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Pronouns and demonstratives

This chapter describes two types of deictic shifters: pronouns, whose reference shifts when the roles of speech act participants change, and demonstratives, whose reference shifts when spatial locations change (Dixon 2010a:114). Both free pronouns and nominal demonstratives may occur in all clausal functions.

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

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

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

3.1 Personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are a small closed class of grammatical words which show person, number, and case distinctions. They can be head of an NP with any clausal function. They operate on a 1/2 person system and a singular/plural number system. Table 3.1 below shows the forms of Sarikoli

pronouns. Case is neutralized in the first and second person plural forms, as they are *maç* and *tamaç*, respectively, for both nominative and non-nominative forms.

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1.NOM	<i>waz</i>	<i>maç</i>
1.NNOM	<i>mu</i>	
2.NOM	<i>təw</i>	<i>tamaç</i>
2.NNOM	<i>ta</i>	

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

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

- (3.1) *waz* *a=ta* *tçardz* *wejn=am*
 1SG.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM good see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I love you.’
- (3.2) *tamaç=af* *a=mu* *qiw na tçəwg*
 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV ACC=1SG.NNOM call NEG do.PFV
 ‘You(pl) did not invite me.’
- (3.3) *təw=at* *dzafu wand, çitç wi* *bor*
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV toil see.PFV now 3SG.NNOM.DIST fruit

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

- (3.4) *pugan jawl = ik δud, maç tar pond*
 tomorrow dawn=DUR fall.PFV 1PL.NOM LOC road
naxtêdz = an
 go.up.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘When the dawn breaks tomorrow, we will go out on the road (i.e. start our journey).’

Although free personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives function as the head of NPs, they have more restricted possibilities for syntactic modification than common nouns. The ungrammatical examples (3.5) - (3.9) demonstrate that pronouns and demonstratives cannot take any of the modifiers that a common noun in NP head function can, which were introduced in §2.3.1. The only exception is adjectivized phrases, which may sometimes directly modify pronouns, as in (3.10).

- (3.5) **pindz (nafar) maç = an jot*
 five CL 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV come.PFV
 ‘Five we came.’ (numeral/classifier)
- (3.6) **pur tamaç = af tçêd zuxtç*
 many 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV house buy.PRF
 ‘Many you have bought houses. (Evidential/New information)’
 (quantifier)
- (3.7) **xuçruj ju nur mas usul kaxt*
 beautiful 3SG.NOM today also dance do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Beautiful she will dance today also.’ (adjective)
- (3.8) **qatêbin tçoj bruxtç = endz woð = af kutçin*
 topping tea drink.PRF = REL 3PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV strong
sut
 become.PFV
 ‘They who drank the milk tea became strong.’ (relative clause)
- (3.9) **batço woð hara maθ skit ka = in*
 child 3PL.NOM every day play do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Children they play every day.’ (modifier noun)

- (3.10) *maç maktab-endz woð seð xojd adu*
 1PL.NNOM school-ADJ 3PL.NOM this.year read.INF finish
ka = in
 do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Our school’s they will graduate this year.’ (adjectivized phrase)

Pronouns may be elaborated in order to provide additional information on their referents. This elaboration occurs in the same NP as the pronoun, by apposing the pronoun with an NP. The elaborating NP is just a noun in (3.11), a numeral (with or without a classifier) in (3.12), an NP with a relative clause in (3.13), and an NP with a headless relative clause in (3.14).

- (3.11) *maç əwrət-xejl digar dzuj na tɛdz = an*
 1PL.NOM woman-PL.NOM other place NEG go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We women do not go anywhere else.’
- (3.12) *maç haroj (nafar) puiz qati tɛdz = an*
 1PL.NOM three CL train COM go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We three will go by train.’
- (3.13) *nur maç tej na tɕəwydz = endz*
 today 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF = REL
batɕo-xejl = an tup tamoq xug
 child-PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV group food eat.PFV
 ‘Today we unmarried kids ate a meal together.’
- (3.14) *woð qatɛɪn tɕoj bruxtɕ = endz-xejl = af*
 3PL.NOM.DIST topping tea drink.PRF = REL-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
kuɕɪn sut
 strong become.PFV
 ‘They who drank the milk tea became strong.’

3.1.1 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

The non-nominative personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives, when not marked with any function markers, function as the possessor within an NP. The non-nominative personal pronouns are used for first and second persons, and nominal demonstratives are used for third person. They function

as determiners and precede their head noun, marking distinctions for person, number, and deixis. They are presented in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1.NOM	<i>mu</i>		<i>maç</i>	
2.NNOM	<i>ta</i>		<i>tamaç</i>	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NNOM	<i>di</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>dɛf</i>	<i>wɛf</i>

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

- (3.15) *waz dzuul vid alo mu mom=ik*
 1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother=DUR
a=mu ixil pa dom tɕəwg, ar
 ACC=1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFV LOC
boɕdza=ik jud
 garden=DUR take.PFV
 ‘When I was little, my grandmother often used to put me on her back and take me to the garden.’
- (3.16) *di builand awudz qati maç ɛəwl tɕun*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX high sound COM 1SG.NNOM ear deaf
sut
 become.PFV
 ‘Our ears have gone deaf with its loud noise.’
- (3.17) *ta gap=am xu tɕi zord kandakuri*
 2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM LOC heart engrave
tɕəwg
 do.PFV
 ‘I engraved your words on my heart.’

- (3.18) *waxt naxtizd tsa tamaç xejz*
 time go.up.3SG.IPFV COND 2PL.NNOM side

so = am

become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘If I have time, I will come over to your(pl) place.’

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

- (3.19) *waz = am wi çtu zord ub*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart melted

tçəwg

do.PFV

‘I melted his cold heart.’

- (3.20) *wef iw-ik batço kasal sut*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST one-DIM child sick become.PFV
 ‘Their only child has gotten sick.’

- (3.21) *çitç def ato ano-ef = ir*
 now 3PL.NNOM.PROX father mother-PL.NNOM = DAT

lev = am

say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘Now I will tell these ones’ parents.’

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

- (3.23) *wef daruz-i naviç = am*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST long-NMLZ write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will write down their length.’

- (3.24) *di* *num = at* *χι* *ar juð*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX name = 2SG.PFV REFL.NNOM LOC memory
- zuxt = o*
get.PFV = Q
 ‘Have you committed this one’s name into memory?’

3.2 Bound pronouns

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

The bound pronouns operate on a 1/2/3 person and singular/plural number system. There are two paradigms for bound pronouns; one for clauses in the imperfective aspect and the other for clauses in the perfective aspect. Aspect is not only shown by the form of these clitics, but in combination with the placement of the clitics and the type of verb stem. The imperfective aspect is formed with the imperfective verb stem plus the imperfective agreement clitics attached to the verb. The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective verb stem plus the perfective agreement clitics attached to another constituent in the clause which precedes the verb, except when the verb is the sole constituent in the clause, as in (3.27) & (3.28) and in the second clause in (3.29). The perfective agreement clitics must attach to the end of a phrase, most commonly the first phrase in a clause or the phrase that immediately precedes the verb, but it may attach to the end of any other phrase in the entire clause. The imperfective and perfective aspects each have a zero-marked clitic: in the imperfective aspect, a second person singular subject simply occurs with the imperfective verb stem with no agreement clitic, and in the perfective aspect, a third person singular subject occurs with the perfective verb stem with no agreement clitic. A third person singular subject in an imperfective clause occurs with what is more conveniently analyzed as a special verb stem to which the agreement clitic is fused, as it always has a final *-t* or *-d*. Cross-linguistically, person distinctions are often found to be neutralized in non-singular numbers (Dixon 2012:90); the person distinction

is neutralized in the second and third person plural forms in perfective aspect, as they are both = *af*.

Table 3.3 Subject-verb agreement pronominal clitics

	SG.IPFV	PL.IPFV	SG.PFV	PL.PFV
1	= <i>am</i>	= <i>an</i>	= <i>am</i>	= <i>an</i>
2	= \emptyset	= <i>it</i>	= <i>at</i>	= <i>af</i>
3	(special stem: <i>-t/-d</i>)	= <i>in</i>	= \emptyset	= <i>af</i>

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

(3.25) *naviç = am*
 write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will write.’

(3.26) *tços = it*
 watch.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Watch(pl).’

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

(3.27) *çug = am*
 eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV
 ‘I ate.’

(3.28) *iθtç = af*
 come.PRF = 3PL.PFV
 ‘They came. (Evidential/New information)’

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

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

levd = am
 say.PFV = 1SG.PFV
 ‘I saw him and told him.’

- (3.30) *awal tamoq χor = it* *χu* *tɛdz = it*
 first food eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘First eat and then leave.’

3.3 Nominal demonstratives

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

Table 3.4 Nominal demonstratives

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NOM	<i>(jam)/jad</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>doð</i>	<i>woð</i>
3.NNOM	<i>(mi)/di</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>deɸ</i>	<i>wɛɸ</i>

Nominal demonstratives may have deictic reference to any person or thing, as it is equally acceptable for them to refer to humans as to all other varieties of nouns (non-human, animate, inanimate, concrete, abstract, etc.). In the following examples, the nominal demonstratives may be interpreted as references to people, as in (3.31) & (3.32), other nouns, as in (3.33) - (3.35), or either, depending on the context, as in (3.36) - (3.39), which are ambiguous.

- (3.31) *ju mas varçide tujdz = endz*
 3SG.NOM.DIST also Varshide go.PRF = REL
 ‘He has also been to Varshide.’
- (3.32) *dođ mu patiç vrud-çejl*
 3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM cousin brother-PL.NOM
 ‘These are my male cousins.’
- (3.33) *çor, jad çig = ir zuxtç = endz*
 eat.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.INF = DAT buy.PRF = REL
 ‘Eat, these were bought to be eaten.’
- (3.34) *awal m = a = di tçust ka = am*
 first CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX lock do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will lock this first.’
- (3.35) *a = def mas waz çubaθ*
 ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX also 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM

intsuudç = endz
 sew.PRF = REL
 ‘These are also things that I have sewn myself.’
- (3.36) *a = wi mas na wazond = ir veđdz*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST also NEG know.INF = DAT be.PRF
 ‘(One) does not even know that/him/her. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.37) *a = def = am vawg*
 ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
 ‘I brought these.’
- (3.38) *wođ = af pukzo na veđdz*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF
 ‘They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.39) *taw a = wef mu = ri az kol*
 2SG.NOM ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST 1SG.NNOM = DAT from head

buz = o
 send.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will you send them to me again?’

In addition to the distinctions of case and number, Paxalina (1966:33) and Payne (Payne 1989:431) have reported that demonstratives (or third person pronouns) have a three-way distinction of deixis: proximal (near speaker), medial (mid-distance to speaker), and distal (far from speaker). However, Sarikoli in its present state has lost the distinction between proximal and medial deixis. That is, the original forms for proximal deixis have predominantly fallen out of use and the originally medial forms are now used for spatial references near the speaker. For the singular nominative proximal demonstrative, *jam* and *jad* are used interchangeably referring to objects that are near, as in (3.40), but usage of *jam* is very rare. For the singular non-nominative proximal demonstrative, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for objects in the same distance, as in (3.41), but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has nearly fallen out of use. For the plural proximal demonstratives, the forms *moð* and *mef* have completely fallen out of use, so again, both the plural forms and singular forms only have two distinctions of deixis, proximal and distal, as in (3.42) & (3.43).

- (3.40) *jam/jad tçi batço*
 3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM child
 ‘Whose child is this?’ (jam/jad interchangeable)
- (3.41) *m = a = mi/di ter tçi ka = o*
 CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX lift CAP do.IPFV = Q
 ‘Can you lift this?’ (*m = a = mi/m = a = di* interchangeable)
- (3.42) *m = doð az amriko iθtç = endz*
 CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX ABL America come.PRF = REL

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

iθtç = endz
 come.PRF = REL
 ‘These are guests from America, and those are from Canada.’
- (3.43) *m = a = def = am dejt na*
 CATA = ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV enter.INF NEG

latçəwg, a = wəf = am latçəwg
 let.PFV ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV let.PFV
 ‘I did not allow these to enter, but I allowed them.’

3.3.1 Demonstrative determiners

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

Table 3.5 Demonstrative determiners

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

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

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

- (3.44) *jam/jad batço pa gap na tçombd*
3SG.NOM.PROX child LOC word NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
'This child is disobedient.'

- (3.45) *jam/jad batço utç aqlin veðdz*
3SG.NOM.PROX child very smart be.PRF
'This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)'

- (3.46) *u ju tsem ujnak δudz = endz batço az*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST eye glass give.PRF = REL child ABL

watça
 Wacha

‘That child who is wearing glasses is from Wacha.’

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

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

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

tçdz = in
 go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘These children are going to Kashgar tomorrow.’

- (3.49) *woð batço-çejl = af utç pukzo*
 3PL.NOM.DIST child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV very clean

çig = ir veðdz
 eat.INF = DAT be.PRF

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

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

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

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

nist
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘These books are not our teacher’s.’

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

nist
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘Those books are not our teacher’s.’

The singular and plural non-nominative determiners share the same form, so there are no distinctive forms for the plural non-nominative determiners. The following pairs of sentences illustrate how the same forms of determiners are used for singular and plural non-nominative NPs. Unlike the plural nominative forms, they do not distinguish between human and non-human objects. For the non-nominative proximal determiner, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for nearby objects, but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has almost completely fallen out of use.

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

wazond
 know.PFV

‘I did not know this person.’

- (3.55) *a = di* *batço-ef = am* *rond*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX child-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV scold.PFV

‘I scolded these children.’

- (3.56) *a = di* *kalo* *kejy = an = o*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX sheep slaughter.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q

‘Shall we slaughter this sheep?’

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

ko = at *vəwg*
 where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV bring.PFV

‘Where do you bring these sheep from?’

- (3.64) *mu yin ki=wi xadurdzɬi qati*
 1SG.NNOM wife ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST miller COM
skit=ik kaxt
 play=DUR do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My wife is playing with that miller.’
- (3.65) *azizmamad ki=wi xalg-ef qati*
 Azizmamad ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM COM
gap tɕəwɔ
 word do.PFV
 ‘Azizmamad talked with those people.’
- (3.66) *a=wi kalo keɟy=an*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST sheep slaughter.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us slaughter that sheep.’
- (3.67) *waz=am a=wi kalo-ef*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST sheep-PL.NNOM
pojd
 herd.PFV
 ‘I herded those sheep.’
- (3.68) *waz=am a=wi mon xug*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST apple eat.PFV
 ‘I ate that apple.’
- (3.69) *waz=am a=wi ktub-ef*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST book-PL.NNOM
xojd
 read.PFV
 ‘I read those books.’

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

- (3.70) *ar di afto/most/mawsum*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week/month/semester
 ‘during this week/month/semester’
- (3.71) *ar wi afto/most/mawsum*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week/month/semester
 ‘during next week/month/semester’
- (3.72) *di tuv = at na jot,*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX time = 2SG.PFV NEG come.PFV

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

3.4 Demonstrative clitics

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

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

- (3.73) *suf tudzik gap tsa vid*
 pure Tajik word COND be.3SG.IPFV
k = a = wi *χumand ka*
 ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST teach do.IPFV
 ‘If there is a pure Tajik word, teach that one.’
- (3.74) *kudzur = ik çer waruvd k = um = aθ taw*
 where = DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA = there = EMP 2SG.NOM
bejg at χon set = ir veðdz
 ruler CONJ king become.INF = DAT be.PRF
 ‘Wherever the donkey stops, that is where you will become a ruler
 and a king. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.75) *taw pars tsa waz = am*
 2SG.NOM ask.IPFV COND 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV
ki = wi rang parst
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB ask.PFV
 ‘You know how you ask questions? I asked like that.’

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

- (3.76) *ju mas k = ar wi mejmunχuno*
 3SG.NOM.DIST also ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST hotel
tçer kaxt
 work do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He also works at that hotel.’
- (3.77) *mu-an ki = jad i maθ rejd,*
 1SG.NNOM-GEN ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one day remain.PFV
puğan waz tædz = am
 tomorrow 1SG.NOM go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I only have this one day left, I am leaving tomorrow.’

- (3.78) *waz mas ki=wi rang χig=itçuz*
 1SG.NOM also ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB eat.INF=REL
 ‘I also eat like that.’

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

- (3.79) *ki=gap*
 ANA=word
 ‘That is what I mean.’ (lit. That word.)
- (3.80) *k=dos=o ku*
 ANA=manner=Q SUP
 ‘It is so, I think.’
- (3.81) *ki=wi=rang mo lev*
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST=SEMB PROH say.IPFV
 ‘Don’t say it like that.’

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

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

seðdž
 become.PRF
 ‘The wind is strong today, so the waves have gotten very high.
 (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.83) *waz=am χu pond bunost kazwi=am*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM road lose.PFV so=1SG.PFV

dejr jot
 late come.PFV
 ‘I got lost, that is why I came late.’

On the other hand, *m(i) =* is a cataphoric demonstrative clitic that points forward to referents which have yet to be stated or shown, or to objects that are closer to the speaker. It alludes to information that will be introduced in the following discourse or will be shown in the physical context. The sentence in example (3.84) may be followed by either a spoken description or an actual physical description of how to do something, and *m(i) =* may refer to either kind of information.

- (3.84) *m = dos ka = it tsa na*
 CATA = manner do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV COND NEG
səwd = o
 become.3SG.IPFV = Q
 ‘Can’t you(pl) do it this way?’

m(i) = is frequently used for specific objects that may be pointed to in the immediate physical context. In (3.85) - (3.89), none of the occurrences of *m(i) =* are strictly necessary, but they make their hosts more specific by referring to specific objects, and must be accompanied by a pointing gesture.

- (3.85) *m = əwd-ik laka*
 CATA = here-DIM put.IPFV
 ‘Put it down here.’
- (3.86) *mi = jad dzuj = ik ðizd*
 CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX place = DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV
 ‘This place hurts.’
- (3.87) *m = ar di ɛəwn dið*
 CATA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack enter.IPFV
 ‘Go into this sack.’
- (3.88) *m = a = di duri χor tsa na*
 CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX medicine eat.IPFV COND NEG
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘You must not take this medicine.’

- (3.89) *təw mi=di rang ɕejdoi intsivd*
 2SG.NOM CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB Sheydoi sew.INF
tɕi ka=o
 CAP do.IPFV=Q
 ‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like this?’

Whereas *k(i)=* attaches to pronouns, determiners, and local demonstratives that are both proximal and distal, *m(i)=* only attaches to proximal ones, as the referent must be close to the speaker:

- (3.90) **m=um-ik laka*
 CATA=there-DIM put.IPFV
 ‘Put it down there.’
- (3.91) **mi=ju dzuj=ik ðizd*
 CATA=3SG.NOM.DIST place=DUR hurt.3SG.IPFV
 ‘That place hurts.’
- (3.92) **təw mi=wi rang ɕejdoi intsivd tɕi*
 2SG.NOM CATA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB Sheydoi sew.INF CAP
ka=o
 do.IPFV=Q
 ‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like that?’

k(i)= and *m(i)=* sometimes co-occur on proximal pronouns, determiners, and local demonstratives. Some speakers combine these clitics frequently, while others virtually never do so. The conditions of the use of the *mi=ki=* forms are not yet fully understood, but the reasons may be phonotactic, discourse-related (i.e. for focus marking), or as a historical vestige of a convention that is no longer meaningful or productive.

- (3.93) *i tɕi dzuj niθ=an m=k=əwd*
 one LOC place sit.IPFV=1PL.IPFV CATA=ANA=here
 ‘We gather here in one place.’
- (3.94) *nuwondz m=k=pa di noχ*
 bride CATA=ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX Noh
warifst
 stand.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).’

- (3.95) *m = ki = di* *rang gap-ef = ik*
 CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB word-PL.NNOM = DUR
mu = ri kaxt
 1SG.NNOM = DAT do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He says such and such things to me.’
- (3.96) *maç-an imi = ri tçəwydž = endž tçer*
 1PL.NNOM-GEN RECP = DAT do.PRF = REL matter
m = k = dund
 CATA = ANA = AMT
 ‘This is the extent of what we did to each other.’
- (3.97) *putxu radžen a = wi tçost*
 king daughter ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST watch.3SG.IPFV
χu ləvd iko a
 TEMP.CONJ say.3SG.IPFV SC INTJ
mi = k = jad kaðo
 CATA = ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX boy
 ‘The king’s daughter takes a look at him and says, “Ah, yes, it is this boy.”’
- (3.98) *m = k = az di kots-ef*
 CATA = aca = ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM
tu = ri = ik tçidum χuç sut
 2SG.NNOM = DAT = DUR which happy become.PFV
tu = ri ðo = am
 2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will give you whichever one of these girls you like the most.’

- (3.99) *maç qati tang*
 1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous
- m = k = a = di* *ruzagur tçəwydz = endz*
 CATA = ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX living do.PRF = REL
- i beziv bezibun i nejk tsiz*
 one tongueless tongueless one good thing
- dwoð = an*
 bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
- ‘We bring in one good tongueless thing (animal) that has worked
 alongside us to make a living.’

In summary, *ki =* and *mi =* are clitics that refer to objects or participants in the physical context or portions of the discourse. *ki =* is for activated referents and *mi =* is for referents that will be shown or expressed. The following pair of examples contrast the use of *ki =* and *mi =*: the first speaker says the sentence in (3.100), and then shares her line of thought; after hearing this, the second speaker says the sentence in (3.101) to show that he thought of things in the same way.

- (3.100) *m = dos = am* *uj tçəwg*
 CATA = manner = 1SG.PFV thought do.PFV
 ‘I thought of it this way.’
- (3.101) *waz = am* *mas k = dos* *uj tçəwg*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV also ANA = manner thought do.PFV
 ‘I thought of it that way, too.’

3.5 Local demonstratives

Sarikoli has two local demonstratives making spatial reference, which show deictic contrast: *əwd* ‘here’ and *um/um* ‘there’ (showing dialectical variation). These are locational adverbs to a clause, and they generally occur in clause initial position, or immediately after the subject or a time word. They do not have restrictions in terms of the clause types they may occur in, and are used in verbal, existential, and copula clauses. The diminutive suffix *-ik* sometimes attaches to *əwd* or *um*, but it does not seem to change the meaning of these spatial shifters. These local demonstratives have less adpositional marking

than on locations expressed by common nouns, as they are sometimes not required to occur with a locative adposition, as in (3.102) - (3.105).

- (3.102) *waz əwd hitç a=tçi na*
1SG.NOM here none ACC=who.NNOM NEG

wazon = am

know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I do not know anyone here.’

- (3.103) *varçide dzul-ik dzuj mas tsa vid um*
Varshide small-DIM place also COND be.3SG.IPFV there

ladza jost

dialect be.IPFV

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

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

- (3.105) *um-ik der çu ajoy wejð*
there-DIM CPRV REFL.NNOM shoe put.IPFV
‘Take your shoes off over there a little bit.’

These two local demonstratives are frequently combined with the locative preposition *ar*, as in (3.106) & (3.107), locative preposition *tar*, as in (3.108) & (3.109), and ablative *az*, as in (3.110) & (3.111). The locative preposition for upriver locations, *pa*, is only used for *um* ‘there’ or *əwd* ‘here’ if the place of reference is higher than the place of the hearer, as in (3.112) & (3.113), and the resulting form is *pa dum* or *pa dəwd*, respectively. When local demonstratives occur with prepositions, they do not take the diminutive suffix *-ik*.

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

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

hawu na ðudz

precipitation NEG fall.PRF

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

- (3.108) *mu tçed utç ðar, tar əwd na jət=ir*
 1SG.NNOM house very far LOC here NEG come.INF=DAT
pur waχt sut
 much time become.PFV
 ‘My house is very far, I have not come here for a long time.’
- (3.109) *tar um tid=ir waχt nist*
 LOC there do.INF=DAT time NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘There is no time to go there.’
- (3.110) *az əwd tung set=ir tsund waχt*
 ABL here Teeng become.INF=DAT how.much time
tizd
 go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘How much time does it take to get from here to Teeng?’
- (3.111) *az um a=çer darju tçi lab*
 ABL there ACC=donkey river LOC bank
vor=in
 bring.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘From there they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.’
- (3.112) *mu malum varçide tujdz, pa dum tsund gudur*
 1SG.NNOM teacher Varshide go.PRF LOC there some time
hawu ðudz
 precipitation fall.PRF
 ‘My teacher went to Varshide, and there it has snowed several times. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.113) *təw tçum joð, pa dəwd*
 2SG.NOM when come.IPFV LOC here
 ‘When are you coming here?’

Some of these combinations of preposition and local demonstrative may be used idiomatically for expressions related to space and time, as shown in Table 3.6. (3.114) - (3.117) are illustrations of these idiomatic expressions containing prepositions and local demonstratives.

Table 3.6 Idiomatic expressions with local demonstratives

<i>tar um tar əwd</i>	‘in various directions; approximately’
<i>di tar əwd</i>	‘from now on’
<i>az tarat</i> ¹	‘since (a certain time in the past)’

- (3.114) *dijur xalg tar um tar əwd ratsasθt*
 region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The villagers run away this way and that way.’
- (3.115) *i çejdoi intsivd=ir tar um tar əwd i most*
 one Sheydoi sew.INF=DAT LOC there LOC here one month
tizd
 go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘It takes approximately one month to make one Sheydoi (female cap).’
- (3.116) *di tar əwd az mu utç dzul*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small
tsiz-ef mo pars, mu kol
 thing-PL.NNOM PROH ask.IPFV 1SG.NNOM head
karst
 turn.3SG.IPFV
 ‘From now on, do not ask me questions about very small things.
 My head will spin.’
- (3.117) *a=ta wand az tarat ju xovd na*
 ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG
tçi tçeјg=itçuz sut
 CAP do.INF=REL become.PFV
 ‘Since seeing you, he has become unable to sleep.’

In addition to prepositions, local demonstratives also frequently co-occur with the demonstrative clitics *k=* and *m=*. The cataphoric clitic *m=* only attaches to *əwd* and occurs with a pointing gesture, making it more specific by assigning it a smaller scope, as in (3.118). The diminutive suffix *-ik* may also occur, without changing the meaning in any significant way.

¹*az tarat* may have originated from *az tar əwd*, but this is not certain.

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

The anaphoric clitic *k =* may attach to either *əwd* or *um*, and is used when the spatial reference is already known or mentioned in the physical context or discourse. In conversations previous to (3.119), the speakers have mentioned the place where they are currently situated. In conversations previous to (3.120) & (3.121), a place other than the place of speech has been mentioned.

- (3.119) *waz = am k = əwd(-ik) əzmud sut,*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ANA = here-DIM born become.PFV

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

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

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

- (3.121) *intawum ðo = an, kudzur = an = ik nardzəd,*
 exam give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV where = 1PL.PFV = DUR pass.PFV

k = um so = an
 ANA = there become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We will take an exam, and wherever we get accepted to, we will go there.’

When referring to things that are far away, a lengthened /u/ occurs before the demonstrative determiner modifying that noun, as in (3.122) - (3.124), or occurs as part of a local demonstrative, as in (3.125). The farther away the object is, the longer the /u/ is pronounced.

- (3.122) *u ju tɕəd mu dud-an*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST house 1SG.NNOM uncle-GEN
 ‘That house (far away) is my uncle’s.’

- (3.123) *u ju dzam wi*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST all 3SG.NNOM.DIST
kalo-χejl=af veðdz
 sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘Those (far away) are all his sheep. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.124) *u woð dzam wi*
 there 3PL.NOM.DIST all 3SG.NNOM.DIST
batço-χejl=af veðdz
 child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘Those (far away) are all his children. (Evidential/New information)’
- (3.125) *mu tçed umik*
 1SG.NNOM house there
 ‘My house is all the way over there (far away).’

Local demonstratives are often the sole spatial reference within their clause, but may also be apposed to an NP bearing locational specification, as in (3.126) & (3.127).

- (3.126) *waz m=əwd-ik tsej buzur pa kov*
 1SG.NOM CATA=here-DIM vegetable bazaar LOC mouth
 ‘I am here at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar.’
- (3.127) *k=um pa maktab maç-an ato ano*
 ANA=there LOC school 1PL.NNOM-GEN father mother
nist
 NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘There at school we do not have our father and mother.’

3.6 Manner demonstratives

Sarikoli has manner demonstratives that serve an adverbial function within the predicate. Corresponding to the anaphoric and cataphoric demonstratives *ki=* and *mi=* are the following manner demonstratives: *k=dos* ‘in that way/manner’, *ki=rang/ki=wi rang* ‘like that’, *m=dos* ‘in this way/manner’, and *mi=di rang* ‘like this’. They are formed with the manner word *dos* and

semblative marker *rang*, in combination with *k(i) =* and *m(i) =*. These demonstratives have both deictic and anaphoric or cataphoric reference to an activity. *k = dos* and *ki = rang/ki = wi rang* are used to refer to a distal activity, as well as having anaphoric function; *m = dos* and *mi = di rang* are used to refer to a proximal activity, in addition to serving a cataphoric function.

As an anaphoric manner demonstrative, *k = dos* may be used to refer to direct speech that has already been uttered, while *m = dos*, as a cataphoric demonstrative, may be used to introduce direct speech. In (3.128), the *k = dos* refers to what the addressee has already said, and *m = dos* refers to what the speaker is about to say.

- (3.128) *k = dos* *mo* *lev*, *m = dos* *lev*
 ANA = manner PROH say.IPFV CATA = manner say.IPFV
 ‘Do not say it that way, say it this way.’

3.7 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive construction refers to activities where the participants are not distinct from one another; it is used when two arguments of a verb have identical reference (Dixon 2012:159). A reflexive is used in a transitive clause if the A and O arguments have the same reference, such as the underlying sentence (3.129), by employing the reflexive pronoun *χu* in O slot, giving the sentence in (3.130). The transitive verb of the clause maintains its transitivity. (3.129) is ungrammatical if both instances of Rashid refer to the same person.

- (3.129) **raçid* *a = raçid* *ðud*
 Rashid ACC = Rashid hit.PFV
 ‘Rashid hit Rashid.’
- (3.130) *raçid* *a = χu* *ðud*
 Rashid ACC = REFL.NNOM hit.PFV
 ‘Rashid hit himself.’

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

- (3.131) *a = χu tçardz nigo ka = it*
 ACC = REFL.NNOM good watch do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Take good care of yourselves.’
- (3.132) *təw = at χu num mu = ri na*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV REFL.NNOM name 1SG.NNOM = DAT NEG
levd
 say.PFV
 ‘You did not tell me your name.’
- (3.133) *χu ano ziv mas na wazon = in*
 REFL.NNOM mother tongue also NEG know.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They do not even know their mother tongue.’
- (3.134) *χu hamru pa tçed so = am*
 REFL.NNOM companion LOC house become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I and going to my friend’s house.’

The reflexive *χu* is subject-oriented: the antecedent of *χu* must be the subject of the clause. With respect to reflexives, A, S, and copula subject arguments will all be referred to as ‘subject’. *χu* must be less prominent than its antecedent, and occurs as a non-nominative argument or non-argument. It may function as a full NP or as a possessor within an NP. Whichever syntactic function it takes on, it occurs in the regular slot for that function.

Because *χu* is subject-oriented, its antecedent is rarely ambiguous, despite its invariant form. Even when non-subject arguments appear closer to *χu* than the subject does, they cannot function as the antecedent because they are not the subject of the clause, as shown in (3.135) - (3.137).

- (3.135) *alima malum a = batço-ef χu pa tçed*
 Alima teacher ACC = child-PL.NNOM REFL.NNOM LOC house
jud
 take.PFV
 ‘Teacher Alima took the children to her house.’ (*χu* → Alima)
- (3.136) *çanbe tursun = ir χu qalam δud*
 Shanbe Tursun = DAT REFL.NNOM pen give.PFV
 ‘Shanbe gave his pen to Tursun.’ (*χu* → Shanbe)

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

Even when the subject NP is ellipsed, the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, which must be the subject, can still be known from the pronominal agreement clitics in the sentence, as in the following examples.

- (3.138) *χ-ono = ri tilfon ka = am*
 REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT phone do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will call my mother.’

- (3.139) *χu pa tced nahuctc = endz rang*
 REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF = REL SEMB

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

- (3.140) *χu mudzuz tsa wazond tar jawl*
 REFL.NNOM feeling COND know.3SG.IPFV LOC dawn

nocta na kaxt tsa səwd
 breakfast NEG do.3SG.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If she knows her own feeling, she can not eat breakfast in the morning.’

Reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns are in complementary distribution within a simple clause: any pronoun referring to the subject must take the reflexive form, and non-reflexive pronouns can never take a subject antecedent within their minimal clause. Non-reflexive pronouns can be coreferential to any argument except the subject, so they can only function as a subject or refer to non-subject arguments. This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences.

- (3.141) a. *mina χu batco = ri mon δud*
 Mina REFL.NNOM child = DAT apple give.PFV
 ‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ (χu → Mina)
 b. *mina wi batco = ri mon δud*
 Mina 3SG.NNOM.DIST child = DAT apple give.PFV
 ‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ (wi → NOT Mina)

- (3.142) a. *waz = am* *χu* *nummur ranuxtç*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM number forget.PRF
 ‘I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)’ (*χu* → I)
- b. **waz = am* *mu* *nummur ranuxtç*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM number forget.PRF
 ‘I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)’ (*mu* → ungrammatical)

Even in a sentence with a subordinate clause and two different subjects (the main clause subject and subordinate clause subject), the antecedent of *χu* is not ambiguous because a *χu* within a subordinate clause takes the subordinate clause subject as its antecedent. In finite subordinate clauses, as in (3.143), *χu* refers to the embedded clause subject instead of the main clause subject. In subordinate clauses with an explicit subject, as in (3.144), *χu* also refers to the embedded clause subject and not the main clause subject. In a subordinate clause that lacks an explicit subject, as in (3.145), *χu* may have no apparent antecedent within the minimal clause, but it may be theorized that the embedded clause has a null subject that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject, which provides a local subject antecedent for *χu*.

- (3.143) *ojmira levd iko [awagul χu pa tçed*
 Oimira say.PFV SC Awageel REFL.NNOM LOC house

rejd]
 remain.PFV
 ‘Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home].’ (*χu* → Awageel)
- (3.144) *waz = am* [*sobir χu yin qati*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Sobir REFL.NNOM wife COM

jet = i] *na wazond*
 come.INF = SC NEG know.PFV
 ‘I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife].’ (*χu* → Sobir)
- (3.145) *amad [χu = ri zuxtç = endz] a = ktub-ef*
 Amad REFL.NNOM = DAT buy.PRF = REL ACC = book-PL.NNOM

mu = ri *ðud*
 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV
 ‘Amad gave me the books [that he bought for himself].’ (*χu* → Amad)

In all three types of clauses above, *χuu* is used as a local reflexive referring to the embedded clause subject, whether it is an explicit subject or one that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject. However, there is one exception to this pattern: in a reason adverbial clause with an explicit subject, the use of *χuu* results in an ambiguous antecedent, as it is equally acceptable for *χuu* to refer to the main clause subject or the embedded clause subject, as shown in (3.146) & (3.147). When *χuu* is interpreted as being coreferential with the main clause subject, it is used as a long-distance reflexive; when it is interpreted as being coreferential with the AC subject, it is used as a local reflexive.

- (3.146) *sojra [gulmira χuu a=qalam wejrun az*
 Soyra Geelmira REFL.NNOM ACC=pen broken ABL
tcejg=i] χafo sut
 do.INF=SC upset become.PFV
 ‘Soyra got upset [because Geelmira broke her pen].’ (*χuu*→ Geelmira
 OR Soyra)
- (3.147) *raçid [sobir χuu a=kilit az bunost=i] telan*
 Rashid Sobir REFL.NNOM ACC=key ABL lose.INF=SC fine
ðud
 give.PFV
 ‘Rashid gave a fine [because Sobir lost his key].’ (*χuu*→ Rashid OR
 Sobir)

In addition to its function as an invariant reflexive pronoun, *χuu* also has two extended meanings. First, it may be used as an emphatic pronoun which emphasizes the identity of an argument’s referent. The emphatic pronoun occurs as an NP modifier which is apposed to the argument or possessor to be emphasized. It takes the form *χubaθ* in the nominative and *χuu* in the non-nominative. *χubaθ* cannot be used as a reflexive because reflexives must refer to subjects.

- (3.148) *waz soq, təw χubaθ*
 1SG.NOM healthy 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM
 ‘I am healthy, you yourself?’
- (3.149) *ta χuu mudzuz tçardz=o*
 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM feeling good=Q
 ‘Is your own feeling good?’

(3.150) *ta* *χu-an=at* *kudzur latçəwg*
 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN=2SG.PFV where put.PFV
 ‘Where did you put your own?’

(3.151) *putxu a=yin=af* *χu* *zed*
 king ACC=wife=2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV
 ‘You(pl) have killed the king’s wife herself!’

Second, *χu* may also serve an adverbial function with the meaning ‘by self’ or ‘alone’, creating a nuance that the participant is capable of doing something without anyone’s help. This function is only available for the argument in subject function, and *χubaθ* serves as a modifier which is apposed to the subject, as in (3.152) & (3.153). Alternatively, to express the same meaning, the adverbial *χu tçi tan* ‘by self’ may be used, as in (3.154).

(3.152) *təw* *χubaθ* *a=wi* *hat ka*
 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST open do.IPFV
 ‘You open that yourself.’

(3.153) *mu* *radzen* *χubaθ* *tid* *tçi* *kaxt*
 1SG.NNOM daughter REFL.NOM go.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My daughter can go by herself.’

(3.154) *m-ono* *digar dzuj tujd,* *waz=am*
 1SG.NNOM-mother other place go.PFV 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV

χu *tçi tan paləw tçəwg*
 REFL.NNOM LOC body pilaf do.PFV
 ‘My mother went somewhere else, I made pilaf all by myself.’

3.8 Reciprocal pronoun

As with the reflexive, the reciprocal construction is used in activities with overlapping participants. If there are two clauses with the same verb, and the O argument of each verb has the same reference as the A argument of the other, as in the underlying sentence (3.155), then a reciprocal construction is used, as in (3.156). The two participants are conjoined into *raçid at sobir* and function as the A argument, while the O slot is filled by reciprocal pronoun *imi*. The subject, as the fully-specified NP, serves as the antecedent.

(3.155) *raçid a=sobir ðud, sobir a=raçid ðud*
 Rashid ACC=Sobir hit.PFV Sobir ACC=Rashid hit.PFV
 ‘Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.’

(3.156) *raçid at sobir=af a=imi ðud*
 Rashid CONJ Sobir=3PL.PFV ACC=RECP hit.PFV
 ‘Rashid and Sobir hit each other.’

As with the reflexive pronoun *χu*, the reciprocal pronoun *imi* is usually subject-oriented, and is less prominent than its antecedent, occurring in a non-subject slot—such as accusative, as in (3.156) & (3.157), dative, as in (3.158) & (3.159), ablative, as in (3.160) - (3.162), comitative, as in (3.163), locative/allative, as in (3.164) & (3.165), or a possessor within an NP, as in (3.166) & (3.167).

(3.157) *ar di afto a=imi*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week ACC=RECP

wejn = an = o
 see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall we see each other this week?’ (accusative)

(3.158) *woð=af imi=ri χu surat*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP=DAT REFL.NNOM picture

vusond
 show.PFV
 ‘They showed each other their picture.’ (dative)

(3.159) *woð=af imi=ri samæut ðud*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV RECP=DAT gift give.PFV
 ‘They gave gifts to each other.’ (dative)

(3.160) *woð=af az imi χumand sut*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ABL RECP learn become.PFV
 ‘They learned from each other.’ (ablative)

(3.161) *manos at mina=af az imi surrud*
 Manos CONJ Mina=3PL.PFV ABL RECP separate.PFV
 ‘Manos and Mina broke up.’ (ablative)

- (3.162) *gulbarg at tiloxon = af az imi xafo*
 Geelbarg CONJ Tilohon = 3PL.PFV ABL RECP upset
sut
 become.PFV
 ‘Geelbarg and Tilohon got upset at each other.’ (ablative)
- (3.163) *xsrəw at kuraç = af imi qati balad*
 Hsreaw CONJ Keerash = 3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted
sut
 become.PFV
 ‘Hsreaw and Keerash got acquainted with each other.’ (comitative)
- (3.164) *waz at mu jaχ tar imi arđo na*
 1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG
đej = an
 fall.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘My sister and I do not look alike.’ (allative)
- (3.165) *maç = an tar imi zuzd*
 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV
 ‘We ran towards each other.’ (allative)
- (3.166) *wođ = af imi(-an wi) ktub*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book
wazapt
 return.PFV
 ‘They returned each other’s books.’ (genitive)
- (3.167) *wođ = af imi(-an wi)*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST
a = ejb-εf wazond
 ACC = transgression-PL.NNOM know.PFV
 ‘They found out about each other’s transgressions.’ (genitive)

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

- (3.168) *mu jaχ a=gulbarg at tursun imi=ri*
 1SG.NNOM sister ACC=Geelbarg CONJ Tursun RECP=DAT

balad tçəwg
 acquainted do.PFV

‘My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.’

- (3.169) *alima malum a=çanigul at asal imi qati ep*
 Alima teacher ACC=Shanigeel CONJ Asal RECP COM fix

tçəwg
 do.PFV

‘Teacher Alima reconciled Shanigeel and Asal to each other.’

imi shows no person distinction and always maintains the same form, being interpreted as having the same person and number as its antecedent. A reciprocal construction may be formed from a transitive or intransitive clause, and does not change the transitivity of the clause. It may express either a simultaneous meaning describing a single unit of activity, as in (3.157) & (3.163), or a sequential meaning for a series of activities, as in (3.158) & (3.159).

