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Chapter 3

Pronouns and demonstratives

This chapter describes two types of deictic shifters: pronouns, whose reference shifts when the roles of speech act participants change, and demonstratives, whose reference shifts when spatial locations change (Dixon 2010a:114). Both free pronouns and nominal demonstratives may occur in all clausal functions.

Personal pronouns (§3.1), which come in first and second persons, refer to participants in a speech act. Bound pronouns (§3.2) in the form of enclitics indicate the subject argument of the clause.

Demonstratives have deictic reference to non-speech act participants, including persons or objects in the vicinity of the speech act or those that are out of sight. They serve a deictic function, distinguishing their referents according to their relative distance from the speaker, as well as an anaphoric or cataphoric function, substituting for a full NP in order to avoid repetition of it. Nominal demonstratives (§3.3) occur in an NP; they may make up a complete NP as an unmodified head of the NP, or serve as a determiner to a common noun functioning as the NP head. Their referents may be animate or inanimate, human or non-human. Anaphora and cataphora are also indicated by special demonstrative clitics (§3.4). Local demonstratives (§3.5) have deictic reference to a place; they function as locational adverbs to a clause. Manner demonstratives (§3.6) have deictic reference to a certain manner of performing an action, and function as manner adverbs to a clause.

Finally, reflexive pronouns (§3.7) and reciprocal pronouns (§3.8) are used when the participants of an activity are not all distinct from one another.

3.1 Personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are a small closed class of grammatical words which show person, number, and case distinctions. They can be head of an NP with any clausal function. They operate on a 1/2 person system and a singular/plural number system. Table 3.1 below shows the forms of Sarikoli...
pronouns. Case is neutralized in the first and second person plural forms, as they are \textit{maɕ} and \textit{tamaɕ}, respectively, for both nominative and non-nominative forms.

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.NOM</td>
<td>\textit{waz}</td>
<td>\textit{maɕ}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.NNOM</td>
<td>\textit{mu}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NOM</td>
<td>\textit{təw}</td>
<td>\textit{tamaɕ}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NNOM</td>
<td>\textit{ta}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sarikoli also has a system of bound pronouns (see §3.2) in the form of clitics which agree with the person and number of the subject, and also marks aspect in combination with verb stems; the overt forms of these bound pronouns are obligatory in all finite clause types except the \textit{vid} copula clause in the imperfective aspect. Because these bound pronouns occur in almost every finite clause and provide information about the subject, free pronouns are used more sparingly; they are generally employed for showing contrast or emphasis, or as the O or copula complement argument, which are not represented by bound pronouns.

As with other nouns, if pronouns occur in the nominative case, they take the subject-verb agreement clitics, as in (3.1) - (3.4). Pronouns in the accusative functional way take the accusative marker \textit{a=} , since pronouns are always definite, as in (3.1) & (3.2).

\begin{align*}
(3.1) & \textit{waz} \quad \textit{a=} \textit{ta} \quad \textit{tɕardʑ} \quad \textit{wejn=} \textit{am} \\
& 1\text{SG.NOM \ ACC=} 2\text{SG.NNOM \ good \ see.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv} \\
& \quad \textquote{I love you.}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(3.2) & \textit{tamaɕ=} \textit{af} \quad \textit{a=} \textit{mu} \quad \textit{qiw} \quad \textit{na} \quad \textit{tɕəw} \textit{g} \\
& 2\text{PL.NOM} = 2\text{PL.IPfv} \quad \text{ACC} = 1\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{call \ NEG \ do.IPfv} \\
& \quad \textquote{You(pl) did not invite me.}'
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(3.3) & \textit{təw=} \textit{at} \quad \textit{dzafusc} \quad \textit{wand,} \quad \textit{ɕitɕ} \quad \textit{wi} \quad \textit{bor} \\
& 2\text{SG.NOM} = 2\text{SG.IPfv} \quad \text{toil \ see.IPfv} \quad \text{now \ 3SG.NNOM.DIST \ fruit} \\
& \textit{wejn} \quad \textit{see.IPfv} \\
& \quad \textquote{You have seen toil; now see its fruit.'}
\end{align*}
Although free personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives function as the head of NPs, they have more restricted possibilities for syntactic modification than common nouns. The ungrammatical examples (3.5) - (3.9) demonstrate that pronouns and demonstratives cannot take any of the modifiers that a common noun in NP head function can, which were introduced in §2.3.1. The only exception is adjectivized phrases, which may sometimes directly modify pronouns, as in (3.10).
Pronouns may be elaborated in order to provide additional information on their referents. This elaboration occurs in the same NP as the pronoun, by apposing the pronoun with an NP. The elaborating NP is just a noun in (3.11), a numeral (with or without a classifier) in (3.12), an NP with a relative clause in (3.13), and an NP with a headless relative clause in (3.14).

(3.11)  
\[ \text{maɕ əwrat-χejl digar dzu$j$ na tedz=an} \]  
1PL.NOM woman-PL.NOM other place NEG go.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv  
‘We women do not go anywhere else.’

(3.12)  
\[ \text{maɕ haro$j$ (nafar) puiz qati tedz=an} \]  
1PL.NOM three CL train COM go.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv  
‘We three will go by train.’

(3.13)  
\[ \text{nɯr maɕ te$j$ na tɛw$\text{wyz}$=ɛnd$\text{z}$} \]  
today 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF = REL  
\[ \text{ba$\text{t}$co-χejl=an tup tamoq χɯɡ} \]  
child-PL.NOM =1PL.PFV group food eat.PFV  
‘Today we unmarried kids ate a meal together.’

(3.14)  
\[ \text{w$\text{d}$ qatɛ$\text{s}$in t$\text{w}$oj bruxtɛ=end$\text{z}$-χejl=af} \]  
3PL.NOM.DIST topping tea drink.PRF = REL-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV  
\[ \text{kɯtɕin sut} \]  
strong become.PFV  
‘They who drank the milk tea became strong.’

3.1.1 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

The non-nominative personal pronouns and nominal demonstratives, when not marked with any function markers, function as the possessor within an NP. The non-nominative personal pronouns are used for first and second persons, and nominal demonstratives are used for third person. They function
as determiners and precede their head noun, marking distinctions for person, number, and deixis. They are presented in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Possessive pronouns (determiner function)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.NOM</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.NNOM</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tamač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>def</td>
<td>wef</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with free personal pronouns, first- and second-person non-nominative pronouns in determiner function have only human referents.

(3.15)  

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

a = mu  iči₀l  pa  dom  tɕəwɡ,  ar
ACC = 1SG.NNOM  often  LOC  back  do.PFV  LOC

bordza = ik  jud
garden = DUR  take.PFV

‘When I was little, my grandmother often used to put me on her back and take me to the garden.’

(3.16)  

di  buland  awudz  qati  mač  sowl  tɕun
3SG.NNOM.PROX  high  sound  COM  1SG.NNOM  ear  deaf

supt
become.PFV

‘Our ears have gone deaf with its loud noise.’

(3.17)  

ta  gap = am  ču  tɕi  zord  kandakuri
2SG.NNOM  word = 1SG.PFV  REFL.NNOM  LOC  heart  engrave

tɕəwɡ
do.PFV

‘I engraved your words on my heart.’
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(3.18)\[\text{waχt naxtizd tsa tamač χeįs} \]
\[\text{time go.up.3SG.IPFV COND 2PL.NNOM side} \]
\[\text{so = am} \]
\[\text{become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \]
‘If I have time, I will come over to your(pl) place.’

When nominal demonstratives are used to indicate a third person possessor, they are marked for proximal or distal deixis and may be used as references to human as well as to non-human nouns. In the following examples, the possessive pronouns in (3.22) - (3.24) are ambiguous, as they may either refer to human beings or to objects.

(3.19)\[\text{waz = am wi ɕtu zord ub} \]
\[\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST cold heart melted} \]
\[\text{tɛwɡ} \]
\[\text{do.PFV} \]
‘I melted his cold heart.’

(3.20)\[\text{wɛf iw-ik batɕo kasal sut} \]
\[\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST one-DIM child sick become.PFV} \]
‘Their only child has gotten sick.’

(3.21)\[\text{cɪtɕ df əto ano-ɛf = ir} \]
\[\text{now 3PL.NNOM.PROX father mother-PL.NNOM = DAT} \]
\[\text{lev = am} \]
\[\text{say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \]
‘Now I will tell these ones’ parents.’

(3.22)\[\text{di χuɕbuj-i putun a = tɛd zuxt} \]
\[\text{3SG.NNOM.PROX fragrant-NMLZ all ACC = house get.PFV} \]
‘This one’s fragrance filled the whole house.’

(3.23)\[\text{wɛf dariz-i naviɕ = am} \]
\[\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST long-NMLZ write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV} \]
‘I will write down their length.’
Pronouns and demonstratives

3.2 Bound pronouns

Sarikoli has bound pronouns in the form of clitics, as shown in Table 3.3. The overt forms are obligatory in all finite clause types, including non-verbal sentences, with the exception of the "vid" copula clause in imperfective aspect (§8.4). In each clause, there is a single bound pronoun relating to the argument in subject function. Bound pronouns operate on a nominative/non-nominative system, showing agreement with the nominative (S, A, or copula subject) argument, which correlates with the nominative/non-nominative system of case marking on free pronouns and nouns. There are no bound pronouns indicating non-nominative or copula complement arguments.

The bound pronouns operate on a 1/2/3 person and singular/plural number system. There are two paradigms for bound pronouns; one for clauses in the imperfective aspect and the other for clauses in the perfective aspect. Aspect is not only shown by the form of these clitics, but in combination with the placement of the clitics and the type of verb stem. The imperfective aspect is formed with the imperfective verb stem plus the imperfective agreement clitics attached to the verb. The perfective aspect is formed with the perfective verb stem plus the perfective agreement clitics attached to another constituent in the clause which precedes the verb, except when the verb is the sole constituent in the clause, as in (3.27) & (3.28) and in the second clause in (3.29). The perfective agreement clitics must attach to the end of a phrase, most commonly the first phrase in a clause or the phrase that immediately precedes the verb, but it may attach to the end of any other phrase in the entire clause. The imperfective and perfective aspects each have a zero-marked clitic: in the imperfective aspect, a second person singular subject simply occurs with the imperfective verb stem with no agreement clitic, and in the perfective aspect, a third person singular subject occurs with the perfective verb stem with no agreement clitic. A third person singular subject in an imperfective clause occurs with what is more conveniently analyzed as a special verb stem to which the agreement clitic is fused, as it always has a final -t or -d. Cross-linguistically, person distinctions are often found to be neutralized in non-singular numbers (Dixon 2012:90); the person distinction

(3.24) \[ \text{di} \quad \text{num=at} \quad \chi u \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{juð} \]
\[3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{name=2SG.PFV} \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{memory} \]

\[\text{zuxt} = o\]
\[\text{get.PFV} = Q\]

‘Have you committed this one’s name into memory?’
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is neutralized in the second and third person plural forms in perfective aspect, as they are both \( =af \).

Table 3.3 Subject-verb agreement pronominal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.IPVF</th>
<th>PL.IPVF</th>
<th>SG.PVF</th>
<th>PL.PVF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=am</td>
<td>=an</td>
<td>=am</td>
<td>=an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=ø</td>
<td>=it</td>
<td>=at</td>
<td>=af</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(special stem: -t/-d)</td>
<td>=in</td>
<td>=ø</td>
<td>=af</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An utterance may consist of just the predicate and bound pronominal clitic. In the imperfective aspect, the imperfective clitic attaches to the verb, its regular host:

(3.25) \( navić =am \)
write.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I will write.’

(3.26) \( tɕos=it \)
watch.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF
‘Watch(pl).’

If a perfective or perfect sentence consists of a single predicate, the perfective clitic attaches to the verb, as there is no preverbal element:

(3.27) \( χɯɡ =am \)
eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV
‘I ate.’

(3.28) \( iθtɕ=af \)
come.PRF = 3PL.PFV
‘They came. (Evidential/New information)’

When two clauses with the same subject are coordinated, the subject NP in the second clause is often omitted; however, a bound pronoun is never omitted, as shown in (3.29) & (3.30). The argument in subject function is always shown by bound pronouns, whether or not it is also shown by another NP.
Pronouns and demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives are a small closed class of grammatical words which shows number, case, and deixis distinctions. They function as NP heads and do not take modifiers, and distinguish between proximal and distal deixis. The distal forms are not only used for referring to people and objects that are far from the speaker, but also those that are out of sight. Table 3.4 below shows the current distribution of Sarikoli nominal demonstratives. These forms are also used as possessive pronouns (§3.1.1) and demonstrative determiners (§3.3.1) with minor differences. For the non-nominative forms of these nominal demonstratives, the paradigm may be segmented into person and number morphemes, as the plural forms are derived by simply attaching the non-nominative plural suffix -ef to the singular forms.

Table 3.4 Nominal demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.NOM</td>
<td>(jam)/fad</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>dod</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td>(mi)/di</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>dsef</td>
<td>wef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominal demonstratives may have deictic reference to any person or thing, as it is equally acceptable for them to refer to humans as to all other varieties of nouns (non-human, animate, inanimate, concrete, abstract, etc.). In the following examples, the nominal demonstratives may be interpreted as references to people, as in (3.31) & (3.32), other nouns, as in (3.33) - (3.35), or either, depending on the context, as in (3.36) - (3.39), which are ambiguous.
(3.31) juu mas varɕide tuijdʑ = endʑ
   3SG.NOM.DIST also Varshide go.PRF = REL
   ‘He has also been to Varshide.’

(3.32) doŋ mu patiɕ vrud-ɕeʃl
   3PL.NOM.PROX 1SG.NOM cousin brother-PL.NOM
   ‘These are my male cousins.’

(3.33) xɔr, jad χig = ir zuxtɕ = endʑ
   eat.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.INF = DAT buy.PRF = REL
   ‘Eat, these were bought to be eaten.’

(3.34) awal m = a = di tɛust ka = am
   first CATA = ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX lock do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
   ‘I will lock this first.’

(3.35) a = def mas waz χɯbaθ
   ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX also 1SG.NOM REFL.NOM
   intsuvdʑ = endʑ
   sew.PRF = REL
   ‘These are also things that I have sewn myself.’

(3.36) a = wi mas na wazɔnd = ir veɖdz
   ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST also NEG know.INF = DAT be.PRF
   ‘(One) does not even know that/him/her. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.37) a = def = am vəwɡ
   ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV
   ‘I brought these.’

(3.38) woŋ = af pukzo na veɖdz
   3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV clean NEG be.PRF
   ‘They are not clean. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.39) təw a = wɛf mu = ri az kol
   2SG.NOM ACC = 3PL.NOM.DIST 1SG.NOM = DAT from head
   buz = o
   send.IPFV = Q
   ‘Will you send them to me again?’
In addition to the distinctions of case and number, Paxalina (1966:33) and Payne (Payne 1989:431) have reported that demonstratives (or third person pronouns) have a three-way distinction of deixis: proximal (near speaker), medial (mid-distance to speaker), and distal (far from speaker). However, Sarikoli in its present state has lost the distinction between proximal and medial deixis. That is, the original forms for proximal deixis have predominantly fallen out of use and the originally medial forms are now used for spatial references near the speaker. For the singular nominative proximal demonstrative, *jam* and *jad* are used interchangeably referring to objects that are near, as in (3.40), but usage of *jam* is very rare. For the singular non-nominative proximal demonstrative, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for objects in the same distance, as in (3.41), but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has nearly fallen out of use. For the plural proximal demonstratives, the forms *moð* and *mɛf* have completely fallen out of use, so again, both the plural forms and singular forms only have two distinctions of deixis, proximal and distal, as in (3.42) & (3.43).

(3.40) \[\text{jam/jad \quad tɕi \quad batɕo} \]
\[3SG.NOM.PROX \quad \text{who.N NOM} \quad \text{child} \]
‘Whose child is this?’ (jam/jad interchangeable)

(3.41) \[\text{m = a = mi/di} \quad \text{tɕi \quad ka = o} \]
\[\text{CATA = ACC = 3SG.NOM.PROX \quad \text{lift \ CAP \ do.PFV = Q}} \]
‘Can you lift this?’ (m = a = mi/m = a = di interchangeable)

(3.42) \[\text{m = doð} \quad \text{az \ amriko \ iθtɕ = endʑ} \]
\[\text{CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX \ ABL \ America \ come.PRF = REL} \]
\[\text{mejmun-χejl, \ u \ woð \ az \ kanada} \]
\[\text{guest-PL.N NOM \ there \ 3PL.NOM.DIST \ ABL \ Canada} \]
\[\text{iθtɕ = endʑ} \]
\[\text{come.PRF = REL} \]
‘These are guests from America, and those are from Canada.’

(3.43) \[\text{m = a = def = am} \quad \text{dejd \ na} \]
\[\text{CATA = ACC = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 1SG.PFV \ enter.INF \ NEG} \]
\[\text{latacwg, \ a = wef = am} \quad \text{latacwg} \]
\[\text{let.PFV \ ACC = 3PL.NOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV \ let.PFV} \]
‘I did not allow these to enter, but I allowed them.’
3.3.1 Demonstrative determiners

Nominal demonstratives may also serve a determiner function, being used as modifiers within NPs of both nominative and non-nominative cases. They reveal the case of the NP by taking different forms. They show the same distinctions for case, number, and the two degrees of deixis: proximal and distal. As with the nominal demonstratives, these demonstrative determiners may be used for modifying both humans and all other varieties of nouns (animate, inanimate, concrete, abstract, etc.), and they additionally have a human/non-human distinction. They are presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Demonstrative determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.NOM</td>
<td>(jam)/jad (ju)</td>
<td>PROXIMAL (dod (human))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DISTAL (wu (human))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.NNOM</td>
<td>(mi)/di (wi)</td>
<td>PROXIMAL (mi)/di (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DISTAL (ju (non-human))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there are some differences in form when demonstratives are used as determiners as opposed to NP heads. Unlike nominal demonstratives (Table 3.4), demonstrative determiners have no distinct plural non-nominative forms that are fused with the plural marker -ɛf. In accordance with the general restriction on marking plural more than once within the NP, the demonstrative determiners do not have -ɛf built into them, and it is the head noun that takes the plural marking instead. Also, the plural nominative forms make distinctions for human vs. non-human.

As with the nominal demonstratives, both jam and jad may be used for the singular nominative proximal forms, but jam is used very rarely. In (3.44) and (3.45), jam and jad may be used interchangeably. The singular nominative distal form is jiu, which is also identical when used as a nominal demonstrative.

(3.44) \( \text{jam/jad} \quad \text{batɕo pa gap na tɕombd} \)  
\( 3SG.NOM.PROX\) child LOC word NEG be.willing.3SG.IPVF  
‘This child is disobedient.’

(3.45) \( \text{jam/jad} \quad \text{batɕo uʦe aqlin veðdz} \)  
\( 3SG.NOM.PROX\) child very smart be.PRF  
‘This child is very smart. (Evidential/New information)’
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(3.46)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad tsem \quad ujnak \quad dudz = endz \quad bat\text{-}co \quad az \]
there \quad 3SG.NOM.DIST \quad eye \quad glass \quad give.PRF = REL \quad child \quad ABL

\[ wat\text{\-}ra \]
Wacha

‘That child who is wearing glasses is from Wacha.’

(3.47)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad t\text{-}sd \quad mu \quad dud\text{-}an \]
there \quad 3SG.NOM.DIST \quad house \quad 1SG.NNOM \quad uncle-GEN

‘That house over there is my uncle’s.’

The plural nominative forms also distinguish between human participants and non-human objects. The forms *do\text{\-}d* (proximal) and *wo\text{\-}d* (distal) are only used for humans, as in (3.48) & (3.49); for non-human objects, whether animate or inanimate, the same forms as the singular nominative forms are used, as in (3.50) - (3.53).

(3.48)  
\[ do\text{\-}d \quad bat\text{-}co\text{-}\text{\-}eji \quad pu\text{\-}g\text{\-}an \quad xw\text{\-}or \]
3PL.NOM.PROX \quad child-PL.NOM \quad tomorrow \quad Kashgar

\[ tedz = in \]
go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘These children are going to Kashgar tomorrow.’

(3.49)  
\[ wo\text{\-}d \quad bat\text{-}co\text{-}\text{\-}eji=af \quad u\text{\-}\text{\-}c \quad pukzo \]
3PL.NOM.DIST \quad child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PVF \quad very \quad clean

\[ \chi\text{\-}ig = ir \quad ve\text{\-}dz\text{\-}z \]
eat.INF = DAT \quad be.PRF

‘Those children eat very clean. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.50)  
\[ mi = jad \quad kalo\text{-}eji \quad zulfia\text{-}an \]
CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX \quad sheep-PL.NOM \quad Zeelfia-GEN

‘These sheep are Zeelfia’s.’

(3.51)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad kalo\text{-}eji \quad zulfia\text{-}an \]
there \quad 3SG.NOM.DIST \quad sheep-PL.NOM \quad Zeelfia-GEN

‘Those sheep are Zeelfia’s.’
The singular and plural non-nominative determiners share the same form, so there are no distinctive forms for the plural non-nominative determiners. The following pairs of sentences illustrate how the same forms of determiners are used for singular and plural non-nominative NPs. Unlike the plural nominative forms, they do not distinguish between human and non-human objects. For the non-nominative proximal determiner, *mi* and *di* may be used interchangeably for nearby objects, but *mi* is exceedingly rare and has almost completely fallen out of use.

(3.54) \[ \text{was} = \text{am} \quad \text{a} = \text{di} \quad \text{χαλγ} \quad \text{na} \]
\[1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV \quad ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad \text{person} \quad \text{NEG} \]
\[ \text{waz} = \text{on} \]
\[ \text{know.PFV} \]
\[ \text{‘I did not know this person.’} \]

(3.55) \[ \text{a} = \text{di} \quad \text{battr-ɛf} = \text{am} \quad \text{rond} \]
\[ ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad \text{child-PL.NNOM} = 1SG.PFV \quad \text{scold.PFV} \]
\[ \text{‘I scolded these children.’} \]

(3.56) \[ \text{a} = \text{di} \quad \text{kalo} \quad \text{kejɣ} = \text{an} = \text{o} \]
\[ ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad \text{sheep} \quad \text{slaughter.IPfv} = 1PL.IPfv = Q \]
\[ \text{‘Shall we slaughter this sheep?’} \]

(3.57) \[ \text{a} = \text{di} \quad \text{kalo-ɛf} \quad \text{az} \]
\[ ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad \text{sheep-PL.NNOM} \quad \text{ABL} \]
\[ \text{ko} = \text{at} \quad \text{vəw} \]
\[ \text{where.NNOM} = 2SG.PFV \quad \text{bring.PFV} \]
\[ \text{‘Where do you bring these sheep from?’} \]
(3.58)  
\[ m = a = \text{mi/di} \]
\[ \text{cata} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \]
\[ \text{ter} = \text{cap} \]
\[ \text{tɕi} = \text{do.IPV} = Q \]

‘Can you lift this rock?’

(3.59)  
\[ m = a = \text{mi/di} \]
\[ \text{cata} = \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \]
\[ \text{ter} = \text{cap} \]
\[ \text{tɕi} = \text{do.IPV} = Q \]

‘Can you lift these rocks?’

(3.60)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \]
\[ \text{di} = \text{ir} \]
\[ \text{tɕurik} = \text{dat} \]
\[ \text{hamru} = \text{companion} \]

‘I became a companion for this man.’

(3.61)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \]
\[ \text{di} = \text{avon} \]

‘I got up from my seat for these women.’

For distal non-nominative objects, the determiner *wi* is used, again regardless of their number or whether they are human or non-human. Compare the following pairs of sentences which demonstrate that *wi* may be used for both singular and plural non-nominative NPs, whether they are human (3.62) - (3.65), non-human animate (3.66) & (3.67), or non-human inanimate (3.68) & (3.69).

(3.62)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \]
\[ a = \text{wi} \]
\[ \text{χalɡ} = \text{qiw} \]
\[ \text{tɕəwɡ} = \text{do.IPV} \]

‘I called that person.’

(3.63)  
\[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \]
\[ a = \text{wi} \]
\[ \text{batɕo-ef} \]

‘I scolded those children.’
The proximal forms are used for referents near the speaker, while distal forms are used for referents far away from the speaker. By analogy, the spatial reference of demonstratives may be extended to temporal reference. The proximal demonstrative *di* is often used when referring to a point in time that is near the point of utterance, while the distal demonstrative *wi* is used when referring to a point in time that is distant from the point of utterance, usually in the future.
3.4 Demonstrative clitics

When referring to other participants or objects in the discourse or physical context, nominal demonstratives substitute for full NPs in order to avoid repetition of them. They may always be used anaphorically, and often also cataphorically (Dixon 2010b). However, in addition to using nominal demonstratives, Sarikoli has special demonstrative clitics used for indicating anaphora and cataphora as well as distance to the speaker or addressee. Sarikoli uses two demonstrative clitics to specify whether reference is being made about something earlier in the discourse (anaphora) or closer to the addressee, or later in the discourse (cataphora) or closer to the speaker (Levinsohn 2011). These demonstrative clitics attach to nouns, pronouns, determiners, local demonstratives, and prepositions.

\( k(i) = \) is an anaphoric demonstrative clitic used for activated referents. It is coreferential with participants, objects, or portions of the discourse that have already been mentioned, or objects that are near the addressee. The following examples demonstrate how \( k(i) = \) refers to objects that have already been introduced in the same sentence. In (3.73), \( k(i) = \) refers to the ‘pure Tajik word’ in the subordinate clause. In (3.74), it refers to ‘wherever the donkey stops’ in the first clause. In (3.75), it refers to ‘how you ask’ in the subordinate clause.

(3.70) \[ \text{ar di afto/most/mawsum} \]
\[ \text{LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX week/month/semester} \]
\[ \text{‘during this week/month/semester’} \]

(3.71) \[ \text{ar wi afto/most/mawsum} \]
\[ \text{LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week/month/semester} \]
\[ \text{‘during next week/month/semester’} \]

(3.72) \[ \text{di tuv = at na jot,} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX time = 2SG.PFV NEG come.PFV} \]
\[ \text{wi tuv vid na vid joð} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NNOM.DIST time be.INF NEG be.INF come.IPFV} \]
\[ \text{‘You did not come this time, but next time come no matter what.’} \]
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(3.73) suf tudišik gap tsa vid
pure Tajik word COND be.3SG.IPVF

k = a = wi
χumand ka
ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST teach do.IPVF
‘If there is a pure Tajik word, teach that one.’

(3.74) kudʑur = ik ɕɛr warɯvd k = um = αθ taw
where = DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA = there = EMP 2SG.NOM

bejg at χon set = ir vɛddz
ruler CONJ king become.INF = DAT be.PRF
‘Wherever the donkey stops, that is where you will become a ruler and a king. (Evidential/New information)’

(3.75) taw pars tsa waz = am
2SG.NOM ask.IPVF COND 1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPVF

ki = wi
ranɡ parst
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMP ask.PFV
‘You know how you ask questions? I asked like that.’

\(k(i)\) may refer to objects and participants introduced in the discourse prior to the sentence containing \(k(i)\). In the conversation preceding (3.76), the speakers have talked about a certain hotel, and \(k(i)\) refers to that hotel. In the conversation preceding (3.77), the speakers have talked about ‘today’, which is what \(k(i)\) is referring to. In (3.78), \(k(i)\) refers to a spoken description or an actual physical demonstration of a certain manner of eating.

(3.76) jiu mas k = ar wi mejmunχuno
3SG.NOM.DIST also ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST hotel

tɕɛr kaxt
work do.3SG.IPVF
‘He also works at that hotel.’

(3.77) mu-an  ki = jad i maθ rejd,
1SG.NOM-GEN ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one day remain.PFV

puɡan waz tedz = am
tomorrow 1SG.NOM go.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF
‘I only have this one day left, I am leaving tomorrow.’
Pronouns and demonstratives

(3.78)  \[ \text{waz } \text{mas } \text{ki}=\text{wi} \quad \text{rang } \text{chi}=\text{ituz} \]
1SG.NOM also ANA = 3SG.N NOM .DIST SEMB eat .INF = REL
‘I also eat like that.’

\( k(i)= \) may make reference to a clause or to any stretch of discourse that has been previously uttered. For example, if one wishes to express agreement for opinions articulated by another speaker in the conversation, one would say the sentence in (3.79). When another speaker asks about a certain situation and one is fairly sure about its validity, one would say the sentence in (3.80). When someone is profusely expressing thanks or apology, the sentence in (3.81) is a common response. In all of these examples, \( k(i)= \) refers to larger portions of the previous discourse.

(3.79)  \[ \text{ki}=\text{gap} \]
ANA = word
‘That is what I mean.’ (lit. That word.)

(3.80)  \[ \text{k} =\text{dos}=\text{o } \quad \text{kwi} \]
ANA = manner = Q SUP
‘It is so, I think.’

(3.81)  \[ \text{ki}=\text{wi}=\text{rang} \quad \text{mo } \quad \text{lcv} \]
ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = SEMB PROH say.IPFV
‘Don’t say it like that.’

\( k(i)= \) is also used in the causal conjunction \( \text{kazwi} \), which links together a reason clause and a result clause. It is derived from \( k=\text{az wi} \) and literally means ‘from (i.e. because of) that’:

(3.82)  \[ \text{nɯr } \text{ɕamul } \text{uɕtɕ } \text{kutɕin } \text{kazwi } \text{mɕʷdʑ } \text{uɕtɕ } \text{buɬand} \]
today wind very strong so wave very high
\[ \text{sɛdʑ } \text{become.PRF} \]
‘The wind is strong today, so the waves have gotten very high.
(Evidential/New information)’

(3.83)  \[ \text{waz}=\text{am } \quad \text{χu } \quad \text{pɔnd } \text{bunost } \text{kazwi}=\text{am} \]
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REF L .NNOM road lose.PF V so = 1SG.PF V
\[ \text{dejɾ } \text{jot} \]
late come.PFV
‘I got lost, that is why I came late.’
On the other hand, $m(i) = $ is a cataphoric demonstrative clitic that points forward to referents which have yet to be stated or shown, or to objects that are closer to the speaker. It alludes to information that will be introduced in the following discourse or will be shown in the physical context. The sentence in example (3.84) may be followed by either a spoken description or an actual physical description of how to do something, and $m(i) = $ may refer to either kind of information.

(3.84)  
\[ m = dos \quad ka = it \quad tsa \quad na \]  
\text{CATA = manner} \quad \text{do.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG}  
\[ səwd = o \]  
\text{become.3SG.IPfv = Q}  
‘Can’t you(pl) do it this way?’

$m(i) = $ is frequently used for specific objects that may be pointed to in the immediate physical context. In (3.85) - (3.89), none of the occurrences of $m(i) = $ are strictly necessary, but they make their hosts more specific by referring to specific objects, and must be accompanied by a pointing gesture.

(3.85)  
\[ m = səwd-ik \quad laka \]  
\text{CATA = here-DIM} \quad \text{put.IPfv}  
‘Put it down here.’

(3.86)  
\[ mi = jad \quad dʑu = ik \quad dizd \]  
\text{CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{place = DUR} \quad \text{hurt.3SG.IPfv}  
‘This place hurts.’

(3.87)  
\[ m = ar \quad di \quad səwn \quad diδ \]  
\text{CATA = LOC} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{sack} \quad \text{enter.IPfv}  
‘Go into this sack.’

(3.88)  
\[ m = a = di \quad duri \quad χor \quad tsa \quad na \]  
\text{CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{medicine} \quad \text{eat.IPfv} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{NEG}  
\[ səwd \]  
\text{become.3SG.IPfv}  
‘You must not take this medicine.’
Pronouns and demonstratives

(3.89) \( təw \quad mi=di \quad rang \quad ćejdoi \quad intsivd \)
\( 2SG.NOM \quad CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad SEMB \quad Sheydoi \quad sew.INF \)
\( tɕi \quad ka=o \)
\( CAP \quad do.IPVF = Q \)
‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like this?’

Whereas \( k(i) = \) attaches to pronouns, determiners, and local demonstratives that are both proximal and distal, \( m(i) = \) only attaches to proximal ones, as the referent must be close to the speaker:

(3.90) \( *m=ɯm-ik \quad laka \)
\( CATA = there-DIM \quad put.IPVF \)
‘Put it down there.’

(3.91) \( *mi=ju \quad dʑuj=ik \quad dizd \)
\( CATA = 3SG.NOM.DIST \quad place = DUR \quad hurt.3SG.IPVF \)
‘That place hurts.’

(3.92) \( *təw \quad mi=wi \quad rang \quad ćejdoi \quad intsivd \quad tɕi \)
\( 2SG.NOM \quad CATA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad SEMB \quad Sheydoi \quad sew.INF \quad CAP \)
\( ka=o \)
\( do.IPVF = Q \)
‘Can you sew a Sheydoi (female cap) like that?’

\( k(i) = \) and \( m(i) = \) sometimes co-occur on proximal pronouns, determiners, and local demonstratives. Some speakers combine these clitics frequently, while others virtually never do so. The conditions of the use of the \( mi=ki= \) forms are not yet fully understood, but the reasons may be phonotactic, discourse-related (i.e. for focus marking), or as a historical vestige of a convention that is no longer meaningful or productive.

(3.93) \( i \quad tai \quad dʑuj \quad niθ=an \quad m=k=əwd \)
\( one \quad LOC \quad place \quad sit.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF \quad CATA = ANA = here \)
‘We gather here in one place.’

(3.94) \( nuwondz \quad m=k=pa \quad di \quad noχ \)
\( bride \quad CATA = ANA = LOC \quad 3SG.NNOM.PROX \quad Noh \)
\( warifst \)
\( stand.3SG.IPVF \)
‘The bride stands on this Noh (raised platform for eating, sleeping, and relaxing).’
(3.95) \( m = ki = di \quad \text{rang} \quad \text{gap-cf} = ik \)
\[
\text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{SEMB} \quad \text{word-PL.NNOM} = \text{DUR}
\]
\( m\text{u} = ri \quad \text{kaxt} \)
\( 1\text{SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{do.3SG.IPfv} \)

‘He says such and such things to me.’

(3.96) \( m\text{a-s\text{-}an} \quad \text{imi} = ri \quad \text{t\text{-}w\text{-}y\text{-}d\text{z}} = \text{en\text{-}d\text{z}} \quad \text{t\text{-}c\text{\text{-}er}} \)
\[
1\text{PL.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{RECP} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{do.PRf} = \text{REL} \quad \text{matter}
\]
\( m = k = dund \)
\( \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = \text{AMT} \)

‘This is the extent of what we did to each other.’

(3.97) \( \text{putxu} \quad \text{rad\text{-}zen} \quad a = \text{wi} \quad \text{t\text{-}c\text{\text{-}ost}} \)
\[
\text{king} \quad \text{daughter} \quad \text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{watch.3SG.IPfv}
\]
\( \chi_{\text{u}} \quad \text{levd} \quad \text{iko} \quad a \)
\( \text{TEMP.} \text{CONJ} \quad \text{say.3SG.IPfv} \quad \text{SC} \quad \text{INTJ} \)
\( \text{mi} = k = \text{jad} \quad \text{w\text{-}do} \)
\( \text{CATA} = \text{ANA} = 3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{boy} \)

‘The king’s daughter takes a look at him and says, “Ah, yes, it is this boy.”’

(3.98) \( m = k = \text{az} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{u\text{-}n\text{\text{-}ots\text{-}cf}} \)
\[
\text{CATA} = \text{aca} = \text{ABL} \quad 3\text{SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{girl-PL.NNOM}
\]
\( \text{tu} = ri = ik \quad \text{t\text{-}c\text{\text{-}id\text{um}}} \quad \text{\text{\text{\text{-}}}w\text{-}s\text{-t}} \quad \text{su\text{-}t} \)
\( 2\text{SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} = \text{DUR} \quad \text{which} \quad \text{happy} \quad \text{become} \text{.PFv} \)
\( \text{tu} = ri \quad \text{do} = \text{am} \)
\( 2\text{SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{give.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv} \)

‘I will give you whichever one of these girls you like the most.’
In summary, \( ki = \) and \( mi = \) are clitics that refer to objects or participants in the physical context or portions of the discourse. \( ki = \) is for activated referents and \( mi = \) is for referents that will be shown or expressed. The following pair of examples contrast the use of \( ki = \) and \( mi = : \) the first speaker says the sentence in (3.100), and then shares her line of thought; after hearing this, the second speaker says the sentence in (3.101) to show that he thought of things in the same way.

(3.100) \[
\begin{align*}
  m &= dos = am & \text{uj} & \text{tɕəwəg} \\
  \text{CATA} &= \text{manner} = 1SG.PFV & \text{thought} & \text{do.PFV}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I thought of it this way.’

(3.101) \[
\begin{align*}
  was &= am & mas & k = dos & \text{uj} & \text{tɕəwəg} \\
  1SG.NOM &= 1SG.PFV & \text{also} & \text{ANA} &= \text{manner} & \text{thought} & \text{do.PFV}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I thought of it that way, too.’

### 3.5 Local demonstratives

Sarikoli has two local demonstratives making spatial reference, which show deictic contrast: \( əwd ‘here’ \) and \( um/um ‘there’ \) (showing dialectical variation). These are locational adverbs to a clause, and they generally occur in clause initial position, or immediately after the subject or a time word. They do not have restrictions in terms of the clause types they may occur in, and are used in verbal, existential, and copula clauses. The diminutive suffix \(-ik\) sometimes attaches to \( əwd \) or \( um \), but it does not seem to change the meaning of these spatial shifters. These local demonstratives have less adpositional marking.
than on locations expressed by common nouns, as they are sometimes not required to occur with a locative adposition, as in (3.102) - (3.105).

(3.102)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{was} & \text{swd} & \text{hitc} & a = \text{tsi} & \text{na} \\
1SG.NOM & 1SG.NOM & here & none & ACC=\text{who.N NOM} & \text{NEG}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wazon} = \text{am} \\
\text{kno w.IP F V} = 1SG.IP F V \\
\text{I do not know anyone here.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(3.103)  
\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{varsid} & \text{dzul-ik} & \text{dzuj} & \text{mas} & \text{tsa} & \text{vid} & \text{um} \\
\text{Varshide} & \text{small-DIM} & \text{place} & \text{also} & \text{COND} & \text{be.3SG.IP F V} & \text{there}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ladza} & \text{jost} \\
\text{dialect} & \text{be.IP F V}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{‘Even though Varshide is a small place, there are dialects there.’}
\]

(3.104)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{was} & \text{am} & \text{um-ik} & \text{\textalpha{u}} & \text{malum} & \text{wand} \\
1SG.NOM & 1SG.NOM & there-DIM & REF L.N NOM & teacher & see.IP F V
\end{array}
\]
\[
\text{‘I saw my teacher over there.’}
\]

(3.105)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{um-ik} & \text{der} & \text{\textalpha{u}} & \text{ajo\textbeta{g}} & \text{wej\textbeta{d}} \\
\text{there-DIM} & CPR V & REF L.N NOM & shoe & put.IP F V
\end{array}
\]
\[
\text{‘Take your shoes off over there a little bit.’}
\]

These two local demonstratives are frequently combined with the locative preposition \textit{ar}, as in (3.106) & (3.107), locative preposition \textit{tar}, as in (3.108) & (3.109), and ablative \textit{as}, as in (3.110) & (3.111). The locative preposition for upriver locations, \textit{pa}, is only used for \textit{um} ‘there’ or \textit{swd} ‘here’ if the place of reference is higher than the place of the hearer, as in (3.112) & (3.113), and the resulting form is \textit{pa dium} or \textit{pa dawd}, respectively. When local demonstratives occur with prepositions, they do not take the diminutive suffix \textit{–ik}.  

(3.106)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{a = putxu} & \text{ar} & \text{swd} & \text{mo} & \text{vor} \\
\text{ACC= king} & \text{LOC} & \text{here} & \text{PROH} & \text{bring.IP F V}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\text{‘Do not bring the king here.’}
\]

(3.107)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{was} & \text{am} & \text{turpon} & \text{tujds-it,} & \text{ar} & \text{um} & \text{nawz} \\
1SG.NOM = 1SG.IP F V & 1SG.NOM = 1SG.IP F V & \text{Turpan} & \text{go.IP F V-C E S S} & \text{LOC} & \text{there} & \text{still}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hawu} & \text{na} \text{\textbeta{d}uz} \\
\text{precipitation} & \text{NEG} & \text{fall.PRF}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{‘I went to Turpan, and there it had not snowed yet. (Evidential/New information)’}
\]
Some of these combinations of preposition and local demonstrative may be used idiomatically for expressions related to space and time, as shown in Table 3.6. (3.114) - (3.117) are illustrations of these idiomatic expressions containing prepositions and local demonstratives.
Table 3.6 Idiomatic expressions with local demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tar um tar awd</td>
<td>‘in various directions; approximately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di tar awd</td>
<td>‘from now on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az tarat¹</td>
<td>‘since (a certain time in the past)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.114) dijur χalɡ tar um tar awd ratsas0t
region person LOC there LOC here escape.3SG.IPfv
‘The villagers run away this way and that way.’

(3.115) i çejdoi intsivd=ir tar um tar awd i most
don.1SG.IPfv one Sheydoi sew.1INF=DAT LOC there LOC here one month
tizd
go.3SG.IPfv
‘It takes approximately one month to make one Sheydoi (female cap).’

(3.116) di tar awd az mu utc dzul
3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here ABL 1SG.NNOM very small
tsz-ɛf mo pars, mu kol
thing-PL.NNOM PROH ask.IPfv 1SG.NNOM head
warst
turn.3SG.IPfv
‘From now on, do not ask me questions about very small things. My head will spin.’

(3.117) a=ta wand az tarat jv xovd na
ACC=2SG.NNOM see.INF ABL since 3SG.NOM sleep.INF NEG
tvi tcej=ɪtɛz suit
CAP do.INF=REL become.PFV
‘Since seeing you, he has become unable to sleep.’

In addition to prepositions, local demonstratives also frequently co-occur with the demonstrative clitics k = and m = . The cataphoric clitic m = only attaches to awd and occurs with a pointing gesture, making it more specific by assigning it a smaller scope, as in (3.118). The diminutive suffix –ik may also occur, without changing the meaning in any significant way.

¹ az tarat may have originated from az tar awd, but this is not certain.
The anaphoric clitic $k=$ may attach to either $\text{əwd}$ or $\text{um}$, and is used when the spatial reference is already known or mentioned in the physical context or discourse. In conversations previous to (3.119), the speakers have mentioned the place where they are currently situated. In conversations previous to (3.120) & (3.121), a place other than the place of speech has been mentioned.

When referring to things that are far away, a lengthened /u/ occurs before the demonstrative determinant modifying that noun, as in (3.122) - (3.124), or occurs as part of a local demonstrative, as in (3.125). The farther away the object is, the longer the /u/ is pronounced.
Local demonstratives are often the sole spatial reference within their clause, but may also be apposed to an NP bearing locational specification, as in (3.126) & (3.127).

(3.126)  
\[ \text{waz} \quad \text{m=əwд-ik} \quad \text{tsej} \quad \text{buzur} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{nov} \]  
1SG.NOM  CATA=here-DIM  vegetable  bazaar  LOC  mouth  
‘I am here at the entrance of the vegetable bazaar.’

(3.127)  
\[ \text{k=um} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{maktab} \quad \text{mac-an} \quad \text{ato} \quad \text{ano} \]  
ANA=there  LOC  school  1PL.NNOM-GEN  father  mother  
\[ \text{nist} \]  
NEG.be.IPFV  
‘There at school we do not have our father and mother.’

### 3.6 Manner demonstratives

Sarikoli has manner demonstratives that serve an adverbial function within the predicate. Corresponding to the anaphoric and cataphoric demonstratives \( ki = \) and \( mi = \) are the following manner demonstratives: \( k = \text{dos} \) ‘in that way/manner’, \( ki = \text{rang}/ki = \text{wi rang} \) ‘like that’, \( m = \text{dos} \) ‘in this way/manner’, and \( mi = \text{di rang} \) ‘like this’. They are formed with the manner word \( \text{dos} \) and
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semblative marker *rang*, in combination with $k(i) = \text{ and } m(i) = \text{. These demonstratives have both deictic and anaphoric or cataphoric reference to an activity.} \text{.}$ $k = \text{dos}$ and $ki = \text{rang/ki = wi rang}$ are used to refer to a distal activity, as well as having anaphoric function; $m = \text{dos}$ and $mi = \text{di rang}$ are used to refer to a proximal activity, in addition to serving a cataphoric function.

As an anaphoric manner demonstrative, $k = \text{dos}$ may be used to refer to direct speech that has already been uttered, while $m = \text{dos}$, as a cataphoric demonstrative, may be used to introduce direct speech. In (3.128), the $k = \text{dos}$ refers to what the addressee has already said, and $m = \text{dos}$ refers to what the speaker is about to say.

(3.128) \[ k = \text{dos} \quad m = \text{dos} \quad \] 
\[ \text{ANA = manner} \quad \text{PROH say.IPV} \quad \text{CATA = manner} \quad \text{say.IPV} \]

‘Do not say it that way, say it this way.’

3.7 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive construction refers to activities where the participants are not distinct from one another; it is used when two arguments of a verb have identical reference (Dixon 2012:159). A reflexive is used in a transitive clause if the A and O arguments have the same reference, such as the underlying sentence (3.129), by employing the reflexive pronoun $\chi_u$ in O slot, giving the sentence in (3.130). The transitive verb of the clause maintains its transitivity. (3.129) is ungrammatical if both instances of Rashid refer to the same person.

(3.129) \[ \text{‘raɕid} \quad a = \text{raɕid} \quad \text{dud} \]
\[ \text{Rashid} \quad \text{ACC = Rashid} \quad \text{hit.PFV} \]

‘Rashid hit Rashid.’

(3.130) \[ \text{raɕid} \quad a = \chi_u \quad \text{dud} \]
\[ \text{Rashid} \quad \text{ACC = REFL.NOM} \quad \text{hit.PFV} \]

‘Rashid hit himself.’

Sarikoli has a special reflexive pronoun, $\chi_u$ ‘self’. Morphologically, $\chi_u$ has an invariant form and shows no person or number distinction, but is always interpreted as having the same person and number as the subject of its clause, as demonstrated by (3.131) - (3.134).
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(3.131)  
\( a = \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{towards nigo} \)  
\( \text{ka = it} \)  
ACC = REFL.NNom  good  watch  do.IPVF = 2PL.IPVF  
‘Take good care of yourselves.’

(3.132)  
\( t\omega = \text{at} \)  
\( \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{num} \)  
\( \mu = \text{ri} \)  
\( \text{na} \)  
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV  REFL.NNom  name  1SG.NNom = DAT  NEG  
levd  
say.PFV  
‘You did not tell me your name.’

(3.133)  
\( \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{ano} \)  
\( \text{ziv} \)  
\( \text{mas} \)  
\( \text{na} \)  
\( \text{wazon = in} \)  
REFL.NNom  mother  tongue  also  NEG  know.IPVF = 3PL.IPVF  
‘They do not even know their mother tongue.’

(3.134)  
\( \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{hamru} \)  
\( \text{pa} \)  
\( \text{t\ced} \)  
\( \text{so = am} \)  
REFL.NNom  companion  LOC  house  become.IPVF = 1SG.IPVF  
‘I and going to my friend’s house.’

The reflexive \( \chi \mu \) is subject-oriented: the antecedent of \( \chi \mu \) must be the subject of the clause. With respect to reflexives, A, S, and copula subject arguments will all be referred to as ‘subject’. \( \chi \mu \) must be less prominent than its antecedent, and occurs as a non-nominative argument or non-argument. It may function as a full NP or as a possessor within an NP. Whichever syntactic function it takes on, it occurs in the regular slot for that function.

Because \( \chi \mu \) is subject-oriented, its antecedent is rarely ambiguous, despite its invariant form. Even when non-subject arguments appear closer to \( \chi \mu \) than the subject does, they cannot function as the antecedent because they are not the subject of the clause, as shown in (3.135) - (3.137).

(3.135)  
\( \text{alima} \)  
\( \text{malum} \)  
\( a = \text{bat\-} \text{co-} \text{ef} \)  
\( \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{pa} \)  
\( \text{t\ced} \)  
Alima  teacher  ACC = child-PL.NNom  REFL.NNom  LOC  house  
jud  
take.PFV  
‘Teacher Alima took the children to her house.’ (\( \chi \mu \rightarrow \text{Alima} \))

(3.136)  
\( \text{canbe} \)  
\( \text{tursun = ir} \)  
\( \chi \mu \)  
\( \text{qalam} \)  
\( \text{d\ud} \)  
Shanbe  Tursun = DAT  REFL.NNom  pen  give.PFV  
‘Shanbe gave his pen to Tursun.’ (\( \chi \mu \rightarrow \text{Shanbe} \))
Even when the subject NP is ellipsed, the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, which must be the subject, can still be known from the pronominal agreement clitics in the sentence, as in the following examples.

(3.138) \( \chi_\text{-ono}=\text{ri} \quad \text{tilfon} \quad \text{ka}=\text{am} \)  
REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT phone do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
‘I will call my mother.’

(3.139) \( \chi\_\text{u} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tecd} \quad \text{nalu}=\text{endz} \quad \text{rang} \)  
REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF = REL SEMB  
\( \text{ni}=\text{th} \)  
sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV  
‘Sit as if you are at your(pl) own home.’

(3.140) \( \chi\_\text{u} \quad \text{mudz} = \text{z} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{waz} = \text{d} \quad \text{tar} \quad \text{jw} \)  
REFL.NNOM feeling COND know.3SG.IPFV LOC dawn  
\( \text{n} \text{o}=\text{cta} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{kax} = \text{t} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{sw} \)  
breakfast NEG do.3SG.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV  
‘If she knows her own feeling, she can not eat breakfast in the morning.’

Reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns are in complementary distribution within a simple clause: any pronoun referring to the subject must take the reflexive form, and non-reflexive pronouns can never take a subject antecedent within their minimal clause. Non-reflexive pronouns can be coreferential to any argument except the subject, so they can only function as a subject or refer to non-subject arguments. This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences.

(3.141)  
a. \( \text{mina} \quad \chi\_\text{u} \quad \text{bat}=\text{ri} \quad \text{mon} \quad \text{bud} \)  
Mina REFL.NNOM child = DAT apple give.PFV  
‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ \( (\chi_\text{u} \rightarrow \text{Mina}) \)

b. \( \text{mina} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{bat}=\text{ri} \quad \text{mon} \quad \text{bud} \)  
Mina 3SG.NNOM.DIST child = DAT apple give.PFV  
‘Mina gave an apple to her child.’ \( (\text{wi} \rightarrow \text{NOT Mina}) \)
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(3.142) a. \textit{waz = am} \textit{χɯ} \textit{numur ranuxtc}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & 1SG.PVF & REFL.NNOM & number forget.PRF \\
\end{tabular}
'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)’ (χɯ → I)

b. *\textit{waz = am} \textit{mu} \textit{numur ranuxtc}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & 1SG.PVF & 1SG.NNOM & number forget.PRF \\
\end{tabular}
'I forgot my number. (Evidential/New information)’ (mu → ungrammatical)

Even in a sentence with a subordinate clause and two different subjects (the main clause subject and subordinate clause subject), the antecedent of χɯ is not ambiguous because a χɯ within a subordinate clause takes the subordinate clause subject as its antecedent. In finite subordinate clauses, as in (3.143), χɯ refers to the embedded clause subject instead of the main clause subject. In subordinate clauses with an explicit subject, as in (3.144), χɯ also refers to the embedded clause subject and not the main clause subject. In a subordinate clause that lacks an explicit subject, as in (3.145), χɯ may have no apparent antecedent within the minimal clause, but it may be theorized that the embedded clause has a null subject that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject, which provides a local subject antecedent for χɯ.

(3.143) \textit{ojmira levd iko [awagul χɯ pa tɕed}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
ojmira & say.PFV & SC & Awageel REFL.NNOM LOC house \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{rejd]} remain.PFV
‘Oimira said: [Awageel stayed at her home].’ (χɯ → Awageel)

(3.144) \textit{was = am} [\textit{sobir χɯ} \textit{yin gati}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & 1SG.PVF & Sobir & REFL.NNOM wife COM \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{jet = i} come,INF = SC \textit{na wazond}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
NEG know.PFV \\
\end{tabular}
‘I did not know [that Sobir was coming with his wife]. ’ (χɯ → Sobir)

(3.145) \textit{amad} [\textit{χɯ = ri} \textit{zuxtɕ = endz} \textit{a = ktub-ef}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
amad & REFL.NNOM = DAT & buy.PRF = REL & ACC = book-PL.NNOM \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{mu = ri} \textit{ðud}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NNOM = DAT & give.PFV \\
\end{tabular}
‘Amad gave me the books [that he bought for himself].’ (χɯ → Amad)
In all three types of clauses above, χɯ is used as a local reflexive referring to the embedded clause subject, whether it is an explicit subject or one that is functionally controlled by the main clause subject. However, there is one exception to this pattern: in a reason adverbial clause with an explicit subject, the use of χɯ results in an ambiguous antecedent, as it is equally acceptable for χɯ to refer to the main clause subject or the embedded clause subject, as shown in (3.146) & (3.147). When χɯ is interpreted as being coreferential with the main clause subject, it is used as a long-distance reflexive; when it is interpreted as being coreferential with the AC subject, it is used as a local reflexive.

(3.146)  
sojra [gulmira χɯ a=qalam wejrun az  
Soyra Geelmira REFL.NNOM ACC=pen broken ABL

twejg =i] χafu sut 
do.INF = SC upset become.PFV
‘Soyra got upset [because Geelmira broke her pen].’ (χɯ → Geelmira OR Soyra)

(3.147)  
raɕid [sobir χɯ a=kilit az bunost =i] telan 
Rashid Sobir REFL.NNOM ACC=key ABL lose.INF = SC fine

dud 
give.PFV
‘Rashid gave a fine [because Sobir lost his key].’ (χɯ → Rashid OR Sobir)

In addition to its function as an invariant reflexive pronoun, χɯ also has two extended meanings. First, it may be used as an emphatic pronoun which emphasizes the identity of an argument’s referent. The emphatic pronoun occurs as an NP modifier which is opposed to the argument or possessor to be emphasized. It takes the form χubaj in the nominative and χu in the non-nominative. χubaj cannot be used as a reflexive because reflexives must refer to subjects.

(3.148)  
waz soq, taw χubaj  
1SG.NOM healthy 2SG.NOM REFL.NOM
‘I am healthy, you yourself?’

(3.149)  
ta χu mudʒuz tɔrdz =o  
2SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM feeling good = Q
‘Is your own feeling good?’
Second, χɯ may also serve an adverbial function with the meaning ‘by self’ or ‘alone’, creating a nuance that the participant is capable of doing something without anyone’s help. This function is only available for the argument in subject function, and χɯbaθ serves as a modifier which is apposed to the subject, as in (3.152) & (3.153). Alternatively, to express the same meaning, the adverbial χɯ tɕi tɑn ‘by self’ may be used, as in (3.154).

(3.152) 

\[
\begin{align*}
t₂w & \quad χɯbaθ & a = wi & \quad hɑt & \quad kɑ \\
2SG.NOM & \quad REFL.NOM & ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST & \quad open & \quad do.IPVF
\end{align*}
\]

‘You open that yourself.’

(3.153) 

\[
\begin{align*}
mu & \quad rɑdʒɛn & χɯbaθ & tɪd & tɕi & kɑxτ \\
1SG.NOM & \quad daughter & REFL.NOM & go.INF & CAP & do.3SG.IPVF
\end{align*}
\]

‘My daughter can go by herself.’

(3.154) 

\[
\begin{align*}
m-ɔnɔ & \quad dɪgɑr & dʒʊj & tɯj & , & waz = ɑm \\
1SG.NOM-mother & \quad other & place & go.PVF & 1SG.NOM = 1SG.IPVF
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
χɯ & \quad tɕi & tɑn & pɑlɔw & tɕw̃g \\
REFL.NOM & \quad LOC & body & pilaf & do.PVF
\end{align*}
\]

‘My mother went somewhere else, I made pilaf all by myself.’

### 3.8 Reciprocal pronoun

As with the reflexive, the reciprocal construction is used in activities with overlapping participants. If there are two clauses with the same verb, and the O argument of each verb has the same reference as the A argument of the other, as in the underlying sentence (3.155), then a reciprocal construction is used, as in (3.156). The two participants are conjoined into raɕid at sobiɾ and function as the A argument, while the O slot is filled by reciprocal pronoun imi. The subject, as the fully-specified NP, serves as the antecedent.
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(3.155) raɕid a = sobir dud, sobir a = raɕid dud
Rashid ACC = Sobir hit.PFV Sobir ACC = Rashid hit.PFV
‘Rashid hit Sobir and Sobir hit Rashid.’

(3.156) raɕid at sobir = af a = imi dud
Rashid CONJ Sobir = 3PL.PFV ACC = RECP hit.PFV
‘Rashid and Sobir hit each other.’

As with the reflexive pronoun χɯ, the reciprocal pronoun imi is usually subject-oriented, and is less prominent than its antecedent, occurring in a non-subject slot—such as accusative, as in (3.156) & (3.157), dative, as in (3.158) & (3.159), ablative, as in (3.160) - (3.162), comitative, as in (3.163), locative/allative, as in (3.164) & (3.165), or a possessor within an NP, as in (3.166) & (3.167).

(3.157) ar di afto a = imi
LOC 3SG.N NOM.PROX week ACC = RECP
wejn = an = o
see.PFV = 1PL.PFV = Q
‘Shall we see each other this week?’ (accusative)

(3.158) woð = af imi = ri χɯ surat
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP = DAT REPL.N NOM picture
vusond
show.PFV
‘They showed each other their picture.’ (dative)

(3.159) woð = af imi = ri samʁut dud
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP = DAT gift give.PFV
‘They gave gifts to each other.’ (dative)

(3.160) woð = af az imi χumand sut
3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV ABL RECP learn become.PFV
‘They learned from each other.’ (ablative)

(3.161) manos at mina = af az imi surud
Manos CONJ Mina = 3PL.PFV ABL RECP separate.PFV
‘Manos and Mina broke up.’ (ablative)
(3.162)  
\[ \text{ɡɯlbarɡ at tiloxon = af az imi χafo} \]
\[ \text{Geelbarg CONJ Tilohon = 3PL.PFV ABL RECP upset} \]
\[ \text{sut become.PFV} \]
‘Geelbarg and Tilohon got upset at each other.’ (ablative)

(3.163)  
\[ \text{χsrəw at kuraʃ = af imi qati balad} \]
\[ \text{Hsreal CONJ Keerash = 3PL.PFV RECP COM acquainted} \]
\[ \text{sut become.PFV} \]
‘Hsreal and Keerash got acquainted with each other.’ (comitative)

(3.164)  
\[ \text{waz at mu jɑχ tar imi ardo na} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM CONJ 1SG.NNOM sister LOC RECP similar NEG} \]
\[ \text{δeʃ = an fall.IPV = 1PL.IPV} \]
‘My sister and I do not look alike.’ (allative)

(3.165)  
\[ \text{maʃ = an tar imi ʃuzd} \]
\[ \text{1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV LOC RECP run.PFV} \]
‘We ran towards each other.’ (allative)

(3.166)  
\[ \text{woð = af imi(-an wi) ktub} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST book} \]
\[ \text{wazapt return.PFV} \]
‘They returned each other’s books.’ (genitive)

(3.167)  
\[ \text{woð = af imi(-an wi)} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV RECP-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST} \]
\[ \text{a = ejb-ɛf wazond} \]
\[ \text{ACC = transgression-PL.NNOM know.PFV} \]
‘They found out about each other’s transgressions.’ (genitive)

However, unlike the reflexive pronoun ɣu, imi may also take as its antecedent the O argument of the clause, as in (3.168) & (3.169).
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(3.168) *mɯ jax a=gu lbarg at tursun imi=ri*
1SG.NNOM sister ACC=Geelbarg CONJ Tursun RECP=DAT

*balad tɕəwɡ*
acquainted do.PFV

‘My sister introduced Geelbarg and Tursun to each other.’

(3.169) *alima malum a=ɕaniɡɯl at asal imi qati ep*
Alima teacher ACC=Shanigeel CONJ Asal RECP COM fix

*tɕəwɡ*
do.PFV

‘Teacher Alima reconciled Shanigeel and Asal to each other.’

*imi* shows no person distinction and always maintains the same form, being interpreted as having the same person and number as its antecedent. A reciprocal construction may be formed from a transitive or intransitive clause, and does not change the transitivity of the clause. It may express either a simultaneous meaning describing a single unit of activity, as in (3.157) & (3.163), or a sequential meaning for a series of activities, as in (3.158) & (3.159).
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