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DARGWA
Grammatical relations

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Grammatical relations

✓ Grammatical relations like subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. are not equally relevant for all languages

✓ In European-type languages, subjects and other prominent NPs can be identified with the help of morphological and syntactic tests, e. g. case marking, agreement control, control of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, big PRO control, transformation to a zero NP in certain constructions, etc.

✓ In Dargwa and some other Nakh-Dagestanian languages, it is not obvious whether grammatical subjects exist

✓ This problem will be touched upon (but not discussed in detail) in this video

Grammatical relations

Many of the commonly used subjecthood tests are not applicable to Dargwa or do not target any specific NP type

For example:

- ✓ all NPs are relativized in the same way

- ✓ no argument of a converb should be zero (no big PRO)

- ✓ …

A.E. Kibrik on syntactic relations in the Nakh-Dagestanian languages

- ✓ a relatively exact correspondence between semantic roles and the formal marking of the corresponding NPs
- ✓ no or almost no valency derivations

"the difference between semantically ergative languages and European-type languages is not that the former encode the syntactic relations in an unusual way, but that they do not actually have these relations at all (Kibrik 1992: 217)"

"Flat" clause structure

We can distinguish between core and non-core arguments, but for transitive and experiential verbs, it is not clear what of their core arguments can be labelled subject.

VP
ERG   ABS   V
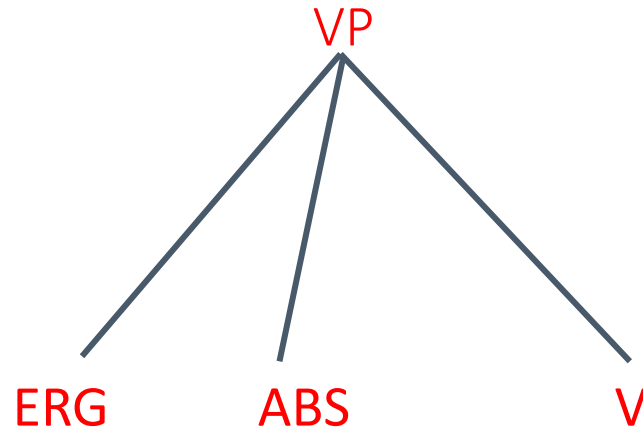
We do not want to have a structure like this one!

The problem of subject in Tanti Dargwa

Core arguments

- ✓ There is a clear distinction between core and non-core arguments.

- ✓ Core arguments:
  - • all absolute arguments: S-argument (intransitive subject), P-argument (patient of a transitive or experiential verb)
  - • A-argument (agent of a transitive verb)
  - • the dative argument (experiencer) of an "affective" (experiential) verb

- ✓ All core arguments – at least in some cases – control gender and/or person agreement.

- ✓ They can be local antecedents of reflexive pronouns (examples will be given below)

(A)symmetry of the arguments of a transitive (affective) verb

Control of gender agreement in the verb	S/P (ABS)
Control of gender agreement in the copula	A, P, S
Antecedent of a complex reflexive pronoun	A, P, S
Control of person agreement in the clause	1, 2 > 3, P > A
Zero argument of an infinitive	A/S
Zero argument of an imperative	A/S
Control of PRO in the infinitival clauses	A/S ≠ P
Antecedent of a simple reflexive pronoun (local control)	A/S

Gender agreement of the verb

S/P (ABS)

waˤħ,   se-li   r-ibšː-ib-le=wara   hit?

INTJ   what-ERG   F-run.away.PFV-PRET-CVB=RQ   that

'Oh, why did she run away?'

hat'i   ʕaˤli   [hit   rursːi] ħaˤ-r-aˤħ   r-uk-a-t-le,   ʕaˤχ-sːa<b>i

then   you.SG:ERG that   girl   behind-F-ADV.LOC F-lead.PFV-TH-2-COND   good-ATR+COP<N>

'You had better take your daughter back home' (lit.: 'It is good if you took your daughter back').'

Gender agreement of the copula

<div align="center">A, P, S</div>

a. dawla.če-b-t-a-li   qulki   q'abul-ʔaˤrq-ib-le=sa-j
    rich.man-N-PL-OBL-ERG   thief   receive-NEG+M+make:PFV-PRET-CVB=COP-M

    hiž   miskin-se=sa-j   ible
    this   poor-ATR=COP-M   CIT
    'The rich people did not receive the thief, because he was poor'. (…)

b. hil   qulki-li   [ca   qali]   b-arč-ib-le=sa-j   lajq'-b-iž-ib-se
    this   thief-ERG   one   house   N-find:PFV-PRET-CVB=COP-M   due-N-be.useful:IPFV-PRET-ATR
    '(Then) this thief found a suitable house'.

c. hil   qulki   uˤħna.ħerχ-ur-le=sa-j   ħe.r.urk'-ar −   hiltːu   xura.kajχ-ub-le
    this   thief   (M)enter:PFV-PRET-CVB=COP-M   (M)look:IPFV-TH   there   (M)stay:PFV-PRET-CVB
    'The thief entered (the house), looked around and stayed there'.

Antecedent of a complex reflexive pronoun

<p style="text-align:center; color:red;">ERG = ABS</p>

a. rasul-li [sun-ni sa-j]   gap-w-arq'-ib
  Rasul-ERG self-ERG self-M(ABS) praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET

b. rasul   [sun-ni sa-j]   gap-w-arq'-ib
  Rasul(ABS) self-ERG self-M(ABS) praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET

  (a=b) 'Rasul$_k$ praised himself$_k$.'

Person agreement control

1/2 > 3, P > A

a. ʕuʕ dali uc-ib=de
    you.SG(ABS) I:ERG catch:PFV-PRET=2SG
    'I caught you.'

b. ʕaʕli du uc-ib=da
    you.SG:ERG I(ABS) catch:PFV-PRET=1
    'You caught me.'

c. dali hit ucib=da
    'I caught him' (1st person marker).

d. ʕaʕli hit ucib=de
    'You caught him' (2nd person marker).

e. rasulli ʕuʕ ucib=de
    'Rasul caught you' (2nd person marker).

Zero subject of an infinitive

PRO = A/S, PRO ≠ P

rasul   [PRO~ABS~   wac'a-cːe   sa-j=cun   w-aš-iž]
Rasul(ABS)   forest-INTER(LAT)   self-M(ABS)=only   M-go:IPFV-INF

uruχ-w-irq-aˤr
fear-M-LV:IPFV-TH

'Rasul~i~ is afraid to PRO~i~ go to the forest alone.'

pat'imat   [PRO~ERG~   rasul   w-it-iž]   urux-r-irq-u-le=sa-r
Patimat(ABS)   Rasul(ABS)   M-beat:IPFV-INF   fear-F-LV:IPFV-PRS-CVB=COP-F

'Patimat~j~ is afraid to PRO~j~ hit Rasul.'

Zero subject of an imperative

Addressee = A/S, addressee ≠ P

PRET b-itaq-ib '(he) hid (itr)' → IMP.SG b-itaq-e 'hide!'

PRET w-iχ-ub '(he) became' → IMP.SG w-iχ̥-e 'become!'

PRET arc-ur '(he) flew' → IMP.SG arc-e 'fly!'

PRET b-uc-ib '(he) caught' → IMP.SG b-uc-a 'catch!'

PRET b-urqː-ub '(he) dug up' → IMP.SG b-urqː-a 'dig!'

PRET čeaχ-ur '(he) put on' → IMP.SG čeaχ-a 'put on!'

PRO governed by a dependent infinitive

A/S ≠ P

a. rasul_i   [PRO_i   qulre   d-arq'-iž]   w-eˤ-w-išː-ib
   Rasul(ABS)   house:PL   NPL-DO.PFV-INF   M-begin-M-LV.PFV-PRET
   'Rasul started building houses.'

b. rasul-li-ž_j   [PRO_j   dalaj-w-ič'-iž]   b-ičː-akː-u
   Rasul-OBL-DAT   song-M-LV.PFV-INF   N-want-CAUS-TH
   'Rasul likes singing.'

c. rasul-li-ž_k   [musa_m   dalaj-w-ič'-aq-iž]   b-ičː-akː-u
   Rasul-OBL-DAT   Musa (ABS)   song-M-LV.PFV-CAUS-INF   N-want-CAUS-TH
   'Rasul likes when Musa's singing.'

d. tːatːi-li   dam_n [PRO_n   k'unt'-be   d-ič-aq-iž]   qːadaʁa-b-arq'-ib
   father-ERG   I:DAT   lip-PL   NPL-paint.IPFV-INF   forbid-N-LV.PFV-PRET
   'Dad forbade me to paint my lips.'

Antecedent of a simple reflexive pronoun

<p style="text-align:center">ERG > ABS</p>

a. rasul-li   sa-j   gap-w-arq'-ib
Rasul-ERG   self-M(ABS)   praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET
'Rasul$_i$ praised himself$_i$/him$_j$.'

b. rasul   sun-ni   gap-w-arq'-ib
Rasul(ABS)   self-ERG   praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET
'He$_{j/*i}$ praised Rasul$_i$.'

(A)symmetry of the arguments of a transitive verb

Person agreement in the clause	1, 2 > 3, P > A	
Gender agreement of the copula	A, P, S	neutral pattern
Antecedent of a complex reflexive pronoun	A, P, S	
Zero argument of an infinitive	A/S	nominative-accusative pattern
Zero argument of an imperative	A/S	
PRO in the infinitival clauses	A/S ≠ P	
Antecedent of a simple reflexive pronoun	A/S ≠ P	
Gender agreement of the verb	S/P (ABS)	ergative pattern
Case	S/P ≠ A	

Problematic features

✓ Gender agreement of the copula (and the essive adverbials)

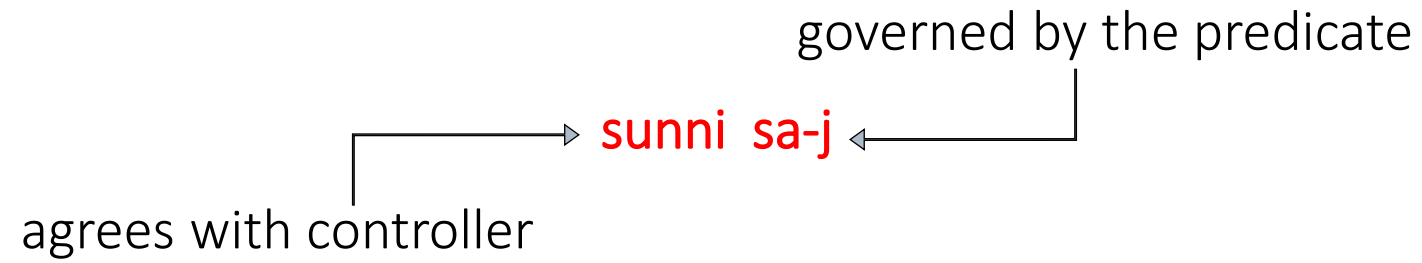✓ Properties of the complex reflexive pronoun

Gender agreement of the copula (and the essive adverbials)

[$_{TP}$ Δ$_{i(ABS)}$ maʕħaʕmmad-li-šːu-**w** [$_{VP}$ **rasul-li$_i$** **dig** **b**-ukː-un-ne]=sa-**j**]

Magomed-OBL-AD-M(ESS) Rasul-ERG meat(ABS) N-eat:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-M

[$_{TP}$ Δ$_{j(ABS)}$ maʕħaʕmmad-li-šːu-**b** [$_{VP}$ rasul-li **dig$_j$** **b**-uk-un-ne]=sa-**b**]

Magomed-OBL-APUD-N(ESS) Rasul-ERG meat(ABS) N-eat:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-N

(a=b) 'Rasul is eating meat at Magomed's.'

Complex reflexive pronoun

governed by the predicate

sunni sa-j

agrees with controller

Complex reflexive pronoun

- ✓ strictly local
- ✓ in transitive clauses, "symmetrical" with respect to the two core arguments

- ✓ reflexive pronouns are bound by their antecedents
- ✓ on the one hand, the complex reflexive pronouns are local, which is a sign of binding, on the other hand, it is symmetrical, like anaphoric pronouns, which is a sign of simple coreference

Antecedent of a complex reflexive pronoun

ERG = ABS

a. rasul-li   [sun-ni   sa-j]   gap-w-arq'-ib
    Rasul-ERG   self-ERG   self-M(ABS)   praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET

b. rasul   [sun-ni   sa-j]   gap-w-arq'-ib
    Rasul(ABS)   self-ERG   self-M(ABS)   praise-M-LV.PFV-PRET
    (a=b) 'Rasul_k praised himself_k.'

Semantic binding

When a binding operator is present, there is no symmetry:

a. či-li=k'al   sun-ni   sa-j   gap-ʕaʕrq'-ib

   who-ERG=INDEF   self-ERG   self-M(ABS) praise-NEG+M+LV.PFV-PRET

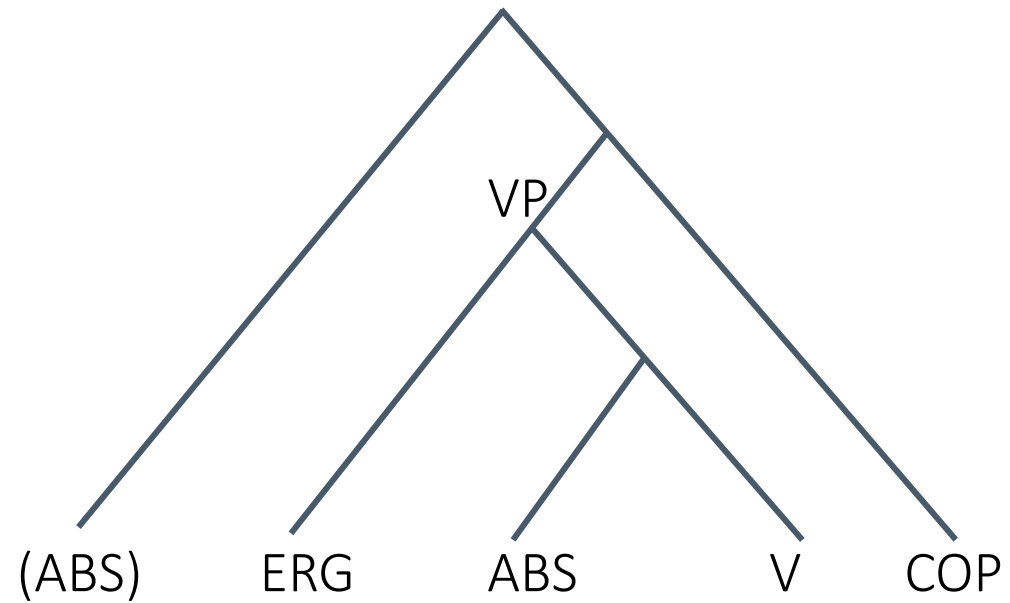   'Nobody praised himself.'

b. *či=k'al   sun-ni   sa-j   gap-ʕaʕrq'-ib

   who=INDEF(ABS) self-ERG   self-M(ABS) praise-NEG+M+LV.PFV-PRET

   (intended translation: = a)

ERG > ABS

Verbal predication

VP

(ABS) ERG ABS V COP

Problems

✓ Why are complex reflexive pronouns "symmetrical" when used without other operators?

✓ What is the syntactic mechanism of person agreement?

✓ What is the syntactic structure of the argument-focus structures in Dargwa?

✓ (etc.)

this lecture

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