Affixal, phrasal and clausal caritives in Nakh-Daghestanian

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INTRODUCTION

Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) language family
- on average, the CARITIVE domain is not strongly grammaticalized
- we do not always find dedicated caritive markers

CARITIVE vs. COMITATIVE asymmetry:
- comitative clitics are common
- dedicated comitative cases are found in some languages
- comitative meaning can be expressed by a non-dedicated case form (cf. ablative-comitative polysemy in Udi)
- but: no "caritive cases" in Nakh-Daghestanian
- no expression of caritive meaning(s) by non-dedicated case forms

This talk:

- focus on morphosyctactic strategies of expression
- only data from a few languages taken into account, esp. Avar-Andic and Lezgic
- (for a more comprehensive overview of the data available in grammars, cf. Panova, in prep.)

Three main types of CARITIVE encoding in Nakh-Daghestanian:

- clausal caritive constructions
- derivational caritive affixes (suffixes)
- phrasal caritive markers

NB: the inventory of caritive-coding devices in a language can include more than one marker/construction of the types listed above.

I. Clausal Caritive Constructions

ᵥₚ[... V.NEG(subord)] X
- caritive constructions = subordinate clauses with a negative verb form
- the verb is a copula, an existential or a locative verb
- probably, the most common way of expressing caritive meaning
- exists in (almost?) all languages of the family

Two subtypes:

ᵥₚ[... V.NEG(ptcp)] N
- participial clause: adnominal modifier

ᵥₚ[... V.NEG(cvb)] V
- converbial clause: clause-level manner adverbial

$_{VP}$[... V.NEG(ptcp)] N

- participial clause: adnominal modifier

Avar (< Avar-Andic, http://avar.me/; glosses added)

(1) *ɬːurdul heč'-e-b c'ːe*
[horn.PL COP.NEG-PTCP-N] goat
'hornless goat'

(2) *t'aʕam heč'-e-b kʷen*
[taste COP.NEG-PTCP-N] food
'tasteless food'

(3) *jaħ heč'-e-w či*
[honour COP.NEG-PTCP-M] man
'dishonest person'

$_{VP}$[... V.NEG(cvb)] V

- converbial clause: clause-level manner adverbial

Avar (< Avar-Andic, http://avar.me/; glosses added)

(4) *niž*　　　*heč'o-go*　　　*bajbixu-ge*
　　[we.EXCL　COP.NEG-CVB]　begin-PROH
　　'don't start without us'

(5) *do-s*　　　*namus*　　*heč'o-go*　　*heresi*　*b-ic-una*
　　that-ERG(M)　[morality　COP.NEG-CVB]　lie　　N-say-PRS
　　'he's lying shamelessly'

Both types are subordinate predicative possessive or locative constructions

- relativized ('N, which is not-having X')
- or adverbialized ('V without having X')

Cf. the use of *heč'o* in finite possessive and locative clauses:

Avar (< Avar-Andic, http://avar.me/; glosses added)

(6) *di-q   ʕarac   heč'o*
    I-APUD   money   COP.NEG
    'I don't have money'

(7) *emen   roq'o-w   heč'o*
    father   house-IN   COP.NEG
    'the father is not at home'

Nakh-Daghestanian languages lack dedicated 'have'-verbs
- predicative possession is expressed by constructions with a general copula, an existential verb like 'be', a locative verb like 'be at'
- sometimes there are several predicates for this with semantic difference

Agul (< Lezgic, text corpus)

- "permanent" possession: verb *qaa* [POST.be]
- "temporary" possession: verb *faa* [APUD.be]

(8) *jac-ar   fa-dawa-j   χul.a-s   ma-qu-ʕʷ-a*
[ox-PL   APUD.be-NEG-CVB]   house-DAT   PROH-RE-go/come-IPFV
'Don't you come back home without the oxen (~ oxen not-having)!'

(9) *zu   wun   qa-dawa-j   qu-ʕʷ.a-je-f-tːawa*
I   [you.SG   POST.be-NEG-CVB]   RE-go.IPFV-PTCP.PRS-S-COP.NEG
'I am not going to leave without you (~ you not-having).'

(10) *baw   qa-dawa   šünükː düj.i-l*
[mother   POST.be-NEG(PTCP)]   child   world-SUPER
jaratmiš   d-aqʼ-u-raj
create   NEG-do-PFV-JUSS
'Let there be no motherless (~ mother not-having) children in the world!'

CARITIVE vs. COMITATIVE asymmetry (but also symmetry!) again:
- the converb-based comitative construction looks exactly the same
- and/but: it evolved into the comitative case in -*qaj*
  (X-*q qa-j* 'with-X being' > X-*qaj* 'with X')
- but: the negative converb within the converb-based caritive construction did not become a case form

(11) *dad*   *нирˑ-ar.i-q*   *qa-j*   *a-ji.*
     father   sheep-PL-POST   POST.be-CVB   IN.be-PST
     'Father grazed sheep (~ was with the sheep).'

(12) *gada*   *qu-š.u-f-e*   *wa-qaj,*   *p.u-naa.*
     son   RE-go.away.PFV-S-COP   you.SG-COMIT   say.PFV-PRF
     '(Your) son left with you, – they said.'

Ia. Clausal Caritive Constructions vs. caritive markers?

Haspelmath (1993: 225–227) includes the Lezgian expressions *galaz* and *gwaz* (also converbs from locative verbs, *gala* 'be behind' and *gwa* 'be at') among the postpositions. He also mentions that "[t]he notion 'without' is expressed by the negative forms of the comitative expressions *galaz* / *gwaz*: *galačiz* / *gwačiz*".

Lezgian (< Lezgic, Haspelmath 1993: 227)

(13) *Ajna-jar gwačiz   za-waj k'el-iz   x̂a-na-č.*
    [glass-PL without] I-ADEL read-INF can-AOR-NEG
    'Without glasses I could not read.'

Forker (2013: 392) describes the Hinuq caritive marker *gosme* among deverbal "expressions that serve as postpositions" and glosses it as 'without'. She notes that etymologically it is a negated Resultative participle form of the verb 'be' (which she also calls a copula), although in other sections of the grammar the form is also described as a "negative converb" (Forker 2013: 274, 276).

Hinuq (< Tsezic, Forker 2013: 274, 276)

(14) *quy   gosme   Ø-ułi-yo   hayi-š   hago*
     [noise without] I-go.out-PRS there-ABL1 he
     'Without noise he leaves that place.'

Salimov (2010: 216) lists *-sːub* among "negative particles", although this is a participial form of the negative copula.

Andi (< Avar-Andic, Salimov 2010: 216; glosses added)

(15) *me=sːu-b*   *dunjal,*   *miłi=sːu-b*   *bičːin.*
     [you.SG=COP.NEG-PTCP] world   [sun=COP.NEG-PTCP] shadow.side
     'A world without you, a mountain side without sun.'

Thus: it may be not obvious how to draw a boundary, cf.

$$\longrightarrow$$

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	POSTPOSITIONS	PARTICLES, SUFFIXES?
'X not-being' (at smn.'s disposal)	'without'	=CAR, -CAR
'X not-being' (at some place)		

II. DERIVATIONAL CARITIVE SUFFIXES

Derivational suffixes with caritive meaning:
- take a noun as a base and derive adjectives or (rarer) adverbs
- not very common in the family
- with the exception of the borrowed Azeri marker *-sIz* in the Lezgic branch

In Bagwalal, the caritive suffix *-tu-b* (with a final gender-agreeing slot) is attached to oblique stems of nouns and derives adjectives.

Bagwalal (< Andic, Kibrik et al. 2001: 194–195)

(16) *mači-tu-b*   'childless'   < OBL *mač.i-*   < *mač* 'child'
 miʁa-tu-b   'tailless'   < OBL *miʁa-*   < *miʁa* 'tail'
 kusa-tu-b   'ugly'   < OBL *kus.a-*   < *kus* 'appearance, look'

In Batsbi, the caritive suffix -*c'i* is attached to nouns (oblique stems) and pronouns and derives adverbs. Adjectives in -^{n} can be derived from them according to a regular pattern.

Batsbi (< Nakh, Dešeriev 1953: 60, 63, 71, 286)

(17) *t'atbu-c'i*   'without money'   < OBL *t'atb.u-*   < *t'ateb* 'money'
      dade-c'i   'without father'   < OBL *dad.e-*   < *dad* 'father'
      so-c'i   'without me'   < OBL *so-*   < *so* 'I'
      xi-c'i^n 'waterless' (adj.)   < OBL *xi-*   < *xi* 'water'

> NB: Dešeriev (1953: 60, 64, 71) describes the form as a privative case (*лишительный падеж*) – this is the only claim known to me about the status of a caritive as a nominal case form. Other researchers describe the form as denominal derivational morphology (e.g. Holisky & Gagua 1994: 173, "[the suffix is] used to form privatives").

In Udi, the caritive suffix *nutː*, besides deriving adjectives, is also used as a verbal negation marker.

- Nizh dialect: only with perfective converbs, as a suffix
- Vartashen dialect (old texts): with various non-finite forms, as a proclitic

Udi (< Lezgic, Maisak 2008: 137–138)

(18) *bul-nutː* *amdar* 'headless person'   < *bul* 'head'
  amdar-nutː *gala* 'solitary, peopleless place' < *amdar* 'person'
  aχɨr-nutː *jaqː* 'endless road'   < *aχɨr* 'end'

(19) *hikːal* *p-i-nutː*
  nothing say-PFV.CVB-NEG
  'without saying anything... (e.g. he ran away)'

There is also a functionally equivalent caritive marker *-suz*

- borrowed from Azeri (< Turkic), but is also employed with native stems
- more common in the modern language than *-nut:*
- but: not used with the verb

Udi (< Lezgic, text corpus)

(20) *χe-suz*   'without water'   < *χe* 'head'
       išq:ar-suz   'without husband'   < *išq:ar* 'man, husband'
       äjit:-suz   'without words'   < *äjit:* 'word'

The same Azeri caritive suffix *-suz* (*-sɨz*): in most languages of the Lezgic branch.

Rutul (< Lezgic, Alisultanov & Sulejmanova 2019)
- mostly or even exclusively in the loan words
- (*-dɨ* is the attibutive suffix obligatory on adjectives)

(21) *kümeg-sɨz-dɨ*   'helpless'   < *kümeg* 'help'
      lezet-sɨz-dɨ   'unpleasant'   < *lezet* 'need'
      rang-sɨz-dɨ   'colourless'   < *rang* 'colour'
      χabar-sɨz-dɨ   'uninformed',   < *χabar* 'news, message'
                         'sudden, unexpected'
      zakun-sɨz-dɨ   'illegal'   < *zakun* 'law'
      zarar-sɨz-dɨ   'harmless'   < *zarar* 'harm'

IIa. Caritive proper or a separate related meaning?

Is the Avar suffix *-q'* a caritive marker? According to the definition by Oskol'skaja et al. (2020), probably no, as no "degree" of (non-)involvement is presupposed by that definition.

> The suffix *-q'*, which is productive, derives manner adverbs from nouns in the oblique stem. The suffix *-q'* denotes absence or shortage of some quality of a noun, e.g., *koco-q'* 'ugly, without face' ← *koco* 'face.OBL', *resu-q'* 'poorly' ← *resu* 'possibility.OBL'.
>
> (Khalilov 2016: 3704)

Cf. subsequent adjectival derivation by means of a productive suffix *-a-b* (the final element is the gender agreement marker), verbalization by means of *-łi*.

Avar (< Avar-Andic, http://avar.me/)

(22) *c'am* 'salt'
      > *c'amu-q'*   'without (much) salt'
      > *c'amu-q'-a-b* [-ADJ-N]   'the one which has little salt'
      > *c'amu-q'-łi-ze* [-VBZ-INF]   'to lack salt,
                                      not to have enough salt'

    ret'el 'clothes'
      > *rat'li-q'*   'without (much) clothes'
      > *rat'li-q'-a-w* [-ADJ-M]   'the one who lacks clothes'
      > *rat'li-q'-łi-ze* [-VBZ-INF] 'to stay without clothes'

In Bagwalal (also in Tindi), a functionally similar adjectival suffix *-q'u-b* coexists with the caritive proper suffix *-tu-b*, so it is easier to decide that *-q'u-b* is "not caritive".

Bagwalal (< Andic, Kibrik et al. 2001: 195)

(23) *rošiba-q'u-b*   *mak'a*   'a place with not so much trees'
<div align="right">< OBL.PL <i>roš.iba-</i> 'trees'</div>

   asi-q'u-b   *q'ar*   'lack of money, time of little money'
<div align="right">< OBL.SG <i>as.i-</i> 'money'</div>

   anzi-q'u-b   *sːib*   'winter with little snow'
<div align="right">< OBL.SG <i>anzi-</i> 'snow'</div>

III. Phrasal Caritive Markers

Phrasal markers ("particles") are uncommon; they are
- not heads of verb phrases
- not affixes which attach at the lexical level (i.e. to stems)
- hosted by noun phrases

Dedicated "caritive particle" *ti* in Andi
- probably etymologically related to the derivational suffix *-tu-b* in Bagwalal and Tindi
- not a clitic? (in written texts, it is written separately from its host)
- as a rule, the "caritive phrase" bears an adverbializing marker *-gu*

Andi (< Avar-Andic, text corpus; glosses added)

(24) *iš:i-w-ul=gu*   *saldat-ol*   *ti-gu*   *iš:i-‹b›o*
[we.EXCL-GEN(M)-PL=INT soldier-PL CAR-ADVZ] we.EXCL-AFF<IV>
se-b-gulo   *i-du*   *bild:os:ja.*
one-IV-INDEF do-INF can+FUT.NEG
'We cannot do anything without our soldiers.'

(25) *soru*   *hek'ʷa=lo*   *ti-gu*
together   man=ADD CAR-ADVZ
'without a single fellow man'

(26) *se-b=gulo*   *zaral* *bis:i-j=gu*   *ti-gu*
[one-IV=INDEF harm you.PL-DAT=INT] CAR-ADVZ
'...without any harm for you' (Luke 10:19)

Note the asymmetry in the attributive vs. adverbial caritive phrases: participle of the negative copula *sːub* vs. phrasal marker *ti*.

Andi (< Avar-Andic, text corpus; glosses added)

(27) *gurhel   sːu-b   ima*
    [mercy   COP.NEG-PTCP]   father
    'A merciless (~ mercy not-having) father' {title of a fairy-tale}

Andi (< Avar-Andic, Salimov 2010: 216; glosses added)

(28) *hede-w   men=ti-gu   w-uʁo.*
    DEM-M   [you.SG]=CAR-ADVZ   M-come.AOR
    'He came without you.'

IIIa. Problem of the phrasal type identification

This type seems to be very rare, but...

Clausal vs. phrasal?
- if described as postpositions, (former) negative converbs/participles of the 'without-being' type can be subsumed under the phrasal type

Affixal vs. phrasal?
- if caritive markers attach to bare stems (not to oblique stems), it can be unclear whether they should be subsumed under the affixal or the phrasal type

E.g. Udi *-suz* / *-nut:* when used in adverbial phrases: is it a suffix? clitic?
- with nouns, attached to the bare stem (= absolutive singular)

Udi (< Lezgic; elicited examples)

(29) *bankː-in-a*   *me-suz*   *qaj=e=p-i.*
    can-OBL-DAT   knife-CAR   open=3SG=LV-AOR
    'He opened the can without a knife.'
- NB: same in Azeri, *Bərnini bıçaqsız açdı*

or is it:
(29')*bankː-in-a*   *me=suz*   *qaj=e=p-i.*
    can-OBL-DAT   [knife]=CAR   open=3SG=LV-AOR

Note that:
- with pronouns, attached to the oblique stem, e.g. *za-suz* / *za-nutː* 'without me'
- but: with nouns, can be attached to the (absolutive) plural, e.g. *äjluχ-suz* [child.PL-CAR] 'without children'

CONCLUSION: "caritive systems"

More that one caritive marker / construction
- asymmetry between attributive vs. adverbial caritive phrases
- the status of some markers is not very clear

	Clausal	Phrasal	Derivational
Andi	converbial, participial (several verbs)	–	*-suz* (marginal)
Avar	converbial, participial (copula)	–	*-q' / -q'u-b* (?)
Agul	participial (copula)	*ti(-gu)*	–
Udi	–	*-suz / -nut:* (?)	*-suz / -nut:*

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