On typology of caritive constructions

Sonya Oskolskaya (sonypolik@mail.ru)

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory HSE, 26/01/2021

Outline

1.Project

2.Definition

3.Sample

4.Data

5.Questionnaire with examples from the database

1. Project

"Grammatical periphery in the languages of the world: a typological study of caritives"

https://www.caritive.org/

2. Definition

- CARITIVE describes non-involvement (including, but not limited to absence) of a participant (absentee) in a situation, with the non-involvement predication semantically modifying the situation or a participant of a different situation.

(1)   *John came **without his children**.* (comitative)

(2)   *John travelled **without money**.* (possession / proprietive)

(3)   *A beard**less** man was sitting in the corner of the room*. (possession / proprietive)

(4)   *John opened a bottle **without a corkscrew**.* (instrument)

Goal of the project

- To study how the caritive meaning(s) is expressed in the languages of the world.
  - We include both dedicated (English *without*) and non-dedicated (e.g., "not having") markers.
  - How often is caritive expressed with dedicated constructions?
  - What are grammatical features of different types of caritive constructions?
  - What semantics can be expressed by caritive constructions?
  - …

Assumption

- Caritive concept is universal, i.e. every language has means to express it.

- Hypothetically, it may be not true:

(1) *John came **without his children**. =

(1') *John came alone.*

(2) *John travelled **without money**. =

(2') *John travelled with bare hands.*

Some languages prefer constructions like (1') and (2'). (NB! We do not research what languages are caritive friendly, i.e. prefer (1, 2), and what are not, i.e. prefer (1', 2') in the same contexts).

I don't know languages that cannot express (1) and (2).

Discussion of the definition

CARITIVE describes non-involvement (including, but not limited to absence) of a participant (absentee) in a situation, with the non-involvement predication semantically modifying the situation or a participant of a different situation.

- We tried to avoid any grammatical (syntactic or morphological) notions. But syntactic position is implied here.

(1)   *John came **without his children**.*   (modifies the situation)

(3)   *A beard**less** man was sitting in the corner of the room.* (modifies the participant)

(2)   *John travelled **without money**.* (modifies the situation and the participant (?) ~ depictive)

Discussion of the definition

CARITIVE describes non-involvement (including, but not limited to absence) of a participant (absentee) in a situation, **with the non-involvement predication semantically modifying the situation or a participant of a different situation**.

• It doesn't fit the existential or possessive negation.

(5)   *John **doesn't have money***. (no proper modification)

But

(6)   *John was **without money***. (peripheral use of the caritive marker)

Discussion of the definition

CARITIVE describes non-involvement (including, but not limited to absence) of a participant (absentee) in a situation, with the non-involvement predication semantically modifying the situation or a participant of a different situation.

- We didn't like most of the previous definitions that describe caritive as negation of comitative+instrument (Stolz et al. 2007: 66; Haspelmath 2009: 514) or negation of possession / proprietive (Ivanov 1995: 5).

- No arguments in favour of comitative, instrumental or proprietive interpretation.

- We did not specify the type of relations between the absentee and the anchor participant / situation.

Discussion of the definition

CARITIVE describes **non-involvement (including, but not limited to absence)** of a participant (absentee) in a situation, with the non-involvement predication semantically modifying the situation or a participant of a different situation.

- It fits both situations of absence (7a) and situations of non-involvement (7b):

(7a)   *John had a lunch without his children {because they stayed at their grandparents'}.*   (<u>absence</u>)

(7b)   *John had a lunch without his children {because they didn't want to eat and continued playing in the same dining-room}.*   (<u>non-involvement</u>)

- Sometimes it is not clear (and maybe, not important) whether the absentee is absent or is not involved into situation.

Discussion of the definition

• It is important to distinguish between absence and non-involvement:

(8)   *child**less** woman* (only absence)

(9)   *woman **without** children* (either absence or non-involvement)

Discussion of the definition

Vietnamese:
(10)   *Anh lính* **cụt** *tay đứng ở ngoài đườ*
       soldier   CAR   hand stand be   at   street
       'There was an handless soldier in the streer'.

(11)   *Ivan bóc kẹo ăn* **mà không** **cần dùng** *tay*
       Ivan   unwrap candies eat but NEG   need use   hand
       'Ivan ate candies without (using) his hands'.

• There must be correlation between this feature and syntactic position and semantic function (possession ~ absence; comitative-instrument ~ non-involvement).

Discussion of the definition

Problem: the non-involvement predication is the main one being modified by another predication

(12)	*There were no children who accompanied John's coming.*

	'John came without children'.

(13)	Abui (?) (Kratochvil 2007: 106)

	*di	nala	nee	do	nu-fal			naha*

	3A	what	eat	PRX	1PL.E.REC-separate		NEG

	'he ate without us', lit.: 'given that he ate something, he did not separate for us'

Discussion of the definition (additional features)

- Caritive conveys some negative component.

- Caritive introduces a low-level negative operator and some relational predicate, such as 'have', 'be accompanied', 'use'...

(4)   *John opened a bottle **without a corkscrew***. ≈ 'John opened a bottle, **not** <u>using</u> a corkscrew'.

- The set of predicates is probably limited.

3. Sample

- Representative sample of 100 languages
- The sampling method is based on (Dryer 1989), see (Miestamo 2016 et al.).
- Genus – main item. The proportion of languages from different families and macroareas in the sample reflects the real proportion.
- Some modifications: the number of genera (660 instead of 521) and language selection (taking into account the size of the family).
➢ It models a random sample.

3. Sample

- Africa (14 languages), Eurasia (8 languages), Southeast Asia & Oceania (13 languages), Australia & New Guinea (27 languages), North America (18 languages), South America (20 languages).

- For our 100-language sample, see: https://www.caritive.org/sample

- Map was compiled in R with lingtypology package (Moroz 2017).

Africa
Australia & New Guinea
Eurasia
North America
South America
Southeast Asia & Oceania
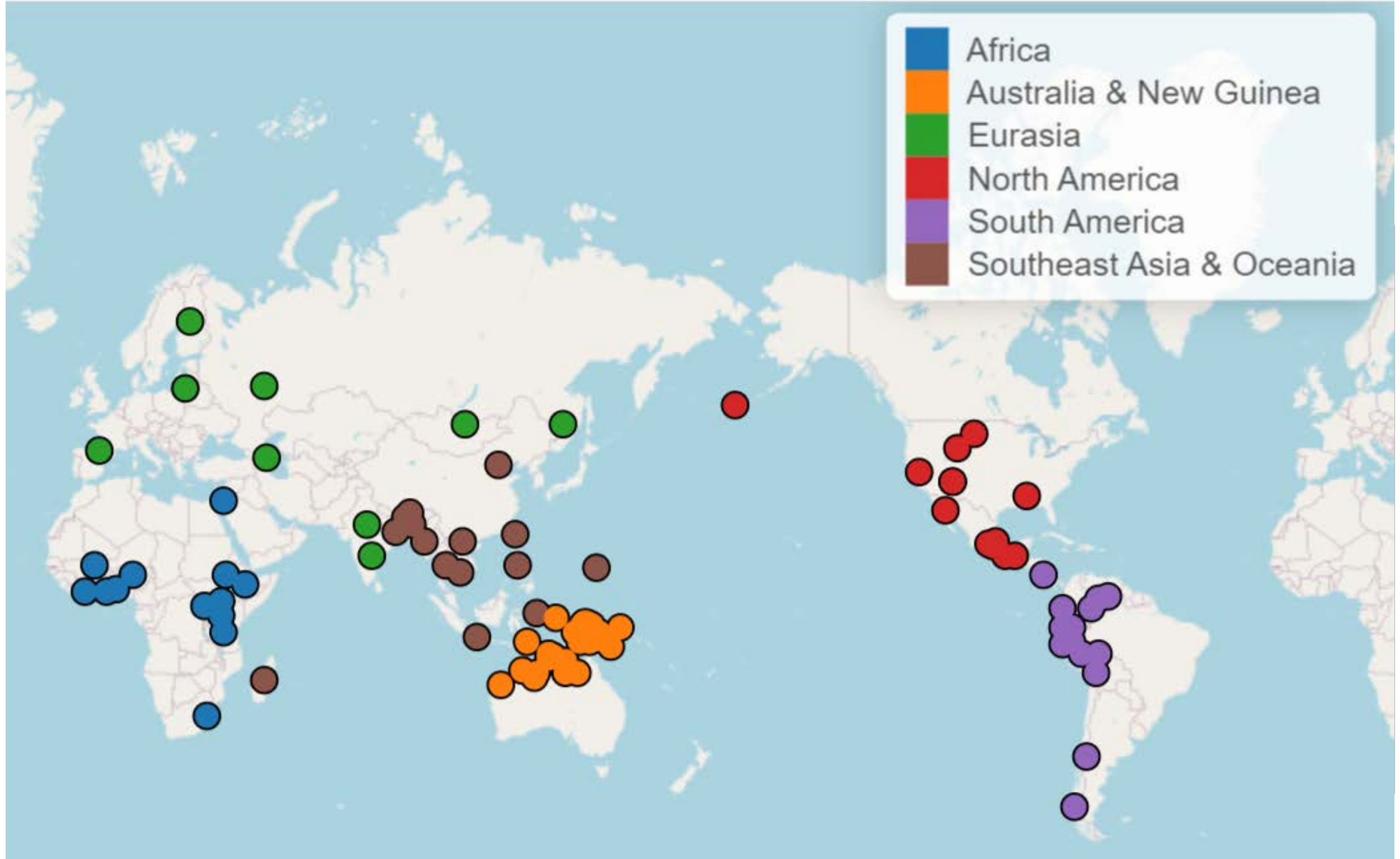
4. Data

- We developped a questionnaire and collected it for 102 languages (2 languages are not included into the sample).

- Sources: elicitation (13 languages), texts (corpora, texts with translations, etc.), grammars and dictionaries

4. Data

Problems: to find a caritive expression in languages without a dedicated caritive marker.

- Scenario 1 (sad): if one can't find any caritive contexts in all available materials, the language is replaced by another one.

If there were a lot of materials (a big grammar of high quality and a thick dictionary with a lot of examples) > we marked such cases especially, because it can make the sample less representative in favour of the languages with dedicated caritive markers.

4. Data

Scenario 2 (happier): to find all caritive contexts based on translation of sentences or from <u>Bible translations</u>.

➤We had found all sentences with dedicated caritive markers in translations of 4 Gospels into 7 languages: modern Russian, English (3 versions), Spanish, Lithuanian, Hindi, Estonian, Nanai.

➤We chose "the most caritive" sentences (i.e. those where caritive markers are used in the most of translations).

➤If we cannot find any information about caritive expressions in a language, we check the translations of these sentences from Gospels.

4. Data

- 185 caritive expressions (181 in 100 languages)
- Some results below are based on 93 languages and 173 caritive expressions (others are presented in an outdated format)
- Amount of caritive expressions per language (it will change):

car. expressions	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
languages	55	16	14	5	1	1	1

5. Questionnaire

- Table xls and comments: https://www.caritive.org/questionnaire
- A list of parameters of caritive expressions (grammar, semantics, information structure)
- Every parameter: value (1, 1?, 0, 0?, ND, IRR)

  note

  language example with glosses

  translations of the example

  source

Parameter 1. Level of expression of the caritive marker («1» can appear in more than one row)

1a – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — derivational (*beard-less*)

1b – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — inflectional (Chuvash *jɨdə-zər* 'without a dog')

1c – …as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase) (*without money*)

1d – …as a part of the (same) clause ("*he didn't leave with money*")

1e – …as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause ("he left, not having money")

(Sorry for complicated description!)

1.° "Level· of· realization· of· the· caritive· marker":· we· refer· to· the· level· of· the· smallest· (morpho)syntactic unit·that·contains·the·marker.·This·unit·must·also·include·the·root/word/noun· phrase·expressing·the·absentee.¶

In·the·simple·case,·one·should·put·"1"·in·the·one·row·that·corresponds·to·the·syntactic·level·of· realization·of·the·whole·caritive·phrase·(absentee·+·caritive·marker).¶

For·example,·the·caritive·adjectivizing·derivational·affix·-*less*·in·English·would·get·"1"·only·in· the·row·1a,·and·"0"·in·all·other·rows.·The·caritive·case·affix·-*ta*·in·Estonian·would·get·"1"·only·in· the·row·1b.·The·Spanish·preposition·*sin*·would·also·get·only·one·"1",·but·in·the·row·1c.·A·caritive· applicative·verbal·marker·(the·case·where·caritive·is·head-marked)·would·get·one·"1"·in·the·row· 1d.·A·construction·that·introduces·a·dependent·clause·(like·"He·left,·[not·having·money]")·would· get·"1"·only·in·the·row·1e.¶

However,·"1"·can·be·put·in·more·than·one·row·for·this·parameter,·if·the·caritive·marker·contains· several·components.¶

For· example,· one· of· the· ways· to· express· caritive· semantics· in· Gban· is· a· combination· of· sentential·negation·plus·a·comitative·postposition·that·introduces·the·absentee·(similar·to·"He· didn't·come·with·Mary").·Such·a·combination·would·get·"1"·in·the·row·1c·"part·of·a·constituent"· (for·the·postpositional·component)·and·"1"·in·the·row·1d·"part·of·the·same·clause"·(for·the·negation· marker),·and·"0"·in·the·remaining·rows.·The·Russian·preposition·*bez*·would·not·only·get·"1"·in·the· row·1c·"part·of·a·constituent",·but·also·"1"·in·the·row·1b·"part·of·the·word—inflectional",·because· the·preposition·*bez*·obligatorily·governs·the·genitive·case·of·the·noun.¶

Another· complex· case· is· attested· in· Enets:· one· of· the· negative· predicative· possessive· constructions·is·formed·by·attaching·a·verbalizing·suffix·meaning·'not·to·have·X'·to·a·noun·stem.· And·such·derived·verbs,·with·the·addition·of·a·participial·suffix·(which·allows·to·use·the·clause· based·on·this·verb·attributively),·are·used·to·express·caritive·semantics,·lit.·"house-not_have-ing· man"·for·'homeless·man'.·In·such·cases·it·is·suggested·to·put·"1"·in·the·row·1a·(because·the· verbalizing·suffix·itself·is·derivational)·and·"1"·in·the·row·1e·"part·of·an·additional·…·clause"·

Parameter 2. Morphological properties of the caritive marker (with respect to the morpheme expressing absentee)

2a – affix? (what type of position?)

2b – clitic/adposition? (what type of position?)

2c – clausal syntactic construction?

2d – OTHER?

Parameter 1. Level of expression of the caritive marker («1» can appear in more than one row)

1a – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — derivational (*beard-less*)

1b – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — inflectional (Chuvash *jɨdə-zər* 'without a dog')

1c – …as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase) (*without money*)

1d – …as a part of the (same) clause ("*he didn't leave with money*")

1e – …as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause ("he left, not having money")

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

1a – ...as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — derivational (*beard-less*)

17 dedicated markers; Efe (Smith 1938: 90)

(14)   *ani-h-olo*   *anu-gi*

   2PL-IND-go   food-without

   'go without food' ("i.e. take no food for your journey")

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

1a – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — derivational (*beard-less*)

7 not dedicated; (?)   Apuriña (Facundes 2014: 131)

(15)   *Amaryny   m-yry-ty   apuka.*

    child   PRIV-father-NEG.M   arrive

      'The fatherless (deprived of a father) child arrived.'

ma- is used with nonverbal or descriptive predicates

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of the word, inflectional: (Est. *tasu-**ta*** 'free')

19 dedicated markers, Ingrian Finnish (M. Muslimov, elicitation)

(16)   *kuv-i-**tta***

     picture-PL-ABESS

     'without pictures'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of the word, inflectional: (Est. *tasu-**ta*** 'free')

7 not dedicated markers, Kayardild (Evans 1995)

(17)   *nginyinangkuru-ya kiwali-ja   niwan-marri wumburu-warri*

    why-MLOC   wade-ACT   his-PRIV   spear-PRIV

    'Why is he wading about without his spear?'

= negation of possession

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

• …as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase): (**without** *a car*)

41 dedicated; Bardi (Bowern 2012: 614)

(18)   *Wiliwili-ngan*   *arr*   *nga-n-joo-gal*

      fishing-ALL   go   1-TR-do/say-REC.PST

arrang   *baawa.*

WITHOUT   child

'I went fishing without the kids.'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase): (***without*** *a car*)

29 not dedicated (?); Amele (Roberts 2016: 242)

(19)   *Ija*   *sigin=**ca***   ***qee***   *h-ug-a*

       1sg   knife=with   not   come-1sg.NOM-TP

       'I came without a knife'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of the (same) clause

7 not dedicated; Lepcha (Plaisier 2006: 81)

(20) *hu*   *throm–ká*   *muró–dep*   *ma–nóng–ne.*

       3S   market–LOC man–together   NEG–go–NEG

       'He went to the market without anyone else.'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of the (same) clause

5 dedicated (e.g., derivational applicative); Bauni (Corris 2005: 258)

(21)   *Mônrai*   *n-opu-t͡ít͡í-**bo**-na.*

       singsing   IRR-2SG.M-dance-WITHOUT-1SG.M

       'You carry on dancing without me.'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause

44 not dedicated markers: Khmer (elicitation by D. Saparova)

(22)   *koat   baək   daːp   sraː*   **daoj**

     3   open   bottle alcohol   daoj

mɨn   jɔːk   ʔupaːkaː   təw   baək

NEG   take   tool   go   open

'He opened a bottle of wine without a corkscrew'

Parameter 1.
Level of expression of the caritive marker

- …as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause

19 dedicated markers: Lezgian (?) (Haspelmath 1993: 324 (ex. 887))

(23)   *Am*   *tup'.u-qʰ*   *tup'al* ***galama-č-iz***
       he:ABS   [finger-POESS   ring   be.still.behind-NEG-IMC]

xta-na.
return-AOR

'He came back without the ring on the finger (lit. with the ring no longer being on the finger).'

➢It has verbal morphology, but it seems to function only in caritive contexts (partially grammaticalized?).

Parameters 10-12. Dedicatedness

<u>Dedicated nature</u>

10 - Is the caritive marker dedicated on the whole (i.e. all the components together, if there are several components)?

11 - Is at least one component of the caritive marker dedicated (i.e. specific for caritive expression)?

Parameters 10-12. Dedicatedness

<u>Not dedicated (synchronically) constructions</u>

12a - Equal to negation of comitative (phrasal or sentential)?

12b - Equal to standard negation construction / verbal negation construction (including any additional, expressed or implicit, predicate)?

12c - Equal to negative existential construction?

12d - Equal to negative predicative possessive construction?

12e – OTHER?

Parameters 10-11. Dedicated markers

Dedicated nature

10 - Is the caritive marker dedicated on the whole (i.e. all the components together, if there are several components)? **= 1**

11 - Is at least one component of the caritive marker dedicated (i.e. specific for caritive expression)? **= 0**

(24)   Mian (Fedden 1973: 92)

nē   afoksmîk=o asumâtna   fút-besa

1SG   hour=N2   three   tobacco-nothing

'I (have gone) three hours without a smoke.'

Dedicated VS. not dedicated constructions

- Dedicated: 46 languages (at least 1 caritive expression is dedicated)

- Not dedicated: 47 languages

- NB! Some languages have a basic non-dedicated caritive expression and a marginal dedicated caritive expression:

Gooniyandi (< Bunaban, Northern Australia), (McGregor 1990: 263, 350)

(25)   Negative existential marker *marlami*

    gambinyi   **marlami**   *bija*   'empty nest'

    egg   nothing   nest

(26)   *gamba-**winyja***   *riminyloondi*   'I got thirsty without water'

    water-CAR   I:got:thirsty

Dedicated VS. not dedicated constructions

Problem: no clear border.

Dedicated grammaticalized caritive or just negative proprietive?
Cashibo-Cacataibo (Zariquiey 2011)

(27)   *norte=nu*   *tsó-xun*   *kaisa*   *nukën*
          north=LOC   live-S/A>A(SE)   NAR.REP.3p   1pl.GEN

chaiti-baë=n   *uni=ñu=ma*
ancestor-COL=ERG   people-PROP=NEG

no=ñu=ma   *'a-akë-x-a*
foreign-PROP=NEG   do-REM.PAST-3p-non.prox
{It is said that our ancestor lived in the northern territory.} 'Living in the northern territory, they work without other people or foreign people.'

Dedicated VS. not dedicated constructions

Problem: no clear border.

Cashibo-Cacataibo (Zariquiey 2011) – dedicated construction

➢Negation of possession is different ("There is no my car" = I don't have a car)

➢It is not symmetric to affirmative constructions (it expresses negation of comitative, while PROP cannot express comitative)

Parameter 12. Not dedicated constructions

- Equal to negative existential construction: 28 caritive constructions
- Equal to standard / verbal negation construction: 20
- Equal to negative possessive construction: 15
- Equal to negation of comitative: 10
- Other: 6

Parameter 8. Syntactic functions of the caritive phrase

- 8a - Secondary predicate - depictive?
- 8b - Secondary predicate - resultative? (?) "he robbed him without money" (cf. *Killed him dead*)
- 8c - Adverbial dependent (non-depictive adjunct)?
- 8d - Attribute?
- 8e - Predicate / part of a predicate?
- 9 - Headless use? (+ in what positions - subject, object, …?)

Parameter 19. Absentee's functions and other meanings/functions # (in the later case we don't deal with proper caritive contexts)

19a – companion

19b – instrument

19c – legal possession

19d – temporary possession

19e – garment / piece of clothing

19f – kinship relations

19g – relation body part – possessor

19h – relation part – whole

19i – transport (vehicle)

Parameter 19. Absentee's functions and other meanings/functions # (in the later case we don't deal with proper caritive contexts)

19j – adjacent entity / locality

19k – parameter of the anchor-participant

19l – content

19m – circumstance

19n – cause/condition

19o – participant exception (affirmative clause)

19p – participant exception (negative clause)

19q – addition of a participant

19r – circumstantional situation

19s - OTHER

Parameter 19. Absentee's functions and other meanings/functions # (in the later case we don't deal with proper caritive contexts)

➢ Very little negative data (almost impossible to make a semantic map).

➢ ~ Dedicated markers often cover all basic meanings (companion, instrument, possession)

➢ There may be correlation between semantics and syntactic position.

Plans

- To cross-check the questionnaires.
- Online-database.
- New questionnaires from other languages (you are welcome to contribute!)
- (Statistical) analysis of the data: correlations, exceptions, etc.
- Intragenetic or areal study of caritives (a bit beyond of this project).
- What kind of research would be interesting for you?

Thank you!

References

- Claire Bowern. 2012. A grammar of Bardi. (MGL, 57.) Berlin, Boston: Berlin: Mouton. xlviii+820p pp.

- Miriam Corris. 2005. A grammar of Barupu, a language of Papua New Guinea.

- Dryer, Matthew S. 1989. Large linguistic areas and language sampling. *Studies in Language* 13. 257–292.

- Nicholas D. Evans. 1995. A Grammar of Kayardild: With Historical-Comparative Notes on Tangkic. (Mouton Grammar Library, 15.) Berlin, New York: Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. xxiv+837pp.

- Sidi Facundes. NEGATION IN APURINÃ (ARAWAK). In Negation in Arawak languages. 2014. P. 121-146 (p.126)

- Fedden, Sebastian, 1973. A grammar of Mian (Mouton grammar library; 55)

- Martin Haspelmath. 1993. A Grammar of Lezgian. (Mouton Grammar Library, 9.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. xx+567pp.

- Haspelmath, Martin (2009), Terminology of case, in A. Malchukov, A. Spencer (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 505–517.

- Ivanov, Vjacheslav V. (1995), Tipologija lishitel'nosti (karitivnosti) [Typology of absence (caritivity)], in V. V. Ivanov, T. N. Moloshnaja (eds.), *Etjudy po tipologii grammaticheskix kategorij v slavjanskix i balkanskix jazykax* [Sketches on the typology of grammatical categories in Slavic and Balkan languages], Moscow: Indrik. 5–59.

- František Kratochvíl. 2007. A Grammar of Abui: A Papuan Language of Alor. 157. Utrecht: LOT. (Doctoral dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden; xx+540pp.)

References

• William McGregor. 1990. A Functional Grammar of Gooniyandi. (Studies in Language: Companion Series, 22.) Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 618pp.

• Miestamo, Matti & Bakker, Dik & Arppe, Antti. 2016. Sampling for variety. Linguistic Typology 20(2): 233–296.

• Moroz G (2017). *lingtypology: easy mapping for Linguistic Typology*. https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology.

• Heleen Plaisier. 2006. A Grammar of Lepcha. 5.5. Leiden: Brill.

• John R. Roberts. 2016. Amele RRG Grammatical Sketch. Ms. 433pp.

• Smith, Edwin W. 1938. A tentative grammar of the Efe or Mbuti language: The reputed language of the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, Belgian Congo. London: The Bible House. 351pp.

• Stolz, Thomas, Cornelia Stroh, Aina Urdze (2007), With(out): On the Markedness Relation between Comitatives/Instrumentals and Abessives, *WORD: Journal of the International Linguistic Association, Vol. 58, Iss. 1–3*, 63–122.

• ZARIQUIEY, Roberto B. A grammar of Kashíbo-Kakataibo. 2011. Diss. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística)–Departamento de Linguística, La Trobe University, 2011.