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7

Mood

This chapter describes the morphosyntactic marking of the three major moods, which are a property of the sentence: declarative (§7.1), imperative (§7.2), and interrogative (§7.3). These three mood types grammatically express different speech acts: the declarative mood serves the function of providing information, the imperative mood is for issuing commands, and the interrogative mood is used for requesting information. The imperative and interrogative moods can be further divided into different sentence types. Moods and their subtypes are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Moods and subtypes

Mood	Subtype	Marker	Verb type	Reference
Declarative	Declarative	---	any	§7.1
Imperative	Imperative	∅	2.IPFV	§7.2.1
	Hortative	∅	1PL.IPFV	§7.2.2
	Jussive	<i>laka; nugur</i>	IPFV	§7.2.3
	Prohibitive	<i>mo</i>	2.IPFV	§7.2.4
	Apprehensive	<i>mo</i>	IPFV	§7.2.5
	Interrogative			
Interrogative	Polar Q	<i>=o</i>	any	§7.3.1
	Alternative Q	<i>=o</i> + tag	any	§7.3.2
	Tag Q	<i>nej</i>	any	§7.3.3
	Content Q	interrogative word	any	§7.3.4
	Indirect Q	(<i>=ir</i>) + <i>vid</i>	PRF/INF	§7.3.5

7.1 Declarative

The declarative mood correlates with the speech act of expressing statements. It is often used for descriptive speech acts, such as asserting or describing something. The affirmative declarative sentence is structurally least restricted

and may take any of the available person, number, aspect, and modality options. The major constituents in a declarative sentence are commonly arranged in the basic constituent order, SOV. Sentences (7.1) - (7.3) are in the declarative mood.

- (7.1) *muu inder i kuj mas nist*
 1SG.NNOM on.person one Chinese.yuan even NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘I don’t even have 1 yuan with me.’

- (7.2) *wi mom prud-nendz afto az*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST grandmother front-ADJ week ABL
duxturxuno naxtug
 hospital go.up.PFV
 ‘His grandmother came out of the hospital last week.’

- (7.3) *kuuraç = ir stəwr guxt xuc*
 Keerash = DAT yak meat happy
 ‘Keerash likes yak meat.’

In a declarative sentence with no special focus, the stressed syllable of the final constituent (usually the verb) generally carries a higher pitch than the other constituents of the sentence. If there are any non-stressed syllables attached to the end of the verb, such as pronominal agreement clitics or aspectual suffixes, they are marked by a fall in pitch. If a particular element is in focus, it carries the highest pitch instead.

7.2 Imperative

The imperative mood most often correlates with the speech act of giving commands, in which the speaker tells the addressee to do something. Imperatives may be subdivided into imperative, hortative, jussive, prohibitive, and apprehensive moods, which cover direct and indirect commands as well as wishes and desires. The imperative and hortative do not require overt morphological marking besides the verb form (which is pragmatically interpreted for mood), while the jussive is marked with *laka/nugur* ‘let’ and the prohibitive and apprehensive are marked with the particle *mo*.

7.2.1 Imperative

The basic imperative mood is used for direct commands. Since a direct command is directed at the addressee, the second person is the subject of the verb. Structurally, it is an unmarked sentence in imperfective aspect with a second person singular agreement clitic (=Ø, as in (7.4) - (7.6)), or, in the case of giving a command to more than one person, a second person plural agreement clitic (=it, as in (7.7) - (7.9)). As is common in most other languages (Kroeger 2005:199), the second person pronoun in an imperative sentence is typically dropped from the subject position. Since the imperative mood is not marked, and shares the same structure as a sentence describing a habitual or future activity with a second person subject, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to interpret such sentences as commands.

- (7.4) *a=dver bawej*
 ACC=door close.IPFV
 ‘Close the door.’
- (7.5) *purs ziv mu=ri xumand ka*
 Persian tongue 1SG.NNOM=DAT teach do.IPFV
 ‘Teach me Persian.’
- (7.6) *az mu x-oto x-ono=ri*
 ABL 1SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT

 salum lev
 hello say.IPFV
 ‘Say hello to your parents for me.’
- (7.7) *awal xu ðust znej=it*
 first REFL.NNOM hand wash.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
 ‘Wash your(pl) hands first.’
- (7.8) *nur pa tæd dam zoz=it*
 today LOC house rest get.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
 ‘Rest(pl) at home today.’
- (7.9) *az xwor maç=ir anur*
 ABL Kashgar 1PL.NNOM=DAT pomegranate

 vor=it
 bring.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
 ‘Bring(pl) pomegranates for us from Kashgar.’

Sometimes an imperative overtly expresses the second person subject, as in (7.10) & (7.11). In such cases, the overt subject is often stressed.

- (7.10) *təw* *χu* *leq* *znej*
 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM clothing wash.IPFV
 ‘You wash your clothes.’

- (7.11) *tamaç* *moçin* *qati* *tədz = it*
 2PL.NOM car COM go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) go by car.’

In some cases, an imperative may even be formed without a verb. In (7.12) & (7.13), the imperative consists of an adverb and the second person agreement clitic; in (7.14), the imperative consists of a noun and the agreement clitic. The second person pronoun subject and the verb are omitted.

- (7.12) *džald = it*
 fast = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Hurry up(pl)!’

- (7.13) *asto = it*
 slow = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Slow down(pl)!’

- (7.14) *džuj = it*
 space = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Give(pl) me space (move out of the way)!’

In order to soften a command and make it into a more polite request, the interrogative enclitic *=o* is often added at the end of a sentence in imperative mood, as in (7.15) - (7.17).

- (7.15) *mu = ri* *jordam* *ka = it = o*
 1SG.NNOM = DAT help do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will you(pl) help me?’

- (7.16) *az* *amriko* *mu = ri* *i* *tsiz*
 ABL America 1SG.NNOM = DAT one thing

vor = it = o
 bring.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will you(pl) bring something for me from America?’

- (7.17) *χuu ar tej a = muu qiw ka = o*
 REFL.NNOM LOC wedding ACC = 1SG.NNOM call do.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will you invite me to your wedding?’

7.2.2 Hortative

Hortative mood is used when the speaker is encouraging or urging the addressee to do something with the speaker. The hortative mood is also unmarked, but only occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person plural subject and agreement clitic (= *an*). This construction is potentially ambiguous, in that it may be interpreted as either a declarative or a hortative. As with the imperative, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to determine whether it should be interpreted as a statement or mutual encouragement. Hortatives may either be affirmative or negative: (7.18) - (7.20) express mutual encouragement, while (7.21) - (7.23) express mutual discouragement.

- (7.18) *qatɛɛin tɕoj broz = an*
 topping tea drink.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us drink milk tea.’
- (7.19) *batɕo-ɛf = ir χat naviɕ = an*
 child-PL.NNOM = DAT letter write.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us write letters to the children.’
- (7.20) *pa tɕɛd dið = an, a = χuu θum*
 LOC house enter.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV ACC = REFL.NNOM warm

ka = an
 do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us go into the house and warm ourselves.’
- (7.21) *nur hawu iɕ, na tɛdz = an*
 today weather cold NEG go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘The weather is cold today, let us not go.’
- (7.22) *alima na wazond = o ku, az wi na*
 Alima NEG know.3SG.IPFV = Q SUP ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG

pars = an
 ask.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Alima does not know, I think; let us not ask her.’

- (7.23) *jad poj utɕ tuɕp veðdʒ, na*
 3SG.NOM.PROX yogurt very sour be.PRF NEG
fur = an
 slurp.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘This yogurt is very sour (Evidential/New information), let us not slurp it.’

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

- (7.24) *a = batɕo-ɛf tɕos = an = o*
 ACC = child-PL.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall we wait for the kids?’
- (7.25) *az dars ɕofs = an ɕu samu*
 ABL lesson go.down = 1PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ walk
kan = an = o
 do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall we take a walk after we get out of class?’

To ask the addressee whether or not one should perform a certain action, the speaker uses an imperfective polar question with a first-person singular subject, as in (7.26) & (7.27), or first-person plural subject in the exclusive sense, as in (7.28) & (7.29). This is known as the deliberative (Palmer 2001), and is closely related to hortatives in meaning and form. This is also closely related to the form and purpose of asking another person whether that person might be willing to do something, introduced in the end of §7.2.1.

- (7.26) *tɕoj tu = ri wejð = am = o*
 tea 2SG.NNOM = DAT put.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall I pour you tea?’
- (7.27) *a = dver bawej = am = o*
 ACC = door close.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall I close the door?’
- (7.28) *a = ta tɕos = an = o*
 ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall we wait for you?’

- (7.29) *az xwor tamaç = ir i tsiz*
 ABL Kashgar 2PL.NNOM = DAT one thing
vor = an = o
 bring.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Shall we bring something for you from Kashgar?’

7.2.3 Jussive

Jussive mood expresses indirect commands as well as expressing wishes and desires. It is most commonly formed by adding the verb *laka* ‘let’ immediately before or after the main verb in the imperfective aspect (or sometimes even before the object, as in (7.30)). The jussives in (7.30) - (7.33) express indirect commands.

- (7.30) *wi radzen laka batço vird*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter let.IPFV child bring.3SG.IPFV
 ‘May his daughter give birth to the child.’
- (7.31) *askar-χejl laka χu tçi asl*
 soldier-PL.NOM let.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC origin
joð = in
 come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘May the soldiers return to their original state.’
- (7.32) *dinju-endz dzam χalg-χejl a = maç putxu*
 world-ADJ all person-PL.NOM ACC = 1PL.NNOM king
laka stəw = in
 let.IPFV praise.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘May all peoples of the world praise our king.’
- (7.33) *χsrəw χu pa tçəd laka tamoq χird,*
 Hsreaw REFL.NNOM LOC house let.IPFV food eat.3SG.IPFV
dam laka zozd, laka dzałd soq
 rest let.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV fast healthy
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘May Hsreaw eat at his own house, may he rest, and may he recover quickly.’

Jussives may also express wishes (7.34) & (7.35), curses (7.36), and blessings or good wishes (7.37) - (7.40).

- (7.34) *hawu* *ðejd* *laka*
rain fall.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV
'Let it rain/snow.'
- (7.35) *tçi* *muu* *ta* *ram* *laka* *joðd*
LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV
'May your mercy come upon me!'
- (7.36) *χuðoj* *laka* *ta* *tsem* *kəwr* *kaxt*
God let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM eye blind do.3SG.IPFV
'May God cause your eyes to be blind.'
- (7.37) *χuðoj* *laka* *tu=ri* *i* *puuts* *nasib* *kaxt*
God let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT one son grant do.3SG.IPFV
'May God grant you a son.'
- (7.38) *χuðoj* *laka* *a=ta* *az* *balu* *qazu*
God let.IPFV ACC=2SG.NNOM ABL disaster judgment
nigaduri *kaxt*
protection do.3SG.IPFV
'May God protect you from disasters and judgment.'
- (7.39) *spejd* *pond* *laka* *tu=ri* *vid*
white road let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT be.3SG.IPFV
'May there be a white road for you.'
- (7.40) *wef* *tan* *laka* *salomat* *vid*
3PL.NNOM.DIST body let.IPFV healthy be.3SG.IPFV
wef *umr* *laka* *daruz* *səwd*
3PL.NNOM.DIST lifetime let.IPFV long become.3SG.IPFV
'May their bodies be healthy; may their lives become long!'

Although jussives most frequently occur with third person subjects, they may also occur with first or second person subjects:

- (7.41) *i: xuiðoj utɕ na vid-i=am wand*
 VOC God very NEG be.INF-NMLZ = 1SG.PFV see.PFV
waz laka dʒald dɛr boj
 1SG.NOM let.IPFV fast CPRV rich.person
so = am
 become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘O God, I have experienced much penury; may I become rich more quickly.’
- (7.42) *digar mas mejli waz laka k = az*
 other also okay 1SG.NOM let.IPFV ANA = ABL
di intawum nardʒes = am
 3SG.NNOM.PROX exam pass.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Other things aside, just let me pass this exam.’
- (7.43) *maɕ laka wi marg wejn = an*
 1PL.NOM let.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST death see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘May we see his death.’
- (7.44) *a balo a = di tang-i = an*
 VOC child ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX difficult-NMLZ = 1PL.PFV
maɕ wand tɔw laka tɕardʒ xuj
 1PL.NOM see.PFV 2SG.NOM let.IPFV good read.IPFV
boj so
 rich.person become.IPFV
 ‘O child, we have gone through difficulty; may you study well and become rich.’
- (7.45) *tamaɕ laka tɕardʒ ɛirs = it dastmand*
 2PL.NOM let.IPFV good turn.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV wealthy
so = it
 become.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘May you have a pleasant journey and become wealthy.’

In addition to *laka*, the word *nugur* ‘let’ also serves the same function of forming jussives, but is used less frequently:

- (7.46) *di* *çopur moçin nuğur tçawl*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX driver car let worthless

səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘May this driver’s car get broken.’

- (7.47) *adzab tçardz batço = at* *veðdz barakat nuğur*
 very good child = 2SG.PFV be.PRF blessing let

vrej
 find.IPFV
 ‘You are a very good child (Evidential/New information); may you find blessing.’

7.2.4 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood is used for giving negative commands, when commanding the addressee not to do something. It is formed with the particle *mo* immediately before or after an imperfective verb, and is used with second person subjects. Prohibitives are discussed in §9.4.

7.2.5 Apprehensive

The apprehensive mood is formed by negating the jussive. It is a subtype of the prohibitive, as it is also marked with the particle *mo*. It is described in §9.5.

7.3 Interrogative

Interrogative mood correlates with the speech act of asking questions. Polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, and content questions are described in this section. All four of these question types may be formed with all possible combinations of aspect, person, number, polarity, and evidentiality. The section on content questions also describes other functions and aspects of interrogative words, including: interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1), negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2), reduplication for pluralization (§7.3.4.3), and interrogatives used as filler words (§7.3.4.4). Finally, §7.3.5 describes indirect questions and §7.3.6 discusses some other pragmatic aspects of questions.

7.3.1 Polar question

A polar question presents a statement and seeks confirmation or denial of it (Dixon 2012:411). It is marked by a special interrogative enclitic =*o* plus intonation. The interrogative enclitic =*o*, which is only used for marking polar questions, is a sentence-final enclitic. It typically occurs after the predicate or copula complement, but may also follow other constituents that are questioned as long as they are sentence-final, as in (7.52). Polar questions do not have a distinctive constituent order, as the constituent order is the same as the corresponding declarative sentence, SOV. The following examples demonstrate a variety of aspect and clause type possibilities for polar questions: perfective verbal clause (7.48), imperfective verbal clause (7.49), copula clause with a headless relative clause as the copula complement (7.50), copula clause with a substantival genitive as the copula complement (7.51), and a question with just a single argument as the sole constituent, with all other elements omitted (7.52).

- (7.48) *tamoq = at χug = o*
 food = 2SG.PFV eat.PFV = Q
 ‘Have you eaten?’
- (7.49) *dud dodik tɕɛd-nɛndz-χejl mas joð = in = o*
 uncle Dodik house-ADJ-PL.NOM also come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Will Uncle Dodik’s family also come?’
- (7.50) *təw tej tɕəwydz = ɛndz = o*
 2SG.NOM wedding do.PRF = REL = Q
 ‘Are you married?’
- (7.51) *jad ktub ta-an = o*
 3SG.NOM.PROX book 2SG.NNOM-GEN = Q
 ‘Is this book yours?’
- (7.52) *waz = o*
 1SG.NOM = Q
 ‘Me?’

In addition to the sentence-final interrogative enclitic, polar questions are marked by intonation. In a polar question, the stressed syllable of the final constituent carries a high pitch, followed by a sharp fall on the final syllable containing the interrogative enclitic =*o*. However, when the negator *na* or *nist* occurs in the sentence, it usually receives the high pitch instead.

A polar question may be general in scope, or it may be focused, enquiring about the reference of a particular constituent. To place the focus on a particular constituent instead of the whole question, that constituent may receive the primary stress. As with declarative sentences, word order is quite free and certain elements may be fronted, although changing the word order is not the primary way to signal the focused constituent.

A polar question prompts *əʔə* ‘yes’ or *naʃ/nist* ‘no’ as an answer, but there is no expectation as to whether the answer will be positive or negative.

When responding to a negative polar question, a ‘no’ answer agrees with the negative expectation of the question. For example, in response to the polar question in (7.53), a ‘no’ answer, as in (7.54), indicates that the speaker is not going and a ‘yes’ answer, as in (7.55), indicates that the speaker is going.

- (7.53) *təw nur maç qati na tɛdz=o*
 2SG.NOM today 1PL.NNOM COM NEG go.IPFV=Q
 ‘Are you not going with us today?’

- (7.54) *naʃ, na tɛdz=am*
 NEG NEG go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘No, I am not going.’

- (7.55) *əʔə, tɛdz=am*
 yes go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Yes, I am going.’

7.3.2 Alternative question

An alternative question, which offers a choice of answers to the addressee, is formed from a regular polar question with the interrogative enclitic, followed by the alternative choice as a tag:

- (7.56) *wi gap rust=o, fand*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST word true=Q false
 ‘Is his word true, or false?’

Even though Sarikoli has the conjunction *jo* ‘or’, it is not used for conjoining two alternative choices to form an alternative question¹, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.57) & (7.58) below. Occasionally, the alternative

¹However, since [j] is often inserted between two vowels as a hiatus resolution strategy, the interrogative enclitic *o* has the same phonetic realization as *jo* ‘or’ when preceded by a vowel (see §1.4.1.3).

choice is added slowly and the interrogative enclitic occurs a second time, as in (7.59), but this is rare.

- (7.57) **wi gap rust jo fand*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST word true or false
 ‘Is his word true or false?’
- (7.58) **wi gap rust=o, jo fand=o*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST word true=Q or false=Q
 ‘Is his word true, or false?’
- (7.59) *wi gap rust=o... fand=o*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST word true=Q false=Q
 ‘Is his word true... or is it false?’

The alternative choice that occurs as the tag may either be an alternative to a verbal predicate (7.60), copula complement (7.61) & (7.62), core argument (7.63) & (7.64), peripheral argument (7.65), adverbial or adnominal element (7.66) & (7.67), or even simply a negator, either as *naj* for verbal predicates (7.68) or *nist* for existential or copula predicates (7.69). As with regular polar questions, the basic constituent order in the main clause of the alternative question is SOV.

- (7.60) *təw ɕitɕ xu tɕer ka=o, xufs*
 2SG.NOM now REFL.NNOM work do.IPFV=Q sleep.IPFV
 ‘Will you do your work now, or sleep?’
- (7.61) *jad mu-an=o, ta-an*
 3s.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN=Q 2SG.NNOM-GEN
 ‘Is this mine, or yours?’
- (7.62) *nurbia pa maktab=o, pa tɕəd*
 Nurbia LOC school=Q LOC house
 ‘Is Nurbia at school, or at home?’
- (7.63) *tudʒik ziv qilo=o, hansu ziv*
 Tajik tongue difficult=Q Han tongue
 ‘Is Tajik difficult, or Mandarin?’
- (7.64) *maɕ paləw ɣor=an=o, laɣman*
 1PL.NOM pilaf eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q Laghman
 ‘Shall we eat pilaf, or Laghman (pulled noodles)?’

- (7.65) *tamaç* *χu* *ðuust* *qati* *χor=it=o*,
 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q
tɕib *qati*
 spoon COM
 ‘Will you(pl) eat with your hands, or with spoons?’
- (7.66) *waz=am* *dʒald* *jot=o*, *asto*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV fast come.PFV=Q slow
 ‘Did I come quickly, or slowly?’
- (7.67) *woð=af* *a=di* *guxt* *χug=o*,
 3PL.NOM=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX meat eat.PFV=Q
a=wi
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST
 ‘Did they eat this meat, or that?’
- (7.68) *nur* *ruwun=af* *sut=o*, *nej*
 today leave=2PL.PFV become.PFV=Q NEG
 ‘Did you leave today, or not?’
- (7.69) *jad* *ruçt* *baron* *tu=ri* *χuç=o*,
 3SG.NOM.PROX red dress 2SG.NNOM=DAT happy=Q
nist
 NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘Do you like this red dress, or not?’

The alternative question is different from a polar question in that it should be answered with one of the choices given, rather than *ə?ə* ‘yes’ or *naj/nist* ‘no’ (unless one of the alternative choices is a negator). Even though alternative questions are a type of tag question, it is a neutral question with no expectation concerning the answer, as to whether the answer will be positive or negative. Alternative questions are used very frequently in conversation, and a question like (7.70) is not considered impolite in the slightest degree.

- (7.70) *təw* *mas* *mu* *qati* *so=o*, *nej*
 2SG.NOM also 1SG.NNOM COM become.IPFV=Q NEG
 ‘Are you also going with me, or not?’

In an alternative question, each of the two alternatives is stressed, and the alternative in the tag carries a high pitch.

7.3.3 Tag question

A tag question is a leading question (or biased question), in which the speaker expects the addressee to answer “yes”, agreeing with the main clause. It may be used when the speaker is uncertain about the truth of the statement and wants to seek confirmation, or when the speaker believes that the statement is correct and wants to seek agreement from the addressee. In either case, a tag question expects the supposition of the main clause to be confirmed or agreed with. Tag questions are used very frequently in conversation among Sarikoli speakers.

A tag question is formed by adding *nej*, a variant of the independent polarity form, *naj* ‘no’, after a declarative sentence and thereby converting it into a question. Whether the main clause is positive, as in (7.71) & (7.72), or negative, as in (7.73) & (7.74), the negative tag *nej* is used. Both positive and negative statements, when followed by a tag, assume the answer *əʔə* ‘yes’.

In a tag question, the main clause has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and the tag carries a high pitch.

- (7.71) *mejmun-χejl=ik kinu t̤os=in, nej*
 guest-PL.NOM=DUR movie watch.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG
 ‘The guests are watching a movie, aren’t they?’
- (7.72) *ibruhim purs ziv wazond, nej*
 Ibruhim Persian tongue know.3SG.IPFV NEG
 ‘Ibruhim knows Persian, doesn’t he?’
- (7.73) *təw=at nəwz χu δust na znud,*
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV still REFL.NNOM hand NEG wash.PFV

nej
 NEG
 ‘You still didn’t wash your hands, did you?’
- (7.74) *zulfia=ri guxt χuɕ nist, nej*
 Zeelfia=DAT meat happy NEG.be.IPFV NEG
 ‘Zeelfia doesn’t like meat, does she?’

7.3.4 Content question

A content question seeks information by employing an interrogative word which replaces a constituent of a particular functional slot in the corresponding declarative sentence. The interrogative word stands for the content or information that the speaker is requesting. It occurs *in situ*, in the normal syntactic position appropriate to its function in the clause, and the other remaining elements all occur in the basic constituent order, SOV. Interrogative words are listed below in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Interrogative words

Form	Gloss	Questions what
<i>tɕoj</i>	who.NOM	identity of person
<i>tɕi</i>	who.NNOM	identity of person
<i>tsejz</i>	what	identity of object
<i>tɕidum</i>	which	identity of object
<i>tɕum</i>	when	point in time
<i>tsa waxt</i>	when	point in time
<i>kudzur</i>	where.NOM	location
<i>ko</i>	where.NNOM	location
<i>tsarang</i>	how	manner; condition
<i>tsaba</i>	how	means; method
<i>tsund</i>	how.much	quantity
<i>tsejzir</i>	why	purpose; reason

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

- (7.75) *tsa* *χuɕruj*
 what beautiful
 ‘How beautiful!’

- (7.76) *tsa* *χɛg*
 what sweet
 ‘How sweet!’

The forms of interrogative words show recurring sequences—all forms besides *kudzur/ko* ‘where’ begin with the sequence *ts* or *tɕ*. Some of these forms can be analyzed morphologically, as *tsa* combines with other morphemes to form some of the interrogative words: *tsa waxt* (what + time), *tsarang* (what

+ semblative), *tsejzir* (what + dative/purpose marker), and *tsund* (what + amount/size/extent).

Each interrogative word is associated with a different word class. For ‘who’ and ‘where’, case inflections (nominative vs. non-nominative) are parallel to that of nouns. There is no interrogative verb that can be used as the sole verb in a predicate; instead, the verb phrase *tsejz tcejg* ‘do what’ may be used.

Despite being related to different word classes, the interrogative words are linked together as another class of their own as they share some common grammatical properties: 1) they convert a statement into a question; 2) they are used to form interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1); 3) they are used for deriving negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2); 4) they may be reduplicated for pluralization (§7.3.4.3). In Sarikoli, interrogative words are not used as markers of relative clauses.

In a content question, the interrogative word is always stressed, and the question does not have a rising intonation.

tcej ‘who’ and *tci* ‘whom/whose’ are interrogative pronouns. As in the system of regular personal pronouns, they come in distinct forms for the nominative and non-nominative cases. *tcej* is a pronoun which may only function as the head of an NP; as with regular free pronouns, it cannot function as an NP modifier, nor can it take any modifiers. *tci* is the non-nominative form, and is used with all function markers signaling non-nominative functions, as in (7.79) & (7.80).

- (7.77) a. *tcej* *a=ta* *bo tcejw*
 who.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV
 ‘Who kissed you?’
- b. *mu* *vits a=mu* *bo tcejw*
 1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV
 ‘My aunt kissed me.’
- (7.78) a. *tcej* *a=geelpia tcardz wand*
 who.NOM ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Who loves Geelpia?’
- b. *asan a=geelpia tcardz wand*
 Asan ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Asan loves Geelpia.’

- (7.79) a. *woð = af tçi qati jot*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV who.NNOM COM come.PFV
 ‘Whom did they come with?’
- b. *woð = af amad qati jot*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV Amad COM come.PFV
 ‘They came with Amad.’
- (7.80) a. *gūlpia a = tçi tçardz wand*
 Geelpia ACC = who.NNOM good see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Whom does Geelpia love?’
- b. *gūlpia a = ramon tçardz wand*
 Geelpia ACC = Ramon good see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Geelpia loves Ramon.’

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

- (7.81) a. *təw = at tsejz χuug*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV what eat.PFV
 ‘What did you eat?’
- b. *waz = am anur χuug*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
 ‘I ate pomegranates.’
- (7.82) a. *təw = at tsejz mɛwo χuug*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV what fruit eat.PFV
 ‘What fruit did you eat?’
- b. *waz = am anur χuug*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV pomegranate eat.PFV
 ‘I ate pomegranates.’
- (7.83) *putxu yubun-an wi tsejz zuxt*
 king shepherd-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST what take.PFV
 ‘What of the shepherd did the king take?’

tçidum is an NP modifier which is related to demonstrative determiners, as in (7.84), and, as with demonstratives, may also function as the sole element in an NP when the head noun is omitted, as in (7.85).

- (7.84) a. *tçidum piç tu=ri az dzam xuç*
 which cat 2SG.NNOM=DAT ABL all happy
 ‘Which cat do you like the most?’
- b. *jad piç muu=ri az dzam xuç*
 3SG.NOM.PROX cat 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL all happy
 ‘I like this cat the most.’
- (7.85) a. *woð=af tçidum xujd*
 3PL.NOM=3PL.PFV which read.PFV
 ‘Which one did they read?’
- b. *m=a=di=af xujd*
 CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX=3PL.PFV read.PFV
 ‘They read this one.’

There are two forms for ‘when’, which are completely interchangeable, but one is used more frequently than the other. The more commonly used form is *tçum*; the other form is composed of two morphemes, *tsa* ‘what (shortened form)’ plus *waxt* ‘time’. In (7.86a), either *tçum* or *tsa waxt* may be used.

- (7.86) a. *nurbia tçum joðd*
 Nurbia when come.3SG.IPFV
 ‘When is Nurbia coming?’
- b. *nurbia fal joðd*
 Nurbia two.days.hence come.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Nurbia is coming on the day after tomorrow.’

The interrogative word for ‘where’ comes in two distinct forms for nominative and non-nominative cases. *kudzur* is used when there are no co-occurring function markers, as in (7.87) & (7.88), often when used in the locative or allative sense (the function markers *pa* and *ar* are omitted when *kudzur* occurs). *ko* is always used when there is a function marker, and is most frequently used with the ablative *az* and the locative/allative *tar*, as in (7.89) & (7.90).

- (7.87) a. *maç kudzur niθ = an*
 1PL.NOM where.NOM sit.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Where shall we sit?’
- b. *əwd-ik niθ = it*
 here-DIM sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Sit(pl) over here.’
- (7.88) a. *soqdzon tçed kudzur*
 Soqjon house where.NOM
 ‘Where is Soqjon’s house?’
- b. *soqdzon tçed pa qir*
 Soqjon house LOC mountain
 ‘Soqjon’s house is on the mountain.’
- (7.89) a. *a = di ktub az ko = at*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX book ABL where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV

zuxt
 buy.PFV
 ‘Where did you get this book?’
- b. *az tur = am zuxt*
 ABL net = 1SG.PFV buy.PFV
 ‘I got it from the internet.’
- (7.90) a. *tar ko = at tujd*
 LOC where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV
 ‘Where are you headed?’
- b. *tar buzur = am tujd*
 LOC bazaar = 1SG.PFV go.PFV
 ‘I am headed to the bazaar.’

tsarang and *tsaka* are both manner adverbials, but have slightly different functions. *tsarang*, which is composed of the morphemes *tsa* ‘what (shortened form)’ plus the semblative marker *rang* ‘form/manner’, is a manner adverbial which pertains to the condition of something, or the manner in which the action of a verb is carried out. *tsaka* pertains to the means or method by which the action is carried out. These generally occur before the verb as adverbial modifiers, as in (7.91) - (7.94), or as a copula complement, as in (7.95).

- (7.91) *ta tçixt its jad dinju tsarang*
 2SG.NNOM look.INF TERM 3SG.NOM.PROX world how
pejdu seðdz=endz
 appear become.PRF=REL
 ‘In your opinion, how did this world come into being?’
- (7.92) *k=dos kam kam tsa xor tsaka tçi peð*
 ANA=manner few few COND eat.IPFV how LOC foot
warofs
 stand.IPFV
 ‘If you eat so little like that, how do you stand on your feet?’
- (7.93) *wi num tsaka ta ar dil*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST name how 2SG.NNOM LOC heart
rejd
 remain.PFV
 ‘How did you not forget his name?’ (lit. How did his name remain in your heart?)
- (7.94) *məwydz=endz=ir tsaka zuundo ðid*
 dead.PRF=REL=DAT how live give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘How does he give a live one for a dead one?’
- (7.95) a. *ta awul tsarang*
 2SG.NNOM situation how
 ‘How is your situation?’
 b. *mu awul tçardz*
 1SG.NNOM situation good
 ‘My situation is good.’

tsund is the interrogative word questioning quantity. It is a fused form derived from the morphemes *tsa* ‘what (shortened form)’ and *dund*, which is used for measuring size, amount, or extent. There are no distinct words for ‘how many’ (referring to countables) and ‘how much’ (referring to non-countables), as shown by (7.96) & (7.97). *tsund* relates to the class of lexical numerals, as it can be substituted for a numeral in various contexts: 1) A numeral may be accompanied by a classifier, as may *tsund*, as in (7.98). 2) The morphological process for deriving an ordinal from a cardinal numeral also applies to *tsund*. The ordinal suffix *-intçi* or particle *ma* or *az*, which attach to cardinal

numerals, also attach to *tsund*, forming *tsund-intçi* or *ma/az tsund* ‘the how-many-th’ (having what position in a numerical series), as in (7.99) & (7.100). 3) *tsund* may be coordinated with a numeral to form compound numerals with the coordinating conjunction *at*, as in (7.101).

- (7.96) a. *tamaç-an tsund batço jost*
 2PL.NNOM-GEN how.much child be.IPFV
 ‘How many children do you have?’
- b. *maç-an tsavur batço jost*
 1PL.NNOM-GEN four child be.IPFV
 ‘We have four children.’
- (7.97) a. *taw a = muu tsund aziz*
 2SG.NOM ACC = 1SG.NNOM how.much love
 ‘How much do you love me?’
- b. *m = dund*
 CATA = AMT
 ‘This much.’
- (7.98) a. *tsund tol tu = ri luzim*
 how.much CL 2SG.NNOM = DAT necessary
 ‘How many do you need?’
- b. *haroj tol*
 three CL
 ‘Three.’
- (7.99) a. *taw pa tsund-intçi sumuuf xuj*
 2SG.NOM LOC how.much-ORD class read.IPFV
 ‘Which (the how-many-th) grade are you studying in?’
- b. *pindz-intçi*
 five-ORD
 ‘Fifth.’
- (7.100) a. *ta dars most ma tsund adu*
 2SG.NNOM lesson moon ORD how.much finish

sawd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Which (the how-many-th) month will your classes be finished?’

- b. *most ma uvd*
 moon ORD seven
 ‘July.’

- (7.101) *wi radzen ðes at tsund sulo*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter ten CONJ how.much year.old
 ‘His daughter is ten-and-something years old (is a teenager).’

In addition to being used as an interrogative numeral, *tsund* may be combined with some nouns or adjectives to form more specific interrogatives referring to quantity or degree, such as: *tsund waxyt* ‘how long, how much time’, *tsund suat* ‘how many hours’, *tsund sul* ‘how many years’, *tsund pul* ‘how much money’, *tsund asuk* ‘what degree’, *tsund lawr* ‘how big’, *tsund daruz* ‘how long’, *tsund buland* ‘how high, how tall’.

tsejzir is a sentential adverbial that is used for questioning purpose or reason, and literally means ‘for what’. It usually occurs sentence-initially or immediately after the subject.

- (7.102) *ta dud tsejzir xui tilfon na zozd*
 2SG.NNOM uncle why REFL.NNOM phone NEG get.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Why is your uncle not picking up his phone?’
- (7.103) *tsejzir a=maç dejd na laka=in*
 why ACC=1PL.NNOM enter.INF NEG let.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘Why are they not letting us enter?’

It is possible to use multiple interrogative words in a single sentence, if there are multiple constituents being questioned, as in (7.104) - (7.108).

- (7.104) *a=tçi wand=ir tar ko*
 ACC=who.NNOM see.INF=DAT LOC where.NNOM

tɛdz=it
 go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
 ‘Where are you(pl) going, to see whom?’
- (7.105) *suat tçi tsund tçi pa tçed so*
 hour LOC how.much who.NNOM LOC house become.IPFV
 ‘At what time are you going, to whose house?’

- (7.106) *tɕoj tɕum tsejzɪr jɛt = ɪr vɛðdʒ*
 who.NOM when why come.INF = DAT be.PRF
 ‘Who is coming, when, for what purpose? (Evidential/New information)’
- (7.107) *tɕoj tɕi = ri tsejz ɔ̌udʒ*
 who.NOM who.NNOM = DAT what give.PRF
 ‘Who gave what to whom? (Evidential/New information)’
- (7.108) *tɕoj az ko tsejz vəwɣ*
 who.NOM ABL where.NNOM what bring
 ‘Who brought what from where?’

Since interrogative words occur *in situ*, it is straightforward to question a constituent in a subordinate clause. In (7.109), the interrogative word *tɕi* occurs within a relative clause, and in (7.110), *tsejz* occurs within a purpose adverbial clause, and both of these interrogative words occur in the slot that is expected for its function. Interrogative complement clauses are described in the next subsection (§7.3.4.1).

- (7.109) *jad [tɕi qati iθtɕ = ɛndʒ] mejmun*
 3SG.NOM.PROX who.NNOM COM come.PRF = REL guest
 ‘Whose guest is this?’ (lit. This is a guest who came with whom?)
- (7.110) *[tsejz tɕejɣ = ɪr] = at tujdz-it*
 what do.INF = REL = 2SG.PFV go.PRF-CESS
 ‘Why did you go?’ (lit. You went to do what?)

In their bare forms, interrogative words may also express meanings such as ‘X-ever (where ‘X’ is the interrogative word)’:

- (7.111) *tsejz tsa vid səwd*
 what COND be.3SG.IPFV become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Whatever is fine.’
- (7.112) *tɕum tsa vid səwd*
 when COND be.3SG.IPFV become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Whenever is fine.’
- (7.113) *tsund pul tsa vid mejli*
 how.much money COND be.3SG.IPFV okay
 ‘However much money is fine.’

- (7.114) *təw kudzur tsa tɛdz waz ta paz*
 2SG.NOM where COND go.IPFV 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM PER
dum tɛdz = am
 behind go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Wherever you go, I will follow you.’
- (7.115) *tamaɕ pa prud tsejz tsa lakaxt*
 2PL.NNOM LOC front what COND put.3SG.IPFV
k = a = wi *χor = it*
 ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Whatever she sets before you(pl), eat that.’
- (7.116) *tɕoj = aθ vid tsa a = wi*
 who.NOM = EMP be.3SG.IPFV COND ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
ɕəwguɲi lɛvdz na səwd
 Sheawgeeni say.PRF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.’ (lit. Whoever it is, it is not okay to just call him the Sheawgeeni.)
- (7.117) *wi = ri = ik tɕidum kampuɕ χuɕ*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT = DUR which candy happy
sut wi = ri zoz = in
 become.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT buy.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Whichever candy he likes, they buy it for him.’
- (7.118) *intawum ɔo = an, kudzur = an = ik nardzɛd,*
 exam give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV where = 1PL.PFV = DUR pass.PFV
k = um so = an
 ANA = there become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We will take an exam, and wherever we get accepted to, we will go there.’
- (7.119) *ar di tsarang χuɕ-i tsa ka*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV
tsarang narzamb tsa set = itɕuz ejd
 how celebrate.IPFV COND become.INF = REL festival
 ‘This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.’

7.3.4.1 Interrogative complement clauses

Questions that would be content questions as main clauses may be embedded in another main clause as interrogative complement clauses. Since mood is a property of the main clause, a sentence with an interrogative complement clause is not necessarily in interrogative mood. Interrogative complement clauses take the subordinating conjunction =*i*, and the interrogative word occurs *in situ* within the embedded clause. (7.120) - (7.130) illustrate how each of the interrogative words introduced in §7.3.4 may be used in an interrogative complement clause.

- (7.120) *waz ta vits-an tɕoj vid=i na*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM aunt-GEN who.NOM be.INF=SC NEG

wazon = am

know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I do not know who your aunt is.’

- (7.121) *waz = am tamaɕ-an pugan tɕi*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow who.NNOM

pa tɕed tid=i ranuɕtɕ

LOC house go.INF=SC forget.PRF

‘I forgot whose house you(pl) are going to tomorrow. (Evidential/New information)’

- (7.122) *waz ta-an parus tsejz tɕer tɕejg=i*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM-GEN last.year what work do.INF=SC

wazon = am

know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I know what work you did last year.’

- (7.123) *woð = af mu-an tɕidum gul*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM-GEN which flower

surid=i wand

separate.INF=SC see.PFV

‘They saw which flower I chose.’

- (7.124) *waz rejmagul-an tçum χu tej*
 1SG.NOM Reimageel-GEN when REFL.NNOM wedding
tçejg=i tamaç=ir lɛv=am
 do.INF=SC 2PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will tell you when Reimageel will get married.’
- (7.125) *waz ajdžmol-an χu batço kudžur*
 1SG.NOM Ayjamol-GEN sefl.NNOM child where.NOM
naymig=i na wazon=am
 hide.INF=SC NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I do not know where Ayjamol hid her child.’
- (7.126) *waz wɛf-an az ko*
 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN ABL where.NNOM
jet=i wazon=am
 come.INF=SC know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I know where they came from.’
- (7.127) *wi-an mudžuz tsarang vid=i az*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN feeling how be.INF=SC ABL
wi pars=an
 3SG.NNOM.DIST ask.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘We ask how she is feeling.’
- (7.128) *aržeq-an tsaka tçejg=i tu=ri χumand*
 Aržeq-GEN how do.INF=SC 2SG.NNOM=DAT learn
ka=am
 do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will teach you how to make Aržeq (a wedding pastry).’
- (7.129) *di dars-an tsund waχt rejd=i*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX lesson-GEN how.much time remain.INF=SC
waz mas na wazon=am
 1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I do not know how much time is left in this lesson, either.’

- (7.130) *waz mina-an tsejzir xafo set=i*
 1SG.NOM Mina-GEN why upset become.INF = SC

wazon = am
 know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I know why Mina got upset.’

Questions that would be alternative questions (polar question with a tag) as main clauses may also be embedded as nominalized interrogative complement clauses with the subordinating conjunction *=i*. Since alternative questions do not employ interrogative words to begin with, they do not contain interrogative words. Instead, the question is stated without any changes in word order, and the conjunction *jo(ki)* ‘or’ is used to conjoin the two alternatives, as shown in (7.131) - (7.134). Unlike in a regular alternative question, both alternatives must contain a predicate in the infinitive stem.

- (7.131) *wəf-an batço vid=i jo na*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF = SC or NEG

vid=i = am ranuxtc
 be.INF = SC = 1SG.PFV forget.PRF
 ‘I forget whether they have children. (Evidential/New information)’

- (7.132) *puğan wi-an wəxt vid=i jo na*
 tomorrow 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN time be.INF = SC or NEG

vid=i az wi pars = am
 be.INF = SC ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST ask.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will ask whether she has time tomorrow.’

- (7.133) *sulir maç=ir hansu ziv dars*
 next.year 1PL.NNOM = DAT Han tongue lesson

ðod=i jo na ðod=i nəwz
 give.INF = SC or NEG give.INF = SC still

maç=ir = af na ləvd
 1PL.NNOM = DAT = 3PL.PFV NEG say.IPFV

‘They did not tell us yet whether they will offer Mandarin classes next year.’

- (7.134) *ki=di-an* *rust ki=di*
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN true ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX
rang vid=i jo na vid=i maç i
 SEMB be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC 1PL.NOM one
wejn=an
 see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us see whether it is truly like that or not.’

7.3.4.2 Negative indefinite pronouns

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative words—the addition of *hitç* (which is very frequently shortened to *i*) ‘none’ to the beginning of some interrogative words creates a negative indefinite: *hitç tçoj* ‘no one (NOM)’, *hitç tçi* ‘no one (NNOM)’, *hitç tsarang* (sometimes shortened to *hitç rang*) ‘in no way, in no form’, *hitç tsaka* ‘in no way, in no form’, *hitç tsiz* ‘nothing’, *hitç tçidum* ‘no kind of’. The use of each of the negative indefinites is illustrated in (7.135) - (7.140) below. Interrogative words which are exclusively interrogative and cannot be used as negative indefinites with *hitç* are *tçum/tsa wayxt*, *kudzur/ko*, *tsejzir*, and *tsund*. For time and location, *hitç* is used with common nouns instead of interrogative words: *hitç wayxt* ‘never; no time’ and *hitç dzuju* ‘nowhere’, as in (7.141) & (7.142).

- (7.135) *pa tçed hitç tçoj nist*
 LOC house none who.NOM NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘There is no one at home.’
- (7.136) *hitç tçi=ri salum avon mo warofs*
 none who.NNOM=DAT peace BEN PROH stop.IPFV
 ‘Do not stop to greet anyone.’
- (7.137) *jad batço hitç tsarang guxt mas na*
 3SG.NOM.PROX child none how meat also NEG
çird
 eat.3SG.IPFV
 ‘This child does not eat any form of meat.’
- (7.138) *wi=ri hitç tsaka mo ka*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT none how PROH do.IPFV
 ‘Do not do anything to it.’

- (7.139) *hitç tsiz naj, hitç tsiz = am na ləvd*
 none thing NEG none thing = 1SG.PFV NEG say.PFV
 ‘Nothing, I did not say anything.’
- (7.140) *hitç tçidum gul mu = ri xuç nist*
 none which flower 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘I do not like any of the flowers.’
- (7.141) *maç hitç waxt di rang tçer*
 1PL.NOM none time 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB work

wandz = endz nist
 see.PRF = REL NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘We have never seen anything like this before.’
- (7.142) *doð = af hitç dzuj na tujd*
 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV none place NEG go.PFV
 ‘They did not go anywhere.’

These negative indefinites always co-occur with a predicate negator (*na, nist, naj, mo*), whether in a question or a statement, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.143) & (7.144) which do not contain negators.

- (7.143) **hitç tçoj pa duxturxuno joðd tsa*
 none who.NOM LOC hospital come.3SG.IPFV COND

səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘No one may come to the hospital.’
- (7.144) **ta az dzilt hitç tsiz wuxt = o*
 2SG.NNOM ABL bag none thing fall.PFV = Q
 ‘Did nothing fall from your bag?’

7.3.4.3 Interrogative reduplication for pluralization

Interrogatives are unique in that they are reduplicated for pluralization, rather than taking the plural markers *-xejl* or *-ef*. Interrogative words with a plural referent is reduplicated, without any changes in word order, as illustrated in (7.145) - (7.150):

- (7.145) *təoj təoj joðd*
 who.NOM who.NOM come.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Who all are coming?’
- (7.146) *kudzur kudzur tɛdz = in*
 where.NOM where.NOM go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Where all are they going?’
- (7.147) *təw a = tɕi tɕi wazon*
 2SG.NOM ACC = who.NNOM who.NNOM know.IPFV
 ‘Who all do you know?’
- (7.148) *tsejz tsejz veðdz*
 what what be.PRF
 ‘What all are there? (Evidential/New information)’
- (7.149) *ta-an dars tɕum tɕum jost*
 2SG.NNOM-GEN lesson when when be.IPFV
 ‘When are the times you have class?’
- (7.150) *təw tɕidum tɕidum dəwlat tujdz = endz, tɕidum tɕidum*
 2SG.NOM which which country go.PRF = REL which which

ziv wazon
 tongue know.IPFV
 ‘Which countries have you been to, and which languages do you know?’

7.3.4.4 Interrogatives used as filler words

The interrogative words *təoj*, *tɕi*, and *tsejz* may be used as filler words in statements and non-content questions if the speaker cannot remember the right word or name for something, as in (7.151) - (7.153). In such cases, the interrogative word is used in the normal syntactic position of the word it is substituting, and the originally intended word is later added on to the end of the sentence when the speaker remembers it. For locations, *kudzur* is not used, but *k = um* ‘there’ is used instead, as in (7.154).

- (7.151) *təoj jot = o... qurbun*
 who.NOM come.PFV = Q Qeerbun
 ‘Did he come... Qeerbun?’

- (7.152) *az tçi pars = an... kuzmamad*
 ABL who.NNOM ask.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Kuzmamad
 ‘Let us ask him... Kuzmamad.’
- (7.153) *a = wi znej = in χu ar*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC
tsejz wejð = in... dejg
 what put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV pot
 ‘They wash it an put it in the thing... pot.’
- (7.154) *awal i tsiz zoz = an χu k = um*
 first one thing buy.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ANA = there
so = an... nizamidin dzu
 become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Nizamidin place
 ‘First we will go buy something and then go there... Nizamidin’s place.’

7.3.5 Indirect question

In Sarikoli, questions may be posed indirectly. The construction indicating indirect questions has two forms, depending on whether the situation in question has already occurred or not: a perfect verb followed by *vəw* ‘be (IPFV)’ for the former, and an infinitive verb with the dative marker *=ir* followed by *vəw* for the latter. The ‘be’ verb is fully inflected for person and number with the pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in the following examples of indirect questions containing the perfect verb *seðdž*:

- (7.155) *hitç tsaxa na seðdž vəw*
 none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV
 ‘You are fine, right?’
- (7.156) *hitç tsaxa na seðdž vəw = in*
 none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They are fine, right?’
- (7.157) *hitç tsaxa na seðdž vəw = am*
 none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I am fine, right?’

- (7.158) *hitɕ tsaka na seðdʒ vid*
 none how NEG become.PRF be.3SG.IPFV
 ‘She is fine, right?’

The choice between direct and indirect questions is often determined by the level of politeness the speaker wishes to convey, as well as the kind of response sought by the speaker. Indirect questions generally imply less speaker involvement and greater distance away from the situation (Watters 2002:301). Whereas a direct question clearly demands a response, an indirect question may be perceived as implying little more than slight concern or curiosity, even if it is a real request for information.

However, in general, direct questions are also not perceived as being rude or presumptuous. They are much more frequently used than indirect questions, and usually do not give an impression of intrusiveness. Indirect questions are often used for extra politeness, as in the following:

- (7.159) *təw χafo na set=ir vəw,*
 2SG.NOM upset NEG become.INF=DAT be.IPFV

a=di gap malum=ir fraɸon
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX word teacher=DAT reach.CAUS.IPFV
 ‘If it will not trouble you, could you deliver this message to the teacher?’ (lit. You will not get upset, will you? Deliver this message to the teacher.)
- (7.160) *waz=am a=ta mejmun na tɕi*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ACC=2SG.NNOM guest NEG CAP

tɕəwɠ, təw χafo na set=ir vəw
 do.PFV 2SG.NOM upset NEG become.INF=DAT be.IPFV
 ‘I am sorry I was unable to invite you, and hope you understand.’
 (lit. I was unable to invite you for a meal. You will not get upset, will you?)

- (7.161) *waz = am* *wɛf = ir* *χabar na tçi*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT news NEG CAP

tɕəwɔg, woð *χafo na set = ir*
 do.PFV 3PL.NOM upset NEG become.INF = DAT

vəw = in
 be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘I hope they will not get upset at me for not informing them.’ (lit. I was unable to inform them. They will not get upset, will they?)
- (7.162) *hitɕ tsiz = af* *na ramuxɕ* *vəw = it*
 none thing = 2PL.PFV NEG forget.PRF be.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) didn’t forget anything, did you?’
- (7.163) *təw* *bɛχala səwɔg wazonɔ = ir* *vəw*
 2SG.NOM what.if story know.INF = DAT be.IPFV
 ‘You don’t happen to know stories, do you?’

All indirect questions are polar questions, and they almost always occur with negative presuppositions. An indirect question expresses a negative assumption about a situation and asks for a confirmation of whether it is correct (Watters 2002:305). This is illustrated by the following pair of examples. The indirect question in (7.164) presupposes that the addressee will not leave, whereas the direct question in (7.165) is without presupposition.

- (7.164) *waz* *i* *afto az zabu tar varɕide*
 1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide

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

waxɕ its *na tid = ir* *vəw = it*
 time TERM NEG go.INF = DAT be.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?’

- (7.165) *waz i afto az zabu tar varçide*
 1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide
- so = am, tamaç ki = wi*
 become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
- waxt its na tedz = it = o*
 time TERM NEG go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q
- ‘I am going to Varshide in one week; are you not leaving before then?’

In this respect, the indirect question is similar to a tag question, which also comes with a presupposition. The tag question in (7.166) expresses a similar meaning to that of (7.164):

- (7.166) *waz i afto az zabu tar varçide*
 1SG.NOM one week ABL back LOC Varshide
- so = am, tamaç ki = wi*
 become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV 2PL.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST
- waxt its na tedz = it, nej*
 time TERM NEG go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV NEG
- ‘I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?’

In addition to expressing politeness or presupposition, indirect questions may also be used when the speaker does not necessarily require a response from the addressee. Lyons (1977:755) draws a distinction between “asking” and “posing” a question: asking assumes that the addressee knows the answer and demands an answer, whereas posing a question does not. This is exemplified in the examples below. In (7.167), the speaker is a boss addressing a lazy man who has come to work for him; after seeing that the man is unwilling to do anything, he angrily sends him away. In (7.168), a bird threatens a thorn tree, which has refused to give the bead back to the bird. In (7.169), the speaker is expressing annoyance that the addressee has been slow to believe him.

- (7.167) *təw tçer na tçejg = ir vəw, tom wazəfs*
 2SG.NOM work NEG do.INF be.IPFV then return.IPFV
- tə səwd*
 COND become.3SG.IPFV
- ‘You are not going to work, right? Then you can go back.’

- (7.168) *ilu, mu safts = ik mu = ri na*
 wait 1SG.NNOM bead = DUR 1SG.NNOM = DAT NEG
- ðod = ir vəw, waz juts = ir*
 give.INF = DAT be.IPFV 1SG.NOM fire = DAT
- lev = am, juts laka a = ta*
 say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV fire let.IPFV ACC = 2SG.NNOM
- θawond*
 burn.CAUS.3SG.IPFV
- ‘Wait, you are not giving me my bead, right? I will tell Fire, and may Fire burn you.’
- (7.169) *çitç = aθ pa mu içandz tçəwydç vəw*
 now = EMP LOC 1SG.NNOM trust do.PRF be.IPFV
- ‘Now do you believe me?’

7.3.6 Other pragmatic functions of questions

In addition to their basic function of requesting information, questions also serve other pragmatic functions. They may serve as rhetorical questions, idiomatic expressions, and phatic expressions. Rhetorical questions share the same structure as questions, but are used to make an assertion about something that the speaker considers self-evident, and often includes some kind of negative judgment (Overall 2007:479; Watters 2002:307). (7.170) is an example of a parent scolding a child, and uses both a content question and an alternative question. The rhetorical questions in (7.171) & (7.172) provide reasons for rejecting a request, and are in polar question form. Through (7.173), the speaker asserts that everyone sheds tears for their own daughter, because they always wish their daughter could live a better life.

- (7.170) *təw tsarang batço, pa gap tçomb = o, nej*
 2SG.NOM how child LOC word be.willing.IPFV = Q NEG
- ‘What kind of child are you? Will you obey or not?’

- (7.171) *waz χuçruj tçi woð na tɛdz=am, juts*
 1SG.NOM beautiful LOC stream NEG go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV fire
ar darun a=χu θawon=am=o,
 LOC inside ACC=REFL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q
naj, waz na so=am
 NEG 1SG.NOM NEG become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Shall I not flow in a beautiful stream, and go burn myself in fire instead? No! I will not go.’
- (7.172) *waz χuçruj wux na χor=am, xats*
 1SG.NOM beautiful grass NEG eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV water
qati χu dɔwr bulejzon=am=o, naj,
 COM REFL.NNOM belly swell.CAUS.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q NEG
waz na broz=am
 1SG.NOM NEG drink.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Shall I not eat beautiful grass, and swell up my belly with water instead? No! I will not drink.’
- (7.173) *tçoj χu radzen avon na niwd*
 who.NOM REFL.NNOM daughter BEN NEG cry.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Who doesn’t cry for her own daughter?’

Some rhetorical questions have become idiomatic expressions through widespread usage. (7.174) is frequently uttered when the speaker does not know the answer to a question. (7.175) is used as an agreeable response to a request or suggestion. (7.176) is used as a tag after a statement when the speaker is not completely certain about the validity of the statement that she has just uttered.

- (7.174) *tçoj wazond*
 who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Who knows?’
- (7.175) *albatta səwd, tsejzir na səwd*
 of.course become.3SG.IPFV why NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Sure, why not?’
- (7.176) *nej, fand=ik ðo=am*
 NEG false=DUR give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Or, am I lying?’

Questions also play a role in phatic exchanges. In Sarikoli culture, it is very customary and appropriate to present a series of phatic utterances in polar question form in certain contexts, such as: upon encountering someone on the street, when welcoming guests into one's home (or when entering someone's home), after seating the guests in the guest-receiving room (or after being seated in someone else's home), after the guests wake up (or when seeing the hosts in the morning), etc. These questions are uttered in both directions, and they are rhetorical in nature, as they are followed by phatic (rather than informative) responses. Examples of these phatic utterances are included in §13.