



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

Kim, D.; Kim D.

Citation

Kim, D. (2017, September 20). *Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



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

Author: Kim, Deborah

Title: Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

Date: 2017-09-20

8

Clause

This chapter identifies and describes the basic constituent order (§8.1) and basic clause types in Sarikoli. Each clause consists of a predicate and one or more core arguments, which are obligatorily stated or understood from the context, and peripheral arguments, which are optional. The predicate determines the argument structure of a clause, that is, the number and type of arguments which should be included in the clause. In the following subsections, seven different clause types are described: intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, and extended transitive clauses, all of which take verbal predicates (§8.2), existential clauses (§8.3), copula clauses (§8.4), and extended copula clauses (§8.5). Table 8.1 presents the argument structure of each of these clause types. S is the intransitive subject, A is the transitive subject, O is the transitive object, CS is the copula subject, CP is the copula complement, and E is the extended argument, which is an additional core argument required by the predicate. §8.7 describes the typical placement of peripheral arguments.

Table 8.1 Clause types and core arguments

Clause type	Core argument(s)
Intransitive	S
Extended intransitive	S, E
Transitive	A, O
Extended transitive	A, O, E
Existential	CS
Copula	CS, CP
Extended copula	CS, CP, E

8.1 Constituent order

The dominant constituent order of major constituents in unmarked verbal clauses is SXOV, where ‘X’ stands for dative or peripheral arguments. In this discussion regarding constituent order, the core clause constituents will be referred to as ‘subject (S)’, ‘object (O)’, and ‘verb (V)’, where ‘subject’ refers to the most agent-like argument and ‘object’ refers to the most patient-like argument of the transitive clause. Peripheral arguments and most adverbs typically occur between the subject and the object. Constituent order is not rigid, so these elements often occur in other positions in the clause as well. A list of constituent order pairings is given in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Sarikoli constituent order pairings

Transitive clause	SOV
Intransitive clause	SV
Order of object, peripheral argument, verb	XOV
Order of noun and function marker	N, FM & FM, N
Order of genitive and noun	Gen, N
Order of adjective and noun	Adj, N
Order of demonstrative and noun	Dem, N
Order of numeral and noun	Num, N
Order of relative clause and noun	Rel, N
Order of degree word and adjective	Deg, Adj
Position of interrogative enclitic	sentence-final
Position of interrogative words	<i>in situ</i>
Position of adverbial subordinators	end of subordinate clause
Order of comparative construction elements	marker-standard-Adj

Since Sarikoli has both prepositions and postpositions, it would be classified as Greenbergian type 19 (SOV, Preposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) and type 24 (SOV, Postposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) (Greenberg 1963).

8.2 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates are lexical verbs that come in five different stems. With the exception of the third person singular imperfective and third person singular perfective, every finite clause with a verbal predicate takes a pronominal agreement clitic. The semantic content of the verb determines whether its clause will be intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, or extended transitive.

An intransitive predicate takes a single core argument: S, which is marked as nominative case. The sentences in (8.1) - (8.3) are examples of intransitive clauses.

- (8.1) *olim nahust*
Olim sit.PFV
 ‘Olim sat.’
- (8.2) *muu pəð xuvd*
1SG.NNOM foot sleep.PFV
 ‘My foot fell asleep.’
- (8.3) *mejmun-xejl=af tujd*
guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV go.PFV
 ‘The guests left.’

Some intransitive predicates, despite being intransitive, take two core arguments. However, the second argument is marked with the locative function marker *pa* rather than being marked as accusative, as in a transitive clause. This second core argument is E, the “extended argument” coined by Dixon (2010a:99). The extended intransitive predicate takes two core arguments: S, which is marked as nominative case, and E, which is marked with *pa*. Only a few verbs serve as predicates in the extended intransitive, including: *içandz tcejg* ‘trust’ (8.4) & (8.5), *buwar tcejg* ‘believe’ (8.6), *julanmiç set* ‘rely on (Uyghur loanword)’ (8.7), *tçimbd* ‘be obedient to; be willing to listen to’ (8.8), *jur set* ‘possess (as when a demon possesses someone)’ (8.9), *buzejd* ‘touch’ (8.10), and *leχ χig* ‘encounter; bump into’ (8.11). While extended intransitives and regular transitives both take two core arguments, the E argument in an extended intransitive is generally not nearly as affected by the action of the verb as most O arguments in transitive clauses.

- (8.4) *pa tçi içandz ka=am*
LOC who.NNOM trust do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Whom shall I trust?’
- (8.5) *pa muu içandz tsa na ka χuðoj*
LOC 1SG.NNOM trust COND NEG do.IPFV God
- muu=ri guwu*
1SG.NNOM = DAT witness
 ‘If you do not trust me, God is my witness.’

- (8.6) *təw iχil pa χalg utç dʒald buwar ka*
 2SG.NOM often LOC person too fast belief do.IPFV
 ‘You keep believing people too quickly.’
- (8.7) *waz pa ta julanmiç so = am*
 1SG.NOM LOC 2SG.NNOM reliance become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will rely on you.’
- (8.8) *təw a = wi juts wazawon,*
 2SG.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST fire turn.off.IPFV

ju mu pa gap na tçimbd
 3SG.NOM.DIST 1SG.NNOM LOC word NEG be.willing.PFV
 ‘Turn off that fire, it did not obey me.’
- (8.9) *pa ta pari jur seðdʒ = endʒ = o*
 LOC 2SG.NNOM demon possess become.PRF = REL = Q
 ‘Have you ever been possessed by a demon?’
- (8.10) *pa di mo buzis*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX PROH touch.IPFV
 ‘Do not touch this.’
- (8.11) *i tçurik tar pond pa qaraqchi leχ xuydʒ*
 one man LOC road LOC robber encounter eat.PRF
 ‘A man encountered a robber on the journey. (Evidential/New information)’

A transitive predicate takes two core arguments: A, in the nominative case, and O, marked for accusative function if it is definite. Sentences (8.12) - (8.15) show examples of transitive clauses.

- (8.12) *zulfia poj furd*
 Zeelfia yogurt slurp.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Zeelfia will slurp yogurt.’
- (8.13) *maç = an çir naviçt*
 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV poem write.PFV
 ‘We wrote poems.’
- (8.14) *m-ono χaxts kaxt*
 1SG.NNOM-mother Hak’ts do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My mother will make Hak’ts (a fudge-like sweet).’

- (8.15) *wi yin a = vurdz vijojd*
 3SG.NNOM wife ACC = horse ride.PFV
 ‘His wife rode the horse.’

An extended transitive (or ditransitive) predicate takes three core arguments: A, marked as nominative; O, marked as accusative; and E, which is marked as dative. Extended transitive constructions feature verbs such as *ðod* ‘give’ (8.16), *levd* ‘tell’ (8.17), *vuusond* ‘show’ (8.18), *χumand tcejg* ‘teach’ (8.19), *para ðod* ‘sell’ (8.20), and *boxt* ‘send’ (8.21), which require three arguments to be stated or implied.¹

- (8.16) *kuraç mu = ri tsemak ðud*
 Keerash 1SG.NNOM = DAT wink give.PFV
 ‘Keerash winked at me.’ (lit. Keerash gave me a wink.)

- (8.17) *awal χu num at χ-oto num*
 first REFL.NNOM name CONJ REFL.NNOM-father name
batço-ef = ir lev
 child-PL.NNOM = DAT say.IPFV
 ‘First tell your name and your father’s name to the kids.’

- (8.18) *ilu, waz tu = ri i tsiz*
 hold.on 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM = DAT one thing
vuuson = am
 show.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Hold on, I will show you something.’

- (8.19) *wod imi = ri χu ato ziv*
 3PL.NOM.DIST RECP = DAT REFL.NNOM father tongue
χumand ka = in
 teach do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They teach each other their father tongue.’

- (8.20) *waz = am haroj mon para ðud,*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV three apple sell give.PFV
wi = ri
 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT
 ‘I sold three apples to him.’

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

- (8.21) *χu rasim mu=ri buz*
 REFL.NNOM picture 1SG.NNOM=DAT send.IPFV
 ‘Send me your picture.’

8.3 Existential predicates

An existential predicate takes a single argument: copula subject (CS), which is marked as nominative. Sarikoli has two existential predicates: *vid* expresses positive existence while *na vid* expresses negative existence. As with the other predicates, they occur clause-finally. The stem system of these existential predicates differ depending on whether it occurs in the main clause or a subordinate clause; they are presented in Table 8.3 below. The abbreviations used in Table 8.3 are: P=positive, N=negative, MC=main clause, SC=subordinate clause.

Table 8.3 Stems of *vid* (existential)

Polarity	INF	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF
P (MC)	---	<i>jost</i>		<i>vud</i>	<i>veðdz</i>
N (MC)	---	<i>nist</i>		<i>na vud</i>	<i>na veðdz</i>
P (SC)	<i>vid</i>	<i>vəw</i>	<i>vid</i>	<i>vud</i>	<i>veðdz</i>
N (SC)	<i>na vid</i>	<i>na vəw</i>	<i>na vid</i>	<i>na vud</i>	<i>na veðdz</i>

Whereas finite verbal predicates always occur in combination with pronominal agreement clitics, *jost* and *nist* are special predicates in the imperfective aspect that do not take pronominal agreement clitics, both for a third person singular subject (which normally has its own verb stem) and other subjects.

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

- (8.25) *mu pa qetɕ batɕo nist*
 1SG.NNOM LOC belly child NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘There is no child in my belly.’

In subordinate clauses, *jost* and *nist* occur in the infinitive stem, as in (8.26), or imperfective stems that are different from *jost* and *nist*: *vid* and *na vid* for third person singular subjects, as in (8.27), and *vəw* and *na vəw* for all other subjects, as in (8.28). As with verbal predicates, the infinitive and third person singular imperfective stems do not occur with pronominal agreement clitics.

- (8.26) *mu-an tɕur na vid=i=at tsaxa*
 1SG.NNOM-GEN husband NEG be.INF=SC=2SG.PFV how
wazonɔ
 know.PFV
 ‘How did you know that I do not have a husband?’

- (8.27) *waxt tsa vid joð*
 time COND be.3SG.IPFV come.IPFV
 ‘Come over if you have time.’

- (8.28) *pa tɕəd mejmun-xejl tsa vəw=in na*
 LOC house guest-PL.NOM COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG
so=am
 become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will not go if there are other guests at home.’

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

- (8.29) a. *putxu-an haroj puts=af vud*
 king-GEN three son=3PL.PFV be.PFV
 ‘The King had three sons.’
 b. *putxu-an haroj puts=af vəðdɕ*
 king-GEN three son=3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘The King had three sons. (Evidential/New information)’

- (8.30) a. *ar wi dzuj a=sarlabzamin nigo*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC=border watch
tcejg=itcuz askar-xejl=af na vud
 do.INF=REL soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG be.PFV
 ‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.’
- b. *ar wi dzuj a=sarlabzamin nigo*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST place ACC=border watch
tcejg=itcuz askar-xejl=af na veðdz
 do.INF=REL soldier-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV NEG be.PRF
 ‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.
 (Evidential/New information)’

8.4 Copula predicates

A copula predicate takes two core arguments: copula subject (CS), marked as nominative case, and copula complement (CP), which is a unique argument type. Both CS and CP are in the nominative case in terms of function marking (zero marking), plural marking (with the *-xejl* suffix), and pronominal forms. Pronouns occurring in both CS and CP positions take the nominative form. Neither of the two core arguments of the copula clause is marked as non-nominative.

The default copula in Sarikoli is *vid* ‘be’, which may be negated with the pre-verbal negator particle *na*, forming *na vid*. *vid* is used as an existential predicate when taking just one argument, CS, and as a copula predicate when taking two core arguments, CS and CP. It has also developed further functions of marking different modalities, as it is used for marking indirect questions (§7.3.5) and evidentiality (§12). The five different stems of *vid* as an existential predicate and as a copula predicate, along with the stems that occur in subordinate clauses, are presented in Table 8.4:

Table 8.4 Stems of *vid* (existential & copula)

Function	INF	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF
EXISTENTIAL	---		<i>jost</i>		
COPULA	---		Ø	<i>vud</i>	<i>veðdz</i>
Subordinate clause	<i>vid</i>	<i>vəw</i>	<i>vid</i>		

Unlike verbal predicates, which have referential meaning, the copula predicate carries relational meaning, as the copula clause expresses a certain semantic relation between CS and CP (Dixon 2010b:159). The copula *vid* marks the following relations: 1) IDENTITY (in which CP is an NP or complement clause); 2) ATTRIBUTION (in which CP is an adjective); 3) POSSESSION (in which CP is a possessive phrase); and 4) LOCATION (in which CP is an NP marked by an adposition or a local demonstrative). CP is usually an NP or an adjective; it is not part of the predicate because it does not take any aspect or subject agreement marking as predicates do.

The copula *vid* is omitted from an imperfective copula clause, producing a verbless clause. Thus, a copula clause of positive polarity in imperfective aspect shows the semantic relations of CS and CP simply by apposition. This is demonstrated in (8.31) - (8.34), which contain no overt copula.

- (8.31) *nur di azmud seðdz = endz maθ*
 today 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF = REL day
 ‘Today is this person’s birthday.’ (IDENTITY)
- (8.32) *wi vrəw utç tor*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black
 ‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)
- (8.33) *u juu spin qala maç putxu-an*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST metal castle 1PL.NNOM king-GEN
 ‘That metal castle over there is our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)
- (8.34) *muu tçed ar guz*
 1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland
 ‘My house is in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)

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

- (8.35) *təw iχil ixjur vəw*
 2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFV
 ‘Always be on your guard.’

The copula *vid* appears when aspects other than the unmarked imperfective are used, or is negated or subordinated, since the copula must be used to carry the inflection for aspect and pronominal agreement clitics. The copula clause

and the verbless clause will be analyzed as the same construction type because they are identical in all other aspects except for the presence or absence of the copula, and because the absence of the copula is always predictable—it has zero surface realization within a main clause of positive polarity in the imperfective aspect. In all other environments, some stem of the copula *vid* always occurs and shows the same aspect and agreement marking as verbal predicates. The following examples demonstrate that *vid* occurs in perfect aspect (8.36) & (8.37), perfective aspect (8.38) & (8.39), negative polarity (8.40) & (8.41), and subordinate clauses (8.42) & (8.43).

- (8.36) *xeb di azmud seðdʒ = endʒ maθ*
 yesterday 3SG.NNOM.PROX born become.PRF = REL day
veðdʒ
 be.PRF
 ‘It was this person’s birthday yesterday. (Evidential/New information)’ (IDENTITY)
- (8.37) *wi vrəw utʃ tor veðdʒ*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black be.PFV
 ‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATtribution)
- (8.38) *u juu spin qala maʃ putxu-an*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST metal castle 1PL.NNOM king-GEN
vud
 be.PFV
 ‘That metal castle over there used to be our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)
- (8.39) *muu tʃed ar guz vud*
 1SG.NNOM house LOC grassland be.PFV
 ‘My house used to be in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)
- (8.40) *waz kots nist*
 1SG.NOM girl NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘I am not a girl.’ (IDENTITY)
- (8.41) *wi vrəw utʃ tor nist*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very black NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘Her eyebrows are not very dark.’ (ATtribution)

- (8.42) *χu vrud vid=i woð na*
 REFL.NNOM brother be.INF=SC 3PL.NOM.DIST NEG
wazon=in
 know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They do not know that he is their own brother.’ (IDENTITY)

- (8.43) *ta nijat durust tsa vid ta*
 2SG.NNOM intention whole COND be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM
tçer nejk səwd
 work good become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If your intentions are right, your work will turn out well.’ (AT-TRIBUTION)

Sarikoli has another copula: *set* ‘become’. While *vid* refers to a state, *set* refers to a change of state. Whereas the copula *vid* is omitted in the imperfective aspect, producing a verbless clause with no aspect or agreement marking, *set* is not omissible and always requires pronominal agreement clitics. In these respects, *set* shares more similarities with verbal predicates, but is still a copula because it takes CS and CP as its arguments. The five different stems of *set* are presented in Table 8.5:

Table 8.5 Stems of *set*

INF	IPFV	3SG.IPFV	PFV	PRF
<i>set</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>səwd</i>	<i>sut</i>	<i>səðdz</i>

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

- (8.44) *doð=af yin at tçur sut*
 3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV wife CONJ husband become.PFV
 ‘These have become husband and wife.’ (IDENTITY)

- (8.45) *tuuṣ tçi pond tsa tedz ta pond kuṭ*
 straight LOC road COND go.IPFV 2SG.NNOM road short
səwd
 become.3SG.PFV
 ‘If you walk the straight path, your journey will become shorter.’
 (ATtribution)
- (8.46) *awal wef-an puṭs suṭ*
 first 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN son become.PFV
 ‘First, they got a son.’ (lit. Of theirs, a son first became.) (POSSESSION)
- (8.47) *nur pa buzur so = an*
 today LOC bazaar become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We are going to the bazaar today.’ (LOCATION)

When expressing the LOCATION relation, the NP in CP function is generally marked with an adposition indicating locations, as in (8.48), unless it is a local demonstrative *əwd* ‘here’ or *um/um* ‘there’, as in (8.49). The locative or allative preposition is occasionally omitted, leaving only the locational NP as the sole lexeme in the CP position, as in (8.50) & (8.51). Structurally, these cannot be distinguished from copula clauses showing IDENTITY relations; the LOCATION meaning of these clauses is understood from context and general knowledge.

- (8.48) *wi tçur az tuṣnef*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL Teeznef
 ‘Her husband is from Teeznef.’
- (8.49) *muu tçed um-ik*
 1SG.NNOM house there-DIM
 ‘My house is over there.’
- (8.50) *m-oto çitç varçide*
 1SG.NNOM-father now Varshide
 ‘My father is in Varshide now.’
- (8.51) *waz xwor*
 1SG.NOM Kashgar
 ‘I am in Kashgar.’

Copula and verbless clauses show a similar constituent order to transitive and intransitive clauses. CS (like A and S arguments) generally occurs first, followed by CP (like the O argument), and the predicate comes last. As with transitive and intransitive clauses, the order of constituents has some flexibility, even though CS and CP are indifferentiable because neither of them take function markers. CP always precedes the slot where the copula occurs, but CS may be moved to clause-final position, as in (8.52) - (8.54), whether or not the copula is overt.

- (8.52) *muu* *çirin* *dzun, jad*
 1SG.NNOM sweet life 3SG.NOM.PROX
 ‘This one is my sweetheart.’ (IDENTITY)
- (8.53) *qobil,* *muu* *radzen*
 admirable 1SG.NNOM daughter
 ‘My daughter is admirable.’ (ATTRIBUTION)
- (8.54) *um-ik* *vud,* *muu* *tæd*
 there-DIM be.PFV 1SG.NNOM house
 ‘My house used to be over there.’ (LOCATION)

The CS slot has the same structural possibilities as an S or A argument in that it can be filled by an NP or a complement clause. The pronominal agreement clitics, which show person and number agreement between the S or A argument and the verb, also shows agreement between the CS and the copula, but only in non-imperfective aspects, as in (8.55). As with S and A arguments, CS may be omitted in the imperative mood, as in (8.56) & (8.57) below.

- (8.55) *haroj* *verθ=af* *aqlin* *vud*
 three both = 3PL.PFV intelligent be.PFV
 ‘All three of them were intelligent.’
- (8.56) *salomat* *vəw=it*
 healthy be.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘Be healthy.’
- (8.57) *χafo* *mo* *so*
 upset PROH become.IPFV
 ‘Do not get upset.’

CP is unique among the argument types in that it may consist of a single adjective, whereas in the S, A, O, and CS positions an adjective generally occurs as a

modifier within the NP. CP is an adjective for the **ATtribution** relation and an NP for the other three relations; additionally, it takes the genitive marker *-an* for the **POSSession** relation, and sometimes an adposition for expressing **LOCAtion**. CP may also contain subordinate clauses. In (8.58), the CP is a complement clause, and in (8.59), it consists of a headless relative clause. A CP expressing **LOCAtion** may also be used to express a perfective event with internal reference point, as in (8.60).

- (8.58) *di orzu [duxtur set]*
 3SG.NOM.PROX dream doctor become.INF
 ‘This person’s dream is [to become a doctor].’
- (8.59) *maç [xu ðust qati xig=itçuz]*
 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF=REL
 ‘We are ones [who eat with our hands].’
- (8.60) *waz=am [ləq tçi znod] vud*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV clothing LOC wash.INF be.PFV
 ‘I was washing clothes.’

8.5 Extended copula predicates

An extended copula clause consists of a copula predicate, *vid* or *set*, and three core arguments: CS, marked as nominative, CP, which is a unique argument type, and E (the “extended argument” (Dixon 2010a:99)), marked as dative. The CP in an extended copula clause is an adjective. Whether or not a copula clause may take an extended argument is determined by the type of adjective that occurs in the CP slot. A few CP adjectives may take an extended argument, including: *xuç* ‘happy’ (8.61) & (8.62), *luzim* ‘necessary’ (8.63) & (8.64), and *bos* ‘enough’ (8.65). Even though E is marked as dative, it tends to be semantically more affected by the CP than the CS is, as shown by the English free translations in the examples below. As in the regular copula clause, the copula *vid* does not occur in the imperfective aspect, as in (8.61), (8.63), and (8.65), but the copula occurs in other aspects, subordinate clauses, imperatives, and when the copula *set* is used.

- (8.61) *kəwz m-ono=ri utç xuç*
 walnut 1SG.NNOM-mother=DAT very happy
 ‘My mother likes walnuts very much.’

- (8.62) *ta tçur=ir χuç tsa vid zoz*
 2SG.NNOM husband=DAT happy COND be.3SG.IPFV buy.IPFV
 ‘If your husband likes it, buy it.’
- (8.63) *wɛf=ir ða suat luzim*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT two hour necessary
 ‘They need two hours.’
- (8.64) *tuu=ri i tsiz luzim tsa*
 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND
səwd uz joð
 become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV
 ‘Come again if you need something.’
- (8.65) *qatɛxin tçoj muu=ri bos*
 topping tea 1SG.NNOM=DAT enough
 ‘I have had enough of milk tea.’

8.6 Non-finite clauses

Non-finite clauses do not contain any aspectual marking or subject-verb agreement clitics. They do not constitute a sentence by themselves and are subordinate to another clause. The verb in a non-finite clause is in the infinitive stem, as in (8.66) - (8.68), with the exception of the =*endz* RC, which takes a verb in the perfect stem, as in (8.69).

- (8.66) *maθ paqad dzuul batço qati skit tçejg*
 day whole.duration small child COM play do.INF
a=χalg aluk kaxt
 ACC=person tired do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Playing with little children all day makes a person tired.’
- (8.67) *muu dil χ-oto χ-ono qati*
 1SG.NNOM heart REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother COM
nalist
 sit.INF
 ‘I want to live with my parents.’

- (8.68) *murod uzir pur pul vig mazamun*
 Meerod now much money find.INF since

wi yin xuç sut
 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife happy become.PFV
 ‘Meerod’s wife has become happy since he is now making much money.’
- (8.69) *juu fil vijoǵdz = endz tçurik = ik*
 3SG.NOM.DIST elephant ride.PRF = REL man = DUR

joǵd
 come.3SG.IPFV
 ‘That man riding an elephant is coming.’

Some non-finite clauses do not take a nominative argument. Even an actor argument that would normally be marked as nominative in a main clause receives non-nominative marking, as in the nominalized CC construction in (8.70):

- (8.70) *waz = am wəf-an ar xwor katç*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN LOC Kashgar move

tçejǵ = i na xəǵdz
 do.INF = SC NEG hear.PRF
 ‘I have not heard that they are moving to Kashgar. (Evidential/New information)’

Other types of non-finite clauses take nominative arguments, as in the RC in (8.71) and the AC in (8.72):

- (8.71) *juu waz parus səǵdz = endz ar*
 3SG.NOM.DIST 1SG.NOM last.year become.PRF = REL LOC

maktab tujd
 school go.PFV
 ‘He went to the school I went to last year.’

- (8.72) *batço-xejl ləwr set az zabu*
 child-PL.NNOM big become.INF ABL back
a = di para do = am
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX sell give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will sell this after the children grow up.’

8.7 Peripheral arguments

This section describes non-obligatory clause structure. Peripheral arguments of a clause usually occur between the subject and the object.

NPs that indicate the locational setting, such as NPs marked as locative (8.73), allative (8.74), and ablative functions (8.75) and local demonstratives (8.76), generally occur after the subject but before the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.77) & (8.78).

- (8.73) *wi vrud pa buzur məwo para*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother LOC bazaar fruit sell
ðid
 give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘His brother sells fruit at the bazaar.’
- (8.74) *tçulpon ar urumtçi χat buxt*
 Chulpon LOC Urumqi letter send.PFV
 ‘Chulpon sent a letter to Urumqi.’
- (8.75) *sejfik az di haroj sad kuj*
 Seyfik ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX three hundred Chinese.yuan
zuxt
 take.PFV
 ‘Seyfik took 300 yuan from him.’
- (8.76) *woð = af um-ik barqo kaxt*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV there-DIM lamb slaughter.PFV
 ‘They slaughtered the lamb over there.’
- (8.77) *wəf pa tçed = an skit tçəwg*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house = 1PL.PFV play do.PFV
 ‘We played at their house.’

- (8.78) *pa qir=af kalo pojɔ*
 LOC mountain=3PL.PFV sheep herd.PFV
 ‘They herded the sheep in the mountain.’

NPs that indicate time also usually occur after the subject and before the object, as shown in (8.79) - (8.81).

- (8.79) *omil seð pidz tej kaxt*
 Omil this.year fall wedding do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Omil is getting married this fall.’
- (8.80) *waz sulir amriko wazɛfs=am*
 1SG.NOM next.year America return.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will return to America next year.’
- (8.81) *woð=af paraxeb paləw xug*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV two.days.prior pilaf eat.PFV
 ‘They ate pilaf two days ago.’

If there is no overt subject, they generally occur clause-initially, still preceding the object:

- (8.82) *çitç=am tamoq xug*
 now=1SG.PFV food eat.PFV
 ‘I had some food just now.’
- (8.83) *nur=af a=wi na wandz*
 today=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG see.PRF
 ‘They did not see him today. (Evidential/New information)’

NPs marked for instrumental (8.84) & (8.85) or comitative functions (8.86) also commonly occur between the subject and the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.87).

- (8.84) *dud maχsat ðust harabo qati a=qoçtaci vəwg*
 uncle Mahsat hand vehicle COM ACC=jade bring.PFV
 ‘Uncle Mahsat brought the jade with a wagon.’

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

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

- (8.86) *abdilu xu mom qati xez vawg*
 Abdilu REFL.NNOM grandmother COM firewood bring.PFV
 ‘Abdilu brought firewood with his grandmother.’

- (8.87) *xung tçib qati poj fur = in*
 wood spoon COM yogurt slurp.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They slurp yogurt with a wooden spoon.’

NPs marked for benefactive (8.88), semblative (8.89), and terminative functions (8.90) also usually occur between the subject and the object.

- (8.88) *dulqun xu nabus avon riktçi zuxt*
 Dulqun REFL.NNOM grandchild BEN bitter.almond buy.PFV
 ‘Dulqun bought bitter almonds for his grandchild.’

- (8.89) *miriam bulbul rang xuçruj bejt levd*
 Miriam nightingale SEMB beautiful song say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Miriam sings beautifully like a nightingale.’

- (8.90) *waz to pugan its hitç tsiz na*
 1SG.NOM TERM tomorrow TERM none thing NEG

xor = am
 eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I am not eating anything until tomorrow.’

Sentences often contain more than one of the non-obligatory elements mentioned above. In such cases, time words usually occur first, followed by words indicating locational setting, followed by other peripheral arguments, as in (8.91).

- (8.91) *waz = am xeb pa maktab qalam qati çir*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV yesterday LOC school pen COM poem

naviçt
 write.PFV
 ‘Yesterday at school I wrote a poem with a pen.’

