \]
‘Your grandchild has gotten tired. (Evidential/New information)’
(Neutral expression: \( ta \quad nabus \quad aluk \quad sɛðdʑ \))

(12.13) \( woð = af \quad χafо \quad sɛðdʑ \)
\[3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{upset} \quad \text{become.PRF} \]
‘They got upset. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( woð = af \quad χafо \quad sɛðdʑ \))

A person who has received news of the birth of a baby says (12.14) to the newborn’s grandmother.

(12.14) \( tw = at \quad mom \quad sɛðdʑ \)
\[2\text{SG.NOM} = 2\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{grandmother} \quad \text{become.PRF} \]
‘You have become a grandmother. (Evidential/New information)’
(Neutral expression: \( tw = at \quad mom \quad sɛðdʑ \))

Upon realizing this fact, the speaker may say it even if the new grandmother is already fully aware of it.

Upon encountering someone after not seeing her for a while, one might notice that her hair has grown much longer and say (12.15).
(12.15)  \[ \text{ta xad daruz sɛdʑ} \]
\[ \text{2SG.N NOM hair long become.PRF} \]
‘Your hair has gotten long. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{ta xad daruz sut})

In this situation, the speaker is obviously not informing the addressee that her hair has gotten longer, but is simply expressing that he had not known about it and has just discovered this information for the first time.

Shonyoz tells his mother about how he has protected his friends from danger by discouraging them from playing in the deep part of the river. He then asks her the sentence in (12.16) with the perfect verb, since he has presented her with new information.

(12.16)  \[ \text{tɕardʑ=am tɕəwɣdʑ=o} \]
\[ \text{good = 1SG.PFV do.PRF = Q} \]
‘Did I do well? (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{tɕardʑ=am tɕəwɡ = o})

The non-first-hand extension of the perfect is frequently used in the telling of folktales, since storytellers strive to tell folktales just as they previously heard it from another person. It is highly unusual for Sarikoli speakers to create a new story in the style of a traditional folk tale. The following examples are taken from three different folktales. (12.17) tells the family situation as the background to the story. (12.18) is a situation that occurs three times throughout the story. (12.19) is the climax of the story, in which the king punishes the crow for telling lies, and is the explanation of why the crow cries in the way it does today.

(12.17)  \[ \text{i maθ i lagi wef a = jaχ} \]
\[ \text{one day one day 3PL.N NOM.DIST ACC = sister} \]
\[ \text{tej=af tɕəwɣdʑ, wi az zabu} \]
\[ \text{wedding = 3PL.PFV do.PRF 3SG.N NOM.DIST ABL back} \]
\[ \text{itɕand sul nardʑɛdʑ, jiu batɕo-ɛf} \]
\[ \text{several year pass.PFV 3SG.NOM.DIST child-PL.N NOM} \]
\[ \text{ato məwɡ} \]
\[ \text{father die.PRF} \]
‘One day, they had their sister’s wedding. After that, some years passed, and their father died. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{i maθ i lagi wef a = jaχ tej=af tɕəwɡ, wi az zabu itɕand sul nardʑɛdʑ, jiu batɕo-ɛf ato məwɡ})
Evidentiality and new information

(12.18) \( \gamma \text{ubun} \ a = \text{mwl-ef} \ wux-in \ \text{dsu}j \ \text{judz} \)

shepherd ACC = sheep-PL.NNOM grass-ADJ place take.PRF

\( \chi \text{urondz}, \ \text{pejcin} \ a = \text{wef} \ \text{poj dz} \)

eat.CAUS.PRF late.afternoon ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST herd.PRF

\( \text{i} \text{t} \text{c} \)

come.PRF

‘The shepherd took the sheep to a grassy place and fed them, and drove them back in the late afternoon. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \gamma \text{ubun} \ a = \text{mwl-ef} \ wux-in \ \text{dsu}j \ \text{jud}, \ \text{pejcin} \ a = \text{wef} \ \text{poj dz} \))

(12.19) \( \text{qar} \text{ro} \ \text{wi} \ pa \ \text{bun} \ \text{i} \text{t} \text{c} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \)

crow 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC base come.PRF TEMP.CONJ

\( \text{qar} \text{ro} = \text{ri} \ \text{levdz} \ \text{iko} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{zwo}d, \)

crow = DAT say.PRF SC REFLEX.NNOM tongue pull.out.IPfv

\( \text{qar} \text{ro} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{zwu}stc, \ \text{putxiu} \ \text{i} \text{t} \text{c} \)

crow REFLEX.NNOM tongue pull.out.PRF king come.PRF

\( \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{wi} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{xtc}axtc \)

TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST tongue cut.PRF

‘The crow came up beside him and (he) said to the crow, “Stick out your tongue.” The crow stuck out his tongue. The king came and cut off his tongue. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{qar} \text{ro} \ \text{wi} \ pa \ \text{bun} \ \text{c} \text{jot} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{qar} \text{ro} = \text{ri} \ \text{levd} \ \text{iko} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{zwo}d, \ \text{qar} \text{ro} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{zwu}st, \ \text{putxiu} \ \text{c} \text{jot} \ \text{c} \text{hu} \ \text{wi} \ \text{ziv} \ \text{xtc}axt \))

12.2 Imperfective propositions

When reporting an imperfective situation that the speaker has discovered as new information, or learned about through someone else or made an inference based on evidence, the infinitive stem of the verb is used, followed by the dative marker \( = \text{ir} \) and perfect copula \( \text{veddz} \). The subject-verb agreement pronominal clitics are attached to a constituent preceding the verb.

A friend of Zeynura has heard from someone else that Zeynura is currently living with her aunt, or is planning to. Or she may have actually visited Zeynura’s aunt’s house and seen Zeynura living there, but was unaware of that situation.
prior to the visit. Now when she tells other people about Zeynura’s living situation, she will use the perfect verb form, as in (12.20):

\[(12.20)\quad \text{zejnura} \quad \chiɯ \quad \text{vits} \quad qati \quad \text{nalist} = \text{ir} \quad \text{vedd}z\]

‘Zeynura is living with her aunt. (Evidential/New information)’

(Neutral expression: \text{zejnura} \quad \chiɯ \quad \text{vits} \quad qati \quad \text{na}d\theta)

Similarly, a friend of Khaqiqat’s may have been told by someone that Khaqiqat is, or is planning to, take driving lessons. Or he may have happened to encounter Khaqiqat during his driving lesson and learned about Khaqiqat’s new activity, which he had not known before. Now he will report this discovery to others by saying (12.21):

\[(12.21)\quad \text{haqiqat} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{moɕin} \quad \text{det} \quad \gammaumand \quad \text{set} = \text{ir}\]

‘Khaqiqat is also learning to drive. (Evidential/New information)’

(Neutral expression: \text{haqiqat} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{moɕin} \quad \text{det} \quad \gammaumand \quad \text{sawd})

Upon hearing about a woman who is about to give birth to twins, people share the news with others by saying (12.22). (12.22) is also appropriate if the doctor or midwife has actually seen the woman giving birth to twins and is telling others about it, but the birth is still in progress (since it is in the imperfective form).

\[(12.22)\quad \text{parus} \quad \text{tej} \quad \text{tɛw=dyd}z = \text{end}z \quad \text{nots} \quad \text{padiom} \quad \text{bat}=\thetao\]

‘The girl who got married last year will give birth to twins. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{parus} \quad \text{tej} \quad \text{tɛw=dyd}z = \text{end}z \quad \text{nots} \quad \text{padiom} \quad \text{bat}=\thetao \quad \text{vird})

People are expecting certain guests at a party when the host’s daughter receives a phone call from Uncle Mahsat, who tells her that his family will not be able to attend. She then announces this information to the adults by saying (12.23). Or, the hosts may wait for a few hours and, seeing that it has
gotten far too late for anyone to come, they might simply conclude that Uncle Mahsat’s family will not join them, saying (12.23).

(12.23) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{dud} & \text{mahsat} \\
\text{uncle} & \text{Mahsat} \\
\text{tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl = af} & \text{house-ADJ-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV \ NEG} \\
\text{jet = ir} & \text{come.INF = DAT \ be.PRF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Uncle Mahsat’s family is not coming. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{dud mahsat tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl na jod = in})

(12.24) comes from a situation in which the addressee has failed to demonstrate knowledge of certain things, and the speaker is frustrated about how ignorant the addressee is. Alternatively, the speaker may have heard from someone else that the addressee is ignorant, and is now reporting this information to the addressee.

(12.24) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
təw = at & \text{hitɕ} \\
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV & \text{tsiz \ na \ wazon = ir} \\
\text{thing \ NEG \ know.INF = DAT \ be.PRF} & \text{veðdz} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You do not know anything. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{təw i tsiz na wazon})

Likewise, when saying (12.25), the speaker has just become newly aware that the child could speak. Or, even if he has not witnessed it himself, he may have been informed by someone else that the child can speak.

(12.25) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
jad & \text{batɕo gap} \\
3SG.NOM.PROX = \text{child word} \ CAP \ \text{do.INF = DAT \ be.PRF} \\
\text{tɕi \ tweeŋ = ir} & \text{veðdz} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘This child can talk. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{jad batɕo gap tɕi kaxt})

Geelof reaches up to the top of the pile of folded blankets to get her Sheydoi (female cap), only to realize that she is not tall enough to reach it. Because this is newly apprehended knowledge, she says (12.26). If she had not tried reaching for it herself, but someone had told her she will not be able to reach it, she could also have reported this information by saying (12.26).

(12.26) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
mɯ & \text{qad} \\
1SG.NOM = \text{height NEG \ reach.INF = DAT \ be.PRF} \\
\text{na \ fript = ir} & \text{veðdz} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My height does not reach. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \text{mɯ qad na fropst})
Rayongeel has traveled to another part of China where people make tea without salt. When she returns to Varshide and shares her observations about the different tea culture, she might tell people what she discovered by saying (12.27). After hearing this fact, Rayongeel’s family and friends might also share this information with others by saying (12.27), since they heard it from Rayongeel.

(12.27) \[ \text{woð} = \text{af} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{tsoj} \quad \text{namɔdɑ̃z} \quad \text{na} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{tea} \quad \text{salt} \quad \text{NEG} \]
\[ \text{veðdz} = \text{ir} \quad \text{veðdz} \]
\[ \text{put.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{be.PRF} \]
‘They do not add salt to tea. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \[ \text{ar} \quad \text{tsoj} \quad \text{namɔdɑ̃z} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wej} = \text{in} \])

While watching television, Barut has seen that people from other parts of the world are eating flatbread that looks similar to those made by the Sarikoli people. He informs his wife about this by saying (12.28). Even if he had not seen it on television, but had heard about it on the radio or from a friend, he would have used the evidential perfect to tell others about it.

(12.28) \[ \text{woð} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{mi} = \text{di} \quad \text{rang} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{CATA} = \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{SEMB} \]
\[ \text{xi pik} = \text{af} \quad \text{χig} = \text{ir} \quad \text{veðdz} \quad \text{ingum} = \text{am} \]
\[ \text{flatbread} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{eat.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{be.PRF} \quad \text{just.now} = \text{1SG.PFV} \]
\[ \text{tsɯxt} \]
\[ \text{watch.PFV} \]
‘They eat flatbread like this too, I saw it just now. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \[ \text{woð} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{mi} = \text{di} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{xi pik} = \text{af} \]
\[ \text{χor} = \text{in} \quad \text{ingum} = \text{am} \quad \text{tsɯxt} \])

The perfect is also used in contexts in which the speaker is reporting situations that she had newly discovered at some point in the past. Whether or not there was an addressee at the time of discovery, if the speaker later wishes to report her thoughts as they were at the time of discovery, the report is in the perfect. For example, Perizata asks her mother whether it is true that Abeel is the richest man in town. Her mother does not know for sure, and says (12.29) because she had newly obtained that information from others in the past.
(12.29) \[ k = dos = af \quad levd = ir \quad ve\ddz \]
\[ \text{ANA} = \text{manner} = 3\text{PL.PFV say.INF} = \text{DAT be.PRF} \]
‘That is how they say it (so I have noticed). (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( k = dos lev = in \))

Geeljahon wants her mother to come pick her up after school, but her mother thinks she is old enough to walk back home by herself. In an attempt to convince her mother, she says (12.30). Even if the situation had occurred in the distant past, she can convey that the discovery was new and unassimilated knowledge at the time, and it is still reported in the perfect as if she had just discovered something new in the recent past.

(12.30) \[ jju \quad wots \quad ano \quad hara \quad ma\theta \quad jct = ir \]
\[ 3\text{SG.NOM.DIST girl mother every day come.INF} = \text{DAT} \]
\[ ve\ddz \]
\[ \text{be.PRF} \]
‘That girl’s mother comes every day (so I have noticed). (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( jju \ wots \ ano \ ara \ ma\theta \ jodd \))

### 12.3 Non-verbal propositions

When reporting a perfective or imperfective state which the speaker has newly discovered through direct observation or learned about through another source, the perfect stem of the \textit{vid} copula is used. If the neutral expression contains an existential predicate (\textit{jost} or \textit{nist}), as in (12.31) & (12.32), new information or non-firsthand situation also requires the perfect stem. The appropriate pronominal agreement clitic attaches to a constituent before the verb.

An outsider may not have known that there are camels in Varshide. Upon encountering one, or simply hearing that camels exist in Varshide, he might say (12.31):

(12.31) \[ pa \ var\textit{çide} \ xtur \ mas \ ve\ddz \]
\[ \text{LOC Varshide camel also be.PRF} \]
‘They even have camels in Varshide. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( pa \ var\textit{çide} \ xtur \ mas \ jost \))

Geelnuz is returning home after herding sheep for a few hours. After stepping into the house and looking around, she realizes that the usually-crowded home
is empty. She might say (12.32) to herself, or say it to her sister on the phone. Geelnuz’s sister, who is helping her mother wash the laundry in the stream and also unaware of this fact, may turn to her mother and report what she heard by saying (12.32).

\[(12.32)\] \begin{align*}
  & pa \quad tɕɛd \quad hɪtɕ \quad tɕoŋ \quad na \quad vɛðdʑ \\
  & \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be.PRF}
\end{align*}

‘There is no one at home. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \textit{pa tɕɛd i tɕoŋ nɪst})

Honim is driving her yaks to the grassland when she notices that one of the boys from her neighborhood is throwing rocks at her yaks. She gets upset with him and says (12.33). (12.33) may also be used if Honim has heard from someone else about how mean that boy is, even if she has never observed or experienced it herself.

\[(12.33)\] \begin{align*}
  & təw = a t \quad zɪtkari \quad vɛðdʑ \\
  & 2\text{SG.NOM} = 2\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{bad.guy} \quad \text{be.PRF}
\end{align*}

‘You are a bad guy. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \textit{təw zɪtkari})

Zulfiqor goes to the bazaar to buy carrots, but finds that they are all covered with a thick layer of dust, and complains to the shopkeeper by saying (12.34). Another customer who was hoping to buy carrots overhears this and calls his wife to tell her (12.34).

\[(12.34)\] \begin{align*}
  & wɔd = a f \quad pukzo \quad na \quad vɛðdʑ \\
  & 3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{clean} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be.PRF}
\end{align*}

‘They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \textit{wɔd pukzo nɪst})

Tilahon and her husband are searching for their children, who have been playing with their friends all day. After going around the neighborhood for several hours, they are about to give up. As a last strand of hope, Tilahon decides to try the school. She finds her kids reading books in one of the classrooms. She immediately calls her husband and says (12.35), using the perfect because it is new information. Her husband, who has heard this information from her, shares it with the relatives and other worried parents by saying (12.35) as well, since he obtained the information through hearsay.
Two friends are eating a meal together, and one of them, Gholib, has never tried a certain food. When Gholib takes his first bite of that food, his friend asks (12.36) to find out how he likes it. When his friend goes home and tells his family about Gholib’s experience with trying the new food, they might also ask (12.36), using the non-firsthand perfect because they are asking about information that he heard from Gholib.

A newlywed couple visits the wife’s family friend who could not attend their wedding, and they meet the groom for the first time. Shortly after they greet each other, sit down, and start drinking tea, the bride asks her friends (12.37) to see what they think of his looks. Later, she can also ask the same question to a friend who is involved in the neighborhood gossip, if she wants to find out what others are saying about her husband’s looks.

A person has come to the village of Teeng for the first time, and after a day or two, the Teeng villagers ask him (12.38). After he returns home, other people who know about his Teeng visit might ask the same question. There is another person who has never been to Teeng but has heard a lot about it through his friends from Teeng. Since he is knowledgeable about Teeng through second-hand information, he might be asked the question in (12.38) by other people.

(12.35) \( \text{wo\u0101 = af} \) \( \text{pa mak} \) \( \text{tab v\u0101dz} \)
\( 3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.PVF LOC school be.PRF} \)
‘They are at the school. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{wo\u0101 pa mak} \)tab)

(12.36) \( \chi\text{rg v\u0101dz = o} \)
\( \text{sweet be.PRF = Q} \)
‘Is it delicious? (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \chi\text{rg = o} \))

(12.37) \( \text{mu t\u0101ur \u00e9\text{\textgreek{u}r\textgreek{i} j v\u0101dz = o} } \)
\( 1\text{SG.NOM.DIST husband beautiful be.PRF = Q} \)
‘Is my husband handsome? (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \( \text{wi t\u0101ur \u00e9\text{\textgreek{u}r\textgreek{i} j = o} } \))

(12.38) \( \text{tu\u0101ng tsar\u0142ang dz\u0169j v\u0101dz} \)
‘What did you think of Teeng? (Evidential/New information)’
(Neutral expression: \( \text{tu\u0101ng tsar\u0142ang dz\u0169j} \))
Storytelling is one of the major functions served by the non-firsthand extension of the perfect. The following example, as well as (12.17) - (12.19), demonstrate that non-firsthand is associated with the entire genre of folktales, and not just with individual statements (Watters 2002:300). (12.39) is a typical way to begin a folktale. The first clause is the aperture, a formulaic opening of a narrative. Even if the baseline narrative shifts to different aspects in other parts of the story, the aperture always uses the evidential perfect.

(12.39) \[\text{veddz na v\text{-}dz haroj v\text{rud}=af v\text{dzz}, be.PR\text{F} NE\text{G be.PR\text{F three brother}=3PL.PFV be.PR\text{F}}\]
\[\text{dow}=af \text{h\text{-}udi v\text{-}dzz, iw ugej two=3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PR\text{F one non.blood}}\]

‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. Two were blood brothers, one was a non-blood brother. (Evidential/New information)’ (Neutral expression: \textit{haroj v\text{rud}=af v\text{ud}, dow=af h\text{-}udi v\text{ud, iw ugej}})
13

Routine expressions

This chapter deals with the expressions which make up a large part of people's everyday conversation. As a result of people constantly interacting with each other on a daily basis, these expressions have become conventionalized routines. Since these routine expressions are used according to specific socio-cultural norms, I also describe the social and cultural contexts in which they are used. The routine expressions introduced in this chapter include: interactions when visiting someone's home (§13.1), greeting people in a variety of other situations (§13.2), expressing gratitude (§13.3), apologizing and forgiving (§13.4), expressing grief and sympathy (§13.5), requesting and providing help (§13.6), telling time and date (§13.7), expressing physical and emotional states (§13.8), having conversations (§13.10), dealing with the unknown or uncertain (§13.11), and language learning (§13.12). Throughout this chapter, the appropriate pronominal clitic in each expression must be selected depending on whether the addressee is singular or plural.

13.1 Visiting someone’s home

One of the most common contexts in which routine expressions are used is during a visit to someone's home, which often involves a meal, or at least milk tea and flatbread. In the following subsections, I describe the sequence of events during such visits, which include: the welcome and the exchange of kisses and greetings, common expressions during a meal, and leavetakings. In this section, it will be assumed that there are multiple visitors, and the second person plural form will be used when addressing them.

13.1.1 Welcome and greetings

As soon as the host opens the door and sees visitors, or sees the visitor coming from afar, the expressions in (13.1) are used to bring the visitors in.
(13.1)  

a. \( \text{jolo = it} \)  
\( \text{come.ipfv} = 2\text{PL.ipfv} \)  
\( \text{‘Come(pl)!’} \)

b. \( \text{dið = it} \)  
\( \text{enter.ipfv} = 2\text{PL.ipfv} \)  
\( \text{‘Come in(pl)!’} \)

Once the visitors are in the house, the host party and the visitor party greet each other with kisses. It is customary to kiss every single person in the other party. The kissing conventions, which are determined by the gender and age of the participants, are outlined in table 13.1. The abbreviations used in table 13.1 are as follows: M = man, W = woman, A = adult, C = child.

Table 13.1 Kissing conventions in greetings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender/age</th>
<th>Kissing conventions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M + M</td>
<td>Clasp right hands, simultaneously kissing the back of the other’s hand (3-5 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M + W</td>
<td>Woman kisses the palm of man’s right hand (once)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W + W</td>
<td>Kiss each other on the lips (3-5 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A + C</td>
<td>Adult kisses the two sides of child’s eyes (once on each side)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One may initiate a greeting kiss by saying the expressions in (13.2). A woman might say (13.2a), asking the man to open his palm toward her so that she can kiss it. An adult may ask a child to make the sides of his eyes available for kissing, as in (13.2b). A child who has been left out of the kisses (which may easily happen during greeting exchanges in large groups, as in a wedding) might say the sentence in (13.2c) to remind an adult to greet him properly.

(13.2)  

a. \( \text{χɯ refl} \text{ dust tar mɯ ka} \)  
\( \text{REFL.N NOM hand LOC 1SG.N NOM do.ipfv} \)  
\( \text{‘Make your hand face toward me.’} \)

b. \( \text{χɯ refl tse mɯ = ri do} \)  
\( \text{REFL.N NOM eye 1SG.N NOM = DAT give.ipfv} \)  
\( \text{‘Give me your eyes.’} \)

c. \( \text{a = mɯ = at bo na tɔwŋ} \)  
\( \text{ACC = 1SG.N NOM = 2SG.P.FV kiss NEG do.P.FV} \)  
\( \text{‘You did not kiss me.’} \)
While the exchange of kisses takes place, the host party and the visitor party also greet each other with expressions, such as those in (13.3). (13.3a) & (13.3b) are the most common greetings in Sarikoli, while longer greetings like (13.3c) are considered particularly formal and polite. (13.3c) may be modified by adding other words to the list of well-being, making it even longer. In addition to greeting each other, the two parties also ask about the well-being of each other’s family members who are not present, as in (13.3d) & (13.3e). In (13.3e), the speaker is not necessarily asking about her own blood-related aunt, but may be asking about an older woman in the other party’s family whom she considers to be close to herself. Initially, these greetings are uttered simultaneously by both parties, and nobody waits for a response. Only at the end of the greetings do people give a brief response covering everything that has been asked, with expressions like those in (13.4). When repeated kissing is involved, as in the greetings between two men or between two women, the greetings are uttered in between the kisses. These greetings, along with the kisses, are also used to greet someone on the street.

(13.3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>ta mɯdʑuz tɕardʑ = o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.NNOM feeling good = Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Are you feeling well?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>soq = at = o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>well = 2SG.PFV = Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Have you been well?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>ta mɯdʑuz tɕardʑ, soq salomat, tindz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.NNOM feeling good well healthy peaceful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amun, badam basejrat = at unharmed breathing.normally energetic = 2SG.PFV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naluqet = o sit.PRF = Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Have you been feeling well, healthy, peaceful, and energetic? (Evidentiality/New information)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(d)</th>
<th>tamac batɕo-ɕejl mas soq = o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM also well = Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Are your children also well?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(e)</th>
<th>mu vits mɯdʑuz mas tɕardʑ = o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.NNOM aunt feeling also good = Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Is my aunt also feeling well?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(13.4)  a.  $t\check{c}ard$\textsubscript{z}, $t\check{c}ard$\textsubscript{z}
    good  good
    ‘Good, good.’

    b.  $d\check{z}$am  $so\check{q}$, ($\check{c}u$kri)
    all  well  thank.God
    ‘Everyone is well, (thanks be to God).’

After the exchange of kisses and greetings, the host invites the visitors to sit down on the $k\epsilon r$p\textsubscript{a}, a mat on which people sit and sleep:

(13.5)  
$n\check{i}t = it$

    sit.IPFW  = 2PL.IPFW
    ‘Sit down(pl)!’

Immediately after the last visitor sits down, the hosts welcome the visitors by saying (13.6a), to which the visitors respond with (13.6b).

(13.6)  a.  $\check{c}u$comad$\check{i}t = it$

    welcome  = 2PL.IPFW
    ‘Welcome(pl)!’

    b.  $b$orikalo
    thanks
    ‘Thank you!’

After this, the greetings in (13.3), which the hosts and visitors say to each other simultaneously, are repeated all over again. This second time, however, these greetings are only exchanged orally, with no kissing.

13.1.2 During a meal

Before the actual meal is brought in, a bowl of tea is served to each visitor, and several small bowls filled with dried fruits, nuts, seeds, and candy are set in front of the visitors on a $dustar\chi$un, a piece of cloth that is laid out and has a function similar to a tablecloth or picnic blanket. The host says to the visitors the expressions in (13.7), which continues to be repeated throughout the entire meal.
Routine expressions

(13.7)  

a.  
\( \text{zoz = it} \)  
\( \text{get.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv} \)  
'Take some(pl)!'  

b.  
\( \text{χadzal mo so = it} \)  
\( \text{shy PROH become.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv} \)  
'Don’t be shy(pl)!'  

Once the food is brought in and set in front of the visitors, the host says to them the expression in (13.8) to tell them to start eating. Whenever a visitor’s tea is more than half finished, the host will ask him whether he would like more by saying (13.9a), and even if the response is negative, she will insist on giving him more by saying (13.9b).

(13.8)  
\( \text{χɯɕ ka = it} \)  
\( \text{happy do.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv} \)  
'Start eating(pl)!'  

(13.9)  

a.  
\( \text{tɕoj tu = ri wejð = am = o} \)  
\( \text{tea 2SG.Nnom = DAT pour.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv = Q} \)  
'Shall I pour you more tea?'  

b.  
\( \text{dzul-ik wejð = am} \)  
\( \text{small-DIM pour.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv} \)  
'I will pour a just little bit.'  

If the host is pouring tea or scooping more food into the visitor’s bowl, and the visitor wants her to stop, he may place his hand over the bowl and say:

(13.10)  
\( \text{sut, sut} \)  
\( \text{become.PFV become.PFV} \)  
' Enough, enough.'  

When the visitor is satiated and does not want any more food or drink, he will say:

(13.11)  
\( \text{(mu = ri) bos} \)  
\( \text{1SG.Nnom = DAT enough} \)  
'I’ve had enough.'  

After everyone in the room has finished eating, they will all hold up both hands in front of their faces and silently pray a memorized prayer. Once the
prayer is finished, they take away all of the food and drink and fold up the dustarkun.

13.1.3 Leavetakings

When the visitors are ready to leave, the hosts will almost always express regret about the fact that they are leaving so soon and not staying longer. They will always try to convince the visitors to spend the night at their house or at least stay a little longer by saying expressions like those in (13.12).

(13.12)  a. xabor na ris = it = o

sleepover NEG remain.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q

‘Aren’t you(pl) staying for a sleepover?’

b. mac pa tʃɛd alos = it

1PL.NNOM LOC house lie.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘Sleep(pl) at our house.’

c. pa tʃɛd tom tsejz dʐat ka = it

LOC house then what hurry do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘What are you(pl) hurrying back home for?’

When it is clear that the visitors are really leaving, the hosts will most likely express regret about being unable to serve them well during their visit by saying the expressions in (13.13). In response, the visitors usually say (13.14).

(13.13)  a. naʃaradz = af tɯjd

foodless = 2PL.PFV go.PFV

‘You(pl) have left without eating anything.’

b. ɕuɕrɯj tamoq = am tamaɕ = ir na twi

beautiful food = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM = DAT NEG CAP

tʂɔwŋ

do.PFV

‘I was unable to make good food for you(pl).’

(13.14)  a. naj, naj, wi rang mo lev

NEG NEG 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMP PROH say.IPFV

‘No, no, do not talk like that.’
b. *naxaradz tsejz*
   foodless what
   ‘What do you mean by “foodless”?‘

When the guests are leaving, the hosts will never just stand at the door to say goodbye. They will always walk the visitors back for some distance. However, the visitors will first attempt to make the hosts stay home by saying:

(13.15) $\text{warofs} = \text{it, \quad warofs} = \text{it, \quad mo}$
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{stand.IP} & = 2\text{PL.IP} & \text{stand.IP} & = 2\text{PL.IP} & \text{PROH}
\end{align*}
\]

   $\text{na}x\text{txdz} = \text{it}$
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \text{go.up.IP} & = 2\text{PL.IP} \\
   \end{align*}
\]
   ‘Stop, stop, do not come out(pl).’

Despite the visitors’ efforts to stop them, the hosts will walk the visitors back for a while, and once they have reached a point where it is considered appropriate to stop, they will say to the visitors the expression in (13.16a). The visitors will respond by saying (13.16b). If they know that they will probably see each other again soon, they might add (13.16c). To be more formal, they may use the leavetaking expression in (13.16d).

(13.16) a. $\text{tama}x = \text{af \quad tujd} = o$
\[
\begin{align*}
2\text{PL.NOM} & = 2\text{PL.IP} & \text{go.IP} & = Q
\end{align*}
\]
   ‘Have you(pl) left?’

   b. $\text{a}ʔ\text{a, \quad ma}x = \text{an \quad bur \quad tujd}$
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yes} & \quad 1\text{PL.NOM} = 1\text{PL.IP} & \text{then} & \quad \text{go.IP}
\end{align*}
\]
   ‘Yes, we have left, then.’

   c. $\text{uz \quad wejn} = \text{an}$
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{again} & \quad \text{see.IP} = 1\text{PL.IP}
\end{align*}
\]
   ‘Let us see each other again.’

   d. $\text{χu}d\text{oj} = \text{ir \quad amunat}$
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{God} & = \text{DAT} & \text{entrust}
\end{align*}
\]
   ‘I entrust you to God (until I see you next time).’
13.2 Other greetings

Greetings are essential to social interactions in Sarikoli culture. People greet each other regularly as a sign of respect and concern for each other. In this section, different types of greetings used in various contexts are introduced: greeting someone when passing by on the street (§13.2.1), greeting people in the morning or nighttime (§13.2.2), greeting someone who is working (§13.2.3), greeting someone on the phone (§13.2.4), greeting someone on a festival or birthday (§13.2.5), saying farewell to someone who is about to leave on a journey (§13.2.6), and greeting or asking about someone who is sick (§13.2.7). The length, level of formality, and content of the greetings are determined by the social situation and the nature of relationship of the participants.

13.2.1 Greeting someone in passing

When greeting someone that one sees often, it is not necessary to say the full greeting in (13.3c). Shorter greetings are sufficient for greeting people on the street, such as (13.3a) and (13.3b) or the expressions in (13.17) below. Whether or not people exchange kisses in these situations depends on the intimacy of the relationship and the length of time they have not seen each other. In the following examples, the forms for both singular and plural addressees are presented.

\[(13.17)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{tar} & \text{ko} = \text{at} & \text{tujd} & \text{tar} \\
& \quad \text{LOC} & \text{where.N NOM = 2SG.PFV} & \text{go.PFV} & \text{LOC} \\
& \quad \text{ko} = \text{af} & \text{tujd} \\
& \quad \text{where.N NOM = 2PL.PFV} & \text{go.PFV} \\
& \quad \text{‘Where are you headed?’ (lit. To where have you gone?)} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{tw} & \text{kudzur} & \text{so} & \text{tamač} & \text{kudzur} \\
& \quad 2SG.NOM & \text{where} & \text{become.IPFV} & \text{2PL.NOM} & \text{where} \\
& \quad \text{so} = \text{it} & \text{become.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV} \\
& \quad \text{‘Where are you going?’}
\end{align*}
\]
Routine expressions

13.1.1.2 Morning and nighttime greetings

People tend to say more greetings upon initially seeing people in the morning than before going to sleep at night. The expressions in (13.18) are common ways people greet each other in the morning. Before going to bed, people usually say (13.19).

(13.17d) is said after a meal time, usually in the early afternoon or evening. (13.17e) is likely to be said in the morning or early afternoon, because people drink tea for breakfast and sometimes for the midday meal as well.

13.2.2 Morning and nighttime greetings

People tend to say more greetings upon initially seeing people in the morning than before going to sleep at night. The expressions in (13.18) are common ways people greet each other in the morning. Before going to bed, people usually say (13.19).

(13.18)  

a. \( \text{indawd} = \text{at} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{rise.PFV} = \text{2SG.PFV} = \text{Q} \)  
‘Have you gotten up?’

b. \( \chiil = \text{at} \quad \text{xuvd} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{good} = \text{2SG.PFV} \quad \text{sleep.PFV} = \text{Q} \)  
‘Did you sleep well?’

c. \( \text{ta} \quad \text{kol}–\text{mol} \quad \text{soq} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{head}–\text{RDP} \quad \text{well} = \text{Q} \)  
‘Is your head feeling well?’

d. \( \text{tsardz} \quad \chiu\text{dm} = \text{at} \quad \text{wand} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{good} \quad \text{dream} = \text{2SG.PFV} \quad \text{see.PFV} = \text{Q} \)  
‘Did you dream good dreams?’ (lit. Did you see good dreams?)
e. \textit{ta} \> χɯðm \> ρɛχtɕ=ɔ
\> 2SG.NNOM \> dream \> ripen,PRF=Q
'Did you sleep a deep sleep? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your dream ripened?)

f. \textit{ta} \> aluk-i \> naxtɯɣdʑ=ɔ
\> 2SG.NNOM \> tired-NMLZ \> go.up,PRF=Q
'Do you feel refreshed? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your tiredness gone out?)

(13.19) \textit{tɕardʑ} \> χɯðm \> wejn
\> good \> dream \> see,IPFV
'See good dreams!'

13.2.3 Greeting a worker

A special greeting is used for greeting someone engaged in physically hard work, such as a farmer plowing a field, winnowing grains on the threshing floor, etc. (13.20a) is considered a polite way to acknowledge their hard work. In response, the worker will say (13.20b), which is the same response as to a host’s welcome greeting to the visitors after they take seats on the mat.

(13.20) a. \textit{mintawu}  
\> hard.work
‘You have worked hard!’

b. \textit{borikalo}  
\> thanks
‘Thank you!’

To someone who has finished working hard, it is appropriate to say the expressions in (13.21).

(13.21) a. \textit{dʑafu=at} \> wand
\> toil = 2SG.PFV \> see,PVF
‘You have seen toil.’

b. \textit{pɯr alukat=at} \> wand
\> much trouble = 2SG.PFV \> see,PVF
‘You have seen much trouble.’
13.2.4 Telephone greetings

When talking to someone on the phone, either the full-length greeting (13.3c) or the shorter greetings (13.3a) & (13.3b) may be appropriate, depending on how long it has been since the participants have talked to each other. Additional shorter greetings and their responses are given in (13.22) below. (13.22f) & (13.22g) are greetings that are used among young people, and (13.22h) is an appropriate response.

(13.22)  

a. tsarang ta  awul  
   how  2SG.N NOM situation  
   ‘How is your situation?’

b. tsاردژ tsاردژ (ɕɯkɾi)  
   good  good  thank.God  
   ‘Good, good, thanks be to God.’

c. tsاردژ tsاردژ ta  χɯ-an  
   good  good  2SG.N NOM REFL.N NOM-GEN  
   ‘Good, good, and your self’s?’

d. 2w  χɯbaθ  soq = o  
   2SG.NOM  REFL.NOM well = Q  
   ‘Are you yourself well?’

e. χeʃli  be  
   fairly  fine  
   ‘Fairly good.’

f. tsarang ta  ɕast  
   how  2SG.N NOM courage  
   ‘How is your courage?’

g. ta  ɕast  tɕi  ʥuŋ = o  
   2SG.N NOM courage  LOC place = Q  
   ‘Is your courage in place?’

h. (mɯ  ɕast)  tɕi  ʥuŋ  
   1SG.N NOM courage  LOC place  
   ‘My courage is in place.’
On the phone, it is customary to ask people what they are doing or have been doing, as in (13.23a) - (13.23c), or whether they are hanging out, as in (13.23d). A nearly universal response to these kinds of questions is (13.23e), which does not provide much information about the speaker's activities. It is also possible to respond by saying (13.23f), or, less commonly, give an account of what one has actually been doing.

(13.23)  

a. \( \text{tsejz} = \text{ik} \quad \text{ka} \)  
\( \text{what} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{do.PFV} \)  
'What are you doing?'

b. \( \text{tsejz} = \text{at} \quad \text{tɕəwɡ} \)  
\( \text{what} = \text{2SG.PFV} \quad \text{do.PFV} \)  
'What have you done?'

c. \( \text{tsejz} \quad \text{tec}-\text{fu} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{dʒat-i} \)  
\( \text{what} \quad \text{work-PL.NNOM} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{hurry-NMLZ} \)  
'What matters are you busy with?'

d. \( \text{nalu}s\text{tɕ} = \text{at} = \text{o} \)  
\( \text{sit.PRIF} = \text{2SG.PFV} = \text{Q} \)  
'Have you been hanging out? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Have you sat down?)

e. \( \text{nalu}s\text{tɕ} = \text{am} \)  
\( \text{sit.PRIF} = \text{1PFV} \)  
'I have been hanging out. (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. I have sat down.)

f. \( \text{i} \quad \text{tsiz} \quad \text{naj} \)  
\( \text{none} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{NEG} \)  
'Nothing.'

If one has not seen the other person for a long time, the expression in (13.24) is often used to show that one misses him/her:

(13.24)  
\( \text{tu} = \text{ri} \quad \text{utɕ} \quad \text{gu} \text{rm} = \text{am} \quad \text{tɕəwɡ} \)  
\( \text{2SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{remembrance} = \text{1SG.PFV} \quad \text{do.PFV} \)  
'I have missed you very much.'

Before hanging up, it is mandatory to ask the other person to pass on greetings to their family members, as in (13.25a) & (13.25b), as well as reporting that
one’s family members are sending their greetings to the person on the line, as in (13.25c) & (13.25d). The person who receives the greetings passed on through another person says (13.25e) in response. If the other person has not been taking initiative of staying in communication through phone calls, one might add (13.25f). The expression in (13.25g) signals that the speaker has nothing else to say and is ready for the conversation to end.

(13.25)  
a. \( \chi\)-oto \( \chi\)-ono = ri salum  
\text{REFL.N NOM-father REFL.N NOM-mother = DAT hello}
lev
\text{say.IP FV}
‘Say hello to your parents.’
b. (mu az num) dzam = ir salum lev  
\text{1SG.N NOM ABL name all = DAT hello say.IP FV}
‘Say hello to everyone (on my behalf).’
c. dzam = ik (tu = ri) salum levd  
\text{all = DUR 2SG.N NOM = DAT hello say.PFV}
‘Everyone is saying hello (to you).’
d. m-oto m-ono mas  
\text{1SG.N NOM-father 1SG.N NOM-mother also}
\text{tu = ri = ik salum lev = in}
\text{2SG.N NOM = DAT = DUR hello say.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV}
‘My parents are also saying hello to you.’
e. alejk
\text{likewise}
‘Likewise.’
f. igun igun tilfon ka  
\text{sometimes sometimes phone do.IP FV}
‘Give us a call once in a while.’
g. tɕardʑ tom bur  
\text{good then then}
‘Good, then.’
13.2.5 Greeting someone on a festival or birthday

On a festival day, people greet each other by saying (13.26), to which the response is identical.

(13.26)  
\[
\text{ta ejd = ir muburak (vid)} \\
\text{2SG.N NOM festival = DAT congratulations be.3SG.IPFV} \\
\text{‘Happy festival!’}
\]

The usual greeting to someone celebrating a birthday is (13.27):

(13.27)  
\[
\text{ta azmud sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ maθ = ir} \\
\text{2SG.N NOM born become.PRF = REL day = DAT} \\
\text{muburak (vid) muburak congratulations be.3SG.IPFV} \\
\text{‘Happy birthday!’}
\]

Whenever someone says muburak for any occasion, the following response is also acceptable:

(13.28)  
\[
\text{ta lavdz muburak} \\
\text{2SG.N NOM word congratulations} \\
\text{‘Congratulations on your word!’}
\]

13.2.6 Greeting a traveler

To someone leaving on a journey, one may wish them safe travels by saying any of the expressions in (13.29):

(13.29)  
\[
a. \text{ spejd pond (laka tu = ri) vid} \\
\text{white road let.IPFV 2SG.N NOM = DAT be.3SG.IPFV} \\
\text{‘May there be a white road (for you)!’}
\]

\[
\text{b. ta} \\
\text{ safar laka bayɛjr swd} \\
\text{2SG.N NOM journey let.IPFV smooth become.3SG.IPFV} \\
\text{‘May your journey go smoothly!’}
\]
Routine expressions

(13.30)  *(qilo) numujd = o*

difficult seem.3SG.IPfv = Q

‘Are you having a hard time?’ (lit. Does it feel difficult?)

(13.31)  *tɯ = ri utc gurm kan = an*

2SG.NNOM = DAT very remembrance do.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv

‘We will miss you very much.’

For someone who is leaving, one may offer to see them off by saying (13.32); if anticipating someone’s arrival, one may offer to be waiting for them by saying either expression in (13.33).

(13.32)  *a = ta pa pond wej ð = am*

ACC = 2SG.NNOM loc road put.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I will see you off.’ (lit. I will put you on the road.)

(13.33)  a.  *pa pond a = ta tɕos = am*

LOC road ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I will wait for your on the road.’

b.  *ta pa prud naxtedz = am*

2SG.NNOM loc front go.up.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘I will come out to receive you.’ (lit. I will go out in front of you.)
13.2.7 Asking about someone who is sick

If someone has been sick, one may ask his family about his health by saying (13.34), or ask the sick person directly with the expression in (13.35). The response may be one of the expressions in (13.36). One may also wish a speedy recovery by saying (13.37).

(13.34) \textit{wi mudzuz cite χeji t\c{a}rds sut = o} \\
\textit{3SG.N NOM. DIST feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q} \\
‘Is he feeling a little better now?’

(13.35) \textit{ta mudzuz cite χeji t\c{a}rds sut = o} \\
\textit{2SG.N NOM feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q} \\
‘Are feeling a little better now?’

(13.36) a. \textit{wi mudzuz nowz nist} \\
\textit{3SG.N NOM. DIST feeling still NEG. be.PFV} \\
‘He is still not feeling well.’

b. \textit{wi mudzuz cite ilon be} \\
\textit{3SG.N NOM. DIST feeling now bit fine} \\
‘He is feeling a little bit better.’

c. \textit{aʔ, wi mudzuz cite χeji be/t\c{a}rds sut} \\
\textit{yes 3SG. N NOM. DIST feeling now fairly fine/good} \\
\textit{become.PFV} \\
‘Yes, he is feeling quite a bit better now.’

d. \textit{wi mudzuz-an gap nist} \\
\textit{3SG. N NOM. DIST feeling-GEN word NEG. be.PFV} \\
‘He is feeling great.’ (lit. There is nothing to say about how he is feeling.)

(13.37) \textit{jʊ laka pur dər dam sozd, dzald} \\
\textit{3SG.NOM. DIST let. PFV much CPRV rest get.3SG.PFV fast} \\
\textit{der soq səwd} \\
\textit{CPRV well become.3SG.PFV} \\
‘May he get much rest and feel better soon.’
13.3 Expressing gratitude

A proper expression of gratitude for someone who has done something good is essential in Sarikoli culture. Gratitude may be expressed by thanking people directly, as with the expressions in (13.38), or stating how much trouble one has placed on the addressee, with the expressions in (13.39). An expression of gratitude may be followed by expressions of blessing and well-wishes for the addressee, as in (13.40).

(13.38) a. $\text{rahmat} \ (\text{tu} = \text{ri})$
   thanks $2\text{SG.N NOM} = \text{DAT}$
   ‘Thanks (to you).’

   b. $\text{taçakur} \ (\text{tu} = \text{ri})$
   thanks $2\text{SG.N NOM} = \text{DAT}$
   ‘Thanks (to you).’

   c. $\text{tu} = \text{ri} \quad \text{uutc} \quad \text{rahmat}$
   $2\text{SG.N NOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{thanks}$
   ‘Thank you very much.’

   d. $\text{hazur} \quad \text{bur} \quad \text{taçakur}$
   thousand times thanks
   ‘A thousand times thank you.’

(13.39) a. $\text{alukat} = \text{am} \quad \text{tamaç} = \text{ir} \quad \text{wɛðd}$
   trouble $1\text{SG.PFV} \quad 2\text{PL.N NOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{put.PFV}$
   ‘I have placed trouble on you.’

   b. $\text{awuro} = \text{am} \quad \text{a} = \text{tamaç} \quad \text{tɕəwɡ}$
   bother $1\text{SG.PFV} \quad \text{ACC} = 2\text{PL.N NOM} \quad \text{do.PFV}$
   ‘I have bothered you.’

(13.40) $\text{salomat} \quad \text{vow} = \text{it.} \quad \text{χupdoj} \ (\text{laka}) \quad \text{tamaç} = \text{ir}$
   healthy $\text{be.PFV} = 2\text{PL.IPFV} \quad \text{God} \quad \text{let.PFV} \quad 2\text{PL.N NOM} = \text{DAT}$

   $\text{barakat} \quad \text{bidi}$
   blessing $\text{give.3SG.PFV}$
   ‘Stay healthy. May God bless you(pl).’

The following are common responses that are given to an expression of gratitude:
(13.41) a. **rahmat tsejz**
   thanks what
   ‘What do you mean by “thank you”?’

   b. **wi rang mo lev**
   3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV
   ‘Do not talk like that.’

   c. **hitɕ gap nist**
   none word NEG.be.IPFV
   ‘It is nothing.’ (lit. It is not any word.)

   d. **naj, rahmat mu ri  lev lɛvd luzim**
   NEG thanks 1SG.NNOM = DAT say.INF necessary
   **nist**
   NEG.be.IPFV
   ‘No, it is not necessary to thank me.’

   e. **rahmat mo lev, jad mu**
   thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM
   **tɕeig = ir tegic tɕer**
   do.INF = DAT should work
   ‘Do not thank me, this is my responsibility.’ (lit. Do not say thank you, this is something that I should do.)

A special word is used to express gratitude to God: **ɕɯkri**, which came from Arabic through Persian. This is commonly said when good things are happening; for example, (13.22b) is a response to a greeting when the speaker feels there is much to be thankful for.

### 13.4 Apologizing and forgiving

When one has wronged somebody and would like to make an apology, the most common way is to say (13.42a); (13.42b) & (13.42c), which are less common, are also used for seeking forgiveness. When begging someone for mercy, the expression in (13.42d) is used. In response, the person who is granting forgiveness might say one of the expressions in (13.43).
13.5 Expressing grief and sympathy

When one is dealing with great sadness, one’s feelings may be expressed by saying (13.44):

(13.44) \[ \text{mu} \quad \text{zord} \quad \text{utc} \quad \text{nejm} \]
\[ 1SG.NNOM \quad \text{heart} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{half} \]
‘I am very sad.’ (lit. My heart is very half.)

If someone is grieving the death of a family member, people with close relationships with that person will communicate messages of sympathy. The expressions in (13.45) are used to comfort people who are grieving. (13.45b)
is a reminder that all people die, and there is nothing that can be done about it. (13.45c) is an offer to replace the relationship that the griever has lost.

(13.45)  a. χɯ zord utɕ nejm mo ka
REFL.NOM heart very half PROH do.IPfv
‘Do not be too sad.’ (lit. Do not make your heart too half.)

b. insun levdʑ =ɛndʑ ki=wi rang
mankind say.PRf = REL CATA = 3SG.Nom.Dist SEMB
‘That is what mankind is like.’

c. waz ta jax so=am
1SG.Nom 2SG.Nom sister become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will be your sister.’

13.6 Requesting and providing help

When help is needed, people will usually state their request for help directly:

(13.46) mɯ=ri jordam ka=o
1SG.Nom = Dat help do.IPfv = Q
‘Will you help me?’

If someone is happy to provide help, there are many ways to communicate one’s willingness and availability. The following are some expressions that may be used to make the addressee feel welcome to one’s assistance.

(13.47)  a. albatta sawd, tsejzir na sawd
of course become.3SG.IPfv why NEG become.3SG.IPfv
‘Of course it is okay, why wouldn’t it be?’

b. waz tu=ri jordam tɕejɡ = ir utɕ
1SG.Nom 2SG.Nom = Dat help do.INF = Dat very

χɯɕ happy
‘I am very happy to help you.’
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c. \(tu = ri\) jordam \(tejg = ir\) was har
2SG.NNOM = DAT help do.INF = DAT 1SG.NOM every

\(wa\dot{\chi}t\) tajur
time ready

‘I am always ready to help you.’

d. \(uz\) swol vid tsa az mu
again question be.3SG.IPFW COND ABL 1SG.NNOM

pars
ask.IPFW

‘If have a question again, ask me.’

e. \(uz\) tu = ri i tsiz luzim tsa
again 2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing necessary COND

\(swd\) mu \(\chi ejz\) jo\(d\)
become.3SG.IPFW 1SG.NNOM side come.IPFW

‘If you need something again, come over.’

f. ta-an har wa\(\dot{\chi}t\) mac dzuj
2SG.NNOM-GEN every time 1PL.NNOM place

\(jct = ir\) \(\chi u\dot{\chi} - i\) ka = an
come.INF = DAT happy-ADV do.IPFW = 1PL.IPFW

‘We are always happy for you to come to our place.’

13.7 Telling time and date

Telling time is a basic communicative activity that occurs numerous times throughout the day. Usually, this involves the word \(suat\) ‘hour, clock’ and cardinal numbers. (13.48a) is how one inquires what time it is, and (13.48b) - (13.48d) are examples of possible responses.

(13.48) a. \(suat\) tsund sut
hour how.much become.PFV

‘What time is it?’
b. \textit{az δes si at pindz (sut)}
\begin{tabular}{l}
A\text{BL} \text{ten} thirty \text{CONJ} five \text{become}\text{.PFV} \\
\end{tabular}
\’(It is) 10:35.’ (lit. (It has become) thirty-five minutes since ten.)

c. \textit{haroj at nejm (sut)}
\begin{tabular}{l}
three \text{CONJ} half \text{become}\text{.PFV} \\
\end{tabular}
\’(It is) 3:30.’ (lit. (It has become) three and a half.)

d. \textit{δes a δa=ri pindz rejd}
\begin{tabular}{l}
ten \text{CONJ} two=\text{DAT} five \text{remain}\text{.PFV} \\
\end{tabular}
\’It is 11:55.’ (lit. There are five minutes remaining until twelve.)

To enquire about or discuss an activity that will occur at a certain time, the locative function marker \textit{tɕi} is added, and the word \textit{suat} may be omitted, as in the following examples:

(13.49) a. \textit{tamaɕ (suat) tɕi tsund xufs=it}
\begin{tabular}{l}
2\text{PL}.\text{NOM} hour \text{LOC} how.much sleep.\text{IPFV}=2\text{PL}.\text{IPFV} \\
\end{tabular}
\’What time are you(pl) going to sleep?’

b. \textit{mac (suat) tɕi nəw xufs=an}
\begin{tabular}{l}
1\text{PL}.\text{NOM} hour \text{LOC} nine sleep.\text{IPFV}=1\text{PL}.\text{IPFV} \\
\end{tabular}
\’We will go to sleep at nine o’clock.’

(13.50a) is how one may ask which day of the week it is, followed by an example of a possible response, and (13.51a) is how to ask which day of the month it is, followed by an example of a possible response.

(13.50) a. \textit{nur afto=ri tsejz}
\begin{tabular}{l}
today week=\text{DAT} what \\
\end{tabular}
\’What day of the week is it today?’

b. \textit{nur tɕorɕanbe}
\begin{tabular}{l}
today Wednesday \\
\end{tabular}
\’Today is Wednesday’

(13.51) a. \textit{nur most az tsund}
\begin{tabular}{l}
today moon A\text{BL} how.much \\
\end{tabular}
\’What day of the month is it today?’
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b. *nuur* most *az* wist
   today moon ABL twenty
   ‘Today is the twentieth.’

13.8 Expressing physical and emotional states

This section deals with how one’s physical and emotional states and desires may be expressed. Below are expressions commonly used for conveying physical states such as: feeling cold or warm (13.52), feeling hungry or satiated (13.53), feeling tired (13.54), feeling sleepy or being unable to sleep when it is nighttime (13.55), and having to go to the bathroom (13.56). People say (13.56) because most village homes do not have outhouses, but even in places with outhouses or modern toilets, it is considered polite to use the expression in (13.56). However, the expression in (13.56) is ambiguous, since it may also be used literally if the speaker is going outside the house for another purpose.

(13.52) a. *ic = am* tɔwɡ
cold = 1SG.PVF do.PVF
   ‘I am cold.’ (lit. I did cold.)

b. *zɯrm = am* sut
   warm = 1SG.PVF become.PVF
   ‘I am warm.’ (lit. I became warm.)

(13.53) a. *mu* qɛtɕ marzungz sut
   1SG.NNOM stomach hungry become.PVF
   ‘I am hungry.’

b. *mu* qɛtɕ sejr sut
   1SG.NNOM stomach satiated become.PVF
   ‘I am satiated.’

(13.54) *aluk = am* sut
tired = 1SG.PVF become.PVF
   ‘I am tired.’

(13.55) a. *mu* χuðm = ik jɔdə
   1SG.NNOM dream = DUR come.3SG.IPVF
   ‘I am getting sleepy.’ (lit. My dream is coming.)
b. \( \text{mu} \; \chi \mu \text{dm} = \text{ik} \; \text{na} \; j \text{od} \text{d} \)

\( \text{1SG.N NOM} \; \text{dream} = \text{DUR} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{come.3SG.IPVF} \)

‘I am unable to fall sleep.’ (lit. My dream is not coming.)

(13.56) \( \text{wa} \text{z} \; \text{tar} \; \text{vat} \text{c} \; \text{so} = \text{am} \)

\( \text{1SG.N NOM} \; \text{LOC} \; \text{outside} \; \text{become.IPVF} = \text{1SG.IPVF} \)

‘I am going outside.’

Some expressions are frequently used for communicating emotional or mental situations, such as: fear (13.57), surprise (13.58), trust or belief (13.59), fondness (13.60), and readiness (13.61). (13.61) may be used for physical, emotional, or mental readiness.

(13.57) a. \( \text{ut} \text{c} \; \text{xudz} = \text{am} \; \text{do} \text{wg} \)

\( \text{very} \; \text{fear} = \text{1SG.PVF} \; \text{fear.IPVF} \)

‘I am very scared.’

b. \( \text{xudz} \; \text{na} \; \text{dor} = \text{am} \)

\( \text{fear} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{fear.IPVF} = \text{1SG.IPVF} \)

‘I will (not) be scared.’

(13.58) \( \text{he} \text{rj} \text{un} = \text{am} \; \text{re} \text{jd} \)

\( \text{surprise} = \text{1SG.PVF} \; \text{remain.PVF} \)

‘I am surprised.’

(13.59) a. \( \text{pa} \; \text{ta} \; \text{i} \text{candz} \; \text{na} \; \text{ka} = \text{am} \)

\( \text{LOC} \; \text{2SG.N NOM} \; \text{trust} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{do.IPVF} = \text{1SG.IPVF} \)

‘I (do not) trust/believe you.’

b. \( \text{mu} \; \text{i} \text{candz} = \text{ik} \; \text{na} \; j \text{od} \text{d} \)

\( \text{1SG.N NOM} \; \text{trust} = \text{DUR} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{come.3SG.IPVF} \)

‘I cannot believe it!’

(13.60) a. \( \chi \mu \text{c} \; \text{tu} = \text{ri} \; \text{sut} = \text{o} \)

\( \text{happy} \; \text{2SG.N NOM} = \text{DAT} \; \text{become.PVF} = \text{Q} \)

‘Have you come to like it?’ (lit. Has it become pleasing to you?)

b. \( \text{m} \text{o} \text{n} \; \text{mu} = \text{ri} \; \chi \mu \text{c} \; \text{nist} \)

\( \text{apply} \; \text{1SG.N NOM} = \text{DAT} \; \text{happy} \; \text{NEG.be.IPVF} \)

‘I (do not) like apples.’ (lit. Apples are (not) pleasing to me.)
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c. *jad mu=ri uɾe χuɾ*

3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM =DAT very happy

'I like this very much.'

d. *jad mu=ri χub χuɾ nist*

3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM =DAT very happy NEG.be.IPfv

'I don’t really like this. (i.e. I am not particularly fond of this.)'

(13.61) *tajur=am sut*

ready = 1SG.PFV become.PFV

'I am ready.'

It is common to ask about the desires of others, as in (13.62), as well as expressing one’s own, as in (13.63):

(13.62) a. *ta dil tsejz χiɡ*

2SG.NOM heart what eat.INF

'What do you want to eat?'

b. *ta dil tsejz zoxt*

2SG.NOM heart what get.INF

'What do you want to buy?'

c. *ta dil tsejz wand*

2SG.NOM heart what see.INF

'What do you want to see?'

(13.63) a. *mu dil varɕide uɾe tid*

1SG.NOM heart Varshide very go.INF

'I really want to go to Varshide.'

b. *mu dil a=wi uɾe wazond*

1SG.NOM heart ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST very know.INF

'I really want to know him/her/it.'

Desires, emotions, or physical conditions are also often expressed as ‘coming’ or ‘not coming’, as in the examples in (13.64).

(13.64) a. *mu χiɡ jot*

1SG.NOM eat.INF come.PFV

'I want to eat. (i.e. I feel like eating.)' (lit. My eating came.)
b. *mu parst jot*
   1SG.N NOM ask.INF come.PFV
   'I want to ask. (i.e. I am curious.)' (lit. My asking came.)

c. *mu xudz jot*
   1SG.N NOM fear come.PFV
   'I am scared.' (lit. My fear came.)

d. *mu qor jot*
   1SG.N NOM anger come.PFV
   'I am angry.' (lit. My anger came.)

e. *mu razab jot*
   1SG.N NOM fury come.PFV
   'I am furious.' (lit. My fury came.)

f. *mu mejz jot*
   1SG.N NOM urine come.PFV
   'I need to urinate.' (lit. My urine came.)

g. *mu qej jot*
   1SG.N NOM vomit come.PFV
   'I am going to vomit.' (lit. My vomit came.)

h. *mu χudm jot*
   1SG.N NOM dream come.PFV
   'I am sleepy.' (lit. My dream came.)

i. *mu χudm = ik na jodd*
   1SG.N NOM dream = DUR NEG come.3SG.IPV
   'I am unable to fall asleep.' (lit. My dream is not coming.)

j. *mu ram tsı wi jot*
   1SG.N NOM mercy LOC 3SG.N NOM.DIST come.PFV
   'I feel sorry for her.' (lit. My mercy came upon her.)

13.9 Expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction

When expressing confusion, unacceptance, or dissatisfaction, the temporal conjunction *χu* is often added at the end of the clause:
(13.65) a.  
\[ \text{uz asal} = \text{ir} \quad \text{do} = \text{o}, \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{inder} \]
\[ \text{sad} \quad \text{kaj} \quad \text{jost} \quad \text{χw} \]
\[ \text{hundred Chinese yuan} \quad \text{be.IPFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \]
‘Are you giving more to Asal? She already has a hundred yuan!’

b.  
\[ \text{ar sal} \quad \text{des} \quad \text{kalo} \quad \text{vud} \quad \text{χw}, \quad \text{now} \quad \text{tar} \]
\[ \text{LOC} \quad \text{stable} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{sheep} \quad \text{be.IPFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{nine} \quad \text{LOC} \]
\[ \text{ko} \]
\[ \text{where.NNOM} \]
‘Were there not ten sheep in the stable? Where did the other nine go?’

c.  
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{pul} = \text{am} \quad \text{tu} = \text{ri} \quad \text{dud} \]
\[ \text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{money} = \text{1SG.IPFV} \quad \text{2SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{give.IPFV} \]
\[ \text{χw}, \quad \text{uz} \quad \text{tsejz} \quad \text{luzim} \]
\[ \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{necessary} \]
‘I already gave you your money, what do you need now?’

d.  
\[ \text{jad} \quad \text{tag} \quad \text{tsejz} \quad \text{xipik} \quad \text{vid}, \quad \text{mač} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{ever} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{flatbread} \quad \text{be.3SG.IPFV} \quad \text{1PL.NOM} \]
\[ \text{di} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{xipik} \quad \text{tsejg} = \text{tėuz} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad \text{flatbread} \quad \text{do.INF} = \text{REL} \]
\[ \text{nist} \quad \text{χu} \]
\[ \text{NEG.be.IPFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \]
‘Whatever sort of flatbread is this? We do not make this kind of flatbread.’

e.  
\[ \text{hej} \quad \text{puts}, \quad \text{tw} = \text{at} \quad \text{hajutgi} \quad \text{waχt} \]
\[ \text{VOC} \quad \text{son} \quad \text{2SG.NOM} = \text{2SG.IPFV} \quad \text{life} \quad \text{time} \]
\[ \text{a} = \text{ruwatgi} \quad \text{taxo} \quad \text{wand} \quad \text{χu}, \quad \text{dzasawul} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = \text{enjoyment} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{see.IPFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{Jasaweel} \]
\[ \text{pur} \quad \text{drafu} \quad \text{tisad} \]
\[ \text{much} \quad \text{toil} \quad \text{pull.IPFV} \]
‘Hey son, have you not seen a lot of enjoyment in your life? Jasaweel has seen much toil.’
13.10 Common expressions in conversation

Some fixed phrases frequently occur in everyday conversation as indicators of cooperative intent, agreement, and segues. When someone says something that seems incredible or difficult to believe, one may respond with either expression in (13.66). When someone asks whether a situation is a certain way and one is fairly sure about its validity, one would say (13.67). To express agreement for opinions articulated by another speaker in the conversation, one could use either expression in (13.68).

(13.66)  a.  \textit{rust} = o \\
         true = Q \\
         ‘Really?’

b.  \textit{naj} = o \quad ku \\
     NEG = Q \quad SUP \\
     ‘No way!’

(13.67)  \\
\textit{k} = dos = o \quad ku \\
ANA = manner = Q \quad SUP \\
‘It is so, I think.’

(13.68)  a.  \textit{ki} = (gap) \\
     ANA = word \\
     ‘That is what I mean.’ (lit. That word.)

b.  \textit{rust} = at \quad levdz \\
     true = 2SG.PFV \quad say.PFV \\
     ‘That is true.’ (lit. You said the truth.)
To change the conversation topic or disclose something that has just come to mind, one may start a sentence with the word rust 'true' with the emphasis marker =aθ, as in (13.69).

(13.69) \[ \text{a rust}=\text{aθ tilfon}=\text{at} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri} \]
\[
\text{INTJ true}=\text{EMP phone}=\text{2SG.PFV} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM}=\text{DAT}
\]
\[ \text{zuxt}=\text{o} \]
\[ \text{get.PFV}=\text{Q} \]
‘Oh, right, did you buy a phone for me?’

If the speaker has forgotten what she was planning to say and is trying to remember it, she will often say (13.70).

(13.70) \[ \text{tsejz}=\text{am levd}=\text{ir vud} \]
\[
\text{what}=\text{1SG.PFV say.INF}=\text{DAT be.PFV}
\]
‘What was I going to say?’

Prior to sharing an honest opinion, the speaker will often say (13.71).

(13.71) \[ \text{rust gap} \quad \text{tu}=\text{ri} \quad \text{ka}=\text{am}=\text{o} \]
\[
\text{true word 2SG.NNOM}=\text{DAT do.IPV}=\text{1SG.IPV}=\text{Q}
\]
‘Shall I tell you the truth?’

After making a suggestion, it is common for the speaker to ask about others’ opinions by saying (13.72).

(13.72) a. \[ \text{tsarang}=\text{am levd} \]
\[
\text{how}=\text{1SG.PFV say.PFV}
\]
‘How did I say it?’

b. \[ \text{tsarang lev} \]
\[
\text{how say.PFV}
\]
‘What do you think?’ (lit. Say how it is.)

In order to express that the decision is up to the addressee, it is common to use the expressions in (13.73).

(13.73) a. \[ \text{ta dil} \]
\[
\text{2SG.NNOM heart}
\]
‘Do whatever you want.’ (lit. Your heart.)
If someone is concerned about something and one would like to calm her worries, one may use either expression in (13.74).

(13.74) a. \textit{χoτiɾdʑam vəw}  \textit{worry.free be.IPFV}
   ‘Set your mind at rest (i.e. Rest assured).’

b. \textit{(az wi) wam mo ka}  \textit{ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST worry PROH do.IPFV}
   ‘Don’t worry (about that).’

13.11 Dealing with the unknown or uncertain

People frequently talk about things they do not know, or do not know for certain. When people are unaware of what has happened, they often ask (13.75). If someone asks a question and the addressee also does not know the answer, a common response is (13.76). If one cannot think of a solution to a problem, the expression in (13.77) may be used. When one has just made a statement but is not completely sure about its validity, one may add the expression in (13.78) as a tag to that statement.

(13.75) \textit{tsaɾa sut}  \textit{how become.PFV}
   ‘What happened?’

(13.76) \textit{tɕoj wazond}  \textit{who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV}
   ‘Who knows?’

(13.77) \textit{tsaɾa kan=an}  \textit{how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV}
   ‘What shall we do?’

(13.78) \textit{...nej, fand = ik do = am}  \textit{NEG false = DUR give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV}
   ‘... Or, am I lying?’
When asked about what one will do about a situation that will happen in the future, one might say (13.79) if one has not decided yet or wishes to withhold that information.

(13.79)  awul = ir   tjoas = am
situation = DAT   watch.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘We will see.’ (lit. I will watch the situation.)

When talking about a plan or prediction in the future, people will frequently add the expression in (13.80) at the beginning of the sentence, to communicate their belief that God’s help and intervention is necessary for any expected situation to occur smoothly.

(13.80)  χuɗoj  tindo-i  tsa  kaxt...
God   peaceful-ADV   COND   do.3SG.IPVF
‘If God is peaceful unto us...’ (lit. If God does peacefully...)

13.12 Language learning

Certain expressions are frequently used when learning a language. Language learning is a common activity for Sarikoli people, as they live in a multilingual context and have exposure to various languages. (13.81a) is used for learning how to say words and phrases in another language, (13.81b) & (13.81c) are used for learning the meaning of words and phrases, and (13.81d) may be used when help is needed with translating between two languages.

(13.81)  a.  ingles  tei  ziv  rahmat = ir  tsejz
English   LOC   tongue   thanks = DAT   what

lev = in
say.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF
‘How do they say “thank you” in English?’

b.  awlud-an  wi  mani  tsejz
descendant-GEN   3SG.NNOM.DIST   meaning   what
‘What is the meaning of awlud?’

c.  awlud  levdz = endz  tsejz
descendant   say.PRF = REL   what
‘What does awlud mean?’
When trying to determine whether two words have the same meaning, or what their difference is, one may ask (13.82a) or (13.82b), respectively.

(13.82) a. \( \text{ɕitɕ} \) now \( \text{uzir} \) i \( \text{mani}=o \)  
now CONJ now one meaning = Q  
‘Do \( \text{ɕitɕ} \) and \( \text{uzir} \) have one meaning (i.e. the same meaning)?’

b. \( \text{ɕitɕ} \) now \( \text{uzir-an} \) wi farq tsejz  
now CONJ now-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST difference what  
‘What is the difference between \( \text{ɕitɕ} \) and \( \text{uzir} \)?’

To confirm linguistic accuracy, one may ask the questions in (13.83). In (13.83b) & (13.83c), the cataphoric demonstrative clitic \( m= \) is used if the question precedes the linguistic data, and the anaphoric demonstrative clitic \( k= \) is used if the question follows it.

(13.83) a. \( \text{durust}=am \) lev= o  
whole = 1SG.PFV say.PFV = Q  
‘Did I say it correctly?’

b. \( m=\text{dos} \) / \( k=\text{dos} \) lev= am tsa  
CATA = manner / ANA = manner say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv COND  
\( \text{durust}=o \) whole = Q  
‘Is it correct if I say it this/that way?’

c. \( m=\text{dos} \) / \( k=\text{dos} \) lev= am tsa  
CATA = manner / ANA = manner say.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv COND  
\( \text{durust} \) nist= o whole NEG.be.IPfv = Q  
‘Is it not correct if I say it this/that way?’
If one did not understand what the other person said, or need him to repeat what he said, the expressions in (13.84) may be used.

(13.84)  a. $ta\ gaps = am\ na\ famd$

$2SG.NNOM \ word = 1SG.PFV \ NEG \ understand.PFV$

‘I didn’t understand your words.’

b. $uz\ az\ kol\ i\ lrv = o$

$again \ ABL \ head \ one \ say.IPfv = Q$

‘Will you say it again from the beginning?’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
Appendix A

Texts

A.1 ‘A Tajik woman’s work’ (cultural account)

\textit{tudzık əwrat = an wi tɕer}

A description of the tasks that Sarikoli women commonly do around the family home.

1 \textit{maɕ tudzık əwrat-an tɕer puɾ}

1PL.NOM Tajik woman-GEN work much

‘We Tajik women have a lot of work.’

2 \textit{maslan maɕ ʑəw δəwdz = an}

for.example 1PL.NOM cow milk.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘For example, we milk the cow.’

3 \textit{saw ʃeɾ \=an}

churning.bucket churn.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We churn the churning bucket.’

4 \textit{swrmutə ʃeɾ = an}

soured.milk put.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We put in the soured milk.’

5 \textit{xipik \=an pedz = an}

flatbread cook.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We bake flatbread.’

6 \textit{rak inəɾ = an}

side sew.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We embroider the sides (of traditional hats).’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

7
balax instov = an
pillow sew.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We sew pillows.'

8
xavung kan = an
blanket do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We make blankets.'

9
eroja kan = an
mat do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We make mats.'

10
tced zdor = an
house sweep.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We sweep the house.'

11
tamoq kan = an
food do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We make food.'

12
qatoqutw znej = an
dishes wash.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We wash the dishes.'

13
xats vor = an
water bring.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'We fetch water.'

14
tom m = dos dzejn kan = an
then CATA = manner matted.carpet do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
'Then we make, like, matted carpets.'

15
levdʑ = endʑ rang lej tec jost
say.PRF = REL SEMP much work be.IPV
'As I said, there is a lot of work.'

A.2 ‘Naming Tajik children – One man’s experience’
(cultural account)

batɕo = ri num ďod
A description of naming Sarikoli children based on one man’s knowledge and experience.
When Tajiks get a child, they name their child.

They name their child like this: they give the name of their ancestors.

If I marry off my son and he gets a child, if I am alive, I will give the child my father and my mother’s name.

That is the Tajik tradition.

If you get a son and his father dies without marrying off his son, when that son later gets a son, he will give his father’s name to his son.
6  mɯ-an haroj bat-so
1SG.NOM-GEN three child
'I have three children.'

7  awal = aθ puts sut
first = EMP son become.PFV
'First, I got a son.'

8  m-oto num ðudʑ = endʑ
1SG.NOM-father name give.PFV = REL
'My father's name had been given already.'

9  puts mɯ-an sut χɯ puts = ir = am
son 1SG.NOM-GEN become.PFV REFL.NOM son = DAT = 1SG.PFV
'I got a son, and I (gave) my son...'

10  mɯ mɯ-an
1SG.NOM 1SG.NOM-GEN
'I got a son.'

11  dzuma tudʑik milat uʨ uʨ是可以 wazond
Friday Tajik nationality very great day know.3SG.PFV
'Tajiks regard Friday as a very special day.'

12  wi num = am ðud dzamolidin
3SG.NOM.DIST name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV Jamolidin
'I gave him the name “Jamolidin” (beauty + the + religion).'

13  tom wi az sabudʑ mɯ-an i radʑen sut
then 3SG.NOM.DIST ABL back 1SG.NOM-GEN one daughter become.PFV
'Then after that, I got a daughter.'

14  jɯ radʑen = ir = am az ktub num ðud
3SG.NOM.DIST daughter = DAT = 1SG.PFV ABL book name give.PFV
'I gave that daughter a name from the book.'

15  m = dos tɕuxt = am tɕardʑ num teidum vid
CATA = manner watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV good name which be.3SG.PFV
'Like, I looked to see which name is good.'

16  farzana levl num = am ðud
Farzana say.INF name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV
'I gave her the name “Farzana”.'
A.3 ‘Sheaungeenbahor (Coming of Spring) Festival’ (cultural account)

Some cultural information about the celebration of the major traditional festival for the Sarikoli people.

1

tom bur tamaɕ=ir nəwrɯz jani sarikuj ɕəwɡɯnbahor
then then 2PL.N NOM=DAT Neaureez also.known.as Sarikoli Sheaugeenbahor

avon lɛv=am
BEN say.IPV = 1SG.IPVFV

‘Then I will tell you about Neaureez, also known as Sarikoli Sheaugeenbahor.’

2

jad ɕəwɡɯnbahor jani nəwrɯz pɯtɯn orion
3SG.NOM.PROX Sheaugeenbahor also.known.as Neaureez all Aryan

milat ar darun nəwrɯz a=di lɛv=an
nationality LOC inside Neaureez ACC=3SG.NOM.PROX say.IPV = 1PL.IPVFV

‘This Sheaugeenbahor, also known as Neaureez, is called “Neaureez” by all Aryan people groups.’
Among the Sarikoli people, we call it Sheaugeenbahor,'
‘Sheaugeenbahor is the most relaxing and enjoyable among the festivals.’

‘Within it, it is not too strict, not too whatnot.’

‘If you ask why, it is because this is a festival of nature.’

‘We call it and regard it as a festival of humankind.’

‘This is just a festival that gives life to organisms.’

‘For example, night and day have become equal,’

‘or it is the first of Spring.’

‘On the Iranian calendar, we say this is the new year, the new month, and the new day.’
‘Even when we pray on that day,’

‘we say, “Blessed new year, new month, and new day”.’

‘Therefore that day is the first of the year, the first of the month, and the first of the day.’

‘So we regard that day as the greatest,’

‘regard it as the most important,’

‘and celebrate it with the most happiness.’

‘Perhaps in the world there are many different ways to celebrate it,’

‘but the Sarikoli customs for celebrating it are their own.’
Compared to others, the history of the Sarikoli culture is very old.

If you ask why, it is because in every region the clan members come on Neaureez day.

'You know how you saw thick bread just now? Just like those.'

In the morning, they sprinkle celebratory flour on the shoulder of every person who enter that house.
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

378

But every person who enters that house must come with a plant in his hand.'

Nowadays most people do not know this and even do not do it.'

'He brings that plant, leaves it at the house, and enters.'

'Even when he enters, he says, “Blessed Sheaugeenbahor” and enters.'

'What is the meaning of the plant?'

'If I say it, it is life.'
40  
zunga_
life
‘Being alive.’
41  
i  hajutgi  sarmalu  sut  k=pa  di  tɛɛd  dɛɛd
one  life  begin  become.PFV  ANA=LOC  3SG.NNOM.PROX  house  enter.PFV
‘One life has begun, and has entered this house.’
42  
muburak
blessing
‘Congratulations.’
43  
zimistun  aду  sut
winter  finish  become.PFV
‘Winter has ended.’
44  
tang-i  aду  sut
difficult-NMLZ  finish  become.PFV
‘Hardship has ended.’
45  
cite  di  3SG.NNOM.PROX  loc  now
3SG.NNOM.PROX  here  enjoy-NMLZ  come.3SG.IPFV  say.PRF=REL

i  iltidʑu  qati  savɗzɔ  ɔu  tsi  δust  zɔzd  k=pa
one  prayer  COM  plant  REFL.NNOM  LOC  hand  take.3SG.IPFV  ANA=LOC

di  tɛɛd  dɛɛd
3SG.NNOM.PROX  house  enter.3SG.IPFV
‘With the prayer that “from now on enjoyment will come”, they bring a plant in their hand and enter that house.’
46  
cite  ki  di  nowru-an  sarikuj  ar  darun  awal=aθ
now  ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX  Neaureez-GEN  Sarikoli  LOC  inside  first=EMP

di  tajur  tsaranɡ  ka=an  tsa
3SG.NNOM.PROX  preparation  how  do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV  COND

lev=an
say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘Now if we tell how Sarikoli people first prepare for Neaureez,’
47  
tɬɯsɬum  awal  mɛɬ  ɔu  tɛɛd  ɔu  rɛd
must  first  1PL.NOM  REFL.NNOM  house  REFL.NNOM  backyard
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

380 sandawand-ɛf awal-in maθ pukzo ka=an
surroundings-PL.NNOM first-ADJ day clean do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
‘We must first clean around the house and the backyard on the first day of Sheaugeenbahor.’

48 di = ri maxsus ki = di tacr uz i
3SG.NNOM.PROX = DAT specially for ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work again one

ulis ar darun joki i qolumqueni ar darun i ewgun
clan LOC inside one neighborhood LOC inside one Sheaugeeni

levdz = ends χalg tisd
say.PRF = REL person go.3SG.IPFV
‘One person from the clan or from the neighborhood, called “Sheaugeeni”, goes especially for this purpose.’

49 ju ki = wi χalg-ɛf pa tced dsam
3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM LOC house all

m = k = dund-i igin-i baumoq vdir patawd
CATA = ANA = AMT-NMLZ one.by.one-ADV CL broom throw.3SG.IPFV
‘He throws one broom of this size to each of those people’s homes.’

50 tom k = a = wi vdir tar jowl = aθ iw tɕi rezn
then ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST broom LOC dawn = EMP one LOC skylight

dwo=in iw tɕi dver dwo=in
bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV one LOC door bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘Then in the morning, they bring that broom in through the skylight, and then through the door.’

51 k = dos lev = in tɕi rezn tsejz
ANA = manner say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV LOC skylight what
‘They say what through the skylight?’

52 quit at barakat
luck CONJ blessing
‘Luck and blessing.’

53 tɕi dver bayt at dowlat deød lev = an
LOC door happiness CONJ estate enter.3SG.IPFV say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
‘Through the door, we say happiness and estate enter.’

54 a = di vdir dwo=in
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX broom bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘They bring in this broom,’
55
\[\text{tom } k = a = \text{wi} \quad \text{ted pet teader} \quad \text{do} = \text{in} \]
then \( \text{ANA} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NOM.DIST} \) house all cleaning give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

\[\text{pakzo } \text{ka} = \text{in} \]
clean do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘then they clean the house completely.’

56
\[\text{a} = \text{wi} \quad \text{ki} = \text{wi-an} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{budzein} \]
ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NOM.DIST garbage

\[\text{mas or } \text{cher nalist sar patow} = \text{in} \]
also LOC sun sit.INF side throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘They throw away the garbage from that towards the west.’

57
\[\text{hargiz } \text{cher or pets uz a} = \text{wi} \quad \text{na patow} = \text{in} \]
ever sun LOC face again ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST NEG throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘They never throw it towards the sun.’

58
\[\text{ar } \text{cher tsa} = \text{cher sar patowd na sowd} \]
LOC sun rise side throw.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
‘One cannot throw it towards the east.’

59
\[\text{di ejd puganalogi mas dzam imi} = \text{ri} \quad \text{mubarak} \]
3SG.NOM.PROX festival next.day also all RECP = DAT blessing

\[\text{cowgumbahor joki mubarak-i nwnuz olam lsv} = \text{in} \]
Sheauguaynehor or blessing-NMLZ Neaureez all.people say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
‘The day after the festival, they also say to each other, “Blessed Sheauggagehohor” or “Blessed Neaureez to all”.’

60
\[\text{jad mac sarikuj-an } \text{cak} \quad \text{wasond its} \]
3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NOM Sarikoli-GEN person know.3SG.IPFV TERM

\[\text{jad faq} \quad \text{cak sarikuj-an joki orion-an naj putun dzn} \]
3SG.NOM.PROX only Sarikoli-GEN or Aryan-GEN NEG all life

\[\text{dznwar-an wi } \text{cak-i tceji} = \text{itcuz fasil} \]
creature-GEN 3SG.NOM.DIST happy-NMLZ do.INF = REL season
‘As far as we Sarikoli people know, this is not only for Sarikoli or Aryan people, but is a season which creates happiness for all creatures,’

61
\[\text{putun dzaun tar ubud} = \text{i} \quad \text{jet} = \text{itcuz fasil} \]
all world LOC flourishing-NMLZ come.INF = REL season
‘a season in which all the world flourishes.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

62  kawzi di = ri       vɛdʑ = ɛndʑ maɕ-an aqida uʨ
so 3SG.NOM.PROX = DAT be.PR = REL 1PL.NOM-GEN earnestness very

kuts-in
strength-ADJ

‘That is why our earnestness for this festival is very strong.’

63  iw jad       arkin uʨ
one 3SG.NOM.PROX free very

‘First, it is very free.’

64  ar di       tsarang ɣɯs-i       tsa       ka       tsarang
LOC 3SG.NOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPV how

narsamb tsa set = itsuʃ  ejd
celebrate.IPV COND become.INF = REL festival

‘This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.’

65  lekin maɕ-an       az       digaru       bax-i       tɕuqum  ki = wi
but 1PL.NOM-GEN ABL others much-NMLZ must  ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST

bijur = aθ = ik ɣɯ tɕed tɕader  duʃ
evening = EMP = DUR REFL.NOM house cleaning give.PFV

‘But compared to others, we have something additional, in that, after cleaning
one’s house that evening,’

66  tɕed pa       darun       putun       putuk
house LOC inside all celebratory.flour give.IPV = 3PL.IPV
‘they sprinkle celebratory flour all over the house.’

67  uzir cite maɕ tɕed-ɛf putuk duʃz na
NOW NOW 1PL.NOM house-PL.NOM celebratory.flour give.PFV NEG

swd
become.3SG.IPV

‘Nowadays we cannot sprinkle celebratory flour in our house.’

68  tsɛʃir levd waʃt mi = di
why say.INF time CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX SEMP white

a = di  tɕɔwɔɾdʑ = ɛndʑ
ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX do.PR = REL

‘If you ask why, it is because the houses are made white, like this.’
Originally, we used to sprinkle flour all over the house.

The celebratory flour means blessings.

Then in the morning, we also first bring in a tongueless animal (which cannot use human language) upon the flour.

Among our animals, if we have a donkey or a bull, for example,
Because there is nothing bad about it.'

'It does not have any big requirements.'

'We bring in a good animal like that upon the celebratory flour.'

'After that, the Sheaugeeni enters upon the celebratory flour—a good person within that region whose step brings luck to homes—they make him the Sheaugeeni.'

'We cannot just make any random person the Sheaugeeni.'
‘It must be someone who brings luck when he enters a house.’

One who will make my work pass perfectly all year long,

‘for this whole year until the next Neaureez comes, whose step will bring me good luck—we make that perfect person the Sheaugeeni.’

‘Collecting thick bread also happens.’

‘They celebrate this festival with the good deeds and care they have for each other.’

‘What I have to say about Sheaugeen is about that much.’
A.4 ‘The scoop, the camel, and the mirror’ (folktale)

\textit{haroj vrud = an wi χosiat-in ewqut}

A story about three brothers who receive three magical objects.

1) a pa muqariq niθ = it = o
   \text{INTJ LOC 1SG.NNOM near sit.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv = Q}
   ‘Ah, will you sit closer to me?’

2) a = sawg = am hur tci lcvd sut
   \text{ACC=story = 1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV}
   ‘I have begun to tell a story, then.’

3) tɕardʑ uelw \text{wej}=it \text{χej}=o
   \text{good ear pour.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv good = Q}
   ‘Listen well, okay?’

4) vɛtẓdʑ na vɛtẓdʑ i putxu vɛtẓdʑ
   \text{be.PRF NEG be.PRF one king be.PRF}
   ‘Once upon a time, there was a king.’

5) wazond = af = o
   \text{know.PFV = 2PL.PFV = Q}
   ‘Got it?’

6) \text{ʔaʔ}
   \text{yes}
   (Children) ‘Yes.’

7) putxu-an haroj puts vɛtẓdʑ
   \text{king-GEN three son be.PRF}
   ‘The king had three sons.’

8) i mat i ruɔ haroj puts az tɕɛd naxtɛdz
   \text{one day one day three son ABL house go.up.3SG.IPfv}
   ‘One day, the three sons leave home.’

9) tom tsawa scɛdz
   \text{then how become.PRF}
   (Children) ‘Then what happened?’

10) az tɕɛd naxtɛdz = in χw tɛdz = in
    \text{ABL house go.up.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv TEMP.CONJ go.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv}
    ‘They leave home and go.’
‘They go, and the oldest enters a valley and goes.’

‘The younger one enters another valley and goes.’

‘The youngest one enters another valley.’

‘They enter three different valleys and go.’

‘After going, he goes around and around and around and around like that and one son finds a scoop.’

‘You know what a scoop is, right?’

‘Used for drinking water.’

‘What is this scoop’s special function?’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

20

lɛvd say.
waχt time
k=pa ANA=LOC
dzom 3SG.NNOM.PROX
i scoop one
xats water
sosd get.3SG.IPFV

mawzd=ɛnzd ɣalg person
ar Loc
sow Loc
weɛd mouth
COND
tik COND
tsi COND
peɬ pour.3SG.IPFV

sowd become.3SG.IPFV

‘To tell you, if you get water into this scoop and pour it into the mouth of a dead
person, he will stand up straight on his feet.’

21

tsaranɡ dzom how scoop

‘How do you like this scoop?’

22

jad iw one
3SG.NOM.PROX
sut=o become.PFV

‘That was one, right?’

23

iw-əw jur puts tizd at tizd at tizd
one-NMLZ another son go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV

at i dʑuj joɬd ikɔ i xtɯr aludz
CONJ one place come.3SG.IPFV COMP one camel lie.PRFL

‘Another son goes and goes and goes and comes to a place and there is a camel
lying there.’

24

ɛ INTJ

(Children) ‘Huh?’

25

i xtɯr one camel

‘A camel.’

26

i xtɯr one camel
k= dos manner
ɗust hand
did give.3SG.IPFV CONJ
did give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

at a=xtɯr vijud
give.3SG.IPFV CONJ ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV

‘He pets and pets and pets the camel and rides it.’

27

a=xtɯr vijud ɣɯ xtɯr ɣɯ az dʑuj
ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV TEMP CONJ camel REFL.NNOM ABL place
After riding it, the camel gets up from its place and goes.

What kind of camel is this?

It is a camel that goes three month’s journey in three days.

‘Is there one more son remaining?’

‘He finds the mirror and what is the special function of this mirror?’

‘If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.’
‘He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his brothers is riding and camel and going around.’

‘Again, he looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees one brother going around with a scoop in his hand.’

‘This one brother sees them in the mirror.’

‘He sees them in the mirror and says, “How shall I find them now?”’

‘How shall I go to their side?”’
'A few months pass by in the middle and he looks into the mirror continually.'

'The looks into it and sees his brother with the camel coming a little bit this way, a little bit that way, but there is no opportunity to talk to him.'

'This brother goes, that brother comes, this brother goes, that brother comes, and in that way, they find each other.'

'They find each other and these two come together in one place.'

'This one with the camel and this one with the mirror.'
He says, “What special function does your mirror have?”

He says, “Look into my mirror.”

‘He looks and looks and looks into the mirror and sees his brother going around in a place with the scoop in his hand.’

“How do you like it?” he says.’

‘Oh, that is our brother over there!’

‘Shall we not find him?’

‘He says, “Let us ride your camel.”

‘Let us ride the camel and go to his side’.

ACC = camel ride.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv 3SG.NNom.Dist side become.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv

ACC = camel ride.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv TEMP.JOIN 3SG.NNom.Dist side
so=in
become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They ride the camel and go to his side.'

Theyride the cameland gotohis side.'

five
three brother one LOC place become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'The three brothers get together in one place.'

five
three one LOC place become.INF ABL back then say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'The three get together in one place and say,'

five
3SG.NNOM scoop-GEN what function be.IPFV
"What special function does your scoop have?"

ju
lev
dzom pa
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop

six
acc
iw
get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV die.PRF = REL LOC mouth

pour.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX become.3SG.IPFV

Tom
then say.3SG.IPFV COMP 2SG.NOM LOC world one NEG look.IPFV = Q
'Then he says, ‘Aren’t you going to look into the world?’

six
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX world what work become.PRIF TEMP.CONJ
'What kind of things are happening in this world?"

ju
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM glass open do.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV LOC

3SG.NNOM.DIST
'He opens his mirror and looks into it.'

tcost at
tcost at
tcost at
tcost
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV
He looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees a city.

In a large city is a person who has died, with many people around him.

Then all three of them look and look and look and look at it,'

"Hey!" he says, "Shall we not go?"

Let us ride this camel,' and let the three of us go there.

'.damage haroj 3SG.NNOM.PROX three ANA = there become.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv

'shall we not pour water into his mouth with this scoop and make him alive?"

"Okay," they say, "Let us do that'.

\[\text{at i xwor at one city} \]

'I looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees a city.'
They ride the camel and the three of them go all the way to that city.

They go to the city and say, “Step back and make room!”

We will make this person alive.

They say, “Huh? How can a dead person become alive?”

He says, “We will make him alive.”

All three of them go there and he says, “Let us see whether it is truly as they say or not.”
'He gets water into the scoop and pours it into the mouth and the one who had died stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.'

'He becomes alive and then they give them many things.'

'They give to the three brothers and like, give everything to them.'

'They say that and leave, and the three brothers split those things.'
They split them and one says, “Hey, you gave fewer things to me than to him!”

They say, “What’s so special about you, then?”

He says, “I saw this in my mirror.”

If it were not for my mirror, your scoop is useless and your camel is useless.”

He says, “What is important is my camel.”

If it were not for my camel, you can only look into your mirror and sit in your place.”

‘You cannot move from your place or go anywhere from your place”, and then'

‘they fight.’
A.5 ‘The half-brother who carved saddles’ (folktale)

**Ugej vrud**

A story about an industrious young man who outwits his half-brothers and makes them appear foolish.

1. *ve̱dd̊z na ve̱dd̊z haroj vrud=af ve̱dd̊z*
   
   `be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother=3PL.PFV be.PRF`

   ‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers.’

2. *dow=af chu̱di ve̱dd̊z iw ugej*
   
   `two=3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PRF one non.blood`

   ‘Two were blood brothers; one was a non-blood brother.’

3. *ju ugej vrud bdon tuxt=ir ve̱dd̊z*
   
   `3SG.NOM.DIST non.blood brother saddle carve.INF=DAT be.PRF`

   ‘The non-blood brother carved saddles.’

4. *ju da vrud=af chu=ri nalista=ir ve̱dd̊z*
   
   `3SG.NOM.DIST two brother=3PL.PFV REFL.NOM=DAT sit.INF=DAT be.PRF`

   ‘Those two brothers just sat around.’

5. *jad a=bdon tuxt just para bid*
   
   `3SG.NOM.PROX ACC=saddle carve.3SG.IPV take.3SG.IPV sell give.3SG.IPV`

   ‘This one carves the saddles, takes them, and sells them.’

6. *para bid a wi tɕi tilm bid*
   
   `sell give.3SG.IPV ACC=3SG.NOM.DIST LOC gold give.3SG.IPV`

   ‘He sells them, exchanges them for gold.’
He loads the gold and comes.

His two brothers say, “No way! How did he get this gold?”

‘Let us ask him.”’

‘He says, “What did you get the gold from?”’

‘He says, “I used the saddles to get them.”’

‘How did you get it for saddles?”

‘He says, “I burned the saddles.”

‘I took the charcoal.”

‘I told them, “Give me saddles for this charcoal”.

‘And they gave me saddles,” he says.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

17 ə tsejz tilu = af mu = ri əd
INTJ what gold = 3PL.PVF 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PVF
‘Uh, I mean, “They gave me gold.”’
18 a = tilu = am voq əvld əw
ACC = gold = 1SG.PVF bring.PVF say.3SG.IPVF TEMP.CONJ
‘Then I brought the gold,” he says, and then’
19 wɔd əw bɔon-ɛf əbawon = in
3PL.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM saddle-PL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF

χw
TEMP.CONJ
‘Then they burn their saddles, and then’
20 ləv = in iko ɾadʐur = ir tilu tsa do = it
say.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF COMP charcoal = DAT gold COND give.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF

χw
TEMP.CONJ
‘they say, “Give us gold for the charcoal,” and then’
21 ju əχalɡ-χejl ləv = in iko tamaɕ = af
3SG.NOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM say.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF COMP 2PL.NOM = 2PL.IPVF

 tsa aχmoq əddəz
what foolish be.PRF
‘those people say, “How foolish you guys are!’
22 ɾadʐur = ir əχalɡ tsaɾa tilu əd
charcoal = DAT person how gold give.3SG.IPVF
‘How can someone give you gold for charcoal?”’
23 az um jod = in a = əw ugej vəd əd
ABL there come.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF ACC = REFL.NNOM non-blood brother

 do = in iko
hit.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF COMP
‘They come back from there and beat up their non-blood brother and say,’
24 tɔw = at a = məc ədud əw
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PVF ACC = 1PL.NNOM false give.PRF TEMP.CONJ
“You have lied to us,” and then’
“Now what do we do, what do we do...?"

“Now let us kill his mother and his bull.”

‘They kill the bull and he (the non-blood brother) gets its blood in a calabash (gourd bottle), enters, and goes.’

‘He goes, and there he sees’

‘He sprinkles and spreads the blood on all the camels’ heads.’

‘He spreads it and drives the camels.’

‘Where did you get these camels?’ He (one of the brothers) asks.’

‘You killed my bull,’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

34  
\[ a = di \quad dund \quad xtur = af \quad mu = ri \quad \delta ud \]
ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX  AMT camel = 3PL.PFV  1SG.NOM = DAT give.PFV
levd
say.3SG.IPFV

‘and they gave me all these camels,” he says.’

35  
\[ tc = waiyn = af \quad mu = ri \quad \delta ud \quad levd \]
LOC blood = 3PL.PFV  1SG.NOM = DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV

‘They gave me camels in exchange for the blood,” he says.’

36  
\[ wi \quad qati \quad tsej = kaxt \quad a \]
3SG.NOM.DIST.COM what do.3SG.IPFV INTJ

‘With that, what does he do...’ (storyteller thinking)

37  
\[ tsa = ku = an \quad tsa = ku = an \]
how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘What do we do, what do we do...’

38  
\[ jad \quad ma = c \quad ma = c \quad \chi u \quad taa-xed = zon = an \]
3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NOM also REFL.NOM cow-bull kill.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘Let us also kill out bulls,’

39  
\[ wayin \quad zaz = an \quad taa-xed = an \]
blood get.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘and get the blood and go’.

40  
\[ a = taa-xed = zon = in \quad wayin \quad jus = in \]
ACC = cow-bull kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV blood take.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They kill the bull and take the blood.’

41  
\[ \delta u = in \quad iko \quad naj \quad wayin = ir \quad xtur \quad ma = c \quad ir \]
say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG blood = DAT camel 1PL.NOM = DAT

\[ do = it \quad give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV \]

‘They say, “Give us camels for the blood”’.

42  
\[ m = da = af \quad taa \quad axmouq \quad ved = in \quad \delta u = in \]
CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV what foolish be.PRF say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘How foolish these guys are!” they say.’

43  
\[ wayin = ir \quad a = xtur \quad taa \quad do = in \quad \chi u \]
blood = DAT ACC = camel how give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘How can they give camels for blood?” and then’
"My brother has placed trouble upon us."

'Now go, let us kill his mother.'

'They come from there and kill his mother.'

'Then he loads his mother's corpse on a donkey and goes.'

'He goes there and says to the farmers, “You are working hard!”'

'Ah, thank you!” they say, and then’

'He drives the donkey like this toward the threshing floor side.'

'When that donkey gets to the threshing floor, the farmers say, “Uchisha (hey, get away)!”'
When they say “uchisha”, the donkey turns quickly and the corpse falls.

“They say, “Oh my goodness,” he says, “you have killed the king’s wife herself!”

“The king is going to kill me, and will kill all of you, too!”

“They say, “No, if this is the king’s wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to this king.’

‘Don’t bring the king over here,” they say.’

‘He picks a girl, takes her, and goes,’

‘and makes her his own wife.’
60  
\text{um} \quad \text{səwd} \quad a \quad \text{levd} \quad m\text{-ono=}af \quad \text{zəd}  
\text{there} \quad \text{become.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{INTJ} \quad \text{say.3SG.IPVF} \quad 1\text{SG.NNom-mother} = 2\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{kill.IPVF}  
\text{He goes there and says, “A, you killed my mother.”}

61  
\text{mu} = r \quad \text{af} \quad m\text{-ono} \quad pa \quad \text{murdo} \quad i \quad \text{wots} \quad \text{dud}  
1\text{SG.NNom} = \text{DAT} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad 1\text{SG.NNom-mother} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{corpse} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{give.IPVF}  
\text{say.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}  
\text{“They gave me a girl in the place of my mother’s corpse,” he says, and then”}

62  
\text{wədor} = \text{in} \quad a = \chi\text{-ono} \quad \text{zon} = \text{in}  
\text{grab.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{ACC=}\text{REFL.NNom-mother} \quad \text{kill.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF}  
\text{3PL.NNom.DIST}  
\text{“they grab and kill their own mother.”}

63  
\text{lev} = \text{in} \quad \text{iko} \quad \text{naj} \quad m\text{wɔ̱dz} = \text{ɛndz} = \text{ir} \quad \text{zungo} \quad \text{wots}  
\text{say.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{die.PRIF} = \text{REL=}\text{DAT} \quad \text{live} \quad \text{girl}  
\text{1PL.NNom} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{give.IPVF} = 2\text{PL.IPVF}  
\text{“They say, “Give us live girls in the place of this dead one.””}

64  
\text{u} \quad \text{jad} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{aχmɔq} \quad \text{batɔ-χɛj} = \text{af} \quad \text{vɛ̃dɔ}  
\text{INTJ} \quad 3\text{SG.NNom.PROX} \quad \text{what foolish} \quad \text{child-PL.NNom=} 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{be.PRIF}  
\text{“Wow, how foolish these kids are!”}

65  
m\text{wɔ̱dz} = \text{ɛndz} = \text{ir} \quad a = \text{zungo} \quad \text{twɔj} \quad \text{dɪd} \quad \text{lev} = \text{in}  
\text{die.PRIF} = \text{REL=}\text{DAT} \quad \text{ACC=}\text{live} \quad \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{give.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{say.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF}  
\text{“Who gives live girls in the place of dead ones?” they say,”}

66  
\text{dɔd} = \text{af} \quad \text{dɛjw} \quad \text{vɛ̃dɔ} \quad \text{lev} = \text{in} \quad \chi\text{wu}  
3\text{PL.NNom.PROX} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{crazy} \quad \text{be.PRIF} \quad \text{say.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}  
\text{“These guys are crazy,” they say, and’}

67  
\text{a} = \text{wɛf} \quad \text{satran} \quad \text{ka} = \text{in} \quad \text{de} = \text{in}  
\text{ACC=} 3\text{PL.NNom.DIST} \quad \text{chase} \quad \text{do.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad \text{drive.IPVF} = 3\text{PL.IPVF}  
\text{TEMP.CONJ}  
\text{“They chase them and drive them away.’}
'Oh no, this brother has ruined us.'

‘Now let us do this, let us kill him,’ they say.

‘Then they put him in a sack.’

‘What shall we do with him?’

‘Let us take him and throw him into the river.’

‘Let him die.’

‘With that, they load him onto a donkey.’

‘The donkey goes a little bit forward,’

‘and the two brothers go to the bathroom in the back.’

‘He sees a bald person through the opening of the sack.’
“Eh!” he says, “I don’t want to be a king, I don’t want to be a ruler!” he says.

“Let me go!” he says.

The bald guy says, “No, I want to be a ruler, I want to be a king!”

“Ah, if you want to be a king, go into this sack,” he says.

‘He (the bald guy) goes into the sack, and he (the non-blood brother) ties the mouth of the sack and loads it on the donkey.’

‘Wherever the donkey stops, there you will become a ruler and a king,” he says.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

χɯ
TEMP.CONJ
‘From there, they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.’

85
tɕi bod so=in a=wi toz ar
LOC hit.INF become.IPFFV = 3PL.IPFFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST bald.person LOC

sown
sack

‘They begin beating up the bald guy in the sack.’

86
tom levd iko was χon mas na so=am
then say.3SG.IPFFV COMP 1SG.NOM king also NEG become.IPFFV = 1SG.IPFFV

bejrj mas na so=am
ruler also NEG become.IPFFV = 1SG.IPFFV

‘Then he says, “I don’t want to be a king, I don’t want to be a ruler!”’

87
a=mu ar darju mo patow=it
ACC = 1SG.NNOM LOC river PROH throw.IPFFV = 2PL.IPFFV

‘Don’t throw me into the river!”

88
zoz=in patow=in ar darju
get.IPFFV = 3PL.IPFFV throw.IPFFV = 3PL.IPFFV LOC river

‘They take him and throw him into the river.’

89
toz mɛrd
bald.person die.3SG.IPFFV

‘The bald guy dies.’

90
az um swed
ABL there become.3SG.IPFFV

‘He (the non-blood brother) goes from there.’

91
wi a=kalo k=dos det χɯ
3SG.NNOM.DIST ACC = sheep ANA = manner drive.3SG.IPFFV TEMP.CONJ

tizd
go.3SG.IPFFV

‘He drives the bald guy’s sheep like that and goes.’

92
a levd a=mu=af zed levd
INTJ say.3SG.IPFFV ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2PL.PFV kill.PFV say.3SG.IPFFV

“Ah,” he says, “you killed me.’
‘I got to that other world, and my father and my mother were there.’

‘They put all these sheep before me,” he says.’

‘Put us into a sack also and throw us into the river.’

‘Then he puts his brothers into a sack, takes them, and throws them into the river.’

‘He kills his brothers,’

‘and he himself reaches happiness.’

‘My story is a lot, we will get up in the morning and the weather will be clear.’
A.6 ‘A religious teacher’s life and family’ (personal narrative)

**muu zundagi**

A religious teacher gives a personal account of his life, work, family, and their resettlement in Tojikobod.

1. *waz di tɕi prud pindʑu at now sul tɕi prud*
   1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC front fifty CONJ nine year LOC front
   'I was born 59 years ago in a village called Brumsol.'

2. *uzir=am pindʑu at woxt sulu sut*
   *now=1SG.PFV fifty CONJ eight year.old become.PFV*
   'Now I am 58 years old.'

3. *waz=am azmud sut d̪es sul its=am ar*
   1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV born become.PFV ten year TERM = 1SG.PFV LOC
   *maktab xojd school read.PFV*
   'I was born and went to school for ten years.’

4. *a̱ az zabu=am tuluq otro maktab xojd*
   ABL there ten year ABL back = 1SG.PFV complete middle school read.PFV
   'After ten years there, I studied at a high school.'

5. *a wi az zabu=am mi=di*
   INTJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back = 1SG.PFV CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX
   *dejqun-i qati maɕʁɯl sut*
   farmer-NMLZ COM focus become.PFV
   ‘Ah... after that, I occupied myself with farming.’

6. *wi az zabu=am m = ki = di dijur*
   3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back = 1SG.PFV CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX region
   *ar darun din-i zudı=am sut*
   LOC inside religion-NMLZ lineage = 1SG.PFV become.PFV
   ‘After that, within that region, I became part of the religious tradition.’
χaλifα = am
religious.teacher = 1SG.PFV become.PFV
‘I became a religious teacher.’

wi qati ðes at pındz sul tci prud mac ar
3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ten CONJ five year LOC front 1PL.NNOM LOC

dijur i ofat sut
region one disaster become.PFV
‘With that, our region got a natural disaster fifteen years ago.’

hawu ðud sejl jot
precipitation fall.PFV flood come.PFV
‘It rained and it got flooded.’

a nuk = ju ofat qati putun mac dzuŋ dzawun
INTJ ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST disaster COM all 1PL.NNOM place world

mac buɾ-χejl mac zemdz-χejl mac
1PL.NNOM garden-PL.NNOM 1PL.NNOM field-PL.NNOM 1PL.NNOM

mala-χejl pa xats = af tɯjd
housing.compound-PL.NNOM LOC water = 3PL.PFV go.PFV
‘Because of that natural disaster, our whole world, our gardens, our fields, and our
housing compounds got totally swept away by the flood.’

tsavur nafar χalɡ mas pa xats tɯjd
four CL person also LOC water go.PFV
‘Four people also got swept away by the flood.’

ki = wi qati ukmat a = mac kats tɕəwɡ
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM government ACC = 1PL.NNOM move do.PFV
‘With that, the government resettled us.’

a = mac varɕidɛ ar nohija vəwɡ
ACC = 1PL.NNOM Varshide LOC county bring.PFV
‘They brought us to the Varshide county seat.’

ɯm = an i sul paqad nalуст
there = 1PL.PFV one year whole.duration sit.PFV
‘We lived there for a whole year.’

ukmat wamχuri qati m = ki jad i dzuŋ = af
government concern COM CATA = ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one place = 3PL.PFV
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

412

1. **mac** = ir         * suxτς
    1PL.NOM = DAT    buy.PRF
    ‘Out of concern for us, the government bought a place for us.’

2. **mała** = af        * **mac** = ir     * wędąs
    housing.compound = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NOM = DAT  prod.PRF
    ‘They built housing compounds for us.’

3. **zėmdz** = af       * **mac** = ir     * hat tešwydąs
    field = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NOM = DAT open do.PRF
    ‘They opened fields for us.’

4. **a** = **mac** = af   * **swd** vọwąg
    ACC = 1PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV here bring.PFV
    ‘They brought us here.’

5. **dęs** at pindz sul sut **swd** = an naluucę
    ten CONJ five year become.PFV here = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF
    ‘We have lived here for fifteen years.’

6. **će** mac-an mac ruzaşur ćards
    now 1PL.NOM-GEN 1PL.NOM living good
    ‘Now our living situation is good.’

7. **dejqun-i** kan = an
    farmer-NMLZ do.PFV = 1PL.IPV
    ‘We farm,’

8. **mul** puj = an
    livestock herd.IPV = 1PL.IPV
    ‘we herd our livestock,’

9. a wi tar ter uz səwdugari mac kan = an
    INTJ 3SG.NOM.DIST loc high again merchant-NMLZ also do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
    ‘and on top of that, we also do business.’

10. **ukmat** mac har az dzat **mac** = ir = ik jordan kaxt
    government also every ABL hurry 1PL.NOM = DAT = DUR help do.3SG.IPV
    ‘The government also helps us in every aspect.’

11. **ki** = wi qati = an m = k = swd naluucę
    ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST COM = 1PL.PFV CATA = ANA = here sit.PRF
    ‘With that, we live here.’
26  
\textit{tsavur batço mu-an jost}  
four child 1SG.N NOM-GEN be.IPFV  
'I have four children:'

27  
\textit{tsavur puts da radzen χεl batço jost}  
four son two daughter six child be.IPFV  
'four sons and two daughters, six children.'

28  
\textit{χεl batço mas asos az dzat dzam dejgun iw=ik}  
six child also foundation ABL hurry all farmer one=DUR  

\textit{maç-an oli maktab xajd}  
1PL.N NOM-GEN high school read.3SG.IPFV  
'The six children are mostly all farmers as well; one of them is studying in university.'

29  
\textit{digaru-χejl dzam-an wi tced tuqo}  
others-PL.NOM all-GEN 3SG.N NOM.DIST house separate  
'The others all have their own house.'

30  
\textit{a xaj=in=ik dejgun-i ka=in}  
INTJ read.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = DUR farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
'Ah, they are studying and farming.'

31  
\textit{k = dos = an naluca}  
ANA = manner = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF  
'That is how we live.'

32  
\textit{a tom wi az balak mu sul mas pa}  
INTJ then 3SG.N NOM.DIST ABL part 1SG.N NOM year also LOC  

\textit{di dzuq jot}  
3SG.N NOM.PROX place come.PFV  
'Ah, then other than that... my age has also reached this place.'

33  
\textit{waz ki = di djuur-an wi χalifa}  
1SG.NOM ANA = 3SG.N NOM.PROX region-GEN 3SG.N NOM.DIST religious.teacher  
'I am a religious teacher in this region.'

34  
\textit{əwd maç uvd χalifa jost}  
here 1PL.NOM seven religious.teacher be.IPFV  
'There are seven religious teachers here.'
A.7 ‘You have gone’ & ‘Hometown’ (personal narrative & poems)

*taw* = *at tuijd* & *watan*

Two original poems composed by a young Tajik man: on the topic of love and loss and the other about his hometown and culture.

1

*muu*  
1SG.NNOM  name Alimamad

‘My name is Alimamad.’
I was born in Baldir Village of Varshide County.

'I was born in Baldir Village of Varshide County.'

'I grew up and went to school in the county seat of Varshide since I was little.

'I went to university at the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing.

'I came back from there and got a job.

'I like writing poetry.

'And I like taking pictures and whatnot.

'I have many pictures that I took.'

'And I have a few poems that I wrote.'

'It's not much; they are all short poems.'
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

12

\[ k = az \quad di \quad cir cf \quad waz \quad iw \quad ðow \]

ANA = ABL 3SG.NOM.PROX poem-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM one two

\[ \text{tamas} = \text{ir} \quad \text{xuj} = \text{am} \]

2PL.NNOM = DAT read.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

‘Out of those poems, I will recite one or two for you.’

13

\[ tsw = at \quad tujd \quad levz = \text{endz} \quad cir \]

2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv go.PFv say.PRF = REL poem

‘It is a poem called “You have gone”.’

14

\[ mu \quad \text{farixt} \quad waz \quad \text{jad} \quad \chiug \]

1SG.NNOM spirit wither 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.PFv

‘My spirit has withered’

15

\[ tsw = at \quad tujd \]

2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv go.PFv

‘You have gone’

16

\[ tɕɯxt = \text{am} \quad a = \text{ta} \quad \text{dil} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{buxt} \text{so} \]

watch.PFv = 1SG.PFv ACC = 2SG.NNOM heart LOC bosom

‘I waited for you in my heart’

17

\[ tsw = at \quad tujd \]

2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv go.PFv

‘You have gone’

18

\[ tsw = at \quad vɯd \quad mu \quad \text{hajut-an} \quad wi \quad i \quad \text{kandi} \]

2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv be.PFv 1SG.NNOM life-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one piece

‘You were a piece of my life’

19

\[ ujsar \quad qati \quad mu \quad \text{umr} \quad \text{nardu} \text{ced} \]

contemplating COM 1SG.NNOM lifetime pass.PFv

‘I spent my lifetime contemplating’

20

\[ tsw = at \quad tujd \]

2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFv go.PFv

‘You have gone’

21

\[ \text{gu} \text{rm} \quad \text{tɕejg} \quad qati \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{dil} = \text{ik} \quad \text{wirs} \]

remembrance do.INF COM LOC heart = DUR turn.IPfv

‘As I miss you, you hover around my heart’
22
təw = at
tu jd
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV  go.PFV
‘You have gone’

23
ansis  jad   xob  na  sut   tag  jawl
anxious  3SG.NOM.PROX  night  NEG  become.PFV  at.all  dawn

‘Anxious at night, morning never comes’

24
təw = at
tu jd
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV  go.PFV
‘You have gone’

25
xid  na  tɕi  ka = am  bewafu  ta  zord  tawɯɕ
hear.INF  NEG  CAP  do.IPV = 1SG.IPV  heartless  2SG.NOM  heart  noise

‘I cannot hear the cruel noises of your heat’

26
mu  pa  dard  dard  qati  sut
1SG.NOM  LOC  pain  pain  add  become.PFV

‘Pain has been added to my pain’

27
təw = at
tu jd
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV  go.PFV
‘You have gone’

28
us  di  az  basejr  watan  levdz = endz  cir  jost
again  3SG.NOM.PROX  ABL  except  hometown  say.PRF = REL  poem  be.IPV

‘Besides this, I have another poem called “Hometown”.’

29
hej  aziz  watan  tudʑdur-an  wi  dʑuj
VOC  love  hometown  crown.wearer-GEN  3SG.NNOM.DIST  place

‘Oh, dear hometown, the place of crown wearers’

30
farixtu  tudʑik  ɡusruiŋ  ta  rɯχsur
angel  Tajik  beautiful  2SG.NOM  visage

‘Angel Tajiks, your visage is beautiful’

31
watan  tar  buxtɕo  tudʑik  ɡid  wajɔw
hometown  LOC  bosom  Tajik  give.3SG.IPV  walk

‘Tajiks walk around close to the bosom of their hometown’

32
qa qa wo  ɡid  ɡcond  hejrun  mo  ris  təw
guffaw  give.3SG.IPV  laugh.3SG.IPV  surprise  PROH  remain.IPV  2SG.NOM

‘Do not be surprised at their guffawing and laughing’
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33  
dzdld  der  waṣefs  jod  sarikuj  ar  makun
fast  CPRV  return.IPFV  come.IPFV  Sarikoli  LOC  hometown
‘Hurry and come back soon to your hometown Sarikoli’

34  
χu  tsi  duṣt  soz  dof  suz  do  az
REFL.N NOM  LOC  hand  get.IPFV  tambourine  make.music  give.IPFV  ABL

dil-i  dzn
heart-NMLZ  life
‘Take a tambourine in your hand and make music with all your heart’

35  
tsi  dinju  vuson  taw  mas  χu  qaro
LOC  world  show.IPFV  2SG.NOM  also  REFL.N NOM  distinct.form
‘You also, show your own distinct form to the world’

36  
madad  tu=i  sωd  wułuw  muzuwindo
encouragement  2SG.N NOM  =DAT  become.3SG.IPFV  great  Muztagh.ATA
‘The great Muztagh Ata be your encouragement’

37  
tudʑ  tsi  kol  tudʑik  las  a=ta  waz
crown  LOC  head  Tajik  praise  ACC  =  2SG.N NOM  1SG.NOM

  do  =  am
  give.IPFV  =  1SG.IPFV
‘Tajiks crowned with crowns, I will sing your praise’

38  
tar  bow  tar  guļzur  χuɕ  kejf  waz
LOC  garden  LOC  flower.garden  happy  comfortable  1SG.NOM

  so  =  am
  become.IPFV  =  1SG.IPFV
‘I will be happy and comfortable in the gardens and flowerbeds’

39  
ago  so  indiz  χu  məd  taw  vis
awake  become.IPFV  get.up.IPFV  REFL.N NOM  waist  2SG.NOM  tie.IPFV
‘Awake and rise, tie your waist’

40  
watan  ar  puŋgo  barakat  ka  tis
hometown  LOC  central.floor  blessing  do.IPFV  spill
‘Pour blessings all over your hometown’s hearth’

41  
um  zosd  tizd  laka  tudʑik  ta  sanat
name  get.3SG.IPFV  go.3SG.IPFV  let.IPFV  Tajik  2SG.N NOM  arts
‘Tajik arts, may your name be widely known’
May our culture and traditions be passed down as an inheritance.’

A.8 ‘Proverbs’ (proverbs)

maqol tamsil

A collection of Tajik proverbs.

1. Watan pid mud tar dinju bebau hu haroj anqoxtar
   hometown father mother LOC world priceless three treasure
   ‘Hometown, father, and mother are the three priceless treasures in the world.’

2. ĳun-an wi i tcl xats jurkond-an wi
   Shingun-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one spoon water Yarkand-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
   xupo qati barubar
   porridge COM similar
   ‘A spoon of Shingun water is like porridge from Yarkand.’

3. χu pid nuts mo vəw samunu puts vəw
   REFL.NNOM father son PROH be.IPFLV age son be.IPFLV
   ‘Don’t just be your father’s son; be the son of this age.’

4. az tuqo kol gowr tawd
   ABL separate head grave good
   ‘A grave is better than a separate head (solitude).’

5. be-watan be-gowr
   PRIV-hometown PRIV-grave
   ‘Without a hometown, one is without a grave.’

6. χagl ar dijx beis vəd its χu ar dijx
   person LOC region ruler be-INF TERM REFL.NNOM LOC region
   żeovur vəw
   firewood.bringer be.IPFLV
   ‘It is better to be the firewood bringer in one’s region than to be the ruler of one’s region.’

7. Ḯamohat laka ubud vəd i χagl-an wi
   masses let.IPFLV flourishing be.3SG.IPFLV one person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
Let all the masses flourish and prosper; what is one person’s prosperity worth?’

Water from Sarikoli flows to all places.’

‘A person’s navel is on his belly; the world’s navel is in Pamir.’

‘No matter where a drifter goes, he misses his hometown.’

‘In another’s home or another’s region, one’s heart is unable to rest.’

‘Trees come out of the ground, and warriors out of people.’

‘If an enemy gives you a strand of hair, regard it as an elephant.’
‘A friend’s words are spicy like peppers, but an enemy’s words are sweet like sugar.’

‘Don’t fear a strong enemy, fear a foolish friend.’

‘If there is no nose in the middle, the two eyes will eat each other.’

‘If you throw a rock upwards, it will return and hit your head.’

‘The one whose father died sleeps, but the one with a hungry stomach counts stars.’

‘The autumn sun is better than a heartless son.’

‘If you wish to live comfortably, be likeminded with your friend and foster unity with your enemy.’

‘One who becomes a bad person harms innocent people.’

‘From the good comes profit; from the bad, words.’
24  bɯzɯq bɯzɯq-i tɕəwɣdʑ nusam qasam tɕəwɣdʑ
    envious.person envious-NMLZ do.PRF plebeian oath ea1.PRF
    ‘An envious person envies, and a plebeian makes oaths.’
25  nafs-i bad bɛinsuf jɔdəd χɯsomadgiatan=itɕuz bewisdon
    greedy-NMLZ bad ruthless come.3SG.IPV ingratiation give.INF=REL heartless
    ‘A profiteer is evil and ruthless; a sycophant flatterer is heartless.’
26  garun maθ ta qati tang ter tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ dɛst rust
    heavy day 2SG.NNOM COM simultaneous lift do.PRF=REL friend true
    dest
    friend
    ‘A friend who has lifted heavy days alongside you is a true friend.’
27  iw tɕardʑ-i ranixtɛɡ na səwd iw wazd-i
    one good-NMLZ forgotten NEG become.3SG.IPV one dirty-NMLZ
    ‘A single good deed will not be forgotten, nor will a single evil deed.’
28  dilnizd dɛst as zabu stəwd fand dɛst pa prud
    close.friend friend ABL back praise.3SG.IPV false friend LOC front
    ‘A close friend compliments behind one’s back, but a false friend to one’s face.’
29  pa dɛst a=χɯ nizd ka wi zord zoz
    LOC friend ACC=REFL.NNOM near do.IPV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart get.IPV
    as dɯxman dɔr warofs wi dznun zoz
    ABL enemy far stand.IPV 3SG.NNOM.DIST life get.IPV
    ‘Draw near to a friend and buy his heart; stand afar from an enemy and take his life.’
30  dɛst=ir umr daru-i talob dɯxman=ir margv
    friend=DAT lifetime long-NMLZ request.IPV enemy=DAT death
    ‘Pray for long life for a friend; for an enemy, death.’
31  boj waz χɯ dɛst avon gadoj waz
    rich.person 1SG.NOM REF.NNOM friend BEN destitute 1SG.NOM
    rejd=am jɛktano
    remain.PFV=1SG.PFV alone
    ‘As a rich person I was with friends; destitute, I am alone.’
32  dɛst-an wi kəno-w tɕardʑ gɯxt-an wi
    friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST old-NMLZ good meat-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
nudz-aw
new-NMLZ
‘Of friends, the old is good; of meat, the new.’
33
tw=at=ik
tsarang
nud
ta
dest
mas
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV=DUR how be.FFV 2SG.NNOM friend also

k=dos
ANA=manner
‘However you are, your friend is likewise.’
34
duxman qati amtaboq
so
hammo
az
qast
ixjur
vow
enemy COM meal.sharing become.IPFW but ABL treachery alert be.IPFW
‘Share a meal with your enemy, but beware of treachery.’
35
χalg
a=χu
χubaθ
tsa
parst
qusi
χejs
tid
person ACC=REFL.NNOM REFL.NOM COND ask.3SG.IPFW judge side go.INF

odzat nist
need NEG.be.IPFW
‘If a person examines himself, there is no need to go to a judge.’
36
i
χalg
dzafu
qati
tσr
kaxt
hazur
χalg
ruwat-i
one person toil COM work do.3SG.IPFW thousand person enjoy-NMLZ

wand
sec.3SG.IPFW
‘With one person’s toil, a thousand people see enjoyment.’
37
ðɯtɕaχoz
na
təwɨdz
a=dzuj
mo
tσw
itch
NEG
do.PRF ACC=place PROH scratch.IPFW
‘Don’t scratch a place that doesn’t itch.
38
ano-χejl
i
dust
qati
praxt
dzumbon=in
uz
i
mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.CAUS.IPFW=3PL.IPFW again one

dust
qati
dinju
dzumbon=in
hand COM world move.CAUS.IPFW=3PL.IPFW
‘Mothers rock the cradle with one hand, and the world with the other.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
Appendix B
Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim

This appendix presents the orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim (2012). Throughout this grammar, orthographical spellings of personal names, place names, festival names, and names of cultural items or concepts that are unique to Sarikoli are based on this orthography. For more information on the use of this orthography, see §1.2.4.

Table B.1 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Consonants

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Table B.2 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Vowels
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English Summary

This dissertation is a synchronic description of Sarikoli focusing on syntax. Sarikoli is an Eastern Iranian language spoken exclusively in China, and its speakers primarily reside in Varshide, a mountainous county on the western border of Xinjiang, China.

The first chapter is an overview of the Sarikoli people and language in their geographical, historical, and cultural context. The classification, typological profile, and sociolinguistic situation of the Sarikoli language are described, and previous research conducted on the language is reviewed. The final section deals with the organization of this description, fieldwork foundation, and methodology.

Chapter 2 describes nouns and the noun phrase (NP). The first section gives an overview of the types and various functions of nouns. This is followed by a section on grammatical functions, which are marked on NPs through pronoun stem types, plural suffixes, and function-marking morphemes. Finally, NP-internal constituents are introduced in terms of their function and relative ordering, and coordination of NPs is described.

Chapter 3 describes pronouns and demonstratives, two types of deictic shifters which are closely related in Sarikoli. The complete gamut of related topics includes: personal pronouns indicating speech act participants (first and second persons); bound pronouns used for marking subject-verb agreement and aspect; nominal demonstratives referring to non-speech act participants, which show distinction for relative distance from the speaker; demonstrative clitics which indicate anaphora and cataphora; local demonstratives which refer to places; manner demonstratives referring to certain manners of performing an action; reflexive pronouns; and reciprocal pronouns.

Chapter 4 describes possession. The first section demonstrates NP-internal possession, and the second section presents the predicative possessive construction.

Chapter 5 describes comparison. There are two ways of expressing comparison: the mono-clausal construction and the bi-clausal construction. Superlatives are then treated as extensions of comparative constructions.
Following that, statements of equivalence, used when the Comparee and Standard have the same degree of a given Parameter, are described. Finally, the correlative comparative, which involves two comparative clauses, is presented.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the full array of adverbial modifiers, which modify predicates, clauses, adjectives, and other adverbial modifiers. They include: temporal adverbials that specify the time of a state or event; frequency adverbials that indicate how often a situation occurs; manner adverbials that describe the manner in which an action is performed; degree adverbials which show the degree of a certain attribute or action; epistemic adverbials that express the speaker's view on the likelihood of a situation occurring; and adverbials derived from adjectives and nouns with an adverbializer suffix.

Chapter 7 is a presentation of three major moods: declarative, imperative, and interrogative. The imperative and interrogative moods have multiple subtypes, which are described in their subsections in terms of their morphosyntactic marking.

Chapter 8 examines clause structure. The basic ordering of constituents is outlined, followed by an overview of each of the clause types that are present in Sarikoli: those with verbal predicates, existential predicates, copula predicates, and extended copula predicates. The final section provides a brief description of the placement of non-obligatory arguments.

Chapter 9 introduces various ways of expressing negation. Negation of verbal predicates, existential predicates, copula predicates, and certain individual constituents are discussed in the initial sections. Next, negation of imperatives (prohibitive) is described. The following section presents positive and negative independent polarity forms, which serve as a one-word response to polar questions. Finally, two prefixes capable of deriving negative lexemes are introduced.

Chapter 10 is devoted to clause combinations. The first section is divided into subsections which introduce various types of coordination: cumulative, sequential, causal, adversative, disjunctive, and asyndetic. The second section deals with subordination, subdivided into three types: relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses. Each type of subordinate clause is divided into subtypes based on morphosyntactic structure and function.

Chapter 11 describes modality, namely, modal constructions indicating various semantic contrasts based on the speaker's or the agent's perspective
on a situation: possibility, ability, intentional, desiderative, imminent, permission, obligation, hypothetical, optative, reminder, and supposition.

Chapter 12 describes an evidentiality strategy used to report non-firsthand information and new information. Although they are both marked by perfect aspect, they have distinct functions and are examined in detail in separate sections. This chapter provides examples of perfective, imperfective, and non-verbal propositions marked for evidential or new information, which illustrate the possible uses and interpretations of perfect stem verbs.

Finally, as the concluding chapter, Chapter 13 lists routine phrases and expressions, including greetings, leavetakings, thanking, and typical or idiomatic speech on everyday topics, which are central to phatic exchanges and basic conversations.
**Nederlandse samenvatting**

Dit proefschrift is een synchrone beschrijving van het Sarikoli toegespitst op syntaxis. Sarikoli is een Oost-Iraanse taal die alleen in China wordt gesproken. Sprekers wonen voornamelijk in Varshide, een bergachtig district aan de westelijke grens van Xinjiang, China.

Het eerste hoofdstuk is een overzicht van de Sarikoli bevolkingsgroep en taal in geografische, historische en culturele context. De classificatie, het typologische profiel, en de sociolinguïstische situatie van de Sarikoli taal wordt beschreven, en eerder onderzoek wordt geëvalueerd. De laatste paragraaf behandelt de indeling van deze beschrijving, de onderbouwing op basis van veldwerk, en de methodologie.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft naamwoorden en naamwoordelijke zinsdelen. De eerste paragraaf biedt een overzicht van de soorten en verschillende functies van naamwoorden. Dit wordt gevolgd door een paragraaf over de grammaticale functies van naamwoordelijke zinsdelen. Deze functies worden op de naamwoordelijke zinsdelen gemerkt door verschillende soorten voornaamwoordstammen, meervoudsachtervoegsels en rol-markerende morfemen. Tot slot worden interne constituenten van naamwoordelijke zinsdelen met betrekking tot hun functie en hun relatieve volgorde geïntroduceerd, en wordt de coördinatie van naamwoordelijke zinsdelen beschreven.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft voornaamwoorden en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden: twee soorten verwijzende woorden die nauw verwant zijn in het Sarikoli. Het hoofdstuk bestrijkt een heel scala aan gerelateerde onderwerpen: persoonlijke voornaamwoorden die de (eerste en tweede persoon) deelnemers aan de taalhandeling aanduiden; gebonden voornaamwoorden die worden gebruikt om congruentie tussen onderwerp en werkwoord, en aspect te markeren; naamwoordelijke aanwijzende voornaamwoorden die verwijzen naar personen die niet deelnemen aan de taalhandeling, en die een onderscheid maken gebaseerd op de relatieve afstand tot de spreker; aanwijzende voornaamwoord-clitica die als anaforen en cataforen fungeren; aanwijzende voornaamwoorden van plaats die naar locatie verwijzen; aanwijzende voornaamwoorden van wijze die verwijzen naar de verschillende manieren om een handeling te verrichten; wederkerende voornaamwoorden; en wederkerige voornaamwoorden.
Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft bezitsrelaties. De eerste paragraaf illustreert de naamwoordelijk zinsdeel-interne bezitsrelatie, en de tweede paragraaf presenteert de predicatieve bezitsconstructie.

Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft trappen van vergelijking. Er zijn twee manieren om comparatieve (oftewel de vergrote trap) uit te drukken: een enkelvoudige zinsconstructie en een samengestelde zinsconstructie. Superlatieven (oftewel de overtreffende trap) worden behandeld als een verlengstuk van comparatieve. Daaropvolgend worden verklaringen van gelijkheid beschreven, waarbij de Vergelijking en de Norm eenzelfde gradatie hebben op een gegeven parameter. Tot slot wordt de correlatieve vergelijking, die samengesteld is uit twee vergelijkende zinnen, gepresenteerd.

Hoofdstuk 6 is gewijd aan het brede scala van bijwoordelijke bepalingen die een nadere omschrijving geven van gezegden, zinnen, bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en andere bijwoordelijke bepalingen. Deze omvatten: bijwoordelijke bepalingen van tijd die de tijdsperiode van een toestand of gebeurtenis specificeren; bijwoordelijke bepalingen van hoeveelheid die aangeven hoe vaak een situatie zich voordoet; bijwoordelijke bepalingen van hoedanigheid die de manier beschrijven waarop een handeling wordt verricht; bijwoordelijke bepalingen van graad die de mate van een eigenschap of handeling tonen; bijwoordelijke bepalingen van modaliteit die aangeven wat in een sprekers opinie de waarschijnlijkheid is dat een situatie zal plaatsvinden; en bijwoorden die afgeleid zijn van bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en naambestanddelen door middel van een bijwoordelijk achtervoegsel.

Hoofdstuk 7 is een uiteenzetting van de drie voornaamste wijzen: de aantonende wijze, de gebiedende wijze, en de vragende wijze. De gebiedende en vragende wijzen hebben verschillende subtypes. Deze worden beschreven in de desbetreffende sub-paragrafen met betrekking tot hun morfosyntactische markering.

Hoofdstuk 8 bekijt de zinsstructuur. De standaard volgorde van constitutien wordt geschematiseerd en gevolgd door een overzicht van elk van de zinstypen die in het Sarikoli voorkomen: zinstypen met een werkwoordelijk gezegde, gezegden met een existentieel werkwoord, gezegden met een koppelwerkwoord, en uitgebreide gezegden met een koppelwerkwoord. De laatste paragraaf biedt een korte beschrijving van de plaatsing van niet-verplichte argumenten.
Hoofdstuk 9 introduceert diverse manieren om negatie uit te drukken. Negatie van werkwoordelijke gezegden, van gezegden met existentiële werkwoorden, van gezegden met koppelwerkwoorden, en van bepaalde individuele constitutienten worden besproken in de eerste paragrafen. Vervolgens wordt negatie van de gebiedende wijze beschreven. De daaropvolgende paragraaf presenteert positieve en negatieve zelfstandige polariteitsvormen, die fungeren als een één-woord antwoord op gesloten (polaire) vragen. Tot slot worden twee voorvoegsels die negatieve lexemen kunnen afleiden geïntroduceerd.

Hoofdstuk 10 is gewijd aan zinscombinaties. De eerste paragraaf is onderverdeeld in sub-paragrafen die de verschillende soorten samenstellingen introduceren: cumulatieve, opeenvolgende, oorzakelijke, tegenstelbare, disjunctieve, en asyndetische samenstellingen. De tweede paragraaf behandelt ondergeschiktheid, onderverdeeld in drie soorten: betrekkelijke bijzinnen, bijvoegelijke bijzinnen, en bijwoordelijke bijzinnen. Elke soort bijzin is onderverdeeld in subtypes op basis van morfosyntactische structuur en functie.

Hoofdstuk 11 beschrijft modaliteit, te weten, modale constructies die verschillende semantische contrasten aangeven gebaseerd op het perspectief van de spreker of de agens op een situatie: mogelijkheid, bekwaamheid, intentie, verlangen, aanstaande werkelijkheid, toestemming, verplichting, hypothese, wens, aanmaning, en veronderstelling.

Hoofdstuk 12 beschrijft een evidentialiteitstrategie die wordt gebruikt om informatie die niet eerstehands is en nieuwe informatie aan te geven. Hoewel beiden worden gemarkeerd door perfect aspect, hebben ze verschillende functies en worden ze gedetailleerd bestudeerd in afzonderlijke paragrafen. Dit hoofdstuk geeft voorbeelden van perfectieve, imperfectieve, en niet-werkwoordelijke proposities die worden gemarkeerd op evidentialiteit of nieuwe informatie, iets wat het mogelijke gebruik en de interpretatie van de perfecte werkwoordstammen illustreert.

Tot slot geeft het afsluitende hoofdstuk, Hoofdstuk 13, een lijst van alledaagse zinnen en uitdrukkingen waaronder groeten, afscheid nemen, bedanken, en typisch of idiomatisch spraakgebruik over alledaagse onderwerpen die essentieel zijn voor fatische uitwisselingen en alledaagse conversaties.
Curriculum vitae

Deborah Kim was born in Seoul, Republic of Korea in 1993. From 2011 to 2013, she studied at Trinity Western University (Canada), where she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Linguistics and graduated with the highest grade point average in her graduating class. During one of her summers as an undergraduate, she traveled for the first time to Varshide (Tashkorgan) and became intrigued by its people, place, and language. In 2013 and 2014, she conducted field research on Sarikoli in Varshide and wrote her MA thesis on Sarikoli subordinate clauses; she obtained her Master of Arts in Linguistics at the University of North Dakota (USA) in the summer of 2014. In the fall of 2014, she became a postgraduate researcher in Chinese minority languages at Xinjiang University (China), continuing research in Sarikoli. In November 2015, she was admitted as a PhD researcher at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, with a research project on describing the syntax of Sarikoli.