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Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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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)

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Title: Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

Date: 2017-09-20

10

Clause combinations

In Sarikoli, clauses may be combined by means of coordination (§10.1) or subordination (§10.2). This chapter describes the various types of clause combinations and the syntactic strategies that mark those constructions.

10.1 Coordination

Coordination is the conjoining of two or more elements of the same grammatical status. §2.3.2 shows how nouns within an NP may be coordinated, while this section describes how independent clauses may be coordinated.

Independent clauses may be coordinated by means of conjunctions or by simple juxtaposition without any conjunctions, and both are common ways to achieve coordination. If the conjuncts contain verbal predicates, each of the verbs is in the finite stem and has its own agreement clitic. Table 10.1 summarizes the types of coordination presented in this chapter.

Table 10.1 Types of coordination

Coordination type	Marker	Reference
Cumulative	<i>ham; mas; at</i>	§10.1.1
Sequential	<i>χu</i>	§10.1.2
Causal	<i>kazwi</i>	§10.1.3
Adversative	<i>hammo; lekin</i>	§10.1.4
Disjunctive	<i>jo(ki); χu</i>	§10.1.5
Asyndetic	<i>∅</i>	§10.1.6

10.1.1 Cumulative coordination

There are three ways of achieving cumulative coordination. The first is to use the coordinating conjunction *ham* ‘and’, which is used for conjoining two or more predicates together. When clauses are coordinated with *ham*, all of the conjuncts must have the same type of predicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. *ham* is placed before the object and predicate of each conjunct, but the *ham* in the first conjunct is optional and may be omitted. (10.1) - (10.4) are examples of cumulative coordination with verbal predicates and (10.5) - (10.7) contain non-verbal predicates. If the first predicate is modified by a degree adverbial, *ham* in the first conjunct is usually omitted, as in (10.6) & (10.7); alternatively, both conjuncts have *ham* as well as the same degree adverbial, as in (10.8).

- (10.1) *ar tej (ham) usul ka=in ham*
 LOC wedding CONJ dance do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ
dof noj xej=in
 tambourine flute play.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘At a wedding they dance and play the tambourine and flute.’

- (10.2) *waz çitç (ham) xuzmat ka=am ham*
 1SG.NOM now CONJ work do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV CONJ
xuj=am ham kalo poj=am
 read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV CONJ sheep herd.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I am now working and studying and herding sheep.’

- (10.3) *wi tar um jam batço fand-an*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there 3SG.NOM.PROX child false-GEN
tsarang zit vid=i wazondz ham tagəw fand na
 how bad be.INF = SC know.PRF CONJ at.all false NEG
ðod=itçuz seðdz
 give.INF = REL become.PRF
 ‘Since then, this child learned how bad it is to lie, and has become someone who never tells lies at all. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (10.4) *(ham) rasim tož=in ham awudž*
 CONJ picture pull.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ sound
zoz=in
 get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They take pictures and record audio.’
- (10.5) *muu puts (ham) duxtur ham olim*
 1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar
 ‘My son is a doctor and a scholar.’
- (10.6) *muu xor utč çuv ham aqlin*
 1SG.NNOM nephew very well.behaved CONJ smart
 ‘My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.’
- (10.7) *tudžik xalg-an wi vrəw utč pur ham*
 Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ
tor
 black
 ‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and dark.’
- (10.8) *tudžik xalg-an wi vrəw ham utč pur*
 Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much
ham utč tor
 CONJ very black
 ‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and very dark.’

The second type of cumulative coordination involves the use of the particle *mas* ‘also’, which is placed before the predicate of each conjunct. The predicate in the second clause may be omitted. This is exemplified in (10.9) - (10.13):

- (10.9) *paləw mas ka=an, çirgirindž mas*
 pilaf also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also
(ka=an)
 do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.’
- (10.10) *ong mas wazond, adabjot mas (wazond)*
 tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics also know.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.’

- (10.11) *puḡan mas joḏ = it, fal mas*
 tomorrow also come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV two.days.hence also

(joḏ = it), xadar mas
 come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV three.days.hence also

(joḏ = it)
 come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.’

- (10.12) *sarikuj ziv mas lɛv = in, pursi ziv mas*
 Sarikoli tongue also say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV Persian tongue also

(lɛv = in)
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.’

- (10.13) *gulbibi mas qetçin, çanigul mas (qetçin)*
 Geelbibi also pregnant Shanigeel also pregnant
 ‘Geelbibi is pregnant, as well as Shanigeel.’

The conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs (as shown in §2.3.2), but it is also used for conjoining repeated verbs in narratives. In narratives, sometimes the same verb is repeated multiple times to indicate that the activity is continuous. The following examples are taken from narratives, and *at* occurs after each repetition of the verb, unless the last repetition is followed by the subordinating conjunction *iko*, as in (10.16).

- (10.14) *k = ar wi doxt wajəw ðid*
 ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST wilderness walk give.3SG.IPFV

at ðid at ðid at
 CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

ðid at aluk səwd xui
 give.3SG.IPFV CONJ tired become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

xufst
 sleep.3SG.IPFV

‘He walks and walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and gets tired and falls asleep.’

- (10.15) *tid az zabu ki=wi rang*
 go.INF ABL back ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB
ɤirs=in at ɤirs=in at
 turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ
ɤirs=in at i puɤs az wɛf
 turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST
i dʒom vɤejd
 one scoop find.3SG.IPFV
 ‘After going, he goes around and around and around and around
 like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.’
- (10.16) *a=uɲnak k=dos ɣu pa prud*
 ACC=glass ANA=manner REFL.NNOM LOC front
lakaxt tɕost at tɕost at
 put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ
tɕost at tɕost at tɕost
 look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV
iko di-an i vrud xtur vijoɟdʒ
 COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF
ɤarst=ik
 turn.3SG.IPFV = DUR
 ‘He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks
 and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his
 brothers is riding and camel and going around.’

10.1.2 Sequential coordination

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place sequentially. The temporal conjunction *ɣu* is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses. *ɣu* occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation, *ɣu* belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of *ɣu* occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.

- (10.17) *a=di tɕɛr adu ka=am*
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
χu, skit ka=am
 TEMP.CONJ play do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will finish this work and then play.’
- (10.18) *tom so=am χu,*
 then become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
joð=am
 come.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Then I will go there and come back.’
- (10.19) *awal mejmun-ɛf=ir tɕoj wejð χu,*
 first guest-PL.NNOM=DAT tea put.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
mu=ri jordam ka
 1SG.NNOM=DAT help do.IPFV
 ‘First pour tea for the guests and then help me.’
- (10.20) *woð i maθ dam zoz=in χu,*
 3PL.NOM one day rest get.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
joð=in
 come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They rest for one day and then come.’
- (10.21) *amirɕu χu yin qati jot χu, uz*
 Amirshu REFL.NNOM wife COM come.PFV TEMP.CONJ again
tujd
 go.PFV
 ‘Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.’
- (10.22) *tamaɕ=af χug χu*
 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV eat.PFV TEMP.CONJ
jot=af=o
 come.PFV=2PL.PFV=Q
 ‘Did you(pl) eat and then come?’

The following are examples of *χu* occurring in narrative. In (10.23) - (10.25), it is preceded by a pause and belongs to the second clause. (10.26) & (10.27) contain instances of *χu* occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.

- (10.23) *tom wi=ri leq ðid*
 then 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT clothing give.3SG.IPFV
jad juu kaxt, xu
 3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST do.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
tej waðor=in
 wedding grab.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold
 a wedding ceremony.’
- (10.24) *uz karst ki=di rang,*
 again turn.3SG.IPFV ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB
xu uvð sul fropst
 TEMP.CONJ seven year reach.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.’
- (10.25) *səwd xu ar mala*
 become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC housing.compound
deðð, xu az fil xofst
 enter.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ABL elephant go.down.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the ele-
 phant.’
- (10.26) *jad mas joðd xu, a=ktçawi*
 3SG.NOM.PROX also come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ACC=ring
wi az ðust tojzd wazafst
 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL hand pull.3SG.IPFV go.back.3SG.IPFV
xofst, xu joðd xu
 go.down.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ come.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM
kalo xejz
 sheep side
 ‘He also comes and pulls the ring off her hand and returns and
 goes down, and comes to his sheep.’

- (10.27) *a=wi* *roft* *χu,* *pa*
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST spread.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ LOC
tɛɛd *dejd=ir* *at* *jad* *mas*
 house enter.INF=DAT CONJ 3SG.NOM.PROX also
zuzd, *χu* *wi* *tar* *pɛð*
 run.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC foot
a=χu *patəwd*
 a=REFL.NNOM throw.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He spreads it on and is about to enter the house, and this one also runs and throws himself at that one’s feet.’

This construction may be used with perfective situations, as in (10.21) & (10.22), and with imperfective situations, as in the remaining examples, as long as all of the conjoined clauses within the sentence have the same aspect.

The temporal conjunction *χu* is also used for causal coordination (§10.1.3) or for expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction (§13.9).

10.1.3 Causal coordination

Sarikoli most commonly uses the causal conjunction *kazwi* to link one clause with another clause providing the reason or explanation for it. The conjunction *kazwi* is derived from the merging of *k(i)=az wi* ‘from that’ (anaphoric clitic + ablative marker + 3sg non-nominative distal demonstrative), and indicates a causal relation between two situations. In this construction, the reason clause is given first, followed by *kazwi*, and then the result clause. Syntactically, *kazwi* belongs to the result clause. This type of coordination is illustrated in (10.28) - (10.34) below. As shown in these examples, each of the conjuncts in causal coordination may take any aspect, and does not necessarily share the same aspect as the other conjunct within the same sentence.

- (10.28) *mu* *dud* *a=mu* *qiw* *tɛəwg,* *kazwi=am*
 1SG.NNOM uncle ACC=1SG.NNOM call do.PFV so=1SG.PFV
jot
 come.PFV
 ‘My uncle called me, so I came.’

- (10.29) *m-oto kasal suut, kazwi = am*
 1SG.NNOM = father sick become.PFV so = 1SG.PFV
wi = ri tamoq jud
 3SG.NNOM.DIST = DAT food take.PFV
 ‘My father has gotten sick, so I took him food.’
- (10.30) *woð = af a = di ðud,*
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX hit.PFV
kazwi = ik niwd
 so = DUR cry.3SG.IPFV
 ‘They hit him, that is why he is crying.’
- (10.31) *wef-an pul nist, kazwi ejd na*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV so festival NEG
narzambon = in
 celebrate.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They do not have money, that is why they do not celebrate the festival.’
- (10.32) *sojra = ri χuε, kazwi = am vəwg*
 Soyra = DAT happy so = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
 ‘Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.’
- (10.33) *i dam dər uz χor = am, kazwi εitε na*
 one rest CPRV again eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV so now NEG
χor = am
 eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will eat again later, so I will not eat right now.’
- (10.34) *sodil puğan joðd, kazwi = an*
 Sodil tomorrow come.3SG.IPFV so = 1PL.PFV
a = wi znud
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.PFV
 ‘Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.’

The temporal conjunction *χu* sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:

- (10.35) *waz = am* *χu* *tilfon* *bunost* *χu*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM phone lose.PFV TEMP.CONJ

ta *nummur = am* *bunost*
 2SG.NNOM number = 1SG.PFV lose.PFV
 ‘I lost my phone, so I lost your number.’

- (10.36) *zejnura* *seð* *mudž* *jot* *χu* *nəwz*
 Zeynura this.year new come.PFV TEMP.CONJ still

k = um *seðdž = endž* *nist*
 ANA = there become.PRF = REL NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘Zeynura is new here this year, so she has not been there yet.’

10.1.4 Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions *hammo* and *ləkin* ‘but’, which are cognate with Persian and may be used interchangeably. The adversative conjunction occurs between the two conjoined elements, and syntactically belongs to the second clause. There are no aspect restrictions for the conjuncts in adversative coordination. The sentences in (10.37) - (10.43) are examples of clauses coordinated in adversative relations.

- (10.37) *asl-i* *ta* *χejz = am* *tid* *mejdž* *vud,*
 origin-ADV 2SG.NNOM side = 1SG.PFV go.INF INTEN be.PFV

hammo *mu-an* *digar* *tçer* *naxtuğ*
 but 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work go.up.PFV
 ‘I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something else came up.’

- (10.38) *mu* *dil* *na* *tid,* *ləkin* *na* *tədz = am*
 1SG.NNOM heart NEG go.INF but NEG go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

tša *na* *səwd*
 COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘I do not want to go, but I must go.’

- (10.39) *suat nāw sut, lekin mu vits nāwz na*
 hour nine become.PFV but 1SG.NNOM aunt still NEG
jot
 come.PFV
 ‘It is 9 o’clock, but my aunt still has not come.’
- (10.40) *m-ono wɛf=ir lɛvd, hammo*
 1SG.NNOM-mother 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT say.PFV but
woð pa gap na tɕomb=in
 3PL.NOM.DIST LOC word NEG be.willing.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘My mother told them, but they are not willing to listen.’
- (10.41) *waz so=am, lekin ta qati na*
 1SG.NOM become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV but 2SG.NNOM COM NEG
so=am
 become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will go, but I will not go with you.’
- (10.42) *verθ duurst, lekin az dʒam suf tudʒik gap*
 both whole but ABL all pure Tajik word
mi=jad
 CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX
 ‘They are both correct, but the most pure Tajik word is this one.’
- (10.43) *juu xu pul har tsarang-in waχt*
 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM money every how-ADJ time
zox̣t t̤i kax̣t, lekin waz zox̣t na t̤i
 get.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV but 1SG.NOM get.INF NEG CAP
ka=am
 do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘He can take out his money at any time, but I cannot.’

10.1.5 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunction is a type of coordination which presents alternative possibilities. In Sarikoli, disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *jo(ki)* ‘or’, which may be repeated to form the correlating conjunction *jo(ki)... jo(ki)...* ‘either...

or...’. These conjunctions link two finite clauses together and present them as alternatives. The disjunctive conjunction in each conjunct immediately precedes the specific alternative element. If the conjuncts have different subjects which are presented as alternatives, the disjunctive conjunctions are placed at the beginning of each clause, as in (10.44) & (10.45). Likewise, if the alternatives are objects, *jo(ki)* precedes the object of each conjunct, as in (10.46), and so on. The following examples show the two clauses presenting different alternatives for the subject (10.44) & (10.45), object (10.46), verb without a shared object (10.47), verb with a shared object (10.48), polarity (10.49), or adverbial or other element (10.50), but the other elements in the sentence are usually identical in both clauses. For the sake of parsimony, the redundant elements are often omitted in the second clause, as shown by the parentheses around the omissible elements in the examples below.

- (10.44) *jo waz naviç = am, jo amad (naviçt)*
 or 1SG.NOM write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or Amad write.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Either I will write it or Amad will.’

- (10.45) *joki mu dud belat zozd, joki mu*
 or 1SG.NNOM uncle ticket buy.3SG.IPFV or 1SG.NNOM
vrud (zozd)
 brother buy.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Either my uncle will buy the ticket or my brother will.’

- (10.46) *waz jo m = a = di baron*
 1SG.NOM or CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX dress

zoz = am, jo m = a = di
 buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX

(zoz = am)
 buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will buy either this dress or this one.’

- (10.47) *waz joki ktub xuj = am, joki*
 1SG.NOM or book read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or

xufs = am
 sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will either read a book or sleep.’

- (10.48) *maç jo a=di xor=an jo*
 1PL.NOM or ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV or
patəw=an
 throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘We will either eat this or throw it away.’
- (10.49) *waz jo tid tçi ka=am, jo (tid) na*
 1SG.NOM or go.INF CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or go.INF NEG
(tçi ka=am)
 CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.’
- (10.50) *waz joki nur reewun so=am, joki*
 1SG.NOM or today leave become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or
pugan (ruwun so=am)
 tomorrow leave become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will leave either today or tomorrow.’

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is used for both clausal and phrasal coordination, as shown in the following examples containing phrase-level coordination:

- (10.51) *xjejn jo sovdz leq pamedz=in*
 blue or green clothing wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They wear blue or green clothes.’
- (10.52) *wɛf=ir tçat jo kalo mas buz=in*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT cow or sheep also send.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They also send them cows or sheep.’

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is not used for alternative questions, which take the form of a tag question instead (§7.3.2). However, it is frequently used in interrogative complement clauses expressing a ‘whether or not’ relation between two clauses (§7.3.4.1), as demonstrated by the following example:

- (10.53) *wef-an batço vid=i jo(ki) na vid=i*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or NEG be.INF=SC
waz mas na wazon=am
 1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I do not know whether they have children or not, either.’

Although used less frequently, *χu* is another disjunctive conjunction that serves the same function as *jo(ki)*. As shown in the following examples, *χu* may be used with first, second, or third person subjects.

- (10.54) *χu ar χuzmat tēdz χu pa tēd çuv niθ*
 or LOC work go.IPFV or LOC house calm sit.IPFV
 ‘Either go to work or stay home and behave yourself.’
- (10.55) *χu əwqut lev χu barakat az di δəw*
 or thing say.IPFV or blessing ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two
iw surəw
 one separate.IPFV
 ‘Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.’
- (10.56) *χu zuundagi ka χu naj mir hammo*
 or life do.IPFV or NEG die.IPFV but
zuundagi=at=ik təwg durust χalg so
 life=2SG.PFV=DUR do.PFV whole person become.IPFV
 ‘Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome person.’
- (10.57) *waz χu pa tēd niθ=am kalo*
 1SG.NOM or LOC house sit.IPFV=1SG.IPFV sheep
puj=am χu naj amriko xojd=ir
 herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or NEG America read.INF=DAT
tēdz=am
 go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to study.’

- (10.58) *ʃonjoz xu pa dars dɛðd xu ar buzur*
 Shonyoz or LOC lesson enter.3SG.IPFV or LOC bazaar
tizd wi dil-nɛndʒ wazond qilo
 go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart-ADJ know.INF difficult
 ‘Shonyoz will either go to class or go to the bazaar; it is difficult to know his heart.’

10.1.6 Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination, in which a series of clauses which are conjoined through juxtaposition rather than by means of conjunctions, is common in Sarikoli. It is frequently used when the conjuncts have no other constituents besides the predicate, and the interpretation is usually sequential. As with other types of coordination, each of the conjoined clauses is finite and has its own pronominal agreement clitic:

- (10.59) *ʃut = at jot = at = o*
 become.PFV = 2SG.PFV come.PFV = 2SG.PFV = Q
 ‘Did you go and come back?’
- (10.60) *ʃug = af jot = af = o*
 eat.PFV = 3PL.PFV come.PFV = 3PL.PFV = Q
 ‘Did they eat and come back?’
- (10.61) *i kots surəwd zəzd tizd*
 one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV
a = wi xu = ri yin kaxt
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM = DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He selects a girl, takes her, goes, and makes her his wife.’

10.2 Subordination

Clauses may be combined so that one clause is the main clause and the other is dependent on the main clause, and the two clauses do not have the same grammatical status. In a sentence with subordination, the main clause is always finite and the subordinate clause is often, but not always, infinitival. Three types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in this section: relative clauses (§10.2.1), complement clauses (§10.2.2), and adverbial clauses (§10.2.3).

10.2.1 Relative clause

Relativization involves two clauses, the relative clause (RC) and the main clause, which share a common argument. The RC modifies the common argument within the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). Sarikoli uses two enclitic relativizers¹ for creating RC constructions, *=endz* and *=itçuz*, which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs, *endz* is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the *=endz* and *=itçuz* relativizers is determined by whether the verb stem within the RC is finite or non-finite. Externally-headed RCs precede the common argument, and headless RCs occupy the slot where the common argument normally occurs. RCs do not contain pronominal agreement clitics.

10.2.1.1 RC with the *=endz* relativizer

The relativizer *=endz* is used with RCs that contain: 1) situations that have already been completed (10.62) - (10.65), and 2) states (10.66) & (10.67). It is the only relativizer that attaches to a finite verb stem, as it occurs with the perfect stem of verbs. It cannot attach to verbs in the imperfective or infinitive stems, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.68b) & (10.68c):

- (10.62) *sofia mu=ri [az amriko vəwydz=endz] kampuut*
 Sofia 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF=REL candy

ðud
 give.PFV

‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’

- (10.63) *watça [waz ləwr seðdz=endz] dzuɟ*
 Wacha 1SG.NOM big become.PRF=REL place

‘Wacha is the place [where I grew up].’

- (10.64) *[woð ləvdz=endz] bejt mu=ri utç*
 3PL.NOM.DIST say.PRF=REL song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very

χuç
 happy

‘I really like the song [that they sang].’

¹I use the term relativizer, not participle, because these morphemes are clitics that attach to an entire clause rather than suffixes that transform a verb into an adjective.

- (10.65) *[mur iθtɕ = endz]* *mejmun-xejl maɕ xejx*
 today come.PRF = REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
 ‘The guests [who came today] are our relatives.’
- (10.66) *[ato ano na veðdɕ = endz]* *batɕo az dɕam ivul*
 father mother NEG be.PRF = REL child ABL all pitiable
 ‘[Children who do not have parents] are the most pitiable.’
- (10.67) *m-ono [muu = ri xuuɕ veðdɕ = endz]*
 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRF = REL

tamoq tɕəwg
 food do.PFV
 ‘My mother made food [that I like].’
- (10.68) a. *tamaɕ [xu zuxtɕ = endz] mon*
 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF = REL apple

xor = it
 eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’
- b. **tamaɕ [xu zoz = endz] mon*
 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFV = REL apple

xor = it
 eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’
- c. **tamaɕ [xu zoxt = endz] mon*
 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF = REL apple

xor = it
 eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

10.2.1.2 RC with the =itɕuz relativizer

The relativizer =itɕuz attaches to the infinitive stem and is not inflected for aspect, but aspect is inferred based on the matrix clause situation and context. This includes: 1) ongoing events with present time reference (10.69) - (10.73), including habituais; 2) future events (10.74) & (10.75a); and 3) agentives, as shown in Table 10.2. =itɕuz cannot attach to a finite verb, as demonstrated

by the ungrammatical examples (10.75b) & (10.75c). Without the specific time reference words, the RCs in (10.69), (10.70), (10.74), and (10.75a) can be interpreted as having either present or future time reference.

- (10.69) *[woð çitç tçixt=itçuz] kinu waz*
 3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF=REL movie 1SG.NOM
tçuuxtç = endz
 watch.PRF = REL
 ‘The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.’
- (10.70) *[zulfıço çitç levd=itçuz] bejt wi vrud*
 Zeelfisho now say.INF=REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother
naviçtç = endz
 write.PRF = REL
 ‘The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.’
- (10.71) *tuung [nuç az dşam pur pext=itçuz] dijur*
 Teeng apricot ABL all much ripen.INF=REL region
 ‘Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].’
- (10.72) *jad [m-oto hara maθ broxt=itçuz]*
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-father every day drink.INF=REL
duri
 medicine
 ‘This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].’
- (10.73) *[mu jaχ χuzmat tçejg=itçuz] dzuɟ utç ðar*
 1SG.NNOM sister work do.INF=REL place very far
 ‘The place [where my sister works] is very far.’
- (10.74) *[sulir levd=itçuz] bejt=an maçq tçəwg*
 next.year say.INF=REL song=1PL.PFV training do.PFV
 ‘We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].’

- (10.75) a. *[pugan xwor tid=itçuz] batço-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.INF = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
aftovuz belat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’
- b. **[pugan xwor tɛdz=itçuz] batço-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.IPFV = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
aftovuz belat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’
- c. **[pugan xwor tujdz=itçuz] batço-χejl=af*
tomorrow Kashgar go.PRF = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV
aftovuz belat zuxt
bus ticket buy.PFV
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’

Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with =itçuz

<i>wazawond = itçuz</i> ‘eraser’	<i>bejt levd = itçuz</i> ‘singer’
<i>tamoq tçejg = itçuz</i> ‘cook’	<i>rasim tɪzd = itçuz</i> ‘artist’
<i>para ðod = itçuz</i> ‘seller’	<i>intsivd = itçuz</i> ‘sewer’
<i>talipt = itçuz</i> ‘beggar’	<i>ðext = itçuz</i> ‘sprinkler’
<i>kəwd = itçuz</i> ‘digger’	<i>zdig = itçuz</i> ‘wiper’
<i>moçin dɛt = itçuz</i> ‘driver’	<i>kalo pojɖ = itçuz</i> ‘sheep herder’
<i>batço tçixt = itçuz</i> ‘one that watches children’	<i>woxt = itçuz</i> ‘one that falls (epileptic)’

10.2.1.3 Headless RC

Expression of the common argument is not required. The common argument may be omitted if it can be understood from the situational context in which the utterance occurs. Headless RCs may be formed with both =endz, as in (10.76) - (10.79), and =itçuz, as in (10.80) - (10.83). Headless RCs most

commonly occur as the copula complement argument, but also occupy other argument and non-argument slots as well. In the following examples, the RC modifies the implicit S argument in (10.76), O argument in (10.80), copula subject in (10.77) & (10.81), and copula complement in (10.78), (10.79), (10.82), and (10.83).

- (10.76) *[məwydʒ = endʒ] tik tçi pɛð səwd zuundo*
 die.PRF = REL straight LOC foot become.3SG.IPFV live
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The one [who had died] stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.’
- (10.77) *[muu = ri az dʒam pur χumand tɕəwydʒ = endʒ]*
 1SG.NNOM = REL ABL all much learn do.PRF = REL
jad malum
 3SG.NOM.PROX teacher
 ‘The (one) [who has taught me the most] is this teacher.’
- (10.78) *m-oto m-ono verθ [tuuznef ləwr*
 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother both Teeznef big
sɛðdʒ = endʒ]
 become.PRF = REL
 ‘My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].’
- (10.79) *jad hansu əwrat [pa varçide haroj sul*
 3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year
naluçtɕ = endʒ]
 live.PRF = REL
 ‘This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].’
- (10.80) *doð = aʃ a = [rasim zoxt = itɕuz] qiw na*
 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV ACC = picture get.INF = REL call NEG
tɕəwydʒ
 do.PRF
 ‘These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (10.81) *[waz az dʒam puur tʃejg = itʃuz] paləw*
 1SG.NOM ABL all much do.INF = REL pilaf
 ‘(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.’
- (10.82) *maʃ [χu θust qati χig = itʃuz]*
 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF = REL
 ‘We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].’
- (10.83) *zejnura [tar jəwl xevd broxt = itʃuz]*
 Zeynura LOC dawn milk drink.INF = REL
 ‘Zeynura is (one) [who drinks milk in the morning].’

10.2.1.4 Unmarked RC

RCs may be completely unmarked, with no relativizer indicating that a clause is modifying a noun. In this type of RC, an infinitive clause simply precedes the head noun, as shown in the following examples. This type of unmarked RC is not very common in Sarikoli.

- (10.84) *waz = am [hawu θod] awudʒ na*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG

xud
 hear.PFV
 ‘I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].’
- (10.85) *ʃanbe jakʃanbe [dam zoxt] maθ*
 Saturday Sunday rest get.INF day
 ‘Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].’

Negative RCs with *=endʒ*, or *=endʒ* RCs within another subordinated clause, may optionally omit the relativizer, with no change in meaning. These are structurally similar to infinitival unmarked RCs, but either contain negated verbs in the perfect stem, as in (10.86) - (10.90) below, or occur in another subordinate clause, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b) presented in §10.2.3.1.

- (10.86) *mur = am [na xεðdʒ] i gap xud*
 today = 1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV
 ‘Today I heard something [I had not heard before].’

- (10.87) *nur=af* [*na χuɣɔdz*] *tamoq χuɣ*
 today=3PL.PFV NEG eat.PRF food eat.PFV
 ‘Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].’
- (10.88) [*makola na naviçtɕ*] *batço-χejl* *intawum*
 essay NEG write.PRF child-PL.NOM exam

ðo=in
 give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘Students [who have not written essays] take exams.’
- (10.89) *xeb maç* [*tej na tçəɣɔdz*]
 yesterday 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF

batço-χejl=an *qati* *tamoq χuɣ*
 child-PL.NOM=1PL.PFV together food eat.PFV
 ‘Yesterday, those of us [who are not married] ate a meal together.’
- (10.90) *m-ono* *a=wi* *rasim*
 1SG.NNOM-mother ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST picture

χu-an [*ðes sul na wandz*] *hamru=ri*
 REFL.NNOM-GEN ten year NEG see.PRF companion=DAT

vuusond
 show.PFV
 ‘My mother showed that picture to her friend [whom she has not seen for ten years].’

RCs with positive polarity that are not embedded in another subordinate clause may not omit the =*endz*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) & (10.92).

- (10.91) **sofia mu=ri* [*az amriko vəɣɔdz*] *kampiut*
 Sofia 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF candy

ðud
 give.PFV
 ‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’
- (10.92) **[woð levdz bejt] mu=ri* *utç χuç*
 3PL.NOM say.PRF song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very happy
 ‘I really like the song [they sang].’

10.2.2 Complement clause

A complement clause (CC) is a proposition that functions as an argument of another proposition. Dixon (2006) proposes three basic properties of CCs: 1) having the internal constituent structure of a clause; 2) functioning as a core argument of a higher clause; and 3) describing a proposition, containing someone involved in an activity or state.

Sarikoli has at least two CC constructions which fulfill all three of these requirements, both of which are used for reported speech and have the most structural similarity to a main clause. The other two constructions are non-finite complements with more limited grammatical marking. Nevertheless, their internal constituent structure does resemble that of a clause to some extent, and they do fulfill the latter two properties.

This section introduces two regular CC constructions: the nominalized complement with a subordinating conjunction (§10.2.2.1) and the infinitival complement (§10.2.2.2). Both constructions function as a core argument of a higher clause, and occur in the normal syntactic position of whichever argument they function as. In addition, two CC constructions used for reported speech will be presented (§10.2.2.3): the preverbal finite complement, used only for reporting speech, and the post-verbal finite complement with a subordinating conjunction, most often used for reporting speech, but also used as other CCs as well.

10.2.2.1 The nominalized complement

Sarikoli uses what Dixon describes as nominalization as a complementation strategy: “a process by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective, or from a complete clause” (2006:36). Verbs that take nominalized complements include: verbs of attention (*wand* ‘see’, *xid* ‘hear’, *vusond* ‘show’), verbs of thinking (*wazond* ‘know’, *famd* ‘understand’, *uj tcejg* ‘think’, *icandz tcejg* ‘believe’, *ranixt* ‘forget’, *tar xuwdm wand* ‘dream about’), and verbs of speaking (*levd* ‘say, tell’). The subordinating conjunction *=i* plays a role similar to that of a complementizer. It attaches to a verb in the infinitive stem and makes it an argument of the main clause. The other component of this complementation strategy is the genitive marker *-an*, which attaches to the subject of the nominalized complement, structurally marking the subject of the embedded clause as a possessor of an NP. Since the embedded clause is nominalized, the entire embedded clause after the possessor-marked subject becomes the possessed item. This nominalized complement functions as a regular argument of the predicate of the main clause,

as with NPs. It does not carry any aspectual information, using time words to specify time reference when necessary, as in (10.95) & (10.96).

- (10.93) *sejfik* <*gulpia-an* *wi* *tej* *tɛjg=i*>
 Seyfik Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF = SC
wazon
 know.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Seyfik knows about <Geelpia’s getting married>.’
- (10.94) *malum-ɣejl=af* <*batɕo-ef-an* *a=imi*
 teacher-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC = RECP
ðod=i *wand*
 hit.INF = SC see.PFV
 ‘The teachers saw <the children’s hitting each other>.’
- (10.95) *waz* <*tamaɕ-an* *xɛb* *tsejz* *ɣig=i*>
 1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN yesterday what eat.INF = SC
wazon=am
 know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I know <what you(pl) ate yesterday>.’
- (10.96) *waz* <*tamaɕ-an* *puɣan* *kudʒur* *tid=i*>
 1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow where go.INF = SC
wazon=am
 know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I know <where you(pl) will go tomorrow>.’
- (10.97) *putxu* <*ɣu* *radʒen-an* *wi* *marg=i*>
 king REFL.NNOM daughter-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST die.INF = SC
xud
 hear.PFV
 ‘The king heard about <his daughter’s dying>.’

10.2.2.2 Infinitival complement

The infinitival complement is formed with an infinitive verb stem and no agreement clitics. It does not contain an explicit subject, and the embedded

clause is interpreted as having one of the main clause arguments as its subject. It functions as an argument of the predicate of the main clause. Verbs that take infinitival complements include: liking verbs (*tɕimbd* ‘be willing to’, *χuɕ vid* ‘be pleasing to (like)’, *dil...vid* ‘heart be (desire to)’, *pixmun tɕejg* ‘regret’, *xudʒ δord* ‘fear’) and certain speaking verbs (*qasam tɕejg* ‘swear, promise’, *ramud* ‘cause, order’, *latɕejg* ‘let, allow’).

- (10.98) *aqlia <kalo guxt χig> na tɕombd*
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.’
- (10.99) *waz χu jaχ=ir <ɕejdoi intsivd>*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM sister=DAT Sheydoi sew.INF
ramej=am
cause.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I will cause my sister <to embroider a Sheydoi (female cap)>.’
- (10.100) *m-oto a=muu <bejt lɛvd> na*
1SG.NNOM-father ACC=1SG.NNOM song say.INF NEG
lakaxt
let.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My father does not allow me <to sing songs>.’
- (10.101) *<tar vatɕ skit tɕejg> wi=ri χuɕ*
LOC outside play do.INF 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT happy
 ‘He likes <playing outside>.’ (lit. <Playing outside> is pleasing to him.)
- (10.102) *qandik dil <χu patiɕ-ɛf qati pa buzur*
Qandik heart REFL.NNOM cousin-PL.NNOM COM LOC bazaar
tid>
go.INF
 ‘Qandik wants <to go to the bazaar with her cousins>.’
- (10.103) *<maθ paqad ktub xojd> a=χalg aluk*
day whole.duration book read.INF ACC=person tired
kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘<Reading books all day> makes a person tired.’

10.2.2.3 Reported speech

Most reported speech in Sarikoli takes the form of a direct quotation, described in this section, or hearsay, which is treated in §12. Sarikoli has two CC constructions for reporting direct speech. The first is a preverbal finite CC construction embedded in the main verb *levd* ‘say, tell’ in the imperfective stem. In addition, the durative clitic *=ik* is attached to some element before the verb, either preceding or following the direct quotation. (10.104) - (10.106) exemplify this way of quoting direct speech. Sometimes the meaning of *levd* may be extended to cover ‘think’, as in (10.105).

- (10.104) <*tamaç awal tɛdz=it*, *waz maður zabu*
 2PL.NOM first go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV 1SG.NOM noon back
tɛdz=am>=ik levd
 go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘S/he is saying, “You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon”.’
- (10.105) *waz=ik <nur tçorçambe> lev=am*
 1SG.NOM=DUR today Wednesday say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘I thought, “Today is Wednesday”.’ (lit. I am saying, “Today is Wednesday”).
- (10.106) <*pa tçɛd dið=it>=ik lev=in*
 LOC house enter.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=DUR say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘They are saying, “Come into our home”.’

This construction may also be used in an interrogative sentence. If someone yells “Don’t!” but it is unclear who the intended addressee was, one might ask the speaker the question in (10.107). The quoted material may also be replaced by an interrogative word, as in (10.108); although it is not an example of reporting direct speech, it shows how this preverbal finite CC construction is often used. This sentence may be used in a situation like the following: a prince sends a message to his lover through a messenger and awaits a response. As soon as the messenger returns, he asks him the question in (10.108).

- (10.107) *təw tçi=ri=ik <mo> lev*
 2SG.NOM who.NNOM=DAT=DUR PROH say.IPFV
 ‘To whom are you saying “Don’t”?’
- (10.108) *tsejz=ik levd*
 what=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘What is she saying?’

The second construction for reporting direct speech is a post-verbal finite CC, which is used for reporting direct speech as well as other perceptions. In this construction, the quoted material is placed after the verb in the main clause and introduced by the subordinating conjunction *iko*. *iko* belongs to the main clause and not the embedded clause. The verb in the main clause is not restricted to *levd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

- (10.109) *baɣtigul mu=ri levd iko <nur*
 Bahtigeel 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.PFV COMP today
mu-an digar tɕer jost>
 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work be.IPFV
 ‘Bahtigeel told me <I have other things to do today>.’
- (10.110) *xud=am iko <tursun ar wi*
 hear.PFV=1SG.PFV COMP Tursun LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST
afto ɣu tej kaxt>
 week REFL.NNOM wedding do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘I heard <Tursun will get married next week>.’
- (10.111) *ar ujnək tɕost iko wi vrud i*
 LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one
dɕuj=ik ɣarst wi tɕi ɖust
 place=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand
k=jɯ dɕom
 ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST scoop
 ‘He looks into the mirror and sees <his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand>.’
- (10.112) *waz=am ɣuðm wand iko <maɕ=an*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV
ar anglia sajoat=ir tujdz>
 LOC England travel=DAT go.PRF
 ‘I dreamed <we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information)>.’

- (10.113) *faridun qasam tɕəwg iko <χu radzen*
 Faridun oath do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM daughter

tu = ri ɖo = am >
 2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Faridun swore <I will give you my daughter>.’

- (10.114) *rajon uj tɕəwg iko <χu batɕo-ɛf = ir*
 Rayon think do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM = DAT

ɕejdoi intsov = am >
 Sheydoi sew.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Rayon thought <I will sew Sheydois (female cap) for my children>.’

iko may also, especially in narratives, occur with other types of main verb, followed by the embedded clause containing that which is perceived after the main verb, as in (10.115) - (10.119).

- (10.115) *wod naxtedz = in iko spejd vurdz = ik*
 3PL.NOM.DIST go.up.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP white horse = DUR

tasin ɖid
 neighing give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘They go out (and find that) <a white horse is neighing>.’

- (10.116) *juu dɛɖd iko wi yin*
 3SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

ar qetɕ i χalg aludz
 LOC stomach one person lie.PRF
 ‘He enters (and finds that) <there is a person lying next to his wife>. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (10.117) *ar wi dinju so = am iko*
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COMP

m-oto mas vɛɖdz m-ono mas
 1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

vɛɖdz
 be.PRF

‘I go to that other world (and find that) <my father is there, and my mother is also there>. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (10.118) *tar jəwl indəzd iko di tar*
 LOC dawn get.up.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC
tuç uz i tup tçudir woçtç
 straight again one group tent be.PRF
 ‘He gets up in the morning (and finds that) <there is another group of tents straight ahead of him>. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (10.119) *k=dos k=tar wi çadurdz*
 ANA=manner ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST mill
dið=am iko mu yin
 enter.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM wife
ki=wi çadurdztçi qati skit=ik
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST miller COM play=DUR
kaxt
 do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘I enter the mill like that (and find that) <my wife is playing with that miller>.’

In this construction, the verb *levd* frequently occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person subject, which usually yields the meaning ‘think’, as in (10.120) & (10.121).

- (10.120) *waz=ik lev=am iko <nur seçambe>*
 1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC today Tuesday
 ‘I thought <today is Wednesday>.’
- (10.121) *waz=ik lev=am iko <zulfia tçur*
 1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC Zeelfia husband
watçejdz vεðdz>
 Wacha.person be.PRF
 ‘I thought <Zeelfia’s husband is from Wacha (Evidentiality/New information)>.’

In addition to marking the post-verbal CC construction, the subordinating conjunction *iko* may also be used with the negator *naj* to yield the interpretation ‘otherwise’, as illustrated by (10.122) - (10.124).

- (10.122) *i səwg maç=ir ləv, naj iko maç*
 one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV NEG COMP 1PL.NOM

zuq so=an
 bored become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.’

- (10.123) *tamaç xu ato ziv ləv=it, naj*
 2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM father tongue say.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV NEG

iko tamaç ziv bast
 COMP 2PL.NNOM tongue disappear.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.’

- (10.124) *a=di dzald pa duxturxuno jus, naj*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX fast LOC hospital take.IPFV NEG

iko di kasal garun səwd
 COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX illness heavy become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Take her to the hospital quickly, otherwise her illness will get serious.’

iko is also used in certain exclamations. The manner word *dos* occurs at the beginning of the exclamation, followed by an adjective and optionally also a verb, followed by *iko*, as exemplified in (10.125) & (10.126).

- (10.125) *dos zurm iko*
 manner warm COMP
 ‘It is so hot!’

- (10.126) *dos xuçruj xvdz iko*
 manner beautiful sleep.PRF COMP
 ‘She has fallen asleep so soundly! (Evidentiality/New information)’

10.2.3 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses (ACs) function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. In this section, ten types of Sarikoli ACs, or those functioning as ACs without having genuine AC constructions, will be introduced. They are presented in the following order: 1) finite ACs, 2) infinitival ACs with function markers,

and 3) RC constructions, which are not genuine adverbial subordinations. Table 10.3 presents the types of ACs that will be covered in the subsections that follow, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 10.3 Adverbial clauses

AC types	Verb type	Marker(s)	Reference
Condition	IPFV	<i>tsa</i>	§10.2.3.1
Concession	IPFV	<i>mas tsa</i>	§10.2.3.2
Counterfactual	pluperfect	<i>tsa</i> + <i>=ik</i>	§10.2.3.3
Explanatory reason	INF	<i>az</i> + <i>=i</i>	§10.2.3.4
Suppositional reason	INF	<i>mazamun</i>	§10.2.3.5
Purpose	INF	<i>=ir</i> ; <i>avon</i>	§10.2.3.6
Means/simultaneity	INF	<i>qati</i>	§10.2.3.7
Time	PFV	<i>=ik</i>	§10.2.3.8
	INF (RC)	<i>alo/waxt</i>	
Location	PRF/INF (RC)	<i>=endz</i> / <i>=itçuz</i> + <i>džuj</i>	§10.2.3.9
Manner	PRF (RC)	<i>=endz</i> + <i>rang</i>	§10.2.3.10

Thompson & Longacre & Huang (2007) list three devices that are typically used for indicating ACs: subordinating morphemes, special verb forms, and word order. Sarikoli uses various subordinating morphemes for marking ACs, as shown in the third column of Table 10.3. Most of these subordinating morphemes are clause-final, occurring at the end of the AC, although some of them are placed immediately before the verb in the AC.

Most Sarikoli ACs are also marked with special verb forms, as they are marked with the infinitive stem of the verb and a lack of subject-verb agreement clitics. Only conditional, concessive, and counterfactual ACs and one variety of temporal AC contain finite verb stems and agreement clitics.

Finally, Sarikoli ACs may also be recognized, to some extent, by their position. They usually precede the entire main clause or immediately follow the subject of the main clause, as with other adverbial modifiers (§6).

10.2.3.1 Condition

The conditional AC is formed by placing the conditional particle *tsa* either before or after the predicate of the protasis.² *agar* ‘if’ may optionally be

²Another usage of *tsa* is as a variant of the interrogative word *tsejz* ‘what’ (see §7.3.4).

added to the beginning of the protasis. Conditional ACs, along with concessive ACs (§10.2.3.2), counterfactual ACs (§10.2.3.3), and one type of temporal AC (§10.2.3.8), are unique among the Sarikoli ACs in that they are finite; even though they are dependent clauses, they take finite verbs as well as pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in (10.127) & (10.128).

- (10.127) *tu=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.’

- (10.128) *çitç tung tɛdz=in tsa pond utç qilo*
 now Teeng go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND road very difficult
 ‘If they go to Teeng now the roads are very bad.’

When the embedded clause is an existential clause with *jost* or *nist*, as in (10.129), or when the embedded clause is a *vid* copula clause, as in (10.130), the copula *vid* ‘be’ within the conditional AC occurs in the embedded imperfective stem.

- (10.129) *mon tsa vid mu=ri i tol vor*
 apple COND be.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT one CL bring.IPFV
 ‘If there are apples, bring me one.’ OR ‘If they are apples, bring me one’.
- (10.130) *çtu tsa vid mo broz*
 cold COND be.3SG.IPFV PROH drink.IPFV
 ‘Do not drink it if it is cold.’

The conditional AC cannot take the perfective stem of the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.131a), (10.132a), and (10.133a). Perfective situations are further embedded in an RC with the =*endz* relativizer, which may be shortened into an unmarked RC, followed by *tsa* and the imperfective form of *vid* ‘be’, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b):

- (10.131) a. **wejrın tsa sut mu=ri vor*
 broken COND become.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT bring.IPFV
 ‘If it broke, bring it to me.’

- b. *wejrun səðdɘ(=endɘ) tsa vid*
 broken become.PRF=REL COND be.3SG.IPFV

muu=ri vor
 1SG.NNOM=DAT bring.IPFV
 'If it is broken, bring it to me.'

- (10.132) a. **tamoq=at na xug tsa maç qati*
 food=2SG.PFV NEG eat.PFV COND 1PL.NNOM COM

xor
 eat.IPFV
 'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

- b. *tamoq na xuydɘ(=endɘ) tsa vəw maç*
 food NEG eat.PRF=REL COND be.IPFV 1PL.NNOM

qati xor
 COM eat.IPFV
 'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

- (10.133) a. **woð=af tujd tsa digar moçin qati*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV go.PFV COND other car COM

tɛdz
 go.IPFV
 'If they left, take another car.'

- b. *woð tujdɘ(=endɘ) tsa vəw=in*
 3PL.NOM.DIST go.PRF=REL COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

digar moçin qati tɛdz
 other car COM go.IPFV
 'If they left, take another car.'

Optionally, an additional conditional particle *u* may be used after the verb and *tsa*, but it is used very infrequently. The following are examples that contain *u* in the conditional AC.

- (10.134) *ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tɕost tsa*
 LOC glass if CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND
u putuun a=dɕawun jad k=ar
 COND all ACC=world 3SG.NOM.PROX ANA=LOC
wi wand
 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.’
- (10.135) *waz χu pa dɕom a=xats iw*
 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop ACC=water one
zoz=am məwydɕ=endɕ ar ɤov
 get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV die.PRF=REL LOC mouth
wejð=am tsa u zuundo jad
 pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person’s mouth, he becomes alive.’
- (10.136) *naj putxu-an wi yin tsa vid*
 NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV
u təw k=az di ɤots-ɛf
 COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM
surəw a=iw zoz tɛdz di
 separate.IPFV ACC=one get.IPFV go.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX
putxu=ri
 king=DAT
 ‘If this is the king’s wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to this king.’

10.2.3.2 Concession

The concessive AC is a type of conditional AC and also uses *tsa*, but *tsa* is preceded by the particle *mas* ‘also’. *mas* and *tsa* may precede or follow the

finite verb, forming the literal meaning, ‘If it is also that....’ The finite verb is in the imperfective stem and co-occurs with the appropriate pronominal clitic.

- (10.137) *m-oto* *a=muu* *rond* *mas tsa*
 1SG.NNOM-father ACC=1SG.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV also COND

mejli
 okay

‘It’s okay even if my father scolds me.’

- (10.138) *təw* *mujim* *waz* *marzundz mas tsa*
 2SG.NOM important 1SG.NOM hungry also COND

ris=am *mejli*
 remain.IPFV=1SG.IPFV okay

‘You are important; it’s okay even if I starve.’

- (10.139) *wi* *pəð ðizd* *mas tsa*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST foot hurt.3SG.IPFV also COND

wi *dil* *χu* *dəst-ef* *qati*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart REFL.NNOM friend-PL.NNOM COM

tup skit tcejg
 ball play do.INF

‘Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.’

- (10.140) *dəðd* *mas tsa* *çəwgunbahor* *muburak*
 enter.3SG.IPFV also COND Sheawgeenbahor congratulations

ləvd *dəðd*
 say.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV

‘Even when he enters, he says “Happy Sheawgeenbahor” and enters.’

- (10.141) *um* *xani-χejl* *tədz=in* *mas tsa* *xabor*
 there groom-PL.NOM go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV also COND sleepover

rejd=itçuz *dzuj-χejl* *jost*
 remain.INF=REL place-PL.NOM be.IPFV

‘Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.’

- (10.142) *tamaç əwd-ik skit mas tsa ka=it*
 2PL.NOM here-DIM play also COND do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
səwd hammo tçək ar darun
 become.3SG.IPFV but boundary LOC inside
ka=it
 do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘It’s okay even if you(pl) play here, but play inside the boundaries.’

It is very common for an RC to be embedded within the concessive clause, in which case the finite verb of the AC is the imperfective stem of *vid* ‘be’, as shown in (10.143) - (10.148).

- (10.143) *duvəz ləq paməwydž=əndž mas tsa*
 thick clothing wear.PRF=REL also COND
vəw=am iç=am tçəwg
 be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV cold = 1SG.PFV do.PFV
 ‘Even though I am wearing thick clothes, I am cold.’ (lit. Even though I am one who has put on thick clothes, I am cold.)
- (10.144) *woď ðes sul tar prud tej tçəwydž=əndž*
 3PL.NOM.DIST ten year LOC front wedding do.PRF=REL
mas tsa vəw=in çitç its
 also COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV now until
wəf-an batço nist
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘Even though they got married ten years ago, they have no child until now.’ (lit. Even though they are ones who have gotten married ten years ago, they have no child until now.)

- (10.145) *waz bedzin ajoy zoxt=itçuz mas tsa*
 1SG.NOM Beijing shoes buy.INF=REL also COND

vəw=am uz iw mas uz
 be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV again one also again

zoʒ=am
 buy.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
 ‘Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy a another one now.’ (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.)
- (10.146) *hitç tsaka na seðdž mas tsa vəw=in*
 none how NEG become.PRF also COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

hammo utç xudž=af ðəwg
 but very fright=3PL.PFV scare.PFV
 ‘Even though they were fine, they were very frightened.’ (lit. Even though they are ones who have not become in any way, they were very frightened.)
- (10.147) *utç pur xojdž mas tsa vəw=it hammo*
 very much read.PRF also COND be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV but

akram duð pur ziv na wazon=it
 Akram AMT much tongue NEG know.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
 ‘Even though you(pl) are very well educated, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.’ (lit. Even though you(pl) are ones who have read much, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.)
- (10.148) *waz utç pur gap tajur tçəwydž mas tsa*
 1SG.NOM very much word ready do.PRF also COND

vəw=am, hammo pət=am ranuxt
 be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV but all=1SG.IPFV forget.PFV
 ‘Even though I prepared so much to say, I forgot everything.’ (lit. Even though I am one who has prepared many words, I forgot everything.)

Since the concessive AC is a conditional clause, *vid* occurs in the embedded imperfective stem when the embedded clause is a copula clause, as in (10.149) - (10.152), or when the embedded clause is an existential clause, as in (10.153).

- (10.149) *juu ingum tamoq χuydʒ mas tsa*
 3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food eat.PRF also COND
vid uz marzundʒ
 be.3SG.IPFV again hungry
 ‘Even though he just ate food, he is hungry again.’ (lit. Even though he is one who has just eaten food, he is hungry again.)
- (10.150) *sofia dʒojza zuxtʃ mas tsa vid juu*
 Sofia prize get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST
ləwr dʒun na sut
 big life NEG become.PFV
 ‘Even though Sofia won the prize, she has not become arrogant.’
 (lit. Even though Sofia is one who got the prize, she has not become arrogant.)
- (10.151) *sejʃik-an wi ato ano post qad mas*
 Seyfik-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST father mother low height also
tsa vəw=in juu χubaθ buɫand
 COND be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM high
qad
 height
 ‘Even though his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.’
- (10.152) *χsrəw puɡan tid=itʃuz mas tsa vid*
 Hsreaw tomorrow go.INF=REL also COND be.3SG.IPFV
tʃing az zord tʃer kaxt
 genuinely ABL heart work do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Even though Hsreaw is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.’ (lit. Even though Hsreaw is one who is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.)
- (10.153) *ta-an pul na mas tsa vid*
 2SG.NNOM-GEN money NEG also COND be.3SG.IPFV
joð
 come.IPFV
 ‘Come even if you do not have money.’

10.2.3.3 Counterfactual

The counterfactual is a type of conditional AC in which the speaker asserts the protasis not to be true. This construction is formed by adding the *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the protasis, adding the =*ik* durative marker to any preverbal element in both the protasis and the apodosis, and using the pluperfect form of the verb (perfect verb stem + cessative marker *-it*) in both the protasis and the apodosis. (10.154) - (10.158) are examples of counterfactuals.

- (10.154) *tudzik tej = ik tsa veðdz-it,*
Tajik wedding = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

waz = am = ik a = ta juðdz-it
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR ACC = 2SG.NNOM take.PRF-CESS
‘If it had been a Tajik wedding, I would have taken you.’
- (10.155) *mu-an radzen = ik tsa veðdz-it,*
1SG.NNOM-GEN daughter = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

tu = ri = am = ik ðudz-it
2SG.NNOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV = DUR give.PRF-CESS
‘If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.’
- (10.156) *waz = am = ik purs ziv tsa*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR Persian tongue COND

wazondz-it, iron = am = ik tujdz-it
know.PRF-CESS Iran = 1SG.PFV = DUR go.PRF-CESS
‘If I had known Persian, I would have gone to Iran.’
- (10.157) *ta-an pasport = ik tsa veðdz-it,*
2SG.NNOM-GEN passport = DUR COND be.PRF-CESS

kudzur = at = ik tujdz-it
where = 2SG.PFV = DUR go.PRF-CESS
‘If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?’
- (10.158) *waz = am = ik varçide tsa veðdz-it,*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV = DUR Varshide COND be.PRF-CESS

ta ar tej = am = ik iθtç-it
2SG.NNOM LOC wedding = 1SG.PFV = DUR come.PRF-CESS
‘If I had been in Varshide, I would have come to your wedding.’

10.2.3.4 Explanatory reason

The explanatory reason AC consists of an infinitival clause with the AC verb preceded by the ablative marker *az* and followed by the subordinating conjunction *=i*. The reason clause generally occurs at the beginning of the main clause, and is used when a speaker is offering new information in the subordinate clause to support a claim made in the main clause. (10.159) - (10.161) below illustrate this type of reason clause.

- (10.159) *muu pa tilfon tuk az na rejd=i*
 1SG.NNOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF=SC
tu=ri=am tilfon na tci tɕəwg
 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV phone NEG CAP do.PFV
 ‘I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.’

- (10.160) *wɛf pa tɕed ləwr mejmun-ɕejl az*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house big guest-PL.NOM ABL
jɛt=i a=kalo=af kaxt
 come.INF=SC ACC=sheep=3PL.PFV slaughter.PFV
 ‘They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.’

- (10.161) *nurbia ɕu ɕejdoi az bunost=i*
 Nurbia REFL.NNOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF=SC
wi ano ɕafo sut
 3SG.NNOM.DIST mother upset become.PFV
 ‘Nurbia’s mother got upset because Nurbia lost her Sheydoi (female cap).’

10.2.3.5 Suppositional reason

The suppositional reason AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by *mazamun* ‘since’, and the main clause follows the AC. This type of reason AC may be considered “echoic”, meaning that the information in the subordinate clause is supposed to be contextually available to the speaker, and usually to the hearer. This is exemplified in the following examples.

- (10.162) *wef batço tindz amun wazəvd*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST child peaceful unharmed return.INF
mazamun wođ = af dijur xalg = ir
 since 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV region person = DAT
ziofat đud
 party give.PFV
 ‘Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a party for the village people.’

- (10.163) *puğan maç-an dars na vid mazamun*
 tomorrow 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.INF since
waz xuu dud pa tçed
 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM uncle LOC house
so = am
 become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle’s house.’

- (10.164) *asan az ta atuin afu parst*
 Asan ABL 2SG.NNOM purposefully forgiveness ask.INF
mazamun təw wi qati ejl
 since 2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM reconciled
so tsa səwd
 become.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can reconcile with him.’

- (10.165) *waz ixil ar xojd vid mazamun*
 1SG.NOM continuously LOC read.INF be.INF since
watça-an pur xalg-ef na
 Wacha-GEN much person-PL.NNOM NEG
wazon = am
 know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Since I have been studying continuously, I do not know a lot of people in Wacha.’

10.2.3.6 Purpose

The purpose AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by the benefactive marker *avon*, as in (10.166) - (10.169) or the dative marker *=ir*, as in (10.170) - (10.173). Both types of purpose ACs typically occur before the entire main clause or immediately after the subject, but it may also be postposed to sentence-final position, as shown in (10.173).

- (10.166) *χu puuts ar amriko xajond avon maxsat*
REFL.NNOM son LOC America study.CAUS.INF BEN Mahsat

dam na zoxt tçer kaxt
rest NEG get.INF work do.3SG.IPFV

‘In order to let his son study in America, Mahsat works without resting.’

- (10.167) *tilak batço-ef=ir sambut zoxt avon pa dikun*
Tilak child-PL.NNOM=DAT gift buy.INF BEN LOC store

dejd
enter.PFV

‘Tilak went into the store to buy gifts for the children.’

- (10.168) *mu puuts χu tçed zoxt avon az*
1SG.NNOM son REFL.NNOM house get.INF BEN ABL

mu pul zuxt
1SG.NNOM money get.PFV

‘My son got money from me to buy his house.’

- (10.169) *waz=am joç-i alo utç pur ginu*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV young-NMLZ TEMP very much sin

tçawydž-it çitç=ik χu ginu znod avon
do.PRF-CESS now=DUR REFL.NNOM sin wash.INF BEN

kixix k=am
endeavor do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘I sinned very much when I was young, and now I am endeavoring to purge my sin.’

- (10.170) *adirdin xu dud=ir tamog jod=ir pa*
Adirdn REFL.NNOM uncle=DAT food take.INF=DAT LOC

duxturxuno tujd
hospital go.PFV

‘Adirdin went to the hospital to take food to his uncle.’

- (10.171) *gawar a=wef tar pond weðd=ir*
Gawar ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC road put.INF=DAT

naxtug
go.up.PFV

‘Gawar went to see them out.’

- (10.172) *waz=am az mejnaxon i tsiz parst=ir*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ABL Meynahon one thing ask.INF=DAT

wi pa jatoq=am sut
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC dormitory=1SG.PFV become.PFV

‘I went to Meynahon’s dormitory to ask her something.’

- (10.173) *jod, alid=ir*
come.IPFV lie.INF=DAT
 ‘Come over to sleep over.’

The purpose AC construction is also used for indicating how long it has been since a certain situation has happened, or how much time remains until a certain situation will happen, as in (10.174) & (10.175), respectively.

- (10.174) a. *tu=ri varçide jet=ir tsund*
2SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT how.much

waxt sut
time become.PFV

‘How long has it been since you came to Varshide?’

- b. *mu=ri varçide jet=ir woxt sul*
1SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT eight year

sut
become.PFV

‘It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.’

- (10.175) a. *taw* *χu* *tej* *tcejg = ir* *tsund*
 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much

waxt rejd
 time remain.PFV

‘How long will it be until you get married?’

- b. *waz* *χu* *tej* *tcejg = ir* *tsavur*
 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much

most rejd
 time remain.PFV

‘I have four months until I get married.’

10.2.3.7 Means and simultaneity

One of the ways to express the means of performing an action is by using an AC construction, marked with an infinitival clause followed by the comitative and instrumental function marker *qati*:

- (10.176) *čanigul pa riston tçer tcejg qati pul*
 Shanigeel LOC restaurant work do.INF COM money

vrejd
 find.3SG.IPFV

‘Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.’

- (10.177) *waz = am kinu tçixt qati ziv χumand*
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV movie watch.INF COM tongue learn

sut
 become.PFV

‘I learned the language by watching movies.’

This AC construction may also be used to indicate that a situation occurred at the same time as another situation (the situation in the main clause). If the two situations happen simultaneously in a very short moment, the word *tang* ‘simultaneous’ may be added after *qati*, as in (10.179).

- (10.178) *nizamidin bejt levd qati pa tçed wazəvd*
 Nizamidin song say.INF COM LOC house return.PFV

‘Nizamidin went home singing.’

- (10.179) *ojmira naxtig qati tang amad dejt*
Oimira go.up.INF COM simultaneous Amad enter.PFV
 ‘Amad entered as Oimira came out.’

10.2.3.8 Time

Sarikoli has two different constructions of temporal AC: 1) a genuine temporal AC with the durative marker =*ik*, and 2) an RC construction with a time word as its head. The first construction makes use of aspect and juxtaposition. The temporal AC, which precedes the main clause, takes a verb in the perfective stem and the durative enclitic =*ik*, which attaches to a preverbal element. The main clause which follows the AC takes an imperfective verb, and the two clauses are juxtaposed. This type of construction is only used when neither of the situations in the two clauses has happened yet.

- (10.180) *šejdoi-χejl = af = ik fript, waz*
Sheydoi-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM

tu = ri tilfon ka = am
2SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.’

- (10.181) *suat đes a đa = ik sut = aθ, maç*
hour ten CONJ two = DUR become.PFV = EMP 1PL.NOM

tədz = an
go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Once it is 12 o’clock, we will go.’

- (10.182) *varçide = at = ik fript, mu = ri tilfon*
Varshide = 2SG.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone

ka
do.IPFV
 ‘Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.’

- (10.183) *urumtçi = am = ik jet mejdž sut, tom*
Urumqi = 1SG.PFV = DUR come.INF INTEN become.PFV then

χabar ka = an
news do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.’

- (10.184) *muu batço-χejl = af = ik ləwr sut,*
 1SG.NNOM child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR big become.PFV

tom dam zoz = am
 then rest get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.’

- (10.185) *ta pa dil = ik jot mu = ri*
 2SG.NNOM LOC heart = DUR come.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT

lev
 say.IPFV
 ‘Tell me when you remember it.’ (lit. Tell me when it has come to your heart.)

The second way of forming temporal clauses involves an unmarked infinitival RC with a time word as its head. When pointing directly to the time in the embedded clause, the unmarked infinitival RC is headed by the noun *waxt* ‘time’ or the temporal particle *alo*, without any function markers.

- (10.186) *şəwguunbahor ejd narzambond waxt nudz leq*
 Sheawgeenbahor festival celebrate.INF time new clothing

pamedz = in
 wear.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor festival.’

- (10.187) *waz đes at uvd sulo vid alo tej*
 1SG.NOM ten CONJ seven year.old be.INF TEMP wedding

tşəwydz = endz
 do.PRF = REL
 ‘I am one who got married when I was seventeen years old.’

Different function markers are used for indicating different temporal relations between the main clause and the embedded situation, such as ‘before’ and ‘after’. To point to a time before the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker *tçi prud* ‘in front of; before’.

- (10.188) *a = dustarχun wixt tçi prud futa ka = in*
 ACC = tablecloth gather.INF LOC front pray do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They pray before gathering the tablecloth.’

- (10.189) *maç ar maktab fript tçi prud*
 1PL.NNOM LOC school reach.INF LOC front

mu = ri tilfon ka
 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.IPFV
 ‘Call me before you reach our school.’

To point to a time after the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker *az zabu* ‘behind; after’:

- (10.190) *a = kalo kaxt az zabu a = wi*
 ACC = sheep slaughter.INF ABL back ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST

guxt pedz = in
 meat cook.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘After killing the sheep they cook that meat.’

- (10.191) *xipik tcejg az zabu a = wɛf pa*
 flatbread do.INF ABL back ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC

nohija para ðo = an
 county sell give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘After making the flatbread we sell it in the county seat.’

10.2.3.9 Location

Sarikoli makes use of an RC construction to express location with a clause. The locative clause may take either the *=endz* or *=itçuz* relativizer, and the head of the RC is often *džuj* ‘place’, but it may also be a more specific location word. Optionally, a function marker may immediately precede or follow the RC head, indicating the spatial relationship between the RC head and the relativized ‘place’ in the main clause, as shown in (10.192) - (10.194).

- (10.192) *ɕanbe xu tilfon latçəwydz = endz tçi džuj alima*
 Shanbe REFL.NNOM phone put.PRF = REL LOC place Alima

nalust
 sit.PFV
 ‘Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.’

- (10.193) *wod* *tej* *tcejg = itçuz* *džuj* *pa* *prud*
 3PL.NOM.DIST wedding do.INF=REL place LOC front

χuçruj *gul-ef = af* *latçəwg*
 beautiful flower-PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV put.PFV

‘They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are getting married.’

- (10.194) *maç* *xojdž = endž* *ar* *maktab* *səð* *ðes* *tudžik*
 1PL.NOM read.PRF = REL LOC school this.year ten Tajik

batço *iθtç*
 child come.PRF

‘This year, ten Tajik students came to the school where we studied.’

The same structure may be used for expressing substitution, or the replacement of one situation with another. The RC takes the unmarked infinitival form, and the locative marker *tçi* precedes the head noun *džuj*. The literal meaning of this construction is ‘in the place of X’, where ‘X’ represents the situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) - (10.197) below.

- (10.195) *kafton* *χu* *dars* *xojd* *tçi* *džuj* *skit*
 Kafton REFL.NNOM lesson read.INF LOC place play

tcejg = ir *tujd*
 do.INF = DAT go.PFV

‘Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.’

- (10.196) *ramon* *ejd* *narzambond* *tçi* *džuj* *χu* *χejx*
 Ramon festival celebrate.INF LOC place REFL.NNOM relative

ar *margi* *tujd*
 LOC funeral go.PFV

‘Ramon went to his relative’s funeral instead of celebrating the festival.’

- (10.197) *samɁut* *ðod* *tçi* *džuj* *pul* *maç = ir*
 gift give.INF LOC place money 1PL.NNOM = DAT

ðo = it
 give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘Give us money instead of giving us gifts.’

10.2.3.10 Manner

The manner clause is also expressed through an RC construction, with the semblative function marker *rang* as the head. This strategy for expressing manner takes the perfect verb stem and *=endz* relativizer, regardless of whether the embedded situation has already happened, as in (10.198) & (10.199), or has present time reference, as in (10.200) & (10.201).

- (10.198) *wəð=af* *dzang tɕəwydz=endz rang kəɕ*
 3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV war do.PRF=REL SEMB fight

wəðd
 put.PFV

‘They fought as if they were fighting a war.’

- (10.199) *sobir haroj maθ hitɕ tsiz na χuydz=endz rang utɕ*
 Sobir three day none thing NEG eat.PRF=REL SEMB very

puɾ χuɕ
 much eat.PFV

‘Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.’

- (10.200) *χu pa tɕəd nahuɕtɕ=endz rang*
 REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF=REL SEMB

niθ=it
 sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

‘Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.’

- (10.201) *puɾɕ a=girindz tɕardz wandz=endz rang waz*
 mouse ACC=rice good see.PRF=REL SEMB 1SG.NOM

a=ta tɕardz wejn=am
 ACC=2SG.NNOM good see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘As a mouse loves rice, I love you.’

