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Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
AC	adverbial clause
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverbial
AMT	amount
ANA	anaphora
BEN	benefactive
CAP	capability
CATA	cataphora
CAUS	causative
CC	complement clause
CESS	cessative
CL	classifier
COM	comitative-instrumental
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CORR	correlative conjunction
CP	copula complement
CPRV	comparative
CS	copula subject
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DUR	durative
E	extended argument
EMP	emphasis
GEN	genitive
IMM	imminent
INF	infinitive
INTEN	intentional
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NNOM	non-nominative
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	transitive object
ORD	ordinal number
PER	perlative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
PRIV	privative
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
Q	question marker
RC	relative clause
RDP	reduplication
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
S	intransitive subject
SC	subordinating conjunction
SEMB	semblative
SG	singular
SUP	supposition
SUPL	superlative
TEMP	temporal
TERM	terminative
VOC	vocative

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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 *tudʒik, sariquli*, or *sarikuj*. *tudʒik* is the preferred endonym, as shown in examples (2.71), (2.118), (2.215), (3.73), (5.18), (6.51), (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 *tʂin tudʒik* or *dʒonggo tudʒik* '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 Varshide (*varɕidɛ*), 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.

Varshide County is officially composed of eleven *gungɕi* (公社), or communes[3], which represent the main villages. The commune names are listed below in Table 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

[3]Communes are a result of Maoist era Chinese government policy that dates only to the 1950s or later, not a Sarikoli cultural feature.

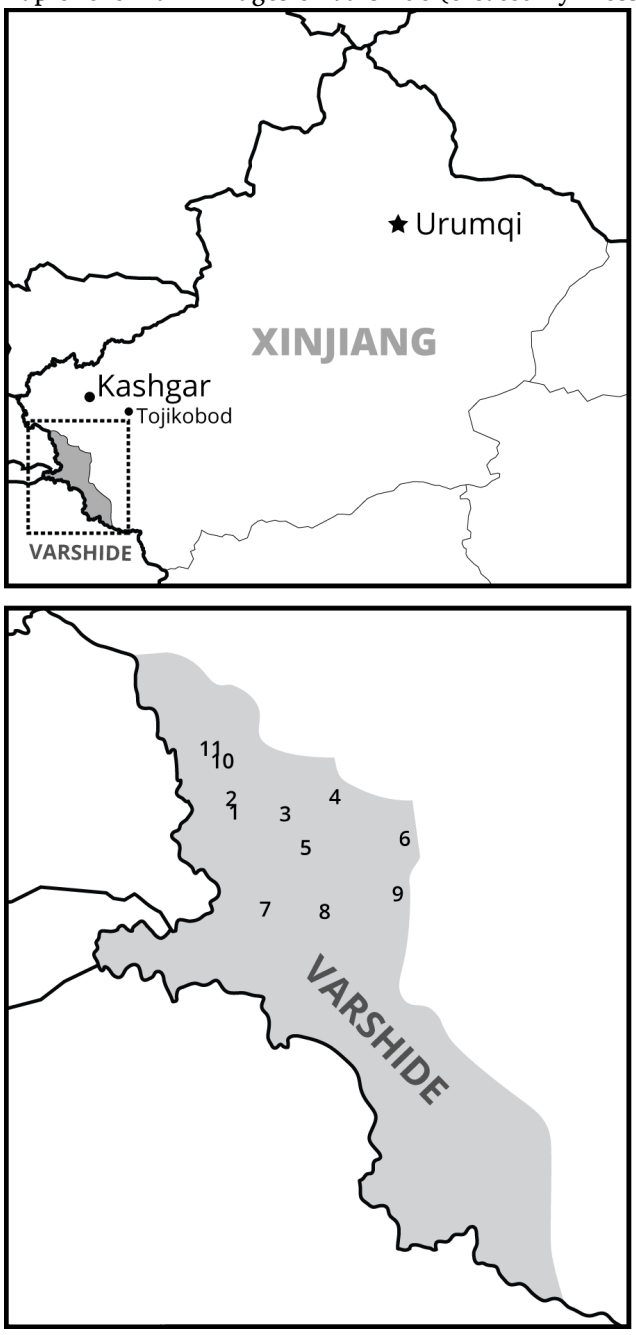
noteworthy village is a small village called Tor, located between Koghushluk and Teeng, but lying just outside the county border; it is the home of most Uyghur-speaking Tajiks.

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

	IPA transcription	Orthographical spelling
1	*varɕidɛ*	Varshide
2	*tuzɴɛf*	Teezɴɛf
3	*baldir*	Baldir
4	*koʁuɕluk*	Koghushluk
5	*watɕa*	Wacha
6	*tuŋg*	Teeng
7	*ðavðor*	Thavthor
8	*marjong*	Maryong
9	*brumsol*	Brumsol
10	*taʁarmi*	Tagharmi
11	*kɛkjor*	Kekyor
12	*todʑikobod*	Tojikobod
13	*xwor*	Kashgar
14	*urumtɕi*	Urumqi

The following map shows the locations of these eleven main villages. Their numbering is in the same order as they are listed in Table 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 highland barley and 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 Sheawgeenbahor/Neawreez Eid (*ɕəwgunbahor/nəwruz ejd*), Qeerbun Eid (*qurbun ejd*), and Pilik Eid (*pilik ejd*). Sheawgeenbahor 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 *tɕɛd tɕadɛr 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 *tɕɛd 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 (*tɕumband*). The groom wears black, with a red and white cloth (*sala*) braided around the usual black wool hat (*tumoʁ*) 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 (*xanitsamug*), 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 (*ɕedoi* 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. *χuɕi* '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. *χafagi* '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 tudʑik*) 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 clitics and suffixes, 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; Skjærvø 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 Ghalchah 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 Ghalchah 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

[4]My 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, Teeznef, 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 Deyqun, 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 Table 1.3 below.

Table 1.2 Sarikoli consonant phonemes

	Labial	**Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Alveolo-palatal**	**Velar**	**Uvular**	**Glottal**
Stop	p		t		k	q	
	b		d		g		
Affricate			ts	tɕ			
			dz	dʑ			
Fricative	f	θ	s	ɕ	x	χ	h
	v	ð	z	ʑ	ɣ	ʁ	
Nasal	m		n				
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glide	w			j			

Table 1.3 Sarikoli vowel phonemes

	Front	**Central**	**Back**	
Close	i		ɯ	u
Close-mid	e			o
Mid		ə		
Open-mid	ɛ			
Open		a		

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-χejl=af *a=bejroq* *naɣmɯg*
asˈkar-χejl=af *a=bejˈroq* *ˈnaɣmɯg*
soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=flag hide.PFV
'The soldiers hid the flag.'

(1.2)
niso *pa* *maktab* *xtsɯvd* *ɯsɯl* *χumand* *sɯt*
niˈso *pa* *makˈtab* *xˈtsɯvd* *ɯˈsɯl* *χuˈmand* *sɯt*
Niso LOC school eagle dance learn become.PFV
'Niso learned the eagle dance at school.'

(1.3)
ʁadar *tɛdz* *tsa* *pa* *puiz* *dejd* *tɕi*
ʁaˈdar *ˈtɛdz* *tsa* *pa* *puˈiz* *ˈdejd* *tɕi*
three.days.hence go.IPFV COND LOC train enter.INF CAP

ka
ˈka
do.IPFV
'If you go three days from today, you can get on the train.'

(1.4)
χalisa *az* *ɯrik-i* *xudʑ* *na* *ðord*
χaliˈsa *az* *ɯrik-ˈi* *xudʑ* *ˈna* *ðord*
Halisa ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.3SG.IPFV
'Halisa is not afraid of the dark.'

1.4.1.3 Glide epenthesis

The glide [j] is epenthesized 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.

(1.5)
watɕa at baldir
watɕa jat baldir
Wacha CONJ Baldir
'Wacha and Baldir'

(1.6)
na=am vusond
na=jam vusond
NEG=1SG.PFV show.PFV
'I did not show it.'

(1.7)
samu=at tɕəwg=o
samu=jat tɕəwg=o
walk=2SG.PFV do.PFV=Q
'Did you take a walk?'

(1.8)
a=di mɯ=ri hat ka=o
a=di mɯ=ri hat ka=jo
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM=DAT open do.IPFV=Q
'Will you open this for me?'

(1.9)
ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tɕost tsa
ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tɕost 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

	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF	INF
'say'	*lɛv*	*lɛvd*	*lɛvd*	*lɛvdʑ*	*lɛvd*
'gather'	*wix*	*wixt*	*wixt*	*wixtɕ*	*wixt*
'ask'	*pars*	*parst*	*parst*	*parstɕ*	*parst*
'dig'	*kəw*	*kəwd*	*kəwd*	*kəwdʑ*	*kəwd*
'write'	*naviɕ*	*naviɕt*	*naviɕt*	*naviɕtɕ*	*naviɕt*
'use'	*rafon*	*rafond*	*rafond*	*rafondʑ*	*rafond*
'know'	*wazon*	*wazond*	*wazond*	*wazondʑ*	*wazond*

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. Table 1.5 lists some irregular verbs and their stems. The first is a morphologically suppletive paradigm.

Table 1.5 Examples of irregular verbs

	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF	INF
'do'	*ka(n)*	*kaxt*	*tɕəwg*	*tɕəwɣdʑ*	*tɕejg*
'become'	*so*	*səwd*	*sut*	*sɛðdʑ*	*sɛt*
'eat'	*χor*	*χird*	*χug*	*χuɣdʑ*	*χig*
'come'	*joð*	*joðd*	*jot*	*iθtɕ*	*jɛt*
'bring'	*vor*	*vird*	*vəwg*	*vəwɣdʑ*	*vejg*
'grind'	*jon*	*jigd*	*jug*	*juɣdʑ*	*jig*
'disappear'	*bis*	*bast*	*bejd*	*bɛðdʑ*	*bejd*

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 *χig* 'eat'.

Table 1.6 Conjugations of *χig* 'eat'

	IPFV	PFV	PRF
Clitic:	on verb	preverbal	preverbal
1SG	*waz χor=am*	*waz=am χug*	*waz=am χuɣdʑ*
	'I (will) eat.'	'I ate.'	'I have eaten.'
2SG	*təw χor=Ø*	*təw=at χug*	*təw=at χuɣdʑ*
	'You (will) eat.'	'You ate.'	'You have eaten.'
3SG	*ju χird*	*ju=Ø χug*	*ju=Ø χuɣdʑ*
	'S/he (will) eat.'	'S/he ate.'	'S/he has eaten.'
1PL	*maɕ χor=an*	*maɕ=an χug*	*maɕ=an χuɣdʑ*
	'We (will) eat.'	'We ate.'	'We have eaten.'
2PL	*tamaɕ χor=it*	*tamaɕ=af χug*	*tamaɕ=af χuɣdʑ*
	'You(pl) (will) eat.'	'You(pl) ate.'	'You(pl) have eaten.'
3PL	*woð χor=in*	*woð=af χug*	*woð=af χuɣdʑ*
	'They (will) eat.'	'They ate.'	'They have eaten.'

Examples (1.10) - (1.19) illustrate how the five verb stems of *χig* 'eat' are combined with pronominal agreement clitics to form sentences. In the imperfective aspect, the imperfective stem, *χor*, 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* *xipik* *χor=am*
1SG.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I (will) eat flatbread.'

(1.11) *tamaɕ* *xipik* *χor=it*
2PL.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) (will) eat flatbread.'

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

(1.12) *mu* *jaχ* *xipik* *χird*
1SG.NNOM sister flatbread eat.3SG.IPFV
'My sister eats/will eat flatbread.'

(1.13) *ju* *xipik* *χird*
3SG.NOM.DIST flatbread eat.3SG.IPFV
'He eats/will eat flatbread.'

The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective stem, *χɯg*, with the perfective clitic attached to a preverbal element. (1.14) has the first person plural perfective clitic, *=an*, and (1.15) has the third person plural perfective clitic, *=af*.

(1.14) *maɕ=an* *ingum* *xipik* *χɯg*
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV just.now flatbread eat.PFV
'We ate flatbread just now.'

(1.15) *doð=af* *ingum* *xipik* *χɯg*
3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV just.now flatbread eat.PFV
'These people ate flatbread just now.'

The perfect aspect contains the perfect stem, *χɯɣdʑ*, as well as the perfective clitic attached to a preverbal element. (1.16) has the second person singular perfective clitic, *=at*, and (1.17) has the third person plural perfective clitic, *=af*.

(1.16) *təw=at* *xipik* *tagəw* *na* *χɯɣdʑ*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV flatbread at.all NEG eat.PRF
'You have not eaten any flatbread at all. (Evidential/New information)'

(1.17) *woð=af* *xipik* *tagəw* *na* *χɯɣdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV 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, *χig*, which does not occur with an agreement clitic because it is within a subordinate clause.

(1.18) *jad* *pɯgan* *χig=itɕuz* *xipik*
3SG.NOM.PROX tomorrow eat.INF=REL flatbread
'This is flatbread that will be eaten tomorrow.'

(1.19) *mɯ* *dil* *xipik* *χig*
1SG.NNOM 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 /dʐ/. Table 1.7 presents some causatives that are commonly used, along with the corresponding non-causative verb.

Table 1.7 Examples of causative verbs

	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF	INF
'lie'	*alos*	*alost*	*aluud*	*aluudʐ*	*alid*
'lie.CAUS'	*alazon*	*alazond*	*alazond*	*alazondʐ*	*alazond*
'reach'	*frops*	*fropst*	*fript*	*fripʈʂ*	*fript*
'reach.CAUS'	*frapon*	*frapond*	*frapond*	*frapondʐ*	*frapond*
'sleep'	*xufs*	*xufst*	*xuvd*	*xuvdʐ*	*xovd*
'sleep.CAUS'	*xafson*	*xafsond*	*xafsond*	*xafsondʐ*	*xafsond*
'read'	*xuj*	*xujd*	*xojd*	*xojdʐ*	*xojd*
'read.CAUS'	*xajon*	*xajond*	*xajond*	*xajondʐ*	*xajond*
'eat'	*χor*	*χird*	*χug*	*χuɣdʐ*	*χig*
'eat.CAUS'	*χuron*	*χurond*	*χurond*	*χurondʐ*	*χurond*
'cry'	*nəw*	*nəwd*	*niwd*	*niwdʐ*	*niwd*
'cry.CAUS'	*nawon*	*nawond*	*nawond*	*nawondʐ*	*nawond*
'burn'	*θəw*	*θəwd*	*θud*	*θɛðdʐ*	*θid*
'burn.CAUS'	*θawon*	*θawond*	*θawond*	*θawondʐ*	*θawond*
'move'	*dʐumb*	*dʐumbd*	*dʐumbd*	*dʐumbdʐ*	*dʐumbd*
'move.CAUS'	*dʐumbon*	*dʐumbond*	*dʐumbond*	*dʐumbondʐ*	*dʐumbond*

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. *jad=ik* *uʐ* *nəwd*
3SG.NOM.PROX=DUR again cry.3SG.IPFV
'This one is crying again.'

b. *tɕoj* *a=wi* *nawond*
who.NOM ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX cry.CAUS.PFV
'Who caused her to cry?'

(1.21) a. *tamaɕ* *dʑald* *χu* *lɛq* *pamɛdz=it,*
2PL.NOM fast REFL.NNOM clothing wear.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

tamoq *χor=it*
food eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Put your(pl) clothes on quickly and eat.'

b. *waz=am* *a=tamaɕ* *ðɛs* *sul*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=2PL.NNOM ten year

χurond *pamɛdzond*
eat.CAUS.PFV wear.CAUS.PFV
'I have fed you and clothed you for ten years.'

(1.22) a. *mu* *bob* *xats* *bruxt*
1SG.NNOM grandfather water drink.PFV
'My grandfather drank water.'

b. *waz=am* *χu* *bob=ir* *xats*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM grandfather=DAT water

brazond
drink.CAUS.PFV
'I fed my grandfather water.'

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. *tɕejg* 'do', *sɛt* 'become', *ðod* 'give', and *χig* 'eat' are among the most common verbs to be used in compound verbs. Table 1.8 lists examples of frequently-used compound verbs.

Table 1.8 Examples of compound verbs

Compound verb	Components	Meaning
iɕ tɕejg	cold + do	'be cold'
tej tɕejg	wedding + do	'marry'
hat tɕejg	open + do	'open'
gap tɕejg	word + do	'talk'
jordam tɕejg	help + do	'help'
ub sɛt	melt + become	'melt'
ago sɛt	awake + become	'wake up'
aluk sɛt	tired + become	'get tired'
χafo sɛt	upset + become	'get upset'
azmud sɛt	born + become	'be born'
mut ðod	fist + give	'punch'
lutɕ ðod	kick + give	'kick'
para ðod	sell + give	'sell'
fand ðod	false + give	'lie'
dzɛq ðod	squat + give	'squat'
lɛχ χig	bump + eat	'bump into'
χam χig	bend + eat	'bend'
ditɕur χig	encounter + eat	'encounter'
ʁazun χig	wither + eat	'wither'
rawudʑ χig	thriving + eat	'thrive'

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=sandɛq hat tɕəwg*
Farzana ACC=box open do.PFV
'Farzana opened the box.'

(1.24) *a=maɕ=at* *fand* *ðudʑ*
ACC=1PL.NNOM=2SG.PFV false give.PRF
'You have lied to us. (Evidential/New information)'

(1.25) *χu* *radzɛn* *tsaʁa* *para* *ðo=am*
REFL.NNOM daughter how sell give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'How could I sell my own daughter?'

(1.26) *nuɾ=af* *waχti* *ago* *sut*
today=3PL.PFV early awake become.PFV
'They woke up early today.'

(1.27) *kalo-χejl=af* *mas* *iɕ* *tɕəwɣdʑ*
sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV also cold do.PRF
'The sheep also got cold.'

(1.28) *waz=am* *i* *suat* *dzɛq* *ðud*
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

Category	Function	Members
Agreement	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	Introduced in §3.2

Category	Function	Members
Function-marking	Marks the clausal function of an NP	*a=* (ACC), *=ir/=ri* (DAT)
Aspectual	Indicates lesser aspects in combination with verb stem and pronominal agreement clitic	*=ik* (DUR)
Subordinating	Forms nominalized complement clauses and reason adverbial clauses	*=i* (SC)
Relativizer	Forms relative clauses	*=ɛndʑ* (REL), *=itɕuz* (REL)
Demonstrative	Marks anaphora, cataphora, and physical distance	*k(i)=* (ANA), *m(i)=* (CATA)
Emphatic	Attaches to an emphasized constituent	*=aθ* (EMP)
Interrogative	Attaches to a sentence or particular constituent and forms polar questions	*=o* (Q)

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 *=ik* or cessative suffix *–it*.

=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) *m-ono=ik* *tamoq* *kaxt*
1SG.NNOM-mother=DUR food do.3SG.IPFV
'My mother is making food.'

(1.30) *malɯm-χejl=ik* *a=tamaɕ* *tɕos=in*
teacher-PL.NOM=DUR ACC=2PL.NNOM 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) *paləw=am=ik* *χɯg*
pilaf=1SG.PFV=DUR eat.PFV
'I have eaten pilaf (multiple times).'

(1.32) *malɯm pa tɕɛd=am=ik* *dejd*
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 adverbial clauses:

(1.33) *tamaɕ=af* *uz* *i* *maθ=ik* *tsa* *naluɻtɕ-it*
2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV again one day=DUR COND sit.PRF-CESS

maɕ=an=ik *tɯp* *amad* *ar* *tej*
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV=DUR group Amad LOC wedding

sɛðdʑ-it
become.PRF-CESS
'If you(pl) had stayed one more day, we would have all gone to Amad's wedding together.'

(1.34) *mɯ-an* *hansɯ* *ziv* *kasp* *vid* *tɕi* *dʑuj*
1SG.NNOM-GEN Han tongue major be.INF LOC place

inglɛs *ziv* *kasp=ik* *tsa* *vɛðdʑ-it*
English tongue major=DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

waz=am=ik *az* *ta* *inglɛs* *ziv*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR ABL 2SG.NNOM English tongue

χɯmand *sɛðdʑ-it*
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* *χovd* *tu=ri*
ABL lesson=1SG.PFV=DUR go.down.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT

lɛv=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*
3SG.NOM.PROX movie=DUR finish become.PFV LOC bazaar

so=an
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* *səwd=ik* *lɛvd*
NEG become.3SG.IPFV=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
'He is saying, "It is not okay".'

(1.38) *ta* *dil=ik* *lɛv=in*
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* *wandʑ-it*
one day=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS
'I saw(/had seen) her the other day.'

(1.40) *woð=af* *parus* *i* *ʁots* *mu=ri*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV last.year one girl 1SG.NNOM=DAT

buxtɕ-it
send.PRF-CESS
'They sent me a girl last year.'

(1.41) *waz* *nardʑɛd* *alo* *təw=at* *mɯ* *tɕi*
1SG.NOM pass.INF TEMP 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC

kol *ɕindʑ-it*
head laugh.PRF-CESS
'When I passed by, you laughed at me.'

(1.42) *nɯr* *kampir* *a=mɯ* *pa* *tɕɛd* *lɛvdʑ-it*
today old.lady ACC=1SG.NNOM LOC house say.PRF-CESS

tɕoj *broxt=ir*
tea drink.INF=DAT
'Today the old lady invited me to her house for tea.'

(1.43) *waz=am* *ɯtɕ* *tɯr* *sɛðdʑ-it,* *pa*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV very thirsty become.PRF-CESS LOC

tɕɛd=am *dejd,* *tazo* *xats=am* *brɯxt*
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) *eej* *jɯ* *tɕurik* *mɯ=ri* *lɛvdʑ-it* *iko*
INTJ 3SG.NOM.DIST man 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.PRF-CESS SC

ditɕur *χɯɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *a=rusq* *tagəw* *mo*
encounter eat.PRF=REL ACC=portion ever PROH

patəw
throw.IPFV
'Oh yeah, that man told me, "Never throw away an offered portion that you come across".'

(1.45) *ha* *ðod=ir=ik* *vəw* *bɯðon~mabɯðon* *qati*
INTJ give.INF=DAT=DUR be.IPFV saddle~RDP COM

ðo, *ingum=at* *mɯ* *pa* *gap* *na*
give.IPFV just.now=2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC word NEG

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.'

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 *-χejl* or *-ɛf*, 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 χalg* 'one person'; *jad χalg* '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 *-χejl* 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-χejl=af* *tujd*
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. *vɛðdʑ* *na* *vɛðdz* *haroj* *vrud=af* *vɛðdʑ*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)'

b. **vɛðdʑ* *na* *vɛðdz* *haroj* *vrud-χejl=af*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

vɛðdʑ
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.'

b. **nur=af* *tsavur* *kalo-ɛf* *kaxt*
today=3PL.PFV four sheep-PL.NNOM 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) *χalg* *mɯ* *tɕi* *kol* *ɕond*
person 1SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.3SG.IPFV
'People will laugh at me.'

(2.6) *kɯd* *a=ta* *waðord*
dog ACC=2SG.NNOM grab.3SG.IPFV
'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 is not definite:

(2.7) *mɯ=ri* *i* *tɕini* *vor*
1SG.NNOM=DAT one bowl bring.IPFV
'Bring me a bowl.'

(2.8) *amad* *maɕ=ir* *i* *bejt* *lɛvd*
Amad 1PL.NNOM=DAT one song say.3SG.IPFV
'Amad will sing us a song.'

(2.9) *pa* *tɕɛd* *i* *χalg* *iθtɕ*
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.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q
'Are they going somewhere?'

(2.11) *az* *amriko* *mɯ=ri* *i* *tsiz* *vor=o*
ABL America 1SG.NNOM=DAT one thing bring.IPFV=Q
'Will you bring something for me from America?'

(2.12) *təw=at* *i* *tisz* *uj* *tɕəwg,* *nej*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV one thing thought do.PFV NEG
'You thought of something, didn't you?'

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=*. The following pair of sentences demonstrates *a=* marking definiteness on direct objects.

(2.13) *ingum=am* *xtur* *wand*
just.now=1SG.PFV camel see.PFV
'I saw a camel/camels just now.'

(2.14) *ingum=am* *a=xtur* *wand*
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) *ju* *χalg* *pa* *χu* *jɛt* *az* *zabu*
3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC REFL.NNOM come.INF ABL back

dijur *χalg-χejl=af* *a=wi*
region person-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

χu *ar* *maðon* *zuxt*
REFL.NNOM LOC middle get.PFV
'After that person returned to consciousness, the villagers surrounded him.'

(2.16) *alima* *malum* *a=di* *batɕo-ɛf*
Alima teacher ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX child-PL.NNOM

rond
scold.PFV
'Teacher Alima scolded these children.'

(2.17)

təw = at	*χɯ*	*nɯmɯr*	*wi*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV	REFL.NNOM	number	3SG.NNOM.DIST

əwrat = ir	*lɛvd = o*
woman = DAT	say.PFV = Q

'Did you tell your number to that woman?'

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 *χalifa* (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*, *raʂid*, *asan*, *ibruhim*, *ismoil*, *usuf*, *ejso*, *dowud*, *abdul*, and *akram* for male names; *alima*, *fatima*, *mastura*, *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

Name	Situation
nəwruz 'Neawreez Eid'	born on Neawreez Eid, a festival
qurbun 'Qeerbun Eid'	born on Qeerbun Eid, a festival
ejdboj 'Eid rich person'	born on an Eid (festival)
ɕanbɛ 'Saturday'	born on a Saturday
dʑuma 'Friday'	born on a Friday
tɕorɕanbɛ 'Wednesday'	born on a Wednesday
sovdzi 'greenness'	born in the Spring
ɕanggang 'Hong Kong'	born on July 1, 1997 (Hong Kong's return to China)

Finally, many people are named after common nouns, such as: *tɕini* 'bowl', *qalamdun* 'pencil case', *sarmusoq* 'garlic', *zejtun* 'olive', *dejqun* 'farmer', *olim* 'scholar', *χonim* 'female teacher', *askar* 'soldier', *qoʁaz* 'paper', *bulbul* 'nightingale', *nuɕ* 'apricot', *tilu* 'gold', *budum* 'almond', *asal* 'honey', *zandʑabil* 'ginger', *dʑimak* 'faucet', *qulf* 'lock', *nazar* 'glance; view', *marwuri* 'pearl', *murud* 'aspiration', *haqiqat* 'truth', *maχsat* 'purpose', *dewlat* 'country; estate', *tɕulpon* 'celebrity', and *gul* 'flower'.

Names are often compounded. Any two names can be compounded, usually resulting in two-, three-, or four-syllabled names. Names that are very frequently compounded with others include: *dʑon* 'life', *bejg* 'ruler', *ɕo* 'king', *dil* 'heart; desire', *boj* 'rich person', *qurbun* 'sacrifice; Qeerbun Eid', and *din* 'religion' for male names; *gul* 'flower' and *bibi* 'religious teacher's wife' for female names; and *χon* 'king', *nur* 'light', *baχt* 'happiness', and *aziz* 'love' for names of either gender. Examples include: *nurdin* 'light-religion', *dilaziz* 'heart-love', *dilmurud* 'heart-aspiration', *olimdʑon* 'scholar-life', *dʑawonɕo* 'world-king', *bibigul* 'religious teacher's wife-flower', *gulχon* 'flower-king', *gulnur* 'flower-light', *baχtigul* 'happiness-flower', and *awagul* 'air-flower'.

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: *χwðoj* 'God' and *ɕejtun* '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 Table 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* *mu=ri* *χuɕ* *nist*
cold-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
'I do not like coldness.'

(2.19) *wi* *ləwr-i* *m=dund*
3SG.NNOM.DIST big-NMLZ CATA=AMT
'Its size is this big.'

(2.20) *waz* *wɛf* *garun-i* *isub*
1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST heavy-NMLZ calculate

ka=am
do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will calculate their weight.'

(2.21) *waz* *az* *turik-i* *xudʑ* *na* *ðor=am*
1SG.NOM ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I am not afraid of the dark.'

(2.22) *ta* *χuðm* *pɛχtɕ=o* *ta* *aluk-i*
2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF=Q 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ

naxtuɣdʑ=o
go.up.PRF=Q
'Has your dream ripened? Has your tiredness gone out? (Evidential/New information)'

(2.23) *sofia* *kako* *zird-i* *na* *χird*
Sofia egg yellow-NMLZ NEG eat.3SG.IPFV
'Sofia does not eat the egg yolk.'

The substantival nominalizer *-əw* 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*

dzulik-əw 'small one'	*χuɕruj-əw* 'pretty one'	*buland-əw* 'tall one'
ləwr-əw 'big one'	*sart-əw* 'ugly one'	*daruz-əw* 'long one'
ʑit-əw 'bad one'	*digar iw-əw* 'other one'	*kut-əw* 'short one'
tɕardʑ-əw 'good one'	*iw-əw* 'one/someone'	*itang-əw* 'some'

The *-gi* suffix attaches to adjectives and nouns to derive abstract nouns:

Table 2.3 Nouns derived with *-gi*

ɕta-gi 'coldness'	*batɕa-gi* 'childhood'	*zunda-gi* 'everyday life'
pukzo-gi 'cleanliness'	*ruwat-gi* 'enjoyment'	*nawazond-gi* 'ignorance'
hajut-gi 'life'	*χafa-gi* 'sadness'	*χabar-gi* 'news informedness'
talva-gi 'enthusiasm'	*qilo-gi* 'hardship'	*riχnu-gi* 'brightness'
χuɕruj-gi 'beauty'	*aziz-gi* 'love'	*atobalo-gi* 'father-child relationship'

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) *jad* *kampir* *tiʒd*
3SG.NOM.PROX old.lady go.3SG.IPFV
'This old lady will leave.'

(2.25) *nur* *maɕ* *a=tamaɕ* *mejmun* *ka=an*
today 1PL.NOM ACC=2PL.NNOM guest do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'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-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. 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

	NOM	NNOM
pronoun	*waz* 'I'	*mu pa bun* 'next to me'
	təw 'you'	*ta qati* 'with you'
demonstrative	*doð* 'these'	*a=dɛf* 'these(ACC)'
	ju 'that'	*wi rang* 'like that'
	jad ʑɛð 'this thief'	*di ʑɛð avon* 'for this thief'
	ju ktub-χejl 'those books'	*a=wi ktub-ɛf* 'those books(ACC)'
plural marking	*ano-χejl* 'mothers'	*az ano-ɛf* 'from mothers'
	mɛrz-χejl 'ants'	*mɛrz-ɛf=ir* 'to ants'
	balax-χejl 'pillows'	*tɕi balax-ɛf* 'on pillows'

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)

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

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) *tiloχon pa duχturχuno woxt maθ aɯd*
Tilohon LOC hospital eight day lie.PFV
'Tilohon lay in the hospital for eight days.'

(2.27) *əwrat-χejl pa tɕɛd ris=in*
woman-PL.NOM LOC house remain.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The women stay home.'

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

(2.28) *i maθ i ruʑ ju ɯgej vrud bðon*
one day one day 3SG.NOM.DIST non-blood brother saddle

tɯxt
carve.3SG.IPFV
'One day, the non-blood brother carved a saddle.'

(2.29) *ato ano-χejl χu batɕo avon*
father mother-PL.NOM REFL.NNOM child BEN

a=χu qurbɯn ka=in
ACC=REFL.NNOM sacrifice do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'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) *mɯ tɕi tɛr-nɛndʑ wɛz ɯtɕ garun*
1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy
'The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.'

(2.31) *paraxɛb iθtɕ=ɛndʑ mejmun-χejl nəwz pa tɕɛd*
two.days.prior come.PRF=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) *tɯ=ri* *tilfon* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *χalg* *waz*
2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.PRF=REL person 1SG.NOM
'The person who called you is me.'

(2.33) *jad* *dʑam* *mɯ=ri* *nasib*
3SG.NOM.PROX all 1SG.NNOM=DAT grant

sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ *narsa-χejl*
become.PRF=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* *səwg* *maɕ=ir* *lɛv*
VOC grandmother one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV
'Grandma, tell us a story.'

(2.35) *ej* *ʁots* *ɕɯv* *dos* *mo* *ka*
VOC girl calm manner PROH do.IPFV
'Hey girl, be quiet, don't do that!'

(2.36) *iː* *χɯðoj* *i* *batɕo* *mɯ=ri* *nasib* *tsa* *ka*
VOC God one child 1SG.NNOM=DAT grant COND do.IPFV
'O God, if only you would grant me a child.'

(2.37) *a* *batɕo-χejl* *tamaɕ=af* *nur* *tsejz* *tɕəwg*
VOC child-PL.NOM 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV today what do.PFV
'Hey children, what did you(pl) do today?'

(2.38) *mɯ* *azizdʑin* *jaχ* *vrɯd-χejl* *tamaɕ=ir*
1SG.NNOM dear sister brother-PL.NOM 2PL.NNOM=DAT

χɯɕomadi
welcome
'My dear brothers and sisters, welcome!'

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).

(2.39) *waz* *qalam* *vor=am*
1SG.NOM pen bring.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will bring a pen.'

(2.40) *waz* *a=qalam* *vor=am*
1SG.NOM ACC=pen bring.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will bring the pen.'

(2.41) a. *a=qalam-ɛf=am* *vəwg*
ACC=pen-PL.NNOM=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'I brought the pens.'

b. **a=qalam-χejl=am* *vəwg*
ACC=pen-PL.NOM=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'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=muu=at* *bo* *na* *tɕəwg*
ACC=1SG.NNOM=2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
'You have not kissed me.'

b. **muu=at* *bo* *na* *tɕəwg*
1SG.NNOM=2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
'You have not kissed me.'

(2.43) a. *m-oto* *a=tamaɕ* *rond*
1SG.NNOM-father ACC=2PL.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV
'My father will scold you(pl)!'

b. **m-oto* *tamaɕ* *rond*
1SG.NNOM-father 2PL.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV
'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* *kɛf* *waðor*
CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX wallet grab.IPFV
'Grab this wallet.'

b. **mi=di* *kɛf* *waðor*
CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX wallet grab.IPFV
'Grab this wallet.'

(2.45) a. *k=a=wi* *guxt* *zoxt=ir=af*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST meat get.INF=DAT=3PL.PFV

tɯjdʑ
go.PRF
'They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)'

b. **ki=wi* *guxt* *zoxt=ir=af* *tɯjdʑ*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.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.

(2.46) *doð=af* *wɛf* *(a=)tɕɛd*
3PL.NOM.PROX=PL.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC=house

tɕakt
demolish.PFV
'These people demolished their house.'

(2.47) *mɯ* *(a=)dʑun* *kalt* *na* *ka=o*
1SG.NNOM ACC=life save NEG do.IPFV=Q
'Will you not save my life?'

2.2.1.3 Dative =ir/=ri

The dative function is marked with the *=ir/=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 *=ir* and vowel-final words take *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) *ju* *wi* *ɣin* *χɯ* *lɛq*
3SG.NOM.DIST 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife REFL.NNOM clothing

tojʒd *kanejzak=ir* *ðid*
pull.3SG.IPFV servant=DAT give.3SG.IPFV
'She—his wife—pulls off her clothing and gives it to a servant.'

(2.49) *a=di* *rasim* *χ-oto*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX picture REFL.NNOM-father

χ-ono=ri *mo* *vɯson=it*
REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT PROH show.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Do not show this picture to your parents.'

(2.50) *batɕo-ɛf=ir=am* *nəwz* *na* *lɛvd*
child-PL.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV still NEG say.PFV
'I have not told the children yet.'

(2.51) *waz* *χɯ* *radzɛn=ir* *baron*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM daughter=DAT dress

intsov=am
sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will sew a dress for my daughter.'

(2.52) *mɯ=ri* *tsejz* *samʁut* *vor*
1SG.NNOM=DAT what gift bring.IPFV
'What gift will you bring for me?'

(2.53) *ʁəwz* *di=ri* *χɯɕ*
walnut 3SG.NNOM.PROX=DAT happy
'This person likes walnuts.' (lit. Walnuts are pleasing to this person.)

(2.54) *az maç ðəw tɯ=ri tɕoj ləwr*
ABL 1PL.NNOM two 2SG.NNOM=DAT who.NOM big

nɯmujd
seem.3SG.IPFV
'Of the two of us, who seems bigger to you?'

(2.55) *mɯ vits a=maç tamoq=ir qiw tɕəwg*
1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1PL.NNOM food=DAT call do.PFV
'My aunt invited us over for food.'

(2.56) *maç sɛð qurbun ejd=ir varçidɛ na*
1PL.NOM this.year Qeerbun festival=DAT Varshide NEG

waʒɛfs=an
return.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We are not returning to Varshide for Qeerbun Festival this year.'

The dative enclitic *=ir/=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.

(2.57) *χɯ bob qati na so=o*
REFL.NNOM grandfather COM NEG become.IPFV=Q
'Are you not going with your grandfather?'

(2.58) *təw maç qati tsa vəw bɛχatar*
2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM COM COND be.IPFV safe
'If you are with us, you are safe.'

(2.59) *waz di qati riqobat*
1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX COM competition

ka=am
do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I compete with this one.'

(2.60) *waz = am* *χu* *tɕur* *qati* *ɛp*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM husband COM fitting

sut
become.PFV
'I got reconciled to my husband.'

(2.61) *wɛf* *qati* *maɕ* *ɛp* *na*
3PL.NNOM.DIST COM 1PL.NOM fitting NEG

joð = an, *woð* *iχil* *a = maɕ*
come.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 3PL.NOM.DIST often ACC = 1PL.NNOM

buzak *ka = in*
harassment do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'We do not get along with them, as they are constantly harassing us.'

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) *χu* *ðust* *qati* *χor = o,* *tɕib* *qati*
REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPFV = Q spoon COM
'Will you eat with your hand or with a spoon?'

(2.63) *qalam* *qati* *χu* *vrəw = at* *tiʑd = o*
pen COM REFL.NNOM eyebrow = 2SG.PFV draw.PFV = Q
'Did you draw your eyebrow with a pen?'

(2.64) *parwejdz* *qati* *ʑəw* *puk* *kan = an*
sieve COM grain sift do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We sift the grain with a sieve.'

(2.65) *pa* *varɕidɛ* *tur* *qati* *muji* *na* *waðor = in*
LOC Varshide net COM fish NEG catch.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'In Varshide they do not catch fish with a net.'

(2.66) *moɕin* *(qati)* *naj,* *ɕɛr* *qati* *so = an*
car COM NEG donkey COM become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We will not go by car, but by donkey.'

(2.67) *ano-χejl* *i* *ðust* *qati* *praxt* *dʑumbon=in,*
mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

uz *i* *ðust* *qati* *a=dinju* *dʑumbon=in*
again one hand COM ACC=world move.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Mothers move cradles with one hand and move the world with the other.'

In the following examples, arguments which are materials or ingredients for making things are marked with *qati*.

(2.68) *tor* *ʑɛrbast* *qati* *tumoʁ* *ka=in*
black lambskin COM male.hat do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They make hats for men with black lambskin.'

(2.69) *safts* *qati* *intsuvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ɕejdoi* *garun*
bead COM sew.PRF=REL Sheydoi heavy
'Sheydois (female cap) sewn with beads are heavy.'

(2.70) *karpitɕ* *qati* *qalmo* *tsa* *ðo* *dejwul* *χuɕruj*
brick COM masonry COND give.IPFV wall beautiful

naxtizd
go.up.3SG.IPFV
'If you build the wall with bricks, it will turn out to be beautiful.'

(2.71) *ɕirgirinʑ* *xɛvd* *at* *girindʑ* *qati* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *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* *tɕɛr-an* *nejk-i* *qati*
1PL.NOM all 3SG.NNOM.PROX work-GEN good-NMLZ COM

adu *sɛt* *umejð* *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* *ʑit* *tsɛm* *qati* *tsa* *tɕos* *az* *tɕɛd*
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* *dəwlat* *χu* *dʑun* *qati*
1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM country REFL.NNOM life COM

nigo *ka=an,* *kaʑwi* *a=maɕ*
protection do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV so ACC=1PL.NNOM

muhofiz *lɛv=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) *dʑɛq* *ðod* *qati* *mu* *pɛð* *aluk* *sut*
squat give.INF COM 1SG.NNOM foot tired become.PFV
'My legs got tired from squatting.'

(2.76) *ju* *χu* *puts* *dard* *qati* *dʑald* *pir*
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM son pain COM fast old

sut
become.PFV
'He aged quickly with the pain from his son.'

(2.77) *di* *buland* *awudʑ* *qati* *maɕ* *ʁəwl* *tɕun*
3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1PL.NNOM ear deaf

sut
become.PFV
'Our ears have gone deaf with this loud noise.'

(2.78) *simikun i mon χird, ki=wi*
Sunwukong one apple eat.3SG.IPFV ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

qati abadi hajut=ir sujib səwd
COM eternal life=DAT owner become.3SG.IPFV
'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:

(2.79) *ɕahar-nɛndʑ lej χalg bɛwazan əwrat qati qati*
city-ADJ much person widow woman COM together

naxtɯg
go.up.PFV
'Many people of the city went up together with the widow.'

2.2.1.5 'on person' indɛr

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

(2.80) *ta indɛr tsund kuj jost*
2SG.NNOM on.person how.much Chinese.yuan be.IPFV
'How much money do you have with you?'

(2.81) *mɯ qoʁaz tɕi indɛr*
1SG.NNOM paper who.NNOM on.person
'Who has my paper?'

(2.82) *a=di narsa-ɛf dʑam χu*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX thing-PL.NNOM all REFL.NNOM

indɛr laka
on.person put.IPFV
'You can keep all of these things.' (lit. Leave all of these things with yourself.)

(2.83) *wi* *tɕurik* *indɛr* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *nist=o*
3SG.NNOM.DIST man on.person none thing NEG.be.IPFV=Q
'Does that man have nothing with him?'

(2.84) *akbar* *indɛr* *pul* *mas* *na* *vɛðdʑ* *tilfon* *mas* *na*
Akbar on.person money also NEG be.PRF phone also NEG

vɛðdʑ
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 beneficiaries, as in (2.85), and represented arguments in which another argument does something on their behalf, as in (2.86) - (2.87).

(2.85) *baχtigul* *χu* *radzɛn* *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* *hitɕ* *tsiz=at* *na* *lɛvd*
1SG.NNOM BEN none thing=2SG.PFV NEG say.PFV
'You did not say anything on my behalf.'

(2.87) *maɕ* *avon* *a=di* *χabar* *sodil=ir*
1PL.NNOM BEN ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX news Sodil=DAT

frapon=o
reach.CAUS.IPFV=Q
'Will you deliver this news to Sodil for us?'

If a situation happens for the sake of an argument, that argument is also marked with *avon*, as in (2.88) - (2.91).

(2.88) *waz=am* *wi* *avon* *juxk* *wɛðd*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST BEN tear put.PFV
'I shed tears for him.'

(2.89) *maɕ* *hajut* *avon* *ju* *a=χu*
1PL.NNOM life BEN 3SG.NOM.DIST ACC=REFL.NNOM

qurbun *tɕəwg*
sacrifice do.PFV
'He sacrificed himself for our lives.'

(2.90) *təw* *χ-oto* *χ-ono* *avon*
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother BEN

χu *zord* *wejrun* *mo* *ka*
REFL.NNOM heart break PROH do.IPFV
'Do not break your heart over your father and mother.'

(2.91) *χu* *dəwlat* *avon* *numus* *mo* *ka,* *ta*
REFL.NNOM country BEN shame PROH do.IPFV 2SG.NNOM

dəwlat *mas* *i* *maθ* *num* *zwoðd*
country also one day name pull.out.3SG.IPFV
'Do not be ashamed of your country, your country will also be known someday.'

Sentences (2.92) & (2.93) are examples of *avon* marking purpose.

(2.92) *χu* *puts* *tej* *avon*
REFL.NNOM son wedding BEN

wi=ri=am *pul* *ðud*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT=1SG.PFV money give.PFV
'I gave my son money for his wedding.'

(2.93) *woð=af* *ɕəwgunbahor* *ejd* *avon* *nudʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV Sheawgeenbahor Festival BEN new

lɛq *zuxt*
clothing buy.PFV
'They bought new clothes for the Sheawgeenbahor festival.'

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) *jad* *batɕo* *purg* *rang* *kam* *χird*
3SG.NOM.PROX child mouse SEMB little eat.3SG.IPFV
'This child eats little, like a mouse.'

(2.95) *ʁong* *rang* *gap* *mo* *ka*
nasaly.speaker SEMB word PROH do.IPFV
'Do not talk like a nasaly person.'

(2.96) *dowuud* *mu=ri* *vrud* *rang* *numujd*
Doweed 1SG.NNOM=DAT brother SEMB seem.3SG.IPFV
'Doweed feels like a brother to me.'

(2.97) *ju* *ʁots* *most* *rang* *nur* *ðɛxt*
3SG.NOM.DIST girl moon SEMB light shine.3SG.IPFV
'That girl shines like the moon.'

(2.98) *haraq* *mas* *di* *rang* *mast* *na* *tɕi*
alcohol also 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB drunk NEG CAP

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'Even alcohol cannot cause one to get drunk to this degree.'

(2.99) *nur=af* *uz* *tilu* *rang* *qimat* *bawu-in*
today=3PL.PFV again gold SEMB expensive price-ADJ

gap-ɛf *tɕəwɣdʑ*
word-PL.NNOM do.PRF
'Yet again today, you(pl) have shared words as valuable as gold. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.100) *maɕ* *har* *tsund* *zɛn-in* *mas* *tsa*
1PL.NOM every how.much intelligence-ADJ also COND

vəw=an *uʑ* *pa* *tamash* *rang* *ləwr*
be.IPFV=1PL.IPFV again LOC 2PL.NNOM SEMB big

vrud-ɛf *na* *ðej=an*
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 *tsa*, the shortened form of *tsejʑ* 'what', the semblative marker forms the interrogative word *tsarang* 'how', which questions manner and condition (see §7.3.4):

(2.101) *tamaɕ* *awul* *tsarang*
2PL.NNOM situation how
'How is your(pl) situation?'

(2.102) *mu* *mom* *muʥuʑ* *tsarang*
1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling how
'How is my grandmother feeling?'

2.2.1.8 'according to' buntɕa

buntɕa '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) *di* *buntɕa* *a=wi* *pa*
3SG.NNOM.PROX according.to ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC

imi *ðo*
RECP give.IPFV
'Put that together according to this.'

(2.104) *ta* *gap* *buntɕa* *ka=am*
2SG.NNOM word according.to do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will do according to your word.'

(2.105) *duχtur* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *buntɕa* *hara* *maθ* *duri*
doctor say.PRF=REL according.to every day medicine

χor=am
eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I take medicine every day according to the doctor's instructions.'

(2.106) *mu* *χor* *ɕanbɛ* *maθ* *χu* *odat*
1SG.NNOM nephew Saturday day REFL.NNOM custom

buntɕa *pa* *ktubχuno* *sɛðdʑ-it*
according.to LOC library become.PRF-CESS
'On Saturday my nephew went to the library according to his habit.'

(2.107) *tamaɕ* *vid* *na* *vid* *qonun* *buntɕa*
2PL.NOM be.INF NEG be.INF law according.to

a=di *tɕɛr* *ka=it*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX work do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) must do this work in accordance with the law.'

(2.108) *putxu* *χambondʑ=ɛndʑ* *amr* *buntɕa*
king go.down.CAUS.PRF=REL command according.to

dejqun-χejl=af *dʑam* *χu* *ar* *dijur*
farmer-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV all REFL.NNOM LOC region

waʑɛvd
return.PFV
'All of the farmers went back to their hometown according to the king's command.'

(2.109) *mɛrona* *χ-ono* *dil* *buntɕa*
Merona REFL.NNOM-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 turɛq (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 ðɛs its*
1SG.NOM every day TERM hour ten TERM

xufs=am
sleep.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I sleep until 10 o'clock every day.'

(2.113) *(to) χu marg its i ɣin qati nardʑɛs*
TERM REFL.NNOM death TERM one wife COM pass.IPFV
'Until your death, be with one wife.'

(2.114) *wɛf=ir ðɛs sul sut, hammo (to) ɕitɕ*
3PL.NNOM=DAT ten year become.PFV but TERM now

its wɛf-an batɕo nist
TERM 3PL.NNOM-GEN child NEG.be.IPFV
'It has been ten years for them, but so far they do not have children.'

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 dəwd* 'up here', *pa dum* 'up there', *ar əwd* 'down here', *ar um* 'down there', *tar əwd* 'towards here', and *tar um* '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) *gawar χu tilu ar sit gəwr tɕəwg*
Gawar REFL.NNOM gold LOC dirt bury do.PFV
'Gawar buried his gold in the dirt.'

(2.116) *mɛndʑ waχt mu vrud-χejl pa qir*
summer time 1SG.NNOM brother-PL.NOM LOC mountain

kalo puj=in
sheep herd.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'In the summertime, my brothers herd sheep on the mountains.'

(2.117) *jad i tar doxt tɕudir ðid*
3SG.NOM.PROX one LOC wilderness tent give.3SG.IPFV
'This one pitches a tent in a wilderness area.'

(2.118) *dɛf pa maktab pindz tudʑik batɕo jost*
3PL.NNOM.PROX LOC school five Tajik child be.IPFV
'There are five Tajik kids at their school.'

(2.119) *gulbarg χu batɕo-ɛf pa tɕɛd*
Geelbarg REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM 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.IPFV
'This word only exists in Pamir languages.'

(2.121) *maɕ ar həwly i ʁəwz daraχt jost,*
1PL.NNOM LOC yard one walnut tree be.IPFV

ju daraχt utɕ 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.NNOM.DIST-GEN ring be.IPFV
'On her middle finger she has a ring.'

(2.123) *tar dinju bɛginu χalg nist*
LOC world sinless person NEG.be.IPFV
'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 dzɛ so=am*
LOC upriver become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I am going up.'

(2.125) *mu nabus dzul vid alo iχil pa daraχt*
1SG.NNOM 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) *waz dzul vid alo mu mom=ik*
1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother=DUR

a=mu iχil pa dom tɕəwg ar
ACC=1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC

boʁdʑa=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 nuʁusur so=am*
LOC downriver become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I am going down.'

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

jad *laka* *mɛrd*
3SG.NOM.PROX let.IPFV die.3SG.IPFV
'Let us throw him into the river, let him die.'

(2.129) *tar* *ko=at* *ɯjd*
LOC where.NNOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV
'Where are you headed?'

(2.130) *dijur* *χalg* *tar* *ɯm* *tar* *əwd* *ratsaθt*
region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPFV
'The villagers run away this way and that way.'

(2.131) *ɕejtun* *a=χalg* *tar* *ʑit* *pond* *jod=itɕuz*
Satan ACC=person LOC bad road take.INF=REL
'Satan is one who leads people down the bad path.'

(2.132) *mɯ* *ʁəwl* *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* *jəwl=ik* *ðud* *maɕ* *tar* *pond*
tomorrow dawn=DUR give.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road

naxtɛdz=an
go.up.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'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) *m-oto* *ɕitɕ* *ɯng*
1SG.NNOM-father now Teeng
'My father is in Teeng now.'

(2.135) *varɕidɛ* *mɛwo* *na* *past*
Varshide fruit NEG ripen.3SG.IPFV
'Fruit does not grow in Varshide.'

(2.136) *dud dodik pugan xwor χofst*
uncle Dodik tomorrow Kashgar go.down.3SG.IPFV
'Uncle Dodik will go down to Kashgar tomorrow.'

(2.137) *maɕ=an todʑikobod fript*
1PL.NOM=1PL.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) *haroj vrud i tɕi dʑuj so=in*
three brother one LOC place become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The three brothers come together in one place.'

(2.139) *tɕi waχin mo naxpor*
LOC blood PROH step.IPFV
'Do not step on the blood.'

(2.140) *dzul tɕuχ tɕi ʁov istχun vɛðdʑ*
small puppy LOC mouth bone be.PRF
'The little puppy has a bone in its mouth. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.141) *past laka tɕi maðon balak səwd*
skin let.IPFV LOC middle part become.3SG.IPFV
'Let the leather split down the middle.'

(2.142) *a=bejroq tɕi buland-i tik ðo=an*
ACC=flag LOC high-NMLZ straight give.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us stick the flag in a high place.'

(2.143) *ju puts i sulo sɛt alo*
3SG.NOM.DIST son one year.old become.INF TEMP

wi tɕi ðust mon ðo=in
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand apple give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'When that son becomes one year old, 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.IPFV=1SG.IPFV ACC=1SG.NNOM

tɕi dʑat mo wejð
LOC hurry PROH put.IPFV
'I will do it slowly, do not put me in a hurry.'

(2.145) *ju χu tɕi qasam na waruvd*
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM LOC oath NEG stand.PFV
'He did not keep his oath.'

(2.146) *təw mu tɕi dʑuj putxu so*
2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM LOC place king become.IPFV

waz ta wazir so=am
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM minister become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'You be king in my place, and I will become your minister (second in command).'

(2.147) *ju χu mul mulk pɛt para*
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM livestock land all sell

ðid wi tɕi pul
give.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC money

k=a=wi zɛmdz zozd
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST field buy.3SG.IPFV
'He sells all of his possessions and gets that field for that money.'

(2.148) *a=di gap-ɛf mu=ri*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX-PL.NNOM word 1SG.NNOM=DAT

hansu tɕi ziv ʁejron
Han LOC tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV
'Translate these words into Chinese for me.'

(2.149) *maɕ* *suat* *tɕi* *iw* *pa* *ləwr* *darwuzo* *a=imi*
1PL.NOM hour LOC one LOC big gate ACC=RECP

wejn=an
see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us see each other at the big gate at one o'clock.'

tɕi 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 *sɛt* 'become', as in (2.150) - (2.153):

(2.150) *a=wi* *toʑ* *tɕi* *ðod*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST bald.person LOC hit.INF

so=in
become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They begin beating up the bald guy.'

(2.151) *tur-χejl=af* *tɕuk* *tɕi* *χig* *sut*
net-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV tear LOC eat.INF become.PFV

kɛma-χejl=af *tar* *bun* *tɕi* *ðod* *sut*
ship-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV LOC base LOC give.INF become.PFV
'The nets began to rip, and the ships began to sink.'

(2.152) *batɕo-χejl=af* *marʑundʑ* *tɕi* *sɛt*
child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV hungry LOC become.INF

sɛðdʑ
become.PRF
'The children have begun to get hungry. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.153) *a=səwg=am* *bur* *tɕi* *lɛvd* *sut*
ACC=story=1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV
'I have begun to tell a story, then.'

Finally, *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 *vud* 'be.PFV', as in (2.154) - (2.156):

(2.154) *zarnigor bejt lɛvd alo maɕ=an tamoq tɕi*
Zarnigor song say.INF TEMP 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV food LOC

tɕejg vuud
do.INF be.PFV
'When Zarnigor sang, we were in the middle of making food.'

(2.155) *ingum=af kalo tɕi kaxt vuud,*
just.now=3PL.PFV sheep LOC slaughter.INF be.PFV

kaʒwi=af ta tilfon ʒoxt na tɕi tɕəwg
so=3PL.PFV 2SG.NNOM phone get.INF NEG CAP do.PFV
'They were in the middle of killing sheep just now, that is why they could not answer your phone call.'

(2.156) *təw=at mu=ri tilfon tsa*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT phone COND

tɕəwɣdʑ-it, waʒ=am lɛq tɕi ʒnod
do.PRF-CESS 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV clothing LOC wash.INF

vuud
be.PFV
'You know how you called me? I was in the middle of washing clothes.'

2.2.1.12 Ablative aʒ

The ablative preposition *aʒ*, 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) *mu parχoχ aʒ watɕa*
1SG.NNOM wife ABL Wacha
'My wife is from Wacha.'

(2.158) *jad* *mu* *az* *qɛtɕ* *naxtɯɣdʑ=ɛndʑ*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM ABL belly go.up.PRF=REL

radzɛn
daughter
'This is a daughter that came out of my belly.'

(2.159) *χu* *na* *wazond=itɕuz* *dzuj* *az* *malum-ɛf*
REFL.NNOM NEG know.INF=REL place ABL teacher-PL.NNOM

pars
ask.IPFV
'Ask the teachers about the parts you do not know.'

(2.160) *waz* *χ-oto* *az* *qotil* *itoqom*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father ABL murderer revenge

zoz=am
get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will avenge my father's murderer.'

(2.161) *faridun* *χu* *az* *ato* *ano* *barakat*
Faridun REFL.NNOM ABL father mother blessing

zuxtɕ=ɛndʑ
get.PRF=REL
'Faridun is one who received prosperity from his parents.'

(2.162) *χalg* *az* *mejmun* *pejdu* *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ=o* *χɯðoj*
person ABL monkey appear become.PRF=REL=Q God

ufarid *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ*
creation do.PRF=REL
'Is mankind something that came about from monkeys, or something that God created?'

(2.163) *mardon* *az* *batɕagi* *ktub* *xojd=ir* *utɕ* *χɯɕdur*
Mardon ABL childhood book read.INF=DAT very happy

vuud
be.PFV
'Mardon has really enjoyed reading books since his childhood.'

(2.164) *wi* *ɕtu* *ʒord* *mu* *az* *gap* *ub*
3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart 1SG.NNOM ABL word melt

sut
become.PFV
'Her cold heart melted from my words.'

(2.165) *mu* *θud* *az* *ʁam* *kabub* *sut*
1SG.NNOM liver ABL worry kebab become.PFV
'My liver became roasted into a kebab from worrying.'

(2.166) *az* *mu=at* *χafo* *sut=o*
ABL 1SG.NNOM=2SG.PFV upset become.PFV=Q
'Did you get upset because of me?'

(2.167) *az* *maɕ* *ðəw* *tɕoj* *ləwr* *numujd*
ABL 1PL.NNOM two who.NOM big seem.3SG.IPFV
'Of the two of us, who seems bigger?'

(2.168) *təw* *nuluʒim* *ktub-ɛf* *az* *luʒim*
2SG.NOM unnecessary book-PL.NNOM ABL necessary

ktub-ɛf *surəw*
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) *χu* *batɕo-ɛf* *az* *iw-i* *par* *mu*
REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM

buʒ
send.IPFV
'Send your children to me one by one.'

(2.171) *piɕ ʑoxtɕ par purg, purg ʑoxtɕ mɛrgan 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 χu ðust*
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) *mu vrud par maɕ narχ wɛðd*
1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1SG.NNOM trouble put.PFV
'My brother has placed trouble upon us.'

(2.174) *raimdʑon par maɕ qor tɕəwg*
Rayimjon LAT 1PL.NNOM anger do.PFV
'Rayimjon made us angry.'

(2.175) *ta-an haq nist, par mu*
2SG.NNOM-GEN authority NEG.be.IPFV LAT 1SG.NNOM

woʁwoʁ tɕejg = ir
yell do.INF = DAT
'You do not have the right to yell at me.'

Finally, it may also mark the spatial relation of 'beneath' something, as in (2.176) & (2.177):

(2.176) *gul tɕi pond woxtɕ χalg par pɛð rɛðdʑ*
flower LOC road fall.PRF person LAT foot remain.PRF

naxpuɣdʑ sɛðdʑ
step.PRF become.PRF
'The flowers fell on the road and got trampled on under people's feet. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.177) *amirɕu χu batɕo ejb-ɛf par*
Amirshu REFL.NNOM child transgression-PL.NNOM LAT

χu ðud
REFL.NNOM give.PFV
'He covered up his child's wrongdoings under himself.'

2.2.1.14 Perlative paz

The preposition *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) *maɕ paz darju lab tɛdz=an*
1PL.NOM PER river bank go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us go along the bank of the river.'

(2.179) *tar zɛmdz na tɛdz=an, paz pond*
LOC field NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV PER road

tɛdz=an
go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us not go toward the fields, but along the road.'

(2.180) *ju wɛf a=qor vəwɣdʑ,*
3SG.NOM.DIST 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC=anger bring.PRF

a=wi=af paz vurdʑ tiʑdʑ
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST=3PL.PFV PER horse pull.PRF
'He made them angry, so they dragged him behind a horse. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.181) *waz paz kalo tid waχt mu kud*
1SG.NOM PER sheep go.INF time 1SG.NNOM dog

mu paz dum tid=itɕuz
1SG.NNOM PER behind go.INF=REL
'When I follow the sheep, my dog follows me.'

(2.182) *ta baron paz ta kaxun sut*
2SG.NNOM dress PER 2SG.NNOM dragging become.PFV
'Your dress is dragging behind you.'

It also marks the person or thing through which an action is accomplished, as in (2.183) & (2.184):

(2.183) *waz paz kuraɕ tu=ri χalto*
1SG.NOM PER Keerash 2SG.NNOM=DAT sack

buz=am
send.IPFV=1SG.PFV
'I will send you a sack via Keerash.'

(2.184) *faχirdin paz dʑonoro bejt zwust*
Fahirdin PER Jonoro song pull.out.PFV
'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) *ða most tɕi prud adu sut*
two month LOC front finish become.PFV
'It ended two months ago.'

(2.186) *mu dikun dʒul maktab pa prud*
1SG.NNOM store small school LOC front
'My store is in front of the elementary school.'

zabu 'back' (behind; after)

(2.187) *χu pɛts znod az zabu xufs*
REFL.NNOM face wash.INF ABL back sleep.IPFV
'Sleep after washing your face.'

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

(2.189) *wɛf* *tɕɛd* *az* *zabu* *sar* *gul* *buʁ* *jost*
3PL.NNOM.DIST house ABL back side flower garden be.IPFV
'There is a flower garden behind their house.'

(2.190) *təw* *wi* *pa* *zabu* *a=χu*
2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC back ACC=ref.NNOM

naɣmɛdʑ *tɛdz*
hide.IPFV go.IPFV
'You hide yourself and follow him.'

arqo 'upper back' (behind)

(2.191) *tɕɛd* *pa* *arqo* *i* *tup* *kalo* *waruvdʑ*
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* *ɣin* *χiɕ* *wi* *tɕi* *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) *mu* *kud* *mu* *paz* *dum* *tid=itɕuz*
1SG.NNOM dog 1SG.NNOM PER behind do.INF=REL
'My dog follows me around.'

maðon 'middle' (in the middle; between; among)

(2.194) *maɕ* *tar* *maðon=af* *ɕejtun-i* *tɕəwg*
1PL.NNOM LOC middle=3PL.PFV Satan-NMLZ do.PFV
'They have interfered in our relationship.'

(2.195) *putxu* *a=χu* *ləwr* *na* *wazond*
king ACC=REFL.NNOM big NEG know.3SG.IPFV

dejqun-ɛf *ar* *maðon* *jot* *odi*
farmer-PL.NNOM LOC middle come.PFV simple

χalg-ɛf *qati* *tɕɛr* *tɕəwg*
person-PL.NNOM COM work 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) *mu* *qalamdun* *ar* *darun* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *nist*
1SG.NNOM pencil.case LOC inside none thing NEG.be.IPFV
'There is nothing in my pencil case.'

vatɕ 'outside' (outside of; outdoors)

(2.197) *tom=af* *a=wi* *tɕurik* *buʁ* *tar*
then=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST man garden LOC

vatɕ *zwust*
outside pull.out.PFV
'Then they took that man out of the garden.'

bun 'base; foundation' (under; beside)

(2.198) *mu* *pa* *bun* *niθ*
1SG.NNOM LOC base sit.IPFV
'Sit next to me.'

(2.199) *woð* *ɕitɕ* *duχturχuno* *pa* *bun*
3PL.NOM.DIST now hospital LOC base
'They are near the hospital now.'

(2.200) *moɕin* *tar* *bun* *i* *ʑɛð* *vɛðdʑ*
car toward base one thief be.PRF
'There is a thief under the car. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.201) *ta* *rejmul* *tɕini* *tɕi* *bun* *vɛðdʑ*
2SG.NNOM handkerchief bowl LOC base be.PRF
'Your handkerchief is under the bowl. (Evidential/New information)'

atrof 'area' (near)

(2.202) *tɕi* *pond* *i* *a=χalg* *moɕin* *ðudʑ* *wi*
LOC road one ACC=person car hit.PRF 3SG.NNOM.DIST

paz *atrof* *lej* *χalg* *wixt* *sɛðdʑ*
PER area much person gather.INF become.PRF
'A car hit a person on the road and many people gathered around its vicinity. (Evidential/New information)'

baʁejr 'except' (except; besides)

(2.203) *ta* *az* *baʁejr* *hitɕ* *tɕoj* *mu=ri*
2SG.NNOM ABL except none who.NOM 1SG.NNOM=DAT

χuɕ *nist*
happy NEG.be.IPFV
'I do not like anyone besides you.'

tɛr 'top; high place' (above; on top of)

(2.204) *a=wi* *kɛrpa* *tɕi* *tɛr* *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* *dɛnɕi* *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* *wadzejn* *tɕi* *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* *tɕos*
LOC rib look.IPFV
'Look to the side.'

kol 'head' (first)

(2.209) *uz* *az* *kol* *lɛv=am*
again ABL head say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will say it again from the beginning.'

(2.210) *zejnura* *pa* *kol* *naxtug*
Zeynura LOC head go.up.PFV
'Zeynura won first place.'

(2.211) *ta* *tɕi* *kol* *ɕond=in*
2SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They will laugh at you.'

ʁov 'mouth' (opening)

(2.212) *buzur* *pa* *ʁov* *a=ta* *tɕos=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 postposition 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 patiɕ jaχ [qadimi] χalg rang gap*
1SG.NNOM cousin sister ancient person SEMB word

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'My cousin talks like an ancient person.'

(2.214) *[mɯ ɕirin] dʑun az baʁejr hitɕ tɕoj*
1SG.NNOM sweet life ABL except none who.NOM

mɯ=ri χuɕ nist
1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
'I do not like anyone besides my sweet life.'

(2.215) *maɕ=an [tudʑik lɛq para ðod=itɕuz]*
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV Tajik clothing sell give.INF=REL

dikun pa bun vɯd
store LOC base be.PFV
'We were near the store that sells Tajik clothing.'

(2.216) *waz=am [χu az dʑam ləwr] dud qati*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM ABL all big uncle COM

tɯng sut
Teeng become.PFV
'I went to Teeng with my oldest uncle.'

(2.217) *mu vits [wi batɕo azmud*
1SG.NNOM aunt 3SG.NNOM.DIST child born

sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ] duχturχuno pa prud
become.PRF=REL hospital LOC front
'My aunt is in front of the hospital where her child was born.'

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 dɛst] pa tɕɛd woxt suat*
Amruk today REFL.NNOM friend LOC house eight hour

skit tɕəwg
play do.PFV
'Amruk played at his friend's house for eight hours today.'

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

skit tɕəwg
play do.PFV
'Amruk played at his friend's house for eight hours today.'

(2.219) a. *[mejmun-ɛf] ar tɕoj marɛb at zird rəwn mas*
guest-PL.NNOM LOC tea cream CONJ yellow oil also

wejð=in
put.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They also put cream and butter in the guests' tea.'

b. **ar [mejmun-ɛf] tɕoj marɛb at zird rəwn mas*
LOC guest-PL.NNOM tea cream CONJ yellow oil also

wejð=in
put.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'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

woxt
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

woxt
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 tɕɛd] tɕi noχ tamoq χig na*
uncle Qeerbun house LOC Noh food eat.INF NEG

laka = in
let.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Qeerbun's house.'

b. **tɕi [dud qurbun tɕɛd] noχ tamoq χig na*
LOC uncle Qeerbun house Noh food eat.INF NEG

laka = in
let.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Qeerbun's house.'

(2.223) a. *[mu = ri sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ] a = ejb*
1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL ACC = misdeeds

laka dʑamiat mo xand
let.IPFV society PROH hear.3SG.IPFV
'May society not hear about the misdeeds that I have experienced.'

b. **a = [mu = ri sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ] ejb*
ACC = 1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL misdeeds

laka dʑamiat mo xand
let.IPFV society PROH hear.3SG.IPFV
'May society not hear about the misdeeds that I have experienced.'

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.

(2.224) a. *mɯ=ri ar ɯrumtɕi jɛt=ir [i] az*
1SG.NNOM=DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF=DAT one ABL

afto tɛr suɯt
week high become.PFV
'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'

b. *mɯ=ri ar ɯrumtɕi jɛt=ir az [i]*
1SG.NNOM=DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF=DAT ABL one

afto tɛr suɯt
week high become.PFV
'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'

(2.225) a. *juts [dʑam] a=tsiz pukzo kaxt*
fire all ACC=thing clean do.3SG.IPFV
'Fire cleanses all things.'

b. *juts a=[dʑam] tsiz pukzo kaxt*
fire ACC=all thing clean do.3SG.IPFV
'Fire cleanses all things.'

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.

Table 2.6 Placement of function markers: nouns modified by possessive determiners vs. nouns modified by demonstrative determiners

POSSESSIVE DET	**DEMONSTRATIVE DET**
di pa tɕɛd 'at this person's house'	*pa di tɕɛd* 'at this house'

POSSESSIVE DET	DEMONSTRATIVE DET
wi pa tɕɛd 'at that person's house'	*pa wi tɕɛd* 'at that house'
di az tɕɛd 'from this person's house'	*az di tɕɛd* 'from this house'
wi tar sar 'toward that person/thing's side'	*tar wi sar* 'toward that side'
wi a=mon 'his apple (ACC)'	*a=wi mon* 'that apple (ACC)'
dɛf a=ktub-ɛf 'these people's books (ACC)'	*a=di ktub-ɛf* 'these books (ACC)'
wɛf a=ktub-ɛf 'those people's books (ACC)'	*a=wi ktub-ɛf* 'those books (ACC)'

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 *nur* *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 *nur* *pa* *di* *tɕɛd* *na*
1PL.NOM today LOC 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 ruɯwɯn*
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 =* differs based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.

(2.232) *waz = am wi a = mon χug*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST ACC = apple eat.PFV
'I ate his apple.'

(2.233) *waz = am a = wi mon χug*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST apple eat.PFV
'I ate that apple.'

(2.234) *waz = am dɛf a = ktɯb-ɛf*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.PROX ACC = book-PL.NNOM

xojd
read.PFV
'I read these people's books.'

(2.235) *waz = am a = di ktɯb-ɛf*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX book-PL.NNOM

xojd
read.PFV
'I read these books.'

(2.236) *waz=am* *wɛf* *a=ktub-ɛf*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC=book-PL.NNOM

xojd
read.PFV
'I read those people's books.'

(2.237) *waz=am* *a=wi* *ktub-ɛf*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST book-PL.NNOM

xojd
read.PFV
'I read those books.'

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: demonstrative determiner (§3.3.1), possessive determiner (§3.1.1), possessor NP (§4.1), relative clause (§10.2.1), adjectivized 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.

Figure 2.1 Relative ordering of NP constituents
(DET) (POSS) (RC/ADJP) (NUM(CL)/QUANT) (ADJ) (N) (N)

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, adjectivized 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 adjectivized 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* 'and' between each place value.

Table 2.7 Cardinal numerals

iw (*i*) 'one'	*ðɛs* 'ten'	*ðɛs at i* 'eleven'
ðəw (*ða*) 'two'	*wist* 'twenty'	*ðɛs at ða* 'twelve'
haroj 'three'	*si* 'thirty'	*ðɛs at haroj* 'thirteen'
tsavur 'four'	*tɕal* 'forty'	*sad* 'hundred'
pindz 'five'	*pindʑu* 'fifty'	*hazur* 'thousand'
χɛl 'six'	*ɕast/otmiɕ* 'sixty'	*ðɛs hazur* 'ten thousand'
uvd 'seven'	*aftod/jɛtmiɕ* 'seventy'	*sad hazur* 'hundred thousand'
woxt 'eight'	*aɕtod/saksan* 'eighty'	*nist*, *nul*, *sifr* 'zero'
nəw 'nine'	*nawad/toqsan* 'ninety'	

The forms for *iw* 'one' and *ðəw* 'two' are shortened to *i* and *ða*, respectively, when they function as adnominal modifiers (unless the head noun and clas-

sifier are both omitted) or occur as part of compound numerals (as in *tɕal 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) *nul* 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.

(2.238) *m-ono* *nəw* *batɕo* *vəwɣdʑ=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* *tɕejg=ir* *ða* *munut*
2SG.NNOM=DAT thought do.INF=DAT two minute

ðo=am
give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will give you two minutes to think.'

(2.241) *ar* *urumtɕi* *ðɛs at ɯvd* *sul=af* *naluɥtɕ*
LOC Urumqi ten CONJ seven year=2PL.PFV sit.PRF
'You have lived in Urumqi for seventeen years. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.242) *maɕ* *hara* *maθ* *sad* *at* *jɛtmiɕ* *xipik*
1PL.NOM every day hundred CONJ seventy flatbread

kan=an
do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'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) *pandʒ-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 dominant, Uyghur cardinal numerals are followed by the Uyghur suffix *–intɕi*, which precedes the noun it modifies:

(2.245) *bir-intɕi most*
one-ORD month
'the first month'

(2.246) *on-intɕi aftovuz*
ten-ORD bus
'the tenth bus'

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) *wi most ma wist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST month ORD twenty
'the twentieth of next month'

(2.248) *wi most az wist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST month ORD twenty
'the twentieth of next month'

(2.249) *mart most ma wist at iw*
March month ORD twenty CONJ one
'the twenty-first of March'

(2.250) *mart most az wist at iw*
March month ORD twenty CONJ 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', *əwrat* 'woman', *χalg* 'person', *batɕo* 'child', *kalo* 'sheep', *dʑuj* 'seat; space', *balax* 'pillow', *daraχt* 'tree', *qalam* 'pen', *xad* 'hair', *gugurt* 'match', and *gul* 'flower'. However, it cannot be used for certain words, such as *maθ* 'day', *dəwlat* 'country', *jizo* 'village', or *zɛmdz* 'field'; these objects are directly modified by the cardinal numeral. The following is an example of how *tol* is used:

(2.251) *ða tol xipik*
two CL flatbread
'two flatbreads'

The classifier *duno* 'seed' is used for counting kernels of grains or similar small objects, such as *zəw* 'grain', *max* 'pea', *tɕɯɕtɕ* 'barley', *girindʑ* 'rice', *riktɕi* 'bitter almond', and *qunoq* 'corn'. It cannot be used for slightly larger objects, such as *ʁəwz* 'walnut' or *gili* 'dried apricot'.

(2.252) *ɯvd duno max*
seven CL pea
'seven peas'

The classifier *bun* 'base; foundation' is used for trees, with words such as *daraχt* 'tree' and *dʑirin* 'seedling'.

(2.253) *haroj bun dʑirin*
three CL seedling
'three seedlings'

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

(2.254) *maɕ* *pa* *sumuf* *wist* *batɕo* *jost,* *az*
1PL.NNOM LOC class twenty child be.IPFV ABL

wi *χɛl* *nafar* *(batɕo)=af* *magsturi*
3SG.NNOM.DIST six CL child=3PL.PFV Master’s

xojd=ir *nardʑɛd*
read.INF=DAT pass.PFV
‘Out of the twenty students in our class, six got admitted to a Master’s program.’

The classifier *buno* ‘family’ is used for households. In the following example, *χalg* ‘person’ is optional.

(2.255) *ar* *brumsol* *tar* *um* *tar* *əwd* *wist* *at* *pindz* *buno*
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 *dʑuft* ‘pair’ is used for two objects that form a pair, such as: *ðust* ‘hand’, *pɛð* ‘foot’, *χej* ‘shoes’, *pɛχ* ‘traditional shoes’, *dʑrob* ‘socks’, *parðust* ‘bracelet’, *surqo* ‘earring’, *guxwur* ‘silver ornaments on a bride’s headdress’, *kujza* ‘chopsticks’, *χalg* ‘person’, *padiom* ‘twin’, *xanitsamug* ‘groomsmen’, and *gap* ‘word’.

(2.256) *i* *dʑuft* *padiom*
one CL twin
‘a pair of twins’

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

(2.257) *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) *rusalɛt* *az* *dʒul-ik-i* *waχt* *tsavur* *χil* *ziv*
Reesalet ABL small-DIM-NMLZ time four CL tongue

wazond
know.PFV
'Reesalet knew four kinds of languages since she was young.'

The classifier *ʁov* 'mouth' is used for phrases or utterances.

(2.259) *inglɛs* *ziv* *mu=ri* *ða* *ʁov* *gap* *χumand*
English tongue 1SG.NNOM=DAT two mouth word teach

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: *wux* 'grass', *ʑɛz* 'firewood', *zəw* 'grain', *qalam* 'pen', *gul* 'flower', and *vdir* 'broom'.

(2.260) *tsavur* *baʁmoq* *ʑɛz*
four CL firewood
'four bundles of firewood'

(2.261) *haroj* *baʁmoq* *vdir*
three CL broom
'three brooms'

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

(2.262) *haroj* *tup* *ejwun*
three CL animal
'three groups of animals'

(2.263) *i* *tup* *ɕuð*
one CL 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', *ʑɛr* 'rock', *mon* 'apple', *kursi* 'chair', *xipik* 'flatbread', *girindʑ* 'rice', and *sandɛq* 'box'. *lej* is more commonly used as a quantifier that means 'many' (see §2.3.1.3).

(2.264) *woxt lej ʑɛr*
eight CL rock
'eight piles of rocks'

The classifier *dum* 'pile' is used for a pile of mass nouns, and may be used with words such as: *sit* 'dirt', *ɕuɕ* 'sand', *joɣdʑ* 'flour', *ʁarɕ* 'hardened cow/yak feces used for burning', *poxtɕ* 'fecal powder that remains after cow feces are dried and trampled', and *ðig* 'fertilizer'.

(2.265) *i dum ðig*
one CL fertilizer
'a pile of fertilizer'

The classifier *dʑɛnd* 'book cover' was used for books, but is not used commonly anymore.

(2.266) *tsavur dʑɛnd daftar*
four CL notebook
'four notebooks'

The classifier *sar* 'head' was used for animals, but has fallen out of use.

(2.267) *pindz sar tɕat*
five CL cow
'five cows'

pɛð '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.

(2.268) *uz i pɛð xats vor*
again one CL water bring.IPFV
'Bring water one more time (i.e. make another trip).'

(2.269) *tilu tsavur pɛð ʑɛz vəwg*
Tilu four CL firewood bring.PFV
'Tilu brought firewood four times (i.e. made four trips).'

Various types of containers may be used as classifiers. They include: *tɕini* 'bowl', *taχsi* 'plate', *lagan* 'tray', *χalto* 'bag', *ʁəwn* 'sack', *mut* 'fist; handful', *ingruv* 'double-handful (two handfuls)', *taraktur* 'tractor', and *ɕrum* 'threshing floor'.

(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 ɕrum zəw*
one CL grain
'one threshing floor of grain'

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) *faqat ða tol mon rɛðdʑ*
only two CL apple remain.PRF
'There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.274) *faqat ða mon rɛðdʑ*
only two apple remain.PRF
'There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.275) *faqat ða tol rɛðdʑ*
only two CL remain.PRF
'There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.276) *faqat ðəw rɛðdʑ*
only two remain.PRF
'There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)'

(2.277) *i tol tɕib muu=ri jur*
one CL spoon 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV
'Hand me one spoon.'

(2.278) *i tɕib muu=ri jur*
one spoon 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV
'Hand me one spoon.'

(2.279) *i* *tol* *mɯ=ri* *jur*
one CL 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV
'Hand me one.'

(2.280) *iw* *mɯ=ri* *jur*
one 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV
'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

dʑam 'all'	*pur* 'much; many'	*tsund* 'some; a few'
putun 'all'	*lej* 'much; many'	*iw kond* 'few; little'
har 'every'	*itang/tang* 'some'	*kam* 'few; little'
bax dɛr 'most'	*itɕand* 'several'	

The quantifiers *dʑam* and *putun* indicate wholeness or entirety:

(2.281) *dʑam* *χalg* *laka* *maɕ* *putxu* *stəwd*
all person let.IPFV 1PL.NNOM king praise.3SG.IPFV
'Let all the people praise our king.'

(2.282) *putun* *xtur-ɛf* *tar* *kol* *waχin* *ðɛxt*
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.'

The quantifier *har* is used to refer to every single item within the set defined by the head noun:

(2.283) *a = di* *ejd* *narʑambond* *har*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX festival celebrate.CAUS.INF every

milat-an *wi* *χu* *tɕi* *tan*
nationality-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM LOC body

odat *jost*
custom be.IPFV
'Every nationality has its own customs for celebrating this festival.'

The quantifiers *bax dɛr*, *pur*, and *lej* indicate majority or large amount:

(2.284) *bax* *dɛr* *joɕ* *batɕo-χejl* *a = wi* *gap*
much CPRV young child-PL.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST word

na *waʑon = in*
NEG know.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'Most young people do not know that word.'

(2.285) *woð = af* *maɕ = ir* *pur* *samʁut*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT much gift

vəwg
bring.PFV
'They brought us many gifts.'

(2.286) *utɕ* *pur* *ʁaðo* *batɕo* *qati* *balad* *mo* *so*
very much boy child COM acquainted PROH become.IPFV
'Do not get acquainted with too many boys.'

(2.287) *ar* *dʑangal* *lej* *xtur* *waruvdʑ*
LOC forest much camel stand.PRF
'There were many camels standing in the forest. (Evidential/New information)'

The quantifiers *itang/tang*, *itɕand*, 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 (2.291) & (2.292).

(2.288) *tar maðon jɛt alo itang batɕo-χejl=af*
LOC middle come.INF TEMP some child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

zabu rejd
back remain.PFV
'Towards the middle, some children were left behind.'

(2.289) *a=tang zon=in tang=ir qast*
ACC=some kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV some=DAT plot.against

ka=in
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They will kill some, and some they will plot against.'

(2.290) *itɕand χalg pa dum ʑɛz=ir tizd*
several person LOC there firewood=DAT go.3SG.IPFV
'Some people go there for firewood.'

(2.291) *a=raɕid na wand=ir tsund waχt sut*
ACC=Rashid NEG see.INF=DAT some time become.PFV
'It has been some time since I saw Rashid.'

(2.292) *tsund gudur=af wi=ri lɛvdʑ-it*
some time=3PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT say.PRF-COMPL
'They told him several times.'

Finally, the quantifiers *iw kond* and *kam* indicates little amount.

(2.293) *pa sumuf iw kond batɕo jost*
LOC class one piece child be.IPFV
'There are a few students in the classroom.'

(2.294) *nur=am kam gap χumand sut*
today=1SG.PFV few word learn become.PFV
'Today I learned very few words.'

(2.295) *kam waχt=am tɕuxt*
few time=1SG.PFV watch.PFV
'I waited for a short time.'

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.

(2.296) *dʑam az wi xudʑ ðor=in*
all ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST fear fear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'All fear him.'

(2.297) *bax dɛr ki=wi rang lɛv=in*
much CPRV ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Most say it like that.'

(2.298) *itang wazon=in, itang na wazon=in*
some know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV some NEG know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Some know it, some do not.'

(2.299) *kam=at xuvdʑ*
few=2SG.PFV sleep.PRF
'You slept little. (Evidential/New information)'

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*, *-dʑin*, and *-nɛndʑ*. Derived adjectives and adjectivized phrases are described in §2.3.1.5 and §2.3.1.6, respectively.

1. Dimension: *ləwr* 'big', *dʒul* 'small', *tsɛg* 'tiny', *daruz* 'long', *kut* 'short', *buland* 'high', *tɛr* 'high; expensive', *post* 'low; inexpensive', *qimat* 'expensive',

arʒun ‘inexpensive’, *tong* ‘narrow’, *run* ‘wide’, *dvɛz* ‘thick’, *tanuk* ‘thin’, *karts* ‘deep’, *tejʒ* ‘shallow’

2. Age: *nudʑ* ‘new’, *kɛno* ‘old’, *joɕ* ‘young’, *ɕoq* ‘young; little’, *pir* ‘old’, *zɛr* ‘old (for animals)’, *qadim* ‘ancient’

3. Value: *tɕardʑ* ‘good’, *ʑit* ‘bad’, *rust* ‘true; real’, *fand* ‘false; fake’, *nejk* ‘good’, *bað* ‘bad’, *fujdo* ‘beneficial’, *zijun* ‘harmful’, *χil* ‘good’, *qobil* ‘admirable’, *mujim* ‘important’, *mukamal* ‘perfect’, *xiɕ* ‘secret’, *adʒujib* ‘wonderful’, *lujɛq* ‘worthy’, *suf* ‘pure’, *ʁalita* ‘strange’, *ʁejri* ‘strange’, *tadʑib* ‘strange; imaginary’, *dal* ‘fitting; exact’

4. Color (Sarikoli has a five-color system consisting of the first five colors on this list; the others on this list are either derived or non-native): *tor* ‘black’, *spejd* ‘white’, *ruɕt* ‘red’, *zird* ‘yellow’, *sovdʒ* ‘green’, *xjejn* ‘blue’, *ðob raχt* ‘brown; pink’, *gulobi* ‘pink; purple’, *bəwr* ‘brown’, *nurandʑi* ‘dark red’, *θɛr rang* ‘gray’, *spejd foɕk* ‘whitish gray’, *xjejn foɕk* ‘bluish gray’, *rang-in* ‘colored; colorful’, *rangbarang/rangorang* ‘colorful’, *tɕɛl* ‘patterned; multicolored’, *tɕɛlubɛl* ‘patterned; multicolored’, *tolχ* ‘dark (for color)’, *otɕ* ‘light (for color)’

5. Physical property: *tɛng* ‘hard’, *ɕlɛt* ‘soft’, *xast* ‘wet’, *qoq* ‘dry’, *garun* ‘heavy; serious’, *rindʒ* ‘light’, *kutɕ-in* ‘strong’, *bɛ-kutɕ* ‘weak’, *pukʒo* ‘clean’, *ʁaʑd* ‘dirty’, *tɕong* ‘dirty’, *alqo* ‘curled’, *θum* ‘hot (temperature)’, *ɕtu* ‘cold (temperature)’, *ʑurm* ‘hot (sensation)’, *iɕ* ‘cold (sensation)’, *sarun* ‘lukewarm’, *tuxp* ‘sour’, *tsɛx* ‘spicy; bitter’, *χɛg* ‘sweet’, *xəwr* ‘salty’, *χom* ‘raw’, *tejʒ* ‘sharp’, *soq* ‘well’, *salomat* ‘healthy’, *kasal-mand* ‘sickly’, *aluk* ‘tired’, *zundo* ‘live’, *ago* ‘awake’, *χali* ‘empty’, *χut* ‘skinny’, *farbɛ* ‘fat’, *dʑidəw* ‘haggard’, *χuɕruj* ‘beautiful’, *ðəwχɛr* ‘ugly’, *sart* ‘ugly; inappropriate’, *χuɕbuj* ‘fragrant’, *badbuj* ‘stinky’, *tɕɛrd* ‘bent’, *woʁwoʁ* ‘noisy’, *dambaχu* ‘silent’ (for people), *dʑimdʑirt* ‘quiet (for environment)’, *tindʑ* ‘peaceful’, *trang* ‘energetic’, *tafsun* ‘enthusiastic’, *marzunʑ* ‘hungry’, *sejr* ‘satiated’, *tur* ‘thirsty’, *tɕolok* ‘nimble’, *javo* ‘wild’, *pɛt* ‘round’, *χejð* ‘sweaty’, *ub* ‘melted’, *wejrun* ‘broken’, *ivul* ‘pitiable’, *hat* ‘open’, *tɕust* ‘closed’, *tik* ‘straight’, *ɕitoq* ‘flat; slumped’, *tajur* ‘ready’, *jarlig* ‘local’, *uvla-dʑin* ‘sad’, *aziz-dʑin* ‘beloved’, *xudʑa-dʑin* ‘scary’, *turik* ‘dark’

6. Human propensity: *χuɕ* ‘happy’, *χafo* ‘upset’, *aql-in* ‘intelligent’, *moʁz-in* ‘intelligent’, *zɛn-in* ‘intelligent’, *doniɕ-mand* ‘knowledgeable’, *bɛfam* ‘stupid’, *aχmoq* ‘foolish’, *udil* ‘just; fair’, *ariɕkun* ‘jealous’, *mard* ‘generous; manly’, *gando* ‘evil’, *ðejw* ‘crazy’, *χɛndʑ* ‘silly’, *ɕuv* ‘calm’, *mast* ‘drunk’, *mɛhrbun* ‘loving’, *zuq* ‘bored’, *ixjur* ‘alert’, *hejrun* ‘surprised’, *wurun* ‘lazy’, *χadʑal-mand* ‘shy’, *tulej-mand* ‘lucky’, *dard-mand* ‘melancholic’, *ʁaltɕa-dʑin* ‘lonely’

7. Speed: *dʑald* ‘fast’, *asto* ‘slow’, *tejʒ* ‘speedy’, *waχti* ‘early’, *dejr* ‘late’

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

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

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

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

12. Numbers: *awal-nɛndʑ* ‘first’, *uχir-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 *tɕejg* ‘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)’, *kambaʁal* ‘poor (adj); poor person (n)’, and *istuð* ‘skillful (adj); craftsman (n)’. The sentences in (2.300) & (2.301), respectively, illustrate that *boj* and *istuð* may be used either as a noun or as an adjective. In (2.300c), the copula is omitted because it is in the imperfective aspect (see §8.4 for more information on copula clauses).

(2.300) a.

wi	*tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl=af*	*boj*	*dɛr*
3SG.NNOM.DIST	house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV	rich	CPRV

vɛðdʑ
be.PRF

‘His family is richer. (Evidential/New information)’

b. *vɛðdʑ na vɛðdʑ i boj vɛðdʑ*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF one rich.person be.PRF
'Once upon a time, there was a rich person. (Evidential/New information)'

c. *ju boj*
3SG.NOM.DIST rich
'He is a rich person.' OR 'He is rich.'

(2.301) a. *vits χonim kulto pa imi ðod=ir utɕ istuð*
aunt Honim Keelto LOC RECP give.INF=DAT very skillful
'Aunt Honim is very skilled at putting together Keeltos (female cap).'

b. *jad na tɕi tɕejg=ir vɛðdʑ, maɕ*
3SG.NOM.PROX NEG CAP do.INF=DAT be.PRF 1PL.NOM

kinu pa imi ðod=itɕuz a=istuð qiw
movie LOC RECP give.INF=REL ACC=craftsman call

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 (2.302), (2.304), and (2.306) below. If the head noun is omitted and the adjective stands alone, it is preferred to attach the derivational suffix *-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 *-əw*)'.

(2.302) *a=dzul mu=ri ðo*
ACC=small 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV
'Give me the small (one).'

(2.303) *a=dzul-əw mu=ri ðo*
ACC=small-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV
'Give me the small one.' (preferred)

(2.304) *az dʑam ləwr=ir ðɛs kuj ðo=in*
ABL all big=DAT ten Chinese.yuan give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They give ten yuan[2] to the oldest (one).'

(2.305) *az dʑam ləwr-əw=ir ðɛs kuj*
ABL all big-NMLZ=DAT ten Chinese.yuan

ðo=in
give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They give ten yuan to the oldest one.' (preferred)

(2.306) *tu=ri ɕlɛt χuɕ=o, tɛng*
2SG.NNOM=DAT soft happy=Q hard
'Do you like the soft (one), or the hard (one)?'

(2.307) *tu=ri ɕlɛt-əw χuɕ=o, tɛng-əw*
2SG.NNOM=DAT soft-NMLZ happy=Q hard-NMLZ
'Do you like soft ones, or hard ones?' (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 *utɕ* '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 *dɛr*. 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 (2.308) - (2.315) the same word functions both as an adjective and an adverb in its plain form.

(2.308) *dzul-ik batɕo*
small-DIM child
'small child'

(2.309) *dzul-ik χor*
small-DIM eat.IPFV
'Eat a little.'

[2] *Yuan* is the primary unit of the official currency of China.

(2.310) *χuɕruj gul*
beautiful flower
'beautiful flower'

(2.311) *χuɕruj gap ka*
beautiful word do.IPFV
'Speak properly.'

(2.312) *dʑald moɕin*
fast car
'fast car'

(2.313) *dʑald na tɛdz=an tsa dejr səwd*
fast NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COND late become.3SG.IPFV
'We will be late if we do not go fast.'

(2.314) *asto bejt*
slow song
'slow song'

(2.315) *jad aftovuz tsabalu asto tid=ir vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NOM.PROX bus how slow go.INF=DAT be.PRF
'How slow this bus is going! (Evidential/New information)'

In (2.316) - (2.318), the adjectives have been derived into adverbs with the addition of suffix *-i*.

(2.316) *ju əwrat χu hajut vid its*
3SG.NOM.DIST woman REFL.NNOM life be.INF TERM

χu tɕur=ir ʑit-i naj, tɕardʑ-i
REFL.NNOM husband=DAT bad-ADV NEG good-ADV

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'That woman, as long as she has life, does good, not bad, to her husband.'

(2.317) *waz=am* *fand-in-i* *a=χu* *kasal*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV false-ADJ-ADV ACC=REFL.NNOM sickness

wɛðd, *ar* *χuzmat=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.'

(2.318) *bɛadab-i* *mo* *ka*
impolite-ADV PROH do.IPFV
'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 2.9 Adjectives derived with *-in*

guxt-in 'with meat'	*rəwn-in* 'oily; greasy'	*adab-in* 'polite'
xats-in 'watery; soupy'	*baχt-in* 'happy'	*qawat-in* 'multi-storied'
ʑɛr-in 'rocky'	*mazo-in* 'tasty'	*xung-in* 'wooden'
namoðdʑ-in 'salty'	*aql-in* 'smart'	*kutɕ-in* 'strong'
gul-in 'flowery'	*qɛtɕ-in* 'pregnant'	*kulto-in* 'women (with cap)'

The opposite meaning is expressed by the adjectivizer prefix *bɛ–*. It also attaches to nouns to form adjectives, and expresses the meaning 'without'. 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 2.10 Adjectives derived with *-mand*

kasal-mand 'sickly'	*doniɕ-mand* 'knowledgeable'
χadʑal-mand 'shy'	*ʑudiat-mand* 'contentious'
tulej-mand 'lucky'	*dard-mand* 'melancholic'

arzɛɕ-mand ‘valuable’	*itiqud-mand* ‘pious’
dewlat-mand ‘wealthy’	*iχlus-mand* ‘passionate’

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’	*ʁaltɕa-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 *bɛ-*, 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*

jizo-ɛndʑ ‘village (adj)’	*maktab-ɛndʑ* ‘school (adj)’
qir-nɛndʑ ‘mountain (adj)’	*tɕɛd-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*

ɕitɕ-ɛndʑ ‘now (adj)’	*nur-ɛndʑ* ‘today (adj)’
χɛb-ɛndʑ ‘yesterday (adj)’	*parus-ɛndʑ* ‘last year (adj)’
ʐejn-ɛndʑ ‘winter (adj)’	*awal-nɛndʑ* ‘first (adj)’
az kol-ɛndʑ ‘beginning (adj)’	*ʐabu-nɛndʑ* ‘later (adj)’

Table 2.14 Some spatial references that take *-ɛndʑ* or *-nɛndʑ*

prud-nɛndʑ 'front (adj)'	*umik-ɛndʑ* 'there (adj)'
ʑabu-nɛndʑ 'back (adj)'	*əwd-ɛndʑ* 'here (adj)'
post-ɛndʑ 'low (adj)'	*kum-ɛndʑ* 'there (adj, cataphoric)'
tɕi tɛr-nɛndʑ 'above (adj)'	*pa bun-ɛndʑ* 'next to (adj)'

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

(2.319) *xipik tɕi tɛr-nɛndʑ guxt*
flatbread LOC top-ADJ meat
'meat on top of flatbread'

(2.320) *qɛtɕ ar darun-ɛndʑ batɕo*
belly LOC inside-ADJ child
'the child inside the belly'

(2.321) *tsej buzur pa ʁov-ɛndʑ dikun*
vegetable bazaar LOC mouth-ADJ store
'the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar'

(2.322) *ojmira pa bun-ɛndʑ ʁots*
Oimira LOC base-ADJ girl
'the girl near Oimira'

(2.323) *mu sardor pa ðust-nɛndʑ tɕɛr*
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.

Table 2.15 Nouns with a modifying noun

Word	Components	Meaning
padiˈom baˈtɕo	twin + child	‘twin children’
ˈtɕuɕtɕ xiˈpik	barley + flatbread	‘barley flatbread’
xuˈtsuvd uˈsul	eagle + dance	‘eagle dance’
aˈto sar ˈbob	father’s side + grandfather	‘paternal grandfather’
aˈnur ˈxats	pomegranate + juice	‘pomegranate juice’
kaˈko burˈjun	egg + fry	‘fried egg’
ˈqarz suˈjib	debt + owner	‘creditor’

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

Word	Components	Meaning
qalamˈdun	pen + box	‘pencil case’
mejmunχuˈno	guest + room	‘living room’
ktubχuˈno	book + room	‘library’
duχturχuˈno	doctor + room	‘hospital’
χɛrnaˈlist	sun + sitting	‘west’
kampirˈzul	old lady + sleeve	‘rainbow’
todʑikoˈbod	Tajik + town	‘Tojikobod’
tsɛmujˈnak	eye + glasses	‘eye glasses’
xanitsaˈmug	groom + basket	‘groomsman’
ɕejˈtun inˈgaxt	Satan + finger	‘ring finger’
ɕejtunaraˈbo	Satan + vehicle	‘bicycle; peddle cart’
spidˈbun	white + beard	‘old man’

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 (2.326), and substantival genitive NPs, as in (2.331).

(2.324) *waz at mu jaχ arðo na*
1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister similar NEG

ðej = an
fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'My sister and I do not look alike.' (nominative)

(2.325) *a = bɛlat at rasim = at vəwg = o*
ACC = ticket CONJ picture = 2SG.PFV bring.PFV = Q
'Did you bring the ticket and the photo?' (accusative)

(2.326) *waz = am m = a = di at*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX CONJ

m = a = di vəwg
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX bring.PFV
'I brought this and this.' (accusative)

(2.327) *a = di sojra at baχtigul = ir ðo*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX Soyra CONJ Bahtigeel = DAT give.IPFV
'Give this to Soyra and Bahtigeel.' (dative)

(2.328) *pa watɕa at baldir jost*
LOC Wacha CONJ Baldir be.IPFV
'There are in Wacha and Baldir.' (locative)

(2.329) *ɕɛr harabo at ðust harabo qati = af jud*
donkey vehicle CONJ hand vehicle COM = 3PL.PFV take.PFV
'They took it with a donkey cart and a hand cart.' (instrumental)

(2.330) *χalg az aqlikul at nafsikul pejdu*
person ABL big.wisdom CONJ big.spirit appear

sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ
become.PRF = REL
'Humans came into being from Wisdom and Spirit.' (ablative)

(2.331) *mɯ-an* *at* *ta-an* *i* *tɕi* *surat*
1SG.NNOM-GEN CONJ 2SG.NNOM-GEN one LOC appearance

vɛðdʑ
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 *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 *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 (2.333), (2.334), and (2.335), but may be used only once to mark all of the conjoined NPs, as in (2.334) & (2.335). Some of the examples below do not contain function markers because (2.332) contains nominative NPs which are unmarked, (2.336) omits the locative prepositions, and (2.337) contains indefinite accusative NPs. In (2.333), the locative function marker *ar* is used in the allative sense, indicating movement toward the destination.

(2.332) *dəwron* *soqdʑon* *sobir* *at* *raɕid* *puiz* *qati=af*
Deawron Soqjon Sobir CONJ Rashid train COM=3PL.PFV

tɯjd
go.PFV
'Deawron, Soqjon, Sobir, and Rashid went by train.'

(2.333) *mɯχbir-χejl=af* *ar* *ʑɛr* *qala* *ar* *guz*
journalist-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV LOC stone castle LOC grassland

pa *kəwg* *at* *ar* *tej=af* *sut*
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.'

(2.334) *səwdugar-χejl* *(az)* *pokiston* *(az)* *tudʑikston* *(az)*
merchant-PL.NOM ABL Pakistan ABL Tajikistan ABL

avɨɯnistɯn *at* *az* *iron* *iθtɕ=ɛndʑ*
Afghanistan CONJ ABL Iran come.PRF=REL
'The merchants are those who came from Pakistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.'

(2.335) *nɯwondʑ* *χu* *χɛx(=ir)* *χu*
bride REFL.NNOM mother.in.law=DAT REFL.NNOM

χajun-ɛf(=ir) *at* *digar* *χejx*
sister.in.law-PL.NNOM=DAT CONJ other relative

əwrat-ɛf=ir *ɕejdoi* *at* *kulto* *intsivd*
woman-PL.NNOM=DAT Sheydoi CONJ Keelto sew.3SG.IPFV
'The bride sews Sheydois (female cap) and Keeltos (female cap) for her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and other female relatives.'

(2.336) *jad* *xtur* *taʁarmi* *baldir* *watɕa* *at*
3SG.NOM.PROX camel Tagharmi Baldir Wacha CONJ

ðavðor *tɯjdʑ=ɛndʑ*
Thavthor go.PRF=REL
'This camel has been to Tagharmi, Baldir, Wacha, and Thavthor.'

(2.337) *waz=am* *i* *ujnak* *i* *waxɛrdʑ* *at* *i*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV one glass one comb CONJ one

bundʑ *χu* *qati* *zuxt*
graphite.eyebrow.pencil REFL.NNOM COM get.PFV
'I took a mirror, a comb, and a Bunj (graphite eyebrow pencil) with me.'

3

Pronouns and demonstratives

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

	SINGULAR	**PLURAL**
1.NOM	*waʑ*	*maɕ*
1.NNOM	*mɯ*	
2.NOM	*təw*	*tamaɕ*
2.NNOM	*ta*	

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) *waʑ* *a=ta* *tɕardʑ* *wejn=am*
1SG.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM good see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I love you.'

(3.2) *tamaɕ=af* *a=mɯ* *qiw* *na* *tɕəwg*
2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV ACC=1SG.NNOM call NEG do.PFV
'You(pl) did not invite me.'

(3.3) *təw=at* *dʑafu* *wand,* *ɕitɕ* *wi* *bor*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV toil see.PFV now 3SG.NNOM.DIST fruit

wejn
see.PFV
'You have seen toil; now see its fruit.'

(3.4) *puɡan jəwl=ik ðud, maɕ tar pond*
tomorrow dawn=DUR fall.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road

naxtɛdz=an
go.up.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'When the dawn breaks tomorrow, we will go out on the road (i.e. start our journey).'

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).

(3.5) **pindz (nafar) maɕ=an jot*
five CL 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV come.PFV
'Five we came.' (numeral/classifier)

(3.6) **pur tamaɕ=af tɕɛd zuxtɕ*
many 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV house buy.PRF
'Many you have bought houses. (Evidential/New information)' (quantifier)

(3.7) **χuɕruj ju nur mas usul kaxt*
beautiful 3SG.NOM today also dance do.3SG.IPFV
'Beautiful she will dance today also.' (adjective)

(3.8) **qatɛʁin tɕoj bruxtɕ=ɛndz woð=af kutɕin*
topping tea drink.PRF=REL 3PL.NOM=3PL.PFV strong

sut
become.PFV
'They who drank the milk tea became strong.' (relative clause)

(3.9) **batɕo woð hara maθ skit ka=in*
child 3PL.NOM every day play do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Children they play every day.' (modifier noun)

(3.10) *maɕ* *maktab-ɛndʑ* *woð* *sɛð* *xojd* *adu*
1PL.NNOM school-ADJ 3PL.NOM this.year read.INF finish

ka = in
do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'Our school's they will graduate this year.' (adjectivized phrase)

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) *maɕ* *əwrat-χejl* *digar* *dʑuj* *na* *tɛdz = an*
1PL.NOM woman-PL.NOM other place NEG go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We women do not go anywhere else.'

(3.12) *maɕ* *haroj* *(nafar)* *puiz* *qati* *tɛdz = an*
1PL.NOM three CL train COM go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We three will go by train.'

(3.13) *nuur* *maɕ* *tej* *na* *tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ*
today 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF = REL

batɕo-χejl = an *tup* *tamoq* *χug*
child-PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV group food eat.PFV
'Today we unmarried kids ate a meal together.'

(3.14) *woð* *qatɛʁin* *tɕoj* *bruxtɕ = ɛndʑ-χejl = af*
3PL.NOM.DIST topping tea drink.PRF = REL-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

kutɕin *sut*
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)

	SINGULAR		**PLURAL**	
1.NOM	*mɯ*		*maɕ*	
2.NNOM	*ta*		*tamaɕ*	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NNOM	*di*	*wi*	*dɛf*	*wɛf*

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

(3.15) *waz dzɯl vid alo mɯ mom=ik*
1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother=DUR

a=mɯ iχil pa dom tɕəwg, ar
ACC=1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC

boʁdʑa=ik jud
garden=DUR take.PFV
'When I was little, my grandmother often used to put me on her back and take me to the garden.'

(3.16) *di buland awudʑ qati maɕ ʁəwl tɕɯn*
3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1SG.NNOM ear deaf

sut
become.PFV
'Our ears have gone deaf with its loud noise.'

(3.17) *ta gap=am χɯ tɕi zord kandakuri*
2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM LOC heart engrave

tɕəwg
do.PFV
'I engraved your words on my heart.'

(3.18) *waχt naxtizd tsa tamaɕ χejz*
time go.up.3SG.IPFV COND 2PL.NNOM side

so = am
become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'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) *waz = am wi ɕtu zord ub*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart melted

tɕəwg
do.PFV
'I melted his cold heart.'

(3.20) *wɛf iw-ik batɕo kasal sut*
3PL.NNOM.DIST one-DIM child sick become.PFV
'Their only child has gotten sick.'

(3.21) *ɕitɕ dɛf ato ano-ɛf = ir*
now 3PL.NNOM.PROX father mother-PL.NNOM = DAT

lɛv = am
say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Now I will tell these ones' parents.'

(3.22) *di χuɕbuj-i putun a = tɕɛd zuxt*
3SG.NNOM.PROX fragrant-NMLZ all ACC = house get.PFV
'This one's fragrance filled the whole house.'

(3.23) *wɛf daruz-i navi ɕ = am*
3PL.NNOM.DIST long-NMLZ write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will write down their length.'

(3.24)

di	*num* = *at*	*χu*	*ar*	*juð*
3SG.NNOM.PROX	name = 2SG.PFV	REFL.NNOM	LOC	memory

zuxt = *o*
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 *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 (3.27) & (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

	SG.IPFV	PL.IPFV	SG.PFV	PL.PFV
1	*=am*	*=an*	*=am*	*=an*
2	*=Ø*	*=it*	*=at*	*=af*
3	(special stem: *-t/-d*)	*=in*	*=Ø*	*=af*

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) *navić=am*
write.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will write.'

(3.26) *tɕos=it*
watch.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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) *χɯg=am*
eat.PFV=1SG.PFV
'I ate.'

(3.28) *iθtɕ=af*
come.PRF=3PL.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.

(3.29) *waz=am* *a=wi* *wand* *χu*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM see.PFV TEMP.CONJ

lɛvd=am
say.PFV=1SG.PFV
'I saw him and told him.'

(3.30) *awal* *tamoq* *χor=it* *χu* *tɛdz=it*
first food eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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

	SINGULAR		**PLURAL**	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NOM	(*jam*)/*jad*	*ju*	*doð*	*woð*
3.NNOM	(*mi*)/*di*	*wi*	*dɛf*	*wɛf*

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), which are ambiguous.

(3.31) *ju* *mas* *varɕidɛ* *tujdʑ=ɛndʑ*
3SG.NOM.DIST also Varshide go.PRF=REL
'He has also been to Varshide.'

(3.32) *doð* *mu* *patiɕ* *vrud-χejl*
3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM cousin brother-PL.NOM
'These are my male cousins.'

(3.33) *χor,* *jad* *χig=ir* *zuxtɕ=ɛndʑ*
eat.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.INF=DAT buy.PRF=REL
'Eat, these were bought to be eaten.'

(3.34) *awal* *m=a=di* *tɕust* *ka=am*
first CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX lock do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will lock this first.'

(3.35) *a=dɛf* *mas* *waz* *χubaθ*
ACC=3PL.NNOM.PROX also 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM

intsuvdʑ=ɛndʑ
sew.PRF=REL
'These are also things that I have sewn myself.'

(3.36) *a=wi* *mas* *na* *wazond=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST also NEG know.INF=DAT be.PRF
'(One) does not even know that/him/her. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.37) *a=dɛf=am* *vəwg*
ACC=3PL.NNOM.PROX=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'I brought these.'

(3.38) *woð=af* *pukzo* *na* *vɛðdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF
'They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.39) *təw* *a=wɛf* *mu=ri* *az* *kol*
2SG.NOM ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST 1SG.NNOM=DAT from head

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, *jam* and *jad* are used interchangeably referring to objects that are near, as in (3.40), but usage of *jam* is very rare. For the singular non-nominative proximal demonstrative, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for objects in the same distance, as in (3.41), but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has nearly fallen out of use. For the plural proximal demonstratives, the forms *moð* and *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) *jam/jad* *tɕi* *batɕo*
3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM child
'Whose child is this?' (jam/jad interchangeable)

(3.41) *m=a=mi/di* *tɛr* *tɕi* *ka=o*
CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX lift CAP do.IPFV=Q
'Can you lift this?' (*m=a=mi/m=a=di* interchangeable)

(3.42) *m=doð* *az* *amriko* *iθtɕ=ɛndʑ*
CATA=3PL.NOM.PROX ABL America come.PRF=REL

mejmun-χejl, *u* *woð* *az* *kanada*
guest-PL.NNOM there 3PL.NOM.DIST ABL Canada

iθtɕ=ɛndʑ
come.PRF=REL
'These are guests from America, and those are from Canada.'

(3.43) *m=a=dɛf=am* *dejd* *na*
CATA=ACC=3PL.NNOM.PROX=1SG.PFV enter.INF NEG

latɕəwg, *a=wɛf=am* *latɕəwg*
let.PFV ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST=1SG.PFV let.PFV
'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

	SINGULAR		**PLURAL**	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NOM	(*jam*)/*jad*	*ju*	*doð* (human) (*jam*)/*jad* (non-human)	*woð* (human) *ju* (non-human)
3.NNOM	(*mi*)/*di*	*wi*	(*mi*)/*di*	*wi*

Note that there are some differences in form when demonstratives are used as determiners as opposed to NP heads. Unlike nominal demonstratives (Table 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 *ju*, 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* *utɕ* *aqlin* *vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NOM.PROX child very smart be.PRF
'This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.46) *u* *ju* *tsɛm* *ujnak* *ðudʑ=ɛndʑ* *batɕo* *az*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST eye glass give.PRF=REL child ABL

watɕa
Wacha
'That child who is wearing glasses is from Wacha.'

(3.47) *u* *ju* *tɕɛd* *mu* *dud-an*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST house 1SG.NNOM uncle-GEN
'That house over there is my uncle's.'

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).

(3.48) *doð* *batɕo-χejl* *pugan* *xwor*
3PL.NOM.PROX child-PL.NOM tomorrow Kashgar

tɛdz=in
go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'These children are going to Kashgar tomorrow.'

(3.49) *woð* *batɕo-χejl=af* *utɕ* *pukzo*
3PL.NOM.DIST child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV very clean

χig=ir *vɛðdʑ*
eat.INF=DAT be.PRF
'Those children eat very clean. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.50) *mi=jad* *kalo-χejl* *zulfia-an*
CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX sheep-PL.NOM Zeelfia-GEN
'These sheep are Zeelfia's.'

(3.51) *u* *ju* *kalo-χejl* *zulfia-an*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST sheep-PL.NOM Zeelfia-GEN
'Those sheep are Zeelfia's.'

(3.52) *mi=jad* *ktub-χejl* *maɕ* *malum-an*
CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX book-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM teacher-GEN

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'These books are not our teacher's.'

(3.53) *u* *ju* *ktub-χejl* *maɕ* *malum-an*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST book-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM teacher-GEN

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'Those books are not our teacher'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.

(3.54) *waz=am* *a=di* *χalg* *na*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX person NEG

wazond
know.PFV
'I did not know this person.'

(3.55) *a=di* *batɕo-ɛf=am* *rond*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX child-PL.NNOM=1SG.PFV scold.PFV
'I scolded these children.'

(3.56) *a=di* *kalo* *kejɣ=an=o*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX sheep slaughter.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
'Shall we slaughter this sheep?'

(3.57) *a=di* *kalo-ɛf* *az*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX sheep-PL.NNOM ABL

ko=at *vəwg*
where.NNOM=2SG.PFV bring.PFV
'Where do you bring these sheep from?'

(3.58) *m = a = mi/di* *ʑɛr* *tɛr* *tɕi* *ka = o*
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX rock lift CAP do.IPFV = Q
'Can you lift this rock?'

(3.59) *m = a = mi/di* *ʑɛr-ɛf* *tɛr* *tɕi*
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX rock-PL.NNOM lift CAP

ka = o
do.IPFV = Q
'Can you lift these rocks?'

(3.60) *waz = am* *di* *tɕurik = ir* *hamru*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX man = DAT companion

sut
become.PFV
'I became a companion for this man.'

(3.61) *waz = am* *di* *ɘwrat-ɛf* *avon*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX woman-PL.NNOM BEN

χu *az* *dʑuj* *undəwd*
REFL.NNOM ABL place 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 pairs of sentences which demonstrate that *wi* may be used for both singular and plural non-nominative NPs, whether they are human (3.62) - (3.65), non-human animate (3.66) & (3.67), or non-human inanimate (3.68) & (3.69).

(3.62) *waz = am* *a = wi* *χalg* *qiw* *tɕəwg*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person call do.PFV
'I called that person.'

(3.63) *waz = am* *a = wi* *batɕo-ɛf*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST child-PL.NNOM

rond
scold.PFV
'I scolded those children.'

(3.64) *mu* *ɣin* *ki=wi* *χadurdʑtɕi* *qati*
1SG.NNOM wife ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST miller COM

skit=ik *kaxt*
play=DUR do.3SG.IPFV
'My wife is playing with that miller.'

(3.65) *azizmamad* *ki=wi* *χalg-ɛf* *qati*
Azizmamad ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM COM

gap *tɕəwg*
word do.PFV
'Azizmamad talked with those people.'

(3.66) *a=wi* *kalo* *kejɣ=an*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST sheep slaughter.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us slaughter that sheep.'

(3.67) *waz=am* *a=wi* *kalo-ɛf*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST sheep-PL.NNOM

pojd
herd.PFV
'I herded those sheep.'

(3.68) *waz=am* *a=wi* *mon* *χug*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST apple eat.PFV
'I ate that apple.'

(3.69) *waz=am* *a=wi* *ktub-ɛf*
1SG.NOM=1SG.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST book-PL.NNOM

xojd
read.PFV
'I read those books.'

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 *di* is often used when referring to a point in time that is near the point of utterance, while the distal demonstrative *wi* is used when referring to a point in time that is distant from the point of utterance, usually in the future.

(3.70) *ar* *di* *afto/most/mawsum*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week/month/semester
'during this week/month/semester'

(3.71) *ar* *wi* *afto/most/mawsum*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week/month/semester
'during next week/month/semester'

(3.72) *di* *tuv=at* *na* *jot,*
3SG.NNOM.PROX time=2SG.PFV NEG come.PFV

wi *tuv* *vid* *na* *vid* *joð*
3SG.NNOM.DIST time be.INF NEG be.INF come.IPFV
'You did not come this time, but next time come no matter what.'

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.

(3.73) *suf* *tudʑik* *gap* *tsa* *vid*
pure Tajik word COND be.3SG.IPFV

k=a=wi *χumand* *ka*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST teach do.IPFV
'If there is a pure Tajik word, teach that one.'

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

bejg *at* *χon* *sɛt=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
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) *təw* *pars* *tsa* *waz=am*
2SG.NOM ask.IPFV COND 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV

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) *ju* *mas* *k=ar* *wi* *mejmunχuno*
3SG.NOM.DIST also ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST hotel

tɕɛr *kaxt*
work do.3SG.IPFV
'He also works at that hotel.'

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

pugan *waz* *tɛdz=am*
tomorrow 1SG.NOM go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I only have this one day left, I am leaving tomorrow.'

(3.78) *waʑ* *mas* *ki=wi* *rang* *χig=itɕuʑ*
1SG.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) *ki=gap*
ANA=word
'That is what I mean.' (lit. That word.)

(3.80) *k=dos=o* *kɯ*
ANA=manner=Q SUP
'It is so, I think.'

(3.81) *ki=wi=rang* *mo* *lɛv*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST=SEMB PROH say.IPFV
'Don't say it like that.'

k(i)= is also used in the causal conjunction *kaʑwi*, which links together a reason clause and a result clause. It is derived from *k=aʑ wi* and literally means 'from (i.e. because of) that':

(3.82) *nɯr* *ɕamɯl* *ɯtɕ* *kɯtɕin* *kaʑwi* *məwdʑ* *ɯtɕ* *buland*
today wind very strong so wave very high

sɛðdʑ
become.PRF
'The wind is strong today, so the waves have gotten very high. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.83) *waʑ=am* *χu* *pond* *bunost* *kaʑwi=am*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM road lose.PFV so=1SG.PFV

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.

(3.84) *m=dos* *ka=it* *tsa* *na*
CATA=manner do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV COND NEG

səwd=o
become.3SG.IPFV=Q
'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.

(3.85) *m=əwd-ik* *laka*
CATA=here-DIM put.IPFV
'Put it down here.'

(3.86) *mi=jad* *dʑuj=ik* *ðizd*
CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX place=DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV
'This place hurts.'

(3.87) *m=ar* *di* *ʁəwn* *dið*
CATA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack enter.IPFV
'Go into this sack.'

(3.88) *m=a=di* *duri* *χor* *tsa* *na*
CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX medicine eat.IPFV COND NEG

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'You must not take this medicine.'

(3.89) *təw* *mi=di* *rang* *ɕejdoi* *intsivd*
2SG.NOM CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB Sheydoi sew.INF

tɕi *ka=o*
CAP do.IPFV=Q
'Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like this?'

Whereas *k(i)=* attaches to pronouns, determiners, and 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) **m=uum-ik* *laka*
CATA=there-DIM put.IPFV
'Put it down there.'

(3.91) **mi=juu* *dʑuj=ik* *ðizd*
CATA=3SG.NOM.DIST place=DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV
'That place hurts.'

(3.92) **təw* *mi=wi* *rang* *ɕejdoi* *intsivd* *tɕi*
2SG.NOM CATA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB Sheydoi sew.INF CAP

ka=o
do.IPFV=Q
'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) *i* *tɕi* *dʑuj* *niθ=an* *m=k=əwd*
one LOC place sit.IPFV=1PL.IPFV CATA=ANA=here
'We gather here in one place.'

(3.94) *nuwondz* *m=k=pa* *di* *noχ*
bride CATA=ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX Noh

warifst
stand.3SG.IPFV
'The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).'

(3.95) *m=ki=di* *rang* *gap-ɛf=ik*
CATA=ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB word-PL.NNOM=DUR

mɯ=ri *kaxt*
1SG.NNOM=DAT do.3SG.IPFV
'He says such and such things to me.'

(3.96) *maɕ-an* *imi=ri* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *tɕɛr*
1PL.NNOM-GEN RECP=DAT do.PRF=REL matter

m=k=dund
CATA=ANA=AMT
'This is the extent of what we did to each other.'

(3.97) *putxu* *radzɛn* *a=wi* *tɕost*
king daughter ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST watch.3SG.IPFV

χɯ *lɛvd* *iko* *a*
TEMP.CONJ say.3SG.IPFV SC INTJ

mi=k=jad *ʁaðo*
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* *ʁots-ɛf*
CATA=aca=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM

tɯ=ri=ik *tɕidum* *χɯɕ* *sut*
2SG.NNOM=DAT=DUR which happy become.PFV

tɯ=ri *ðo=am*
2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will give you whichever one of these girls you like the most.'

(3.99) *maɕ* *qati* *tang*
1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous

m = k = a = di *ruzagur* *tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ*
CATA = ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX living do.PRF = REL

i *bɛziv* *bɛzibun* *i* *nejk* *tsiz*
one tongueless tongueless one good thing

dwoð = an
bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'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) *m = dos = am* *uj* *tɕəwg*
CATA = manner = 1SG.PFV thought do.PFV
'I thought of it this way.'

(3.101) *waz = am* *mas* *k = dos* *uj* *tɕəwg*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV also ANA = manner thought do.PFV
'I thought of it that way, too.'

3.5 Local demonstratives

Sarikoli has two local demonstratives making spatial reference, which show deictic contrast: *əwd* 'here' and *um/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 *əwd* or *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 locative adposition, as in (3.102) - (3.105).

(3.102) *waz* *əwd* *hitɕ* *a=tɕi* *na*
1SG.NOM here none ACC=who.NNOM NEG

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I do not know anyone here.'

(3.103) *varɕidɛ* *dʒul-ik* *dʑuj* *mas* *tsa* *vid* *um*
Varshide small-DIM place also COND be.3SG.IPFV there

ladʑa *jost*
dialect be.IPFV
'Even though Varshide is a small place, there are dialects there.'

(3.104) *waz=am* *um-ik* *χu* *malum* *wand*
1SG.NOM there-DIM REFL.NNOM teacher see.PFV
'I saw my teacher over there.'

(3.105) *um-ik* *dɛr* *χu* *ajoɣ* *wejð*
there-DIM CPRV REFL.NNOM shoe put.IPFV
'Take your shoes off over there a little bit.'

These two local demonstratives are frequently combined with the locative preposition *ar*, as in (3.106) & (3.107), locative preposition *tar*, as in (3.108) & (3.109), and ablative *az*, as in (3.110) & (3.111). The locative preposition for upriver locations, *pa*, is only used for *um* 'there' or *əwd* '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 *pa dum* or *pa dəwd*, respectively. When local demonstratives occur with prepositions, they do not take the diminutive suffix *–ik*.

(3.106) *a=putxu* *ar* *əwd* *mo* *vor*
ACC=king LOC here PROH bring.IPFV
'Do not bring the king here.'

(3.107) *waz=am* *turpon* *tujdʑ-it,* *ar* *um* *nəwz*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV Turpan go.PFV-CESS LOC there still

hawu *na* *ðudʑ*
precipitation NEG fall.PRF
'I went to Turpan, and there it had not snowed yet. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.108) *mɯ tɕɛd ɯtɕ ðar, tar əwd na jɛt=ir*
1SG.NNOM house very far LOC here NEG come.INF=DAT

pur waχt sɯt
much time become.PFV
'My house is very far, I have not come here for a long time.'

(3.109) *tar um tid=ir waχt nist*
LOC there do.INF=DAT time NEG.be.IPFV
'There is no time to go there.'

(3.110) *az əwd tɯng sɛt=ir tsund waχt*
ABL here Teeng become.INF=DAT how.much time

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV
'How much time does it take to get from here to Teeng?'

(3.111) *az um a=ɕɛr darju tɕi lab*
ABL there ACC=donkey river LOC bank

vor=in
bring.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'From there they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.'

(3.112) *mɯ malum varɕidɛ tɯjdʑ, pa dum tsund gudur*
1SG.NNOM teacher Varshide go.PRF LOC there some time

hawu ðudʑ
precipitation fall.PRF
'My teacher went to Varshide, and there it has snowed several times. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.113) *təw tɕɯm joð, pa dəwd*
2SG.NOM when come.IPFV LOC here
'When are you coming here?'

Some of these combinations of preposition and local demonstrative may be used idiomatically for expressions related to space and time, as shown in Table 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

tar um tar əwd	'in various directions; approximately'
di tar əwd	'from now on'
az tarat[1]	'since (a certain time in the past)'

(3.114) *dijur χalg tar um tar əwd ratsasθt*
region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPFV
'The villagers run away this way and that way.'

(3.115) *i ɕejdoi intsivd=ir 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 utɕ dzul*
3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small

tsiz-ɛf mo pars, mu kol
thing-PL.NNOM PROH ask.IPFV 1SG.NNOM head

ʁarst
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 ju xovd na*
ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG

tɕi tɕejg=itɕuz 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 *k=* and *m=*. The cataphoric clitic *m=* 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.

(3.118) *m = əwd(-ik)* *niθ*
CATA = here-DIM sit.IPFV
'Sit here.'

The anaphoric clitic *k =* may attach to either *əwd* or *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) *waz = am* *k = əwd(-ik)* *azmud* *sut,*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ANA = here-DIM born become.PFV

k = əwd(-ik) = am *ləwr* *sut,*
ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.PFV big become.PFV

k = əwd(-ik) = am *xojd*
ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.PFV read.PFV
'I was born and raised here and studied here.'

(3.120) *k = um(-ik)* *mu* *malum* *mas* *jost = o*
ANA = there-DIM 1SG.NNOM teacher also be.IPFV = Q
'Is my teacher also there?'

(3.121) *intawum* *ðo = an,* *kudʑur = an = ik* *nardʑɛd,*
exam give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV where = 1PL.PFV = 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.'

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) *uː* *ju* *tɕɛd* *mu* *dud-an*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST house 1SG.NNOM uncle-GEN
'That house (far away) is my uncle's.'

(3.123) *uː* *ju* *dʑam* *wi*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST all 3SG.NNOM.DIST

kalo-χejl=af *vɛðdʑ*
sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'Those (far away) are all his sheep. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.124) *uː* *woð* *dʑam* *wi*
there 3PL.NOM.DIST all 3SG.NNOM.DIST

batɕo-χejl=af *vɛðdʑ*
child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'Those (far away) are all his children. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.125) *mɯ* *tɕɛd* *ɯːmik*
1SG.NNOM house 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) *waʑ* *m=əwd-ik* *tsej* *buzur* *pa* *ʁov*
1SG.NOM CATA=here-DIM vegetable bazaar LOC mouth
'I am here at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar.'

(3.127) *k=ɯm* *pa* *maktab* *maɕ-an* *ato* *ano*
ANA=there LOC school 1PL.NNOM-GEN father mother

nist
NEG.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 *ki=* and *mi=* are the following manner demonstratives: *k=dos* 'in that way/manner', *ki=rang/ki=wi rang* 'like that', *m=dos* 'in this way/manner', and *mi=di rang* 'like this'. They are formed with the manner word *dos* and

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	*mo*	*lɛv,*	*m=dos*	*lɛv*
ANA=manner	PROH	say.IPFV	CATA=manner	say.IPFV

'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 *χu* 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*	*a=raɕid*	*ðud*
Rashid	ACC=Rashid	hit.PFV

'Rashid hit Rashid.'

(3.130)

raɕid	*a=χu*	*ðud*
Rashid	ACC=REFL.NNOM	hit.PFV

'Rashid hit himself.'

Sarikoli has a special reflexive pronoun, *χu* 'self'. Morphologically, *χu* 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).

(3.131) *a = χɯ* *tɕardʑ* *nigo* *ka = it*
ACC = REFL.NNOM good watch do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'Take good care of yourselves.'

(3.132) *təw = at* *χɯ* *num* *mɯ = ri* *na*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV REFL.NNOM name 1SG.NNOM = DAT NEG

lɛvd
say.PFV
'You did not tell me your name.'

(3.133) *χɯ* *ano* *ziv* *mas* *na* *wazon = in*
REFL.NNOM mother tongue also NEG know.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not even know their mother tongue.'

(3.134) *χɯ* *hamrɯ* *pa* *tɕɛd* *so = am*
REFL.NNOM companion LOC house become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I and going to my friend's house.'

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* *malum* *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) *ɕanbɛ* *tursun = ir* *χɯ* *qalam* *ðud*
Shanbe Tursun = DAT REFL.NNOM pen give.PFV
'Shanbe gave his pen to Tursun.' (*χɯ*→ Shanbe)

(3.137) *mejnaχon az nurbia χu odris parst*
Meynahon ABL Nurbia REFL.NNOM address ask.PFV
'Meynahon asked Nurbia for her own address.' (*χu*→ Meynahon)

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-ono=ri tilfon ka=am*
REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT phone do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will call my mother.'

(3.139) *χu pa tɕɛd naluɕtɕ=ɛndʑ rang*
REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF=REL SEMB

niθ=it
sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Sit as if you are at your(pl) own home.'

(3.140) *χu mudʑuz tsa wazond tar jəwl*
REFL.NNOM feeling COND know.3SG.IPFV LOC dawn

noɕta na kaxt tsa səwd
breakfast NEG do.3SG.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
'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. *mina χu batɕo=ri mon ðud*
Mina REFL.NNOM child=DAT apple give.PFV
'Mina gave an apple to her child.' (*χu*→ Mina)

b. *mina wi batɕo=ri mon ðud*
Mina 3SG.NNOM.DIST child=DAT apple give.PFV
'Mina gave an apple to her child.' (*wi*→ NOT Mina)

(3.142) a. *waz=am χu numur ranuxtɕ*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM number forget.PRF
'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)' (*χu*→ I)

b. **waz=am mu numur ranuxtɕ*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM number forget.PRF
'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)' (*mu*→ ungrammatical)

Even in a sentence with a subordinate clause and two different subjects (the main clause subject and subordinate clause subject), the antecedent of *χu* is not ambiguous because a *χu* within a subordinate clause takes the subordinate clause subject as its antecedent. In finite subordinate clauses, as in (3.143), *χu* refers to the embedded clause subject instead of the main clause subject. In subordinate clauses with an explicit subject, as in (3.144), *χu* 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), *χu* 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 *χu*.

(3.143) *ojmira lɛvd iko [awagul χu pa tɕɛd*
Oimira say.PFV SC Awageel REFL.NNOM LOC house

rejd]
remain.PFV
'Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home].' (*χu*→ Awageel)

(3.144) *waz=am [sobir χu ɣin qati*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV Sobir REFL.NNOM wife COM

jɛt=i] na wazond
come.INF=SC NEG know.PFV
'I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife]. ' (*χu*→ Sobir)

(3.145) *amad [χu=ri zuxtɕ=ɛndʑ] a=ktub-ɛf*
Amad REFL.NNOM=DAT buy.PRF=REL ACC=book-PL.NNOM

mu=ri ðud
1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV
'Amad gave me the books [that he bought for himself].' (*χu*→ 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 [gulmira χɯ a=qalam wejrun az*
Soyra Geelmira REFL.NNOM ACC=pen broken ABL

tɕejg=i] χafo sɯt
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] tɛlan*
Rashid Sobir REFL.NNOM ACC=key ABL lose.INF=SC fine

ðud
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, təw χɯbaθ*
1SG.NOM healthy 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM
'I am healthy, you yourself?'

(3.149) *ta χɯ mɯdʑɯz tɕardʑ=o*
2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM feeling good=Q
'Is your own feeling good?'

(3.150) *ta* *χu-an=at* *kudʑur* *latɕəwg*
2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN=2SG.PFV where put.PFV
'Where did you put your own?'

(3.151) *putxu* *a=ɣin=af* *χu* *zɛd*
king ACC=wife=2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV
'You(pl) have killed the king's wife herself!'

Second, *χu* 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 *χubaθ* serves as a modifier which is apposed to the subject, as in (3.152) & (3.153). Alternatively, to express the same meaning, the adverbial *χu tɕi tan* 'by self' may be used, as in (3.154).

(3.152) *təw* *χubaθ* *a=wi* *hat* *ka*
2SG.NOM REFL.NOM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST open do.IPFV
'You open that yourself.'

(3.153) *mu* *radzɛn* *χubaθ* *tid* *tɕi* *kaxt*
1SG.NNOM daughter REFL.NOM go.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV
'My daughter can go by herself.'

(3.154) *m-ono* *digar* *dʑuj* *tujd,* *waz=am*
1SG.NNOM-mother other place go.PFV 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV

χu *tɕi* *tan* *palәw* *tɕəwg*
REFL.NNOM LOC body pilaf 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 *raɕid at sobir* and function as the A argument, while the O slot is filled by reciprocal pronoun *imi*. The subject, as the fully-specified NP, serves as the antecedent.

(3.155) *raɕid a=sobir ðud, sobir a=raɕid ðud*
Rashid ACC=Sobir hit.PFV Sobir ACC=Rashid hit.PFV
'Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.'

(3.156) *raɕid at sobir=af a=imi ðud*
Rashid CONJ Sobir=3PL.PFV ACC=RECP hit.PFV
'Rashid and Sobir hit each other.'

As with the reflexive pronoun *χu*, 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).

(3.157) *ar di afto a=imi*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week ACC=RECP

wejn=an=o
see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
'Shall we see each other this week?' (accusative)

(3.158) *woð=af imi=ri χu surat*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP=DAT REFL.NNOM picture

vusond
show.PFV
'They showed each other their picture.' (dative)

(3.159) *woð=af imi=ri samʁut ðud*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP=DAT gift give.PFV
'They gave gifts to each other.' (dative)

(3.160) *woð=af az imi χumand sut*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ABL RECP learn become.PFV
'They learned from each other.' (ablative)

(3.161) *manos at mina=af az imi surud*
Manos CONJ Mina=3PL.PFV ABL RECP separate.PFV
'Manos and Mina broke up.' (ablative)

(3.162) *gulbarg* *at* *tiloχon=af* *az* *imi* *χafo*
Geelbarg CONJ Tilohon=3PL.PFV ABL RECP upset

sut
become.PFV
'Geelbarg and Tilohon got upset at each other.' (ablative)

(3.163) *χsrəw* *at* *kuraɕ=af* *imi* *qati* *balad*
Hsreaw CONJ Keerash=3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted

sut
become.PFV
'Hsreaw and Keerash got acquainted with each other.' (comitative)

(3.164) *waz* *at* *mu* *jaχ* *tar* *imi* *arðo* *na*
1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG

ðej=an
fall.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'My sister and I do not look alike.' (allative)

(3.165) *maɕ=an* *tar* *imi* *ʑuzd*
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV
'We ran towards each other.' (allative)

(3.166) *woð=af* *imi(-an* *wi)* *ktub*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book

waʑapt
return.PFV
'They returned each other's books.' (genitive)

(3.167) *woð=af* *imi(-an* *wi)*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

a=ejb-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).

(3.168) *mɯ* *jaχ* *a=gulbarg* *at* *tursun* *imi=ri*
1SG.NNOM sister ACC=Geelbarg CONJ Tursun RECP=DAT

balad *tɕəwg*
acquainted do.PFV
'My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.'

(3.169) *alima* *malum* *a=ɕanigul* *at* *asal* *imi* *qati* *ɛp*
Alima teacher ACC=Shanigeel CONJ Asal RECP COM fix

tɕəwg
do.PFV
'Teacher Alima reconciled Shanigeel and Asal to each other.'

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).

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 radzɛn*
king daughter
'the King's daughter'

(4.2) *mu vits sul*
1SG.NNOM aunt year
'my aunt's age'

(4.3) *kuraɕ tɕɛd*
Keerash house
'Keerash's house'

(4.4) *amad bejt*
Amad song
'Amad's song'

If the possessor is expressed as a pronoun, the 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) *mu jaktu*
1SG.NNOM shirt
'my shirt'

(4.6) *ta tsɛm*
2SG.NNOM eye
'your eye'

(4.7) *maɕ dəwlat*
1PL.NNOM country
'our country'

(4.8) *wɛf piɕ*
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) *alima malum*
Alima teacher
'Alima's teacher' or 'Teacher Alima'

(4.10) *tilu tizgin*
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) *kuraɕ-an wi dɛst*
Keerash-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST friend
'Keerash's friend'

(4.12) *mu jaχ-an wi tɕur*
1SG.NNOM sister-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband
'my sister's husband'

(4.13) *batɕo-ɛf-an wɛf skit*
child-PL.NNOM-GEN 3PL.NNOM.DIST play
'children's play/game'

(4.14) *kalo-ɛf-an wɛf wux*
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) *mu-an mu orzu*
1SG.NNOM-GEN 1SG.NNOM hope
'my hope'

(4.16) *ta-an* *ta* *daftar*
2SG.NNOM-GEN 2SG.NNOM notebook
'your notebook'

(4.17) *wi-an* *wi* *num*
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST name
'his name'

(4.18) *maç-an* *maç* *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 possessive 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 CS (copula subject) 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 relationship (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 *tsund* 'how many'

may be added to the CS argument NP to indicate how many items are possessed.

(4.21) *maɕ-an* *stəwr* *nist*
1PL.NNOM-GEN yak NEG.be.IPFV
'We do not have yaks.' (lit. Of ours, there is no yak.)

(4.22) *ta-an* *ðandun* *jost=o*
2SG.NNOM-GEN tooth be.IPFV=Q
'Do you have teeth?' (lit. Of yours, are there teeth?)

(4.23) *mɯ-an* *i* *swol* *jost*
1SG.NNOM-GEN one question be.IPFV
'I have a question.' (lit. Of mine, there is a question.)

(4.24) *tamaɕ-an* *tsund* *batɕo* *jost*
2PL.NNOM-GEN how.much child be.IPFV
'How many children do you(pl) have?' (lit. Of yours(pl), how many children are there?)

(4.25) *wɛf-an* *haroj* *batɕo* *jost*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN three child be.IPFV
'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* *pul* *nist*
Tursun-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV
'Tursun does not have money.' (lit. Of Tursun's, there is no money.)

(4.27) *rajon-an* *ruɕt* *baron* *jost*
Rayon-GEN red dress be.IPFV
'Rayon has a red dress.' (lit. Of Rayon's, there is a red dress.)

(4.28) *di* *batɕo-an* *ato* *ano* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.PROX child-GEN father mother NEG.be.IPFV
'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* *wux* *jost*
sheep-PL.NNOM-GEN grass be.IPFV
'The sheep have grass.' (lit. Of the sheep's, there is grass.)

(4.30) *dejqun-ɛf-an* *waχt* *nist*
farmer-PL.NNOM-GEN time NEG.be.IPFV
'The farmers have no time.' (lit. Of the farmers', there is no time.)

4.3 Substantival possessives

The substantival possessive is formed by attaching the genitive marker *-an* to a non-nominative NP, as in (4.31) - (4.34). A substantival 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) *jad* *mu-an*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN
'This is mine.'

(4.32) *mu-an* *mas*
1SG.NNOM-GEN also
'Mine, too.'

(4.33) *ta-an* *az* *wi-an* *ləwr* *vɛðdʑ*
2SG.NNOM-GEN ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN big be.PRF
'Yours is bigger than hers. (Evidential/New information)'

(4.34) *tamaɕ-an* *mu=ri* *χuɕ*
2PL.NNOM-GEN 1SG.NNOM=DAT 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) *jad* *χɛvd* *piɕ-an*
3SG.NOM.PROX milk cat-GEN
'This milk is the cat's.'

(4.36) *a=batɕo-an* *mu=ri* *ðo*
ACC=child-GEN 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV
'Give me the child's.'

(4.37) *jad* *qalam* *kuraɕ-an* *nist*
3SG.NOM.PROX pen Keerash-GEN NEG.be.IPFV
'This pen is not Keerash's.'

(4.38) *romila-an* *mas* *tu=ri* *ðo=am*
Romila-GEN also 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will also give Romila's to you.'

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).

(4.39) *zuroχon-an* *mas* *na* *məwg*
Zurohon-GEN also NEG die.PFV
'Zurohon's has not died, either.'

(4.40) *mu-an* *a=wi-an* *χug*
1SG.NNOM-GEN ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN eat.PFV
'Mine ate his.'

(4.41) *mu* *nabus-an* *ɛng* *ɕlɛt*
1SG.NNOM grandchild-GEN SUPL soft
'My grandchild's is the softest.'

(4.42) *ju* *ktub-χejl* *dzul* *batɕo-ɛf-an*
3PL.NOM.DIST book-PL.NOM small child-PL.NNOM-GEN
'Those books are for little children.'

(4.43) *wɛf-an=ir* *xats* *na* *ðo=an*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN=DAT water NEG give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Let us not give water to theirs.'

(4.44) *nur* *χu-an* *kan = an,*
today REFL.NNOM-GEN do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

wɛf-an = ir *uz* *digar* *maθ* *waχt*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN = DAT again other day time

zwoð = an
pull.out.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'Let us do our own today, and make time for theirs another day.'

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 *ɛng*, 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) *varʂidɛ iʂ*
Varshide cold
'Varshide is cold.'

(5.2) a. *varʂidɛ az xwor iʂ (dɛr)*
Varshide ABL Kashgar cold CPRV
'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'

b. *az xwor varʂidɛ iʂ (dɛr)*
ABL Kashgar Varshide cold CPRV
'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'

(5.3) a. *az qatlamo arzɛq mu=ri χuʂ (dɛr)*
ABL Qatlamo Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV
'I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savory folded pastry).' (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)

b. *arzɛq mu=ri χuʂ (dɛr), az qatlamo*
Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV ABL Qatlamo
'I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savory folded pastry).' (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)

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 *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) *varʂidɛ az urumtʂi χuʂruj dʐuj*
Varshide ABL Urumqi beautiful place
'Varshide is a more beautiful place than Urumqi.'

(5.5) *mɯ patiɕ az ta mas asto χig=itɕuz*
1SG.NNOM cousin ABL 2SG.NNOM also slow eat.INF=REL
'My cousin is one who eats even slower than you.'

(5.6) *waz az raɕid dʑald (dɛr) ʑuz=am*
1SG.NOM ABL Rashid fast CPRV run.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I run faster than Rashid.'

(5.7) *ju az di χuɕruj (dɛr)*
3SG.NOM.DIST ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX beautiful CPRV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'He speaks/sings more beautifully than this one.'

(5.8) *mɯ bob az mɯ pur (dɛr)*
1SG.NNOM grandfather ABL 1SG.NNOM much CPRV

wazond
know.3SG.IPFV
'My grandfather knows more than I do.'

(5.9) *ɕɛr az wɛf tar prud (dɛr) tizd*
donkey ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV
'The donkey goes ahead of them.'

(5.10) **ejdboj az mɯ dejqun (dɛr)*
Eidboy ABL 1SG.NNOM farmer CPRV
'Eidboy is more farmer than I am.'

(5.11) **jad ʑəw az wi χird (dɛr)*
3SG.NOM.PROX cow ABL 3SG.NNOM.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 *dɛr*:

(5.12) *mɯ=ri pur dɛr ðo*
1SG.NNOM=DAT much CPRV give.IPFV
'Give me more.'

(5.13) *χɯ* *bob=ir* *nizd* *dɛr* *niθ*
REFL.NNOM grandfather=DAT near CPRV sit.IPFV
'Sit closer to your grandfather.'

(5.14) *pɯgan* *waχti* *dɛr* *joð=it*
tomorrow early CPRV come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Come(pl) earlier tomorrow.'

One of the NP quantifiers, *bax dɛr* 'most', is composed of the adjective *bax* 'much; extra' and the comparative marker *dɛr* (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 *dɛr*, 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* *mɯ* *jaχ* *kam* *(dɛr)* *χɯɕruj*
1SG.NOM ABL 1SG.NNOM sister few CPRV beautiful
'I am less beautiful than my sister.'

(5.16) *ɕanbɛ* *az* *mɯ* *kam* *(dɛr)* *xɯvdʑ*
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* *naviɕt* *az* *mɯ* *xojd* *dʑald*
3SG.NNOM.DIST write.INF ABL 1SG.NNOM read.INF fast

(dɛr)
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 *dɛr*. For example, in (5.18), the shared A argument is *waz* 'I', the Comparee is *hansu ziv* 'Mandarin language', the Standard is *tudʑik ziv* 'Tajik language', the Index is *pur* (*dɛr*) 'more', and the Parameter is the shared predicate *wazon* 'know'.

(5.18) *waz* *az* *tudʑik* *ziv* *a=hansu* *ziv* *kam* *(dɛr)*
1SG.NOM ABL Tajik tongue ACC=Han tongue few CPRV

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I know less Mandarin than I know Tajik.'

(5.19) *mɛrdin* *az* *tɕɛr* *skit* *pur* *(dɛr)* *kaxt*
Merdin ABL work play much CPRV do.3SG.IPFV
'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 *dɛr* is not used in a negative comparative construction.

(5.20) *m-ono* *az* *m-oto* *kam* *xojdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1SG.NNOM-mother ABL 1SG.NNOM-father few read.PRF=REL

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'My mother is not one who is less educated than my father.'

(5.21) *waz* *az* *ta* *aqlin* *mas* *nist*
1SG.NOM ABL 2SG.NNOM intelligent also NEG.be.IPFV

kutɕin *mas* *nist*
strong also NEG.be.IPFV
'I am neither more intelligent nor 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 *dɛr* 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)
ʑulfia	*dɛst=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*mu*	*dɛst*	*long*
Zeelfia	friend=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NNOM	friend	limpy

dɛr
CPRV

'Compared to Zeelfia's friend, my friend is more limpy.'

(5.23)
ta	*ɕejdoi=ri*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*mu-an*
2SG.NNOM	Sheydoi=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NNOM-GEN

garun	*dɛr*
heavy	CPRV

'Compared to your Sheydoi (female cap), mine is heavier.'

(5.24)
χu	*χajun=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*waʑ*
REFL.NNOM	sister.in.law=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NOM

χuɕruj	*dɛr*	*intsov=am*
beautiful	CPRV	sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'Compared to my sister-in-law, I sew more beautifully.'

(5.25)
digar	*qanatin=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*xtsuvd*	*buland*	*dɛr*
other	bird=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	eagle	high	CPRV

rawozd
fly.3SG.IPFV

'Compared to other birds, the eagle flies higher.'

(5.26) *wi* *puts=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *mu* *puts*
3SG.NNOM.DIST son=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM son

tɕardʑ *dɛr* *tɕur*
good CPRV husband
'Compared to her son, my son is a better husband.'

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 *dɛr*, as in (5.27) & (5.28), or with *uburo* 'more' without the comparative marker *dɛr*, as in (5.29).

(5.27) *ojmira* *xad=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *ɕanigul* *xad* *pur*
Oimira hair=DAT look.INF TEMP Shanigeel hair much

dɛr *ʑird*
CPRV yellow
'Compared to Oimira's hair, Shanigeel's hair is more yellow.'

(5.28) *mu* *tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-ɛf=ir* *tɕixt* *alo*
1SG.NNOM house-ADJ-PL.NNOM=DAT look.INF TEMP

mu *xojd* *kam* *dɛr* *mujim*
1SG.NNOM read.INF few CPRV important
'Compared to my family, my studies are less important.'

(5.29) *wi* *puts=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *mu* *puts*
3SG.NNOM.DIST son=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM son

tɕur *sɛt=ir* *uburo* *dɛr* *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 *dɛr*, as in (5.30).

(5.30) *pul* *vig=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *pul* *rafond* *usun*
money find.INF=DAT look.INF TEMP money use.INF easy

dɛr
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 *lɛkin* '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 *dɛr* or *uburo* 'more' may function as the Index of parameter. The first clause often includes an optional *mas* 'also'.

(5.31) *di* *qad* *(mas)* *buland,* *hammo*
3SG.NNOM.PROX height also high but

di *puts* *qad* *uburo* *buland*
3SG.NNOM.PROX son height more high
'This person is (also) tall, but his son is even taller.'

(5.32) *ɕindʑang* *tamoq* *(mas)* *tsɛx,* *lɛkin* *sutɕwan* *tamoq* *tsɛx* *dɛr*
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 *dʑam* 'all' and marked with the ablative preposition *az*. The Comparee is stated first, followed by the Standard *az dʑam*, 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) *jad* *ɕɛr* *az* *dʑam* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

(5.34) *jad* *az* *dʑam* *kutɕin* *cɛr*
3SG.NOM.PROX ABL all strong donkey
'This is the strongest donkey.'

(5.35) *mu* *az* *dʑam* *nizd* *hamru* *mu=ri*
1SG.NNOM ABL all near companion 1SG.NNOM=DAT

χiunat *tɕəwg*
betrayal do.PFV
'My closest friend betrayed me.'

(5.36) *aftovuz-an* *az* *dʑam* *prud-nɛndʑ* *a=dʑuj-ɛf*
bus-GEN ABL all front-ADJ ACC=place-PL.NNOM

pɛɕqadam *χalg-ɛf=ir* *ðod* *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* *dud* *bejtgar,* *ju* *az* *dʑam*
3SG.NNOM.DIST uncle singer 3SG.NOM.DIST ABL all

χuɕruj *lɛvd*
beautiful say.3SG.IPFV
'His uncle is a singer, he sings the most beautifully.'

Alternatively, the Uyghur loanword *ɛng* 'most' may be used as a distinct superlative Index, replacing the native *az dʑam* 'than all'. As in the native superlative construction introduced above, the Comparee is followed by the Index *ɛng* and then the Parameter. It is ungrammatical to use both *az dʑam* and *ɛng* for a single adjective, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.38b) & (5.39b).

(5.38) a. *jad* *ɕɛr* *ɛng* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey SUPL strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

b. **jad* *ɕɛr* *az* *dʑam* *ɛng* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all SUPL strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

(5.39) a. *mɯ* *ɛng* *nizd* *hamru* *mɯ=ri*
1SG.NNOM SUPL near companion 1SG.NNOM=DAT

χiunat *tɕəwg*
betrayal do.PFV
'My closest friend betrayed me.'

b. **mɯ* *az* *dʑam* *ɛng* *nizd* *hamru*
1SG.NNOM ABL all SUPL near companion

mɯ=ri *χiunat* *tɕəwg*
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* *dowɯd* *rang* *aqlin*
1SG.NOM Doweed SEMB intelligent
'I am as intelligent as Doweed.'

(5.41) *maɕ* *tamaɕ* *rang* *pur* *dʑuj* *tɯjdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1PL.NOM 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* *dʑald* *lɛvd* *na* *tɕi*
child-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM SEMB fast say.INF NEG CAP

ka=in
do.IPFV=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 χig araɕi farbɛ səwd*
Manos eat.INF CORR fat become.3SG.IPFV
'The more Manos eats, the fatter he gets.'

(5.44) *əwqut bawu tɛr sɛt araɕi zoxt=itɕuz χalg*
thing price high become.INF CORR buy.INF=REL person

kam səwd
few become.3SG.IPFV
'The higher the price of things, the fewer the people who by them.'

(5.45) *təw tɕarmi pur tɕejg araɕi ta zarat*
2SG.NOM sow much do.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM harvest

k=dund pur səwd
ANA=AMT much become.3SG.IPFV
'The more you sow, the more you reap.'

(5.46) *χalg=ir vusond araɕi ta gamaɣak ləwr*
person=DAT show.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM stye big

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'The more you show your stye to other people, the bigger it will get.'

(5.47) *hawu buland sɛt araɕi mɛwo k=dund kam*
atmosphere high become.INF CORR fruit ANA=AMT few

sovdz səwd
green become.3SG.IPFV
'The higher the altitude, the less fruit will grow.'

(5.48) *wi* *awudʑ* *ʁəwl* *wɛðd* *araɕi*
3SG.NNOM.DIST sound ear put.INF CORR

mu = ri = ik *χuɕruj* *numujd*
1SG.NNOM = DAT = DUR beautiful seem.3SG.IPFV
'The more I listen to her voice, the more beautiful it seems to me.'

(5.49) *ta* *mul* *mulk* *pur* *sɛt* *araɕi* *alukat*
2SG.NNOM 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

purparaxɛb	‘three days prior’
paraxɛb	‘two days prior’
xɛb	‘yesterday’
nur	‘today’
pugan	‘tomorrow’
fal	‘two days hence’
ʁadar	‘three days hence’
wadir	‘four days hence’
paswadir	‘five days hence’
jonwadir	‘six days hence’

wijonwadir	'seven days hence'
wijonpaswadir	'eight days hence'
wijonsulpaswadir	'nine days hence'

Table 6.2 "Year" shifters

pursadus	'two years before last year'
sadus	'year before last year'
parus	'last year'
sɛð	'this year'
sulir	'next year'
jonsul	'year after next year'
wijonsul	'two years after next year'

Table 6.3 Other points in time shifters

prud	'before; previously'
dar waχt	'a while ago'
tsa waχt	'a while ago'
ingum/inguv	'just now'
ɕitɕ	'now'
uzir	'now'
i dam dɛr	'a while later; in a moment'
ilu dɛr	'a while later; in a moment'
ilu zabu	'a while later; in a moment'
zabu	'later'
dal ki wi waχt	'exactly at that time'

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. Table 6.4 shows definite time specifications referring to different periods of the day.

Table 6.4 Time of day adverbials

xjejn tanuv	'before dawn'
jəwl	'daybreak'

χɛr tsuraχ	‘sunrise time’
tar jəwl	‘morning’
maður prud	‘before noon’
maður	‘noon’
wadub	‘noon’
maður zabu	‘afternoon’
pejɕin	‘late afternoon’
xom	‘when sky starts to get dark’
χɛr nalist	‘sunset time’
bijur	‘evening/bedtime’
xob	‘night’

Some common adverbials that express a duration of time are presented in Table 6.5:

Table 6.5 Duration adverbials

ilundʑik	‘for a short time’
i dam i zamun	‘instantaneously’
tsɛm hat tɕejg baɣmig its	‘instantaneously (lit. in the blink of an eye)’
maθ paqad	‘all day’
ramaθon	‘all day’
raxob	‘all night’
i sul paqad	‘for a whole year’
umr paqad	‘for a lifetime’

Sequence adverbials designate the timing of a situation with respect to a context or other situations:

Table 6.6 Sequence adverbials

awal	‘first’
uz	‘again’
uχir	‘finally’

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 tɕɛd naxtizd*
Mardon late.afternoon ABL house go.up.3SG.IPFV
'Mardon will go out (from the house) in the late afternoon.'

(6.2) *purparaxɛb=am a=wi wandʑ-it*
three.days.prior=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS
'I saw her three days ago.'

6.2 Frequency adverbials

Frequency adverbials are used to indicate how often a situation occurs. Table 6.7 presents some commonly-used frequency words.

Table 6.7 Frequency adverbials

kam tar kam	'very rarely'
kam	'rarely'
igun igun; *igun=ir*	'sometimes'
itang waχt	'sometimes'
go waχt	'sometimes'
pur	'often'
iχil	'constantly; incessantly; frequently'
dojim	'constantly; incessantly; frequently'
har dojim	'very frequently'
har waχt	'always; all the time'
maθ tar maθ	'(increasingly) day by day'

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 dvɛr har waχt tamaɕ=ir hat*
1PL.NNOM door every time 2PL.NNOM=DAT open
'Our door is always open to you(pl).'

(6.4) *wi* *mobat* *har* *dojim*
3SG.NNOM.DIST lover every constantly

wi=ri *tilfon* *kaxt*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT phone do.3SG.IPFV
'Her lover calls her very frequently.'

(6.5) *igun=ir* *qati* *tɛdʒ=an*
sometimes=DAT together go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We sometimes go together.' OR 'Let us go together sometimes.'

(6.6) *waʒ* *ɕitɕ* *ar* *amriko* *niθ=am* *varɕidɛ*
1SG.NOM now LOC America sit.IPFV=1SG.IPFV Varshide

kam *tar* *kam* *joð=am*
few LOC few come.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I live in America now, and I very rarely come to Varshide.'

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. *dʑald* 'fast', *asto* 'slow', and *χuɕruj* '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 6.8 Manner adverbials

hargiz	'ever'
tag(*əw*)	'ever'
dʑald	'fast'
gupaθ	'very quickly'
dzup	'very quickly'
asto	'slow'
χuɕruj	'beautiful'
iwdʑ	'alone'
qati	'together'
tup	'as a group'
tang	'simultaneously'

dal	'exactly; just right'
tɕing	'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) *mɛrona gupaθ χu az dʑuj undəwd*
Merona very.quickly REFL.NNOM ABL place get.up.PFV

χ-ono = ri tilfon tɕəwg
REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT phone do.PFV
'Merona got up from her seat very quickly and called her mother.'

(6.8) *woð = af utɕ χuɕruj lɛvd = ir vɛðdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV very beautiful say.INF = DAT be.PRF
'They speak/sing very beautifully. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.9) *waz i uj k = am*
1SG.NOM once thought do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will think about it.'

(6.10) *ju χu tɕini tɕing na waðordʑ*
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM bowl firmly NEG grab.PRF
'He did not hold on to his bowl firmly. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.11) *dal = an lɛvdʑ*
exactly = 1PL.PFV say.PRF
'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 verbs, adjectives, manner adverbials, or some combination of these, 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 (*dʒulik*) which directly modify the head noun of an NP.

Table 6.9 Degree words

Degree word	Meaning	Modifies which constituents
kam	'few'	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
dʒulik	'little'	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
pur	'much'	verb, manner adverbial
tag(*əw*)	'at all'	verb, manner adverbial
χejli	'fairly'	adjective, manner adverbial
uburo	'more'	adjective, manner adverbial
utɕ	'very/too (much)'	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
adʑab	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
gando	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
tazo	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
ɛng	'most'	adjective, manner adverbial
pɛt	'completely'	verb
rəwruʒ	'completely'	verb
iwaθ	'completely; for good'	verb

The sentences in (6.12) - (6.29) 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) *pur=an* *na* *tɕuxt,* *kam=an* *tɕuxt*
much=1PL.PFV NEG watch.PFV few=1PL.PFV watch.PFV
'We did not wait long, just for a short time.'

(6.13) *dʒul-ik* *waχti* *naxtɛdz=it*
little-DIM early go.up.IPFV=2PL.PFV
'Go out a little bit early.'

(6.14) *ta* *gap=am* *tagəw* *na* *famd*
2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV at.all NEG understand.PFV
'I did not understand what you said at all.'

(6.15) *wi* *lɛq* *tɕos,* *tagəw* *ʑejb* *na*
3SG.NNOM.DIST clothing watch.IPFV at.all match NEG

ðudʑ
give.PRF
'Look at her clothes, they do not match at all. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.16) *mɯ* *mom* *mɯdʑɯʑ* *χejli* *tɕardʑ* *sɯt*
1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling fairly good become.PFV
'My grandmother has gotten fairly well.'

(6.17) *təw=at* *uburo* *χuɕrɯj* *sɛðdʑ*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV more beautiful become.PRF
'You have become more beautiful. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.18) *mɯ* *tɕi* *tɛr-nɛndʑ* *wɛʑ* *ɯtɕ* *garun*
1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy
'The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.'

(6.19) *di* *rang* *ktɯb-ɛf* *waʑ* *ɯtɕ*
3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB book-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM very

xɯj=am
read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I read a lot of these kinds of books.'

(6.20) *a=digaru-ɛf=am* *adʑab* *tɕardʑ* *gəwl* *tɕəwg*
ACC=other-PL.NNOM=1SG.PFV very good trick do.PFV
'I tricked the other people very well.'

(6.21) *jad* *qirut* *gando* *tɛng*
3SG.NOM.PROX Qirut very hard
'This Qirut (dried yogurt) is very hard.'

(6.22) *nurbia* *gando* *tejʑ* *ʑuʑd*
Nurbia very speedy run.3SG.IPFV
'Nurbia runs very speedily.'

(6.23) *a=di* *iɕim* *tɯ=ri* *tazo* *arzun*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX pants 2SG.NNOM=DAT very cheap

lɛv=am=o
say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q
'Shall I give you a very cheap price for these pants?'

(6.24) *kazwi* *k=a=wi* *maθ* *ɛng* *uluʁ*
so ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST day SUPL great

wazon=an, *ɛng* *ləwr* *wazon=an,* *ɛng*
know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV SUPL big know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV SUPL

χuɕ-i *qati* *a=wi*
happy-NMLZ COM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

narzamb=an
celebrate.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'So we regard that day as the greatest, regard it as the most important, and celebrate it with the most happiness.'

(6.25) *woð=af* *a=tikist* *pɛt* *juð*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ACC=text completely memory

zuxt
get.PFV
'They memorized the text completely.'

(6.26) *ki=wi* *bijur-i* *χu*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST evening-NMLZ REFL.NNOM

tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl *pɛt* *wixt* *so=in*
house-ADJ-PL.NOM all gather.INF become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

i *tɕi* *dʑuj* *niθ=in*
one LOC place sit.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'That evening, their families all gather together and hang out in one place.'

(6.27)
pʊrs	*ʒiv*	*rəwrʊʒ*	*lɛvd*	*tɕi*
Persian	tongue	completely	say.INF	CAP

ka=in=o
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q

'Can they speak Persian completely?'

(6.28)
ju	*tɕɛd*	*ʁɛrd*	*iwaθ*	*tɕəwl*
3SG.NOM.DIST	house	turn.PFV	completely	worthless

sʊt
become.PFV

'That house fell over and got completely destroyed.'

(6.29)
tamaɕ	*di*	*tʊv*	*iwaθ*
2PL.NOM	3SG.NNOM.PROX	time	completely

tɛdʒ=it=o,	*nej,*	*ʊʒ*	*joð=it*
go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q	NEG	again	come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

'Are you(pl) leaving for good this time, or will you(pl) come back again?'

6.5 Epistemic adverbials

Epistemic adverbials indicate the speaker's commitment to or certainty about a situation. Some common epistemic adverbials are presented in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Epistemic adverbials

i vid	'maybe'
magam	'probably'
albatta	'of course'
tag(əw)	'ever'
hargiʒ	'ever'

i vid, *magam*, and *albatta* are epistemic likelihood adverbials, which express the speaker's belief or assessment about the likelihood of a situation occurring:

(6.30) *χuɕnamo i vid puɣan jɛt na tɕi*
Heeshnamo one be.INF tomorrow come.INF NEG CAP

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'Heeshnamo might not be able to come tomorrow.'

(6.31) *wi radzɛn magam kasal sɛðdʑ*
3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter probably sick become.PRF
'Her daughter probably got sick. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.32) *albatta mɯ puts ɯtɯp tɕəwg*
of.course 1SG.NNOM son win do.PFV
'Of course my son won.'

tag(*əw*) and *hargiz* occur with the prohibitive particle *mo* and are used for intensifying the prohibition.

(6.33) *a=di ktɕawi tagəw mo bunos*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX ring ever PROH lose.IPFV
'Don't ever lose this ring.'

(6.34) *hargiz bos mo ka*
ever give.up PROH do.IPFV
'Never give up.'

tag(*əw*) 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 (6.35) - (6.40), or in an alternative question with a negative tag, as in (6.41) - (6.43). *tag*(*əw*) also functions as a degree adverb (§6.4).

(6.35) *təw tagəw tɕum indiz*
2SG.NOM ever when get.up.IPFV
'When on earth are you going to get up?'

(6.36) *waz tagəw tsund sul a=ta*
1SG.NOM ever how.much year ACC=2SG.NNOM

tɕos=am
watch.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'However many years am I to wait for you?'

(6.37) *ki=di* *rang* *xudʑ* *mas* *na* *ðord*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB fear also NEG fear.3SG.IPFV

putxu *a=ʑit* *gap* *tɕejg=itɕuz* *jad* *χalg*
king ACC=bad word do.INF=REL 3SG.NOM.PROX person

tag *tɕoj*
ever who.NOM
'Who on earth is this, who fearlessly speaks ill of the king?'

(6.38) *tamaɕ=af* *naxtug* *a=tsejz=af* *tagəw*
2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV go.up.PFV ACC=what=2PL.PFV ever

wand *mejdʑ* *vud*
see.INF INTEN be.PFV
'You(pl) went out; what on earth were you planning to see?'

(6.39) *ato* *ʁaðo,* *pugan-ɛndʑ* *intawum* *utɕ* *qilo=ik*
INTJ boy tomorrow-ADJ exam very difficult=DUR

lɛv=in, *təw* *tag* *tsaʁa* *ka*
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 2SG.NOM ever how do.IPFV
'O my, boy, they say tomorrow's exam is going to be very difficult; how on earth are you going to manage?'

(6.40) *mu-an* *ato* *ano* *vud,* *ɣin* *vud,* *wist*
1SG.NNOM-GEN father mother be.PFV wife be.PFV twenty

sul *sut* *a=wɛf* *na* *wand=ir,*
year become.PFV ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST NEG see.INF=DAT

wɛf=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?'

(6.41) *tamaɕ* *tagəw* *katɕ* *ka=it=o,* *nej*
2PL.NOM ever move do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q NEG
'Are you(pl) going to move or not?'

(6.42) *sobir* *tagəw* *pa* *χuzmat* *tizd=o,* *nej*
Sobir ever LOC work go.3SG.IPFV=Q NEG
'Is Sobir going to work or not?'

(6.43) *woð* *tagəw* *a=batɕo* *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 (6.44) & (6.45) or a noun (6.46) to form an adverb.

(6.44) *təw=at* *tom* *wɛf=ir* *tɕardʑ-i*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV then 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT good-ADV

tɕəwɣdʑ
do.PRF
'You treated them well, then. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.45) *bɛadab-i* *mo* *ka*
impolite-ADV PROH do.IPFV
'Do not be impolite.'

(6.46) *ɯlfat* *asl-i* *na* *tɕimbd* *hammo*
Eelfat origin-ADV NEG be.willing.PFV but

waʒ=am *a=wi* *ruʒi* *tɕəwg*
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 (6.48). Example (6.53) is taken from a song, so the word order is not standard for conversation or narrative discourse.

(6.47) *χu* *batɕo-ɛf* *az* *iw-i* *par* *mu*
REFL.NNOM child.PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM

buz
send.IPFV
'Send your children to me one by one.'

(6.48) *kalo-χejl=af* *ðəw-i* *ðəw-i* *ar* *ʁal*
sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV two-ADV two-ADV LOC stable

dejd
enter.PFV
'The sheep entered the stable in pairs.'

(6.49) *ju* *hara* *maθ* *i* *az* *ʁal* *ðəw-i* *məwl*
3SG.NOM.DIST every day one ABL stable two-ADV sheep

χird
eat.3SG.IPFV
'He eats two sheep from a stable every day.'

(6.50) *əwrat-χejl* *laka* *tar* *pindʑu-i* *niθ=in*
woman-PL.NOM let.IPFV LOC fifty-ADV sit.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Let the women sit in groups of fifty.'

(6.51) *i* *pa* *sumuf* *tsavur-i* *tudʑik* *batɕo* *jost*
one LOC class four-ADV Tajik child be.IPFV
'There are four Tajik students in each class.'

(6.52) *i* *pa* *tung* *woxt-i* *nəw-i* *tala* *xats* *wid*
one LOC barrel eight-ADV nine-ADV bucket water fit.INF

sɛtir *vɛðdʑ*
become.INF=REL be.PRF
'In each barrel eight or nine buckets of water could fit. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.53) *χu* *pa* *ʁov=ik* *ðid* *az* *pindz-i*
REFL.NNOM LOC mouth=DUR give.3SG.IPFV ABL five-ADV

ʑʁəwd=ir=ik *kaxt* *dʑat-i*
chew.INF=DAT=DUR do.3SG.IPFV hurry-NMLZ
'She puts five into her mouth at a time, and is in a hurry to munch on it.'

(6.54) *doð* *niθ=in* *ato* *az* *zabu*
3PL.NOM.PROX sit.IPFV=3PL.IPFV father ABL back

dɛf-an *wist-i* *si-i* *kalo* *i*
3PL.NNOM.PROX-GEN twenty-ADV thirty-ADV sheep one

haroj *its* *tɕat* *jost*
three TERM cow be.IPFV

'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 Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Moods and subtypes

Mood	Subtype	Marker	Verb type	Reference
Declarative	Declarative	---	any	§7.1
Imperative	Imperative	*Ø*	2.IPFV	§7.2.1
	Hortative	*Ø*	1PL.IPFV	§7.2.2
	Jussive	*laka*; *nugur*	IPFV	§7.2.3
	Prohibitive	*mo*	2.IPFV	§7.2.4
	Apprehensive	*mo*	IPFV	§7.2.5
Interrogative	Polar Q	*=o*	any	§7.3.1
	Alternative Q	*=o* + tag	any	§7.3.2
	Tag Q	*nej*	any	§7.3.3
	Content Q	interrogative word	any	§7.3.4
	Indirect Q	(*=ir*) + *vid*	PRF/INF	§7.3.5

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. The affirmative declarative sentence is structurally 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* *indɛr* *i* *kuj* *mas* *nist*
1SG.NNOM 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

duχtuɾχuno *naxtɯg*
hospital go.up.PFV
'His grandmother came out of the hospital last week.'

(7.3) *kuraɕ=ir* *stəwr* *guɤxt* *χuɕ*
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 (=*Ø*, 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 (=*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) *a=dvɛr* *bawej*
ACC=door close.IPFV
'Close the door.'

(7.5) *purs* *ziv* *mu=ri* *χumand* *ka*
Persian tongue 1SG.NNOM=DAT teach do.IPFV
'Teach me Persian.'

(7.6) *az* *mu* *χ-oto* *χ-ono=ri*
ABL 1SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT

salum *lɛv*
hello say.IPFV
'Say hello to your parents for me.'

(7.7) *awal* *χu* *ðust* *znej=it*
first REFL.NNOM hand wash.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Wash your(pl) hands first.'

(7.8) *nur* *pa* *tɕɛd* *dam* *zoz=it*
today LOC house rest get.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Rest(pl) at home today.'

(7.9) *az* *xwor* *maɕ=ir* *anur*
ABL Kashgar 1PL.NNOM=DAT pomegranate

vor=it
bring.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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) *təw* *χɯ* *lɛq* *ʑnej*
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM clothing wash.IPFV
'You wash your clothes.'

(7.11) *tamaɕ* *moɕin* *qati* *tɛdʑ=it*
2PL.NOM car COM go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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) *dʑald=it*
fast=2PL.IPFV
'Hurry up(pl)!'

(7.13) *asto=it*
slow=2PL.IPFV
'Slow down(pl)!'

(7.14) *dʑuj=it*
space=2PL.IPFV
'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 *=o* is often added at the end of a sentence in imperative mood, as in (7.15) - (7.17).

(7.15) *mɯ=ri* *jordam* *ka=it=o*
1SG.NNOM=DAT help do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
'Will you(pl) help me?'

(7.16) *aʑ* *amriko* *mɯ=ri* *i* *tsiʑ*
ABL America 1SG.NNOM=DAT one thing

vor=it=o
bring.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
'Will you(pl) bring something for me from America?'

(7.17) *χu ar tej a=mu qiw ka=o*
REFL.NNOM LOC wedding ACC=1SG.NNOM call do.IPFV=Q
'Will you invite me to your wedding?'

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.

(7.18) *qatɛʁin tɕoj broz=an*
topping tea drink.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us drink milk tea.'

(7.19) *batɕo-ɛf=ir χat naviɕ=an*
child-PL.NNOM=DAT letter write.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us write letters to the children.'

(7.20) *pa tɕɛd dið=an, a=χu θum*
LOC house enter.IPFV=1PL.IPFV ACC=REFL.NNOM warm

ka=an
do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us go into the house and warm ourselves.'

(7.21) *nur hawu iɕ, na tɛdz=an*
today weather cold NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'The weather is cold today, let us not go.'

(7.22) *alima na wazond=o ku, az wi na*
Alima NEG know.3SG.IPFV=Q SUP ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG

pars=an
ask.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Alima does not know, I think; let us not ask her.'

(7.23) *jad* *poj* *utɕ* *tɯxp* *vɛðdʑ,* *na*
3SG.NOM.PROX yogurt very sour be.PRF NEG

fur = an
slurp.IPFV = 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 *= o*, as in (7.24) & (7.25).

(7.24) *a = batɕo-ɛf* *tɕos = an = o*
ACC = child-PL.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
'Shall we wait for the kids?'

(7.25) *az* *dars* *χofs = an* *χu* *samu*
ABL lesson go.down = 1PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ walk

kan = an = o
do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = 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) *tɕoj* *tu = ri* *wejð = am = o*
tea 2SG.NNOM = DAT put.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q
'Shall I pour you tea?'

(7.27) *a = dvɛr* *bawej = am = o*
ACC = door close.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q
'Shall I close the door?'

(7.28) *a = ta* *tɕos = an = o*
ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
'Shall we wait for you?'

(7.29) *az* *xwor* *tamaɕ=ir* *i* *tsiz*
ABL Kashgar 2PL.NNOM=DAT one thing

vor=an=o
bring.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
'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 (7.30)). The jussives in (7.30) - (7.33) express indirect commands.

(7.30) *wi* *radzɛn* *laka* *batɕo* *vird*
3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter let.IPFV child bring.3SG.IPFV
'May his daughter give birth to the child.'

(7.31) *askar-χejl* *laka* *χu* *tɕi* *asl*
soldier-PL.NOM let.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC origin

joð=in
come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'May the soldiers return to their original state.'

(7.32) *dinju-ɛndʑ* *dʑam* *χalg-χejl* *a=maɕ* *putxu*
world-ADJ all person-PL.NOM ACC=1PL.NNOM king

laka *stəw=in*
let.IPFV praise.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'May all peoples of the world praise our king.'

(7.33) *χsrəw* *χu* *pa* *tɕɛd* *laka* *tamoq* *χird,*
Hsreaw REFL.NNOM LOC house let.IPFV food eat.3SG.IPFV

dam *laka* *zozd,* *laka* *dʑald* *soq*
rest let.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV fast healthy

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'May Hsreaw eat at his own house, may he rest, and may he recover quickly.'

Jussives may also express wishes (7.34) & (7.35), curses (7.36), and blessings or good wishes (7.37) - (7.40).

(7.34) *hawu ðejd laka*
rain fall.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV
'Let it rain/snow.'

(7.35) *tɕi mu ta ram laka joðd*
LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV
'May your mercy come upon me!'

(7.36) *χuðoj laka ta tsɛm kəwr kaxt*
God let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM eye blind do.3SG.IPFV
'May God cause your eyes to be blind.'

(7.37) *χuðoj laka tu=ri i puts nasib kaxt*
God let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT one son grant do.3SG.IPFV
'May God grant you a son.'

(7.38) *χuðoj laka a=ta az balu qazu*
God let.IPFV ACC=2SG.NNOM ABL disaster judgment

nigaduri kaxt
protection do.3SG.IPFV
'May God protect you from disasters and judgment.'

(7.39) *spejd pond laka tu=ri vid*
white road let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT be.3SG.IPFV
'May there be a white road for you.'

(7.40) *wɛf tan laka salomat vid*
3PL.NNOM.DIST body let.IPFV healthy be.3SG.IPFV

wɛf umr laka daruz səwd
3PL.NNOM.DIST lifetime let.IPFV long become.3SG.IPFV
'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) *iː χɯðoj utɕ na vid-i=am wand*
VOC God very NEG be.INF-NMLZ=1SG.PFV see.PFV

waz laka dʑald dɛr boj
1SG.NOM let.IPFV fast CPRV rich.person

so=am
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'O God, I have experienced much penury; may I become rich more quickly.'

(7.42) *digar mas mejli waz laka k=az*
other also okay 1SG.NOM let.IPFV ANA=ABL

di intawum nardʑɛs=am
3SG.NNOM.PROX exam pass.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Other things aside, just let me pass this exam.'

(7.43) *maɕ laka wi marg wejn=an*
1PL.NOM let.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST death see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'May we see his death.'

(7.44) *a balo a=di tang-i=an*
VOC child ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX difficult-NMLZ=1PL.PFV

maɕ wand təw laka tɕardʑ xuj
1PL.NOM see.PFV 2SG.NOM let.IPFV good read.IPFV

boj so
rich.person become.IPFV
'O child, we have gone through difficulty; may you study well and become rich.'

(7.45) *tamaɕ laka tɕardʑ ʁirs=it dastmand*
2PL.NOM let.IPFV good turn.IPFV=2PL.IPFV wealthy

so=it
become.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'May you have a pleasant journey and become wealthy.'

In addition to *laka*, the word *nugur* 'let' also serves the same function of forming jussives, but is used less frequently:

(7.46)

di	*ɕopur*	*moɕin*	*nuɡur*	*tɕəwl*
3SG.NNOM.PROX	driver	car	let	worthless

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'May this driver's car get broken.'

(7.47)

adʒab	*tɕardʒ*	*batɕo = at*	*vɛðdʒ*	*barakat*	*nuɡur*
very	good	child = 2SG.PFV	be.PRF	blessing	let

vrej
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) *tamoq=at* *χug=o*
food=2SG.PFV eat.PFV=Q
'Have you eaten?'

(7.49) *dud* *dodik* *tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl* *mas* *joð=in=o*
uncle Dodik house-ADJ-PL.NOM also come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q
'Will Uncle Dodik's family also come?'

(7.50) *təw* *tej* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ=o*
2SG.NOM wedding do.PRF=REL=Q
'Are you married?'

(7.51) *jad* *ktub* *ta-an=o*
3SG.NOM.PROX book 2SG.NNOM-GEN=Q
'Is this book yours?'

(7.52) *waz=o*
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) *təw* *nuur* *maɕ* *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 question[1], as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.57) & (7.58) below. Occasionally, the alternative

[1]However, 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).

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.NNOM.DIST word true or false
'Is his word true or false?'

(7.58) **wi* *gap* *rust=o,* *jo* *fand=o*
3SG.NNOM.DIST word true=Q or false=Q
'Is his word true, or false?'

(7.59) *wi* *gap* *rust=o...* *fand=o*
3SG.NNOM.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* *ɕitɕ* *χɯ* *tɕɛr* *ka=o,* *xufs*
2SG.NOM now REFL.NNOM work do.IPFV=Q sleep.IPFV
'Will you do your work now, or sleep?'

(7.61) *jad* *mɯ-an=o,* *ta-an*
3S.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN=Q 2SG.NNOM-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?'

(7.63) *tudʑik* *ziv* *qilo=o,* *hansɯ* *ziv*
Tajik tongue difficult=Q Han tongue
'Is Tajik difficult, or Mandarin?'

(7.64) *maɕ* *paləw* *χor=an=o,* *laʁman*
1PL.NOM pilaf eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q Laghman
'Shall we eat pilaf, or Laghman (pulled noodles)?'

(7.65) *tamaɕ χu ðust qati χor=it=o,*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q

tɕib qati
spoon COM
'Will you(pl) eat with your hands, or with spoons?'

(7.66) *waz=am dʑald jot=o, asto*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV fast come.PFV=Q slow
'Did I come quickly, or slowly?'

(7.67) *woð=af a=di guxt χug=o,*
3PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX meat eat.PFV=Q

a=wi
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST
'Did they eat this meat, or that?'

(7.68) *nur ruwun=af sut=o, nej*
today leave=2PL.PFV become.PFV=Q NEG
'Did you leave today, or not?'

(7.69) *jad ruɕt baron tu=ri χuɕ=o,*
3SG.NOM.PROX red dress 2SG.NNOM=DAT happy=Q

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'Do you like this red dress, or not?'

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 conversation, and a question like (7.70) is not considered impolite in the slightest degree.

(7.70) *təw mas mu qati so=o, nej*
2SG.NOM also 1SG.NNOM COM become.IPFV=Q NEG
'Are you also going with me, or not?'

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 conversation 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.

(7.71)
mejmun-χejl=ik *kinu* *tɕos=in,* *nej*
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, *nej*
Ibruhim Persian tongue know.3SG.IPFV NEG
'Ibruhim knows Persian, doesn't he?'

(7.73)
təw=at *nəwz* *χu* *ðust* *na* *znud,*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV still REFL.NNOM hand NEG wash.PFV

nej
NEG
'You still didn't wash your hands, did you?'

(7.74)
zulfia=ri *guxt* *χuɕ* *nist,* *nej*
Zeelfia=DAT meat happy NEG.be.IPFV NEG
'Zeelfia doesn't like meat, does she?'

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. Interrogative words are listed below in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Interrogative words

Form	Gloss	Questions what
tɕoj	who.NOM	identity of person
tɕi	who.NNOM	identity of person
tsejʒ	what	identity of object
tɕidum	which	identity of object
tɕum	when	point in time
tsa waχt	when	point in time
kudʑur	where.NOM	location
ko	where.NNOM	location
tsarang	how	manner; condition
tsaʁa	how	means; method
tsund	how.much	quantity
tsejzir	why	purpose; reason

tsejʒ 'what' has a variant, *tsa*, which is used in certain contexts, as in (7.75) & (7.76).

(7.75) *tsa* *χuɕruj*
what beautiful
'How beautiful!'

(7.76) *tsa* *χɛg*
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 waχt* (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 tɕejg* '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) a. *tɕoj* *a=ta* *bo* *tɕəwg*
who.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV
'Who kissed you?'

b. *mu* *vits* *a=mu* *bo* *tɕəwg*
1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV
'My aunt kissed me.'

(7.78) a. *tɕoj* *a=gulpia* *tɕardʒ* *wand*
who.NOM ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV
'Who loves Geelpia?'

b. *asan* *a=gulpia* *tɕardʒ* *wand*
Asan ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV
'Asan loves Geelpia.'

(7.79) a. *woð=af* *tɕi* *qati* *jot*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV who.NNOM COM come.PFV
'Whom did they come with?'

b. *woð=af* *amad* *qati* *jot*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV Amad COM come.PFV
'They came with Amad.'

(7.80) a. *gulpia* *a=tɕi* *tɕardʑ* *wand*
Geelpia ACC=who.NNOM good see.3SG.IPFV
'Whom does Geelpia love?'

b. *gulpia* *a=ramon* *tɕardʑ* *wand*
Geelpia ACC=Ramon good see.3SG.IPFV
'Geelpia loves Ramon.'

tsejʒ 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 *tsejʒ* as an NP head even if it has modifiers, as in (7.83).

(7.81) a. *təw=at* *tsejʒ* *χɯg*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV what eat.PFV
'What did you eat?'

b. *waʒ=am* *anur* *χɯg*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
'I ate pomegranates.'

(7.82) a. *təw=at* *tsejʒ* *mɛwo* *χɯg*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV what fruit eat.PFV
'What fruit did you eat?'

b. *waʒ=am* *anur* *χɯg*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
'I ate pomegranates.'

(7.83) *putxu* *ɣubun-an* *wi* *tsejʒ* *ʒuxt*
king shepherd-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST what take.PFV
'What of the shepherd did the king take?'

tɕidum 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. *tɕidum piɕ tu=ri az dzam χuɕ*
which cat 2SG.NNOM=DAT ABL all happy
'Which cat do you like the most?'

b. *jad piɕ mu=ri az dʑam χuɕ*
3SG.NOM.PROX cat 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL all happy
'I like this cat the most.'

(7.85) a. *woð=af tɕidum xujd*
3PL.NOM=3PL.PFV which read.PFV
'Which one did they read?'

b. *m=a=di=af xujd*
CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.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 *tɕum*; the other form is composed of two morphemes, *tsa* 'what (shortened form)' plus *waχt* 'time'. In (7.86a), either *tɕum* or *tsa waχt* may be used.

(7.86) a. *nurbia tɕum joðd*
Nurbia when come.3SG.IPFV
'When is Nurbia coming?'

b. *nurbia fal joðd*
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. *kudʑur* 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 *pa* and *ar* are omitted when *kudʑur* 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. *maɕ* *kudʑur* *niθ=an*
1PL.NOM where.NOM sit.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Where shall we sit?'

b. *əwd-ik* *niθ=it*
here-DIM sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Sit(pl) over here.'

(7.88) a. *soqdʑon* *tɕɛd* *kudʑur*
Soqjon house where.NOM
'Where is Soqjon's house?'

b. *soqdʑon* *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.NNOM.PROX book ABL where.NNOM=2SG.PFV

zuxt
buy.PFV
'Where did you get this book?'

b. *az* *tur=am* *zuxt*
ABL net=1SG.PFV buy.PFV
'I got it from the internet.'

(7.90) a. *tar* *ko=at* *tujd*
LOC where.NNOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV
'Where are you headed?'

b. *tar* *buzur=am* *tujd*
LOC bazaar=1SG.PFV go.PFV
'I am headed to the bazaar.'

tsarang and *tsaʁa* are both manner adverbials, but have slightly different functions. *tsarang*, which is composed of the morphemes *tsa* 'what (shortened form)' plus the semblative 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. *tsaʁa* 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) *ta* *tɕixt* *its* *jad* *dinju* *tsarang*
2SG.NNOM look.INF TERM 3SG.NOM.PROX world how

pejdu *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ*
appear become.PRF=REL
'In your opinion, how did this world come into being?'

(7.92) *k=dos* *kam* *kam* *tsa* *χor* *tsaʁa* *tɕi* *pɛð*
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) *wi* *num* *tsaʁa* *ta* *ar* *dil*
3SG.NNOM.DIST name how 2SG.NNOM LOC heart

rejd
remain.PFV
'How did you not forget his name?' (lit. How did his name remain in your heart?)

(7.94) *məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ=ir* *tsaʁa* *ʑundo* *ðid*
dead.PRF=REL=DAT how live give.3SG.IPFV
'How does he give a live one for a dead one?'

(7.95) a. *ta* *awul* *tsarang*
2SG.NNOM situation how
'How is your situation?'

b. *mu* *awul* *tɕardʑ*
1SG.NNOM situation good
'My situation is good.'

tsund is the interrogative word questioning quantity. It is a fused form derived from the morphemes *tsa* 'what (shortened form)' and *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). *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 *aʑ*, 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.IPFV
'How many children do you have?'

b. *maɕ-an* *tsavur* *batɕo* *jost*
1PL.NNOM-GEN four child be.IPFV
'We have four children.'

(7.97) a. *təw* *a=mu* *tsund* *aziz*
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* *sunuf* *xuj*
2SG.NOM LOC how.much-ORD class read.IPFV
'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.NNOM lesson moon ORD how.much finish

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'Which (the how-many-th) month will your classes be finished?'

b. *most* *ma* *ʉvd*
moon ORD seven
'July.'

(7.101) *wi* *radzɛn* *ðɛs* *at* *tsund* *sulo*
3SG.NNOM.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', *tsund asuk* 'what degree', *tsund ləwr* 'how big', *tsund daruz* 'how long', *tsund buland* 'how high, how tall'.

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* *χu* *tilfon* *na* *zozd*
2SG.NNOM uncle why REFL.NNOM phone NEG get.3SG.IPFV
'Why is your uncle not picking up his phone?'

(7.103) *tsejzir* *a=maɕ* *dejd* *na* *laka=in*
why ACC=1PL.NNOM enter.INF NEG let.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'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.NNOM see.INF=DAT LOC where.NNOM

tɛdz=it
go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Where are you(pl) going, to see whom?'

(7.105) *suat* *tɕi* *tsund* *tɕi* *pa* *tɕɛd* *so*
hour LOC how.much who.NNOM LOC house become.IPFV
'At what time are you going, to whose house?'

(7.106) *tɕoj tɕum tsejʒir jɛt=ir vɛðdʑ*
who.NOM when why come.INF=DAT be.PRF
'Who is coming, when, for what purpose? (Evidential/New information)'

(7.107) *tɕoj tɕi=ri tsejʒ ðudʑ*
who.NOM who.NNOM=DAT what give.PRF
'Who gave what to whom? (Evidential/New information)'

(7.108) *tɕoj aʒ ko tsejʒ vəwg*
who.NOM ABL where.NNOM what bring
'Who brought what from where?'

Since interrogative words occur *in situ*, it is straightforward to question a constituent in a subordinate clause. In (7.109), the interrogative word *tɕi* occurs within a relative clause, and in (7.110), *tsejʒ* 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).

(7.109) *jad [tɕi qati iθtɕ=ɛndʑ] mejmun*
3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM COM come.PRF=REL guest
'Whose guest is this?' (lit. This is a guest who came with whom?)

(7.110) *[tsejʒ tɕejg=ir]=at tɯjdʑ-it*
what do.INF=REL=2SG.PFV go.PRF-CESS
'Why did you go?' (lit. You went to do what?)

In their bare forms, interrogative words may also express meanings such as 'X-ever (where 'X' is the interrogative word)':

(7.111) *tsejʒ tsa vid səwd*
what COND be.3SG.IPFV become.3SG.IPFV
'Whatever is fine.'

(7.112) *tɕum tsa vid səwd*
when COND be.3SG.IPFV become.3SG.IPFV
'Whenever is fine.'

(7.113) *tsund pul tsa vid mejli*
how.much money COND be.3SG.IPFV okay
'However much money is fine.'

(7.114) *təw* *kudʑur* *tsa* *tɛdz* *waz* *ta* *paz*
2SG.NOM where COND go.IPFV 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM PER

dum *tɛdz=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 *χor=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

ɕəwguni *lɛvdʑ* *na* *səwd*
Sheawgeeni say.PRF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.' (lit. Whoever it is, it is not okay to just call him the Sheawgeeni.)

(7.117) *wi=ri=ik* *tɕidum* *kampʉt* *χʉɕ*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT=DUR which candy happy

sʉt *wi=ri* *zoz=in*
become.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT buy.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Whichever candy he likes, they buy it for him.'

(7.118) *intawʉm* *ðo=an,* *kudʑur=an=ik* *nardʑɛd,*
exam give.IPFV=1PL.IPFV where=1PL.PFV=DUR pass.PFV

k=ʉm *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) *ar* *di* *tsarang* *χʉɕ-i* *tsa* *ka*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV

tsarang *narzamb* *tsa* *sɛt=itɕʉz* *ejd*
how celebrate.IPFV COND become.INF=REL 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)

waz	*ta*	*vits-an*	*tɕoj*	*vid=i*	*na*
1SG.NOM	2SG.NNOM	aunt-GEN	who.NOM	be.INF=SC	NEG

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'I do not know who your aunt is.'

(7.121)

waz=am	*tamaɕ-an*	*puɣan*	*tɕi*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV	2PL.NNOM-GEN	tomorrow	who.NNOM

pa	*tɕɛd*	*tid=i*	*ranuxtɕ*
LOC	house	go.INF=SC	forget.PRF

'I forgot whose house you(pl) are going to tomorrow. (Evidential/New information)'

(7.122)

waz	*ta-an*	*parus*	*tsejʒ*	*tɕɛr*	*tɕejg=i*
1SG.NOM	2SG.NNOM-GEN	last.year	what	work	do.INF=SC

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'I know what work you did last year.'

(7.123)

woð=af	*mu-an*	*tɕidum*	*gul*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV	1SG.NNOM-GEN	which	flower

surid=i	*wand*
separate.INF=SC	see.PFV

'They saw which flower I chose.'

(7.124) *waz* *rejmagul-an* *tɕum* *χu* *tej*
1SG.NOM Reimageel-GEN when REFL.NNOM wedding

tɕejg = i *tamaɕ = ir* *lɛv = am*
do.INF = SC 2PL.NNOM = DAT say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will tell you when Reimageel will get married.'

(7.125) *waz* *ajdʑmol-an* *χu* *batɕo* *kudʑur*
1SG.NOM Ayjamol-GEN sefl.NNOM child where.NOM

naɣmig = i *na* *wazon = am*
hide.INF = SC NEG know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I do not know where Ayjamol hid her child.'

(7.126) *waz* *wɛf-an* *az* *ko*
1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN ABL where.NNOM

jɛt = i *wazon = am*
come.INF = SC know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I know where they came from.'

(7.127) *wi-an* *muudʑuz* *tsarang* *vid = i* *az*
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN feeling how be.INF = SC ABL

wi *pars = an*
3SG.NNOM.DIST ask.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'We ask how she is feeling.'

(7.128) *arzɛq-an* *tsaʁa* *tɕejg = i* *tu = ri* *χumand*
Arzeq-GEN how do.INF = SC 2SG.NNOM = DAT learn

ka = am
do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will teach you how to make Arzeq (a wedding pastry).'

(7.129) *di* *dars-an* *tsund* *waχt* *rejd = i*
3SG.NNOM.PROX lesson-GEN how.much time remain.INF = SC

waz *mas* *na* *wazon = am*
1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I do not know how much time is left in this lesson, either.'

(7.130) *waz* *mina-an* *tsejzir* *χafo* *sɛt=i*
1SG.NOM Mina-GEN why upset become.INF=SC

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I know why Mina got upset.'

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(ki)* 'or' is used to conjoin the two alternatives, as shown in (7.131) - (7.134). Unlike in a regular alternative question, both alternatives must contain a predicate in the infinitive stem.

(7.131) *wɛf-an* *batɕo* *vid=i* *jo* *na*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or NEG

vid=i=am *ranuxtɕ*
be.INF=SC=1SG.PFV forget.PRF
'I forget whether they have children. (Evidential/New information)'

(7.132) *pugan* *wi-an* *waχt* *vid=i* *jo* *na*
tomorrow 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN time be.INF=SC or NEG

vid=i *az* *wi* *pars=am*
be.INF=SC ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST ask.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will ask whether she has time tomorrow.'

(7.133) *sulir* *maɕ=ir* *hansuu* *ziv* *dars*
next.year 1PL.NNOM=DAT Han tongue lesson

ðod=i *jo* *na* *ðod=i* *nəwz*
give.INF=SC or NEG give.INF=SC still

maɕ=ir=af *na* *lɛvd*
1PL.NNOM=DAT=3PL.PFV NEG say.IPFV
'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

rang *vid=i* *jo* *na* *vid=i* *maɕ* *i*
SEMB be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC 1PL.NOM one

wejn=an
see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us see whether it is truly like that or not.'

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 tsaʁa* '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/tsa waχt*, *kudʑur/ko*, *tsejzir*, and *tsund*. For time and location, *hitɕ* is used with common nouns instead of interrogative words: *hitɕ waχt* 'never; no time' and *hitɕ dʑuj* 'nowhere', as in (7.141) & (7.142).

(7.135) *pa* *tɕɛd* *hitɕ* *tɕoj* *nist*
LOC house none who.NOM NEG.be.IPFV
'There is no one at home.'

(7.136) *hitɕ* *tɕi=ri* *salum* *avon* *mo* *warofs*
none who.NNOM=DAT peace BEN PROH stop.IPFV
'Do not stop to greet anyone.'

(7.137) *jad* *batɕo* *hitɕ* *tsarang* *guxt* *mas* *na*
3SG.NOM.PROX child none how meat also NEG

χird
eat.3SG.IPFV
'This child does not eat any form of meat.'

(7.138) *wi=ri* *hitɕ* *tsaʁa* *mo* *ka*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT none how PROH do.IPFV
'Do not do anything to it.'

(7.139) *hitɕ tsiz naj, hitɕ tsiz=am na lɛvd*
none thing NEG none thing=1SG.PFV NEG say.PFV
'Nothing, I did not say anything.'

(7.140) *hitɕ tɕidum gul mu=ri χuɕ nist*
none which flower 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
'I do not like any of the flowers.'

(7.141) *maɕ hitɕ waχt di rang tɕɛr*
1PL.NOM none time 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB work

wandʑ=ɛndʑ nist
see.PRF=REL NEG.be.IPFV
'We have never seen anything like this before.'

(7.142) *doð=af hitɕ 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 (*na*, *nist*, *naj*, *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) **hitɕ tɕoj pa duχturχuno joðd tsa*
none who.NOM LOC hospital come.3SG.IPFV COND

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'No one may come to the hospital.'

(7.144) **ta az dʑilt hitɕ tsiz wuxt=o*
2SG.NNOM 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 *-χejl* or *-ɛf*. Interrogative words with a plural referent is reduplicated, without any changes in word order, as illustrated in (7.145) - (7.150):

(7.145) *tɕoj* *tɕoj* *joðd*
who.NOM who.NOM come.3SG.IPFV
'Who all are coming?'

(7.146) *kudʑur* *kudʑur* *tɛdz=in*
where.NOM where.NOM go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Where all are they going?'

(7.147) *təw* *a=tɕi* *tɕi* *wazon*
2SG.NOM ACC=who.NNOM who.NNOM know.IPFV
'Who all do you know?'

(7.148) *tsejz* *tsejz* *vɛðdʑ*
what what be.PRF
'What all are there? (Evidential/New information)'

(7.149) *ta-an* *dars* *tɕum* *tɕum* *jost*
2SG.NNOM-GEN lesson when when be.IPFV
'When are the times you have class?'

(7.150) *təw* *tɕidum* *tɕidum* *dəwlat* *tujdʑ=ɛndʑ,* *tɕidum* *tɕidum*
2SG.NOM which which country go.PRF=REL which which

ziv *wazon*
tongue 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, *kudʑur* is not used, but *k=um* 'there' is used instead, as in (7.154).

(7.151) *tɕoj* *jot=o...* *qurbun*
who.NOM come.PFV=Q Qeerbun
'Did he come... Qeerbun?'

(7.152) *az tɕi pars=an... kuzmamad*
ABL who.NNOM ask.IPFV=1PL.IPFV Kuzmamad
'Let us ask him... Kuzmamad.'

(7.153) *a=wi znej=in χu ar*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC

tsejz wejð=in... dejg
what put.IPFV=3PL.IPFV pot
'They wash it an put it in the thing... pot.'

(7.154) *awal i tsiz zoz=an χu k=um*
first one thing buy.IPFV=1PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ANA=there

so=an... nizamidin dʑuj
become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV Nizamidin 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 (IPFV)' 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 *sɛ̈ðdʑ*:

(7.155) *hitɕ tsaʁa na sɛ̈ðdʑ vəw*
none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV
'You are fine, right?'

(7.156) *hitɕ tsaʁa na sɛ̈ðdʑ vəw=in*
none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They are fine, right?'

(7.157) *hitɕ tsaʁa na sɛ̈ðdʑ vəw=am*
none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I am fine, right?'

(7.158) *hitɕ tsaʁa na sɛðdʑ vid*
none how NEG become.PRF be.3SG.IPFV
'She is 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) *təw χafo na sɛt=ir vəw,*
2SG.NOM upset NEG become.INF=DAT be.IPFV

a=di gap malum=ir frapon
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) *waʒ=am a=ta mejmun na tɕi*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=2SG.NNOM guest NEG CAP

tɕəwg, təw χafo na sɛt=ir vəw
do.PFV 2SG.NOM 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?)

(7.161) *waz=am* *wɛf=ir* *χabar* *na* *tɕi*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT news NEG CAP

tɕəwg, *woð* *χafo* *na* *sɛt=ir*
do.PFV 3PL.NOM upset NEG become.INF=DAT

vəw=in
be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'I hope they will not get upset at me for not informing them.' (lit. I was unable to inform them. They will not get upset, will they?)

(7.162) *hitɕ* *tsiz=af* *na* *ranɯxtɕ* *vəw=it*
none thing=2PL.PFV NEG forget.PRF be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) didn't forget anything, did you?'

(7.163) *təw* *bɛχala* *səwg* *wazond=ir* *vəw*
2SG.NOM what.if story know.INF=DAT be.IPFV
'You don't happen to know stories, do 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.

(7.164) *waz* *i* *afto* *az* *zabu* *tar* *varçidɛ*
1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

so=am, *tamaɕ* *ki=wi*
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

waχt *its* *na* *tid=ir* *vəw=it*
time TERM NEG go.INF=DAT be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?'

(7.165) *waz i afto az zabu tar varɕidɛ*
1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

so=am, tamaɕ ki=wi
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

waχt its na tɛdz=it=o
time TERM NEG go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
'I am going to Varshide in one week; are you not leaving before then?'

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 i afto az zabu tar varɕidɛ*
1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

so=am, tamaɕ ki=wi
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

waχt its na tɛdz=it, nej
time TERM NEG go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV NEG
'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 tɕɛr na tɕejg=ir vəw, tom waʑɛfs*
2SG.NOM work NEG do.INF be.IPFV then return.IPFV

tsa səwd
COND 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

lɛv=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 iɕandʑ tɕəwɣdʑ 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 tɕomb=o, nej*
2SG.NOM how child LOC word be.willing.IPFV=Q NEG
'What kind of child are you? Will you obey or not?'

(7.171) *waz χuɕruj tɕi woð na tɛdz=am, juts*
1SG.NOM beautiful LOC stream NEG go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV fire

ar darun a=χu θawon=am=o,
LOC inside ACC=REFL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q

naj, waz na so=am
NEG 1SG.NOM NEG become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Shall I not flow in a beautiful stream, and go burn myself in fire instead? No! I will not go.'

(7.172) *waz χuɕruj wux na χor=am, xats*
1SG.NOM beautiful grass NEG eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV water

qati χu dəwr bulejzon=am=o, naj,
COM REFL.NNOM belly swell.CAUS.IPFV=1SG.PFV=Q NEG

waz na broz=am
1SG.NOM NEG drink.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Shall I not eat beautiful grass, and swell up my belly with water instead? No! I will not drink.'

(7.173) *tɕoj χu radzɛn avon na niwd*
who.NOM REFL.NNOM daughter BEN NEG cry.3SG.IPFV
'Who doesn't cry for her own daughter?'

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.

(7.174) *tɕoj wazond*
who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV
'Who knows?'

(7.175) *albatta səwd, tsejzir na səwd*
of.course become.3SG.IPFV why NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'Sure, why not?'

(7.176) *nej, fand=ik ðo=am*
NEG false=DUR give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Or, am I lying?'

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

Clause type	**Core argument(s)**
Intransitive	S
Extended intransitive	S, E
Transitive	A, O
Extended transitive	A, O, E
Existential	CS
Copula	CS, CP
Extended copula	CS, CP, E

8.1 Constituent order

The dominant constituent order of major constituents in unmarked verbal clauses is SXOV, where 'X' stands for dative or 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. 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

Transitive clause	SOV
Intransitive clause	SV
Order of object, peripheral argument, verb	XOV
Order of noun and function marker	N, FM & FM, N
Order of genitive and noun	Gen, N
Order of adjective and noun	Adj, N
Order of demonstrative and noun	Dem, N
Order of numeral and noun	Num, N
Order of relative clause and noun	Rel, N
Order of degree word and adjective	Deg, Adj
Position of interrogative enclitic	sentence-final
Position of interrogative words	*in situ*
Position of adverbial subordinators	end of subordinate clause
Order of comparative construction elements	marker-standard-Adj

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 and third person singular perfective, 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) *olim nalust*
Olim sit.PFV
'Olim sat.'

(8.2) *mu pɛð xuvd*
1SG.NNOM foot sleep.PFV
'My foot fell asleep.'

(8.3) *mejmun-χejl=af tujd*
guest-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV go.PFV
'The guests left.'

Some intransitive predicates, despite being intransitive, take two core arguments. However, the second argument is marked with the locative function marker *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 *pa*. Only a few verbs serve as predicates in the extended intransitive, including: *iɕandʑ tɕejg* 'trust' (8.4) & (8.5), *buwar tɕejg* 'believe' (8.6), *julanmiɕ sɛt* 'rely on (Uyghur loanword)' (8.7), *tɕimbd* 'be obedient to; be willing to listen to' (8.8), *jur sɛt* 'possess (as when a demon possesses someone)' (8.9), *buʐejd* 'touch' (8.10), and *lɛχ χig* '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 O arguments in transitive clauses.

(8.4) *pa tɕi iɕandʑ ka=am*
LOC who.NNOM trust do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Whom shall I trust?'

(8.5) *pa mu iɕandʑ tsa na ka χuðoj*
LOC 1SG.NNOM trust COND NEG do.IPFV God

mu=ri guwu
1SG.NNOM=DAT witness
'If you do not trust me, God is my witness.'

(8.6) *təw iχil pa χalg utɕ dʑald buwar ka*
2SG.NOM often LOC person too fast belief do.IPFV
'You keep believing people too quickly.'

(8.7) *waz pa ta julanmiɕ so = am*
1SG.NOM LOC 2SG.NNOM reliance become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will rely on you.'

(8.8) *təw a = wi juts wazawon,*
2SG.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST fire turn.off.IPFV

ju mu pa gap na tɕimbd
3SG.NOM.DIST 1SG.NNOM LOC word NEG be.willing.PFV
'Turn off that fire, it did not obey me.'

(8.9) *pa ta pari jur sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ = o*
LOC 2SG.NNOM demon possess become.PRF = REL = Q
'Have you ever been possessed by a demon?'

(8.10) *pa di mo buzis*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX PROH touch.IPFV
'Do not touch this.'

(8.11) *i tɕurik tar pond pa qaraqchi lɛχ xuɣdʑ*
one man LOC road LOC robber encounter eat.PRF
'A man encountered a robber on the journey. (Evidential/New information)'

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) *zulfia poj furd*
Zeelfia yogurt slurp.3SG.IPFV
'Zeelfia will slurp yogurt.'

(8.13) *maɕ = an ɕir naviɕt*
1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV poem write.PFV
'We wrote poems.'

(8.14) *m-ono χaxts kaxt*
1SG.NNOM-mother Hak'ts do.3SG.IPFV
'My mother will make Hak'ts (a fudge-like sweet).'

(8.15) *wi* *ɣin* *a=vurdʑ* *vijojd*
3SG.NNOM 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 *ðod* 'give' (8.16), *lɛvd* 'tell' (8.17), *vusond* 'show' (8.18), *χumand tɕejg* 'teach' (8.19), *para ðod* 'sell' (8.20), and *boxt* 'send' (8.21), which require three arguments to be stated or implied.[1]

(8.16) *kuraɕ* *mu=ri* *tsɛmak* *ðud*
Keerash 1SG.NNOM=DAT wink give.PFV
'Keerash winked at me.' (lit. Keerash gave me a wink.)

(8.17) *awal* *χu* *num* *at* *χ-oto* *num*
first REFL.NNOM name CONJ REFL.NNOM-father name

batɕo-ɛf=ir *lɛv*
child-PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV
'First tell your name and your father's name to the kids.'

(8.18) *ilu,* *waʑ* *tu=ri* *i* *tsiʑ*
hold.on 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing

vuson=am
show.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Hold on, I will show you something.'

(8.19) *woð* *imi=ri* *χu* *ato* *ʑiv*
3PL.NOM.DIST RECP=DAT REFL.NNOM father tongue

χumand *ka=in*
teach do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They teach each other their father tongue.'

(8.20) *waʑ=am* *haroj* *mon* *para* *ðud,*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV three apple sell give.PFV

wi=ri
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT
'I sold three apples to him.'

[1]Causatives (Table 1.7) of transitive verbs also require three arguments, as they take on an additional dative- or accusative-marked argument.

(8.21) *χu rasim mu=ri buz*
REFL.NNOM picture 1SG.NNOM=DAT send.IPFV
'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: *vid* expresses positive existence while *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: P = positive, N = negative, MC = main clause, SC = subordinate clause.

Table 8.3 Stems of *vid* (existential)

Polarity	INF	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF
P (MC)	---	*jost*		*vud*	*vɛðdʑ*
N (MC)	---	*nist*		*na vud*	*na vɛðdʑ*
P (SC)	*vid*	*vəw*	*vid*	*vud*	*vɛðdʑ*
N (SC)	*na vid*	*na vəw*	*na vid*	*na vud*	*na vɛðdʑ*

Whereas finite verbal predicates always occur in combination with pronominal agreement clitics, *jost* and *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) *ar tung nuɕ jost*
LOC Teeng apricot be.IPFV
'There are apricots in Teeng.'

(8.23) *wi ar indʑɛq pul jost*
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC pocket money be.IPFV
'There is money in his pocket.'

(8.24) *pa tɕɛd mejmun-χejl nist*
LOC house guest-PL.NOM NEG.be.IPFV
'There are no guests at home.'

(8.25) *mɯ* *pa* *qɛtɕ* *batɕo* *nist*
1SG.NNOM LOC belly child NEG.be.IPFV
'There is no child in my belly.'

In subordinate clauses, *jost* and *nist* occur in the infinitive stem, as in (8.26), or imperfective stems that are different from *jost* 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) *mɯ-an* *tɕur* *na* *vid=i=at* *tsaʁa*
1SG.NNOM-GEN husband NEG be.INF=SC=2SG.PFV how

wazond
know.PFV
'How did you know that I do not have a husband?'

(8.27) *waχt* *tsa* *vid* *joð*
time COND be.3SG.IPFV come.IPFV
'Come over if you have time.'

(8.28) *pa* *tɕɛd* *mejmɯn-χejl* *tsa* *vəw=in* *na*
LOC house guest-PL.NOM COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG

so=am
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 *vɯd/vɛðdʑ* and *na vɯd/na vɛðdʑ*, respectively, and do require pronominal agreement clitics, as in (8.29) & (8.30).

(8.29) a. *putxu-an* *haroj* *puts=af* *vɯd*
king-GEN three son=3PL.PFV be.PFV
'The King had three sons.'

b. *putxu-an* *haroj* *puts=af* *vɛðdʑ*
king-GEN three son=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'The King had three sons. (Evidential/New information)'

(8.30) a. *ar* *wi* *dʑuj* *a=sarlabzamin* *nigo*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC=border watch

tɕejg=itɕuz *askar-χejl=af* *na* *vuud*
do.INF=REL soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG be.PFV
'In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.'

b. *ar* *wi* *dʑuj* *a=sarlabzamin* *nigo*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC=border watch

tɕejg=itɕuz *askar-χejl=af* *na* *vɛðdʑ*
do.INF=REL soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG be.PRF
'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 *-χejl* 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 preverbal 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 Table 8.4:

Table 8.4 Stems of *vid* (existential & copula)

Function	**INF**	**IPFV**	**3SG.IPFV**	**PFV**	**PRF**
EXISTENTIAL	---		*jost*		
COPULA	---		*Ø*	*vuud*	*vɛðdʑ*
Subordinate clause	*vid*	*vəw*	*vid*		

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) *nɯr di azmud sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ maθ*
today 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF=REL day
'Today is this person's birthday.' (IDENTITY)

(8.32) *wi vrəw utɕ tor*
3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black
'Her eyebrows are very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.33) *u ju 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) *mu tɕɛd ar guʑ*
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) *təw iχil ixjur vəw*
2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFV
'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) *xɛb* *di* *azmud* *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *maθ*
yesterday 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF=REL day

vɛðdʑ
be.PRF
'It was this person's birthday yesterday. (Evidential/New information)' (IDENTITY)

(8.37) *wi* *vrəw* *utɕ* *tor* *vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black be.PFV
'Her eyebrows are very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.38) *u* *ju* *spin* *qala* *maɕ* *putxu-an*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST metal castle 1PL.NNOM king-GEN

vud
be.PFV
'That metal castle over there used to be our king's.' (POSSESSION)

(8.39) *mu* *tɕɛd* *ar* *guz* *vud*
1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland be.PFV
'My house used to be in the grassland.' (LOCATION)

(8.40) *waz* *ʁots* *nist*
1SG.NOM girl NEG.be.IPFV
'I am not a girl.' (IDENTITY)

(8.41) *wi* *vrəw* *utɕ* *tor* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black NEG.be.IPFV
'Her eyebrows are not very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.42) *χu* *vrud* *vid=i* *woð* *na*
REFL.NNOM brother be.INF=SC 3PL.NOM.DIST NEG

wazon=in
know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They do not know that he is their own brother.' (IDENTITY)

(8.43) *ta* *nijat* *durust* *tsa* *vid* *ta*
2SG.NNOM intention whole COND be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM

tɕɛr *nejk* *səwd*
work good become.3SG.IPFV
'If your intentions are right, your work will turn out well.' (ATTRIBUTION)

Sarikoli has another copula: *sɛt* 'become'. While *vid* refers to a state, *sɛt* 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, *sɛt* is not omissible and always requires pronominal agreement clitics. In these respects, *sɛt* 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 *sɛt* are presented in Table 8.5:

Table 8.5 Stems of *sɛt*

INF	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF
sɛt	*so*	*səwd*	*sut*	*sɛðdʑ*

sɛt 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, *sɛt* carries the meaning 'to go', as in (8.47).

(8.44) *doð=af* *ɣin* *at* *tɕur* *sut*
3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV wife CONJ husband become.PFV
'These have become husband and wife.' (IDENTITY)

(8.45) *tuɕ tɕi pond tsa tɛdz ta pond kut*
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 wɛf-an puts sut*
first 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN son become.PFV
'First, they got a son.' (lit. Of theirs, a son first became.) (POSSESSION)

(8.47) *nur 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 *əwd* 'here' or *um/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 tɕɛd um-ik*
1SG.NNOM house there-DIM
'My house is over there.'

(8.50) *m-oto ɕitɕ varɕidɛ*
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) *mɯ ɕirin dʑun, jad*
1SG.NNOM sweet life 3SG.NOM.PROX
'This one is my sweetheart.' (IDENTITY)

(8.53) *qobil, mɯ radʒɛn*
admirable 1SG.NNOM daughter
'My daughter is admirable.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.54) *um-ik vɯd, mɯ tɕɛd*
there-DIM be.PFV 1SG.NNOM house
'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) *haroj vɛrθ=af aqlin vɯd*
three both=3PL.PFV intelligent be.PFV
'All three of them were intelligent.'

(8.56) *salomat vəw=it*
healthy be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Be healthy.'

(8.57) *χafo mo so*
upset PROH become.IPFV
'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* *orʒu* *[duχtur* *sɛt]*
3SG.NOM.PROX dream doctor become.INF
'This person's dream is [to become a doctor].'

(8.59) *maɕ* *[χu* *ðust* *qati* *χig=itɕuz]*
1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF=REL
'We are ones [who eat with our hands].'

(8.60) *waz=am* *[lɛq* *tɕi* *ʒnod]* *vud*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV clothing LOC wash.INF be.PFV
'I was washing clothes.'

8.5 Extended copula predicates

An extended copula clause consists of a copula predicate, *vid* or *sɛt*, 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: *χuɕ* '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 *sɛt* is used.

(8.61) *ʁəwz* *m-ono=ri* *utɕ* *χuɕ*
walnut 1SG.NNOM-mother=DAT very happy
'My mother likes walnuts very much.'

(8.62) *ta* *tɕur=ir* *χɯɕ* *tsa* *vid* *zoz*
2SG.NNOM husband=DAT happy COND be.3SG.IPFV buy.IPFV
'If your husband likes it, buy it.'

(8.63) *wɛf=ir* *ða* *suat* *luzim*
3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT two hour necessary
'They need two hours.'

(8.64) *tɯ=ri* *i* *tsiz* *luzim* *tsa*
2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND

səwd *uz* *joð*
become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV
'Come again if you need something.'

(8.65) *qatɛʁin* *tɕoj* *mɯ=ri* *bos*
topping tea 1SG.NNOM=DAT enough
'I have had enough of milk tea.'

8.6 Non-finite clauses

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* *batɕo* *qati* *skit* *tɕejg*
day whole.duration small child COM play do.INF

a=χalg *aluk* *kaxt*
ACC=person tired do.3SG.IPFV
'Playing with little children all day makes a person tired.'

(8.67) *mɯ* *dil* *χ-oto* *χ-ono* *qati*
1SG.NNOM heart REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother COM

nalist
sit.INF
'I want to live with my parents.'

(8.68) *murod uzir pur pul vig mazamun*
Meerod now much money find.INF since

wi ɣin χuɕ sut
3SG.NNOM.DIST wife happy become.PFV
'Meerod's wife has become happy since he is now making much money.'

(8.69) *ju fil vijojdʑ=ɛndʑ tɕurik=ik*
3SG.NOM.DIST elephant ride.PRF=REL man=DUR

joðd
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) *waz=am wɛf-an ar xwor katɕ*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN LOC Kashgar move

tɕejg=i na xɛðdʑ
do.INF=SC NEG hear.PRF
'I have not heard that they are moving to Kashgar. (Evidential/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 waz parus sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ ar*
3SG.NOM.DIST 1SG.NOM last.year become.PRF=REL LOC

maktab tujd
school go.PFV
'He went to the school I went to last year.'

(8.72) *batɕo-xejl* *ləwr* *sɛt* *az* *zabu*
child-PL.NNOM big become.INF ABL back

a = di *para* *do = am*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX sell give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will sell this after the children grow up.'

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).

(8.73) *wi* *vrud* *pa* *buzur* *mɛwo* *para*
3SG.NNOM.DIST brother LOC bazaar fruit sell

ðid
give.3SG.IPFV
'His brother sells fruit at the bazaar.'

(8.74) *tɕulpon* *ar* *ɯrumtɕi* *χat* *buxt*
Chulpon LOC Urumqi letter send.PFV
'Chulpon sent a letter to Urumqi.'

(8.75) *sejfik* *az* *di* *haroj* *sad* *kuj*
Seyfik ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX three hundred Chinese.yuan

zuxt
take.PFV
'Seyfik took 300 yuan from him.'

(8.76) *woð = af* *um-ik* *barqo* *kaxt*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV there-DIM lamb slaughter.PFV
'They slaughtered the lamb over there.'

(8.77) *wɛf* *pa* *tɕɛd = an* *skit* *tɕəwg*
3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house = 1PL.PFV play do.PFV
'We played at their house.'

(8.78) *pa qir=af kalo pojd*
LOC mountain=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 sɛð pidʒ tej kaxt*
Omil this.year fall wedding do.3SG.IPFV
'Omil is getting married this fall.'

(8.80) *waʒ sulir amriko waʑɛfs=am*
1SG.NOM next.year America return.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will return to America next year.'

(8.81) *woð=af paraxɛb palɔw χɯg*
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) *ɕitɕ=am tamoq χɯg*
now=1SG.PFV food eat.PFV
'I had some food just now.'

(8.83) *nur=af a=wi na wandʒ*
today=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.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 maχsat ðust harabo qati a=qoɕtaci vəwg*
uncle Mahsat hand vehicle COM ACC=jade bring.PFV
'Uncle Mahsat brought the jade with a wagon.'

(8.85) *maɕ=an* *di* *ktub* *qati* *purs*
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX book COM Persian

ziv *χumand* *sut*
tongue learn become.PFV
'We learned Persian with this book.'

(8.86) *abdilu* *χu* *mom* *qati* *ʑɛz* *vəwg*
Abdilu REFL.NNOM grandmother COM firewood bring.PFV
'Abdilu brought firewood with his grandmother.'

(8.87) *χung* *tɕib* *qati* *poj* *fur=in*
wood spoon COM yogurt slurp.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'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) *dulqun* *χu* *nabus* *avon* *riktɕi* *zuxt*
Dulqun REFL.NNOM grandchild BEN bitter.almond buy.PFV
'Dulqun bought bitter almonds for his grandchild.'

(8.89) *miriam* *bulbul* *rang* *χuɕruj* *bejt* *lɛvd*
Miriam nightingale SEMB beautiful song say.3SG.IPFV
'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.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'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* *ɕir*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV yesterday LOC school pen COM poem

naviɕt
write.PFV
'Yesterday at school I wrote a poem with a pen.'

9

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 *əʔə* and *naj* (§9.8). Negative lexemes may also be formed morphologically with the privative prefix *bɛ-* 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, *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) *na=am* *χug*
NEG=1SG.PFV eat.PFV
'I did not eat.'

(9.2) *na=af* *tujd*
NEG=3PL.PFV 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) *ju* *k=dos* *tizd*
3SG.NOM.DIST ANA=manner go.3SG.IPFV

wi-an *hitɕ* *tsiz* *nist,* *na*
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN none thing NEG.be.IPFV NEG

χu *qɛtɕ=ir* *ləwr* *dɛr* *xipik*
REFL.NNOM stomach=DAT big CPRV flatbread

vrejd, *na* *χu* *tan=ir* *bɛ* *dɛr*
find.3SG.IPFV NEG REFL.NNOM body=DAT fine CPRV

lɛq *vrejd*
clothing find.3SG.IPFV

'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) *təw* *χu* *az* *tɕɛd* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *mo*
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM ABL house none thing PROH

vor, *na* *xavung,* *na* *balax,* *na* *lingi,* *na*
bring.IPFV NEG blanket NEG pillow NEG towel NEG

sfun, *hatto* *i* *bax* *jaktu* *mas* *mo* *vor*
soap even one extra shirt also PROH bring.IPFV

'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) *lidia* *tizd*
Lidia go.3SG.IPFV
'Lidia will go.'

(9.6) *lidia na tizd*
Lidia NEG go.3SG.IPFV
'Lidia will not go.'

(9.7) *nurmongul xuvd*
Nurmongeel sleep.PFV
'Nurmongeel has slept.'

(9.8) *nurmongul na xuvd*
Nurmongeel NEG sleep.PFV
'Nurmongeel has not slept.'

(9.9) *sejfik wandʑ-it*
Seyfik see.PRF-CESS
'Seyfik saw it.'

(9.10) *seyfik na wandʑ-it*
Seyfik NEG see.PRF-CESS
'Seyfik did not see it.'

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 puts [nəwz tej na tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ]*
1SG.NNOM son still wedding NEG do.PRF=REL
'My son is one who has not married yet.'

b. *niso [tar jəwl qatɛʁin tɕoj na broxt=itɕuz]*
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 [gulpia-an wi tej*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding

na tɕejg=i] wazond
NEG do.INF=SC know.PFV
'I knew that Geelpia will not get married.'

b. *waz=am* *[gulpia-an* *wi* *tej*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding

na *tɕejg=i]* *na* *wazond*
NEG do.INF=SC NEG know.PFV
'I did not know that Geelpia will not get married.'

(9.13) a. *[maɕ* *ɕitɕ* *na* *tɛdz=an* *tsa]*
1PL.NOM now NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COND

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'It is okay if we do not go now.'

b. *[maɕ* *ɕitɕ* *na* *tɛdz=an* *tsa]* *na*
1PL.NOM now NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COND NEG

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'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, *jost* 'there is', and negative existential clauses are formed with *nist* 'there is not'. *nist* is placed clause-finally, where predicates normally occur.

(9.14) *pa* *wi* *tɕɛd* *juts* *nist*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST house fire NEG.be.IPFV
'There is no fire in that house.'

(9.15) *wi* *alo* *χandasur* *tɕejg=ir* *duχtur*
3SG.NNOM.DIST TEMP circumcision do.INF=DAT doctor

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'In those days, there are no doctors to do circumcisions.'

(9.16) *qɛtɕ=ir* *tamoq* *nist* *nalist=ir* *tɕɛd*
stomach=DAT food NEG.be.IPFV sit.INF=DAT house

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'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 *nist*, as shown in the following examples.

(9.17) *oriona-an* *ðust* *harabo* *nist*
Oriona-GEN hand vehicle NEG.be.IPFV
'Oriona does not have a wagon.'

(9.18) *ejdboj* *tuqo,* *wi-an* *jaχ* *vrud*
Eidboy separate 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN sister brother

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'Eidboy is alone, he does not have brothers or sisters.'

(9.19) *ar* *wi* *afto* *maɕ-an* *dars*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'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, *na vid* is used instead of *nist*, with *vid* taking the same inflections as verbal predicates.

(9.20) *pa* *varɕidɛ* *di* *rang* *puutig* *na* *vɛðdʑ*
LOC Varshide 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB thread NEG be.PRF
'In Varshide there is no thread like this. (Evidential/New information)'

(9.21) *xɛb* *mu-an* *digar* *tɕɛr* *na* *vuud*
yesterday 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work NEG be.PFV
'Yesterday I did not have other work.'

(9.22) *ta* *indɛr* *pul* *na* *vid* *tsa* *mo*
2SG.NNOM on.person money NEG be.3SG.IPFV COND PROH

zoʒ
buy.IPFV
'Do not buy it if you do not have money with you.'

9.3 Negative copula

As with existential clauses, a copula clause in the imperfective aspect is negated with *nist*. The corresponding affirmative sentence, which does not contain a copula, is followed by *nist*. While *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) *təw* *di* *tar* *əwd* *mu* *batɕo*
2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here 1SG.NNOM child

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'From now on, you are not my child.'

(9.24) *wi* *gap* *at* *amal* *i* *suχt*
3SG.NNOM.DIST word CONJ action one appearance

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'His words and actions are not the same thing.'

(9.25) *di* *lɛq* *sufat* *tɕardʑ* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.PROX clothing quality good NEG.be.IPFV
'This article of clothing's quality is not good.'

(9.26) *varɕidɛ* *ɕitɕ* *utɕ* *iɕ* *mas* *nist* *utɕ* *ʑurm* *mas*
Varshide now too cold also NEG.be.IPFV too warm also

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'Right now Varshide is not too cold and not too hot.'

(9.27) *u* *ju* *xtur-χejl* *mu*
there 3PL.NOM.DIST camel-PL.NOM 1SG.NNOM

bob-an *nist*
grandfather-GEN NEG.be.IPFV
'Those camels over there are not my grandfather's.'

(9.28) *jad* *ɕejdoi* *mu* *χu-an*
3SG.NOM.PROX Sheydoi 1SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'This Sheydoi (female cap) is not my own.'

(9.29) *di* *χajun* *az* *marjong* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.PROX sister.in.law ABL Maryong NEG.be.IPFV
'This person's sister-in-law is not from Maryong.'

(9.30) *waz* *ta* *ar* *dil* *nist=o*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM LOC heart NEG.be.IPFV=Q
'Do you not remember me?' (lit. Am I not in your heart?)

A copula complement may not be negated with the verbal negator *na*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.31) & (9.32):

(9.31) **jad* *tɕini* *na* *pukzo*
3SG.NOM.PROX bowl NEG clean
'This bowl is not clean.'

(9.32) **hansu* *ziv* *χumand* *sɛt* *na* *usun*
Han tongue learn become.INF NEG easy
'Learning Mandarin is not easy.'

As in negative existential clauses, *na vid* is used in all other aspects besides the imperfective, and in subordinate clauses. *vid* is an inflected predicate, negated by preverbal negator *na*, as in (9.33) & (9.34).

(9.33) *di* *qad* *parus* *mi=di*
3SG.NNOM.PROX height last.year CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX

rang *buland* *na* *vud*
SEMB high NEG be.PFV
'Her height was not this high last year.'

(9.34) *nizamidin pa tɕɛd na vɛðdʑ*
Nizamidin LOC house NEG be.PRF
'Nizamidin is not home. (Evidential/New information)'

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 *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, *mo*, is different from the negation particles in negative declaratives, *na* and *nist*.

The default position of the prohibitive particle *mo* is the same as that of the lexical verb negator *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).

(9.35) *fand mo ðo*
false PROH give.IPFV
'Do not lie.'

(9.36) *hejrun mo ris*
surprise PROH remain.IPFV
'Do not be surprised.'

(9.37) *digar χalg=ir mo lɛv*
other person=DAT PROH say.IPFV
'Do not tell other people.'

(9.38) *m=a=di xipik mo*
CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX flatbread PROH

χor=it
eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Do not eat this flatbread.'

(9.39) *pa wi iɕandʑ mo ka=it*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST trust PROH do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Do not believe her.'

However, *mo* is more flexible than *na*, as it is equally acceptable to place *mo* after the verb. Below are examples in which *mo* is used post-verbally.

(9.40) *wux mo*
fall.IPFV PROH
'Do not fall.'

(9.41) *mu a=ðust waðor mo*
1SG.NNOM ACC=hand grab.IPFV PROH
'Do not hold on to my hand.'

(9.42) *wi qati waʒɛfs mo*
3SG.NNOM.DIST COM return.IPFV PROH
'Do not return with him.'

(9.43) *wɛf pa tɕɛd alos=it mo*
3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house lie.IPFV=2PL.IPFV PROH
'Do not lie down (sleep over) at their house.'

(9.44) *χ-oto ʑiv ranos mo*
REFL.NNOM-father tongue forget.IPFV 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) **puɣan mo joð tsa səwd=o*
tomorrow PROH come.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV=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 §9.6.

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* *vəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *xɛvd* *puud,* *nuur-nɛndʑ*
yesterday bring.PRF=REL milk become.sour.PFV today-ADJ

xɛvd *(laka)* *mo* *pejd*
milk let.IPFV PROH become.sour.3SG.IPFV
'The milk we brought yesterday became sour; may today's milk not get sour.'

(9.47) *omil* *a=χu* *(laka)* *mo* *ðid=am*
Omil ACC=REFL.NNOM let.IPFV PROH hit.3SG.IPFV=1SG.PFV

lɛvd, *a=wi=am* *vust*
say.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST=1SG.PFV tie.PFV
'Thinking, "Lest Omil hit himself", I tied him up.'

(9.48) *təw* *χu* *komputur* *aboj* *ka,* *wejrun*
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM computer careful do.IPFV broken

(laka) *mo* *səwd*
let.IPFV PROH become.3SG.IPFV
'Take care of your computer, lest it get broken.'

(9.49) *waʑ=am* *a=χu* *naɣmug,* *χalg*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=REFL.NNOM hide.PFV people

a=mu *(laka)* *mo* *wand*
ACC=1SG.NNOM let.IPFV PROH see.3SG.IPFV
'I hid myself, lest people see me.'

(9.50) *a=di* *guxt* *dʑald* *χor=it,* *piɕ*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX meat fast eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV cat

(laka) *mo* *χird*
let.IPFV 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

pɛð (laka) iɕ mo kaxt
foot let.IPFV cold PROH do.3SG.IPFV
'I will tuck you in, lest feet get cold.'

(9.52) *təw iχil ixjur vəw, ʁaʑd χalg-χejl*
2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFV dirty person-PL.NOM

a=ta (laka) gəwl 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 kambaʁal mo so=am*
1SG.NOM let.IPFV poor PROH become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'May I not get poor.'

(9.54) *χu lɛq dvɛz dɛr pamɛdz, jong laka*
REFL.NNOM clothing thick CPRV wear.IPFV cold let.IPFV

mo so
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* *narsa = am* *waz* *χubaθ*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX thing = 1SG.PFV 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM

vuɡ *mo* *az* *ta* *taliptɕ*
find.PFV PROH ABL 2SG.NNOM request.PFV

vəw = am
be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I found this thing myself, I will not beg you for it.'

(9.56) *mu-an* *mo* *waloʁ* *vid* *mo* *vurdʑ*
1SG.NNOM-GEN PROH vehicle be.3SG.IPFV PROH horse

mu-an *vid* *waz* *um*
1SG.NNOM-GEN be.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NOM there

so = am *tsa* *tsejz* *ka = am*
become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND what do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I have no vehicle, I have no horse; what would I do if I go there?'

(9.57) *waz* *mo* *kinu* *tɕulpon* *vəw = am* *mo*
1SG.NOM PROH movie celebrity be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV PROH

mudil *vəw = am* *hara* *maθ* *nudʑ* *lɛq*
celebrity be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV every day new clothing

pamejg = ir
wear.INF = DAT
'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) *wi* *ʁaðo* *indɛr* *pul* *mas* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST boy on.person money also NEG.be.IPFV

mo *ju* *inglɛs* *ziv* *wazond=ir*
PROH 3SG.NOM.DIST English tongue know.INF=DAT

vid *χu* *tar* *χu* *amriko*
be.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC REFL.NNOM America

səwd *tsa* *tsejz* *kaxt*
become.3SG.IPFV COND what do.3SG.IPFV
'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 *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-intially, followed by *naj*. Another NP, which is the correction of the negated constituent, occurs immediately after *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) *pɛrizat* *naj,* *mejnaχon* *tu=ri* *tilfon* *tɕəwg*
Perizat NEG Meynahon 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.PFV
'It was not Perizat but Meynahon who called you.'

(9.60) *moɕin* *naj,* *ɕɛr* *qati* *so=an*
car NEG donkey COM become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'It is not by car but by donkey that we will go.'

(9.61) *iw* *naj,* *tsavur* *batɕo* *jost*
one NEG four child be.IPFV
'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 *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) *χɯg = am* *naj*
eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV NEG
'I did not eat.'

(9.63) *ranɯxtɕ = at* *naj*
forget.PFV = 2SG.PFV NEG
'You did not forget.'

(9.64) *soqdʒon* *tizd* *naj,* *maɕ* *qati* *rast*
Soqjon go.3SG.IPFV NEG 1PL.NNOM COM remain.3SG.IPFV
'Soqjon will not go, but will stay with us.'

(9.65) *a = wi* *patəw = in* *naj,* *uz*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV NEG again

rafon = in
use.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not throw it away, but use it again.'

(9.66) **pa* *tɕɛd* *mejmun* *jost* *naj*
LOC house guest be.IPFV 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* *χɯɕrɯj* *ʁots* *batɕo*
NEG beautiful girl child
'an unbeautiful girl'

(9.68) **χɯɕrɯj* *naj* *ʁots* *batɕo*
beautiful NEG girl child
'an unbeautiful girl'

(9.69) *[χɯɕrɯj na vɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ] ʁots 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 *əʔə* '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. *nur mu pa qɛtɕ 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. *stəwr guxt tu=ri χuɕ=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 *bɛ-* 'without; lacking' attaches to common noun 'X' to produce an adjective with the meaning 'without X'. Table 9.1 below presents examples of adjectives that have been derived from nouns with the *bɛ-* prefix.

Table 9.1 Negative lexemes with *bɛ-*

bɛ-ginu 'innocent (sinless)'	*bɛ-arzɛɕ* 'worthless'
bɛ-pujun 'boundless'	*bɛ-bawu* 'priceless'
bɛ-wosta 'directly (without means)'	*bɛ-ʁam* 'worry-free'
bɛ-fam 'stupid'	*bɛ-ɕart* 'unconditional'
bɛ-aql 'foolish'	*bɛ-kutɕ* 'weak'
bɛ-tartib 'messy; orderless'	*bɛ-tɕuro* 'pitiable; solutionless'
bɛ-ziv 'mute (tongueless)'	*bɛ-χabar* 'uninformed'
bɛ-adab 'impolite'	*bɛ-miwa* 'unfruitful'
bɛ-barakat 'unprosperous'	*bɛ-bor* 'unfruitful'
bɛ-tulej 'unlucky'	*bɛ-χatar* 'safe (danger-free)'
bɛ-ruχ 'listless'	*bɛ-χadʑal* 'having no sense of shame'

The privative prefix *bɛ-* is highly productive and may attach to almost any common noun. The meanings of some commonly-used adjectives with *bɛ-* are not completely predictable, however. For example, *bawu* 'price; value' and *arzɛɕ* 'worth; value' are close synonyms; but after the addition of *bɛ-*, 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 examples of words in which *nu-* is used.

Table 9.2 Negative lexemes with *nu-*

nu-luzim 'unnecessary'	*nu-balad* 'stranger'
nu-udil 'unjust'	*nu-durust* 'incorrect'
nu-haq 'unjust'	*nu-qatur* 'unranked (low-ranking)'
nu-lujɛq 'unworthy'	*nu-pejdu* 'rare (un-appearing)'
nu-suf 'impure'	*nu-ɛp* 'unfit; mismatched'

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).

10

Clause combinations

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 shows 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 10.1 Types of coordination

Coordination type	Marker	Reference
Cumulative	*ham*; *mas*; *at*	§10.1.1
Sequential	*χu*	§10.1.2
Causal	*kazwi*	§10.1.3
Adversative	*hammo*; *lɛkin*	§10.1.4
Disjunctive	*jo(ki)*; *χu*	§10.1.5
Asyndetic	*Ø*	§10.1.6

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.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

dof *noj* *χej=in*
tambourine flute play.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'At a wedding they dance and play the tambourine and flute.'

(10.2)
waz *ɕitɕ* *(ham)* *χuzmat* *ka=am* *ham*
1SG.NOM now CONJ work do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV CONJ

xuj=am *ham* *kalo* *poj=am*
read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV CONJ sheep herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I am now working and studying and herding sheep.'

(10.3)
wi *tar* *um* *jam* *batɕo* *fand-an*
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there 3SG.NOM.PROX child false-GEN

tsarang *ʑit* *vid=i* *wazondʑ* *ham* *tagəw* *fand* *na*
how bad be.INF=SC know.PRF CONJ at.all false NEG

ðod=itɕuz *sɛðdʑ*
give.INF=REL become.PRF
'Since then, this child learned how bad it is to lie, and has become someone who never tells lies at all. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.4) *(ham) rasim toʒ=in ham awudʒ*
CONJ picture pull.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ sound

zoz=in
get.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They take pictures and record audio.'

(10.5) *mu puts (ham) duχtur ham olim*
1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar
'My son is a doctor and a scholar.'

(10.6) *mu χor utɕ ɕuv ham aqlin*
1SG.NNOM nephew very well.behaved CONJ smart
'My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.'

(10.7) *tudʒik χalg-an wi vrəw utɕ pur ham*
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ

tor
black
'Tajik people's eyebrows are very thick and dark.'

(10.8) *tudʒik χalg-an wi vrəw ham utɕ pur*
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

ham utɕ 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 *mas* '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) *palәw mas ka=an, ɕirgirindʒ mas*
pilaf also do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also

(ka=an)
do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.'

(10.10) *ong mas wazond, adabjot mas (wazond)*
tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics also know.3SG.IPFV
'He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.'

(10.11) *pɯgan* *mas* *joð=it,* *fal* *mas*
tomorrow also come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV two.days.hence also

(joð=it), *ʁadar* *mas*
come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV three.days.hence also

(joð=it)
come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.'

(10.12) *sarikuj* *ʒiv* *mas* *lɛv=in,* *pursi* *ʒiv* *mas*
Sarikoli tongue also say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV Persian tongue also

(lɛv=in)
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.'

(10.13) *gɯlbibi* *mas* *qɛtɕin,* *ɕanigɯl* *mas* *(qɛtɕin)*
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=ar* *wi* *doxt* *wajəw* *ðid*
ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST wilderness walk give.3SG.IPFV

at *ðid* *at* *ðid* *at*
CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

ðid *at* *aluk* *səwd* *χu*
give.3SG.IPFV CONJ tired become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

xɯfst
sleep.3SG.IPFV
'He walks and walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and gets tired and falls asleep.'

(10.15) *tid* *az* *zabu* *ki=wi* *rang*
go.INF ABL back ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB

ʁirs=in *at* *ʁirs=in* *at*
turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

ʁirs=in *at* *i* *puts* *az* *wɛf*
turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST

i *dʑom* *vrejd*
one scoop find.3SG.IPFV

'After going, he goes around and around and around and around like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.'

(10.16) *a=ujnak* *k=dos* *χu* *pa* *prud*
ACC=glass ANA=manner REFL.NNOM LOC front

lakaxt *tɕost* *at* *tɕost* *at*
put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tɕost *at* *tɕost* *at* *tɕost*
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV

iko *di-an* *i* *vrud* *xtur* *vijojdʑ*
COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF

ʁarst=ik
turn.3SG.IPFV=DUR

'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.'

10.1.2 Sequential coordination

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place sequentially. The temporal conjunction *χu* is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses. *χu* occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation, *χu* belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of *χu* occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.

(10.17) *a = di* *tɕɛr* *adu* *ka = am*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

χɯ, *skit* *ka = am*
TEMP.CONJ play do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'I will finish this work and then play.'

(10.18) *tom* *so = am* *χɯ,*
then become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

joð = am
come.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Then I will go there and come back.'

(10.19) *awal* *mejmun-ɛf = ir* *tɕoj* *wejð* *χɯ,*
first guest-PL.NNOM = DAT tea put.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

mɯ = ri *jordam* *ka*
1SG.NNOM = DAT help do.IPFV
'First pour tea for the guests and then help me.'

(10.20) *woð* *i* *maθ* *dam* *zoz = in* *χɯ,*
3PL.NOM one day rest get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

joð = in
come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They rest for one day and then come.'

(10.21) *amirɕu* *χu* *ɣin* *qati* *jot* *χɯ,* *uz*
Amirshu REFL.NNOM wife COM come.PFV TEMP.CONJ again

tɯjd
go.PFV
'Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.'

(10.22) *tamaɕ = af* *χug* *χu*
2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV eat.PFV TEMP.CONJ

jot = af = o
come.PFV = 2PL.PFV = Q
'Did you(pl) eat and then come?'

The following are examples of *χu* 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 *χu* occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.

(10.23) *tom* *wi=ri* *lɛq* *ðid*
then 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT clothing give.3SG.IPFV

jad *ju* *kaxt,* *χu*
3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST do.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

tej *waðor=in*
wedding grab.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold a wedding ceremony.'

(10.24) *uz* *ʁarst* *ki=di* *rang,*
again turn.3SG.IPFV ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB

χu *uvd* *sul* *fropst*
TEMP.CONJ seven year reach.3SG.IPFV
'He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.'

(10.25) *səwd* *χu* *ar* *mala*
become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC housing.compound

dɛðd, *χu* *az* *fil* *χofst*
enter.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ABL elephant go.down.3SG.IPFV
'He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the elephant.'

(10.26) *jad* *mas* *joðd* *χu,* *a=ktɕawi*
3SG.NOM.PROX also come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ACC=ring

wi *az* *ðust* *tojʑd* *waʑafst*
3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL hand pull.3SG.IPFV go.back.3SG.IPFV

χofst, *χu* *joðd* *χu*
go.down.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ come.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM

kalo *χejz*
sheep side
'He also comes and pulls the ring off her hand and returns and goes down, and comes to his sheep.'

(10.27) *a=wi* *roft* *χu,* *pa*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST spread.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC

tɕɛd *dejd=ir* *at* *jad* *mas*
house enter.INF=DAT CONJ 3SG.NOM.PROX also

ʑuzd, *χu* *wi* *tar* *pɛð*
run.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC foot

a=χu *patəwd*
a=REFL.NNOM throw.3SG.IPFV
'He spreads it on and is about to enter the house, and this one also runs and throws himself at that one's feet.'

This construction may be used with perfective situations, as in (10.21) & (10.22), and with imperfective situations, as in the remaining examples, as long as all of the conjoined clauses within the sentence have the same aspect.

The temporal conjunction *χu* is also used for causal coordination (§10.1.3) or for expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction (§13.9).

10.1.3 Causal coordination

Sarikoli most commonly uses the causal conjunction *kazwi* to link one clause with another clause providing the reason or explanation for it. The conjunction *kazwi* 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 *kazwi*, and then the result clause. Syntactically, *kazwi* 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* *tɕəwg,* *kazwi=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) *m-oto* *kasal* *sut,* *kazwi=am*
1SG.NNOM=father sick become.PFV so=1SG.PFV

wi=ri *tamoq* *jud*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT food take.PFV
'My father has gotten sick, so I took him food.'

(10.30) *woð=af* *a=di* *ðud,*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX hit.PFV

kazwi=ik *niwd*
so=DUR cry.3SG.IPFV
'They hit him, that is why he is crying.'

(10.31) *wɛf-an* *pul* *nist,* *kazwi* *ejd* *na*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV so festival NEG

narzambon=in
celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They do not have money, that is why they do not celebrate the festival.'

(10.32) *sojra=ri* *χuɕ,* *kazwi=am* *vəwg*
Soyra=DAT happy so=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.'

(10.33) *i* *dam* *dɛr* *uz* *χor=am,* *kazwi* *ɕitɕ* *na*
one rest CPRV again eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV so now NEG

χor=am
eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will eat again later, so I will not eat right now.'

(10.34) *sodil* *pugan* *joðd,* *kazwi=an*
Sodil tomorrow come.3SG.IPFV so=1PL.PFV

a=wi *znud*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.PFV
'Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.'

The temporal conjunction *χu* sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:

(10.35) *waz = am* *χu* *tilfon* *bunost* *χu*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM phone lose.PFV TEMP.CONJ

ta *numur = am* *bunost*
2SG.NNOM number = 1SG.PFV lose.PFV
'I lost my phone, so I lost your number.'

(10.36) *zejnura* *sɛð* *nudʒ* *jot* *χu* *nəwz*
Zeynura this.year new come.PFV TEMP.CONJ still

k = um *seðdʒ = ɛndʒ* *nist*
ANA = there become.PRF = REL NEG.be.IPFV
'Zeynura is new here this year, so she has not been there yet.'

10.1.4 Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions *hammo* and *lɛkin* '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) *asl-i* *ta* *χejz = am* *tid* *mejdʒ* *vud,*
origin-ADV 2SG.NNOM side = 1SG.PFV go.INF INTEN be.PFV

hammo *mu-an* *digar* *tɕɛr* *naxtug*
but 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work go.up.PFV
'I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something else came up.'

(10.38) *mu* *dil* *na* *tid,* *lɛkin* *na* *tɛdz = am*
1SG.NNOM heart NEG go.INF but NEG go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

tsa *na* *səwd*
COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'I do not want to go, but I must go.'

(10.39) *suat nəw sut, lɛkin mu vits nəwz na*
hour nine become.PFV but 1SG.NNOM aunt still NEG

jot
come.PFV
'It is 9 o'clock, but my aunt still has not come.'

(10.40) *m-ono wɛf=ir lɛvd, hammo*
1SG.NNOM-mother 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT say.PFV but

woð pa gap na tɕomb=in
3PL.NOM.DIST LOC word NEG be.willing.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'My mother told them, but they are not willing to listen.'

(10.41) *waz so=am, lɛkin ta qati na*
1SG.NOM become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV but 2SG.NNOM COM NEG

so=am
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will go, but I will not go with you.'

(10.42) *vɛrθ durust, lɛkin az dʑam suf tudʑik gap*
both whole but ABL all pure Tajik word

mi=jad
CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX
'They are both correct, but the most pure Tajik word is this one.'

(10.43) *ju χu pul har tsarang-in waχt*
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM money every how-ADJ time

zoxt tɕi kaxt, lɛkin waz zoxt na tɕi
get.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV but 1SG.NOM get.INF NEG CAP

ka=am
do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'He can take out his money at any time, but I cannot.'

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 adverbial 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 bɛlat 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, jo m=a=di
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.'

(10.48) *maɕ jo a=di χor=an jo*
1PL.NOM or ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV or

patəw=an
throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We will either eat this or throw it away.'

(10.49) *waz jo tid tɕi ka=am, jo (tid) na*
1SG.NOM or go.INF CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or go.INF NEG

(tɕi ka=am)
CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.'

(10.50) *waz joki nur reewun so=am, joki*
1SG.NOM or today leave become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or

pugan (ruwun so=am)
tomorrow leave become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will leave either today or tomorrow.'

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 lɛq pamɛdz=in*
blue or green clothing wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They wear blue or green clothes.'

(10.52) *wɛf=ir tɕat 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:

(10.53) *wɛf-an* *batɕo* *vid=i* *jo(ki)* *na* *vid=i*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC

waz *mas* *na* *wazon=am*
1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I do not know whether they have children or not, either.'

Although used less frequently, *χu* is another disjunctive conjunction that serves the same function as *jo(ki)*. As shown in the following examples, *χu* may be used with first, second, or third person subjects.

(10.54) *χu* *ar* *χuzmat* *tɛdz* *χu* *pa* *tɕɛd* *ɕuv* *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* *lɛv* *χu* *barakat* *az* *di* *ðəw*
or thing say.IPFV or blessing ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two

iw *surəw*
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 *tɕəwg* *durust* *χalg* *so*
life=2SG.PFV=DUR do.PFV whole person become.IPFV
'Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome person.'

(10.57) *waz* *χu* *pa* *tɕɛd* *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

tɛdz=am
go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to study.'

(10.58) *ɕonjoz χu pa dars dɛðd χu ar buzur*
Shonyoz or LOC lesson enter.3SG.IPFV or LOC bazaar

tizd wi dil-nɛndʑ wazond qilo
go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart-ADJ know.INF difficult
'Shonyoz will either go to class or go to the bazaar; it is difficult to know his heart.'

10.1.6 Asyndetic coordination

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) *sut=at jot=at=o*
become.PFV=2SG.PFV come.PFV=2SG.PFV=Q
'Did you go and come back?'

(10.60) *χug=af jot=af=o*
eat.PFV=3PL.PFV come.PFV=3PL.PFV=Q
'Did they eat and come back?'

(10.61) *i ʁots surəwd zozd tizd*
one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV

a=wi χu=ri ɣin 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[1] 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 stem within the RC is finite or non-finite. 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 mɯ=ri [az amriko vəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ] kamput*
Sofia 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF=REL candy

ðud
give.PFV
'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.63) *watɕa [waz ləwr sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ] dʑuj*
Wacha 1SG.NOM big become.PRF=REL place
'Wacha is the place [where I grew up].'

(10.64) *[woð lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ] bejt mɯ=ri utɕ*
3PL.NOM.DIST say.PRF=REL song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very

χɯɕ
happy
'I really like the song [that they sang].'

[1] I 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) *[nur iθtɕ=ɛndʑ] mejmun-χejl maɕ xejx*
today come.PRF=REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
'The guests [who came today] are our relatives.'

(10.66) *[ato ano na vɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ] batɕo az 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 χuɕ vɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ]*
1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy be.PRF=REL

tamoq tɕəwg
food do.PFV
'My mother made food [that I like].'

(10.68) a. *tamaɕ [χu zuxtɕ=ɛndʑ] mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF=REL apple

χor=it
eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

b. **tamaɕ [χu zoz=ɛndʑ] mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFV=REL apple

χor=it
eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

c. **tamaɕ [χu zoxt=ɛndʑ] mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF=REL apple

χor=it
eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

10.2.1.2 RC with the =itɕuz relativizer

The relativizer *=itɕuz* 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. *=itɕuz* 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) *[woð ɕitɕ tɕixt=itɕuz] kinu waz*
3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF=REL movie 1SG.NOM

tɕuxtɕ=ɛndʑ
watch.PRF=REL
'The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.'

(10.70) *[zulfiɕo ɕitɕ lɛvd=itɕuz] bejt wi vrud*
Zeelfisho now say.INF=REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

naviɕtɕ=ɛndʑ
write.PRF=REL
'The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.'

(10.71) *tung [nuɕ az dʑam pur pɛxt=itɕuz] dijur*
Teeng apricot ABL all much ripen.INF=REL region
'Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].'

(10.72) *jad [m-oto hara maθ broxt=itɕuz]*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-father every day drink.INF=REL

duri
medicine
'This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].'

(10.73) *[mu jaχ χuzmat tɕejg=itɕuz] dʑuj utɕ ðar*
1SG.NNOM sister work do.INF=REL place very far
'The place [where my sister works] is very far.'

(10.74) *[sulir lɛvd=itɕuz] bejt=an maɕq tɕəwg*
next.year say.INF=REL song=1PL.PFV training do.PFV
'We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].'

(10.75) a. *[puɡan xwor tid=itɕuz] batɕo-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.INF=REL child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

b. **[puɡan xwor tɛdz=itɕuz] batɕo-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.IPFV=REL child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

c. **[puɡan xwor tɯjdʑ=itɕuz] batɕo-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.PRF=REL child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with *=itɕuz*

wazawond=itɕuz 'eraser'	*bejt lɛvd=itɕuz* 'singer'
tamoq tɕejg=itɕuz 'cook'	*rasim tiʑd=itɕuz* 'artist'
para ðod=itɕuz 'seller'	*intsivd=itɕuz* 'sewer'
talipt=itɕuz 'beggar'	*ðɛxt=itɕuz* 'sprinkler'
kəwd=itɕuz 'digger'	*zdig=itɕuz* 'wiper'
moɕin dɛt=itɕuz 'driver'	*kalo pojd=itɕuz* 'sheep herder'
batɕo tɕixt=itɕuz 'one that watches children'	*woxt=itɕuz* 'one that falls (epileptic)'

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 *=itɕuz*, 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) *[məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ] tik tɕi pɛð səwd ʐundo*
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) *[mu=ri ʐ dʑam pur χumand tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ]*
1SG.NNOM=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 vɛrθ [tuʐnɛf ləwr*
1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother both Teeznef big

sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ]
become.PRF=REL
'My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].'

(10.79) *jad hansu əwrat [pa varɕidɛ haroj sul*
3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year

naluɕtɕ=ɛndʑ]
live.PRF=REL
'This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].'

(10.80) *doð=af a=[rasim ʐoxt=itɕuʐ] qiw na*
3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV ACC=picture get.INF=REL call NEG

tɕəwɣdʑ
do.PRF
'These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.81) *[waz az dʑam pur tɕejg=itɕuz] palәw*
1SG.NOM ABL all much do.INF=REL pilaf
'(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.'

(10.82) *maɕ [χɯ ðust qati χig=itɕuz]*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF=REL
'We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].'

(10.83) *zejnura [tar jәwl xɛvd broxt=itɕuz]*
Zeynura LOC dawn milk drink.INF=REL
'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) *waz=am [hawu ðod] awudʑ na*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG

xɯd
hear.PFV
'I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].'

(10.85) *ɕanbɛ jakɕanbɛ [dam zoxt] 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 infinitival 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) *nɯr=am [na xɛðdʑ] i gap xɯd*
today=1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV
'Today I heard something [I had not heard before].'

(10.87) *nur=af [na χuɣdʑ] tamoq χug*
today=3PL.PFV NEG eat.PRF food eat.PFV
'Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].'

(10.88) *[makola na naviɕtɕ] batɕo-χejl intawum*
essay NEG write.PRF child-PL.NOM exam

ðo=in
give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Students [who have not written essays] take exams.'

(10.89) *xɛb maɕ [tej na tɕəwɣdʑ]*
yesterday 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF

batɕo-χejl=an qati tamoq χug
child-PL.NOM=1PL.PFV together food eat.PFV
'Yesterday, those of us [who are not married] ate a meal together.'

(10.90) *m-ono a=wi rasim*
1SG.NNOM-mother ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST picture

χu-an [ðɛs sul na wandʑ] hamru=ri
REFL.NNOM-GEN ten year NEG see.PRF companion=DAT

vusond
show.PFV
'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 *=ɛndʑ*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) & (10.92).

(10.91) **sofia mu=ri [az amriko vəwɣdʑ] kamput*
Sofia 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF candy

ðud
give.PFV
'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.92) **[woð lɛvdʑ bejt] mu=ri utɕ χuɕ*
3PL.NOM say.PRF song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very 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 tɕejg* 'think', *iɕandʑ tɕejg* 'believe', *ranixt* 'forget', *tar χuðm wand* 'dream about'), and verbs of speaking (*lɛvd* '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) *sejfik* *<gulpia-an* *wi* *tej* *tɕejg=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-χejl=af* *<batɕo-ɛf-an* *a=imi*
teacher-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC=RECP

ðod=i> *wand*
hit.INF=SC see.PFV
'The teachers saw <the children's hitting each other>.'

(10.95) *waz* *<tamaɕ-an* *xɛb* *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) *waz* *<tamaɕ-an* *pugan* *kudʑur* *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* *radzɛn-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 is interpreted as having one of the main clause arguments as its subject. It functions as an argument of the predicate of the main clause. Verbs that take infinitival complements include: liking verbs (*tɕimbd* 'be willing to', *χuɕ vid* 'be pleasing to (like)', *dil…vid* 'heart be (desire to)', *pixmun tɕejg* 'regret', *xudʑ ðord* 'fear') and certain speaking verbs (*qasam tɕejg* 'swear, promise', *ramud* 'cause, order', *latɕejg* 'let, allow').

(10.98) *aqlia* *<kalo* *guxt* *χig>* *na* *tɕombd*
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
'Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.'

(10.99) *waʑ* *χu* *jaχ=ir* *<ɕejdoi* *intsivd>*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM sister=DAT Sheydoi sew.INF

ramej=am
cause.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'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.IPFV
'My father does not allow me <to sing songs>.'

(10.101) *<tar* *vatɕ* *skit* *tɕejg>* *wi=ri* *χuɕ*
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* *<χu* *patiɕ-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=χalg* *aluk*
day whole.duration book read.INF ACC=person tired

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'<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 *lɛvd* 'say, tell' in the imperfective stem. In addition, the durative clitic *=ik* is attached to some element before the verb, either preceding or following the direct quotation. (10.104) - (10.106) exemplify this way of quoting direct speech. Sometimes the meaning of *lɛvd* may be extended to cover 'think', as in (10.105).

(10.104) *<tamaç awal tɛdz=it, waz maður zabu*
2PL.NOM first go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV 1SG.NOM noon back

tɛdz=am> =ik lɛvd
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 tçorçambɛ> lɛv=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 tçɛd dið=it> =ik lɛv=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) *təw tçi=ri=ik <mo> lɛv*
2SG.NOM who.NNOM=DAT=DUR PROH say.IPFV
'To whom are you saying "Don't"?'

(10.108) *tsejz=ik lɛvd*
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 *lɛvd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

(10.109) *baχtigɯl mɯ=ri lɛvd iko <nur*
Bahtigeel 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.PFV COMP today

mɯ-an digar tɕɛr jost>
1SG.NNOM-GEN other work be.IPFV
'Bahtigeel told me <I have other things to do today>.'

(10.110) *xɯd=am iko <tursun ar wi*
hear.PFV=1SG.PFV COMP Tursun LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST

afto χu tej kaxt>
week REFL.NNOM wedding do.3SG.IPFV
'I heard <Tursun will get married next week>.'

(10.111) *ar ujnak tɕost iko wi vrud i*
LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one

dʑuj=ik ʁarst wi tɕi ðust
place=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand

k=ju dʑom
ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST scoop
'He looks into the mirror and sees <his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand>.'

(10.112) *waz=am χuðm wand iko <maɕ=an*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV

ar anglia sajoat=ir tujdʑ>
LOC England travel=DAT go.PRF
'I dreamed <we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information)>.'

(10.113) *faridun qasam tɕəwg iko <χu radzɛn*
Faridun oath do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM daughter

tu=ri ðo=am>
2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Faridun swore <I will give you my daughter>.'

(10.114) *rajon uj tɕəwg iko <χu batɕo-ɛf=ir*
Rayon think do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM=DAT

ɕejdoi intsov=am>
Sheydoi sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Rayon thought <I will sew Sheydois (female cap) for my children>.'

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) *woð naxtɛdz=in iko spejd vurdʑ=ik*
3PL.NOM.DIST go.up.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP white horse=DUR

tasin ðid
neighing give.3SG.IPFV
'They go out (and find that) <a white horse is neighing>.'

(10.116) *ju dɛðd iko wi ɣin*
3SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

ar qɛtɕ i χalg aludʑ
LOC stomach one person lie.PRF
'He enters (and finds that) <there is a person lying next to his wife>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.117) *ar wi dinju so=am iko*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP

m-oto mas vɛðdʑ m-ono mas
1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

vɛðdʑ
be.PRF
'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 jəwl indɛzd 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 χadurdʑ*
ANA=manner ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST mill

dið=am iko mu ɣin
enter.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM wife

ki=wi χadurdʑtɕi 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 *lɛvd* 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 lɛv=am iko <nur sejɕambɛ>*
1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC today Tuesday
'I thought <today is Wednesday>.'

(10.121) *waz=ik lɛv=am iko <ʒulfia tɕur*
1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC Zeelfia husband

watɕejdʑ vɛðdʑ>
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 *naj* to yield the interpretation 'otherwise', as illustrated by (10.122) - (10.124).

(10.122) *i* *səwg* *maɕ=ir* *lɛv,* *naj* *iko* *maɕ*
one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV NEG COMP 1PL.NOM

ʒuuq *so=an*
bored become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.'

(10.123) *tamaɕ* *χu* *ato* *ʒiv* *lɛv=it,* *naj*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM father tongue say.IPFV=2PL.IPFV NEG

iko *tamaɕ* *ʒiv* *bast*
COMP 2PL.NNOM tongue disappear.3SG.IPFV
'Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.'

(10.124) *a=di* *dʑald* *pa* *duχturχuno* *jus,* *naj*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX fast LOC hospital take.IPFV NEG

iko *di* *kasal* *garun* *səwd*
COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX illness heavy 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* *ʒurm* *iko*
manner warm COMP
'It is so hot!'

(10.126) *dos* *χuɕruj* *xuvdʑ* *iko*
manner beautiful sleep.PRF 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

AC types	Verb type	Marker(s)	Reference
Condition	IPFV	*tsa*	§10.2.3.1
Concession	IPFV	*mas tsa*	§10.2.3.2
Counterfactual	pluperfect	*tsa* + *=ik*	§10.2.3.3
Explanatory reason	INF	*az* + *=i*	§10.2.3.4
Suppositional reason	INF	*mazamun*	§10.2.3.5
Purpose	INF	*=ir*; *avon*	§10.2.3.6
Means/simultaneity	INF	*qati*	§10.2.3.7
Time	PFV	*=ik*	§10.2.3.8
	INF (RC)	*alo/waχt*	
Location	PRF/INF (RC)	*=ɛndʑ/=itɕuz* + *dʑuj*	§10.2.3.9
Manner	PRF (RC)	*=ɛndʑ* + *rang*	§10.2.3.10

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, concessive, and counterfactual 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 concessive ACs (§10.2.3.2), counterfactual ACs (§10.2.3.3), 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) *tɯ=ri* *i* *tsiʒ* *lɯʒim* *tsa*
2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND

səwd *uʒ* *joð*
become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV
'Come again if you need something.'

(10.128) *ɕitɕ* *tɯng* *tɛdz=in* *tsa* *pond* *ɯtɕ* *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) *mon* *tsa* *vid* *mɯ=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) *ɕtɯ* *tsa* *vid* *mo* *broʒ*
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* *mɯ=ri* *vor*
broken COND become.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT bring.IPFV
'If it broke, bring it to me.'

b. *wejrun sɛðdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa vid*
broken become.PRF=REL COND be.3SG.IPFV

mɯ=ri vor
1SG.NNOM=DAT bring.IPFV
'If it is broken, bring it to me.'

(10.132) a. **tamoq=at na χug tsa maɕ qati*
food=2SG.PFV NEG eat.PFV COND 1PL.NNOM COM

χor
eat.IPFV
'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

b. *tamoq na χuɣdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa vəw maɕ*
food NEG eat.PRF=REL COND be.IPFV 1PL.NNOM

qati χor
COM eat.IPFV
'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

(10.133) a. **woð=af tɯjd tsa digar moɕin qati*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV go.PFV COND other car COM

tɛdz
go.IPFV
'If they left, take another car.'

b. *woð tɯjdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa vəw=in*
3PL.NOM.DIST go.PRF=REL COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

digar moɕin qati tɛdz
other car COM go.IPFV
'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* *tɕost* *tsa*
LOC glass if CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND

u *putun* *a=dʑawun* *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* *dʑom* *a=xats* *iw*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop ACC=water one

zoz=am *məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ar* *ʁov*
get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV die.PRF=REL LOC mouth

wejð=am *tsa* *u* *zundo* *jad*
pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX

səwd
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* *ɣin* *tsa* *vid*
NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV

u *təw* *k=az* *di* *ʁots-ɛf*
COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM

surəw *a=iw* *zoz* *tɛdz* *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 this 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 or follow 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=mɯ* *rond* *mas* *tsa*
1SG.NNOM-father ACC=1SG.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV also COND

mejli
okay
'It's okay even if my father scolds me.'

(10.138) *təw* *mɯjim* *waz* *marzundʑ* *mas* *tsa*
2SG.NOM important 1SG.NOM hungry also COND

ris=am *mejli*
remain.IPFV=1SG.IPFV okay
'You are important; it's okay even if I starve.'

(10.139) *wi* *pɛð* *ðizd* *mas* *tsa*
3SG.NNOM.DIST foot hurt.3SG.IPFV also COND

wi *dil* *χɯ* *dɛst-ɛf* *qati*
3SG.NNOM.DIST heart REFL.NNOM friend-PL.NNOM COM

tɯp *skit* *tɕejg*
ball play do.INF
'Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.'

(10.140) *dɛðd* *mas* *tsa* *ɕəwgunbahor* *mɯburak*
enter.3SG.IPFV also COND Sheawgeenbahor congratulations

lɛvd *dɛðd*
say.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV
'Even when he enters, he says "Happy Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'

(10.141) *ɯm* *xani-χejl* *tɛdz=in* *mas* *tsa* *xabor*
there groom-PL.NOM go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV also COND sleepover

rejd=itɕuz *dʑɯj-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.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

səwd *hammo* *tɕɛk* *ar* *darɯn*
become.3SG.IPFV but boundary LOC inside

ka=it
do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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* *paməwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *mas* *tsa*
thick clothing wear.PRF=REL also COND

vəw=am *iɕ=am* *tɕəwg*
be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 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* *ðɛs* *sul* *tar* *prud* *tej* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST ten year LOC front wedding do.PRF=REL

mas *tsa* *vəw=in* *ɕitɕ* *its*
also COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV now until

wɛf-an *batɕo* *nist*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child NEG.be.IPFV
'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) *waz bɛdʑin ajoɣ zoxt=itɕuz mas tsa*
1SG.NOM Beijing shoes buy.INF=REL also COND

vəw=am uz iw mas uz
be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV again one also again

zoz=am
buy.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy a another one now.' (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.)

(10.146) *hitɕ tsaʁa na sɛðdʑ mas tsa vəw=in*
none how NEG become.PRF also COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

hammo ɯtɕ xudʑ=af ðəwg
but very fright=3PL.PFV scare.PFV
'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) *ɯtɕ pur xojdʑ mas tsa vəw=it hammo*
very much read.PRF also COND be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV but

akram duð pur ʑiv na waʑon=it
Akram AMT much tongue NEG know.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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) *waz ɯtɕ pur gap tajur tɕəwɣdʑ mas tsa*
1SG.NOM very much word ready do.PRF also COND

vəw=am, hammo pɛt=am ranuxt
be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV but all=1SG.IPFV forget.PFV
'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, *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) *ju* *ingum* *tamoq* *χuɣdʑ* *mas* *tsa*
3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food eat.PRF also COND

vid *uz* *marzundʑ*
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* *dʑojza* *zuxtɕ* *mas* *tsa* *vid* *ju*
Sofia prize get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

ləwr *dʑun* *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 *vəw=in* *ju* *χubaθ* *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* *puugan* *tid=itɕuz* *mas* *tsa* *vid*
Hsreaw tomorrow go.INF=REL also COND be.3SG.IPFV

tɕing *az* *zord* *tɕɛr* *kaxt*
genuinely ABL heart work do.3SG.IPFV
'Even though Hsreaw is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.' (lit. Even though Hsreaw 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 examples of counterfactuals.

(10.154) *tudʑik tej=ik tsa vɛðdʑ-it,*
Tajik wedding=DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

waz=am=ik a=ta juðdʑ-it
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 radzɛn=ik tsa vɛðdʑ-it,*
1SG.NNOM-GEN daughter=DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

tu=ri=am=ik ðudʑ-it
2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV=DUR give.PRF-CESS
'If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.'

(10.156) *waz=am=ik purs ziv tsa*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR Persian tongue COND

wazondʑ-it, iron=am=ik tujdʑ-it
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 vɛðdʑ-it,*
2SG.NNOM-GEN passport=DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

kudʑur=at=ik tujdʑ-it
where=2SG.PFV=DUR go.PRF-CESS
'If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?'

(10.158) *waz=am=ik varçidɛ tsa vɛðdʑ-it,*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR Varshide COND be.PRF-CESS

ta ar tej=am=ik iθtɕ-it
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) *mu pa tilfon tuk az na rejd=i*
1SG.NNOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF=SC

tu=ri=am tilfon na tɕi tɕəwg
2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV phone NEG CAP do.PFV
'I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.'

(10.160) *wɛf pa tɕɛd ləwr mejmun-χejl az*
3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house big guest-PL.NOM ABL

jɛt=i a=kalo=af kaxt
come.INF=SC ACC=sheep=3PL.PFV slaughter.PFV
'They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.'

(10.161) *nurbia χu ɕejdoi az bunost=i*
Nurbia REFL.NNOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF=SC

wi ano χafo sut
3SG.NNOM.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.

(10.162) *wɛf* *batɕo* *tindʑ* *amun* *waʑɛvd*
3PL.NNOM.DIST child peaceful unharmed return.INF

mazamun *woð=af* *dijur* *χalg=ir*
since 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV region person=DAT

ziofat *ðud*
party give.PFV
'Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a party for the village people.'

(10.163) *pugan* *maɕ-an* *dars* *na* *vid* *mazamun*
tomorrow 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.INF since

waz *χu* *dud* *pa* *tɕɛd*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM uncle LOC house

so=am
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle's house.'

(10.164) *asan* *az* *ta* *atuin* *afu* *parst*
Asan ABL 2SG.NNOM purposefully forgiveness ask.INF

mazamun *təw* *wi* *qati* *ejl*
since 2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM reconciled

so *tsa* *səwd*
become.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
'Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can reconcile with him.'

(10.165) *waz* *iχil* *ar* *xojd* *vid* *mazamun*
1SG.NOM continuously LOC read.INF be.INF since

watɕa-an *pur* *χalg-ɛf* *na*
Wacha-GEN much person-PL.NNOM NEG

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'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) *χu puts ar amriko xajond avon maχsat*
REFL.NNOM son LOC America study.CAUS.INF BEN Mahsat

dam na zoxt tɕɛr 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 samʁut zoxt avon pa dikun*
Tilak child-PL.NNOM=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 χu tɕɛd zoxt avon az*
1SG.NNOM son REFL.NNOM house get.INF BEN ABL

mu pul zuxt
1SG.NNOM money get.PFV
'My son got money from me to buy his house.'

(10.169) *waz=am joɕ-i alo utɕ pur ginu*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV young-NMLZ TEMP very much sin

tɕəwɣdʑ-it ɕitɕ=ik χu ginu znod avon
do.PRF-CESS now=DUR REFL.NNOM sin wash.INF BEN

kixix k=am
endeavor do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I sinned very much when I was young, and now I am endeavoring to purge my sin.'

(10.170) *adirdin χu dud=ir tamoq jod=ir pa*
Adirdn REFL.NNOM uncle=DAT food take.INF=DAT LOC

duχturχuno tɯjd
hospital go.PFV
'Adirdin went to the hospital to take food to his uncle.'

(10.171) *gawar a=wɛf tar pond wɛðd=ir*
Gawar ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC road put.INF=DAT

naxtɯg
go.up.PFV
'Gawar went to see them out.'

(10.172) *waz=am az mejnaχon i tsiz parst=ir*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ABL Meynahon one thing ask.INF=DAT

wi pa jatoq=am sut
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC dormitory=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I went to Meynahon's dormitory to ask her something.'

(10.173) *joð, alid=ir*
come.IPFV lie.INF=DAT
'Come over to sleep over.'

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. *tɯ=ri varçidɛ jɛt=ir tsund*
2SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT how.much

waχt sut
time become.PFV
'How long has it been since you came to Varshide?'

b. *mɯ=ri varçidɛ jɛt=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.'

(10.175) a. *təw* *χɯ* *tej* *tɕejg=ir* *tsund*
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF=DAT how.much

waχt *rejd*
time remain.PFV
'How long will it be until you get married?'

b. *waz* *χɯ* *tej* *tɕejg=ir* *tsavur*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF=DAT how.much

most *rejd*
time remain.PFV
'I have four months 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) *ɕanigul* *pa* *ristron* *tɕɛr* *tɕejg* *qati* *pul*
Shanigeel LOC restaurant work do.INF COM money

vrejd
find.3SG.IPFV
'Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.'

(10.177) *waz=am* *kinu* *tɕixt* *qati* *ziv* *χumand*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV movie watch.INF COM tongue learn

sut
become.PFV
'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* *bejt* *lɛvd* *qati* *pa* *tɕɛd* *waʑɛvd*
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 has two different constructions of temporal AC: 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) *ɕejdoi-χejl=af=ik fripṭ, waz*
Sheydoi-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV=DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM

ṭu=ri tilfon ka=am
2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.'

(10.181) *suat ðɛs a ða=ik suṭ=aθ, maɕ*
hour ten CONJ two=DUR become.PFV=EMP 1PL.NOM

tɛdz=an
go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Once it is 12 o'clock, we will go.'

(10.182) *varɕidɛ=at=ik fripṭ, muu=ri tilfon*
Varshide=2SG.PFV=DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT phone

ka
do.IPFV
'Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.'

(10.183) *ɯrumtɕi=am=ik jɛt mejdʑ suṭ, tom*
Urumqi=1SG.PFV=DUR come.INF INTEN become.PFV then

χabar ka=an
news do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.'

(10.184) *mɯ* *batɕo-χejl=af=ik* *ləwr* *sut,*
1SG.NNOM child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV=DUR big become.PFV

tom *dam* *zoz=am*
then rest get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.'

(10.185) *ta* *pa* *dil=ik* *jot* *mɯ=ri*
2SG.NNOM LOC heart=DUR come.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT

lɛv
say.IPFV
'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 *waχt* 'time' or the temporal particle *alo*, without any function markers.

(10.186) *ɕəwgunbahor* *ejd* *narzambond* *waχt* *nudʑ* *lɛq*
Sheawgeenbahor festival celebrate.INF time new clothing

pamɛdz=in
wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor festival.'

(10.187) *waz* *ðɛs* *at* *uvd* *sulo* *vid* *alo* *tej*
1SG.NOM ten CONJ seven year.old be.INF TEMP wedding

tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ
do.PRF=REL
'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 *tɕi prud* 'in front of; before'.

(10.188) *a=dustarχun* *wixt* *tɕi* *prud* *futa* *ka=in*
ACC=tablecloth gather.INF LOC front pray do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They pray before gathering the tablecloth.'

(10.189) *maɕ ar maktab fripṭ tɕi prud*
1PL.NNOM LOC school reach.INF LOC front

mɯ=ri tilfon ka
1SG.NNOM=DAT phone 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 zabu* 'behind; after':

(10.190) *a=kalo kaxt az zabu a=wi*
ACC=sheep slaughter.INF ABL back ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

gɯxt pɛdz=in
meat cook.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'After killing the sheep they cook that meat.'

(10.191) *xipik tɕejg az zabu a=wɛf pa*
flatbread do.INF ABL back ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC

nohija para ðo=an
county sell give.IPFV=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 *=ɛndʑ* or *=itɕuz* relativizer, and the head of the RC is often *dʑuj* '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) *ɕanbɛ χu tilfon latɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ tɕi dʑuj alima*
Shanbe REFL.NNOM phone put.PRF=REL LOC place Alima

nalust
sit.PFV
'Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.'

(10.193) *woð* *tej* *tɕejg=itɕuz* *dʑuj* *pa* *prud*
3PL.NOM.DIST wedding do.INF=REL place LOC front

χɯɕrɯj *gul-ɛf=af* *latɕəwg*
beautiful flower-PL.NNOM=3PL.PFV put.PFV
'They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are getting married.'

(10.194) *maɕ* *xojdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ar* *maktab* *sɛð* *ðɛs* *tudʑik*
1PL.NOM read.PRF=REL LOC school this.year ten Tajik

batɕo *iθtɕ*
child come.PRF
'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 *tɕi* precedes the head noun *dʑuj*. The literal meaning of this construction is 'in the place of X', where 'X' represents the situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) - (10.197) below.

(10.195) *kafton* *χɯ* *dars* *xojd* *tɕi* *dʑuj* *skit*
Kafton REFL.NNOM lesson read.INF LOC place play

tɕejg=ir *tɯjd*
do.INF=DAT go.PFV
'Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.'

(10.196) *ramon* *ejd* *narzambond* *tɕi* *dʑuj* *χɯ* *χejx*
Ramon festival celebrate.INF LOC place REFL.NNOM relative

ar *margi* *tɯjd*
LOC funeral go.PFV
'Ramon went to his relative's funeral instead of celebrating the festival.'

(10.197) *samʁut* *ðod* *tɕi* *dʑuj* *pul* *maɕ=ir*
gift give.INF LOC place money 1PL.NNOM=DAT

ðo=it
give.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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) *woð=af* *dʑang* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *ʁoɕ*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV war do.PRF=REL SEMB fight

wɛðd
put.PFV
'They fought as if they were fighting a war.'

(10.199) *sobir* *haroj* *maθ* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *na* *χɯɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *ɯtɕ*
Sobir three day none thing NEG eat.PRF=REL SEMB very

pɯr *χɯg*
much eat.PFV
'Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.'

(10.200) *χɯ* *pa* *tɕɛd* *naluɕtɕ=ɛndʑ* *rang*
REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF=REL SEMB

niθ=it
sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.'

(10.201) *pɯrg* *a=girindʑ* *tɕardʑ* *wandʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *waz*
mouse ACC=rice good see.PRF=REL SEMB 1SG.NOM

a=ta *tɕardʑ* *wejn=am*
ACC=2SG.NNOM good see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'As a mouse loves rice, I love you.'

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

Modality	Structure	Marker	Reference
Possibility	Infinitival CC	*səwd*; *mɯmkin*	§11.1
Ability	Infinitival CC	*tɕi tɕejg*	§11.2
Intentional	Infinitival CC	*mejdʑ*	§11.3
Desiderative	Infinitival CC	*dil*	§11.4
Imminent	Infinitival CC	*bar* + *sut*; *bar* + *dʑuj jot*	§11.5
Permission	Conditional AC	*tsa* + *səwd*	§11.6
Obligation	Conditional AC	*na*... *tsa na səwd*	§11.7
	Infinitival CC	*luzim/darkur*; *tɛgiɕ*	
Hypothetical	Conditional AC	*tsa*	§11.8
Optative	Conditional AC	*tsa*	§11.9
Reminder	Conditional AC	*tsa*	§11.10
Supposition	Tag	*=o kɯ*	§11.11

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* *tɕɛr* *wazond* *(na)* *səwd*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST matter know.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
‘That matter is (un)knowable.’

(11.2) *koʁuɕluk* *tid = itɕuz* *pond* *nist,* *moɕin* *qati*
Koghushluk go.INF = REL road NEG.be.IPFV car COM

tid *(na)* *səwd*
go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
‘There are no roads that go to Koghushluk, it is (not) possible to go there by car.’

(11.3) *tamaɕ* *pa* *jatoq* *χuruk* *pɛχt* *(na)*
2PL.NNOM LOC dormitory food cook.INF NEG

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPFV = Q
‘Is it (not) possible to cook food in your dormitory?’

(11.4) *az* *marjong* *a = muztoʁato* *wand* *(na)*
ABL Maryong ACC = Muztagh.Ata see.INF NEG

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPFV = Q
‘Is it (not) possible to see Muztagh Ata from Maryong?’

Alternatively, the word *mumkin* ‘possible’ may be added to the end of the infinitival CC containing the content of possibility. If the content is impossible, *nist* ‘NEG.be.IPFV’ is added after *mumkin*, as in (11.6). Although not obligatory, *mas* ‘also’ often precedes *mumkin*. 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 *səwd* and *mumkin*.

(11.5) *wi* *tɕur* *az* *di* *ðejw* *vid*
3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX crazy be.INF

(mas) *mumkin*
also possible
'Maybe her husband is crazier than this person.'

(11.6) *az* *di* *dʑuj* *tamaɕ* *ar* *dʑuj* *hitɕ*
ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX place 2PL.NNOM LOC place none

tɕoj *tid* *na* *səwd,* *k=az*
who.NOM go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV ANA=ABL

wi *dʑuj* *əwd-ik* *jɛt* *mas* *mumkin*
3SG.NNOM.DIST place here-DIM come.INF also possible

nist
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) *sodɛq* *sulir* *χu* *tej* *tɕejg* *mas* *mumkin,*
Sodeq next.year REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF also possible

χuzmat=ir *digar* *dʑuj* *tid* *mas* *mumkin,* *uz*
work=DAT other place go.INF also possible again

xojd *mas* *mumkin,* *pa* *tɕɛd* *kalo* *pojd* *mas*
read.INF also possible LOC house sheep herd.INF also

mumkin, *a=wi* *wazond* *na*
possible ACC=3SG.NNOM.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 the infinitival verb and *tɕi*, as in (11.10) - (11.12). While possibility is impersonal, ability is personal.

(11.8) *tudʑik ziv lɛvd tɕi ka=am*
Tajik tongue say.INF CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I can speak Tajik.'

(11.9) *təw moɕin dɛt tɕi ka=o*
2SG.NOM car drive.INF CAP do.IPFV=Q
'Can you drive a car?'

(11.10) a. *dzul batɕo-χejl m=a=di hat*
small child-PL.NOM CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX open

na tɕi ka=in
NEG CAP do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Little children cannon open this.'

b. **dzul batɕo-χejl m=a=di hat*
small child-PL.NOM CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX open

tɕejg na tɕi ka=in
do.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Little children cannon open this.'

(11.11) a. *χafo mo so tu=ri=am*
upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV

jordam na tɕi tɕəwg
help NEG CAP do.PFV
'Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.'

b. *χafo mo so tɯ=ri=am
upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV

jordam tɕejg na tɕi tɕəwg
help do.INF NEG CAP do.PFV
'Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.'

(11.12) ʑulfia warmand na tɕi tɕejg=ir vɛðdʑ
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.NNOM-father next.year Pakistan go.INF INTEN
'My father is planning to go to Pakistan next year.'

(11.14) waʑ ɕitɕ si mɯnɯt dam ʑoxt mejdʑ
1SG.NOM now thirty minute rest get.INF INTEN
'I am planning to rest for thirty minutes now.'

(11.15) tamaɕ pa tɕɛd sɛt mejdʑ=af vɛðdʑ
2PL.NNOM LOC house become.INF INTEN=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'They were planning to go to your(pl) house. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(11.16) waʑ=am tɯ=ri tilfon tɕejg mejdʑ
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.INF INTEN

vɯd
be.PFV
'I was planning to call you.'

(11.17) *na broxt mejdʑ=at vuud=o*
NEG drink.INF INTEN=2SG.PFV be.PFV=Q
'Were you planning not to drink it?'

(11.18) *marg 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).

(11.19) **wɛf mejdʑ*
3PL.NNOM.DIST INTEN
'their intention'

(11.20) **ʑit mejdʑ*
bad INTEN
'bad intention'

(11.21) **mejdʑ tɕɛr*
INTEN matter
'intended matter'

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) *ʒulfia dil anur xats broxt*
Zeelfia heart pomegranate water drink.INF
'Zeelfia wants to drink pomegranate juice.'

(11.23) *m-ono dil a=tamaɕ ɯtɕ wand*
1SG.NNOM-mother heart ACC=2PL.NNOM very see.INF
'My mother really wants to see you(pl).'

(11.24) *mɯ dil hitɕ tsiʒ na χig*
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 mɯ dil mas ɕejdoi intsivd vɯd*
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 *sut* 'become.PFV':

(11.27) *moɕin a=wi bar ðod sut*
car ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST IMM hit.INF become.PFV
'The car almost hit him.'

(11.28) *bar tid=am sut χu ʒ*
IMM go.INF=1SG.PFV become.PFV REFL.NNOM ABL

watan
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 *sut*
forget.INF become.PFV
'Her husband almost forgot about that matter.'

(11.30) *namak* *az* *qor* *a=χu* *bar* *zɛd*
Namak ABL anger ACC=REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF

sut
become.PFV
'Namak almost killed himself from anger.'

(11.31) *mu* *mudʑuz* *mas* *tɕardʑ,* *jong* *mas* *a=mu*
1SG.NNOM feeling also good cold also ACC=1SG.NNOM

bar *latɕejg* *sut*
IMM let.INF become.PFV
'I am also feeling well, and my cold has almost let go of me.'

(11.32) *χɛr* *ar* *ʑɛr* *bar* *dejd* *sɛt* *waχt*
sun LOC rock IMM enter.INF become.INF time

ɣubun-χejl=af *wi* *pa* *prud*
shepherd-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC front

yot
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 be preceded by *bar* and followed by *dʑuj jot* 'place come.PFV':

(11.33) *namak* *az* *qor* *a=χu* *bar* *zɛd* *dʑuj*
Namak ABL anger ACC=REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF place

jot
come.PFV
'Namak almost came to the point of killing himself from anger.'

(11.34) *hawu* *dos* *pur* *ðud* *iko,* *maɕ*
precipitation manner much fall.PFV COMP 1PL.NNOM

tɕɛd∼matɕɛd *bar* *ʁɛrd* *dʑuj* *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 *tsa* and the main verb *səwd* '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 *tsa* either immediately precedes or follows it. The main verb *səwd* 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 *səwd* may be negated with the preverbal particle *na*, as in (11.39a) & (11.40), respectively. If the embedded verb is negated, *tsa* occurs either before or after the negator and the verb, but not in between, as shown by the ungrammatical example (11.39b).

(11.35) *əwd* *niθ=it* *tsa* *səwd*
here sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
'It is okay for you(pl) to sit here.'

(11.36) *m-ono=ri* *tilfon* *tsa* *ka*
1SG.NNOM-mother=DAT phone COND do.IPFV

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'It is okay for you to call my mother.'

(11.37) *az* *ta* *i* *gap* *pars=am* *tsa*
ABL 2SG.NNOM one word ask.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND

səwd=o
become.3SG.IPFV=Q
'Is it okay if I ask you something?'

(11.38) *romila ɕitɕ χu pa tɕɛd tsa tizd*
Romila now REFL.NNOM LOC house COND go.3SG.IPFV

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPFV = Q
'Is it okay if Romila goes home now?'

(11.39) a. *pugan pa dars na so = am tsa*
tomorrow LOC lesson NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPFV = Q
'Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?'

b. **pugan pa dars na tsa so = am*
tomorrow LOC lesson NEG COND become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

səwd = o
become.3SG.IPFV = Q
'Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?'

(11.40) *a = di mon χor tsa na*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX apple eat.IPFV COND NEG

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'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) *pa dars na so tsa na səwd*
LOC lesson NEG become.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'You must go to class.' (lit. It is not okay for you not to go to class.)

(11.42) *nɯr* *a=di* *tɕɛr* *adu* *na*
today ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish NEG

ka=am *tsa* *na* *səwd*
do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'I must finish this work today.' (lit. It is not okay for me not to finish this work today.)

(11.43) *tamaɕ* *pɯgan* *na* *waʑɛfs=it* *tsa* *na*
2PL.NOM tomorrow NEG return.IPFV=2PL.IPFV COND NEG

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'You(pl) must return tomorrow.' (lit. It is not okay for you(pl) not to return tomorrow.)

(11.44) *na* *tɛdʒ* *tsa* *na* *səwd=o*
NEG go.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV=Q
'Must you go?' (lit. Is it not okay for you not to go?)

(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?)

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.

(11.46) *maɕ* *vijojddʑ=ɛndʒ* *xtur-χejl* *dam* *ʒoxt*
1PL.NNOM ride.PRF=REL camel-PL.NOM rest get.INF

luzim/darkur
necessary
'For the camels that we rode, it is necessary to get rest.'

(11.47) *sulir* *xojd* *adu* *tɕejg=itɕuz* *batɕo-χejl* *az*
next.year read.INF finish do.INF=REL child-PL.NOM ABL

ɕitɕ *χuzmat* *xikejg* *luzim/darkur*
now work search.INF necessary
'For the students who will finish their studies next year, it is necessary to begin searching for jobs now.'

(11.48) *χalg* *zuðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *a=χalg* *vid* *na* *vid*
person kill.PRF=REL ACC=person be.INF NEG be.INF

zɛd *luzim/darkur*
kill.INF necessary
'It is necessary to kill someone who has killed another person.'

(11.49) *pa* *aftovuz* *nalist=itɕuz* *a=dʑuj-ɛf* *pɛɕqadam*
LOC bus sit.INF=REL ACC=place-PL.NNOM elderly

majif *garun* *puj* *əwrat* *udʑiz* *batɕo* *pa*
disabled heavy perseverance woman weak child LOC

maʁəwl *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *χalg-ɛf=ir* *ðod*
lap do.PRF=REL person-PL.NNOM=REL give.INF

luzim/darkur
necessary
'It is necessary to give the seats on the bus to the elderly, disabled, pregnant, weak, and people who are carrying children.'

Weaker obligation or duty is expressed by the modal word *tɛgiɕ* 'should', which is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation:

(11.50) *jad* *tsavur* *xipik* *dʑuft* *vid* *tɛgiɕ*
3SG.NOM.PROX four flatbread pair be.INF should
'The four flatbreads should be stacked up in twos.'

(11.51) *rahmat* *mo* *lɛv* *jad* *mu*
thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM

tɕejg=ir *tɛgiɕ*
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* *ruɕt* *at* *spejd*
turban-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST color also red CONJ white

vid *tɛgiɕ*
be.INF should
'The color of the turban should also be red and white.'

(11.53) *pa* *aftovuz* *nalist=itɕuz* *a=dʑuj-ɛf* *pɛɕqadam*
LOC bus sit.INF=REL ACC=place-PL.NNOM elderly

χalg=ir *ðod* *tɛgiɕ*
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) *(bɛχala)* *ranos=in* *tsa*
what.if forget.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND
'What if they forget?'

(11.55) *(bɛχala)* *a=maɕ* *na* *laka=in* *tsa*
what.if ACC=1PL.NNOM NEG let.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND
'What if they do not allow us?'

(11.56) *(bɛχala)* *tilfon* *tu=ri* *tsa* *joðd*
what.if phone 2SG.NNOM=DAT COND come.3SG.IPFV
'What if you get a phone call?'

(11.57) *(bɛχala) bast tsa*
what.if disappear.3SG.IPFV COND
'What if it disappears?'

(11.58) a. *(bɛχala) pa puiz dʑuj tsa na rast*
what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.IPFV
'What if there will be no seats left on the train?'

b. **(bɛχala) pa puiz dʑuj tsa na rejd*
what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.PFV
'What if there are no seats left on the train?'

11.9 Optative

The optative indicates that the speaker hopes or wishes 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* 'I 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*
I.wish tomorrow also weather open COND be.3SG.IPFV
'If only it will be sunny again tomorrow...'

(11.60) *(kuɕki) pugan mu-an dars na vid*
I.wish tomorrow 1SG.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.3SG.IPFV

tsa
COND
'If only I didn't have class tomorrow...'

(11.61) *(kuɕki) m-oto m-ono mu χejz*
I.wish 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM side

vəw=in tsa
be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND
'If only my father and mother were by my side...'

(11.62) *(kuɕki) waz utɕ pur ziv wazon=am*
I.wish 1SG.NOM very much tongue know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

tsa
COND
'If only I knew very many languages...'

(11.63) *(kuɕki) inglɛs ziv mɯ=ri ðа ʁov gap*
I.wish English tongue 1SG.NNOM=DAT two mouth word

χɯmand tsa ka
teach COND do.IPFV
'If only you would teach me two phrases of English...'

(11.64) *(kuɕki) uz i wejn=am tsa*
I.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 mɯ=ri tsa lɛvd,*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT COND say.PFV

waz=am na ranuxt
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV NEG forget.PFV
'You know how you told me? I did not forget.'

(11.66) *mɯ-an* *tɕɛr* *ɯtɕ* *pur* *tsa* *vɯd,* *kazwi=am*
1SG.NNOM-GEN work very much COND be.PFV so=1SG.PFV

dejr *xɯvd*
late sleep.PFV
'You know how I had so much work to do? That is why I went to bed so late.'

(11.67) *ingum* *a=mɯ* *qiw* *tsa* *tɕəwg,* *jɯ*
just.now ACC=1SG.NNOM call COND do.PFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

ʁots *mɯ* *χor*
girl 1SG.NNOM niece
'You know the one who called me just now? That girl is my niece.'

(11.68) *təw* *pars* *tsa,* *waz=am*
2SG.NOM ask.IPFV COND 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV

ki=wi *rang* *parst*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB 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

tɕəwɣdʑ-it, *waz=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) *parɯs* *tej* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ʁots* *tsa,* *jɯ*
last.year wedding do.PRF=REL girl COND 3SG.NOM

padiom *vəwg*
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 *=o ku* 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 χalg nist=o ku*
LOC house person NEG.be.IPFV=Q SUP
'There is nobody at home, I think.'

(11.72) *ki=wi rang bejt mas jost=o ku*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB song also be.IPFV=Q SUP
'There is also a song like that, I think.'

(11.73) *sulejmon tɕɛd utɕ ðar=o ku*
Seeleymon house very far=Q SUP
'Seeleymon's house is very far, I think.'

(11.74) *u ju əwrat tej tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ=o ku*
there 3SG.NOM.DIST woman wedding do.PRF=REL=Q SUP
'That woman is married, I think.'

(11.75) *woð sɛð ejd na*
3PL.NOM.DIST this.year festival NEG

narʑambon=in=o ku
celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q SUP
'They are not celebrating the festival this year, I think.'

(11.76) *wi tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl=af hitɕ rang*
3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV none SEMB

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* *kuu*
ANA = manner = Q SUP
'It is so, I think.'

12

Evidentiality and new information

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* *az* *ta* *χafo* *sut*
1SG.NNOM-father ABL 2SG.NNOM upset 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) *m-oto* *az* *ta* *χafo* *sɛðdʑ*
1SG.NNOM-father ABL 2SG.NNOM upset 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 first-hand 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 *vɛðdʑ* (the perfect stem of *vid*) in combination with an infinitive verb with the dative marker *=ir* (§12.2). Non-verbal clauses take *vɛðdʑ* (§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, *vɛðdʑ* 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) *katɕ = af tɕəwɣdʑ (vɛðdʑ)*
move = 3PL.PFV do.PRF be.PRF
'They have moved. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *katɕ = af tɕəwg*)

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 has 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) *waz = am utɕ dejr undəwdʑ*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV very late get.up.PRF
'I got up so late! (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *waz = am utɕ dejr undəwd*)

(12.5) *χatu = am naviɕtɕ*
incorrect = 1SG.PFV write.PRF
'I wrote it incorrectly! (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *χatu = am naviɕt*)

(12.6) *nəwʒ = am* *tu = ri* *na* *buxtɕ*
still = 1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM = DAT NEG send.PRF
'I still have not sent them to you! (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *nəwʒ = am tu = ri na buxt*)

If the speaker has directly heard someone express something eloquently, or speak Tajik fluently, and is 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) *tɕardʑ = at* *lɛvdʑ*
good = 2SG.PFV say.PRF
'You spoke well. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *tɕardʑ = at lɛvd*)

(12.8) *tudʑik* *ziv = at* *pur* *χumand* *sɛðdʑ*
Tajik tongue = 2SG.PFV much learn become.PRF
'You have learned so much Tajik. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *tudʑik ziv = at pur χumand sut*)

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) *haroj* *suat* *waχti = an* *fripɕ*
three hour early = 1PL.PFV reach.PRF
'We have arrived three hours early. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *haroj suat waχti = an fripɕ*)

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 na iθtɕ*
still = 3PL.PFV NEG come.PRF
'They still have not come. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *nəwz = af na jot*)

(12.11) *woð = af ɕitɕ naxtuɣdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV now go.up.PRF
'They have gone out just now. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð = af ɕitɕ naxtug*)

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 nabus aluk sɛðdʑ*
2SG.NNOM grandchild tired become.PRF
'Your grandchild has gotten tired. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *ta nabus aluk sut*)

(12.13) *woð = af χafo sɛðdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV upset become.PRF
'They got upset. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð = af χafo sut*)

A person who has received news of the birth of a baby says (12.14) to the newborn's grandmother.

(12.14) *təw = at mom sɛðdʑ*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV grandmother become.PRF
'You have become a grandmother. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *təw = at mom sut*)

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) *ta* *xad* *daruz* *sɛðdʑ*
2SG.NNOM hair long become.PRF
'Your hair has gotten long. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *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) *tɕardʑ=am* *tɕəwɣdʑ=o*
good=1SG.PFV do.PRF=Q
'Did I do well? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *tɕardʑ=am tɕəwg=o*)

The non-firsthand 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) *i* *maθ* *i* *lagi* *wɛf* *a=jaχ*
one day one day 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC=sister

tej=af *tɕəwɣdʑ,* *wi* *az* *zabu*
wedding=3PL.PFV do.PRF 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back

itɕand *sul* *nardʑɛðdʑ,* *ju* *batɕo-ɛf*
several year pass.PRF 3SG.NOM.DIST child-PL.NNOM

ato *məwɣdʑ*
father die.PRF
'One day, they had their sister's wedding. After that, some years passed, and those children's father died. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *i maθ i lagi wɛf a=jaχ tej=af tɕəwg, wi az zabu itɕand sul nardʑɛd, ju batɕo-ɛf ato məwg*)

(12.18) *ɣubun a=məwl-ɛf wux-in dʑuj juðdʑ*
shepherd ACC=sheep-PL.NNOM grass-ADJ place take.PRF

χurondʑ, pejɕin a=wɛf pojdʑ
eat.CAUS.PRF late.afternoon ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST herd.PRF

iθtɕ
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: *ɣubun a=məwl-ɛf wux-in dʑuj jud xurond, pejɕin a=wɛf pojd jot*)

(12.19) *qarʁo wi pa bun iθtɕ χu*
crow 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC base come.PRF TEMP.CONJ

qarʁo=ri lɛvdʑ iko χu ziv zwoð,
crow=DAT say.PRF SC REFL.NNOM tongue pull.out.IPFV

qarʁo χu ziv zwuɕtɕ, putxu iθtɕ
crow REFL.NNOM tongue pull.out.PRF king come.PRF

χu wi ziv xtɕaxtɕ
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: *qarʁo wi pa bun jot χu qarʁo=ri lɛvd iko χu ziv zwoð, qarʁo χu ziv zwust, putxu jot χu wi ziv xtɕaxt*)

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 *=ir* and perfect copula *vɛðdʑ*. 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) *zejnura* *χu* *vits* *qati* *nalist=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
Zeynura REFL.NNOM aunt with live.INF=DAT be.PRF
'Zeynura is living with her aunt. (Evidential/New information)'
(Neutral expression: *zejnura χu vits qati naθt*)

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) *haqiqat* *mas* *moɕin* *dɛt* *χumand* *sɛt=ir*
Khaqiqat also car drive.INF learn become.INF=DAT

vɛðdʑ
be.PRF
'Khaqiqat is also learning to drive. (Evidential/New information)'
(Neutral expression: *haqiqat mas moɕin dɛt χumand səwd*)

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) *parus* *tej* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ʁots* *padiom* *batɕo*
last.year wedding do.PRF=REL girl twin child

vejg=ir *vɛðdʑ*
bring.INF=DAT be.PRF
'The girl who got married last year will give birth to twins. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *parus tej tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ ʁots padiom batɕo 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) *dud* *maχsat* *tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl=af* *na*
uncle Mahsat house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG

jɛt=ir *vɛðdʑ*
come.INF=DAT be.PRF
'Uncle Mahsat's family is not coming. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *dud maχsat tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl na joð=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) *təw=at* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *na* *wazond=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV none thing NEG know.INF=DAT be.PRF
'You do not know anything. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *təw hitɕ 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) *jad* *batɕo* *gap* *tɕi* *tɕejg=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NOM.PROX child word CAP do.INF=DAT be.PRF
'This child can talk. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *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) *mu* *qad* *na* *fript=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
1SG.NNOM height NEG reach.INF=DAT be.PRF
'My height does not reach. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *mu 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) *woð=af* *ar* *tɕoj* *namoðdʑ* *na*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV LOC tea salt NEG

wɛðd=ir *vɛðdʑ*
put.INF=DAT be.PRF
'They do not add salt to tea. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð ar tɕoj namoðdʑ na wejð=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) *woð* *mas* *mi=di* *rang*
3PL.NOM.DIST also CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB

xipik=af *χig=ir* *vɛðdʑ,* *ingum=am*
flatbread=3PL.PFV eat.INF=DAT be.PRF just.now=1SG.PFV

tɕuxt
watch.PFV
'They eat flatbread like this too, I saw it just now. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð mas mi=di rang xipik χor=in, ingum=am tɕuxt*)

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, Perizat 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* *lɛvd = ir* *vɛðdʑ*
ANA = manner = 3PL.PFV say.INF = DAT be.PRF
'That is how they say it (so I have noticed). (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *k = dos lɛv = 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) *ju* *ʁots* *ano* *hara* *maθ* *jɛt = ir*
3SG.NOM.DIST girl mother every day come.INF = DAT

vɛðdʑ
be.PRF
'That girl's mother comes every day (so I have noticed). (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *ju ʁots ano hara maθ joðd*)

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 *vid* copula is used. If the neutral expression contains an existential predicate (*jost* or *nist*), as in (12.31) & (12.32), new or non-firsthand information 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* *varçidɛ* *xtur* *mas* *vɛðdʑ*
LOC Varshide camel also be.PRF
'They even have camels in Varshide. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *pa varçidɛ 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) *pa tɕɛd hitɕ tɕoj na vɛðdʑ*
LOC house none who.NOM NEG be.PRF
'There is no one at home. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *pa tɕɛd hitɕ tɕoj nist*)

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) *təw = at ʑitkari vɛðdʑ*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV bad.guy be.PRF
'You are a bad guy. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *təw ʑitkari*)

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) *woð = af pukʒo na vɛðdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF
'They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð pukʒo nist*)

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.

(12.35) *woð=af* *pa* *maktab* *vɛðdʑ*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV LOC school be.PRF
'They are at the school. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *woð pa maktab*)

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.

(12.36) *χɛg* *vɛðdʑ=o*
sweet be.PRF=Q
'Is it delicious? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *χɛg=o*)

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.

(12.37) *mɯ* *tɕur* *χɯɕruj* *vɛðdʑ=o*
1SG.NNOM.DIST husband beautiful be.PRF=Q
'Is my husband handsome? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *mɯ tɕur χɯɕruj=o*)

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.

(12.38) *tɯng* *tsarang* *dʑuj* *vɛðdʑ*
Teeng how place be.PRF
'What did you think of Teeng? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: *tɯng tsarang dʑuj*)

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) *vɛðdʑ na vɛðdʑ haroj vrud=af vɛðdʑ,*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother=3PL.PFV be.PRF

ðəw=af χɯdi vɛðdʑ, iw ɯgej
two=3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PRF 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: *haroj vrud=af vɯd, ðəw=af χɯdi vɯd, iw ɯgej*)

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 sociocultural 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), expressing confusion, unacceptance, and confusion (§13.9), 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 speaker or 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 of 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. *joð=it*
come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Come(pl)!'

b. *dið=it*
enter.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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

Gender/age	**Kissing conventions**
M + M	Clasp right hands, simultaneously kissing the back of the other's hand (3-5 times)
M + W	Woman kisses the palm of man's right hand (once)
W + W	Kiss each other on the lips (3-5 times)
A + C	Adult kisses the two sides of child's eyes (once on each side)

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. *χɯ* *ðust* *tar* *mɯ* *ka*
REFL.NNOM hand LOC 1SG.NNOM do.IPFV
'Make your hand face toward me.'

b. *χɯ* *tsɛm* *mɯ=ri* *ðo*
REFL.NNOM eye 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV
'Give me your eyes.'

c. *a=mɯ=at* *bo* *na* *tɕəwg*
ACC=1SG.NNOM=2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
'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) a. *ta* *muudʑuz* *tɕardʑ=o*
2SG.NNOM feeling good=Q
'Are you feeling well?'

b. *soq=at=o*
well=2SG.PFV=Q
'Have you been well?'

c. *ta* *muudʑuz* *tɕardʑ,* *soq* *salomat,* *tindʑ*
2SG.NNOM feeling good well healthy peaceful

amun, *badam* *baʁejrat=at*
unharmed breathing.normally energetic=2SG.PFV

naluɕtɕ=o
sit.PRF=Q
'Have you been feeling well, healthy, peaceful, and energetic? (Evidentiality/New information)'

d. *tamaɕ* *batɕo-χejl* *mas* *soq=o*
2PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM also well=Q
'Are your children also well?'

e. *mu* *vits* *muudʑuz* *mas* *tɕardʑ=o*
1SG.NNOM aunt feeling also good=Q
'Is my aunt also feeling well?'

(13.4) a. *tɕardʑ, tɕardʑ*
good good
'Good, good.'

b. *dʑam soq, (ɕukri)*
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 *kɛrpa*, a mat on which people sit and sleep:

(13.5) *niθ = it*
sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'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. *χuɕomadi = it*
welcome = 2PL.IPFV
'Welcome(pl)!'

b. *borikalo*
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 *dustarχun*, 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.

(13.7) a. *zoz=it*
get.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Take some(pl)!'

b. *χadʑal mo so=it*
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) *χuɕ ka=it*
happy do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Start eating(pl)!'

(13.9) a. *tɕoj tu=ri wejð=am=o*
tea 2SG.NNOM=DAT pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q
'Shall I pour you more tea?'

b. *dzul-ik wejð=am*
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) *sut, sut*
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) *(mu=ri) bos*
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 *dustarχun*.

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 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. *maɕ* *pa* *tɕɛd* *alos=it*
1PL.NNOM LOC house lie.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Sleep(pl) at our house.'

c. *pa* *tɕɛd* *tom* *tsejʒ* *dʑat* *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. *naχaradʒ=af* *tujd*
foodless=2PL.PFV go.PFV
'You(pl) have left without eating anything.'

b. *χuɕruj* *tamoq=am* *tamaɕ=ir* *na* *tɕi*
beautiful food=1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM=DAT NEG CAP

tɕəwg
do.PFV
'I was unable to make good food for you(pl).'

(13.14) a. *naj,* *naj,* *wi* *rang* *mo* *lɛv*
NEG NEG 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV
'No, no, do not talk like that.'

b. *naχaradʑ tsejʐ*
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) *warofs=it, warofs=it, mo*
stand.IPFV=2PL.IPFV stand.IPFV=2PL.IPFV PROH

naxtɛdʑ=it
go.up.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'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. *tamaɕ=af ɯjd=o*
2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV go.PFV=Q
'Have you(pl) left?'

b. *əʔə, maɕ=an bur ɯjd*
yes 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV then go.PFV
'Yes, we have left, then.'

c. *uʐ wejn=an*
again see.IPFV=1PL.PFV
'Let us see each other again.'

d. *χɯðoj=ir amunat*
God=DAT entrust
'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 greeting 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) a. *tar* *ko=at* *tuujd* / *tar*
LOC where.NNOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV / LOC

ko=af *tuujd*
where.NNOM=2PL.PFV go.PFV
'Where are you headed?' (lit. To where have you gone?)

b. *təw* *kudʒur* *so* / *tamaç* *kudʒur*
2SG.NOM where become.IPFV / 2PL.NOM where

so=it
become.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Where are you going?'

c. *tar ko dʑat ka / tar ko*
LOC where.NNOM hurry do.IPFV / LOC where.NNOM

dʑat ka=it
hurry do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'To where are you hurrying?'

d. *tamoq=at χug=o / tamoq=af χug=o*
food=2SG.PFV eat.PFV=Q / food=2PL.PFV eat.PFV=Q
'Have you eaten food?'

e. *tɕoj=at bruxt=o / tɕoj=af bruxt=o*
tea=2SG.PFV drink.PFV=Q / tea=2PL.PFV drink.PFV=Q
'Have you had tea?'

(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. *indəwd=at=o*
rise.PFV=2SG.PFV=Q
'Have you gotten up?'

b. *χil=at xuvd=o*
good=2SG.PFV sleep.PFV=Q
'Did you sleep well?'

c. *ta kol~mol soq=o*
2SG.NNOM head~RDP well=Q
'Is your head feeling well?'

d. *tɕardʑ χuðm=at wand=o*
good dream=2SG.PFV see.PFV=Q
'Did you dream good dreams?' (lit. Did you see good dreams?)

e. *ta* *χɯðm* *pɛχtɕ=o*
2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF=Q
'Did you sleep a deep sleep? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your dream ripened?)

f. *ta* *aluk-i* *naxtɯɣdʑ=o*
2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ go.up.PRF=Q
'Do you feel refreshed? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your tiredness gone out?)

(13.19) *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. *mintawu*
hard.work
'You have worked hard!'

b. *borikalo*
thanks
'Thank you!'

To someone who has finished working hard, it is appropriate to say the expressions in (13.21).

(13.21) a. *dʑafu=at* *wand*
toil=2SG.PFV see.PFV
'You have seen toil.'

b. *dʑafu=at* *tiʑd*
toil=2SG.PFV pull.PFV
'You have toiled.'

c. *pur* *alukat=at* *wand*
much trouble=2SG.PFV see.PFV
'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.NNOM situation
'How is your situation?'

b. *tɕardʑ* *tɕardʑ* *(ɕukri)*
good good thank.God
'Good, good, thanks be to God.'

c. *tɕardʑ* *tɕardʑ* *ta* *χu-an*
good good 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN
'Good, good, and your self's?'

d. *təw* *χubaθ* *soq=o*
2SG.NOM REFL.NOM well=Q
'Are you yourself well?'

e. *χejli* *bɛ*
fairly fine
'Fairly good.'

f. *tsarang* *ta* *ɕast*
how 2SG.NNOM courage
'How is your courage?'

g. *ta* *ɕast* *tɕi* *dʑuj=o*
2SG.NNOM courage LOC place=Q
'Is your courage in place?'

h. *(mɯ ɕast) tɕi dʑuj*
1SG.NNOM 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. *tsejz=ik ka*
what=DUR do.IPFV
'What are you doing?'

b. *tsejz=at tɕəwg*
what=2SG.PFV do.PFV
'What have you done?'

c. *tsejz tɕɛr-ɛf qati tɕi dʑat-i*
what work-PL.NNOM COM LOC hurry-NMLZ
'What matters are you busy with?'

d. *naluɯɕtɕ=at=o*
sit.PRF=2SG.PFV=Q
'Have you been hanging out? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Have you sat down?)

e. *naluɯɕtɕ=am*
sit.PRF=1PFV
'I have been hanging out. (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. I have sat down.)

f. *hitɕ tsiz naj*
none thing 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) *tɯ=ri* *uʈɕ* *gurm=am* *tɕəwg*
2SG.NNOM=DAT very remembrance=1SG.PFV 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. *χ-oto* *χ-ono=ri* *salum*
REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT hello

lɛv
say.IPFV
'Say hello to your parents.'

b. *(mɯ* *az* *num)* *dʑam=ir* *salum* *lɛv*
1SG.NNOM ABL name all=DAT hello say.IPFV
'Say hello to everyone (on my behalf).'

c. *dʑam=ik* *(tɯ=ri)* *salum* *lɛvd*
all=DUR 2SG.NNOM=DAT hello say.PFV
'Everyone is saying hello (to you).'

d. *m-oto* *m-ono* *mas*
1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother also

tɯ=ri=ik *salum* *lɛv=in*
2SG.NNOM=DAT=DUR hello say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'My parents are also saying hello to you.'

e. *alejk*
likewise
'Likewise.'

f. *igun* *igun* *tilfon* *ka*
sometimes sometimes phone do.IPFV
'Give us a call once in a while.'

g. *tɕardʑ tom bur*
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) *ta* *ejd=ir* *muburak* *(vid)*
2SG.NNOM festival=DAT congratulations be.3SG.IPFV
'Happy festival!'

The usual greeting to someone celebrating a birthday is (13.27):

(13.27) *ta* *azmud* *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *maθ=ir*
2SG.NNOM born become.PRF=REL day=DAT

muburak *(vid)*
congratulations be.3SG.IPFV
'Happy birthday!'

Whenever someone says *muburak* for any occasion, the following response is also acceptable:

(13.28) *ta* *lavdz* *muburak*
2SG.NNOM word congratulations
'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. *spejd* *pond* *(laka* *tu=ri)* *vid*
white road let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT be.3SG.IPFV
'May there be a white road (for you)!'

b. *ta* *safar* *laka* *baχejr* *səwd*
2SG.NNOM journey let.IPFV smooth become.3SG.IPFV
'May your journey go smoothly!'

c. *tɕardʑ* *ʁirs,* *tɕardʑ* *tamuɕu* *ka*
good turn.IPFV good look.around do.IPFV
'Have a good time going around and looking around.' (lit. Go around well and look around well.)

d. *tɕardʑ* *nigo* *a=χu* *ka*
good watch ACC=REFL.NNOM do.IPFV
'Take good care of yourself.'

If someone is going on a long journey to a foreign place, leaving most of his friends and family behind, people will commonly ask him the question in (13.30) as it gets closer to his time of departure. They may also say (13.31) to express how dear he is to them.

(13.30) *qilo* *nɯmujd=o*
difficult seem.3SG.IPFV=Q
'Are you having a hard time?' (lit. Does it feel difficult?)

(13.31) *tɯ=ri* *utɕ* *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 any of the expressions in (13.33).

(13.32) *a=ta* *pa* *pond* *wejð=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 you on the road.'

b. *ta* *pa* *prud* *naxtɛdz=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.)

c. *tɯ=ri* *prud* *naxtɛdz=am*
2SG.NNOM=DAT 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) *wi* *mɯdʑuz* *ɕitɕ* *χejli* *tɕardʑ* *sut=o*
3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly good become.PFV=Q
'Is he feeling a little better now?'

(13.35) *ta* *mɯdʑuz* *ɕitɕ* *χejli* *tɕardʑ* *sut=o*
2SG.NNOM feeling now fairly good become.PFV=Q
'Are feeling a little better now?'

(13.36) a. *wi* *mɯdʑuz* *nəwz* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling still NEG.be.IPFV
'He is still not feeling well.'

b. *wi* *mɯdʑuz* *ɕitɕ* *ilon* *bɛ*
3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now bit fine
'He is feeling a little bit better.'

c. *əʔə,* *wi* *mɯdʑuz* *ɕitɕ* *χejli* *bɛ/tɕardʑ*
yes 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly fine/good

sut
become.PFV
'Yes, he is feeling quite a bit better now.'

d. *wi* *mɯdʑuz-an* *gap* *nist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling-GEN word NEG.be.IPFV
'He is feeling great.' (lit. There is nothing to say about how he is feeling.)

(13.37) *ju* *laka* *pur* *dɛr* *dam* *zozd,* *dʑald*
3SG.NOM.DIST let.IPFV much CPRV rest get.3SG.IPFV fast

dɛr *soq* *səwd*
CPRV well become.3SG.IPFV
'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. *rahmat* *(tu=ri)*
thanks 2SG.NNOM=DAT
'Thanks (to you).'

b. *taɕakur* *(tu=ri)*
thanks 2SG.NNOM=DAT
'Thanks (to you).'

c. *tu=ri* *utɕ* *rahmat*
2SG.NNOM=DAT very thanks
'Thank you very much.'

d. *hazur* *bur* *taɕakur*
thousand times thanks
'A thousand times thank you.'

(13.39) a. *alukat=am* *tamaɕ=ir* *wɛðd*
trouble=1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM=DAT put.PFV
'I have placed trouble on you(pl).'

b. *awuro=am* *a=tamaɕ* *tɕəwg*
bother=1SG.PFV ACC=2PL.NNOM do.PFV
'I have bothered you(pl).'

(13.40) *salomat* *vəw=it,* *χuðoj* *(laka)* *tamaɕ=ir*
healthy be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV God let.IPFV 2PL.NNOM=DAT

barakat *ðid*
blessing give.3SG.IPFV
'Stay healthy, and may God bless you(pl).'

The following are common responses that are given to an expression of gratitude:

(13.41) a. *rahmat* *tsejʑ*
thanks what
'What do you mean by "thank you"?'

b. *wi* *rang* *mo* *lɛv*
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* *lɛvd* *luʑim*
NEG thanks 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.INF necessary

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'No, it is not necessary to thank me.'

e. *rahmat* *mo* *lɛv,* *jad* *mu*
thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM

tɕejg=ir *tɛgiɕ* *tɕɛr*
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: *ɕukri*, which 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).

(13.42) a. *χafo mo so*
upset PROH become.IPFV
'Sorry.' (lit. Do not get upset.)

b. *afu ka*
forgiveness do.IPFV
'Forgive (me).'

c. *mu az ginu nardʑɛs=o*
1SG.NNOM ABL sin pass.IPFV=Q
'Will you overlook my sin?' (lit. Will you pass by my sin?)

d. *tɕi mu ta ram laka joðd*
LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV
'May your mercy come upon me!'

(13.43) a. *naj, χafo=am na sut*
NEG upset=1SG.PFV NEG become.PFV
'No, I have not gotten upset.'

b. *χafo tom tsejzir so=am*
upset then why become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Why would I get upset?'

c. *hitɕ tsaʁa na səwd*
none how NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'It's okay.' (lit. Nothing will happen in any way.)

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) *mɯ* *zord* *ɯtɕ* *nejm*
1SG.NNOM heart very 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* *ɯtɕ* *nejm* *mo* *ka*
REFL.NNOM heart very half PROH do.IPFV
'Do not be too sad.' (lit. Do not make your heart too half.)

b. *insun* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ki=wi* *rang*
mankind say.PRF=REL CATA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB
'That is what mankind is like.'

c. *waz* *ta* *jaχ* *so=am*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM 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.NNOM=DAT help do.IPFV=Q
'Will you help me?'

If one 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* *səwd,* *tsejzir* *na* *səwd*
of.course become.3SG.IPFV why NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'Of course it is okay, why would it not be?'

b. *waz* *tɯ=ri* *jordam* *tɕejg=ir* *utɕ*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT help do.INF=DAT very

χuɕ
happy
'I am very happy to help you.'

c. *tɯ=ri* *jordam* *tɕejg=ir* *waz* *har*
2SG.NNOM=DAT help do.INF=DAT 1SG.NOM every

waχt *tajur*
time ready
'I am always ready to help you.'

d. *uz* *swol* *vid* *tsa* *az* *mɯ*
again question be.3SG.IPFV COND ABL 1SG.NNOM

pars
ask.IPFV
'If have a question again, ask me.'

e. *uz* *tɯ=ri* *i* *tsiz* *luzim* *tsa*
again 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND

səwd *mɯ* *χejz* *joð*
become.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM side come.IPFV
'If you need something again, come over.'

f. *ta-an* *har* *waχt* *maɕ* *dʑuj*
2SG.NNOM-GEN every time 1PL.NNOM place

jɛt=ir *χuɕ-i* *ka=an*
come.INF=DAT happy-ADV do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'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. *az ðɛs si at pindz (sut)*
ABL ten thirty CONJ five become.PFV
'(It is) 10:35.' (lit. (It has become) thirty-five minutes since ten.)

c. *haroj at nejm (sut)*
three CONJ half become.PFV
'(It is) 3:30.' (lit. (It has become) three and a half.)

d. *ðɛs at ða=ri pindz rejd*
ten CONJ two=DAT five remain.PFV
'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 *tɕi* is added, and the word *suat* may be omitted, as in the following examples:

(13.49) a. *tamaɕ (suat) tɕi tsund xufs=it*
2PL.NOM hour LOC how.much sleep.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'What time do you(pl) go to sleep?'

b. *maɕ (suat) tɕi nəw xufs=an*
1PL.NOM hour LOC nine sleep.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We 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. *nur afto=ri tsejʑ*
today week=DAT what
'What day of the week is it today?'

b. *nur tɕorɕanbɛ*
today Wednesday
'Today is Wednesday.'

(13.51) a. *nur most aʑ tsund*
today moon ABL how.much
'What day of the month is it today?'

b. *nur most aʑ 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. *iɕ=am tɕəwg*
cold=1SG.PFV do.PFV
'I am cold.' (lit. I did cold.)

b. *ʑurm=am sut*
warm=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I am warm.' (lit. I became warm.)

(13.53) a. *mu qɛtɕ marʑundʑ sut*
1SG.NNOM stomach hungry become.PFV
'I am hungry.'

b. *mɯ* *qɛtɕ* *sejr* *sut*
1SG.NNOM stomach satiated become.PFV
'I am satiated.'

(13.54) *aluk=am* *sut*
tired=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I am tired.'

(13.55) a. *mɯ* *χɯðm=ik* *joðd*
1SG.NNOM dream=DUR come.3SG.IPFV
'I am getting sleepy.' (lit. My dream is coming.)

b. *mɯ* *χɯðm=ik* *na* *joðd*
1SG.NNOM dream=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV
'I am unable to fall sleep.' (lit. My dream is not coming.)

(13.56) *waʑ* *tar* *vatɕ* *so=am*
1SG.NOM LOC outside become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'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. *ɯtɕ* *xudʑ=am* *ðəwg*
very fear=1SG.PFV fear.PFV
'I am very scared.'

b. *xudʑ* *(na)* *ðor=am*
fear NEG fear.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will (not) be scared.'

(13.58) *hejrun=am* *rejd*
surprise=1SG.PFV remain.PFV
'I am surprised.'

(13.59) a. *pa* *ta* *iɕandʑ* *(na)* *ka=am*
LOC 2SG.NNOM trust NEG do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I (do not) trust/believe you.'

b. *mɯ* *iɕandʑ=ik* *na* *joðd*
1SG.NNOM trust=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV
'I cannot believe it!' (lit. My trust is not coming.)

(13.60) a. *χɯɕ* *tɯ=ri* *sut=o*
happy 2SG.NNOM=DAT become.PFV=Q
'Have you come to like it?' (lit. Has it become pleasing to you?)

b. *mon* *mɯ=ri* *χɯɕ* *(nist)*
apply 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
'I (do not) like apples.' (lit. Apples are (not) pleasing to me.)

c. *jad* *mɯ=ri* *ɯtɕ* *χɯɕ*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM=DAT very happy
'I like this very much.'

d. *jad* *mɯ=ri* *χɯb* *χɯɕ* *nist*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM=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* *tsejʑ* *χig*
2SG.NNOM heart what eat.INF
'What do you want to eat?'

b. *ta* *dil* *tsejʑ* *ʑoxt*
2SG.NNOM heart what get.INF
'What do you want to buy?'

c. *ta* *dil* *tsejʑ* *wand*
2SG.NNOM heart what see.INF
'What do you want to see?'

(13.63) a. *mɯ* *dil* *varʂidɛ* *ɯtʂ* *tid*
1SG.NNOM heart Varshide very go.INF
'I really want to go to Varshide.'

b. *mɯ* *dil* *a=wi* *ɯtʂ* *wazond*
1SG.NNOM heart ACC=3SG.NNOM.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. *mɯ* *χig* *jot*
1SG.NNOM eat.INF come.PFV
'I want to eat. (i.e. I feel like eating.)' (lit. My eating came.)

b. *mɯ* *parst* *jot*
1SG.NNOM ask.INF come.PFV
'I want to ask. (i.e. I am curious.)' (lit. My asking came.)

c. *mɯ* *xudʐ* *jot*
1SG.NNOM fear come.PFV
'I am scared.' (lit. My fear came.)

d. *mɯ* *qor* *jot*
1SG.NNOM anger come.PFV
'I am angry.' (lit. My anger came.)

e. *mɯ* *ʁazab* *jot*
1SG.NNOM fury come.PFV
'I am furious.' (lit. My fury came.)

f. *mɯ* *mejz* *jot*
1SG.NNOM urine come.PFV
'I need to urinate.' (lit. My urine came.)

g. *mɯ* *qej* *jot*
1SG.NNOM vomit come.PFV
'I am going to vomit.' (lit. My vomit came.)

h. *mɯ* *χuðm* *jot*
1SG.NNOM dream come.PFV
'I am sleepy.' (lit. My dream came.)

i. *mɯ* *χuðm=ik* *na* *joðd*
1SG.NNOM dream=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV
'I am unable to fall asleep.' (lit. My dream is not coming.)

j. *mɯ* *ram* *tɕi* *wi* *jot*
1SG.NNOM mercy LOC 3SG.NNOM.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 *χɯ* is often added at the end of the clause:

(13.65) a. *uz* *asal=ir* *ðo=o,* *wi* *indɛr*
again Asal=DAT give.IPFV=Q 3SG.NNOM.DIST on.person

sad *kuj* *jost* *χɯ*
hundred Chinese.yuan be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Are you giving more to Asal? She already has a hundred yuan!'

b. *ar* *ʁal* *ðɛs* *kalo* *vɯd* *χɯ,* *nəw* *tar*
LOC stable ten sheep be.PFV TEMP.CONJ nine LOC

ko
where.NNOM
'Were there not ten sheep in the stable? Where did the other nine go?'

c. *ta* *pɯl=am* *tɯ=ri* *ðud*
2SG.NNOM money=1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV

χɯ, *uz* *tsejz* *luzim*
TEMP.CONJ again what necessary
'I already gave you your money, what else do you need?'

d. *jad* *tag* *tsejʒ* *xipik* *vid,* *maɕ*
3SG.NOM.PROX ever what flatbread be.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NOM

di *rang* *xipik* *tɕejg=itɕuʒ*
3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB flatbread do.INF=REL

nist *χu*
NEG.be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Whatever sort of flatbread is this? We do not make this kind of flatbread.'

e. *hej* *puts,* *təw=at* *hajutgi* *waχt*
VOC son 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV life time

a=ruwatgi *taʒo* *wand* *χu,* *dʑasawul*
ACC=enjoyment very see.PFV TEMP.CONJ Jasaweel

pur *dʑafu* *tiʑd*
much toil pull.PFV
'Hey son, have you not seen a lot of enjoyment in your life? Jasaweel has seen much toil.'

f. *təw* *mu-an* *tɛng* *χalg* *vid=i*
2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM-GEN hard person be.INF=SC

waʒon *χu,* *uʒ* *tsejʒir* *mu*
know.IPFV TEMP.CONJ again why 1SG.NNOM

a=tilu *ar* *banka* *na* *laka*
ACC=gold LOC bank NEG put.IPFV
'You know that I am a harsh person, then why do you not put my gold in the bank?'

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. *rust=o*
true=Q
'Really?'

b. *naj=o* *kuu*
NEG=Q SUP
'No way!'

(13.67) *k=dos=o* *kuu*
ANA=manner=Q SUP
'It is so, I think.'

(13.68) a. *ki=(gap)*
ANA=word
'That is what I mean.' (lit. That word.)

b. *rust=at* *lɛvdʑ*
true=2SG.PFV 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) *a* *rust=aθ* *tilfon=at* *muu=ri*
INTJ true=EMP phone=2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT

zuxt=o
get.PFV=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) *tsejʑ=am* *lɛvd=ir* *vuud*
what=1SG.PFV say.INF=DAT be.PFV
'What was I going to say?'

Prior to sharing an honest opinion, the speaker will often say (13.71).

(13.71) *rust gap tu=ri ka=am=o*
true word 2SG.NNOM=DAT do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=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. *tsarang, lɛv*
how say.IPFV
'What do you think?' (lit. Say how it is.)

b. *tsarang=am lɛvd*
how=1SG.PFV say.PFV
'How did I say it?'

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. *ta dil*
2SG.NNOM heart
'Do whatever you want.' (lit. Your heart.)

b. *təw lɛv*
2SG.NOM say.IPFV
'You decide.' (lit. You say.)

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. *χotirdʑam vəw*
worry.free be.IPFV
'Set your mind at rest (i.e. Rest assured).'

b. *(az wi) ʁam mo ka*
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) *tsaʁa sut*
how become.PFV
'What happened?'

(13.76) *tɕoj wazond*
who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV
'Who knows?'

(13.77) *tsaʁa kan=an*
how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'What shall we do?'

(13.78) *...nej, fand=ik ðo=am*
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 tɕos=am*
situation=DAT watch.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'We will see.' (lit. I will watch the situation.)

When talking about a plan or prediction about 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) *χuðoj tindʑ-i tsa kaxt...*
God peaceful-ADV COND do.3SG.IPFV
'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. *inglɛs* *tɕi* *ziv* *rahmat=ir* *tsejʒ*
English LOC tongue thanks=DAT what

lɛv=in
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'How do they say "thank you" in English?'

b. *əwlud-an* *wi* *mani* *tsejʒ*
descendant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what
'What is the meaning of *əwlud*?'

c. *əwlud* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *tsejʒ*
descendant say.PRF=REL what
'What does *əwlud* mean?'

d. *a=di* *gap* *mu=ri* *hansu* *tɕi*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX word 1SG.NNOM=DAT Han LOC

ziv *ʁejron=o*
tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV=Q
'Will you translate this word into Chinese for me?'

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. *ɕitɕ* *at* *uzir* *i* *mani=o*
now CONJ now one meaning=Q
'Do *ɕitɕ* and *uzir* have one meaning (i.e. the same meaning)?'

b. *ɕitɕ* *at* *uzir-an* *wi* *farq* *tsejʒ*
now CONJ now-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST difference what
'What is the difference between *ɕitɕ* and *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. *durust=am* *lɛvd=o*
whole=1SG.PFV say.PFV=Q
'Did I say it correctly?'

b. *m=dos / k=dos* *lɛv=am* *tsa*
CATA=manner / ANA=manner say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND

durust=o
whole=Q
'Is it correct if I say it this/that way?'

c. *m=dos / k=dos* *lɛv=am* *tsa*
CATA=manner / ANA=manner say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND

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* *gap=am* *na* *famd*
2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV NEG understand.PFV
'I didn't understand your words.'

b. *uz* *az* *kol* *i* *lɛv=o*
again ABL head one say.IPFV=Q
'Will you say it again from the beginning?'

Appendix A

Texts

A.1 ‘A Tajik woman’s work’ (cultural account)

tudʑik əwrat=an wi tɕɛr

A description of the tasks that Sarikoli women commonly do around the family home.

1
maɕ *tudʑik* *əwrat-an* *tɕɛr* *pur*
1PL.NOM Tajik woman-GEN work much
‘We Tajik women have a lot of work.’

2
maslan *maɕ* *ʑəw* *ðəwdz=an*
for.example 1PL.NOM cow milk.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘For example, we milk the cow.’

3
saʁɛ *nej=an*
churning.bucket churn.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘We churn the churning bucket.’

4
surmuð *wejð=an*
soured.milk put.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘We put in the soured milk.’

5
xipik *pɛdz=an*
flatbread cook.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘We bake flatbread.’

6
rak *intsov=an*
side sew.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘We embroider the sides (of traditional hats).’

7
balax *instov=an*
pillow sew.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We sew pillows.'
8
xavɯng *kan=an*
blanket do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We make blankets.'
9
kɛrpa *kan=an*
mat do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We make mats.'
10
tɕɛd *ʑdor=an*
house sweep.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We sweep the house.'
11
tamoq *kan=an*
food do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We make food.'
12
qatɕoqutɕɯ *ʑnej=an*
dishes wash.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We wash the dishes.'
13
xats *vor=an*
water bring.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We fetch water.'
14
tom *m=dos* *dʑejn* *kan=an*
then CATA=manner matted.carpet do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Then we make, like, matted carpets.'
15
lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ *rang* *lej* *tɕɛr* *jost*
say.PRF=REL SEMB much work be.IPFV
'As I said, there is a lot of work.'

A.2 'Naming Tajik children – One man's experience' (cultural account)

batɕo=ri num ðod

A description of naming Sarikoli children based on one man's knowledge and experience.

1

tudʑik-an	*batɕo*	*tsa*	*səwd*	*χɯ*	*batɕo=ri*	*num*
Tajik-GEN	child	COND	become.3SG.IPFV	REFL.NNOM	child=DAT	name

ðid
give.3SG.IPFV

'When Tajiks get a child, they name their child.'

2

m=dos	*num*	*wi=ri*	*ðid*	*iko*	*χɯ*
CATA=manner	name	3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT	give.3SG.IPFV	COMP	REFL.NNOM

əwlud-an	*num*	*wi=ri*	*ðid*
ancestor-GEN	name	3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT	give.3SG.IPFV

'They name their child like this: they give the name of their ancestors.'

3

agar	*waz*	*χɯ*	*puts*	*tej*	*ka=am*
if	1SG.NOM	REFL.NNOM	son	wedding	do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

wi-an	*batɕo*	*tsa*	*səwd*	*waz*	*hajut*	*tsa*
3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN	child	COND	become.3SG.IPFV	1SG.NOM	life	COND

vəw=am	*χ-oto-an*	*at*	*χ-ono*	*num*
be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV	REFL.NNOM-father-GEN	CONJ	REFL.NNOM-mother	name

wi=ri	*ðo=am*
3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT	give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'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.'

4

jɯ	*tudʑik-an*	*wi*	*qujdo*
3SG.NOM.DIST	Tajik-GEN	3SG.NNOM.DIST	tradition

'That is the Tajik tradition.'

5

agar	*puts*	*ta-an*	*səwd*	*wi*	*ato*
if	son	2SG.NNOM-GEN	become.3SG.IPFV	3SG.NNOM.DIST	father

χɯ	*puts*	*tej*	*na*	*tɕəwɣdʑ*	*mɛrd*	*tsa*	*zabudʑ*
REFL.NNOM	son	wedding	NEG	do.PRF	die.3SG.IPFV	COND	back

ki=puts-an	*puts*	*tsa*	*səwd*	*uz*	*ki=χ-oto*
ANA=son-GEN	son	COND	become.3SG.IPFV	again	ANA=REFL.NNOM-father

num	*ðid*	*wi=ri*
name	give.3SG.IPFV	3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT

'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
mu-an *haroj* *batɕo*
1SG.NNOM-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 = ɛndʑ*
1SG.NNOM-father name give.PRF = REL
'My father's name had been given already.'
9
puts *mu-an* *sut* *χu* *puts = ir = am*
son 1SG.NNOM-GEN become.PFV REFL.NNOM son = DAT = 1SG.PFV
'I got a son, and I (gave) my son...'
10
mu *puts* *dʒuma* *maθ* *sut*
1SG.NNOM son Friday day become.PFV
'My son was born on Friday.'
11
dʒuma *tudʒik* *milat* *utɕ* *uluʁ* *maθ* *wazond*
Friday Tajik nationality very great day know.3SG.IPFV
'Tajiks regard Friday as a very special day.'
12
wi *num = am* *ðud* *dʒamolidin*
3SG.NNOM.DIST name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV Jamolidin
'I gave him the name "Jamolidin" (beauty + the + religion).'
13
tom *wi* *az* *zabudʑ* *mu-an* *i* *radzɛn* *sut*
then 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back 1SG.NNOM-GEN one daughter become.PFV
'Then after that, I got a daughter.'
14
ju *radzɛn = 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* *tɕidum* *vid*
CATA = manner watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV good name which be.3SG.IPFV
'Like, I looked to see which name is good.'
16
farzana *lɛvd* *num = am* *ðud*
Farzana say.INF name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV
'I gave her the name "Farzana".'

17
wi *pa* *zabudʑ* *mɯ-an* *ɯz* *i* *radzɛn* *sɯt*
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC back 1SG.NNOM-GEN again one daughter become.PFV
'After that, I got another daughter.'

18
m-ono *məwg*
1SG.NNOM-mother die.PFV
'My mother died.'

19
wi *nɯm=am* *ðud* *mastɯra*
3SG.NNOM.DIST name=1SG.PFV give.PFV Masteera
'We gave her her name, "Masteera".'

20
mastɯra *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *m-ono*
Masteera say.PRF=REL 1SG.NNOM-mother
'"Masteera" means my mother.'

21
farzana *mastɯra*
Farzana Masteera
'Farzana, Masteera.'

A.3 'Sheawgeenbahor (Coming of Spring) Festival' (cultural account)

ɕəwgunbahor ejd

Some cultural information about the celebration of the major traditional festival for the Sarikoli people.

1
tom *bur* *tamaɕ=ir* *nəwrɯz* *jani* *sarikuj*
then then 2PL.NNOM=DAT Neawreez also.known.as Sarikoli

ɕəwgunbahor *avon* *lɛv=am*
Sheawgeenbahor BEN say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Then I will tell you about Neawreez, also known as Sarikoli Sheawgeenbahor.'

2
jad *ɕəwgunbahor* *jani* *nəwrɯz* *putɯn* *orion*
3SG.NOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor also.known.as Neawreez all Aryan

milat *ar* *darɯn* *nəwrɯz* *a=di* *lɛv=an*
nationality LOC inside Neawreez ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'This Sheawgeenbahor, also known as Neawreez, is called "Neawreez" by all Aryan people groups.'

3
sarikuj *ar* *darun* *a=di* *ɕəwgunbahor*
Sarikoli LOC inside ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor

lɛv=an
say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Among the Sarikoli people, we call it Sheawgeenbahor,'
4
jani *wug* *maɕ=ir* *dwost=itɕuz*
also.known.as spring 1PL.NNOM=DAT bring.in.INF=REL
'or one that brings in Spring to us,'
5
bahor *vejg=itɕuz* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ*
spring bring.INF=REL say.PRF=REL
'or bringer of Spring,'
6
kazwi *ɕəwgunbahor* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *ejd* *jad*
so Sheawgeenbahor say.PRF=REL festival 3SG.NOM.PROX
'that is why this is a festival called Sheawgeenbahor.'
7
jad *orion* *ar* *darun* *nəwruz* *num* *qati* *tar* *dinju* *num*
3SG.NOM.PROX Aryan LOC inside Neawreez name COM LOC world name

ðo=in *joð=in*
give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Among Aryans, it comes with the name "Neawreez".'
8
lɛkin *tar* *dinju* *a=di* *tsaʁa* *narzambd=i* *na*
but LOC world ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX how celebrate.INF=SC NEG

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'But I do not know how people in other parts of the world celebrate it,'
9
sarikuj *narzambd=itɕuz* *urfodat* *avon* *tamaɕ=ir* *tsa*
Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL culture BEN 2PL.NNOM=DAT COND

lɛv=am
say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'if I tell you about the culture of how the Sarikoli people celebrate it,'
10
ɕəwgunbahor *ejd-ɛf* *ar* *darun* *uzuð* *uzuðo*
Sheawgeenbahor festival-PL.NNOM LOC inside relaxing relaxing

jad
3SG.NOM.PROX
'Sheawgeenbahor is the most relaxing and enjoyable among the festivals.'

11

di	*ar*	*darun*	*utɕ*	*parejdʑ*	*utɕ*	*jad*	*ju*
3SG.NNOM.PROX	LOC	inside	very	strict	very	3SG.NOM.PROX	3SG.NOM.DIST

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'Within it, it is not too strict, not too whatnot.'

12

tsejzir	*tsa*	*lɛv*	*jad*	*tabiat-an*	*wi*	*bejrom*
why	COND	say.IPFV	3SG.NOM.PROX	nature-GEN	3SG.NNOM.DIST	holiday

'If you ask why, it is because this is a festival of nature.'

13

jad	*insonjat-an*	*wi*	*bejrom*	*lɛv=an*
3SG.NOM.PROX	humankind-GEN	3SG.NNOM.DIST	holiday	say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

wazon=an
know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We call it and regard it as a festival of humankind.'

14

jad	*faqat=aθ*	*dʑun*	*dʑunwar=ir*	*hajut-i*	*baχɕ*	*tɕejg=itɕuz*
3SG.NOM.PROX	only=EMP	life	organism=DAT	life-NMLZ	give	do.INF=REL

i	*bejrom*
one	holiday

'This is just a festival that gives life to organisms.'

15

maslan	*xob*	*at*	*maθ=ik*	*tang*	*sut*
for.example	night	CONJ	day=DUR	simultaneous	become.PFV

'For example, night and day have become equal,'

16

jani	*wug-an*	*awal-in*
also.known.as	spring-GEN	first-ADJ

'or it is the first of Spring.'

17

jad	*iron*	*kalɛndor*	*ar*	*darun*	*ki=wi*	*maθ*	*nudʑ*
3SG.NOM.PROX	Iran	calendar	LOC	inside	ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST	day	new

sul	*nudʑ*	*most*	*nudʑ*	*maθ*	*lɛv=an*
year	new	moon	new	day	say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

'On the Iranian calendar, we say this is the new year, the new month, and the new day.'

18
maɕ *ki=wi* *maθ* *hattoki* *futa* *mas* *tsa*
1PL.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST day even prayer also COND

kan=an
do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Even when we pray on that day,'

19
muburak-i *mohinəw* *solinəw* *ruzinəw* *lɛv=an*
blessing-NMLZ new.month new.year new.day say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'we say, "Blessed new year, new month, and new day".'

20
kazwi *ki=maθ* *ham* *sul-an* *wi* *kol* *ham* *most-an*
so ANA=day CONJ year-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST head CONJ moon-GEN

wi *kol* *ham* *maθ-an* *wi* *kol*
3SG.NNOM.DIST head CONJ day-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST head
'Therefore that day is the first of the year, the first of the month, and the first of the day.'

21
kazwi *k=a=wi* *maθ* *ɛng* *uluuʁ* *wazon=an*
so ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST day SUPL great know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'So we regard that day as the greatest,'

22
ɛng *ləwr* *wazon=an*
SUPL big know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'regard it as the most important,'

23
ɛng *χuɕ-i* *qati* *a=wi* *narzamb=an*
SUPL happy-NMLZ COM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'and celebrate it with the most happiness.'

24
di *ar* *darun* *tar* *dinju* *har* *suχt*
3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside LOC world every appearance

a=wi *narzambd* *mumkin*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.INF maybe
'Perhaps in the world there are many different ways to celebrate it,'

25
hammo *sarikuj* *narzambd=itɕuz* *odat* *jad* *uz* *χu*
but Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL custom 3SG.NOM.PROX again REFL.NNOM

tɕi *tan*
LOC body
'but the Sarikoli customs for celebrating it are their own.'

26
di *madanjat-an* *di* *torɛχ* *digaru=ri* *tɕixt*
3SG.NNOM.PROX culture-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX history others=DAT look.INF

waχt *utɕ* *qadim-i*
time very ancient-NMLZ
'Compared to others, the history of the Sarikoli culture is very old.'

27
tsejʒir *tsa* *lɛv* *maɕ* *nəwruʒ* *maθ* *har* *tɕidum* *dijur* *ar*
why COND say.IPFV 1PL.NOM Neawreez day every which region LOC

darun *uluʂ-χejl* *joð=in*
inside clan-PL.NOM come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'If you ask why, it is because in every region the clan members come on Neawreez day.'

28
ki=wi *uluʂ-ɛf* *paʒ* *kol* *wɛf=ir*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST clan-PL.NNOM PER head 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT

kumutɕ *ka=in*
thick.bread do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They make thick bread for each of those clan members.'

29
ingum=af *kumutɕ* *tsa* *wand,* *ki=wi* *rang*
just.now=2PL.PFV thick.bread COND see.PFV ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB
'You know how you saw thick bread just now? Just like those.'

30
ju *uluʂ* *kumutɕ* *isub* *səwd*
3SG.NOM.DIST clan thick.bread count become.3SG.IPFV
'Those count as thick bread for clan members'

31
tar *jəwl* *k=pa* *di* *tɕɛd* *dɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *har* *tɕidum*
LOC dawn ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.PRF=REL every which

χalg-an *wi* *tɕi* *sɛvd* *putuk*
person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC shoulder celebratory.flour

ðo=in
give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'In the morning, they sprinkle celebratory flour on the shoulder of every person who enter that house.'

32
lɛkin *k=ju* *har* *tɕidum* *dɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *χalg* *χu*
but ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST every which enter.PRF=REL person REFL.NNOM

tɕi *ðust* *tɕuuqum* *i* *savdzo* *qati* *dɛðd*
LOC hand must one plant COM enter.3SG.IPFV
'But every person who enters that house must come with a plant in his hand.'

33
uzir *bax* *dɛr* *a=di* *na* *wazon=in* *na* *mas*
now much CPRV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX NEG know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG also

ka=in
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Nowadays most people do not know this and even do not do it.'

34
hammo *k=juu* *χalg* *pa* *di* *tɕɛd*
but ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house

dɛðd *tsa* *wi* *tɕi* *ðust* *i* *savdzo* *joðd*
enter.3SG.IPFV COND 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand one plant come.3SG.IPFV
'But when that person enters that house, he comes with a plant in his hand.'

35
k=a=wi *savdzo* *virdɛ* *k=pa* *di*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST plant bring.3SG.IPFV ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX

tɕɛd *lakaxt* *dɛðd*
house let.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV
'He brings that plant, leaves it at the house, and enters.'

36
dɛðd *mas* *tsa* *muburak-i* *ɕəwgunbahor* *lɛvd*
enter.3SG.IPFV also COND blessing-NMLZ Sheawgeenbahor say.3SG.IPFV

dɛðd
enter.3SG.IPFV
'Even when he enters, he says, "Blessed Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'

37
juu *k=pa* *di* *tɕɛd* *savdzo* *virdɛ*
3SG.NOM.DIST ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house plant bring.3SG.IPFV
'He brings a plant to that house.'

38
savdzo-an *wi* *mani* *tsejz*
plant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what
'What is the meaning of the plant?'

39
lɛvd *waχt* *hajutgi*
say.INF time life
'If I say it, it is life.'

40
ʑundagi
life
'Being alive.'
41
i *hajutgi* *sarmalu* *sut* *k=pa* *di* *tɕɛd* *dejd*
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
ʑimistun *adu* *sut*
winter finish become.PFV
'Winter has ended.'
44
tang-i *adu* *sut*
difficult-NMLZ finish become.PFV
'Hardship has ended.'
45
ɕitɕ *di* *tar* *əwd* *furoχ-i* *joðd* *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ*
now 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here enjoy-NMLZ come.3SG.IPFV say.PRF=REL

i *iltidʑu* *qati* *savdzo* *χu* *tɕi* *ðust* *zozd* *k=pa*
one prayer COM plant REFL.NNOM LOC hand take.3SG.IPFV ANA=LOC

di *tɕɛd* *dɛðd*
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
ɕitɕ *ki=di* *nəwruz-an* *sarikuj* *ar* *darun* *awal=aθ*
now ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX Neawreez-GEN Sarikoli LOC inside first=EMP

di *tajur* *tsarang* *ka=an* *tsa*
3SG.NNOM.PROX preparation how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COND

lɛv=an
say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Now if we tell how Sarikoli people first prepare for Neawreez,'
47
tɕuquum *awal* *maɕ* *χu* *tɕɛd* *χu* *rid*
must first 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM house REFL.NNOM backyard

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 Sheawgeenbahor.'

48

di=ri *maχsus* *ki=di* *tɕɛr* *uz* *i*
3SG.NNOM.PROX=DAT specially.for ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX work again one

uluus *ar* *darun* *joki* *i* *qolumquɕni* *ar* *darun* *i* *ɕəwguni*
clan LOC inside or one neighborhood LOC inside one Sheawgeeni

lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ *χalg* *tizd*
say.PRF=REL person go.3SG.IPFV
'One person from the clan or from the neighborhood, called "Sheawgeeni", goes especially for this purpose.'

49

ju *ki=wi* *χalg-ɛf* *pa* *tɕɛd* *dʑam*
3SG.NOM.DIST ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM LOC house all

m=k=dund-i *igun-i* *baʁmoq* *vdir* *patəwd*
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* *jəwl=aθ* *iw* *tɕi* *rɛzn*
then ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST broom LOC dawn=EMP one LOC skylight

dwoð=in *iw* *tɕi* *dvɛr* *dwoð=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 *lɛv=in* *tɕi* *rɛzn* *tsejz*
ANA=manner say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV LOC skylight what
'They say what through the skylight?'

52

qut *at* *barakat*
luck CONJ blessing
'Luck and blessing.'

53

tɕi *dvɛr* *baχt* *at* *dəwlat* *dɛðd* *lɛv=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* *dwoð=in*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX broom bring.in.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They bring in this broom,'

55
tom *k=a=wi* *tɕɛd* *pɛt* *tɕadɛr* *ðo=in*
then ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST house all cleaning give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

pukzo *ka=in*
clean do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'then they clean the house completely.'

56
a=wi *ki=wi-an* *wi* *budʑejn*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST garbage

mas *ar* *χɛr* *nalist* *sar* *patəw=in*
also LOC sun sit.INF side throw.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They throw away the garbage from that towards the west.'

57
hargiz *χɛr* *ar* *pɛts* *uz* *a=wi* *na* *patəw=in*
ever sun LOC face again ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG throw.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They never throw it towards the sun.'

58
ar *χɛr* *tsraχ* *sar* *patəwd* *na* *səwd*
LOC sun rise side throw.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
'One cannot throw it towards the east.'

59
di *ejd* *puganalagi* *mas* *dʑam* *imi=ri* *muburak*
3SG.NNOM.PROX festival next.day also all RECP=DAT blessing

ɕəwgunbahor *joki* *muburak-i* *nəwruz* *olam* *lɛv=in*
Sheawgeenbahor or blessing-NMLZ Neawreez all.people say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The day after the festival, they also say to each other, "Blessed Sheawgeenbahor" or "Blessed Neawreez to all".'

60
jad *maɕ* *sarikuj-an* *χalg* *wazond* *its*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NNOM Sarikoli-GEN person know.3SG.IPFV TERM

jad *faqaθ* *sarikuj-an* *joki* *orion-an* *naj* *putun* *dʑun*
3SG.NOM.PROX only Sarikoli-GEN or Aryan-GEN NEG all life

dʑunwar-an *wi* *χuɕ-i* *tɕejg=itɕuz* *fasil*
creature-GEN 3SG.NNOM.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
putun *dʑawun* *tar* *ubud=i* *jɛt=itɕuz* *fasil*
all world LOC flourishing-NMLZ come.INF=REL season
'a season in which all the world flourishes.'

62
kawzi *di=ri* *vɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *maɕ-an* *aqida* *uutɕ*
so 3SG.NNOM.PROX=DAT be.PRF=REL 1PL.NNOM-GEN earnestness very

kuutɕ-in
strength-ADJ
'That is why our earnestness for this festival is very strong.'

63
iw *jad* *arkin* *uutɕ*
one 3SG.NOM.PROX free very
'First, it is very free.'

64
ar *di* *tsarang* *χuɕ-i* *tsa* *ka* *tsarang*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV how

narzamb *tsa* *sɛt=itɕuz* *ejd*
celebrate.IPFV COND become.INF=REL festival
'This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.'

65
lɛkin *maɕ-an* *az* *digaru* *bax-i* *tɕuquum* *ki=wi*
but 1PL.NNOM-GEN ABL others much-NMLZ must ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

bijur=aθ=ik *χu* *tɕɛd* *tɕadɛr* *ðud*
evening=EMP=DUR REFL.NNOM house cleaning give.PFV
'But compared to others, we have something additional, in that, after cleaning one's house that evening,'

66
tɕɛd *pa* *darun* *puutun* *puutuk* *ðo=in*
house LOC inside all celebratory.flour give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'they sprinkle celebratory flour all over the house.'

67
uzir *ɕitɕ* *maɕ* *tɕɛd-ɛf* *puutuk* *ðudʑ* *na*
now now 1PL.NNOM house-PL.NNOM celebratory.flour give.PRF NEG

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'Nowadays we cannot sprinkle celebratory flour in our house.'

68
tsejzir *lɛvd* *waχt* *mi=di* *rang* *spejd*
why say.INF time CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB white

a=di *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX do.PRF=REL
'If you ask why, it is because the houses are made white, like this.'

69
asl-i *di* *ki=tɕɛd-ɛf-an* *puɯɯn*
origin-ADV 3SG.NNOM.PROX ANA=house-PL.NNOM-GEN all

puɯɯk *a=di* *ðo=an*
celebratory.flour ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX give.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Originally, we used to sprinkle flour all over the house.'

70
puɯɯk *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *mɯburak*
celebratory.flour say.PRF=REL blessing
'The celebratory flour means blessings.'

71
tom *tar* *jəwl* *mas* *awal=aθ* *tɕi* *puɯɯk* *tɕɯqum* *i*
then LOC dawn also first=EMP LOC celebratory.flour must one

bɛziv *bɛzibun* *ejwun* *dwoð=an*
tongueless tongueless animal bring.in.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Then in the morning, we also first bring in a tongueless animal (which cannot use human language) upon the flour.'

72
jani *maɕ* *qati* *k=ar* *di* *ruz* *ruzagur*
also.known.as 1PL.NNOM COM ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX day living

dʑafu *wandʑ=ɛndʑ*
toil see.PRF=REL
'An animal that has toiled with us in our everyday life.'

73
maɕ=ir *k=az* *wi* *ejwun* *darun* *maslan* *jo*
1PL.NNOM=DAT ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST animal inside for.example or

i *ɕɛr* *jo* *i* *xɛdʑ* *m=ki=di* *rang* *tsa*
one donkey or one bull CATA=ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB COND

vid
be.3SG.IPFV
'Among our animals, if we have a donkey or a bull, for example,'

74
maɕ *qati* *tang* *m=k=a=di* *ruzagur*
1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous CATA=ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX living

tɕejg=ir *juu* *tsa* *na* *vid* *na* *sɛt=itɕuz*
do.INF=DAT 3SG.NOM.DIST COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV NEG become.INF=REL

i *bɛziv* *bɛzibun* *i* *nejk* *tsiz* *dwoð=an*
one tongueless tongueless one good thing bring.in.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'we bring in one that we cannot make a living without, a tongueless thing, a good

one.'

75

tɕunki	*ar*	*wi*	*buʁz*	*nist*
because	LOC	3SG.NNOM.DIST	flaw	NEG.be.IPFV

'Because there is nothing bad about it.'

76

wi	*ar*	*darun*	*i*	*ləwr*	*tamo*	*wi-an*
3SG.NNOM.DIST	LOC	inside	one	big	requirement	3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN

nist
NEG.be.IPFV

'It does not have any big requirements.'

77

ki = wi	*rang*	*i*	*nejk*	*tsiz*	*tɕi*	*putuk*
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST	SEMB	one	good	thing	LOC	celebratory.flour

dwoð = an
bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

'We bring in a good animal like that upon the celebratory flour.'

78

wi	*az*	*zabu*	*tɕi*	*putuk*	*dejd = itɕuz*	*ɕəwguni*
3SG.NNOM.DIST	ABL	back	LOC	celebratory.flour	enter.INF = REL	Sheawgeeni

ju	*ki = di*	*dijur*	*ar*	*darun*	*nejk*	*χalg*
3SG.NOM.DIST	ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX	region	LOC	inside	good	person

wi	*qadam*	*tu = ri*	*psid = itɕuz*	*i*
3SG.NNOM.DIST	step	2SG.NNOM = DAT	be.lucky.INF = REL	one

a = χalg	*ɕəwguni*	*ka = in*
ACC = person	Sheawgeeni	do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'After that, the Sheawgeeni enters upon the celebratory flour—a good person within that region whose step brings luck to homes—they make him the Sheawgeeni.'

79

tɕoj = aθ	*vid*	*tsa*	*a = wi*	*ɕəwguni*	*lɛvdʑ*
who.NOM = EMP	be.3SG.IPFV	COND	ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST	Sheawgeeni	say.PRF

na	*səwd*
NEG	become.3SG.IPFV

'We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.'

80

tɕuqum	*k = ju*	*χalg*	*laka*	*dɛðd*	*tsa*
must	ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST	person	let.IPFV	enter.3SG.IPFV	COND

wi *qadam* *psist*
3SG.NNOM.DIST step be.lucky.3SG.IPFV
'It must be someone who brings luck when he enters a house.'

81
i *sar* *i* *sul-nɛndʑ* *tɕɛr* *wi-an* *mukamal* *mu-an*
one head one year-ADJ work 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN perfect 1SG.NNOM-GEN

nardʑast
pass.3SG.IPFV
'One who will make my work pass perfectly all year long,'

82
m=ki *jad* *i* *sul-nɛndʑ* *to* *iw-əw* *jur*
CATA=ANA 3SG.NOM.PROX one year-ADJ TERM one-NMLZ another

nəwruz *jɛt* *its* *k=di* *qadam* *mu=ri*
Neawreez come.INF TERM ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX step 1SG.NNOM=DAT

psist *lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ* *mukamal* *i* *a=χalg* *ɕəwguni*
be.lucky.3SG.IPFV say.PRF=REL perfect one ACC=person Sheawgeeni

ka=in
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'for this whole year until the next Neawreez comes, whose step will bring me good luck—we make that perfect person the Sheawgeeni.'

83
tom *wi* *tar* *um* *tɕɛd* *pa* *tɕɛd* *mas* *dið=in*
then 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there house LOC house also enter.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Then after that, they go into all of the houses.'

84
kumutɕ *wixt* *mas* *di* *ar* *darun* *jost*
thick.bread gather.INF also 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside be.IPFV
'Collecting thick bread also happens.'

85
imi=ri *vɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ* *χejrdur-i* *mɛhrbun-i* *qati*
RECP=DAT be.PRF=REL good.deed-NMLZ loving-NMLZ COM

k=a=di *ejd* *narʒamb=in*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX festival celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They celebrate this festival with the good deeds and care they have for each other.'

86
ɕəwgun *avon* *lɛvd=itɕuz* *k=dund* *dɛr*
Sheawgeen BEN say.INF=REL ANA=AMT CPRV
'What I have to say about Sheawgeen is about that much.'

A.4 'The scoop, the camel, and the mirror' (folktale)

haroj vrud=an wi χosiat-in əwqut

A story about three brothers who receive three magical objects.

1
a *pa* *mɯ* *qarib* *niθ=it=o*
INTJ LOC 1SG.NNOM near sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
'Ah, will you sit closer to me?'

2
a=səwg=am *bur* *tɕi* *lɛvd* *sɯt*
ACC=story=1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV
'I have begun to tell a story, then.'

3
tɕardʒ *ʁewl* *wejð=it* *χejr=o*
good ear pour.IPFV=2PL.IPFV good=Q
'Listen well, okay?'

4
vɛðdʒ *na* *vɛðdʒ* *i* *putxu* *vɛðdʒ*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF one king be.PRF
'Once upon a time, there was a king.'

5
wazond=af=o
know.PFV=2PL.PFV=Q
'Got it?'

6
əʔə
yes
(Children) 'Yes.'

7
putxu-an *haroj* *puts* *vɛðdʒ*
king-GEN three son be.PRF
'The king had three sons.'

8
i *maθ* *i* *rɯz* *haroj* *puts* *az* *tɕɛd* *naxtizd*
one day one day three son ABL house go.up.3SG.IPFV
'One day, the three sons leave home.'

9
tom *tsaʁa* *sɛðdʒ*
then how become.PRF
(Children) 'Then what happened?'

10
az *tɕɛd* *naxtɛdz=in* *χu* *tɛdz=in*
ABL house go.up.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They leave home and go.'

11
tɛdz=in *χu* *ləwr-əw* *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr*
go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ big-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV
'They go, and the oldest enters a valley and goes.'

12
dzul-əw *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr* *tizd*
small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley go.3SG.IPFV
'The younger one enters another valley and goes.'

13
sar *i* *dzul-əw* *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr*
head one small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley
'The youngest one enters another valley.'

14
tar *haroj* *ðɛr* *dið=in* *tɛdz=in* *doð*
LOC three valley enter.IPFV=3PL.IPFV go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 3PL.NOM.PROX
'They enter three different valleys and go.'

15
tid *az* *zabu* *ki=wi* *rang* *ʁirs=in* *at*
go.INF ABL back ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

ʁirs=in *at* *ʁirs=in* *at* *i* *puts* *az*
turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL

wɛf *i* *dʒom* *vrejd*
3PL.NNOM.DIST one scoop find.3SG.IPFV
'After going, he goes around and around and around and around like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.'

16
dʒom *wazon* *nej*
scoop know.IPFV NEG
'You know what a scoop is, right?'

17
əʔə
yes
(Children) 'Yes.'

18
xats *broxt=itɕuz*
water drink.INF=REL
'Used for drinking water.'

19
di *dʒom-an* *di* *χosiat* *tsejz*
3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX function what
'What is this scoop's special function?'

20
lɛvd *waχt* *k=pa* *di* *dʑom* *i* *xats* *zozd*
say.INF time ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop one water get.3SG.IPFV

məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ *χalg* *ar* *ʁov* *tsa* *wɛðd* *tik* *tɕi* *pɛð*
die.PRF=REL person LOC mouth COND pour.3SG.IPFV straight LOC foot

səwd
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
tsarang *dʑom*
how scoop
'How do you like this scoop?'

22
jad *iw* *sut=o*
3SG.NOM.PROX one become.PFV=Q
'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* *joðd* *iko* *i* *xtur* *aluʊdʑ*
CONJ one place come.3SG.IPFV COMP one camel lie.PRF
'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 *xtur*
one camel
'A camel.'

26
i *xtur* *k=dos* *ðust* *ðid* *at* *ðid* *at*
one camel ANA=manner hand give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

ðid *at* *a=xtur* *vijujd*
give.3SG.IPFV CONJ ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV
'He pets and pets and pets the camel and rides it.'

27
a=xtur *vijujd* *χu* *xtur* *χu* *az* *dʑuj*
ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ camel REFL.NNOM ABL place

indɛzd *χu* *tizd*
get.up.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.3SG.IPFV
'After riding it, the camel gets up from its place and goes.'

28
jad *xtur* *tsarang* *xtur*
3SG.NOM.PROX camel how camel
'What kind of camel is this?'

29
haroj *most-undʑ* *a=pond* *haroj* *maθ=ir* *tid=itɕuz*
three moon-ADJ ACC=road three day=DAT go.INF=REL

k=di *rang* *i* *xtur* *vɛðdʑ*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB one camel be.PRF
'It is a camel that goes three month's journey in three days.'

30
i *puts* *uz* *rejd=o*
one son again remain.PFV=Q
'Is there one more son remaining?'

31
jad *puts* *k=dos* *tizd* *at* *tizd* *at*
3SG.NOM.PROX son ANA=manner go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tizd *at* *m=k=dund-i* *i* *ujnak* *vrejd*
go.3SG.IPFV CONJ CATA=ANA=AMT-NMLZ one glass find.3SG.IPFV
'This one goes and goes and goes like that and finds a mirror this size.'

32
a=ujnak *vrejd* *χu* *di* *ujnak-an*
ACC=glass find.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.PROX glass-GEN

di *χosiat* *tsejz*
3SG.NNOM.PROX function what
'He finds the mirror and what is the special function of this mirror?'

33
na *wazon=an*
NEG know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
(Children) 'We don't know.'

34
ar *ujnak* *agar* *m=k=dos* *tɕost* *tsa* *u* *putun*
LOC glass if CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND COND all

a=dʑawun *jad* *k=ar* *wi* *wand*
ACC=world 3SG.NOM.PROX ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
'If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.'

35

a=ujnak *k=dos* *χu* *pa* *prud* *lakaxt* *tɕost*
ACC=glass ANA=manner REFL.NNOM LOC front put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV

at *tɕost* *at* *tɕost* *at* *tɕost* *at*
CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tɕost *iko* *di-an* *i* *vrud* *xtur* *vijojdʑ*
look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF

ʁarst=ik
turn.3SG.IPFV=DUR

'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.'

36

uʒ *ar* *wi* *tɕost* *at* *tɕost* *at*
again LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tɕost *at* *tɕost* *iko* *i* *vrud* *tɕi* *ðust* *i*
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV COMP one brother LOC hand one

dʑom *ju=ik* *ʁarst*
scoop 3SG.NOM.DIST=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV

'Again, he looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one brother is going around with a scoop in his hand.'

37

k=jad *i* *vrud* *k=a=wɛf* *wand*
ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX one brother ANA=ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV

ar *ujnak*
LOC glass

'This one brother sees them in the mirror.'

38

k=ar *wi* *ujnak* *wand* *χu* *tom* *lɛvd*
ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST glass see.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ then say.3SG.IPFV

iko *waz* *ɕitɕ* *a=dɛf* *tsarang* *vrej=am*
COMP 1SG.NOM now ACC=3PL.NNOM.PROX how find.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'He sees them in the mirror and says, "How shall I find them now?'

39

tsarang *dɛf* *χejʒ* *so=am*
how 3PL.NNOM.PROX side become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'How shall I go to their side?"'

40
tsund *most* *tar* *maðon* *nardʑɛst* *at* *k=ar* *wi*
some moon LOC middle pass.3SG.IPFV CONJ ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST

χu *ujnak* *iχil* *tɕost*
REFL.NNOM glass continually look.3SG.IPFV
'A few months pass by in the middle and he looks into the mirror continually.'

41
tɕost *iko* *wi* *vrud* *xtur-in* *jur* *tar* *əwd*
look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother camel-ADJ another LOC here

joðd *tar* *um* *dɛr* *joðd* *gap* *tɕejg* *fursat*
come.3SG.IPFV LOC there CPRV come.3SG.IPFV word do.INF opportunity

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'He 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.'

42
jad *mas* *tizd* *ju* *mas* *joðd*
3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV

jad *mas* *tizd* *ju* *mas* *joðd*
3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV

k=wi *rang* *at* *k=wi* *rang* *at*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB CONJ ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB CONJ

a=imi *vrej=in*
ACC=RECP find.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'This brother goes, that brother comes, this brother goes, that brother comes, and in that way, they find each other.'

43
vrej=in *χu* *jad* *ðəw* *i* *tɕi* *dʑuj*
find.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NOM.PROX two one LOC place

so=in
become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They find each other and these two come together in one place.'

44
k=jad *xtur-in* *at* *k=jad* *ujnak-in*
ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX camel-ADJ CONJ ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX glass-ADJ
'This one with the camel and this one with the mirror.'

45
ju *lɛvd* *ta* *ujnak-an* *tsejʒ* *χosiat* *jost*
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM glass-GEN what function be.IPFV
'He says, "What special function does your mirror have?"'

46
ju *lɛvd* *m-ar* *ujnak* *tɕos*
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM-LOC glass look.IPFV
'He says, "Look into my mirror".'

47
ar *ujnak* *tɕost* *iko* *k=dos* *tɕost* *at*
LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tɕost *at* *tɕost* *at* *tɕost* *iko*
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV COMP

wi *vrud* *i* *dʒuj=ik* *ʁarst* *wi*
3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one place=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST

tɕi *ðust* *k=ju* *dʒom*
LOC hand ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST scoop
'He looks and looks and looks and looks into the mirror and sees that his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand.'

48
tsarang *lɛvd*
how say.3SG.IPFV
'"How do you like it?" he says.'

49
ɛ *maɕ* *vrud* *vɛðdʒ* *u* *ju*
INTJ 1PL.NNOM brother be.PRF there 3SG.NOM.DIST
'"Oh, that is our brother over there!'

50
a=di *na* *vrej=an=o*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX NEG find.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
'Shall we not find him?"'

51
ju *lɛvd* *ta* *xtur* *vijuj=an*
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'He says, "Let us ride your camel.'

52
a=xtur *vijuj=an* *wi* *χejʒ* *so=an*
ACC=camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST side become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us ride the camel and go to his side".'

53
a=xtur *vijuj=in* *χu* *wi* *χejʒ*
ACC=camel ride.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST side

so=in
become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They ride the camel and go to his side.'

54
haroj vrud i tɕi dʑuj so=in
three brother one LOC place become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The three brothers get together in one place.'

55
haroj i tɕi dʑuj sɛt az zabu tom lɛv=in
three one LOC place become.INF ABL back then say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The three get together in one place and say,'

56
ta dʑom-an tsejz χosiat jost
2SG.NNOM scoop-GEN what function be.IPFV
'"What special function does your scoop have?"'

57
ju lɛvd iko waz χu pa dʑom
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop

a=xats iw zoz=am məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ ar ʁov
ACC=water one get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV die.PRF=REL LOC mouth

wejð=am tsa u zuundo jad səwd
pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX become.3SG.IPFV
'He says, "If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person's mouth, he becomes alive".'

58
tom lɛvd iko təw tar dʑawun i na tɕos=o
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?'

59
tar di dʑawun tsejz tɕɛr sɛðdʑ χu
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX world what work become.PRF TEMP.CONJ
'What kind of things are happening in this world?"'

60
ju χu ujnak hat kaxt tɕost ar
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM glass open do.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV LOC

wi
3SG.NNOM.DIST
'He opens his mirror and looks into it.'

61
tɕost at tɕost at tɕost at tɕost
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV

at *i* *xwor*
CONJ one city
'He looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees a city.'

62
i *ləwr* *ɕahar* *ar* *darun* *i* *χalg* *məwɣdʑ* *pur* *χalg*
one big city LOC inside one person die.PRF much person

wi *makol* *χu*
3SG.NNOM.DIST around TEMP.CONJ
'In a large city is a person who has died, with many people around him.'

63
tom *haroj* *vɛrθ* *vrud* *a=wi* *tɕos=in*
then three both brother ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

tɕos=in *tɕos=in* *tɕos=in*
look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χu
TEMP.CONJ
'Then all three of them look and look and look and look at it,'

64
ɛ *lɛvd* *na* *tɛ=o*
INTJ say.3SG.IPFV NEG go.IPFV=Q
'"Hey!" he says, "Shall we not go?'

65
k=a=di *xtur* *vijuj=an*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us ride this camel,'

66
maɕ *haroj* *k=um* *so=an*
1PL.NOM three ANA=there become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'and let the three of us go there.'

67
k=di *dʑom* *qati* *wi* *ar* *ʁov* *xats*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop COM 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC mouth water

wejð=an *a=wi* *zundo* *na*
pour.IPFV=1PL.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST live NEG

ka=an=o
do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
'Shall we not pour water into his mouth with this scoop and make him alive?"'

68
mejli *lɛv=in* *k=dos* *kan=an*
okay say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV ANA=manner do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'"Okay," they say, "Let us do that".'

69
a=xtur *vijuj=in* *jad* *haroj* *χɯdur* *k=ar*
ACC=camel ride.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX three until ANA=LOC

wi *xwor* *so=in*
3SG.NNOM.DIST city become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They ride the camel and the three of them go all the way to that city.'

70
ar *xwor* *so=in* *χu* *ðar* *a=χu*
LOC city become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ far ACC=REFL.NNOM

ka=it *dʑuj=it* *lɛvd*
do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV place=2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
'They go to the city and say, "Step back and make room!'

71
a=di *maɕ* *zɯndo* *kan=an*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX 1PL.NOM live do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We will make this person alive".'

72
woð *lɛv=in* *iko* *a* *məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *tsarang* *zɯndo*
3PL.NOM.DIST say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP INTJ die.PRF=REL how live

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'They say, "Huh? How can a dead person become alive?"'

73
lɛvd *maɕ* *zɯndo* *kan=an*
say.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NOM live do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'He says, "We will make him alive".'

74
k=ɯm-ik *jad* *haroj* *vɛrθ* *so=in*
ANA=there-DIM 3SG.NOM.PROX three both become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χu *jɯ* *lɛvd* *iko* *k=di-an*
TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN

rust *k=di* *rang* *vid=i* *jo* *na* *vid=i* *maɕ*
true ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC 1PL.NOM

i *wejn=an*
one see.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'All three of them go there and he says, "Let us see whether it is truly like that or not".'

75

pa	*dʑom*	*a=xats*	*i*	*zozd*	*ar*	*ʁov*	*wɛðd*
LOC	scoop	ACC=water	one	get.3SG.IPFV	LOC	mouth	pour.3SG.IPFV

məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ	*tik*	*tɕi*	*pɛð*	*səwd*	*zundo*	*səwd*
die.PRF=REL	straight	LOC	foot	become.3SG.IPFV	live	become.3SG.IPFV

'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.'

76

zundo	*səwd*	*χu*	*tom*	*dɛf=ir*	*utɕ*	*pur*
live	become.3SG.IPFV	TEMP.CONJ	then	3PL.NNOM.PROX=DAT	very	much

əwqut	*ðo=in*
thing	give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

'He becomes alive and then they give them many things.'

77

k=di	*haroj*	*vrud=ir*	*ðo=in*	*χu*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX	three	brother=DAT	give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV	TEMP.CONJ

m=k=dos	*dung=aθ*	*ðo=in*
CATA=ANA=manner	all=EMP	give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

'They give to the three brothers and like, give everything to them.'

78

pɛt=aθ	*ðo=in*
all=EMP	give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

'They give everything.'

79

jad	*tamaɕ*	*haroj=ir*	*lɛv=in*
3SG.NOM.PROX	2PL.NNOM	three=DAT	say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

'"These are for you three", they say.'

80

lɛvd	*az*	*zabu*	*woð*	*tɛdz=in*	*χu*
say.INF	ABL	back	3PL.NOM.DIST	go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV	TEMP.CONJ

doð	*haroj*	*a=wi*	*balak*	*ka=in*
3PL.NOM.PROX	three	ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST	part	do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

k=a=wi	*əwqut*
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST	thing

'They say that and leave, and the three brothers split those things.'

81

balak	*ka=in*	*χu*	*iw-əw*	*jur*	*lɛvd*	*iko*
part	do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV	TEMP.CONJ	one-NMLZ	another	say.3SG.IPFV	COMP

mɯ = ri = af *kam* *ðud* *az* *di* *χu*
1SG.NNOM = DAT = 2PL.PFV few give.PFV ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX TEMP.CONJ
'They split them and one says, "Hey, you gave fewer things to me than to him!"'

82
lɛv = in *ta-an* *tom* *tsejz* *alojdalig* *jost*
say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 2SG.NNOM-GEN then what specialty be.IPFV
'They say, "What's so special about you, then?"'

83
jɯ *lɛvd* *iko* *waz = am* *χ-ar* *ujnak*
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM-LOC glass

a = di *wand*
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX see.PFV
'He says, "I saw this in my mirror.'

84
mɯ *ujnak* *tsa* *na* *vid* *ta* *dʑom* *mas* *bɛkur*
1SG.NNOM glass COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM scoop also vain

ta *xtur* *mas* *bɛkur* *χu*
2SG.NNOM camel also vain TEMP.CONJ
'If it were not for my mirror, your scoop is useless and your camel is useless."'

85
jɯ *lɛvd* *iko* *mujim* *mɯ* *xtur* *lɛvd*
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP important 1SG.NNOM camel say.3SG.IPFV
'He says, "What is important is my camel.'

86
mɯ *xtur* *tsa* *na* *vid* *təw* *χali* *ar* *ujnak*
1SG.NNOM camel COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NOM only LOC glass

wejn *qurɯʁ* *χu* *tɕi* *dʑuj* *niθ*
see.IPFV only REFL.NNOM LOC place sit.IPFV
'If it were not for my camel, you can only look into your mirror and sit in your place.'

87
χu *az* *dʑuj* *dʑumbd* *na* *tɕi* *ka* *tid* *na* *tɕi*
REFL.NNOM ABL place move.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV go.INF NEG CAP

ka *χɯ*
do.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'You cannot move from your place or go anywhere from your place", and then'

88
ʁoɕ *wejð = in*
fight put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'they fight.'

89
a *ɕitɕ* *tɕidum* *mujim* *ar* *di*
INTJ now which important LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX
'Ah now, which one is important among these?'
90
a *mu* *səwg-ik* *ta* *səwg-ik* *pugan*
INTJ 1SG.NNOM story-DIM 2SG.NNOM story-DIM tomorrow

indiz=an *hawu* *psəwdʑ*
get.up.IPFV=1PL.IPFV weather be.clear.PRF
'Ah, my story, your story, we will get up tomorrow and the weather will be clear.'

A.5 'The half-brother who carved saddles' (folktale)

ɯgej vrud

A story about an industrious young man who outwits his half-brothers and makes them appear foolish.

1
vɛðdʑ *na* *vɛðdʑ* *haroj* *vrud=af* *vɛðdʑ*
be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'Once upon a time, there were three brothers.'
2
ðəw=af *χudi* *vɛðdʑ* *iw* *ɯgej*
two=3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PRF one non.blood
'Two were blood brothers; one was a non-blood brother.'
3
ju *ɯgej* *vrud* *bðon* *tɯxt=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NOM.DIST non.blood brother saddle carve.INF=DAT be.PRF
'The non-blood brother carved saddles.'
4
ju *ða* *vrud=af* *χu=ri* *nalist=ir* *vɛðdʑ*
3SG.NOM.DIST two brother=3PL.PFV REFL.NNOM=DAT sit.INF=DAT be.PRF
'Those two brothers just sat around.'
5
jad *a=bðon* *tɯxt* *just* *para* *ðid*
3SG.NOM.PROX ACC=saddle carve.3SG.IPFV take.3SG.IPFV sell give.3SG.IPFV
'This one carves the saddles, takes them, and sells them.'
6
para *ðid* *a=wi* *tɕi* *tilu* *ðid*
sell give.3SG.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC gold give.3SG.IPFV
'He sells them, exchanges them for gold.'

7
a=tilu *ðɛrzd* *joðd* *χu*
ACC=gold load.3SG.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'He loads the gold and comes.'
8
di *ða* *vrud* *lɛv=in* *iko* *naj*
3SG.NNOM.PROX two brother say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP NEG

a=di *tilu* *tɕi* *tsejz* *zuxtɕ* *jad*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX gold LOC what get.PRF 3SG.NOM.PROX
'His two brothers say, "No way! How did he get this gold?'
9
az *di* *pars=an*
ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX ask.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us ask him."'
10
lɛvd *a=tilu=at* *tɕi* *tsejz* *zuxt*
say.3SG.IPFV ACC=gold=2SG.PFV LOC what get.PFV
'He says, "What did you get the gold from?"'
11
lɛvd *iko* *tɕi* *bðon=am* *zuxt*
say.3SG.IPFV COMP LOC saddle=1SG.PFV get.PFV
'He says, "I used the saddles to get them."'
12
tɕi *bðon=at* *tsaʁa* *zuxt*
LOC saddle=2SG.PFV how get.PFV
'"How did you get it for saddles?"'
13
lɛvd *iko* *a=bðon=am* *θawond*
say.3SG.IPFV COMP ACC=saddle=1SG.PFV burn.CAUS.PFV
'He says, "I burned the saddles.'
14
a=radʑur=am *jud*
ACC=charcoal=1SG.PFV take.PFV
'I took the charcoal.'
15
lɛvd=am *radʑur=ir* *bðon* *ðo=it*
say.PFV=1SG.PFV charcoal=DAT saddle give.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'I told them, "Give me saddles for this charcoal".'
16
bðon=af *mu=ri* *ðud* *lɛvd*
saddle=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
'And they gave me saddles," he says.'

17
ə *tsejʒ* *tilu=af* *mɯ=ri* *ðud*
INTJ what gold=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV
'Uh, I mean, "They gave me gold.'
18
a=tilu=am *vəwg* *lɛvd* *χɯ*
ACC=gold=1SG.PFV bring.PFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Then I brought the gold," he says, and then'
19
woð *χɯ* *bðon-ɛf* *θawon=in*
3PL.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM saddle-PL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χɯ
TEMP.CONJ
'Then they burn their saddles, and then'
20
lɛv=in *iko* *radʒur=ir* *tilu* *tsa* *ðo=it*
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP charcoal=DAT gold COND give.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

χɯ
TEMP.CONJ
'they say, "Give us gold for the charcoal," and then'
21
jɯ *χalg-χejl* *lɛv=in* *iko* *tamaɕ=af*
3SG.NOM.DIST person-PL.NOM say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV

tsa *aχmoq* *vɛðdʒ*
what foolish be.PRF
'those people say, "How foolish you guys are!'
22
radʒur=ir *χalg* *tsaʁa* *tilu* *ðid*
charcoal=DAT person how gold give.3SG.IPFV
'How can someone give you gold for charcoal?"'
23
az *ɯm* *joð=in* *a=χɯ* *ɯgej* *vrud*
ABL there come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV ACC=REFL.NNOM non.blood brother

ðo=in *iko*
hit.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP
'They come back from there and beat up their non-blood brother and say,'
24
təw=at *a=maɕ* *fand* *ðudʒ* *χɯ*
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV ACC=1PL.NNOM false give.PRF TEMP.CONJ
'"You have lied to us," and then'

25
ɕitɕ *tsaʁa* *ka=an* *tsaʁa* *kan=an* *aj*
now how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV INTJ
‘“Now what do we do, what do we do...’
26
ɕitɕ *di* *ano* *di* *tɕat-xɛdʑ* *zon=an*
now 3SG.NNOM.PROX mother 3SG.NNOM.PROX cow-bull kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
‘Now let us kill his mother and his bull.”’
27
a=tɕat-xɛdʑ *zon=in* *χu* *i* *pa* *qapoq*
ACC=cow-bull kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ one LOC calabash

wi *waχin* *zozd* *dɛðd* *tizd*
3SG.NNOM.DIST blood get.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV
‘They kill the bull and he (the non-blood brother) gets its blood in a calabash (gourd bottle), enters, and goes.’
28
tizd *χu* *um* *səwd* *iko*
go.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ there become.3SG.IPFV COMP
‘He goes, and there he sees’
29
ar *dʑangal* *lej* *xtur* *waruvdʑ*
LOC forest much camel stand.PRF
‘a lot of camels standing in the forest.’
30
putun *xtur-ɛf* *tar* *kol* *waχin* *ðɛxt* *roft*
all camel-PL.NNOM LOC head blood sprinkle.3SG.IPFV spread.on.3SG.IPFV
‘He sprinkles and spreads the blood on all the camels’ heads.’
31
roft *χu* *a=xtur-ɛf* *dɛt*
spread.on.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ACC=camel-PL.NNOM drive.3SG.IPFV

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV
‘He spreads it and drives the camels.’
32
a=di *xtur-ɛf=at* *az* *ko* *vəwg*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX camel-PL.NNOM=2SG.PFV ABL where bring.PFV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
‘“Where did you get these camels?” He (one of the brothers) asks.’
33
tamaɕ=af *mu* *tɕat-xɛdʑ* *zɛd*
2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM cow-bull kill.PFV
‘“You killed my bull,’

34
a=di *dund* *xtur=af* *mu=ri* *ðud*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT camel=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'and they gave me all these camels," he says.'

35
tɕi *waχin=af* *mu=ri* *ðud* *lɛvd*
LOC blood=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
'"They gave me camels in exchange for the blood," he says.'

36
wi *qati* *tsejʒ* *kaxt* *a*
3SG.NNOM.DIST COM what do.3SG.IPFV INTJ
'With that, what does he do...' (storyteller thinking)

37
tsaʁa *kan=an* *tsaʁa* *kan=an*
how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'"What do we do, what do we do...'

38
jad *maɕ* *mas* *χu* *tɕat-xɛdʑ* *zon=an*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NOM also REFL.NNOM cow-bull kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us also kill out bulls,'

39
waχin *zoz=an* *tɛdz=an*
blood get.IPFV=1PL.IPFV go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'and get the blood and go".'

40
a=tɕat-xɛdʑ *zon=in* *waχin* *jus=in*
ACC=cow-bull kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV blood take.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They kill the bull and take the blood.'

41
lɛv=in *iko* *naj* *waχin=ir* *xtur* *maɕ=ir*
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP NEG blood=DAT camel 1PL.NNOM=DAT

ðo=it
give.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'They say, "Give us camels for the blood".'

42
m=doð=af *tsa* *aχmoq* *vɛðdʑ* *lɛv=in*
CATA=3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV what foolish be.PRF say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'"How foolish these guys are!" they say.'

43
waχin=ir *a=xtur* *tsaʁa* *ðo=in* *χu*
blood=DAT ACC=camel how give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'"How can they give camels for blood?" and then'

44
jad *mɯ* *vrud* *par* *maɕ* *narχ* *wɛðd*
3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
'My brother has placed trouble upon us.'

45
ɕitɕ *tɛ* *ɕitɕ* *di* *ano* *zon=an*
now go.IPFV now 3SG.NNOM.PROX mother kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Now go, let us kill his mother.'

46
az *ɯm* *so=in* *wi* *ano* *zon=in*
ABL there become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST mother kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They come from there and kill his mother.'

47
tom *a=χ-ono* *mɯrðo* *tɕi* *ɕɛr* *ðɛrzd* *χɯ*
then ACC=REFL.NNOM-mother corpse LOC donkey load.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV
'Then he loads his mother's corpse on a donkey and goes.'

48
ɯm *səwd* *a* *dejqun-χejl* *mintawɯ=it* *lɛvd*
there become.3SG.IPFV VOC farmer-PL.NOM hard.work=2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
'He goes there and says to the farmers, "You are working hard!"'

49
a *borikalo* *lɛv=in* *χɯ*
INTJ thanks say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'"Ah, thank you!" they say, and then'

50
a=ɕɛr *dos=ik* *tar* *wi* *ɕrum* *sar*
ACC=donkey manner=DUR LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST threshing.floor side

dɛt
drive.3SG.IPFV
'He drives the donkey like this toward the threshing floor side.'

51
jɯ *ɕɛr* *pa* *ɕrum* *səwd=aθ* *utɕiɕa*
3SG.NOM.DIST donkey LOC threshing.floor become.3SG.IPFV=EMP INTJ

lɛv=in
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'When that donkey gets to the threshing floor, the farmers say, "Uchisha (hey, get away)!"'

52
utɕiɕa *lɛvd* *alo* *di* *ɕɛr* *a=χɯ* *tɕap*
INTJ say.INF TEMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX donkey ACC=REFL.NNOM start

ðid *χu* *muɾðo* *wuxt*
give.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ corpse fall.3SG.IPFV
'When they say "uchisha", the donkey turns quickly and the corpse falls.'

53
atoto *lɛvd* *putxu* *a=ɣin=af* *χu* *zɛd*
INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king ACC=wife=2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'"Oh my goodness," he says, "you have killed the king's wife herself!'

54
putxu *a=mu* *zɛd* *a=tamaɕ* *mas* *putun* *zind*
king ACC=1SG.NNOM kill.PFV ACC=2PL.NNOM also all kill.3SG.IPFV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'The king is going to kill me, and will kill all of you, too!'

55
ɕitɕ *tsaʁa* *kan=am* *lɛvd* *χu*
now how do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Now what shall I do?" he says.'

56
lɛv=in *naj* *putxu-an* *wi* *ɣin* *tsa* *vid*
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV

u *təw* *k=az* *di* *ʁots-ɛf* *surəw*
COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM separate.IPFV

a=iw *zoz* *tɛdz* *di* *putxu=ri*
ACC=one get.IPFV go.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX king=DAT
'They say, "No, if this is the king's wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to this king.'

57
a=putxu *ar* *əwd* *mo* *vor* *lɛvd*
ACC=king LOC here PROH bring.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
'Don't bring the king over here," they say.'

58
i *ʁots* *surəwd* *zozd* *tizd*
one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV
'He picks a girl, takes her, and goes,'

59
a=wi *χu=ri* *ɣin* *kaxt*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM=DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV
'and makes her his own wife.'

60
ɯm *səwd* *a* *lɛvd* *m-ono=af* *zɛd*
there become.3SG.IPFV INTJ say.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM-mother=2PL.PFV kill.PFV
'He goes there and says, "A, you killed my mother.'
61
mu=ri=af *m-ono* *pa* *muɾðo* *i* *ʁots* *ðud*
1SG.NNOM=DAT=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM-mother LOC corpse one girl give.PFV

lɛvd *χɯ*
say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'They gave me a girl in the place of my mother's corpse," he says, and then'
62
waðor=in *a=χ-ono* *zon=in*
grab.IPFV=3PL.IPFV ACC=REFL.NNOM-mother kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

woð
3PL.NOM.DIST
'they grab and kill their own mother.'
63
lɛv=in *iko* *naj* *məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ=ir* *zɯndo* *ʁots*
say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP NEG die.PRF=REL=DAT live girl

maɕ=ir *ðo=it*
1PL.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'They say, "Give us live girls in the place of this dead one."'
64
u *jad* *tsa* *aχmoq* *batɕo-χejl=af* *vɛðdʑ*
INTJ 3SG.NOM.PROX what foolish child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV be.PRF
'"Wow, how foolish these kids are!'
65
məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ=ir *a=zɯndo* *tɕoj* *ðid* *lɛv=in*
die.PRF=REL=DAT ACC=live who.NOM give.3SG.IPFV say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Who gives live girls in the place of dead ones?" they say,'
66
doð=af *ðejw* *vɛðdʑ* *lɛv=in* *χɯ*
3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV crazy be.PRF say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'"These guys are crazy," they say, and'
67
a=wɛf *zatran* *ka=in* *dɛ=in*
ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST chase do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV drive.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χɯ
TEMP.CONJ
'They chase them and drive them away.'

68
naj *jad* *vrud* *par* *maç* *narχ* *wɛðd*
NEG 3SG.NOM.PROX brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
'"Oh no, this brother has ruined us.'
69
çitç *dos* *kan=an* *iko* *a=di* *χu*
now manner do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COMP ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX REFL.NNOM

zon=an *lɛv=in* *χu*
kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Now let us do this, let us kill him," they say.'
70
tom *a=wi* *ar* *ʁəwn* *ðo=in* *χu*
then ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC sack give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Then they put him in a sack.'
71
a=di *tsaʁa* *kan=an*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'"What shall we do with him?'
72
jus=an *ar* *darju* *patəw=an*
take.IPFV=1PL.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'Let us take him and throw him into the river.'
73
jad *laka* *mɛrd* *χu*
3SG.NOM.PROX let.IPFV die.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'Let him die."'
74
wi *qati* *a=wi* *tçi* *çɛr* *ðɛrdz=in*
3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC donkey load.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'With that, they load him onto a donkey.'
75
çɛr *tar* *prud* *dɛr* *tizd*
donkey LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV
'The donkey goes a little bit forward,'
76
woð *ða* *vrud* *az* *zabu* *tar* *vatç*
3PL.NOM.DIST two brother ABL back LOC outside

so=in=aθ
become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=EMP
'and the two brothers go to the bathroom in the back.'
77
jad *tar* *uzma* *a=toz* *wand*
3SG.NOM.PROX LOC opening ACC=bald.person see.3SG.IPFV
'He sees a bald person through the opening of the sack.'

78
eej *lɛvd* *χon* *mas* *na* *so=am* *bejg* *mas* *na*
INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king also NEG become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV ruler also NEG

so=am *lɛvd*
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
'"Eh!" he says, "I don't want to be a king, I don't want to be a ruler!" he says.'

79
a=mɯ *laka=it* *lɛvd* *χu*
ACC=1SG.NNOM let.IPFV=2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'"Let me go!" he says.'

80
ju *toz* *lɛvd* *iko* *naj* *bejg* *mas* *waz*
3SG.NOM.DIST bald.person say.3SG.IPFV COMP NEG ruler also 1SG.NOM

so=am *χon* *mas* *waz* *so=am*
become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV king also 1SG.NOM become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'The bald guy says, "No, I want to be a ruler, I want to be a king!"'

81
a *χon=ik* *sɛt=ir* *vəw* *m=ar* *di* *ʁəwn*
INTJ king=DUR become.INF=DAT be.IPFV CATA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack

dið *lɛvd*
enter.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
'"Ah, if you want to be a king, go into this sack," he says.'

82
ar *ʁəwn* *dɛðd* *di* *ʁəwn* *a=ʁov* *vist*
LOC sack enter.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack ACC=mouth tie.3SG.IPFV

a=wi *tɕi* *ɕɛr* *ðɛrzd*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC donkey load.3SG.IPFV
'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.'

83
kudʑur=ik *ɕɛr* *waruvd* *k=um=aθ* *təw* *bejg* *at* *χon*
where=DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA=there=EMP 2SG.NOM ruler CONJ king

sɛt=ir *vɛðdʑ* *lɛvd*
become.INF=DAT be.PRF say.3SG.IPFV
'"Wherever the donkey stops, there you will become a ruler and a king," he says.'

84
az *um* *k=dos* *a=ɕɛr* *darju* *tɕi* *lab* *vor=in*
ABL there ANA=manner ACC=donkey river LOC bank bring.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χɯ
TEMP.CONJ
'From there, they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.'

85

tɕi	*ðod*	*so = in*	*a = wi*	*toz*	*ar*
LOC	hit.INF	become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV	ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST	bald.person	LOC

ʁəwn
sack
'They begin beating up the bald guy in the sack.'

86

tom	*lɛvd*	*iko*	*waz*	*χon*	*mas*	*na*	*so = am*
then	say.3SG.IPFV	COMP	1SG.NOM	king	also	NEG	become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

bejg *mas* *na* *so = am*
ruler also NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Then he says, "I don't want to be a king, I don't want to be a ruler!'

87

a = mɯ	*ar*	*darju*	*mo*	*patəw = it*
ACC = 1SG.NNOM	LOC	river	PROH	throw.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'Don't throw me into the river!"'

88

zoz = in	*patəw = in*	*ar*	*darju*
get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV	throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV	LOC	river

'They take him and throw him into the river.'

89

toz	*mɛrd*
bald.person	die.3SG.IPFV

'The bald guy dies.'

90

az	*ɯm*	*səwd*
ABL	there	become.3SG.IPFV

'He (the non-blood brother) goes from there.'

91

wi	*a = kalo*	*k = dos*	*dɛt*	*χɯ*
3SG.NNOM.DIST	ACC = sheep	ANA = manner	drive.3SG.IPFV	TEMP.CONJ

tizd
go.3SG.IPFV
'He drives the bald guy's sheep like that and goes.'

92

a	*lɛvd*	*a = mɯ = af*	*zɛd*	*lɛvd*
INTJ	say.3SG.IPFV	ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2PL.PFV	kill.PFV	say.3SG.IPFV

'"Ah," he says, "you killed me.'

93
ar *wi* *dinju* *so=am* *iko* *m-oto*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM-father

mas *vɛðdʑ* *m-ono* *mas* *vɛðdʑ*
also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also be.PRF
'I got to that other world, and my father and my mother were there.'

94
a=di *dund* *kalo=af* *mu* *tar* *prud* *wɛðd*
ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT sheep=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC front put.PFV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'They put all these sheep before me," he says.'

95
eej *lɛvd* *tom* *bajixt* *vɛðdʑ* *lɛvd*
INTJ say.3SG.IPFV then heaven be.PRF say.3SG.IPFV
'"Hey!" they say, "Then it must be heaven!'

96
a=maɕ *mas* *pa* *ʁəwn* *ðo* *ar* *darju* *patəw*
ACC=1PL.NNOM also LOC sack give.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV
'Put us into a sack also and throw us into the river."'

97
tom *a=χu* *vrud-ɛf* *ðid* *ar* *ʁəwn* *χu*
then ACC=REFL.NNOM brother-PL.NNOM give.3SG.IPFV LOC sack TEMP.CONJ

just *ar* *darju* *patəwd*
take.3SG.IPFV LOC river throw.3SG.IPFV
'Then he puts his brothers into a sack, takes them, and throws them into the river.'

98
χu *vrud-ɛf* *zind* *χu*
REFL.NNOM brother-PL.NNOM kill.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
'He kills his brothers,'

99
jad *χubaθ* *pa* *baχt* *fropst*
3SG.NOM.PROX REFL.NOM LOC happiness reach.3SG.IPFV
'and he himself reaches happiness.'

100
mu *səwg-ik* *pur* *səwg* *tar* *jəwl* *indiʑ=an* *hawu*
1SG.NNOM story-DIM much story LOC dawn get.up.IPFV=1PL.IPFV weather

psəwdʑ
be.clear.PRF
'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)

mu ʒundagi

A religious teacher gives a personal account of his life, work, family, and their resettlement in Tojikobod.

1

waz	*di*	*tɕi*	*prud*	*pindʑu*	*at*	*nəw*	*sul*	*tɕi*	*prud*
1SG.NOM	3SG.NNOM.PROX	LOC	front	fifty	CONJ	nine	year	LOC	front

brumsol	*lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ*	*i*	*ar*	*jizo*	*azmud*	*sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ*
Brumsol	say.PRF=REL	one	LOC	village	born	become.PRF=REL

'I was born 59 years ago in a village called Brumsol.'

2

uzir=am	*pindʑu*	*at*	*woxt*	*sulo*	*sut*
now=1SG.PFV	fifty	CONJ	eight	year.old	become.PFV

'Now I am 58 years old.'

3

waz=am	*azmud*	*sut*	*ðɛs*	*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

az	*um*	*ðɛs*	*sul*	*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*	*maɕʁul*	*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*	*ʒuð=am*	*sut*
LOC	inside	religion-NMLZ	lineage=1SG.PFV	become.PFV

'After that, within that region, I became part of the religious tradition.'

7
χalifa=am *sut*
religious.teacher=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I became a religious teacher.'

8
wi *qati* *ðɛs* *at* *pindz* *sul* *tɕi* *prud* *maɕ* *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.'

9
hawu *ðud* *sejl* *jot*
precipitation fall.PFV flood come.PFV
'It rained and it got flooded.'

10
a *nuk=juu* *ofat* *qati* *putun* *maɕ* *dʑuj* *dʑawun*
INTJ ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST disaster COM all 1PL.NNOM place world

maɕ *buʁ-χejl* *maɕ* *zɛmdz-χejl* *maɕ*
1PL.NNOM garden-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM field-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM

mala-χejl *pa* *xats=af* *tujd*
housing.compound-PL.NOM 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.'

11
tsavur *nafar* *χalg* *mas* *pa* *xats* *tujd*
four CL person also LOC water go.PFV
'Four people also got swept away by the flood.'

12
ki=wi *qati* *ukmat* *a=maɕ* *katɕ* *tɕəwg*
ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST COM government ACC=1PL.NNOM move do.PFV
'With that, the government resettled us.'

13
a=maɕ *varɕidɛ* *ar* *nohija* *vəwg*
ACC=1PL.NNOM Varshide LOC county bring.PFV
'They brought us to the Varshide county seat.'

14
um=an *i* *sul* *paqad* *nalust*
there=1PL.PFV one year whole.duration sit.PFV
'We lived there for a whole year.'

15
ukmat *ʁamχuri* *qati* *m=ki=jad* *i* *dʑuj=af*
government concern COM CATA=ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX one place=3PL.PFV

maɕ = ir *zuxtɕ*
1PL.NNOM = DAT buy.PRF
'Out of concern for us, the government bought a place for us.'

16
mala = af *maɕ = ir* *wɛðdʑ*
housing.compound = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT put.PRF
'They built housing compounds for us.'

17
zɛmdz = af *maɕ = ir* *hat* *tɕəwɣdʑ*
field = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT open do.PRF
'They opened fields for us.'

18
a = maɕ = af *əwd* *vəwg*
ACC = 1PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV here bring.PFV
'They brought us here.'

19
ðɛs *at* *pindz* *sul* *sut* *əwd = an* *naluɥtɕ*
ten CONJ five year become.PFV here = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF
'We have lived here for fifteen years.'

20
ɕitɕ *maɕ-an* *maɕ* *ruzagur* *tɕardʑ*
now 1PL.NNOM-GEN 1PL.NNOM living good
'Now our living situation is good.'

21
dejqun-i *kan = an*
farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We farm,'

22
mul *puj = an*
livestock herd.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'we herd our livestock,'

23
a *wi* *tar* *tɛr* *uz* *səwdugar-i* *mas* *kan = an*
INTJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC high again merchant-NMLZ also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'and on top of that, we also do business.'

24
ukmat *mas* *har* *az* *dʑat* *maɕ = ir = ik* *jordam* *kaxt*
government also every ABL hurry 1PL.NNOM = DAT = DUR help do.3SG.IPFV
'The government also helps us in every aspect.'

25
ki = wi *qati = an* *m = k = əwd* *naluɥtɕ*
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM = 1PL.PFV CATA = ANA = here sit.PRF
'With that, we live here.'

26
tsavur batɕo mɯ-an jost
four child 1SG.NNOM-GEN be.IPFV
'I have four children:'
27
tsavur puts ðа radzɛn χɛl batɕo jost
four son two daughter six child be.IPFV
'four sons and two daughters, six children.'
28
χɛl batɕo mas asos az dʑat dʑam dejqun iw=ik
six child also foundation ABL hurry all farmer one=DUR

maɕ-an oli maktab xujd
1PL.NNOM-GEN high school read.3SG.IPFV
'The six children are mostly all farmers as well; one of them is studying in university. '
29
digarɯ-χɐjl dʑam-an wi tɕɛd tɯqo
others-PL.NOM all-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST house separate
'The others all have their own house.'
30
a xuj=in=ik dejqun-i ka=in
INTJ read.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=DUR farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Ah, they are studying and farming.'
31
k=dos=an naluɯɕtɕ
ANA=manner=1PL.PFV sit.PRF
'That is how we live.'
32
a tom wi az balak mu sɯl mas pa
INTJ then 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL part 1SG.NNOM year also LOC

di dʑuj jot
3SG.NNOM.PROX place come.PFV
'Ah, then other than that... my age has also reached this place.'
33
waz ki=di dijur-an wi χalifa
1SG.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX region-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST religious.teacher
'I am a religious teacher in this region.'
34
əwd maɕ ɯvd χalifa jost
here 1PL.NOM seven religious.teacher be.IPFV
'There are seven religious teachers here.'

35
wɛf *az* *darun* *iw* *waz*
3PL.NNOM ABL inside one 1SG.NOM
'One of them is I.'
36
waz *wɛf* *ar* *darun* *pɛɕqadam* *dɛr*
1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM LOC inside elderly CPRV
'Among them, I am more on the elderly side.'
37
a *k=dos* *sɛt* *alo*
INTJ ANA=manner become.INF TEMP
'Ah, with things being like that,'
38
uzir *dzul* *dzul* *tidʑorat* *kan=am*
now small small business do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'now I am doing a little bit of economic activity.'
39
səwdugar-i *ka=am*
merchant-NMLZ do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I do business.'
40
digar *tɕɛr* *qati* *kutɕ* *mas* *na* *fropst*
other work COM strength also NEG reach.3SG.IPFV
'My strength is not sufficient for other work anyway.'
41
digar *a=tɕɛr-ɛf* *batɕo-χejl* *ka=in*
other ACC=work-PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'The children do the other work.'
42
waz *səwdugar-i* *qati=am* *naluɕtɕ*
1SG.NOM merchant-NMLZ COM=1SG.PFV sit.PRF
'I make a living by doing business.'

A.7 'You have gone' & 'Hometown' (personal narrative & poems)

təw=at tujd & *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
mu *num* *alimamad*
1SG.NNOM name Alimamad
'My name is Alimamad.'

2
waz *varɕidɛ* *nohija* *baldir* *jizo* *azmud* *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1SG.NOM Varshide county Baldir village born become.PRF=REL
'I was born in Baldir Village of Varshide County'

3
sul *az* *saksan* *at* *woxt* *most* *az* *pindz* *maθ* *az* *uvd*
year ABL eighty CONJ eight moon ABL five day ABL seven
'on the seventh of May in 1988.'

4
waz *az* *dzul-i* *varɕide* *ar* *nohija* *ləwr* *sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1SG.NOM ABL small-NMLZ Varshide LOC county big become.PRF=REL

xojdʑ=ɛndʑ
read.PRF=REL
'I grew up and went to school in the county seat of Varshide since I was little.'

5
daɕu=am *waz* *bɛdʒin* *dʒongjangmindzudaɕu*
university=1SG.PFV 1SG.NOM Beijing Central.University.for.Nationalities

xojd
read.PFV
'I went to university at the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing.'

6
az *um=am* *jot* *tɕi* *χuzmat=am* *naxtug*
ABL there=1SG.PFV come.PFV LOC work=1SG.PFV go.up.PFV
'I came back from there and got a job.'

7
tom *mu=ri* *ɕir* *naviɕt* *χuɕ*
then 1SG.NNOM=DAT poem write.INF happy
'I like writing poetry.'

8
tom *rasim* *jad* *ju* *tiʑd* *χuɕ*
then picture 3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST pull.INF happy
'And I like taking pictures and whatnot.'

9
mu-an *lej=ir* *tiʑdʑ=ɛndʑ* *rasim* *jost*
1SG.NNOM-GEN much=DAT pull.PRF=REL picture be.IPFV
'I have many pictures that I took.'

10
ɕir *jost* *iw* *kond* *naviɕtɕ=ɛndʑ*
poem be.IPFV one piece write.PRF=REL
'And I have a few poems that I wrote.'

11
pur *nist* *kut* *kut* *ɕir-χejl*
much NEG.be.IPFV short short poem-PL.NOM
'It's not much; they are all short poems.'

12
k = az *di* *ɕir-ɛf* *waz* *iw* *ðəw*
ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX poem-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM one two

tamaɕ = ir *xuj = am*
2PL.NNOM = DAT read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Out of those poems, I will recite one or two for you.'

13
təw = at *tɯjd* *lɛvdʑ = ɛndʑ* *ɕir*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV say.PRF = REL poem
'It is a poem called "You have gone".'

14
mɯ *farixto* *ʁazun* *jad* *χɯg*
1SG.NNOM spirit wither 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.PFV
'My spirit has withered'

15
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

16
tɕɯxt = am *a = ta* *dil* *ar* *bɯxtɕo*
watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV ACC = 2SG.NNOM heart LOC bosom
'I waited for you in my heart'

17
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

18
təw = at *vɯd* *mɯ* *hajut-an* *wi* *i* *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 *qati* *mɯ* *ɯmr* *nardʑɛd*
contemplating COM 1SG.NNOM lifetime pass.PFV
'I spent my lifetime contemplating'

20
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

21
gɯrm *tɕejg* *qati* *pa* *dil = ik* *ʁirs*
remembrance do.INF COM LOC heart = DUR turn.IPFV
'As I miss you, you hover around my heart'

22
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

23
ansis *jad* *xob* *na* *sut* *tag* *jəwl*
anxious 3SG.NOM.PROX night NEG become.PFV at.all dawn
'Anxious at night, morning never comes'

24
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

25
xid *na* *tɕi* *ka = am* *bɛwafu* *ta* *zord* *tawɯɕ*
hear.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV heartless 2SG.NNOM heart noise
'I cannot hear the cruel noises of your heat'

26
mu *pa* *dard* *dard* *qati* *sut*
1SG.NNOM LOC pain pain add become.PFV
'Pain has been added to my pain'

27
təw = at *tɯjd*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
'You have gone'

28
uʑ *di* *aʑ* *baʁejr* *watan* *lɛvdʑ = ɛndʑ* *ɕir* *jost*
again 3SG.NNOM.PROX ABL except hometown say.PRF = REL poem be.IPFV
'Besides this, I have another poem called "Hometown".'

29
hej *aziz* *watan* *tɯdʑdur-an* *wi* *dʑɯj*
VOC love hometown crown.wearer-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST place
'Oh, dear hometown, the place of crown wearers'

30
farixto *tɯdʑik* *χɯɕrɯj* *ta* *rɯχsɯr*
angel Tajik beautiful 2SG.NNOM visage
'Angel Tajiks, your visage is beautiful'

31
watan *tar* *bɯxtɕo* *tɯdʑik* *ðid* *wajəw*
hometown LOC bosom Tajik give.3SG.IPFV walk
'Tajiks walk around close to the bosom of their hometown'

32
qaqawo *ðid* *ɕond* *hejrɯn* *mo* *ris* *təw*
guffaw give.3SG.IPFV laugh.3SG.IPFV surprise PROH remain.IPFV 2SG.NOM
'Do not be surprised at their guffawing and laughing'

33
dʑald dɛr waʑɛfs joð sarikuj ar makun
fast CPRV return.IPFV come.IPFV Sarikoli LOC hometown
'Hurry and come back soon to your hometown Sarikoli'

34
χu tɕi ðust zoz dof suz ðo az
REFL.NNOM LOC hand get.IPFV tambourine make.music give.IPFV ABL

dil-i dʑun
heart-NMLZ life
'Take a tambourine in your hand and make music with all your heart'

35
tɕi dinju vuson təw mas χu qaro
LOC world show.IPFV 2SG.NOM also REFL.NNOM distinct.form
'You also, show your own distinct form to the world'

36
madad tu=ri səwd uluʁ muztoʁato
encouragement 2SG.NNOM=DAT become.3SG.IPFV great Muztagh.Ata
'The great Muztagh Ata be your encouragement'

37
tudʑ tɕi kol tudʑik las a=ta waz
crown LOC head Tajik praise ACC=2SG.NNOM 1SG.NOM

ðo=am
give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Tajiks crowned with crowns, I will sing your praise'

38
tar boʁ tar gulzur 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 mɛð təw vis
awake become.IPFV get.up.IPFV REFL.NNOM waist 2SG.NOM tie.IPFV
'Awake and rise, tie your waist'

40
watan ar pujgo barakat ka tis
hometown LOC central.floor blessing do.IPFV spill
'Pour blessings all over your hometown's hearth'

41
num zozd tizd laka tudʑik ta sanat
name get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV Tajik 2SG.NNOM arts
'Tajik arts, may your name be widely known'

42
mɛrus *laka* *rast* *maɕ* *urf* *odat*
inheritance let.IPFV remain.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NNOM tradition custom
'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* *bɛbawu* *haroj* *anguɕtar*
hometown father mother LOC world priceless three treasure
'Hometown, father, and mother are the three priceless treasures in the world.'

2
ɕingun-an *wi* *i* *tɕib* *xats* *jurkond-an* *wi*
Shingun-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one spoon water Yarkand-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

xuɹpo *qati* *barubar*
porridge COM similar
'A spoon of Shingun water is like porridge from Yarkand.'

3
χu *pid* *puts* *mo* *vəw* *zamuno* *puts* *vəw*
REFL.NNOM father son PROH be.IPFV age son be.IPFV
'Don't just be your father's son; be the son of this age.'

4
az *tuqo* *kol* *gəwr* *tɕardʑ*
ABL separate head grave good
'A grave is better than a separate head (solitude).'

5
bɛ-watan *bɛ-gəwr*
PRIV-hometown PRIV-grave
'Without a hometown, one is without a grave.'

6
χalg *ar* *dijur* *bejg* *vid* *its* *χu* *ar* *dijur*
person LOC region ruler be.INF TERM REFL.NNOM LOC region

ʒɛzvur *vəw*
firewood.bringer be.IPFV
'It is better to be the firewood bringer in one's region than to be the ruler of one's region.'

7
dʑamohat *laka* *ubud* *vid* *i* *χalg-an* *wi*
masses let.IPFV flourishing be.3SG.IPFV one person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

ubud-i *tsund*
flourishing-NMLZ how.much
'Let all the masses flourish and prosper; what is one person's prosperity worth?'

8

sarikuj-an *wi* *xats* *ar* *dʒam* *dʒuj* *fropst*
Sarikoli-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST water LOC all place reach.3SG.IPFV
'Water from Sarikoli flows to all places.'

9

χalg-an *wi* *vunudʑ* *wi* *tɕi* *dəwr* *dinju-an*
person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST navel 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC belly world-GEN

wi *vunudʑ* *tɕi* *pomir*
3SG.NNOM.DIST navel LOC Pamir
'A person's navel is on his belly; the world's navel is in Pamir.'

10

muzufir *kudʒur=aθ* *tsa* *səwd* *χu* *watan=ir*
drifter where=EMP COND become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM hometown=DAT

gurm *kaxt*
remembrance do.3SG.IPFV
'No matter where a drifter goes, he misses his hometown.'

11

χalg *pa* *tɕɛd* *χalg* *ar* *dijur* *χalg* *dil* *na* *naθt*
person LOC house person LOC region person heart NEG sit.3SG.IPFV
'In another's home or another's region, one's heart is unable to rest.'

12

daraχt *az* *ʑumoð* *palwun* *az* *χalg* *naxtiʑd*
tree ABL ground warrior ABL person go.up.3SG.IPFV
'Trees come out of the ground, and warriors out of people.'

13

duxman *tar* *pɛð* *tɕost* *dɛst* *ta* *pa* *pɛts*
enemy LOC foot look.3SG.IPFV friend 2SG.NNOM LOC face
'An enemy will gaze at your feet, and a friend at your face.'

14

duxman *qil* *ðud* *mas* *tsa* *vid* *a=wi*
enemy hair give.PFV also COND be.3SG.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

fil *ðud* *wazon*
elephant give.PFV know.IPFV
'If an enemy gives you a strand of hair, regard it as an elephant.'

15

dɛst-an *wi* *gap* *murtɕ* *rang* *tsɛx* *duxman-an*
friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST word pepper SEMB spicy enemy-GEN

wi *gap* *ɕakar* *rang* *χɛg*
3SG.NNOM.DIST word sugar SEMB sweet
'A friend's words are spicy like peppers, but an enemy's words are sweet like sugar.'

16
az *kutɕin* *duxman* *xudʒ* *mo* *ðor,* *az* *bɛfam* *khamru* *xuj*
ABL strong enemy fear PROH fear.IPFV ABL stupid companion fear

ðor
fear.IPFV
'Don't fear a strong enemy, fear a foolish friend.'

17
tar *maðon* *nodʒ* *tsa* *na* *vid* *ða* *tsɛm* *a=imi* *χird*
LOC middle nose COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV two eye ACC=RECP eat.3SG.IPFV
'If there is no nose in the middle, the two eyes will eat each other.'

18
ʒɛr *pa* *dzɛ* *tsa* *patəw* *waʒafst* *ta* *tɕi* *kol*
rock LOC upriver COND throw.IPFV return.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM LOC head

buzast
touch.3SG.IPFV
'If you throw a rock upwards, it will return and hit your head.'

19
pid *məwɣdʒ=ɛndʒ* *xuvdʒ* *qɛtɕ* *marzundʒ-i* *xuturdʒ* *isub* *tɕəwɣdʒ*
father die.PRF=REL sleep.PRF stomach hungry-NMLZ star count do.PRF
'The one whose father died sleeps, but the one with a hungry stomach counts stars.'

20
bɛwafu *az* *puts* *pidz-ɛndʒ* *χɛr* *tɕardʒ*
heartless ABL son fall-ADJ son good
'The autumn sun is better than a heartless son.'

21
asujix *nardʒɛs=am* *tsa* *lɛv* *dɛst* *qati* *hamroz*
comfortable pass.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND say.IPFV friend COM likeminded

duxman *qati* *itfuq* *so*
enemy COM unity become.IPFV
'If you wish to live comfortably, be likeminded with your friend and foster unity with your enemy.'

22
ʁaʒd *tar* *χalg* *sɛt* *mumin=ir* *zaχmat* *wɛðd*
dirty LOC person become.INF innocent=DAT harm put.3SG.IPFV
'One who becomes a bad person harms innocent people.'

23
az *tɕardʒ* *naf* *joðd* *az* *ʁaʒd* *gap*
ABL good profit come.3SG.IPFV ABL dirty word
'From the good comes profit; from the bad, words.'

24
buzuq *buzuq-i* *tɕəwɣdʑ* *numard* *qasam* *χuɣdʑ*
envious.person envious-NMLZ do.PRF plebeian oath eat.PRF
'An envious person envies, and a plebeian makes oaths.'

25
nafs-i *bað* *bɛinsuf* *joðd* *χuɕomadgi* *ðod=itɕuz* *bɛwiʒdon*
greedy-NMLZ bad ruthless come.3SG.IPFV ingratiation give.INF=REL heartless
'A profiteer is evil and ruthless; a sycophant flatterer is heartless.'

26
garun *maθ* *ta* *qati* *tang* *tɛr* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *dɛst* *rust*
heavy day 2SG.NNOM COM simultaneous lift do.PRF=REL friend true

dɛst
friend
'A friend who has lifted heavy days alongside you is a true friend.'

27
iw *tɕardʒ-i* *ranixtɛg* *na* *səwd* *iw* *ʁaʒd-i*
one good-NMLZ forgotten NEG become.3SG.IPFV one dirty-NMLZ
'A single good deed will not be forgotten, nor will a single evil deed.'

28
dilnizd *dɛst* *az* *zabu* *stəwd* *fand* *dɛst* *pa* *prud*
close.friend friend ABL back praise.3SG.IPFV false friend LOC front
'A close friend compliments behind one's back, but a false friend to one's face..'

29
pa *dɛst* *a=χu* *nizd* *ka* *wi* *zord* *zoz*
LOC friend ACC=REFL.NNOM near do.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart get.IPFV

az *duxman* *ðar* *warofs* *wi* *dʑun* *zoz*
ABL enemy far stand.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST life get.IPFV
'Draw near to a friend and buy his heart; stand afar from an enemy and take his life.'

30
dɛst=ir *umr* *daruz-i* *talob* *duxman=ir* *marg*
friend=DAT lifetime long-NMLZ request.IPFV enemy=DAT death
'Pray for long life for a friend; for an enemy, death.'

31
boj *waz* *χu* *dɛst* *avon* *gadoj* *waz*
rich.person 1SG.NOM REFL.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* *kɛno-əw* *tɕardʒ* *guxt-an* *wi*
friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST old-NMLZ good meat-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

nɯdʑ-əw
new-NMLZ
'Of friends, the old is good; of meat, the new.'

33

təw = at = ik	*tsarang*	*vɯd*	*ta*	*dɛst*	*mas*
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV = DUR	how	be.PFV	2SG.NNOM	friend	also

k = dos
ANA = manner
'However you are, your friend is likewise.'

34

duxman	*qati*	*amtaboq*	*so*	*hammo*	*az*	*qast*	*ixjur*	*vəw*
enemy	COM	meal.sharing	become.IPFV	but	ABL	treachery	alert	be.IPFV

'Share a meal with your enemy, but beware of treachery.'

35

χalg	*a = χu*	*χubaθ*	*tsa*	*parst*	*quzi*	*χejz*	*tid*
person	ACC = REFL.NNOM	REFL.NOM	COND	ask.3SG.IPFV	judge	side	go.INF

odʑat *nist*
need NEG.be.IPFV
'If a person examines himself, there is no need to go to a judge.'

36

i	*χalg*	*dʑafu*	*qati*	*tɕɛr*	*kaxt*	*hazur*	*χalg*	*ruwat-i*
one	person	toil	COM	work	do.3SG.IPFV	thousand	person	enjoy-NMLZ

wand
see.3SG.IPFV
'With one person's toil, a thousand people see enjoyment.'

37

ðutɕaχoz	*na*	*tɕəwɣdʑ*	*a = dʑuj*	*mo*	*tɕəw*
itch	NEG	do.PRF	ACC = place	PROH	scratch.IPFV

'Don't scratch a place that doesn't itch.

38

ano-χejl	*i*	*ðust*	*qati*	*praxt*	*dʑumbon = in*	*uz*	*i*
mother-PL.NOM	one	hand	COM	cradle	move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV	again	one

ðust *qati* *dinju* *dʑumbon = in*
hand COM world move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'Mothers rock the cradle with one hand, and the world with the other.'

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

IPA	Orthography
[p]	p
[b]	b
[t]	t
[d]	d
[k]	k
[g]	g
[q]	q
[f]	f
[v]	v
[θ]	th’
[ð]	th
[s]	s
[z]	z
[ts]	c
[dz]	dz
[ɕ]	sh
[ʑ]	zh
[tɕ]	ch
[dʑ]	j
[x]	k’
[ɣ]	g’

IPA	Orthography
[χ]	h
[ʁ]	gh
[h]	kh
[m]	m
[n]	n
[r]	r
[l]	l
[w]	u, w
[j]	i, y

Table B.2 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Vowels

IPA	Orthography
[ɑ]	a
[ɛ]	e
[i]	i
[o]	o
[u]	u
[ɯ]	ee
[ə]	ea
[ɑj]	ai, ay
[ej]	ei, ey
[oj]	oi, oy
[uj]	ui, uy
[ɯj]	eei, eey
[iw]	iu, iw
[əw]	eau, eaw

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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 gemarkeerd 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 comparatieven (oftewel de vergrotende trap) uit te drukken: een enkelvoudige zinsconstructie en een samengestelde zinsconstructie. Superlatieven (oftewel de overtreffende trap) worden behandeld als een verlengstuk van comparatieven. 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 naamwoorden door middel van een bijwoordelijk achtervoegsel.

Hoofdstuk 7 is een uiteenzetting van de drie voornaamste wijzen: de aantonende wijs, de gebiedende wijs, en de vragende wijs. De gebiedende en vragende wijzen hebben verschillende subtypes. Deze worden beschreven in de desbetreffende sub-paragrafen met betrekking tot hun morfosyntactische markering.

Hoofdstuk 8 bekijkt de zinsstructuur. De standaard volgorde van constituenten wordt geschetst 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 constituenten worden besproken in de eerste paragrafen. Vervolgens wordt negatie van de gebiedende wijs 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, bijvoeglijke 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.