

## Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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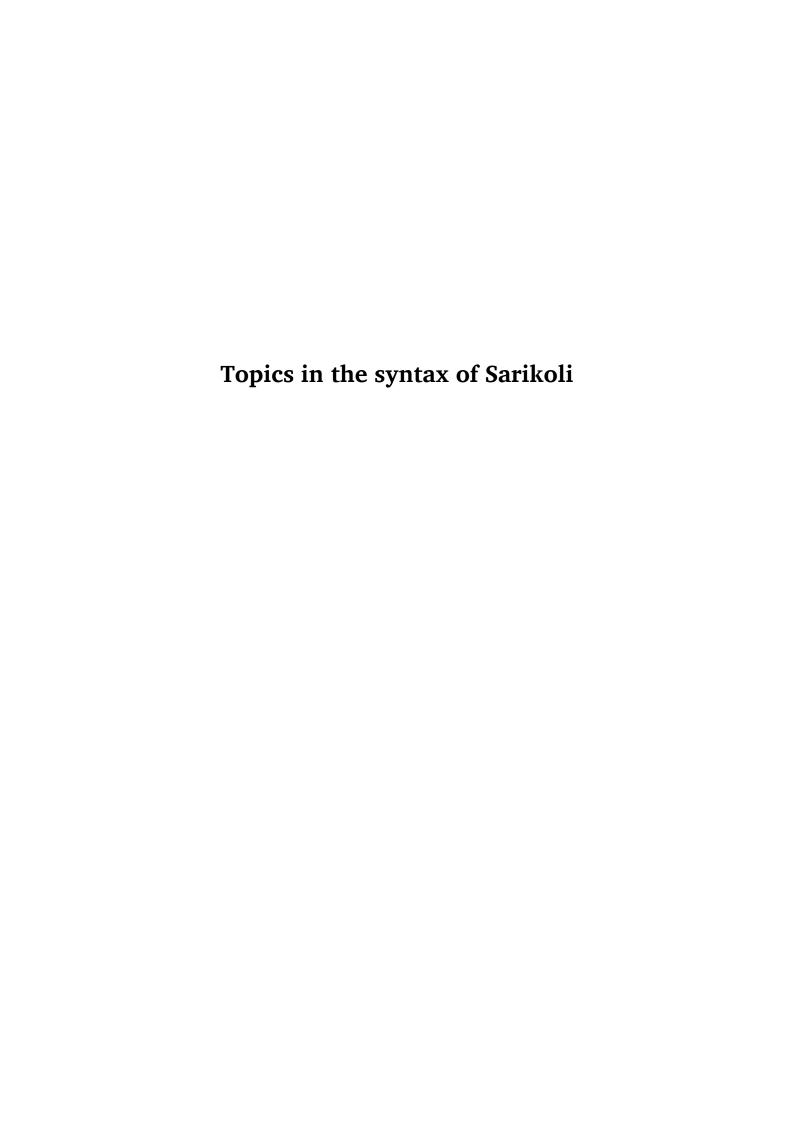


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# Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

## PROEFSCHRIFT

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## **Abbreviations**

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

¹Sarikoli is not a native designation; rather, it is a Western interpretation of the Uyghur word for the people group. Native speakers refer to themselves and their own language as *tudzik*, *sariquli*, or *sarikuj*. *tudzik* is the preferred endonym, as shown in examples (2.71), (2.118), (2.215), (3.73), (5.18), (6.51), (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 *tçin tudzik* or *dzonggo tudzik* 'China Tajik' may be used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>ISO 639-3 code (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016)

#### 1

#### 1.1.1 Geographical and physical context

Sarikoli speakers primarily live among the mountains of Varshide (vargide), 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.

1.1 The Sarikoli people

Varshide County is officially composed of eleven <code>gungci</code> (公社), or communes³, 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>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.

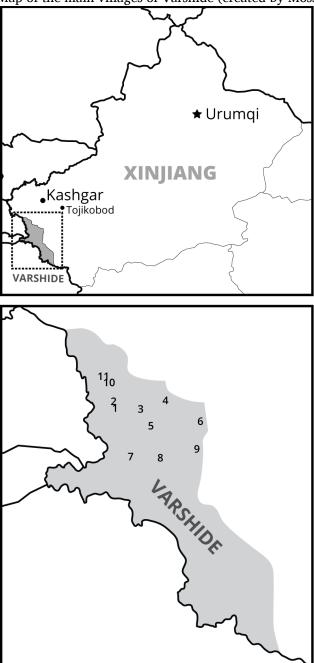
Table 1.1 The eleven main villages of Varshide County, and other place names

	IPA transcription	Orthographical spelling
1	varçide	Varshide
2	twznef	Teeznɛf
3	baldir	Baldir
4	koʁuçluk	Koghushluk
5	watça	Wacha
6	tung	Teeng
7	ðavðor	Thavthor
8	marjong	Maryong
9	brumsol	Brumsol
10	taʁarmi	Tagharmi
11	kekjor	Kekyor
<b>12</b>	todzikobod	Tojikobod
13	xwor	Kashgar
14	urumtçi	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.

## 4 Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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 (<code>cowgunbahor/nowruz</code> <code>ejd</code>), Qeerbun Eid (<code>qurbun ejd</code>), and Pilik Eid (<code>pilik ejd</code>). 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 <code>tced tcader ejd</code>

'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 *tced 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 (tçumband). The groom wears black, with a red and white cloth (sala) braided around the usual black wool hat (tumos) 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 (xanitsamuq), 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 *yalifa*, 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 (<code>cedoi</code> or <code>kulto</code>) 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. <code>\textit{zuici}</code> '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. <code>\textit{zafagi}\$ 'sadness'</code>, 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 tudzik) 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.<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>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	р		t		k	q	
_	b		d		g	_	
Affricate			ts	tç	_		
			dz	dz			
Fricative	f	θ	S	Ç	X	χ	h
	V	ð	Z	<b>Z</b>	Y	R	
Nasal	m		n		· ·		
Trill			r				
Lateral			1				
Glide	w			j			

Table 1.3 Sarikoli vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back	
Close	i		ш	u
Close-mid	e			0
Mid		ə		
Open-mid	3			
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 *tçi*, 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-\chi ejl=af a=bejroq naymug as'kar-\chi ejl=af a=bej'roq 'naymug soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=flag hide.PFV 'The soldiers hid the flag.'
```

- niso pa maktab xtsuvd usul χumand sut
  ni'so pa mak'tab x'tsuvd u'sul χu'mand sut
  Niso LOC school eagle dance learn become.PFV
  'Niso learned the eagle dance at school.'
- (1.3)ваdar tεdz tsa puiz dejd tçi pa ка¹dar 'tɛdz tsa pa pu'iz 'dejd tçi three.days.hence go.IPFV COND LOC train enter.INF CAP

ka 'ka do.IPFV

'If you go three days from today, you can get on the train.'

(1.4) χalisa az turik-i xudz na ðord χali'sa az turik-'i xudz 'na 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) watça at baldir watça jat baldir Wacha CONJ Baldir 'Wacha and Baldir'
- (1.6) na = am vuusond na = jam vuusond NEG=1SG.PFV show.PFV 'I did not show it.'
- (1.7) samu = at  $t\varphi wg = o$  samu = jat  $t\varphi wg = o$  walk = 2sG.PFV do.PFV = Q'Did you take a walk?'
- (1.8) a = di mu = ri hat ka = o a = di mu = 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 tçost tsa ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tcost 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 /t¢/ or /dz/ (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'	lev	levd	lɛvd	lɛvdz	levd
'gather'	wix	wixt	wixt	wixtç	wixt
'ask'	pars	parst	parst	parstç	parst
'dig'	kəw	kəwd	kəwd	kəwdz	kəwd
'write'	naviç	navi¢t	navi¢t	navi¢t¢	navi¢t
'use'	rafon	rafond	rafond	rafondz	rafond
'know'	wazon	wazond	wazond	wazondz	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

PFV tcawa	PRF	INF
tcawa	. 1	
.,,,,,	tçəwydz	tçejg
sut	seðdz	set
χшд	χшγdz	χig
iot	iθt¢	jεt
vəwg	vəwydz	vejg
iwg	jwydz	jig
bejd	bεðdz	bejd
Si	aut yug ot vəwg ug	χωg χωγdz ot iθtç vəwg vəwγdz ωg jωγdz

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  $\chi ig$  'eat'.

Table 1.6 Conjugations of xig 'eat'

	IPFV	PFV	PRF
Clitic:	on verb	preverbal	preverbal
1s <sub>G</sub>	$waz \chi or = am$	$waz = am \chi uig$	waz = am xuıydz
	'I (will) eat.'	'I ate.'	'I have eaten.'
2s <sub>G</sub>	$t \ge w \ \chi or = \emptyset$	$t \partial w = at \chi u g$	təw = at xuydz
	'You (will) eat.'	'You ate.'	'You have eaten.'
3s <sub>G</sub>	juı χird	jui=Ø xuig	ju = Ø xwydz
	'S/he (will) eat.'	'S/he ate.'	'S/he has eaten.'
1 <sub>PL</sub>	$mac \ \chi or = an$	ma¢=an χωg	maç = an xuıydz
	'We (will) eat.'	'We ate.'	'We have eaten.'
2 <sub>PL</sub>	tamaç xor=it	$tamac = af \chi uig$	$tamac = af \chi u \chi dz$
	'You(pl) (will) eat.'	'You(pl) ate.'	'You(pl) have eaten.'
3PL	woð $\chi$ or = in	$wo\delta = af \chi uig$	woð = af xwydz
	'They (will) eat.'	'They ate.'	'They have eaten.'

Examples (1.10) - (1.19) illustrate how the five verb stems of  $\chi ig$  'eat' are combined with pronominal agreement clitics to form sentences. In the imperfective aspect, the imperfective stem,  $\chi or$ , 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  $\chi or = am$ 1SG.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'I (will) eat flatbread.'
- (1.11) tamaç xipik  $\chi or = it$ 2PL.NOM flatbread eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
  'You(pl) (will) eat flatbread.'

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

(1.12) mu jax xipik xird
1SG.NNOM sister flatbread eat.3SG.IPFV
'My sister eats/will eat flatbread.'

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

The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective stem,  $\chi ug$ , 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) mac = an ingum xipik  $\chi ug$  1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV just.now flatbread eat.PFV 'We ate flatbread just now.'
- (1.15)  $do\delta = af$  ingum xipik  $\chi ug$  3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV just.now flatbread eat.PFV 'These people ate flatbread just now.'

The perfect aspect contains the perfect stem,  $\chi u y d z$ , 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 xuydz
  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 xuydz
  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,  $\chi ig$ , which does not occur with an agreement clitic because it is within a subordinate clause.

- (1.18) jad pugan  $\chi ig = it \varepsilon uz$  xipik 3SG.NOM.PROX tomorrow eat.INF = REL flatbread 'This is flatbread that will be eaten tomorrow.'
- (1.19) mu 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 /dz/. 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	aluıd	aludz	alid
'lie.CAUS'	alazon	alazond	alazond	alazondz	alazond
'reach'	frops	fropst	fript	friptç	fript
'reach.CAUS'	frapon	frapond	frapond	frapondz	frapond
'sleep'	xufs	xufst	xuvd	xuvdz	xovd
'sleep.CAUS'	xafson	xafsond	xafsond	xafsondz	xafsond
'read'	хиj	хиjd	xojd	xojdz	xojd
'read.CAUS'	xajon	xajond	xajond	xajondz	xajond
'eat'	χor	χird	χшд	χωγdz	χig
'eat.CAUS'	χшron	χwrond	χwrond	χwrondz	χwrond
'cry'	nəw	nəwd	niwd	niwdz	niwd
'cry.CAUS'	nawon	nawond	nawond	nawondz	nawond
'burn'	$\theta$ ə $w$	$\theta$ əwd	θwd	$ heta arepsilon \delta dz$	$\theta$ id
'burn.CAUS'	$\theta$ awon	$\theta$ awond	$\theta$ awond	θawondz	$\theta$ awond
'move'	dzumb	dzwmbd	dzwmbd	dzwmbdz	dzwmbd
'move.CAUS'	dzumbon	dzwmbond	dzwmbond	dzumbondz	dzumbond

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. 
$$jad=ik$$
 uz  $n ag{awd}$  3SG.NOM.PROX = DUR again cry.3SG.IPFV 'This one is crying again.'

(1.21) a. tamaç dzald xuu leq pamedz=it,

2PL.NOM fast REFL.NNOM clothing wear.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

 $tamoq \chi or = it$ 

food eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'Put your(pl) clothes on quickly and eat.'

b. waz = am a = tamac  $\delta \varepsilon sul$  1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 2PL.NNOM ten year

χωrond pamεdzond

eat.CAUS.PFV wear.CAUS.PFV

'I have fed you and clothed you for ten years.'

- - b. waz = am  $\chi u$  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.  $t_{cejg}$  'do', set 'become',  $\delta od$  'give', and  $\chi ig$  '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

<b>Compound verb</b>	Components	Meaning
iç tçejg	cold + do	'be cold'
tej tçejg	wedding + do	'marry'
hat tçejg	open + do	ʻopen'
gap tçejg	word + do	'talk'
jordam tçejg	help + do	'help'
ub set	melt + become	'melt'
ago set	awake + become	'wake up'
aluk set	tired + become	'get tired'
χafo sεt	upset + become	'get upset'
azmud set	born + become	'be born'
mut ðod	fist + give	'punch'
lut¢ ðod	kick + give	'kick'
para ðod	sell + give	'sell'
fand ðod	false + give	ʻlie'
dzeq ðod	squat + give	'squat'
lεχ χig	bump + eat	'bump into'
χαm χig	bend + eat	'bend'
ditçur xig	encounter + eat	'encounter'
καzun χig	wither + eat	'wither'
rawudz 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 tçəwg
Farzana ACC=box open do.PFV
'Farzana opened the box.'

- (1.24) a = mac = at fand  $\delta udz$ ACC = 1PL.NNOM = 2SG.PFV false give.PRF 'You have lied to us. (Evidential/New information)'
- (1.25)  $\chi u$  radzen tsasa para  $\delta o = am$ REFL.NNOM daughter how sell give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

  'How could I sell my own daughter?'
- (1.26) nur = af  $wa\chi ti$  ago sut today = 3PL.PFV early awake become.PFV 'They woke up early today.'
- (1.27)  $kalo-\chi ejl = af$  mas iç tçəwydş sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV also cold do.PRF 'The sheep also got cold.'
- (1.28) waz = am i suat dzeq 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	= <i>ik</i> (DUR)
Subordinating	Forms nominalized complement clauses and reason adverbial clauses	=i (SC)
Relativizer	Forms relative clauses	= ɛndz (REL), = itçuz (REL)
Demonstrative	Marks anaphora, cataphora, and physical distance	k(i) = $(ANA),$ $m(i) =$ $(CATA)$
Emphatic	Attaches to an emphasized constituent	$=a\theta$ (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:

(1.30)  $mahum-\chi ejl=ik$  a=tamac tcos=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) palow = am = ik  $\chi uug$  pilaf = 1 SG.PFV = DUR eat.PFV 'I have eaten pilaf (multiple times).'
- (1.32) malum pa t cel = am = ik dejdteacher 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) tamac=af uz i  $ma\theta=ik$  tsa naluctc-it 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV again one day=DUR COND sit.PRF-CESS mac=an=ik tup amad ar tej 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV=DUR group Amad LOC wedding  $se\delta dz-it$  become.PRF-CESS 'If you(pl) had stayed one more day, we would have all gone to
- Amad's wedding together.'
- dzuj (1.34)mu-an hansu ziv kasp vid tçi 1sg.nnom-gen Han tongue major be.INF LOC place kasp = ikingles ziv tsa νεðdz-it English tongue major = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS waz = am = ikazta ingles ziv 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR ABL 2SG.NNOM English tongue xumand seðdz-it

become.PRF-CESS

learn

'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 \chi ovd tu = ri
ABL lesson = 1sg.pfv = dur go.down.pfv 2sg.nnom = dat

lev = am
say.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV
'I will tell you when I have gotten out of class.'
```

(1.36) jad kinu=ik adu sut pa buzur 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  $l\varepsilon v=in$ 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 ma\theta = am a = wi wandz-it
one day = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS
'I saw(/had seen) her the other day.'
```

```
(1.40) wo\delta = af parus i sots mu = ri
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV last.year one girl 1SG.NNOM = DAT
```

'They sent me a girl last year.'

send.PRF-CESS

kol çindz-it

head laugh.PRF-CESS

'When I passed by, you laughed at me.'

(1.42) nur kampir a = mu pa  $t \in Ed$   $l \in V \in Z$  it today old.lady ACC = 1SG.NNOM LOC house say.PRF-CESS

t coj broxt = ir

tea drink.INF = DAT

'Today the old lady invited me to her house for tea.'

(1.43) waz = am utc tur  $se\delta dz$ -it, pa 1sg.Nom = 1sg.PFV very thirsty become.PRF-CESS LOC

tced = am dejd, tazo xats = am bruxt house = 1sg.pfv enter.pfv very water = 1sg.pfv drink.pfv 'I got very thirsty, went into the house, and drank a lot of water.'

(1.44) eej ju tcurik mu=ri levdz-it iko INTJ 3SG.NOM.DIST man 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.PRF-CESS SC

ditçur  $\chi u y dz = \varepsilon n dz$  a = r u s q 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  $\delta od = ir = ik$  vaw budon~mabudon qati INTJ give.INF=DAT=DUR be.IPFV saddle~RDP COM

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

# tçimbdz-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.'

30 Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

31

# **Nouns**

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

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

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

# 2.1 Nouns: Introduction

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

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

Nouns are also combined with inflecting verbs to form hundreds of compound verbs.

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

#### **2.1.1** Number

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>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  $-\chi ejl$  is used for pluralizing nominative arguments, while  $-\epsilon f$  is used for pluralizing non-nominative arguments. Any argument specifying plural number takes one of these two suffixes, depending on its case:

- (2.1)  $mejmun-\chi ejl = af$  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.  $v \in \delta dz$  na  $v \in \delta dz$  haroj v r u d = af  $v \in \delta dz$  be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother = 3PL.PFV be.PRF 'Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)'
  - b. \*veðdz na veðdz haroj vrud-χejl=af
    be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

### νεðdz he pre

'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 mu tçi kol çond person 1SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.3SG.IPFV 'People will laugh at me.'
- (2.6) kud 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) mu=ri i tçini vor 1SG.NNOM=DAT one bowl bring.IPFV 'Bring me a bowl.'
- (2.8) amad mac = ir i bejt levd Amad 1PL.NNOM = DAT one song say.3SG.IPFV 'Amad will sing us a song.'
- (2.9) pa tçεd i χalg iθtς
   LOC house one person come.PRF
   'Someone came to the house. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.10) wo $\delta$  i dzuj so=in=o 3PL.NOM.DIST one place become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q 'Are they going somewhere?'
- (2.11) az amriko mu=ri i tsiz vor=oABL America 1SG.NNOM=DAT one thing bring.IPFV=Q
  'Will you bring something for me from America?'

```
(2.12) t \partial w = at i t isz uj t \partial w \partial w, nej 2 SG.NOM = 2 SG.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).

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

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

```
(2.17) t \partial w = at \chi u numur wi 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV REFL.NNOM number 3SG.NNOM.DIST \partial w rat = ir l \varepsilon v d = 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  $\chi$  alifa (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, raçid, asan, ibruhim, ismoil, usuuf, 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
<i>qurbun</i> 'Qeerbun Eid'	born on Qeerbun Eid, a festival
ejdboj 'Eid rich person'	born on an Eid (festival)
çanbe 'Saturday'	born on a Saturday
dzuma 'Friday'	born on a Friday
<i>tçorçanbε</i> 'Wednesday'	born on a Wednesday
sovdzi 'greenness'	born in the Spring
çanggang 'Hong Kong'	born on July 1, 1997 (Hong Kong's return to China)

Finally, many people are named after common nouns, such as: tçini 'bowl', qalamdun 'pencil case', sarmusoq 'garlic', zejtun 'olive', dejqun 'farmer', olim 'scholar', *yonim* 'female teacher', *askar* 'soldier', *qoxaz* 'paper', *bulbul* 'nightingale', nuc 'apricot', tilu 'gold', budum 'almond', asal 'honey', zandzabil 'ginger', dzimak 'faucet', qulf 'lock', nazar 'glance; view', marwuri 'pearl', murud 'aspiration', haqiqat 'truth', maxsat 'purpose', dewlat 'country; estate', tçulpon '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: dzon 'life', bejg 'ruler', ço '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 yon 'king', nur 'light', bayt 'happiness', and aziz 'love' for names of either gender. Examples include: nurdin 'light-religion', dilaziz 'heart-love', dilmurud 'heart-aspiration', olimdzon 'scholar-life', dzawonço 'world-king', bibigul 'religious teacher's wife-flower', gulyon 'flower-king', gulnur 'flower-light', baxtigul '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: xuðoj 'God' and çejtun '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) *iç-i* mu = ri  $\chi u \varphi$  nist cold-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV 'I do not like coldness.'
- (2.19) wi lowr-i m = dund3SG.NNOM.DIST big-NMLZ CATA = AMT 'Its size is this big.'
- (2.20) waz wef 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 xudz na ðor = am

  1SG.NOM ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

  'I am not afraid of the dark.'
- (2.22) ta  $\chi u \delta m$   $p \epsilon \chi t \epsilon = 0$  ta aluk-i 2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF = Q 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ

```
naxtuydz = o
go.up.PRF = Q
```

'Has your dream ripened? Has your tiredness gone out? (Evidential/New information)'

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

The substantival nominalizer  $-\partial w$  derives nouns by substantivizing adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, expressing the meaning 'one that is X (where 'X' is the word that takes  $-\partial w$ )'.

Table 2.2 Nouns derived with -aw

dzulik-əw 'small one'	хш¢rшj-әw 'pretty one'	buland-əw 'tall one'
lawr-aw 'big one'	sart-əw 'ugly one'	daruz-əw 'long one'
zit-əw 'bad one'	digar iw-əw 'other one'	kut-əw 'short one'
tçardz-əw 'good one'	<i>iw-əw</i> 'one/someone'	itang-əw 'some'

The -qi suffix attaches to adjectives and nouns to derive abstract nouns:

Table 2.3 Nouns derived with -gi

çta-gi 'coldness'	batça-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'
хш¢rшj-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 tizd
3SG.NOM.PROX old.lady go.3SG.IPFV
'This old lady will leave.'
```

(2.25) *nur* maç a=tamaç 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 "nonnominative" 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'
	<i>təw</i> 'you'	ta qati 'with you'
demonstrative	doð 'these'	$a = d\varepsilon f$ 'these(ACC)'
	<i>ju</i> ı 'that'	wi rang 'like that'
	jad zeð 'this thief'	di zeð avon 'for this thief'
	<i>ju ktub-χejl</i> 'those books'	$a = wi \ ktub-\varepsilon f$ 'those books(ACC)'
plural marking	ano-xejl 'mothers'	az ano-εf 'from mothers'
_	mεrz-χejl 'ants'	$m\varepsilon rz - \varepsilon f = ir$ 'to ants'
	balax-χejl 'pillows'	tçi balax-ef '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 inder	'on person'	§2.2.1.5
NNOM avon	benefactive	§2.2.1.6
NNOM rang	semblative	§2.2.1.7
NNOM buntça	'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
tçi 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  $-\chi ejl$ , as shown in (2.27).

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  - (2.26) tiloχon pa duxturxuno woxt maθ alud Tilohon LOC hospital eight day lie.PFV 'Tilohon lay in the hospital for eight days.'
  - (2.27) *awrat-xejl pa tçɛd 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.

```
    i maθ i ruz ju ugej vrud bðon one day one day 3SG.NOM.DIST non-blood brother saddle
    tuxt carve.3SG.IPFV
    'One day, the non-blood brother carved a saddle.'
```

(2.29) ato ano-xejl xw batço avon father mother-PL.NOM REFL.NNOM child BEN

```
a = \chi u qurbun 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) mu tçi ter-nendz wez utç garun 1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy 'The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.'
- (2.31) paraxeb  $i\theta t \varphi = \varepsilon ndz$   $mejmun-\chi ejl$  nawz pa  $t\varphi ed$  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) tu = ri tilfon tcawydz = \varepsilon ndz \chi alg waz 2SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.PRF = REL person 1SG.NOM 'The person who called you is me.'
```

```
(2.33) jad dzam mw=ri nasib
3SG.NOM.PROX all 1SG.NNOM=DAT grant
```

sεδdz = εndz 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 i, but are not marked with any NP function markers.

- (2.34) a mom i səwg maç=ir lev VOC grandmother one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV 'Grandma, tell us a story.'
- (2.35) *ej sots çuv dos mo ka*VOC girl calm manner PROH do.IPFV

  'Hey girl, be quiet, don't do that!'
- i: χωδοj i batço mu=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 batço-xejl tamaç=af nur tsejz tçəwg*VOC child-PL.NOM 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV today what do.PFV 'Hey children, what did you(pl) do today?'
- (2.38) mu azizdzin jax vrud-xejl tamaç=ir
  1SG.NNOM dear sister brother-PL.NOM 2PL.NNOM=DAT

  xuuçomadi
  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 - $\varepsilon f$  instead of - $\chi e j l$ , 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.  $a = qalam \varepsilon f = am$  vowg

  ACC = pen-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
  'I brought the pens.'
  - b. \*a=qalam-\chickzejl=am vowg
    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 = mu = at bo na  $t \neq avg$  ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV 'You have not kissed me.'
  - b. \*mu=at bo na tçəwg
    1SG.NNOM=2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
    'You have not kissed me.'
- (2.43) a. *m-oto* a = tamac rond
  1SG.NNOM-father ACC=2PL.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV
  'My father will scold you(pl)!'
  - b. \*m-oto tama¢ 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.

- (2.45) a. k=a=wi guxt zoxt=ir=af ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST meat get.INF=DAT=3PL.PFV tuijdz go.PRF'They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)'
  - b. \*ki=wi guxt zoxt=ir=af tujdz 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)  $do\delta = af$   $w\varepsilon f$   $(a =) t \varepsilon \varepsilon d$  3PL.NOM.PROX = PL.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = house  $t \varepsilon akt$  demolish.PFV 'These people demolished their house.'
- (2.47) mu (a=)dzun 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 yin xuu leq
  3SG.NOM.DIST 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife REFL.NNOM clothing

  tojzd 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  $\chi$ -oto ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX picture REFL.NNOM-father  $\chi$ -ono = ri mo vuson = itREFL.NNOM-mother = DAT PROH show.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

  'Do not show this picture to your parents.'
- (2.51) waz  $\chi uu$  radzen=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) mu = ri tsejz samsut vor 1SG.NNOM = DAT what gift bring.IPFV 'What gift will you bring for me?'
- (2.53) www di=ri xuuc walnut 3sg.nnom.prox=dat happy 'This person likes walnuts.' (lit. Walnuts are pleasing to this person.)

```
(2.54) az mac \delta aw tu=ri tcoj lawr
ABL 1PL.NNOM two 2SG.NNOM=DAT who.NOM big

\begin{array}{c} numujd \\ \text{seem.3SG.IPFV} \\ \text{'Of the two of us, who seems bigger to you?'} \end{array}
```

- (2.55) mu vits a=mac tamoq=ir qiw tcowg 1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1PL.NNOM food=DAT call do.PFV 'My aunt invited us over for food.'
- (2.56) maç seð quirbun ejd=ir varçide na
  1PL.NOM this.year Qeerbun festival=DAT Varshide NEG

  wazefs=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)  $\chi u$  bob qati na so = oREFL.NNOM grandfather COM NEG become.IPFV = Q 'Are you not going with your grandfather?'
- (2.58) təw maç qati tsa vəw bεχatar 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 = amdo.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV'I compete with this one.'

(2.60) waz = am  $\chi u$  t cur qati ep 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM husband COM fitting

suit

become.PFV

'I got reconciled to my husband.'

 $jo\delta = an$ ,  $wo\delta$   $i\chi il$  a = mac 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)  $\chi u$   $\delta ust$  qati  $\chi or = o$ , t cib qati REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPFV = Q spoon COM 'Will you eat with your hand or with a spoon?'
- (2.63)  $qalam \ qati \ \chi u \ vraw = at \ tizd = o$ pen COM REFL.NNOM eyebrow = 2SG.PFV draw.PFV = Q 'Did you draw your eyebrow with a pen?'
- (2.64) parwejdz qati zəw puk kan=an sieve COM grain sift do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV 'We sift the grain with a sieve.'
- (2.65) pa varçide 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) moçin (qati) naj, çɛr qati so = an
  car COM NEG donkey COM become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We will not go by car, but by donkey.'

(2.67) ano- $\chi ejl$  i ðust qati praxt dzumbon=in, mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

uz i ðust qati a=dinju dzumbon=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 zerbast qati tumou ka=in black lambskin COM male.hat do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 'They make hats for men with black lambskin.'
- (2.69) safts qati intsuvdz=ɛndz çejdoi garun bead COM sew.PRF=REL Sheydoi heavy 'Sheydois (female cap) sewn with beads are heavy.'
- (2.70) karpitç qati qalmo tsa ðo dejwul xuuçruj 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.'

> 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) maç dzam di tçer-an nejk-i qati 1PL.NOM all 3SG.NNOM.PROX work-GEN good-NMLZ COM

adu set umejõ 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 zit tsem qati tsa tços az tçed 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)  $ma \varepsilon$   $\chi u$   $d \gg u$ 

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

muhofiz lev = in

protector say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'We protect our country with our lives, that is why they call us "protectors".'

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

- (2.75) dzeq dzeq
- (2.76) ju xu puts dard qati dzald pir 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM son pain COM fast old

suit

become.PFV

'He aged quickly with the pain from his son.'

(2.77) di buland awudz qati maç səwl tçun 3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1PL.NNOM ear deaf

swt

become.PFV

'Our ears have gone deaf with this loud noise.'

(2.78) simikun i mon  $\chi$ ird, ki = wiSunwukong 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:

naxtug

go.up.PFV

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

# 2.2.1.5 'on person' inder

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

- (2.80) ta inder tsund kuj jost
  2SG.NNOM on.person how.much Chinese.yuan be.IPFV
  'How much money do you have with you?'
- (2.81) mu qosaz tçi inder 1SG.NNOM paper who.NNOM on.person 'Who has my paper?'
- (2.82) a = di narsa- $\varepsilon f$  dzam  $\chi u$  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX thing-PL.NNOM all REFL.NNOM

inder laka

on.person put.IPFV

'You can keep all of these things.' (lit. Leave all of these things with yourself.)

- (2.83) wi tçurik inder hitç tsiz nist = o3SG.NNOM.DIST man on.person none thing NEG.be.IPFV = Q 'Does that man have nothing with him?'
- (2.84) akbar inder pul mas na veðdz tilfon mas na Akbar on.person money also NEG be.PRF phone also NEG

νεðdz

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) baxtigul xu radzen avon pur kamput zuxt
  Bahtigeel REFL.NNOM daughter BEN much candy buy.PFV
  'Bahtigeel bought a lot of candy for her daughter.'
- (2.86) mu avon hit; tsiz = at na levd 1SG.NNOM BEN none thing = 2SG.PFV NEG say.PFV 'You did not say anything on my behalf.'
- (2.87) maç avon a=di xabar 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 weðd 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST BEN tear put.PFV 'I shed tears for him.' (2.89) maç hajut avon ju  $a = \chi u$ 1PL.NNOM life BEN 3SG.NOM.DIST ACC = REFL.NNOM

*quirbun tçəwg* 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

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

(2.91)  $\chi u$  dəwlat avon numus mo ka, ta
REFL.NNOM country BEN shame PROH do.IPFV 2SG.NNOM

dawlat 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) *xuu puts tej avon* REFL.NNOM son wedding BEN

wi = ri = am pul old sign 3sg.nnom.dist = dat = 1sg.pfv money give.pfv 'I gave my son money for his wedding.'

(2.93)  $wo\delta = af$  computation ejd avon mudz SPL.NOM.DIST = SPL.PFV Sheawgeenbahor Festival BEN new

*leq* 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 batço purg rang kam xird
  3SG.NOM.PROX child mouse SEMB little eat.3SG.IPFV
  'This child eats little, like a mouse.'
- (2.95) song rang gap mo ka nasaly.speaker SEMB word PROH do.IPFV 'Do not talk like a nasaly person.'
- (2.96) downd mu=ri vrud rang numujd

  Doweed 1sg.nnom=dat brother semb seem.3sg.ipfv

  'Doweed feels like a brother to me.'
- (2.97) ju sots most rang nur ðext
  3SG.NOM.DIST girl moon SEMB light shine.3SG.IPFV
  'That girl shines like the moon.'
- (2.98) haraq mas di rang mast na tçi alcohol also 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB drunk NEG CAP

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-εf tçəwγdz word-PL.NNOM do.PRF

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

```
(2.100) maç har tsund zen-in mas tsa
1PL.NOM every how.much intelligence-ADJ also COND
```

vrud-ef 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 *tsejz* 'what', the semblative marker forms the interrogative word *tsarang* 'how', which questions manner and condition (see §7.3.4):

- (2.101) tamaç awul tsarang
  2PL.NNOM situation how
  'How is your(pl) situation?'
- (2.102) mu mom mudzuz tsarang 1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling how 'How is my grandmother feeling?'

# 2.2.1.8 'according to' buntça

buntça '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 bunt ca 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 bunt ca ka = am 2SG.NNOM word according to do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I will do according to your word.'

(2.105)  $duu\chi tuur$  lev dz = en dz buntça hara ma $\theta$  duri doctor say.PRF = REL according.to every day medicine

 $\chi or = am$ 

eat.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV

'I take medicine every day according to the doctor's instructions.'

(2.106) muu  $\chi or$   $\varphi anb \varepsilon$   $ma\theta$   $\chi uu$  odat 1SG.NNOM nephew Saturday day REFL.NNOM custom

buntça pa ktubχuno sεðdz-it

according.to LOC library become.PRF-CESS

'On Saturday my nephew went to the library according to his habit.'

(2.107) tamaç vid na vid qonun buntça 2PL.NOM be.INF NEG be.INF law according.to

a = di  $t \in \mathbb{R}$  ka = it

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

(2.108)  $putxu \ \chi ambondz = \varepsilon ndz \ amr \ bunt \varepsilon a$  king go.down.CAUS.PRF = REL command according.to

 $dejqun-\chi ejl=af$  dzam  $\chi uu$  ar dijur farmer-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV all REFL.NNOM LOC region

wazevd

return.PFV

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

(2.109) *mεrona* χ-ono *dil buntça* 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 varçide (to) marjong its tsund waxt
  ABL Varshide TERM Maryong TERM how.much time

  tizd
  go.3sg.IPFV
  'How long does it take to get from Varshide to Maryong?'
- (2.111) ejdboj az tureq (to) naburg its soq salomat Eidboy ABL head.top TERM heel TERM well healthy 'Eidboy is healthy from head to heel.'
- (2.112) waz hara  $ma\theta$  (to) suat  $\delta \epsilon s$  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)  $\chi u$  marg its i  $\gamma$ in qati nardzes TERM REFL.NNOM death TERM one wife COM pass.IPFV 'Until your death, be with one wife.'
- (2.114) wef = ir  $ext{des} sul$   $ext{sut}$ ,  $ext{harmo}$  (to)  $ext{git}$   $ext{3PL.NNOM} = det{DAT}$  ten year become.PFV but TERM now

its wef-an batço 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 dawd 'up here', pa dum 'up there', ar awd 'down here', ar um 'down there', tar awd '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 xu tilu ar sit gəwr tçəwg Gawar REFL.NNOM gold LOC dirt bury do.PFV 'Gawar buried his gold in the dirt.'
- (2.116) mendz waxt mu vrud-xejl 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 tçudir 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 tudzik batço jost*3PL.NNOM.PROX LOC school five Tajik child be.IPFV
  'There are five Tajik kids at their school.'
- (2.119) gulbarg xu batço-ɛf pa tçɛd 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) maç ar həwly i səwz daraxt jost,
1PL.NNOM LOC yard one walnut tree be.IPFV

ju daraxt utç 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 kt¢awi 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  $dz\varepsilon$  so=amLOC upriver become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 'I am going up.'
  - (2.125) *mu nabus dzul vid alo ixil pa daraxt* 1SG.NNOM grandchild small be.INF TEMP often LOC tree

paðevd pa dejwul paðevd 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 tçəwg ar ACC=1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC

boʁdza=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 nususur so=am*LOC downriver become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
  'I am going down.'

- (2.128) a = di ar darju pataw = 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 tujdLOC where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
  'Where are you headed?'
- (2.130) dijur  $\chi$ alg tar um tar  $\partial$  awd ratsa $\partial$ t region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPFV 'The villagers run away this way and that way.'
- (2.131)  $ceitun \ a = \chi alg \ tar \ zit \ pond \ jod=itcuz$ Satan ACC=person LOC bad road take.INF=REL 'Satan is one who leads people down the bad path.'
- (2.132) mu səwl 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 *maç tar pond* tomorrow dawn=DUR give.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road

naxtedz = ango.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 çitç tung*1SG.NNOM-father now Teeng
  'My father is in Teeng now.'
- (2.135) varçide mewo na past Varshide fruit NEG ripen.3sg.IPFV 'Fruit does not grow in Varshide.'

- (2.136) dud dodik pugan xwor xofst uncle Dodik tomorrow Kashgar go.down.3SG.IPFV 'Uncle Dodik will go down to Kashgar tomorrow.'
- (2.137) maç=an todzikobod fript
  1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV Tojikobod reach.PFV
  'We have arrived in Tojikobod.'

#### 2.2.1.11 Locative tçi

The preposition t c i, 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 p a, a r, or t a r. The argument marked with t c i is in the non-nominative case:

- (2.138) haroj vrud i tçi dzuj so=in three brother one LOC place become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 'The three brothers come together in one place.'
- (2.139) *tçi waxin mo naxpor*LOC blood PROH step.IPFV
  'Do not step on the blood.'
- (2.140) dzul tçuχ tçi κον istχun veðdz small puppy LOC mouth bone be.PRF 'The little puppy has a bone in its mouth. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.141) past laka tçi maðon balak səwd skin let.IPFV LOC middle part become.3sg.IPFV 'Let the leather split down the middle.'
- (2.142) a = bejroq  $t \in i$  buland-i  $t \in k$   $\delta o = an$  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 set alo 3SG.NOM.DIST son one year.old become.INF TEMP

wi tçi 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 tci 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=mu1SG.NOM slow slow do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV ACC=1SG.NNOM

> tçi dzat mo wejð LOC hurry PROH put.IPFV

'I will do it slowly, do not put me in a hurry.'

- (2.145) ju  $\chi u$  tçi qasam na waruvd 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM LOC oath NEG stand.PFV 'He did not keep his oath.'
- (2.146) təw mu tçi dzuj 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 xu mul mulk pet para 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM livestock land all sell

*ðid* wi tçi pull give.3sg.IPFV 3sg.NNOM.DIST LOC money

k = a = wi zemdz 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  $gap-\varepsilon f mu = ri$ ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX-PL.NNOM word 1SG.NNOM=DAT

hansu tçi ziv sejron

Han LOC tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV

'Translate these words into Chinese for me.'

(2.149) 
$$mac$$
  $suat$   $tci$   $iw$   $pa$   $low$   $darwuzo$   $a=imi$ 
 $1$ PL.NOM hour LOC one LOC big gate ACC=RECP

 $wejn=an$ 
 $see.IPFV=1$ PL.IPFV

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

*tçi* 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 toz tçi 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)  $tur-\chi ejl=af$   $t\varphi uk$   $t\varphi i$   $\chi ig$  suut net-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV tear LOC eat.INF become.PFV  $k\varepsilon ma-\chi ejl=af$  tar bun  $t\varphi i$   $\delta od$  suut 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)  $bat co-\chi ejl=af$  marzundz tci set child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV hungry LOC become.INF  $se\delta dz$

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

(2.153) a = sawg = am bur  $t \in lev d$  sut ACC = story = 1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV 'I have begun to tell a story, then.'

Finally, *tçi* 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 levd alo maç = an tamoq tçi
Zarnigor song say.INF TEMP 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV food LOC

tçejg vud
do.INF be.PFV

'When Zarnigor sang, we were in the middle of making food.'
```

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

kazwi=af ta tilfon zoxt na tçi tçəwg 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) t > w = at mu = ri tilfon tsa 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone COND  $t \leq w \leq v = am$   $l \leq v = am$ 

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

## 2.2.1.12 Ablative **az**

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

(2.157) mu parxox az watça 1SG.NNOM wife ABL Wacha 'My wife is from Wacha.'

```
(2.158) jad
                          тш
                                     az qetc naxtuy dz = endz
         3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM ABL belly go.up.PRF=REL
           radzen
            daughter
         'This is a daughter that came out of my belly.'
(2.159)
                           wazond=itçuz dzuj az
                                                       malum-εf
         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)
                                            qotil
         1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father ABL murderer revenge
            zoz = am
            get.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV
         'I will avenge my father's murderer.'
(2.161) faridun χω
                                           ano
                                                    barakat
                               az ato
         Faridun REFL.NNOM ABL father mother blessing
            zuxt c = \varepsilon n dz
            get.PRF = REL
         'Faridun is one who received prosperity from his parents.'
(2.162)
                 az mejmun pejdu se\delta dz = \varepsilon n dz = 0
                                                              χшδοј
         person ABL monkey appear become.PRF=REL=Q God
                     t \varepsilon \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz
            ufarid
            creation do.PRF = REL
         'Is mankind something that came about from monkeys, or some-
            thing that God created?'
(2.163) mardon az
                       batçagi
                                   ktub xoid = ir
                                                        utç yuçdur
         Mardon ABL childhood book read.INF = DAT very happy
            vuud
            be.PFV
         'Mardon has really enjoyed reading books since his childhood.'
```

(2.164) wi çtu zord 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 Oud az Bam kabub sut
  1SG.NNOM liver ABL worry kebab become.PFV
  'My liver became roasted into a kebab from worrying.'
- (2.166)  $az \quad mu = at \quad \chi afo \quad sut = o$ ABL 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV upset become.PFV = Q
  'Did you get upset because of me?'
- (2.167) az maç ðəw tçoj ləwr numujd

  ABL 1PL.NNOM two who.NOM big seem.3SG.IPFV

  'Of the two of us, who seems bigger?'
- (2.168) *təw nuluzim ktub-ɛf az luzim*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 = am1SG.NOM LAT 2SG.NNOM become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I will go to you.'

buz

send.IPFV

'Send your children to me one by one.'

(2.171) piç zoxtç par purg, purg zoxtç mergan 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  $\chi u$   $\delta ust$  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 maç narx weðd 1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1SG.NNOM trouble put.PFV 'My brother has placed trouble upon us.'
- (2.174) raimdzon par maç qor tçəwg 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

wowwor t ceig = iryell 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 tçi pond woxtç xalg par pɛð rɛðdz flower LOC road fall.PRF person LAT foot remain.PRF

naxpuydz seðdz

step.PRF become.PRF

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

(2.177) amirçu xuı batço ejb-ef par Amirshu REFL.NNOM child transgression-PL.NNOM LAT

> χω 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) maç 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 zemdz na tedz=an, paz pond LOC field NEG go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV PER road

 $t\varepsilon dz = an$ go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

'Let us not go toward the fields, but along the road.'

(2.180) ju wef a = qor vəwydz, 3SG.NOM.DIST 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC=anger bring.PRF

a=wi=af paz vurdz tizdz 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 waxt mu kud 1SG.NOM PER sheep go.INF time 1SG.NNOM dog

> mu paz dum tid=itçuz 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 kuraç 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) faxirdin paz dzonoro bejt zwust
```

(2.184) faxirdin paz dzonoro 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 tçi prud adu suut* two month LOC front finish become.PFV 'It ended two months ago.'
- (2.186) mu dikun dzul 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)  $\chi u$  pets z nod az z abu x u f sREFL.NNOM face wash.INF ABL back sleep.IPFV
'Sleep after washing your face.'

- (2.188) ta tilfon a=mu tar zabu  $we\delta d$  2SG.NNOM phone ACC=1SG.NNOM LOC back put.PFV 'Your phone call made me late.'
- (2.189) wef toed az zabu sar gull bus jost 3PL.NNOM.DIST house ABL back side flower garden be.IPFV 'There is a flower garden behind their house.'
- (2.190)  $t \ni w$  wi pa zabu  $a = \chi uu$  2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC back ACC = ref.NNOM

naymedz tedz
hide.IPFV go.IPFV
'You hide yourself and follow him.'

arqo 'upper back' (behind)

- (2.191) tçɛd pa arqo i tup kalo waruvdz house LOC upper.back one group sheep stand.PRF 'There is a flock of sheep standing behind the house. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.192) putxu yin xiç wi tçi 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=itçuz* 1SG.NNOM dog 1SG.NNOM PER behind do.INF=REL 'My dog follows me around.'

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

(2.194) mac tar  $ma\delta on = af$  cejtun-i tcowg 1 pl.nnom loc middle = 3 pl.pfv Satan-nmlz do.pfv 'They have interfered in our relationship.'

darun 'inside' (inside; among)

(2.196) mu qalamdun ar darun hitç tsiz nist
1SG.NNOM pencil.case LOC inside none thing NEG.be.IPFV
'There is nothing in my pencil case.'

vatç 'outside' (outside of; outdoors)

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

vatç zwust outside pull.out.PFV

'Then they took that man out of the garden.'

bun 'base; foundation' (under; beside)

- (2.198) mu pa bun  $ni\theta$  1SG.NNOM LOC base sit.IPFV 'Sit next to me.'
- (2.199) woð çitç duxturxuno pa bun 3PL.NOM.DIST now hospital LOC base 'They are near the hospital now.'
- (2.200)  $mo \c c in tar bun i z \c v \c d z$  car toward base one thief be.PRF 'There is a thief under the car. (Evidential/New information)'

```
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```

(2.201) ta rejmul tçini tçi bun veðdz 2SG.NNOM handkerchief bowl LOC base be.PRF 'Your handkerchief is under the bowl. (Evidential/New information)'

atrof 'area' (near)

(2.202)  $t \in i$  pond i  $a = \chi alg$  mo $\in i$   $\delta udz$  wi LOC road one ACC=person car hit.PRF 3SG.NNOM.DIST

paz atrof lej χalg wixt sɛðdz
 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)'

basejr 'except' (except; besides)

(2.203) ta az basejr hit c tcoj mu = ri 2sg.nnom able except none who.nom 1sg.nnom = dat

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

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

(2.204) a=wi kerpa tçi ter laka ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST mat LOC top put.IPFV 'Put it on top of the mat.'

post 'bottom; low place' (under; below)

(2.205) asan mu az post xufst
Asan 1sg.nnom abl bottom sleep.3sg.ipfv
'Asan sleeps beneath me.'

(2.206) m=a=di denci az post laka CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX television ABL bottom put.IPFV 'Put this under the television.'

baber 'underside' (under; below)

baber

tçi

wadzein

```
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX folded.bedding ABL low
             laka
             put.IPFV
           'Put this under the folded bedding.'
pala 'rib' (side)
  (2.208)
          tar pala tços
           LOC rib look.IPFV
           'Look to the side.'
kol 'head' (first)
  (2.209)
                      kol lev = am
                  az
           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.'
                      tçi kol çond=in
  (2.211)
           2SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
           'They will laugh at you.'
kov 'mouth' (opening)
  (2.212)
           buzur pa sov
                               a = ta
                                                 t cos = 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

(2.207) m = a = di

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) mu patiç jax [qadimi] xalg rang gap
1SG.NNOM cousin sister ancient person SEMB word

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

(2.214) [mu çirin] dzun az basejr hitç tçoj
```

(2.214) [mu çirin] dzun az basejr hitç tçoj 1SG.NNOM sweet life ABL except none who.NOM

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

(2.215) maç=an [tudzik leq para ðod=itçuz]

1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV Tajik clothing sell give.INF=REL

dikun pa bun vud

store LOC base be.PFV

'We were near the store that sells Tajik clothing.'

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

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

(2.217) mu vits [wi batço azmud 1SG.NNOM aunt 3SG.NNOM.DIST child born  $se\delta dz = endz] \qquad duuxtuuxuuno \qquad pa \qquad prud$   $become.PRF = REL \quad hospital \qquad LOC \quad front$  '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 [xu dest] pa teed woxt suat
Amruk today REFL.NNOM friend LOC house eight hour

skit tçəwg

play do.PFV

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

b. \*amruk nur pa [xu dest] teed woxt suat
Amruk today LOC REFL.NNOM friend house eight hour

skit tçəwg

play do.PFV

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

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

 $wej\delta = in$ 

put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'They also put cream and butter in the guests' tea.'

b. \*ar [mejmun-ɛf] tçoj 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 quirbun tçɛd] tçi nox tamoq xig 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. \*tçi [dud qurbun tçɛd] nox tamoq xig 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.  $[mu=ri se\delta dz = endz] a = ejb$ 1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL ACC = misdeeds

laka dzamiat mo xand

let.IPFV society PROH hear.3SG.IPFV

'May society not hear about the misdeeds that I have experienced.'

b.  $*a = [mu = ri se\delta dz = endz] ejb$ ACC = 1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL misdeeds

laka dzamiat 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. mu = ri
                             ar urumtçi jɛt=ir
                                                           [i] az
            1SG.NNOM = DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF = DAT one ABL
              afto ter
                        swt
              week high become.PFV
            'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'
                             ar
         b. mu = ri
                                  urumtçi jɛt=ir
                                                                [i]
            1SG.NNOM = DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF = DAT ABL one
              afto
                   ter
                          sut
              week high become.PFV
            'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'
(2.225)
         a. juts \lceil dzam \rceil a = tsiz
                                    pukzo kaxt
                        ACC = thing clean do.3sG.IPFV
            fire all
            'Fire cleanses all things.'
         b. juts a = [dzam] 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 teed 'at this person's house'	pa di teed 'at this house'

POSSESSIVE DET	DEMONSTRATIVE DET
wi pa tçɛd 'at that person's house'	pa wi tçɛd 'at that house'
di az tçɛd 'from this person's house'	az di tçɛd '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)'
$d\varepsilon f a = ktub-\varepsilon f$ 'these people's books (ACC)'	$a = di \ ktub-\varepsilon f$ 'these books (ACC)'
<i>wɛf</i> $a = ktub-\varepsilon f$ 'those people's books (ACC)'	$a = wi ktub-\varepsilon f$ '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)
                         di
                  nur
                                          pa
         1PL.NOM today 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC house NEG
           xufs = an,
                                wi
                                                pa tçed
           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)
         maç
                  nur pa
                              di
                                               t¢εd
                                                      na
         1PL.NOM today LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house NEG
           xufs = an,
                                                     tcεd
                               pa
                                    wi
           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)
                                          tçεd
         tar jəwl
                    di
                                     az
                                                 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 tçɛd ruwun LOC dawn ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX house leave

so = in
become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'They are leaving from this house in the morning.'

(2.230) wi tar sar tços
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC side watch.IPFV
```

(2.231) tar wi sar tços
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST side watch.IPFV
'Look toward that side.'

'Look toward that person's 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  $\chi uug$  1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST ACC=apple eat.PFV 'I ate his apple.'
- (2.233) waz = am a = wi mon  $\chi uug$  1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST apple eat.PFV 'I ate that apple.'
- (2.234) waz = am def a = ktub-ef
  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  $ktub-\varepsilon f$  1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX book-PL.NNOM xojd read.PFV 'I read these books.'

```
waz = am
(2.236)
                              wεf
                                               a = ktub-\varepsilon f
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = book-PL.NNOM
            xojd
            read.PFV
         'I read those people's books.'
(2.237)
         waz = am
                                                     ktub-εf
                              a = wi
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST book-PL.NNOM
            xoid
            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

<i>iw</i> ( <i>i</i> ) 'one'	ðes 'ten'	ðes at i 'eleven'
ðəw (ða) 'two'	wist 'twenty'	ðes at ða 'twelve'
haroj 'three'	si 'thirty'	ðes at haroj 'thirteen'
tsavur 'four'	tçal 'forty'	sad 'hundred'
pindz 'five'	pindzu 'fifty'	hazur 'thousand'
χεl 'six'	çast/otmiç 'sixty'	ðes hazur 'ten thousand'
wvd 'seven'	aftod/jɛtmiç 'seventy'	sad hazur 'hundred thousand'
woxt 'eight'	actod/saksan 'eighty'	nist, nul, sifr 'zero'
nəw 'nine'	nawad/toqsan 'ninety'	-
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

The forms for iw 'one' and  $\delta aw$  'two' are shortened to i and  $\delta a$ , 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 t cal 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 n \rightarrow w bat \wp v \rightarrow w \gamma d z = \varepsilon n d z
1SG.NNOM-mother nine child bring.PRF = REL
'My mother is one who has had nine children.'
```

```
(2.239) haroj tçini tçoj = am bruxt three bowl tea = 1SG.PFV drink.PFV 'I drank three bowls of tea.'
```

```
(2.240) tu = ri uj t\varphi = ir \delta a munuut 2SG.NNOM = DAT thought do.INF = DAT two minute \delta o = am give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
```

'I will give you two minutes to think.'

```
(2.241) ar urumtçi ões at uvd sul=af naluçtç

LOC Urumqi ten CONJ seven year=2PL.PFV sit.PRF

'You have lived in Urumqi for seventeen years. (Evidential/New information)'
```

```
kan = ando.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) pandz-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 –*intçi*, which precedes the noun it modifies:

```
(2.245) bir-intçi most
one-ORD month
'the first month'
```

(2.246) on-intçi 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', *awrat* 'woman', *xalg* 'person', *batço* 'child', *kalo* 'sheep', *dzuj* 'seat; space', *balax* 'pillow', *daraxt* 'tree', *qalam* 'pen', *xad* 'hair', *gugurt* 'match', and *gul* 'flower'. However, it cannot be used for certain words, such as *ma0* 'day', *dawlat* '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 <code>zəw</code> 'grain', <code>max</code> 'pea', <code>tçwctç</code> 'barley', <code>girindz</code> 'rice', <code>riktçi</code> 'bitter almond', and <code>qunoq</code> 'corn'. It cannot be used for slightly larger objects, such as <code>wəwz</code> 'walnut' or <code>gili</code> 'dried apricot'.

```
(2.252) wvd duno max
seven CL pea
'seven peas'
```

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

```
(2.253) haroj bun dzirin
three CL seedling
'three seedlings'
```

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

```
(2.254)
                      pa sunuf wist
                                            batço jost,
                                                            az
          1PL.NNOM LOC class
                                   twenty child be.IPFV ABL
            wi
                              \chi \varepsilon l nafar (bat\varepsilon o) = af
                                                          magsturi
            3SG.NNOM.DIST Six CL
                                         child = 3PL.PFV Master's
            xoid = ir
                             nardzed
            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,  $\chi alg$  'person' is optional.

```
(2.255) ar brumsol tar um tar awd 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 dzuft 'pair' is used for two objects that form a pair, such as:  $\delta ust$  'hand',  $pe\delta$  'foot',  $\chi ej$  'shoes',  $pe\chi$  'traditional shoes', dzrob 'socks',  $par\delta ust$  'bracelet', surqo 'earring', guxwur 'silver ornaments on a bride's headdress', kujza 'chopsticks',  $\chi alg$  'person', padiom 'twin', xanitsamug 'groomsmen', and gap 'word'.

```
(2.256) i dzuft padiom one CL twin 'a pair of twins'
```

The classifier  $\chi il$  'kind; type' is used for different types of things.

(2.257) maç pa sumuf uvd xil milat jost
1PL.NNOM LOC class seven CL nationality be.IPFV
'In our class there are seven kinds of nationalities.'

```
(2.258) rusalet az dzul-ik-i waxt tsavur xil 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 **yov** 'mouth' is used for phrases or utterances.

```
(2.259) ingles ziv mu=ri ða bov gap \chi umand English tongue 1sg.nnom=dat two mouth word teach

ka do.IPFV 
'Teach me two phrases of English.'
```

The classifier <code>bawmoq</code> 'bundle' is used for long, thin objects that are tied up into bundles, and may be used with words such as: <code>wux</code> 'grass', <code>zez</code> 'firewood', <code>zəw</code> 'grain', <code>qalam</code> 'pen', <code>gul</code> 'flower', and <code>vdir</code> 'broom'.

```
(2.260) tsavur babmoq zez
four CL firewood
'four bundles of firewood'

(2.261) haroj babmoq 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 çuð
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', *zer* 'rock', *mon* 'apple', *kursi* 'chair', *xipik* 'flatbread', *girindz* 'rice', and *sandeq* 'box'. *lej* is more commonly used as a quantifier that means 'many' (see §2.3.1.3).

```
(2.264) woxt lej zer
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', <code>çuç</code> 'sand', <code>joydz</code> 'flour', <code>ʁarç</code> 'hardened cow/yak feces used for burning', <code>poxtç</code> '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 *dzend* 'book cover' was used for books, but is not used commonly anymore.

```
(2.266) tsavur dzend daftar
four CL notebook
'four notebooks'
```

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

```
(2.267) pindz sar tçat
five CL cow
'five cows'
```

 $p\epsilon\delta$  '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 zɛz vəwg

Tilu four CL firewood bring.PFV
```

Various types of containers may be used as classifiers. They include: *tçini* 'bowl', *taxsi* 'plate', *lagan* 'tray', *xalto* 'bag', *səwn* 'sack', *mut* 'fist; handful', *ingruv* 'double-handful (two handfuls)', *taraktur* 'tractor', and *çrum* 'threshing floor'.

'Tilu brought firewood four times (i.e. made four trips).'

```
(2.270) tsavur tçini tçoj
four CL tea
'four bowls of tea'
```

(2.271) *i ingruv max* one CL pea 'a double-handful of peas'

(2.272) *i crum 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 rɛðdz only two CL apple remain.PRF 'There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.274) faqat ða mon reðdz only two apple remain.PRF 'There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.275) faqat ða tol rɛðdz only two CL remain.PRF 'There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.276) faqat ðəw reðdz only two remain.PRF 'There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)'
- (2.277) *i* tol tçib mw=ri jur one CL spoon 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV 'Hand me one spoon.'
- (2.278) i  $t \in ib$  m = r i j u r one spoon 1SG.NNOM = DAT hand.IPFV 'Hand me one spoon.'

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

```
(2.280) iw mu=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

```
dzam 'all' pur 'much; many' tsund 'some; a few' puttun 'all' lej 'much; many' iw kond 'few; little' har 'every' itang/tang 'some' kam 'few; little' bax dɛr 'most' itçand 'several'
```

The quantifiers *dzam* and *puttun* indicate wholeness or entirety:

```
(2.281) dzam xalg laka maç 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 waxin 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:

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

- (2.285) woð = af maç = ir pur samsut
  3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT much gift

  vəwg
  bring.PFV
  'They brought us many gifts.'
- (2.286) *wtc pwr kaðo batço qati balad mo so*very much boy child COM acquainted PROH become.IPFV
  'Do not get acquainted with too many boys.'
- (2.287) ar dzangal lej xtur waruvdz

  LOC forest much camel stand.PRF

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

The quantifiers *itang/tang*, *itçand*, 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).

zabu rejd

back remain.PFV

'Towards the middle, some children were left behind.'

(2.289) a = tang zon = in tang = ir qastACC = 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) itçand xalg pa dum zez=ir tizd several person LOC there firewood=DAT go.3SG.IPFV 'Some people go there for firewood.'
- (2.291)  $a = ra \not sid$  na wand = ir tsund  $wa\chi t$  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 levdz-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 batço jost

  LOC class one piece child be.IPFV

  'There are a few students in the classroom.'
- (2.294) nur=am kam gap xumand sut today=1sg.pfv few word learn become.pfv 'Today I learned very few words.'
- (2.295) kam waxt=am tçuxt 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) dzam az wi xudz ðor=in
  all ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST fear fear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
  'All fear him.'
- (2.297) bax der ki=wi rang lev=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 xuvdz 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, -dzin, and -nɛndz. Derived adjectives and adjectivized phrases are described in §2.3.1.5 and §2.3.1.6, respectively.

1. Dimension: *lawr* 'big', *dzul* 'small', *tseg* 'tiny', *daruz* 'long', *kut* 'short', *buland* 'high', *ter* 'high; expensive', *post* 'low; inexpensive', *qimat* 'expensive',

- arzun 'inexpensive', tong 'narrow', run 'wide', dvɛz 'thick', tanuk 'thin', karts 'deep', tejz 'shallow'
- 2. Age: *nudz* 'new', *kɛno* 'old', *joç* 'young', *çoq* 'young; little', *pir* 'old', *zɛr* 'old (for animals)', *qadim* 'ancient'
- 3. Value: tçardz 'good', zit 'bad', rust 'true; real', fand 'false; fake', nejk 'good', bað 'bad', fujdo 'beneficial', zijun 'harmful', xil 'good', qobil 'admirable', mujim 'important', mukamal 'perfect', xiç 'secret', adzujib 'wonderful', lujɛq 'worthy', suf 'pure', ʁalita 'strange', ʁejri 'strange', tadzib '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', ruct 'red', zird 'yellow', sovdz 'green', xjejn 'blue', δοb raχt 'brown; pink', gullobi 'pink; purple', bəwr 'brown', nurandzi 'dark red', θεr rang 'gray', spejd fock 'whitish gray', xjejn fock 'bluish gray', rang-in 'colored; colorful', rangbarang/rangorang 'colorful', tcɛl 'patterned; multicolored', tcɛlubɛl 'patterned; multicolored', tolχ 'dark (for color)', otç 'light (for color)'
- 5. Physical property: teng 'hard', ɛlet 'soft', xast 'wet', qoq 'dry', garun 'heavy; serious', rindz 'light', kutç-in 'strong', bɛ-kutç 'weak', pukzo 'clean', вazd 'dirty', tçong 'dirty', alqo 'curled', θum 'hot (temperature)', εtu 'cold (temperature)', εurm 'hot (sensation)', iç 'cold (sensation)', sarun 'lukewarm', tuxp 'sour', tsɛx 'spicy; bitter', χεg 'sweet', xəwr 'salty', χom 'raw', tejz 'sharp', soq 'well', salomat 'healthy', kasal-mand 'sickly', aluk 'tired', zundo 'live', ago 'awake', χali 'empty', χut 'skinny', farbɛ 'fat', dzidəw 'haggard', χωςruj 'beautiful', ðəwχεr 'ugly', sart 'ugly; inappropriate', χωςbuj 'fragrant', badbuj 'stinky', tçɛrd 'bent', wobwoß 'noisy', dambaχω 'silent' (for people), dzimdzirt 'quiet (for environment)', tindz 'peaceful', trang 'energetic', tafsun 'enthusiastic', marzunz 'hungry', sejr 'satiated', tur 'thirsty', tçolok 'nimble', javo 'wild', pɛt 'round', χejð 'sweaty', ub 'melted', wejrun 'broken', ivul 'pitiable', hat 'open', tçust 'closed', tik 'straight', çitoq 'flat; slumped', tajur 'ready', jarlig 'local', uvla-dzin 'sad', aziz-dzin 'beloved', xudza-dzin 'scary', turik 'dark'
- 6. Human propensity:  $\chi uu \varepsilon$  'happy',  $\chi afo$  'upset', aql-in 'intelligent', mosz-in 'intelligent',  $doni\varepsilon$ -mand 'knowledgeable',  $b\varepsilon fam$  'stupid',  $a\chi moq$  'foolish', udil 'just; fair',  $ari\varepsilon kun$  'jealous', mard 'generous; manly', gando 'evil',  $\delta ejw$  'crazy',  $\chi \varepsilon ndz$  'silly',  $\varepsilon uv$  'calm', mast 'drunk',  $m\varepsilon hrbun$  'loving',  $\varepsilon uu$  'bored',  $\varepsilon uu$  'alert',  $\varepsilon uu$  'surprised',  $\varepsilon uu$  'lazy',  $\varepsilon uu$  'shy',  $\varepsilon uu$  'lorely',  $\varepsilon uu$  'lorely'
- 7. Speed: dzald 'fast', asto 'slow', tejz 'speedy', waxti 'early', dejr 'late'

- 8. Difficulty: *usun* 'easy; comfortable', *gilo* 'difficult; uncomfortable'
- 9. Similarity: *digar* 'other', *tarabex* 'opposite', *tugo* 'separate'
- 10. Qualification: nurmol 'normal', durust 'whole; correct', tajin 'certain; sure'
- 11. Position: nizd 'near', ðar 'far', tçop 'left', yejz 'right'
- 12. Numbers: awal-nendz 'first', uxir-nendz '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 *tçejg* 'do' or *set* '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 tçɛd-nɛndz-χejl=af boj dɛr
3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV rich CPRV

veðdz
be.PRF
'His family is richer. (Evidential/New information)'
```

- b. veðdz na veðdz i boj veðdz
   be.PRF NEG be.PRF one rich.person be.PRF
   'Once upon a time, there was a rich person. (Evidential/New information)'
- c. juu boj 3SG.NOM.DIST rich 'He is a rich person.' OR 'He is rich.'
- (2.301) a. vits  $\chi$ onim kulto pa imi  $\delta$ od=ir utc istu $\delta$  aunt Honim Keelto LOC RECP give.INF=DAT very skillful 'Aunt Honim is very skilled at putting together Keeltos (female cap).'
  - b. jad na  $t \in i$   $t \in ig = ir$   $v \in ig =$

kinu pa imi  $\delta od = it cuz$   $a = istu\delta$  qiw movie LOC RECP give.INF = REL ACC = craftsman call

kan = ando.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  $-\partial w$ , 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  $-\partial w$ )'.

- (2.302) a = dzul mu = ri  $\delta o$ ACC = small 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV
  'Give me the small (one).'
- (2.303)  $a = dzul \partial w$  mu = ri  $\delta o$ ACC = small-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV

  'Give me the small one.' (preferred)

```
(2.304)
                dzam lawr = ir
                                   ðes kui
                                                        \delta o = in
          az
                       big = DAT ten Chinese.yuan give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'They give ten yuan<sup>2</sup> to the oldest (one).'
                dzam l > wr - > w = ir
(2.305)
          az
                                          ðes kuj
          ABL all
                       big-NMLZ = DAT ten Chinese.yuan
             \delta o = in
             give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'They give ten yuan to the oldest one.' (preferred)
(2.306)
          tuu = ri
                              \varphilet \chi u \varphi = 0,
                                                teng
          2sg.NNOM = DAT soft happy = Q hard
          'Do you like the soft (one), or the hard (one)?'
(2.307)
          tuu = ri
                              clet-əw
                                                       teng-əw
                                           \chi u \varphi = 0,
          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 <a href="https://www.utc.gov/utc

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

Some adjectives may function as adverbs, modifying the verb, either in plain form or in a derived form with the suffix -i. In (2.308) - (2.315) the same word functions both as an adjective and an adverb in its plain form.

```
(2.308) dzul-ik batço
small-DIM child
'small child'

(2.309) dzul-ik xor
small-DIM eat.IPFV
'Eat a little.'
```

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Yuan is the primary unit of the official currency of China.

- (2.310) xuuçruij gul beautiful flower 'beautiful flower'
- (2.311) xwçruj gap ka beautiful word do.IPFV 'Speak properly.'
- (2.312) dzald moçin fast car 'fast car'
- (2.313) dzald 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  $v \in \delta dz$  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.

χω tçur=ir zit-i naj, tçardz-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)
                                                                kasal
         waz = am
                              fand-in-i
                                             a = \chi u
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV false-ADJ-ADV ACC = REFL.NNOM sickness
           wεðd,
                         \chi uzmat = am
                                          na tujd
                    ar
           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)
         bεadab-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' xats-in 'watery; soupy'	rəwn-in 'oily; greasy' baχt-in 'happy'	adab-in 'polite' qawat-in 'multi-storied'
<i>zɛr-in</i> 'rocky'	mazo-in 'tasty'	<i>xwng-in</i> 'wooden'
namoðdz-in 'salty'	aql-in 'smart'	kwtç-in 'strong'
gul-in 'flowery'	<i>qɛtç-in</i> 'pregnant'	kulto-in 'women (with cap)'

The opposite meaning is expressed by the adjectivizer prefix  $b\varepsilon$ —. It also attaches to nouns to form adjectives, and expresses the meaning 'without'. Examples of adjectives derived with  $b\varepsilon$ - 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'	doniç-mand 'knowledgeable'
χadzal-mand 'shy'	zudiat-mand 'contentious'
tulej-mand 'lucky'	dard-mand 'melancholic'

```
arzeç-mand 'valuable' itiqud-mand 'pious' dewlat-mand 'wealthy' ixlus-mand 'passionate'
```

Another suffix used for deriving adjectives is -dzin, which is also not very productive.

Table 2.11 Adjectives derived with -dzin

```
xudza-dzin 'scary' uvla-dzin 'sad' aziz-dzin 'beloved' ʁaltça-dzin 'lonely'
```

# 2.3.1.6 Adjectivized phrases

Another type of adjectivizer is  $-\epsilon ndz$  or  $-n\epsilon ndz$ , 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.  $=\epsilon ndz$  is also the marker of the perfective relative clause (introduced in §10.2.1.1). Unlike -in and  $b\epsilon$ -, 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 -endz or -nendz

jizo-εndz 'village (adj)'	maktab-ɛndz 'school (adj)'
qir-nɛndz 'mountain (adj)'	<i>tçɛd-nɛndz-χejl</i> 'family' (lit. house (adj)-pl)
urumtçi-ɛndz 'Urumqi (adj)'	daraχt-εndz 'tree (adj)'

Table 2.13 Some time words that take -endz or -nendz

çitç-endz 'now (adj)'	nωr-εndz 'today (adj)'
χεb-εndz 'yesterday (adj)'	parus-ɛndz 'last year (adj)'
zejn-εndz 'winter (adj)'	awal-nɛndz 'first (adj)'
az kol-εndz 'beginning (adj)'	zabu-nɛndz 'later (adj)'

Table 2.14 Some spatial references that take -endz or -nendz

```
prud-nɛndz 'front (adj)' umik-ɛndz 'there (adj)'
zabu-nɛndz 'back (adj)' əwd-ɛndz 'here (adj)'
post-ɛndz 'low (adj)' kum-ɛndz 'there (adj, cataphoric)'
tçi tɛr-nɛndz 'above (adj)' pa bun-ɛndz 'next to (adj)'
```

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

- (2.319) xipik tçi ter-nendz guxt flatbread LOC top-ADJ meat 'meat on top of flatbread'
- (2.320) qetç ar darun-endz batço belly LOC inside-ADJ child 'the child inside the belly'
- (2.321) tsej buzur pa ʁov-ɛndz dikun vegetable bazaar LOC mouth-ADJ store 'the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar'
- (2.322) ojmira pa bun-ɛndz ʁots Oimira LOC base-ADJ girl 'the girl near Oimira'
- (2.323) mu sardor pa ðust-nɛndz tçɛr 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
padi'om ba'tço 'tçuçtç xi'pik xuı'tsuvd uı'suıl a'to sar 'bob a'nur 'xats ka'ko bur'jun 'qarz su'jib	twin + child barley + flatbread eagle + dance father's side + grandfather pomegranate + juice egg + fry debt + owner	'twin children' 'barley flatbread' 'eagle dance' 'paternal grandfather' 'pomegranate juice' 'fried egg' '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  $-\chi ejl$  or  $-\epsilon f$ , given that they are count nouns.

Table 2.16 Compound nouns

Word	Components	Meaning
qalam'dun	pen + box	'pencil case'
mejmunxu'no	guest + room	'living room'
ktubxu'no	book + room	'library'
duιχturχu'no	doctor + room	'hospital'
χεrnaˈlist	sun + sitting	'west'
kampir'zuıl	old lady + sleeve	'rainbow'
todziko'bod	Tajik + town	'Tojikobod'
tsɛmuj¹nak	eye + glasses	'eye glasses'
xanitsa <sup>1</sup> mug	groom + basket	'groomsman'
çej'tun in'gaxt	Satan + finger	'ring finger'
çejtunara'bo	Satan + vehicle	'bicycle; peddle cart'
spid'bun	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 jax arðo na 1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister similar NEG

 $\delta e \mathbf{j} = a \mathbf{n}$ 

fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

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

- (2.325) a = belat at rasim = at v > wg = oACC = 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  $ba\chi tigul=ir$  ðo ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX Soyra CONJ Bahtigeel=DAT give.IPFV 'Give this to Soyra and Bahtigeel.' (dative)
- (2.328) pa watça at baldir jost
  LOC Wacha CONJ Baldir be.IPFV

  'There are in Wacha and Baldir.' (locative)
- (2.329) *cer* harabo at *donkey vehicle com = 3pl.pfv* take.pfv 'They took it with a donkey cart and a hand cart.' (instrumental)
- (2.330) *xalg az aqlikul at nafsikul pejdu* person ABL big.wisdom CONJ big.spirit appear

 $s\varepsilon \delta dz = \varepsilon ndz$ 

become.PRF = REL

'Humans came into being from Wisdom and Spirit.' (ablative)

mu-an (2.331)at ta-an i tçi surat 1SG.NNOM-GEN CONJ 2SG.NNOM-GEN one LOC appearance

νεðdz

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 functionmarking 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 soqdzon sobir at raçid puiz qati = afDeawron Sogion Sobir CONJ Rashid train COM = 3PL.PFV tuijd

go.PFV

'Deawron, Sogjon, Sobir, and Rashid went by train.'

 $mu\chi bir-\chi ejl=af$ (2.333)gala journalist-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV LOC stone castle LOC grassland

> kəwg at ar tej = afpa 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)(az) pokiston (az) tudzikston (az) səwdugar-xejl merchant-PL.NOM ABL Pakistan ABL Tajikistan ABL

> avrunistun at iron  $i\theta tc = \varepsilon ndz$ az

Afghanistan CONJ ABL Iran come.PRF = REL

'The merchants are those who came from Pakistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.'

(2.335)  $nuwondz \chi u \chi ex(=ir) \chi u$  bride REFL.NNOM mother.in.law=DAT REFL.NNOM

 $\chi ajun-\varepsilon f(=ir)$  at digar  $\chi ejx$  sister.in.law-PL.NNOM = DAT CONJ other relative

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

 $\delta av\delta or$   $tuijdz = \varepsilon ndz$ Thavthor go.PRF = REL

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

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

bundz xu 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 mac and tamac, respectively, for both nominative and non-nominative forms.

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1.NOM	waz	таҫ
1.NNOM	тш	
2.NOM	təw	tamaç
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) waz a = ta t card z we jn = am1SG.NOM ACC = 2SG.NNOM good see.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I love you.'
- (3.2) tamac = af a = mu qiw na tcowg 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV ACC = 1SG.NNOM call NEG do.PFV 'You(pl) did not invite me.'
- (3.3) təw=at dzafu wand, çitç 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) *pugan jəwl=ik ðud, maç tar pond* tomorrow dawn=DUR fall.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road

```
naxtedz = 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) maç = an jot five CL 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV come.PFV 'Five we came.' (numeral/classifier)
- (3.6) \*pur tamaç = af tçɛd zuxtç
  many 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV house buy.PRF
  'Many you have bought houses. (Evidential/New information)'
  (quantifier)
- (3.7) \*xuuçruj ju nur mas usul kaxt
  beautiful 3sg.nom today also dance do.3sg.ipfv
  'Beautiful she will dance today also.' (adjective)
- (3.8) \*qatesin t coj bruxt c = end z wo $\delta = af$  kuutcin topping tea drink.PRF = REL 3PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV strong

suit

become.PFV

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

(3.9) \*batço 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) mac maktab-endz wo\delta se\delta 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)  $ma \varphi = \partial w rat \chi e j l$   $digar \ dz u j$   $na \ t \varepsilon dz = an$  1PL.NOM woman-PL.NOM other place NEG go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 'We women do not go anywhere else.'
- (3.12) mac haroj (nafar) puiz qati tedz = an 1 PL.NOM three CL train COM go.IPFV = 1 PL.IPFV 'We three will go by train.'
- (3.13) nur mac tej na tc>wydz = endz today 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF = REL  $batco-\chi ejl = an$  tup tamoq  $\chi uug$  child-PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV group food eat.PFV 'Today we unmarried kids ate a meal together.'
- (3.14) woð qatɛʁin tçoj bruxtç=ɛndz-χejl=af
  3PL.NOM.DIST topping tea drink.PRF=REL-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

  kutçin 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	тш		тає	
2.NNOM	ta		tamaç	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NNOM	di	wi	dεf	wef

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

> a=mu ixil pa dom tçəwg, ar ACC=1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC

boʁdza=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 awudz qati maç kəwl tçun 3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1SG.NNOM ear deaf

suit

become.PFV

'Our ears have gone deaf with its loud noise.'

(3.17) ta gap = am  $\chi u$   $t \in vi$  zord kandakuri 2SG.NNOM word = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM LOC heart engrave

tçəwg

do.PFV

'I engraved your words on my heart.'

```
(3.18) waxt naxtizd tsa tamaç xejz 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 çtu zord ub
  1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart melted

  tçəwg
  do.PFV
  'I melted his cold heart.'
- (3.20) wef iw-ik batço kasal sut
  3PL.NNOM.DIST one-DIM child sick become.PFV
  'Their only child has gotten sick.'
- (3.21) 

  citc def ato ano-ef=ir

  now 3PL.NNOM.PROX father mother-PL.NNOM=DAT

  lev=am

  say.IPFV=1sg.IPFV

  'Now I will tell these ones' parents.'
- (3.22) di  $\chi u \omega b u j i$   $p u t u u u = t \varphi \varepsilon d$  z u x t 3 s G.NNOM.PROX fragrant-NMLZ all A C C = house get.PFV 'This one's fragrance filled the whole house.'
- (3.23) wef daruz-i naviç = am
  3PL.NNOM.DIST long-NMLZ write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'I will write down their length.'

```
(3.24) di num = at \chi uu ar ju\delta 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 zeromarked 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 2	= am = Ø	= an = it	= am = at	= an = af
3	(special stem: $-t/-d$ )	=in	$= \emptyset$	=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) naviç = am
        write.IPFV = 1sG.IPFV
        'I will write.'
    (3.26) tços = 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) χωg = am
eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV
'I ate.'
    (3.28) iθtς = 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.

### 3.3 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	
3.NOM 3.NNOM	PROXIMAL (jam)/jad (mi)/di	DISTAL ju wi	PROXIMAL doð dεf	DISTAL woð wef

'First eat and then leave.'

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 varçide  $tuijdz = \varepsilon ndz$ 3SG.NOM.DIST also Varshide go.PRF=REL 'He has also been to Varshide.'
- (3.32) doð mu patiç vrud- $\chi$ ejl 3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM cousin brother-PL.NOM 'These are my male cousins.'
- (3.33)  $\chi$  or, j ad  $\chi$  ig = ir  $\chi$  uxt $\varphi$  =  $\varepsilon$ nd $\chi$  eat.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.INF = DAT buy.PRF = REL 'Eat, these were bought to be eaten.'
- (3.34)  $awal \ m=a=di$   $tcust \ ka=am$  first CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX lock do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 'I will lock this first.'
- (3.35)  $a = d\varepsilon f$  mas waz  $\chi uba\theta$  ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX also 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM  $intsuvdz = \varepsilon ndz$ sew.PRF = REL

'These are also things that I have sewn myself.'

- (3.36) a = wi mas na wazond = ir veðdz

  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST also NEG know.INF = DAT be.PRF

  '(One) does not even know that/him/her. (Evidential/New information)'
- (3.37)  $a = d\varepsilon f = am$  vowg ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV 'I brought these.'
- (3.38)  $wo\delta = af$  pukzo na  $v\varepsilon\delta dz$  3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF 'They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)'
- (3.39) taw  $a=w\varepsilon f$  mu=ri az kol 2SG.NOM ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST 1SG.NNOM=DAT from head

buz = osend.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 mod and mef 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 tçi batço
3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM child
'Whose child is this?' (jam/jad interchangeable)
```

```
(3.41) m=a=mi/di ter tei ka=o CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX lift CAP do.IPFV = Q 'Can you lift this?' (m=a=mi/m=a=di \text{ interchangeable})
```

```
(3.42) m = do\delta az amriko i\theta t \varphi = \varepsilon n dz CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX ABL America come.PRF = REL mejmun-\chi ejl, u wo\delta az kanada guest-PL.NNOM there 3PL.NOM.DIST ABL Canada i\theta t \varphi = \varepsilon n dz
```

come.PRF = REL

'These are guests from America, and those are from Canada.'

```
(3.43) m=a=d\varepsilon f=am dejd na CATA = ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV enter.INF NEG
```

latçəwg,  $a=w\varepsilon f=am$  latçəwg 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	jw	doð (human)	woð (human)
			(jam)/jad (non-human)	<i>ju</i> (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  $-\varepsilon f$ . In accordance with the general restriction on marking plural more than once within the NP, the demonstrative determiners do not have  $-\varepsilon f$  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 batço pa gap na tçombd
  3SG.NOM.PROX child LOC word NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
  'This child is disobedient.'
- (3.45) jam/jad batço utç aqlin vɛðdz 3SG.NOM.PROX child very smart be.PRF 'This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)'

watça

Wacha

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

(3.47) *u juu tçɛd muu 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  $do\delta$  (proximal) and  $wo\delta$  (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 batço-xejl pugan xwor 3PL.NOM.PROX child-PL.NOM tomorrow Kashgar

 $t\varepsilon dz = in$ 

go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'These children are going to Kashgar tomorrow.'

(3.49) woð  $batço-\chi ejl = af$  utc pukzo 3PL.NOM.DIST child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV very clean

 $\chi ig = ir$   $v \in \partial dz$ 

eat.INF = DAT be.PRF

'Those children eat very clean. (Evidential/New information)'

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

```
(3.52)
         mi = iad
                               ktub-χejl
                                            maç
                                                       mahum-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)
               jш
                             ktub-xejl
                                                      malum-an
                                           maç
         there 3sg.nom.dist book-pl.nom 1pl.nnom teacher-gen
           NEG.be.IPFV
```

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.

'Those books are not our teacher's.'

```
(3.54)
         waz = am
                              a = di
                                                      χalg
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX person NEG
           wazond
           know.PFV
         'I did not know this person.'
(3.55)
                                 batço-\varepsilon f = am
                                                            rond
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX child-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV scold.PFV
         'I scolded these children.'
(3.56)
         a = di
                                 kalo
                                        kejy = an = o
         ACC = 3sg.NNOM.PROX sheep slaughter.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
         'Shall we slaughter this sheep?'
(3.57)
         a = di
                                 kalo-εf
                                                  az
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX sheep-PL.NNOM ABL
```

vəwq

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

ko = at

```
(3.58) m=a=mi/di zer ter tçi ka=o CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX rock lift CAP do.IPFV = Q 'Can you lift this rock?'
```

(3.59) m=a=mi/di zer-ef ter tçi 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 tçurik=ir hamru
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX man=DAT companion

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

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  $\chi alg$  qiw  $t \varphi wg$  1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST person call do.PFV 'I called that person.'

(3.63) waz = am a = wi  $batço-\varepsilon f$ 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST child-PL.NNOM

rond scold.PFV'I scolded those children.'

```
(3.64)
                    yin ki = wi
                                                 yadurdztçi gati
         1sg.nnom wife ana = 3sg.nnom.dist miller
           skit = ik
                       kaxt
           play = DUR do.3SG.IPFV
         'My wife is playing with that miller.'
(3.65)
         azizmamad ki = wi
                                            χalg-εf
                                                             gati
         Azizmamad ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM COM
                 tçəwg
           word do.PFV
         'Azizmamad talked with those people.'
(3.66)
                               kalo
                                      kejy = an
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST sheep slaughter.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'Let us slaughter that sheep.'
(3.67)
                                                   kalo-εf
         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  $\chi uug$  1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST apple eat.PFV 'I ate that apple.'

(3.69) waz = am a = wi  $ktub - \varepsilon f$  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 tudzik gap tsa vid pure Tajik word COND be.3SG.IPFV

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

(3.74) kudzur = ik cer waruvd  $k = um = a\theta$  two where = DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA = there = EMP 2SG.NOM

bejg at \(\chi\)on \(set = ir\) \(ve\)odz
ruler \(CONJ\) king \(become.INF = DAT\) be.PRF

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

(3.75) taw pars tsa waz=am
2SG.NOM ask.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  $mejmun\chi uno$  3SG.NOM.DIST also ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST hotel

*tçɛr kaxt*work do.3sg.ipfv
'He also works at that hotel.'

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

pugan waz tɛdz=amtomorrow 1sg.nom go.ipfv=1sg.ipfv'I only have this one day left, I am leaving tomorrow.'

(3.78) waz mas ki=wi rang  $\chi ig=it \zeta uz$ 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 = gapANA = word
  'That is what I mean.' (lit. That word.)
- (3.80) k = dos = o kw ANA = manner = Q SUP 'It is so, I think.'
- (3.81) ki = wi = rang mo  $l\varepsilon v$ ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = SEMB PROH say.IPFV 'Don't say it like that.'

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

(3.82) *nur çamul utç kutçin kazwi məwdz utç buland* today wind very strong so wave very high

### sεðdz

become.PRF

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

## 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

sawd = 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 = \partial wd - ik laka
CATA = here-DIM put.IPFV
'Put it down here.'
```

- (3.86) mi = jad dzuj = ik  $\delta izd$  CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX place = DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV 'This place hurts.'
- (3.87) m = ar di  $s \ni wn di \delta$  CATA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack enter.IPFV 'Go into this sack.'
- (3.88) m=a=di duri  $\chi$  or t sa n a t CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX medicine eat.IPFV COND NEG

#### səwd

become.3SG.IPFV

'You must not take this medicine.'

```
(3.89) t > w mi = di rang cejdoi intsivd 2SG.NOM CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB Sheydoi sew.INF t \neq i 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=um-ik laka
  CATA = there-DIM put.IPFV
  'Put it down there.'
- (3.91) \*mi = ju dzuj = ik  $\delta izd$  CATA = 3SG.NOM.DIST place = DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV 'That place hurts.'
- (3.92) \*taw mi = wi rang cejdoi intsivd tci 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  $t \in i$  dzuj  $ni\theta = an$   $m = k = \partial wd$  one LOC place sit.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV CATA = ANA = here 'We gather here in one place.'

'The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).'

(3.95) m=ki=di rang  $gap-\varepsilon f=ik$  CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB word-PL.NNOM = DUR

mu = ri kaxt

1SG.NNOM = DAT do.3SG.IPFV

'He says such and such things to me.'

(3.96)  $ma \varphi - an$  imi = ri  $t \varphi wy d \varphi = \varepsilon n d \varphi$   $t \varphi \varepsilon r$  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 radzen a=wi tçost* king daughter ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST watch.3SG.IPFV

χω lενd iko a ΤΕΜΡ.CONJ SAY.3SG.IPFV SC INTJ

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  $sots-\varepsilon f$  CATA = aca = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM

tuu=ri=ik t¢idum  $\chi uu$ ¢ suut 2SG.NNOM=DAT=DUR which happy become.PFV

tu = ri  $\delta o = am$ 

2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'I will give you whichever one of these girls you like the most.'

```
(3.99)
         mac
                     qati tang
         1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous
            m=k=a=di
                                                  ruzagur t \in wydz = \varepsilon ndz
            CATA = ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX living
                                                           do.PRF = REL
                            bezibun
                                        i
                                             nejk tsiz
            one tongueless tongueless one good thing
            dwo\delta = 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.

#### 3.5 Local demonstratives

Sarikoli has two local demonstratives making spatial reference, which show deictic contrast: <code>awd</code> 'here' and <code>um/um</code> '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 <code>-ik</code> sometimes attaches to <code>awd</code> or <code>um</code>, 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)a = tciwaz 1sg.nom here none ACC=who.nnom NEG

wazon = am

know.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv

'I do not know anyone here.'

(3.103)varcide dzwl-ik dzuj mas tsa vid Varshide small-DIM place also COND be.3SG.IPFV there

> ladza jost

dialect be.IPFV

'Even though Varshide is a small place, there are dialects there.'

- (3.104) $waz = am \quad um-ik$ γш malum wand 1SG.NOM there-DIM REFL.NNOM teacher see.PFV 'I saw my teacher over there.'
- (3.105)dεr um-ik ajoy wejð χш 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 awd '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 dawd, respectively. When local demonstratives occur with prepositions, they do not take the diminutive suffix -ik.

- (3.106)a = putxuəwd mo vor ar ACC = king LOC here PROH bring.IPFV 'Do not bring the king here.'
- (3.107)waz = amturpon tuidz-it, ar шт 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Turpan go.PFV-CESS LOC there still

hawu ðudz na precipitation NEG fall.PRF

'I went to Turpan, and there it had not snowed yet. (Evidential/New information)'

```
(3.108) mu tçɛd utç ðar, tar əwd na jɛt=ir
1SG.NNOM house very far LOC here NEG come.INF=DAT

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

- (3.109) tar um tid=ir  $wa\chi t$  nist LOC there do.INF=DAT time NEG.be.IPFV 'There is no time to go there.'
- (3.110) az əwd tung set=ir tsund waxt 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 = cer darju tci labABL 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) mu malum varçide tujdz, pa dum tsund gudur 1SG.NNOM teacher Varshide go.PRF LOC there some time

> hawu ðudz precipitation fall.PRF

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

(3.113) tow town joð, pa dowd 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

'in various directions; approximately' tar um tar əwd di tar əwd 'from now on' az tarat<sup>1</sup> 'since (a certain time in the past)' dijur (3.114)yalq 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)intsivd = irçejdoi 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 (3.116)di əwd az dzul tar mui шtç 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small mo pars, тш kol thing-PL.NNOM PROH ask.IPFV 1SG.NNOM head вarst turn.3SG.IPFV 'From now on, do not ask me questions about very small things. My head will spin.' (3.117)a = tawand aztarat ju xovd

(3.117) a = ta wand az tarat ju xovd na

ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG t ci t cej g = i t cuz 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  $\partial wd$  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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>az tarat may have originated from az tar awd, but this is not certain.

```
(3.118) m = \partial w d(-ik) ni\theta CATA = here-DIM sit.IPFV 'Sit here.'
```

The anaphoric clitic k = may attach to either  $\partial wd$  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)
                               k = \partial wd(-ik)
         waz = am
                                                azmud suit,
          1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ANA = here-DIM born
                                                      become.PFV
            k = \partial w d(-ik) = am
                                       lawr suit,
            ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.PFV big become.PFV
            k = \partial wd(-ik) = am
                                       xojd
            ANA = here-DIM = 1SG.PFV read.PFV
          'I was born and raised here and studied here.'
(3.120)
         k = um(-ik)
                                       malum mas iost = o
                           тш
          ANA = there-DIM 1SG.NNOM teacher also be.IPFV = Q
          'Is my teacher also there?'
(3.121)
         intawum \delta o = an,
                                         kudzur = an = ik
                                                                 nardzed.
                   give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV where = 1PL.PFV = DUR pass.PFV
          exam
            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) *u: ju tçɛd mu dud-an* there 3SG.NOM.DIST house 1SG.NNOM uncle-GEN 'That house (far away) is my uncle's.'

```
(3.123)
        u:
               iш
                               dzam wi
         there 3sg.nom.dist all
                                     3sg.nnom.dist
           kalo-\chi ejl = af
                                    νεðdz
           sheep-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV be.PRF
         'Those (far away) are all his sheep. (Evidential/New information)'
(3.124)
         u:
                woð
                               dzam wi
         there 3PL.NOM.DIST all
                                     3SG.NNOM.DIST
           batço-\chi ejl = af
                                   νεðdz
           child-pl.nom = 3pl.pfv be.prf
         'Those (far away) are all his children. (Evidential/New informa-
(3.125)
         тш
                     tçed
                            umik
         1sg.nnom house there
```

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).

'My house is all the way over there (far away).'

- (3.126) waz  $m = \partial wd ik$  tsej buzur pa sov 1SG.NOM CATA = here-DIM vegetable bazaar LOC mouth 'I am here at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar.'
- (3.127) k=um pa maktab maç-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 lev, m = dos levANA = 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  $\chi u$  in O slot, giving the sentence in (3.130). The transitive verb of the clause maintains its transitivity. (3.129) is ungrammatical if both instances of Rashid refer to the same person.

- (3.129) \*raçid a=raçid ðud Rashid ACC=Rashid hit.PFV 'Rashid hit Rashid.'
- (3.130) racid  $a = \chi u$   $\delta ud$ Rashid ACC=REFL.NNOM hit.PFV 'Rashid hit himself.'

Sarikoli has a special reflexive pronoun,  $\chi u$  'self'. Morphologically,  $\chi u$  has an invariant form and shows no person or number distinction, but is always interpreted as having the same person and number as the subject of its clause, as demonstrated by (3.131) - (3.134).

```
(3.131) a = \chi u t \varphi ar d \varphi nigo ka = it
ACC = REFL.NNOM good watch do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'Take good care of yourselves.'
```

- (3.132)  $t \partial w = at$   $\chi u$  num mu = ri na 2 SG.NOM = 2 SG.PFV REFL.NNOM name 1 SG.NNOM = DAT NEG  $l \varepsilon v d$  say.PFV 'You did not tell me your name.'
- (3.133)  $\chi u$  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)  $\chi uu$  hamru pa  $t \varphi \varepsilon d$  so = am

  REFL.NNOM companion LOC house become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

  'I and going to my friend's house.'

The reflexive  $\chi u$  is subject-oriented: the antecedent of  $\chi u$  must be the subject of the clause. With respect to reflexives, A, S, and copula subject arguments will all be referred to as 'subject'.  $\chi u$  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  $\chi u$  is subject-oriented, its antecedent is rarely ambiguous, despite its invariant form. Even when non-subject arguments appear closer to  $\chi u$  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=batço-εf χω pa tçεd
Alima teacher ACC=child-PL.NNOM REFL.NNOM LOC house

jud
take.PFV

'Teacher Alima took the children to her house.' (χω→ Alima)
```

(3.136)  $\varphi$  and  $\varphi$  tursun = ir  $\chi$  u qalam  $\varphi$  dud Shanbe Tursun = DAT REFL.NNOM pen give.PFV 'Shanbe gave his pen to Tursun.' ( $\chi$  u  $\rightarrow$  Shanbe)

```
(3.137) mejnaχon az nurbia χω odris parst
Meynahon ABL Nurbia REFL.NNOM address ask.PFV
'Meynahon asked Nurbia for her own address.' (χω→ 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) \chi-ono=ri tilfon ka=am REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT phone do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 'I will call my mother.'
```

```
(3.139) \chi uu pa t \in \mathcal{E} d nahu\in \mathcal{E} = \mathcal{E} ndz rang REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF = REL SEMB

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

(3.140)  $\chi u$  mudzuz tsa wazond tar j > wl REFL.NNOM feeling COND know.3sg.IPFV LOC dawn

noçta 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.  $mina \chi u batco = ri mon \delta ud$ Mina REFL.NNOM child = DAT apple give.PFV
  'Mina gave an apple to her child.' ( $\chi u \rightarrow$  Mina)
  - b. *mina wi batço=ri mon ðud*Mina 3SG.NNOM.DIST child=DAT apple give.PFV
    'Mina gave an apple to her child.' (wi→ NOT Mina)

Amad)

```
(3.142) a. waz = am \chi u numur ranuxt c 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM number forget.PRF 'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)' (\chi u \rightarrow I)
```

```
b. *waz=am mu numur ranuxtç

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  $\chi u$  is not ambiguous because a  $\chi u$  within a subordinate clause takes the subordinate clause subject as its antecedent. In finite subordinate clauses, as in (3.143),  $\chi u$  refers to the embedded clause subject instead of the main clause subject. In subordinate clauses with an explicit subject, as in (3.144),  $\chi u$  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),  $\chi u$  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  $\chi u$ .

```
(3.143)
          ojmira levd
                           iko [awagul xui
                                                       pa
                                                           tεεd
          Oimira say.PFV SC Awageel REFL.NNOM LOC house
            rejd]
            remain.PFV
          'Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home].' (\chi u \rightarrow Awageel)
(3.144)
                               [sobir xu
                                                    yin qati
          1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Sobir REFL.NNOM wife COM
            i\varepsilon t = iI
                                 wazond
                           na
            come.INF = SC NEG know.PFV
          'I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife]. ' (\chi u \rightarrow
            Sobir)
         zuxt \zeta = \varepsilon n dz  a = ktub-\varepsilon f
(3.145)
          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].' (\chi u \rightarrow
```

In all three types of clauses above,  $\chi u$  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  $\chi u$  results in an ambiguous antecedent, as it is equally acceptable for  $\chi u$  to refer to the main clause subject or the embedded clause subject, as shown in (3.146) & (3.147). When  $\chi u$  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 χιιι
                                         a = qalam wejrun az
          Soyra Geelmira REFL.NNOM ACC = pen broken ABL
            tcejg = i
                         xafo suit
            do.INF = SC upset become.PFV
          'Soyra got upset [because Geelmira broke her pen].' (\chi u \rightarrow Geelmira
            OR Soyra)
(3.147)
          raçid
                                       a = kilit
                                                        bunost = i1
                  [sobir \u03c3u
                                                  az
                                                                      tεlan
          Rashid Sobir REFL.NNOM ACC = key ABL lose.INF = SC fine
            ðud
            give.PFV
          'Rashid gave a fine [because Sobir lost his key].' (\chi u \rightarrow Rashid OR
            Sobir)
```

In addition to its function as an invariant reflexive pronoun,  $\chi u$  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  $\chi uba\theta$  in the nominative and  $\chi u$  in the nonnominative.  $\chi uba\theta$  cannot be used as a reflexive because reflexives must refer to subjects.

```
(3.148) waz soq, təw χubaθ
1sg.nom healthy 2sg.nom refl.nom
'I am healthy, you yourself?'
```

```
(3.149) ta \chi uu mudzuz tcardz = o 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM feeling good = Q 'Is your own feeling good?'
```

- (3.150) ta  $\chi uu$ -an = at kudzur latçəwg 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN = 2SG.PFV where put.PFV 'Where did you put your own?'
- (3.151)  $putxu \ a = yin = af$  yuu  $z \in d$  king ACC = wife = 2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV 'You(pl) have killed the king's wife herself!'

Second,  $\chi u$  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  $\chi uba\theta$  serves as a modifier which is apposed to the subject, as in (3.152) & (3.153). Alternatively, to express the same meaning, the adverbial  $\chi ut citan$  'by self' may be used, as in (3.154).

- (3.152) taw  $\chi uba\theta$  a=wi hat ka 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST open do.IPFV 'You open that yourself.'
- (3.153) mu radzen χωbαθ tid tçi kaxt
  1SG.NNOM daughter REFL.NOM go.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV
  'My daughter can go by herself.'
- (3.154) m-ono  $digar\ dzuj\ tujd$ , waz=am 1SG.NNOM-mother other place go.PFV 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV

χω tçi tan paləw tçəwg
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 *raçid 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) raçid a=sobir ðud, sobir a=raçid ðud Rashid ACC=Sobir hit.PFV Sobir ACC=Rashid hit.PFV 'Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.'
- (3.156) raçid 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  $\chi u$ , the reciprocal pronoun imi is usually subject-oriented, and is less prominent than its antecedent, occurring in a non-subject slot—such as accusative, as in (3.156) & (3.157), dative, as in (3.158) & (3.159), ablative, as in (3.160) - (3.162), comitative, as in (3.163), locative/allative, as in (3.164) & (3.165), or a possessor within an NP, as in (3.166) & (3.167).

- (3.157) ar di afto a=imiLOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week ACC=RECP
  - wejn = an = o

see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q

'Shall we see each other this week?' (accusative)

- (3.158)  $wo\delta = af$  imi = ri  $\chi uu$  surat 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP = DAT REFL.NNOM picture
  - vuusond

show.PFV

'They showed each other their picture.' (dative)

- (3.159)  $wo\delta = af$  imi = ri samsut  $\delta ud$  3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP = DAT gift give.PFV 'They gave gifts to each other.' (dative)
- (3.160) woð=af az imi xumand 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
                         tilo\chi on = 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)
         xsraw
                  at
                        kura c = af
                                           imi
                                                 gati balad
         Hsreaw CONJ Keerash = 3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted
           suit
           become.PFV
         'Hsreaw and Keerash got acquainted with each other.' (comita-
(3.164)
         waz
                   at
                                            tar imi
                                                        arðo
                                                                na
                          тш
                                     jaχ
         1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG
           \delta e_i = a_i
           fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'My sister and I do not look alike.' (allative)
(3.165)
        mac = an
                             tar imi
                                        zuzd
         1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV
         'We ran towards each other.' (allative)
(3.166)
                                  imi(-an
                                             wi)
                                                             ktub
         3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book
           wazapt
           return.PFV
         'They returned each other's books.' (genitive)
         wo\delta = af
(3.167)
                                  imi(-an
                                             wi)
         3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
           a = eib - \varepsilon f
                                         wazond
           ACC = transgression-PL.NNOM know.PFV
         'They found out about each other's transgressions.' (genitive)
```

However, unlike the reflexive pronoun  $\chi u$ , imi may also take as its antecedent the O argument of the clause, as in (3.168) & (3.169).

```
(3.168) mu ja\chi a=gulbarg at tursun imi=ri 1SG.NNOM sister ACC=Geelbarg CONJ Tursun RECP=DAT
```

balad tçəwg acquainted do.PFV

'My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.'

(3.169) alima malum  $a = \varphi$ anigul at asal imi qati  $\varepsilon p$  Alima teacher ACC=Shanigeel CONJ Asal RECP COM fix

tçəwg

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).

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### 4

## **Possession**

This chapter describes three varieties of possessive construction: 1) NP-internal possessive construction (§4.1), 2) predicative possessive construction (§4.2), and 3) substantival possessives (§4.3). The predicative construction is used to establish a relationship of possession, while the NP-internal construction presupposes the possessive relationship (Dixon 2010b:256). Substantival possessives may serve either function.

Within these possessive constructions, the nature of the possessor does not influence the structure in any way. The construction maintains the same structure whether the possessor is a common noun, pronoun, proper noun, or a kin term, or whether it is animate or non-animate, human or non-human. The nature of the possessive relationship, in terms of time or permanence, also does not affect the structure. As for the possessed item, no distinction is made between alienable and inalienable nouns.

In addition to marking NP-internal, predicative, and substantival possession, the genitive marker -an is also used to mark the underlying subject of a nominalized complement clause (§10.2.2.1).

## 4.1 NP-internal possessive construction

NP-internal possession is realized in two ways, as described below. In both constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed item, and the possessed item is the head of the NP. The possessive construction within an NP may be used to express a wide range of relationships, some of which go beyond mere possession. It may express ownership (4.3), whole-part relationship (4.6), kinship relationship (4.1), an attribute (4.2), or association (4.4).

1. Juxtaposition: The possessor and the possessed item are simply juxtaposed within the NP. This involves no additional marking, besides the ordering of elements. The possessor may be a common noun or proper noun, as in the following examples.

- (4.1) putxu radzen king daughter 'the King's daughter'
- (4.2) mu vits sul 1SG.NNOM aunt year 'my aunt's age'
- (4.3) kuraç tçed 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 tsem
  2SG.NNOM eye
  'your eye'
- (4.7) maç dəwlat
  1PL.NNOM country
  'our country'
- (4.8) wef piç
  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 mahum
  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) kuraç-an wi dest Keerash-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST friend 'Keerash's friend'

  - (4.13) batço-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) maç-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) *muu-an i swol jost*1SG.NNOM-GEN one question be.IPFV
  'I have a question.' (lit. Of mine, there is a question.)
- (4.24) tamaç-an tsund batço 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) wef-an haroj batço 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 ruct 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 batço-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 waxt 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 muu-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 lawr veðdz 2SG.NNOM-GEN ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN big be.PRF 'Yours is bigger than hers. (Evidential/New information)'
- (4.34)  $tama \varphi an$  mu = ri  $\chi u \varphi$  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 χενά piç-an
3SG.NOM.PROX milk cat-GEN
'This milk is the cat's.'

- (4.36)  $a = bat \varphi o an$  mu = ri  $\delta o$ ACC = child-GEN 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV

  'Give me the child's.'
- (4.37) jad qalam kuraç-an nist
  3SG.NOM.PROX pen Keerash-GEN NEG.be.IPFV
  'This pen is not Keerash's.'
- (4.38) romila-an mas tu=ri  $\delta o=am$ 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 mawg
   Zurohon-GEN also NEG die.PFV
   'Zurohon's has not died, either.'
- (4.40) muu-an a = wi-an  $\chi uug$ 1SG.NNOM-GEN ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN eat.PFV 'Mine ate his.'
- (4.41) mu nabus-an eng çlet 1SG.NNOM grandchild-GEN SUPL soft 'My grandchild's is the softest.'
- (4.42) ju ktub-xejl dzul batço-ɛf-an
  3PL.NOM.DIST book-PL.NOM small child-PL.NNOM-GEN
  'Those books are for little children.'
- (4.43) wef-an = ir xats na  $\delta o = an$  3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN = DAT water NEG give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'Let us not give water to theirs.'

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5

# Comparison

The comparative scheme consists of three obligatory components: Comparee, Standard of comparison, and the Parameter, which is the property in terms of which they are compared (Dixon 2012:344). The Standard is a non-nominative argument marked with the ablative preposition az. The Index of comparison, which is optional, is the comparative particle der '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 *der* 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) varçide iç Varshide cold 'Varshide is cold.'
- (5.2) a. varçide az xwor iç (der)
  Varshide ABL Kashgar cold CPRV
  'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'
  - b. az xwor varçide iç (der)

    ABL Kashgar Varshide cold CPRV

    'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'
- (5.3) a. az qatlamo arzeq mu=ri χως (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.)

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 *der* 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) varçide az urumtçi xuçruj dzuj Varshide ABL Urumqi beautiful place 'Varshide is a more beautiful place than Urumqi.'

- (5.5) mu patiç az ta mas asto  $\chi ig = it$ çuz 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 raçid dzald (dɛr) zuz=am

  1SG.NOM ABL Rashid fast CPRV run.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
  'I run faster than Rashid.'
- (5.7) ju az di xuçruj (dɛr)
  3SG.NOM.DIST ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX beautiful CPRV

  levd
  say.3SG.IPFV
  'He speaks/sings more beautifully than this one.'
- (5.8) mu bob az mu pur (dɛr)
  1SG.NNOM grandfather ABL 1SG.NNOM much CPRV

  wazond
  know.3SG.IPFV
  'My grandfather knows more than I do.'
- (5.9) *cer az wef tar prud (der) tizd* donkey ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV 'The donkey goes ahead of them.'
- (5.10) \*ejdboj az mu dejqun (dɛr) Eidboy ABL 1SG.NNOM farmer CPRV 'Eidboy is more farmer than I am.'
- (5.11) \*jad z > w az wi  $\chi ird$  (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 *der*:

(5.12) mu = ri pur  $d\varepsilon r$   $\delta o$  1SG.NNOM = DAT much CPRV give.IPFV 'Give me more.'

- (5.13)  $\chi u$  bob=ir nizd  $d\varepsilon r$   $ni\theta$  REFL.NNOM grandfather=DAT near CPRV sit.IPFV 'Sit closer to your grandfather.'
- (5.14) *pugan waχti dɛr joð=it* tomorrow early CPRV come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV 'Come(pl) earlier tomorrow.'

One of the NP quantifiers, *bax der* 'most', is composed of the adjective *bax* 'much; extra' and the comparative marker *der* (see §2.3.1.3).

To express that the Comparee is less X (where 'X' is the Parameter) than the Standard, the Parameter adjective phrase is modified by a preceding *kam* 'few', optionally followed by the comparative marker *der*, as in (5.15). *kam* may also function as the Parameter itself, since it can serve an adverbial function, as in (5.16).

- (5.15) waz az mu jax kam (dɛr) xuuçruij 1SG.NOM ABL 1SG.NNOM sister few CPRV beautiful 'I am less beautiful than my sister.'
- (5.16) *çanbɛ az mu kam (dɛr) xuvdz*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 navi¢t az mu xojd dzald
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, *put* 'much' or *kam* 'few',

serves an adverbial function and may be followed by the comparative marker *der*. For example, in (5.18), the shared A argument is *waz* 'I', the Comparee is *hansu ziv* 'Mandarin language', the Standard is *tudzik ziv* 'Tajik language', the Index is *pur* (*der*) 'more', and the Parameter is the shared predicate *wazon* 'know'.

```
(5.18) waz az tudzik 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) *merdin az tçer skit pur (der) 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  $d\varepsilon r$  is not used in a negative comparative construction.

```
(5.20) m-ono az m-oto kam xojdz=ɛndz
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

kutçin mas nist
```

## 5.2 Bi-clausal construction

'I am neither more intelligent nor stronger than you.'

strong also NEG.be.IPFV

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 *tçixt* 'look' is followed by the temporal particle *alo*, forming a temporal adverbial clause. As with the mono-clausal construction, the main clause is a copula clause with the Comparee as the copula subject and the Parameter as the copula complement. However, the standard is marked as dative instead of ablative, and the Index *der* is obligatory. The bi-clausal construction may be used with adjectives in copula complement function (5.22) & (5.23), adverbials (5.24) & (5.25), and adnominal adjectives (5.26).

(5.22) zulfia dest=ir tçixt alo mu dest long
Zeelfia friend=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM friend limpy

der
CPRV

'Compared to Zeelfia's friend, my friend is more limpy.'

(5.23) ta cejdoi=ri tçixt alo mu-an
2SG.NNOM Sheydoi=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM-GEN

garun der
heavy CPRV

'Compared to your Sheydoi (female cap), mine is heavier.'

(5.24) χω χαjun=ir tçixt alo waz

REFL.NNOM sister.in.law=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NOM

χωςτωj dɛr intsov=am

beautiful CPRV sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'Compared to my sister-in-law, I sew more beautifully.'

(5.25) digar qanatin=ir tçixt 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.'

```
tçardz der tçur
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 *put* 'much' or *kam* 'few' followed by the comparative marker *der*, as in (5.27) & (5.28), or with *uburo* 'more' without the comparative marker *der*, as in (5.29).

(5.27) ojmira xad=ir tçixt alo çanigul xad pur
Oimira hair=dat look.INF temp Shanigeel hair much

der zird

der zird CPRV yellow

'Compared to Oimira's hair, Shanigeel's hair is more yellow.'

(5.28) mu  $t \in ed-nendz - ef = ir$   $t \in ixt$  alo  $1 \le G.NNOM$  house-ADJ-PL.NNOM = DAT look.INF TEMP

mu xojd kam der mujim
1SG.NNOM read.INF few CPRV important
'Compared to my family, my studies are less important.'

(5.29) wi puts = ir  $t_cixt$  alo mu puts 3SG.NNOM.DIST son = DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM son

tçur set=ir uburo der lujeq 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  $d\varepsilon r$ , as in (5.30).

Alternatively, a bi-clausal comparative strategy may be formed by conjoining two independent clauses with the conjunction *hammo* or *lekin* 'but'. The second clause is essentially the same as a mono-clausal construction, with the Standard omitted because it is mentioned in the first clause. The parameter is an adjective, and either the comparative marker *der* or *uburo* 'more' may function as the Index of parameter. The first clause often includes an optional *mas* 'also'.

- (5.31) 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) çindzang tamoq (mas) tsɛx, lɛkin sutçwan tamoq tsɛx der Xinjiang food also spicy but Sichuan food spicy CPRV 'Xinjiang food is (also) spicy, but Sichuan food is even spicier.'

## 5.3 Superlative

The superlative construction is an extension from the comparative construction. Whereas a comparative adjective compares two participants of similar status (Comparee & Standard), the superlative adjective identifies a single individual as one that is of the greatest degree in regards to the Parameter. The superlative is expressed through a comparative construction, with the Standard being specified as *dzam* 'all' and marked with the ablative preposition *az*. The Comparee is stated first, followed by the Standard *az dzam*, followed by the Parameter. The Comparee may be an adjective in copula complement (5.33), adnominal (5.34) - (5.36), or adverbial (5.37) function.

(5.33) jad çer az dzam kutçin 3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all strong 'This donkey is the strongest.'

- (5.34) jad az dzam kutçin cer 3SG.NOM.PROX ABL all strong donkey 'This is the strongest donkey.'
- (5.35) mu az dzam nizd hamru mu = ri
  1SG.NNOM ABL all near companion 1SG.NNOM = DAT

  ziunat tçəwg
  betrayal do.PFV
  'My closest friend betrayed me.'
- (5.37) wi dud bejtgar, ju az dzam 3SG.NNOM.DIST uncle singer 3SG.NOM.DIST ABL all χμιςτωj lενd beautiful say.3SG.IPFV 'His uncle is a singer, he sings the most beautifully.'

Alternatively, the Uyghur loanword  $\varepsilon ng$  'most' may be used as a distinct superlative Index, replacing the native az dzam 'than all'. As in the native superlative construction introduced above, the Comparee is followed by the Index  $\varepsilon ng$  and then the Parameter. It is ungrammatical to use both az dzam and  $\varepsilon ng$  for a single adjective, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.38b) & (5.39b).

- (5.38) a. jad  $\xi \varepsilon r$   $\varepsilon ng$   $kut \xi in$  3SG.NOM.PROX donkey SUPL strong 'This donkey is the strongest.'
  - b. \*jad çer az dzam eng kutçin 3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all SUPL strong 'This donkey is the strongest.'

(5.39)a. mu eng nizd hamru mu = ri1SG.NNOM SUPL near companion 1SG.NNOM = DAT χiunat tçəwg betrayal do.PFV 'My closest friend betrayed me.' b. \*mw nizd hamru azdzam eng 1sg.nnom abl all SUPL near companion χiunat tçəwq

## 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 post-position *rang*, followed by the Parameter. As with the regular mono-clausal construction, the statement of equivalence may be formed from adjectives in copula complement (5.40), adnominal (5.41), and adverbial function (5.42).

- (5.40) waz dowud rang aqlin 1SG.NOM Doweed SEMB intelligent 'I am as intelligent as Doweed.'
- (5.41)  $ma \varphi$   $tama \varphi$  rang pur dzuj  $tujdz = \varepsilon ndz$  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) batço-xejl maç rang dzald levd na tçi 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, *araçi*. 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 xig araçi farbe səwd Manos eat.INF CORR fat become.3SG.IPFV 'The more Manos eats, the fatter he gets.'
- (5.44)  $awqut\ bawu\ ter\ set\ araçi\ zoxt=itçuz\ \chi alg\ thing\ price\ high\ become.INF\ CORR\ buy.INF=REL\ person$

kam səwd

few become.3SG.IPFV

'The higher the price of things, the fewer the people who by them.'

(5.45) təw tçarmi pur tçejg araçi 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)  $\chi alg = ir$  vuusond araçi ta gamayak 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 set araçi mewo 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)awudz rəwl weğd araçi 3sg.nnom.dist sound ear put.inf corr

mu = ri = ik  $\chi u \varphi r u j$  num u j d1SG.NNOM = DAT = DUR beautiful seem.3SG.IPFV

'The more I listen to her voice, the more beautiful it seems to me.'

(5.49)mul mulk pur araçi alukat set 2SG.NNOM livestock land much become.INF CORR trouble

> səwd mas puir

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

ршграгахєв	'three days prior'
paraxeb	'two days prior'
хєb	'yesterday'
nur	'today'
pwgan	'tomorrow'
fal	'two days hence'
кadar	'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'
seð	'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 waxt	'a while ago'	
tsa waχt	'a while ago'	
ingum/inguv	'just now'	
çitç	'now'	
uzir	'now'	
i dam der	'a while later; in a moment'	
ilu der	'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'	

xer tsurax'sunrise time'tar jəwl'morning'maður prud'before noon'maður'noon'wadub'noon'maður zabu'afternoon'pejçin'late afternoon'

xom 'when sky starts to get dark'

χετ 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

ilundzik	'for a short time'
i dam i zamun	'instantaneously'
tsem hat tçejg baymig 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 pejçin az tçɛd naxtizd
  Mardon late.afternoon ABL house go.up.3sg.IPFV
  'Mardon will go out (from the house) in the late afternoon.'
- (6.2) purparaxeb = am a = wi wandz-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 waxt	'sometimes'
go waxt	'sometimes'
pur	'often'
iχil	'constantly; incessantly; frequently'
dojim	'constantly; incessantly; frequently'
har dojim	'very frequently'
har waxt	'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)  $ma \ c$  dver har  $wa\chi t$   $tama \ c = ir$  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
```

- (6.5) igun = ir qati tedz = an sometimes = DAT together go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 'We sometimes go together.' OR 'Let us go together sometimes.'
- (6.6) waz çitç ar amriko  $ni\theta = am$  varçidɛ 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. dzald 'fast', asto 'slow', and  $\chi uu cruj$  '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' dzald 'fast' 'very quickly' дшраθ dzwp 'very quickly' 'slow' asto 'beautiful' χш¢rшj iwdz 'alone' 'together' qati 'as a group' tup tang 'simultaneously'

```
dal 'exactly; just right'
tçing 'fully; firmly'
atuin 'purposefully'
odata 'by habit (usually)'
i 'once (on a trial basis)'
```

In general, manner adverbials occur immediately after the subject (6.7) - (6.9) or direct object (6.10), or sentence-initially when the subject is omitted, as in (6.11).

(6.7) merona gupaθ χω az dzuj undəwd Merona very.quickly REFL.NNOM ABL place get.up.PFV

 $\chi$ -ono=ri tilfon tcowg REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT phone do.PFV 'Merona got up from her seat very quickly and called her mother.'

- (6.8) woð=af uttç xutçruj levd=ir veðdz 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=am1SG.NOM once thought do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 'I will think about it.'
- (6.11) dal = an levdzexactly = 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 (*dzwlik*) 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
dzwlik	'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
шtç	'very/too (much)'	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
adzab	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
gando	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
tazo	'very'	adjective, manner adverbial
εng	'most'	adjective, manner adverbial
pet	'completely'	verb
rəwruz	'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(w) 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(w) 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 tçuxt, kam = an tçuxt much = 1PL.PFV NEG watch.PFV few = 1PL.PFV watch.PFV 'We did not wait long, just for a short time.'
- (6.13) dzul-ik waxti naxtedz=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 leq tços, tagəw zejb na 3SG.NNOM.DIST clothing watch.IPFV at.all match NEG

#### ðudz

give.PRF

'Look at her clothes, they do not match at all. (Evidential/New information)'

- (6.16) mu mom mudzuz xejli tçardz sut
  1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling fairly good become.PFV
  'My grandmother has gotten fairly well.'
- (6.17) təw=at uburo xuuçruj sɛðdz 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV more beautiful become.PRF 'You have become more beautiful. (Evidential/New information)'
- (6.18) mu tçi ter-nendz wez utç garun 1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy 'The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.'
- (6.19) di rang ktub-ef waz utte 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB book-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM very

### xuj = am

read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'I read a lot of these kinds of books.'

- (6.20)  $a = digaru \varepsilon f = am$  adzab  $t \varepsilon ardz$   $g \partial wl$   $t \varepsilon \partial wg$  ACC = other-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV very good trick do.PFV 'I tricked the other people very well.'
- (6.21) jad qirut gando teng
  3SG.NOM.PROX Qirut very hard
  'This Qirut (dried yogurt) is very hard.'
- (6.22) nurbia gando tejz zuzd Nurbia very speedy run.3sg.ipfV 'Nurbia runs very speedily.'

```
(6.23)
         a = di
                                 icim tuu=ri
                                                         tazo arzun
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX pants 2SG.NNOM = DAT very cheap
           l\varepsilon v = 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 εng wlws
                ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST day SUPL great
           wazon = an,
                                 εng
                                       lawr wazon = an,
           know.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv Supl big know.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv Supl
                         qati \quad 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 im-
           portant, and celebrate it with the most happiness.'
(6.25)
         wo\delta = af
                                  a = tikist
         3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV ACC = text completely memory
           zuxt
           get.PFV
         'They memorized the text completely.'
(6.26)
                                bijur-i
         ki = wi
                                               χш
         ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST evening-NMLZ REFL.NNOM
           tçed-nendz-xejl
                               pet wixt
                                              so = in
           house-ADJ-PL.NOM all gather.INF become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
                     dzuj ni\theta = in
           i
                tçi
           one LOC place sit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
         'That evening, their families all gather together and hang out in
```

one place.'

```
(6.27)
                                       lεvd
         purs
                  ziv
                          rəwruz
                                               tçi
          Persian tongue completely say.INF CAP
            ka = in = o
            do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q
          'Can they speak Persian completely?'
(6.28)
         jш
                         tçed
                                вerd
                                          iwaθ
                                                       tçəwl
          3SG.NOM.DIST house turn.PFV completely worthless
            become.PFV
          'That house fell over and got completely destroyed.'
(6.29)
          tamaç
                                      tuv
                                            iwaθ
          2PL.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX time completely
            t\varepsilon dz = it = 0.
                                   nej, uz
                                               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'
hargiz	'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) xuuçnamo i vid puugan jet na tçi Heeshnamo one be.INF tomorrow come.INF NEG CAP

kaxt

do.3SG.IPFV

'Heeshnamo might not be able to come tomorrow.'

- (6.31) wi radzen magam kasal seðdz 3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter probably sick become.PRF 'Her daughter probably got sick. (Evidential/New information)'
- (6.32) albatta mu puts utup tçəwg of.course 1SG.NNOM son win do.PFV 'Of course my son won.'

*tag(aw)* and *hargiz* occur with the prohibitive particle *mo* and are used for intensifying the prohibition.

- (6.33) a = di ktçawi 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.'

 $tag(\imath w)$  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).  $tag(\imath w)$  also functions as a degree adverb (§6.4).

- (6.35) təw tagəw tçum indiz
  2SG.NOM ever when get.up.IPFV
  'When on earth are you going to get up?'
- (6.36) waz tagəw tsund sul a=ta1SG.NOM ever how.much year ACC=2SG.NNOM

t cos = am

watch.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'However many years am I to wait for you?'

- (6.38) tamac = af naxtug a = tsejz = af tagaw 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV go.up.PFV ACC = what = 2PL.PFV everwand mejdz vud see.INF INTEN be.PFV'You(pl) went out; what on earth were you planning to see?'
- (6.39) ato &aõo, pugan-ɛndz intawum utç 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)vud, mu-an ato ano yin vuud, 1SG.NNOM-GEN father mother be.PFV wife be.PFV twenty  $a = w\varepsilon f$ na year become.PFV ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST NEG see.INF = DAT  $w\varepsilon f = ir$ 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) tamac tagaw katc 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 xuzmat tizd=o, nej Sobir ever LOC work go.3SG.IPFV=Q NEG 'Is Sobir going to work or not?'

```
(6.43) woo tagaw a=batço 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)
          t \partial w = at
                              tom w\varepsilon f = ir
                                                            tçardz-i
          2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV then 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT good-ADV
            tçəwydz
            do.PRF
          'You treated them well, then. (Evidential/New information)'
(6.45)
         bεadab-i
                               ka
                        mo
          impolite-ADV PROH do.IPFV
          'Do not be impolite.'
(6.46)
         ulfat asl-i
                                   tçimbd
                                                  hammo
                             na
          Eelfat origin-ADV NEG be.willing.PFV but
                                 a = wi
                                                                  tçəwg
            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) χω batço-εf 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)  $kalo-\chi ejl = af$   $\delta \partial w-i$   $\delta \partial w-i$  ar  $\kappa al$  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)  $awrat-\chi ejl$  laka tar pindzu-i  $ni\theta=in$  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 tudzik batço 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

setir veðdz

become.inf=rel be.prf

'In each barrel eight or nine buckets of water could fit. (Evidential/New information)'

(6.53)  $\chi uu$  pa uv=ik did uz uv=ik uv=ik

z = ir = ik kaxt dz = at -i

 $chew.INF = DAT = DUR \quad do.3sg.IPFV \quad hurry-NMLZ$ 

'She puts five into her mouth at a time, and is in a hurry to munch on it.'

(6.54) doð  $ni\theta = in$  ato az zabu 3PL.NOM.PROX sit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV father ABL back

def-anwist-isi-ikaloi3PL.NNOM.PROX-GENtwenty-ADVthirty-ADVsheepone

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \textit{haroj} & \textit{its} & \textit{tcat} & \textit{jost} \\ \textit{three} & \textit{TERM} & \textit{cow} & \textit{be.IPFV} \end{array}$ 

'They live behind their father, and have twenty or thirty sheep each and one to three cows.'

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# 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	то	2.IPFV	§7.2.4
	Apprehensive	то	IPFV	§7.2.5
Interrogative	Polar Q	=0	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) mu inder 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-nɛndz afto az 3SG.NNOM.DIST grandmother front-ADJ week ABL

duχturχuno naxtug hospital go.up.PFV 'His grandmother came out of the hospital last week.'

(7.3) kuraς=ir stəwr guxt χιυς 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 <code>laka/nugur</code> 'let' and the prohibitive and apprehensive are marked with the particle <code>mo</code>.

#### 7.2.1 Imperative

The basic imperative mood is used for direct commands. Since a direct command is directed at the addressee, the second person is the subject of the verb. Structurally, it is an unmarked sentence in imperfective aspect with a second person singular agreement clitic ( $=\emptyset$ , as in (7.4) - (7.6)), or, in the case of giving a command to more than one person, a second person plural agreement clitic (=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 = dver bawej

ACC = door close.IPFV

'Close the door.'
```

- (7.5) purs ziv mu=ri xumand 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 lev
   hello say.IPFV
   'Say hello to your parents for me.'
- (7.7) awal  $\chi u$  ðust znej=it first REFL.NNOM hand wash.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Wash your(pl) hands first.'
- (7.8) nur pa tçɛd dam zoz=it today LOC house rest get.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Rest(pl) at home today.'
- (7.9) az xwor maç=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 xuı leq znej
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM clothing wash.IPFV
'You wash your clothes.'
```

```
(7.11) tamac mocin qati tedz = 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) dzald = it

fast = 2PL.IPFV

'Hurry up(pl)!'
```

(7.13) 
$$asto = it$$
  
 $slow = 2pL.IPFV$   
'Slow down(pl)!'

(7.14) 
$$dzuj = it$$
  
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).

'Will you(pl) bring something for me from America?'

```
(7.15) mu = ri jordam ka = it = o

1SG.NNOM = DAT help do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q

'Will you(pl) help me?'
```

```
(7.16) az amriko mu=ri i tsiz
ABL America 1sg.NNOM=DAT one thing
vor=it=o
bring.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
```

(7.17)  $\chi u$  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 tçoj broz=an topping tea drink.IPFV=1PL.IPFV 'Let us drink milk tea.'
- (7.20) pa  $t \notin \mathcal{E}d$   $di\delta = an$ ,  $a = \chi uu$   $\theta uum$ 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 ic, na tedz = 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.'

Hortatives may be softened into suggestions with the addition of the sentence-final interrogative enclitic = 0, as in (7.24) & (7.25).

```
    (7.24)  a=batço-εf  tços=an=o
        ACC=child-PL.NNOM watch.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
        'Shall we wait for the kids?'
    (7.25)  az  dars  χofs=an  χω  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) t coj tu = ri wej \delta = am = o

tea 2SG.NNOM = DAT put.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q

'Shall I pour you tea?'

(7.27) a = dver bawej = am = o

ACC = door close.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q
```

```
(7.28) a = ta t\cos = an = o

ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q

'Shall we wait for you?'
```

'Shall I close the door?'

```
(7.29) az xwor tamaç=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 radzen laka batço vird
  3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter let.IPFV child bring.3SG.IPFV
  'May his daughter give birth to the child.'
- (7.31)  $askar-\chi ejl$  laka  $\chi u$  t ci asl soldier-PL.NOM let.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC origin

```
joð=in
come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
```

'May the soldiers return to their original state.'

```
laka staw = in
let.IPFV praise.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'May all peoples of the world praise our king.'
```

(7.33)  $\chi$ srəw  $\chi$ uu pa tçɛd laka tamoq  $\chi$ ird, Hsreaw REFL.NNOM LOC house let.IPFV food eat.3SG.IPFV

```
dam laka zozd, laka dzald 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) *tçi mu ta ram laka joðd*LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV 'May your mercy come upon me!'
- (7.36) xuðoj laka ta tsem kəwr kaxt
  God let.ipfv 2sg.nnom eye blind do.3sg.ipfv
  'May God cause your eyes to be blind.'
- (7.37)  $\chi u \delta o j$  laka t u = r i i puts nasib kaxt God let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM = DAT one son grant do.3SG.IPFV 'May God grant you a son.'
- (7.38)  $\chi u \delta o j$  laka a=ta az balu qazu God let.IPFV ACC=2SG.NNOM ABL disaster judgment niqaduri 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) *wef* tan laka salomat vid
  3PL.NNOM.DIST body let.IPFV healthy be.3SG.IPFV

wef 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:

```
    i: χωδοj ωtç na vid-i=am wand VOC God very NEG be.INF-NMLZ=1SG.PFV see.PFV
    waz laka dzald 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
```

(7.42) digar mas mejli waz laka k=az other also okay 1SG.NOM let.IPFV ANA = ABL

quickly.'

- di intawum nardzes = am
  3SG.NNOM.PROX exam pass.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'Other things aside, just let me pass this exam.'
- (7.43) maç 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

  maç wand təw laka tçardz 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) tamaç laka tçardz xirs=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)
                          çopur moçin nugur tçəwl
         3SG.NNOM.PROX driver car
                                        1et
                                                worthless
           səwd
           become.3sg.ipfV
         'May this driver's car get broken.'
(7.47)
         adzab tcardz batco = at
                                      νεðdz
                                              barakat nugur
         very
               good child = 2SG.PFV be.PRF blessing let
           vrei
           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
                           \chi u g = 0
          food = 2sg.pfv eat.pfv = Q
          'Have you eaten?'
(7.49)
                 dodik tçed-nendz-xejl
                                               mas io\delta = in = o
          uncle Dodik house-ADJ-PL.NOM also come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q
          'Will Uncle Dodik's family also come?'
(7.50)
                                t \varepsilon \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz = 0
          taw
                     tei
          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 = o
          '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 *a?a* '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
                                                            t\varepsilon dz = 0
                        mur
                               mac
                                              gati na
           2SG.NOM today 1PL.NNOM COM NEG go.IPFV = Q
           'Are you not going with us today?'
(7.54)
           nai. na
                      t\varepsilon dz = am
           NEG NEG go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
           'No, I am not going.'
(7.55)
           \partial \partial \partial t, t \varepsilon dz = am
           ves 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=0, 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<sup>1</sup>, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.57) & (7.58) below. Occasionally, the alternative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>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=o3SG.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.

- (7.61) jad mu-an=o, ta-an3s.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN=Q 2SG.NNOM-GEN 'Is this mine, or yours?'
- (7.62) nurbia pa maktab = o, pa tcedNurbia LOC school = Q LOC house 'Is Nurbia at school, or at home?'
- (7.63) tudzik ziv qilo=o, hansu ziv
  Tajik tongue difficult=Q Han tongue
  'Is Tajik difficult, or Mandarin?'
- (7.64) mac palaw  $\chi or = an = o$ , lauman1PL.NOM pilaf eat.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q Laghman 'Shall we eat pilaf, or Laghman (pulled noodles)?'

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  $\partial \partial$  '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.

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  $\partial 2\partial$  '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 tços=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 xuı 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 xuuç 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
tçoj	who.NOM	identity of person
tçi	who.NNOM	identity of person
tsejz	what	identity of object
tçidum	which	identity of object
tçum	when	point in time
tsa waχt	when	point in time
kudzur	where.NOM	location
ko	where.NNOM	location
tsarang	how	manner; condition
tsaĸa	how	means; method
tsund	how.much	quantity
tsejzir	why	purpose; reason

*tsejz* 'what' has a variant, *tsa*, which is used in certain contexts, as in (7.75) & (7.76).

(7.75) tsa χωςτωί what beautiful 'How beautiful!'
 (7.76) tsa χεg what sweet

'How sweet!'

The forms of interrogative words show recurring sequences—all forms besides *kudzur/ko* 'where' begin with the sequence *ts* or *tç*. Some of these forms can be analyzed morphologically, as *tsa* combines with other morphemes to form some of the interrogative words: *tsa waxt* (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 tçejg* '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.

 $t \ensuremath{\wp} oj$  'who' and  $t \ensuremath{\wp} i$  '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.  $t \ensuremath{\wp} oj$  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.  $t \ensuremath{\wp} i$  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.  $t \circ j$  a = t a bo  $t \circ w g$  who.NOM ACC = 2SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV 'Who kissed you?'
  - b. mu vits a=mu bo  $t \in \partial wg$  1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV 'My aunt kissed me.'
- (7.78) a.  $t \circ o j$  a = gulpia  $t \circ a r d z$  wand who.NOM ACC = Geelpia good see.3sg.IPFV 'Who loves Geelpia?'
  - b. asan a=gulpia tçardz wand
    Asan ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV
    'Asan loves Geelpia.'

b. woð=af amad qati jot 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV Amad COM come.PFV 'They came with Amad.'

- (7.80) a. gulpia a=t ci t card wand Geelpia ACC=who.NNOM good see.3SG.IPFV 'Whom does Geelpia love?'
  - b. *gulpia* a=ramon tçardz wand
    Geelpia ACC=Ramon good see.3SG.IPFV
    'Geelpia loves Ramon.'

*tsejz* is related to the open lexical class of nouns. It may either be an NP head, as in (7.81), or a modifier within an NP, as in (7.82). It is also possible to construct a content question with *tsejz* as an NP head even if it has modifiers, as in (7.83).

- (7.81) a. taw = at tsejz  $\chi uug$  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV what eat.PFV 'What did you eat?'
  - b. waz=am anur xuug
    1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
    'I ate pomegranates.'
- (7.82) a. taw = at tsejz mewo  $\chi uug$  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV what fruit eat.PFV 'What fruit did you eat?'
  - b. waz=am anur xuug
    1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
    'I ate pomegranates.'
- (7.83) putxu yubun-an wi tsejz zuxt king shepherd-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST what take.PFV 'What of the shepherd did the king take?'

*tçidum* 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. t = ri az dz = ri which cat 2SG.NNOM = DAT ABL all happy 'Which cat do you like the most?'
  - b. jad pic mu=ri az dzam  $\chi ucc$  3SG.NOM.PROX cat 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL all happy 'I like this cat the most.'
- (7.85) a.  $wo\delta = af$  tçidum 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 *tçum*; the other form is composed of two morphemes, *tsa* 'what (shortened form)' plus *waxt* 'time'. In (7.86a), either *tçum* or *tsa waxt* may be used.

- (7.86) a. *nurbia tçum 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. kudzur is used when there are no co-occurring function markers, as in (7.87) & (7.88), often when used in the locative or allative sense (the function markers pa and ar are omitted when kudzur occurs). ko is always used when there is a function marker, and is most frequently used with the ablative az and the locative/allative tar, as in (7.89) & (7.90).

```
(7.87) a. ma\varphi kudzur ni\theta = an 1PL.NOM where.NOM sit.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 'Where shall we sit?'
```

b.  $\partial wd$ -ik  $ni\theta = it$ here-DIM sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Sit(pl) over here.'

- (7.88) a. soqdzon tçɛd kudzur Soqjon house where.NOM 'Where is Soqjon's house?'
  - b. soqdzon tçɛd 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 tsasa 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. tsasa pertains to the means or method by which the action is carried out. These generally occur before the verb as adverbial modifiers, as in (7.91) - (7.94), or as a copula complement, as in (7.95).

(7.91) ta tçixt its jad dinju tsarang 2SG.NNOM look.INF TERM 3SG.NOM.PROX world how

pejdu  $se\delta dz = endz$ 

appear become.PRF = REL

'In your opinion, how did this world come into being?'

(7.92) k = dos kam kam tsa  $\chi or$  tsa t ci p ci 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 tsaka 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)  $mawydz = \varepsilon ndz = ir$  tsasa zundo 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 tçardz 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 -intçi or particle ma or az, which attach to cardinal

- (7.96) a. tamaç-an tsund batço jost
  2PL.NNOM-GEN how.much child be.IPFV
  'How many children do you have?'
  - b. *maç-an* tsavur batço jost
    1PL.NNOM-GEN four child be.IPFV
    'We have four children.'
- (7.97) a.  $t \ge w$  a = m u  $t \le u \le d$  aziz  $2 \le G.NOM ACC = 1 \le G.NNOM how.much love 'How much do you love me?'$ 
  - b. m = dundCATA = 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. tow pa tsund-intçi sunuf xuj
  2SG.NOM LOC how.much-ORD class read.IPFV
  'Which (the how-many-th) grade are you studying in?'
  - b. *pindz-intçi* 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 uvd
moon ORD seven
'July.'
```

(7.101) wi radzen ões 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 waxt* '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 lawr* '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  $\chi u$  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 = mac 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 = t c i wand = i r tar ko

ACC = who.NNOM see.INF = DAT LOC where.NNOM

t c d z = i t

go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'Where are you(pl) going, to see whom?'
```

(7.105) suat tçi tsund tçi pa tçɛd so hour LOC how.much who.NNOM LOC house become.IPFV 'At what time are you going, to whose house?'

- (7.106) *tçoj tçum tsejzir jɛt=ir vɛðdz*who.NOM when why come.INF=DAT be.PRF
  'Who is coming, when, for what purpose? (Evidential/New information)'
- (7.107) t c j t c i = r i  $t c i z \delta u d z$  who.NOM who.NNOM = DAT what give.PRF 'Who gave what to whom? (Evidential/New information)'
- (7.108) *tçoj* az ko tsejz 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 *tçi* occurs within a relative clause, and in (7.110), *tsejz* occurs within a purpose adverbial clause, and both of these interrogative words occur in the slot that is expected for its function. Interrogative complement clauses are described in the next subsection (§7.3.4.1).

- (7.109) jad [t $\epsilon$ i qati i $\theta$ t $\epsilon$ =  $\epsilon$ nd $\epsilon$ ] 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) [ $tsejz \ tcejg = ir$ ] =  $at \ tuijdz$ -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) tsejz tsa vid səwd
  what COND be.3SG.IPFV become.3SG.IPFV
  'Whatever is fine.'
- (7.112) *tçum 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) taw kudzur tsa tedz waz ta paz 2SG.NOM where COND go.IPFV 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM PER

dum  $t\varepsilon dz = am$ 

behind go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'Wherever you go, I will follow you.'

k = a = wi  $\chi or = it$ 

ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'Whatever she sets before you(pl), eat that.'

(7.116)  $t coj = a\theta$  vid tsa a = wi who.NOM = EMP be.3SG.IPFV COND ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST

çəwguni levdz 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 tçidum kamput  $\chi uu$ ç 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT = DUR which candy happy
  - sut 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) intawum  $\delta o = an$ , kudzur = an = ik nardzed, 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.'

(7.119) ar di tsarang xwç-i tsa ka LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV

tsarang narzamb tsa set = itcuz 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.  $(7.120) \cdot (7.130)$  illustrate how each of the interrogative words introduced in §7.3.4 may be used in an interrogative complement clause.

```
(7.120)
                                                   vid = i
         waz
                              vits-an
                                        tçoj
                                                              na
                   ta
         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
                             tamac-an
                                            puigan
                                                       tçi
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow who.NNOM
                tçεd
                       tid=i
                                  ranuxtç
           pa
           LOC house go.INF = SC forget.PRF
         'I forgot whose house you(pl) are going to tomorrow. (Eviden-
           tial/New information)'
(7.122)
                   ta-an
                                   parus
                                            tsejz tçer
                                                        tceig = 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)
         wo\delta = af
                                                 tçidum guıl
                                 mu-an
         3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM-GEN which flower
                            wand
           separate.INF = SC see.PFV
         'They saw which flower I chose.'
```

(7.124) *waz* rejmaguıl-an tçum xui tej 1SG.NOM Reimageel-GEN when REFL.NNOM wedding t cej g = itamac = ir $l\varepsilon v = am$ do.INF = SC 2PL.NNOM = DAT say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I will tell you when Reimageel will get married.' (7.125)waz ajdzmol-an χш batço kudzur 1SG.NOM Ayjamol-GEN sefl.NNOM child where.NOM naymig = ina wazon = amhide.inf = sc neg know.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv 'I do not know where Ayjamol hid her child.' (7.126)waz wɛf-an azko 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN ABL where.NNOM wazon = amcome.INF = SC know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I know where they came from.' (7.127) wi-an mudzuz tsarang vid=i 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN feeling how be.INF = SC ABLpars = an3sg.nnom.dist ask.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv 'We ask how she is feeling.' (7.128)arzeq-an tsasa tcejg = ituu = ri χωmand Arzeq-GEN how do.INF = SC 2SG.NNOM = DAT learn ka = amdo.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV'I will teach you how to make Arzeq (a wedding pastry).' (7.129)dars-an tsund  $wa\chi t rejd = i$ 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.'

next year.'

```
(7.130) waz mina-an tsejzir χafo sεt=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)
         wef-an
                               batco\ vid=i
                                                 jo na
         3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF = SC or NEG
            vid = i = am
                                 ranuxtç
            be.INF = SC = 1SG.PFV forget.PRF
         'I forget whether they have children. (Evidential/New informa-
            tion)'
                                          wa\chi t vid = i
                                                            jo na
(7.132)
         pugan
                    wi-an
         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)
                                     hansu ziv
         sulir
                    mac = ir
                                                     dars
         next.year 1PL.NNOM = DAT Han
                                             tongue lesson
                         jo na
                                  \delta od = i
                                                nəwz
            give.INF = SC or NEG give.INF = SC still
            mac = ir = af
                                            levd
                                       na
            1PL.NNOM = DAT = 3PL.PFV NEG say.IPFV
```

'They did not tell us yet whether they will offer Mandarin classes

### 7.3.4.2 Negative indefinite pronouns

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative words—the addition of hits (which is very frequently shortened to i) 'none' to the beginning of some interrogative words creates a negative indefinite: hits tsoj 'no one (NOM)', hits tsi 'no one (NNOM)', hits tsarang (sometimes shortened to hits rang) 'in no way, in no form', hits tsasa 'in no way, in no form', hits tsiz 'nothing', hits tsidum '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 hits are tsum/tsa waxt, kudzur/ko, tsejzir, and tsund. For time and location, hits is used with common nouns instead of interrogative words: hits waxt 'never; no time' and hits dzuj 'nowhere', as in (7.141) & (7.142).

- (7.135) *pa tçɛd hitç tçoj nist*LOC house none who.NOM NEG.be.IPFV
  'There is no one at home.'
- (7.136) hite tei = ri salum avon mo warofs none who.NNOM = DAT peace BEN PROH stop.IPFV 'Do not stop to greet anyone.'
- (7.138) wi = ri hit; tsawa mo ka 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT none how PROH do.IPFV 'Do not do anything to it.'

- (7.139) hit c tsiz naj, hit c tsiz = am na lev d none thing NEG none thing = 1SG.PFV NEG say.PFV 'Nothing, I did not say anything.'
- (7.140) hits tsidum gul mu = ri xus nist none which flower 1sg.nnom = dat happy neg.be.ipfv 'I do not like any of the flowers.'
- (7.141) maç hitç waxt di rang tçer 1PL.NOM none time 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB work

```
wandz = \varepsilon ndz nist see.PRF = REL NEG.be.IPFV
```

'We have never seen anything like this before.'

(7.142)  $do\delta = af$  hit; dzuj 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) \*hitc tcoj pa duxturxuno 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 dzilt hitç 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  $-\chi ejl$  or  $-\varepsilon f$ . Interrogative words with a plural referent is reduplicated, without any changes in word order, as illustrated in (7.145) - (7.150):

- (7.145) *tçoj tçoj joðd* who.NOM who.NOM come.3sg.IPFV 'Who all are coming?'
- (7.146) *kudzur kudzur tɛdz=in* where.NOM where.NOM go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 'Where all are they going?'
- (7.147) t > w  $a = t \neq i$   $t \neq i$  wazon 2SG.NOM ACC = who.NNOM who.NNOM know.IPFV 'Who all do you know?'
- (7.148) tsejz tsejz veðdz what what be.prf 'What all are there? (Evidential/New information)'
- (7.149) ta-an dars tçum tçum jost 2SG.NNOM-GEN lesson when when be.IPFV 'When are the times you have class?'
- (7.150) təw tçidum tçidum dəwlat tujd $z = \varepsilon$ ndz, tçidum tçidum 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 tcoj, tci, and tsejz may be used as filler words in statements and non-content questions if the speaker cannot remember the right word or name for something, as in (7.151) - (7.153). In such cases, the interrogative word is used in the normal syntactic position of the word it is substituting, and the originally intended word is later added on to the end of the sentence when the speaker remembers it. For locations, kudzur is not used, but k=um 'there' is used instead, as in (7.154).

(7.151) t coj jot = o... qurbun who.NOM come.PFV = Q Qeerbun 'Did he come... Qeerbun?'

```
(7.152) az tci pars = an... kuzmamad ABL who.NNOM ask.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Kuzmamad 'Let us ask him... Kuzmamad.'
```

(7.153) 
$$a=wi$$
  $znej=in$   $\chi uu$   $ar$   $ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST$  wash.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC  $tsejz$   $wej\eth=in...$   $dejg$ 

what put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV pot "They wash it an put it in the thing... pot."

(7.154) awal i tsiz 
$$zoz = an$$
  $\chi u$   $k = um$  first one thing buy.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ANA = there

so = an... nizamidin dzuj 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 v > w 'be (IPFV)' for the former, and an infinitive verb with the dative marker = ir followed by v > w 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  $s \in \delta dz$ :

- (7.155) hit; tsaʁa na sɛðdz vəw
  none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV
  'You are fine, right?'
- (7.156) hit; tsaka na seðdz  $v \rightarrow w = in$  none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 'They are fine, right?'
- (7.157) hit; tsaka na se $\delta dz$  vəw=am none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I am fine, right?'

```
(7.158) hitç tsaʁa na sɛðdz 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 xafo 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) waz=am a=ta mejmun na tçi
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=2SG.NNOM guest NEG CAP
    tçəwg, təw χαfo 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?)
```

- (7.162) hit c tsiz = af na ranuxt c vaw = it none thing = 2PL.PFV NEG forget.PRF be.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'You(pl) didn't forget anything, did you?'
- (7.163) təw bεχala 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, tamaç ki = wi
become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST

waxt 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 varçidɛ
1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

so = am, tamaç ki = wi
become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST

waxt its na tedz = 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 varçidɛ
1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

so = am, tamaç ki = wi
become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST

waxt 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) t \partial w t \mathcal{E} \mathcal{E} r na t \mathcal{E} \mathcal{E} g = ir v \partial w, t \partial m w \partial z \mathcal{E} \mathcal{E} S 2SG.NOM work NEG do.INF be.IPFV then return.IPFV t S a S \partial w \partial t COND become.3SG.IPFV 'You are not going to work, right? Then you can go back.'
```

```
(7.168)
                           safts = ik
         ilu,
               тш
                                       mu = ri
                                                         na
         wait 1sg.nnom bead = DUR 1sg.nnom = DAT NEG
            \delta od = ir
                                              juts = ir
                           vəw,
                                    waz
            give.INF = DAT be.IPFV 1SG.NOM fire = DAT
                                juts laka
                                             a = ta
            say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV fire let.IPFV ACC = 2SG.NNOM
            \thetaawond
            burn.CAUS.3SG.IPFV
         'Wait, you are not giving me my bead, right? I will tell Fire, and
            may Fire burn you.'
(7.169)
         citc = a\theta
                                      içandz tçəwydz vəw
                     pa
                          тш
         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) tow tsarang batço, pa gap tçomb = 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  $\chi u \varphi r u j$   $t \varphi i$  woð na  $t \varepsilon dz = am$ , juts 1sg.nom beautiful loc stream NEG go.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV fire ar darun  $a = \chi u$   $\theta awon = am = o$ , 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 xuuçruij wux na xor=am, xats 1SG.NOM beautiful grass NEG eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV water
  - qati  $\chi u$   $d \partial wr$  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) tçoj xu radzen 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) *tçoj 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  $\delta o = am$ NEG false = DUR give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'Or, am I lying?'

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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	Α, Ο
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 peð xuvd 1SG.NNOM foot sleep.PFV 'My foot fell asleep.'
- (8.3) *mejmun-xejl = 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: icandz tcejg 'trust' (8.4) & (8.5), buwar tcejg 'believe' (8.6), julanmic set 'rely on (Uyghur loanword)' (8.7), tcimbd 'be obedient to; be willing to listen to' (8.8), jur set 'possess (as when a demon possesses someone)' (8.9), buzejd 'touch' (8.10), and  $le\chi$   $\chi ig$  '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 tçi içandz ka = am

  LOC who.NNOM trust do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

  'Whom shall I trust?'
- (8.5) pa mu içandz tsa na ka χωδοj 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 ixil pa xalg utt dzald buwar ka
  2SG.NOM often LOC person too fast belief do.IPFV
  'You keep believing people too quickly.'
- (8.7) waz pa ta julanmiç so=am

  1SG.NOM LOC 2SG.NNOM reliance become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
  'I will rely on you.'
- (8.8) tow a=wi juts wazawon,
  2SG.NOM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST fire turn.off.IPFV

  ju mu pa gap na tçimbd
  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  $se\delta dz = endz = o$ 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 tçurik tar pond pa qaraqchi lɛx xuydz 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) mac = an cir navict 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV poem write.PFV 'We wrote poems.'
- (8.14) m-ono  $\chi axts$  kaxt 1SG.NNOM-mother Hak'ts do.3SG.IPFV 'My mother will make Hak'ts (a fudge-like sweet).'

(8.15) wi yin a=vurdz 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  $\delta od$  'give' (8.16), *levd* 'tell' (8.17), *vusond* 'show' (8.18), *xumand tçejg* 'teach' (8.19), *para \delta od* 'sell' (8.20), and *boxt* 'send' (8.21), which require three arguments to be stated or implied.<sup>1</sup>

- (8.16) kuraç mu=ri tsemak ðud Keerash 1sg.nnom=dat wink give.pfv 'Keerash winked at me.' (lit. Keerash gave me a wink.)
- (8.17) awal  $\chi u$  num at  $\chi$ -oto num first REFL.NNOM name CONJ REFL.NNOM-father name

 $bat \wp o - \wp f = ir$   $l \wp v$  child-pl.nnom = dat say.ipfv

'First tell your name and your father's name to the kids.'

(8.18) ilu, waz tu=ri i tsiz hold.on 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing

vuuson = am show.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'Hold on, I will show you something.'

(8.19)  $wo\delta$  imi=ri  $\chi uu$  ato ziv 3PL.NOM.DIST RECP=DAT REFL.NNOM father tongue

 $\chi$ *umand* ka = in teach do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'They teach each other their father tongue.'

(8.20) waz=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.'

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ Causatives (Table 1.7) of transitive verbs also require three arguments, as they take on an additional dative- or accusative-marked argument.

(8.21)  $\chi u$  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	veðdz
N (MC)		nist		na vuud	na νεðdz
P (SC)	vid	vəw	vid	vud	νεðd <b>z</b>
N (SC)	na vid	na vəw	na vid	na vuud	na veðdz

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 nuc jost

  LOC Teeng apricot be.IPFV

  'There are apricots in Teeng.'
- (8.23) wi ar indzeq pul jost
  3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC pocket money be.IPFV
  'There is money in his pocket.'
- (8.24) pa tçɛd mejmun-χejl nist
  LOC house guest-PL.NOM NEG.be.IPFV
  'There are no guests at home.'

(8.25) mu pa qetç batço 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)
         mu-an
                         tçur
                                  na
                                       vid = i = at
                                                             tsaĸa
         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)
         waxt tsa
                      vid
                                  joð
         time COND be.3SG.IPFV come.IPFV
         'Come over if you have time.'
(8.28)
                     mejmun-\chiejl
                                   tsa
         LOC house guest-PL.NOM COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV NEG
           so = am
           become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
```

If not in the infinitive or imperfective stems, the positive and negative existential predicates take the form *vud/vɛðdz* and *na vud/na vɛðdz*, respectively, and do require pronominal agreement clitics, as in (8.29) & (8.30).

'I will not go if there are other guests at home.'

- (8.29) a. putxu-an haroj puts = af vuud king-GEN three son = 3pL.pfV be.pfV 'The King had three sons.'
  - b. putxu-an haroj puts = af vɛðdz king-GEN three son = 3PL.PFV be.PRF 'The King had three sons. (Evidential/New information)'

(8.30)a. ar dzuj a = sarlabzamin nigoLOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC = border watch

> $t \varphi e j g = i t \varphi u z$   $askar - \chi e j l = a f$ vuud do.INF = REL soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV NEG be.PFV 'In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.'

b. *ar* dzuj a = sarlabzamin nigowi LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC = border watch

 $t \varphi e j g = i t \varphi u z$   $askar - \chi e j l = a f$ 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 -yejl 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 nonnominative.

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 COPULA			jost Ø	vud	νεðdz
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) nur di azmud  $se\delta dz = endz$   $ma\theta$  today 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF = REL day 'Today is this person's birthday.' (IDENTITY)
- (8.32) wi vraw utc tor
  3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black
  'Her eyebrows are very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)
- (8.33) *u ju spin qala maç 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 tçɛd ar guz
  1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland
  'My house is in the grassland.' (LOCATION)

The imperative mood is an exception. In a *vid* copula clause in the imperative mood, *vid* is required, even in the imperfective aspect, as shown in (8.35), and later in (8.56).

(8.35) təw ixil 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) x \in b di azmud s \in \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz ma\theta yesterday 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF = REL day

v \in \delta dz be.PRF

'It was this person's birthday yesterday. (Evidential/New infor-
```

(8.37) wi vraw utc tor veðdz 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black be.PFV 'Her eyebrows are very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)

mation)' (IDENTITY)

- (8.38) *u ju spin qala maç 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 tçɛd ar guz vuud
  1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland be.PFV
  'My house used to be in the grassland.' (LOCATION)
- (8.40) waz Bots nist

  1SG.NOM girl NEG.be.IPFV
  'I am not a girl.' (IDENTITY)
- (8.41) wi vraw utc tor nist
  3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black NEG.be.IPFV
  'Her eyebrows are not very dark.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.42)  $\chi uu$  vrud vid=i  $wo\delta$  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

tçer nejk səwd

work good become.3sg.IPFV

'If your intentions are right, your work will turn out well.' (ATTRIBUTION)

Sarikoli has another copula: <code>set</code> 'become'. While <code>vid</code> refers to a state, <code>set</code> refers to a change of state. Whereas the copula <code>vid</code> is omitted in the imperfective aspect, producing a verbless clause with no aspect or agreement marking, <code>set</code> is not omissible and always requires pronominal agreement clitics. In these respects, <code>set</code> 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 <code>set</code> are presented in Table 8.5:

Table 8.5 Stems of set

INF	IPFV	3sg.ipfv	PFV	PRF
set	so	səwd	suit	seðdz

*set* can be used in all four of the semantic relations expressed by the copula clauses with *vid*, as shown by the following examples. When used for expressing the LOCATION relation, *set* carries the meaning 'to go', as in (8.47).

(8.44)  $do\delta = af$  yin at tour suut 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV wife CONJ husband become.PFV 'These have become husband and wife.' (IDENTITY)

(8.45) tuuç tçi 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 wef-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 <code>awd</code> 'here' or <code>um/um</code> '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 tçur az tuznef
  3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL Teeznef
  'Her husband is from Teeznef.'
- (8.49) mu tçɛd um-ik
  1SG.NNOM house there-DIM
  'My house is over there.'
- (8.50) m-oto çitç varçide 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) mu çirin dzun, jad 1SG.NNOM sweet life 3SG.NOM.PROX 'This one is my sweetheart.' (IDENTITY)
- (8.53) qobil, mu radzen admirable 1sg.nnom daughter 'My daughter is admirable.' (ATTRIBUTION)
- (8.54) *um-ik vud, mu tçɛd* 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)  $haroj ver\theta = af$  aqlin vuud 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)  $\chi$  afo 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 orzu [duxtur sɛt]
  3SG.NOM.PROX dream doctor become.INF
  "This person's dream is [to become a doctor]."
- (8.59)  $ma \varphi$  [ $\chi u$   $\delta ust$  qati  $\chi ig = it \varphi uz$ ] 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF = REL 'We are ones [who eat with our hands].'
- (8.60) waz=am [leq tçi znod] vuud 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 *set*, and three core arguments: CS, marked as nominative, CP, which is a unique argument type, and E (the "extended argument" (Dixon 2010a:99)), marked as dative. The CP in an extended copula clause is an adjective. Whether or not a copula clause may take an extended argument is determined by the type of adjective that occurs in the CP slot. A few CP adjectives may take an extended argument, including: *χως* 'happy' (8.61) & (8.62), *luzim* 'necessary' (8.63) & (8.64), and *bos* 'enough' (8.65). Even though E is marked as dative, it tends to be semantically more affected by the CP than the CS is, as shown by the English free translations in the examples below. As in the regular copula clause, the copula *vid* does not occur in the imperfective aspect, as in (8.61), (8.63), and (8.65), but the copula occurs in other aspects, subordinate clauses, imperatives, and when the copula *set* is used.

(8.61)  $\textit{wabwz} \quad \textit{m-ono} = \textit{ri} \quad \textit{utc} \quad \textit{\chiucc}$  walnut 1SG.NNOM-mother = DAT very happy 'My mother likes walnuts very much.'

- (8.62) ta tcur = ir  $\chi uuc$  tsa vid zoz 2SG.NNOM husband = DAT happy COND be.3SG.IPFV buy.IPFV 'If your husband likes it, buy it.'
- (8.63) wef = ir  $\delta a$  suat luzim 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT two hour necessary 'They need two hours.'
- (8.64) tu = ri i tsiz luzim tsa 2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing necessary COND

sawd uz joð become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV 'Come again if you need something.'

(8.65) qatɛʁin tçoj mu=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  $=\varepsilon ndz$  RC, which takes a verb in the perfect stem, as in (8.69).

- (8.66)  $ma\theta$  paqad dzul batço qati skit tçejg day whole.duration small child COM play do.INF  $a = \chi alg \qquad aluk \quad kaxt$ 
  - ACC = person tired do.3sg.IPFV 'Playing with little children all day makes a person tired.'
- (8.67) mu dil  $\chi$ -oto  $\chi$ -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 yin xuıç sut

3SG.NNOM.DIST wife happy become.PFV

'Meerod's wife has become happy since he is now making much money.'

(8.69) juu fil  $vijojdz = \varepsilon ndz$   $t\varepsilon urik = ik$  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):

t e j g = i na  $x e \delta d z$  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  $s \in \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz$  ar 3 SG.NOM.DIST 1 SG.NOM last.year become.PRF = REL LOC

maktab tuijd

school go.PFV

'He went to the school I went to last year.'

(8.72) batço-xejl ləwr set az zabu child-pl.nnom big become.INF ABL back

a=di para do=amACC=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 mewo para 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother LOC bazaar fruit sell
  - ðid

give.3SG.IPFV

'His brother sells fruit at the bazaar.'

- (8.74) *tçulpon ar urumtçi xat 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)  $wo\delta = af$  um-ik barqo kaxt 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV there-DIM lamb slaughter.PFV 'They slaughtered the lamb over there.'
- (8.77)  $w\varepsilon f$  pa  $t\varepsilon\varepsilon d=an$  skit  $t\varepsilon awg$  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 pidz tej kaxt
  Omil this.year fall wedding do.3sg.IPFV
  'Omil is getting married this fall.'
- (8.80) waz sulir amriko wazefs = am 1SG.NOM next.year America return.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I will return to America next year.'
- (8.81)  $wo\delta = af$  paraxeb palaw  $\chi uug$  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) citc = am tamoq  $\chi uug$  now = 1SG.PFV food eat.PFV 'I had some food just now.'
- (8.83) nur = af a = wi na wandz 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 maxsat ðust harabo qati a=qoçtaci vəwg uncle Mahsat hand vehicle COM ACC=jade bring.PFV 'Uncle Mahsat brought the jade with a wagon.'

(8.85) maç=an di ktub qati purs
1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX book COM Persian

ziv xumand sut tongue learn become.PFV 'We learned Persian with this book.'

- (8.86) abdilu xuu mom qati zez vəwg
  Abdilu REFL.NNOM grandmother COM firewood bring.PFV
  'Abdilu brought firewood with his grandmother.'
- (8.87) *xung tçib 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 xu nabus avon riktçi zuxt

  Dulqun REFL.NNOM grandchild BEN bitter.almond buy.PFV

  'Dulqun bought bitter almonds for his grandchild.'
- (8.89) miriam bulbul rang xuçruj bejt levd
  Miriam nightingale SEMB beautiful song say.3SG.IPFV
  'Miriam sings beautifully like a nightingale.'
- (8.90) waz to pugan its hit¢ tsiz na 1SG.NOM TERM tomorrow TERM none thing NEG

 $\chi or = am$  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).

navi¢t

write.PFV

'Yesterday at school I wrote a poem with a pen.'

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## 9

# **Negation**

Negation is marked syntactically with uninflected particles<sup>1</sup> 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  $\partial \partial a$  and naj (§9.8). Negative lexemes may also be formed morphologically with the privative prefix  $b\varepsilon$ - 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  $\chi uug$  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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>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)k = dostizd iш 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = manner go.3SG.IPFV wi-an hitc tsiz nist. na 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN none thing NEG.be.IPFV NEG ləwr der  $q\varepsilon t \varphi = ir$ xipik REFL.NNOM stomach = DAT big CPRV flatbread tan = irbε dεr na χш find.3sg.ipfv neg refl.nnom body = dat fine cprv lεq 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)taw tced hite tsiz mo χш 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM ABL house none thing PROH xavung, na balax, na lingi, na bring.IPFV NEG blanket NEG pillow NEG towel NEG sfun, hatto i bax jaktu mas mo 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 wandz-it
  Seyfik see.PRF-CESS
  'Seyfik saw it.'
- (9.10) seyfik na wandz-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 tçəwydz= $\varepsilon$ ndz] 1SG.NNOM son still wedding NEG do.PRF=REL 'My son is one who has not married yet.'
  - b. niso [tar jəwl qatɛʁin tçoj na broxt=itçuz]
    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 t ceig = iJ 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  $t \in [g = i]$  na wazond

NEG do.INF = SC NEG know.PFV

'I did not know that Geelpia will not get married.'

(9.13) a. [mac citc na tedz = 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. [maç  $\varphi$ it $\varphi$  na  $t\varepsilon dz = an$  tsa] na 1PL.NOM now NEG g0.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 tçɛd juts nist
  LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST house fire NEG.be.IPFV
  'There is no fire in that house.'
- (9.15) wi alo  $\chi$  and a sur  $t \varphi e j g = ir$  duxtur 3 SG.NNOM.DIST TEMP circumcision do.INF = DAT doctor

nist

**NEG.be.IPFV** 

'In those days, there are no doctors to do circumcisions.'

(9.16)  $qet \varphi = ir$  tamoq nist nalist = ir  $t\varphi ed$  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 maç-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 varçide di rang putig na veðdz
  LOC Varshide 3sg.NNOM.PROX SEMB thread NEG be.PRF
  'In Varshide there is no thread like this. (Evidential/New information)'
- (9.21) xeb mu-an digar teer na vuud yesterday 1sg.nnom-gen other work neg be.pfv 'Yesterday I did not have other work.'

(9.22) ta inder pul na vid tsa mo
2SG.NNOM on.person money NEG be.3SG.IPFV COND PROH

zoz
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 batço 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 suxt
3SG.NNOM.DIST word CONJ action one appearance

nist
NEG.be.IPFV

'His words and actions are not the same thing.'

- (9.25) di leq sufat tçardz nist
  3SG.NNOM.PROX clothing quality good NEG.be.IPFV
  'This article of clothing's quality is not good.'
- (9.26) varçide çitç utç iç mas nist utç zurm 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 jiu xtur-xejl 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 çejdoi mu χuı-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  $\chi$ ajun 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 tçini na pukzo 3SG.NOM.PROX bowl NEG clean 'This bowl is not clean.'
- (9.32) \*hansu ziv xumand set 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 tçɛd na veðdz 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.'
- (9.38) m=a=di xipik mo CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX flatbread PROH  $\chi or = it$  eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Do not eat this flatbread.'
- (9.39) pa wi içandz 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  $a = \delta ust$   $wa \delta or$  mo 1SG.NNOM ACC = hand grab.IPFV PROH 'Do not hold on to my hand.'
- (9.42) wi qati wazefs mo 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM return.IPFV PROH 'Do not return with him.'
- (9.43) wef pa tced 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 ziv 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) \*pugan 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 vəwydz=ɛndz xɛvd pud*, *nur-nɛndz* 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)  $omil \ a = \chi u$  (laka)  $mo \ \delta id = am$ Omil ACC=REFL.NNOM let.IPFV PROH hit.3SG.IPFV=1SG.PFV

levd, a=wi=am vuust say.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST=1SG.PFV tie.PFV 'Thinking, "Lest Omil hit himself", I tied him up.'

(9.48) *təw χω 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) waz = am  $a = \chi u$  naymug,  $\chi alg$  1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = REFL.NNOM hide.PFV people

a=mu (laka) mo wandACC=1SG.NNOM let.IPFV PROH see.3SG.IPFV'I hid myself, lest people see me.'

(9.50) a = di guxt dzald  $\chi or = it$ , pic ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX meat fast eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV cat

(laka) mo xird

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
  - peð (laka) iç 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, καζα χαlg-χejl
  2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFV dirty person-PL.NOM

a=ta (laka) gəwl mo ka=inACC=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)  $\chi uu$  leq dvez der pamedz, 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 \chi uba\theta ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX thing = 1SG.PFV 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM vug mo az ta talipt\varphi find.PFV PROH ABL 2SG.NNOM request.PFV vaw = am be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I found this thing myself, I will not beg you for it.'
```

(9.56)walos vid mu-an mo mo vurdz 1SG.NNOM-GEN PROH vehicle be.3SG.IPFV PROH horse mu-an vid waz шт 1sg.nnom-gen be.3sg.ipfv 1sg.nom there tsa tsejz ka = ambecome.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 tçulpon vəw=am mo 1SG.NOM PROH movie celebrity be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV PROH
mudil vəw=am hara maθ nudz 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

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.

every day.'

```
(9.58)
                        кабо inder
                                        pul
                                               mas nist
         3SG.NNOM.DIST boy on.person money also NEG.be.IPFV
                               ingles
                                       ziv
                                               wazond = ir
           mo
                 jш
           PROH 3SG.NOM.DIST English tongue know.INF = DAT
                                       χш
                       χш
                                  tar
           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 tçəwg*Perizat NEG Meynahon 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.PFV
  'It was not Perizat but Meynahon who called you.'
- (9.60) moçin naj, çer 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 batço 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)  $\chi uug = am$  naj eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV NEG 'I did not eat.'
- (9.63) ramuxtc = at naj forget.PFV = 2SG.PFV NEG 'You did not forget.'
- (9.64) soqdzon tizd naj, maç 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 pataw = in naj, uzACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV NEG again rafon = inuse.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

  'They do not throw it away, but use it again.'
- (9.66) \*pa tçɛd 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 xuuçrui ʁots batço
  NEG beautiful girl child
  'an unbeautiful girl'
- (9.68) \*xuuçruij naj ʁots batço
  beautiful NEG girl child
  'an unbeautiful girl'

## 9.8 Independent polarity forms

To respond to a polar question, it is unnecessary to use a full clause. Sarikoli has independent polarity forms  $\partial 2\partial$  '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).

```
qetc xufs = o
(9.70)
         a. nur
                    тш
                               ра
             today 1sg.nnom loc belly sleep.ipfv = Q
             'Will you sleep in my stomach (next to me, under the same
               covers) today?'
         b. naj
             NEG
             'No.'
(9.71)
         a. stawr guxt tu = ri
                                            \chi u \varphi = 0
             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  $b\varepsilon$ -'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  $b\varepsilon$ - prefix.

Table 9.1 Negative lexemes with  $b\varepsilon$ -

bε-ginu 'innocent (sinless)'	bε-arzες 'worthless'	
<i>bε-pujun</i> 'boundless'	<i>bε-bawu</i> 'priceless'	
<i>bε-wosta</i> 'directly (without means)'	<i>bε-ʁam</i> 'worry-free'	
<i>bε-fam</i> 'stupid'	bε-çart 'unconditional'	
<i>bε-aql</i> 'foolish'	bε-kwtç 'weak'	
<i>bε-tartib</i> 'messy; orderless'	<i>bε-tçuro</i> 'pitiable; solutionless'	
<i>bε-ziv</i> 'mute (tongueless)'	<i>bε-χabar</i> 'uninformed'	
<i>bε-adab</i> 'impolite'	<i>bε-miwa</i> 'unfruitful'	
<i>bε-barakat</i> 'unprosperous'	<i>bε-bor</i> 'unfruitful'	
<i>bε-tulej</i> 'unlucky'	<i>bε-χatar</i> 'safe (danger-free)'	
<i>bε-ruχ</i> 'listless'	bε-χadzal 'having no sense of shame'	

The privative prefix  $b\varepsilon$ - is highly productive and may attach to almost any common noun. The meanings of some commonly-used adjectives with  $b\varepsilon$ - are not completely predictable, however. For example, bawu 'price; value' and  $arz\varepsilon\varepsilon$  'worth; value' are close synonyms; but after the addition of  $b\varepsilon$ -, 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-udil 'unjust' nu-haq 'unjust' nu-lujɛq 'unworthy'	nu-balad 'stranger' nu-durust 'incorrect' nu-qatur 'unranked (low-ranking)' nu-pejdu 'rare (un-appearing)'
nu-suf 'impure'	nu-єр '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

<b>Coordination type</b>	Marker	Reference
Cumulative	ham; mas; at	§10.1.1
Sequential	χш	§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).

- (10.2) waz  $\wpit\wp$  (ham)  $\upmu$   $\upmu$
- (10.3) wi tar um jam batço fand-an 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there 3SG.NOM.PROX child false-GEN

  tsarang zit vid=i wazondz ham tagəw fand na how bad be.INF=SC know.PRF CONJ at.all false NEG

  ðod=itçuz sɛðdz
  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 toz=in ham awudz
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) duxtur ham olim 1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar 'My son is a doctor and a scholar.'
- (10.6) mu yor utç çuv ham aqlin 1SG.NNOM nephew very well.behaved CONJ smart 'My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.'
- (10.7) tudzik xalg-an wi vrəw utç 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) tudzik xalg-an wi vrəw ham utç pur
  Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

  ham utç 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) palaw mas ka = an, cirgirindz 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) pugan mas jo
$$\delta$$
=it, fal mas tomorrow also come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV two.days.hence also (jo $\delta$ =it),  $\kappa$ adar mas come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV three.days.hence also (jo $\delta$ =it) come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.' (10.12) sarikuj ziv mas  $\ell$ v=in, pursi ziv m

- (10.12) sarikuj ziv mas  $l \varepsilon v = in$ , pursi ziv mas Sarikoli tongue also say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV Persian tongue also  $(l \varepsilon v = in)$  say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 'They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.'
- (10.13) gulbibi mas qetçin, çanigul mas (qetçin)
  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
                ðid
                                    ðid
          at
                              at
                                                 at
          CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                              aluk səwd
          give.3SG.IPFV CONJ tired become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
          xufst
          sleep.3sg.IPFV
        'He walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and
```

gets tired and falls asleep.'

```
zabu ki = wi
(10.15) tid
                az
                                                 rang
         go.INF ABL back ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB
                                      sirs = in
           sirs = in
                               at
           turn.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv conj turn.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv conj
                                      i
                                          puts az
                                                     wef
                               at
           turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST
                dzom vrejd
           i
           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)
                     k = dos
                                   χш
                                               ра
         ACC = glass ANA = manner REFL.NNOM LOC front
           lakaxt
                        tçost
                                             tçost
                                      at
           put.3sg.ipfv look.3sg.ipfv conj look.3sg.ipfv conj
                                tçost
           look.3sg.ipfv conj look.3sg.ipfv conj look.3sg.ipfv
           iko
                                            vrud
                  di-an
                                       i
                                                    xtur
                                                           vijojdz
           COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF
           вarst = 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
```

### 10.1.2 Sequential coordination

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place sequentially. The temporal conjunction  $\chi u$  is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses.  $\chi u$  occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation,  $\chi u$  belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of  $\chi u$  occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.

brothers is riding and camel and going around.'

```
(10.17) a = di
                                tçer adu
                                             ka = am
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
                       skit ka = am
           χш,
           TEMP.CONJ play do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
         'I will finish this work and then play.'
(10.18)
         tom so = am
                                      χш,
         then become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
           jo\delta = am
           come.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV
         'Then I will go there and come back.'
(10.19)
         awal mejmun-\varepsilon f = ir
                                    tçoj wejð
                                                  хш,
         first guest-pl.nnom = dat tea put.ipfv temp.conj
                            jordam ka
           mu = ri
           1SG.NNOM = DAT help
                                    do.IPFV
         'First pour tea for the guests and then help me.'
(10.20)
         woð
                        ma\theta dam zoz = in
                                                      χш,
         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)
         amirçu
                  χш
                               yin qati jot
                                                     χш,
         Amirshu REFL.NNOM wife COM come.PFV TEMP.CONJ again
           twid
           go.PFV
         'Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.'
(10.22)
        tamac = af
                            χшд
                                     χш
         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  $\chi u$  occurring in narrative. In (10.23) - (10.25), it is preceded by a pause and belongs to the second clause. (10.26) & (10.27) contain instances of  $\chi u$  occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.

(10.23) tom wi = rileg ðid then 3sg.nnom.dist = dat clothing give.3sg.ipfv kaxt, jш 3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST do.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ  $wa\delta or = in$ wedding grab.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 'Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold a wedding ceremony.' (10.24)uzвarst ki = dirang, again turn.3SG.IPFV ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB uvd sul fropst TEMP.CONJ seven year reach.3SG.IPFV

(10.25) səwd xuu ar mala become.3sg.ipfv Refl.nnom loc housing.compound

dɛðd, xuu az fil xofst enter.3sg.ipfv TEMP.CONJ ABL elephant go.down.3sg.ipfv 'He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the ele-

'He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.'

(10.26) jad mas  $jo\delta d$   $\chi uu$ ,  $a=kt \zeta awi$  3SG.NOM.PROX also come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ACC=ring

χοfst, χω joðd χω go.down.3SG.IPFV ΤΕΜΡ.CONJ come.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM

*kalo* χ*ejz* sheep side

phant.'

'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
                                              χш,
         ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST spread.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC
           tced
                 deid = ir
                                 at
                                       jad
                                                      mas
           house enter.INF = DAT CONJ 3SG.NOM.PROX also
                                   wi
                        χш
           run.3sg.ipfv temp.conj 3sg.nnom.dist loc foot
           a = \chi u
                          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  $\chi u$  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 tçəwg, 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)
         wo\delta = 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
                              pwl
                                      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
                      χως, kazwi = am
                                           vəwg
         Soyra = DAT happy so = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
         'Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.'
(10.33)
              dam der
                                 \gamma or = am,
                                                    kazwi citc na
         one rest CPRV again eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV so
                                                           now NEG
            \chi or = 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
```

The temporal conjunction  $\chi u$  sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:

'Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.'

```
(10.35)
         waz = am
                             χш
                                          tilfon bumost
                                                          χш
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM phone lose.PFV TEMP.CONJ
                       numur = am
                                         bunost
           ta
           2SG.NNOM number = 1SG.PFV lose.PFV
         'I lost my phone, so I lost your number.'
(10.36)
         zejnura seð
                            nudz jot
                                                         nəwz
                                             χш
         Zeynura this.year new come.PFV TEMP.CONJ still
                       se\delta dz = \varepsilon ndz
           k = um
                                          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
                                 \chi ejz = am
                                                 tid
                                                        mejdz vuud,
         origin-ADV 2SG.NNOM side = 1SG.PFV go.INF INTEN be.PFV
           hammo mui-an
                                    digar tçer
                                                 naxtug
                    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)
                                 tid,
                                         lekin na
                                                    t\varepsilon dz = 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)
                                lekin mu
        suat nəw suit,
                                                 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)
                           w\varepsilon f = ir
         m-ono
                                                 levd,
                                                         hammo
         1SG.NNOM-mother 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT say.PFV but
                         pa
                              gap
                                    na
                                         tcomb = 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,
                                          lekin ta
         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)
         verθ durust, lekin az dzam suf
                                             tudzik gap
                                       pure Tajik word
         both whole
                      but ABL all
           mi = jad
           CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX
         'They are both correct, but the most pure Tajik word is this one.'
(10.43)
                                   pul
                                           har
                                                  tsarang-in waxt
                        χш
         3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM money every how-ADJ time
                   tçi
                      kaxt,
                                    lekin waz
                                                   zoxt
                                                                tçi
                                                           na
           get.inf cap do.3sg.ipfv but 1sg.nom get.inf neg cap
           ka = am
           do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
```

## 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...

'He can take out his money at any time, but I cannot.'

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
                                            jo amad (navi¢t)
                      navic = am,
         or 1sg.nom write.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv or Amad write.3sg.ipfv
         'Either I will write it or Amad will.'
(10.45)
         joki mu
                         dud belat zozd,
                                                    joki mu
              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
                               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)
                   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) mac
                                              \chior = an
                   jo a = di
                                                                 jo
         1PL.NOM or ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX eat.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV or
           pataw = an
           throw.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'We will either eat this or throw it away.'
(10.49)
                                                      jo (tid)
                   jo tid
                              tçi
                                   ka = am,
         1SG.NOM or go.INF CAP do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or go.INF NEG
           (tçi ka = am)
           CAP do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
         'I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.'
(10.50)
                   joki nur
                               reewun so = am,
                                                              joki
         1sg.nom or
                        today leave
                                     become.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV or
                      (ruwun so = am)
           pugan
           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 leq pamedz=in* blue or green clothing wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 'They wear blue or green clothes.'
- (10.52) wef = ir  $t\varphi at jo kalo mas buz = in$  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) we f-an bat co vid=i jo(ki) na vid=i 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC
```

waz mas na wazon=am1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV'I do not know whether they have children or not, either.'

Although used less frequently,  $\chi u$  is another disjunctive conjunction that serves the same function as jo(ki). As shown in the following examples,  $\chi u$  may be used with first, second, or third person subjects.

- (10.54)  $\chi u$  ar  $\chi u z mat$   $t \epsilon d z$   $\chi u$  p a  $t \epsilon \epsilon d$   $\epsilon u v$   $n i \theta$  or LOC work go.IPFV or LOC house calm sit.IPFV 'Either go to work or stay home and behave yourself.'
- (10.55)  $\chi u$   $\partial w q u t$   $\partial v v$   $\partial$

*iw suraw* one separate.IPFV

'Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.'

(10.56)  $\chi u$  zundagi ka  $\chi u$  naj mir hammo or life do.IPFV or NEG die.IPFV but

zundagi=at=ik tçəwg durust xalg 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  $\chi u$  pa  $t \varphi \varepsilon d$   $ni\theta = am$  kalo 1SG.NOM or LOC house sit.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV sheep

puj = am  $\chi u$  naj amriko xojd = ir herd.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or NEG America read.INF = DAT

 $t\varepsilon dz = am$ go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to study.'

```
(10.58) conjoz xu pa dars deðd xu ar buzur
Shonyoz or LOC lesson enter.3sg.ipfv or LOC bazaar

tizd wi dil-nendz 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)
                                 jot = at = o
          become.PFV = 2SG.PFV come.PFV = 2SG.PFV = 0
          'Did you go and come back?'
(10.60)
         \chi ug = af
                            jot = af = o
          eat.PFV = 3PL.PFV come.PFV = 3PL.PFV = Q
          'Did they eat and come back?'
(10.61)
              sots surawd
                                       zozd
                                                    tizd
          one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV
                                   \chi u = ri
            a = wi
                                                      yin
                                                            kaxt
            ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM = DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV
          'He selects a girl, takes her, goes, and makes her his wife.'
```

## 10.2 Subordination

Clauses may be combined so that one clause is the main clause and the other is dependent on the main clause, and the two clauses do not have the same grammatical status. In a sentence with subordination, the main clause is always finite and the subordinate clause is often, but not always, infinitival. Three types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in this section: relative clauses (§10.2.1), complement clauses (§10.2.2), and adverbial clauses (§10.2.3).

### 10.2.1 Relative clause

Relativization involves two clauses, the relative clause (RC) and the main clause, which share a common argument. The RC modifies the common argument within the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). Sarikoli uses two enclitic relativizers for creating RC constructions,  $=\varepsilon ndz$  and  $=it\varepsilon uz$ , which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs,  $\varepsilon ndz$  is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the  $=\varepsilon ndz$  and  $=it\varepsilon uz$  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 = $\varepsilon$ ndz relativizer

The relativizer  $= \varepsilon n dz$  is used with RCs that contain: 1) situations that have already been completed (10.62) - (10.65), and 2) states (10.66) & (10.67). It is the only relativizer that attaches to a finite verb stem, as it occurs with the perfect stem of verbs. It cannot attach to verbs in the imperfective or infinitive stems, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.68b) & (10.68c):

```
(10.62)
          sofia mu = ri
                                   [az amriko
                                                  v \ge w y dz = \varepsilon n dz
          Sofia 1SG.NNOM = DAT ABL America bring.PRF = REL candy
            ðud
            give.PFV
          'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'
(10.63)
          watça [waz
                             lawr se\delta dz = endz
                                                       dzuj
          Wacha 1sg.nom big become.prf=rel place
          'Wacha is the place [where I grew up].'
(10.64)
                          l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz] bejt mu = ri
          3PL.NOM.DIST say.PRF = REL song 1SG.NNOM = DAT very
            χшҫ
            happy
          'I really like the song [that they sang].'
```

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>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 i\theta t \varepsilon = \varepsilon n dz] mejmun-\chi ejl ma\varepsilon \chi ejx today come.PRF = REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative 'The guests [who came today] are our relatives.'
```

- (10.66) [ato ano na vɛðdz=ɛndz] batço az dzam 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  $[mu=ri \quad \chi uc \quad v \in \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz]$ 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRF = REL

```
tamoq tçəwg
food do.PFV
```

'My mother made food [that I like].'

(10.68) a. tamac [ $\chi u$  zuxtc = endz] mon 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF = REL apple

```
\chi or = it eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
```

'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

b. \*tamaç [xw zoz=ɛndz] mon 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFV=REL apple

```
\chior = it
```

eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

c. \*tama $\varphi$  [ $\chi u$  zoxt= $\varepsilon ndz$ ] mon 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF=REL apple

```
\gamma or = it
```

eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

### 10.2.1.2 RC with the = itcuz relativizer

The relativizer  $=it \varphi uz$  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.  $=it \varphi uz$  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 çitç tçixt=itçuz] kinu waz
3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF=REL movie 1SG.NOM

 $t \varepsilon u x t \varepsilon = \varepsilon n d z$ 

watch.PRF = REL

'The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.'

(10.70) [zulfiço çitç lɛvd=itçuz] bejt wi vrud

Zeelfisho now say.INF=REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

 $navictc = \varepsilon ndz$ 

write.prf = REL

'The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.'

- (10.71) tung [nuc az dzam pur pext=itcuz] dijur
  Teeng apricot ABL all much ripen.INF=REL region
  'Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].'

duri

medicine

'This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].'

- (10.73) [mu ja $\chi$   $\chi$ uzmat tçejg=itçuz] dzuj uttç dar 1SG.NNOM sister work do.INF=REL place very far 'The place [where my sister works] is very far.'
- (10.74) [sulir levd=itcuz] bejt=an macq tcowg next.year say.INF=REL song=1PL.PFV training do.PFV 'We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].'

```
(10.75) a. [pugan
                                                batço-\chi ejl = af
                        xwor
                                  tid = itcuz
             tomorrow Kashgar go.INF = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
               aftovuz belat zuxt
                        ticket buy.pfv
               bus
             'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have
               bought their bus tickets.'
          b. *[pugan xwor
                                  t\varepsilon dz = it\varepsilon uz
                                                 batco-\chi ejl = af
             tomorrow Kashgar go.IPFV = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
               aftovuz belat zuxt
                        ticket buy.pfv
             'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have
               bought their bus tickets.'
```

c. \*[pugan xwor tujdz=itçuz] batço- $\chi$ ejl=af tomorrow Kashgar go.PRF=REL child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV

aftovuz belat 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 = *itcuz* 

```
wazawond = itçuz 'eraser'
                                         beit levd = itçuz 'singer'
tamoq t ceig = it cuz 'cook'
                                         rasim tizd = itcuz 'artist'
para ðod=itçuz 'seller'
                                         intsivd = itcuz 'sewer'
talipt = itçuz 'beggar'
                                         ðext = itçuz 'sprinkler'
kəwd = itcuz 'digger'
                                         zdiq = itcuz 'wiper'
moçin det = itçuz 'driver'
                                         kalo pojd = itçuz 'sheep herder'
batço tçixt = itçuz 'one that watches
                                         woxt = itcuz 'one that falls
                   children'
                                                      (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  $= \varepsilon n d z$ , as in (10.76) - (10.79), and  $= i t \varepsilon u z$ , as in (10.80) - (10.83). Headless RCs most

commonly occur as the copula complement argument, but also occupy other argument and non-argument slots as well. In the following examples, the RC modifies the implicit S argument in (10.76), O argument in (10.80), copula subject in (10.77) & (10.81), and copula complement in (10.78), (10.79), (10.82), and (10.83).

```
(10.76) [m \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz] tik tçi peð səwd zundo 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 az dzam pur  $\chi$ umand  $t\varphi$ w $\chi$ d $z=\varepsilon$ ndz] 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 ver $\theta$  [tuznef ləwr 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother both Teeznef big

# $s\varepsilon\delta dz = \varepsilon ndz$

become.PRF = REL

'My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].'

(10.79) jad hansu əwrat [pa varçidɛ haroj sul 3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year

#### naluete = endz

live.prf = rel

'This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].'

(10.80)  $do\delta = af$   $a = [rasim \quad zoxt = itcuz] \quad qiw \quad na$  3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV ACC = picture get.INF = REL call NEG

#### tçəwydz

do.PRF

'These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)'

- (10.81) [waz az dzam pur tçejg=itçuz] paləw 1SG.NOM ABL all much do.INF=REL pilaf '(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.'
- (10.82)  $ma\varphi$  [ $\chi u$   $\delta ust$  qati  $\chi ig = it\varphi uz$ ] 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF=REL 'We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].'
- (10.83) zejnura [tar jəwl xɛvd broxt=itçuz]
  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 δod] awudz na 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG
    xuud hear.PFV 'I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].'
    (10.85) çanbɛ jakçanbɛ [dam zoxt] maθ Saturday Sunday rest get.INF day
```

'Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].'

Negative RCs with  $= \varepsilon n dz$ , or  $= \varepsilon n dz$  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) nur = am [na xɛðdz] i gap xud today = 1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV 'Today I heard something [I had not heard before].'

```
(10.87) nur = af [na \chi u y d z] tamoq \chi u g today = 3PL.PFV NEG eat.PFF food eat.PFV 'Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].'
```

(10.88) [makola na naviçtç] batço-xejl intawum essay NEG write.PRF child-PL.NOM exam

 $\delta o = in$ 

give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

'Students [who have not written essays] take exams.'

(10.89) *xɛb maç [tej na tçəwydz]* yesterday 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF

 $batco-\chi ejl=an$  qati tamoq  $\chi ug$  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

χω-an [ðɛs sul na wandz] hamru=ri
REFL.NNOM-GEN ten year NEG see.PRF companion=DAT

vuusond

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  $= \varepsilon n dz$ , as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) & (10.92).

(10.91) \*sofia mw=ri [az amriko vəwydz] 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 lɛvdz bejt] mu = ri utc  $\chi ucc$  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 nonfinite 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 tçejg 'think', içandz tçejg 'believe', ranixt 'forget', tar χuðm wand 'dream about'), and verbs of speaking (levd 'say, tell'). The subordinating conjunction = i plays a role similar to that of a complementizer. It attaches to a verb in the infinitive stem and makes it an argument of the main clause. The other component of this complementation strategy is the genitive marker -an, which attaches to the subject of the nominalized complement, structurally marking the subject of the embedded clause as a possessor of an NP. Since the embedded clause is nominalized, the entire embedded clause after the possessor-marked subject becomes the possessed item. This nominalized complement functions as a regular argument of the predicate of the main clause,

as with NPs. It does not carry any aspectual information, using time words to specify time reference when necessary, as in (10.95) & (10.96).

```
(10.93)
        sejfik
                <gulpia-an wi
                                                        tceig = i >
                                              tej
         Seyfik Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF = SC
           wazond
           know.3sg.ipfv
         'Seyfik knows about < Geelpia's getting married > .'
(10.94)
         malum-\chi ejl=af
                                    <bate>o-ef-an
                                                        a = imi
         teacher-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC = RECP
           \delta od = i >
                       wand
           hit.INF = SC see.PFV
         'The teachers saw < the children's hitting each other > .'
(10.95)
                                    xεb
                                              tsejz \quad \chi ig = i >
                    < tamaç-an
         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)
                                   pugan
                                               kudzur tid=i>
         waz
                    < tamac-an
         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)
                            radzen-an
         putxu < χw
                                           wi
                                                            marg = i >
         king REFL.NNOM daughter-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST die.INF = SC
           xwd
           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 (tçimbd 'be willing to', χιμς vid 'be pleasing to (like)', dil...vid 'heart be (desire to)', pixmun tçejg 'regret', xudz ðord 'fear') and certain speaking verbs (qasam tçejg 'swear, promise', ramud 'cause, order', latçejg 'let, allow').

```
aqlia <kalo guxt xig> na
(10.98)
                                          tçombd
         Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
         'Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.'
(10.99)
                                ja\chi = ir
                                             < çejdoi intsivd>
                   χш
         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
                                             <bet levd>
                                                           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 vatç
                        skit tcejg > wi = ri
         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
                        <χш
                                    pati¢-εf
                                                     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) < ma\theta pagad
                                 ktub xojd>
                                                a = \gamma a l q
                                                              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  $l \varepsilon v d$  '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  $l \varepsilon v d$  may be extended to cover 'think', as in (10.105).

```
(10.104) < tamaç awal tedz = it,
                                                         maður zabu
                                              waz
          2PL.NOM first go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 1SG.NOM noon back
            t\varepsilon dz = am > = ik
                                       levd
            go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = DUR say.3SG.IPFV
          'S/he is saying, "You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon".'
(10.105) waz = ik
                            < nur tcorcambe > lev = am
          1SG.NOM = DUR today Wednesday say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'I thought, "Today is Wednesday".' (lit. I am saying, "Today is
            Wednesday".)
(10.106) < pa t \notin ed di \delta = it > = ik
                                                    l\varepsilon v = 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> lev
2SG.NOM who.NNOM=DAT=DUR PROH say.IPFV
"To whom are you saying "Don't"?"

(10.108) tsejz=ik levd
what=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
"What is she saying?"
```

The second construction for reporting direct speech is a post-verbal finite CC, which is used for reporting direct speech as well as other perceptions. In this construction, the quoted material is placed after the verb in the main clause and introduced by the subordinating conjunction *iko*. *iko* belongs to the main clause and not the embedded clause. The verb in the main clause is not restricted to *levd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

```
(10.109) baxtigul mu = ri
                                            iko
                                                   <nur
                                    lεvd
         Bahtigeel 1sg.nnom = dat say.pfv comp today
                          digar teer jost>
           1SG.NNOM-GEN other work be.IPFV
         'Bahtigeel told me <I have other things to do today>.'
(10.110) xud = am
                           iko
                                  <tursun ar
                                                wi
         hear.pfv = 1sg.pfv comp Tursun Loc 3sg.nnom.dist
           afto
                 χш
                             tei
                                      kaxt>
           week REFL.NNOM wedding do.3sg.IPFV
         'I heard < Tursun will get married next week > .'
(10.111) ar ujnak tçost
                                  iko
                                        wi
                                                        vrud
         LOC glass look.3sg.ipfv comp 3sg.nnom.dist brother one
                                                         ðwst
           place = DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand
                               dzom
           k = iu
           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
                            xuiðm wand
                                           iko
                                                  < mac = an
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV
                anglia
                        sajoat = ir
                                     tuidz>
           LOC England travel = DAT go.PRF
         'I dreamed < we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New informa-
           tion)>.'
```

(10.113) faridun qasam tçəwg iko < xu radzen Faridun oath do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM daughter

tu = ri  $\delta o = am >$ 

2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'Faridun swore < I will give you my daughter > .'

(10.114) rajon uj tçəwg iko  $< \chi uu$  batço- $\varepsilon f = ir$ Rayon think do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM = DAT

eqidoi 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 naxtedz = in iko spejd vurdz = 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  $\frac{d\varepsilon\delta d}{3SG.NOM.DIST}$  enter.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

ar qetç i xalg aludz

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 ikoLOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COMP

m-oto mas νεδdz m-ono mas 1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

νεðdz

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 indezd iko di tar
LOC dawn get.up.3sg.IPFV COMP 3sg.NNOM.PROX LOC
```

ttuç uz i tup tçudir woçtç 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) 
$$k = dos$$
  $k = tar$   $wi$   $\chi adurdz$  ANA = manner ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST mill

*dið* = *am iko mu yin* enter.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM wife

kaxt

do.3sg.ipfv

'I enter the mill like that (and find that) < my wife is playing with that miller > .'

In this construction, the verb levd frequently occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person subject, which usually yields the meaning 'think', as in (10.120) & (10.121).

(10.120) 
$$waz = ik$$
  $l\varepsilon v = am$   $iko < nur$   $sej\varepsilon amb\varepsilon > 1$ SG.NOM = DUR say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV SC today Tuesday 'I thought < today is Wednesday > .'

(10.121) 
$$waz = ik$$
  $lev = am$   $iko$   $< zulfia$   $teur$   $1SG.NOM = DUR$   $say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV$   $SC$  Zeelfia husband

*watçejd*z *vɛðd*z> 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
             sawq mac = ir
                                   lev.
                                           naj iko
                                                       maç
        one story 1PL.NNOM = DAT say.IPFV NEG COMP 1PL.NOM
                 so = an
          zwq
          bored become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
```

'Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.'

(10.123) tamaç ato  $l\varepsilon v = it$ χш naj 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM father tongue say.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV NEG

iko tamac ziv bast COMP 2PL.NNOM tongue disappear.3SG.IPFV 'Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.'

(10.124) a = didzald pa duyturyuno jus, naj ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX fast LOC hospital take.IPFV NEG

> iko 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 zurm iko manner warm COMP 'It is so hot!'
- χш¢rшj (10.126) dos xuvdz 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)	$= \varepsilon n dz / = it \varepsilon uz + dz uj$	§10.2.3.9
Manner	PRF (RC)	$=\varepsilon ndz + rang$	§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.<sup>2</sup> *agar* 'if' may optionally be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>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) tu = ri
                               tsiz
                                     luzim
                                               tsa
         2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing necessary COND
                            uz
           become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV
         'Come again if you need something.'
                                              pond utc qilo
(10.128) citc tung tedz = in
                                       tsa
```

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.

'If they go to Teeng now the roads are very bad.'

now Teeng go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COND road very difficult

- (10.129) mon tsa vid mu = ritol 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) ctu tsa vid broz mo 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  $=\varepsilon ndz$  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 sшt mu = ribroken COND become.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT bring.IPFV 'If it broke, bring it to me.'

```
b. we frun s \in \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz
                                                vid
                                         tsa
             broken become.PRF = REL COND be.3SG.IPFV
                mu = ri
                                  vor
                1SG.NNOM = DAT bring.IPFV
             'If it is broken, bring it to me.'
(10.132) a. *tamoq = at
                              na
                                                   maç
                                                                gati
                                   χшд
                                            tsa
             food = 2SG.PFV NEG eat.PFV COND 1PL.NNOM COM
                \chi or
                eat.IPFV
             'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'
          b. tamoq na
                          \chi u y dz (= \varepsilon n dz) tsa
                                                  vəw
                                                           maç
             food
                   NEG eat.PRF = REL COND be.IPFV 1PL.NNOM
                qati xor
                COM eat.IPFV
             'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'
(10.133) a. *woð = af
                                       tujd
                                               tsa
                                                       digar moçin qati
             3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV go.PFV COND other car
                tεdz
                go.IPFV
             'If they left, take another car.'
          b. woð
                             tuijdz(=\varepsilon ndz) tsa
                                                   v \ni w = in
             3PL.NOM.DIST go.PRF = REL COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
                digar moçin qati tedz
                             COM go.IPFV
                other car
             '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.

```
ujnak \ agar \ m=k=dos
(10.134) ar
                                                 tcost
                                                                tsa
          LOC glass if
                           CATA = ANA = manner look.3sg.ipfv cond
                  putum \ a = dzawun \ jad \ k = ar all ACC = world 3SG.NOM.PROX ANA = LOC
            COND all
            3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
          'If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in
           it.'
(10.135) waz
                    χш
                                pa dzom a = xats
                                                          iw
          1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop ACC = water one
                               m \rightarrow w y dz = \varepsilon n dz ar
            get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV die.PRF = REL LOC mouth
            wej\delta = am
                                               zundo jad
                                        и
                                 tsa
            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
                                          yin tsa
                                                      vid
          NEG king-gen 3sg.nnom.dist wife cond be.3sg.ipfv
                   təw
                             k = az
                                         di
                                                          rots-εf
            COND 2SG.NOM ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM
                          a = iw
                                     z0z
                                              tεdz
                                                       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=mu r-ond 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 mujim waz marzundz 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  $p \in \delta$   $\delta izd$  mas tsa 3SG.NNOM.DIST foot hurt.3SG.IPFV also COND

wi dil χω dest-ef qati 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart REFL.NNOM friend-PL.NNOM COM

*tup skit tçejg* ball play do.INF

'Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.'

(10.140) deðd mas tsa çəwgunbahor muburak enter.3SG.IPFV also COND Sheawgeenbahor congratulations

levd deðd

say.3sg.ipfv enter.3sg.ipfv

'Even when he enters, he says "Happy Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'

(10.141) um  $xani-\chi ejl$  tedz=in mas tsa xabor there groom-PL.NOM go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV also COND sleepover

 $rejd = it \varphi uz$   $dzuj - \chi ejl$  jost remain.INF = REL place-PL.NOM be.IPFV

'Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.'

```
(10.142) tamaç əwd-ik skit mas tsa ka=it
2PL.NOM here-DIM play also COND do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

səwd hammo tçɛk ar darun
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 boundari
```

'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) duvez leq
                            pam > wydz = \varepsilon ndz mas tsa
          thick clothing wear.PRF = REL also COND
             v 
ightarrow w = am
                                  i \varphi = a m
                                                   tçəwg
             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
                                                             t \varepsilon \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz
                           ðes sul
                                      tar prud tej
          3PL.NOM.DIST ten year LOC front wedding do.PRF=REL
                          v = in
                                               çitç its
             mas tsa
             also COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV now until
```

wef-an batço 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 bedzin ajoy zoxt=itcuz mas tsa 1sg.nom Beijing shoes buy.INF=REL also COND

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) hitç tsaka na seðdz mas tsa vəw=in none how NEG become.PRF also COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

*hammo utç xudz* = 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) *utç pur xojd* mas tsa vəw=it hammo very much read.PRF also COND be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV but

akram duð pur ziv na wazon=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 utç pur gap tajur tçəwydz mas tsa 1SG.NOM very much word ready do.PRF also COND

vaw = am, hammo pet = 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 xuydz mas tsa 3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food eat.PRF also COND

vid uz marzundz

be.3sg.IPFV again hungry

'Even though he just ate food, he is hungry again.' (lit. Even though he is one who has just eaten food, he is hungry again.)

(10.150) sofia dzojza zuxtç mas tsa vid juu Sofia prize get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

ləwr dzun na sut

big life NEG become.PFV

'Even though Sofia won the prize, she has not become arrogant.' (lit. Even though Sofia is one who got the prize, she has not become arrogant.)

(10.151) *sejfik-an wi ato ano post qad mas* Seyfik-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST father mother low height also

tsa vaw = in ju  $\chi uba\theta$  buland COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM high

gad

height

'Even though his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.'

(10.152) *xsrəw pugan tid=itçuz mas tsa vid*Hsreaw tomorrow go.INF=REL also COND be.3SG.IPFV

tçing az zord tçer 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) tudzik tej=ik
                                tsa
                                       νεðdz-it,
         Tajik wedding = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS
           waz = am = ik
                                      a = ta
                                                       juðdz-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
                         radzen = ik
                                         tsa
                                                νεðdz-it,
         1SG.NNOM-GEN daughter = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS
           tu = ri = am = ik
                                             ðudz-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
                           iron = am = ik
           wazondz-it,
                                                tuijdz-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
                                                νεðdz-it,
         2SG.NNOM-GEN passport = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS
           kudzur = at = ik
                                   tuujdz-it
           where = 2sg.pfv = DUR go.prf-CESS
         'If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?'
(10.158) waz = am = ik
                                   varcide
                                             tsa
                                                    νεðdz-it,
         1sg.nom = 1sg.pfv = dur Varshide cond be.prf-cess
                            tej = am = ik
                                                     iθtc-it
                       ar
           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
                         tilfon tuk
                                                     rejd = i
                    pa
                                           az
                                                na
         1SG.NNOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF = SC
           tuu = ri = am
                                      tilfon na
                                                  tçi
           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) wef
                                     ləwr mejmun-xejl
                         pa
                              tçεd
         3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house big guest-PL.NOM ABL
                         a = kalo = af
           come.INF = SC ACC = sheep = 3PL.PFV slaughter.PFV
         'They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.'
(10.161) nurbia yu
                             çejdoi
                                          bunost = i
                                      az
         Nurbia REFL.NNOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF = SC
                                   χafo suit
           wi
                           ano
           3SG.NNOM.DIST mother upset become.PFV
         'Nurbia's mother got upset because Nurbia lost her Sheydoi (fe-
           male 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) wef batço tindz amun wazevd
3PL.NNOM.DIST child peaceful unharmed return.INF

mazamun wo $\delta$  = af dijur  $\chi$ alg = 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 maç-an dars na vid mazamun* tomorrow 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.INF since

waz xuu dud pa tçed 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  $i\chi il$  ar xojd vid mazamun 1SG.NOM continuously LOC read.INF be.INF since

wat¢a-an pur χalg-εf 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) \chi u
                                amriko
                                         xajond
                                                         avon maxsat
                     puts ar
         REFL.NNOM son LOC America study.CAUS.INF BEN Mahsat
           dam na
                      zoxt
                             tçer
                                    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 batço-\varepsilon f = ir
                                                               dikun
                                                     avon pa
                                    samsut zoxt
         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
                    puits \chi u
                                      tçεd
                                             zoxt
                                                     avon az
         1SG.NNOM son REFL.NNOM house get.INF BEN ABL
                      pwl
           тш
                              zuxt
           1SG.NNOM money get.PFV
         'My son got money from me to buy his house.'
```

```
(10.169) waz = am
                            joç-i
                                         alo
                                               ut¢ pur
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV young-NMLZ TEMP very much sin
           tçəwydz-it
                       citc = ik
                                  χш
                                              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.'
```

```
tamoq jod = ir
(10.170) adirdin χω
                              dud = ir
         Adirdn REFL.NNOM uncle = DAT food take.INF = DAT LOC
            duxturxuno tujd
            hospital
                         go.PFV
         'Adirdin went to the hospital to take food to his uncle.'
(10.171) gawar \quad a = w\varepsilon f
                                        tar pond w \varepsilon \delta d = i r
         Gawar ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC road put.INF = DAT
            naxtug
            go.up.PFV
         'Gawar went to see them out.'
(10.172) waz = am
                              az
                                   mejnaxon i
                                                    tsiz parst = ir
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ABL Meynahon one thing ask.INF = DAT
                            pa jatoq = am
            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. tu = ri
                             varçide
                                      jɛt=ir
            2SG.NNOM = DAT Varshide come.INF = DAT how.much
              waxt sut
              time become.PFV
            'How long has it been since you came to Varshide?'
                             varcide jet=ir
                                                      woxt sul
            1SG.NNOM = DAT Varshide come.INF = DAT eight year
              suit
              become.PFV
            'It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.'
```

```
(10.175) a. taw
                       χш
                                   tej
                                             t cejg = ir
                                                           tsund
             2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much
               waxt rejd
               time remain.PFV
             'How long will it be until you get married?'
         b. waz
                                             t \varphi e j g = i r
                       χш
                                    tej
                                                           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) canigul
                 pa ristron
                                  tçer tçejg
                                               gati 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
                                                           χιιιmand
                            kinu
                                   tçixt
                                             qati ziv
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV movie watch.INF COM tongue learn
           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 levd qati pa tçed wazevd
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) \varphi = ik
                                           fript,
                                                      waz
         Sheydoi-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM
                              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 des a
                           \delta a = ik
                                      sut = a\theta,
         hour ten CONJ two=DUR become.PFV=EMP 1PL.NOM
            t\varepsilon dz = an
            go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'Once it is 12 o'clock, we will go.'
(10.182) varcide = at = ik
                                                                 tilfon
                                    fript,
                                               mu = ri
         Varshide = 2SG.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone
            ka
            do.IPFV
         'Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.'
(10.183) urumt ci = am = ik
                                   jεt
                                             mejdz suit,
                                                                  tom
         Urumqi = 1sg.pfv = dur come.inf inten become.pfv then
            \chiabar ka = an
            news do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.'
```

```
batco-\chi ejl = af = ik
(10.184) mu
                                                   lawr suit,
         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
                          dil = ik
                                      jot
                                                 mu = ri
                     pa
         2SG.NNOM LOC heart = DUR come.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT
           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  $wa\chi t$  'time' or the temporal particle alo, without any function markers.

```
(10.186) cəwgunbahor
                            ejd
                                     narzambond waxt nudz leg
          Sheawgeenbahor festival celebrate.INF time new clothing
            pamedz = in
            wear.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor
            festival.'
(10.187) waz
                    ðes at
                               uvd sulo
                                                vid
                                                        alo
                                                               tej
          1SG.NOM ten CONJ seven year.old be.INF TEMP wedding
            t \varepsilon \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz
            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 *tçi prud* 'in front of; before'.

```
(10.188) a = dustar\chi un wixt t \in prud futa ka = in ACC = tablecloth gather.INF LOC front pray do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 'They pray before gathering the tablecloth.'
```

```
(10.189) maç ar maktab fript tçi prud
1PL.NNOM LOC school reach.INF LOC front

mu=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
                                           zabu \quad a = wi
                       kaxt
                                      az
          ACC = sheep slaughter.INF ABL back ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
            guxt pedz = in
            meat cook.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'After killing the sheep they cook that meat.'
(10.191) xipik
                            az
                                 zabu \quad a = w\varepsilon f
                    tçejg
                                                               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  $= \varepsilon n dz$  or  $= it\varepsilon uz$  relativizer, and the head of the RC is often dzuj 'place', but it may also be a more specific location word. Optionally, a function marker may immediately precede or follow the RC head, indicating the spatial relationship between the RC head and the relativized 'place' in the main clause, as shown in (10.192) - (10.194).

```
(10.192) canbe \( \chi u \) tilfon \( \lambda t \chi \) wydz = \( \text{endz} \) tci \( \dz \text{uj} \) alima Shanbe \( \text{REFL.NNOM} \) phone \( \text{put.PRF} = \text{REL} \) \( \text{LOC} \) place \( \text{Alima} \) \( \text{nalust} \) \( \text{sit.PFV} \) 'Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.'
```

```
(10.193) woð tej tçejg = itçuz dzuj pa prud 3PL.NOM.DIST wedding do.INF = REL place LOC front
```

 $\chi$ ш $\varphi$ ruj guul- $\varepsilon f$  = af  $lat \varphi$  wg beautiful flower-PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV put.PFV

'They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are getting married.'

(10.194)  $ma \varphi$   $xojdz = \varepsilon ndz$  ar maktab  $s \varepsilon \delta$   $\delta \varepsilon s$  tudzik 1PL.NOM read.PRF = REL LOC school this.year ten Tajik

batço iθtç

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  $t \in i$  precedes the head noun dzuj. 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 xuu dars xojd tçi dzuj skit
Kafton REFL.NNOM lesson read.INF LOC place play
```

 $t\varphi ejg = ir$  tujd do.INF = DAT go.PFV

'Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.'

(10.196) ramon ejd narzambond tçi dzuj xuu xejx Ramon festival celebrate.INF LOC place REFL.NNOM relative

*ar margi tujd*LOC funeral go.PFV

'Ramon went to his relative's funeral instead of celebrating the festival.'

(10.197) same  $t \in d$   $t \in d$ 

 $\delta o = it$ 

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  $= \varepsilon ndz$  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) \ wo\delta = af
                                      dzang t\varepsilon \partial wy dz = \varepsilon ndz rang so\varepsilon
          3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV war do.PRF = REL SEMB fight
             wεðd
             put.PFV
          'They fought as if they were fighting a war.'
(10.199) sobir haroj maθ hit¢ tsiz
                                            na
                                                  \chi u y dz = \varepsilon n dz \quad rang \quad u t \varepsilon
          Sobir three day none thing NEG eat.PRF = REL SEMB very
             pur
                    χшд
             much eat.PFV
          'Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.'
(10.200) \gamma u
                        pa t \in d nalu \in d \in end  rang
          REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF=REL SEMB
             ni\theta = it
             sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
          'Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.'
(10.201) purg a = girindz tçardz wandz = \varepsilon ndz rang waz
          mouse ACC = rice good see.PRF = REL SEMB 1SG.NOM
                                tcardz 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; mumkin	§11.1
Ability	Infinitival CC	tçi tçejg	§11.2
Intentional	Infinitival CC	mejdz	§11.3
Desiderative	Infinitival CC	dil	§11.4
Imminent	Infinitival CC	bar+sut; bar+dzuj jot	§11.5
Permission	Conditional AC	tsa + səwd	§11.6
Obligation	Conditional AC	na tsa na səwd	§11.7
	Infinitival CC	luzim/darkur; tegiç	
Hypothetical	Conditional AC	tsa	§11.8
Optative	Conditional AC	tsa	§11.9
Reminder	Conditional AC	tsa	§11.10
Supposition	Tag	= o kw	§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 tçer wazond (na) səwd ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST matter know.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV 'That matter is (un)knowable.'
```

```
(11.2) kobuçluk tid=itçuz pond nist, moçin 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) tamaç pa jatoq χωτυk ρεχt (na) 2PL.NNOM LOC dormitory food cook.INF NEG

```
sawd = o
become.3sg.IPFV = Q
```

become.3sg.IPFV = Q

'Is it (not) possible to cook food in your dormitory?'

(11.4) az marjong a = muztokato wand (na)
ABL Maryong ACC = Muztagh.Ata see.INF NEG s > wd = o

'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 tçur 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 dzuj tamaç ar dzuj hitç ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX place 2PL.NNOM LOC place none

t coj tid na sawd, k=az who.NOM go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV ANA=ABL

*wi dzuj awd-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) sodeq sulir xu tej tçejg mas mumkin, Sodeq next.year REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF also possible

 $\chi uuzmat = ir digar dzuj tid mas mumkin, uz$  work = DAT other place go.INF also possible again

xojd mas mumkin, pa tçed 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  $t \in i$  and the main verb  $t \in i \in j$  do' in any aspect. The embedded verb, which is the action of ability, occurs in the infinitive stem and precedes  $t \in i$ . If the embedded verb is a compound verb formed with  $t \in j \in j$ , only the nominal element precedes  $t \in i$   $t \in j \in j$ , as in (11.10) & (11.11). If the main verb is negated, the preverbal negative particle  $t \in j$  as in (11.10) - (11.12). While possibility is impersonal, ability is personal.

```
(11.8) tudzik ziv levd tci ka=am
Tajik tongue say.INF CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I can speak Tajik.'
```

- (11.9) tow moçin det tçi ka=o2SG.NOM car drive.INF CAP do.IPFV=Q 'Can you drive a car?'
- (11.10) a. dzul  $batço-\chi ejl$  m=a=di hat small child-PL.NOM CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX open

na tçi ka=in
NEG CAP do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'Little children cannon open this.'

b. \*dzul batço- $\chi ejl$  m=a=di hat small child-PL.NOM CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX open

*tçejg na tçi ka=in* do.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 'Little children cannon open this.'

(11.11) a.  $\chi afo$  mo so tu = ri = am upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV

jordam na tçi tçəwg help NEG CAP do.PFV 'Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.' b. \* $\chi$ afo mo so tuu=ri=am upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV

jordam tçejg na tçi tçəwg help do.INF NEG CAP do.PFV 'Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.'

(11.12) zulfia warmand na tçi tçejg = ir vɛðdz 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 *mejdz*. 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 mejdz 1SG.NNOM-father next.year Pakistan go.INF INTEN 'My father is planning to go to Pakistan next year.'
- (11.14) waz citc si munut dam zoxt mejdz 1SG.NOM now thirty minute rest get.INF INTEN 'I am planning to rest for thirty minutes now.'
- (11.15) tamaç pa tçed set mejdz = af veðdz

  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) waz = am tuu = ri tilfon tceig meidz 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.INF INTEN

vuid be.pfv

'I was planning to call you.'

```
    (11.17) na broxt mejdz=at vud=o
        NEG drink.INF INTEN=2SG.PFV be.PFV=Q
        'Were you planning not to drink it?'
    (11.18) marg mejdz=an sut
        die.INF INTEN=1PL.PFV become.PFV
        'We are about to die.'
```

Unlike verbal predicates, *mejdz* 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) *wef mejdz
3PL.NNOM.DIST intention'

(11.20) *zit mejdz
bad INTEN
'bad intention'

(11.21) *mejdz tçer
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) zuulfia dil anur xats broxt Zeelfia heart pomegranate water drink.INF 'Zeelfia wants to drink pomegranate juice.'
- (11.23) m-ono dil a = tama c utc wand 1SG.NNOM-mother heart ACC=2PL.NNOM very see.INF 'My mother really wants to see you(pl).'
- (11.24) mu dil hit; tsiz na  $\chi ig$  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 mu dil mas çejdoi intsivd vud 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 *suut* 'become.PFV':

- (11.27)  $mo \[ \wp in \] a = wi \\ car ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST IMM hit.INF become.PFV 'The car almost hit him.'$
- (11.28) bar tid = am sut  $\chi u$  az IMM go.INF = 1SG.PFV become.PFV REFL.NNOM ABL

watan

hometown

'I am about to leave my hometown.'

```
(11.29)
                                 a = wi
                        tçur
                                                       teer
                                                              bar
         3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST matter IMM
                     suit
           ranixt
           forget.INF become.PFV
         'Her husband almost forgot about that matter.'
(11.30) namak az
                     gor
                            a = \chi u
                                             bar zed
         Namak ABL anger ACC=REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF
           suit
           become.PFV
         'Namak almost killed himself from anger.'
(11.31)
                    mudzuz mas tcardz, jong mas a=mu
         1SG.NNOM feeling also good
                                       cold also ACC = 1SG.NNOM
           bar latçejg sut
           IMM let.INF become.PFV
         'I am also feeling well, and my cold has almost let go of me.'
```

(11.32)  $\chi$ er ar  $\chi$ er bar dejd set wa $\chi$ t sun LOC rock IMM enter.INF become.INF time  $\chi$ ubun- $\chi$ ejl = af wi pa prud shepherd-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC front  $\chi$ ot 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 *dzuj jot* 'place come.PFV':

```
namak az qor a=χuu bar zɛd dzuj
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, maç* precipitation manner much fall.PFV COMP 1PL.NNOM

tçed~matçed bar ʁɛrd dzuj 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 sawd 'become', which has the meaning 'be possible; be okay'. As with any other conditional AC, the verb in the embedded clause, which contains the action that is permitted, remains in the finite form, and tsa either immediately precedes or follows it. The main verb sawd occurs at the end of the sentence. In this basic structure, the speaker is either granting permission or informing someone that something is permitted, as in (11.35) & (11.36). If the speaker is asking for permission, the interrogative enclitic = o is added at the end, as in (11.37) - (11.39). Both the embedded verb and the main verb sawd may be negated with the preverbal particle na, as in (11.39a) & (11.40), respectively. If the embedded verb is negated, 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) \partial wd \quad ni\theta = it tsa \quad s\partial wd 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 tsaABL 2SG.NNOM one word ask.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV COND

sawd = o

become.3sg.IPFV = Q

'Is it okay if I ask you something?'

```
(11.38)
        romila citc
                      χш
                                  pa tçed
                                              tsa
                                                     tizd
         Romila now REFL.NNOM LOC house COND go.3SG.IPFV
           sawd = o
           become.3sg.IPFV = Q
         'Is it okay if Romila goes home now?'
(11.39)
        a. pugan
                            dars
                       pa
                                   na
                                        so = am
                                                                tsa
            tomorrow LOC lesson NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND
              sawd = 0
              become.3SG.IPFV = Q
            'Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?'
         b. *pugan
                      ра
                           dars
                                   na
                                        tsa
                                               so = am
            tomorrow LOC lesson NEG COND become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
              sawd = 0
              become.3sg.ipfv = o
            '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 sawd 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) nur
               a = di
                                       teer
                                             adu
                                                   na
         today ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish NEG
           ka = am
                                          səwd
                              tsa
                                     na
           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.)
                   pugan
(11.43)
         tamaç
                                   wazefs = it
                              na
                                                         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)
                                   sawd = o
         na
              tεdz
                       tsa
                             na
         NEG go.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV = Q
         'Must you go?' (lit. Is it not okay for you not to go?)
(11.45)
                              ka = am
                         na
                  tsa
         wedding COND NEG do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV NEG
           sawd = o
           become.3sg.ipfv=Q
         'Must I get married?' (lit. Is it not okay for me not to do my
```

In addition, there are two modal words that may be used interchangeably to form constructions expressing strong obligation or necessity: <code>luzim</code> and <code>darkur</code> 'necessary'. Although they are interchangeable, <code>luzim</code> is much more commonly used than <code>darkur</code>. To form these obligation constructions, <code>luzim</code> or <code>darkur</code> is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation. <code>luzim</code> and <code>darkur</code> do not have five different stems as verbal predicates do, and are not marked for subject-verb agreement through pronominal clitics.

wedding?)

```
(11.46) maç vijojddz=ɛndz xtur-xejl dam zoxt
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 t cej g = it cuz  $bat co- \chi cej l$  az next. year read. INF finish do. INF = REL child-PL. NOM ABL

çitç xuzmat 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)  $\chi alg$   $zuv\delta dz = \varepsilon ndz$   $a = \chi alg$  vid na vid person kill.PRF = REL ACC = person be.INF NEG be.INF

zed luzim/darkur

kill.INF necessary

'It is necessary to kill someone who has killed another person.'

(11.49) pa aftoruz  $nalist = it \varepsilon uz$   $a = dzuj - \varepsilon f$   $p\varepsilon \varepsilon qadam$  LOC bus sit.INF = REL ACC = place-PL.NNOM elderly

majif garun puj əwrat udziz batço pa disabled heavy perseverance woman weak child LOC

makəwl  $t \in \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz$   $\chi a l g - \varepsilon f = ir$   $\delta o d$  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 *tegic* 'should', which is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation:

- (11.50) jad tsavur xipik dzuft vid tegiç
  3SG.NOM.PROX four flatbread pair be.INF should
  'The four flatbreads should be stacked up in twos.'
- (11.51) rahmat mo lev jad muu thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM

t cej g = ir t cej c constant for the 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 ruct at
                                                              speid
         turban-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST color also red CONJ white
           vid
                   tegiç
           be.INF should
         'The color of the turban should also be red and white.'
(11.53)
              aftovuz nalist = itçuz a = dzuj-ef
                                                           peçqadam
         LOC bus
                       sit.INF = REL ACC = place-PL.NNOM elderly
           \chialg = ir
                          ðod
                                   tegiç
           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  $b\varepsilon \chi ala$  '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) ( $b\varepsilon\chi ala$ ) ranos = in tsa what.if forget.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COND 'What if they forget?'

  (11.55) ( $b\varepsilon\chi ala$ )  $a = ma\varepsilon$  na  $laka = ma\varepsilon$
- (11.55) (bexala) a=mac na laka=in tsa what.if ACC=1PL.NNOM NEG let.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND 'What if they do not allow us?'
- (11.56) ( $b \varepsilon \chi a la$ ) tilfon tu = ri tsa  $jo \delta d$  what.if phone 2 s G.NNOM = DAT COND come. 3 s G.IPFV 'What if you get a phone call?'

- (11.57) (bɛxala) bast tsa what.if disappear.3sg.IPFV COND 'What if it disappears?'
- (11.58) a. (*bεχala*) pa puiz dzuj tsa na rast what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.IPFV 'What if there will be no seats left on the train?'
  - b. \*(bεχala) pa puiz dzuj 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 kucki '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) (ku¢ki) 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) (kuçki) 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) (kuçki) m-oto m-ono mu χejz I.wish 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM side

v = in tsa be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COND

'If only my father and mother were by my side...'

```
(11.62)
         (kucki) waz
                           ut¢ 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)
         (kucki) ingles
                                 mu = ri
                                                  ðа
                                                       BOV
                                                              gap
         I.wish English tongue 1SG.NNOM = DAT two mouth word
           xumand tsa
                           ka
           teach
                    COND do.IPFV
         'If only you would teach me two phrases of English...'
(11.64)
         (ku¢ki) uz
                       i
                            wejn = am
         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) t > w = at m = ri t > a l > c > d, 2 > G. NOM = 2 > G. PFV 1 > G. NNOM = DAT COND SAY. PFV waz = am na ranuxt 1 > G. NOM = 1 > G. PFV NEG forget. PFV 'You know how you told me? I did not forget.'
```

(11.66) *mui-an* tçer utç pur tsa vud. kazwi = am1SG.NNOM-GEN work very much COND be.PFV so = 1SG.PFV

dejr xuvd

late sleep.PFV

'You know how I had so much work to do? That is why I went to bed so late.'

(11.67) ingum qiw tsa tçəwg, jui a = mujust.now ACC=1sg.nnom call cond do.pfv 3sg.nom.dist

> sots mu  $\chi or$

girl 1sg.nnom niece

'You know the one who called me just now? That girl is my niece.'

(11.68) *taw* tsa, waz = ampars 2SG.NOM ask.IPFV COND 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV

rang parst

ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB ask.PFV

'You know how you ask? I asked like that.'

(11.69) $t \ge w = at$ mu = ritilfon tsa 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone COND

> tçi znod tçəwydz-it, waz = amlεq 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.'

(11.70) *parus* tej  $t \in \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz$  sots tsa, 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 k u u to the end of any declarative sentence. The = o u is the interrogative enclitic used to mark polar questions. When using = o k u u, 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 k u u has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and k u u carries a high pitch.

```
(11.71) pa t \in \mathcal{U} \chi alg 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  $t \notin \mathcal{E}d$   $u t \notin \partial a r = 0$  k uSeeleymon house very far = Q SUP 'Seeleymon's house is very far, I think.'
- (11.74) u ju awrat tej  $tcawydz = \varepsilon ndz = o$  ku there 3SG.NOM.DIST woman wedding do.PRF=REL=Q SUP 'That woman is married, I think.'
- (11.75) woð seð ejd na 3PL.NOM.DIST this.year festival NEG

narzambon = in = o kw celebrate.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q SUP

'They are not celebrating the festival this year, I think.'

(11.76) wi  $t \in d-n \in d = af$  hit  $c \in d = af$  hit  $c \in d = af$  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.'

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(11.77) k = dos = o kuANA = 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 sεδdz 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 firsthand evidence for newly apprehended knowledge, a sentence using the perfect verb can be ambiguous between the two senses, and speakers rely on context to distinguish between the two. These two extended meanings of the perfect share a semantic similarity in that the speaker is making the discovery or inference herself, and claims personal responsibility for the veracity of the proposition. Unlike direct quotations which specify a source of information, propositions marked as non-firsthand or new information are based directly on the speaker's perception of the situation (Watters 2002:297).

The marking of evidentiality and new information interacts with aspect, as its form is determined by the aspect and predicate type of the neutral expression. Perfective propositions are marked by the perfect stem of the verb (§12.1), while imperfective ones are marked by means of the copula  $v \in \delta dz$  (the perfect stem of vid) in combination with an infinitive verb with the dative marker = ir (§12.2). Non-verbal clauses take  $v \in \delta dz$  (§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,  $ve\delta dz$  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) kat \zeta = af t \zeta \partial w y d \zeta (v \varepsilon \delta d \zeta)
move = 3PL.PFV do.PRF be.PRF

'They have moved. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: kat \zeta = af t \zeta \partial w q)
```

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 utç dejr undəwdz

1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV very late get.up.PRF

'I got up so late! (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: waz=am utç dejr undəwd)
```

```
(12.5) \chi atu = am navictc incorrect = 1SG.PFV write.PRF

'I wrote it incorrectly! (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: \chi atu = am \ navict)
```

```
(12.6) nawz=am tu=ri na buxtç

still=1sg.pfv 2sg.nnom=dat neg send.prf

'I still have not sent them to you! (Evidential/New information)'

(Neutral expression: nawz=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) t \varphi ar dz = at l \varepsilon v dz

good = 2SG.PFV say.PRF

'You spoke well. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: t \varphi ar dz = at \ l \varepsilon v d)
```

(12.8) tudzik ziv=at pur xumand sɛðdz

Tajik tongue=2SG.PFV much learn become.PRF

'You have learned so much Tajik. (Evidential/New information)'

(Neutral expression: tudzik ziv=at pur xumand 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 waxti=an fript;
three hour early=1PL.PFV reach.PRF
'We have arrived three hours early. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: haroj suat waxti=an fript)
```

A person has a conversation on the phone regarding the arrival or departure of a group of people, and afterwards reports the information he has learned to the people around him, saying (12.10) or (12.11), respectively. Or he may see that they have not arrived yet and say (12.10), or see them walking out the door and say (12.11), if he is surprised by those situations.

(12.10)  $n \partial w z = af$  na  $i \partial t \varphi$  still = 3PL.PFV NEG come.PRF 'They still have not come. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression:  $n \partial w z = af$  na jot)

(12.11) woð = af çitç naxtuydz
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV now go.up.PRF
'They have gone out just now. (Evidential/New information)'
(Neutral expression: woð = af çitç 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 sɛðdz 2SG.NNOM grandchild tired become.PRF 'Your grandchild has gotten tired. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: ta nabus aluk sut)

(12.13)  $wo\delta = af$   $\chi afo$   $se\delta dz$  3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV upset become.PRF 'They got upset. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression:  $wo\delta = af \chi afo sut$ )

A person who has received news of the birth of a baby says (12.14) to the newborn's grandmother.

(12.14)  $t \partial w = at$  mom  $s \varepsilon \delta dz$  2 SG.NOM = 2 SG.PFV grandmother become.PRF 'You have become a grandmother. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression:  $t \partial w = at$  mom s u t)

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 sɛðdz
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) t \varphi ar dz = am t \varphi awy dz = o

good = 1 SG.PFV do.PRF = Q

'Did I do well? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: t \varphi ar dz = am t \varphi awq = 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 wef
                                            a = ja\chi
         one day one day 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = sister
                                                           zabu
           tej = af
                             tçəwydz, wi
                                                      az.
           wedding = 3PL.PFV do.PRF
                                     3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back
           itçand sul nardzeðdz, ju
                                                 batco-ef
           several year pass.PRF 3sg.NOM.DIST child-PL.NNOM
           ato
                 məwydz
           father die.PRF
         'One day, they had their sister's wedding. After that, some years
```

One day, they had their sister's wedding. After that, some years passed, and those children's father died. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression:  $i ma\theta i lagi wef a = ja\chi tej = af teawg, wi az zabu iteand sul nardzed, juu bateo-ef ato mawg)$ 

```
(12.18)
         ушвип
                     a = m \partial w l - \varepsilon f
                                             wux-in
                                                        dzui iuðdz
          shepherd ACC = sheep-PL.NNOM grass-ADJ place take.PRF
            yurondz,
                           peiçin
                                           a = w\varepsilon f
                                                                   pojdz
            eat.CAUS.PRF late.afternoon ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST herd.PRF
            come.PRF
          'The shepherd took the sheep to a grassy place and fed them, and
            drove them back in the late afternoon. (Evidential/New infor-
            mation)' (Neutral expression: yubun a = məwl-ɛf wux-in dzuj jud
            xurond, pejçin a = w\varepsilon f pojd jot)
(12.19)
          garso wi
                                        bun iθtç
                                                          χш
                                   pa
          crow 3sg.nnom.dist loc base come.prf temp.conj
```

crow 3sg.nnom.dist loc base come.prf temp.conj

qarbo=ri levdz iko χω ziv zwoð,
crow=dat say.prf sc refl.nnom tongue pull.out.ipfv

qarbo χω ziv zwuçtç, putxu iθtç
crow refl.nnom tongue pull.out.prf king come.prf

χω wi ziv xtçaxtç
τεμρ.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: qarso wi pa bun jot χuι qarso=ri levd iko χuι ziv zwoð, qarso χuι ziv zwust, putxu jot χuι wi ziv xtçaxt)

### 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  $v \in \delta dz$ . 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 χω vits qati nalist=ir veðdz
    Zeynura REFL.NNOM aunt with live.INF=DAT be.PRF
    'Zeynura is living with her aunt. (Evidential/New information)'
    (Neutral expression: zejnura χω 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 moçin det xumand set=ir
Khaqiqat also car drive.INF learn become.INF=DAT

veðdz
be.PRF

'Khaqiqat is also learning to drive. (Evidential/New information)'
(Neutral expression: haqiqat mas moçin det xumand 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 tçəwydz=ɛndz ʁots padiom batço last.year wedding do.PRF=REL girl twin child

vejg=ir vɛðdz
bring.INF=DAT be.PRF

'The girl who got married last year will give birth to twins. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: parus tej tçəwydz=ɛndz ʁots padiom batço 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 maxsat tçɛd-nɛndz-xejl=af na
uncle Mahsat house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG

jɛt=ir vɛðdz
come.INF=DAT be.PRF

'Uncle Mahsat's family is not coming. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: dud maxsat tçɛd-nɛndz-xejl 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) t \ni w = at hit \wp tsiz na wazond = ir v \in \delta dz 2 \le G.NOM = 2 \le G.PFV none thing NEG know.INF = DAT be.PRF 'You do not know anything. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: t \ni w hit \wp 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 batço gap tçi tçejg=ir vɛðdz

3SG.NOM.PROX child word CAP do.INF=DAT be.PRF

'This child can talk. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: jad batço gap tçi 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 vɛðdz

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) wo\delta = af ar t \in oj namo\delta dz na 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV LOC tea salt NEG

w\varepsilon\delta d = ir v\varepsilon\delta dz put.INF = DAT be.PRF

'They do not add salt to tea. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: wo\delta ar t \in oj namo\delta dz na wej\delta = 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.

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 levd = ir ve\delta dz

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 \ lev = in)
```

Geeljahon wants her mother to come pick her up after school, but her mother thinks she is old enough to walk back home by herself. In an attempt to convince her mother, she says (12.30). Even if the situation had occurred in the distant past, she can convey that the discovery was new and unassimilated knowledge at the time, and it is still reported in the perfect as if she had just discovered something new in the recent past.

```
    (12.30) jw βots ano hara maθ jεt=ir
3SG.NOM.DIST girl mother every day come.INF=DAT
    νεδάζ
be.PRF
'That girl's mother comes every day (so I have noticed). (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: jw βots 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 varçide xtur mas veðdz

LOC Varshide camel also be.PRF

'They even have camels in Varshide. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: pa varçide 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 tçɛd hitç tçoj na vɛðdz

LOC house none who.NOM NEG be.PRF

'There is no one at home. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: pa tçɛd hitç tçoj 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 zitkari vɛðdz
2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV bad.guy be.PRF
'You are a bad guy. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: təw zitkari)
```

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 pukzo na veðdz
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF
'They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: woð pukzo 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 veðdz
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) \chi \varepsilon g v \varepsilon \delta dz = o sweet be.PRF = Q 'Is it delicious? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: \chi \varepsilon g = 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) mu t \varepsilon ur \chi u \varepsilon r uj v \varepsilon \delta dz = o
1SG.NNOM.DIST husband beautiful be.PRF = Q
'Is my husband handsome? (Evidential/New information)' (Neutral expression: mu t \varepsilon ur \chi u \varepsilon r uj = 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) tung tsarang dzuj veðdz
Teeng how place be.PRF
'What did you think of Teeng? (Evidential/New information)'
(Neutral expression: tung tsarang dzuj)
```

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) veðdz na veðdz haroj vrud = af veðdz, be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother = 3PL.PFV be.PRF
ðəw = af χωdi veðdz, iw ugej 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 vud, ðəw = af χωdi vud, iw ugej)
```

# 13

# **Routine expressions**

This chapter deals with the expressions which make up a large part of people's everyday conversation. As a result of people constantly interacting with each other on a daily basis, these expressions have become conventionalized routines. Since these routine expressions are used according to specific 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. io\delta = it
               come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
               'Come(pl)!'
           b. di\delta = 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 W + W A + C	Woman kisses the palm of man's right hand (once) Kiss each other on the lips (3-5 times) 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. χ*w* ðust tar mu REFL.NNOM hand LOC 1SG.NNOM do.IPFV 'Make your hand face toward me.'
  - b. χ*ш* tsem mu = riðο REFL.NNOM eye 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV 'Give me your eyes.'
  - c. a = mu = atbo na tcəwq 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
                        mudzuz tcardz = 0
            2SG.NNOM feeling good = Q
            'Are you feeling well?'
         b. soq = at = o
            well = 2sg.pfv = Q
            'Have you been well?'
                        mudzuz tçardz, soq salomat, tindz
            2SG.NNOM feeling good well healthy peaceful
                         badam
                                             baseirat = at
              amun.
              unharmed breathing.normally energetic = 2SG.PFV
              naluete = o
              sit.PRF = Q
            'Have you been feeling well, healthy, peaceful, and ener-
              getic? (Evidentiality/New information)'
         d. tamaç
                       batço-xejl
                                      mas soq = o
            2PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM also well = Q
            'Are your children also well?'
```

vits mudzuz mas tcardz = 0

1sg.nnom aunt feeling also good = Q

'Is my aunt also feeling well?'

```
a. tçardz, tçardz good good 'Good, good.'
b. dzam soq, (çuukri) 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) ni\theta = 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).

```
a. χωςοmadi = 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  $dustar\chi un$ , a piece of cloth that is laid out and has a function similar to a tablecloth or picnic blanket. The host says to the visitors the expressions in (13.7), which continues to be repeated throughout the entire meal.

```
a. zoz=it
get.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'Take some(pl)!'
b. χadzal 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) χως ka=it happy do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 'Start eating(pl)!'
(13.9) a. tçoj 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 dustarxun.

## 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. maç pa tçɛd alos = it
  1PL.NNOM LOC house lie.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
  'Sleep(pl) at our house.'
- c. pa tçɛd tom tsejz dzat 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).

```
a. na\chi aradz = af
(13.13)
                              ttujd
            foodless = 2PL.PFV go.PFV
            'You(pl) have left without eating anything.'
         b. үшсгиі
                     tamoq = am
                                    tamac = ir
                                                          tçi
                                                     na
            beautiful food=1sg.pfv 2pl.nnom=dat neg cap
              tcəwq
              do.PFV
            'I was unable to make good food for you(pl).'
(13.14) a. naj, naj, wi
                                      rang mo
            NEG NEG 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV
```

'No, no, do not talk like that.'

```
b. naxaradz tsejz
foodless what
'What do you mean by "foodless"?'
```

When the guests are leaving, the hosts will never just stand at the door to say goodbye. They will always walk the visitors back for some distance. However, the visitors will first attempt to make the hosts stay home by saying:

```
(13.15) warofs = it, warofs = it, mo
stand.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV stand.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV PROH

naxtedz = 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. tamac = af
                                    tuid = 0
              2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV go.PFV = Q
              'Have you(pl) left?'
          b. \partial 2\partial, mac = an
                                         bur
                                               twjd
              yes 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV then go.PFV
              'Yes, we have left, then.'
                     wejn = an
          c. uz
              again see.IPFV = 1PL.PFV
              'Let us see each other again.'
          d. \chi u \delta o j = 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 tuijd / tar
LOC Where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV / LOC
ko = af  tuijd
where.NNOM = 2PL.PFV go.PFV
'Where are you headed?' (lit. To where have you gone?)

b. taw  kudzur  so  / tamac  kudzur 
2SG.NOM  where  become.IPFV / 2PL.NOM  where
so = it  become.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV 
'Where are you going?'
```

```
dzat ka
c. tar ko
                                     / tar ko
   LOC where.NNOM hurry do.IPFV / LOC where.NNOM
     dzat ka = it
     hurry do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
   'To where are you hurrying?'
d. tamoq = at
                              / tamoq = af
                  \chi ug = o
                                                \chi uug = o
   food = 2sg.pfv eat.pfv = Q / food = 2pl.pfv eat.pfv = Q
   'Have you eaten food?'
e. t coj = at
                 bruxt = o
                               / tcoj = af
                                                bruxt = o
   tea = 2SG.PFV drink.PFV = Q / tea = 2PL.PFV drink.PFV = Q
```

(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

'Have you had tea?'

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. indawd = at = 0
             rise.PFV = 2sg.PFV = Q
             'Have you gotten up?'
         b. \chi il = at
                             xuvd = o
             good = 2sg.pfv sleep.pfv = Q
             'Did you sleep well?'
                         kol~mol
                                    soq = 0
             2sg.NNOM head~RDP well=Q
             'Is your head feeling well?'
         d. t card z \chi u \delta m = at
                                      wand = o
             good dream = 2SG.PFV see.PFV = Q
             'Did you dream good dreams?' (lit. Did you see good
               dreams?)
```

e. ta χωδm ρεχtς=ο
 2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF=Q
 'Did you sleep a deep sleep? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your dream ripened?)

f. ta aluk-i naxtuydz = 0
 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ go.up.PRF = Q
 'Do you feel refreshed? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Has your tiredness gone out?)

(13.19) tçardz xulðm 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. dzafu = at wand toil = 2SG.PFV see.PFV 'You have seen toil.'

> b. dzafu = at tizd 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. tçardz tçardz (çwkri) good good thank.God 'Good, good, thanks be to God.'
  - c. tçardz tçardz ta xuu-an good good 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN 'Good, good, and your self's?'
  - d.  $t ext{a} ext{w} ext{ } ext{$\chi$uba$\theta} ext{ } ext{soq} = o$  2SG.NOM REFL.NOM well = Q 'Are you yourself well?'
  - e. χejli bε fairly fine 'Fairly good.'
  - f. tsarang ta cast how 2SG.NNOM courage 'How is your courage?'
  - g. ta cast tci dzuj = o2SG.NNOM courage LOC place = Q 'Is your courage in place?'

```
h. (mu çast) tçi dzuj
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 tcoto wg
what = 2SG.PFV do.PFV
'What have you done?'
```

c. tsejz tçer-ef qati tçi dzat-i what work-PL.NNOM COM LOC hurry-NMLZ 'What matters are you busy with?'

```
    d. nahuçtç=at=o
    sit.PRF=2SG.PFV=Q
    'Have you been hanging out? (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. Have you sat down?)
```

```
e. nalwctc = am
sit.PRF = 1PFV
'I have been hanging out. (Evidentiality/New information)' (lit. I have sat down.)
```

```
f. hitç 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) tu = ri utc gurm = am tcaug 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.  $\chi$ -oto  $\chi$ -ono=ri salum REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT hello lev say.IPFV 'Say hello to your parents.'
  - b. (mu az num) dzam=ir salum lev
    1SG.NNOM ABL name all=DAT hello say.IPFV
    'Say hello to everyone (on my behalf).'
  - c. dzam = ik (tu = ri) salum  $l\varepsilon vd$ 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

tu = ri = ik salum lev = 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. *tçard*z 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 se\delta dz = endz ma\theta = 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 baxejr səwd
  2SG.NNOM journey let.IPFV smooth become.3SG.IPFV
  'May your journey go smoothly!'
- c. tçardz sirs, tçardz tamuçu 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.  $t \varphi a r d z n i g o a = \chi u k a$ 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 numujd=o difficult seem.3SG.IPFV=Q 'Are you having a hard time?' (lit. Does it feel difficult?)
- (13.31) tuu=ri uutc guurm 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  $wej\delta=am$ 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 tcos=amLOC road ACC=2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 'I will wait for you on the road.'
  - b. ta pa prud naxtedz = am
     2SG.NNOM LOC front go.up.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
     'I will come out to receive you.' (lit. I will go out in front of you.)

c. tu=ri prud naxtedz=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 mudzuz çitç  $\chi ejli$  tçardz sut = o 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q 'Is he feeling a little better now?'
- (13.35) ta mudzuz çitç  $\chi ejli$  tçardz sut = o 2SG.NNOM feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q 'Are feeling a little better now?'
- (13.36) a. wi mudzuz nəwz nist
  3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling still NEG.be.IPFV
  'He is still not feeling well.'
  - b. wi mudzuz çitç ilon b $\varepsilon$  3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now bit fine 'He is feeling a little bit better.'
  - c. *a?a*, *wi mudzuz çitç xejli bɛ/tçardz* yes 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly fine/good

suit

become.PFV

'Yes, he is feeling quite a bit better now.'

d. wi mudzuz-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 der dam zozd, dzald 3SG.NOM.DIST let.IPFV much CPRV rest get.3SG.IPFV fast

der 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. taçakur (tu=ri) thanks 2SG.NNOM=DAT 'Thanks (to you).'
  - c. tu = ri utc rahmat 2sg.NNOM = DAT very thanks 'Thank you very much.'
  - d. hazur bur taçakur thousand times thanks 'A thousand times thank you.'
- (13.39) a. alukat = am tamac = ir  $we\delta d$  trouble = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM = DAT put.PFV 'I have placed trouble on you(pl).'
  - b. awuro = am a = tama c t cong bother = 1SG.PFV ACC = 2PL.NNOM do.PFV 'I have bothered you(pl).'

```
(13.40) salomat vəw=it, xuðoj (laka) tamaç=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 tsejz
thanks what
'What do you mean by "thank you"?'
```

- b. wi rang mo lev
  3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV
  'Do not talk like that.'
- c. hit; gap nist
  none word NEG.be.IPFV
  'It is nothing.' (lit. It is not any word.)
- d. naj, rahmat mu=ri lɛvd luzim

  NEG thanks 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.INF necessary

  nist

NEG.be.IPFV 'No, it is not necessary to thank me.'

e. rahmat mo lev, jad mu thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM

 $t \varphi e j g = i r$   $t \varepsilon g i \varphi$   $t \varphi \varepsilon r$  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: *çukri*, 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. χαfo mo
                         so
            upset PROH become.IPFV
            'Sorry.' (lit. Do not get upset.)
         b. afu
                        ka
            forgiveness do.IPFV
            'Forgive (me).'
                       az ginu nardzes=o
         c. mu
            1SG.NNOM ABL sin pass.IPFV = Q
            'Will you overlook my sin?' (lit. Will you pass by my sin?)
         d. tçi mu
                                       ram
                                               laka
                                                      joðd
                            ta
```

- d. tçı mu ta ram laka jodd LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV 'May your mercy come upon me!'
- (13.43) a. naj,  $\chi afo = am$  na sutNEG upset = 1SG.PFV NEG become.PFV 'No, I have not gotten upset.'
  - b.  $\chi afo$  tom tsejzir so=am upset then why become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'Why would I get upset?'
  - c. hitç 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) mu zord utç 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.  $\chi u$  zord utc nejm mo kaREFL.NNOM heart very half PROH do.IPFV
  'Do not be too sad.' (lit. Do not make your heart too half.)
  - b. insun  $l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz$  ki = wi rang mankind say.PRF=REL CATA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB 'That is what mankind is like.'
  - c. waz ta  $ja\chi$  so=am1SG.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) mu = 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 tuu=ri jordam tçejg=ir uutç 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT help do.INF=DAT very

χшҫ

happy

'I am very happy to help you.'

c. tu = ri jordam tegg = ir waz har 2SG.NNOM = DAT help do.INF = DAT 1SG.NOM every

waxt tajur

time ready

'I am always ready to help you.'

d. *uz swol vid tsa az muu* again question be.3sg.IPFV COND ABL 1sg.NNOM

pars

ask.IPFV

'If have a question again, ask me.'

e. uz tu = ri i tsiz luzim tsa again 2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing necessary COND

səwd muu χejz joð become.3sg.ipfv 1sg.nnom side come.ipfv 'If you need something again, come over.'

f. ta-an har waxt mas dzuj 2SG.NNOM-GEN every time 1PL.NNOM place

 $j\varepsilon t = ir$   $\chi u \varphi - i$  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
                              suit
             hour how.much become.pfv
             'What time is it?'
         b. az
                  ðes si
                                    pindz (sut)
                             at
             ABL ten thirty CONJ five become.PFV
             '(It is) 10:35.' (lit. (It has become) thirty-five minutes since
               ten.)
         c. haroj at
                          neim (sut)
             three CONJ half become.PFV
             '(It is) 3:30.' (lit. (It has become) three and a half.)
         d. des at
                        \delta a = 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  $t \in i$  is added, and the word suat may be omitted, as in the following examples:

```
(13.49) a. tamaç (suat) tçi tsund xufs = it
2PL.NOM hour LOC how.much sleep.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'What time do you(pl) go to sleep?'
```

b. maç (suat) tçi 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 tsejz
today week=DAT what
'What day of the week is it today?'
b. nur tçorçanbɛ
today Wednesday
'Today is Wednesday.'
```

- (13.51) a. nur most az tsund today moon ABL how.much 'What day of the month is it today?'
  - b. nur most az wist today moon ABL twenty 'Today is the twentieth.'

#### 13.8 Expressing physical and emotional states

This section deals with how one's physical and emotional states and desires may be expressed. Below are expressions commonly used for conveying physical states such as: feeling cold or warm (13.52), feeling hungry or satiated (13.53), feeling tired (13.54), feeling sleepy or being unable to sleep when it is nighttime (13.55), and having to go to the bathroom (13.56). People say (13.56) because most village homes do not have outhouses, but even in places with outhouses or modern toilets, it is considered polite to use the expression in (13.56). However, the expression in (13.56) is ambiguous, since it may also be used literally if the speaker is going outside the house for another purpose.

```
(13.52) a. iç = am tçəwg
cold = 1sg.pfv do.pfv
'I am cold.' (lit. I did cold.)

b. zurm = am sut
warm = 1sg.pfv become.pfv
'I am warm.' (lit. I became warm.)

(13.53) a. mu qetç marzundz sut
1sg.nnom stomach hungry become.pfv
'I am hungry.'
```

- b. mu qetç 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. mu  $\chi u \delta m = ik$   $j \delta \delta d$  1SG.NNOM dream = DUR come.3SG.IPFV 'I am getting sleepy.' (lit. My dream is coming.)
  - b. mu  $\chi u \delta m = ik$  na jo $\delta d$ 1SG.NNOM dream = DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV 'I am unable to fall sleep.' (lit. My dream is not coming.)
- (13.56) waz tar vatç 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.  $utc \quad xudz = am \quad \delta \partial wg$ very fear=1sg.pfv fear.pfv 'I am very scared.'
  - b. xudş (na) ðor=amfear 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 içandz (na) ka = amLOC 2SG.NNOM trust NEG do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 'I (do not) trust/believe you.'

- b. mu içandz=ik na joðd 1SG.NNOM trust=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV 'I cannot believe it!' (lit. My trust is not coming.)
- (13.60) a.  $\chi uu \in tu = ri$  sut = o happy 2sg.NNOM=DAT become.PFV=Q 'Have you come to like it?' (lit. Has it become pleasing to you?)
  - b. mon mu=ri  $\chi u \varphi$  (nist) apply 1sg.nnom=dat happy neg.be.iPFV 'I (do not) like apples.' (lit. Apples are (not) pleasing to me.)
  - c. jad mu=ri utc  $\chi ucc$  3sg.NOM.PROX 1sg.NNOM=DAT very happy 'I like this very much.'
  - d. jad mu=ri χub χu¢ 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 suut ready = 1SG.PFV become.PFV 'I am ready.'

It is common to ask about the desires of others, as in (13.62), as well as expressing one's own, as in (13.63):

- (13.62) a. ta dil tsejz xig
  2SG.NNOM heart what eat.INF
  'What do you want to eat?'
  - b. ta dil tsejz zoxt
    2SG.NNOM heart what get.INF
    'What do you want to buy?'
  - c. ta dil tsejz wand 2SG.NNOM heart what see.INF 'What do you want to see?'

- (13.63) a. mu dil varçide utç tid 1SG.NNOM heart Varshide very go.INF 'I really want to go to Varshide.'
  - b. mu dil a=wi uutç 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. mu xig jot
  1SG.NNOM eat.INF come.PFV
  'I want to eat. (i.e. I feel like eating.)' (lit. My eating came.)
  - b. mu parst jot
    1SG.NNOM ask.INF come.PFV
    'I want to ask. (i.e. I am curious.)' (lit. My asking came.)
  - c. mu xudz jot 1SG.NNOM fear come.PFV 'I am scared.' (lit. My fear came.)
  - d. mu qor jot
    1SG.NNOM anger come.PFV
    'I am angry.' (lit. My anger came.)
  - e. *mu* \*\*azab jot

    1SG.NNOM fury come.PFV

    'I am furious.' (lit. My fury came.)
  - f. mu mejz jot
    1SG.NNOM urine come.PFV
    'I need to urinate.' (lit. My urine came.)
  - g. mu qej jot
    1SG.NNOM vomit come.PFV
    'I am going to vomit.' (lit. My vomit came.)
  - h. mu xuðm jot 1SG.NNOM dream come.PFV 'I am sleepy.' (lit. My dream came.)

- j. mu ram tçi 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  $\chi u$  is often added at the end of the clause:

```
asal=ir δο=ο, wi inder
again Asal=DAT give.IPFV=Q 3SG.NNOM.DIST on.person

sad kuj jost χω
hundred Chinese.yuan be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

'Are you giving more to Asal? She already has a hundred yuan!'
```

b. ar sal  $\delta es$  sal vud v

ko

where.NNOM

'Were there not ten sheep in the stable? Where did the other nine go?'

```
c. ta pul=am tu=ri oud 2SG.NNOM money=1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV
```

χω, uz tsejz luzim TEMP.CONJ again what necessary

'I already gave you your money, what else do you need?'

```
d. jad
                   tag tsejz xipik
                                        vid.
                                                     тас
   3SG.NOM.PROX ever what flatbread be.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NOM
                      rang xipik
                                       t \varphi e j g = i t \varphi u z
     3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB flatbread do.INF = REL
                  χш
     NEG.be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
   'Whatever sort of flatbread is this? We do not make this kind
     of flatbread.'
                                   hajutgi waxt
e. hej puts, t > w = at
   VOC son 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV life
                                           time
     a = ruwatqi
                      tazo wand
                                     χш,
                                                 dzasawul
     ACC = enjoyment very see.PFV TEMP.CONJ Jasaweel
```

pur dzafu tizdmuch 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 teng xalg vid=i
2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM-GEN hard person be.INF=SC

wazon xui, uz tsejzir mui
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 = 0
             true=Q
             'Really?'
          b. naj = o ku
             NEG = Q SUP
             'No way!'
         k = dos = o
(13.67)
                             kш
          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
                             levdz
             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  $= a\theta$ , as in (13.69).

```
(13.69) a rust = a\theta 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) tsejz = am levd = 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, lev
how say.IPFV
'What do you think?' (lit. Say how it is.)

b. tsarang = am levd
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).

```
a. χotirdzam vəw worry.free be.IPFV 'Set your mind at rest (i.e. Rest assured).'
b. (az wi) καπ πο κα 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 swt
         how become.PFV
         'What happened?'
(13.76)
         tçoj
                    wazond
         who.NOM know.3sg.IPFV
         'Who knows?'
(13.77) tsawa kan = an
         how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
         'What shall we do?'
(13.78)
        ...nej, fand=ik
                           \delta o = 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 t\cos = 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) \chi u \delta o j tind z - 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. ingles
                                    rahmat = ir
                      tçi
                           ziv
                                                  tsejz
             English LOC tongue thanks = DAT what
               l\varepsilon v = in
               say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
             'How do they say "thank you" in English?'
          b. əwlud-an
                                                          tseiz
                               wi
                                                mani
             descendant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what
             'What is the meaning of awlud?'
          c. əwlud
                          l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
             descendant say.PRF = REL what
             'What does awlud mean?'
          d. a = di
                                            mu = ri
                                                               hansu tçi
                                      gap
             ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX word 1SG.NNOM = DAT Han
                                                                       LOC
               ziv
                        seiron = 0
               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. citc at uzir i mani = o
now CONJ now one meaning = Q
'Do citc and uzir have one meaning (i.e. the same meaning)?'
b. citc at uzir-an wi farq tsejz
now CONJ now-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST difference what
```

'What is the difference between *citc* 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
                                 l\varepsilon vd = o
              whole = 1SG.PFV say.PFV = Q
              'Did I say it correctly?'
          b. m = dos / k = dos
                                                 l\varepsilon v = 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
                                                 l\varepsilon v = am
              CATA = manner / ANA = manner say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND
                durust nist = 0
                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 l\varepsilon v = o again ABL head one say.IPFV = Q 'Will you say it again from the beginning?'
```

Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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### Appendix A

### **Texts**

### A.1 'A Tajik woman's work' (cultural account)

#### tudzik əwrat = an wi tçer

A description of the tasks that Sarikoli women commonly do around the family home.

```
1
 тас
            tudzik əwrat-an
                                tçer puir
 1PL.NOM Tajik woman-GEN work much
 'We Tajik women have a lot of work.'
 maslan
              maç
                        z = an
 for.example 1PL.NOM cow milk.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'For example, we milk the cow.'
 saвє
                  nej = an
  churning.bucket churn.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We churn the churning bucket.'
 surmuð
              wej\delta = an
 soured.milk put.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We put in the soured milk.'
 xipik
            p\varepsilon dz = an
 flatbread cook.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We bake flatbread.'
 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.'
 xavung kan = an
 blanket do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We make blankets.'
 kerpa kan = an
 mat \quad do. IPFV = 1PL. IPFV
  'We make mats.'
10
       zdor = an
 house sweep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'We sweep the house.'
11
 tamoq kan = an
 food do.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
 'We make food.'
12
  qatçoqutçu znej = an
 dishes
            wash.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
 'We wash the dishes.'
13
      vor = an
  water bring.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We fetch water.'
14
 tom m = dos
                    dzejn
                                   kan = an
  then CATA = manner matted.carpet do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Then we make, like, matted carpets.'
 'As I said, there is a lot of work.'
```

# A.2 'Naming Tajik children – One man's experience' (cultural account)

#### batço = ri num ðod

A description of naming Sarikoli children based on one man's knowledge and experience.

```
1
  tudzik-an batco tsa
                         səwd
                                          χш
                                                      batco = ri
 Tajik-GEN child COND become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM child=DAT name
    give.3SG.IPFV
  'When Tajiks get a child, they name their child.'
                 num wi = ri
                                             ðid
 m = dos
                                                           iko
                                                                  χш
 CATA = manner name 3sg.nnom.dist = dat give.3sg.ipfv comp refl.nnom
    əwlud-an
                 num wi = ri
    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
                 χш
                             puits tej
                                           ka = am
       1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM son wedding do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
    wi-an
                        batço tsa
                                     sawd
                                                                hajut tsa
                                                      waz
    3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN child COND become.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NOM life COND
                      χ-oto-an
                                                   χ-ono
                                            at
    be.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv refl.nnom-father-gen conj refl.nnom-mother name
    wi = ri
                         \delta o = 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.'
                tudzik-an wi
                                          qujdo
  3SG.NOM.DIST Tajik-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST tradition
  'That is the Tajik tradition.'
  agar puts ta-an
                            səwd
                                             wi
       son 2sg.nnom-gen become.3sg.ipfv 3sg.nnom.dist father
                              na tçəwydz merd
                                                                zabudz
                puits tej
    REFL.NNOM son wedding NEG do.PRF die.3SG.IPFV COND back
    ki = puits-an
                  puts tsa
                               səwd
                                                      ki = \chi-oto
                                                uz
    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
                 haroj batço
 mu-an
  1SG.NNOM-GEN three child
  'I have three children.'
 awal = a\theta puts sut
 first = EMP son become.PFV
 'First, I got a son.'
8
                   num \delta udz = \varepsilon ndz
  1SG.NNOM-father name give.PRF = REL
  'My father's name had been given already.'
                       suit
                                   χш
                                               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
             puts dzuma maθ sut
  1SG.NNOM son Friday day become.PFV
  'My son was born on Friday.'
11
 dzuma tudzik milat
                          ut¢ ulus maθ wazond
  Friday Tajik nationality very great day know.3sg.IPFV
 'Tajiks regard Friday as a very special day.'
12
                 num = am
                                 ðud
                                           dzamolidin
  3SG.NNOM.DIST name=1SG.PFV give.PFV Jamolidin
  'I gave him the name "Jamolidin" (beauty + the + religion).'
13
                       az zabudz mu-an
                                                   i
                                                        radzen
  then 3sg.nnom.dist abl back
                                   1SG.NNOM-GEN one daughter become.PFV
  'Then after that, I got a daughter.'
14
                radz\varepsilon n = 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
                 tcuxt = am
                                     tçardz num tçidum vid
 CATA = manner watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV good name which be.3SG.IPFV
 'Like, I looked to see which name is good.'
 farzana levd
                  num = am
 Farzana say.INF name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV
 'I gave her the name "Farzana".'
```

```
17
                  pa zabudz mu-an
                                               uz
                                                      i
                                                          radzen
                                                                     suit
  3sg.nnom.dist loc back
                               1SG.NNOM-GEN again one daughter become.PFV
  'After that, I got another daughter.'
 m-ono
                     məwg
  1SG.NNOM-mother die.PFV
  'My mother died.'
19
                  num = am
                                  ðud
                                            mastura
  3SG.NNOM.DIST name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV Masteera
  'We gave her her name, "Masteera".'
 mastura l \varepsilon v d z = \varepsilon n d z m-ono
  Masteera say.PRF = REL 1SG.NNOM-mother
 "Masteera" means my mother.'
21
 farzana mastura
 Farzana Masteera
 'Farzana, Masteera.'
```

# A.3 'Sheawgeenbahor (Coming of Spring) Festival' (cultural account)

#### çəwgunbahor ejd

Some cultural information about the celebration of the major traditional festival for the Sarikoli people.

```
1
 tom bur tama c = ir
                              nəwruz
                                        jani
                                                       sarikuj
  then then 2PL.NNOM = DAT Neawreez also.known.as Sarikoli
    çəwgunbahor
                     avon l\varepsilon v = am
    Sheawgeenbahor BEN say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'Then I will tell you about Neawreez, also known as Sarikoli Sheawgeenbahor.'
                 çəwgunbahor
                                  jani
                                                nəwruz
                                                           putun orion
  3SG.NOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor also.known.as Neawreez all
                                                                  Aryan
                    darun nəwruz
                                      a = di
               ar
    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
  sarikui ar
                darun a = di
                                                çəwgunbahor
  Sarikoli LOC inside ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor
    l\varepsilon v = an
    say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Among the Sarikoli people, we call it Sheawgeenbahor,'
                        mac = ir
                                          dwost = itcuz
                 wug
  iani
  also.known.as spring 1PL.NNOM = DAT bring.in.INF = REL
  'or one that brings in Spring to us,'
  bahor vejg = itcuz
                         l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
  spring bring.INF = REL say.PRF = REL
  'or bringer of Spring,'
  kazwi çəwgunbahor
                          l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
                                         ejd
                                                  jad
         Sheawgeenbahor say.PRF = REL festival 3SG.NOM.PROX
  'that is why this is a festival called Sheawgeenbahor.'
                  orion ar
                               darun nəwruz
                                                  num qati tar
                                                                    dinju num
  jad
  3SG.NOM.PROX Aryan LOC inside Neawreez name COM LOC world name
                        joð = in
    give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'Among Aryans, it comes with the name "Neawreez".'
  lekin tar dinju a = di
                                            tsasa narzambd = i
  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,'
  sarikuj narzambd=itçuz
                              urfodat avon tamac = ir
  Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL culture BEN 2PL.NNOM=DAT COND
    l\varepsilon v = am
    say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'if I tell you about the culture of how the Sarikoli people celebrate it,'
10
  çəwgunbahor
                    ejd-εf
                                      ar
                                           darun uzuð
  Sheawgeenbahor festival-PL.NNOM LOC inside relaxing relaxing
```

```
iad
    3SG.NOM.PROX
  'Sheawgeenbahor is the most relaxing and enjoyable among the festivals.'
11
                    ar darun utç parejdz utç jad
  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.'
  tsejzir tsa
                lεν
                          jad
                                            tabiat-an
                                                                           beirom
                                                         wi
  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
                   insonjat-an
                                     wi
                                                       be jrom l \varepsilon v = a n
  3 \texttt{SG.NOM.PROX} \hspace{0.2cm} humankind-\texttt{GEN} \hspace{0.2cm} 3 \texttt{SG.NNOM.DIST} \hspace{0.2cm} holiday \hspace{0.2cm} say. \texttt{IPFV} = 1 \texttt{PL.IPFV}
    wazon = an
    know.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
  'We call it and regard it as a festival of humankind.'
14
                   faqat = a\theta dzun dzunwar = ir
                                                        hajut-i
                                                                   bax c t c e j g = i t c u z
  iad
  3SG.NOM.PROX only = EMP life organism = DAT life-NMLZ give do.INF = REL
         bejrom
    one holiday
  'This is just a festival that gives life to organisms.'
15
                             ma\theta = ik
               xob
                      at
                                        tang
                                                         suit
  for.example night CONJ day = DUR simultaneous become.PFV
  'For example, night and day have become equal,'
16
                  wug-an
                               awal-in
  jani
  also.known.as spring-GEN first-ADJ
  'or it is the first of Spring.'
17
                   iron kalendor ar
                                         darun ki=wi
                                                                         maθ nudz
  jad
  3SG.NOM.PROX Iran calendar LOC inside ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST day new
    sul nudz most nudz ma\theta lev = 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
```

```
18
 mac
           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,'
                mohinəw
                            solinəw
                                      ruzinəw l \varepsilon v = a n
 muburak-i
 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 = ma\theta
                   ham sul-an
                                    wi
                                                    kol
                                                          ham most-an
        ANA = day CONJ year-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST head CONJ moon-GEN
                    kol
                          ham maθ-an wi
    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
                                    ma\theta \epsilon ng mlus wazon = an
        ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST day SUPL great know.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'So we regard that day as the greatest,'
 eng lowr wazon = an
 SUPL big know.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
  'regard it as the most important,'
23
                                                narzamb = an
 εng
       үшҫ-і
                     qati \quad a = wi
 SUPL happy-NMLZ COM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'and celebrate it with the most happiness.'
24
  di
                        darun tar
                                    dinju har
                                                 suxt
                  ar
  3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside LOC world every appearance
                         narzambd
    ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.INF maybe
 'Perhaps in the world there are many different ways to celebrate it,'
 hammo sarikuj narzambd=itçuz
                                     odat
                                             jad
                                                                    χш
         Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL custom 3SG.NOM.PROX again REFL.NNOM
    tçi tan
    LOC body
 'but the Sarikoli customs for celebrating it are their own.'
```

```
26
  di
                   madanjat-an di
                                                  torex.
                                                           digaru = ri
                                                                         tcixt
  3SG.NNOM.PROX culture-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX history others = DAT look.INF
    waxt utc qadim-i
    time very ancient-NMLZ
  'Compared to others, the history of the Sarikoli culture is very old.'
27
                                    nəwruz
                                              maθ har
                                                           tçidum dijur ar
  tsejzir tsa
                lεv
                         maç
  why COND say.IPFV 1PL.NOM Neawreez day every which region LOC
    darun ulus-yejl
                         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
28
                                                   w\varepsilon f = ir
  ki = wi
                         ulus-εf
                                        paz kol
  ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST clan-PL.NNOM PER head 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT
    kumutc
                ka = in
    thick.bread do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They make thick bread for each of those clan members.'
29
                     kumutç
                                  tsa
                                         wand,
                                                  ki = wi
  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
                 ulus kumutç
                                    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
                                           tced
                                                   d\varepsilon \delta dz = \varepsilon ndz
                                                                   har
                                                                          tcidum
  LOC dawn ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.PRF = REL every which
    yalg-an
                                 tçi
                                      sevd
                                                 putuk
    person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC shoulder celebratory.flour
    give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'In the morning, they sprinkle celebratory flour on the shoulder of every person
    who enter that house.'
  lekin k = iu
                                    t \varepsilon i d u m d \varepsilon \delta d z = \varepsilon n d z
                             har
                                                            χalg
                                                                     χш
  but ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST every which enter.PRF = REL person REFL.NNOM
```

```
ðust tçuqum i
                            savdzo qati deðd
   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
              dεr
                   a = di
                                          na
                                               wazon = in
 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 = ju
                              χalg
                                     pa
                                          di
                                                           tced
         ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house
    dεðd
                  tsa
                                         tçi 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 vird
                                                   k=pa
 ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST plant bring.3SG.IPFV ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX
         lakaxt
                       dεðd
   house let.3sg.ipfv enter.3sg.ipfv
 'He brings that plant, leaves it at the house, and enters.'
36
                mas tsa
                            muburak-i
                                           çəwgunbahor
 enter.3SG.IPFV also COND blessing-NMLZ Sheawgeenbahor say.3SG.IPFV
    dεðd
    enter.3sg.IPFV
  'Even when he enters, he says, "Blessed Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'
                                                   savdzo vird
                k = pa
                           di
                                            tςεd
 iш
  3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house plant bring.3SG.IPFV
 'He brings a plant to that house.'
  savdzo-an wi
                            mani
                                     tsejz
  plant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what
  'What is the meaning of the plant?'
39
  lενd
         waxt hajutgi
 say.INF time life
 'If I say it, it is life.'
```

```
40
 zundagi
 life
 'Being alive.'
      hajutgi sarmalu suit
                                   k = pa
                                               di
                                                                       dejd
              begin become.PFV ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.PFV
 one life
  'One life has begun, and has entered this house.'
42
 muburak
 blessing
  'Congratulations.'
43
 zimistun adu suit
  winter finish become.PFV
  'Winter has ended.'
44
                adu
 tang-i
                       suit
 difficult-NMLZ finish become.PFV
 'Hardship has ended.'
45
                             əwd furoχ-i
                                                               l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
 çitç di
                                                joðd
                        tar
 now 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here enjoy-NMLZ come.3SG.IPFV say.PRF=REL
         iltidzu gati savdzo <u>x</u>u
                                          tçi
                                                ðust zozd
    one prayer COM plant REFL.NNOM LOC hand take.3sg.IPFV ANA = LOC
                     tçed
                            dεðd
    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.'
                                              sarikuj ar
                                                            darun awal = a\theta
  citc ki = di
                               nəwruz-an
 now ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX Neawreez-GEN Sarikoli LOC inside first = EMP
                                  tsarang ka = an
    3SG.NNOM.PROX preparation how
                                          do.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv cond
    l\varepsilon v = an
    say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Now if we tell how Sarikoli people first prepare for Neawreez,'
  tçuıqum awal maç
                           χш
                                       tcεd
                                              χш
           first 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM house REFL.NNOM backyard
```

```
sandawand-ef
                            awal-in ma\theta 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
                          тахѕшѕ
                                       ki = di
  3SG.NNOM.PROX = DAT specially.for ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work again one
                                 qolumquçni
                                                                   çəwgumi
                darun joki i
                                                ar
                                                    darun i
    uıluıs ar
    clan LOC inside or one neighborhood LOC inside one Sheawgeeni
    l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
                  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
  jш
                 ki = wi
                                         χalg-εf
                                                          pa
                                                                tçεd
                                                                       dzam
  3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM LOC house all
                                                               patəwd
    m = k = dund-i
                                              basmoq vdir
                              igun-i
                                                       broom throw.3SG.IPFV
    CATA = ANA = AMT-NMLZ one.by.one-ADV CL
  'He throws one broom of this size to each of those people's homes.'
50
  tom k=a=wi
                                     vdir
                                             tar \quad j \ge wl = a\theta
                                                               iw
                                                                    tçi
  then ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST broom LOC dawn = EMP one LOC skylight
    dwo\delta = in
                            iw tçi
                                       dver dwo\delta = 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
                 l\varepsilon v = in
                                                    tseiz
                                     tçi
                                         rezn
  ANA = manner say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV LOC skylight what
  'They say what through the skylight?'
52
  quit at
              barakat
  luck CONJ blessing
  'Luck and blessing.'
53
       dver baxt
                        at
                               dəwlat deðd
                                                      l \varepsilon v = an
  LOC door happiness CONJ estate enter.3SG.IPFV say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Through the door, we say happiness and estate enter.'
54
                          vdir
                                  dwo\delta = in
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX broom bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They bring in this broom,'
```

```
55
 tom k=a=wi
                                  tçed pet tçader
                                                      \delta o = 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
                       ki = wi-an
                                                                 bwdzejn
 a = wi
                                                 wi
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST garbage
             \chi \varepsilon r 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
 'They never throw it towards the sun.'
58
      χεr tsraχ sar patəwd
                                      səwd
                                na
 LOC sun rise side throw.INF NEG become.3sg.IPFV
  'One cannot throw it towards the east.'
59
                  ejd
                          puganalagi mas dzam imi=ri
  3SG.NNOM.PROX festival next.day
                                      also all
                                                 RECP = DAT blessing
    çəwgunbahor
                    joki muburak-i
                                       nəwruz
                                                 olam
                                                           l\varepsilon v = 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
                                        χalg
 jad
                            sarikuj-an
                                                wazond
                 mac
  3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NNOM Sarikoli-GEN person know.3SG.IPFV TERM
                   faqaθ sarikuj-an
                                      joki orion-an
                                                      naj putun dzun
    3SG.NOM.PROX only Sarikoli-GEN or Aryan-GEN NEG all
    dzunwar-an
                                             tçejg=itçuz fasil
                                 χшç-i
   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,'
 putun dzawun tar ubud=i
                                       i\varepsilon t = it\varepsilon uz
                                                      fasil
         world LOC flourishing-NMLZ come.INF=REL season
 'a season in which all the world flourishes.'
```

```
62
  kawzi di = ri
                                 v \varepsilon \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz mac-an
                                                               agida
                                                                            nita
         3SG.NNOM.PROX = DAT be.PRF = REL 1PL.NNOM-GEN earnestness very
  so
    kutc-in
    strength-ADJ
  'That is why our earnestness for this festival is very strong.'
63
                       arkin utç
  one 3SG.NOM.PROX free very
  'First, it is very free.'
64
  ar
                         tsarang χως-i
                                               tsa
                                                       ka
                                                                tsarang
  LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how
                                  happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV how
                          set = itcuz
    celebrate.IPFV COND become.INF = REL festival
  'This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.'
65
                              digaru bax-i
  lekin mac-an
                                                   tçuıqum ki=wi
                        az
  but 1PL.NNOM-GEN ABL others much-NMLZ must
                                                            ANA = 3sg.NNOM.DIST
    bijur = a\theta = ik
                                       tςεd
                                              tçader
                                                        ðud
                          χш
    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
       pa darun putun putuk
                                                \delta o = in
  house LOC inside all
                           celebratory.flour give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'they sprinkle celebratory flour all over the house.'
67
                                          putuk
                         t¢εd-εf
                                                            ðudz
  uzir çitç maç
  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.'
  tsejzir levd
                 wa\chi t mi = di
                                                 rang spejd
  why say.INF time CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB white
                            t \varepsilon \partial w y dz = \varepsilon n dz
    ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX do.PRF = REL
  'If you ask why, it is because the houses are made white, like this.'
```

```
69
                               ki = t \varepsilon \varepsilon d - \varepsilon f - \alpha n
                                                          puitun
 asl-i
 origin-ADV 3SG.NNOM.PROX ANA = house-PL.NNOM-GEN all
   putuk
                     a = di
                                            \delta o = an
    celebratory.flour ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Originally, we used to sprinkle flour all over the house.'
70
 putuk
                   l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
                                 muburak
  celebratory.flour say.PRF = REL blessing
  'The celebratory flour means blessings.'
 tom tar jəwl mas awal = a\theta tçi putuk
                                                          tçugum i
  then LOC dawn also first = EMP LOC celebratory.flour must
    'Then in the morning, we also first bring in a tongueless animal (which cannot use
    human language) upon the flour.'
72
                                                              ruz ruzagur
 iani
                            qati \quad k = ar
                                             di
                mac
 also.known.as 1PL.NNOM COM ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX day living
    dzafu wandz = \varepsilon ndz
    toil see.PRF = REL
 'An animal that has toiled with us in our everyday life.'
73
                   k = az
                              wi
                                               ejwun darun maslan
  1PL.NNOM = DAT ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST animal inside for example or
                 jo i
                         x \in dz m = ki = di
         cer
                                                              rang tsa
    one donkey or one bull CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB COND
    be.3sg.ipfv
  'Among our animals, if we have a donkey or a bull, for example,'
74
             qati tang
                                 m=k=a=di
                                                                     rwzagur
  1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous CATA = ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX living
                 iш
                                             vid
                                                               set = iteuz
                                tsa
                                       na
                                                         na
    do.INF = DAT 3SG.NOM.DIST COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV NEG become.INF = REL
                               i
                                    nejk tsiz
                                                 dwo\delta = an
                    bezibun
    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
                               buusz nist
 tçunki ar wi
 because LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST flaw NEG.be.IPFV
 'Because there is nothing bad about it.'
76
                       darun i
 wi
                                   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.'
                        rang i
                                   nejk tsiz
                                              tçi puıtuık
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB one good thing LOC celebratory.flour
    dwo\delta = an
   bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'We bring in a good animal like that upon the celebratory flour.'
78
                                                                  çəwgumi
  wi
                       zabu tçi puıtuk
                                                   dejd = it cuz
                  az
  3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back LOC celebratory.flour enter.INF=REL Sheawgeeni
                                         dijur
                                                ar
                                                      darun nejk yalg
    3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX region LOC inside good person
                    qadam tu = ri
                                            psid = itçuz
    3sg.nnom.dist step
                           2SG.NNOM = DAT be.lucky.INF = REL one
                 çəwgumi
                             ka = in
    a = \chi alg
    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
  t coj = a\theta
                  vid
                              tsa
                                     a = wi
 who.NOM = EMP be.3SG.IPFV COND ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST Sheawgeeni say.PRF
         səwd
    na
   NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 'We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.'
  t \in \mathcal{L}
                                       laka
                                                dεðd
                               χalg
                                                              tsa
 must
          ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST person let.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV COND
```

```
qadam psist
    3sg.nnom.dist step
                           be.lucky.3sg.IPFV
 'It must be someone who brings luck when he enters a house.'
81
                 sul-nendz teer wi-an
                                                       mukamal mu-an
 one head one year-ADJ work 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN perfect
                                                               1sg.nnom-gen
    nardzast
    pass.3SG.IPFV
  'One who will make my work pass perfectly all year long,'
82
                              i
                                 sul-nendz to
 m = ki
              iad
                                                    iw-aw
                                                               jur
 CATA = ANA 3SG.NOM.PROX one year-ADJ TERM one-NMLZ another
              jεt
                        its
                               k = di
                                                       qadam mu = ri
    Neawreez come.INF TERM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX step
                                                              1SG.NNOM = DAT
                      l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
                                    mukamal i
                                                   a = \chi alg
    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
                        tar um tçed
                                        pa tçed
                                                      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
              wixt
                         mas di
                                                ar
                                                     darun jost
  thick.bread gather.INF also 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside be.IPFV
  'Collecting thick bread also happens.'
85
              v\varepsilon \delta dz = \varepsilon ndz \chi ejrdur-i
                                            mehrbun-i
 RECP = DAT be.PRF = REL good.deed-NMLZ loving-NMLZ COM
    k=a=di
                                         narzamb = in
                                 ejd
    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.'
              avon levd=itçuz
                                 k = dund
  çəwguın
                                             dεr
 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 xosiat-in əwqut

A story about three brothers who receive three magical objects.

```
1
                         qarib ni\theta = it = o
  а
       pa mu
  INTJ LOC 1SG.NNOM near sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q
  'Ah, will you sit closer to me?'
  a = s \partial w g = a m
                        bur tçi
                                   lεvd
                                            sut
  ACC = story = 1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV
  'I have begun to tell a story, then.'
  t \varphi a r dz \quad wey \delta = it
  good ear pour.ipfv = 2pl.ipfv good = Q
  'Listen well, okay?'
                            putxu veðdz
  veðdz na veðdz i
  be.PRF NEG be.PRF one king be.PRF
  'Once upon a time, there was a king.'
  wazond = af = o
  know.pfv = 2pl.pfv = Q
  'Got it?'
6
  ə?ə
  yes
  (Children) 'Yes.'
  putxu-an haroj puts veðdz
  king-GEN three son be.PRF
  'The king had three sons.'
                 ruz haroj puts az
                                               naxtizd
  i
       maθ i
                                        t¢εd
  one day one day three son ABL house go.up.3SG.IPFV
  'One day, the three sons leave home.'
  tom tsaka seðdz
  then how become.PRF
  (Children) 'Then what happened?'
10
       tçεd
              naxtedz = in
                                    χш
                                                 t\varepsilon dz = in
  ABL house go.up.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They leave home and go.'
```

```
11
                                                               pa
 t\varepsilon dz = in
                    χш
                                 ləwr-əw
                                           dεðd
                                                          i
 go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ big-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley
    go.3SG.IPFV
  'They go, and the oldest enters a valley and goes.'
12
              dεðd
                             i
                                pa ðer
                                               tizd
  dzul-əw
 small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley go.3SG.IPFV
 'The younger one enters another valley and goes.'
13
 sar
             dzul-əw
                         dεðd
                                        i
                                             pa
 head one small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley
 'The youngest one enters another valley.'
14
 tar haroj ðer
                    dið=in
                                                            doð
                                          t\varepsilon dz = in
 LOC three valley enter.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3PL.NOM.PROX
 'They enter three different valleys and go.'
15
              zabu ki=wi
 tid
                                           rang sirs = in
         az
                                                                      at
 go.INF ABL back ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ
                               sirs = in
                        at
                                                   at
    turn.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv conj turn.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv conj one son
    wεf
                    i
                         dzom 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
  dzom wazon
                    nej
 scoop know.ipfv neg
  'You know what a scoop is, right?'
17
 ə?ə
  yes
  (Children) 'Yes.'
18
        broxt = itcuz
 water drink.INF = REL
  'Used for drinking water.'
19
                   dzom-an
                                                yosiat
  3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX function what
 'What is this scoop's special function?'
```

```
20
 levd
          wa\chi t k = pa
                           di
                                             dzom i
                                                        xats
                                                               zozd
 say.INF time ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop one water get.3SG.IPFV
    m \ge w y dz = \varepsilon n dz \quad y alg \quad ar \quad sov
                                              wεðd
                                       tsa
    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 dzom
          scoop
 'How do you like this scoop?'
22
 jad
                 iw sut = 0
  3SG.NOM.PROX one become.PFV = Q
 'That was one, right?'
23
 iw-əw
                                              tizd
                                                                 tizd
            jur
                     puts tizd
                                       at
 one-NMLZ another son go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV
               dzuj joðd
                                     iko
                                            i
                                                 xtur aludz
    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
 ε
 INTJ
 (Children) 'Huh?'
25
      xtur
 i
 one camel
 'A camel.'
26
                             ðust ðid
 i
      xtur
             k = dos
                                                        ðid
 one camel ANA = manner hand give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                  at
                        a = xtuur
                                      vijujd
    give.3sg.IPFV CONJ ACC = camel ride.3sg.IPFV
  'He pets and pets and pets the camel and rides it.'
 a = xtur
              vijujd
                             γш
                                         xtur xuu
 ACC = camel ride.3sg.IPFV TEMP.CONJ camel REFL.NNOM ABL place
```

```
indezd
                               tizd
                   χш
    get.up.3sg.ipfv TEMP.CONJ go.3sg.ipfv
  'After riding it, the camel gets up from its place and goes.'
28
                 xtur tsarang xtur
  3SG.NOM.PROX camel how
  'What kind of camel is this?'
29
 haroj most-undz a = pond
                              haroj ma\theta = ir
                                               tid = itçuz
 three moon-ADJ ACC = road three day = DAT go.INF = REL
                           rang i
                                      xtur veðdz
   ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB one camel be.PRF
 'It is a camel that goes three month's journey in three days.'
30
      puits uz
                  rejd = o
 one son again remain.PFV = Q
 'Is there one more son remaining?'
31
 iad
                 puts k = dos
                                     tizd
                                                        tizd
                                                  at
 3SG.NOM.PROX son ANA = manner go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                      m = k = dund-i
                at
                                                    uinak vreid
   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
                           χш
                                       di
                                                        ujnak-an
 ACC = glass find.3sg.ipfv temp.conj 3sg.nnom.prox glass-gen
                     χosiat
                              tsejz
    3SG.NNOM.PROX function what
  'He finds the mirror and what is the special function of this mirror?'
33
       wazon = an
 NEG know.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
  (Children) 'We don't know.'
34
       ujnak \ agar \ m=k=dos
                                        tçost
                                                       tsa
                                                                    putun
 LOC glass if CATA = ANA = manner look.3sg.ipfv cond cond all
   a = dzawun 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 = uinak
              k = dos
                                          pa prud lakaxt
                                                                     tcost
                              χш
  ACC = glass ANA = manner REFL.NNOM LOC front put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV
                                 tçost
                                                       tçost
    CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                                                 i
                                                                       vijojdz
    tcost
                   iko
                          di-an
                                                      vrud
    look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF
    кarst = 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
         ar
              wi
                               tçost
                                              at
                                                     tçost
                                                                    at
  again LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                                                                    ðust i
                                         iko
                                                i
                                                      vrud
                                                               tçi
                   at
                          tcost
    look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV COMP one brother LOC hand one
    dzom ju = ik
                                 Karst
    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 = w\varepsilon f
  {\tt ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX} \ \ one \ \ brother \ \ {\tt ANA=ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST} \ \ see. 3SG. {\tt IPFV}
         ujnak
    ar
    LOC glass
  'This one brother sees them in the mirror.'
                               ujnak wand
                                                   χш
  ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST glass see.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ then say.3SG.IPFV
                      \varepsilonit\varepsilon a = d\varepsilon f
                                                    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
                            \chi ejz so = am
  tsarang def
          3PL.NNOM.PROX side become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  how
  'How shall I go to their side?"
```

```
40
 tsund most tar maðon nardzest
                                         at
                                                k = ar
 some moon LOC middle pass.3SG.IPFV CONJ ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST
                ujnak ixil
                                  tçost
    REFL.NNOM glass continually look.3SG.IPFV
  'A few months pass by in the middle and he looks into the mirror continually.'
41
                                       vrud
                iko
                                               xtur-in
                                                          jur
                                                                   tar əwd
  tcost
 look.3sg.ipfv comp 3sg.nnom.dist brother camel-Adj another loc here
                                    joðd
                                                          tçejg
                                                                 fursat
                   tar 111m
                              der
                                                    gap
   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
                 mas tizd
 jad
                                  jш
                                                 mas joðd
 3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV
                   mas tizd
                                    iш
                                                   mas joðd
    3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV
                                      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
                                 jad
                     χш
                                                 ðəw i
                                                           tçi
  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.'
 k = jad
                                                              ujnak-in
                       xtur-in
                                  at
                                         k = jad
 ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX camel-ADJ CONJ ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX glass-ADJ
 'This one with the camel and this one with the mirror.'
```

```
392
```

45

```
jш
                levd
                              ta
                                         ujnak-an tsejz yosiat
  3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM glass-GEN what function be.IPFV
  'He says, "What special function does your mirror have?""
                lενd
                              m-ar
                                             ujnak tços
  3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM-LOC glass look.IPFV
 'He says, "Look into my mirror".'
47
                                  k = dos
     ujnak tçost
                           iko
                                                 tcost
 LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA = manner look.3SG.IPFV CONJ
                  at
                        tçost
                                       at
                                             tçost
    look.3sg.ipfv conj look.3sg.ipfv conj look.3sg.ipfv comp
                          i
                                 dzuj = ik
                                              вarst
    3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one place = DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST
         \delta ust \quad k = ju
                                    dzom
    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.'
 tsarang levd
        say.3sg.ipfv
 "How do you like it?" he says.'
49
                  vrud
                           νεðdz u
                                         jш
 INTJ 1PL.NNOM brother be.PRF there 3SG.NOM.DIST
 "Oh, that is our brother over there!"
50
                        na vrej = an = o
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX NEG find.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
  'Shall we not find him?"'
51
                                         xtur vijuj = an
                              ta
  3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM camel ride.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'He says, "Let us ride your camel.'
52
              vijuj = an
                                                  \chi ejz 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
                                  γш
 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.'
  haroj vrud
               i tçi dzuj so=in
 three brother one LOC place become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 'The three brothers get together in one place.'
55
            tçi dzuj set
                                    az zabu tom l\varepsilon v = in
 haroj i
  three one LOC place become.INF ABL back then say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 'The three get together in one place and say,'
56
 ta
             dzom-an
                        tsejz xosiat
  2SG.NNOM scoop-GEN what function be.IPFV
 "What special function does your scoop have?"
57
 jш
                lεvd
                             iko
                                    waz
                                              χш
                                                          pa
                                                               dzom
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop
                iw \quad zoz = am
                                       m \ge w y dz = \varepsilon n dz ar
    a = xats
    ACC = water one get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV die.PRF = REL LOC mouth
    weið = am
                        tsa
                               и
                                      zundo 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 levd
                    iko
                           təw
                                     tar dzawun i
                                                       na
                                                            t cos = 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
                       dzawun tsejz tçer seðdz
                                                        χш
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX world what work become.PRF TEMP.CONJ
  'What kind of things are happening in this world?"
60
                            ujnak hat kaxt
                                                     tçost
                χш
 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.'
  tçost
                      tçost
                                          tçost
                                                               tçost
                                    at
                                                        at
 look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV
```

xwor

i

```
CONJ one city
 'He looks and looks and looks into it and sees a city.'
      ləwr çahar ar darun i
                                  χalg məwydz puir χalg
 one big city LOC inside one person die.PRF much person
                   makol χιιι
    3SG.NNOM.DIST around TEMP.CONJ
 'In a large city is a person who has died, with many people around him.'
 tom haroj vεrθ vrud
                           a = wi
                                                 tcos = in
  then three both brother ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
    tcos = in
                            t\cos = in
                                                    t\cos = in
   look.3sg.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv look.3sg.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv look.3sg.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv
   TEMP.CONJ
 'Then all three of them look and look and look at it,'
64
                    na t\varepsilon = o
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV NEG go.IPFV = Q
 "Hey!" he says, "Shall we not go?"
65
                              xtur vijuj = an
 ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX camel ride.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Let us ride this camel,'
66
                             so = an
           haroj k = um
  1PL.NOM three ANA = there become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'and let the three of us go there.'
67
                        dzom gati wi
                                                     ar
                                                         BOV
 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?"
                          k = dos
 okay say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ANA = manner do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 "Okay," they say, "Let us do that".'
```

```
69
                                                    haroj \chi uuduur k = ar
  a = xtur
               vijuj = in
                                    jad
  ACC = camel ride.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX three until
                     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
                                                  \delta ar \quad a = \chi u
                                      χш
  LOC city become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ far ACC = REFL.NNOM
                       dzuj = it
                                        levd
    do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV place = 2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
  'They go to the city and say, "Step back and make room!'
71
                          maç
                                    zundo kan = an
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX 1PL.NOM live
                                            do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We will make this person alive".'
72
                 l\varepsilon v = in
                                                  m \ge w \le z = \varepsilon n dz tsarang zundo
                                     iko
                                             \boldsymbol{a}
  3PL.NOM.DIST say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP INTJ die.PRF = REL how
    səwd
    become.3sg.ipfV
  'They say, "Huh? How can a dead person become alive?"
73
  lεvd
               maç
                          zundo kan = an
  say.3sg.ipfv 1pl.nom live
                                 do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'He says, "We will make him alive".'
  k = um-ik
                                    haroj v \varepsilon r \theta so = in
                   jad
  ANA = there-DIM 3sg.nom.prox three both become.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv
                                              iko
                                                     k = di-an
                jш
    TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN
    rust k = di
                                 rang vid = i
                                                  jo na vid=i
    true ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB be.INF = SC or NEG be.INF = SC 1PL.NOM
         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
```

```
75
  pa dzom a=xats
                            i
                                 zozd
                                               ar
                                                   KOV
                                                             weðd
  LOC scoop ACC = water one get.3SG.IPFV LOC mouth pour.3SG.IPFV
    m = w y dz = \varepsilon n dz tik
                             tçi peð səwd
                                                           zundo səwd
    die.PRF = REL straight LOC foot become.3SG.IPFV live
  '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
                                         tom d\varepsilon f = ir
  zundo səwd
                            χш
                                                                        ut¢ pur
         become.3sg.ipfv temp.conj then 3pl.nnom.prox=dat very much
  live
    \partial wqut \delta o = in
    thing give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'He becomes alive and then they give them many things.'
77
  k = di
                          haroj vrud=ir
                                                 ðo = in
  {\tt ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX} \ \ three \ \ brother={\tt DAT} \ \ give.{\tt IPFV=3PL.IPFV} \ \ {\tt TEMP.CONJ}
                           dung = a\theta \delta o = in
    m = k = dos
    CATA = ANA = manner all = EMP give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They give to the three brothers and like, give everything to them.'
78
  p\varepsilon t = a\theta \delta o = in
  all = EMP give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They give everything.'
79
                  tamaç
                              haroj = ir
                                         l\varepsilon v = in
  3SG.NOM.PROX 2PL.NNOM three = DAT say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  "These are for you three", they say."
80
          az zabu woð
                                      t\varepsilon dz = in
                                                          χш
  say.INF ABL back 3PL.NOM.DIST go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
                    haroj a = wi
                                                   balak ka = in
    3PL.NOM.PROX three ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST part do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
                                  əwqut
    ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST thing
  'They say that and leave, and the three brothers split those things.'
  balak ka = in
                                         iw-əw
                                                              levd
                            χш
                                                     jur
  part do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ one-NMLZ another say.3SG.IPFV COMP
```

```
mu = ri = af
                              kam ðud
                                            az
                                                di
                                                                 χш
    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
 l\varepsilon v = 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
                levd
                             iko
 jш
                                   waz = am
                                                                       ujnak
                                                       \chi-ar
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM-LOC glass
                          wand
   ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX see.PFV
  'He says, "I saw this in my mirror.'
84
             ujnak tsa
                          na
                               vid
                                           ta
                                                      dzom mas bekur
  1SG.NNOM glass COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM scoop also vain
               xtur mas bεkur χui
    2SG.NNOM camel also vain TEMP.CONJ
 'If it were not for my mirror, your scoop is useless and your camel is useless."
85
 iш
                lενd
                             iko
                                   mujim
                                              тш
                                                         xtur
                                                                levd
  3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP important 1SG.NNOM camel say.3SG.IPFV
 'He says, "What is important is my camel.'
86
 тш
             xtur tsa
                          na
                               vid
                                                     χali ar
  1SG.NNOM camel COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NOM only LOC glass
                                     dzuj niθ
            quirus xui
                                tçi
                  REFL.NNOM LOC place sit.IPFV
    see.IPFV only
  'If it were not for my camel, you can only look into your mirror and sit in your
    place.'
87
                  dzuj dzumbd na
                                                                 tçi
 χш
                                        tçi
 REFL.NNOM ABL place move.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV go.INF NEG CAP
   do.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 'You cannot move from your place or go anywhere from your place", and then'
88
 кос wejð=in
  fight put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'they fight.'
```

```
a citc tcidum 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 psəwdz
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)

# ugej vrud

A story about an industrious young man who outwits his half-brothers and makes them appear foolish.

```
1
  νεðdz na
               vεðdz haroj vrud=af
 be.prf neg be.prf three brother = 3pl.pfv be.prf
  'Once upon a time, there were three brothers.'
2
                                    νεðdz iw
  \delta \partial w = af
                χωdi
                                                 шgеj
 two=3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PRF one non.blood
  'Two were blood brothers; one was a non-blood brother.'
3
 jш
                 шgеj
                            vrud
                                     bðon
                                            tuxt = ir
  3SG.NOM.DIST non.blood brother saddle carve.INF = DAT be.PRF
  'The non-blood brother carved saddles.'
                      vrud = af
                 ðа
                                        χш=ri
                                                           nalist = ir
                                                                         νεðdz
  3SG.NOM.DIST two brother = 3PL.PFV REFL.NNOM = DAT sit.INF = DAT be.PRF
  'Those two brothers just sat around.'
5
                  a = b\delta on
                                                             para ðid
 jad
                               tuxt
                                               just
  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.'
 para ðid
                      a = wi
                                             tçi
                                                tilu
                                                       ðid
 sell give.3SG.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC gold give.3SG.IPFV
 'He sells them, exchanges them for gold.'
```

```
7
              ðerzd
  a = tilu
                             joðd
                                             χш
  ACC = gold load.3SG.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  'He loads the gold and comes.'
                    ða
                        vrud
                                  l\varepsilon v = in
                                                              naj
  3SG.NNOM.PROX two brother say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG
    a = di
                            tilu tçi tsejz zuxtç
                                                      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?'
                         pars = an
  az
  ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX ask.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Let us ask him."'
10
                a = tilu = at
  levd
                                      tçi
                                           tsejz zuxt
  say.3sg.IPFV ACC = gold = 2sg.PFV LOC what get.PFV
  'He says, "What did you get the gold from?""
11
  levd
                iko
                       tçi bðon = am
  say.3sg.IPFV COMP LOC saddle = 1sg.PFV get.PFV
  'He says, "I used the saddles to get them."
12
  tçi
       b\delta on = at
                         tsasa zuxt
  LOC saddle = 2SG.PFV how get.PFV
  "How did you get it for saddles?"
13
                                               \thetaawond
                       a = b\delta on = am
  levd
                iko
  say.3SG.IPFV COMP ACC = saddle = 1SG.PFV burn.CAUS.PFV
  'He says, "I burned the saddles.'
  a = radzur = am
                            jud
  ACC = charcoal = 1sg.pfv take.pfv
  'I took the charcoal.'
15
  l\varepsilon vd = am
                     radzur = ir
                                     bðon
                                             \delta o = it
  say.PFV = 1SG.PFV charcoal = DAT saddle give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
  'I told them, "Give me saddles for this charcoal".'
16
  b\delta on = af
                   mu = ri
                                      ðud
                                                levd
  saddle=3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
  'And they gave me saddles," he says.'
```

```
17
        tsejz tilu = af
                              mu = ri
  INTJ what gold = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV
  'Uh, I mean, "They gave me gold.'
  a = tilu = am
                        vəwg
                                   lεvd
                                                 χш
  ACC = gold = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  'Then I brought the gold," he says, and then'
19
                              bðon-εf
                                                \theta awon = in
                 χш
  3PL.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM saddle-PL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
    χш
    TEMP.CONJ
  'Then they burn their saddles, and then'
20
                             radzur = ir
                                             tilu tsa
  l\varepsilon v = in
                      iko
                                                           \delta o = it
  say. IPFV = 3PL. IPFV \quad COMP \quad charcoal = DAT \quad gold \quad COND \quad give. IPFV = 2PL. IPFV
    χш
    TEMP.CONJ
  'they say, "Give us gold for the charcoal," and then'
21
                 χalg-χejl
                                  l\varepsilon v = in
                                                      iko
                                                              tamac = af
  3SG.NOM.DIST person-PL.NOM say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV
    tsa
          axmoq veðdz
    what foolish be.PRF
  'those people say, "How foolish you guys are!'
22
  radzur = ir
                 χalg
                          tsaʁa tilu
                                      ðid
  charcoal = DAT person how gold give.3SG.IPFV
  'How can someone give you gold for charcoal?"
23
            joð = in
                                    a = \chi u
                                                       шдеј
                                                                   vrud
  ABL there come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = REFL.NNOM non.blood brother
    hit.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv comp
  'They come back from there and beat up their non-blood brother and say,'
24
                      a = mac
                                        fand ðudz
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV ACC = 1PL.NNOM false give.PRF TEMP.CONJ
  "You have lied to us," and then'
```

```
25
 citc tsasa ka=an
                               tsaʁa kan=an
 now how do.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv how do.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv intj
 "Now what do we do, what do we do..."
26
                        ano
                                                 tcat-xedz 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 = tcat - xedz
                 zon = in
                                               i pa qapoq
                                    χш
 ACC = cow-bull kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ one LOC calabash
                    waxin zozd
                                        dεðd
    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
              χш
                          um səwd
  go.3sg.ipfv temp.conj there become.3sg.ipfv comp
 'He goes, and there he sees'
29
      dzangal lej
                     xtur waruvdz
 LOC forest much camel stand.PRF
  'a lot of camels standing in the forest.'
30
 putun xtur-ef
                         tar kol
                                    waxin ðext
         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
                                 a = xtur-\varepsilon f
                     χш
 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
                        xtur-\varepsilon f = at
                                                      ko
                                                              vəwg
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX camel-PL.NNOM = 2SG.PFV ABL where bring.PFV
    say.3sg.IPFV
 "Where did you get these camels?" He (one of the brothers) asks.'
                     тш
                                tçat-xedz zed
  2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM cow-bull kill.PFV
 "You killed my bull,"
```

```
34
  a = di
                          dund xtur = af
                                                 mu = ri
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT camel = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV
    levd
    say.3SG.IPFV
  'and they gave me all these camels," he says.'
35
  tci waxin = af
                        mu = ri
                                           ðud
                                                    levd
  LOC blood = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
  "They gave me camels in exchange for the blood," he says."
36
                   qati tsejz kaxt
  wi
  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
                                               tcat-xedz zon = an
                             mas xui
  iad
                  mac
  3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NOM also REFL.NNOM cow-bull kill.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'Let us also kill out bulls,'
39
  waxin zoz = an
                             t\varepsilon dz = an
  blood get.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv go.ipfv = 1pl.ipfv
  'and get the blood and go".'
40
                                      wa\chi in jus = in
  a = tcat - xedz
                  zon = in
  ACC = cow-bull kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV blood take.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They kill the bull and take the blood.'
                             naj waxin=ir
  l\varepsilon v = in
                      iko
                                                xtur
                                                        mac = ir
  say.ipfv = 3pl.ipfv comp neg blood = dat camel 1pl.nnom = dat
    give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
  'They say, "Give us camels for the blood".'
42
                                   tsa
                                          a\chi moq v \varepsilon \delta dz l \varepsilon v = in
  CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV what foolish be.PRF say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  "How foolish these guys are!" they say."
  wa\gamma in = ir
               a = xtuur
                            tsaʁa ðo=in
  blood = DAT ACC = camel how give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  "How can they give camels for blood?" and then'
```

```
44
 iad
                  тш
                              vrud
                                                       narχ
                                                                wεðd
                                      par maç
  3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
  'My brother has placed trouble upon us.'
                çitç di
                                                zon = an
 now go.IPFV now 3SG.NNOM.PROX mother kill.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'Now go, let us kill his mother.'
46
            so = in
                                      wi
                                                               zon = in
 az um
                                                      ano
  ABL there become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST mother kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'They come from there and kill his mother.'
 tom a = \gamma-ono
                                  murðo tçi
                                               cer
                                                        ðerzd
  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
                                dejqun-xejl
                                               mintawu = it
                                                                     levd
        səwd
 шт
  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
        borikalo lev = in
 а
                                    χш
 INTJ thanks say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 "Ah, thank you!" they say, and then
50
                dos = ik
                                                     çrum
 a = \varepsilon \varepsilon r
                               tar wi
                                                                     sar
 ACC = donkey manner = DUR LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST threshing.floor side
    drive.3sg.IPFV
  'He drives the donkey like this toward the threshing floor side.'
51
                         pa çrum
                                               s \ge w d = a \theta
 3SG.NOM.DIST donkey LOC threshing.floor become.3SG.IPFV = EMP INTJ
    l\varepsilon v = in
    say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'When that donkey gets to the threshing floor, the farmers say, "Uchisha (hey, get
    away)!""
52
 utçiça levd
                 alo
                                         çer
                                                  a = \gamma u
 INTJ say.INF TEMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX donkey ACC=REFL.NNOM start
```

```
murðo wuxt
                  χш
    give.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ corpse fall.3SG.IPFV
 'When they say "uchisha", the donkey turns quickly and the corpse falls.'
53
  atoto levd
                     putxu \quad a = yin = af
                                                 χш
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king ACC = wife = 2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV
    levd
    say.3sg.IPFV
 "Oh my goodness," he says, "you have killed the king's wife herself!"
54
 putxu \quad a = mu
                          zεd
                                  a = tamac
                                                    mas putun zind
 king ACC=1sg.nnom kill.pfv ACC=2pl.nnom also all
                                                                 kill.3sg.IPFV
    levd
    say.3sg.IPFV
 'The king is going to kill me, and will kill all of you, too!'
55
 çitç tsaʁa kan=am
                                lεvd
                                              χш
 now how do.ipfv=1sg.ipfv say.3sg.ipfv temp.conj
 'Now what shall I do?" he says.'
56
                                                                  vid
 l\varepsilon v = in
                     naj putxu-an wi
                                                     yin tsa
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV
                     k = az
                                di
                                                 кots-εf
    COND 2SG.NOM ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM separate.IPFV
                       tεdz
                                di
                                                  putxu = ri
    a = iw
              707
    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 a = putxu mo
                               vor
 ACC = king LOC here PROH bring.IPFV say.3sg.IPFV
  'Don't bring the king over here," they say.'
58
      vots surawd
                              zozd
 one girl separate.3sg.IPFV get.3sg.IPFV go.3sg.IPFV
 'He picks a girl, takes her, and goes,'
59
                        \gamma u = ri
                                          yin kaxt
  ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM = DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV
  'and makes her his own wife.'
```

```
60
  um səwd
                                 levd
                                               m-ono = af
                                                                              zεd
  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.'
                               m-ono
                                                   pa murðo i
  1SG.NNOM = DAT = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM-mother LOC corpse one girl give.PFV
                  χш
    lενd
    say.3sg.ipfv Temp.conj
  'They gave me a girl in the place of my mother's corpse," he says, and then'
  wa\delta or = in
                        a = \chi-ono
                                                    zon = in
  grab.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = REFL.NNOM-mother kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
    3PL.NOM.DIST
  'they grab and kill their own mother.'
63
                       iko
                              naj mawydz = \varepsilon ndz = ir
                                                         zundo vots
  say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG die.PRF = REL = DAT live
                       \delta o = it
    mac = ir
    1PL.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
  'They say, "Give us live girls in the place of this dead one."
64
                                                                  νεðdz
  ш
        jad
                         tsa
                                a\chi moq batco-\chi ejl = af
  INTJ 3SG.NOM.PROX what foolish child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV be.PRF
  "Wow, how foolish these kids are!"
  m = wydz = \varepsilon ndz = ir a = zundo t \in oj
                                                              l\varepsilon v = in
                                              ðid
  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
  do\delta = af
                             \delta ejw v \epsilon \delta dz l \epsilon v = in
                                                                 χш
  3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV crazy be.PRF say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  "These guys are crazy," they say, and
67
  a = w\varepsilon f
                          zatran ka=in
                                                     d\varepsilon = in
  ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST chase do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV drive.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
    χш
    TEMP.CONJ
  'They chase them and drive them away.'
```

```
68
 naj jad
                       vrud
                                par maç
                                                nar<sub>\chi</sub>
                                                         wεðd
 NEG 3SG.NOM.PROX brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
 "Oh no, this brother has ruined us."
69
 citc dos
                kan = an
                                   iko
                                          a = di
                                                                  χш
 now manner do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV COMP ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX REFL.NNOM
                       l\varepsilon v = in
    zon = an
                                           χш
    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
                                  кəwn до=in
                                                              χш
  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
                           darju patəw=an
 ius = an
                      ar
 take.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 'Let us take him and throw him into the river.'
73
 jad
                  laka
                          merd
                                        χш
  3SG.NOM.PROX let.IPFV die.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  'Let him die."
74
                                                    çer
                                                             \delta \varepsilon r dz = in
 wi
                  qati \quad a = wi
                                               tci
  3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC donkey load.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'With that, they load him onto a donkey.'
          tar prud der
                            tizd
  cer
  donkey LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV
  'The donkey goes a little bit forward,'
76
  woð
                 ðа
                      vrud
                              az
                                   zabu tar vatç
  3PL.NOM.DIST two brother ABL back LOC outside
    so = in = a\theta
    become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = EMP
  'and the two brothers go to the bathroom in the back.'
77
                  tar uzma
                              a = toz
 jad
  3SG.NOM.PROX LOC opening ACC = bald.person see.3SG.IPFV
 'He sees a bald person through the opening of the sack.'
```

```
78
 eej
       levd
                    \gammaon mas na so = am
                                                            bejg mas na
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king also NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV ruler also NEG
    so = am
                           levd
    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
                   laka = it
                                      levd
 a = mu
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM let.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 "Let me go!" he says.'
80
 iш
                toz
                             levd
                                          iko
                                                 naj bejg mas waz
 3SG.NOM.DIST bald.person say.3SG.IPFV COMP NEG ruler also 1SG.NOM
                           yon 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
       \chion = ik
                s\varepsilon t = ir
                                     vəw
                                             m = ar
                                                          di
 INTJ king=DUR become.INF=DAT be.IPFV CATA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack
    dið
               levd
    enter.IPFV say.3sg.IPFV
 "Ah, if you want to be a king, go into this sack," he says.'
82
      вəwn dɛðd
                            di
                                             sown a = sov
                                                                 vist
 LOC sack enter.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack ACC=mouth tie.3SG.IPFV
                              çer
                          tci
                                       ðerzd.
    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
  kudzur = ik
               çer
                       waruvd k = um = a\theta
                                                   təw
                                                             bejg at
                                                                          yon
  where = DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA = there = EMP 2SG.NOM ruler CONJ king
                      veðdz levd
    become.INF = DAT be.PRF say.3SG.IPFV
 "Wherever the donkey stops, there you will become a ruler and a king," he says.'
84
                            a = \varepsilon \varepsilon r
                                          darju tçi lab
                                                          vor = in
 az um k = dos
 ABL there ANA = manner ACC = donkey river LOC bank bring.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
```

```
χш
    TEMP.CONJ
 'From there, they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.'
85
              so = in
 LOC hit.INF become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST bald.person LOC
    вэwп
    sack
 'They begin beating up the bald guy in the sack.'
 tom levd
                                      χon mas na
                    iko
                           waz
                                                      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
                        darju mo
                                     pataw = it
 a = mu
                   ar
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM LOC river PROH throw.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 'Don't throw me into the river!"
88
 zoz = in
                    pataw = in
                                                darju
 get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV LOC river
  'They take him and throw him into the river.'
89
 toz
              merd
 bald.person die.3SG.IPFV
  'The bald guy dies.'
             səwd
  az
      шт
 ABL there become.3SG.IPFV
  'He (the non-blood brother) goes from there.'
                  a = kalo
                              k = dos
                                             dεt
                                                            χш
  3SG.NNOM.DIST ACC = sheep ANA = manner drive.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
    go.3SG.IPFV
 'He drives the bald guy's sheep like that and goes.'
92
                    a = mu = af
                                               zεd
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV ACC=1SG.NNOM=2PL.PFV kill.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
 "Ah," he says, "you killed me."
```

```
93
 ar
                      dinju so = am
                                                    iko
                                                           m-oto
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM-father
    mas νεδdz m-ono
                                  mas veðdz
    also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also be.PRF
 'I got to that other world, and my father and my mother were there.'
94
                        dund kalo = af
                                                        tar prud weðd
                                             тш
  a = di
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT sheep = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC front put.PFV
   levd
   sav.3sg.IPFV
 'They put all these sheep before me," he says.'
95
                    tom bajixt veðdz levd
 INTJ say.3sg.ipfv then heaven be.prf say.3sg.ipfv
 "Hey!" they say, "Then it must be heaven!"
96
                  mas pa ʁəwn ðo
                                                darju patəw
                                            ar
  ACC=1PL.NNOM also LOC sack give.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV
  'Put us into a sack also and throw us into the river."
 tom a = \gamma u
                         vrud-εf
                                          ðid
  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
              vrud-εf
  χш
                               zind
                                            χш
  REFL.NNOM brother-PL.NNOM kill.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
  'He kills his brothers,'
99
 jad
                 χшbαθ
                           pa
                                baxt
                                           fropst
  3SG.NOM.PROX REFL.NOM LOC happiness reach.3SG.IPFV
  'and he himself reaches happiness.'
100
 mu
             səwg-ik
                       pur
                             səwg tar jəwl
                                               indiz = an
  1SG.NNOM story-DIM much story LOC dawn get.up.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV weather
   psəwdz
   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)

#### muı zundagi

A religious teacher gives a personal account of his life, work, family, and their resettlement in Tojikobod.

```
1
  waz
            di
                             tçi
                                  prud pindzu at
  1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC front fifty
                                                CONJ nine year LOC front
    brumsol l \varepsilon v d z = \varepsilon n d z
                           i
                                ar
                                   jizo
                                             azmud se\delta dz = endz
    Brumsol say.prf = rel one loc village born
                                                     become.PRF = REL
  'I was born 59 years ago in a village called Brumsol.'
 uzir = am
                 pindzu at
                               woxt sulo
                                              suit
  now = 1SG.PFV fifty
                        CONJ eight year.old become.PFV
  'Now I am 58 years old.'
                      azmud suit
                                                    its = am
  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.'
                                            tuluq
 az um ðes sul az zabu=am
                                                      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
                             zabu = am
                        az
                                             mi = di
 INTJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back = 1SG.PFV CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX
    dejqun-i
                 qati maçısııl suit
    farmer-NMLZ COM focus become.PFV
  'Ah ... after that, I occupied myself with farming.'
                       zabu = am
                                       m = ki = di
  3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back = 1SG.PFV CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX region
         darun din-i
                               zu\delta = am
    LOC inside religion-NMLZ lineage = 1SG.PFV become.PFV
  'After that, within that region, I became part of the religious tradition.'
```

```
7
 \gamma a lifa = am
                           suit
 religious.teacher = 1SG.PFV become.PFV
 'I became a religious teacher.'
                 gati des at
                                 pindz sul tçi prud maç
 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ten CONJ five year LOC front 1PL.NNOM LOC
               ofat
   dijur i
                       sut
   region one disaster become.PFV
  'With that, our region got a natural disaster fifteen years ago.'
 hawu
              ðud
                      sejl
                            jot
 precipitation fall.PFV flood come.PFV
 'It rained and it got flooded.'
10
 а
       muk = ju
                           ofat
                                   qati putun maç
                                                          dzuj dzawun
 INTJ ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST disaster COM all
                                              1PL.NNOM place world
              buĸ-хеjl
                                        zεmdz-χejl
                             maç
   1PL.NNOM garden-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM field-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM
   mala-yeil
                             pa \quad xats = af
                                                 tuid
   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 xalg
                     mas pa xats tujd
 four CL person also LOC water go.PFV
 'Four people also got swept away by the flood.'
12
                       qati ukmat
                                        a = mac
                                                        katç tçəwg
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM government ACC = 1PL.NNOM move do.PFV
  'With that, the government resettled us.'
13
 'They brought us to the Varshide county seat.'
14
 um = an
                     sul pagad
                                         nalust
 there=1PL.PFV one year whole.duration sit.PFV
  'We lived there for a whole year.'
15
             \kappaam\gammauri qati m = ki = jad
 government concern COM CATA = ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one place = 3PL.PFV
```

```
mac = ir
                      zuxtç
    1PL.NNOM = DAT buy.PRF
 'Out of concern for us, the government bought a place for us.'
16
                               mac = ir
  mala = af
                                                 wεðdz
 housing.compound = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT put.PRF
 'They built housing compounds for us.'
17
                 mac = ir
                                         tçəwydz
 z \varepsilon m dz = af
                                   hat
  field = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT open do.PRF
 'They opened fields for us.'
18
  a = mac = af
                             əwd vəwq
 ACC = 1PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV here bring.PFV
 'They brought us here.'
19
             pindz sul sut
  ðes at
                                      \partial wd = an
                                                      nalwete
 ten CONJ five year become.PFV here=1PL.PFV sit.PRF
 'We have lived here for fifteen years.'
20
  çitç maç-an
                        maç
                                   ruzagur tçardz
 now 1PL.NNOM-GEN 1PL.NNOM living
 'Now our living situation is good.'
21
  dejgun-i
                kan = an
  farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'We farm,'
22
           puj = an
 mul
 livestock herd.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
  'we herd our livestock,'
23
                                          səwdugar-i
                                                          mas kan = an
       wi
                        tar
                             ter
                                   uz
 \boldsymbol{a}
 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 dzat mac = 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 = \partial w d
                                                            nalucte
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM = 1PL.PFV CATA = ANA = here sit.PRF
 'With that, we live here.'
```

```
26
 tsavur batco mui-an
                               iost
        child 1sg.nnom-gen be.ipfv
 'I have four children:'
27
 tsavur puits ða radzen
                             χεl batço jost
 four son two daughter six child be.IPFV
 'four sons and two daughters, six children.'
28
 χεl batço mas asos
                             az dzat dzam dejqun iw = ik
 six child also foundation ABL hurry all
                                               farmer one = DUR
    maç-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
 digaru-χejl
                 dzam-an wi
                                                 tuqo
                                          t¢εd
 others-PL.NOM all-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST house separate
 'The others all have their own house.'
30
       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
 ANA = manner = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF
  'That is how we live.'
32
                                  balak mu
       tom wi
                                                    sul
                             az
                                                          mas pa
 INTJ then 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL part 1SG.NNOM year also LOC
    di dzuj jot
3SG.NNOM.PROX place come.PFV
 'Ah, then other than that... my age has also reached this place.'
33
                                   dijur-an
                                                               χalifa
  waz
            ki = di
                                               wi
  1SG.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX region-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST religious.teacher
 'I am a religious teacher in this region.'
34
  əwd maç
                 uvd xalifa
                                         jost
 here 1PL.NOM seven religious.teacher be.IPFV
 'There are seven religious teachers here.'
```

```
35
             az darun iw waz
  3PL.NNOM ABL inside one 1SG.NOM
  'One of them is I.'
36
            wεf
                       ar
                             darun peçqadam der
 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM LOC inside elderly
 'Among them, I am more on the elderly side.'
37
       k = dos
                      set
                                   alo
 INTJ ANA = manner become.INF TEMP
 'Ah, with things being like that,'
 uzir dzul dzul tidzorat 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.'
 digar tçer qati kutç
                              mas na fropst
 other work COM strength also NEG reach.3SG.IPFV
 'My strength is not sufficient for other work anyway.'
41
  digar a = t \varepsilon \varepsilon r - \varepsilon f
                              batço-xejl
                                            ka = in
 other ACC = work-PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'The children do the other work.'
42
                             qati = am
            səwduqar-i
                                            nalwete
  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)

#### $t \ge w = at tuijd \& watan$

Two original poems composed by a young Tajik man: on the topic of love and loss and the other about his hometown and culture.

```
1 mu num alimamad
1SG.NNOM name Alimamad
'My name is Alimamad.'
```

```
2
                      nohija baldir jizo
  waz
            varcide
                                              azmud se\delta dz = endz
  1SG.NOM Varshide county Baldir village born
                                                      become.PRF = REL
  'I was born in Baldir Village of Varshide County'
            saksan at
                           woxt most az pindz maθ az
  year ABL eighty CONJ eight moon ABL five
                                                    day ABL seven
  'on the seventh of May in 1988.'
                                              nohija l > wr s \in \delta dz = \varepsilon n dz
                 dzwl-i
                               varcide
                                         ar
  1SG.NOM ABL small-NMLZ Varshide LOC county big become.PRF=REL
    xoidz = \varepsilon ndz
  'I grew up and went to school in the county seat of Varshide since I was little.'
                                 bedzin dzongjangmindzuda¢u
  dacu = am
                       waz
  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.'
                                  tçi yuzmat = am
                       jot
  ABL there = 1SG.PFV come.PFV LOC work = 1SG.PFV go.up.PFV
  'I came back from there and got a job.'
  tom mu = ri
                          çir
                                 navi¢t
  then 1sg.nnom = dat poem write.inf happy
  'I like writing poetry.'
                                јш
  tom rasim jad
                                                tizd
                                                         χшҫ
  then picture 3sg.nom.prox 3sg.nom.dist pull.inf happy
  'And I like taking pictures and whatnot.'
                  lej = ir
                                tizdz = \varepsilon ndz
                                               rasim
  1SG.NNOM-GEN much = DAT pull.PRF = REL picture be.IPFV
  'I have many pictures that I took.'
10
                 iw kond navi\varsigmat\varsigma = \varepsilonndz
        iost
  poem be.IPFV one piece write.PRF = REL
  'And I have a few poems that I wrote.'
11
                      kut kut çir-xejl
  much NEG.be.IPFV short short poem-PL.NOM
  'It's not much; they are all short poems.'
```

```
12
 k = az
             di
                               çir-εf
                                               waz
                                                          iw
                                                               ðəw
 ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX poem-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM one two
    tamac = ir
                     xuj = am
    2PL.NNOM = DAT read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  'Out of those poems, I will recite one or two for you.'
13
                      tujd
                              l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
 t \ge w = at
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV say.PRF = REL poem
 'It is a poem called "You have gone".'
14
 тш
             farixto ʁazun jad
                                              χшд
  1SG.NNOM spirit wither 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.PFV
 'My spirit has withered'
15
  t \partial w = at
                      twjd
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'
16
                       a = ta
                                         dil
                                                     buxtço
  tcuxt = am
                                                ar
 watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV ACC = 2SG.NNOM heart LOC bosom
 'I waited for you in my heart'
17
 t \partial w = at
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
  'You have gone'
18
                                          hajut-an wi
                                                                         kandi
 t \ge w = at
                      vud
                              тш
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV be.PFV 1SG.NNOM life-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one piece
  'You were a piece of my life'
                                            nardzed
  ujsar
                 qati mu
                                   umr
  contemplating COM 1SG.NNOM lifetime pass.PFV
 'I spent my lifetime contemplating'
20
  t \partial w = at
                      twjd
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
  'You have gone'
21
  gurm
                        qati pa dil=ik
                                                 кirs
                tçejg
 remembrance do.INF COM LOC heart = DUR turn.IPFV
 'As I miss you, you hover around my heart'
```

```
22
 t \ge w = at
                      twjd
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'
23
  ansis
                           xob
                                 na suit
 anxious 3sg.nom.prox night NEG become.pfv at.all dawn
 'Anxious at night, morning never comes'
24
 t \partial w = at
                      tuijd
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
  'You have gone'
25
           na tçi ka=am
                                          bewafu ta
 hear.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV heartless 2SG.NNOM heart noise
 'I cannot hear the cruel noises of your heat'
26
 mupadarddardqatisut1SG.NNOMLOCpainpainaddbecome.PFV
 'Pain has been added to my pain'
27
 t \ge w = at
                      twjd
  2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'
28
                          az basejr watan
                                                   l\varepsilon vdz = \varepsilon ndz
 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
                        tudzdur-an
                                                             dzui
  VOC love hometown crown.wearer-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST place
  'Oh, dear hometown, the place of crown wearers'
30
 farixto tudzik χιμιςτιμή ta rιμιχsur
angel Tajik beautiful 2sg.NNOM visage
  'Angel Tajiks, your visage is beautiful'
31
             tar buxtço tudzik ðid
 hometown LOC bosom Tajik give.3SG.IPFV walk
  'Tajiks walk around close to the bosom of their hometown'
32
                         cond
                                         hejrun mo
  qaqawo ðid
 guffaw give.3SG.IPFV laugh.3SG.IPFV surprise PROH remain.IPFV 2SG.NOM
  'Do not be surprised at their guffawing and laughing'
```

```
33
  dzald der
              wazefs
                          joð
                                     sarikuj ar
 fast CPRV return.IPFV come.IPFV Sarikoli LOC hometown
 'Hurry and come back soon to your hometown Sarikoli'
                   ðust zoz
                                  dof
  χш
  REFL.NNOM LOC hand get.IPFV tambourine make.music give.IPFV ABL
    dil-i
                dzun
    heart-NMLZ life
 'Take a tambourine in your hand and make music with all your heart'
35
       dinju vuuson
                        təw
                                  mas \chi u
                                                    garo
  tci
 LOC world show.IPFV 2SG.NOM also REFL.NNOM distinct.form
 'You also, show your own distinct form to the world'
36
 madad
                 tuu = ri
                                  səwd
                                                    ulus muztosato
 encouragement 2SG.NNOM = DAT become.3SG.IPFV great Muztagh.Ata
 'The great Muztagh Ata be your encouragement'
37
              kol
                   tudzik las
  tudz
         tçi
                                  a = ta
 crown LOC head Tajik praise ACC=2sg.NNOM 1sg.NOM
    \delta o = am
   give.IPFV = 1sg.IPFV
 'Tajiks crowned with crowns, I will sing your praise'
38
               tar gulzur
 tar bos
                                  χшь
                                         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
                      indiz
                                              mεð
                                                     təw
                                                               vis
 ago
                                  χш
  awake become.IPFV get.up.IPFV REFL.NNOM waist 2SG.NOM tie.IPFV
  'Awake and rise, tie your waist'
                               barakat ka
  watan
                  pujgo
                                                tis
             ar
 hometown LOC central.floor blessing do.IPFV spill
 'Pour blessings all over your hometown's hearth'
                                 laka
                                          tudzik ta
 num
        zozd
                     tizd
                                                            sanat
 name get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV Tajik 2SG.NNOM arts
 'Tajik arts, may your name be widely known'
```

42

merus laka rast maç 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 bebawu haroj anguetar
 hometown father mother LOC world priceless three treasure
  'Hometown, father, and mother are the three priceless treasures in the world.'
                                    tçib
                                           xats
                                                 jurkond-an
 Shingun-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one spoon water Yarkand-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
             qati barubar
    хшро
    porridge COM similar
  'A spoon of Shingun water is like porridge from Yarkand.'
              pid
                     puts mo
                                 vəw
                                         zamuno puits 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.'
                kol
                     gəwr tçardz
  ABL separate head grave good
  'A grave is better than a separate head (solitude).'
                  bε-gəwr
 bε-watan
 PRIV-hometown PRIV-grave
  'Without a hometown, one is without a grave.'
              dijur
                      bejg vid
                                   its
                                          χш
 person LOC region ruler be.INF TERM REFL.NNOM LOC region
    zezvur
                     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.'
  dzamohat laka
                    ubud
                                vid
                                                 χalg-an
                                                             wi
            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?'
  sarikuj-an
                              xats ar
                                          dzam dzuj fropst
  Sarikoli-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST water LOC all
                                              place reach.3sg.ipfv
  'Water from Sarikoli flows to all places.'
                             vunudz wi
                                                     tçi dəwr dinju-an
  χalg-an
             wi
 person-gen 3sg.nnom.dist navel 3sg.nnom.dist loc belly world-gen
                   vunudz tçi pomir
    3SG.NNOM.DIST navel LOC Pamir
  'A person's navel is on his belly; the world's navel is in Pamir.'
10
 muzufir kudzur = a\theta tsa
                              səwd
                                              χш
 drifter where = EMP COND become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM hometown = DAT
                 kaxt
   gurm
   remembrance do.3sg.IPFV
 'No matter where a drifter goes, he misses his hometown.'
11
                                                dil
 χalg
              tεεd
                     χalg
                            ar
                                 dijur
                                        χalg
                                                      na
                                                           naθt
         ра
 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
  daraxt az
            zumoð palwun az xalg
                                          naxtizd
         ABL ground warrior ABL person go.up.3SG.IPFV
  'Trees come out of the ground, and warriors out of people.'
13
                                                        pets
  duxman tar peð tçost
                                  dest
                                         ta
                                                    ра
  enemy LOC foot look.3sg.IPFV friend 2sg.NNOM LOC face
  'An enemy will gaze at your feet, and a friend at your face.'
  duxman qil ðud
                         mas tsa
                                    vid
  enemy hair give.PFV also COND be.3SG.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
             ðud
                      wazon
    elephant give.PFV know.IPFV
  'If an enemy gives you a strand of hair, regard it as an elephant.'
15
  dest-an
                            gap murtç rang tsex duxman-an
  friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST word pepper SEMB spicy enemy-GEN
```

```
gap çakar rang xeg
    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 kutçin duxman xudz mo
                                    ðor,
                                             az
                                                   befam khamru
 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
                                                                   χird
 tar maðon nodz tsa
                           na
                                vid
                                             \delta a tsem a = imi
 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
                     tsa
                           patəw
                                       wazafst
 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
        m \ge w \le z = \varepsilon n dz = \varepsilon n dz
 pid
                                 qetç
                                           marzundz-i
                                                         xuiturdz isub
                                                                        tcəwydz
 father die.PRF = REL sleep.PRF stomach hungry-NMLZ star
 'The one whose father died sleeps, but the one with a hungry stomach counts stars.'
20
 bεwafu
           az puts pidz-endz xer tçardz
 heartless ABL son fall-ADJ son good
  'The autumn sun is better than a heartless son.'
21
                                                          qati hamroz
  asujix
              nardzes = am
                                                   dest
                                   tsa
                                          lev
 comfortable pass.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND say.IPFV friend COM likeminded
    duxman qati itfuq so
            COM unity become.IPFV
  'If you wish to live comfortably, be likeminded with your friend and foster unity
    with your enemy.'
22
 ваzd tar xalg
                    set
                                 mumin = ir
                                                zaxmat weðd
 dirty LOC person become.INF innocent=DAT harm
                                                        put.3SG.IPFV
  'One who becomes a bad person harms innocent people.'
  az
      tcardz naf
                    ioðd
                                        Razd gap
                                    az
 ABL good profit come.3SG.IPFV ABL dirty word
 'From the good comes profit; from the bad, words.'
```

```
24
 bшzша
                 buzua-i
                               tçəwydz numard qasam yuydz
 envious.person envious-NMLZ do.PRF plebeian oath
 'An envious person envies, and a plebeian makes oaths.'
25
               bað beinsuf joðd
                                            χιιιçomadgi ðod=itçuz
                                                                       bewizdon
  greedy-NMLZ bad ruthless come.3SG.IPFV ingratiation give.INF=REL heartless
  'A profiteer is evil and ruthless; a sycophant flatterer is heartless.'
26
                                             ter ter ter dest
                          qati tang
  garun ma\theta ta
                                                                       rust
 heavy day 2SG.NNOM COM simultaneous lift do.PRF=REL friend true
    dest
  'A friend who has lifted heavy days alongside you is a true friend.'
27
 iw
      tçardz-i
                  ranixteg na
                                  səwd
                                                   iw kazd-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
                          zabu stəwd
              dest
                     az
                                                fand dest
                                                            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
       dest
              a = \chi u
                                nizd ka
                                                               zord
 pa
 LOC friend ACC=REFL.NNOM near do.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart get.IPFV
         duxman ðar warofs
                                  wi
                                                  dzun 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
  d\varepsilon st = ir
               umr
                       daruz-i
                                   talob
                                                duxman = ir marq
  friend = DAT lifetime long-NMLZ request.IPFV enemy = DAT death
  'Pray for long life for a friend; for an enemy, death.'
 boj
              waz
                        γш
                                    dest
                                           avon gadoj
                                                           waz
 rich.person 1sg.nom refl.nnom friend ben destitute 1sg.nom
                         jεktano
    remain.PFV = 1SG.PFV alone
  'As a rich person I was with friends; destitute, I am alone.'
                             keno-əw tçardz guxt-an
  friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST old-NMLZ good meat-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
```

```
nudz-əw
   new-NMLZ
  'Of friends, the old is good; of meat, the new.'
                           tsarang vuud ta
                                                      dest
                                                             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
                                          hammo az qast
                                                                 ixjur vəw
                             so
  enemy COM meal.sharing become.IPFV but ABL treachery alert be.IPFV
 'Share a meal with your enemy, but beware of treachery.'
35
                           χubaθ
                                      tsa
                                             parst
                                                          quzi xejz tid
  person ACC=REFL.NNOM REFL.NOM COND ask.3SG.IPFV judge side go.INF
   odzat nist
   need NEG.be.IPFV
 'If a person examines himself, there is no need to go to a judge.'
36
      yalg dzafu gati tçer kaxt
 i
                                             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
  \delta ut \epsilon a \chi o z na t \epsilon \partial w \chi d z a = d z u j
                                     mo
                                            tcaw
 itch NEG do.PRF ACC = place PROH scratch.IPFV
  'Don't scratch a place that doesn't itch.
38
                      ðust qati praxt dzumbon=in
 mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV again one
    ðust qati dinju dzumbon=in
   hand COM world move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
  'Mothers rock the cradle with one hand, and the world with the other.'
```

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# 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
[¢]	sh
[z]	zh
[t¢]	ch
[dz]	j
[x]	k'
[γ]	g'

IPA	Orthography
<u>[χ]</u>	h
[R]	gh
[h]	kh
[m]	m
[n]	n
[r]	r
[1]	1
[w]	u, w
[j]	i, y

Table B.2 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Vowels

TD A	Outhornah
IPA	Orthography
[a]	a
[٤]	e
[i]	i
[o]	0
[u]	u
[w]	ee
[ə]	ea
[aj]	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.