Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

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Title: Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
Date: 2017-09-20

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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 *maɕ* and *tamaɕ*, respectively, for both nominative and non-nominative forms.

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	**PLURAL**
1.NOM	*waz*	*maɕ*
1.NNOM	*muɯ*	
2.NOM	*təw*	*tamaɕ*
2.NNOM	*ta*	

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

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

(3.1)   *waz*   *a=ta*   *tɕardʐ* *wejn=am*
         1SG.NOM   ACC=2SG.NNOM   good   see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
         'I love you.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.13) *nur   maɕ   tej   na   tɕəwɣdʐ=ɛndʐ*
        today 1PL.NOM wedding   NEG   do.PRF=REL

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

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

        kuutɕin suut
        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	*mu*		*maɕ*	
2.NNOM	*ta*		*tamaɕ*	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
3.NNOM	*di*	*wi*	*dɛf*	*wɛf*

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

(3.15) *waʐ   dʑul vid   alo   mu   mom=ik*
        1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother=DUR

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

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

(3.16) *di   buland awudʑ qati maɕ   ʁəwl 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   χu   tɕi zord kandakuri*
        2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM LOC heart engrave

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

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

          so = am
          become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'If I have time, I will come over to your(pl) place.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

　　　　zuxt＝o
　　　　get.PFV＝Q
　'Have you committed this one's name into memory?'

3.2 Bound pronouns

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

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

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

Table 3.3 Subject-verb agreement pronominal clitics

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

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

(3.25)   *naviɕ*=*am*
          write.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
          'I will write.'

(3.26)   *tɕos*=*it*
          watch.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
          'Watch(pl).'

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

(3.27)   *χug*=*am*
          eat.PFV=1SG.PFV
          'I ate.'

(3.28)   *iθtɕ*=*af*
          come.PRF=3PL.PFV
          'They came. (Evidential/New information)'

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

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

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

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

3.3 Nominal demonstratives

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

Table 3.4 Nominal demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

        intsuvdʐ = ɛndʐ
sew.PRF = REL
'These are also things that I have sewn myself.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.40)   *jam/jad*   *tɕi*   *batɕo*
      3SG.NOM.PROX   who.NNOM   child
      'Whose child is this?' (jam/jad interchangeable)

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

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

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

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

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

      latɕəwg,   a=wɛf=am   *latɕəwg*
      let.PFV   ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST=1SG.PFV   let.PFV
      'I did not allow these to enter, but I allowed them.'

3.3.1 Demonstrative determiners

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

Table 3.5 Demonstrative determiners

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

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

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

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

(3.45)   *jam/jad*   *batɕo utɕ   aqlin   vɛðdʑ*
          3SG.NOM.PROX child   very smart be.PRF
          'This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

        χu   *az   dʑuj   undəwd*
        REFL.NNOM   ABL place get.up.PFV
        'I got up from my seat for these women.'

For distal non-nominative objects, the determiner *wi* is used, again regardless of their number or whether they are human or non-human. Compare the following pairs of sentences which demonstrate that *wi* may be used for both singular and plural non-nominative NPs, whether they are human (3.62) - (3.65), non-human animate (3.66) & (3.67), or non-human inanimate (3.68) & (3.69).

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

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

        rond
        scold.PFV
        'I scolded those children.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

        pojd
        herd.PFV
        'I herded those sheep.'

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

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

        xojd
        read.PFV
        'I read those books.'

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 Demonstrative clitics

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

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

(3.73)   *suf*   *tudʐik*   *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)   *kudʐur = ik*   *ɕɛr*   *waruvd*   *k = um = aθ*   *təw*
            where = DUR   donkey   stop.PFV   ANA = there = EMP   2SG.NOM

               bejg   *at*   *χon*   *sɛt = ir*   *vɛðdʐ*
               ruler   CONJ   king   become.INF = DAT   be.PRF
            'Wherever the donkey stops, that is where you will become a ruler
              and a king. (Evidential/New information)'

(3.75)   *təw*   *pars*   *tsa*   *waz = am*
            2SG.NOM   ask.IPFV   COND   1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV

               ki = wi   *rang*   *parst*
               ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST   SEMB   ask.PFV
            'You know how you ask questions? I asked like that.'

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

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

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

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

               puɡan   *waz*   *tɛdz = 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 = itɕuz*
       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   lɛv*
       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   ɕamul ɯtɕ kutɕin kazwi məwdʑ ɯtɕ buland*
       today wind   very strong so   wave   very high

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

(3.83) *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*   *dʐuj=ik*   *ðizd*
          CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX   place=DUR   hurt.3SG.IPFV
          'This place hurts.'

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

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

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

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

        tçi   *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*   *dʑuj=ik*   *ðizd*
          CATA=3SG.NOM.DIST   place=DUR   hurt.3SG.IPFV
          'That place hurts.'

(3.92)   **təw*   *mi=wi*   *rang*   *çejdoi*   *intsivd*   *tçi*
          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*   *tçi*   *dʑuj*   *niθ=an*   *m=k=əwd*
          one   LOC   place   sit.IPFV=1PL.IPFV   CATA=ANA=here
          'We gather here in one place.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

      mi=k=jad   *ʁaðo*
      CATA=ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX   boy
        'The king's daughter takes a look at him and says, "Ah, yes, it is
        this boy."'

(3.98) *m=k=az*   *di*   *ʁots-ɛf*
        CATA=aca=ABL   3SG.NNOM.PROX   girl-PL.NNOM

      tu=ri=ik   *tɕidum* *χuɕ*   *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) *maɕ   qati   tang*
      1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous

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

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

      dwoð = an
      bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
      'We bring in one good tongueless thing (animal) that has worked
      alongside us to make a living.'

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

(3.100) *m = dos = am*   *uj*   *tɕəwg*
         CATA = manner = 1SG.PFV thought do.PFV
         'I thought of it this way.'

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

3.5 Local demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.108) *mu   tɕɛd   utɕ   ðar, tar   əwd   na   jɛt=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   sɛt=ir   tsund   waχt*
         ABL here Teeng become.INF=DAT how.much time

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

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

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

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

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

(3.113) *təw   tɕum 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 Ta-
ble 3.6. (3.114) - (3.117) are illustrations of these idiomatic expressions con-
taining prepositions and local demonstratives.

Table 3.6 Idiomatic expressions with local demonstratives

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

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

(3.115) *i ɕejdoi intsivd=ir tar um tar əwd i most*
one Sheydoi sew.INF=DAT LOC there LOC here one month

> *tizd*
> go.3SG.IPFV
'It takes approximately one month to make one Sheydoi (female cap).'

(3.116) *di tar əwd az mu utɕ dzul*
3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small

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

> *ʁarst*
> turn.3SG.IPFV
'From now on, do not ask me questions about very small things. My head will spin.'

(3.117) *a=ta wand az tarat ju xovd na*
ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG

> *tɕi tɕejg=itɕuz sut*
> CAP do.INF=REL become.PFV
'Since seeing you, he has become unable to sleep.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.125) *mu   tɕɛd   uːmik*
         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   ʁov*
         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 maɕ-an   ato   ano*
         ANA = there LOC school 1PL.NNOM-GEN father mother

    nist
    NEG.be.IPFV
    'There at school we do not have our father and mother.'

3.6 Manner demonstratives

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

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

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

(3.128) *k = dos   mo   lεv,   m = dos   lεv*
         ANA = manner PROH say.IPFV CATA = manner say.IPFV
         'Do not say it that way, say it this way.'

3.7 Reflexive pronoun

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

(3.129) **raɕid   a = raɕid   ðud*
         Rashid ACC = Rashid hit.PFV
         'Rashid hit Rashid.'

(3.130) *raɕid   a = χu   ðud*
         Rashid ACC = REFL.NNOM hit.PFV
         'Rashid hit himself.'

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

(3.131) *a = χu*   *tɕardʑ 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

         lɛvd
         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   tɕɛd   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 = batɕo-ɛf*   *χu*   *pa   tɕɛd*
         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) *ɕanbɛ   tursun = ir*   *χu*   *qalam ðud*
         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   tɕɛd   naluɕtɕ = ɛndʑ rang*
        REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF = REL   SEMB

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

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

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

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

(3.141) a. *mina χu   batɕo = ri   mon   ðud*
           Mina REFL.NNOM child = DAT apple give.PFV
           'Mina gave an apple to her child.' (*χu*→ Mina)

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

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

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

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

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

         rejd]
         remain.PFV
         'Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home].' (*χu→* Awageel)

(3.144) *waz = am   [sobir χu   yin   qati*
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Sobir REFL.NNOM wife COM

         jɛt = i]   na   wazond
         come.INF = SC NEG know.PFV
         'I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife]. ' (*χu→*
           Sobir)

(3.145) *amad [χu = ri   zuxtɕ = ɛndʑ]   a = ktub-ɛf*
         Amad REFL.NNOM = DAT buy.PRF = REL ACC = book-PL.NNOM

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

In all three types of clauses above, *χu* 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 *χu* results in an ambiguous antecedent, as it is equally acceptable for *χu* to refer to the main clause subject or the embedded clause subject, as shown in (3.146) & (3.147). When *χu* 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 χu   a=qalam wejrun az*
         Soyra Geelmira REFL.NNOM ACC=pen broken ABL

         tɕejg=i]   χafo   sut
         do.INF=SC upset become.PFV
         'Soyra got upset [because Geelmira broke her pen].' (*χu*→ Geelmira OR Soyra)

(3.147) *raɕid [sobir χu   a=kilit   az   bunost=i]   tɛlan*
         Rashid Sobir REFL.NNOM ACC=key ABL lose.INF=SC fine

         ðud
         give.PFV
         'Rashid gave a fine [because Sobir lost his key].' (*χu*→ Rashid OR Sobir)

In addition to its function as an invariant reflexive pronoun, *χu* 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 *χu* 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   χu   mudʑuz   tɕardʑ=o*
         2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM feeling good=Q
         'Is your own feeling good?'

(3.150) *ta*   *χu-an=at*   *kudʐur latɕəwg*
         2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN=2SG.PFV   where   put.PFV
         'Where did you put your own?'

(3.151) *putxu a=ɣin=af*   *χu*   *zɛd*
         king   ACC=wife=2PL.PFV   REFL.NNOM   kill.PFV
         'You(pl) have killed the king's wife herself!'

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

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

(3.153) *mu*   *radzɛn*   *χubaθ*   *tid*   *tɕi*   *kaxt*
         1SG.NNOM   daughter   REFL.NOM   go.INF   CAP   do.3SG.IPFV
         'My daughter can go by herself.'

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

         χu   *tɕi*   *tan*   *paləw* *tɕəwg*
         REFL.NNOM   LOC   body   pilaf   do.PFV
         'My mother went somewhere else, I made pilaf all by myself.'

3.8 Reciprocal pronoun

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

(3.155) *raɕid   a=sobir   ðud,   sobir   a=raɕid   ðud*
Rashid ACC=Sobir hit.PFV Sobir ACC=Rashid hit.PFV
'Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.'

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

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

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

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

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

    vuːsond
show.PFV
'They showed each other their picture.' (dative)

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

(3.160) *woð=af   az   imi   χuːmand suːt*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ABL RECP learn   become.PFV
'They learned from each other.' (ablative)

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

(3.162) *gulbarg   at   tiloχon＝af   az   imi   χafo*
         Geelbarg CONJ Tilohon＝3PL.PFV ABL RECP upset

       sut
       become.PFV
      'Geelbarg and Tilohon got upset at each other.' (ablative)

(3.163) *χsrəw   at   kuraɕ＝af   imi   qati   balad*
         Hsreaw CONJ Keerash＝3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted

       sut
       become.PFV
      'Hsreaw and Keerash got acquainted with each other.' (comita-
      tive)

(3.164) *waz   at   mu   jaχ   tar   imi   arðo   na*
         1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG

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

(3.165) *maɕ＝an   tar   imi   ʐuzd*
         1PL.NOM＝1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV
      'We ran towards each other.' (allative)

(3.166) *woð＝af   imi(-an   wi)   ktub*
         3PL.NOM.DIST＝3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book

       waʐapt
       return.PFV
      'They returned each other's books.' (genitive)

(3.167) *woð＝af   imi(-an   wi)*
         3PL.NOM.DIST＝3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

       a＝ejb-ɛf   wazond
       ACC＝transgression-PL.NNOM know.PFV
      'They found out about each other's transgressions.' (genitive)

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

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

          balad   *tɕəwg*
          acquainted   do.PFV
          'My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.'

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

          tɕəwg
          do.PFV
          'Teacher Alima reconciled Shanigeel and Asal to each other.'

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