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8

Clause

This chapter identifies and describes the basic constituent order (§8.1) and basic clause types in Sarikoli. Each clause consists of a predicate and one or more core arguments, which are obligatorily stated or understood from the context, and peripheral arguments, which are optional. The predicate determines the argument structure of a clause, that is, the number and type of arguments which should be included in the clause. In the following subsections, seven different clause types are described: intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, and extended transitive clauses, all of which take verbal predicates (§8.2), existential clauses (§8.3), copula clauses (§8.4), and extended copula clauses (§8.5). Table 8.1 presents the argument structure of each of these clause types. S is the intransitive subject, A is the transitive subject, O is the transitive object, CS is the copula subject, CP is the copula complement, and E is the extended argument, which is an additional core argument required by the predicate. §8.7 describes the typical placement of peripheral arguments.

Table 8.1 Clause types and core arguments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause type</th>
<th>Core argument(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended intransitive</td>
<td>S, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>A, O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended transitive</td>
<td>A, O, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>CS, CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended copula</td>
<td>CS, CP, E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1 Constituent order
The dominant constituent order of major constituents in unmarked verbal clauses is SXOV, where ‘X’ stands for dative or peripheral arguments. In this discussion regarding constituent order, the core clause constituents will be referred to as ‘subject (S)’, ‘object (O)’, and ‘verb (V)’, where ‘subject’ refers to the most agent-like argument and ‘object’ refers to the most patient-like argument of the transitive clause. Peripheral arguments and most adverbs typically occur between the subject and the object. Constituent order is not rigid, so these elements often occur in other positions in the clause as well. A list of constituent order pairings is given in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Sarikoli constituent order pairings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive clause</th>
<th>SOV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive clause</td>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of object, peripheral argument, verb</td>
<td>XOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of noun and function marker</td>
<td>N, FM &amp; FM, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of genitive and noun</td>
<td>Gen, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of adjective and noun</td>
<td>Adj, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of demonstrative and noun</td>
<td>Dem, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of numeral and noun</td>
<td>Num, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of relative clause and noun</td>
<td>Rel, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of degree word and adjective</td>
<td>Deg, Adj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of interrogative enclitic</td>
<td>sentence-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of interrogative words</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of adverbial subordinators</td>
<td>end of subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of comparative construction elements</td>
<td>marker-standard-Adj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since Sarikoli has both prepositions and postpositions, it would be classified as Greenbergian type 19 (SOV, Preposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) and type 24 (SOV, Postposition, Gen-N, Adj-N) (Greenberg 1963).

8.2 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates are lexical verbs that come in five different stems. With the exception of the third person singular imperfective and third person singular perfective, every finite clause with a verbal predicate takes a pronominal agreement clitic. The semantic content of the verb determines whether its clause will be intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, or extended transitive.
An intransitive predicate takes a single core argument: S, which is marked as nominative case. The sentences in (8.1) - (8.3) are examples of intransitive clauses.

(8.1)  *olim nalust*  
Olim sit.PFV  
‘Olim sat.’

(8.2)  *mɯ ped xuvd*  
1SG.NNOM foot sleep.PFV  
‘My foot fell asleep.’

(8.3)  *mejmun-χejl = af tujd*  
guest-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV go.PFV  
‘The guests left.’

Some intransitive predicates, despite being intransitive, take two core arguments. However, the second argument is marked with the locative function marker *pa* rather than being marked as accusative, as in a transitive clause. This second core argument is E, the “extended argument” coined by Dixon (2010a:99). The extended intransitive predicate takes two core arguments: S, which is marked as nominative case, and E, which is marked with *pa*. Only a few verbs serve as predicates in the extended intransitive, including: *iɕandʑ tɕejɡ* ‘trust’ (8.4) & (8.5), *buwar tɕejɡ* ‘believe’ (8.6), *julamnic set* ‘rely on (Uyghur loanword)’ (8.7), *tɕimbd* ‘be obedient to; be willing to listen to’ (8.8), *jur set* ‘possess (as when a demon possesses someone)’ (8.9), *buzejd* ‘touch’ (8.10), and *lɛχχiɡ* ‘encounter; bump into’ (8.11). While extended intransitives and regular transitives both take two core arguments, the E argument in an extended intransitive is generally not nearly as affected by the action of the verb as most O arguments in transitive clauses.

(8.4)  *pa tɕi iɕandʐ ka = am*  
LOC who.NNOM trust do.PFV = 1SG.PFV  
‘Whom shall I trust?’

(8.5)  *pa mu iɕandʐ tsa na ka χuðoj*  
LOC 1SG.NNOM trust COND NEG do.PFV God  

  *mu = ri guwu*  
  1SG.NNOM = DAT witness  
‘If you do not trust me, God is my witness.’
(8.6) \(təw\) \(iχil\) \(pa\) \(χalg\) \(ute\) \(dzald\) \(buwar\) \(ka\)
2SG.NOM often LOC person too fast belief do.IPfv
‘You keep believing people too quickly.’

(8.7) \(waz\) \(pa\) \(ta\) \(julanmić\) \(so\) \(am\)
1SG.NOM LOC 2SG.NNOM reliance become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘I will rely on you.’

(8.8) \(təw\) \(a=wi\) \(juts\) \(wazawon,\)
2SG.NOM ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST fire turn.off.IPfv
\(jɯ\) \(3SG.NOM.DIST\) \(mɯ\) \(1SG.NNOM\) \(pa\) \(gap\) \(na\) \(tɕimbd\)
‘Turn off that fire, it did not obey me.’

(8.9) \(pa\) \(ta\) \(pari\) \(jur\) \(sc̩d̩z = end̩z = o\)
LOC 2SG.NNOM demon possess become.PRF = REL = Q
‘Have you ever been possessed by a demon?’

(8.10) \(pa\) \(di\) \(mo\) \(buzis\)
LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX PROH touch.IPfv
‘Do not touch this.’

(8.11) \(i\) \(tɕurik\) \(tar\) \(pond\) \(pa\) \(qaraqchi\) \(leχ\) \(xɯɣd̩z\)
one man LOC road LOC robber encounter eat.PRF
‘A man encountered a robber on the journey. (Evidential/New information)’

A transitive predicate takes two core arguments: A, in the nominative case, and O, marked for accusative function if it is definite. Sentences (8.12) - (8.15) show examples of transitive clauses.

(8.12) \(zɯlfia\) \(poj\) \(fɯrd\)
Zeelfia yogurt slurp.3SG.IPfv
‘Zeelfia will slurp yogurt.’

(8.13) \(maɕ = an\) \(cir\) \(naviɕ\)
1PL.NOM = 1PL.PFV poem write.PFV
‘We wrote poems.’

(8.14) \(m-ono\) \(χaxts\) \(kaxt\)
1SG.NNOM-mother Hak’ts do.3SG.IPfv
‘My mother will make Hak’ts (a fudge-like sweet).’
An extended transitive (or ditransitive) predicate takes three core arguments: A, marked as nominative; O, marked as accusative; and E, which is marked as dative. Extended transitive constructions feature verbs such as ḋọd ‘give’ (8.16), levd ‘tell’ (8.17), vuṣond ‘show’ (8.18), ḋumənd tɕeqj ‘teach’ (8.19), para ḋọd ‘sell’ (8.20), and boxt ‘send’ (8.21), which require three arguments to be stated or implied.\(^1\)

\(8.15\) wi \(\_yin\) a = vurdz \(\_\) vijoj\(d\)

3SG.N NOM wife ACC = horse ride.PFV

‘His wife rode the horse.’

(8.16) \(\text{kur}\)əać\(\mu_m_u\) = \(\text{ri}\) \(\text{tsəmək}\) \(\text{du}_d\)

Keerash 1SG.N NOM = DAT wink give.PFV

‘Keerash winked at me.’ (lit. Keerash gave me a wink.)

(8.17) awal \(\_\text{χu}\) num at \(\text{χ-oto}\) num

first REFL.N NOM name CONJ REFL.N NOM - father name

\(\text{bat}_{\text{ɕo-ɛf=ir}}\) \(\_\text{lev}\)

child-PL.N NOM = DAT say.PFV

‘First tell your name and your father’s name to the kids.’

(8.18) ilu, \(\text{waz}\) \(\_\text{tu}\) = \(\text{ri}\) \(\_\text{tsiz}\)

hold.on 1SG.NOM 2SG.N NOM = DAT one thing

\(\text{vu}_\text{son} = \text{am}\)

show.PFV = 1SG.PFV

‘Hold on, I will show you something.’

(8.19) \(\text{wodo}\) \(\_\text{imi}\) = \(\text{ri}\) \(\_\text{χu}\) \(\_\text{ato}\) \(\_\text{ziv}\)

3PL.NOM.DIST RECP = DAT REFL.N NOM father tongue

\(\text{χumənd}\) \(\_\text{ka}\) = \(\text{in}\)

teach do.PFV = 3PL.PFV

‘They teach each other their father tongue.’

(8.20) \(\text{waz} = \text{am}\) \(\_\text{haroj}\) mon para \(\text{du}_d\),

1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV three apple sell give.PFV

\(\text{wi} = \text{ri}\)

3SG.N NOM.DIST = DAT

‘I sold three apples to him.’

\(^1\) Causatives (Table 1.7) of transitive verbs also require three arguments, as they take on an additional dative- or accusative-marked argument.
8.3 Existential predicates

An existential predicate takes a single argument: copula subject (CS), which is marked as nominative. Sarikoli has two existential predicates: *vid* expresses positive existence while *na vid* expresses negative existence. As with the other predicates, they occur clause-finally. The stem system of these existential predicates differ depending on whether it occurs in the main clause or a subordinate clause; they are presented in Table 8.3 below. The abbreviations used in Table 8.3 are: P = positive, N = negative, MC = main clause, SC = subordinate clause.

### Table 8.3 Stems of *vid* (existential)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P (MC)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>jost</td>
<td>vɯd</td>
<td>vɛddz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (MC)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nist</td>
<td>na vɯd</td>
<td>na vɛddz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (SC)</td>
<td><em>vid</em></td>
<td>vəw</td>
<td><em>vid</em></td>
<td>vɯd</td>
<td>vɛddz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (SC)</td>
<td><em>na vid</em></td>
<td>na vəw</td>
<td><em>na vid</em></td>
<td>na vɯd</td>
<td>na vɛddz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas finite verbal predicates always occur in combination with pronominal agreement clitics, *jost* and *nist* are special predicates in the imperfective aspect that do not take pronominal agreement clitics, both for a third person singular subject (which normally has its own verb stem) and other subjects.

(8.22) \( ar \quad tɯng \quad nuɕ \quad jost \)

LOC Teeng apricot be.IPFV

‘There are apricots in Teeng.’

(8.23) \( wi \quad ar \quad indʑeq \quad pul \quad jost \)

3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC pocket money be.IPFV

‘There is money in his pocket.’

(8.24) \( pa \quad tɕɛd \quad mejmun-yɛf \quad nist \)

LOC house guest-PL.NOM NEG.be.IPFV

‘There are no guests at home.’
There is no child in my belly.

In subordinate clauses, just and nist occur in the infinitive stem, as in (8.26), or imperfective stems that are different from just and nist: vid and na vid for third person singular subjects, as in (8.27), and vəw and na vəw for all other subjects, as in (8.28). As with verbal predicates, the infinitive and third person singular imperfective stems do not occur with pronominal agreement clitics.

How did you know that I do not have a husband?

Come over if you have time.

I will not go if there are other guests at home.

The King had three sons.

The King had three sons. (Evidential/New information)


(8.30) a. \( \text{ar wi dʑuj a=sarlabzamin nigo} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>3SG.NNOM.DIST</th>
<th>place</th>
<th>ACC = border</th>
<th>watch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\( \text{tɕejg = itsuz askar-χejl = af} \) \( \text{na vɯd} \)

\( \text{do.INF = REL soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV NEG be.PFV} \)

‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.’

b. \( \text{ar wi dʑuj a=sarlabzamin nigo} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>3SG.NNOM.DIST</th>
<th>place</th>
<th>ACC = border</th>
<th>watch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\( \text{tɕejg = itsuz askar-χejl = af} \) \( \text{na vɛðdʑ} \)

\( \text{do.INF = REL soldier-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV NEG be.PR} \)

‘In that place, there were no soldiers guarding the border.

(Evidential/New information)’

8.4 Copula predicates

A copula predicate takes two core arguments: copula subject (CS), marked as nominative case, and copula complement (CP), which is a unique argument type. Both CS and CP are in the nominative case in terms of function marking (zero marking), plural marking (with the \( -\text{χejl} \) suffix), and pronominal forms. Pronouns occurring in both CS and CP positions take the nominative form. Neither of the two core arguments of the copula clause is marked as non-nominative.

The default copula in Sarikoli is \( \text{vid} \) ‘be’, which may be negated with the pre-verbal negator particle \( \text{na} \), forming \( \text{na vid} \). \( \text{vid} \) is used as an existential predicate when taking just one argument, CS, and as a copula predicate when taking two core arguments, CS and CP. It has also developed further functions of marking different modalities, as it is used for marking indirect questions (§7.3.5) and evidentiality (§12). The five different stems of \( \text{vid} \) as an existential predicate and as a copula predicate, along with the stems that occur in subordinate clauses, are presented in Table 8.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENTIAL</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>jost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPULA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>( \emptyset )</td>
<td>vɯd</td>
<td>vɛðdʑ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate clause</td>
<td>( \text{vid} )</td>
<td>( \text{vəw} )</td>
<td>( \text{vid} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike verbal predicates, which have referential meaning, the copula predicate carries relational meaning, as the copula clause expresses a certain semantic relation between CS and CP (Dixon 2010b:159). The copula *vid* marks the following relations: 1) IDENTITY (in which CP is an NP or complement clause); 2) ATTRIBUTION (in which CP is an adjective); 3) POSSESSION (in which CP is a possessive phrase); and 4) LOCATION (in which CP is an NP marked by an adposition or a local demonstrative). CP is usually an NP or an adjective; it is not part of the predicate because it does not take any aspect or subject agreement marking as predicates do.

The copula *vid* is omitted from an imperfective copula clause, producing a verbless clause. Thus, a copula clause of positive polarity in imperfective aspect shows the semantic relations of CS and CP simply by apposition. This is demonstrated in (8.31) - (8.34), which contain no overt copula.

(8.31)  
\[ nur \quad di \quad azmud \quad se\ddz = \text{endz} \quad ma\theta \]  
\text{today 3SG.NOM.PROX born become.PRZ \text{REL day}}  
‘Today is this person’s birthday.’ (IDENTITY)

(8.32)  
\[ wi \quad v\text{raw} \quad utc \quad tor \]  
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST brow very black}  
‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.33)  
\[ u \quad jiu \quad spin \quad qala \quad ma\cch \quad p\text{utxu-an} \]  
\text{there 3SG.NOM.DIST metal castle 1PL.NOM king-GEN}  
‘That metal castle over there is our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)

(8.34)  
\[ mu \quad t\text{ced} \quad ar \quad guz \]  
\text{1SG.NOM house LOC grassland}  
‘My house is in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)

The imperative mood is an exception. In a *vid* copula clause in the imperative mood, *vid* is required, even in the imperfective aspect, as shown in (8.35), and later in (8.56).

(8.35)  
\[ t\text{aw} \quad ix\text{il} \quad ix\text{jur} \quad v\text{aw} \]  
\text{2SG.NOM always alert be.IP FV}  
‘Always be on your guard.’

The copula *vid* appears when aspects other than the unmarked imperfective are used, or is negated or subordinated, since the copula must be used to carry the inflection for aspect and pronominal agreement clitics. The copula clause
and the verbless clause will be analyzed as the same construction type because they are identical in all other aspects except for the presence or absence of the copula, and because the absence of the copula is always predictable—it has zero surface realization within a main clause of positive polarity in the imperfective aspect. In all other environments, some stem of the copula \textit{vid} always occurs and shows the same aspect and agreement marking as verbal predicates. The following examples demonstrate that \textit{vid} occurs in perfect aspect (8.36) & (8.37), perfective aspect (8.38) & (8.39), negative polarity (8.40) & (8.41), and subordinate clauses (8.42) & (8.43).

(8.36) \textit{xēb \ di \ aẓmud \ seḥdǝ = \ɛndǝ \ maθ \ yesterday \ 3SG.NOM.PROX \ born \ become.PRF = REL \ day}
\textit{veḥdǝ} \ be.PRF
'It was this person’s birthday yesterday. (Evidential/New information)’ (IDENTITY)

(8.37) \textit{wi \ vrɔw \ utɕ \ tor \ veḥdǝ \ 3SG.NOM.DIST \ brow \ very \ black \ be.PFV}
‘Her eyebrows are very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.38) \textit{u \ jiul \ spin \ qala \ maç \ putxu-an \ there \ 3SG.NOM.DIST \ metal \ castle \ 1PL.NOM \ king-GEN}
\textit{vuud} \ be.PFV
‘That metal castle over there used to be our king’s.’ (POSSESSION)

(8.39) \textit{mu \ tɛd \ ar \ guz \ vuud \ 1SG.NOM \ house \ LOC \ grassland \ be.PFV}
‘My house used to be in the grassland.’ (LOCATION)

(8.40) \textit{waż \ ɾɔtš \ nist \ 1SG.NOM \ girl \ NEG.be.IPFV}
‘I am not a girl.’ (IDENTITY)

(8.41) \textit{wi \ vrɔw \ utɕ \ tor \ nist \ 3SG.NOM.DIST \ brow \ very \ black \ NEG.be.IPFV}
‘Her eyebrows are not very dark.’ (ATTRIBUTION)
Sarikoli has another copula: *set* ‘become’. While *vid* refers to a state, *set* refers to a change of state. Whereas the copula *vid* is omitted in the imperfective aspect, producing a verbless clause with no aspect or agreement marking, *set* is not omissible and always requires pronominal agreement clitics. In these respects, *set* shares more similarities with verbal predicates, but is still a copula because it takes CS and CP as its arguments. The five different stems of *set* are presented in Table 8.5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>3SG.IPfv</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PRF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>set</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>səwd</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>seðdʑ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*set* can be used in all four of the semantic relations expressed by the copula clauses with *vid*, as shown by the following examples. When used for expressing the LOCATION relation, *set* carries the meaning ‘to go’, as in (8.47):

(8.47) *doð = af*  *
yin at tɕur sut*

3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV  wife  CONJ  husband  become.PFv

‘These have become husband and wife.’ (IDENTITY)
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(8.45)  
\[ \text{tɯɕ tɕi pond tsa tɛdz ta pond kut} \]  
straight LOC road COND go.IPVF 2SG.NNOM road short  
\[ \text{səwd} \]  
become.3SG.PFV  
‘If you walk the straight path, your journey will become shorter.’  
(ATtribution)

(8.46)  
\[ \text{awal wɛf-an puts sut} \]  
first 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN son become.PFV  
‘First, they got a son.’ (lit. Of theirs, a son first became.)  
(POSSESSION)

(8.47)  
\[ \text{nuɾ pa buzur so=an} \]  
today LOC bazaar become.IPVF = 1PL.IPVF  
‘We are going to the bazaar today.’  
(LOCATION)

When expressing the LOCATION relation, the NP in CP function is generally marked with an adposition indicating locations, as in (8.48), unless it is a local demonstrative səwd ‘here’ or um/um ‘there’, as in (8.49). The locative or allative preposition is occasionally omitted, leaving only the locational NP as the sole lexeme in the CP position, as in (8.50) & (8.51). Structurally, these cannot be distinguished from copula clauses showing IDENTITY relations; the LOCATION meaning of these clauses is understood from context and general knowledge.

(8.48)  
\[ \text{wi tɛur az tuznef} \]  
3SG.NNOM.DIST husband ABL Teeznef  
‘Her husband is from Teeznef.’

(8.49)  
\[ \text{mu tɛɛd um-ik} \]  
1SG.NNOM house there-DIM  
‘My house is over there.’

(8.50)  
\[ \text{m-oto sɨtɛ varšide} \]  
1SG.NNOM-father now Varshide  
‘My father is in Varshide now.’

(8.51)  
\[ \text{waz xwor} \]  
1SG.NOM Kashgar  
‘I am in Kashgar.’
Copula and verbless clauses show a similar constituent order to transitive and intransitive clauses. CS (like A and S arguments) generally occurs first, followed by CP (like the O argument), and the predicate comes last. As with transitive and intransitive clauses, the order of constituents has some flexibility, even though CS and CP are indistinguishable because neither of them take function markers. CP always precedes the slot where the copula occurs, but CS may be moved to clause-final position, as in (8.52) - (8.54), whether or not the copula is overt.

(8.52)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mu} & \text{cirin} & \text{dzun}, & \text{jad} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} & \text{sweet} & \text{life} & 3\text{SG.NOM.PROX}
\end{array}
\]  
'This one is my sweetheart.' (IDENTITY)

(8.53)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{qobil,} & \text{mu} & \text{radzen} \\
\text{admirable} & 1\text{SG.NOM} & \text{daughter}
\end{array}
\]  
'My daughter is admirable.' (ATTRIBUTION)

(8.54)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{um-ik} & \text{vud,} & \text{mu} & \text{tɕɛd} \\
\text{there-DIM} & \text{be.PFV} & 1\text{SG.NOM} & \text{house}
\end{array}
\]  
'My house used to be over there.' (LOCATION)

The CS slot has the same structural possibilities as an S or A argument in that it can be filled by an NP or a complement clause. The pronominal agreement clitics, which show person and number agreement between the S or A argument and the verb, also shows agreement between the CS and the copula, but only in non-imperfective aspects, as in (8.55). As with S and A arguments, CS may be omitted in the imperative mood, as in (8.56) & (8.57) below.

(8.55)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{haroj} & \text{verθ=af} & \text{aqlin} & \text{vud} \\
3\text{PL.PFV} & \text{both=} & \text{intelligent} & \text{be.PFV}
\end{array}
\]  
'All three of them were intelligent.'

(8.56)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{salomat} & \text{vəw=it} \\
\text{healthy} & \text{be.IPFW=2PL.IPFW}
\end{array}
\]  
'Be healthy.'

(8.57)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{χafo} & \text{mo} & \text{so} \\
\text{upset} & \text{PROH} & \text{become.IPFW}
\end{array}
\]  
'Do not get upset.'

CP is unique among the argument types in that it may consist of a single adjective, whereas in the S, A, O, and CS positions an adjective generally occurs as a
modifier within the NP. CP is an adjective for the ATTRIBUTION relation and an NP for the other three relations; additionally, it takes the genitive marker -an for the POSSESSION relation, and sometimes an adposition for expressing LOCATION. CP may also contain subordinate clauses. In (8.58), the CP is a complement clause, and in (8.59), it consists of a headless relative clause. A CP expressing LOCATION may also be used to express a perfective event with internal reference point, as in (8.60).

(8.58)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{\textit{di} } & \text{\textit{orzu}} & \{\text{\textit{dɯχtɯr} set}\} \\
3\text{SG.NOM.PROX} & \text{dream} & \text{doctor} & \text{become.INDF}
\end{array}
\]
‘This person’s dream is [to become a doctor].’

(8.59)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{\textit{maɕ} } & \{\text{\textit{χɯ} } \text{\textit{ðɯst} } \text{\textit{qati} } \text{\textit{χɪɡ} } \text{\textit{ɪtɛwɛ}}\} \\
1\text{PL.NOM} & \text{REFL.NOM} & \text{hand} & \text{COM eat.INDF = REL}
\end{array}
\]
‘We are ones [who eat with our hands].’

(8.60)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{\textit{was} } = \text{\textit{am} } & \{\text{\textit{lɛq} } \text{\textit{tɛi} } \text{\textit{znod} } \text{\textit{vɯd}}\} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} = 1\text{SG.PFV} & \text{clothing} & \text{LOC wash.INDF} & \text{be.PFV}
\end{array}
\]
‘I was washing clothes.’

8.5 Extended copula predicates

An extended copula clause consists of a copula predicate, \textit{vid} or \textit{set}, and three core arguments: CS, marked as nominative, CP, which is a unique argument type, and E (the “extended argument” (Dixon 2010a:99)), marked as dative. The CP in an extended copula clause is an adjective. Whether or not a copula clause may take an extended argument is determined by the type of adjective that occurs in the CP slot. A few CP adjectives may take an extended argument, including: \textit{χɯɕ} ‘happy’ (8.61) & (8.62), \textit{luzim} ‘necessary’ (8.63) & (8.64), and \textit{bos} ‘enough’ (8.65). Even though E is marked as dative, it tends to be semantically more affected by the CP than the CS is, as shown by the English free translations in the examples below. As in the regular copula clause, the copula \textit{vid} does not occur in the imperfective aspect, as in (8.61), (8.63), and (8.65), but the copula occurs in other aspects, subordinate clauses, imperatives, and when the copula \textit{set} is used.

(8.61)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{\textit{ʁəwz} } & \text{\textit{m-ono} } = \text{\textit{ri} } \text{\textit{uɔt} } \text{\textit{χɯɕ} } \\
\text{walnut} & \text{1SG.NOM-mother} = \text{DAT} & \text{very} & \text{happy}
\end{array}
\]
‘My mother likes walnuts very much.’
Non-finite clauses do not contain any aspectual marking or subject-verb agreement clitics. They do not constitute a sentence by themselves and are subordinate to another clause. The verb in a non-finite clause is in the infinitive stem, as in (8.66) - (8.68), with the exception of the =ɛndʑ RC, which takes a verb in the perfect stem, as in (8.69).

(8.66) maθ paqad dzul batɕo qati skit tɕejɡ
day whole.duration small child COM play do.INF

\[ a = \chi alg \quad aluk \quad kaxt \]
\[ ACC = person \quad tired \quad do.3SG.IPVF \]

‘Playing with little children all day makes a person tired.’

(8.67) muu dil \( \chi \)-oto \( \chi \)-ono\ qati
1SG.NNOM heart REFL.NNOM-father REFL.NNOM-mother COM

nalist
sit.INF

‘I want to live with my parents.’
Some non-finite clauses do not take a nominative argument. Even an actor argument that would normally be marked as nominative in a main clause receives non-nominative marking, as in the nominalized CC construction in (8.70):

\[(8.70) \quad \text{waz} = \text{am} \quad \text{wef-an} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{xor} \quad \text{katɕ} \]
\[\text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PVF} \quad \text{3PL.NOM.DIST-GEN} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Kashgar} \quad \text{move} \]
\[\text{tweʃ} = \text{i} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{xεddʑ} \]
\[\text{do.INF} = \text{SC} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{hear.PRF} \]
\['I have not heard that they are moving to Kashgar. (Evidential/New information)’\]

Other types of non-finite clauses take nominative arguments, as in the RC in (8.71) and the AC in (8.72):

\[(8.71) \quad \text{ju} \quad \text{waz} \quad \text{parus} \quad \text{εddʑ = endʑ} \quad \text{ar} \]
\[\text{3SG.NOM.DIST} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{last.year} \quad \text{become.PRF} = \text{REL} \quad \text{LOC} \]
\[\text{maktab} \quad \text{tuʃd} \]
\[\text{school} \quad \text{go.PVF} \]
\['He went to the school I went to last year.’\]
8.7 Peripheral arguments

This section describes non-obligatory clause structure. Peripheral arguments of a clause usually occur between the subject and the object.

NPs that indicate the locational setting, such as NPs marked as locative (8.73), allative (8.74), and ablative functions (8.75) and local demonstratives (8.76), generally occur after the subject but before the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.77) & (8.78).

(8.72)  
\[ \text{batɕo-xe jl} \quad \text{lawr} \quad \text{set} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{zabu} \]
\[ \text{child-PL.NNOM} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{become.INF} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{back} \]
\[ a = d i \quad \text{para} \quad \text{do = am} \]
\[ \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{give.IP} \text{FV} = \text{1SG.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘I will sell this after the children grow up.’} \]

(8.73)  
\[ \text{wi} \quad \text{vrud} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{buzur} \quad \text{mcwo} \quad \text{para} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{brother} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{bazaar} \quad \text{fruit} \quad \text{sell} \]
\[ \text{δid} \]
\[ \text{give.3SG.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘His brother sells fruit at the bazaar.’} \]

(8.74)  
\[ \text{tɕulpon} \quad \text{ar} \quad \text{urumtɕi} \quad \text{χat} \quad \text{buxt} \]
\[ \text{Chulpon} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Urumqi} \quad \text{letter} \quad \text{send.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘Chulpon sent a letter to Urumqi.’} \]

(8.75)  
\[ \text{sejfik} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{haroj} \quad \text{sad} \quad \text{kuj} \]
\[ \text{Seyfik} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} \quad \text{three hundred} \quad \text{Chinese.yuan} \]
\[ \text{zuxt} \]
\[ \text{take.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘Seyfik took 300 yuan from him.’} \]

(8.76)  
\[ \text{wo} \text{d} = \text{af} \quad \text{um-ik} \quad \text{barqo} \quad \text{kaxt} \]
\[ 3\text{PL.NNOM.DIST} = 3\text{PL.IP} \text{FV} \quad \text{there-DIM} \quad \text{lamb} \quad \text{slaughter.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘They slaughtered the lamb over there.’} \]

(8.77)  
\[ \text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tɕed = an} \quad \text{skit} \quad \text{tɕawg} \]
\[ 3\text{PL.NNOM.DIST} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house = 1PL.IP} \text{FV} \quad \text{play do.IP} \text{FV} \]
\[ \text{‘We played at their house.’} \]
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(8.78)  \[\text{pa qir} = \text{af} \quad \text{kalo pojd}\]
        \[\text{LOC mountain = 3PL.PFV sheep herd.PFV}\]
        ‘They herded the sheep in the mountain.’

NPs that indicate time also usually occur after the subject and before the object, as shown in (8.79) - (8.81).

(8.79)  \[\text{omil sc} = \text{d} \quad \text{pidz tej kaxt}\]
        \[\text{Omil this.year fall wedding do.3SG.PFV}\]
        ‘Omil is getting married this fall.’

(8.80)  \[\text{waz sulir amriko wasefs = am}\]
        \[\text{1SG.NOM next.year America return.IPV = 1SG.IPV}\]
        ‘I will return to America next year.’

(8.81)  \[\text{wo} = \text{d} \quad \text{paraxeb palaw} \quad \text{χu} = \text{g}\]
        \[\text{3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV two.days.prior pilaf eat.PFV}\]
        ‘They ate pilaf two days ago.’

If there is no overt subject, they generally occur clause-initially, still preceding the object:

(8.82)  \[\text{ɕitɕ = am} \quad \text{tamoq χu} = \text{g}\]
        \[\text{now = 1SG.PFV food eat.PFV}\]
        ‘I had some food just now.’

(8.83)  \[\text{nur = af} \quad \text{a = wi} \quad \text{na wands}\]
        \[\text{today = 3PL.PFV ACC = 3SG.NOM.DIST NEG see.PRF}\]
        ‘They did not see him today. (Evidential/New information)’

NPs marked for instrumental (8.84) & (8.85) or comitative functions (8.86) also commonly occur between the subject and the object. If the subject is omitted, they occur clause-initially, still preceding the object, as in (8.87).

(8.84)  \[\text{dud maysat ðust harabo qati a = qoctaci vwq}\]
        \[\text{uncle Mahsat hand vehicle COM ACC = jade bring.PFV}\]
        ‘Uncle Mahsat brought the jade with a wagon.’
We learned Persian with this book.

Abdilu brought firewood with his grandmother.

They slurp yogurt with a wooden spoon.

Dulqun bought bitter almonds for his grandchild.

Miriam sings beautifully like a nightingale.

I am not eating anything until tomorrow.

Yesterday at school I wrote a poem with a pen.
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