Subjecthood properties in the Salar language

SWL8, 2018

Camille Simon
The Salar speaking area in Amdo
Outline

I. Morphosyntactic properties of subject
   I.1. Case marking
   I.2. Loss of subject indexation
   I.3. Nominalization

II. Voice derivations
   II.1. Loss of passive voice
   II.2. Other voices

➢ Toward a semantic-pragmatic organization?
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

“Under the view that grammatical relations are fundamentally language-particular, the first of those questions is a substantive question identifying to what extent clausal arguments in the language fall into different classes, and, in so far as they do, what these classes are and what criteria define these classes.” (Dryer 1997: 124)
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- **Case marking**: NOMINATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1a) 2017 Xunhua, M50 - religion</td>
<td>(b) 2017 Xunhua, M50 - enfance2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men var-ma-ŋzi</td>
<td>men belije jayla-mič</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.NOM go-NEG-PFV.DIR</td>
<td>1SG.NOM like.this cry-PFV.IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I did not go.’</td>
<td>‘I was [involuntarily] crying like this.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2a) 2017 Xunhua, M50 - enfance2</td>
<td>(b) 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Rêve1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani men je-ŋzi</td>
<td>men tapər gor-ŋzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.ACC 1SG.NOM eat-PFV.DIR</td>
<td>1SG.NOM dream.NOM see-PFV.DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those, I ate them</td>
<td>‘I had a dream.’ (lit. I saw a dream)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Case marking: NOMINATIVE
• Differential object marking (ACC/NOM)

(2)b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Rêve1

\[ \text{men} \quad \text{tapər} \quad \text{gor-ðzi} \]

1SG.NOM dream.NOM see-PFV.DIR

‘[When [I] was 15, 14,] I had a dream.’
(lit. I saw a dream)
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- First arguments of possessive predicates (copula & verbs): DATIVE

(3)a. Movie

men jemen bol-sa mana jakci var ja
1SG.NOM bad become-COND 1SG.DAT good EXIST.EGO DISC

‘Even though I am bad, I [also] have virtues!’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- First arguments of possessive predicates (copula & verbs): DATIVE

b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Enfance 1

kič-ge  hal  yoŋwa  ra

person-DAT  strength  NEG.EXIST.HET  DISC

‘People had no strength!’

c. 2012 M70, Hualong - CONSTR

muŋə  dziandzung-or  dey-miç

DEM.DAT  trophy-INDEF.NOM  win-PFV.IND

‘This one has won a trophy.’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Loss of subject indexation on the predicate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4)a. Movie</th>
<th>b. Movie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men gel-ðzi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sen nitçəkli eh-qa-le gir-bur-ðzi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG come-PFV.DIR</td>
<td>2SG how LIGHTV-NML-COM enter-go-PFV.DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I came.’</td>
<td>‘How did you do to come in?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Movie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>paltçək-kič aęgira-čək yaça-ðzi</strong></td>
<td>clay-person clearly-FOC speak-PVF.DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The statue spoke clearly!’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Loss of subject indexation on the predicate

(5)a. Movie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ja ja</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>sen-i</th>
<th>tɛɔq-ar-ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Okay 1SG 2SG-ACC go.out-CAUS-FUT.HET

b. Movie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sen</th>
<th>jari-mə-ya</th>
</tr>
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</table>
‘[I you have not finished] you can’t.’

<table>
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<tr>
<th>danba</th>
<th>senigi</th>
<th>eç-iŋ-ni</th>
<th>bər</th>
<th>ḏarə-ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>2SG.GEN donkey-2POSS-ACC one borrow-FUT.HET</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
‘The chief will borrow your donkey, for a while.’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Loss of subject indexation on the predicate
• Development of a new evidential category in non-past: **EGOPHORIC**

(6)a. 2014 M47, Xunhua, Elicited

| Salar  | bala-lar | t`o-sə | çyexiao-da | ḥadə | getca | orgyn-ba.
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<td>Salar</td>
<td>child-PL</td>
<td>PL-3POSS</td>
<td>primary.school-LOC</td>
<td>china</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>study-IPV.HET</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Salar children learn Chinese in primary school.’ *(Neutral)*

b. 2014 M47, Xunhua, Elicited

| Salar  | bala-lar | t`o-sə | çyexiao-da | ḥadə | getca | orgyn-bər.
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‘[Our] Salar children learn Chinese in primary school.’ *(Information belongs to the speaker’s personal sphere)*
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization

- Guʤi :

- Gan :

- GUsl :
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Nominalization: -Guʤi

(7)a. Movie

3  age-3POSS-LOC  side  come-NML  one-FOC  NEG.EXIST.HET
‘There was not even one [person] of her age who came back.’

b. Movie

food  cook-NML.INDEF  need-IPV.HET
‘We need someone who cooks the food.’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Nominalization: \(-Gudži\)

(8) a. 2018, Xunhua M51, Elicited

\textit{gulin-gudži anor era, avu emsa.}
\textit{fall.down-NML girl.INDEF EQU.HET boy EQU.NEG.HET}

‘The one \textit{who fall down} is a girl, not a boy.’

b. 2018, Xunhua M51, Elicited

\textit{salar oləl-gudži u era}
\textit{S. understand-NML 3 EQU.HET}

S/he is the one \textit{who understands Salar.}
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Nominalization:

(10) 2013, Xunhua, M46

\[ \text{child} \quad \text{eat-NML} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{apple} \quad \text{EQU.HET} \]

‘The [thing] that the child is eating/will eat is an apple.’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Nominalization:

(11)a. 2018, Xunhua M51, Elicited

\[ gulin-gan \quad anor \quad era, \quad avu \quad emsa. \]
fall.down-NML  girl.INDEF  EQU.HET  boy  EQU.NEG.HET
‘The one who falls down is a girl, not a boy.’

b. SAL RAMADAN 31/15

\[ ruz \quad tḫu-qun \quad bu \quad ara-sən-da \quad iç-gun \quad je-rmez \]
fast  LIGHTV-NML  DEM  between-3POSS-LOC  drink-NML  eat-NEG.AOR
‘Those who are fasting do not eat any food in between.’
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

• Nominalization:

\[(12) \text{Tenishev (1976: 176)}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
uf-kan & \quad axquf & \quad va\bar{a}-s\bar{e} \\
fly-NML & \quad \text{swan} & \quad \text{child-3POSS} \\
\text{‘летевший детениш лебедя’} & \quad \text{‘flying swan duckling’}
\end{align*}
\]
Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- **Nominalization**
  
  - **Guʤi**: Single & 1st argument (incl. Possessor)
  
  - **Gan**: Any argument (incl. Single & 1st arg.), Realis
  
  - **GUsl**: Any argument (incl. Single & 1st arg.), Irrealis
Voice derivations

« As for voice, Proto-Turkic had a cooperative, e.g. körüš- ‘see another’, a middle, e.g. körün- ‘become visible’, a passive, e.g. körül- ‘be seen’, and a causative, e.g. körtkür- ‘show’ »

(Róna-Tas 1998 : 75)
Voice derivations

- Synchronically unproductive passive voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13)a. SAL CG 33/147</th>
<th>b. SAL HIST 45/123</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*en</td>
<td>$\ddot{d}z$*i <em>go-ni</em> <em>aç-$\ddot{d}z$ane</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so door-ACC open-CONV</td>
<td>flower.NOM open-PASS?-IPV.HET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So, [she] opened the door and...</td>
<td>Flowers were opening.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<th>(14) SAL PS 33/91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>t$\ddot{c}$edan</em> <em>iç-in-da-y$\ddot{e}$</em> <em>arm$\ddot{e}$t</em> *ari-t$cik$ <em>jer-e</em> <em>djyx-ö$1$-d$\ddot{z}$i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket inside-3POSS-LOC-REL fruit.NOM clean-FOC soil-DAT spill-PASS?-PFV.DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The fruits that were in the basket have been completely spilled on the ground.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Voice derivations

- Synchronically unproductive passive voice

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(15) a. 2014, M47, Xunhua, Elicited

*Bu qadən kiçi-dʒək avu-sə-ya tɛjaotɛjaoxwa jač-ba*

DEM woman person-DEF child-3POSS-DAT whisper say-IPV.HET

‘This woman tells a secret to her child.’

---

b. 2014, M47, Xunhua, Elicited

* tɛjaotɛjaoxwa avu-sə-ya jač-əl-ba*

whisper child-3POSS-DAT say-PASS?-IPV.HET

Intended: ‘A secret is told to the child.’
Voice derivations

• Synchronically unproductive passive voice

“In rhetorically neutral sentences [the topic] is identical with the subject, e.g. Turkish Ali resmi çekti ‘Ali took the picture’. [...] Other constituent may be topicalised by taking the initial position, e.g. Resmi Ali çekti ‘As for the picture, Ali took it’. (Johanson 1998: 58-59)
Argument topicalisation

(16)a. 2017, Xunhua M50 - 20 Projets
\[\text{Ana} \quad \text{Men} \quad \text{kün-i} \quad \text{al-be-ga}\]
3.DAT 1SG.NOM wife take-APPL-FUT.HET
‘For him, I will [have to] take a wife.’

b. SAL Linxia 31/11
\[\text{səljan-a} \quad \text{ebisi} \quad \text{va-ba}\]
X.-DAT 1PL.EX.NOM go-IPV.HET
‘Xining, we do go [there]!’
Argument topicalisation

(17) Movie

χaj   bu          menigi  xaji-m-nige      donbay-ǝ
EXCL  DEM        1SG.GEN  grandmother-1POSS-GEN story-3POSS

‘Hey, that was my grandmother’s story!

bu   donbax-ni   mi       xafi-m
DEM  story-ACC    1SG.GEN  grandmother-1POSS
menige  idzi-m-i      jac-bil-mic
1SG.GEN  mother-1POSS-DAT  say-can-PFV.IND

This story, my Grandmother could retell it to my mother. OR
This story could be retold by my Grandmother to my mother.’
Voice derivations

• Synchronously unproductive passive voice

“A direct object can be topicalised by passive construction, e.g. *Resmi Ali tarafından çekildi* ‘The picture was taken by Ali’, but this option is less often choosen because of the device offered by the constituent order.” (Johanson 1998: 59)
Voice derivations

• Unproductive passive, argument omission, zero-anaphora & generic reading

(18) 2012, H70+, Xining - Hist

ax  düji-ne  jal-miç  jal-dǝ
white  camel-ACC  loose-PFV.IND  loose-CONV

‘[They] had lost the white camel.  [They] had lost [the camel], and

ardǝŋ  da  daç  belil-mič
behind.DAT  COORD  stone  change-PFV.IND

And behind [them], [the camel] had changed into stone.’
Voice derivations

- Unproductive passive, argument omission, zero-anaphora & generic reading

(19) 2012, M70+ Xining

\(d\dot{\text{j}}\text{jexun} \; \text{eh-gen\text{\textasciitilde}} \; \text{vaq-i-nda} \; \text{bu} \; \text{döji} \; \text{ojni-ba}\)

marriage LIGHTV-NML time-3POSS-LOC DEM camel play-IPV.HET

‘When [one/we] celebrates marriage, this camel dances.’
Voice derivations

- Unproductive passive, argument omission, zero-anaphora & generic reading

(20) Movie

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bugyn-ге} & \quad \text{dombөx} & \quad \text{bu} & \quad \text{daxue-den} & \quad \text{jačө-ya} \\
\text{today-REL} & \quad \text{story} & \quad \text{DEM} & \quad \text{university-ABL} & \quad \text{say-FUT.HET} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Today’s story will be told ([by me]) from this university.

[...]

[It is an old story !]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eni} & \quad \text{men} & \quad \text{adʒi-m-den} & \quad \text{jač-gi-ga} \\
\text{DEM.ACC} & \quad \text{1sg} & \quad \text{grandmother-1POSS-ABL} & \quad \text{say-come-FUT.HET} \\
\end{align*}
\]
This, I will tell it from my grandmother[’s point of view].’
Voice derivations

• Synchronically unproductive reflexive voice
• Preservation or development of reciprocal, causative and applicative/benefactive