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Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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2

Nouns

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

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

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

2.1 Nouns: Introduction

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

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

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

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

2.1.1 Number

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

However, number marking is optional on non-pronoun NPs, as not every NP is specified for number. There is a two-term inflectional system of number marking: plural is shown by one of the plural suffixes *-xejl* or *-ef*, 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 determiner¹ is added as a modifier (e.g. *i xalg* ‘one person’; *jad xalg* ‘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.

¹Singular 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 *-xejl* is used for pluralizing nominative arguments, while *-ef* 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-xejl=af tujd*
 guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV go.PFV
 ‘The guests have left.’
- (2.2) *mu vrud a=wi ktub-ef*
 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. *veðdz na veðdz haroj vrud=af veðdz*
 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-xejl=af*
 be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

veðdz
 be.PRF
 ‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.4) a. *nur=af tsavur kalo kaxt*
 today = 3PL.PFV four sheep slaughter.PFV
 ‘They slaughtered four sheep today.’

- b. **nur* = *af* *tsavur* *kalo-ef* *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* *maç = ir* *i* *bejt* *levd*
 Amad 1PL.NNOM = DAT one song say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Amad will sing us a song.’
- (2.9) *pa* *tçed* *i* *χalg* *iθtç*
 LOC house one person come.PRF
 ‘Someone came to the house. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.10) *woð* *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 = o*
 ABL America 1SG.NNOM = DAT one thing bring.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will you bring something for me from America?’

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

Definiteness may be indicated in two ways, both of which also involve other semantic categories besides definiteness. First, definite direct objects are obligatorily marked with the accusative proclitic *a=*. The following pair of sentences demonstrates *a=* marking definiteness on direct objects.

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

- (2.14) *ingum=am a=xtur wand*
 just.now=1SG.PFV ACC=camel see.PFV
 ‘I saw the camel(s) just now.’

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

- (2.15) *ju xalg pa xu jet az zabu*
 3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC REFL.NNOM come.INF ABL back

dijur xalg-xejl=af a=wi
 region person-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

xu ar maðon zuxt
 REFL.NNOM LOC middle get.PFV

‘After that person returned to consciousness, the villagers surrounded him.’

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

rond
 scold.PFV

‘Teacher Alima scolded these children.’

- (2.17) *taw = at* *χu* *numur wi*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV REFL.NNOM number 3SG.NNOM.DIST
- awrat = ir* *levd = o*
 woman = DAT say.PFV = Q
 ‘Did you tell your number to that woman?’

2.1.3 Proper nouns

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

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

2.1.3.1 Personal names

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

Family members may choose to name their child with a religious name from an Islamic book. The parent goes to the local *χalifa* (religious leader), who can read out the religious books. The parent listens and selects a name that sounds good or suitable for the baby. Meanings of such names are not widely known. Examples of such names include: *ali*, *mamad*, *sulton*, *raçid*, *asan*, *ibruhim*, *ismoil*, *ususuf*, *ejsa*, *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
<i>nəwrüz</i> ‘Neawreez Eid’	born on Neawreez Eid, a festival
<i>qurbun</i> ‘Qeerbun Eid’	born on Qeerbun Eid, a festival
<i>ejdboj</i> ‘Eid rich person’	born on an Eid (festival)
<i>çanbe</i> ‘Saturday’	born on a Saturday
<i>dżuma</i> ‘Friday’	born on a Friday
<i>tçorçanbe</i> ‘Wednesday’	born on a Wednesday
<i>sovdzi</i> ‘greenness’	born in the Spring
<i>çanggang</i> ‘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’, *dejgun* ‘farmer’, *olim* ‘scholar’, *çonim* ‘female teacher’, *askar* ‘soldier’, *qoçaz* ‘paper’, *bulbul* ‘nightingale’, *nuç* ‘apricot’, *tilu* ‘gold’, *budum* ‘almond’, *asal* ‘honey’, *zandzabil* ‘ginger’, *dżimak* ‘faucet’, *qulf* ‘lock’, *nazar* ‘glance; view’, *marwuri* ‘pearl’, *murud* ‘aspiration’, *haqiqat* ‘truth’, *maçsat* ‘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: *dżon* ‘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 *çon* ‘king’, *nur* ‘light’, *baxt* ‘happiness’, and *aziz* ‘love’ for names of either gender. Examples include: *nurdin* ‘light-religion’, *dilaziz* ‘heart-love’, *dilmurud* ‘heart-aspiration’, *olimdżon* ‘scholar-life’, *dżawonço* ‘world-king’, *bibigul* ‘religious teacher’s wife-flower’, *gulçon* ‘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: *çudoj* ‘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* *χuç* *nist*
 cold-NMLZ 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘I do not like coldness.’
- (2.19) *wi* *ləwr-i* *m=dund*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST big-NMLZ CATA=AMT
 ‘Its size is this big.’
- (2.20) *waz* *wεf* *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* *xudž* *na* *đor=am*
 1SG.NOM ABL dark-NMLZ fear NEG fear.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I am not afraid of the dark.’
- (2.22) *ta* *χuđm* *pεχtε=o* *ta* *aluk-i*
 2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF=Q 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ

naxtuγdž=o
 go.up.PRF=Q
 ‘Has your dream ripened? Has your tiredness gone out? (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.23) *sofia* *kako* *zird-i* *na* *χird*
 Sofia egg yellow-NMLZ NEG eat.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Sofia does not eat the egg yolk.’

The substantial nominalizer *-əw* derives nouns by substantivizing adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, expressing the meaning ‘one that is X (where ‘X’ is the word that takes *-əw*)’.

Table 2.2 Nouns derived with *-əw*

<i>dzuulik-əw</i> ‘small one’	<i>χuɕruj-əw</i> ‘pretty one’	<i>buland-əw</i> ‘tall one’
<i>ləwr-əw</i> ‘big one’	<i>sart-əw</i> ‘ugly one’	<i>daruz-əw</i> ‘long one’
<i>zɪt-əw</i> ‘bad one’	<i>digar iw-əw</i> ‘other one’	<i>kut-əw</i> ‘short one’
<i>tɕardz-əw</i> ‘good one’	<i>iw-əw</i> ‘one/someone’	<i>itang-əw</i> ‘some’

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

Table 2.3 Nouns derived with *-gi*

<i>ɕta-gi</i> ‘coldness’	<i>batɕa-gi</i> ‘childhood’	<i>zuunda-gi</i> ‘everyday life’
<i>pukzo-gi</i> ‘cleanliness’	<i>ruwat-gi</i> ‘enjoyment’	<i>nawazond-gi</i> ‘ignorance’
<i>hajut-gi</i> ‘life’	<i>χafa-gi</i> ‘sadness’	<i>χabar-gi</i> ‘news informedness’
<i>talva-gi</i> ‘enthusiasm’	<i>qilo-gi</i> ‘hardship’	<i>riχnu-gi</i> ‘brightness’
<i>χuɕruj-gi</i> ‘beauty’	<i>aziz-gi</i> ‘love’	<i>atobalo-gi</i> ‘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 “non-nominative” is used for all other purposes which are marked more specifically for NP function. Nominative and non-nominative cases are morphological categories for pronouns, demonstratives, and nominal plural markers. Examples of nominative vs. non-nominative forms are shown in Table 2.4. Pronouns and demonstratives have distinct nominative and non-nominative forms; common nouns only have a single form, so the nominative/non-nominative case distinction is only differentiated in plural marking. The non-nominative case is the marked form, in the sense that it accepts further function marking, as will be shown in the examples throughout this section. Thus, “accusative”, “dative”, and all peripheral NP functions are indicated with function markers in addition to the “non-nominative” case morphology, and those terms are used here in their standard traditional senses.

Table 2.4 Some examples of **NOM** vs. **NNOM** forms

	NOM	NNOM
pronoun	<i>waz</i> ‘I’ <i>təw</i> ‘you’	<i>mu pa bun</i> ‘next to me’ <i>ta qati</i> ‘with you’
demonstrative	<i>doð</i> ‘these’ <i>ju</i> ‘that’ <i>jad zεð</i> ‘this thief’ <i>ju ktub-χejl</i> ‘those books’	<i>a = deɸ</i> ‘these(ACC)’ <i>wi rang</i> ‘like that’ <i>di zεð avon</i> ‘for this thief’ <i>a = wi ktub-εɸ</i> ‘those books(ACC)’
plural marking	<i>ano-χejl</i> ‘mothers’ <i>merz-χejl</i> ‘ants’ <i>balax-χejl</i> ‘pillows’	<i>az ano-εɸ</i> ‘from mothers’ <i>merz-εɸ = ir</i> ‘to ants’ <i>tçi balax-εɸ</i> ‘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 \emptyset	nominative	§2.2.1.1
<i>a</i> = NNOM	accusative	§2.2.1.2
NNOM = <i>ri</i> / = <i>ir</i>	dative	§2.2.1.3
NNOM <i>qati</i>	comitative/instrumental	§2.2.1.4
NNOM <i>inder</i>	'on person'	§2.2.1.5
NNOM <i>avon</i>	benefactive	§2.2.1.6
NNOM <i>rang</i>	semblative	§2.2.1.7
NNOM <i>buntça</i>	'according to'	§2.2.1.8
(<i>to</i>) NNOM <i>its</i>	terminative	§2.2.1.9
<i>pa</i> NNOM	locative/allative	§2.2.1.10
<i>ar</i> NNOM	locative/allative	§2.2.1.10
<i>tar</i> NNOM	locative/allative	§2.2.1.10
<i>tçi</i> NNOM	locative	§2.2.1.11
<i>az</i> NNOM	ablative	§2.2.1.12
<i>par</i> NNOM	lative	§2.2.1.13
<i>paz</i> NNOM	perlative	§2.2.1.14
NNOM \emptyset	possessive determiner	§3.1.1
NNOM <i>-an</i>	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 *-çejl*, as shown in (2.27).

(2.26) *tiloxon pa duxturxuno woxt maθ ahud*
 Tilohon LOC hospital eight day lie.PFV
 ‘Tilohon lay in the hospital for eight days.’

(2.27) *awrat-xejl pa tced ris=in*
 woman-PL.NOM LOC house remain.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘The women stay home.’

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

(2.28) *i maθ i ruz ju ugej vrud bdon*
 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 xu batco avon*
 father mother-PL.NOM REFL.NNOM child BEN

a=xu 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 tci ter-nendz wez utc garun*
 1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy
 ‘The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.’

(2.31) *paraxeb iθtc=endz mejmun-xejl nəwz pa tced*
 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 tɕəwydʒ=endʒ ɣalg waz*
 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.PRF=REL person 1SG.NOM
 ‘The person who called you is me.’

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

seðdʒ=endʒ narsa-ɣejl
 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 maɕ=ir lev*
 VOC grandmother one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV
 ‘Grandma, tell us a story.’

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

(2.36) *i ɣuðoj i batɕo 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 batɕo-ɣejl tamaɕ=af nur tsejz tɕəwg*
 VOC child-PL.NOM 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV today what do.PFV
 ‘Hey children, what did you(pl) do today?’

(2.38) *mu azizdʒin jaɣ vrud-ɣejl tamaɕ=ir*
 1SG.NNOM dear sister brother-PL.NOM 2PL.NNOM=DAT

ɣuɕomadi
 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 *-ef* instead of *-xejl*, 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-ef=am vəwg*
 ACC=pen-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
 ‘I brought the pens.’
- b. **a=qalam-xejl=am vəwg*
 ACC=pen-PL.NOM = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
 ‘I brought the pens.’

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

- (2.42) a. *a=mu=at bo na tɕəwg*
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
 ‘You have not kissed me.’
- b. **mu=at bo na tɕəwg*
 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV
 ‘You have not kissed me.’
- (2.43) a. *m-oto a=tamaç rond*
 1SG.NNOM-father ACC = 2PL.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My father will scold you(pl)!’
- b. **m-oto tamaç rond*
 1SG.NNOM-father 2PL.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My father will scold you(pl)!’

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

- (2.44) a. *m = a = di* *kɛf waðor*
 CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX wallet grab.IPFV
 ‘Grab this wallet.’
- b. **mi = di* *kɛf waðor*
 CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX wallet grab.IPFV
 ‘Grab this wallet.’
- (2.45) a. *k = a = wi* *guxt zoxt = ir = af*
 ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST meat get.INF = DAT = 3PL.PFV

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

tɕakt
 demolish.PFV
 ‘These people demolished their house.’
- (2.47) *mu* *(a =) dʒun 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 xu ləq*
 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 x-oto*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX picture REFL.NNOM-father
x-ono = ri mo vuson = it
 REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT PROH show.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Do not show this picture to your parents.’

- (2.50) *batco-ef = ir = am nəwz na ləvd*
 child-PL.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV still NEG say.PFV
 ‘I have not told the children yet.’

- (2.51) *waz xu 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 sambut vor*
 1SG.NNOM = DAT what gift bring.IPFV
 ‘What gift will you bring for me?’

- (2.53) *əwz di = ri xuc*
 walnut 3SG.NNOM.PROX = DAT happy
 ‘This person likes walnuts.’ (lit. Walnuts are pleasing to this person.)

- (2.54) *az maç ðəw tu=ri tɕoj ləwr*
 ABL 1PL.NNOM two 2SG.NNOM=DAT who.NOM big
numujd
 seem.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Of the two of us, who seems bigger to you?’
- (2.55) *muu vits a=maç tamoq=ir qiw tɕəwg*
 1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1PL.NNOM food=DAT call do.PFV
 ‘My aunt invited us over for food.’
- (2.56) *maç sɛð qurbun ejd=ir varçide na*
 1PL.NOM this.year Qeerbun festival=DAT Varshide NEG
wazɛfs=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) *χuu bob qati na so=o*
 REFL.NNOM grandfather COM NEG become.IPFV=Q
 ‘Are you not going with your grandfather?’
- (2.58) *təw maç qati tsa vəw beχatar*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM COM COND be.IPFV safe
 ‘If you are with us, you are safe.’
- (2.59) *waz di qati riqobat*
 1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX COM competition
ka=am
 do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I compete with this one.’

- (2.60) *waz = am* *χu* *tçur* *qati* *εp*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM husband COM fitting

sut
 become.PFV

‘I got reconciled to my husband.’

- (2.61) *wεf* *qati* *maç* *εp* *na*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST COM 1PL.NOM fitting NEG

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

buzak *ka = in*
 harassment do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘We do not get along with them, as they are constantly harassing us.’

In addition to marking the comitative function, *qati* also functions as an instrumental marker, which encodes the following types of arguments: an instrument or medium for accomplishing an action, materials from which something is composed, the manner in which an action is performed, or the cause of something. (2.62) - (2.67) are examples that contain an instrument or medium through which an action is accomplished.

- (2.62) *χu* *ðust* *qati* *çor = o,* *tçib* *qati*
 REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPFV = Q spoon COM
 ‘Will you eat with your hand or with a spoon?’

- (2.63) *qalam* *qati* *χu* *vrəw = at* *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,* *çer* *qati* *so = an*
 car COM NEG donkey COM become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We will not go by car, but by donkey.’

- (2.67) *ano-xejl i đust qati praxt dzumbon=in,*
 mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
uz i đust 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 tumox ka=in*
 black lambskin COM male.hat do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They make hats for men with black lambskin.’
- (2.69) *safts qati intsuvdž=endž çejdoi garun*
 bead COM sew.PRF = REL Sheydoi heavy
 ‘Sheydois (female cap) sewn with beads are heavy.’
- (2.70) *karpitç qati qalmo tsa đo dejwul xučruj*
 brick COM masonry COND give.IPFV wall beautiful
naxtizd
 go.up.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If you build the wall with bricks, it will turn out to be beautiful.’
- (2.71) *çirgirinž xevd at girindž qati tçəwydž=endž tudžik*
 Shirgirinj milk CONJ rice COM do.PRF = REL Tajik
tamoq
 food
 ‘Shirgirinj is a Tajik food made with milk and rice.’

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

- (2.72) *maç dzam di tçer-an nejk-i qati*
 1PL.NOM all 3SG.NNOM.PROX work-GEN good-NMLZ COM
adu set umejđ 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) *maç χu dəwlat χu dzun qati*
 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM country REFL.NNOM life COM

nigo ka=an, kazwi a=maç
 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 ðod qati mu peð aluk sut*
 squat give.INF COM 1SG.NNOM foot tired become.PFV
 ‘My legs got tired from squatting.’

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

sut
 become.PFV

‘He aged quickly with the pain from his son.’

- (2.77) *di buland awudž qati maç kəwl tçun*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1PL.NNOM ear deaf

sut
 become.PFV

‘Our ears have gone deaf with this loud noise.’

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

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

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

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

(2.79) *çahar-nendz lej χalg bəwazan əwrat qati qati*
 city-ADJ much person widow woman COM together

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 qəvaz tçi inder*
 1SG.NNOM paper who.NNOM on.person
 ‘Who has my paper?’

(2.82) *a=di narsa-ef dzam χu*
 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=o*
 3SG.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 veðdž tilfon mas na*
 Akbar on.person money also NEG be.PRF phone also NEG
veðdž
 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) *baçtigul çu radzen avion pur kamput zuxt*
 Bahtigeel REFL.NNOM daughter BEN much candy buy.PFV
 ‘Bahtigeel bought a lot of candy for her daughter.’
- (2.86) *mu avion hitç 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 avion a=di çabar 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 avion juçk weðd*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST BEN tear put.PFV
 ‘I shed tears for him.’

- (2.89) *maç hajut avon ju a = çu*
 1PL.NNOM life BEN 3SG.NOM.DIST ACC = REFL.NNOM
qurbun tçawg
 sacrifice do.PFV
 ‘He sacrificed himself for our lives.’
- (2.90) *təw ç-oto ç-ono avon*
 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother BEN
çu zord wejrın mo ka
 REFL.NNOM heart break PROH do.IPFV
 ‘Do not break your heart over your father and mother.’
- (2.91) *çu dəwlat avon numus mo ka, ta*
 REFL.NNOM country BEN shame PROH do.IPFV 2SG.NNOM
dəwlat mas i maθ num zwoðd
 country also one day name pull.out.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Do not be ashamed of your country, your country will also be known someday.’

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

- (2.92) *çu puıt tej avon*
 REFL.NNOM son wedding BEN
wi = ri = am pul ðud
 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT = 1SG.PFV money give.PFV
 ‘I gave my son money for his wedding.’
- (2.93) *woð = af çawgunbahor ejd avon nudz*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.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 χird*
 3SG.NOM.PROX child mouse SEMB little eat.3SG.IPFV
 ‘This child eats little, like a mouse.’
- (2.95) *κong rang gap mo ka*
 nasaly.speaker SEMB word PROH do.IPFV
 ‘Do not talk like a nasaly person.’
- (2.96) *dowud mu=ri vrud rang numujđ*
 Dowed 1SG.NNOM=DAT brother SEMB seem.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Dowed feels like a brother to me.’
- (2.97) *ju κots most rang nur đext*
 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

kaxt
 do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Even alcohol cannot cause one to get drunk to this degree.’
- (2.99) *nur=af uz tilu rang qimat bawu-in*
 today=3PL.PFV again gold SEMB expensive price-ADJ

gap-ef tçawydž
 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
- vəw=an uz pa tamash rang ləwr*
 be.IPFV=1PL.IPFV again LOC 2PL.NNOM SEMB big
- 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 buntça 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 buntça ka=am*
 2SG.NNOM word according.to do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
- ‘I will do according to your word.’

- (2.105) *duxtuur levdz = endz buntça hara maθ duri*
 doctor say.PRF = REL according.to every day medicine
χor = am
 eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I take medicine every day according to the doctor’s instructions.’
- (2.106) *muu χor çanbe maθ χu odat*
 1SG.NNOM nephew Saturday day REFL.NNOM custom
buntça pa ktubχuno seðdz-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 tçer 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 çambondz = endz amr buntça*
 king go.down.CAUS.PRF = REL command according.to
dejqu-çejl = af dzam χu 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) *merona 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) *ejdboy az tureq (to) naburg its soq salomat*
 Eidboy ABL head.top TERM heel TERM well healthy
 ‘Eidboy is healthy from head to heel.’

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

xufs = am
 sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I sleep until 10 o’clock every day.’

- (2.113) *(to) χu marg its i yin qati nardzes*
 TERM REFL.NNOM death TERM one wife COM pass.IPFV
 ‘Until your death, be with one wife.’

- (2.114) *wef = ir ðes sul sut, hammo (to) çitç*
 3PL.NNOM = 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 dāwd* ‘up here’, *pa dum* ‘up there’, *ar əwd* ‘down here’, *ar um* ‘down there’, *tar əwd* ‘towards here’, and *tar um* ‘towards there’. NPs marked with *pa*, *ar*, and *tar* are always in the non-nominative case. Examples (2.115) - (2.123) show *pa*, *ar*, and *tar* used for marking location.

- (2.115) *gawar χu tilu ar sit gəwr tɕəwg*
 Gawar REFL.NNOM gold LOC dirt bury do.PFV
 ‘Gawar buried his gold in the dirt.’
- (2.116) *mendz waχt mu vrud-χejl pa qir*
 summer time 1SG.NNOM brother-PL.NOM LOC mountain

kalo puj=in
 sheep herd.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘In the summertime, my brothers herd sheep on the mountains.’
- (2.117) *jad i tar doxt tɕudir δid*
 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 batɕo jost*
 3PL.NNOM.PROX LOC school five Tajik child be.IPFV
 ‘There are five Tajik kids at their school.’
- (2.119) *gulbarg χu batɕo-ɛf pa tɕɛd*
 Geelbarg REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM LOC house

rejzond
 remain.CAUS.PFV
 ‘Geelbarg left her children at home.’
- (2.120) *jad gap faqat pomejr ar ziv jost*
 3SG.NOM.PROX word only Pamir LOC tongue be.IPFV
 ‘This word only exists in Pamir languages.’

- (2.121) *maç ar həwly i kəwz 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 ktçawi jost*
 LOC middle finger 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN ring be.IPFV
 ‘On her middle finger she has a ring.’

- (2.123) *tar dinju beginu çalg 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 dze so = am*
 LOC 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 ixil pa dom tçəwg ar
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC
boxdza = 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 nuβusur so = am*
 LOC downriver become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I am going down.’

- (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 *tçi*, which correlates to ‘on’ in most instances, also marks the locative function, but generally points to a locational point that is more restricted in area than those marked with *pa*, *ar*, or *tar*. The argument marked with *tçi* 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 waχin mo naxpor*
 LOC blood PROH step.IPFV
 ‘Do not step on the blood.’
- (2.140) *dzul tçux tçi kov 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 sæwd*
 skin let.IPFV LOC middle part become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Let the leather split down the middle.’
- (2.142) *a = bejroq tçi bulandı-i tik ðo = an*
 ACC = flag LOC high-NMLZ straight give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us stick the flag in a high place.’
- (2.143) *ju puts i sulo 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 *tçi* as a locative marker may be extended to mark abstract locations (2.144) & (2.145), substitution (2.146) - (2.148), and time (2.149).

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

tçi džat mo wejð
 LOC hurry PROH put.IPFV

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

- (2.145) *ju χu tçi qasam na waruud*
 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM LOC oath NEG stand.PFV
 ‘He did not keep his oath.’

- (2.146) *təw mu tçi džuj putxu so*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM LOC place king become.IPFV

waz ta wazir so=am
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM minister become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘You be king in my place, and I will become your minister (second in command).’

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

ðid wi tçi pul
 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-ef mu=ri*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-PL.NNOM word 1SG.NNOM = DAT

hansu tçi ziv bejron
 Han LOC tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV

‘Translate these words into Chinese for me.’

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

wejn = an
 see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

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

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 *set* ‘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-χejl = af tçuk tçi χig sut*
 net-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV tear LOC eat.INF become.PFV

kema-χejl = af tar bun tçi ðod sut
 ship-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV LOC base LOC give.INF become.PFV

‘The nets began to rip, and the ships began to sink.’

- (2.152) *batço-χejl = af marzundz tçi set*
 child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV hungry LOC become.INF

seðdž
 become.PRF

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

- (2.153) *a=səwg = am bur tçi ləvd 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

tçeĵg vud
 do.INF be.PFV

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

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

kazwi=af ta tilfon zox̄t na tçi tçeĵg
 so=3PL.PFV 2SG.NNOM phone get.INF NEG CAP do.PFV

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

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

tçeĵydz-it, waz=am leq tçi znod
 do.PRF-CESS 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV clothing LOC wash.INF

vud
 be.PFV

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

2.2.1.12 Ablative *az*

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

- (2.157) *mu parxoç az watça*
 1SG.NNOM wife ABL Wacha
 ‘My wife is from Wacha.’

- (2.158) *jad mu az qetç naxtuydz = 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) *χu na wazond = itçuz dzuj az malum-ef*
 REFL.NNOM NEG know.INF = REL place ABL teacher-PL.NNOM
pars
 ask.IPFV
 ‘Ask the teachers about the parts you do not know.’
- (2.160) *waz χ-oto az qotil itoqom*
 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father ABL murderer revenge
zoz = am
 get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will avenge my father’s murderer.’
- (2.161) *faridun χu az ato ano barakat*
 Faridun REFL.NNOM ABL father mother blessing
zuxtç = endz
 get.PRF = REL
 ‘Faridun is one who received prosperity from his parents.’
- (2.162) *χalg az mejmun pejdu seðdz = endz = o χuðoj*
 person ABL monkey appear become.PRF = REL = Q God
ufarid tçəwydz = endz
 creation do.PRF = REL
 ‘Is mankind something that came about from monkeys, or something that God created?’
- (2.163) *mardon az batçagi ktub xojd = ir utç χuçdur*
 Mardon ABL childhood book read.INF = DAT very happy
vud
 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* *θud az xam kabub sut*
 1SG.NNOM liver ABL worry kebab become.PFV
 ‘My liver became roasted into a kebab from worrying.’

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

- (2.167) *az maç* *ðaw 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-ef* *az luzim*
 2SG.NOM unnecessary book-PL.NNOM ABL necessary

ktub-ef *surəw*
 book-PL.NNOM separate.IPFV

‘Separate the useless books from the useful books.’

2.2.1.13 Lative *par*

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

- (2.169) *waz* *par ta* *so = am*
 1SG.NOM LAT 2SG.NNOM become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will go to you.’

- (2.170) *χu* *batço-ef* *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.’

- (2.171) *piç zoxtç par puurg, puurg zoxtç mērgan par*
 cat run.PRF LAT mouse mouse run.PRF hunter LAT
kamar
 bullet.clip
 ‘The cat ran to the mouse, and the mouse ran to the hunter’s bullet clip. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.172) *m-ono = ik par xipik χu ðust*
 1SG.NNOM-mother = DUR LAT flatbread REFL.NNOM hand
jord
 extend.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My mother is extending her hand towards the flatbread.’

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

- (2.173) *mu vrud par maç narχ weðd*
 1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1SG.NNOM trouble put.PFV
 ‘My brother has placed trouble upon us.’
- (2.174) *raimdžon 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
woβwoβ tçejg = ir
 yell do.INF = DAT
 ‘You do not have the right to yell at me.’

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

- (2.176) *gul tçi pond woxtç χalg par pēð rēðdž*
 flower LOC road fall.PRF person LAT foot remain.PRF
naxpuydž sēðdž
 step.PRF become.PRF
 ‘The flowers fell on the road and got trampled on under people’s feet. (Evidential/New information)’

- (2.177) *amirçu çu batço ejb-ef par*
 Amirshu REFL.NNOM child transgression-PL.NNOM LAT
çu 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 tēdz = an*
 1PL.NOM PER river bank go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us go along the bank of the river.’
- (2.179) *tar zēmdz na tēdz = an, paz pond*
 LOC field NEG go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV PER road
tēdz = an
 go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us not go toward the fields, but along the road.’
- (2.180) *juu wēf a = qor vəwydz,*
 3SG.NOM.DIST 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = anger bring.PRF
a = wi = af paz vurdz tīdz
 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 wəxt mu kuud*
 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 kuuraç tu=ri çalto*
 1SG.NOM PER Keerash 2SG.NNOM=DAT sack

buz = am

send.IPFV = 1SG.PFV

‘I will send you a sack via Keerash.’

- (2.184) *façirdin 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 sut*
 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) *çu pets znod az zabu xufs*
 REFL.NNOM face wash.INF ABL back sleep.IPFV
 ‘Sleep after washing your face.’

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

(2.189) *wef tçed az zabu sar gul buş jost*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST house ABL back side flower garden be.IPFV
 ‘There is a flower garden behind their house.’

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

naymedz tedz
 hide.IPFV go.IPFV

‘You hide yourself and follow him.’

arqo ‘upper back’ (behind)

(2.191) *tçed pa arqo i tup kalo waruıvdz*
 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 χiç 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) *maç tar maðon=af çejtun-i tçəwg*
 1PL.NNOM LOC middle=3PL.PFV Satan-NMLZ do.PFV
 ‘They have interfered in our relationship.’

- (2.195) *putxu a=χu ləwr na wazond*
king ACC=REFL.NNOM big NEG know.3SG.IPFV
- dejqu-εf ar maðon jot odi*
farmer-PL.NNOM LOC middle come.PFV simple
- χalg-εf qati tεer tεəwg*
person-PL.NNOM COM work do.PFV
- ‘The king did not view himself as great, came among the farmers,
and worked with ordinary people.’

darun ‘inside’ (inside; among)

- (2.196) *mu qalamdun ar darun hitε tsiz nist*
1SG.NNOM pencil.case LOC inside none thing NEG.be.IPFV
- ‘There is nothing in my pencil case.’

vatε ‘outside’ (outside of; outdoors)

- (2.197) *tom=af a=wi tεurik buε tar*
then=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST man garden LOC
- vatε zwust*
outside pull.out.PFV
- ‘Then they took that man out of the garden.’

bun ‘base; foundation’ (under; beside)

- (2.198) *mu pa bun niθ*
1SG.NNOM LOC base sit.IPFV
- ‘Sit next to me.’
- (2.199) *wodε citε duχturχuno pa bun*
3PL.NOM.DIST now hospital LOC base
- ‘They are near the hospital now.’
- (2.200) *moçin tar bun i zεð veðdz*
car toward base one thief be.PRF
- ‘There is a thief under the car. (Evidential/New information)’

- (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) *tçi pond i a=çalg moçin ðudz wi*
 LOC road one ACC=person car hit.PRF 3SG.NNOM.DIST

paz atrof lej çalg wixt seðdz
 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)’

baxejr ‘except’ (except; besides)

- (2.203) *ta az baxejr hitç tçoj mu=ri*
 2SG.NNOM ABL except none who.NOM 1SG.NNOM=DAT

çuç 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 dençi az post laka*
 CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX television ABL bottom put.IPFV
 ‘Put this under the television.’

baber ‘underside’ (under; below)

- (2.207) *m = a = di* *wadzejn* *tçi* *babər*
 CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX folded.bedding ABL low

laka

put.IPFV

‘Put this under the folded bedding.’

pala ‘rib’ (side)

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

kol ‘head’ (first)

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

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

- (2.211) *ta tçi kol çond = in*
 2SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They will laugh at you.’

kov ‘mouth’ (opening)

- (2.212) *buzur pa kov a = ta tços = am*
 bazaar LOC mouth ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will wait for you at the entrance of the bazaar.’

2.2.3 Placement of function markers

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

- (2.213) *mu patiç jaç [qadimi] çalg 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 baçejr hitç tçoj*
 1SG.NNOM sweet life ABL except none who.NOM
mu = ri çuç 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 [çu az dçam læwr] 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
seðdç = endç] duçturçuno pa prud
 become.PRF = REL hospital LOC front
 ‘My aunt is in front of the hospital where her child was born.’

If the function of the NP is marked by a preposition or proclitic, the most common placement of the function marker is immediately before the head noun, between the head noun and its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets). This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences. The examples marked with asterisks below illustrate that it is ungrammatical to place the preposition or proclitic before the entire NP:

- (2.218) a. *amruk nur [χu dɛst] pa tɕɛd woxt suat*
 Amruk today REFL.NNOM friend LOC house eight hour
skit tɕəwɔ
 play do.PFV
 ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’
- b. **amruk nur pa [χu dɛst] tɕɛd woxt suat*
 Amruk today LOC REFL.NNOM friend house eight hour
skit tɕəwɔ
 play do.PFV
 ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’
- (2.219) a. *[mejmun-ɛf] ar tɕoj mareb at zird rəwn mas*
 guest-PL.NNOM LOC tea cream CONJ yellow oil also
wejð = in
 put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They also put cream and butter in the guests’ tea.’
- b. **ar [mejmun-ɛf] tɕoj mareb 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 ujnək [m-ono] az ðust*
 3SG.NOM.PROX glass 1SG.NNOM-mother ABL hand
wɔxt
 fall.PFV
 ‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’
- b. **jad ujnək az [m-ono] ðust*
 3SG.NOM.PROX glass ABL 1SG.NNOM-mother hand
wɔxt
 fall.PFV
 ‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’

- (2.221) a. *sofia [dud kuzmamad] pa dikun tujd*
Sofia uncle Kuzmamad LOC store go.PFV
'Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad's store.'
- b. **sofia pa [dud kuzmamad] dikun tujd*
Sofia LOC uncle Kuzmamad store go.PFV
'Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad's store.'
- (2.222) a. *[dud qurbun tɕɛd] tɕi noχ tamoq χig na*
uncle Qeerbun house LOC Noh food eat.INF NEG
- laka = in*
let.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Qeerbun's house.'
- b. **tɕi [dud qurbun tɕɛd] noχ tamoq χig na*
LOC uncle Qeerbun house Noh food eat.INF NEG
- laka = in*
let.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Qeerbun's house.'
- (2.223) a. *[mu = ri seðdz = 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 seðdz = 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 jet=ir [i] az*
 1SG.NNOM=DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF=DAT one ABL
afto tər sut
 week high become.PFV
 ‘It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.’
- b. *mu=ri ar urumtçi jet=ir az [i]*
 1SG.NNOM=DAT LOC Urumqi come.INF=DAT ABL one
afto tər sut
 week high become.PFV
 ‘It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.’
- (2.225) a. *juts [džam] a=tsiz pukzo kaxt*
 fire all ACC=thing clean do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Fire cleanses all things.’
- b. *juts a=[džam] 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 pronominal 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
<i>di pa tçed</i> ‘at this person’s house’	<i>pa di tçed</i> ‘at this house’

POSSESSIVE DET	DEMONSTRATIVE DET
<i>wi pa tɕɛd</i> ‘at that person’s house’	<i>pa wi tɕɛd</i> ‘at that house’
<i>di az tɕɛd</i> ‘from this person’s house’	<i>az di tɕɛd</i> ‘from this house’
<i>wi tar sar</i> ‘toward that person/thing’s side’	<i>tar wi sar</i> ‘toward that side’
<i>wi a = mon</i> ‘his apple (ACC)’	<i>a = wi mon</i> ‘that apple (ACC)’
<i>dɛf a = ktub-ɛf</i> ‘these people’s books (ACC)’	<i>a = di ktub-ɛf</i> ‘these books (ACC)’
<i>wɛf a = ktub-ɛf</i> ‘those people’s books (ACC)’	<i>a = wi ktub-ɛf</i> ‘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) *maç nur di pa tɕɛd na*
 1PL.NOM today 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC house NEG
xufs = an, wi pa tɕɛd
 sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC house
xufs = an
 sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘We are not sleeping at this person’s house tonight, but at that person’s house.’
- (2.227) *maç nur pa di tɕɛd na*
 1PL.NOM today LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house NEG
xufs = an, pa wi tɕɛd
 sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST house
xufs = an
 sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We are not sleeping at this house tonight, but at that house.’
- (2.228) *tar jəwl di az tɕɛd ruwun*
 LOC dawn 3SG.NNOM.PROX ABL house leave
so = in
 become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They are leaving from this person’s house in the morning.’

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

so = in

become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They are leaving from this house in the morning.’

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

- (2.231) *tar wi sar tɕos*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST side watch.IPFV
 ‘Look toward that side.’

The following pairs of examples show how the placement of the accusative marker *a =* differs based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.

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

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

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

xojd

read.PFV

‘I read these people’s books.’

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

xojd

read.PFV

‘I read these books.’

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

xojd

read.PFV

‘I read those people’s books.’

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

xojd

read.PFV

‘I read those books.’

2.3 Noun phrase

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

2.3.1 Modifiers

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

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

As a head-final language, Sarikoli places all of the modifying elements before the head noun. None of the elements are strictly obligatory; an NP may consist only of the head noun. Even the head noun may be omitted if it can be understood from context, in which case the NP will consist of just a modifier,

usually a relative clause, adjectivized phrase, numeral/classifier, quantifier, or adjective. Quantifiers do not co-occur with numerals and classifiers within the same NP, and in general, relative clauses and adjectivized phrases also do not co-occur within the same NP.

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

2.3.1.1 Numerals

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

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

Table 2.7 Cardinal numerals

<i>iw</i> (<i>i</i>) 'one'	<i>ðes</i> 'ten'	<i>ðes at i</i> 'eleven'
<i>ðaw</i> (<i>ða</i>) 'two'	<i>wist</i> 'twenty'	<i>ðes at ða</i> 'twelve'
<i>haroj</i> 'three'	<i>si</i> 'thirty'	<i>ðes at haroj</i> 'thirteen'
<i>tsavur</i> 'four'	<i>tçal</i> 'forty'	<i>sad</i> 'hundred'
<i>pindz</i> 'five'	<i>pindzu</i> 'fifty'	<i>hazur</i> 'thousand'
<i>χel</i> 'six'	<i>çast/otmiç</i> 'sixty'	<i>ðes hazur</i> 'ten thousand'
<i>uvd</i> 'seven'	<i>aftod/jetmiç</i> 'seventy'	<i>sad hazur</i> 'hundred thousand'
<i>woxt</i> 'eight'	<i>açtod/saksan</i> 'eighty'	<i>nist, nul, sifr</i> 'zero'
<i>naw</i> 'nine'	<i>nawad/toqsan</i> 'ninety'	

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

sifier are both omitted) or occur as part of compound numerals (as in *tçal at i* ‘forty-one’). There are three different words for ‘zero’: 1) *nist*, the native form, is the negative existential predicate that may also function as the numeral ‘zero’, but this is not in common usage; 2) *nul* is the Uyghur loanword that is used most frequently; 3) *sifr* is the Arabic loanword that came through Persian and is used among a minority of speakers.

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

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

- (2.238) *m-ono nəw batço vəwydʒ = endʒ*
 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 tçejg = ir ða munut*
 2SG.NNOM = DAT thought do.INF = DAT two minute

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

- (2.241) *ar urumtçi ðes 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)’

- (2.242) *maç hara maθ sad at jetmiç xipik*
 1PL.NOM every day hundred CONJ seventy flatbread

kan = an
 do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We make a hundred and seventy flatbreads every day.’

Markers for ordinal numerals are borrowed from Persian or Uyghur, in addition to traditional ordinal numeral constructions that have become obsolete.

The Persian construction makes use of Persian cardinal numerals followed by the Persian suffix *-um*, which precedes the noun it modifies. This construction is no longer commonly used.

(2.243) *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’, *χalg* ‘person’, *batço* ‘child’, *kalo* ‘sheep’, *dzuj* ‘seat; space’, *balax* ‘pillow’, *daraxt* ‘tree’, *qalam* ‘pen’, *xad* ‘hair’, *gugurt* ‘match’, and *gul* ‘flower’. However, it cannot be used for certain words, such as *maθ* ‘day’, *dawlat* ‘country’, *jizo* ‘village’, or *zemdz* ‘field’; these objects are directly modified by the cardinal numeral. The following is an example of how *tol* is used:

- (2.251) *ða tol xipik*
 two CL flatbread
 ‘two flatbreads’

The classifier *duno* ‘seed’ is used for counting kernels of grains or similar small objects, such as *zəw* ‘grain’, *max* ‘pea’, *tçuctç* ‘barley’, *girindz* ‘rice’, *riktçi* ‘bitter almond’, and *qunoq* ‘corn’. It cannot be used for slightly larger objects, such as *əwəz* ‘walnut’ or *gili* ‘dried apricot’.

- (2.252) *uvd 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 *χalg* ‘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) *maç pa sunuuf wist batço jost, az*
 1PL.NNOM LOC class twenty child be.IPFV ABL
- wi χel nafar (batço)=af magsturi*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST six CL child=3PL.PFV Master’s
- xojd=ir nardzεδ*
 read.INF=DAT pass.PFV
- ‘Out of the twenty students in our class, six got admitted to a Master’s program.’

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

- (2.255) *ar brumsol tar um tar əwd wist at pindz buno*
 LOC Brumsol 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: *δuust* ‘hand’, *peδ* ‘foot’, *χej* ‘shoes’, *peχ* ‘traditional shoes’, *dzrob* ‘socks’, *parδuust* ‘bracelet’, *surqo* ‘earring’, *guwxwur* ‘silver ornaments on a bride’s headdress’, *kujza* ‘chopsticks’, *χalg* ‘person’, *padiom* ‘twin’, *xanitsamug* ‘groomsmen’, and *gap* ‘word’.

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

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

- (2.257) *maç pa sunuuf uvd χil milat jost*
 1PL.NNOM LOC class seven CL nationality be.IPFV
- ‘In our class there are seven kinds of nationalities.’

- (2.258) *reusalet az dzul-ik-i waxt tsavur xil ziv*
 Reesalet ABL small-DIM-NMLZ time four CL tongue

wazon
 know.PFV

‘Reesalet knew four kinds of languages since she was young.’

The classifier *kov* ‘mouth’ is used for phrases or utterances.

- (2.259) *ingles ziv mu=ri ða kov gap xumand*
 English tongue 1SG.NNOM=DAT two mouth word teach

ka
 do.IPFV

‘Teach me two phrases of English.’

The classifier *basmoq* ‘bundle’ is used for long, thin objects that are tied up into bundles, and may be used with words such as: *wux* ‘grass’, *zez* ‘firewood’, *zaw* ‘grain’, *qalam* ‘pen’, *gul* ‘flower’, and *vdir* ‘broom’.

- (2.260) *tsavur basmoq zez*
 four CL firewood
 ‘four bundles of firewood’

- (2.261) *haroj basmoq 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 cuð*
 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 zɛr*
 eight CL rock
 ‘eight piles of rocks’

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

- (2.265) *i dum ðig*
 one CL fertilizer
 ‘a pile of fertilizer’

The classifier *dʒend* ‘book cover’ was used for books, but is not used commonly anymore.

- (2.266) *tsavur dʒend daftar*
 four CL notebook
 ‘four notebooks’

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

- (2.267) *pindz sar tɕat*
 five CL cow
 ‘five cows’

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

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

- (2.269) *tilu tsavur pɛð zɛz vəwg*
 Tilu four CL firewood bring.PFV
 ‘Tilu brought firewood four times (i.e. made four trips).’

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

- (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 çrum 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 reðdž*
 only two CL apple remain.PRF
 ‘There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.274) *faqat ða mon reðdž*
 only two apple remain.PRF
 ‘There are only two apples left. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.275) *faqat ða tol reðdž*
 only two CL remain.PRF
 ‘There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.276) *faqat ðəw reðdž*
 only two remain.PRF
 ‘There are only two left. (Evidential/New information)’
- (2.277) *i tol tçib mu=ri jur*
 one CL spoon 1SG.NNOM=DAT hand.IPFV
 ‘Hand me one spoon.’
- (2.278) *i tçib mu=ri jur*
 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

<i>dzam</i> ‘all’	<i>pur</i> ‘much; many’	<i>tsund</i> ‘some; a few’
<i>putun</i> ‘all’	<i>lej</i> ‘much; many’	<i>iw kond</i> ‘few; little’
<i>har</i> ‘every’	<i>itang/tang</i> ‘some’	<i>kam</i> ‘few; little’
<i>bax der</i> ‘most’	<i>itçand</i> ‘several’	

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

(2.281) *dzam χalg 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-ef tar kol waχin ðext*
 all camel-PL.NNOM LOC head blood sprinkle.3SG.IPFV

roft
 spread.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He sprinkles and spreads blood on all of the camels’ heads.’

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

- (2.283) *a = di* *ejd narzambond har*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX festival celebrate.CAUS.INF every
milat-an wi χu tçi tan
 nationality-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM LOC body
odat jost
 custom be.IPFV
 ‘Every nationality has its own customs for celebrating this festival.’

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

- (2.284) *bax der joç batço-χejl a = wi gap*
 much CPRV young child-PL.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST word
na wazon = in
 NEG know.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Most young people do not know that word.’
- (2.285) *wod = af maç = ir puur samkut*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT much gift
vəwg
 bring.PFV
 ‘They brought us many gifts.’
- (2.286) *utç puur baðo 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 waruudž*
 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).

- (2.288) *tar maðon jet alo itang batço-xejl=af*
 LOC middle come.INF TEMP some child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
zabu rejd
 back remain.PFV
 ‘Towards the middle, some children were left behind.’
- (2.289) *a=tang zon=in tang=ir qast*
 ACC=some kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV some = DAT plot.against
ka=in
 do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They will kill some, and some they will plot against.’
- (2.290) *itçand çalg pa dum zez=ir tizd*
 several person LOC there firewood = DAT go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Some people go there for firewood.’
- (2.291) *a=raçid na wand=ir tsund waçt 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 sunuf 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 çumand sut*
 today = 1SG.PFV few word learn become.PFV
 ‘Today I learned very few words.’
- (2.295) *kam waçt=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) *džam az wi xudž ðor=in*
 all ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST fear fear.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘All fear him.’
- (2.297) *bax dər ki=wi rang leɣ=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 xudž*
 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*, *-džin*, and *-nendž*. Derived adjectives and adjectivized phrases are described in §2.3.1.5 and §2.3.1.6, respectively.

1. Dimension: *ləwr* ‘big’, *džul* ‘small’, *tseɣ* ‘tiny’, *daruz* ‘long’, *kuut* ‘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’, *joɕ* ‘young’, *ɕoq* ‘young; little’, *pir* ‘old’, *zɛr* ‘old (for animals)’, *qadim* ‘ancient’

3. Value: *tɕardz* ‘good’, *zit* ‘bad’, *rust* ‘true; real’, *fand* ‘false; fake’, *nejk* ‘good’, *bað* ‘bad’, *fujdo* ‘beneficial’, *zijun* ‘harmful’, *χil* ‘good’, *qobil* ‘admirable’, *mujim* ‘important’, *mukamal* ‘perfect’, *xiɕ* ‘secret’, *adzujib* ‘wonderful’, *lujeq* ‘worthy’, *suf* ‘pure’, *kalita* ‘strange’, *bejri* ‘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’, *ruɕt* ‘red’, *zird* ‘yellow’, *sovdz* ‘green’, *xjejn* ‘blue’, *ðob raxt* ‘brown; pink’, *gulobi* ‘pink; purple’, *bəwr* ‘brown’, *nurandzi* ‘dark red’, *θɛr rang* ‘gray’, *spejd foɕk* ‘whitish gray’, *xjejn foɕk* ‘bluish gray’, *rang-in* ‘colored; colorful’, *rangbarang/rangorang* ‘colorful’, *tɕɛl* ‘patterned; multicolored’, *tɕɛlubel* ‘patterned; multicolored’, *tolχ* ‘dark (for color)’, *otɕ* ‘light (for color)’

5. Physical property: *tɛng* ‘hard’, *ɕlet* ‘soft’, *xast* ‘wet’, *qoq* ‘dry’, *garun* ‘heavy; serious’, *rindz* ‘light’, *kutɕ-in* ‘strong’, *bɛ-kutɕ* ‘weak’, *pukzo* ‘clean’, *ɸazd* ‘dirty’, *tɕong* ‘dirty’, *alqo* ‘curled’, *θum* ‘hot (temperature)’, *ɕtu* ‘cold (temperature)’, *zurm* ‘hot (sensation)’, *iɕ* ‘cold (sensation)’, *sarun* ‘lukewarm’, *tuxp* ‘sour’, *tsex* ‘spicy; bitter’, *χɛg* ‘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’, *dʒidəw* ‘haggard’, *χuɕruj* ‘beautiful’, *ðəwχɛr* ‘ugly’, *sart* ‘ugly; inappropriate’, *χuɕbuj* ‘fragrant’, *badbuj* ‘stinky’, *tɕɛrd* ‘bent’, *wɔɸwɔɸ* ‘noisy’, *dambaχu* ‘silent’ (for people), *dʒimdʒirt* ‘quiet (for environment)’, *tindz* ‘peaceful’, *trang* ‘energetic’, *tafsun* ‘enthusiastic’, *marzunz* ‘hungry’, *sejr* ‘satiated’, *tur* ‘thirsty’, *tɕolok* ‘nimble’, *javo* ‘wild’, *pɛt* ‘round’, *χejð* ‘sweaty’, *ub* ‘melted’, *wejrɛn* ‘broken’, *ivul* ‘pitiable’, *hat* ‘open’, *tɕust* ‘closed’, *tik* ‘straight’, *ɕitoq* ‘flat; slumped’, *tajur* ‘ready’, *jarlig* ‘local’, *uvla-dʒin* ‘sad’, *aziz-dʒin* ‘beloved’, *xudza-dʒin* ‘scary’, *turik* ‘dark’

6. Human propensity: *χuɕ* ‘happy’, *χafo* ‘upset’, *aql-in* ‘intelligent’, *mɔɸz-in* ‘intelligent’, *zɛn-in* ‘intelligent’, *doniɕ-mand* ‘knowledgeable’, *bɛfam* ‘stupid’, *axmoq* ‘foolish’, *udil* ‘just; fair’, *ariɕkun* ‘jealous’, *mard* ‘generous; manly’, *gando* ‘evil’, *ðejw* ‘crazy’, *χɛndz* ‘silly’, *ɕuv* ‘calm’, *mast* ‘drunk’, *mehrbun* ‘loving’, *zuq* ‘bored’, *ixjur* ‘alert’, *hejrɛn* ‘surprised’, *wurun* ‘lazy’, *χadzal-mand* ‘shy’, *tulej-mand* ‘lucky’, *dard-mand* ‘melancholic’, *ɸaltɕa-dʒin* ‘lonely’

7. Speed: *dʒald* ‘fast’, *asto* ‘slow’, *tejz* ‘speedy’, *waxti* ‘early’, *dejr* ‘late’

8. Difficulty: *usun* ‘easy; comfortable’, *qilo* ‘difficult; uncomfortable’
9. Similarity: *digar* ‘other’, *tarabex* ‘opposite’, *tuqo* ‘separate’
10. Qualification: *nurmol* ‘normal’, *durust* ‘whole; correct’, *tajin* ‘certain; sure’
11. Position: *nizd* ‘near’, *ðar* ‘far’, *tɕop* ‘left’, *χejz* ‘right’
12. Numbers: *awal-nendz* ‘first’, *uχir-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 *tɕejg* ‘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)’, *kambaxal* ‘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* *tɕed-nendz-χejl=af* *boj* *dɛr*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV rich CPRV
vɛðdz
 be.PRF
 ‘His family is richer. (Evidential/New information)’

- b. *veðdʒ na veðdʒ i boj veðdʒ*
 be.PRF NEG be.PRF one rich.person be.PRF
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a rich person. (Evidential/New information)’
- c. *juj boj*
 3SG.NOM.DIST rich
 ‘He is a rich person.’ OR ‘He is rich.’
- (2.301) a. *vits xonim kulto pa imi ðod=ir utç istuð*
 aunt Honim Keelto LOC RECP give.INF=DAT very skillful
 ‘Aunt Honim is very skilled at putting together Keeltos (female cap).’
- b. *jad na tçi tçejg=ir veðdʒ, maç*
 3SG.NOM.PROX NEG CAP do.INF=DAT be.PRF 1PL.NOM

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

kan=an
 do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘This person cannot do it, apparently; let us call a professional in film production.’

Either a noun or an adjective may be the sole lexeme within an NP, although it is much less common for adjectives than nouns. Adnominal adjectives may occur without the head noun, as illustrated by examples (2.302), (2.304), and (2.306) below. If the head noun is omitted and the adjective stands alone, it is preferred to attach the derivational suffix *-əw*, which converts it into a noun (as introduced in §2.1.4). The resulting noun expresses the meaning ‘one that is X (where ‘X’ is the adjective that takes the *-əw*)’.

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

- (2.304) *az dzam ləwr=ir ðes kuj ðo=in*
 ABL all big=DAT ten Chinese.yuan give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They give ten yuan² to the oldest (one).’
- (2.305) *az dzam ləwr-əw=ir ðes kuj*
 ABL all big-NMLZ=DAT ten Chinese.yuan

ðo=in
 give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They give ten yuan to the oldest one.’ (preferred)
- (2.306) *tu=ri çlet χuç=o, tɛng*
 2SG.NNOM=DAT soft happy=Q hard
 ‘Do you like the soft (one), or the hard (one)?’
- (2.307) *tu=ri çlet-əw χuç=o, tɛng-əw*
 2SG.NNOM=DAT soft-NMLZ happy=Q hard-NMLZ
 ‘Do you like soft ones, or hard ones?’ (preferred)

Despite sharing various similarities with nouns, adjectives also show grammatical properties that are different from those of nouns. Adjectives generally do not take plural suffixes and clausal or phrasal function markers in the same way that a noun does. Adjectives may be directly modified by degree adverbs such as *utç* ‘very; too’ or *kam* ‘a little’, but nouns cannot. Adjectives cannot be the possessor or the possessed item within a possessive construction, but nouns can.

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

Some adjectives may function as adverbs, modifying the verb, either in plain form or in a derived form with the suffix *-i*. In (2.308) - (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 çor*
 small-DIM eat.IPFV
 ‘Eat a little.’

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

- (2.310) *χουερυj gul*
beautiful flower
'beautiful flower'
- (2.311) *χουερυj gap ka*
beautiful word do.IPFV
'Speak properly.'
- (2.312) *dʒald moçin*
fast car
'fast car'
- (2.313) *dʒald na tɛdz = an tsa dejt sɔwd*
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 veðdz*
3SG.NOM.PROX bus how slow go.INF = DAT be.PRF
'How slow this bus is going! (Evidential/New information)'

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

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

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

wεðd, *ar* *χuzmat = am* *na* *tujd*
 put.PFV LOC work = 1SG.PFV NEG go.PFV

‘I falsely put myself to sickness (i.e. pretended to be sick) and did not go to work.’

- (2.318) *beadab-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*

<i>guxt-in</i> ‘with meat’	<i>rəwn-in</i> ‘oily; greasy’	<i>adab-in</i> ‘polite’
<i>xats-in</i> ‘watery; soupy’	<i>baχt-in</i> ‘happy’	<i>qawat-in</i> ‘multi-storied’
<i>zεr-in</i> ‘rocky’	<i>mazo-in</i> ‘tasty’	<i>xung-in</i> ‘wooden’
<i>namoðdz-in</i> ‘salty’	<i>aql-in</i> ‘smart’	<i>kuτε-in</i> ‘strong’
<i>gul-in</i> ‘flowery’	<i>qετε-in</i> ‘pregnant’	<i>kulto-in</i> ‘women (with cap)’

The opposite meaning is expressed by the adjectivizer prefix *bε-*. It also attaches to nouns to form adjectives, and expresses the meaning ‘without’. Examples of adjectives derived with *bε-* 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*

<i>kasal-mand</i> ‘sickly’	<i>doniε-mand</i> ‘knowledgeable’
<i>χadzal-mand</i> ‘shy’	<i>zudiat-mand</i> ‘contentious’
<i>tulej-mand</i> ‘lucky’	<i>dard-mand</i> ‘melancholic’

<i>arzεç-mand</i> ‘valuable’	<i>itiqud-mand</i> ‘pious’
<i>dewlat-mand</i> ‘wealthy’	<i>iχlus-mand</i> ‘passionate’

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

Table 2.11 Adjectives derived with *-džin*

<i>xudža-džin</i> ‘scary’	<i>uvla-džin</i> ‘sad’
<i>aziz-džin</i> ‘beloved’	<i>κaltça-džin</i> ‘lonely’

2.3.1.6 Adjectivized phrases

Another type of adjectivizer is *-endz* or *-nendz*, 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. *=endz* is also the marker of the perfective relative clause (introduced in §10.2.1.1). Unlike *-in* and *be-*, which form regular adjectives, these adjectivizers form adjectivized phrases. Adjectivized phrases are placed farther away from the head noun, preceding regular adjectives.

Table 2.12 Some nouns that take *-endz* or *-nendz*

<i>jizo-endz</i> ‘village (adj)’	<i>maktab-endz</i> ‘school (adj)’
<i>qir-nendz</i> ‘mountain (adj)’	<i>tçed-nendz-χejl</i> ‘family’ (lit. house (adj)-pl)
<i>urumtçi-endz</i> ‘Urumqi (adj)’	<i>daraxt-endz</i> ‘tree (adj)’

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

<i>çitç-endz</i> ‘now (adj)’	<i>nur-endz</i> ‘today (adj)’
<i>χεb-endz</i> ‘yesterday (adj)’	<i>parus-endz</i> ‘last year (adj)’
<i>zejn-endz</i> ‘winter (adj)’	<i>awal-nendz</i> ‘first (adj)’
<i>az kol-endz</i> ‘beginning (adj)’	<i>zabu-nendz</i> ‘later (adj)’

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

<i>prud-nendz</i> ‘front (adj)’	<i>umik-endz</i> ‘there (adj)’
<i>zabu-nendz</i> ‘back (adj)’	<i>əwd-endz</i> ‘here (adj)’
<i>post-endz</i> ‘low (adj)’	<i>kum-endz</i> ‘there (adj, cataphoric)’
<i>tçi tər-nendz</i> ‘above (adj)’	<i>pa buun-endz</i> ‘next to (adj)’

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

- (2.319) *xipik tçi tər-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 kov-endz dikun*
vegetable bazaar LOC mouth-ADJ store
‘the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar’
- (2.322) *ojmira pa buun-endz kots*
Oimira LOC base-ADJ girl
‘the girl near Oimira’
- (2.323) *mu sardor pa ðuust-nendz tçer*
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
<i>padi'om ba'tɕo</i>	twin + child	'twin children'
<i>'tɕuɕtɕ xi'pik</i>	barley + flatbread	'barley flatbread'
<i>xu'tsuvd u'sul</i>	eagle + dance	'eagle dance'
<i>a'to sar 'bob</i>	father's side + grandfather	'paternal grandfather'
<i>a'nur 'xats</i>	pomegranate + juice	'pomegranate juice'
<i>ka'ko buur'jun</i>	egg + fry	'fried egg'
<i>'qarz su'jib</i>	debt + owner	'creditor'

Some words are a single phonological word with one primary word stress, but are comprised of two separate lexical nouns. These are compound nouns that serve as the single head of the NP, rather than a head noun modified by another noun. Both compound nouns and nouns modified by another noun are pluralized in the same way as other nouns, with the plural marker *-xɕejl* or *-ɛf*, given that they are count nouns.

Table 2.16 Compound nouns

Word	Components	Meaning
<i>qalam'dun</i>	pen + box	'pencil case'
<i>mejmunxu'no</i>	guest + room	'living room'
<i>ktubxu'no</i>	book + room	'library'
<i>duxɕturxu'no</i>	doctor + room	'hospital'
<i>xɕerna'list</i>	sun + sitting	'west'
<i>kampir'zul</i>	old lady + sleeve	'rainbow'
<i>toɕziko'bod</i>	Tajik + town	'Tojikobod'
<i>tsemuj'nak</i>	eye + glasses	'eye glasses'
<i>xanitsa'mug</i>	groom + basket	'groomsman'
<i>ɕej'tun in'gaxt</i>	Satan + finger	'ring finger'
<i>ɕejtunara'bo</i>	Satan + vehicle	'bicycle; peddle cart'
<i>spid'bun</i>	white + beard	'old man'

2.3.2 Coordination of NPs

The coordinating conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs. A pair of conjoined NPs may be in various functions, as illustrated by the examples below. When a clitic or adposition is used for marking the function of conjoined NPs, it is generally unnecessary and less preferred to use

it twice to mark both NPs, although it is still grammatical to use them multiple times. However, conjoined NPs of certain grammatical functions must each be marked with a function marker, such as NPs comprised of personal or demonstrative pronouns, as in (2.326), and substantival genitive NPs, as in (2.331).

- (2.324) *waz at mu jaχ arđo na*
 1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister similar NEG
đej = an
 fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘My sister and I do not look alike.’ (nominative)
- (2.325) *a = belat at rasim = at vəwg = o*
 ACC = ticket CONJ picture = 2SG.PFV bring.PFV = Q
 ‘Did you bring the ticket and the photo?’ (accusative)
- (2.326) *waz = am m = a = di at*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX CONJ
m = a = di vəwg
 CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX bring.PFV
 ‘I brought this and this.’ (accusative)
- (2.327) *a = di sojra at baχtiguul = ir đo*
 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) *çer harabo at đust harabo qati = af jud*
 donkey vehicle CONJ hand vehicle COM = 3PL.PFV take.PFV
 ‘They took it with a donkey cart and a hand cart.’ (instrumental)
- (2.330) *χalg az aqlikul at nafsikul pejdu*
 person ABL big.wisdom CONJ big.spirit appear
seđdž = endž
 become.PRF = REL
 ‘Humans came into being from Wisdom and Spirit.’ (ablative)

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

veðdz
 be.PRF

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

When more than two NPs are conjoined to form a list, the conjunction *at* is not strictly necessary, and may be completely omitted or used only once. It may also be used between all the NPs, although this is less preferred. If *at* is used once, its preferred location is between the last two NPs, but it may occur between any other two contiguous NPs that are part of the list. The function-marking clitics and adpositions are generally used for each NP in the list, as in (2.333), (2.334), and (2.335), but may be used only once to mark all of the conjoined NPs, as in (2.334) & (2.335). Some of the examples below do not contain function markers because (2.332) contains nominative NPs which are unmarked, (2.336) omits the locative prepositions, and (2.337) contains indefinite accusative NPs. In (2.333), the locative function marker *ar* is used in the allative sense, indicating movement toward the destination.

- (2.332) *dawron soqdzon sobir at raçid puiz qati = af*
 Deawron Soqjon Sobir CONJ Rashid train COM = 3PL.PFV

tujd
 go.PFV

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

- (2.333) *muçbir-çejl = af ar çer qala ar guz*
 journalist-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV LOC stone castle LOC grassland

pa kəwg at ar tej = af sut
 LOC hot.spring CONJ LOC wedding = 3PL.PFV become.PFV

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

- (2.334) *səwdugar-çejl (az) pokiston (az) tudzikston (az)*
 merchant-PL.NOM ABL Pakistan ABL Tajikistan ABL

avɯunistun at az iron iθtç = endz
 Afghanistan CONJ ABL Iran come.PRF = REL

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

- (2.335) *nuwondz χu χεx(=ir) χu*
 bride REFL.NNOM mother.in.law = DAT REFL.NNOM
- χajun-εf(=ir) at digar χεjx*
 sister.in.law-PL.NNOM = DAT CONJ other relative
- əwrat-εf=ir εejdoi at kulto intsivd*
 woman-PL.NNOM = DAT Sheydoi CONJ Keelto sew.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The bride sews Sheydois (female cap) and Keeltos (female cap)
 for her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and other female rela-
 tives.’
- (2.336) *jad xtur taħarmi baldir watça at*
 3SG.NOM.PROX camel Tagharmi Baldir Wacha CONJ
- ðavðor tujdz = εndz*
 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 χu qati zuxt*
 graphite.eyebrow.pencil REFL.NNOM COM get.PFV
 ‘I took a mirror, a comb, and a Bunj (graphite eyebrow pencil)
 with me.’