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This chapter describes the morphosyntactic marking of the three major moods, which are a property of the sentence: declarative (§7.1), imperative (§7.2), and interrogative (§7.3). These three mood types grammatically express different speech acts: the declarative mood serves the function of providing information, the imperative mood is for issuing commands, and the interrogative mood is used for requesting information. The imperative and interrogative moods can be further divided into different sentence types. Moods and their subtypes are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Moods and subtypes

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<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>Ø</td>
<td>2.IPVF</td>
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<td>Jussive</td>
<td>Jussive$laka; nɯgɯr$</td>
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<td>Prohibitive</td>
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<td>any</td>
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<td>Tag Qnej</td>
<td>any</td>
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<td>Content Qinterrogative word</td>
<td>any</td>
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7.1 Declarative

The declarative mood correlates with the speech act of expressing statements. It is often used for descriptive speech acts, such as asserting or describing something. The affirmative declarative sentence is structurally least restricted
and may take any of the available person, number, aspect, and modality options. The major constituents in a declarative sentence are commonly arranged in the basic constituent order, SOV. Sentences (7.1) - (7.3) are in the declarative mood.

(7.1)  
\[ \text{mü indər i kǔj mas nist} \]  
1SG.NOM on.person one Chinese.yuan even NEG.be.IPFV  
‘I don’t even have 1 yuan with me.’

(7.2)  
\[ \text{wí mom prud-nəŋtə afto az} \]  
3SG.NOM.DIST grandmother front-ADJ week ABL  
\[ \text{durχtwɛɾwɔ noxtɯg} \]  
hospital go.up.PFV  
‘His grandmother came out of the hospital last week.’

(7.3)  
\[ \text{kuraɕ=ir stəwɾ ɡuχtɔ ʁuɕ} \]  
Keerash=DAT yak meat happy  
‘Keerash likes yak meat.’

In a declarative sentence with no special focus, the stressed syllable of the final constituent (usually the verb) generally carries a higher pitch than the other constituents of the sentence. If there are any non-stressed syllables attached to the end of the verb, such as pronominal agreement clitics or aspectual suffixes, they are marked by a fall in pitch. If a particular element is in focus, it carries the highest pitch instead.

### 7.2 Imperative

The imperative mood most often correlates with the speech act of giving commands, in which the speaker tells the addressee to do something. Imperatives may be subdivided into imperative, hortative, jussive, prohibitive, and apprehensive moods, which cover direct and indirect commands as well as wishes and desires. The imperative and hortative do not require overt morphological marking besides the verb form (which is pragmatically interpreted for mood), while the jussive is marked with \[ \text{laka/muŋur ‘let’} \] and the prohibitive and apprehensive are marked with the particle \[ \text{mo}. \]
7.2.1 Imperative

The basic imperative mood is used for direct commands. Since a direct command is directed at the addressee, the second person is the subject of the verb. Structurally, it is an unmarked sentence in imperfective aspect with a second person singular agreement clitic (=Ø, as in (7.4) - (7.6)), or, in the case of giving a command to more than one person, a second person plural agreement clitic (=it, as in (7.7) - (7.9)). As is common in most other languages (Kroeger 2005:199), the second person pronoun in an imperative sentence is typically dropped from the subject position. Since the imperative mood is not marked, and shares the same structure as a sentence describing a habitual or future activity with a second person subject, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to interpret such sentences as commands.

(7.4)  
\[ a = dver \quad bawej \]
\[ \text{ACC} = \text{door} \quad \text{close.IPfv} \]
‘Close the door.’

(7.5)  
\[ \text{purs} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ri} \quad \chi um\text{mand} \quad \text{ka} \]
Persian tongue 1SG.N NOM =DAT teach do.IPfv
‘Teach me Persian.’

(7.6)  
\[ \text{az} \quad \text{mu} \quad \chi -\text{oto} \quad \chi -\text{ono}=\text{ri} \]
ABL 1SG.N NOM REFL.N NOM-father REFL.N NOM-mother =DAT
\[ \text{salum} \quad \text{lev} \]
hello say.IPfv
‘Say hello to your parents for me.’

(7.7)  
\[ \text{awal} \quad \chi u \quad \text{dust} \quad \text{znej}=\text{it} \]
first REFL.N NOM hand wash.IPfv =2PL.IPfv
‘Wash your(pl) hands first.’

(7.8)  
\[ \text{nur} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ted} \quad \text{dam} \quad \text{zoz}=\text{it} \]
today LOC house rest get.IPfv =2PL.IPfv
‘Rest(pl) at home today.’

(7.9)  
\[ \text{az} \quad \text{xwor} \quad \text{maq}=\text{ir} \quad \text{anur} \]
ABL Kashgar 1PL.N NOM =DAT pomegranate
\[ \text{vor}=\text{it} \]
bring.IPfv =2PL.IPfv
‘Bring(pl) pomegranates for us from Kashgar.’
Sometimes an imperative overtly expresses the second person subject, as in (7.10) & (7.11). In such cases, the overt subject is often stressed.

(7.10) \text{təw} \quad \text{γu} \quad \text{lsg} \quad \text{znej} \\
\text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{REFL.NOM} \quad \text{clothing} \quad \text{wash.IPfv} \\
‘You wash your clothes.’

(7.11) \text{tamaɕ} \quad \text{mocin} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{tdz = it} \\
\text{2PL.NOM} \quad \text{car} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{go.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv} \\
‘You(pl) go by car.’

In some cases, an imperative may even be formed without a verb. In (7.12) & (7.13), the imperative consists of an adverb and the second person agreement clitic; in (7.14), the imperative consists of a noun and the agreement clitic. The second person pronoun subject and the verb are omitted.

(7.12) \text{dʑald = it} \\
\text{fast = 2PL.IPfv} \\
‘Hurry up(pl)!”

(7.13) \text{asto = it} \\
\text{slow = 2PL.IPfv} \\
‘Slow down(pl)!”

(7.14) \text{dʑuj = it} \\
\text{space = 2PL.IPfv} \\
‘Give(pl) me space (move out of the way)!”

In order to soften a command and make it into a more polite request, the interrogative enclitic = \text{o} is often added at the end of a sentence in imperative mood, as in (7.15) - (7.17).

(7.15) \text{mu = ri} \quad \text{jordam} \quad \text{ka = it = o} \\
\text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{help} \quad \text{do.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv = Q} \\
‘Will you(pl) help me?”

(7.16) \text{az} \quad \text{amriko} \quad \text{mu = ri} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tsiz} \\
\text{ABL} \quad \text{America} \quad \text{1SG.NNOM = DAT} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{thing} \\
\text{vor = it = o} \\
\text{bring.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv = Q} \\
‘Will you(pl) bring something for me from America?”
7.2.2 Hortative

Hortative mood is used when the speaker is encouraging or urging the addressee to do something with the speaker. The hortative mood is also unmarked, but only occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person plural subject and agreement clitic (=an). This construction is potentially ambiguous, in that it may be interpreted as either a declarative or a hortative. As with the imperative, the addressee must rely on pragmatic factors to determine whether it should be interpreted as a statement or mutual encouragement. Hortatives may either be affirmative or negative: (7.18) - (7.20) express mutual encouragement, while (7.21) - (7.23) express mutual discouragement.

(7.17) $\chi$ɯ ar tej a=mɯ qiw ka=o
REFL.NNOM LOC wedding ACC=1SG.NNOM call do.IPFV=Q
‘Will you invite me to your wedding?’

(7.18) qatɛʁin tɕoj broz=an
topping tea drink.IPFV =1PL.IPFV
‘Let us drink milk tea.’

(7.19) batɕo-ɛf=ir $\chi$at naviɕ=an
child-PL.NNOM=DAT letter write.IPFV =1PL.IPFV
‘Let us write letters to the children.’

(7.20) pa tɕɛd dið=an, a=$\chi$ɯ $\theta$um
LOC house enter.IPFV =1PL.IPFV ACC=REFL.NNOM warm
ka=an
do.IPFV =1PL.IPFV
‘Let us go into the house and warm ourselves.’

(7.21) nur hawu is, na tɛdz=an
today weather cold NEG go.IPFV =1PL.IPFV
‘The weather is cold today, let us not go.’

(7.22) alima na wazond=o ku, az wi na
Alima NEG know.3SG.IPFV=Q SUP ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG
pars=an
ask.IPFV =1PL.IPFV
‘Alima does not know, I think; let us not ask her.’
Hortatives may be softened into suggestions with the addition of the sentence-final interrogative enclitic =o, as in (7.24) & (7.25).

(7.25) a = dver  
ACC = door  close.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv = Q

‘Shall I close the door?’

(7.28) a = ta  
ACC = 2SG.Nnom  watch.IPfv = 1PL.IPfv = Q

‘Shall we wait for you?’
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(7.29) \textit{az xwor tamaɕ=ir i tsiz}  
\textit{ABL Kashgar 2PL.N NOM = DAT one thing}  
\textit{vor = an = o}  
\textit{bring.IP FV = 1PL.IP FV = Q}  
‘Shall we bring something for you from Kashgar?’

7.2.3 Jussive

Jussive mood expresses indirect commands as well as expressing wishes and desires. It is most commonly formed by adding the verb \textit{laka} ‘let’ immediately before or after the main verb in the imperfective aspect (or sometimes even before the object, as in (7.30)). The jussives in (7.30) - (7.33) express indirect commands.

(7.30) \textit{wi radzen laka batɕo vird}  
\textit{3SG.N NOM.DIST daughter let.IP FV child bring.3SG.IP FV}  
‘May his daughter give birth to the child.’

(7.31) \textit{askar-χejl laka χu tci asl}  
\textit{soldier-PL.NOM let.IP FV REFL.NOM LOC origin}  
\textit{jɔd = in}  
\textit{come.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV}  
‘May the soldiers return to their original state.’

(7.32) \textit{dinju-ɛndʑ dzam χalɡ-χejl a = maɕ putxu}  
\textit{world-ADJ all person-PL.NOM ACC = 1PL.N NOM king}  
\textit{laka staw = in}  
\textit{let.IP FV praise.IP FV = 3PL.IP FV}  
‘May all peoples of the world praise our king.’

(7.33) \textit{χsrəw χu pa teed laka tamoq χird,}  
\textit{Hsreaw REFL.NOM LOC house let.IP FV food eat.3SG.IP FV}  
\textit{dam laka zosd, laka dzald soq}  
\textit{rest let.IP FV get.3SG.IP FV let.IP FV fast healthy}  
\textit{sawd}  
\textit{become.3SG.IP FV}  
‘May Hsreaw eat at his own house, may he rest, and may he recover quickly.’
Jussives may also express wishes (7.34) & (7.35), curses (7.36), and blessings or good wishes (7.37) - (7.40).

(7.34) $\text{hawu} \ \text{dejd} \ \text{laka}$
$\text{rain} \ \text{fall.3SG.IPFV} \ \text{let.IPFV}$
‘Let it rain/snow.’

(7.35) $\text{tci} \ \text{mu} \ \text{ta} \ \text{ram} \ \text{laka} \ \text{jo} \ \text{d}$
$\text{LOC} \ \text{1SG.NNOM} \ \text{2SG.NNOM} \ \text{mercy} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{come.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May your mercy come upon me!’

(7.36) $\text{χɯðoj} \ \text{laka} \ \text{ta} \ \text{tscm} \ \text{kɔwr} \ \text{kaxt}$
$\text{God} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{2SG.NNOM} \ \text{eye} \ \text{blind} \ \text{do.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May God cause your eyes to be blind.’

(7.37) $\text{χɯðoj} \ \text{laka} \ \text{tu} = \text{ri} \ \text{i} \ \text{puuts} \ \text{nasib} \ \text{kaxt}$
$\text{God} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{2SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \ \text{one} \ \text{son} \ \text{grant} \ \text{do.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May God grant you a son.’

(7.38) $\text{χɯðoj} \ \text{laka} \ \text{a} = \text{ta} \ \text{az} \ \text{balu} \ \text{qasu}$
$\text{God} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{ACC} = \text{2SG.NNOM} \ \text{ABL} \ \text{disaster} \ \text{judgment}$
$\text{nigaduri} \ \text{kaxt}$
$\text{protection} \ \text{do.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May God protect you from disasters and judgment.’

(7.39) $\text{spejd} \ \text{pond} \ \text{laka} \ \text{tu} = \text{ri} \ \text{vid}$
$\text{white} \ \text{road} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{2SG.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \ \text{be.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May there be a white road for you.’

(7.40) $\text{wɛf} \ \text{tan} \ \text{laka} \ \text{salomat} \ \text{vid}$
$\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST} \ \text{body} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{healthy} \ \text{be.3SG.IPFV}$
$\text{wɛf} \ \text{umr} \ \text{laka} \ \text{daruz} \ \text{səwd}$
$\text{3PL.NNOM.DIST} \ \text{lifetime} \ \text{let.IPFV} \ \text{long} \ \text{become.3SG.IPFV}$
‘May their bodies be healthy; may their lives become long!’

Although jussives most frequently occur with third person subjects, they may also occur with first or second person subjects:
(7.41)  
iː ɕuːdɔj uts na vid-i=am wand
VOC God very NEG be.INF-NMLZ = 1SG.PFV see.PFV
waz laka dzald der boj
1SG.NOM let.PFV fast CPRV rich.person
so = am
become.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘O God, I have experienced much penury; may I become rich more quickly.’

(7.42)  
digar mas mejli waz laka k = az
other also okay 1SG.NOM let.IPV ANA = ABL
di intawum nardʑɛs = am
3SG.NNOM.PROX exam pass.IPV = 1SG.IPV
‘Other things aside, just let me pass this exam.’

(7.43)  
mac laka wi marg wejn = an
1PL.NOM let.IPV 3SG.NNOM.DIST death see.IPV = 1PL.IPV
‘May we see his death.’

(7.44)  
a balo a = di tang-i = an
VOC child ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX difficult-NMLZ = 1PL.PFV
mac wand tɔw laka tɕardʑ xuj
1PL.NOM see.PFV 2SG.NOM let.IPV good read.IPV
boj so
rich.person become.IPV
‘O child, we have gone through difficulty; may you study well and become rich.’

(7.45)  
tamaɕ laka tɕardʑ xirs = it dastmand
2PL.NOM let.IPV good turn.IPV = 2PL.IPV wealthy
so = it
become.IPV = 2PL.IPV
‘May you have a pleasant journey and become wealthy.’

In addition to laka, the word nɯɡɯr ‘let’ also serves the same function of forming jussives, but is used less frequently:
7.2.4 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood is used for giving negative commands, when commanding the addressee not to do something. It is formed with the particle \textit{mo} immediately before or after an imperfective verb, and is used with second person subjects. Prohibitives are discussed in §9.4.

7.2.5 Apprehensive

The apprehensive mood is formed by negating the jussive. It is a subtype of the prohibitive, as it is also marked with the particle \textit{mo}. It is described in §9.5.

7.3 Interrogative

Interrogative mood correlates with the speech act of asking questions. Polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, and content questions are described in this section. All four of these question types may be formed with all possible combinations of aspect, person, number, polarity, and evidentiality. The section on content questions also describes other functions and aspects of interrogative words, including: interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1), negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2), reduplication for pluralization (§7.3.4.3), and interrogatives used as filler words (§7.3.4.4). Finally, §7.3.5 describes indirect questions and §7.3.6 discusses some other pragmatic aspects of questions.
7.3.1 Polar question

A polar question presents a statement and seeks confirmation or denial of it (Dixon 2012:411). It is marked by a special interrogative enclitic $=o$ plus intonation. The interrogative enclitic $=o$, which is only used for marking polar questions, is a sentence-final enclitic. It typically occurs after the predicate or copula complement, but may also follow other constituents that are questioned as long as they are sentence-final, as in (7.52). Polar questions do not have a distinctive constituent order, as the constituent order is the same as the corresponding declarative sentence, SOV. The following examples demonstrate a variety of aspect and clause type possibilities for polar questions: perfective verbal clause (7.48), imperfective verbal clause (7.49), copula clause with a headless relative clause as the copulacomplement (7.50), copula clause with a substantival genitive as the copula complement (7.51), and a question with just a single argument as the sole constituent, with all other elements omitted (7.52).

(7.48) $tamoq = at \quad \chiug = o$
food $= 2SG.PFV$ eat $= Q$
‘Have you eaten?’

(7.49) $dud \quad dodi\kern-3pt k \quad tænd-nendz-\chiel \quad mas \quad jo\kern-3pt d = in = o$
uncle Dodik house-ADJ-PL.NOM also come $= 3PL.IPfv = Q$
‘Will Uncle Dodik’s family also come?’

(7.50) $taw \quad tej \quad tɔwɛydz = e ndz = o$
2SG.NOM wedding do $= \text{REL} = Q$
‘Are you married?’

(7.51) $jad \quad ktub \quad ta-an = o$
3SG.NOM.PROX book 2SG.NNOM-GEN $= Q$
‘Is this book yours?’

(7.52) $waz = o$
1SG.NOM $= Q$
‘Me?’

In addition to the sentence-final interrogative enclitic, polar questions are marked by intonation. In a polar question, the stressed syllable of the final constituent carries a high pitch, followed by a sharp fall on the final syllable containing the interrogative enclitic $=o$. However, when the negator na or nist occurs in the sentence, it usually receives the high pitch instead.
A polar question may be general in scope, or it may be focused, enquiring about the reference of a particular constituent. To place the focus on a particular constituent instead of the whole question, that constituent may receive the primary stress. As with declarative sentences, word order is quite free and certain elements may be fronted, although changing the word order is not the primary way to signal the focused constituent.

A polar question prompts əʔə ‘yes’ or naj/nist ‘no’ as an answer, but there is no expectation as to whether the answer will be positive or negative.

When responding to a negative polar question, a ‘no’ answer agrees with the negative expectation of the question. For example, in response to the polar question in (7.53), a ‘no’ answer, as in (7.54), indicates that the speaker is not going and a ‘yes’ answer, as in (7.55), indicates that the speaker is going.

(7.53)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{taw} & \text{nuur} & \text{mac} & \text{qati} & \text{na} & \text{txdz = o} \\
\text{2SG.NOM} & \text{today} & \text{1PL.NNOM} & \text{COM} & \text{NEG} & \text{go.IPFW = Q} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Are you not going with us today?’

(7.54)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{naj} & \text{na} & \text{txdz = am} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{NEG} & \text{go.IPFW = 1SG.IPFW} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘No, I am not going.’

(7.55)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{əʔə} & \text{txdz = am} \\
\text{yes} & \text{go.IPFW = 1SG.IPFW} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Yes, I am going.’

### 7.3.2 Alternative question

An alternative question, which offers a choice of answers to the addressee, is formed from a regular polar question with the interrogative enclitic, followed by the alternative choice as a tag:

(7.56)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{wi} & \text{gap} & \text{rust = o, fand} \\
\text{3SG.NNOM.DIST} & \text{word} & \text{true = Q false} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Is his word true, or false?’

Even though Sarikoli has the conjunction jo ‘or’, it is not used for conjoining two alternative choices to form an alternative question\(^1\), as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.57) & (7.58) below. Occasionally, the alternative

\(^1\)However, since [] is often inserted between two vowels as a hiatus resolution strategy, the interrogative enclitic o has the same phonetic realization as jo ‘or’ when preceded by a vowel (see §1.4.1.3).
choice is added slowly and the interrogative enclitic occurs a second time, as in (7.59), but this is rare.

(7.57) *wi gap rust jo fand
3SG.NNOM.DIST word true or false
‘Is his word true or false?’

(7.58) *wi gap rust =o, jo fand =o
3SG.NNOM.DIST word true = Q or false = Q
‘Is his word true, or false?’

(7.59) wi gap rust =o... fand =o
3SG.NNOM.DIST word true = Q false = Q
‘Is his word true... or is it false?’

The alternative choice that occurs as the tag may either be an alternative to a verbal predicate (7.60), copula complement (7.61) & (7.62), core argument (7.63) & (7.64), peripheral argument (7.65), adverbial or adnominal element (7.66) & (7.67), or even simply a negator, either as naj for verbal predicates (7.68) or nist for existential or copula predicates (7.69). As with regular polar questions, the basic constituent order in the main clause of the alternative question is SOV.

(7.60) təw cite χɯ tɛɾr ka =o, xufs
2SG.NOM now REFL.NNOM work do.IP = Q sleep.IP = Q
‘Will you do your work now, or sleep?’

(7.61) jad mu-an = o, ta-an
3S.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN = Q 2SG.NNOM-GEN
‘Is this mine, or yours?’

(7.62) nurbiə pa maktab = o, pa tɛd
Nurbia LOC school = Q LOC house
‘Is Nurbia at school, or at home?’

(7.63) tudzik ziv qilo = o, hansu ziv
Tajik tongue difficult = Q Han tongue
‘Is Tajik difficult, or Mandarin?’

(7.64) maɕ pəlow χor = an = o, laʁman
1PL.NOM pilaf eat.IP = Q 1PL.IP = Q Laghman
‘Shall we eat pilaf, or Laghman (pulled noodles)?’
The alternative question is different from a polar question in that it should be answered with one of the choices given, rather than əʔə ‘yes’ or naj/nist ‘no’ (unless one of the alternative choices is a negator). Even though alternative questions are a type of tag question, it is a neutral question with no expectation concerning the answer, as to whether the answer will be positive or negative. Alternative questions are used very frequently in conversation, and a question like (7.70) is not considered impolite in the slightest degree.

In an alternative question, each of the two alternatives is stressed, and the alternative in the tag carries a high pitch.
7.3.3 Tag question

A tag question is a leading question (or biased question), in which the speaker expects the addressee to answer “yes”, agreeing with the main clause. It may be used when the speaker is uncertain about the truth of the statement and wants to seek confirmation, or when the speaker believes that the statement is correct and wants to seek agreement from the addressee. In either case, a tag question expects the supposition of the main clause to be confirmed or agreed with. Tag questions are used very frequently in conversation among Sarikoli speakers.

A tag question is formed by adding *nej*, a variant of the independent polarity form, *naj* ‘no’, after a declarative sentence and thereby converting it into a question. Whether the main clause is positive, as in (7.71) & (7.72), or negative, as in (7.73) & (7.74), the negative tag *nej* is used. Both positive and negative statements, when followed by a tag, assume the answer əʔə ‘yes’.

In a tag question, the main clause has the same intonation as a declarative sentence, and the tag carries a high pitch.

(7.71)  
mejmun-χejl = ik  kinu  tɔs = in,  nej  
guest-PL.NOM = DUR  movie  watch.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv  NEG  
‘The guests are watching a movie, aren’t they?’

(7.72)  
ibruhim  purs  ziv  wazond,  nej  
Ibruhim  Persian  tongue  know.3SG.IPfv  NEG  
‘Ibruhim knows Persian, doesn’t he?’

(7.73)  
taw = at  nɔwz  χu  dʊst  na  znu’d,  nej  
2SG.NOM = 2SG.IPfv  still  REFL.NNOM  hand  NEG  wash.IPfv  NEG  
‘You still didn’t wash your hands, did you?’

(7.74)  
suufia = ri  guuxt  χuč  nist,  nej  
Zeelfia = DAT  meat  happy  NEG.be.IPfv  NEG  
‘Zeelfia doesn’t like meat, does she?’
7.3.4 Content question

A content question seeks information by employing an interrogative word which replaces a constituent of a particular functional slot in the corresponding declarative sentence. The interrogative word stands for the content or information that the speaker is requesting. It occurs in situ, in the normal syntactic position appropriate to its function in the clause, and the other remaining elements all occur in the basic constituent order, SOV. Interrogative words are listed below in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Interrogative words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Questions what</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tçoj</td>
<td>who.NOM</td>
<td>identity of person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tći</td>
<td>who.NNOM</td>
<td>identity of person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsejz</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>identity of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsidum</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>identity of object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsım</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>point in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawaxt</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>point in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudzur</td>
<td>where.NOM</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>where.NNOM</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsarang</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>manner; condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawa</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>means; method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsund</td>
<td>how.much</td>
<td>quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsejzir</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>purpose; reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`tsejz ‘what’ has a variant, tsə, which is used in certain contexts, as in (7.75) & (7.76).

(7.75)  
\[
\text{tsə} \ \chiɯɕrɯj \\
\text{what beautiful}
\]

‘How beautiful!’

(7.76)  
\[
\text{tsə} \ \chiɛɡ \\
\text{what sweet}
\]

‘How sweet!’

The forms of interrogative words show recurring sequences—all forms besides kudzur/ko ‘where’ begin with the sequence ts or tɕ. Some of these forms can be analyzed morphologically, as tsə combines with other morphemes to form some of the interrogative words: tsə waxt (what + time), tsarang (what
+ semblative), *tsejzir* (what + dative/purpose marker), and *tsund* (what + amount/size/extent).

Each interrogative word is associated with a different word class. For ‘who’ and ‘where’, case inflections (nominative vs. non-nominative) are parallel to that of nouns. There is no interrogative verb that can be used as the sole verb in a predicate; instead, the verb phrase *tsejz tsejg* ‘do what’ may be used.

Despite being related to different word classes, the interrogative words are linked together as another class of their own as they share some common grammatical properties: 1) they convert a statement into a question; 2) they are used to form interrogative complement clauses (§7.3.4.1); 3) they are used for deriving negative indefinite pronouns (§7.3.4.2); 4) they may be reduplicated for pluralization (§7.3.4.3). In Sarikoli, interrogative words are not used as markers of relative clauses.

In a content question, the interrogative word is always stressed, and the question does not have a rising intonation.

*tɕoj* ‘who’ and *tɕi* ‘whom/whose’ are interrogative pronouns. As in the system of regular personal pronouns, they come in distinct forms for the nominative and non-nominative cases. *tɕoj* is a pronoun which may only function as the head of an NP; as with regular free pronouns, it cannot function as an NP modifier, nor can it take any modifiers. *tɕi* is the non-nominative form, and is used with all function markers signaling non-nominative functions, as in (7.79) & (7.80).

(7.77) a. *tɕoj a=ta bo tɕəwɡ*
    \[\text{who.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV}\]
    ‘Who kissed you?’

    b. *mɯ 1sg.nnom vits a=mu bo tɕəwɡ*
    \[\text{1SG.NNOM aunt ACC=1SG.NNOM kiss do.PFV}\]
    ‘My aunt kissed me.’

(7.78) a. *tɕoj a=gulpia tɕardʑ wand*
    \[\text{who.NOM ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV}\]
    ‘Who loves Geelpia?’

    b. *asan a=gulpia tɕardʑ wand*
    \[\text{Asan ACC=Geelpia good see.3SG.IPFV}\]
    ‘Asan loves Geelpia.’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.79) a. \textit{woð = af }\textit{tɛi }\textit{qati }\textit{jot} \\
$^{3\text{PL}.\text{NOM.DO}} = ^{3\text{PL}.\text{PFV}}$ who.$\text{NOM}$ COM come.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘Whom did they come with?’

b. \textit{woð = af }\textit{amad }\textit{qati }\textit{jot} \\
$^{3\text{PL}.\text{NOM.DO}} = ^{3\text{PL}.\text{PFV}}$ Amad COM come.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘They came with Amad.’

(7.80) a. \textit{ɡɯlpia }\textit{a = tɛi }\textit{tɕardʑ }\textit{wand} \\
Geelpia ACC = who.$\text{NOM}$ good see.$\text{3SG.IPV}$ \\
‘Whom does Geelpia love?’

b. \textit{ɡɯlpia }\textit{a = ramon }\textit{tɕardʑ }\textit{wand} \\
Geelpia ACC = Ramon good see.$\text{3SG.IPV}$ \\
‘Geelpia loves Ramon.’

tsejz is related to the open lexical class of nouns. It may either be an NP head, as in (7.81), or a modifier within an NP, as in (7.82). It is also possible to construct a content question with tsejz as an NP head even if it has modifiers, as in (7.83).

(7.81) a. \textit{təw = at }\textit{tsejz }\textit{χɯɡ} \\
$^{2\text{SG}.\text{NOM}} = ^{2\text{SG}.\text{PFV}}$ what eat.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘What did you eat?’

b. \textit{waz = am }\textit{anur }\textit{χɯɡ} \\
$^{1\text{SG}.\text{NOM}} = ^{1\text{SG}.\text{PFV}}$ pomegranate eat.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘I ate pomegranates.’

(7.82) a. \textit{təw = at }\textit{tsejz }\textit{mɛwo }\textit{χɯɡ} \\
$^{2\text{SG}.\text{NOM}} = ^{2\text{SG}.\text{PFV}}$ what fruit eat.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘What fruit did you eat?’

b. \textit{waz = am }\textit{anur }\textit{χɯɡ} \\
$^{1\text{SG}.\text{NOM}} = ^{1\text{SG}.\text{PFV}}$ pomegranate eat.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘I ate pomegranates.’

(7.83) \textit{putxu }\textit{yubun-an }\textit{wi }\textit{tsejz }\textit{zuxt} \\
king shepherd-$\text{GEN}$ 3SG.$\text{NOM.DO}$ what take.$\text{PFV}$ \\
‘What of the shepherd did the king take?’
tɕidum is an NP modifier which is related to demonstrative determiners, as in (7.84), and, as with demonstratives, may also function as the sole element in an NP when the head noun is omitted, as in (7.85).

(7.84) a. tɕidum pie tu=ri az dəm ɣuɣ
    which cat 2SG.NNom =DAT ABL all happy
    ‘Which cat do you like the most?’

    b. jad pie mu=ri az dəm ɣuɣ
    3SG.NNom.PROX cat 1SG.NNom =DAT ABL all happy
    ‘I like this cat the most.’

(7.85) a. woð=af tɕidum xujd
    3PL.NNom =3PL.PFV which read.PFV
    ‘Which one did they read?’

    b. m=a=di=af xujd
    CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNom.PROX = 3PL.PFV read.PFV
    ‘They read this one.’

There are two forms for ‘when’, which are completely interchangeable, but one is used more frequently than the other. The more commonly used form is tɕum; the other form is composed of two morphemes, tsa ‘what (shortened form)’ plus waɣt ‘time’. In (7.86a), either tɕum or tsa waɣt may be used.

(7.86) a. nurbia tɕum joðd
    Nurbia when come.3SG.IPVF
    ‘When is Nurbia coming?’

    b. nurbia fal joðd
    Nurbia two.days.hence come.3SG.IPVF
    ‘Nurbia is coming on the day after tomorrow.’

The interrogative word for ‘where’ comes in two distinct forms for nominative and non-nominative cases. kudʑur is used when there are no co-occurring function markers, as in (7.87) & (7.88), often when used in the locative or allative sense (the function markers pa and ar are omitted when kudʑur occurs). ko is always used when there is a function marker, and is most frequently used with the ablative az and the locative/allative tar, as in (7.89) & (7.90).
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.87)  
\[ \text{a. } maɕ \quad \text{kudʑur} \quad \text{niθ = an} \]  
\[ \text{1PL.NOM where.NOM sit.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV} \]  
‘Where shall we sit?’

\[ \text{b. } \text{awd-ik} \quad \text{niθ = it} \]  
\[ \text{here-DIM sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV} \]  
‘Sit(pl) over here.’

(7.88)  
\[ \text{a. } \text{soqdʑon} \quad \text{tɕɛd} \quad \text{kudʑur} \]  
\[ \text{Soqjon house where.NOM} \]  
‘Where is Soqjon’s house?’

\[ \text{b. } \text{soqdʑon} \quad \text{tɕɛd} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{qir} \]  
\[ \text{Soqjon house LOC mountain} \]  
‘Soqjon’s house is on the mountain.’

(7.89)  
\[ \text{a. } a = di \quad \text{ktub} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{ko = at} \]  
\[ \text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX book ABL where.NNOM = 2SG.PVF} \]  
\[ \text{zuxt} \quad \text{buy.PVF} \]  
‘Where did you get this book?’

\[ \text{b. } \text{az} \quad \text{tur = am} \quad \text{zuxt} \]  
\[ \text{ABL net = 1SG.PVF buy.PVF} \]  
‘I got it from the internet.’

(7.90)  
\[ \text{a. } \text{tar} \quad \text{ko = at} \quad \text{tɯjd} \]  
\[ \text{LOC where.NNOM = 2SG.PVF go.PVF} \]  
‘Where are you headed?’

\[ \text{b. } \text{tar} \quad \text{buzur = am} \quad \text{tɯjd} \]  
\[ \text{LOC bazaar = 1SG.PVF go.PVF} \]  
‘I am headed to the bazaar.’

*tsarang* and *tsawa* are both manner adverbials, but have slightly different functions. *tsarang*, which is composed of the morphemes *tsa* ‘what (shortened form)’ plus the semitative marker *rang* ‘form/manner’, is a manner adverbial which pertains to the condition of something, or the manner in which the action of a verb is carried out. *tsawa* pertains to the means or method by which the action is carried out. These generally occur before the verb as adverbial modifiers, as in (7.91) - (7.94), or as a copula complement, as in (7.95).
Mood 199

(7.91)  
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{tcixt} \quad \text{its} \quad \text{jad} \quad \text{dinju} \quad \text{tsarang} \]  
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{look.INF} \quad \text{TERM} \quad 3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{world} \quad \text{how} \]  
\[ \text{pejdu} \quad \text{sd\dzz = e\nd\dzz} \]  
\[ \text{appear} \quad \text{become.PRF} = \text{REL} \]  
\[ \text{‘In your opinion, how did this world come into being?’} \]

(7.92)  
\[ k = \text{dos} \quad \text{kam} \quad \text{kam} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{\dor} \quad \text{tsawa} \quad \text{tsi} \quad \text{pe\d} \]  
\[ \text{ANA = manner} \quad \text{few} \quad \text{few} \quad \text{COND} \quad \text{eat.IPfv} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{foot} \]  
\[ \text{warofs} \]  
\[ \text{stand.IPfv} \]  
\[ \text{‘If you eat so little like that, how do you stand on your feet?’} \]

(7.93)  
\[ \text{wi} \quad \text{num} \quad \text{tsawa} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{dil} \]  
\[ 3\text{SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{name} \quad \text{how} \quad 2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{heart} \]  
\[ \text{rejd} \]  
\[ \text{remain.PFv} \]  
\[ \text{‘How did you not forget his name?’ (lit. How did his name remain in your heart?)} \]

(7.94)  
\[ \text{mowyd\dzz = e\nd\dzz = ir} \quad \text{tsawa} \quad \text{zundo} \quad \text{did} \]  
\[ \text{dead.PRF} = \text{REL} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{live} \quad \text{give.3SG.IPfv} \]  
\[ \text{‘How does he give a live one for a dead one?’} \]

(7.95)  
\[ a. \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{awul} \quad \text{tsarang} \]  
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{situation} \quad \text{how} \]  
\[ \text{‘How is your situation?’} \]

\[ b. \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{awul} \quad \text{t\dard\dzz} \]  
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{situation} \quad \text{good} \]  
\[ \text{‘My situation is good.’} \]

t\text{sun}d is the interrogative word questioning quantity. It is a fused form derived from the morphemes t\text{sa} ‘what (shortened form)’ and d\text{und}, which is used for measuring size, amount, or extent. There are no distinct words for ‘how many’ (referring to countables) and ‘how much’ (referring to non-countables), as shown by (7.96) & (7.97). t\text{un}d relates to the class of lexical numerals, as it can be substituted for a numeral in various contexts: 1) A numeral may be accompanied by a classifier, as may t\text{sun}d, as in (7.98). 2) The morphological process for deriving an ordinal from a cardinal numeral also applies to t\text{sun}d. The ordinal suffix –\text{int\dii} or particle m\text{a} or a\text{z}, which attach to cardinal
numerals, also attach to tsund, forming tsund-intści or ma/az tsund ‘the how-
many-th’ (having what position in a numerical series), as in (7.99) & (7.100).
3) tsund may be coordinated with a numeral to form compound numerals with
the coordinating conjunction at, as in (7.101).

(7.96)  a. tam-ac-an    tsund    batço    jost
      2PL.NNOM-GEN  how.much  child  be.IPFW
‘How many children do you have?’

b. ma-ac-an    tsavur   batço    jost
      1PL.NNOM-GEN  four    child  be.IPFW
‘We have four children.’

(7.97)  a. taw    a = mu    tsund    aziz
      2SG.NOM   ACC = 1SG.NNOM  how.much  love
‘How much do you love me?’

b. m = dund
      CATA = AMT
‘This much.’

(7.98)  a. tsund    tol    tu = ri    luzim
      how.much  CL  2SG.NNOM = DAT  necessary
‘How many do you need?’

b. haroj    tol
      three  CL
‘Three.’

(7.99)  a. taw    pa    tsund-intści    sunuf    xuj
      2SG.NOM  LOC  how.much-ORD  class  read.IPFW
‘Which (the how-many-th) grade are you studying in?’

b. pinds-intści
      five-ORD
‘Fifth.’

(7.100) a. ta    dars    most    ma    tsund    adu
      2SG.NNOM  lesson  moon  ORD  how.much  finish

      sawd
      become.3SG.IPFW
‘Which (the how-many-th) month will your classes be fin-
ished?’
b. most ma ɯvd
  moon ORD seven
  ‘July.’

(7.101) wi radzen ḍes at tsund sulu
  3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter ten CONJ how.much year.old
  ‘His daughter is ten-and-something years old (is a teenager).’

In addition to being used as an interrogative numeral, tsund may be combined
with some nouns or adjectives to form more specific interrogatives referring to
quantity or degree, such as: tsund waŋt ‘how long, how much time’, tsund suat
‘how many hours’, tsund sul ‘how many years’, tsund pul ‘how much money’,
tsund asuk ‘what degree’, tsund lawr ‘how big’, tsund daruz ‘how long’, tsund
buəland ‘how high, how tall’.

tsejzir is a sentential adverbial that is used for questioning purpose or reason,
and literally means ‘for what’. It usually occurs sentence-initially or immedi-
ately after the subject.

(7.102) ta dud tsejzir ɣwu tilfon ɣa zozd
  2SG.NNOM uncle why REFL.NNOM phone NEG get.3SG.IPV
  ‘Why is your uncle not picking up his phone?’

(7.103) tsejzir a=maɕ dejd ɣa laka=in
  why ACC=1PL.NNOM enter.INF NEG let.IPV =3PL.IPV
  ‘Why are they not letting us enter?’

It is possible to use multiple interrogative words in a single sentence, if there
are multiple constituents being questioned, as in (7.104) - (7.108).

(7.104) a=tɕi wand=ir tar ko
  ACC=who.NNOM see.INF =DAT LOC where.NNOM
  tɛdz =it
go.IPV =2PL.IPV
  ‘Where are you(pl) going, to see whom?’

(7.105) suat tɕi tsund tɕi pa tɛd so
  hour LOC how.much who.NNOM LOC house become.IPV
  ‘At what time are you going, to whose house?’
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.106)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tɕoj} & \text{tɕum} & \text{tsejzir} & \text{jet} = \text{ir} \\
\text{who.NOM} & \text{when} & \text{why} & \text{come.INF} = \text{DAT} \\
\text{vedz} & \text{be.PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Who is coming, when, for what purpose? (Evidential/New information)’

(7.107)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tɕoj} & \text{tɕi} = \text{ri} & \text{tsejz} & \text{dudz} \\
\text{who.NOM} & \text{who.NNOM} = \text{DAT} & \text{what} & \text{give.PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Who gave what to whom? (Evidential/New information)’

(7.108)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tɕoj} & \text{az} & \text{ko} & \text{tsejz} \text{ vəwəg} \\
\text{who.NOM} & \text{ABL} & \text{where.NNOM} & \text{what} & \text{bring}
\end{array}
\]

‘Who brought what from where?’

Since interrogative words occur in situ, it is straightforward to question a constituent in a subordinate clause. In (7.109), the interrogative word tɕi occurs within a relative clause, and in (7.110), tsejz occurs within a purpose adverbial clause, and both of these interrogative words occur in the slot that is expected for its function. Interrogative complement clauses are described in the next subsection (§7.3.4.1).

(7.109)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{jad} & \text{[tɕi} & \text{qati} & \text{iθtɕ} = \text{ɛndʑ] mejmun} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{who.NNOM} & \text{COM} & \text{come.PRF = REL guest}
\end{array}
\]

‘Whose guest is this?’ (lit. This is a guest who came with whom?)

(7.110)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[tsejz} & \text{tɕejg} = \text{ir}] = \text{at} & \text{tɯjdʑ-it} \\
\text{what} & \text{do.INF} = \text{REL = 2SG.PFV go.PRF-CESS}
\end{array}
\]

‘Why did you go?’ (lit. You went to do what?)

In their bare forms, interrogative words may also express meanings such as ‘X-ever (where ‘X’ is the interrogative word)’:

(7.111)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tsejz} & \text{tsa} & \text{vid} & \text{səwd} \\
\text{what} & \text{COND be.3SG.IPVF become.3SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Whatever is fine.’

(7.112)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tɕum} & \text{tsa} & \text{vid} & \text{səwd} \\
\text{when} & \text{COND be.3SG.IPVF become.3SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]

‘Whenever is fine.’

(7.113)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tsund} & \text{pul} & \text{tsa} & \text{vid} \text{ mejli} \\
\text{how.much} & \text{money COND be.3SG.IPVF okay}
\end{array}
\]

‘However much money is fine.’
‘Wherever you go, I will follow you.’

‘Whatever she sets before you(pl), eat that.’

‘We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.’ (lit. Whoever it is, it is not okay to just call him the Sheawgeeni.)

‘Whichever candy he likes, they buy it for him.’

‘We will take an exam, and wherever we get accepted to, we will go there.’

‘This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.’
7.3.4.1 Interrogative complement clauses

Questions that would be content questions as main clauses may be embedded in another main clause as interrogative complement clauses. Since mood is a property of the main clause, a sentence with an interrogative complement clause is not necessarily in interrogative mood. Interrogative complement clauses take the subordinating conjunction =i, and the interrogative word occurs in situ within the embedded clause. (7.120) - (7.130) illustrate how each of the interrogative words introduced in §7.3.4 may be used in an interrogative complement clause.

(7.120)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{waz} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{vits-an} \quad \text{tsoj} \quad \text{vid} = i \quad \text{na} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} \quad 2\text{SG.NNOM} \quad \text{aunt-GEN} \quad \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{be.INF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{NEG}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wazon} = \text{am} \\
\text{know.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]

‘I do not know who your aunt is.’

(7.121)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{waz} \quad \text{am} \quad \text{tamaç-an} \quad \text{pugan} \quad \text{tci} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.IPVF} \quad 2\text{PL.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{who.NNOM}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{pa} \quad \text{tced} \quad \text{tid} = i \quad \text{ramuxtè} \\
\text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{go.INF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{forget.PRF}
\end{array}
\]

‘I forgot whose house you(pl) are going to tomorrow. (Evidential/New information)’

(7.122)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{waz} \quad \text{ta-an} \quad \text{parus} \quad \text{tsejz} \quad \text{tçer} \quad \text{twejg} = i \\
1\text{SG.NOM} \quad 2\text{SG.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{last.year} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{do.INF} = \text{SC}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wazon} = \text{am} \\
\text{know.IPV} = 1\text{SG.IPVF}
\end{array}
\]

‘I know what work you did last year.’

(7.123)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{woð} = \text{af} \quad \text{mu-an} \quad \text{tçidum} \quad \text{gul} \\
3\text{PL.NOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.IPVF} \quad 1\text{SG.NNOM-GEN} \quad \text{which} \quad \text{flower}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{surid} = i \quad \text{wand} \\
\text{separate.INF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{see.PVF}
\end{array}
\]

‘They saw which flower I chose.’
(7.124) \textit{waz rejmagu-an \textit{tcum} \textit{\textit{\chi\textit{u}}} \textit{tej}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1SG.NOM Reimageel-GEN \begin{itemize}
  \item when \begin{itemize}
  \item REFL.NNOM wedding
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item do.INF = SC
  \item 2PL.NNOM = DAT
  \item say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item lcv = am
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item tcejg = i
  \item tamaç = ir
  \item lcv = am
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I will tell you when Reimageel will get married.’
\end{itemize}

(7.125) \textit{waz ajdsmol-an \textit{\textit{\chi\textit{u}}} batco kudzur}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1SG.NOM Ayjamol-GEN \begin{itemize}
  \item self.NNOM
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item batɕo child
  \item kudʑur where.
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item adjʑmol-an
  \item Ayjamol-GEN
  \item χɯ refl.
  \item nnom
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item naŋmiɡ=i hide.
  \item inf = sc
  \item na neg
  \item wazon=am know.
  \item ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item naymig = i
  \item na wazon = am
  \item hide.INF = SC
  \item NEG
  \item know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I do not know where Ayjamol hid her child.’
\end{itemize}

(7.126) \textit{waz wef-an az ko}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN ABL where.NNOM
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item jet = i
  \item wazon = am
  \item come.INF = SC
  \item know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item dars-an lesson-gen
  \item tsund how.much
  \item waχt rejd=i remain.
  \item inf = sc
  \item waz 1sg.nom
  \item mas also
  \item na neg
  \item wazon=am know.
  \item ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item jet = i
  \item wazon = am
  \item come.INF = SC
  \item know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I know where they came from.’
\end{itemize}

(7.127) \textit{wi-an mudzuz tsarang vid=i az}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN feeling how
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item be.INF = SC
  \item ABL
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item wi 3sg.nnom.dist
  \item pars = an
  \item ask.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item dars-an lesson-gen
  \item tsund how.much
  \item waχt rejd=i remain.
  \item inf = sc
  \item waz 1sg.nom
  \item mas also
  \item na neg
  \item wazon=am know.
  \item ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item wi 3sg.nnom.dist
  \item pars = an
  \item ask.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item vi-an
  \item mudzuz
  \item tsarang
  \item vid=i
  \item az
  \item 3sg.nnom.dist-gen
  \item feeling
  \item how
  \item be.inf = sc
  \item abl
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item wi
  \item 3sg.nnom.dist
  \item pars = an
  \item ask.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item dars-an
  \item lesson-gen
  \item tsund
  \item how.much
  \item waχt
  \item rejd=i
  \item remain.inf = sc
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item waz
  \item 1sg.nom
  \item mas also
  \item na neg
  \item wazon=am know.
  \item ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘We ask how she is feeling.’
\end{itemize}

(7.128) \textit{arzɛq-an tsawa tcejg=i tu = ri \textit{\textit{\chi\textit{umand}}}}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Arzeq-GEN \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item how
  \item do.inf = sc
  \item 2sg.nnom = dat
  \item learn
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item ka = am
  \item do.ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ka = am
  \item do.ipfv = 1SG.IPFV
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I will teach you how to make Arzeq (a wedding pastry).’
\end{itemize}

(7.129) \textit{di dars-an tsund waχt rejd=i}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SG.NNOM.PROX lesson-GEN how.much time remain.inf = sc
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item di 3sg.nnom.prox
  \item dars-an lesson-gen
  \item tsund
  \item waχt
  \item rejd=i
  \item remain.inf = sc
  \end{itemize}
  \item \begin{itemize}
  \item waz 1sg.nom
  \item mas also
  \item na neg
  \item wazon=am know.
  \item ipfv = 1sg.ipfv
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item di 3sg.nnom.prox
  \item dars-an lesson-gen
  \item tsund
  \item waχt
  \item rejd=i
  \item remain.inf = sc
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I do not know how much time is left in this lesson, either.’
\end{itemize}
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.130) was mina-an tsejzir χafo set = i
1SG.NOM  Mina-GEN  why  upset  become. INF = SC

wazon = am
know.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I know why Mina got upset.’

Questions that would be alternative questions (polar question with a tag) as main clauses may also be embedded as nominalized interrogative complement clauses with the subordinating conjunction =i. Since alternative questions do not employ interrogative words to begin with, they do not contain interrogative words. Instead, the question is stated without any changes in word order, and the conjunction jo(kti) ‘or’ is used to conjoin the two alternatives, as shown in (7.131) - (7.134). Unlike in a regular alternative question, both alternatives must contain a predicate in the infinitive stem.

(7.131) wɛf-an batɕo vid = i jo na
3PL.N NOM.DIST-GEN  child  be-INF = SC or NEG

vid = i = am ranuxtɕ
be-INF = SC = 1SG.PFv  forget.PRF
‘I forget whether they have children. (Evidential/New information)’

(7.132) pɯɡan wi-an wɑxt vid = i jo na
tomorrow 3SG.N NOM.DIST-GEN  time  be-INF = SC or NEG

vid = i az wi pars = am
be-INF = SC  ABL  3SG.N NOM.DIST  ask.PFv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will ask whether she has time tomorrow.’

(7.133) sulir maɕ= ir hansu ziv dars
next.year 1PL.N NOM = DAT  Han  tongue  lesson

dod = i jo na dod = i nawz
give.INF = SC or NEG give.INF = SC still

maɕ = ir = af na levə
1PL.N NOM = DAT = 3PL.PFv  NEG  say.IPfv
‘They did not tell us yet whether they will offer Mandarin classes next year.’
**7.3.4.2 Negative indefinite pronouns**

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative words—the addition of hitɕ (which is very frequently shortened to i) ‘none’ to the beginning of some interrogative words creates a negative indefinite: hitɕ tsoj ‘no one (NOM)’, hitɕ tsi ‘no one (NNOM)’, hitɕ tsarang (sometimes shortened to hitɕ rang) ‘in no way, in no form’, hitɕ tsaɾa ‘in no way, in no form’, hitɕ tsiʃ ‘nothing’, hitɕ tsidum ‘no kind of’. The use of each of the negative indefinites is illustrated in (7.135) - (7.140) below. Interrogative words which are exclusively interrogative and cannot be used as negative indefinites with hitɕ are tɕum/tsa waʃt, kudʑur/ko, tsejzir, and tsund. For time and location, hitɕ is used with common nouns instead of interrogative words: hitɕ waʃt ‘never; no time’ and hitɕ dʑuj ‘nowhere’, as in (7.141) & (7.142).

(7.135)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&pa \quad tɕɛd \quad hitɕ \quad tsoj \quad nist \\
&\text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{who.NOM} \quad \text{NEG.be.IPV} \\
&\text{‘There is no one at home.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.136)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&hitɕ \quad tsi=ri \quad salum \quad avon \quad mo \quad warofs \\
&\text{none} \quad \text{who.NNOM} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{peace} \quad \text{BEN} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{stop.IPV} \\
&\text{‘Do not stop to greet anyone.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.137)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&jad \quad batɕo \quad hitɕ \quad tsarang \quad guxt \quad mas \quad na \\
&3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{NEG} \\
&\chiɾd \\
&\text{eat.3SG.IPV} \\
&\text{‘This child does not eat any form of meat.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.138)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&wi=ri \quad hitɕ \quad tsawa \quad mo \quad ka \\
&3\text{SG.NOM.DIST} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{none} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{do.IPV} \\
&\text{‘Do not do anything to it.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(7.139)  hitɕ  tsiz  naj,  hitɕ  tsiz = am  na  levd
none  thing  NEG  none  thing = 1SG.PFV  NEG  say.PFV
‘Nothing, I did not say anything.’

(7.140)  hitɕ  tɕidum  guul  mu = ri  χauɕ  nist
none  which  flower  1SG.NNOM = DAT  happy  NEG.be.IPFV
‘I do not like any of the flowers.’

(7.141)  maɕ  hitɕ  waχt  di  rang  wer
1PL.NOM  none  time  3SG.NNOM.PROX  SEMB  work

            wandz = cndz  nist
see.PRF = REL  NEG.be.IPFV
‘We have never seen anything like this before.’

(7.142)  doð = af  hitɕ  dʑuŋ  na  tujd
3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV  none  place  NEG  go.PFV
‘They did not go anywhere.’

These negative indefinites always co-occur with a predicate negator (na, nist, naj, mo), whether in a question or a statement, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (7.143) & (7.144) which do not contain negators.

(7.143)  *hitɕ  tɕoj  pa  duɾxₙuɾxₙun₀  joðd  tsa
none  who.NOM  LOC  hospital  come.3SG.IPFV  COND

            sawd
become.3SG.IPFV
‘No one may come to the hospital.’

(7.144)  *ta  az  dzilt  hitɕ  tsiz  wuxt = o
2SG.NNOM  ABL  bag  none  thing  fall.PFV = Q
‘Did nothing fall from your bag?’

7.3.4.3 Interrogative reduplication for pluralization

Interrogatives are unique in that they are reduplicated for pluralization, rather than taking the plural markers -χejl or -əf. Interrogative words with a plural referent is reduplicated, without any changes in word order, as illustrated in (7.145) - (7.150):
7.3.4.4 Interrogatives used as filler words

The interrogative words ʨoj, ʨi, and ʨez may be used as filler words in statements and non-content questions if the speaker cannot remember the right word or name for something, as in (7.151) - (7.153). In such cases, the interrogative word is used in the normal syntactic position of the word it is substituting, and the originally intended word is later added on to the end of the sentence when the speaker remembers it. For locations, kudzur is not used, but k=ɯm ‘there’ is used instead, as in (7.154).

(7.151) ʨoj  jɔt=ɑ... qurbum
who.NOM come.PFV=Q  Qeerbum
‘Did he come... Qeerbum?’
(7.152)  
\[ \text{az tsi pars=} an \ldots \text{kuzmamad} \]
\[ \text{ABL who.NNOM ask.IP}FV = 1 \text{PL}FV \text{ Kuzmamad} \]

‘Let us ask him... Kuzmamad.’

(7.153)  
\[ \text{a= wi znej=} in \ldots \text{ar} \]
\[ \text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.IP}FV = 3 \text{PL}FV \text{ TEM}P \text{CONJ LOC} \]

\[ \text{tsez wej=} in \ldots \text{dej} \]
\[ \text{what put.IP}FV = 3 \text{PL}FV \text{ pot} \]

‘They wash it an put it in the thing... pot.’

(7.154)  
\[ \text{awal i tsiz zoz=} an \ldots \text{ar} \]
\[ \text{first one thing buy.IP}FV = 1 \text{PL}FV \text{ TEM}P \text{CONJ ANA = there} \]

\[ \text{so=} an \ldots \text{nizamidin dzuj} \]
\[ \text{become.IP}FV = 1 \text{PL}FV \text{ Nizamidin place} \]

‘First we will go buy something and then go there... Nizamidin’s place.’

### 7.3.5 Indirect question

In Sarikoli, questions may be posed indirectly. The construction indicating indirect questions has two forms, depending on whether the situation in question has already occurred or not: a perfect verb followed by \( \text{vəw} \) ‘be (IPFV)’ for the former, and an infinitive verb with the dative marker \( = \text{ir} \) followed by \( \text{vəw} \) for the latter. The ‘be’ verb is fully inflected for person and number with the pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in the following examples of indirect questions containing the perfect verb \( \text{seddz} \):

(7.155)  
\[ \text{hitɕ tsawa na seddz vəw} \]
\[ \text{none how NEG become.PRF be.IPFV} \]

‘You are fine, right?’

(7.156)  
\[ \text{hitɕ tsawa na seddz vəw}= in \]
\[ \text{none how NEG become.PRF be.IP}FV = 3 \text{PL}FV \]

‘They are fine, right?’

(7.157)  
\[ \text{hitɕ tsawa na seddz vəw}= am \]
\[ \text{none how NEG become.PRF be.IP}FV = 1 \text{SG}FV \]

‘I am fine, right?’
The choice between direct and indirect questions is often determined by the level of politeness the speaker wishes to convey, as well as the kind of response sought by the speaker. Indirect questions generally imply less speaker involvement and greater distance away from the situation (Watters 2002:301). Whereas a direct question clearly demands a response, an indirect question may be perceived as implying little more than slight concern or curiosity, even if it is a real request for information.

However, in general, direct questions are also not perceived as being rude or presumptuous. They are much more frequently used than indirect questions, and usually do not give an impression of intrusiveness. Indirect questions are often used for extra politeness, as in the following:

(7.159)  
\begin{align*}
\text{təw} & \quad \text{χαfo} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{set=ir} \quad \text{vəw}, \\
\text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{upset} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.INF=DAT} \quad \text{be.IPVF} \\
\text{a = di} & \quad \text{gaps} \quad \text{malum=ir} \quad \text{frapon} \\
\text{ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \quad \text{word} \quad \text{teacher=DAT} \quad \text{reach.CAUS.IPVF} \\
\text{‘If it will not trouble you, could you deliver this message to the teacher?’ (lit. You will not get upset, will you? Deliver this message to the teacher.)} \\
\end{align*}

(7.160)  
\begin{align*}
\text{was = am} & \quad \text{a = ta} \quad \text{mejmun} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{təi} \\
\text{1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV} & \quad \text{ACC = 2SG.NNOM} \quad \text{guest} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{CAP} \\
\text{təwəg, təw} & \quad \text{χαfo} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{set=ir} \quad \text{vəw} \\
\text{do.IPVF} & \quad \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{upset} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.INF=DAT} \quad \text{be.IPVF} \\
\text{‘I am sorry I was unable to invite you, and hope you understand.’} \\
\text{(lit. I was unable to invite you for a meal. You will not get upset, will you?)} \\
\end{align*}
Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

(7.161) \[ \text{waz} = \text{am} \quad \text{wef} = \text{ir} \quad \chiabar \quad \text{na} \quad \text{twi} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} \quad 3\text{PL.NNOM.DIST} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{news} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{CAP} \]
\[ \text{tcpwng}, \quad \text{wo} \quad \chiaf \quad \text{na} \quad \text{set} = \text{ir} \]
\[ \text{do.PFV} \quad 3\text{PL.NOM} \quad \text{upset} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become.INF} = \text{DAT} \]
\[ \text{vw} = \text{in} \quad \text{be.IPFV} = 3\text{PL.IPFV} \]
'I hope they will not get upset at me for not informing them.' (lit. I was unable to inform them. They will not get upset, will they?)

(7.162) \[ \text{hit} \quad \text{tsiz} = \text{af} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ranuxt} \quad \text{vw} = \text{it} \]
\[ \text{none} \quad \text{thing} = 2\text{PL.PFV} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{forget.PRIF} \quad \text{be.IPFV} = 2\text{PL.IPFV} \]
'You(pl) didn't forget anything, did you?'

(7.163) \[ \text{taw} \quad \text{beyala} \quad \text{sowg} \quad \text{wazond} = \text{ir} \quad \text{vw} \]
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{what.if} \quad \text{story} \quad \text{know.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{be.IPFV} \]
'You don’t happen to know stories, do you?'

All indirect questions are polar questions, and they almost always occur with negative presuppositions. An indirect question expresses a negative assumption about a situation and asks for a confirmation of whether it is correct (Watters 2002:305). This is illustrated by the following pair of examples. The indirect question in (7.164) presupposes that the addressee will not leave, whereas the direct question in (7.165) is without presupposition.

(7.164) \[ \text{waz} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{afto} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{zabu} \quad \text{tar} \quad \text{varcide} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{week} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{back} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Varshide} \]
\[ \text{so} = \text{am}, \quad \text{tamač} \quad \text{ki} = \text{wi} \]
\[ \text{become.IPFV} = 1\text{SG.IPFV} \quad 2\text{PL.NOM} \quad \text{ANA} = 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \]
\[ \text{wayt} \quad \text{its} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tid} = \text{ir} \quad \text{vw} = \text{it} \]
\[ \text{time} \quad \text{TERM} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{go.INF} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{be.IPFV} = 2\text{PL.IPFV} \]
'I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?'}
I am going to Varshide in one week; are you not leaving before then?

In this respect, the indirect question is similar to a tag question, which also comes with a presupposition. The tag question in (7.166) expresses a similar meaning to that of (7.164):

I am going to Varshide in one week; you will not leave before then, will you?

In addition to expressing politeness or presupposition, indirect questions may also be used when the speaker does not necessarily require a response from the addressee. Lyons (1977:755) draws a distinction between “asking” and “posing” a question: asking assumes that the addressee knows the answer and demands an answer, whereas posing a question does not. This is exemplified in the examples below. In (7.167), the speaker is a boss addressing a lazy man who has come to work for him; after seeing that the man is unwilling to do anything, he angrily sends him away. In (7.168), a bird threatens a thorn tree, which has refused to give the bead back to the bird. In (7.169), the speaker is expressing annoyance that the addressee has been slow to believe him.

You are not going to work, right? Then you can go back.
7.3.6 Other pragmatic functions of questions

In addition to their basic function of requesting information, questions also serve other pragmatic functions. They may serve as rhetorical questions, idiomatic expressions, and phatic expressions. Rhetorical questions share the same structure as questions, but are used to make an assertion about something that the speaker considers self-evident, and often includes some kind of negative judgment (Overall 2007:479; Watters 2002:307). (7.170) is an example of a parent scolding a child, and uses both a content question and an alternative question. The rhetorical questions in (7.171) & (7.172) provide reasons for rejecting a request, and are in polar question form. Through (7.173), the speaker asserts that everyone sheds tears for their own daughter, because they always wish their daughter could live a better life.

7.168)  ilu,  mu  safts = ik  mu = ri  na
      wait  1SG.NNOM  bead = DUR  1SG.NNOM = DAT  NEG

   dod = ir  vo,  waz  juts = ir
      give. INF = DAT  be.IPFV  1SG.NOM  fire = DAT

   lev = am,  juts  laka  a = ta
      say. IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  fire  let. IPFV  ACC = 2SG.NNOM

θawond
burn.CAUS.3SG.IPFV
‘Wait, you are not giving me my bead, right? I will tell Fire, and may Fire burn you.’

7.169)  čitɕ = aθ  pa  mu  ičandz  tɕɔwɔŋdʑ  vo
      now = EMP  LOC  1SG.NNOM  trust  do.PRIF  be.IPFV

‘Now do you believe me?’

7.170)  tɔw  tsarang  batɕo,  pa  gap  tɔćomb = o,  nej
      2SG.NOM  how  child  LOC  word  be.willing.IPFV = Q  NEG

‘What kind of child are you? Will you obey or not?’
(7.171)\textit{waz} \textit{\textcopyright{\textmu{}ruij} tsi wod na teds = am, juts}\textit{\textcopyright{\textmu{}ruij} stream NEG go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV fire ar darun a = \textcopyright{\textmu{}u} \theta awon = am = o, LOC inside ACC = REFL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q\textit{naj, waz na so = am NEG 1SG.NOM NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV ‘Shall I not flow in a beautiful stream, and go burn myself in fire instead? No! I will not go.’\textit{\textcopyright{\textmu{}ruij} wux na \textcopyright{\textmu{}or = am, xats} grass NEG eat.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV water qati \textcopyright{\textmu{}u} d\textcopyright{\textmu{}w} bulezson = am = o, COM REFL.NNOM belly swell.CAUS.IPFV = 1SG.PFV = Q NEG\textit{waz na broz = am 1SG.NOM NEG drink.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV ‘Shall I not eat beautiful grass, and swell up my belly with water instead? No! I will not drink.’}\textit{\textcopyright{\textmu{}ruij} radzen avon na niwd who.NOM REFL.NNOM daughter BEN NEG cry.3SG.IPFV ‘Who doesn’t cry for her own daughter?’}

Some rhetorical questions have become idiomatic expressions through widespread usage. (7.174) is frequently uttered when the speaker does not know the answer to a question. (7.175) is used as an agreeable response to a request or suggestion. (7.176) is used as a tag after a statement when the speaker is not completely certain about the validity of the statement that she has just uttered.

(7.174)\textit{tsoj wazon}d who.NOM know.3SG.IPFV ‘Who knows?’

(7.175)\textit{albatta swd, tsejsir na swd} of.course become.3SG.IPFV why NEG become.3SG.IPFV ‘Sure, why not?’

(7.176)\textit{nej, fand = ik do = am} NEG false = DUR give.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV ‘Or, am I lying?’
Questions also play a role in phatic exchanges. In Sarikoli culture, it is very customary and appropriate to present a series of phatic utterances in polar question form in certain contexts, such as: upon encountering someone on the street, when welcoming guests into one's home (or when entering someone's home), after seating the guests in the guest-receiving room (or after being seated in someone else's home), after the guests wake up (or when seeing the hosts in the morning), etc. These questions are uttered in both directions, and they are rhetorical in nature, as they are followed by phatic (rather than informative) responses. Examples of these phatic utterances are included in §13.