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**Title:** Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli  
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2

Nouns

This chapter describes nouns in Sarikoli. §2.1 introduces the scope, source, and possible functions of nouns, and describes two nominal categories, number (§2.1.1) and definiteness (§2.1.2). The last two subsections present two special types of noun that behave differently from common nouns: proper nouns (§2.1.3) and derived nouns (§2.1.4).

The second section (§2.2) examines grammatical functions, which are marked on all noun phrases (NPs) through a combination of the morphological form of nouns and function-marking clitics or adpositions. Simple (§2.2.1) and compound function markers (§2.2.2) are presented, along with examples of usage. §2.2.3 explains how the placement of function markers in relation to NP-internal determiners affect the semantics of the NP.

The final section (§2.3) deals with the structure of the NP, presenting the relative ordering of NP-internal constituents and describing each of the constituents that may function as an adnominal modifier. §2.3.2 shows how two or more NPs are conjoined.

2.1 Nouns: Introduction

The class of nouns is an open lexical class. It includes words referring to concrete objects, people, and places, as well as abstract nouns, which are mostly derived from other lexical classes. Uyghur and Mandarin are common sources of new lexical items (loan words) in the noun class. Sarikoli also makes use of nouns that are derived from adjectives and verbs, which are discussed in §2.1.4.

Nouns occur within NPs, most often functioning as phrasal heads. The NP, an argument of a predicate, may be S, A, O, copula subject, copula complement, or peripheral argument. A noun may also serve as a modifier or possessor of the NP head.
Nouns are also combined with inflecting verbs to form hundreds of compound verbs.

Nouns may be inflected for number and definiteness, as will be described in §2.1.1 & §2.1.2, respectively. Whereas the other languages in the Shughni-Roshani group have grammatical gender (Payne 1989:428), Sarikoli nouns do not, so gender distinctions will not enter into this discussion. The final two subsections describe proper nouns (§2.1.3) and derived nouns (§2.1.4).

### 2.1.1 Number

An argument of a predicate may be realized through an NP and/or, in the case of one in subject function, a pronominal clitic bound to a verb. Finite verbs are obligatorily marked for number, because the bound pronoun specifies the number of the argument in subject function, whether it attaches to the verb itself or another constituent within the clause. This number specification on bound pronouns is combined with information about the person of the subject and verb aspect. Likewise, free pronouns always indicate number because number specification is built into the paradigm.

However, number marking is optional on non-pronoun NPs, as not every NP is specified for number. There is a two-term inflectional system of number marking: plural is shown by one of the plural suffixes -χejl or -ɛf, and their absence signals 'neutral, unspecified for number (one or more)'. A plain noun without plural marking is neutral regarding number, and may refer to any number as determined by context. The plural suffixes may optionally be used to indicate a number more than one. To unequivocally refer to a single item, the lexical number word *i* ‘one’ or a singular demonstrative determiner¹ is added as a modifier (e.g. *i χalɡ* ‘one person'; *jad χalɡ* ‘this person’).

For core and peripheral arguments realized as NPs, number reference is shown by a morphological process only applying to the NP head—that is, the modifiers within an NP are not marked for number—with the exception of demonstrative determiners. Demonstrative determiners only take a special plural form if the head noun is a human referent (see §3.3.1 for a more detailed description). However, the plural suffixes may attach to any count noun specifying plural number, regardless of whether it is animate, non-animate, human, or non-human.

¹Singular demonstrative determiners are only exclusively singular when modifying human participants in the nominative case. Singular and plural demonstrative determiners share the same forms when modifying non-human objects or arguments in the non-nominative case.
The plural suffix -χejl is used for pluralizing nominative arguments, while -ɛf is used for pluralizing non-nominative arguments. Any argument specifying plural number takes one of these two suffixes, depending on its case:

\[(2.1)\]  
\[
\text{mejmun-χejl} = \text{af} \quad \text{tujd} \\
\text{guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV} \quad \text{go.PFV} \\
\text{‘The guests have left.’}
\]

\[(2.2)\]  
\[
\text{mu} \quad \text{vrud} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad \text{ktub-ɛf} \\
\text{1SG.NNOM} \quad \text{brother} \quad \text{ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{book-PL.NNOM} \\
\text{zuxt} \quad \text{buy.PFV} \\
\text{‘My brother bought those books.’}
\]

In general, there is a restriction that number can only be marked once within the NP, preferably on the head noun. Most non-numeral modifiers, such as adjectives (§2.3.1.4), do not have number distinctions. Inherently numbered forms such as the human nominative demonstratives are an exception to this restriction; see §3.3.1, especially examples (3.48) & (3.49). Due to this restriction, NP arguments modified by a numeral do not take a plural suffix. Even if the underlying argument is specified for plural number, in surface structure it is only realized by the numeral, and not by the plural suffix. In the following pairs of sentences, compare the grammatical examples without the plural suffix with the ungrammatical examples, which contain the plural suffix in addition to a numeral modifier.

\[(2.3)\]  
\[(2.4)\]  
\[
\text{a. } \text{veòdz} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{veòdz} \quad \text{haroj} \quad \text{vrud} = \text{af} \quad \text{veòdz} \\
\text{be.PRF} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be.PRF} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{brother} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{be.PRF} \\
\text{‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)’}
\]

\[
\text{b. } \text{veòdz} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{veòdz} \quad \text{haroj} \quad \text{vrud-χejl} = \text{af} \\
\text{be.PRF} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be.PRF} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{brother-PL.NOM} = \text{3PL.PFV} \\
\text{veòdz} \\
\text{be.PRF} \\
\text{‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers. (Evidential/New information)’}
\]

\[(2.4)\]  
\[
\text{a. } \text{nur} = \text{af} \quad \text{tsavur} \quad \text{kalo} \quad \text{kaxt} \\
\text{today} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{sheep} \quad \text{slaughter.PFV} \\
\text{‘They slaughtered four sheep today.’}
\]
b. *nɯr = af tsavur kalo-ɛf kaxt
today = 3PL.PFV four sheep-PL.NNOM slaughter.PFV
‘They slaughtered four sheep today.’

Nouns used in the generic or collective sense are also not marked with the plural suffix and take singular verb agreement. They are unspecified for number, and may refer to one or more.

(2.5) χalɡ mu tsi kol sond
person 1SG.NNOM LOC head laugh.3SG.IPVF
‘People will laugh at me.’

(2.6) kɯd a=ta waðord
dog ACC=2SG.NNOM grab.3SG.IPVF
‘Dogs will bite you.’

2.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness are not always marked. Indefiniteness is optionally marked on singular nouns by the numeral i ‘one’, which includes singular number and specificity. In the following examples, the nouns modified by i refer to a specific person, place, time, or thing that is not definite:

(2.7) mu = ri i tɕini vor
1SG.NNOM = DAT one bowl bring.IPVF
‘Bring me a bowl.’

(2.8) amad maɕ = ir i ṭeʃ ṭeʃ
Amad 1PL.NNOM = DAT one song say.3SG.IPVF
‘Amad will sing us a song.’

(2.9) pa tɕɛd i χalɡ iθtɕ
LOC house one person come.PRF
‘Someone came to the house. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.10) woð i dʑuʃ so = in = o
3PL.NOM.DIST one place become.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF = Q
‘Are they going somewhere?’

(2.11) az amriko mu = ri i tsiz vor = o
ABL America 1SG.NNOM = DAT one thing bring.IPVF = Q
‘Will you bring something for me from America?’
(2.12)  \[ təw = at \quad i \quad \text{tis} \quad \text{uj} \quad təwəg, \quad \texttəw} \]
\[ \text{2SG.NOM} = \text{2SG.PFV} \text{ one } \text{ thing } \text{ thought } \text{ do.PFV} \text{ NEG} \]
‘You thought of something, didn’t you?’

Definiteness may be indicated in two ways, both of which also involve other semantic categories besides definiteness. First, definite direct objects are obligatorily marked with the accusative proclitic \[ a = \]. The following pair of sentences demonstrates \[ a = \text{ marking definiteness on direct objects.} \]

(2.13)  \[ \text{ingum} = \text{am} \quad \text{xtur} \quad \text{wand} \]
\[ \text{just.now} = \text{1SG.PFV} \quad \text{camel} \quad \text{see.PFV} \]
‘I saw a camel/camels just now.’

(2.14)  \[ \text{ingum} = \text{am} \quad a = \text{xtur} \quad \text{wand} \]
\[ \text{just.now} = \text{1SG.PFV} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{camel} \quad \text{see.PFV} \]
‘I saw the camel(s) just now.’

In addition to the accusative marker, definiteness may be marked by demonstrative determiners, which are NP modifiers. Demonstrative determiners not only express definiteness, but also encode number, case, and deixis. Below are examples of demonstratives modifying a subject (2.15), direct object (2.16), and indirect object (2.17). If an accusative argument takes a determiner, it must also take the proclitic \[ a = \], since the determiner indicates that it is definite, as in (2.16).

(2.15)  \[ \text{jɯ} \quad \text{χalg} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{jet} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{zabu} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{come.INF} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{back} \]

\[ \text{dijur} \quad \text{χalg-χejl} = \text{af} \quad a = \text{wi} \]
\[ \text{region} \quad \text{person-PL.NOM} = \text{3PL.PFV} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \]

\[ \text{χu} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{madon} \quad \text{zuxt} \]
\[ \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{middle} \quad \text{get.PFV} \]
‘After that person returned to consciousness, the villagers surrounded him.’

(2.16)  \[ \text{alima} \quad \text{malɯm} \quad a = \text{di} \quad \text{batʃo-ɛf} \]
\[ \text{Alima} \quad \text{teacher} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{child-PL.NNOM} \]

\[ \text{rond} \quad \text{scold.PFV} \]
‘Teacher Alima scolded these children.’
2.1.3 Proper nouns

A proper noun may function as an NP head and fill an argument slot in the clause, just like a common noun. It takes all the grammatical function markers that a common noun does. However, NPs headed by proper nouns are more limited in morphological and syntactic properties. Morphologically, they generally do not inflect for number. Syntactically, they have fewer possibilities for modification. It is possible to devise contexts in which it is grammatical for a proper noun to take modifiers, but that would be unusual.

The most common proper nouns are personal names and place names, which are discussed in the following subsections.

2.1.3.1 Personal names

There are four main sources for personal names: names of relatives who have passed away recently, religious names from a book, names reflecting circumstances of the birth, and common nouns. If a relative in the family has recently passed away, it is customary to give that person’s name to a newborn baby, as a sign of remembrance of the deceased. Sometimes, upon a person’s death, the dead relative’s name may even be given to a young child who already has another name, so that the publicly known name is changed. A sizable portion of the Sarikoli community are named after their dead relatives.

Family members may choose to name their child with a religious name from an Islamic book. The parent goes to the local χalifa (religious leader), who can read out the religious books. The parent listens and selects a name that sounds good or suitable for the baby. Meanings of such names are not widely known. Examples of such names include: ali, mamad, sultan, racid, asan, ibruhim, ismoil, usuf, ejso, dowud, abdul, and akram for male names; alima, fatima, mastaura, marjam, mina, omina, nigor, and nadia for female names.

The circumstances surrounding a child’s birth is also a common source of names. These situational names are generally related to the time or date when the child is born. The following are some examples:
Table 2.1 Examples of personal names based on birth circumstances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nəwrɯz</td>
<td>‘Neawreez Eid’ born on Neawreez Eid, a festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qɯrbun</td>
<td>‘Qeerbun Eid’ born on Qeerbun Eid, a festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejdboj</td>
<td>‘Eid rich person’ born on an Eid (festival)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canbɛ</td>
<td>‘Saturday’ born on a Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑuma</td>
<td>‘Friday’ born on a Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃorɔcanbe</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’ born on a Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔvdzi</td>
<td>‘greenness’ born in the Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕanggang</td>
<td>‘Hong Kong’ born on July 1, 1997 (Hong Kong’s return to China)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The father’s name functions as a person’s family name and follows the given name. It is often used to disambiguate between people whose given names are identical.

Besides names which are used for naming human beings, personal names also include names of spiritual beings: χɯðoj ‘God’ and ςejtun ‘Satan’.
2.1.3.2 Place names

Varshide County is officially composed of 11 communes, which represent the major villages. The names of these communes and other significant places are listed in Table 1.1. Other place names, including countries and continents, are borrowed mainly from Uyghur.

2.1.4 Derived nouns

Nouns are often derived from other word classes. The first example of this makes use of the -i nominalizer, which attaches to an adjective to derive a noun denoting that quality:

(2.18) \[
\text{ic}-i \quad \text{mu} = \text{ri} \quad \chi = \text{nast} \\
\text{cold-NMLZ} \quad 1\text{SG.N NOM = DAT} \quad \text{happy} \quad \text{NEG.be.IPFV}
\]

‘I do not like coldness.’

(2.19) \[
\text{wi} \quad \text{lawr}-i \quad m = \text{dund} \\
3\text{SG.N NOM.DIST} \quad \text{big-NMLZ} \quad \text{CATA = AMT}
\]

‘Its size is this big.’

(2.20) \[
\text{waz} \quad \text{wef} \quad \text{garun}-i \quad \text{isub} \\
1\text{SG.N OM} \quad 3\text{PL.N NOM.DIST} \quad \text{heavy-NMLZ} \quad \text{calculate}
\]

\[
\text{ka} = \text{am} \\
\text{do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV}
\]

‘I will calculate their weight.’

(2.21) \[
\text{waz} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{turik}-i \quad \text{xudz} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{dor} = \text{am} \\
1\text{SG.N OM} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{dark-NMLZ} \quad \text{fear} \quad \text{NEG.fear.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV}
\]

‘I am not afraid of the dark.’

(2.22) \[
\text{ta} \quad \chi = \text{dm} \quad \text{pɛχtɕ} = \text{o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{aluk}-i \\
2\text{SG.N OM} \quad \text{dream} \quad \text{ripen.PRF = Q} \quad 2\text{SG.N OM} \quad \text{tired-NMLZ}
\]

\[
\text{naxtɯɣdʑ} = \text{o} \\
\text{go.up.PRF = Q}
\]

‘Has your dream ripened? Has your tiredness gone out? (Evidential/New information)’

(2.23) \[
\text{sofia} \quad \text{kako} \quad \text{zir}-i \quad \text{na} \quad \chi = \text{rjd} \\
\text{Sofia} \quad \text{egg} \quad \text{yellow-NMLZ} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{eat.3SG.IPFV}
\]

‘Sofia does not eat the egg yolk.’
The substantival nominalizer -əw derives nouns by substantivizing adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, expressing the meaning 'one that is X (where 'X' is the word that takes -əw').

Table 2.2 Nouns derived with -əw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzulik-əw</th>
<th>χɯrɯj-əw</th>
<th>buland-əw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'small one'</td>
<td>'pretty one'</td>
<td>'tall one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lswr-əw</td>
<td>sart-əw</td>
<td>daruz-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'big one'</td>
<td>'ugly one'</td>
<td>'long one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zit-əw</td>
<td>digar tw-əw</td>
<td>kuit-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bad one'</td>
<td>'other one'</td>
<td>'short one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕardʑ-əw</td>
<td>iw-əw</td>
<td>itang-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'good one'</td>
<td>'one/someone'</td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləwr-əw</td>
<td>sart-əw</td>
<td>daruz-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'big one'</td>
<td>'ugly one'</td>
<td>'long one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sart-əw</td>
<td>digar tw-əw</td>
<td>kuit-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ugly one'</td>
<td>'other one'</td>
<td>'short one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daruz-əw</td>
<td>iw-əw</td>
<td>itang-əw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'long one'</td>
<td>'one/someone'</td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The -gi suffix attaches to adjectives and nouns to derive abstract nouns:

Table 2.3 Nouns derived with -gi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>efa-ɡi</th>
<th>bata-ɡi</th>
<th>zunda-ɡi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'coldness'</td>
<td>'childhood'</td>
<td>'everyday life'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukzo-ɡi</td>
<td>ruwat-ɡi</td>
<td>nawazond-ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cleanliness'</td>
<td>'enjoyment'</td>
<td>'ignorance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajut-ɡi</td>
<td>ɡafa-ɡi</td>
<td>χabar-ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'life'</td>
<td>'sadness'</td>
<td>'news informedness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talva-ɡi</td>
<td>ɡilo-ɡi</td>
<td>χhina-ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'enthusiasm'</td>
<td>'hardship'</td>
<td>'brightness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χwuruj-ɡi</td>
<td>aziz-ɡi</td>
<td>atobalo-ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beauty'</td>
<td>'love'</td>
<td>'father-child relationship'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Grammatical functions

All NPs are marked for their grammatical functions, whether those functions are clausal or phrasal. Function markers indicate the function an argument has in its clause, and are one of the ways grammatical relations are expressed in Sarikoli, in addition to bound pronouns (§3.2) and constituent order (§8.1). In addition to clausal functions, there are strategies for marking NP-internal functions, such as possessors. This section describes how NP arguments are marked for clausal functions. Besides this section, §3.1 and §3.3 show how personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives operate on a case system based on person and number, and §4.1 examines how NP-internal possession is marked.

2.2.1 Simple function markers

Sarikoli has a nominative-accusative grammatical system, as shown in the following two examples. The S argument in (2.24) and A argument in (2.25)
are both zero-marked for case, while the O argument in (2.25) is marked with the $a=$ proclitic.

(2.24)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jad} & \quad \text{kampir} & \quad \text{tizd} \\
3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} & \quad \text{old.lady} & \quad \text{go.3SG.IPFW}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This old lady will leave.’

(2.25)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nɯr} & \quad \text{maɕ} & \quad a=tamaɕ & \quad \text{mejmun} & \quad \text{ka=an} \\
\text{today} & \quad 1\text{PL.NOM} & \quad \text{ACC} = 2\text{PL.NNOM} & \quad \text{guest} & \quad \text{do.IPFW} = 1\text{PL.IPFW}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We will treat you today.’

Some descriptions of other Iranian and Pamir languages employ the terms “direct” case, referring to the unmarked nominative case, and “oblique” case, referring to a fused morphological form used for all non-nominative functions (Payne 1989; Edelman & Dodykhuoeva 2009a; Edelman & Dodykhuoeva 2009b; Bashir 2009; Wendtland 2009; Tegey & Robson 1996). In this grammar, we contrast “nominative” and “non-nominative” cases, where “nominative” is used only for subjects and copula complements, while “non-nominative” is used for all other purposes which are marked more specifically for NP function. Nominative and non-nominative cases are morphological categories for pronouns, demonstratives, and nominal plural markers. Examples of nominative vs. non-nominative forms are shown in Table 2.4. Pronouns and demonstratives have distinct nominative and non-nominative forms; common nouns only have a single form, so the nominative/non-nominative case distinction is only differentiated in plural marking. The non-nominative case is the marked form, in the sense that it accepts further function marking, as will be shown in the examples throughout this section. Thus, “accusative”, “dative”, and all peripheral NP functions are indicated with function markers in addition to the “non-nominative” case morphology, and those terms are used here in their standard traditional senses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>NNOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pronoun</strong></td>
<td><strong>NNOM</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was ‘I’</td>
<td>mu pa buu ‘next to me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw ‘you’</td>
<td>ta qati ‘with you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>demonstrative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ACC</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doð ‘these’</td>
<td>a=def ‘these(ACC)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiu ‘that’</td>
<td>wi rang ‘like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jad zeð ‘this thief’</td>
<td>di zeð avon ‘for this thief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiu ktub-čejl ‘those books’</td>
<td>a=wi ktub-ɛf ‘those books(ACC)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ano-čejl ‘mothers’</td>
<td>az ano-ɛf ‘from mothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɛrz-čejl ‘ants’</td>
<td>mɛrz-ɛf=ir ‘to ants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balax-čejl ‘pillows’</td>
<td>tɕi balax-ɛf ‘on pillows’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Some examples of NOM vs. NNOM forms
Grammatical functions are marked by a combination of case (nominative or non-nominative) and function-marking clitics, adpositions, or affixes. The different combinations and their functions are listed in Table 2.5. The last two functions, possessive determiner and genitive, are NP-internal functions, while the others are argument functions within a clause. Non-nominative forms without additional function marking are possessive determiners.

Table 2.5 NP functions (combination of case + function marker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM Ø</td>
<td>nominative</td>
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<td>paz NNOM</td>
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2.2.1.1 Nominative

The nominative function is the unmarked nominative case. There is zero function marking on the nominative case for S or A arguments, copula subjects, copula complements, and vocative NPs. The following two examples show S arguments with the nominative function. Arguments in the nominative function are pluralized with the nominative plural suffix -xejl, as shown in (2.27).
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(2.26)  
\textit{tiloχon pa duχtuxunoro woxt maθ alud} 
Tilohon LOC hospital eight day lie.PFV 
‘Tilohon lay in the hospital for eight days.’

(2.27)  
\textit{əwrat-χejl pa teed ris= in} 
woman-PL.NOM LOC house remain.PFV = 3PL.PFV 
‘The women stay home.’

The next two examples show A arguments, which are zero-marked for nominative function.

(2.28)  
\textit{i maθ i ruz ju rujej vrud bdon tuxt} 
one day one day 3SG.NOM.DIST non-blood brother saddle 
‘One day, the non-blood brother carved a saddle.’

(2.29)  
\textit{ato ano-χejl χu batɕo avon} 
father mother-PL.NOM REFL.NOM child BEN 
\textit{a = χu qurbun ka = in} 
\textit{ACC = REFL.NOM sacrifice do.PFV = 3PL.PFV} 
‘Fathers and mothers sacrifice themselves for their children.’

The following sentences contain examples of copula subject arguments, which have no overt function marking.

(2.30)  
\textit{mu tei ter-ndʑ wez utɕ garun} 
1SG.NOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy 
‘The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.’

(2.31)  
\textit{paraxeb iθtɕ=ndʑ mejmun-χejl nəwz pa teed} 
two.days.prior come.PRF=REL guest-PL.NOM still LOC house 
‘The guests who came two days ago are still at home.’

Arguments in copula complement function are also not marked for function. In (2.32), the pronoun in copula complement function is in the nominative form, and the copula complement in (2.33) takes the nominative plural suffix.
Finally, arguments used vocatively also occur in the nominative form. They are often preceded by optional vocative particles such as a, ej, hej, or iː, but are not marked with any NP function markers.

2.2.1.2 Accusative a =

The accusative function, which is the second core argument, is marked by the non-nominative case plus the proclitic a = (introduced in §2.1.2). a = is
a differential object marker which encodes definiteness on direct objects of transitive and ditransitive clauses. Indefinite direct objects are unmarked, as in (2.39). However, definite objects are obligatorily marked with \( a = \), as in (2.40). Plural arguments in the non-nominative case take \(-ɛf\) instead of \(-χejl\), as in (2.41).

(2.39) \[
\begin{array}{l}
waz \\ qalam \\ vor=am \\
1SG.NOM pen bring.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I will bring a pen.’

(2.40) \[
\begin{array}{l}
waz \\ a=qalam \\ vor=am \\
1SG.NOM ACC=pen bring.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I will bring the pen.’

(2.41) a. \[
\begin{array}{l}
a=qalam-ɛf=am \\
ACC=pen-PL.Nnom = 1SG.PFv bring.PFv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I brought the pens.’

b. \[
\begin{array}{l}
*a=qalam-χejl=am \\
ACC=pen-PL.Nnom = 1SG.PFv bring.PFv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I brought the pens.’

If the direct object of a transitive or ditransitive clause is a personal or demonstrative pronoun, as in (2.42) & (2.43), \( a = \) is obligatory, since pronouns are always definite. In the following pairs of sentences, compare the grammatical examples containing \( a = \) with the ungrammatical examples lacking \( a = \).

(2.42) a. \[
\begin{array}{l}
a=mu=at \\
ACC=1SG.Nnom = 2SG.PFv kiss NEG do.PFv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You have not kissed me.’

b. \[
\begin{array}{l}
*mu=at \\
1SG.Nnom = 2SG.PFv kiss NEG do.PFv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You have not kissed me.’

(2.43) a. \[
\begin{array}{l}
m-oto \\ a=tamaɕ \\ rond \\
1SG.Nnom-father ACC=2PL.Nnom scold.3SG.IPfv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My father will scold you(pl)!”

b. \[
\begin{array}{l}
*m-oto \\ tameɕ \\ rond \\
1SG.Nnom-father 2PL.Nnom scold.3SG.IPfv \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My father will scold you(pl)!”
Nouns

Direct object NPs modified by a demonstrative determiner, as in (2.44) & (2.45), are also obligatorily marked by \( a = \) because they are definite, as shown by the ungrammatical examples.

(2.44)  
\[ a. \quad m = a = di \quad kef \quad wađor \]
\[ \text{CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX waller grab.IPVF} \]
\[ 'Grab this wallet.' \]

\[ b. \quad *m = di \quad kef \quad wađor \]
\[ \text{CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX wallet grab.IPVF} \]
\[ 'Grab this wallet.' \]

(2.45)  
\[ a. \quad k = a = wi \quad guxt \quad zoxt = ir = af \]
\[ \text{ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST meat get.INF = DAT = 3PL.PFV} \]
\[ \text{tujdz} \]
\[ \text{go.PRF} \]
\[ 'They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)' \]

\[ b. \quad *k = wi \quad guxt \quad zoxt = ir = af \quad \text{tujdz} \]
\[ \text{ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST meat get.INF = DAT = 3PL.PFV go.PRF} \]
\[ 'They went to get that meat. (Evidential/New information)' \]

NPs containing a possessive determiner usually also take \( a = \), but it is not required. In the following two examples, \( a = \) is optional.

(2.46)  
\[ dođ = af \quad wef \quad (a = )tɕɔd \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.PROX = PL.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST ACC = house} \]
\[ tɕakt \]
\[ \text{demolish.PFV} \]
\[ 'These people demolished their house.' \]

(2.47)  
\[ mu \quad (a = )dʒun \quad kalt \quad na \quad ka = o \]
\[ \text{1SG.NNOM ACC = life save NEG do.IPVF = Q} \]
\[ 'Will you not save my life?' \]
2.2.1.3 Dative = ir/ = ri

The dative function is marked with the = ir/ = ri enclitic on the non-nominative case. The form of this function marker is phonologically conditioned by the final segment of its host: consonant-final words take = ir and vowel-final words take = ri. The dative marker attaches to arguments with semantic roles of recipient (2.48) & (2.49), addressee (2.50), benefactive (2.51) & (2.52), experiencer (2.53) & (2.54), and purpose (2.55) & (2.56):

(2.48)  jwu wi yin χw lṣq
        3SG.NOM.DIST 3SG.NOM.DIST wife REFL.NOM clothing
        təjzd kanejzak = ir  ðid
        pull.3SG.IPFV servant = DAT give.3SG.IPFV
        ‘She—his wife—pulls off her clothing and gives it to a servant.’

(2.49)  a = di rasim χ-oto
        ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX picture REFL.NOM-father
        χ-ono = ri mo vuson = it
        REFL.NOM-mother = DAT PROH show.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
        ‘Do not show this picture to your parents.’

(2.50)  batɕo-ef = ir = am  nəwz  na  lɛvd
        child-PL.NOM = DAT = 1SG.PVF still NEG say.PVF
        ‘I have not told the children yet.’

(2.51)  waz χw radζən = ir  baron
        1SG.NOM REFL.NOM daughter = DAT dress
        intsov = am
        sew.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
        ‘I will sew a dress for my daughter.’

(2.52)  mu = ri tsejz samsut  vɔr
        1SG.NOM = DAT what gift bring.IPFV
        ‘What gift will you bring for me?’

(2.53)  nəwz  di = ri  χwɛ
        walnut 3SG.NOM.PROX = DAT happy
        ‘This person likes walnuts.’ (lit. Walnuts are pleasing to this person.)
(2.54)  ąz  maç  dòw  tò = ri  tòj  łòwr
       ABL 1PL.NNOM  two  2SG.NNOM = DAT  who.NOM  big

       numujd
       seem.3SG.IPFV

‘Of the two of us, who seems bigger to you?’

(2.55)  mò  vits  a = maç  tamoq = ir  qiw  tòwq
       1SG.NNOM  aunt  ACC = 1PL.NNOM  food = DAT  call  do.PFV

‘My aunt invited us over for food.’

(2.56)  maç  sèd  qurbun  ejd = ir  varçide  na
       1PL.NNOM  this.year  Qeeryun  festival = DAT  Varshide  NEG

       wazzfs = an
       return.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We are not returning to Varshide for Qeeryun Festival this year.’

The dative enclitic = ir/ = ri is also used for deriving evidential or new information constructions from imperfective propositions (§12) and purpose adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.6).

2.2.1.4 Comitative and instrumental qati

The postposition qati ‘with’ is the comitative-instrumental marker. As a comitative marker, it indicates accompaniment, as in (2.57) & (2.58), or other associational relationships, as in (2.59) - (2.61). Since this is a marked function, any argument marked by qati occurs in the non-nominative case.

(2.57)  ąxu  bob  qati  na  so = o
       REFL.NNOM  grandfather  COM  NEG  become.IPFV = Q

‘Are you not going with your grandfather?’

(2.58)  tòw  maç  qati  tsa  vòw  bçxatar
       2SG.NNOM  1SG.NNOM  COM  COND  be.IPFV  safe

‘If you are with us, you are safe.’

(2.59)  waz  di  qati  riqobat
       1SG.NNOM  3SG.NNOM.PROX  COM  competition

       ka = am
       do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I compete with this one.’
In addition to marking the comitative function, *qati* also functions as an instrumental marker, which encodes the following types of arguments: an instrument or medium for accomplishing an action, materials from which something is composed, the manner in which an action is performed, or the cause of something. (2.62) - (2.67) are examples that contain an instrument or medium through which an action is accomplished.

(2.62) \[ \text{waz = am} \quad \text{χw} \quad \text{τwur} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{ep} \]  
\begin{align*} 1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} & \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{husband} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{fitting} \\
\text{sut} \quad \text{become.PFV} & \quad \text{‘I got reconciled to my husband.’} \end{align*}

(2.66) \[ \text{moɕin (qati)} \quad \text{naŋ, } \text{ceɾ} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{so = an} \]  
\begin{align*} \text{car} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{donkey} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{become.PFV} = 1\text{PL.PFV} & \quad \text{‘We will not go by car, but by donkey.’} \end{align*}
In the following examples, arguments which are materials or ingredients for making things are marked with *qati*.

(2.68)  
*tor zerbast qati tumow ka=in*
  
black lambskin COM male.hat do.IPV = 3PL.IPV
  
‘They make hats for men with black lambskin.’

(2.69)  
*safs qati intovdzd = endzd cejdoi garun*
  
bead COM sew.PR = REL Sheydoi heavy
  
‘Sheydois (female cap) sewn with beads are heavy.’

(2.70)  
*karpitɕ qati qalmo tsa do dejwul χɯɕrɯj*
  
brick COM masonry COM do.IPV wall beautiful
  
*naxtisd*
  
go.up.3SG.IPV
  
‘If you build the wall with bricks, it will turn out to be beautiful.’

(2.71)  
*cirgiriniz xcvd at girindʑ qati tɛwydz = endzd tudʑik*
  
Shirgirinj milk CONJ rice COM do.PR = REL Tajik
  
*tamoq*
  
food
  
‘Shirgirinj is a Tajik food made with milk and rice.’

Sentences (2.72) - (2.74) show examples in which the argument marked with *qati* indicates the manner in which an action is performed.

(2.72)  
*mac dzam di tcer-an nejk-i qati*
  
1PL.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX work-GEN good-NMLZ COM
  
*adu set umejð ka=an*
  
finish become.INF hope do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
  
‘We all hope that this matter will end on a good note.’
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(2.73) agar mejm=un= ir  zi t sec qati  tsa  tɛs  az tɛɛd
       if  guest = DAT  bad  eye  COM  COND  look.IPVF  ABL  house

   barakat  ratsaθt
      blessing  escape.3SG.IPVF

‘If you view your guests with contempt, blessing will escape from your house.’

(2.74) maɕ  ɛw  dɔwlat  ɛw  dʑun qati
       1PL.NOM  REFL.NNOM  country  REFL.NNOM  life  COM

       nigo  ka = an,  kazwi  a = maɕ
      protection  do.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF  so  ACC = 1PL.NNOM

       muhɔfiz  lev = in
         protector  say.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF

‘We protect our country with our lives, that is why they call us “protectors”.’

Finally, examples of qati being used to mark cause or reason are shown in (2.75) - (2.78).

(2.75) dʑeq  dɔd  qati  mu  pɛd  aluk  sɯt
     squat  give.INF  COM  1SG.NNOM  foot  tired  become.PFV

‘My legs got tired from squatting.’

(2.76) ju  ɛw  puʦ  dard  qati  dʑald  pir
       3SG.NOM.DIST  REFL.NNOM  son  pain  COM  fast  old

     sɯt
       become.PFV

‘He aged quickly with the pain from his son.’

(2.77) di  bulaŋ  awudצ  qati  maɕ  uɔwɿ  tɛun
       3SG.NOM.PROX  high  sound  COM  1PL.NNOM  ear  deaf

     sɯt
       become.PFV

‘Our ears have gone deaf with this loud noise.’
(2.78) \textit{simikun i mon \textcircled{c}ird, ki=wi}
\textit{Sunwukong one apple eat.3SG.IPFV ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST}
\textit{qati abadi hajut = ir suji\text{\textcircled{b}} sowd}
\textit{COM eternal life = DAT owner become.3SG.IPFV}
‘Sunwukong eats an apple, and from that becomes a possessor of eternal life.’

\textit{qati} is not only a comitative-instrumental function marker, but also a manner adverbial that means ‘together’ (see §6.3). When used in these two different senses, \textit{qati} may occur twice consecutively:

(2.79) \textit{cahar-nendz lej \textcircled{c}alg bewazan \textcircled{s}r wrat qati qati}
\textit{city-ADJ much person widow woman COM together}
\textit{naxtug go.up.PFV}
‘Many people of the city went up together with the widow.’

\textbf{2.2.1.5 ‘on person’ \textit{nder}}

\textit{nder} ‘on person’ follows a non-nominative noun or pronoun and indicates a fixed location with respect to the body of that argument.

(2.80) \textit{ta nder tsund kuj jost}
\textit{2SG.NNOM on.person how.much Chinese.yuan be.IPFV}
‘How much money do you have with you?’

(2.81) \textit{muu qowaz tci nder}
\textit{1SG.NNOM paper who.NNOM on.person}
‘Who has my paper?’

(2.82) \textit{a = di narsa-cf dzam c\textcircled{u}}
\textit{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX thing-PL.NNOM all REFL.NNOM}
\textit{nder laka on.person put.IPFV}
‘You can keep all of these things.’ (lit. Leave all of these things with yourself.)
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(2.83) \textit{wi} \textit{təurik} \textit{inder} \textit{hitɕ} \textit{tsiz} \textit{nist}=\textit{o} \\
3SG.N NOM DIST man on.person none thing NEG.be. IPFV = Q \\
‘Does that man have nothing with him?’

(2.84) \textit{akbar} \textit{inder} \textit{pul} \textit{mas} \textit{na} \textit{veddz} \textit{tilfon} \textit{mas} \textit{na} \\
Akbar on.person money also NEG be.PRF phone also NEG \\
\textit{veddz} \\
be.PRF \\
‘Akbar has neither money nor his phone with him.’

2.2.1.6 Benefactive \textit{avon}

The postposition \textit{avon} is a benefactive marker which is used on the non-nominative case to indicate beneficiary, representation, sake, and purpose. The following sentences are examples in which \textit{avon} is used for marking beneficiaries, as in (2.85), and represented arguments in which another argument does something on their behalf, as in (2.86) - (2.87).

(2.85) \textit{baytigel} \textit{ɣu} \textit{radzen} \textit{avon} \textit{pur} \textit{kamput} \textit{zuxt} \\
Bahtigeel REFL.N NOM daughter BEN much candy buy.PFV \\
‘Bahtigeel bought a lot of candy for her daughter.’

(2.86) \textit{mu} \textit{avon} \textit{hitɕ} \textit{tsiz}=\textit{at} \textit{na} \textit{lɛvd} \\
1SG.N NOM BEN none thing=2SG.PFV NEG say.PFV \\
‘You did not say anything on my behalf.’

(2.87) \textit{maɕ} \textit{avon} \textit{a=di} \textit{ɣabar} \textit{sodil}=\textit{ir} \\
1PL.N NOM BEN ACC=3SG.N NOM PROX news Sodil=DAT \\
\textit{frapon}=\textit{o} \\
reach.CAUS.PFV = Q \\
‘Will you deliver this news to Sodil for us?’

If a situation happens for the sake of an argument, that argument is also marked with \textit{avon}, as in (2.88) - (2.91).

(2.88) \textit{waz}=\textit{am} \textit{wi} \textit{avon} \textit{juxk} \textit{wedḍ} \\
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV 3SG.N NOM DIST BEN tear put.PFV \\
‘I shed tears for him.’
(2.89) \( \text{mac hajut avon ju } a = \chi_\text{u} \)  
1PL.N NOM life BEN 3SG.NOM.DIST ACC = REFL.N NOM  

\( \text{qurbun tɕəw} \)  
sacrifice do.PFV  
‘He sacrificed himself for our lives.’

(2.90) \( \text{taw } \chi_\text{-ot} \chi_\text{-ono} \)  
2SG.NOM REFL.N NOM-father REFL.N NOM-mother BEN  
\( \chi_\text{u} zord wejrun mo ka \)  
REFL.N NOM heart break PROH do.IP FV  
‘Do not break your heart over your father and mother.’

(2.91) \( \chi_\text{u} d\text{dwlat avon numus mo ka, ta} \)  
REFL.N NOM country BEN shame PROH do.IP FV 2SG.NOM  
\( d\text{dwlat mas i maθ num zwoḍd} \)  
country also one day name pull.out.3SG.IP FV  
‘Do not be ashamed of your country, your country will also be known someday.’

Sentences (2.92) & (2.93) are examples of \textit{avon} marking purpose.

(2.92) \( \chi_\text{u pɯts tej avon} \)  
REFL.N NOM son wedding BEN  
\( wi=ri=am \)  
3SG.N NOM.DIST = DAT = 1SG.PFV money give.PFV  
‘I gave my son money for his wedding.’

(2.93) \( \text{woḍ = af } \chi_\text{awgunbahor ejd avon nɯd} \)  
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PF V Sheawgeenbahor Festival BEN new  
\( lɛq zuxt \)  
clothing buy.PFV  
‘They bought new clothes for the Sheawgeenbahor festival.’

The postposition \textit{avon} is also used for forming purpose adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.6).
2.2.1.7 Semblative *rang*

The postposition *rang* co-occurs with a non-nominative case and marks similarity of that argument to another. It may also be used to make a statement of equivalence when comparing two arguments (§5.4) or describe the manner of an action through an adverbial clause (§10.2.3.10).

(2.94) *jad batso purg rang kam xIRD*

3SG.NOM.PROX child mouse SEMB little eat.3SG.IPFV

‘This child eats little, like a mouse.’

(2.95) *kong rang gap mo ka*

nasaly.speaker SEMB word PROH do.IPFV

‘Do not talk like a nasaly person.’

(2.96) *dowud mu=ri vrud rang numujd*

Doweed 1SG.NNOM=DAT brother SEMB seem.3SG.IPFV

‘Doweed feels like a brother to me.’

(2.97) *juu wots most rang nur dext*

3SG.NOM.DIST girl moon SEMB light shine.3SG.IPFV

‘That girl shines like the moon.’

(2.98) *haraq mas di rang mast na tɔi*

alcohol also 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB drunk NEG CAP

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV

‘Even alcohol cannot cause one to get drunk to this degree.’

(2.99) *nur=af uz tilu rang qimat bawu-in*

today=3PL.PFV again gold SEMB expensive price-ADJ

*gap-eff*
tɔwɔydz

word-PL.NNOM do.PRF

‘Yet again today, you(pl) have shared words as valuable as gold.

(Evidential/New information)’
When combined with *tsa*, the shortened form of *tsej* ‘what’, the semblative marker forms the interrogative word *tsaranɡ* ‘how’, which questions manner and condition (see §7.3.4):

(2.101)  
\[
\text{tamaɕ} \quad \text{awul} \quad \text{tsaranɡ}
\]
\[
\text{2PL.NNOM} \quad \text{situation} \quad \text{how}
\]
‘How is your(pl) situation?’

(2.102)  
\[
\text{mu} \quad \text{mom} \quad \text{mɯdʑuz} \quad \text{tsaranɡ}
\]
\[
\text{1SG.NNOM} \quad \text{grandmother} \quad \text{feeling} \quad \text{how}
\]
‘How is my grandmother feeling?’

### 2.2.1.8 ‘according to’ *buntɕa*

*buntɕa* ‘according to’ marks an argument in the non-nominative case to indicate the model or instruction for how something is done. It may also mark a headless relative clause, as in (2.105).

(2.103)  
\[
\text{di} \quad \text{buntɕa} \quad \text{a=wi} \quad \text{pa}
\]
\[
\text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{according.to} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC}
\]
\[
\text{imi} \quad \text{do}
\]
\[
\text{RECP} \quad \text{give.IPVFV}
\]
‘Put that together according to this.’

(2.104)  
\[
\text{ta} \quad \text{gap} \quad \text{buntɕa} \quad \text{ka=am}
\]
\[
\text{2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{word} \quad \text{according.to} \quad \text{do.IPVFV} = \text{1SG.IPVFV}
\]
‘I will do according to your word.’
(2.105) dɯχtɯr levdz=endz buntɕa hara maθ duri
doctor say.PRF=REL according.to every day medicine

χor = am
eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘I take medicine every day according to the doctor’s instructions.’

(2.106) muu χor canbe maθ χu odat
1SG.NNOM nephew Saturday day REL.NNOM custom

buntɕa pa ktubχuno se RDD-it
according.to LOC library become.PRF-CESS

‘On Saturday my nephew went to the library according to his habit.’

(2.107) tamaɕ vid na vid qomun buntɕa
2PL.NOM be.INF NEG be.INF law according.to

a = di tɛr ka=it
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘You(pl) must do this work in accordance with the law.’

(2.108) putxu χambonds=endz amr buntɕa
king go.down.CAUS.PRF = REL command according.to

dequn-χejl = af dzam χu ar dijur
farmer-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV all REL.NNOM LOC region

waquez return.PFV

‘All of the farmers went back to their hometown according to the king’s command.’

(2.109) merona χ-ono dil buntɕa
Merona REL.NNOM-mother heart according.to

abdumamad = ir fript
Abdumamad = DAT reach.PFV

‘Merona married Abdumamad according to her mother’s wishes.’
2.2.1.9 Terminative to... its

The circumposition to... its marks the terminative function, which may be a terminal point in space, as in (2.110) & (2.111) or terminal point in time, as in (2.112) - (2.114). The to part of this circumposition, which precedes the argument it marks, is optional, and may be omitted in any of the examples below. As with other markers of grammatical function, to... its only occurs with the non-nominative case.

(2.110)  
\[az\] varɕide (to) marjong its tsund waχt
\[ABL\] Varshide \[TERM\] Maryong \[TERM\] how.much \[time\]  
\[tizd\]
go.3SG.IPFV  
‘How long does it take to get from Varshide to Maryong?’

(2.111)  
\[ejdboj\] az tureq (to) naburg its soq salomat
\[Eidboy\] ABL head.top \[TERM\] heel \[TERM\] well \[healthy\]  
‘Eidboy is healthy from head to heel.’

(2.112)  
\[waz\] hara maθ (to) suat δes its
\[1SG.NOM\] every \[day\] \[TERM\] hour ten \[TERM\]  
\[xufs = am\]
\[sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV\]  
‘I sleep until 10 o’clock every day.’

(2.113)  
\[(to) \ \chiɯ\] marg its i ɣin qati nardʑes
\[TERM\] REFL.N NOM death \[TERM\] one wife \[COM\] pass.IPFV  
‘Until your death, be with one wife.’

(2.114)  
\[wef = ir\] δes sul sut, hammo (to) cιtɛ
\[3PL.N NOM = DAT\] ten \[year\] become.PFV \[but\] \[TERM\] now  
\[its\] wef-an batɕo nist  
\[TERM\] 3PL.N NOM-GEN \[child\] \[NEG.be.IPFV\]  
‘It has been ten years for them, but so far they do not have children.’
2.2.1.10 Locative and allative *pa, ar, and tar*

The prepositions *pa, ar,* and *tar* are used to mark locative and allative functions, indicating location or destination. As a language spoken in hilly country, Sarikoli codes reference to height in its adpositions. *ar* is used with locations that are at a lower level than the speaker, *pa* is used with locations that are at a higher level than the speaker, and *tar* is used for marking locations which are at the same level of height as the speaker, and thus require horizontal movement. When these adpositions are used in combination with local demonstratives, they can express locations such as *pa təwd* 'up here', *pa dum* ‘up there’, *ar təwd* 'down here', *ar um* 'down there', *tar təwd* 'towards here', and *tar um* 'towards there*. NPs marked with *pa, ar,* and *tar* are always in the non-nominative case. Examples (2.115) - (2.123) show *pa, ar,* and *tar* used for marking location.

(2.115) *gawar χu tilu ar sit gəwr tɕəw*  
Gawar REFL.NOM gold LOC dirt bury do.PFV  
‘Gawar buried his gold in the dirt.’

(2.116) *mɛndʑ waχt mu vrud-χejl pa qir*  
summer time 1SG.NOM brother-PL.NOM LOC mountain  

  *kalo puj = in sheep herd.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv*  
‘In the summertime, my brothers herd sheep on the mountains.’

(2.117) *jad i tar doxt tɕudir dìd*  
3SG.NOM.PROX one LOC wilderness tent give.3SG.IPfv  
‘This one pitches a tent in a wilderness area.’

(2.118) *def pa maktab pindo tudʑik batɕo jost*  
3PL.NOM.PROX LOC school five Tajik child be.IPfv  
‘There are five Tajik kids at their school.’

(2.119) *ɡɯlbarɡ χu batɕo-ɛf pa tɕed*  
Geelbarg REFL.NOM child-PL.NOM LOC house  

  *rejzond remain.CAUS.PFV*  
‘Geelbarg left her children at home.’

(2.120) *jad gap faqat pomejr ar ziv jost*  
3SG.NOM.PROX word only Pamir LOC tongue be.IPfv  
‘This word only exists in Pamir languages.’
(2.121) maɕ ar højly i ᵀawz daraxt jost,
1PL.NNOM LOC yard one walnut tree be.IPfv

ju daraxt utɕ purmiwa
3SG.NOM.DIST tree very fruitful

‘There is a walnut tree in our yard and it is very fruitful.’

(2.122) tar maðon ingaxt wi-an ktwawi jost
LOC middle finger 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN ring be.IPfv

‘On her middle finger she has a ring.’

(2.123) tar dinju beginu ɣalg nist
LOC world sinless person NEG.be.IPfv

‘There is no sinless person in the world.’

In (2.124) - (2.128), pa, ar, and tar mark the allative function, indicating movement towards a destination.

(2.124) pa ɗɛc so = am
LOC upriver become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I am going up.’

(2.125) mu nabus dzul vid alo iχil pa daraxt
1SG.NNOM grandchild small be.INF TEMP often LOC tree

paɗɛvd pa dejwul paɗɛvd
climb.IPfv LOC wall climb.IPfv

‘When my grandson was little he always climbed up the trees and walls.’

(2.126) waz dzul vid alo mu mom = ik
1SG.NOM small be.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM grandmother = DUR

a = mu iχil pa dom tɔwɔg ar
ACC = 1SG.NNOM often LOC back do.PFv LOC

bɔrdza = ik jud
garden = DUR take.PFv

‘When I was young, my grandmother would always carry me on her back and take me to the garden.’

(2.127) ar nuasur so = am
LOC downriver become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I am going down.’
(2.128) \( a = d_i \quad ar \quad d_a r_j u \quad p_a t\omega = a n, \)
\( A C C = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad L O C \quad r i v e r \quad t h r o w = 1 P L . I P F V \)
\( j a d \quad l a k a \quad m_e r d \)
\( 3SG.NOM.PROX \quad l e t . I P F V \quad d i e . 3 S G . I P F V \)
‘Let us throw him into the river, let him die.’

(2.129) \( t a r \quad k_o = a t \quad t_u j d \)
\( L O C \quad w h e r e . N N O M = 2 S G . P F V \quad g_o . P F V \)
‘Where are you headed?’

(2.130) \( d_i j_u r \quad \chi a l_g \quad t a r \quad u m \quad t a r \quad \omega d \quad r_a t_s a \theta t \)
\( r e g i o n \quad p e r s o n \quad L O C \quad t h e r e \quad L O C \quad h e r e \quad e s c a p e . 3 S G . I P F V \)
‘The villagers run away this way and that way.’

(2.131) \( c_e j_u n \quad a = \chi a l_g \quad t a r \quad z_i t \quad p_o n d \quad j_o d = i t_c u z \)
\( S a t a n \quad A C C = p e r s o n \quad L O C \quad b a d \quad r o a d \quad t a k e . I N F = R E L \)
‘Satan is one who leads people down the bad path.’

(2.132) \( m_u \quad s_o w l \quad t a r \quad t_a \)
\( 1 S G . N N O M \quad e a r \quad L O C \quad 2 S G . N N O M \)
‘My ears are towards you (i.e. I am ready to listen to you).’

(2.133) \( p_u g_a n \quad j_w = l_k \quad d_u d \quad m_a c \quad t a r \quad p_o n d \)
\( t o m o r r o w \quad d a w n = D U R \quad g_i v e . P F V \quad 1 P L . N O M \quad L O C \quad r o a d \)
\( n_a x_t_c = a n \quad g_o . u p . I P F V = 1 P L . I P F V \)
‘Tomorrow when dawn breaks, we will go out to the road.’

These locative prepositions may be omitted if the context makes it clear that
the argument has a locative or allative function, as long as it does not cause
confusion between the zero-marked locative or allative argument and the zero-
marked nominative argument. (2.134) & (2.135) are examples in which the
locative markers are absent, and in (2.136) & (2.137) the allative markers are
absent.

(2.134) \( m_o t_o \quad s_i t_c \quad t_u n_g \)
\( 1 S G . N N O M - f a t h e r \quad n o w \quad T e e n g \)
‘My father is in Teeng now.’

(2.135) \( v_a r_s_i d_e \quad n_e w_o \quad n_a \quad p_a s t \)
\( V a r s h i d e \quad f r u i t \quad N E G \quad r i p e n . 3 S G . I P F V \)
‘Fruit does not grow in Varshide.’
2.136  
\begin{align*}
dud & \text{ uncle} \\
dodik & \text{ Dodik} \\
pɯɡan & \text{ tomorrow} \\
xwor & \text{ Kashgar} \\
\chiofst & \text{ go.down.3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘Uncle Dodik will go down to Kashgar tomorrow.’

2.137  
\begin{align*}
\maɕ=an & \text{ 1PL.NOM} \\
todʑikobod & \text{ 1PL.PVF} \\
\Fript & \text{ Tojikobod reach.PFV}
\end{align*}

‘We have arrived in Tojikobod.’

2.2.1.11 Locative ʦi

The preposition ʦi, which correlates to ‘on’ in most instances, also marks the locative function, but generally points to a locational point that is more restricted in area than those marked with .pa, ar, or tar. The argument marked with ʦi is in the non-nominative case:

2.138  
\begin{align*}
\text{haroj vrud i ʦi dʑuj so=in} \\
\text{three brother one LOC place become.IPVF=3PL.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘The three brothers come together in one place.’

2.139  
\begin{align*}
ʦi \text{ waxin mo naxpor} \\
\text{LOC blood PROH step.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘Do not step on the blood.’

2.140  
\begin{align*}
dʑul \text{ tɕuχ ʦi uov istɕun ve deductible} \\
\text{small puppy LOC mouth bone be.PRF}
\end{align*}

‘The little puppy has a bone in its mouth. (Evidential/New information)’

2.141  
\begin{align*}
past \text{ laka ʦi madoŋ balak sωd} \\
\text{skin let.IPVF LOC middle part become.3SG.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘Let the leather split down the middle.’

2.142  
\begin{align*}
a=bejroq ʦi \text{ bulandi-ikik δo=an} \\
\text{ACC=flag LOC high-NMLZ straight give.IPVF=1PL.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘Let us stick the flag in a high place.’

2.143  
\begin{align*}
\text{juu puts i sulo set alo} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST son one year.old become.INF TEMP}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{wi ʦi ʦuʃt mon δo=in} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST LOC hand apple give.IPVF=3PL.IPVF}
\end{align*}

‘When that son becomes one year old, they put an apple in his hand.’
The function of \textit{tɕi} as a locative marker may be extended to mark abstract locations (2.144) & (2.145), substitution (2.146) - (2.148), and time (2.149).

(2.144) \begin{align*}
\text{waz} & \quad \text{asto} \quad \text{asto} \quad \text{ka} = \text{am} \quad \text{a} = \text{mu} \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & \quad \text{slow} \quad \text{slow} \quad \text{do.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{1SG.NNom} \\
\text{tɕi} & \quad \text{dzat} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{wej} \\
\text{LOC} & \quad \text{hurry} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{put.IPfv} \\
\text{‘I will do it slowly, do not put me in a hurry.’}
\end{align*}

(2.145) \begin{align*}
\text{ju} & \quad \text{ɕu} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{qasam} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{waru} \quad \text{vd} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \quad \text{REFL.NNom} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{oath} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{stand.IPfv} \\
\text{‘He did not keep his oath.’}
\end{align*}

(2.146) \begin{align*}
\text{təw} & \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{dzuj} \quad \text{putxu} \quad \text{so} \\
\text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{1SG.NNom} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{king} \quad \text{become.IPfv} \\
\text{waz} & \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{wazir} \quad \text{so} = \text{am} \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & \quad \text{2SG.NNom} \quad \text{minister} \quad \text{become.IPfv} = \text{1SG.IPfv} \\
\text{‘You be king in my place, and I will become your minister (second in command).’}
\end{align*}

(2.147) \begin{align*}
\text{ju} & \quad \text{ɕu} \quad \text{mul} \quad \text{mułk} \quad \text{pet} \quad \text{para} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \quad \text{REFL.NNom} \quad \text{livestock} \quad \text{land} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{sell} \\
\text{ǎd} & \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{pul} \\
\text{give.3SG.IPfv} & \quad \text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{money} \\
\text{k} = \text{a} = \text{wi} \quad \text{zɔmdz} \quad \text{zɔzd} \\
\text{ANA} = \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNom.DIST} \quad \text{field} \quad \text{buy.3SG.IPfv} \\
\text{‘He sells all of his possessions and gets that field for that money.’}
\end{align*}

(2.148) \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{di} \quad \text{gap-ɛf} \quad \text{mu} = \text{ri} \\
\text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNom.PROX-PL.NNom} \quad \text{word} \quad \text{1SG.NNom} = \text{DAT} \\
\text{hansu} & \quad \text{tɕi} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{sejron} \\
\text{Han} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{tongue} \quad \text{turn.CAUS.IPfv} \\
\text{‘Translate these words into Chinese for me.’}
\end{align*}
Nouns

(2.149)  

\[ \text{mac} \quad \text{suat} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{iw} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ləwr} \quad \text{darwuzo} \quad \text{a=imi} \]  

1PL.NOM hour LOC one LOC big gate ACC=RECP

\[ \text{wejn=an} \]

see.IPV=1PL.IPV

‘Let us see each other at the big gate at one o’clock.’

\text{ʨi} \ is \ also \ used \ for \ marking \ the \ inceptive \ aspect \ when \ a \ situation \ is \ beginning \ to \ take \ place. \ It \ precedes \ a \ verb \ in \ the \ infinitive \ stem, \ which \ is \ then \ followed \ by \ \text{set} ‘become’, \ as \ in \ (2.150) - (2.153):

(2.150)  

\[ \text{a=wi} \quad \text{toz} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{dod} \]  

ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST bald.person LOC hit.INF

\[ \text{so=in} \]

become.IPV=3PL.IPV

‘They begin beating up the bald guy.’

(2.151)  

\[ \text{tur-ɕejl=af} \quad \text{ʨuk} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{χig} \quad \text{sut} \]  

net-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV tear LOC eat.INF become.PFV

\[ \text{kema-ɕejl=af} \quad \text{tar} \quad \text{bun} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{dod} \quad \text{sut} \]

ship-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV LOC base LOC give.INF become.PFV

‘The nets began to rip, and the ships began to sink.’

(2.152)  

\[ \text{batɕo-ɕejl=af} \quad \text{marzundz} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{set} \]  

child-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV hungry LOC become.INF

\[ \text{se dódz} \]

become.PRF

‘The children have begun to get hungry. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.153)  

\[ \text{a=sawg=am} \quad \text{bur} \quad \text{ʨi} \quad \text{levd} \quad \text{sut} \]  

ACC=story=1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV

‘I have begun to tell a story, then.’

Finally, \text{ʨi} \ is \ used \ for \ expressing \ perfective \ events \ with \ an \ internal \ reference \ point. \ It \ precedes \ a \ verb \ in \ the \ infinitive \ stem, \ which \ is \ then \ followed \ by \ \text{vu}d ‘be.PFV’, \ as \ in \ (2.154) - (2.156):
(2.154) \textit{zarnigor} \textit{beit} \textit{lɛvd} \textit{alox} \textit{maç=an} \textit{tamoq} \textit{tɕi}

\textit{Zarnigor} \textit{song} \textit{say.INF} \textit{TEMP} \textit{1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV} \textit{food} \textit{LOC}

\textit{tɕeɪɡ} \textit{vʊd}

\textit{do.INF} \textit{be.PFV}

‘When Zarnigor sang, we were in the middle of making food.’

(2.155) \textit{ɪŋum=af} \textit{kalo} \textit{tɕi} \textit{kaxt} \textit{vʊd},

\textit{just.now=3PL.PFV} \textit{sheep} \textit{LOC} \textit{slaughter.INF} \textit{be.PFV}

\textit{kazwi=af} \textit{ta} \textit{tɪlfon} \textit{zoxt} \textit{na} \textit{tɕi} \textit{tɕəwɡ}

\textit{so=3PL.PFV} \textit{2SG.NNOM} \textit{phone} \textit{get.INF} \textit{NEG} \textit{CAP} \textit{do.PFV}

‘They were in the middle of killing sheep just now, that is why they could not answer your phone call.’

(2.156) \textit{təw=at} \textit{mu=ri} \textit{tɪlfon} \textit{təa}

\textit{2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV} \textit{1SG.NNOM=DAT} \textit{phone} \textit{COND}

\textit{tɕəwɡdʑ-it,} \textit{waʃ=am} \textit{lɛq} \textit{tɕi} \textit{znɔd}

\textit{do.PRF-CESS} \textit{1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV} \textit{clothing} \textit{LOC} \textit{wash.INF}

\textit{vʊd}

\textit{be.PFV}

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

2.2.1.12 Ablative \textit{az}

The ablative preposition \textit{az}, which is used with the non-nominative case, marks a variety of clausal functions: locational sources, as in (2.157) \& (2.158), personal sources, as in (2.159) \& (2.161), origin/source of being, as in (2.162), beginning of a time frame, as in (2.163), reason or cause, as in (2.164) \& (2.166), or a set from which a choice or smaller part may be drawn, as in (2.167) \& (2.168). It also marks the Standard of comparison in a comparative construction (§5) and reason adverbial clauses (§10.2.3.4).

(2.157) \textit{mu} \textit{parxɔɣ} \textit{az} \textit{wataɕ}

\textit{1SG.NNOM} \textit{wife} \textit{ABL Wacha}

‘My wife is from Wacha.’
(2.158)  
\[ \text{jad} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{gete} \quad \text{naxtuwids} = \text{endz} \] 
\[ 3SG.NOM.PROX \quad 1SG.NOM \quad ABL \quad \text{belly \ go.up.PRZ = REL} \]  
\[ \text{radzen} \]  
daughter  
‘This is a daughter that came out of my belly.’

(2.159)  
\[ \text{χɯ} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wazond} = \text{itcuz} \quad \text{dsuq} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{malum-eff} \]  
REFL.NNOM NEG know.INF = REL place ABL teacher-PL.NNOM  
\[ \text{pars} \]  
ask.IPfv  
‘Ask the teachers about the parts you do not know.’

(2.160)  
\[ \text{waz} \quad \text{χ-oto} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{gqotil} \quad \text{itoqom} \]  
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM-father ABL murderer revenge  
\[ \text{zoz} = \text{am} \]  
get.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv  
‘I will avenge my father’s murderer.’

(2.161)  
\[ \text{faridun} \quad \text{χɯ} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{ato} \quad \text{ano} \quad \text{barakat} \]  
Faridun REFL.NNOM ABL father mother blessing  
\[ \text{zuxtɕ} = \text{ɛndz} \]  
get.PRZ = REL  
‘Faridun is one who received prosperity from his parents.’

(2.162)  
\[ \text{χalɡ} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{mejmun} \quad \text{pejdu} \quad \text{seddz} = \text{ɛndz} = \text{o} \quad \text{χudoj} \]  
person ABL monkey appear become.PRZ = REL = Q God  
\[ \text{ufarid} \quad \text{tɔwɔdz} = \text{ɛndz} \]  
creation do.PRZ = REL  
‘Is mankind something that came about from monkeys, or something that God created?’

(2.163)  
\[ \text{mardon} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{batɕagi} \quad \text{ktub} \quad \text{xojdi = ir} \quad \text{uτq} \quad \text{χudur} \]  
Mardon ABL childhood book read.INF = DAT very happy  
\[ \text{vuud} \]  
be.PFV  
‘Mardon has really enjoyed reading books since his childhood.’
(2.164) \textit{wi \textit{ɕtu} \textit{zord} \textit{mu} \textit{az} \textit{gap} \textit{ub}} \newline \textit{3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart 1SG.NNOM ABL word melt} \newline \textit{sut} \newline \textit{become.PFV} \newline ‘Her cold heart melted from my words.’

(2.165) \textit{\textit{mu} \textit{θud} \textit{az} \textit{wam} \textit{kabub} \textit{sut}} \newline \textit{1SG.NNOM liver ABL worry kebab become.PFV} \newline ‘My liver became roasted into a kebab from worrying.’

(2.166) \textit{\textit{az} \textit{\textit{mu}=at} \textit{χafo} \textit{sut}=o} \newline \textit{ABL 1SG.NNOM = 2SG.PFV upset become.PFV = Q} \newline ‘Did you get upset because of me?’

(2.167) \textit{\textit{az} \textit{\textit{mac} \textit{ðəw} \textit{tɕoj} \textit{ləwr} \textit{nɯmujd}} \newline \textit{ABL 1PL.NNOM two who.NOM big seem.3SG.IPFV} \newline ‘Of the two of us, who seems bigger?’

(2.168) \textit{\textit{təw} \textit{nuluzim} \textit{kтub-ef} \textit{az} \textit{luzim}} \newline \textit{2SG.NOM unnecessary book-PL.NNOM ABL necessary} \newline \textit{kтub-ef} \newline \textit{surəw} \newline ‘Separate the useless books from the useful books.’

2.2.1.13 Lative \textit{par}

The preposition \textit{par}, in combination with the non-nominative case, marks the lative function. The lative generally indicates motion to a location and has several different functions in Sarikoli. First, when occurring with a verb of movement, it marks the goal of the movement, as in (2.169) - (2.171):

(2.169) \textit{\textit{was} \textit{par} \textit{ta} \textit{so}=\textit{am}} \newline \textit{1SG.NOM LAT 2SG.NNOM become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \newline ‘I will go to you.’

(2.170) \textit{\textit{χwu} \textit{batə-co-ef} \textit{az} \textit{iw-i} \textit{par} \textit{mu}} \newline \textit{REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM} \newline \textit{buz} \newline \textit{send.IPFV} \newline ‘Send your children to me one by one.’
Nouns

(2.171) piɕ zoxtɕ par purg, purg zoxtɕ mærən par
cat run.PRIF LAT mouse mouse run.PRIF hunter LAT

kamar
bullet.clip

‘The cat ran to the mouse, and the mouse ran to the hunter’s bullet clip. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.172) m-ono=ik par xipik ɕw duɕt
1SG.NNOM-mother = DUR LAT flatbread REFL.NNOM hand

jord
extend.3SG.IPVF

‘My mother is extending her hand towards the flatbread.’

Second, it marks the undergoer of certain actions, as in (2.173) - (2.175):

(2.173) muu vrud par maɕ nary wɛdəd
1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1SG.NNOM trouble put.PFV
‘My brother has placed trouble upon us.’

(2.174) ra imbən par maɕ qor tɛwŋ
Rayimjon LAT 1PL.NNOM anger do.PFV
‘Rayimjon made us angry.’

(2.175) ta-an haq nist, par muu
2SG.NNOM-GEN authority NEG.be.IPVF LAT 1SG.NNOM

wokəwok tɕɛjɡ=ir
yell do-INF = DAT
‘You do not have the right to yell at me.’

Finally, it may also mark the spatial relation of ‘beneath’ something, as in (2.176) & (2.177):

(2.176) guł tɕi pond woxtɕ ɕaɭq par ped rɛdɛd
flower LOC road fall.PRIF person LAT foot remain.PRIF

naxpwudə ʃedəd
step.PRIF become.PRIF

‘The flowers fell on the road and got trampled on under people’s feet. (Evidential/New information)’
2.177 amirɕu  χɯ  batɕo  ejb-cf  par
Amirshu  REFL.N NOM  child  transgression-PL.N NOM  LAT
χɯ  ⱨud
REFL.N NOM  give.PVF
‘He covered up his child’s wrongdoing under himself.’

2.2.1.14 Perlative paz

The preposition *paz* marks the perlative and also occurs with the non-nominative case. The perlative function indicates movement along something, as in (2.178) & (2.179), or immediately following something else that is moving, as in (2.180) - (2.182):

(2.178) mac  paz  darju  lab  tɛdz=an
1PL.N NOM  PER  river  bank  go.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF
‘Let us go along the bank of the river.’

(2.179) tar  zɛmdz  na  tɛdz=an,  paz  pond
LOC  field  NEG  go.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF  PER  road
tɛdz=an
go.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF
‘Let us not go toward the fields, but along the road.’

(2.180) jɯ  wɛf  a=qor  wɔwydz,
3SG.NOM.DIST  3PL.N NOM.DIST  ACC = anger  bring.PRF
a=wi=af  paz  vurdʑ  tɕidʑ
ACC = 3SG.N NOM.DIST = 3PL.PVF  PER  horse  pull.PRF
‘He made them angry, so they dragged him behind a horse. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.181) waz  paz  kalo  tid  wɔyt  muu  kuud
1SG.NOM  PER  sheep  go.INF  time  1SG.N NOM  dog
muu  paz  dum  tid=itɕuz
1SG.N NOM  PER  behind  go.INF = REL
‘When I follow the sheep, my dog follows me.’

(2.182) ta  baron  paz  ta  kaxun  sut
2SG.N NOM  dress  PER  2SG.N NOM  dragging  become.PVF
‘Your dress is dragging behind you.’
It also marks the person or thing through which an action is accomplished, as in (2.183) & (2.184):

(2.183) \( \text{waz paz kura= tu=ri \chialto} \)
1SG.NOM PER Keerash 2SG.NNOM =DAT sack
\( \text{bus = am} \)
send.IPFV = 1SG.PFV
‘I will send you a sack via Keerash.’

(2.184) \( \text{fa=ğırdin paz dʒonoro bejit zwust} \)
Fahirdin PER Jonoro song pull.out.PFV
‘Inspired by Jonoro, Fahirdin wrote a song.’ (lit. Fahirdin pulled out a song from Jonoro.)

2.2.2 Compound function markers
In addition to the function-marking clitics and adpositions introduced in §2.2.1, there are compound function markers which mark other NP functions within a clause. Compound function markers consist of a preposition and a noun which has become somewhat grammaticalized. They typically mark arguments that are related to spatial and temporal settings. As with the other markers of grammatical functions, they occur with the non-nominative form of the NP. The following are examples of nouns which combine with prepositions to form compound function markers, along with example sentences.

\( \text{prud} \) ‘front’ (in front of; before)

(2.185) \( \text{da most tɕi prud adu sut} \)
two month LOC front finish become.PFV
‘It ended two months ago.’

(2.186) \( \text{mu dikun dzul maktab pa prud} \)
1SG.NNOM store small school LOC front
‘My store is in front of the elementary school.’

\( \text{zabu} \) ‘back’ (behind; after)

(2.187) \( \text{χau pets znod az zabu xufs} \)
REFL.NNOM face wash.INF ABL back sleep.IPFV
‘Sleep after washing your face.’
(2.188) $ta$ $tilfon$ $a=mu$ $tar$ $zabu$ $we\delta d$
$2SG.NOM$ $phone$ $ACC=1SG.NOM$ $LOC$ $back$ $put.PFV$
‘Your phone call made me late.’

(2.189) $wef$ $tɛɛd$ $az$ $zabu$ $sar$ $gul$ $buw$ $jos$
$3PL.NOM.DIST$ $house$ $ABL$ $back$ $side$ $flower$ $garden$ $be.PFV$
‘There is a flower garden behind their house.’

(2.190) $tɛw$ $wi$ $pa$ $zabu$ $a=\chi m$
$2SG.NOM$ $3SG.NOM.DIST$ $LOC$ $back$ $ACC=ref.NNOM$

$na\gamma mɛdɛ$ $tɛdz$
$hide.IPFV$ $go.IPFV$
‘You hide yourself and follow him.’

$arqo$ ‘upper back’ (behind)

(2.191) $tɛɛd$ $pa$ $arqo$ $i$ $tup$ $kalo$ $waruwdɛ$
$house$ $LOC$ $upper.back$ $one$ $group$ $sheep$ $stand.PRF$
‘There is a flock of sheep standing behind the house. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.192) $putxu$ $\gamma i n$ $\chi i s$ $wi$ $tɛi$ $arqo$
$king$ $wife$ $secret$ $3SG.NOM.DIST$ $LOC$ $upper.back$

$tɛzd$
$go.3SG.IPFV$
‘The king’s wife secretly goes behind him.’

d$\delta m$ ‘behind’ (behind)

(2.193) $mu$ $kud$ $mu$ $paz$ $d\delta m$ $tid=itɛuz$
$1SG.NOM$ $dog$ $1SG.NOM$ $PER$ $behind$ $do.INF=REL$
‘My dog follows me around.’

$ma\delta n$ ‘middle’ (in the middle; between; among)

(2.194) $maq$ $tar$ $ma\delta n=af$ $cejtun-i$ $tɛwɛg$
$1PL.NOM$ $LOC$ $middle=3PL.PFV$ $Satan-NMLZ$ $do.PFV$
‘They have interfered in our relationship.’
(2.195) putxu a = χu lowr na wazond
king ACC = REFL.NNOM big NEG know.3SG.IPVF

dejqun-ef ar madon jot odi
farmer-PL.NNOM LOC middle come.PFV simple

χalg-ef qati tɛr tɛwŋ
person-PL.NNOM COM work do.PFV

'The king did not view himself as great, came among the farmers, and worked with ordinary people.'

darun 'inside' (inside; among)

(2.196) mɯ qalamdun ar darun hitɕ tsiz nist
1SG.NNOM pencil.case LOC inside none thing NEG.be.IPVF

'There is nothing in my pencil case.'

vatɕ 'outside' (outside of; outdoors)

(2.197) tom = af a = wi tɛurik buŋ tar
then = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST man garden LOC

vatɕ zwust
outside pull.out.PFV
‘Then they took that man out of the garden.’

bɯn 'base; foundation' (under; beside)

(2.198) mɯ pa bɯn niθ
1SG.NNOM LOC base sit.IPVF

‘Sit next to me.’

(2.199) woʒ cits duryŋurungu pa bɯn
3PL.NOM.DIST now hospital LOC base

‘They are near the hospital now.’

(2.200) mocin tar bɯn i zeŋ veɖdz
car toward base one thief be.PRF

‘There is a thief under the car. (Evidential/New information)’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(2.201)  
\[
\text{ta rejmul tɕini tɕi bun vɛðdʑ} \\
一种NNOM handkerchief bowl LOC base be.PRF
\]
Your handkerchief is under the bowl. (Evidential/New information)'

*atrof* 'area' (near)

(2.202)  
\[
tɕi pond i a=χalɡ mocin ɗudʑ wi \\
\text{LOC road one ACC=person car hit.PRF 3SG.NNOM.DIST}
\]
\[
\text{paz atrof lej χalɡ wixt seðdʑ} \\
\text{PER area much person gather.INF become.PRF}
\]
A car hit a person on the road and many people gathered around its vicinity. (Evidential/New information)'

*basejr* 'except' (except; besides)

(2.203)  
\[
\text{ta az basejr hitɕ tcoj mu =ri} \\
\text{2SG.NNOM ABL except none who.NOM 1SG.NNOM =DAT}
\]
\[
\chiuɕ nist \\
\text{happy NEG.be.IPV}
\]
I do not like anyone besides you.'

*tɛr* 'top; high place' (above; on top of)

(2.204)  
\[
a=wi kerpa tɕi tɛr laka \\
\text{ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST mat LOC top put.IPV}
\]
Put it on top of the mat.'

*post* 'bottom; low place' (under; below)

(2.205)  
\[
asan mu az post xufst \\
\text{Asan 1SG.NNOM ABL bottom sleep.3SG.IPV}
\]
Asan sleeps beneath me.'

(2.206)  
\[
m=a=di dɛnɕi az post laka \\
\text{CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX television ABL bottom put.IPV}
\]
Put this under the television.'

*baber* 'underside' (under; below)
2.2.3 Placement of function markers

All nominal modifiers within an NP precede the head noun. When an NP is marked for its function with clitics or adpositions, the placement of the function marker in relation to the NP modifiers is noteworthy. If the function of an NP is marked by a simple or compound postposition or enclitic, the function marker is simply placed after the head noun and all of its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets in the examples below):
If the function of the NP is marked by a preposition or proclitic, the most common placement of the function marker is immediately before the head noun, between the head noun and its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets). This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences. The examples marked with asterisks below illustrate that it is ungrammatical to place the preposition or proclitic before the entire NP:

If the function of the NP is marked by a preposition or proclitic, the most common placement of the function marker is immediately before the head noun, between the head noun and its prenominal modifiers (enclosed in square brackets). This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences. The examples marked with asterisks below illustrate that it is ungrammatical to place the preposition or proclitic before the entire NP:
(2.218) a. **amruk nur [χu dest] pa tɕɛd wɔxt suat**
   Amruk today REFL.NNOM friend LOC house eight hour
   skit tɕəwɡ
   play do.PFV
   ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’

b. *amruk nur pa [χu dest] tɕɛd wɔxt suat
   Amruk today LOC REFL.NNOM friend house eight hour
   skit tɕəwɡ
   play do.PFV
   ‘Amruk played at his friend’s house for eight hours today.’

(2.219) a. **[mejmun-ɛf] ar tɕoj marɛb at zird rəwn mas**
   guest-PL.NNOM LOC tea cream CONJ yellow oil also
   wejð = in
   put.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
   ‘They also put cream and butter in the guests’ tea.’

b. *ar [mejmun-ɛf] tɕoj marɛb at zird rəwn mas
   LOC guest-PL.NNOM tea cream CONJ yellow oil also
   wejð = in
   put.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
   ‘They also put cream and butter in the guests’ tea.’

(2.220) a. **jad ujnak [m-ono] az ðɯst**
   3SG.NOM.PROX glass 1SG.NNOM-mother ABL hand
   wɔxt
   fall.PFV
   ‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’

b. *jad ujnak az [m-ono] ðɯst
   3SG.NOM.PROX glass ABL 1SG.NNOM-mother hand
   wɔxt
   fall.PFV
   ‘This mirror fell from my mother’s hand.’
(2.221) a. sofia [dud kuzmamad] pa dikun tujd
    Sofia uncle Kuzmamad LOC store go.PFV
    ‘Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad’s store.’

b. *sofia pa [dud kuzmamad] dikun tujd
    Sofia LOC uncle Kuzmamad store go.PFV
    ‘Sofia went to Uncle Kuzmamad’s store.’

(2.222) a. [dud qurbun tɕed] tɕi noχ tamoq χiɡ na
    uncle Queerbun house LOC Noh food eat.INF NEG
    laka = in
    let.IP = 3PL.IP
    ‘They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Queerbun’s house.’

b. *tɕi [dud qurbun tɕed] noχ tamoq χiɡ na
    LOC uncle Queerbun house Noh food eat.INF NEG
    laka = in
    let.IP = 3PL.IP
    ‘They do not allow eating food on the Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing) at Uncle Queerbun’s house.’

(2.223) a. [mu = ri seðdz = endz] a = ejb
    1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL ACC = misdeeds
    laka dʑamiat mo xand
    let.IP = society PROH hear.3SG.IP
    ‘May society not hear about the misdeeds that I have experienced.’

b. *a = [mu = ri seðdz = endz] ejb
    ACC = 1SG.NNOM = DAT become.PRF = REL misdeeds
    laka dʑamiat mo xand
    let.IP = society PROH hear.3SG.IP
    ‘May society not hear about the misdeeds that I have experienced.’

When a numeral or quantifier is the only modifier of the noun that is marked by a function marker, the function marker may either immediately precede
the head noun or precede the entire NP with its modifier, as shown by the following pairs of sentences which are all grammatical.

(2.224)  a. \(\text{mɯ=ri} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{ɯrɯmtɕi} \quad \text{jet} = \text{ir} \quad [i] \quad \text{az} \quad \text{afto} \quad \text{ter} \quad \text{sut} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{come.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{ABL} \)

\[ \text{week} \quad \text{high} \quad \text{become.PFV} \]

'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'

b. \(\text{mɯ=ri} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{ɯrɯmtɕi} \quad \text{jet} = \text{ir} \quad \text{az} \quad [i] \quad \text{afto} \quad \text{ter} \quad \text{sut} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{come.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{ABL} \)

\[ \text{week} \quad \text{high} \quad \text{become.PFV} \]

'It has been over a week since I came to Urumqi.'

(2.225)  a. \(\text{juts} \quad [\text{dʑam}] \quad \text{a} = \text{tsiz} \quad \text{pukzo} \quad \text{kaxt} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{thing} \quad \text{clean} \quad \text{do.3SG.IPVF} \)

'Fire cleanses all things.'

b. \(\text{juts} \quad [\text{dʑam}] \quad \text{a} = \text{tsiz} \quad \text{pukzo} \quad \text{kaxt} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{all} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{clean} \quad \text{do.3SG.IPVF} \)

'Fire cleanses all things.'

The placement of prepositional and proclitic function markers is particularly significant when occurring with an NP that contains a possessive or demonstrative determiner, as it resolves the ambiguity resulting from the determiners, which are mostly identical in form. When a preposition or proclitic marks the function of a noun modified by a possessive determiner, it occurs between the prenominal modifiers and the head noun; but when it marks the function of a noun modified by a demonstrative determiner, it precedes the entire NP, including all of its modifiers. The examples in the following table demonstrate the difference in function marker placement between NPs that are modified by possessive determiners and those modified by demonstrative determiners.

Table 2.6 Placement of function markers: nouns modified by possessive determiners vs. nouns modified by demonstrative determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSIVE DET</th>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{di pa tɕɛd} ) ‘at this person’s house’</td>
<td>(\text{pa di tɕɛd} ) ‘at this house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSIVE DET</td>
<td>DEMONSTRATIVE DET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi pa tɕɛd ‘at that person’s house’</td>
<td>pa wi tɕɛd ‘at that house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di az tɕɛd ‘from this person’s house’</td>
<td>az di tɕɛd ‘from this house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi tar sar ‘toward that person/thing’s side’</td>
<td>tar wi sar ‘toward that side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi a = mon ‘his apple (ACC)’</td>
<td>a = wi mon ‘that apple (ACC)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>def a = ktub-ɛf ‘these people’s books (ACC)’</td>
<td>a = di ktub-ɛf ‘these books (ACC)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wef a = ktub-ɛf ‘those people’s books (ACC)’</td>
<td>a = wi ktub-ɛf ‘those books (ACC)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following pairs of examples show how the placement of prepositions differ based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.

(2.226)  
\[ \text{maɕ nɯr di pa tɕɛd na} \]  
\[ 1\text{PL.NOM today 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC house NEG} \]  
\[ \text{xufs=an, wi pa tɕɛd} \]  
\[ \text{sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC house} \]  
\[ \text{xufs=an} \]  
\[ \text{sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \]  
\‘We are not sleeping at this person’s house tonight, but at that person’s house.’

(2.227)  
\[ \text{maɕ nɯr pa di tɕɛd na} \]  
\[ 1\text{PL.NOM today LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house NEG} \]  
\[ \text{xufs=an, pa wi tɕɛd} \]  
\[ \text{sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST house} \]  
\[ \text{xufs=an} \]  
\[ \text{sleep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV} \]  
‘We are not sleeping at this house tonight, but at that house.’

(2.228)  
\[ \text{tar jəwl di az tɕɛd ruwun} \]  
\[ \text{LOC dawn 3SG.NNOM.PROX ABL house leave} \]  
\[ \text{so = in} \]  
\[ \text{become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV} \]  
‘They are leaving from this person’s house in the morning.’
The following pairs of examples show how the placement of the accusative marker a= differs based on whether the NP is modified by a possessive determiner or demonstrative determiner.

(2.232) \textit{waz} = \textit{am} \quad \textit{wi} \quad a = \textit{mon} \quad \textit{χɯɡ} \\
\textit{1SG.NOM} = \textit{1SG.PFV} \quad \textit{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \textit{ACC} = \textit{apple} \quad \textit{eat.PFV} \\
'\textit{I ate his apple.}'

(2.233) \textit{waz} = \textit{am} \quad a = \textit{wi} \quad \textit{mon} \quad \textit{χɯɡ} \\
\textit{1SG.NOM} = \textit{1SG.PFV} \quad \textit{ACC} = \textit{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \textit{apple} \quad \textit{eat.PFV} \\
'\textit{I ate that apple.}'

(2.234) \textit{waz} = \textit{am} \quad \textit{dɛf} \quad a = \textit{ktub-ɛf} \\
\textit{1SG.NOM} = \textit{1SG.PFV} \quad \textit{3PL.NNOM.PROX} \quad \textit{ACC} = \textit{book-PL.NNOM} \quad \textit{xojd} \quad \textit{read.PFV} \\
'\textit{I read these people’s books.}'

(2.235) \textit{waz} = \textit{am} \quad a = \textit{di} \quad \textit{ktub-ɛf} \\
\textit{1SG.NOM} = \textit{1SG.PFV} \quad \textit{ACC} = \textit{3PL.NNOM.PROX} \quad \textit{book-PL.NNOM} \quad \textit{xojd} \quad \textit{read.PFV} \\
'\textit{I read these books.}'
2.3 Noun phrase

In this section, the structure of the NP is described. The first subsection (§2.3.1) lays out the relative ordering of NP-internal constituents and explores a number of those constituents in more detail. The second subsection (§2.3.2) shows how two or more or more NPs are conjoined.

2.3.1 Modifiers

An NP may consist of just a noun, or it may additionally have one or more of the following nominal modifiers, most of which are described in the following subsections: demonstrative determiner (§3.3.1), possessive determiner (§3.1.1), possessor NP (§4.1), relative clause (§10.2.1), adjectivized phrase (§2.3.1.6), numeral (§2.3.1.1), classifier (§2.3.1.2), quantifier (§2.3.1.3), adjective (§2.3.1.4), or common noun (§2.3.1.7). The NP allows the most variety of modifiers when headed by a common noun, whereas NPs headed by a pronoun or a proper noun have limitations for accepting modifiers. Figure 2.1 shows the relative ordering of the constituents of the NP.

As a head-final language, Sarikoli places all of the modifying elements before the head noun. None of the elements are strictly obligatory; an NP may consist only of the head noun. Even the head noun may be omitted if it can be understood from context, in which case the NP will consist of just a modifier,
usually a relative clause, adjectivized phrase, numeral/classifier, quantifier, or adjective. Quantifiers do not co-occur with numerals and classifiers within the same NP, and in general, relative clauses and adjectivized phrases also do not co-occur within the same NP.

Most NPs are headed by a common noun; alternatively, they may be headed by a proper noun, personal or demonstrative pronoun, or an interrogative word. NPs headed by these alternatives are structurally more restricted, as they have fewer possibilities for modification. Pronouns and interrogative words never take determiners, possessors, numerals, classifiers, or quantifiers. Proper nouns usually do not take any modification, but they may be modified in exceptional cases when two people or places share the same name.

2.3.1.1 Numerals

A cardinal numeral precedes the noun it modifies. Numerals are distinct from adjectives in that they may occur with classifiers and precede the adjective slot. They may also function as substantives, with the head noun omitted, as in (2.276) & (2.280). Distributive numerals are described in §6.

Sarikoli has a decimal numbering system. All of the single-digit values and lower base multiples are native forms, while the higher base multiples (‘sixty’, ‘seventy’, ‘eighty’, and ‘ninety’) are borrowed from Uyghur or Persian. Most people use the Uyghur forms, as the Persian forms are only known by some members of the oldest generation. Compound numerals are formed additively by inserting the conjunction at ‘and’ between each place value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iw ‘one’</td>
<td>δes ‘ten’</td>
<td>δes at i ‘eleven’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δow (da) ‘two’</td>
<td>wist ‘twenty’</td>
<td>δes at da ‘twelve’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haroj ‘three’</td>
<td>si ‘thirty’</td>
<td>δes at haroj ‘thirteen’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsavur ‘four’</td>
<td>tcel ‘forty’</td>
<td>sad ‘hundred’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pindz ‘five’</td>
<td>pindzu ‘fifty’</td>
<td>hazur ‘thousand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χel ‘six’</td>
<td>cast/o mis ‘sixty’</td>
<td>δes hazur ‘ten thousand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvd ‘seven’</td>
<td>aftod/jet mis ‘seventy’</td>
<td>sad hazur ‘hundred thousand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woxt ‘eight’</td>
<td>actod/saksan ‘eighty’</td>
<td>nist, mul, sfir ‘zero’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naw ‘nine’</td>
<td>nawad/toqsan ‘ninety’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms for iw ‘one’ and δow ‘two’ are shortened to i and da, respectively, when they function as adnominal modifiers (unless the head noun and clas-
Sarikoli speakers often use numbers in Mandarin for telephone numbers and ID numbers, Uyghur numbers for months and sometimes prices in stores, and native numbers for counting things.

The following sentences present examples of cardinal numerals functioning as adnominal modifiers.

(2.238) .mozilla new batɕo vəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ 1SG.NOM-mother nine child bring.PRF=REL
‘My mother is one who has had nine children.’

(2.239) haroj tɕini tɕoj=am bruxt three bowl tea=1SG.PFV drink.PFV
‘I drank three bowls of tea.’

(2.240) tu = ri uj tɕejɡ=ir ḏa munut 2SG.NOM=DAT thought do.INF=DAT two minute

 ḏo = am
give.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘I will give you two minutes to think.’

(2.241) ar urumqcɪ tdes atuvd sul=af nalucɪ LOC Urumqi ten CONJ seven year=2PL.PFV sit.PRF
‘You have lived in Urumqi for seventeen years. (Evidential/New information)’

(2.242) maɕ hara maθ sad at jetmiɕ xipik 1PL.NOM every day hundred CONJ seventy flatbread

 kan = an
do.IPV = 1PL.IPV
‘We make a hundred and seventy flatbreads every day.’

Markers for ordinal numerals are borrowed from Persian or Uyghur, in addition to traditional ordinal numeral constructions that have become obsolete.
The Persian construction makes use of Persian cardinal numerals followed by the Persian suffix –*um*, which precedes the noun it modifies. This construction is no longer commonly used.

(2.243)  
\[\text{pandz-um dars}\]  
\[
\text{five-ORD lesson}\]  
‘the fifth lesson’

(2.244)  
\[\text{aft-um kalo}\]  
\[
\text{seven-ORD sheep}\]  
‘the seventh sheep’

In the Uyghur construction, which is now dominant, Uyghur cardinal numerals are followed by the Uyghur suffix –*intɕi*, which precedes the noun it modifies:

(2.245)  
\[\text{bir-intɕi most}\]  
\[
\text{one-ORD month}\]  
‘the first month’

(2.246)  
\[\text{on-intɕi aftovuz}\]  
\[
\text{ten-ORD bus}\]  
‘the tenth bus’

The traditional Sarikoli construction for ordinal numerals makes use of *ma* or *az*, followed by a Sarikoli cardinal numeral which functions as the NP head. The usage of this construction is restricted to the day of the month and cannot be used as ordinals for anything else, and has fallen out of use.

(2.247)  
\[\text{wi most ma wist}\]  
\[
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST month ORD twenty}\]  
‘the twentieth of next month’

(2.248)  
\[\text{wi most az wist}\]  
\[
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST month ORD twenty}\]  
‘the twentieth of next month’

(2.249)  
\[\text{mart most ma wist at iw}\]  
\[
\text{March month ORD twenty CONJ one}\]  
‘the twenty-first of March’
2.3.1.2 Classifiers

Sarikoli uses several nominal classifiers as measure words, although not all of them are still commonly used. Classifiers are optional but may only be used with cardinal numerals, and occur between the cardinal numeral and the head noun. They cannot occur with other quantifiers besides cardinal numerals.

The classifier that is most widely used in Sarikoli today is tol, the general semantically unmarked classifier which is used for a wide variety of countable objects, including words such as: ktub ‘book’, xipik ‘flatbread’, dars ‘lesson’, azwrat ‘woman’, χalg ‘person’, batso ‘child’, kalo ‘sheep’, dzuj ‘seat; space’, balax ‘pillow’, daraxt ‘tree’, qalam ‘pen’, xad ‘hair’, gugurt ‘match’, and giul ‘flower’. However, it cannot be used for certain words, such as maθ ‘day’, dəwlat ‘country’, jizo ‘village’, or zɛmdz ‘field’; these objects are directly modified by the cardinal numeral. The following is an example of how tol is used:

\[(2.250) \text{ mart most az wist at iw} \]
\[\text{March month ORD twenty CONJ one} \]
\[\text{‘the twenty-first of March’} \]

The classifier duno ‘seed’ is used for counting kernels of grains or similar small objects, such as zəw ‘grain’, max ‘pea’, təuucə ‘barley’, girindz ‘rice’, rıkọt ‘bitter almond’, and qunọq ‘corn’. It cannot be used for slightly larger objects, such as ʁəwz ‘walnut’ or gili ‘dried apricot’.

\[(2.251) \text{ da tol xipik} \]
\[\text{two CL flatbread} \]
\[\text{‘two flatbreads’} \]

The classifier bun ‘base; foundation’ is used for trees, with words such as daraxt ‘tree’ and dzirin ‘seedling’.

\[(2.252) \text{ uwd duno max} \]
\[\text{seven CL pea} \]
\[\text{‘seven peas’} \]

\[(2.253) \text{ haroj bun dzirin} \]
\[\text{three CL seedling} \]
\[\text{‘three seedlings’} \]
The classifier *nafar* is used for any word that refers to people, such as *χalɡ* ‘person’, *ʨarejn* ‘man’, *batɕo* ‘child’, *malɯm* ‘teacher’, and *bejtɡar* ‘singer’. In the following example, the head noun, *batɕo* ‘child’, may be omitted, leaving only the numeral and classifier.

(2.254)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{mac} & \text{pa} & \text{sumuf} & \text{wist} & \text{batɕo} & \text{jost}, \ az \\
\text{1PL.NNOM} & \text{LOC} & \text{class} & \text{twenty} & \text{child} & \text{be.IPV ABL} \\
\text{wi} & \text{🅊el} & \text{nafar} & \text{(batɕo)} & \text{=} & \text{af} & \text{magsturi} \\
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{six} & \text{CL} & \text{child} & \text{= 3PL.PFV Master’s} \\
xojd = \text{ir} & \text{nardzed} \\
\text{read.INF = DAT pass.PFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Out of the twenty students in our class, six got admitted to a Master’s program.’

The classifier *bɯno* ‘family’ is used for households. In the following example, *χalɡ* ‘person’ is optional.

(2.255)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ar} & \text{brumsol} & \text{tar} & \text{um} & \text{tar} & \text{əwd} & \text{wist} & \text{at} & \text{pindz} & \text{buno} \\
\text{LOC} & \text{Bromsol} & \text{LOC} & \text{there} & \text{LOC} & \text{here twenty} & \text{CONJ five} & \text{CL} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[(\text{χalɡ}) \ jost\]

\text{person be.IPV}

‘There are approximately twenty-five families in Brumsol.’

The classifier *dʑɯft* ‘pair’ is used for two objects that form a pair, such as: *ȷɯst* ‘hand’, *peð* ‘foot’, *χej* ‘shoes’, *peχ* ‘traditional shoes’, *dʑrob* ‘socks’, *parȷɯst* ‘bracelet’, *surqo* ‘earring’, *guxwur* ‘silver ornaments on a bride’s headdress’, *kuʃza* ‘chopsticks’, *χalɡ* ‘person’, *padiom* ‘twin’, *xaniṣamɯɡ* ‘groomsmen’, and *gap* ‘word’.

(2.256)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{i} & \text{dʑɯft} & \text{padiom} \\
\text{one} & \text{CL} & \text{twin} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘a pair of twins’

The classifier *χil* ‘kind; type’ is used for different types of things.

(2.257)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{mac} & \text{pa} & \text{sumuf} & \text{uwd} & \text{χil} & \text{milat} & \text{jost} \\
\text{1PL.NNOM} & \text{LOC} & \text{class} & \text{seven} & \text{CL nationality} & \text{be.IPV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In our class there are seven kinds of nationalities.’
The classifier \textit{bov} ‘mouth’ is used for phrases or utterances.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.259)  ingles  ziv  mu=ri  da  nov  gap  χumand
          English  tongue  1SG.NOM = DAT  two  mouth  word  teach
          \textit{ka}
          \textit{do.IPFV}
\end{verbatim}

‘Teach me two phrases of English.’

The classifier \textit{basmoq} ‘bundle’ is used for long, thin objects that are tied up into bundles, and may be used with words such as: \textit{wux} ‘grass’, \textit{zez} ‘firewood’, \textit{zəw} ‘grain’, \textit{qalam} ‘pen’, \textit{gul} ‘flower’, and \textit{vdir} ‘broom’.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.260)  tsavur  basmoq  zez
          four  CL  firewood
\end{verbatim}

‘four bundles of firewood’

\begin{verbatim}
(2.261)  haroj  basmoq  vdir
          three  CL  broom
\end{verbatim}

‘three brooms’

The classifier \textit{tup} ‘group’ is used for groups of things that are count nouns.

\begin{verbatim}
(2.262)  haroj  tup  ejwun
          three  CL  animal
\end{verbatim}

‘three groups of animals’

\begin{verbatim}
(2.263)  i  tup  cud
          one  CL  thornbush
\end{verbatim}

‘an outcropping of thornbushes’

The classifier \textit{lej} ‘pile’ is used for a pile of objects that are count nouns, and may be used with words such as: \textit{ktub} ‘book’, \textit{zer} ‘rock’, \textit{mon} ‘apple’, \textit{kuursi} ‘chair’, \textit{xiplik} ‘flatbread’, \textit{girindz} ‘rice’, and \textit{sandeq} ‘box’. \textit{lej} is more commonly used as a quantifier that means ‘many’ (see §2.3.1.3).
The classifier *du*m ‘pile’ is used for a pile of mass nouns, and may be used with words such as: *sit* ‘dirt’, *ɕuc* ‘sand’, *joydz* ‘flour’, *sarr* ‘hardened cow/yak feces used for burning’, *poxtɕ* ‘fecal powder that remains after cow feces are dried and trampled’, and *dib* ‘fertilizer’.

The classifier *dʑend* ‘book cover’ was used for books, but is not used commonly anymore.

The classifier *sar* ‘head’ was used for animals, but has fallen out of use.

*ped* ‘foot’ is a verbal classifier which indicates how many trips are made, but occurs as a modifier in an NP, as in the following examples.

Various types of containers may be used as classifiers. They include: *tɕini* ‘bowl’, *tɑːsi* ‘plate’, *lagan* ‘tray’, *χalto* ‘bag’, *sɔwn* ‘sack’, *mʊt* ‘fist; handful’, *ingrɯv* ‘double-handful (two handfuls)’, *taraktɯɾ* ‘tractor’, and *erɯm* ‘threshing floor’.
The classifier is optional; when omitted, the cardinal numeral simply precedes the head noun, as in (2.274) & (2.278). If the situational context and the choice of classifier make the intended noun obvious, the classifier phrase may also occur in a headless NP, in which case it modifies an understood head noun that is not explicitly stated, as in (2.275) & (2.279). Finally, both the classifier *tol* and the head noun may be omitted, leaving only the cardinal numeral as a substantive numeral, as in (2.276) & (2.280).
2.3.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers reveal the amount or quantity of the head noun. They occur in the same slot as numerals (with or without classifiers), preceding the head noun and any adjectives or modifier nouns. The following table presents some commonly used quantifiers. All of these quantifiers occur with a head noun that is either marked as plural or left unmarked, with the exception of har, which only occurs with a singular head noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dʑam</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɯr</td>
<td>‘much; many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsund</td>
<td>‘some; a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɯtɯn</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lej</td>
<td>‘much; many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw kond</td>
<td>‘few; little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har</td>
<td>‘every’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itang</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>‘few; little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bax der</td>
<td>‘most’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itsand</td>
<td>‘several’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantifiers dʑam and pɯtɯn indicate wholeness or entirety:

(2.281)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{dʑam} & \chi alg & \text{laka} & \text{mac} & \text{putxu} & \text{stwd} \\
\text{all} & \text{person} & \text{let.IPfv} & 1\text{PL.NNom} & \text{king} & \text{praise.3SG.IPfv} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Let all the people praise our king.’

(2.282)  

\[
\begin{array}{lllllld}
pɯtɯn & \text{xtur-ɛf} & \text{tar} & \text{kol} & \text{waχin} & \text{ðɛxt} \\
\text{all} & \text{camel-PL.NNom} & \text{LOC} & \text{head} & \text{blood} & \text{sprinkle.3SG.IPfv} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{roft} \]

\[\text{spread.3SG.IPfv} \]

‘He sprinkles and spreads blood on all of the camels’ heads.’

The quantifier har is used to refer to every single item within the set defined by the head noun:
(2.283) $a = \text{di} \quad \text{ejd} \quad \text{narzambond} \quad \text{har}$

$\text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{festival} \quad \text{celebrate.CAUS.INF} \quad \text{every}$

$\text{milat-an} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{χɯ} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{tan}$

$\text{nationality-GEN} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{body}$

$\text{odat} \quad \text{jost}$

$\text{custom} \quad \text{BE.IPfv}$

‘Every nationality has its own customs for celebrating this festival.’

The quantifiers $\text{bax der, pur}$, and $\text{lej}$ indicate majority or large amount:

(2.284) $\text{bax der joč batso-χejl a = wi}$

$\text{much} \quad \text{CPRV} \quad \text{young} \quad \text{child-PL.NOM} \quad \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{word}$

$\text{na} \quad \text{wazon = in}$

$\text{NEG} \quad \text{know.IPfv} = \text{3PL.IPfv}$

‘Most young people do not know that word.’

(2.285) $\text{wəd = af mač = ir pur samʁut}$

$\text{3PL.NOM.DIST} = \text{3PL.PFv} \quad \text{1PL.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{gift}$

$\text{vəwɡ}$

$\text{bring.PFv}$

‘They brought us many gifts.’

(2.286) $\text{wọc pur waɗo batso qati balad mo so}$

$\text{very} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{acquainted} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{become.IPfv}$

‘Do not get acquainted with too many boys.’

(2.287) $\text{ar dzaŋal lej xtur waruwdz}$

$\text{LOC} \quad \text{forest} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{camel} \quad \text{stand.PRF}$

‘There were many camels standing in the forest. (Evidential/New information)’

The quantifiers $\text{itanɡ/tang}$, $\text{itɕand}$, and $\text{tsund}$ indicate partial amount. $\text{itanɡ/tang}$ is an indefinite determiner that refers to some members of a class to which the head noun belongs. As introduced in §7.3.4, $\text{tsund}$ is an interrogative pronoun, but may also be used as a quantifier, as in (2.291) & (2.292).
Towards the middle, some children were left behind.

They will kill some, and some they will plot against.

Some people go there for firewood.

It has been some time since I saw Rashid.

They told him several times.

Finally, the quantifiers iw kond and kam indicates little amount.

There are a few students in the classroom.

Today I learned very few words.

I waited for a short time.

A quantifier may also occur without a head noun. In such cases, the phrase containing the quantifier functions as a headless NP within the sentence.
2.3.1.4 Adjectives

Sarikoli has a large, open class of adjectives which includes hundreds of members. New members are regularly added, both through deriving adjectives from other word classes and through borrowing words from other languages, most frequently from Uyghur.

In Sarikoli, adjectives may: 1) function as a modifier within an NP, which helps to specify the referent of the head noun; 2) act as a copula complement, which states that the copula subject has a certain property; 3) serve as the parameter of comparison in a comparative construction; and 4) sometimes function as an adverb, which helps to specify the reference of the verb.

Adjectives do not have number, case, definiteness, or gender distinctions, as the prior three are marked directly on the head noun and the latter does not exist in Sarikoli. When used adnominally, adjectives occur two slots away from the head noun, only preceding the optional modifier noun.

Adjectives describe various qualities. Below is a list of some common adjectives, organized into “semantic types” recognized by Dixon (2010b:73). Adjectives are a large class that spans all of the semantic types, and includes several derived forms as well, as shown by some words with the adjectiveizers -in, -mand, -dzin, and -nɛndʑ. Derived adjectives and adjectivized phrases are described in §2.3.1.5 and §2.3.1.6, respectively.


Adjectives are a distinct class from verbs and nouns, as they have distinct grammatical properties. Unlike verbs, an adjective cannot function as a predicate, but only as a complement within a copula or verbless clause. Adjectives do not come in five different stems (as verbs do), and do not require any pronominal agreement clitics or aspect marking. They cannot be used in imperative mood or be used to derive causatives, in the same way that a verb can. An adjective is always able to directly modify a head noun within the NP by simply preceding it, but a verb must be embedded in a relative clause in order to modify a noun.

Adjectives share more grammatical similarities with nouns than verbs. Both adjectives and nouns can occur alone as a copula complement, without any additional elements like determiners. As copula complements, adjectives and nouns are both negated with nist, rather than with na, which is used to negate verbs. Both adjectives and nouns are frequently used as the nominal element of compound verbs, and both are verbalized using tɕejɡ ’do’ or set ’become’. In some cases, there is a very fine line separating adjectives and nouns, as some adjectives and nouns share an identical form, such as boj ’rich (adj); rich person (n)’, kambaʁal ’poor (adj); poor person (n)’, and istuð ’skillful (adj); craftsman (n)’. The sentences in (2.300) & (2.301), respectively, illustrate that boj and istuð may be used either as a noun or as an adjective. In (2.300c), the copula is omitted because it is in the imperfective aspect (see §8.4 for more information on copula clauses).

(2.300)  a. wi tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-χejl = af boj der
         3SG.NNOM.DIST house-ADJ-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV rich CPRV

         vɛðdz
         be.PRF

‘His family is richer. (Evidential/New information)’
Either a noun or an adjective may be the sole lexeme within an NP, although it is much less common for adjectives than nouns. Adnominal adjectives may occur without the head noun, as illustrated by examples (2.302), (2.304), and (2.306) below. If the head noun is omitted and the adjective stands alone, it is preferred to attach the derivational suffix -əw, which converts it into a noun (as introduced in §2.1.4). The resulting noun expresses the meaning ‘one that is X (where ‘X’ is the adjective that takes the -əw).’
Despite sharing various similarities with nouns, adjectives also show grammatical properties that are different from those of nouns. Adjectives generally do not take plural suffixes and clausal or phrasal function markers in the same way that a noun does. Adjectives may be directly modified by degree adverbs such as ɯtɕ ‘very; too’ or kam ‘a little’, but nouns cannot. Adjectives cannot be the possessor or the possessed item within a possessive construction, but nouns can.

Adjectives are distinct from both verbs and nouns in that they can form comparative constructions and can take the comparative particle der. Also, adjectives do not take any of the inflectional affixes available to nouns and verbs.

Some adjectives may function as adverbs, modifying the verb, either in plain form or in a derived form with the suffix -i. In (2.308) - (2.315) the same word functions both as an adjective and an adverb in its plain form.

(2.308)  
\[
\text{dzul-ik} \quad \text{batɕo}
\]
small-DIM child
‘small child’

(2.309)  
\[
\text{dzul-ik} \quad \text{χɔr}
\]
small-DIM eat.IPFW
‘Eat a little.’

\(^2\)Yuan is the primary unit of the official currency of China.
In (2.310), the adjectives have been derived into adverbs with the addition of suffix -i.
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(2.317)  \textit{waz = am fand-in-i a = χɯ kasal}  \\
\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV false-ADJ-ADV ACC = REFL.NNOM sickness}  \\
\textit{weðd, ar χɯzmat = am na tujd}  \\
\text{put.PFV LOC work = 1SG.PFV NEG go.PFV}  \\
‘I falsely put myself to sickness (i.e. pretended to be sick) and did not go to work.’

(2.318)  \textit{beadab-i mo ka}  \\
\text{impolite-ADV PROH do.IPV}  \\
‘Do not be impolite!’

2.3.1.5 \textit{Derived adjectives}

Just as nouns derived from adjectives are very common (see §2.1.4), adjectives derived from nouns are also common. The adjectivizer \textit{–in} is a highly productive suffix that attaches to nouns to form adjectives. It can be attached to almost any common noun and expresses the meaning ‘with’.

Table 2.9 Adjectives derived with \textit{–in}

| \textit{ɡɯxt-in} ‘with meat’ | \textit{rovn-in} ‘oily; greasy’ | \textit{adab-in} ‘polite’ |
| \textit{xats-in} ‘watery; soupy’ | \textit{baχt-in} ‘happy’ | \textit{qawat-in} ‘multi-storied’ |
| \textit{zɛr-in} ‘rocky’ | \textit{mazo-in} ‘tasty’ | \textit{xung-in} ‘wooden’ |
| \textit{namoðdʑ-in} ‘salty’ | \textit{aql-in} ‘smart’ | \textit{kɯtɕ-in} ‘strong’ |
| \textit{ɡuɬ-in} ‘flowery’ | \textit{qɛtɕ-in} ‘pregnant’ | \textit{kulu-to-in} ‘women (with cap)’ |

The opposite meaning is expressed by the adjectivizer prefix \textit{be–}. It also attaches to nouns to form adjectives, and expresses the meaning ‘without’. Examples of adjectives derived with \textit{be–} are presented in Table 9.1.

Also used for deriving adjectives from nouns, but less productive, is the suffix \textit{–mand}. It only attaches to a limited number of nouns to form adjectives that express propensity or tendency.

Table 2.10 Adjectives derived with \textit{–mand}

| \textit{kasal-mand} ‘sickly’ | \textit{donis-mand} ‘knowledgeable’ |
| \textit{χadʑal-mand} ‘shy’ | \textit{zudiat-mand} ‘contentious’ |
| \textit{tulej-mand} ‘lucky’ | \textit{dard-mand} ‘melancholic’ |
Nouns

| Arzɛɕ-mand | ‘valuable’ |
| Itiŋuq-mand | ‘pious’ |
| Dewlat-mand | ‘wealthy’ |
| Ixlu-mand | ‘passionate’ |

Another suffix used for deriving adjectives is -dʑin, which is also not very productive.

Table 2.11 Adjectives derived with -dʑin

| Xudʑa-dʑin | ‘scary’ |
| Uvla-dʑin | ‘sad’ |
| Aziz-dʑin | ‘beloved’ |
| Rałtɕa-dʑin | ‘lonely’ |

2.3.1.6 Adjectivized phrases

Another type of adjectivizer is -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ, which attaches to a wider range of lexical categories to mark them as adnominal modifiers. It may attach to nouns (mostly locations), time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases, and is usually used to specify time or place. =ɛndʑ is also the marker of the perfective relative clause (introduced in §10.2.1.1). Unlike -in and be-, which form regular adjectives, these adjectivizers form adjectivized phrases. Adjectivized phrases are placed farther away from the head noun, preceding regular adjectives.

Table 2.12 Some nouns that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

| Jizo-ɛndʑ | ‘village (adj)’ |
| Makteb-ɛndʑ | ‘school (adj)’ |
| Qir-nɛndʑ | ‘mountain (adj)’ |
| Tɕed-nɛndʑ-χejl | ‘family’ (lit. house (adj)-pl) |
| Urumtɕi-ɛndʑ | ‘Urumqi (adj)’ |
| Daraχt-ɛndʑ | ‘tree (adj)’ |

Table 2.13 Some time words that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

| Citɕ-ɛndʑ | ‘now (adj)’ |
| Υεb-ɛndʑ | ‘yesterday (adj)’ |
| Zejn-ɛndʑ | ‘winter (adj)’ |
| Az kol-ɛndʑ | ‘beginning (adj)’ |
| Nuv-ɛndʑ | ‘today (adj)’ |
| Parus-ɛndʑ | ‘last year (adj)’ |
| Awal-nɛndʑ | ‘first (adj)’ |
| Sabu-nɛndʑ | ‘later (adj)’ |
Table 2.14 Some spatial references that take -ɛndʑ or -nɛndʑ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial Reference</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prud-ɛndʑ 'front (adj)'</td>
<td>xipik tɕi ter-ɛndʑ gwuxt flatbread LOC top-ADJ meat 'meat on top of flatbread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zabu-ɛndʑ 'back (adj)'</td>
<td>qele ar darun-ɛndʑ bateo belly LOC inside-ADJ child 'the child inside the belly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-ɛndʑ 'low (adj)'</td>
<td>tsej buzur pa wov-ɛndʑ dikun vegetable bazaar LOC mouth-ADJ store 'the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕi ter-ɛndʑ 'above (adj)'</td>
<td>ojmira pa bun-ɛndʑ wots Oimira LOC base-ADJ girl 'the girl near Oimira'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕi ter-nɛndʑ 'front (adj)'</td>
<td>mɯ sardor pa dujst-nɛndʑ tɕɛr 1SG.NNOM leader LOC hand-ADJ matter 'a matter that is in my leader’s hands'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below illustrate how adjectivized phrases function as modifiers of the head noun.

(2.319) xipik tɕi ter-ɛndʑ gwuxt flatbread LOC top-ADJ meat 'meat on top of flatbread'

(2.320) qele ar darun-ɛndʑ bateo belly LOC inside-ADJ child 'the child inside the belly'

(2.321) tsej buzur pa wov-ɛndʑ dikun vegetable bazaar LOC mouth-ADJ store 'the store at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar'

(2.322) ojmira pa bun-ɛndʑ wots Oimira LOC base-ADJ girl 'the girl near Oimira'

(2.323) mɯ sardor pa dujst-nɛndʑ tɕɛr 1SG.NNOM leader LOC hand-ADJ matter 'a matter that is in my leader’s hands'

2.3.1.7 Nouns modifying a noun

A noun may also be modified by another noun. Among NP-internal modifiers, the modifier noun occurs closest to the head noun, immediately preceding it. The modifier noun often refers to the material, purpose, or type of the head noun. Since they are two phonologically separate words, both the modifying noun and the head noun retain their primary word stress.
Table 2.15 Nouns with a modifying noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>padiˈombaˈtɕo</td>
<td>twin + child</td>
<td>‘twin children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈtɕɯɕtɕxiˈpik</td>
<td>barley + flatbread</td>
<td>‘barley flatbread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuˈtsuvd uˈsul</td>
<td>eagle + dance</td>
<td>‘eagle dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aˈto sar ˈbob</td>
<td>father’s side + grandfather</td>
<td>‘paternal grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aˈnur ˈxats</td>
<td>pomegranate + juice</td>
<td>‘pomegranate juice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaˈko burˈjun</td>
<td>egg + fry</td>
<td>‘fried egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈqarz suˈjib</td>
<td>debt + owner</td>
<td>‘creditor’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words are a single phonological word with one primary word stress, but are comprised of two separate lexical nouns. These are compound nouns that serve as the single head of the NP, rather than a head noun modified by another noun. Both compound nouns and nouns modified by another noun are pluralized in the same way as other nouns, with the plural marker -χejl or -ɛf, given that they are count nouns.

Table 2.16 Compound nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qalamˈdun</td>
<td>pen + box</td>
<td>‘pencil case’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mejmunˈχuˈno</td>
<td>guest + room</td>
<td>‘living room’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktubχuˈno</td>
<td>book + room</td>
<td>‘library’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duʁturbanˈχuˌno</td>
<td>doctor + room</td>
<td>‘hospital’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χɛrnaˈlist</td>
<td>sun + sitting</td>
<td>‘west’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampirˈzul</td>
<td>old lady + sleeve</td>
<td>‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todʑikoˈbod</td>
<td>Tajik + town</td>
<td>‘Tojikobod’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsemujˈnak</td>
<td>eye + glasses</td>
<td>‘eye glasses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanitsaˈmuŋ</td>
<td>groom + basket</td>
<td>‘groomsman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cejˈtun inˈɡaxt</td>
<td>Satan + finger</td>
<td>‘ring finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cejtuˈnaˈbo</td>
<td>Satan + vehicle</td>
<td>‘bicycle; peddle cart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spidˈbun</td>
<td>white + beard</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Coordination of NPs

The coordinating conjunction at is most often used for conjoining two NPs. A pair of conjoined NPs may be in various functions, as illustrated by the examples below. When a clitic or adposition is used for marking the function of conjoined NPs, it is generally unnecessary and less preferred to use...
it twice to mark both NPs, although it is still grammatical to use them multiple times. However, conjoined NPs of certain grammatical functions must each be marked with a function marker, such as NPs comprised of personal or demonstrative pronouns, as in (2.326), and substantival genitive NPs, as in (2.331).

(2.324) \textit{waz} at \textit{mu} \textit{jaχ} \textit{ardo na}  \\
1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister similar NEG  \\
\textit{dej} = an  \\
fall.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv  \\
‘My sister and I do not look alike.’ (nominative)

(2.325) \textit{a = belat} at \textit{rasim = at} \textit{vəwɡ = o}  \\
ACC = ticket CONJ picture = 2SG.PFV bring.PFV = Q  \\
‘Did you bring the ticket and the photo?’ (accusative)

(2.326) \textit{waz = am} \textit{m = a = di} at  \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX CONJ  \\
\textit{m = a = di} \textit{vəwɡ}  \\
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX bring.PFV  \\
‘I brought this and this.’ (accusative)

(2.327) \textit{a = di} \textit{sojra at baxtigungul = ir do}  \\
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX Soyra CONJ Bahtigeel = DAT give.IPfv  \\
‘Give this to Soyra and Bahtigeel.’ (dative)

(2.328) \textit{pa watsa} at \textit{baldir jost}  \\
LOC Wacha CONJ Baldir be.PFV  \\
‘There are in Wacha and Baldir.’ (locative)

(2.329) \textit{cer} \textit{harabo at βust} \textit{harabo qati = af jud}  \\
donkey vehicle CONJ hand vehicle COM = 3PL.PFV take.PFV  \\
‘They took it with a donkey cart and a hand cart.’ (instrumental)

(2.330) \textit{χalɡ az aqlikul at nafsikul pejdu}  \\
person ABL big.wisdom CONJ big.spirit appear  \\
\textit{seðdz = endz}  \\
become.PRF = REL  \\
‘Humans came into being from Wisdom and Spirit.’ (ablative)
When more than two NPs are conjoined to form a list, the conjunction at is not strictly necessary, and may be completely omitted or used only once. It may also be used between all the NPs, although this is less preferred. If at is used once, its preferred location is between the last two NPs, but it may occur between any other two contiguous NPs that are part of the list. The function-marking clitics and adpositions are generally used for each NP in the list, as in (2.333), (2.334), and (2.335), but may be used only once to mark all of the conjoined NPs, as in (2.334) & (2.335). Some of the examples below do not contain function markers because (2.332) contains nominative NPs which are unmarked, (2.336) omits the locative prepositions, and (2.337) contains indefinite accusative NPs. In (2.333), the locative function marker ar is used in the allative sense, indicating movement toward the destination.

(2.332) dowron soqjon sobir at raсид puiz qati=af
Deawron Soqjon Sobir CONJ Rashid train COM=3PL.PFV
tujd
go.PFV
‘Deawron, Soqjon, Sobir, and Rashid went by train.’

(2.333) mɯxbir-χejl=af ar zer qala ar guz
journalist-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV LOC stone castle LOC grassland
pa kəwɡ at ar tej=af suıt
LOC hot.spring CONJ LOC wedding=3PL.PFV become.PFV
‘The journalists have gone to the Stone Fortress, the grasslands, the hot springs, and a wedding.’

(2.334) sawdugar-χejl (az) pokiston (az) tudʑikston (az)
merchant-PL.NOM ABL Pakistan ABL Tajikistan ABL
avranistan at az iron iθtɕ=ɛndz
Afghanistan CONJ ABL Iran come.PRF=REL
‘The merchants are those who came from Pakistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.’
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(2.335)  muwonde  χu  χɛɛx(=ir)  χu
bride   REF.L.NOM  mother.in.law = DAT  REF.L.NOM

  χajun-ɛf(=ir)  at  digar  χɛɛx
sister.in.law-PL.NOM = DAT  CONJ  other  relative

  swrat-ɛf = ir  cejdoi  at  kulto  intsivd
woman-PL.NOM = DAT  Sheydoi  CONJ  Keelto  sew.3SG.IPVF
‘The bride sews Sheydois (female cap) and Keeltos (female cap)
for her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and other female relatives.’

(2.336)  jad  xtur  tasarmi  baldir  watça  at
3SG.NOM.PROX  camel  Tagharmi  Baldir  Wacha  CONJ

  ɗavdor  tuaijd =ɛndz
Thavthor  go.PRF = REL

‘This camel has been to Tagharmi, Baldir, Wacha, and Thavthor.’

(2.337)  waz = am  i  ujnak  i  waxerdz  at  i
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PVF  one  glass  one  comb  CONJ  one

  bundz  χu  qati  zuxt
graphite.eyebrow.pencil  REF.L.NOM  COM  get.PVF
‘I took a mirror, a comb, and a Bunj (graphite eyebrow pencil)
with me.’