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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.

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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*    *pitɕ*     *(ham)*    *χuŋmat*    *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*    *batɕo*    *fand-an*  
3SG.NOM.DIST    LOC    there    3SG.NOM.PROX    child    false-GEN  
      *tsarang*    *sit*    *vid = i*    *wazondz*    *ham*    *tagow*    *fand*    *na*  
how    bad    be-INF = SC    know.PRF  CONJ    at.all    false    NEG  
      *ðod = itɕuz*    *sədʊz*  
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)’
These 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):

(10.4)  
\[(ham) \quad rasim \quad toz = in \quad ham \quad awudz\]  
CONJ picture pull.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ sound

\[zoz = in\]  
get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They take pictures and record audio.’

(10.5)  
\[muu \quad puuts \ (ham) \quad duzxtur \quad ham \quad olim\]  
1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar

‘My son is a doctor and a scholar.’

(10.6)  
\[muu \quad \chior \quad uʨ \quad euu \quad ham \quad aqlin\]  
1SG.NNOM nephew very well-behaved CONJ smart

‘My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.’

(10.7)  
\[tudʑik \quad \chialg-an \quad wi \quad vɾaw \quad uʨ \quad pur \quad ham\]  
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ

\[tor\]  
black

‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and dark.’

(10.8)  
\[tudʑik \quad \chialg-an \quad wi \quad vɾaw \quad ham \quad uʨ \quad pur\]  
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

\[ham \quad uʨ \quad tor\]  
CONJ very black

‘Tajik people’s eyebrows are very thick and very dark.’

(10.9)  
\[paləw \quad mas \quad ka = an, \quad \chiirginz \quad mas\]  
pilaf also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also

\[(ka = an)\]  
do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.’

(10.10)  
\[ong \quad mas \quad wazond, \quad adabjo \quad mas \quad (wazond)\]  
tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics also know.3SG.IPFV

‘He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(10.11) *pɯɡan* mas *joð=it*, *fal* mas
tomorrow also come.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv two.days.hence also

*(joð=it), *badar* mas
come.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv three.days.hence also

*(joð=it)*
come.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv
‘Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.’

(10.12) *sariku* *jiv* mas *lev=in*, *pursi* *jiv* mas
Sarikoli tongue also say.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv Persian tongue also

*(lev=in)*
say.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
‘They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.’

(10.13) *ɡɯlbibi* mas *qɛtɕin*, *ɡanigu* *lɛv=in*
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* *sawd* *χɯ*
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.’
Clause combinations

10.15  \textit{tid \ az \ zabu \ ki=wi \ ran}g
\textit{go.\text{INF} \ ABL \ back \ ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST \ SEMP}

\textit{ʁirs=in \ at} \ \textit{ʁirs=in \ at}
\textit{turn.IPVF=3PL.IPVF \ CONJ \ turn.IPVF=3PL.IPVF \ CONJ}

\textit{ʁirs=in \ at} \ \textit{i \ puts \ az \ wef}
\textit{turn.IPVF=3PL.IPVF \ CONJ \ one \ son \ ABL \ 3PL.NNOM.DIST}

\textit{i \ dʑom \ vrejd}
\textit{one \ scoop \ find.3SG.IPVF}

‘After going, he goes around and around and around and around and around like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.’

10.16  \textit{a=ujnak \ k=dos \ χɯ \ pa \ prud}
\textit{ACC=glass \ ANA=manner \ REPL.NNOM \ LOC \ front}

\textit{lakaxt \ tɕost \ at \ tɕost \ at}
\textit{put.3SG.IPVF \ look.3SG.IPVF \ CONJ \ look.3SG.IPVF \ CONJ}

\textit{tɕost \ at \ tɕost \ at \ tɕost}
\textit{look.3SG.IPVF \ CONJ \ look.3SG.IPVF \ CONJ \ look.3SG.IPVF}

\textit{iko \ di-an \ i \ vrud \ xtɯr \ vijojdʑ}
\textit{COMP \ 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN \ one \ brother \ camel \ ride.PRF}

\textit{ʁarst=ik}
\textit{turn.3SG.IPVF=DUR}

‘He puts the mirror in front of him like that 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 \textit{χɯ} is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses. \textit{χɯ} occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation, \textit{χɯ} belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of \textit{χɯ} occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.
(10.17)  \[a = \text{di} \quad \text{tɛr} \quad \text{adu} \quad \text{ka = am}\]
\[\text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{do.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPV}\]
\[\chi_u, \quad \text{skit} \quad \text{ka = am}\]
\[\text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{play} \quad \text{do.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPV}\]
‘I will finish this work and then play.’

(10.18)  \[\text{tom} \quad \text{so = am} \quad \chi_u,\]
\[\text{then} \quad \text{become.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}\]
\[\text{jod = am}\]
\[\text{come.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPV}\]
‘Then I will go there and come back.’

(10.19)  \[\text{awal} \quad \text{mejmun-ɛf = ir} \quad \text{tçoj weji} \quad \chi_u,\]
\[\text{first} \quad \text{guest-PL.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{tea} \quad \text{put.IPV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}\]
\[\text{mu = ri} \quad \text{jordam} \quad \text{ka}\]
\[\text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{help} \quad \text{do.IPV}\]
‘First pour tea for the guests and then help me.’

(10.20)  \[\text{wod} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{dam zoz = in} \quad \chi_u,\]
\[\text{3PL.NOM} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{rest} \quad \text{get.IPV} = 3\text{PL.IPV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}\]
\[\text{jod = in}\]
\[\text{come.IPV} = 3\text{PL.IPV}\]
‘They rest for one day and then come.’

(10.21)  \[\text{amirɕu} \quad \chi_u \quad \text{ɣin qati jot} \quad \chi_u, \quad \text{uz}\]
\[\text{Amirshu} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{wife} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{come.PFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ} \quad \text{again}\]
\[\text{tijd}\]
\[\text{go.PFV}\]
‘Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.’

(10.22)  \[\text{tamaɕ = af} \quad \chi_u \quad \chi_u\]
\[\text{2PL.NOM} = 2\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{eat.PFV} \quad \text{TEMP.CONJ}\]
\[\text{jot = af = o}\]
\[\text{come.PFV} = 2\text{PL.PFV} = Q\]
‘Did you(pl) eat and then come?’

The following are examples of \(\chi_u\) 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 \(\chi_u\) occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.
(10.23)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tom} & \quad \text{wi} = \text{ri} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{leq} \quad \text{did} \\
\text{give.} & \quad \text{3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]

(jad)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ju} & \quad \text{ki} = \text{di} \\
\text{reach.} & \quad \text{3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}
\]

(10.24)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uz} \quad & \text{varst} \quad \text{rang,} \\
\text{again} \quad & \text{turn.} \quad \text{3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{ANA} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{SEMB}
\end{align*}
\]

(10.25)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{səwd} \quad & \text{χw} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{mala} \\
\text{become.} & \quad \text{3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{housing.compound}
\end{align*}
\]

(10.26)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jad} \quad & \text{mas} \quad \text{joðd} \quad \text{χw,} \quad \text{a = ktwawi} \\
\text{also} \quad & \text{come.} \quad \text{3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{ACC = ring}
\end{align*}
\]
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 \( \chi_{\mu} \) 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.

\[(10.27) \quad a = wi \quad roft \quad \chi_{\mu}, \quad pa \]

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{ACC} = & \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{spread.3SG.IPfv} & \text{TEMP.CONJ} & \text{LOC} \\
\text{tɕɛd} & \text{dejd = ir} & \text{at} & \text{jad} & \text{mas} \\
\text{house} & \text{enter.INF} = \text{DAT} & \text{CONJ} & \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \text{also} \\
\text{ʑuzd}, & \text{\( \chi_{\mu} \)} & \text{\( wi \)} & \text{\( \text{tar} \)} & \text{\( \text{pɛð} \)} \\
\text{run.3SG.IPfv} & \text{TEMP.CONJ} & \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{LOC} & \text{foot} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{\( a = \chi_{\mu} \)} & \text{\( \text{patɛwd} \)} \\
\text{a = REFL.NNOM} & \text{throw.3SG.IPfv} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He spreads it on and is about to enter the house, and this one also runs and throws himself at that one’s feet.’
The temporal conjunction χɯ sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:
10.4 Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions *hammo* and *lɛkin* ‘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)  
\[
\text{asl-i} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{ta} \hspace{0.5cm} \chi ejz = am \hspace{0.5cm} \text{tid} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{mejd}_z \hspace{0.5cm} \text{vud},
\]
\[
\text{origin-ADV} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{2SG.NOM} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{side} = 1SG.PFV \hspace{0.5cm} \text{go.INF} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{INTEN} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{be.PFV}
\]
\[
\text{hammo} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{mu-an} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{digar} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{tɛr} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{naxt}_uq
\]
\[
\text{but} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{1SG.NOM-GEN} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{other} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{work} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{go.up.PFV}
\]
‘I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something else came up.’

(10.38)  
\[
\text{mu} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{dil} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{na} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{tid}, \hspace{0.5cm} \text{lɛkin} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{na} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{ted}_z = am
\]
\[
\text{1SG.NOM} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{heart} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{NEG} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{go.INF} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{but} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{NEG} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{go.IPV} = 1SG.IPV
\]
\[
\text{tsa} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{na} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{swd}
\]
\[
\text{COND} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{NEG} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{become.3SG.IPV}
\]
‘I do not want to go, but I must go.’
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    navic = am,    jo amad (navic)    
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,
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)  \( \text{maɕ} \quad \text{jo} \quad a = \text{di} \quad \chi or = \text{an} \quad \text{jo} \)
1PL.NOM or ACC = 3SG.N NOM.PROX eat.IP FV = 1PL.IP FV or 

\( \text{patow} = \text{an} \)
throw.IP FV = 1PL.IP FV

‘We will either eat this or throw it away.’

(10.49)  \( \text{waz} \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{tid} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{ka} = \text{am}, \quad \text{jo} \quad (\text{tid}) \quad \text{na} \)
1SG.NOM or go.INF CAP do.IP FV = 1SG.IP FV or go.INF NEG

(\( \text{tɕi} \quad \text{ka} = \text{am} \))
CAP do.IP FV = 1SG.IP FV

‘I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.’

(10.50)  \( \text{waz} \quad \text{joki} \quad \text{nɯr} \quad \text{reewun} \quad \text{so} = \text{am}, \quad \text{joki} \)
1SG.NOM or today leave become.IP FV = 1SG.IP FV or 

\( \text{pɯɡan} \quad (\text{ruwun} \quad \text{so} = \text{am}) \)
tomorrow leave become.IP FV = 1SG.IP FV

‘I will leave either today or tomorrow.’

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

(10.51)  \( \text{xjejn} \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{sovdz} \quad \text{lcq} \quad \text{pamedz} = \text{in} \)
blue or green clothing wear.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV

‘They wear blue or green clothes.’

(10.52)  \( \text{wɛf} = \text{ir} \quad \text{tɕat} \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{kalo} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{bus} = \text{in} \)
3PL.N NOM.DIST = DAT cow or sheep also send.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV

‘They also send them cows or sheep.’

The disjunctive conjunction \( \text{jo(ki)} \) 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:
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 tedz χu pa teed sım 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 swqut lɛv χu barakat az di δɔw
or thing say.IPfv or blessing ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two
iw surow
one separate.IPfv
‘Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.’

(10.56) χu zundagi ka χu naj mir hammo
or life do.IPfv or NEG die.IPfv but
zundagi = at = ik teswg durust χalги whole person become.IPfv
‘Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome
person.’

(10.57) waz χu pa teed niθ=am kalo
1SG.NOM or LOC house sit.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv sheep
puj = am χu naj amrikɔ xojd = ir
herd.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv or NEG America read.INF = DAT
tedz = am
go.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to
study.’
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:

(10.58) \[\text{conj} \quad \text{chu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{dars} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{chu} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{buzur}\]

Shonyoz or LOC lesson enter.3SG.IPVF or LOC bazaar

tizd \quad wi \quad \text{dil-ndo}z \quad \text{wazond} \quad \text{qilo}

go.3SG.IPVF 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.’

10.2 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 relativizers\(^1\) for creating RC constructions, =ɛndʑ and =itɕuz, which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs, endʑ is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the =ɛndʑ and =itɕuz 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 =ɛndʑ relativizer

The relativizer =ɛndʑ 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):

\[(10.62)\] sofiə mu=ri [az amriko vəwɛdʑ =ɛndʑ] kampɯt
Sofia 1SG.N NOM =DAT ABL America bring.PRF=REL candy
dud
give.PVF
‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’

\[(10.63)\] watɕa [waz ləwɛɔ sɛdʑ =ɛndʑ] dzuij
Wacha 1SG.NOM big become.PRF=REL place
‘Wacha is the place [where I grew up].’

\[(10.64)\] [wɔd lɛvdʑ =ɛndʑ] bej 11mu=ri uʨ 3PL.NOM.DIST say.PRF=REL song 1SG.N NOM =DAT very
χɯɕ
happy
‘I really like the song [that they sang].’

\(^1\)I 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.
Clause combinations

(10.65) [nuur iθtɕ = endʑ] mejmun-χejl maɕ xejsx
today come.PRFL REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
‘The guests [who came today] are our relatives.’

(10.66) [ato ano na ve祩ʑ = endʑ] baɕo az dʑam ivul
father mother NEG be.PRFL = REL child ABL all pitiabłe
‘[Children who do not have parents] are the most pitiable.’

(10.67) m-ono [mu = ri .PreparedStatement = endʑ]
1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRFL = REL
tamoq teawg
food do.PFV
‘My mother made food [that I like].’

(10.68) a. tamaɕ [χu uztɕ = endʑ] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRFL = REL apple
χor = it
eat.IPFL = 2PL.IPFL
‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

b. *tamaɕ [χu zoz = endʑ] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFL = REL apple
χor = it
eat.IPFL = 2PL.IPFL
‘You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.’

c. *tamaɕ [χu zoxt = endʑ] mon
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF = REL apple
χor = it
eat.IPFL = 2PL.IPFL
‘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 habituinals; 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  cîtɕ  tɕixt = iʔtɕuz  kinu  waz
3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF = REL movie 1SG.NOM

ntsuxte = endz
watch.PRF = REL
‘The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.’

(10.70)  zɯlfisɨo  cîtɕ  lɛvd = iʔtɕuz  bejt  wi  vrud
Zeelfisho now say.INF = REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

naviite = endz
write.PRF = REL
‘The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.’

(10.71)  tɯnɡ  [nuɕ  az  dʑam  pur  pɛxt = iʔtɕuz]  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 = iʔtɕuz]
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  ɕʉsmat  tɕeʄ = iʔtɕuz]  dʑuj  uʨ  dɔr
1SG.NNOM sister work do.INF = REL place very far
‘The place [where my sister works] is very far.’

(10.74)  [sulir  levd = iʔtɕuz]  bejt = an  maɕq  tɕawɡ
next.year say.INF = REL song = 1PL.PFV training do.PFV
‘We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].’
(10.75) a. \(\text{[puγan xwor } tid = \text{itċuz]} \quad \text{batɕo-χejl = af}\)
\(\text{tomorrow Kashgar go.\,INF = REL child-\,PL\,NOM = 3PL\,PFV}\)
\(\text{aftovuz belat zuxt}\)
\(\text{bus ticket buy.PFV}\)
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’

b. *\(\text{[puγan xwor } tɛdz = \text{itċuz]} \quad \text{batɕo-χejl = af}\)
\(\text{tomorrow Kashgar go.\,IP\,PFV = REL child-\,PL\,NOM = 3PL\,PFV}\)
\(\text{aftovuz belat zuxt}\)
\(\text{bus ticket buy.PFV}\)
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’

c. *\(\text{[puγan xwor } tɯjdʑ = \text{itċuz]} \quad \text{batɕo-χejl = af}\)
\(\text{tomorrow Kashgar go.\,PRF = REL child-\,PL\,NOM = 3PL\,PFV}\)
\(\text{aftovuz belat zuxt}\)
\(\text{bus ticket buy.PFV}\)
‘The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.’

Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with = \text{itċuz}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agentive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wazawond = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘eraser’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamoq tʃeʃj = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para dɔd = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘seller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talipt = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘beggar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kₚwœ = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘digger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mocι ʃd = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘driver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batɕol teʃxt = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘one that watches children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bej tʃlvd = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘singer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasim tʃzd = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘artist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intsivd = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘sewer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃɛxt = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘sprinkler’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zdiɡ = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘wiper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalo poj=d = \text{itċuz}</td>
<td>‘sheep herder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 = \text{endz}, as in (10.76) - (10.79), and = \text{itċuz}, 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) \[məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ\] tik tɕi peð səwd 3zungo 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) \[mɯ = ri\] az dzam pur ɕumand tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ

jad malum

1SG.N NOM = REL ABL all much learn do.PRF = REL

3SG.NOM.PROX teacher

‘The (one) [who has taught me the most] is this teacher.’

(10.78) m-oto m-ono verθ [nuznef lawr

1SG.N NOM -father 1SG.N NOM -mother both Teeznef big

sɛdʑ = endʑ

become.PRF = REL

‘My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].’

(10.79) jad hansu səwrat 3zunga varɕiδɛ haroj sul

3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year

nalɯɕtɕ = endʑ

live.PRF = REL

‘This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].’

(10.80) doð = af a = [rasim zoxt = iʨuz] qiw na tɕəwɣdʑ

3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.P FV ACC = picture get. INF = REL call NEG do.PRF

‘These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentia lity/New information)’
Clause combinations

(10.81) \[\text{waz as } \text{dzam pur tcejg} = \text{itćuz} \] palw
\[1\text{SG.NOM ABL all much do.INF = REL pilaf}\]
‘(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.’

(10.82) \[\text{mač } [\text{čhu dust qati } \text{χig} = \text{itćuz}]\]
\[1\text{SG.NOM REFL.NNom hand COM eat.INF = REL}\]
‘We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].’

(10.83) \[\text{zejnura } [\text{tar jowl xɛvd broxt} = \text{itćuz}]\]
\[\text{Zeynura LOC dawn milk drink.INF = REL}\]
‘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) \[\text{waz} = \text{am } [\text{hawu } \text{dod} ] \text{ awudz na}\]
\[1\text{SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG}\]
\[\text{xud}\]
\[\text{hear.PFV}\]
‘I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].’

(10.85) \[\text{canbe } \text{jakcanbe } [\text{dam zoxt} ] \text{ maθ}\]
\[\text{Saturday Sunday rest get.INF day}\]
‘Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].’

Negative RCs with =endz, or =ɛndʑ 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 subordinated clause, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b) presented in §10.2.3.1.

(10.86) \[\text{nur} = \text{am } [\text{na } \text{xɛbdz} ] \text{ i } \text{gap xud}\]
\[\text{today} = 1\text{SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV}\]
‘Today I heard something [I had not heard before].’
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(10.87)  nɯr = af [na  χɯwydz] tamoq  χɯg  
today = 3PL.PFV  NEG  eat.PRF  food  eat.PFV  
‘Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].’

(10.88)  [makola  na  na_ivite]  batɕo-χejl  intawum  
essay  NEG  write.PRF  child-PL.NOM  exam  
   χɯɣdʑ  
   eat.  
‘Students [who have not written essays] take exams.’

(10.89)  xɛb  maɕ [tej  na  tɕəwɣdʑ]  
yesterday  1PL.NOM  wedding  NEG  do.PRF  
   batɕo-χejl = an  qati  tamoq  χɯg  
   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  
   χɯ-an  [ðɛs  sul  na  wandʑ]  hamru = ri  
   REPL.NNom-GEN  ten  year  NEG  see.PRF  companion = DAT  
   vusond  
   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 = endʑ, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) & 
(10.92).

(10.91)  *sofia  mu = ri  [az  amriko  vəwɣdʑ]  kampɯt  
Sofia  1SG.NNom = DAT  ABL  America  bring.PRF  candy  
   3uld  
   give.PFV  
‘Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].’

(10.92)  *[woɖ  ksfdc  bejt]  mu = ri  utɕ  χɯm  
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 (wasond ‘know’, famd ‘understand’, uj tseig ‘think’, isandz tseig ‘believe’, ranixt ‘forget’, tar χuðm wand ‘dream about’), and verbs of speaking (lɛvd ‘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) seifik < gulpia-an wi tej tsejg = i >
Seyfik Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF = SC

wazond
know.3SG.IPfv
‘Seyfik knows about <Geelpia’s getting married >.’

(10.94) malum-χejal = af < batso-ef-an a = imi
teacher-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC = RECP

dod = i > wand
hit.INF = SC see.PFV
‘The teachers saw <the children’s hitting each other >.’

(10.95) waz < tamaɕ-an xrb tsejz χig = 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 kudʑur 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 < χu radzen-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', χɯɕ vid 'be pleasing to (like)', dil...vid 'heart be (desire to)', pixmuntɕejɡ 'regret', xudʑ dord 'fear') and certain speaking verbs (qasam ʨeig 'swear, promise', ramud 'cause, order', latɕeig 'let, allow').

(10.98)  
aqlia  kalo guxt χiɡ> na tɕombd  
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV  
Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.'

(10.99)  
waz χɯ jax = ir  ʨedoi intsivd>  
1SG.NOM REFL.N NOM 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 = mu < bejt levd> na  
1SG.NOM-father ACC = 1SG.NOM song say.INF NEG  
lakaxt  
let.3SG.IPFV  
'My father does not allow me < to sing songs > . '

(10.101)  
< tar vatɕ skit ʨeig> wi = ri χɯɛ  
LOC outside play do.INF 3SG.NOM.DIST = DAT happy  
'He likes < playing outside > . ' (lit. < Playing outside > is pleasing to him.)

(10.102)  
qandik dil < χɯ patiɕ-ɛf qati pa buzur  
Qandik heart REFL.N NOM cousin-PL.N NOM COM LOC bazaar  
tid>  
go.INF  
'Qandik wants < to go to the bazaar with her cousins > . '

(10.103)  
< naθ paqad ktub xojd> a = χalɡ 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) <tamaɕ awal tedz = it, waz maður zabu 2PL.NOM first go.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv 1SG.NOM noon back

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tedz} = \text{am} & > = \text{ik} \\
\text{go.IPfv} & = 1SG.IPfv = \text{DUR} \\
\text{say.3SG.IPfv} & = 1SG.IPfv
\end{align*}
\]

‘S/he is saying, “You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon”.’

(10.105) waz = ik < nur tɔɾȹambe > 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 tɕɛd 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) taw tɕi = 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-verb 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) *baxtiqul mu = ri levd iko < mur*

Bahtigeel 1SG.NNOM = DAT say.PFV COMP today

*mu-an digar tce< jost>*

1SG.NNOM-GEN other work be.IPV

‘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 chu tej kaxt>*

week REL.NNOM wedding do.3SG.IPVF

‘I heard < Tursun will get married next week >.’

(10.111) *ar ujnak tcost iko wi vrud i*

LOC glass look.3SG.IPVF COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one

*dzuj = ik varst wi tci dust*

place = DUR turn.3SG.IPVF 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand

*k = ju dzom*

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) *was = am chuðm wand iko < maç = an*

1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV

*ar anglia sajoat = ir tuijdz>*

LOC England travel = DAT go.PRF

‘I dreamed < we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information) >.’
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).

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

tu = rí  do = a[m >
2SG.NNOM = DAT give.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘Faridun swore <I will give you my daughter>.’

(10.114) rajon uj təwəg iko <χu batəo-ɛf = ir
Rayon think do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM = DAT
čejo = intsov = a[m >
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) woð naxtedz = in iko spej d vurdz = ik
3PL.NOM.DIST go.up.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv COMP white horse = DUR

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

(10.116) jũ dũd iko wi yin
3SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPfv COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

ar qe tə i χalɡ ahudz
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 dinjũ so = a[m iko
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv COMP
m-oto mas veðdz m-ono mas
1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

veðdz
be.PRF
‘I go to that other world (and find that) <my father is there, and my mother is also there>. (Evidentiality/New information)’
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)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{ik} \quad \text{lev} = \text{am} \quad \text{iko} < \text{nur sejɔmbe} > \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{say.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv} \quad \text{SC} \quad \text{today} \quad \text{Tuesday} \]
‘I thought <today is Wednesday>.’

(10.121)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{ik} \quad \text{lev} = \text{am} \quad \text{iko} < \text{zulfiadj tɔur} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{say.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv} \quad \text{SC} \quad \text{Zeelfia} \quad \text{husband} \]
\[ \text{watejdz} \quad \text{vɛdʑ} > \]
\[ \text{Wacha.person} \quad \text{be.PRf} \]
‘I thought <Zeelfia’s husband is from Wacha (Evidentiality/New information)>.’
(10.122)  
\[ i \text{səw}_g \text{ məc}=\text{ir} \text{ lev}, \text{ naj iko məc} \] 
\text{one story 1PL.N NOM = DAT say.IPVF NEG COMP 1PL.NOM} 
\[ \text{zuq so=an} \] 
\text{bored become.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF} 
‘Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.’

(10.123)  
\[ \text{tama}_c\text{ χu} \text{ ato} \text{ ziv lev=it, naj} \] 
\text{2PL.NOM REFL.N NOM father tongue say.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF NEG} 
\[ \text{iko tama}_c\text{ ziv bast} \] 
\text{COMP 2PL.N NOM tongue disappear.3SG.IPVF} 
‘Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.’

(10.124)  
\[ \text{a=di} \text{ dzald pa duygəyuno jus, naj} \] 
\text{ACC = 3SG.N NOM.PROX fast LOC hospital take.IPVF NEG} 
\[ \text{iko di kasal garun səwd} \] 
\text{COMP 3SG.N NOM.PROX illness heavy become.3SG.IPVF} 
‘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)  
\[ \text{dos zuurm iko} \] 
\text{manner warm COMP} 
‘It is so hot!’

(10.126)  
\[ \text{dos χuɕɾu}j \text{xu}vdz iko \] 
\text{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

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<td>PRF (RC)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^2\)Another usage of tsa is as a variant of the interrogative word tsejs ‘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).

\[(10.127)\] \(tu = ri \quad i \quad tsiz \quad luzim \quad tsa\)
2SG.N NOM = DAT one thing necessary COND

\(sowd \quad uz \quad jod\)
become.3SG.IPVF again come.IPVF

‘Come again if you need something.’

\[(10.128)\] \(cix \quad tung \quad tdx = in \quad tsa \quad pond \quad utz \quad qilo\)
now Teeng go.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF 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.

\[(10.129)\] \(mon \quad tsa \quad vid \quad mu = ri \quad i \quad tol \quad vor\)
apple COND be.3SG.IPVF 1SG.N NOM = DAT one CL bring.IPVF

‘If there are apples, bring me one.’ OR ‘If they are apples, bring me one’.

\[(10.130)\] \(ctu \quad tsa \quad vid \quad mo \quad broz\)
now COND be.3SG.IPVF PROH drink.IPVF

‘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):

\[(10.131)\] \(a. \quad *wejrun \quad tsa \quad sut \quad mu = ri \quad vor\)
broken COND become.PVF 1SG.N NOM = DAT bring.IPVF

‘If it broke, bring it to me.’
b. *wejrun seðdz(=endz) tsa vid
   broken become.PRF = REL COND be.3SG.IPFV
   mɯ = ri vor
   1SG.NNOM = DAT bring.IPFV
   ‘If it is broken, bring it to me.’

(10.132) a. *tamoq = at na χɯɣ tsa maɕ qati
   food = 2SG.PFV NEG eat.PFV COND 1PL.NNOM COM
   χor
   eat.IPFV
   ‘If you have not eaten, eat with us.’

b. tamoq na χuydz(=endz) tsa vəw maɕ
   food NEG eat.PFV = REL COND be.IPFV 1PL.NNOM
   qati χor
   COM eat.IPFV
   ‘If you have not eaten, eat with us.’

(10.133) a. *woð = af tujd tsa diɡar mocin qati
   3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV go.PFV COND other car COM
   tɛdz
   go.IPFV
   ‘If they left, take another car.’

b. woð tujdz(=endz) tsa vəw = in
   3PL.NOM.DIST go.PRF = REL COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
   diɡar mocin 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) \( \text{ar ujnak agar m=k=dos tɕost tsa} \)
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{LOC} & \text{glass} & \text{if} & \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{manner} & \text{look.3SG.IPVF} & \text{COND} \\
\text{u putun} & \text{a = dzawun} & \text{jad} & \text{k = ar} \\
\text{COND} & \text{all} & \text{ACC = world} & \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{ANA = LOC} \\
\text{wi} & \text{wand} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \text{see.3SG.IPVF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.’

(10.135) \( \text{waz χu pa dzom a = xats iw} \)
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{1SG.NOM} & \text{REFL.N NOM} & \text{LOC} & \text{scoop} & \text{ACC = water} & \text{one} \\
\text{zoz = am} & \text{məwədəz = endz} & \text{ar} & \text{nɔv} \\
\text{get.IPVF} & \text{= 1SG.IPVF} & \text{die.PRF} & \text{= REL} & \text{LOC} & \text{mouth} \\
\text{wejə = am} & \text{tsa} & \text{u} & \text{zundo jad} \\
\text{pour.IPVF} & \text{= 1SG.IPVF} & \text{COND} & \text{COND} & \text{live} & \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \\
\text{sawd} \\
\text{become.3SG.IPVF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person’s mouth, he becomes alive.’

(10.136) \( \text{naj putxu-an wi yin tsa vid} \)
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{NEG} & \text{king-GEN} & \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \text{wife} & \text{COND} & \text{be.3SG.IPVF} \\
\text{u təw} & \text{k = az} & \text{di} & \text{wəts-ɛf} \\
\text{COND} & \text{2SG.NOM} & \text{ANA = ABL} & \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{girl-PL.N NOM} \\
\text{surəw} & \text{a = iw} & \text{zoz} & \text{trdz di} \\
\text{separate.IPVF} & \text{ACC = one} & \text{get.IPVF} & \text{go.IPVF} & \text{3SG.NOM.PROX} \\
\text{putxu = ri} \\
\text{king = DAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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) \text{m-oto} \quad a = \text{mu} \quad \text{rond} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
1SG.NOM-father \quad \text{ACC} = 1SG.NOM \quad \text{scold.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{also COND} \\
\text{mejli} \\
\text{okay} \\
‘It’s okay even if my father scolds me.’

(10.138) \text{taw} \quad \text{mujim} \quad \text{waz} \quad \text{marzundz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
2SG.NOM \quad \text{important} \quad 1SG.NOM \quad \text{hungry} \quad \text{also COND} \\
\text{ris} = \text{am} \quad \text{mejli} \\
\text{remain.IPVF} = 1SG.IPVF \quad \text{okay} \\
‘You are important; it’s okay even if I starve.’

(10.139) \text{wi} \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{diz} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \\
3SG.NOM.DIST \quad \text{foot} \quad \text{hurt.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{also COND} \\
\text{wi} \quad \text{dil} \quad \text{\textmu} \quad \text{dest-ef} \quad \text{qati} \\
3SG.NOM.DIST \quad \text{heart} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{friend-PL.NNOM} \quad \text{COM} \\
\text{tup \ skit \ tseej} \\
\text{ball} \quad \text{play} \quad \text{do.INF} \\
‘Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.’

(10.140) \text{dedd} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{\textmu\textwgunbahor} \quad \text{muburak} \\
\text{enter.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{also COND} \quad \text{Sheawgeenbahor} \quad \text{congratulations} \\
\text{levd} \quad \text{dedd} \\
\text{say.3SG.IPVF} \quad \text{enter.3SG.IPVF} \\
‘Even when he enters, he says “Happy Sheawgeenbahor” and enters.’

(10.141) \text{um} \quad \text{xani-\text{\textmu}ejl} \quad \text{tedz = in} \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{xabor} \\
\text{there} \quad \text{groom-PL.NOM} \quad \text{go.IPVF} = \text{3PL.IPVF} \quad \text{also COND} \quad \text{sleepover} \\
\text{rej\textmu = it\textmuuz} \quad \text{\textdzu\textmu-\text{\textmu}ejl} \quad \text{jost} \\
\text{remain.INF = REL} \quad \text{place-PL.NOM} \quad \text{be.IPVF} \\
‘Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.’
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).

(10.142) \[ \text{tamaɕ əwd-ik skit mas tsa ka=it} \]
\[ \text{2PL.NOM here-DIM play also COND do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF} \]
\[ \text{səwd hammo tɕɛk ar darun} \]
\[ \text{become.3SG.IPVF but boundary LOC inside} \]
\[ \text{ka = it} \]
\[ \text{do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF} \]

‘It’s okay even if you(pl) play here, but play inside the boundaries.’

(10.143) \[ \text{duves lɛq pamɔwydz=ɛndz mas tsa} \]
\[ \text{thick clothing wear.PRFF = REL also COND} \]
\[ \text{vaw=am iç=am tɕɔwŋ} \]
\[ \text{be.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF cold=1SG.PFV do.PFV} \]

‘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) \[ \text{woð ðes sul tar prud tʃɛ tɔwyzdʑ=ɛndz} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST ten year LOC front wedding do.PRFF = REL} \]
\[ \text{mas tsa vaw=in ɕitɕ its} \]
\[ \text{also COND be.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF now until} \]
\[ \text{wef-an ʦatɕo nist} \]
\[ \text{3PL.N NOM.DIST-GEN child NEG.be.IPVF} \]

‘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.)
Clause combinations

(10.145) \[ \text{waz } \text{bedzin ajoy } \text{zoxt} = \text{itɛuz mas tsa} \]
1SG.NOM Beijing shoes buy.INF = REL also COND

\[ \text{vow} = \text{am uz iw mas uz} \]
be.IPV = 1SG.IPV again one also again

\[ \text{zoxt} = \text{am} \]
buy.IPV = 1SG.IPV

'Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.' (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.)

(10.146) \[ \text{hitɕ } \text{tsawa } \text{na } \text{seddz mas tsa } \text{vow} = \text{in} \]
none how NEG become.PRF also COND be.IPV = 3PL.IPV

\[ \text{hammo } \text{utɕ } \text{xudʑ} = \text{af dowg} \]
but very fright = 3PL.PVF scare.PVF

'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) \[ \text{utɕ } \text{pur } \text{xojdz mas tsa } \text{vow} = \text{it} \]
very much read.PRF also COND be.IPV = 2PL.IPV but

\[ \text{akram } \text{dud pur ziv na wazon} = \text{it} \]
Akram AMT much tongue NEG know.IPV = 2PL.IPV

'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) \[ \text{waz } \text{utɕ } \text{pur } \text{gap tajur tɛwɔydz mas tsa} \]
1SG.NOM very much word ready do.PRF also COND

\[ \text{vow} = \text{am, } \text{hammo } \text{pet} = \text{am ranuxt} \]
be.IPV = 1SG.IPV but all = 1SG.IPV forget.PVF

'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, \text{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 χɯɣdʑ mas tsa
3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food eat.PRF also COND

vid uz marzundz
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) sofiya dzojza zuxtɕ mas tsa vid juu
Sofia prize get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPfv 3SG.NOM.DIST

lowr dzn 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) sejfik-an wi ato ano post qad mas
Seyfik-GEN 3SG.NOM.DIST father mother low height also

tsa υw=in juu χɯbaθ buland
COND be.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM high

qad
height
‘Eventhough his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.’

(10.152) χsrəw pugan tid=itsuz mas tsa vid
Hsreaw tomorrow go.INF = REL also COND be.3SG.IPfv

tɕing az zord tɕɛr 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.NOM-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) $\text{tudzık} \quad \text{tej}=ik \\
\text{Tajik} \quad \text{wedding}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be.PRIF-CESS}$

$\text{waz}=\text{am}=ik \\
\text{1SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{a}=\text{ta} \quad \text{juđdz-it} \\
\text{2SG.NOM}=\text{ACC}=2\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{take.PRIF-CESS}$

‘If it had been a Tajik wedding, I would have taken you.’

(10.155) $\text{muu-an} \quad \text{radzen}=ik \\
\text{1SG.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{daughter}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be.PRIF-CESS}$

$\text{tu}=\text{ri}=\text{am}=ik \\
\text{2SG.NNOM}=\text{DAT}=1\text{SG.PFV}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{give.PRIF-CESS}$

‘If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.’

(10.156) $\text{waz}=\text{am}=ik \\
\text{1SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{purs} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{tsa}$

$\text{waζondz-it,} \quad \text{iron}=\text{am}=ik \quad \text{tuijdz-it} \\
\text{know.PRIF-CESS} \quad \text{Iran}=1\text{SG.PFV}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{go.PRIF-CESS}$

‘If I had known Persian, I would have gone to Iran.’

(10.157) $\text{ta-an} \quad \text{pasport}=ik \\
\text{2SG.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{passport}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be.PRIF-CESS}$

$\text{kudzur}=\text{at}=ik \quad \text{tuijdz-it} \\
\text{where}=2\text{SG.PFV}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{go.PRIF-CESS}$

‘If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?’

(10.158) $\text{waz}=\text{am}=ik \\
\text{1SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{Varshide} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{be.PRIF-CESS}$

$\text{ta} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{tej}=\text{am}=ik \quad \text{iθtɛ-it} \\
\text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{wedding}=1\text{SG.PFV}=\text{DUR} \quad \text{come.PRIF-CESS}$

‘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) $mɯ \ pa \ tɪfɔn \ tʊk \ az \ na \ rej=i$
\[1SG.N NOM \ LOC \ phone \ electricity \ ABL \ NEG \ remain.INF = SC\]
\[tu = ri = am \ tɪfɔn \ na \ tɕi \ tɕəwɡ\]
\[2SG.N NOM = DAT = 1SG.PFV \ phone \ NEG \ CAP \ do.PFV\]
‘I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.’

(10.160) $wɛf \ pa \ tɕɛd \ lɛwr \ mejmun-ɕeʃi \ az$
\[3PL.N NOM.DIST \ LOC \ house \ big \ guest-PL.NOM \ ABL\]
\[jɛt = i \ a = kalo = af \ kaxt\]
\[come.INF = SC \ ACC = sheep = 3PL.PFV \ slaughter.PFV\]
‘They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.’

(10.161) $nʊrbiɑ \ χɯ \ ɕeʃdiɑ \ az \ bʊnɔst = i$
\[Nurbia \ REFL.N NOM \ Sheydoi \ ABL \ lose.INF = SC\]
\[wi \ ɐnɔ \ ɕəfɔ \ sʊt\]
\[3SG.N NOM.DIST \ mother \ upset \ become.PFV\]
‘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.
Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a party for the village people.'

'Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle's house.'

'Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can reconcile with him.'

'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) χɯ puts ar amriko xajond avon maysat
REFL.NNOM son LOC America study.CAUS.INF BEN Mahsat

dam na zōxt tɕer kaxt
rest NEG get.INF work do.3SG.IPFW

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

(10.167) tilak batɕo-ɛf=ir samʁut zōxt avon pa dikun
Tilak child-PL.NNOM=DAT gift buy.INF BEN LOC store

dejd entry.PFV

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

(10.168) mɯ puts χɯ tɕed zōxt avon az
1SG.NNOM son REFL.NNOM house get.INF BEN ABL

mɯ pul zuxt
1SG.NNOM money get.PFV

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

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

tɕwядz-it sitɛ = ik χɯ ginu znod avon
do.PRF-CESS now = DUR REFL.NNOM sin wash.INF BEN

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

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

(10.174a)  
tu = ri  
Varşide  
jet = ir  
2SG.NNOM = DAT  
Varshide  
come.INF = DAT  
how.much  

waqt  
sut  
time  
become.PFV  

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

(10.174b)  
mu = ri  
Varşide  
jet = ir  
1SG.NNOM = DAT  
Varshide  
come.INF = DAT  
eight  
year  

sul  
become.PFV  

‘It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.’
(10.175) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
təw  \chiɯ  \text{tej}  \ tɕejɡ = ir  \ tsund \\
\text{2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
waxt  \text{rejd} \\
\text{time remain.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘How long will it be until you get married?’

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
waz  \chiɯ  \text{tej}  \ tɕejɡ = ir  \ tsavur \\
\text{1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM wedding do.INF = DAT how.much}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
m\text{ost rejd} \\
\text{time remain.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘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)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ɕaniɡɯl}  \text{pa}  \text{ristron}  \text{tɕɛr}  \text{tɕejɡ}  \text{qati}  \text{pul} \\
\text{Shanigeel LOC restaurant work do.INF COM money}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{vrejd} \\
\text{find.3SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]
‘Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.’

(10.177)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
waz = \text{am}  \text{kinu}  \text{tɕixt}  \text{qati}  \text{ziv}  \text{χɯmand} \\
\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV movie watch.INF COM tongue learn}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
s\text{ut} \\
\text{become.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘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)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
nizamidin  \text{bejt}  \text{levd}  \text{qati}  \text{pa}  \text{tɕed}  \text{wazcvd} \\
\text{Nizamidin song say.INF COM LOC house return.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘Nizamidin went home singing.’
(10.179)  
\[\text{oimira naxtig qati tang amad dejd}\]
\[\text{Oimira go.up.INF COM simultaneous Amad enter.PFV}\]
\[\text{‘Amad entered as Oimira came out.’}\]

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)  
\[\text{cejdoi-χejl=af=ik fript, was}\]
\[\text{Sheydoi-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM}\]
\[\text{tu=ri tilfon ka=am}\]
\[\text{2SG.NNOM = DAT phone do.IPV = 1SG.IPV}\]
\[\text{‘Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.’}\]

(10.181)  
\[\text{suat əcs a δa=ik sut=aθ, maç}\]
\[\text{hour ten CONJ two = DUR become.PFV = EMP 1PL.NOM}\]
\[\text{tedz=an go.IPV = 1PL.IPV}\]
\[\text{‘Once it is 12 o’clock, we will go.’}\]

(10.182)  
\[\text{varɕidɛ=at=ik fript, mu=ri tilfon}\]
\[\text{Varshide = 2SG.PFV = DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT phone}\]
\[\text{ka do.IPV}\]
\[\text{‘Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.’}\]

(10.183)  
\[\text{urumtɕi=am=ik jet mejdz sut, tom}\]
\[\text{Urumqi = 1SG.PFV = DUR come.INF INTEN become.PFV then}\]
\[\text{χabar ka=an}\]
\[\text{news do.IPV = 1PL.IPV}\]
\[\text{‘When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.’}\]
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(10.184) \textit{mɯ batco-xCEj = af = ik} \textit{bwr sut},
\begin{align*}
& \text{1SG.NNOM} \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} = \text{3PL.PFV} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{become.PFV} \\
& \text{tom} \quad \text{dam} \quad \text{zoz = am} \\
& \text{then} \quad \text{rest} \quad \text{get.IPFV} = \text{1SG.IPFV}
\end{align*}

‘Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.’

(10.185) \textit{ta pa dil = ik} \textit{jot} \textit{mu = ri}
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{heart} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{come.PFV} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \\
& \text{lev} \\
& \text{say.IPFV}
\end{align*}

‘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 \textit{waçt} \text{alo}, without any function markers.

(10.186) \textit{cawgunbhor ejd narzambond waçt mudz lsq}
\begin{align*}
& \text{Sheawgeenbahor} \quad \text{festival} \quad \text{celebrate.INF} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{clothing} \\
& \text{pamedz = in} \\
& \text{wear.IPFV} = \text{3PL.IPFV}
\end{align*}

‘They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor festival.’

(10.187) \textit{waz ḥes at uvd sulo vid alo tej}
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{seven} \quad \text{year.old} \quad \text{be.INF} \quad \text{TEMP} \quad \text{wedding} \\
& \text{tcawydz = endz} \\
& \text{do.PRF = REL}
\end{align*}

‘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 \textit{tei prud} ‘in front of; before’.

(10.188) \textit{a = dустарγun wixt tei prud futa ka = in}
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{ACC} = \text{tablecloth} \quad \text{gather.INF} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{front} \quad \text{pray} \quad \text{do.IPFV} = \text{3PL.IPFV}
\end{align*}

‘They pray before gathering the tablecloth.’
To point to a time after the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker əz zabu 'behind; after':

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

guxt  pedz = in  
meat  cook.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF

‘After killing the sheep they cook that meat.’

(10.191) xipik  tɕejg  az  zabu  ə = wɛf  pa  
flatbread  do.INF  ABL  back  ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST  LOC

nohija  para  ə = do = an  
county  sell  give.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF

‘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 =ɛndʑ or =itɕuz relativizer, and the head of the RC is often dzuj ‘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) ənbe  ɕu  tilfon  latɕwʌdz = endʑ  tɕi  dzuj  alima  
Shanbe  REFL.NNOM  phone  put.PRF = REL  LOC  place  Alima

 nahust  
sit.PVF

‘Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.’
(10.193) \text{woð} \text{tej} \text{tejg} = \text{iču} \text{dzuj} \text{pa} \text{prud} \\
\text{3PL.NOM.DIST} \text{wedding} \text{do.INF} = \text{REL} \text{place} \text{LOC} \text{front}

\text{χɯɾɯj} \text{gul-INF} = \text{af} \text{latɕwəg} \\
\text{beautiful} \text{flower-PL.NNOM} = \text{3PL.PFV} \text{put.PFV}

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

(10.194) \text{maɕ} \text{xojdʑ} = \text{ɛnʣ} \text{ar} \text{maktab} \text{sɛð} \text{ðɛs} \text{tudʑik} \\
\text{1PL.NOM} \text{read.PRF} = \text{REL} \text{LOC} \text{school} \text{this.year} \text{ten} \text{Tajik}

\text{batɕo} \text{ɪθtɕ} \\
\text{child} \text{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 \text{ti} precedes the head noun \text{dzuj}. The literal meaning of this construction is ‘in the place of \text{X}’, where \text{X} represents the situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) - (10.197) below.

(10.195) \text{kafton} \text{χu} \text{dars} \text{xojd} \text{ti} \text{dzuj} \text{skit} \\
\text{Kafort} \text{REFL.NNOM} \text{lesson} \text{read.INF} \text{LOC} \text{place} \text{play}

\text{tejg} = \text{ir} \text{tujid} \\
\text{do.INF} = \text{DAT} \text{go.PFV}

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

(10.196) \text{ramon} \text{ejd} \text{narzambond} \text{ti} \text{dzuj} \text{χu} \text{χeix} \\
\text{Ramon} \text{festival} \text{celebrate.INF} \text{LOC} \text{place} \text{REFL.NNOM} \text{relative}

\text{ar} \text{margi} \text{tuijd} \\
\text{LOC} \text{funeral} \text{go.PFV}

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

(10.197) \text{samʉt} \text{dod} \text{ti} \text{dzuj} \text{pul} \text{maɕ = ir} \\
\text{gift} \text{give.INF} \text{LOC} \text{place} \text{money} \text{1PL.NNOM} = \text{DAT}

\text{dọ = it} \\
\text{give.IPFV} = \text{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 *=ɛndʑ* 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) \[ \text{wɔð = af} \quad \text{dsɔŋ} \quad \text{tɛwɛdʑ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{wɔɕ} \]
\[3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{war} \quad \text{do.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad \text{fight} \]
\[ \text{wɔðd} \]
\[ \text{put.PFV} \]
‘They fought as if they were fighting a war.’

(10.199) \[ \text{sobir} \quad \text{haɾoj} \quad \text{maθ} \quad \text{hiʨ} \quad \text{ʦiz} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{χɯyɛdʑ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{uts} \]
\[ \text{Sobir} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{eat.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad \text{very} \]
\[ \text{pur} \quad \text{χɯg} \]
\[ \text{much} \quad \text{eat.PFV} \]
‘Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.’

(10.200) \[ \text{χɯ} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ʨɛd} \quad \text{nalaɕɛtɕ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \]
\[ \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{sit.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{SEMB} \]
\[ \text{niθ = it} \]
\[ \text{sit.IPV} = 2\text{PL.IPV} \]
‘Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.’

(10.201) \[ \text{pɯɾg} \quad \text{a = giri} \quad \text{ʨɛɾdʑ} \quad \text{wɐndʑ} = \text{ɛndʑ} \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{waz} \]
\[ \text{mouse} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{rice} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{see.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad 1\text{SG.NOM} \]
\[ \text{a = ta} \quad \text{ʨɛɾdʑ} \quad \text{wejn = am} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = 2\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{see.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPV} \]
‘As a mouse loves rice, I love you.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli