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11

Modality

Sarikoli uses modal constructions to express semantic contrasts that are related to the speaker's or the agent's perspective on a situation. This chapter describes various modal constructions, most of which are indicated through subordination and a special particle or word marking the modality. Many of these modalities are expressed in an infinitival CC (complement clause) or conditional AC (adverbial clause). Table 11.1 presents the different types of modalities that are described in this chapter, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 11.1 Modality

Modality	Structure	Marker	Reference
Possibility	Infinitival CC	<i>səwd; mumkin</i>	§11.1
Ability	Infinitival CC	<i>tçi tcejg</i>	§11.2
Intentional	Infinitival CC	<i>mejdž</i>	§11.3
Desiderative	Infinitival CC	<i>dil</i>	§11.4
Imminent	Infinitival CC	<i>bar + sut; bar + džuj jot</i>	§11.5
Permission	Conditional AC	<i>tsa + səwd</i>	§11.6
Obligation	Conditional AC	<i>na... tsa na səwd</i>	§11.7
	Infinitival CC	<i>luzim/darkur; tēgiç</i>	
Hypothetical	Conditional AC	<i>tsa</i>	§11.8
Optative	Conditional AC	<i>tsa</i>	§11.9
Reminder	Conditional AC	<i>tsa</i>	§11.10
Supposition	Tag	<i>= o ku</i>	§11.11

11.1 Possibility

Possibility is marked by expressing the content of possibility as an infinitival CC, in combination with the main verb *səwd* 'become'. *səwd* in the third

person singular imperfective stem carries the meaning ‘be possible; be okay’. This construction indicates that the content in the embedded clause is possible, whereas the addition of the preverbal negative particle *na* indicates that the content is impossible. In each of the sentences in (11.1) - (11.4), *na* may be added to indicate impossibility. This construction may occur in an interrogative sentence, as in (11.3) & (11.4).

- (11.1) *a=wi* *tçer* *wazond* *(na) səwd*
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST matter know.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘That matter is (un)knowable.’
- (11.2) *koxuçluk* *tid=itçuz* *pond nist,* *moçin qati*
 Koghushluk go.INF=REL road NEG.be.IPFV car COM
tid *(na) səwd*
 go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘There are no roads that go to Koghushluk, it is (not) possible to go there by car.’
- (11.3) *tamaç* *pa* *jatoq* *çuruk peçt* *(na)*
 2PL.NNOM LOC dormitory food cook.INF NEG
səwd=o
 become.3SG.IPFV=Q
 ‘Is it (not) possible to cook food in your dormitory?’
- (11.4) *az* *marjong* *a=muztoğato* *wand* *(na)*
 ABL Maryong ACC=Muztagh.Ata see.INF NEG
səwd=o
 become.3SG.IPFV=Q
 ‘Is it (not) possible to see Muztagh Ata from Maryong?’

Alternatively, the word *mumkin* ‘possible’ may be added to the end of the infinitival CC containing the content of possibility. If the content is impossible, *nist* ‘NEG.be.IPFV’ is added after *mumkin*, as in (11.6). Although not obligatory, *mas* ‘also’ often precedes *mumkin*. This construction is commonly used in longer lists of possibilities, as in (11.7). Examples (11.6) & (11.7) contain both constructions for expressing possibility, with *səwd* and *mumkin*.

- (11.5) *wi tçur az di ðejw vid*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX crazy be.INF
(mas) mumkin
 also possible
 ‘Maybe her husband is crazier than this person.’
- (11.6) *az di dzuj tamaç ar dzuj hitç*
 ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX place 2PL.NNOM LOC place none
tçoj tid na səwd, k = az
 who.NOM go.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV ANA = ABL
wi dzuj əwd-ik jət mas mumkin
 3SG.NNOM.DIST place here-DIM come.INF also possible
nist
 NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘It is not possible for anyone to go from our place to your place,
 nor to come from there to here.’
- (11.7) *sodeq sulir χu tej tçejg mas mumkin,*
 Sodeq next.year REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF also possible
χuzmat = ir digar dzuj tid mas mumkin, uz
 work = DAT other place go.INF also possible again
xojd mas mumkin, pa tçəd kalo pojđ mas
 read.INF also possible LOC house sheep herd.INF also
mumkin, a = wi wazond na
 possible ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST know.INF NEG
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Next year, Sodeq may get married, go to another place for work,
 continue his education, or herd sheep at home; it is impossible
 to know.’

11.2 Ability

Ability is expressed as an infinitival CC and marked by the preverbal particle *tçi* and the main verb *tçeĵg* ‘do’ in any aspect. The embedded verb, which is the action of ability, occurs in the infinitive stem and precedes *tçi*. If the embedded verb is a compound verb formed with *tçeĵg*, only the nominal element precedes *tçi tçeĵg*, as in (11.10) & (11.11). If the main verb is negated, the preverbal negative particle *na* is placed between the infinitival verb and *tçi*, as in (11.10) - (11.12). While possibility is impersonal, ability is personal.

- (11.8) *tudzik ziv ləvd tçi ka=am*
 Tajik tongue say.INF CAP do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I can speak Tajik.’
- (11.9) *təw moçin det tçi ka=o*
 2SG.NOM car drive.INF CAP do.IPFV = Q
 ‘Can you drive a car?’
- (11.10) a. *dzul batço-χejl m=a=di hat*
 small child-PL.NOM CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX open

na tçi ka=in
 NEG CAP do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘Little children cannot open this.’
- b. **dzul batço-χejl m=a=di hat*
 small child-PL.NOM CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX open

tçeĵg na tçi ka=in
 do.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘Little children cannot open this.’
- (11.11) a. *χafo mo so tu=ri=am*
 upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV

jordam na tçi tçəwg
 help NEG CAP do.PFV
 ‘Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.’

- b. **χafo mo so tu=ri=am*
 upset PROH become.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV

jordam tcejg na tçi tçəwg
 help do.INF NEG CAP do.PFV
 ‘Do not get upset (I am sorry), I could not help you.’

- (11.12) *zulfia warmand na tçi tcejg=ir vεðdz*
 Zeelfia message.INF NEG CAP do.INF=DAT be.PRF
 ‘Zeelfia cannot massage. (Evidentiality/New information)’

In (11.12), the ability construction co-occurs with evidentiality marking; the speaker has heard or discovered that the agent does not have the ability to massage well.

11.3 Intentional

The intentional construction is formed with the intended action expressed as an infinitival CC, followed by the word *mejdz*. It is used to indicate intended or imminent action. If the intention is in a non-imperfective aspect, the copula predicate *vid* ‘be’ in that aspect is added at the end of the sentence, along with the appropriate pronominal clitic attached to some constituent preceding it, as in (11.15) - (11.17):

- (11.13) *m-oto sulir pokiston tid mejdz*
 1SG.NNOM-father next.year Pakistan go.INF INTEN
 ‘My father is planning to go to Pakistan next year.’

- (11.14) *waz çitç si munut dam zoxt mejdz*
 1SG.NOM now thirty minute rest get.INF INTEN
 ‘I am planning to rest for thirty minutes now.’

- (11.15) *tamaç pa tçed set mejdz=af vεðdz*
 2PL.NNOM LOC house become.INF INTEN=3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘They were planning to go to your(pl) house. (Evidentiality/New information)’

- (11.16) *waz=am tu=ri tilfon tcejg mejdz*
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.INF INTEN

vud
 be.PFV
 ‘I was planning to call you.’

- (11.17) *na broxt mejdz = at vud = o*
 NEG drink.INF INTEN = 2SG.PFV be.PFV = Q
 ‘Were you planning not to drink it?’
- (11.18) *marg mejdz = an sut*
 die.INF INTEN = 1PL.PFV become.PFV
 ‘We are about to die.’

Unlike verbal predicates, *mejdz* does not come in five different stems, nor does it take any pronominal subject-verb agreement clitics. It also neither takes adnominal modifiers, as shown in (11.19) & (11.20), nor functions as an adnominal modifier, as shown in (11.21).

- (11.19) **wɛf mejdz*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST INTEN
 ‘their intention’
- (11.20) **ʒit mejdz*
 bad INTEN
 ‘bad intention’
- (11.21) **mejdz tɕɛr*
 INTEN matter
 ‘intended matter’

11.4 Desiderative

Sarikoli also has a special desiderative construction which may express the desire of any person, even if the desirer is not the speaker. The desiderative construction consists of an infinitival CC which functions as the copula complement within the main clause. The copula subject of the main clause is always *dil* ‘heart’, and the content of desire is expressed in the infinitival CC which follows *dil*. The person who experiences the desire is structurally the possessor of *dil*, and may be a proper noun (11.22), common noun (11.23), or a possessive pronoun (11.24) - (11.26). In the imperfective aspect, the copula subject *dil* and copula complement are simply juxtaposed. If the content of desire occurs in a non-imperfective aspect, the copula predicate *vid* ‘be’ in that aspect occurs sentence-finally, as in (11.26); no pronominal agreement clitics are used because the subject is always *dil*, which is third person singular.

- (11.22) *zulfia dil anur xats broxt*
 Zeelfia heart pomegranate water drink.INF
 ‘Zeelfia wants to drink pomegranate juice.’
- (11.23) *m-ono dil a=tamaç utç wand*
 1SG.NNOM-mother heart ACC=2PL.NNOM very see.INF
 ‘My mother really wants to see you(pl).’
- (11.24) *muu dil hitç tsiz na çig*
 1SG.NNOM heart none thing NEG eat.INF
 ‘I do not want to eat anything.’
- (11.25) *wi dil amriko tid*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart America go.INF
 ‘He wants to go to America.’
- (11.26) *asl-i muu dil mas çejdoi intsivd vud*
 origin-ADV 1SG.NNOM heart also Sheydoi sew.INF be.PFV
 ‘Originally, I also had wanted to sew a Sheydoi (female cap).’

11.5 Imminent

Imminent modality is used for events which are on the verge of taking place. The imminent event is expressed through an infinitival CC, with the infinitive verb preceded by the imminent marker *bar* and followed by *sut* ‘become.PFV’:

- (11.27) *moçin a=wi bar ðod sut*
 car ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST IMM hit.INF become.PFV
 ‘The car almost hit him.’
- (11.28) *bar tid=am sut çu az*
 IMM go.INF=1SG.PFV become.PFV REFL.NNOM ABL
watan
 hometown
 ‘I am about to leave my hometown.’

- (11.29) *wi tçur a = wi tçer bar*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST matter IMM

ranixt sut
 forget.INF become.PFV

‘Her husband almost forgot about that matter.’

- (11.30) *namak az qor a = χu bar zed*
 Namak ABL anger ACC = REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF

sut
 become.PFV

‘Namak almost killed himself from anger.’

- (11.31) *mu mudzuz mas tçardz, jong mas a = mu*
 1SG.NNOM feeling also good cold also ACC = 1SG.NNOM

bar latçejg sut
 IMM let.INF become.PFV

‘I am also feeling well, and my cold has almost let go of me.’

- (11.32) *çer ar çer bar dejd set waxt*
 sun LOC rock IMM enter.INF become.INF time

yubun-çejl = af wi pa prud
 shepherd-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC front

yot
 come.PFV

‘When the sun was about to set, the shepherds came to him.’

Alternatively, to emphasize the extent of a situation, the infinitival CC containing the imminent event may be preceded by *bar* and followed by *dzuj jot* ‘place come.PFV’:

- (11.33) *namak az qor a = χu bar zed dzuj*
 Namak ABL anger ACC = REFL.NNOM IMM kill.INF place

jot
 come.PFV

‘Namak almost came to the point of killing himself from anger.’

- (11.34) *hawu dos pur ðud iko, maç*
 precipitation manner much fall.PFV COMP 1PL.NNOM
tçed~matçed bar kerd dzuj jot
 house~RDP IMM turn.INF place come.PFV
 ‘It rained so much that our house almost came to the point of collapsing.’

11.6 Permission

Permission is expressed as a conditional AC, and is marked by the conditional particle *tsa* and the main verb *səwd* ‘become’, which has the meaning ‘be possible; be okay’. As with any other conditional AC, the verb in the embedded clause, which contains the action that is permitted, remains in the finite form, and *tsa* either immediately precedes or follows it. The main verb *səwd* occurs at the end of the sentence. In this basic structure, the speaker is either granting permission or informing someone that something is permitted, as in (11.35) & (11.36). If the speaker is asking for permission, the interrogative enclitic *=o* is added at the end, as in (11.37) - (11.39). Both the embedded verb and the main verb *səwd* may be negated with the preverbal particle *na*, as in (11.39a) & (11.40), respectively. If the embedded verb is negated, *tsa* occurs either before or after the negator and the verb, but not in between, as shown by the ungrammatical example (11.39b).

- (11.35) *əwd niθ=it tsa səwd*
 here sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘It is okay for you(pl) to sit here.’
- (11.36) *m-ono=ri tilfon tsa ka*
 1SG.NNOM-mother=DAT phone COND do.IPFV
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘It is okay for you to call my mother.’
- (11.37) *az ta i gap pars=am tsa*
 ABL 2SG.NNOM one word ask.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND
səwd=o
 become.3SG.IPFV=Q
 ‘Is it okay if I ask you something?’

- (11.38) *romila* *çitç* *χu* *pa* *tçed* *tsa* *tizd*
 Romila now REFL.NNOM LOC house COND go.3SG.IPFV

səwd = *o*

become.3SG.IPFV = Q

‘Is it okay if Romila goes home now?’

- (11.39) a. *puğan* *pa* *dars* *na* *so = am* *tsa*
 tomorrow LOC lesson NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND

səwd = *o*

become.3SG.IPFV = Q

‘Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?’

- b. **puğan* *pa* *dars* *na* *tsa* *so = am*
 tomorrow LOC lesson NEG COND become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

səwd = *o*

become.3SG.IPFV = Q

‘Is it okay if I do not go to class tomorrow?’

- (11.40) *a = di* *mon* *χor* *tsa* *na*
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX apple eat.IPFV COND NEG

səwd

become.3SG.IPFV

‘Is it not okay to eat this apple.’

11.7 Obligation

The construction for expressing obligation is the inverse of the permission construction, negating both the protasis and the apodosis of the permission construction (§11.6). The content of obligation is expressed as a conditional AC, and both the main verb *səwd* and the verb that contains the obligated action are negated, with the particle *tsa* occurring either before or after the embedded verb and its negator. To question or express regret about the obligation, the interrogative enclitic =*o* is added at the end, as in (11.44) & (11.45).

- (11.41) *pa* *dars* *na* *so* *tsa* *na* *səwd*
 LOC lesson NEG become.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘You must go to class.’ (lit. It is not okay for you not to go to class.)

- (11.42) *nur a = di tɕɛr adu na*
 today ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work finish NEG
ka = am tsa na səwd
 do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘I must finish this work today.’ (lit. It is not okay for me not to finish this work today.)
- (11.43) *tamaɕ puɡan na wəzɛfs = it tsa na*
 2PL.NOM tomorrow NEG return.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV COND NEG
səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV
 ‘You(pl) must return tomorrow.’ (lit. It is not okay for you(pl) not to return tomorrow.)
- (11.44) *na tɛdz tsa na səwd = o*
 NEG go.IPFV COND NEG become.3SG.IPFV = Q
 ‘Must you go?’ (lit. Is it not okay for you not to go?)
- (11.45) *tej tsa na ka = am na*
 wedding COND NEG do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV NEG
səwd = o
 become.3SG.IPFV = Q
 ‘Must I get married?’ (lit. Is it not okay for me not to do my wedding?)

In addition, there are two modal words that may be used interchangeably to form constructions expressing strong obligation or necessity: *luzim* and *darkur* ‘necessary’. Although they are interchangeable, *luzim* is much more commonly used than *darkur*. To form these obligation constructions, *luzim* or *darkur* is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation. *luzim* and *darkur* do not have five different stems as verbal predicates do, and are not marked for subject-verb agreement through pronominal clitics.

- (11.46) *maɕ vijoddz = endz xtur-ɣejl dam zoxɬ*
 1PL.NNOM ride.PRF = REL camel-PL.NOM rest get.INF
luzim/darkur
 necessary
 ‘For the camels that we rode, it is necessary to get rest.’

- (11.47) *sulir xojd adu tcejg=itcuz batco-xejl az*
 next.year read.INF finish do.INF = REL child-PL.NOM ABL
çitç xuzmat xikejg luzim/darkur
 now work search.INF necessary
 ‘For the students who will finish their studies next year, it is necessary to begin searching for jobs now.’
- (11.48) *χalg zuðdz=endz a=χalg vid na vid*
 person kill.PRF = REL ACC = person be.INF NEG be.INF
zed luzim/darkur
 kill.INF necessary
 ‘It is necessary to kill someone who has killed another person.’
- (11.49) *pa aftovuz nalist=itcuz a=dzuj-ef peçqadam*
 LOC bus sit.INF = REL ACC = place-PL.NNOM elderly
majif garun puj awrat udziz batco pa
 disabled heavy perseverance woman weak child LOC
maḅawl tçawýdz=endz χalg-ef=ir ðod
 lap do.PRF = REL person-PL.NNOM = REL give.INF
luzim/darkur
 necessary
 ‘It is necessary to give the seats on the bus to the elderly, disabled, pregnant, weak, and people who are carrying children.’

Weaker obligation or duty is expressed by the modal word *tęgiç* ‘should’, which is placed after an infinitival CC containing the matter of obligation:

- (11.50) *jad tsavur xipik dzuift vid tęgiç*
 3SG.NOM.PROX four flatbread pair be.INF should
 ‘The four flatbreads should be stacked up in twos.’
- (11.51) *rahmat mo lev jad mu*
 thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM
tcejg=ir tęgiç
 do.INF = DAT should
 ‘Do not thank me, this is my responsibility.’ (lit. Do not say thank you, this is something that I should do.)

- (11.52) *sala-an wi rang mas ruçt at spejd*
 turban-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST color also red CONJ white
vid tēgiç
 be.INF should
 ‘The color of the turban should also be red and white.’
- (11.53) *pa aftovuz nalist=itçuz a=dzuj-ef peçqadam*
 LOC bus sit.INF=REL ACC=place-PL.NNOM elderly
çalg=ir ðod tēgiç
 person=DAT give.INF should
 ‘The seats on the bus should be given to the elderly.’

11.8 Hypothetical

The hypothetical modality expresses that a proposition may easily be true, even if it may not be true in actuality. It is expressed as a conditional AC, marked by adding the conditional *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the imperfective stem, and optionally adding the word *beçala* ‘what if’ at the beginning of the sentence. As with other conditional ACs, it is ungrammatical for the verb to be in a non-imperfective aspect, as shown by the ungrammatical example (11.58b). But unlike other conditional ACs, it constitutes an entire sentence by itself. This construction is used when the speaker is not certain of the actual situation and wants to express fear or concern, usually expecting some kind of response or change in the course of action, so it is posed as a question.

- (11.54) *(beçala) ranos=in tsa*
 what.if forget.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND
 ‘What if they forget?’
- (11.55) *(beçala) a=maç na laka=in tsa*
 what.if ACC=1PL.NNOM NEG let.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND
 ‘What if they do not allow us?’
- (11.56) *(beçala) tilfon tu=ri tsa joðd*
 what.if phone 2SG.NNOM=DAT COND come.3SG.IPFV
 ‘What if you get a phone call?’

- (11.57) *(beχala) bast tsa*
 what.if disappear.3SG.IPFV COND
 ‘What if it disappears?’
- (11.58) a. *(beχala) pa puiz dzuj tsa na rast*
 what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.IPFV
 ‘What if there will be no seats left on the train?’
- b. **(beχala) pa puiz dzuj tsa na rejd*
 what.if LOC train place COND NEG remain.PFV
 ‘What if there are no seats left on the train?’

11.9 Optative

The optative indicates that the speaker hopes or wishes that something would be true, and directly expresses the wish of the speaker. The optative is expressed as a conditional AC, marked with the *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the imperfective stem, and optionally adding the word *kučki* ‘I wish’ at the beginning of the sentence. As with the hypothetical modality, the optative conditional AC constitutes an entire sentence by itself and is not followed by an apodosis. In the following examples of the optative, (11.59) is a copula clause showing an attribution relation, (11.60) & (11.61) are existential clauses, and (11.62) - (11.64) are clauses with verbal predicates.

- (11.59) *(kučki) pugan mas hawu hat tsa vid*
 I.wish tomorrow also weather open COND be.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If only it will be sunny again tomorrow...’
- (11.60) *(kučki) pugan mu-an dars na vid*
 I.wish tomorrow 1SG.NNOM-GEN lesson NEG be.3SG.IPFV
- tsa*
 COND
 ‘If only I didn’t have class tomorrow...’
- (11.61) *(kučki) m-oto m-ono mu χejz*
 I.wish 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM side
- vəw = in tsa*
 be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COND
 ‘If only my father and mother were by my side...’

- (11.62) *(kučki) waz utç pur ziv wazon = am*
 I.wish 1SG.NOM very much tongue know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

tša
 COND

‘If only I knew very many languages...’

- (11.63) *(kučki) ingles ziv mu = ri ða kov gap*
 I.wish English tongue 1SG.NNOM = DAT two mouth word

çumand tša ka
 teach COND do.IPFV

‘If only you would teach me two phrases of English...’

- (11.64) *(kučki) uz i wejn = am tša*
 I.wish again one see.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND

‘If only I could see it again one more time...’

11.10 Reminder

The reminder modality is used when the speaker is reminding the addressee of something or bringing up a topic that she assumes the addressee already knows about. It is expressed as a conditional AC, in which the *tša* particle occurs immediately before or after the finite verb. Unlike other conditional ACs, however, the reminder construction is not limited to using imperfective verbs and may occur with any aspect specification: perfective aspect (11.65) - (11.67), imperfective aspect (11.68), and pluperfect aspect (11.69). It may also occur with words or phrases that do not constitute a complete clause, as in (11.70). The propositional content must be something that has actually happened or certainly will happen and is assumed to be known by both the speaker and the addressee, rather than a mere possibility. The reminder construction is not posed as a question, and is often followed by other thoughts related to the topic which was reminded, as in the examples below.

- (11.65) *taw = at mu = ri tša levd,*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT COND say.PFV

waz = am na ranuxt
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV NEG forget.PFV

‘You know how you told me? I did not forget.’

- (11.66) *mu-an tɕer utɕ pur tsa vuud, kazwi=am*
 1SG.NNOM-GEN work very much COND be.PFV so = 1SG.PFV

dejr xuvd
 late sleep.PFV

‘You know how I had so much work to do? That is why I went to bed so late.’

- (11.67) *ingum a=muu qiw tsa tɕəwg, juu*
 just.now ACC = 1SG.NNOM call COND do.PFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

ɤots muu ɕor
 girl 1SG.NNOM niece

‘You know the one who called me just now? That girl is my niece.’

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

ki=wi rang parst
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB ask.PFV

‘You know how you ask? I asked like that.’

- (11.69) *təw=at muu=ri tilfon tsa*
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone COND

tɕəwydɕ-it, waz=am lɛq tɕi znod
 do.PRF-CESS 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV clothing LOC wash.INF

vuud
 be.PFV

‘You know how you called me? I was in the middle of washing clothes.’

- (11.70) *parus tej tɕəwydɕ=endɕ ɤots tsa, juu*
 last.year wedding do.PRF = REL girl COND 3SG.NOM

padiom vəwg
 twin bring.PFV

‘You know the girl who got married last year? She gave birth to twins.’

11.11 Supposition

Supposition is marked by adding the tag *=o kuu* to the end of any declarative sentence. The *=o* is the interrogative enclitic used to mark polar questions. When using *=o kuu*, the speaker is making a guess or assumption that something is true based on previous experience from similar situations, but does not have complete certainty because there is no evidence for that particular case. The following examples show that the supposition construction may be formed from an existential clause (11.71) & (11.72), copula clause (11.73) & (11.74), verbal clause (11.75) & (11.76), and even words that do not constitute a complete clause (11.77). The part preceding *=o kuu* has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and *kuu* carries a high pitch.

- (11.71) *pa tɕɛd χalg nist=o kuu*
 LOC house person NEG.be.IPFV=Q SUP
 ‘There is nobody at home, I think.’
- (11.72) *ki=wi rang bejt mas jost=o kuu*
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB song also be.IPFV=Q SUP
 ‘There is also a song like that, I think.’
- (11.73) *suulejmon tɕɛd utɕ ɔar=o kuu*
 Seeleymon house very far=Q SUP
 ‘Seeleymon’s house is very far, I think.’
- (11.74) *u juu əwrat tej tɕəwɣdz=endz=o kuu*
 there 3SG.NOM.DIST woman wedding do.PRF=REL=Q SUP
 ‘That woman is married, I think.’
- (11.75) *woð seð ejd na*
 3PL.NOM.DIST this.year festival NEG

narzambon=in=o kuu
 celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=Q SUP
 ‘They are not celebrating the festival this year, I think.’
- (11.76) *wi tɕɛd-nɛndz-χejl=af hitɕ rang*
 3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV none SEMB

zijun na wand=o kuu
 harm NEG see.PFV=Q SUP
 ‘His family did not suffer any kind of harm, I think.’

- (11.77) *k=dos=o* *ku*
ANA=manner=Q SUP
'It is so, I think.'