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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

# 13

## Routine expressions

This chapter deals with the expressions which make up a large part of people's everyday conversation. As a result of people constantly interacting with each other on a daily basis, these expressions have become conventionalized routines. Since these routine expressions are used according to specific socio-cultural norms, I also describe the social and cultural contexts in which they are used. The routine expressions introduced in this chapter include: interactions when visiting someone's home (§13.1), greeting people in a variety of other situations (§13.2), expressing gratitude (§13.3), apologizing and forgiving (§13.4), expressing grief and sympathy (§13.5), requesting and providing help (§13.6), telling time and date (§13.7), expressing physical and emotional states (§13.8), expressing confusion, unacceptance, and confusion (§13.9), having conversations (§13.10), dealing with the unknown or uncertain (§13.11), and language learning (§13.12). Throughout this chapter, the appropriate pronominal clitic in each expression must be selected depending on whether the speaker or addressee is singular or plural.

### 13.1 Visiting someone's home

One of the most common contexts in which routine expressions are used is during a visit to someone's home, which often involves a meal of at least milk tea and flatbread. In the following subsections, I describe the sequence of events during such visits, which include: the welcome and the exchange of kisses and greetings, common expressions during a meal, and leavetakings. In this section, it will be assumed that there are multiple visitors, and the second person plural form will be used when addressing them.

#### 13.1.1 Welcome and greetings

As soon as the host opens the door and sees visitors, or sees the visitor coming from afar, the expressions in (13.1) are used to bring the visitors in.

- (13.1) a. *joð = it*  
 come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Come(pl)!’
- b. *dið = it*  
 enter.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Come in(pl)!’

Once the visitors are in the house, the host party and the visitor party greet each other with kisses. It is customary to kiss every single person in the other party. The kissing conventions, which are determined by the gender and age of the participants, are outlined in Table 13.1. The abbreviations used in Table 13.1 are as follows: M = man, W = woman, A = adult, C = child.

Table 13.1 Kissing conventions in greetings

Gender/age	Kissing conventions
M + M	Clasp right hands, simultaneously kissing the back of the other’s hand (3-5 times)
M + W	Woman kisses the palm of man’s right hand (once)
W + W	Kiss each other on the lips (3-5 times)
A + C	Adult kisses the two sides of child’s eyes (once on each side)

One may initiate a greeting kiss by saying the expressions in (13.2). A woman might say (13.2a), asking the man to open his palm toward her so that she can kiss it. An adult may ask a child to make the sides of his eyes available for kissing, as in (13.2b). A child who has been left out of the kisses (which may easily happen during greeting exchanges in large groups, as in a wedding) might say the sentence in (13.2c) to remind an adult to greet him properly.

- (13.2) a. *χu ðust tar mu ka*  
 REFL.NNOM hand LOC 1SG.NNOM do.IPFV  
 ‘Make your hand face toward me.’
- b. *χu tsem mu = ri ðo*  
 REFL.NNOM eye 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV  
 ‘Give me your eyes.’
- c. *a = mu = at bo na tɕəwɔŋ*  
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV kiss NEG do.PFV  
 ‘You did not kiss me.’

While the exchange of kisses takes place, the host party and the visitor party also greet each other with expressions, such as those in (13.3). (13.3a) & (13.3b) are the most common greetings in Sarikoli, while longer greetings like (13.3c) are considered particularly formal and polite. (13.3c) may be modified by adding other words to the list of well-being, making it even longer. In addition to greeting each other, the two parties also ask about the well-being of each other's family members who are not present, as in (13.3d) & (13.3e). In (13.3e), the speaker is not necessarily asking about her own blood-related aunt, but may be asking about an older woman in the other party's family whom she considers to be close to herself. Initially, these greetings are uttered simultaneously by both parties, and nobody waits for a response. Only at the end of the greetings do people give a brief response covering everything that has been asked, with expressions like those in (13.4). When repeated kissing is involved, as in the greetings between two men or between two women, the greetings are uttered in between the kisses. These greetings, along with the kisses, are also used to greet someone on the street.

- (13.3) a. *ta mudzuz tcardz = o*  
 2SG.NNOM feeling good = Q  
 'Are you feeling well?'
- b. *soq = at = o*  
 well = 2SG.PFV = Q  
 'Have you been well?'
- c. *ta mudzuz tcardz, soq salomat, tindz*  
 2SG.NNOM feeling good well healthy peaceful  
  
*amun, badam basejrat = at*  
 unharmed breathing.normally energetic = 2SG.PFV  
  
*naluçtç = o*  
 sit.PRF = Q  
 'Have you been feeling well, healthy, peaceful, and energetic? (Evidentiality/New information)'
- d. *tamaç batço-çejl mas soq = o*  
 2PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM also well = Q  
 'Are your children also well?'
- e. *mu vits mudzuz mas tcardz = o*  
 1SG.NNOM aunt feeling also good = Q  
 'Is my aunt also feeling well?'

- (13.4) a. *tɕardz, tɕardz*  
           good good  
           ‘Good, good.’
- b. *dzam soq, (ɕukri)*  
           all well thank.God  
           ‘Everyone is well, (thanks be to God).’

After the exchange of kisses and greetings, the host invites the visitors to sit down on the *kerpa*, a mat on which people sit and sleep:

- (13.5) *niθ = it*  
           sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
           ‘Sit down(pl)!’

Immediately after the last visitor sits down, the hosts welcome the visitors by saying (13.6a), to which the visitors respond with (13.6b).

- (13.6) a. *χυϕomadi = it*  
           welcome = 2PL.IPFV  
           ‘Welcome(pl)!’
- b. *borikalo*  
           thanks  
           ‘Thank you!’

After this, the greetings in (13.3), which the hosts and visitors say to each other simultaneously, are repeated all over again. This second time, however, these greetings are only exchanged orally, with no kissing.

### 13.1.2 During a meal

Before the actual meal is brought in, a bowl of tea is served to each visitor, and several small bowls filled with dried fruits, nuts, seeds, and candy are set in front of the visitors on a *dustarχun*, a piece of cloth that is laid out and has a function similar to a tablecloth or picnic blanket. The host says to the visitors the expressions in (13.7), which continues to be repeated throughout the entire meal.

- (13.7) a. *zoz = it*  
 get.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Take some(pl)!’
- b. *χadzal mo so = it*  
 shy PROH become.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Don’t be shy(pl)!’

Once the food is brought in and set in front of the visitors, the host says to them the expression in (13.8) to tell them to start eating. Whenever a visitor’s tea is more than half finished, the host will ask him whether he would like more by saying (13.9a), and even if the response is negative, she will insist on giving him more by saying (13.9b).

- (13.8) *χuϕ ka = it*  
 happy do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Start eating(pl)!’
- (13.9) a. *tϕoj tu = ri wejð = am = o*  
 tea 2SG.NNOM = DAT pour.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q  
 ‘Shall I pour you more tea?’
- b. *dzul-ik wejð = am*  
 small-DIM pour.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will pour a just little bit.’

If the host is pouring tea or scooping more food into the visitor’s bowl, and the visitor wants her to stop, he may place his hand over the bowl and say:

- (13.10) *sut, sut*  
 become.PFV become.PFV  
 ‘Enough, enough.’

When the visitor is satiated and does not want any more food or drink, he will say:

- (13.11) *(mu = ri) bos*  
 1SG.NNOM = DAT enough  
 ‘I’ve had enough.’

After everyone in the room has finished eating, they will all hold up both hands in front of their faces and silently pray a memorized prayer. Once the

prayer is finished, they take away all of the food and drink and fold up the *dustarχun*.

### 13.1.3 Leavetakings

When the visitors are ready to leave, the hosts will almost always express regret about the fact that they are leaving so soon and not staying longer. They will try to convince the visitors to spend the night at their house or at least stay a little longer by saying expressions like those in (13.12).

- (13.12) a. *xabor na ris=it=o*  
 sleepover NEG remain.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q  
 ‘Aren’t you(pl) staying for a sleepover?’
- b. *maç pa tçed alos=it*  
 1PL.NNOM LOC house lie.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Sleep(pl) at our house.’
- c. *pa tçed tom tsejz dzat ka=it*  
 LOC house then what hurry do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘What are you(pl) hurrying back home for?’

When it is clear that the visitors are really leaving, the hosts will most likely express regret about being unable to serve them well during their visit by saying the expressions in (13.13). In response, the visitors usually say (13.14).

- (13.13) a. *naχaradz=af tujd*  
 foodless = 2PL.PFV go.PFV  
 ‘You(pl) have left without eating anything.’
- b. *χuçruj tamoq=am tamaç=ir na tçi*  
 beautiful food = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM = DAT NEG CAP  
  
*tçəwg*  
 do.PFV  
 ‘I was unable to make good food for you(pl).’
- (13.14) a. *naj, naj, wi rang mo lev*  
 NEG NEG 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV  
 ‘No, no, do not talk like that.’



- b. *naχaradz tsejz*  
 foodless what  
 ‘What do you mean by “foodless”?’

When the guests are leaving, the hosts will never just stand at the door to say goodbye. They will always walk the visitors back for some distance. However, the visitors will first attempt to make the hosts stay home by saying:

- (13.15) *warofs = it, warofs = it, mo*  
 stand.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV stand.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV PROH  
  
*naxtedz = it*  
 go.up.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Stop, stop, do not come out(pl).’

Despite the visitors’ efforts to stop them, the hosts will walk the visitors back for a while, and once they have reached a point where it is considered appropriate to stop, they will say to the visitors the expression in (13.16a). The visitors will respond by saying (13.16b). If they know that they will probably see each other again soon, they might add (13.16c). To be more formal, they may use the leavetaking expression in (13.16d).

- (13.16) a. *tamaç = af tujd = o*  
 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV go.PFV = Q  
 ‘Have you(pl) left?’
- b. *əʔə, maç = an bur tujd*  
 yes 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV then go.PFV  
 ‘Yes, we have left, then.’
- c. *uz wejn = an*  
 again see.IPFV = 1PL.PFV  
 ‘Let us see each other again.’
- d. *χυῖδοj = ir amunat*  
 God = DAT entrust  
 ‘I entrust you to God (until I see you next time).’

## 13.2 Other greetings

Greetings are essential to social interactions in Sarikoli culture. People greet each other regularly as a sign of respect and concern for each other. In this section, different types of greetings used in various contexts are introduced: greeting someone when passing by on the street (§13.2.1), greeting people in the morning or nighttime (§13.2.2), greeting someone who is working (§13.2.3), greeting someone on the phone (§13.2.4), greeting someone on a festival or birthday (§13.2.5), saying farewell to someone who is about to leave on a journey (§13.2.6), and greeting or asking about someone who is sick (§13.2.7). The length, level of formality, and content of the greeting are determined by the social situation and the nature of relationship of the participants.

### 13.2.1 Greeting someone in passing

When greeting someone that one sees often, it is not necessary to say the full greeting in (13.3c). Shorter greetings are sufficient for greeting people on the street, such as (13.3a) and (13.3b) or the expressions in (13.17) below. Whether or not people exchange kisses in these situations depends on the intimacy of the relationship and the length of time they have not seen each other. In the following examples, the forms for both singular and plural addressees are presented.

- (13.17) a. *tar ko = at* *tujd / tar*  
 LOC where.NNOM = 2SG.PFV go.PFV / LOC  
*ko = af* *tujd*  
 where.NNOM = 2PL.PFV go.PFV  
 ‘Where are you headed?’ (lit. To where have you gone?)
- b. *təw kudzur so / tamaç kudzur*  
 2SG.NOM where become.IPFV / 2PL.NOM where  
*so = it*  
 become.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Where are you going?’

- c. *tar ko dzat ka / tar ko*  
 LOC where.NNOM hurry do.IPFV / LOC where.NNOM  
  
*dzat ka = it*  
 hurry do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘To where are you hurrying?’
- d. *tamoq = at χuq = o / tamoq = af χuq = o*  
 food = 2SG.PFV eat.PFV = Q / food = 2PL.PFV eat.PFV = Q  
 ‘Have you eaten food?’
- e. *tcoj = at bruxt = o / tcoj = af bruxt = o*  
 tea = 2SG.PFV drink.PFV = Q / tea = 2PL.PFV drink.PFV = Q  
 ‘Have you had tea?’

(13.17d) is said after a meal time, usually in the early afternoon or evening. (13.17e) is likely to be said in the morning or early afternoon, because people drink tea for breakfast and sometimes for the midday meal as well.

### 13.2.2 Morning and nighttime greetings

People tend to say more greetings upon initially seeing people in the morning than before going to sleep at night. The expressions in (13.18) are common ways people greet each other in the morning. Before going to bed, people usually say (13.19).

- (13.18) a. *indəwd = at = o*  
 rise.PFV = 2SG.PFV = Q  
 ‘Have you gotten up?’
- b. *χil = at xuvd = o*  
 good = 2SG.PFV sleep.PFV = Q  
 ‘Did you sleep well?’
- c. *ta kol~mol soq = o*  
 2SG.NNOM head~RDP well = Q  
 ‘Is your head feeling well?’
- d. *tcardz χuðm = at wand = o*  
 good dream = 2SG.PFV see.PFV = Q  
 ‘Did you dream good dreams?’ (lit. Did you see good dreams?)

- e. *ta χυḏm pεχtε = o*  
 2SG.NNOM dream ripen.PRF = Q  
 ‘Did you sleep a deep sleep? (Evidentiality/New information)’ (lit. Has your dream ripened?)
- f. *ta aluk-i naxtuydz = o*  
 2SG.NNOM tired-NMLZ go.up.PRF = Q  
 ‘Do you feel refreshed? (Evidentiality/New information)’  
 (lit. Has your tiredness gone out?)

(13.19) *tεardz χυḏm wejn*  
 good dream see.IPFV  
 ‘See good dreams!’

### 13.2.3 Greeting a worker

A special greeting is used for greeting someone engaged in physically hard work, such as a farmer plowing a field, winnowing grains on the threshing floor, etc. (13.20a) is considered a polite way to acknowledge their hard work. In response, the worker will say (13.20b), which is the same response as to a host’s welcome greeting to the visitors after they take seats on the mat.

- (13.20) a. *mintawu*  
 hard.work  
 ‘You have worked hard!’
- b. *borikalo*  
 thanks  
 ‘Thank you!’

To someone who has finished working hard, it is appropriate to say the expressions in (13.21).

- (13.21) a. *dzafu = at wand*  
 toil = 2SG.PFV see.PFV  
 ‘You have seen toil.’
- b. *dzafu = at tizd*  
 toil = 2SG.PFV pull.PFV  
 ‘You have toiled.’

- c. *pur alukat = at wand*  
 much trouble = 2SG.PFV see.PFV  
 ‘You have seen much trouble.’

### 13.2.4 Telephone greetings

When talking to someone on the phone, either the full-length greeting (13.3c) or the shorter greetings (13.3a) & (13.3b) may be appropriate, depending on how long it has been since the participants have talked to each other. Additional shorter greetings and their responses are given in (13.22) below. (13.22f) & (13.22g) are greetings that are used among young people, and (13.22h) is an appropriate response.

- (13.22) a. *tsarang ta awul*  
 how 2SG.NNOM situation  
 ‘How is your situation?’
- b. *tɕardz tɕardz (ɕukri)*  
 good good thank.God  
 ‘Good, good, thanks be to God.’
- c. *tɕardz tɕardz ta ɕu-an*  
 good good 2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN  
 ‘Good, good, and your self’s?’
- d. *təw ɕubaθ soq = o*  
 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM well = Q  
 ‘Are you yourself well?’
- e. *ɕejli be*  
 fairly fine  
 ‘Fairly good.’
- f. *tsarang ta ɕast*  
 how 2SG.NNOM courage  
 ‘How is your courage?’
- g. *ta ɕast tɕi dzuj = o*  
 2SG.NNOM courage LOC place = Q  
 ‘Is your courage in place?’

- h. (*mu*        *çast*)    *tçi*    *dzuj*  
 1SG.NNOM courage LOC place  
 ‘My courage is in place.’

On the phone, it is customary to ask people what they are doing or have been doing, as in (13.23a) - (13.23c), or whether they are hanging out, as in (13.23d). A nearly universal response to these kinds of questions is (13.23e), which does not provide much information about the speaker’s activities. It is also possible to respond by saying (13.23f), or, less commonly, give an account of what one has actually been doing.

- (13.23) a. *tsejz = ik*    *ka*  
 what = DUR do.IPFV  
 ‘What are you doing?’
- b. *tsejz = at*        *tçəwg*  
 what = 2SG.PFV do.PFV  
 ‘What have you done?’
- c. *tsejz tçer-ef*        *qati tçi dzat-i*  
 what work-PL.NNOM COM LOC hurry-NMLZ  
 ‘What matters are you busy with?’
- d. *naluçtç = at = o*  
 sit.PRF = 2SG.PFV = Q  
 ‘Have you been hanging out? (Evidentiality/New information)’ (lit. Have you sat down?)
- e. *naluçtç = am*  
 sit.PRF = 1PFV  
 ‘I have been hanging out. (Evidentiality/New information)’  
 (lit. I have sat down.)
- f. *hitç tsiz naj*  
 none thing NEG  
 ‘Nothing.’

If one has not seen the other person for a long time, the expression in (13.24) is often used to show that one misses him/her:

- (13.24) *tu=ri utç guirm=am tçəwğ*  
 2SG.NNOM=DAT very remembrance=1SG.PFV do.PFV  
 ‘I have missed you very much.’

Before hanging up, it is mandatory to ask the other person to pass on greetings to their family members, as in (13.25a) & (13.25b), as well as reporting that one’s family members are sending their greetings to the person on the line, as in (13.25c) & (13.25d). The person who receives the greetings passed on through another person says (13.25e) in response. If the other person has not been taking initiative of staying in communication through phone calls, one might add (13.25f). The expression in (13.25g) signals that the speaker has nothing else to say and is ready for the conversation to end.

- (13.25) a. *χ-oto χ-ono=ri salum*  
 REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother=DAT hello  
  
*ləv*  
 say.IPFV  
 ‘Say hello to your parents.’
- b. (*mu az num*) *dzam=ir salum ləv*  
 1SG.NNOM ABL name all=DAT hello say.IPFV  
 ‘Say hello to everyone (on my behalf).’
- c. *dzam=ik (tu=ri) salum ləvd*  
 all=DUR 2SG.NNOM=DAT hello say.PFV  
 ‘Everyone is saying hello (to you).’
- d. *m-oto m-ono mas*  
 1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother also  
  
*tu=ri=ik salum ləv=in*  
 2SG.NNOM=DAT=DUR hello say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV  
 ‘My parents are also saying hello to you.’
- e. *alejk*  
 likewise  
 ‘Likewise.’
- f. *igun igun tilfon ka*  
 sometimes sometimes phone do.IPFV  
 ‘Give us a call once in a while.’

- g. *tçardz tom bur*  
 good then then  
 ‘Good, then.’

### 13.2.5 Greeting someone on a festival or birthday

On a festival day, people greet each other by saying (13.26), to which the response is identical.

- (13.26) *ta ejd=ir muburak (vid)*  
 2SG.NNOM festival=DAT congratulations be.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Happy festival!’

The usual greeting to someone celebrating a birthday is (13.27):

- (13.27) *ta azmud seðdz=endz maθ=ir*  
 2SG.NNOM born become.PRF=REL day=DAT  
  
*muburak (vid)*  
 congratulations be.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Happy birthday!’

Whenever someone says *muburak* for any occasion, the following response is also acceptable:

- (13.28) *ta lavdz muburak*  
 2SG.NNOM word congratulations  
 ‘Congratulations on your word!’

### 13.2.6 Greeting a traveler

To someone leaving on a journey, one may wish them safe travels by saying any of the expressions in (13.29):

- (13.29) a. *spejd pond (laka tu=ri) vid*  
 white road let.IPFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT be.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘May there be a white road (for you)!’



- b. *ta safar laka baxejr səwd*  
 2SG.NNOM journey let.IPFV smooth become.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘May your journey go smoothly!’
- c. *tçardz kirs, tçardz tamuçu ka*  
 good turn.IPFV good look.around do.IPFV  
 ‘Have a good time going around and looking around.’ (lit.  
 Go around well and look around well.)
- d. *tçardz nigo a = çu ka*  
 good watch ACC = REFL.NNOM do.IPFV  
 ‘Take good care of yourself.’

If someone is going on a long journey to a foreign place, leaving most of his friends and family behind, people will commonly ask him the question in (13.30) as it gets closer to his time of departure. They may also say (13.31) to express how dear he is to them.

- (13.30) *qilo numujd = o*  
 difficult seem.3SG.IPFV = Q  
 ‘Are you having a hard time?’ (lit. Does it feel difficult?)

- (13.31) *tu = ri utç gurm kan = an*  
 2SG.NNOM = DAT very remembrance do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  
 ‘We will miss you very much.’

For someone who is leaving, one may offer to see them off by saying (13.32); if anticipating someone’s arrival, one may offer to be waiting for them by saying any of the expressions in (13.33).

- (13.32) *a = ta pa pond wejð = am*  
 ACC = 2SG.NNOM LOC road put.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will see you off.’ (lit. I will put you on the road.)

- (13.33) a. *pa pond a = ta tços = am*  
 LOC road ACC = 2SG.NNOM watch.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will wait for you on the road.’
- b. *ta pa prud naxtedz = am*  
 2SG.NNOM LOC front go.up.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will come out to receive you.’ (lit. I will go out in front of  
 you.)

- c. *tu = ri prud naxtedz = am*  
 2SG.NNOM = DAT front go.up.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will come out to receive you.’ (lit. I will go out in front of you.)

### 13.2.7 Asking about someone who is sick

If someone has been sick, one may ask his family about his health by saying (13.34), or ask the sick person directly with the expression in (13.35). The response may be one of the expressions in (13.36). One may also wish a speedy recovery by saying (13.37).

- (13.34) *wi mudzuz citç xejli tçardz sut = o*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q  
 ‘Is he feeling a little better now?’

- (13.35) *ta mudzuz citç xejli tçardz sut = o*  
 2SG.NNOM feeling now fairly good become.PFV = Q  
 ‘Are feeling a little better now?’

- (13.36) a. *wi mudzuz nəwz nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling still NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘He is still not feeling well.’

- b. *wi mudzuz citç ilon be*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now bit fine  
 ‘He is feeling a little bit better.’

- c. *əʔə, wi mudzuz citç xejli be/tçardz*  
 yes 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling now fairly fine/good

*sut*  
 become.PFV  
 ‘Yes, he is feeling quite a bit better now.’

- d. *wi mudzuz-an gap nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST feeling-GEN word NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘He is feeling great.’ (lit. There is nothing to say about how he is feeling.)

- (13.37) *ju laka pur dər dam zozd, dʒald*  
 3SG.NOM.DIST let.IPFV much CPRV rest get.3SG.IPFV fast  
*dər soq səwd*  
 CPRV well become.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘May he get much rest and feel better soon.’

### 13.3 Expressing gratitude

A proper expression of gratitude for someone who has done something good is essential in Sarikoli culture. Gratitude may be expressed by thanking people directly, as with the expressions in (13.38), or stating how much trouble one has placed on the addressee, with the expressions in (13.39). An expression of gratitude may be followed by expressions of blessing and well-wishes for the addressee, as in (13.40).

- (13.38) a. *rahmat (tu = ri)*  
 thanks 2SG.NNOM = DAT  
 ‘Thanks (to you).’
- b. *taçakur (tu = ri)*  
 thanks 2SG.NNOM = DAT  
 ‘Thanks (to you).’
- c. *tu = ri utç rahmat*  
 2SG.NNOM = DAT very thanks  
 ‘Thank you very much.’
- d. *hazur bur taçakur*  
 thousand times thanks  
 ‘A thousand times thank you.’
- (13.39) a. *alukat = am tamaç = ir weđd*  
 trouble = 1SG.PFV 2PL.NNOM = DAT put.PFV  
 ‘I have placed trouble on you(pl).’
- b. *awuro = am a = tamaç tçəwg*  
 bother = 1SG.PFV ACC = 2PL.NNOM do.PFV  
 ‘I have bothered you(pl).’

- (13.40) *salomat vəw=it, xudoj (laka) tamaç=ir*  
 healthy be.IPFV=2PL.IPFV God let.IPFV 2PL.NNOM=DAT  
*barakat ðid*  
 blessing give.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Stay healthy, and may God bless you(pl).’

The following are common responses that are given to an expression of gratitude:

- (13.41) a. *rahmat tsejz*  
 thanks what  
 ‘What do you mean by “thank you”?’
- b. *wi rang mo lev*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB PROH say.IPFV  
 ‘Do not talk like that.’
- c. *hitç gap nist*  
 none word NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘It is nothing.’ (lit. It is not any word.)
- d. *naj, rahmat mu=ri levd luzim*  
 NEG thanks 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.INF necessary  
  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘No, it is not necessary to thank me.’
- e. *rahmat mo lev, jad mu*  
 thanks PROH say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM  
  
*tçejg=ir tegiç tçer*  
 do.INF=DAT should work  
 ‘Do not thank me, this is my responsibility.’ (lit. Do not say thank you, this is something that I should do.)

A special word is used to express gratitude to God: *çukri*, which is commonly said when good things are happening; for example, (13.22b) is a response to a greeting when the speaker feels there is much to be thankful for.

### 13.4 Apologizing and forgiving

When one has wronged somebody and would like to make an apology, the most common way is to say (13.42a); (13.42b) & (13.42c), which are less common, are also used for seeking forgiveness. When begging someone for mercy, the expression in (13.42d) is used. In response, the person who is granting forgiveness might say one of the expressions in (13.43).

- (13.42) a. *χafo mo so*  
upset PROH become.IPFV  
'Sorry.' (lit. Do not get upset.)
- b. *afu ka*  
forgiveness do.IPFV  
'Forgive (me).'
- c. *mu az ginu nardzes = o*  
1SG.NNOM ABL sin pass.IPFV = Q  
'Will you overlook my sin?' (lit. Will you pass by my sin?)
- d. *tçi mu ta ram laka jođd*  
LOC 1SG.NNOM 2SG.NNOM mercy let.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV  
'May your mercy come upon me!'
- (13.43) a. *naj, χafo = am na sut*  
NEG upset = 1SG.PFV NEG become.PFV  
'No, I have not gotten upset.'
- b. *χafo tom tsezir so = am*  
upset then why become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
'Why would I get upset?'
- c. *hitç tsaka na səwd*  
none how NEG become.3SG.IPFV  
'It's okay.' (lit. Nothing will happen in any way.)

### 13.5 Expressing grief and sympathy

When one is dealing with great sadness, one's feelings may be expressed by saying (13.44):

- (13.44) *mu zord utç nejm*  
 1SG.NNOM heart very half  
 'I am very sad.' (lit. My heart is very half.)

If someone is grieving the death of a family member, people with close relationships with that person will communicate messages of sympathy. The expressions in (13.45) are used to comfort people who are grieving. (13.45b) is a reminder that all people die, and there is nothing that can be done about it. (13.45c) is an offer to replace the relationship that the griever has lost.

- (13.45) a. *χuu zord utç nejm mo ka*  
 REFL.NNOM heart very half PROH do.IPFV  
 'Do not be too sad.' (lit. Do not make your heart too half.)
- b. *insun levdz=endz ki=wi rang*  
 mankind say.PRF=REL CATA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB  
 'That is what mankind is like.'
- c. *waz ta jaχ so=am*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM sister become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV  
 'I will be your sister.'

### 13.6 Requesting and providing help

When help is needed, people will usually state their request for help directly:

- (13.46) *mu=ri jordam ka=o*  
 1SG.NNOM=DAT help do.IPFV=Q  
 'Will you help me?'

If one is happy to provide help, there are many ways to communicate one's willingness and availability. The following are some expressions that may be used to make the addressee feel welcome to one's assistance.

- (13.47) a. *albatta səwd, tsejzir na səwd*  
of.course become.3SG.IPFV why NEG become.3SG.IPFV  
‘Of course it is okay, why would it not be?’
- b. *waz tu=ri jordam tcejg=ir utç*  
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM=DAT help do.INF=DAT very  
  
*χuç*  
happy  
‘I am very happy to help you.’
- c. *tu=ri jordam tcejg=ir waz har*  
2SG.NNOM=DAT help do.INF=DAT 1SG.NOM every  
  
*waxt tajur*  
time ready  
‘I am always ready to help you.’
- d. *uz swol vid tsa az mu*  
again question be.3SG.IPFV COND ABL 1SG.NNOM  
  
*pars*  
ask.IPFV  
‘If have a question again, ask me.’
- e. *uz tu=ri i tsiz luzim tsa*  
again 2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND  
  
*səwd mu χejz joð*  
become.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM side come.IPFV  
‘If you need something again, come over.’
- f. *ta-an har waxt maç dzuj*  
2SG.NNOM-GEN every time 1PL.NNOM place  
  
*jet=ir χuç-i ka=an*  
come.INF=DAT happy-ADV do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV  
‘We are always happy for you to come to our place.’

### 13.7 Telling time and date

Telling time is a basic communicative activity that occurs numerous times throughout the day. Usually, this involves the word *suat* ‘hour, clock’ and cardinal numbers. (13.48a) is how one inquires what time it is, and (13.48b) - (13.48d) are examples of possible responses.

- (13.48) a. *suat tsund sut*  
 hour how.much become.PFV  
 ‘What time is it?’
- b. *az ðes si at pindz (sut)*  
 ABL ten thirty CONJ five become.PFV  
 ‘(It is) 10:35.’ (lit. (It has become) thirty-five minutes since ten.)
- c. *haroj at nejm (sut)*  
 three CONJ half become.PFV  
 ‘(It is) 3:30.’ (lit. (It has become) three and a half.)
- d. *ðes at ða=ri pindz rejd*  
 ten CONJ two=DAT five remain.PFV  
 ‘It is 11:55.’ (lit. There are five minutes remaining until twelve.)

To enquire about or discuss an activity that will occur at a certain time, the locative function marker *tçi* is added, and the word *suat* may be omitted, as in the following examples:

- (13.49) a. *tamaç (suat) tçi tsund xufs=it*  
 2PL.NOM hour LOC how.much sleep.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
 ‘What time do you(pl) go to sleep?’
- b. *maç (suat) tçi naw xufs=an*  
 1PL.NOM hour LOC nine sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  
 ‘We go to sleep at nine o’clock.’

(13.50a) is how one may ask which day of the week it is, followed by an example of a possible response, and (13.51a) is how to ask which day of the month it is, followed by an example of a possible response.



- (13.50) a. *nur afto = ri tsejz*  
 today week = DAT what  
 ‘What day of the week is it today?’
- b. *nur tcorcanbe*  
 today Wednesday  
 ‘Today is Wednesday.’
- (13.51) a. *nur most az tsund*  
 today moon ABL how.much  
 ‘What day of the month is it today?’
- b. *nur most az wist*  
 today moon ABL twenty  
 ‘Today is the twentieth.’

### 13.8 Expressing physical and emotional states

This section deals with how one’s physical and emotional states and desires may be expressed. Below are expressions commonly used for conveying physical states such as: feeling cold or warm (13.52), feeling hungry or satiated (13.53), feeling tired (13.54), feeling sleepy or being unable to sleep when it is nighttime (13.55), and having to go to the bathroom (13.56). People say (13.56) because most village homes do not have outhouses, but even in places with outhouses or modern toilets, it is considered polite to use the expression in (13.56). However, the expression in (13.56) is ambiguous, since it may also be used literally if the speaker is going outside the house for another purpose.

- (13.52) a. *iç = am tçəwg*  
 cold = 1SG.PFV do.PFV  
 ‘I am cold.’ (lit. I did cold.)
- b. *zurm = am sut*  
 warm = 1SG.PFV become.PFV  
 ‘I am warm.’ (lit. I became warm.)
- (13.53) a. *mu qetç marzundz sut*  
 1SG.NNOM stomach hungry become.PFV  
 ‘I am hungry.’

- b. *mu qetç sejr sut*  
 1SG.NNOM stomach satiated become.PFV  
 ‘I am satiated.’
- (13.54) *aluk = am sut*  
 tired = 1SG.PFV become.PFV  
 ‘I am tired.’
- (13.55) a. *mu χυδm = ik joðd*  
 1SG.NNOM dream = DUR come.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I am getting sleepy.’ (lit. My dream is coming.)
- b. *mu χυδm = ik na joðd*  
 1SG.NNOM dream = DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I am unable to fall sleep.’ (lit. My dream is not coming.)
- (13.56) *waz tar vatç so = am*  
 1SG.NOM LOC outside become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I am going outside.’

Some expressions are frequently used for communicating emotional or mental situations, such as: fear (13.57), surprise (13.58), trust or belief (13.59), fondness (13.60), and readiness (13.61). (13.61) may be used for physical, emotional, or mental readiness.

- (13.57) a. *utç xudž = am ðəwg*  
 very fear = 1SG.PFV fear.PFV  
 ‘I am very scared.’
- b. *xudž (na) ðor = am*  
 fear NEG fear.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will (not) be scared.’
- (13.58) *hejrūn = am rejð*  
 surprise = 1SG.PFV remain.PFV  
 ‘I am surprised.’
- (13.59) a. *pa ta içandž (na) ka = am*  
 LOC 2SG.NNOM trust NEG do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I (do not) trust/believe you.’

- b. *mu içandz=ik na joðd*  
 1SG.NNOM trust=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I cannot believe it!’ (lit. My trust is not coming.)
- (13.60) a. *χουε tu=ri sut=o*  
 happy 2SG.NNOM=DAT become.PFV=Q  
 ‘Have you come to like it?’ (lit. Has it become pleasing to you?)
- b. *mon mu=ri χουε (nist)*  
 apply 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘I (do not) like apples.’ (lit. Apples are (not) pleasing to me.)
- c. *jad mu=ri utε χουε*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM=DAT very happy  
 ‘I like this very much.’
- d. *jad mu=ri χουb χουε nist*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM=DAT very happy NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘I don’t really like this. (i.e. I am not particularly fond of this.)’
- (13.61) *tajur=am sut*  
 ready=1SG.PFV become.PFV  
 ‘I am ready.’

It is common to ask about the desires of others, as in (13.62), as well as expressing one’s own, as in (13.63):

- (13.62) a. *ta dil tsejz χig*  
 2SG.NNOM heart what eat.INF  
 ‘What do you want to eat?’
- b. *ta dil tsejz zoxt*  
 2SG.NNOM heart what get.INF  
 ‘What do you want to buy?’
- c. *ta dil tsejz wand*  
 2SG.NNOM heart what see.INF  
 ‘What do you want to see?’

- (13.63) a. *mu dil varçide utç tid*  
 1SG.NNOM heart Varshide very go.INF  
 ‘I really want to go to Varshide.’
- b. *mu dil a=wi utç wazonđ*  
 1SG.NNOM heart ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST very know.INF  
 ‘I really want to know him/her/it.’

Desires, emotions, or physical conditions are also often expressed as ‘coming’ or ‘not coming’, as in the examples in (13.64).

- (13.64) a. *mu χig jot*  
 1SG.NNOM eat.INF come.PFV  
 ‘I want to eat. (i.e. I feel like eating.)’ (lit. My eating came.)
- b. *mu parst jot*  
 1SG.NNOM ask.INF come.PFV  
 ‘I want to ask. (i.e. I am curious.)’ (lit. My asking came.)
- c. *mu xudž jot*  
 1SG.NNOM fear come.PFV  
 ‘I am scared.’ (lit. My fear came.)
- d. *mu qor jot*  
 1SG.NNOM anger come.PFV  
 ‘I am angry.’ (lit. My anger came.)
- e. *mu kazab jot*  
 1SG.NNOM fury come.PFV  
 ‘I am furious.’ (lit. My fury came.)
- f. *mu mejz jot*  
 1SG.NNOM urine come.PFV  
 ‘I need to urinate.’ (lit. My urine came.)
- g. *mu qej jot*  
 1SG.NNOM vomit come.PFV  
 ‘I am going to vomit.’ (lit. My vomit came.)
- h. *mu χuđm jot*  
 1SG.NNOM dream come.PFV  
 ‘I am sleepy.’ (lit. My dream came.)

- i. *mu*            *χuðm=ik*    *na*    *joðd*  
 1SG.NNOM dream=DUR NEG come.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I am unable to fall asleep.’ (lit. My dream is not coming.)
- j. *mu*            *ram*    *tçi*    *wi*                    *jot*  
 1SG.NNOM mercy LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST come.PFV  
 ‘I feel sorry for her.’ (lit. My mercy came upon her.)

### 13.9 Expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction

When expressing confusion, unacceptance, or dissatisfaction, the temporal conjunction *χu* is often added at the end of the clause:

- (13.65) a. *uz*    *asal=ir*    *ðo=o,*            *wi*                    *inder*  
 again Asal=DAT give.IPFV=Q 3SG.NNOM.DIST on.person  
  
           *sad*        *kuj*                    *jost*        *χu*  
           hundred Chinese.yuan be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ  
 ‘Are you giving more to Asal? She already has a hundred yuan!’
- b. *ar*    *ʁal*    *ðes*    *kalo*    *vud*    *χu,*                    *nəw*    *tar*  
 LOC stable ten sheep be.PFV TEMP.CONJ nine LOC  
  
           *ko*  
           where.NNOM  
 ‘Were there not ten sheep in the stable? Where did the other nine go?’
- c. *ta*                    *pul=am*                    *tu=ri*                    *ðud*  
 2SG.NNOM money=1SG.PFV 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.PFV  
  
           *χu,*                    *uz*    *tsejz*    *luzim*  
           TEMP.CONJ again what necessary  
 ‘I already gave you your money, what else do you need?’

d. *jad tag tsejz xipik vid, maç*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX ever what flatbread be.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NOM

*di rang xipik tcejg = itçuz*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB flatbread do.INF = REL

*nist çu*  
 NEG.be.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘Whatever sort of flatbread is this? We do not make this kind of flatbread.’

e. *hej puuts, taw = at hajutgi waçt*  
 VOC son 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV life time

*a = ruwatgi tazo wand çu, dzasawul*  
 ACC = enjoyment very see.PFV TEMP.CONJ Jasaweel

*pur dzafu tizd*  
 much toil pull.PFV

‘Hey son, have you not seen a lot of enjoyment in your life? Jasaweel has seen much toil.’

f. *taw mu-an teng çalg vid = i*  
 2SG.NOM 1SG.NNOM-GEN hard person be.INF = SC

*wazon çu, uz tsezir mu*  
 know.IPFV TEMP.CONJ again why 1SG.NNOM

*a = tilu ar banka na laka*  
 ACC = gold LOC bank NEG put.IPFV

‘You know that I am a harsh person, then why do you not put my gold in the bank?’

### 13.10 Common expressions in conversation

Some fixed phrases frequently occur in everyday conversation as indicators of cooperative intent, agreement, and segues. When someone says something that seems incredible or difficult to believe, one may respond with either expression in (13.66). When someone asks whether a situation is a certain way and one is fairly sure about its validity, one would say (13.67). To express agreement for opinions articulated by another speaker in the conversation, one could use either expression in (13.68).

- (13.66) a. *rust = o*  
*true = Q*  
 ‘Really?’
- b. *naj = o ku*  
*NEG = Q SUP*  
 ‘No way!’
- (13.67) *k = dos = o ku*  
*ANA = manner = Q SUP*  
 ‘It is so, I think.’
- (13.68) a. *ki = (gap)*  
*ANA = word*  
 ‘That is what I mean.’ (lit. That word.)
- b. *rust = at levdz*  
*true = 2SG.PFV say.PFV*  
 ‘That is true.’ (lit. You said the truth.)

To change the conversation topic or disclose something that has just come to mind, one may start a sentence with the word *rust* ‘true’ with the emphasis marker =*aθ*, as in (13.69).

- (13.69) *a rust = aθ tilfon = at mu = ri*  
*INTJ true = EMP phone = 2SG.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT*
- zuxt = o*  
*get.PFV = Q*  
 ‘Oh, right, did you buy a phone for me?’

If the speaker has forgotten what she was planning to say and is trying to remember it, she will often say (13.70).

- (13.70) *tsejz = am levd = ir vud*  
*what = 1SG.PFV say.INF = DAT be.PFV*  
 ‘What was I going to say?’

Prior to sharing an honest opinion, the speaker will often say (13.71).

- (13.71) *rust gap tu=ri ka=am=o*  
*true word 2SG.NNOM=DAT do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=Q*  
 ‘Shall I tell you the truth?’

After making a suggestion, it is common for the speaker to ask about others’ opinions by saying (13.72).

- (13.72) a. *tsarang, lɛv*  
*how say.IPFV*  
 ‘What do you think?’ (lit. Say how it is.)
- b. *tsarang=am lɛvd*  
*how=1SG.PFV say.PFV*  
 ‘How did I say it?’

In order to express that the decision is up to the addressee, it is common to use the expressions in (13.73).

- (13.73) a. *ta dil*  
*2SG.NNOM heart*  
 ‘Do whatever you want.’ (lit. Your heart.)
- b. *təw lɛv*  
*2SG.NOM say.IPFV*  
 ‘You decide.’ (lit. You say.)

If someone is concerned about something and one would like to calm her worries, one may use either expression in (13.74).

- (13.74) a. *χotirdzam vəw*  
*worry.free be.IPFV*  
 ‘Set your mind at rest (i.e. Rest assured).’
- b. *(az wi) kam mo ka*  
*ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST worry PROH do.IPFV*  
 ‘Don’t worry (about that).’



### 13.11 Dealing with the unknown or uncertain

People frequently talk about things they do not know, or do not know for certain. When people are unaware of what has happened, they often ask (13.75). If someone asks a question and the addressee also does not know the answer, a common response is (13.76). If one cannot think of a solution to a problem, the expression in (13.77) may be used. When one has just made a statement but is not completely sure about its validity, one may add the expression in (13.78) as a tag to that statement.

- (13.75) *tsaxa sut*  
 how become.PFV  
 ‘What happened?’
- (13.76) *tɕoj wazonɔ*  
 who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Who knows?’
- (13.77) *tsaxa kan = an*  
 how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  
 ‘What shall we do?’
- (13.78) *...nej, fand = ik ðo = am*  
 NEG false = DUR give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘... Or, am I lying?’

When asked about what one will do about a situation that will happen in the future, one might say (13.79) if one has not decided yet or wishes to withhold that information.

- (13.79) *awul = ir tɕos = am*  
 situation = DAT watch.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘We will see.’ (lit. I will watch the situation.)

When talking about a plan or prediction about the future, people will frequently add the expression in (13.80) at the beginning of the sentence, to communicate their belief that God’s help and intervention is necessary for any expected situation to occur smoothly.

- (13.80) *χυðoj tindz-i tsa kaxt...*  
 God peaceful-ADV COND do.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘If God is peaceful unto us...’ (lit. If God does peacefully...)

### 13.12 Language learning

Certain expressions are frequently used when learning a language. Language learning is a common activity for Sarikoli people, as they live in a multilingual context and have exposure to various languages. (13.81a) is used for learning how to say words and phrases in another language, (13.81b) & (13.81c) are used for learning the meaning of words and phrases, and (13.81d) may be used when help is needed with translating between two languages.

- (13.81) a. *ingles tçi ziv rahmat=ir tsejz*  
 English LOC tongue thanks=DAT what  
*lev=in*  
 say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV  
 ‘How do they say “thank you” in English?’
- b. *əwlud-an wi mani tsejz*  
 descendant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what  
 ‘What is the meaning of *əwlud*?’
- c. *əwlud levdz=endz tsejz*  
 descendant say.PRF=REL what  
 ‘What does *əwlud* mean?’
- d. *a=di gap mu=ri hansu tçi*  
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX word 1SG.NNOM=DAT Han LOC  
*ziv kejron=o*  
 tongue turn.CAUS.IPFV=Q  
 ‘Will you translate this word into Chinese for me?’

When trying to determine whether two words have the same meaning, or what their difference is, one may ask (13.82a) or (13.82b), respectively.

- (13.82) a. *çitç at uzir i mani=o*  
 now CONJ now one meaning=Q  
 ‘Do *çitç* and *uzir* have one meaning (i.e. the same meaning)?’
- b. *çitç at uzir-an wi farq tsejz*  
 now CONJ now-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST difference what  
 ‘What is the difference between *çitç* and *uzir*?’

To confirm linguistic accuracy, one may ask the questions in (13.83). In (13.83b) & (13.83c), the cataphoric demonstrative clitic *m=* is used if the question precedes the linguistic data, and the anaphoric demonstrative clitic *k=* is used if the question follows it.

- (13.83) a. *durust=am levd=o*  
*whole=1SG.PFV say.PFV=Q*  
 ‘Did I say it correctly?’
- b. *m=dos / k=dos lev=am tsa*  
*CATA=manner / ANA=manner say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND*  
  
*durust=o*  
*whole=Q*  
 ‘Is it correct if I say it this/that way?’
- c. *m=dos / k=dos lev=am tsa*  
*CATA=manner / ANA=manner say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND*  
  
*durust nist=o*  
*whole NEG.be.IPFV=Q*  
 ‘Is it not correct if I say it this/that way?’

If one did not understand what the other person said, or need him to repeat what he said, the expressions in (13.84) may be used.

- (13.84) a. *ta gap=am na famd*  
*2SG.NNOM word=1SG.PFV NEG understand.PFV*  
 ‘I didn’t understand your words.’
- b. *uz az kol i lev=o*  
*again ABL head one say.IPFV=Q*  
 ‘Will you say it again from the beginning?’

