

Subjecthood properties in the Salar language

SWL8, 2018

Camille Simon

The Salar speaking area in Amdo



Xining

Chumar, Hualong dist.

Altiuli & Yardzi, Xunhua dist.

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

(1)a. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - religion	b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - enfance2
<p><i>men</i> <i>var-ma-ɕʒi</i></p> <p>1SG.NOM go-NEG-PFV.DIR</p> <p>'I did not go.'</p>	<p><i>men</i> <i>belije</i> <i>jaɣla-miɕ</i></p> <p>1SG.NOM like.this cry-PFV.IND</p> <p>'I was [involuntarily] crying like this.'</p>
(2)a. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - enfance2	b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Rêve1
<p><i>ani</i> <i>men</i> <i>je-ɕʒi</i></p> <p>3.ACC 1SG.NOM eat-PFV.DIR</p> <p>Those, I ate them</p>	<p><i>men</i> <i>tapər</i> <i>gor-ɕʒi</i></p> <p>1SG.NOM dream.NOM see-PFV.DIR</p> <p>'I had a dream.' (lit. I saw a dream)</p>

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

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

(2)b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Rêve1

men

tapər

gor-ɔ̃ʒi

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* *maña* *jakçi var* *ja*
1SG.NOM bad become-COND 1SG.DAT good EXIST.EGO DISC
'Even though I am bad, I [also] have vitues !'

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

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

b. 2017 Xunhua, M50 - Enfance 1

kiç-ge *hal* *yoçwa* *ra*

person-DAT strength NEG.EXIST.HET DISC

‘People had no strength!’

c. 2012 M70, Hualong - CONSTR

muŋə *ɕziaŋdzuaŋ-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

(4)a. Movie	b. Movie
<i>Men gel-ɟi</i>	<i>Sen nitçəkli eh-qa-le gir-bur-ɟi</i>
1SG come-PFV.DIR	2SG how LIGHTV-NML-COM enter-go-PFV.DIR
'I came.'	'How did you do to come in?'
c. Movie	
<i>paltçək-kiç açgira-çək yaça-ɟi</i>	
clay-person clearly-FOC speak-PVF.DIR	
'The statue spoke clearly !'	

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Loss of subject indexation on the predicate

(5)a. Movie	b. Movie
<i>ja ja men sen-i tɕəq-ar-ya</i>	<i>Sen jari-mə-ya</i>
Okay 1SG 2SG-ACC go.out-CAUS-FUT.HET	2SG can-NEG-FUT.HET
'Okay, I will let you go out.'	'[I you have not finished] you can't.'
c. Movie	
<i>danba senigi eɕ-iŋ-ni</i>	<i>bər ɕarə-ya</i>
chief 2SG.GEN donkey-2POSS-ACC one borrow-FUT.HET	
'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

Salər bala-lar t̥o-sə ɕyexiao-da ɣadə getɕa orgyn-ba.

Salar child-PL PL-3POSS primary.school-LOC china speech study-IPV.**HET**

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

b. 2014 M47, Xunhua, Elicited

Salər bala-lar t̥o-sə ɕyexiao-da ɣadə getɕa orgyn-bər.

Salar child-PL PL-3POSS primary.school-LOC china speech study-IPV.**EGO**

‘[Our] Salar children learn Chinese in primary school.’

(Information belongs to the speaker’s personal sphere)

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization

-Gudzɪ :

-Gan :

-GUsl :

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization : **-Gudzi**

(7)a. Movie

o yaç-ə-nda jan ge-gudzi bər-tçə joçwa

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

lemi qajna-gudzor keli-ba

food cook-NML.INDEF need-IPV.HET

‘We need someone **who cooks the food.**’

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization : **-Gudzi**

(8) a. 2018, Xunhua M51, Elicited

gulin-gudzi *anor* *era,* *avu* *emsa.*

fall.down-NML girl.INDEF EQU.HET boy EQU.NEG.HET

‘The one **who fall down** is a girl, not a boy.’

b. 2018, Xunhua M51, Elicited

salar *oləl-gudzi* *u* *era*

S. understand-NML 3 EQU.HET

S/he is the one **who understands Salar.**

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization :

(10) 2013, Xunhua, M46

bala *je-Gan/-Gusə* *ʂə* *pinguo* *era*
**je-guɕʒi*

child eat-NML TOP apple 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 *anor* *era,* *avu* *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 *tçu-qun* *bu* *ara-sən-da* *iç-gun* *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) Tenishev (1976: 176)

uf-kan axquf vaʎa-sə

fly-NML swan child-3POSS

‘летевший детениш лебедя’

‘flying swan duckling’

Morphosyntactic properties of Subject

- Nominalization

-***Gudz*** : Single & 1st argument (incl. Possessor)

-***Gan*** : Any argument (incl. Single & 1st arg.),
Realis

-***GUs*** : 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

(13)a. SAL CG 33/147	b. SAL HIST 45/123
<i>enɟzi go-ni aç-ɟane</i>	<i>ɟidɟek atɕ-əl-ba</i>
so door-ACC open-CONV	flower.NOM open-PASS?-IPV.HET
So, [she] opened the door and...	Flowers were opening.

(14) SAL PS 33/91

tɕedan iɕ-in-da-yə armət ari-tɕik jer-e djyx-əl-ɟzi
 basket inside-3POSS-LOC-REL fruit.NOM clean-FOC soil-DAT spill-PASS?-PFV.DIR
 'The fruits that were in the basket have been completely spilled on the ground.'

Voice derivations

- Synchronically unproductive passive voice

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

Bu qadən kiçi-dək avu-sə-ya tɕjaotɕjaoxwa jaç-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

* *tɕjaotɕjaoxwa avu-sə-ya jaç-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

aŋa men kün-i 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

səljaŋ-a ebisi 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-ə*
EXCL DEM 1SG.GEN grandmother-1POSS-GEN story-3POSS

‘Hey, that was my grandmother’s story !

bu *donbax-ni* *mi* *xadži-m*
DEM **story-ACC** 1SG.GEN grandmother-1POSS

menige *iđzi-m-i* *jaç-bil-miç*
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

- Synchronically 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 chosen 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 *döji-nə* *jal-miç* *jal-çə*

white camel-ACC loose-PFV.IND loose-CONV

'**[They]** had lost the white camel. **[They]** had lost **[the camel]**, and

arçan *da* *daç* *belil-miç*

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

ǰjexun eh-genə vaq-i-nda bu döji 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

Bugyn-gə dombəx bu daxue-den jaçə-ya
today-REL story DEM university-ABL say-FUT.HET

‘Today’s story will be told (**[by me]**) from this university.

[...]

[It is an old story !]

eni men adži-m-den jaç-gi-ga
DEM.ACC **1SG** grandmother-1POSS-ABL say-come-FUT.HET

This, I will tell it from my grandmother[’s point of view].’

Voice derivations

- Synchronically unproductive reflexive voice
- Preservation or developement of reciprocal, causative and applicative/benefactive