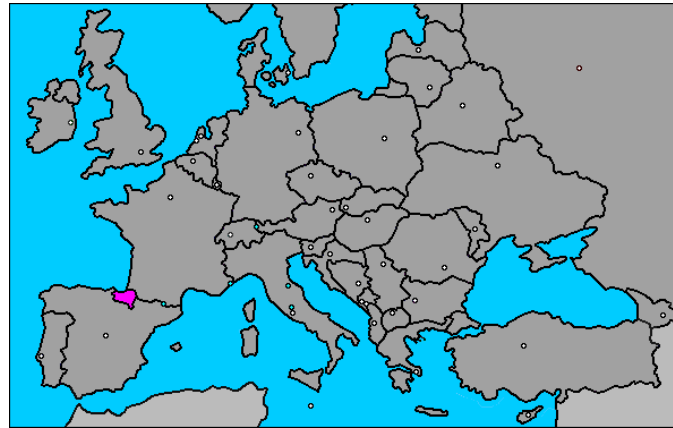


# Caritive markers in Basque



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CARITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS  
IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

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# Data sources

<Existing descriptions>

Grammars: [Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina 2003, Rijk 2008]

- Sources
  - Corpora [EPG]
  - Dictionaries [OEH, Elhuyar]
  - Google search
  - (Native speakers)

# *Gabe* (postposition)

- = *bage* = *baga* = *bare* (dialects) [OEH]
- + *gaberik*, *ba(ga)rik*, *gabetanik* o *gabetarik*  
(*gabe* + PART)
- derived from a noun *gabe* 'lack'?

# *Gabe* (postposition)

- + bare noun, a partitive or an absolutive, depending on definiteness or referentiality (cf. «a strong tendency to reserve this option [bare NP] for single nouns and use the partitive for more complex noun phrases») [Rijk 2008: 308])
- absolutive: mostly used with definite NP
- *argi gabe* (light without), *argi-rik gabe* (light without-PART) ‘without light’
- less frequent forms: *argi gabe-rik* (light-PART without) ‘without light’ [OEH]
- extremely rare: *-rik + -rik* (7 examples in [EPG])

# *Gabe* (postposition)

(1) *Nolanahi*            *ere - beroki-rik*            ***gabe-rik,***            *esan nahi*  
by\_any\_means also coat-PART            without-PART say desire  
*dut, izerdi-ta-n segi-tu*            *nuen.*  
AUX sweat-INDF-IN follow-PFV            AUX

‘Anyway, I mean that without a coat I continued breaking out in sweats’.

[EPG]

# Coordination

=> A typical Basque postposition

(2) *Ema-dazu baimen-a, errege, eta [ezpata eta*  
give-AUX consent[ABS]-SG king and sword and  
*makila]-rik gabe hil-ko dut herensuge-a.*  
stick-PART without kill-PROS AUX dragon-SG

‘Give your consent, king, and I kill the dragon without a sword or a stick’.  
[EPG]

(3) *Jainko-a-ren epai-a-ren arreta-rik eta beldur-rik gabe <...>*  
God-SG-GEN judgement-SG-GEN concern-PART and fear-PART without

‘without a concern about God’s judgement and without fear’ [EPG]

(4) *botere-rik gabe eta indar-rik gabe nintzen <...>*  
power-PART without and force-PART without AUX

‘I was without power and without forces’.[EPG]

# Syntactic functions

## Predicate

(5) *Jaun Ilun-a            bakarrik   eta   lagun-ik            **gabe***  
Lord   dark-ABS.SG   only            and friend-PART            without

*d-ago,            jarraitzaile-ek            abandona-tu-ta.*

3SG.PRS-stay   follower-PL.ERG   abandon-PFV-PTCP

‘The Dark Lord is alone and without friends, abandoned by his followers’. [EPG]

# Syntactic functions

## Copredicate

(6) [*Falta izan al zenuten ezer*],

<i>poltsa-rik</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>zakuto-rik</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>oinetako-rik</i>	<i>gabe</i>
purse-PART	and	sack-PART	and	footwear-PART	without
<i>bidal-i</i>	<i>zintuzteda-nean?</i>				
sent-PFV	AUX-TEMP				

‘When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, [did you want anything?]

 (Lk 22: 35)



# Syntactic functions

??

(7) *Jon gabe ezin dugu musika talde-a osa-tu.*  
Jon without cannot AUX music group-SG[ABS] complete-PFV

‘We cannot put together the group without Jon’.[Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina  
2003: 748]

# Syntactic functions

Attribute: the same marker or not?

*gabe+ko* (ADJ)

- bare NP + *gabe*
  - ABS + *gabe*
  - PART + *gabe*
  - bare NP + *gabeko*
  - ABS + *gabeko*
  - PART + *gabeko*
- 
- *lotsa gabe* 'without shame' > *lotsagabe-ko emakume bat* 'a shameless woman';
  - *euskaraz* 'in Basque' > *euskaraz-ko hitzaldia* 'a lecture (given) in Basque [Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 146]

# Syntactic functions

## Attribute

=> Most often refers to the absence of possession, rather than other meanings (Companion, Instrument)

(8) <i>Orora,</i>	<i>Europa-n,</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>estatu-rik</i>	<i>gabe-ko</i>	<i>nazio</i>
generally	Europe-IN	74	state-PART	without-ADJ	nation
<i>d-au-de-la</i>	<i>azal-du</i>	<i>zuen</i>	<i>Ugalde-k.</i>		
3PRS-stay-PL-COMPL	explain-PFV	AUX	PN-ERG		

'In general, there are 74 nations without states in Europe, — explained Ugalde'. [EPG]

# Syntactic functions

Attribute

(Companion)

(9) *Guraso*      ***gabe-ko***      *bazkaria*      *iza-ten*    *da* <...>  
parent      without-ADJ      lunch-SG[ABS]      be-IPFV    AUX  
'It is a lunch without parents'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup><https://goiena.eus/arrasate/1412926993032-musakolako-ii-gazte-eguna-egingo-dute-bihar>

# Syntactic functions

## Headless uses

(10) [*Zertarako balio du poesiak gerran terapiarako ez bada? Zertarako mundu moderno, mundu bakezkoan?*]

<i>Galdera</i>	<i>zail-ak,</i>	<i>erantzun-ik</i>	<i><b>gabe-ko-ak.</b></i>
question	difficult-ABS.PL	answer-PART	without-ADJ-ABS.PL

[What is the poetry for, if not for therapy in the was? What for, in the contemporary world, in the peaceful?] ‘Difficult questions, without answer(s)’. [EPG]

+ ERG, + IO, + OBL (cases, postpositions), + GEN

# Syntactic functions

## Headless uses

(11) *Hamalau*    *kantu*                    *bil-tzen*                    *ditu diskoak*            *eta*  
      14                    song[ABS]                    gather-IPFV                    AUX disk-PL.ABS and  
*hori-eta-ri-ko*    *asko*    *musika*    *tresna-rik*                    ***gabe-ko-ak***                    *dira*.  
this-PL-ABL-ADJ    many    music    instrument-PART without-ADJ-ABS.PL    AUX

‘The disk gathered 14 songs, and many of them were without musical instruments’. [EPG]

(12) *Iza-n*    *ere,*    *etxe-rik*                    ***gabe-ko-ek***                    *urtarril-a-ren*    *12-a-z*  
      be-IN    too    house-PART without-ADJ-ERG.PL    october-SG-GEN    12-SG-INS  
*geroz-tik*                    *egi-ten*    *dute*                    *lo*                    *frontoi-a-n*.  
after-ABL                    do-IPFV    AUX                    sleep    handball\_court-SG-IN

‘In fact, the homeless have been sleeping in the handball since October 12’. [EPG]

# Syntactic functions

## Headless uses

(13) *Palestina-n* *ego-n* *naiz,* *baita* *Europa-ko* *mug-eta-n*  
PN-IN stay-PFV AUX too PN-ADJ border-PL-IN  
*pape-rik* *gabe-ko-ekin* ere.  
paper-PART without-ADJ-COM.PL too

'I have been to Palestina, as well as on European borders with those who did not have documents'. [EPG]

# Semantics

- Used in disjunctive constructions:

ALA GABE, ...EDO GABE, ...NAHIZ GABE (= X or without), opposed to comitative or instrumental NPs[OEH]

*Patata tortilla: tipul-a-rekin (COM) ala gabe?*

*'Patata tortilla; with garlic or without?' [EPG]*



# Semantics

=> Opposed to comitative or instrumental NPs  
(only in comitative or instrumental function):

\**euskara-z ala gabe?* ('in Basque or not')

\**lagun-a-rekin ala gabe pozik zara?* ('are you  
happy with your friend or not with you friend?')

# Semantics (copredicative position)

Companion

(14) *Beraz, hobe izan-go da am-ak gabe*  
thus better be-PROS AUX mother-ABS.PL without  
*etor-tzen ba-dira.*  
come-IPFV COND-AUX

‘Thus, it will be better, if they come without their mothers’. [EPG]

(15) [“Badakizu nor den Paulina, ezta?”]

*Amar-ekin etorr-i-tako nesk-eta-ko bat zen.*  
mother-COM come-PFV-REL girl-PL-ADJ one AUX

‘[“You know, who Paulina is, don’t you?”]. It was one of the girls who came with the mother’. [EPG]

# Semantics (copredicative position)

Instrument

(16) *Ema-dazu baimen-a, errege, eta ezpata eta*  
give-AUX consent[ABS]-SG king and sword and  
*makila-rik gabe hil-ko dut herensuge-a.*  
Basque\_stick-PART without kill-PROS AUX Basque\_dragon-SG

‘Give your consent, king, and I kill the Basque dragon without a sword or a Basque stick’. [EPG]

(17) *ezpata-z hil zituen bere anaia guzti-ak <...>*  
sword-INS kill AUX his brother all-ABS.PL

‘He killed all his brothers with a sword’. [EPG]

# Semantics (copredicative position)

## Possession

(18) *ezin-ez-ko-a*                                  *da etxe-tik euritako-rik gabe*                                  *irte-n.*  
not\_be\_able-INS-ADJ-ABS.SG AUX house-ABL umbrella-PART without come\_out-PFV  
'...impossible to leave the house without an umbrella'.<sup>1</sup>

(19) *Euri-a*                  *egi-ten*                  *du*                  *eta*                  *jende-a*                  *espaloi-eta-tik*  
rain-ABS.SG do-IPFV AUX and people-ABS.SG pavement -PL-ABL  
*aurre-ra*                  *d-oa*                                  *euritako-ekin* <...>  
front-ALL                  3SG.PRS-go                  umbrella-PL.COM  
'It is raining, and people are walking down the pavement with umbrellas'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>.[euskerabili.blogspot.com/2009/06/eguzki-izpi-bat-ooo.html](http://euskerabili.blogspot.com/2009/06/eguzki-izpi-bat-ooo.html)

<sup>2</sup>.<http://31intxixu.blogspot.com/2013/01/euria.html>

# Semantics (copredicative position)

Transport (vs. IN)

(20) *Eskailera mekaniko-rik gabe etorr-i ziren <...>*  
stairs mechanic-PART without come-PFV AUX

'They came not using the escalator'. [EPG]

(21) *Ni Buenos Aires izen-a du-en eskailera*  
I[ABS] PN name-ABS.SG AUX-REL escalator  
*mekaniko-a-n na-bil go-ra eta behe-ra.*  
mechanic-SG-IN 1SG.PRS-go up-ALL and down-ALL

'I am moving up and down on the escalator called Buenos Aires'.

<http://amerikalatinatik.blogspot.com/2010/10/eskailera-mekanikoak.html>

# Semantics (copredicative position)

Condition

(22) *Gol-ik*      ***gabe***    *ezin*                      *da*      *irabazi.*  
goal-PART    with    not\_be\_able            AUX    win

'It is impossible to win without a goal'. [EPG]

Concomitant situation

(23) *Jeter*              ***seme-rik***              *iza-n*      ***gabe***    *hil*      *zen.*  
PN                      SON-PART              have-PFV    without die      AUX

'*Jeter died without having sons*'. [EPG]

+ many other semantic contexts

# Semantics (copredicative position)

“Non-achievement” (time or space)

(24) *Minutu bat gabe moz-tu dio Kepa-k.*  
minute one without cut-PFV AUX PN-ERG

‘Without waiting / not waiting even a minute, Kepa interrupted him’.

[EPG]

+ temporal meaning: *etorri gabe* ‘before going’ (non-finite forms)

+ *bihar gabe* ‘before tomorrow’ (adverbs)

# Referential properties

(25) *Zer ote litzateke(...), bere emaztea gabe?*  
what may would.be his wife without  
*Neke da esaten.*  
hard is say.tzen

‘What would he be without his wife? It's hard to tell’. [Hualde Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 688]

(26) *Gonzalez gabe eta Gonzalez-ekin ere, Portland*  
PN without и PN-COM too PN  
*hobe-a iza-n zen.*  
good.COMP-ABS.SG be-PVF AUX

‘Both with Gonzalez and without Gonzalez Portland was [= played] better’.  
[EPG]



# Referential properties

(27) *Zu gabe mundu hau arras hutsa ikus-ten nuen.*  
you without world this[ABS] totally empty see-IPFV AUX  
'Without you, I see this world absolutely empty'. [EPG]

+ Informational structure: whatever

## *falta-n/falta-z* (<lack-IN/lack-INS)

- “faltan 1 adb. -ik gabe” [OEH]
- < Sp. falta-n ‘lack’ + IN / faltaz < Sp. falta ‘lack’ + INS
- + either a bare noun or a genitive noun phrase

(28) *Langile falta-n alfer eta lo*  
worker lack-IN uselesand asleep  
*geldi-tzen ba-dira lurr-ak.*  
remain-IPFV EMPH-AUX land-ABS.PL

‘Without workers, lands remain useless and asleep’. [OEH]

# *gabe vs. faltan (-z)*

1). the reason connotation is often observed (29) [Rijk 2008: 308], cf. French *faute de*, but it is not necessary (30):

(29) *Maitasun-(a-ren) falta-z / falta-n, Mirenek luzaro negar*

love-SG-GEN                  lack-INS    lack-IN    PN-ERG                  longtime cry

*egi-n                          zuen.*

make-PFV                  AUX

‘Miren cried for a long time for the lack of love’. [Rijk 2008: 937]

(30) *Nor-k      jar-i-ko                  zizkidan, Rosa-ren                  falta-n, azuzen-ak <...>?.*

who-ERG    plant-PFV-PROS    AUX                  PN-GEN                  lack-IN    lily-ABS.SG

‘Who will plant lilies for me in the absence of Rosa?’ [EPG]

## *gabe* vs. *faltan* (-z)

2). *faltan* (-z) presupposes non-existence ([de Rijk 2008: 310], rather than non-involvement (cf. *gabe*: ‘lacking’, ‘devoid’ ([de Rijk 2008: 308]))

(31) <i>Esku-rik</i>	<i>gabe</i> /	* <i>esku(a-ren)</i>	<i>falta-n</i> (-z)	
hand-PART	without	hand-SG-GEN	lack-IN -INS	
<i>askotan</i>	<i>ibili-a</i>	<i>zen</i>	<i>bizikleta</i>	<i>gaine-a-n.</i>
often	go-SG[ABS]	AUX	bicycle	top-SG-IN
'He often rode the bicycle without hands'. [EPG]				

## *gabe vs. faltan (-z)*

=> the difference in semantics (possibility of denoting absence/non-involvement of companion, instrument or transport)

(32) *Kotxe-rik*    *gabe /*    *\*Kotxe-a-ren*    *falta-z*    *etorr-i*    *zen.*  
car-PART    without    car-SG-GEN    lack-IN -INS    come-PFV    AUX  
'He came without car'.

## *gabe* vs. *faltan* (-z)

### 3) Syntactic functions

- *gabe*: everywhere
- *faltan* (-z):
  - +copredicative
  - +++predicative
  - attributive; - headless uses
  - (concomitant situation)

## *gabe vs. faltan (-z)*

### 4) Frequency

- *gabe* >>> *faltan/faltaz*

gabe: 43872; faltaz: 167 [EPG]

(but both of the markers are productive)

# Another *gabe-a* (not caritive)

Resultative (?) meaning?

(33) <i>Xabier</i>	<i>ordubietan</i>	<i>Jonengana</i>	<i>joan</i>	<i>da.</i>
Xabier	two.at	Jon.	to go	AUX.3A
<i>Lauretarako</i>	<i>iritsi</i>	<b><i>gabe-a</i></b>	<i>zen</i>	<i>(oraindik).</i>
four.by	arrived	without.DET	was	yet

'Xabier went to Jon at two o'clock. By four o'clock he wasn't yet there'.  
[Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 386]



# Derivation: *-gabe*

- *-gabe* vs. (*-dun*):

=> only attributive use; possession

- *bizardun* 'bearded' vs. *bizargabe* 'beardless'

- *ahostun* 'voiced' vs. *ahoskabe* 'voiceless'.

[Hualde, ortiz de Urbina 2003: 42]

# Substantivation

“The postposition *gabe* 'without' appears in a number of lexicalized formations; e.g.: *nahigabe* 'displeasure' (*nahi* 'want'), *paregabe* 'peerless', *bidegabe* 'injustice' (*bide* 'way'), *ezkongabe* 'unmarried', *lotsagabe* 'shameless'. In some of these compounds, the initial velar is irregularly devoiced; e.g.: *ustekabe* 'accident' (*uste* 'opinion, idea'), *atsekabe* 'disfortune' (*atsegin* 'pleasure'), *dohakabe* 'unfortunate' (*doha[tu]* 'provide')”.

[Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 359]

# Derivation: *-motz*

- *-motz* < 'short'
    - => only attributive use; possession (a body part)
    - => not (very) productive
    - => shortness or the absence of a part of the body
  - *eskumotz* 'missing a hand' (< *esku* 'hand' + *motz* 'short')
  - *hankamotz* 'missing a leg' (< *hanka* 'leg')
  - *belarrimotz* 'without an ear' (< *belarri* 'ear') [OEH]
  - *adarmotz* 'with short corns, without corns' (< *adar* 'corn')
  - *buztan-motz* 'with a short tail, without tail' (< *buztan* 'tail')
- => sometimes can be lexicalized, cf. *mihimotz* 'stuttering' (< *mihi* 'tongue')

Other languages: *cụt* (Vietnamese)

# References

- Hualde, Ortiz de Urbina 2003 — Hualde J. I., Ortiz de Urbina J. (eds.). *A Grammar of Basque*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003.
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# Abbreviations

ABL — ablative; ABS — absolutive; ADJ — adjectivizer; AUX — auxiliary; COMP — comparative; COMPL — complementizer; COND — conditional; EMPH — emphatic; ERG — ergative; GEN — genitive; IN — inessive; INDF — indefinite; INS — instrumental; IPFV — imperfective; PART — partitive; PFV — perfective; PL — plural; PN — person name, place name; PROS — prospective; SG — singular.

# Sources

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([http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-15172x/eu/hizt\\_el/index.asp](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-15172x/eu/hizt_el/index.asp))
- EPG — Ereduzko prosa gaur (<http://www.ehu.eus/euskara-orria/euskara/ereduzkoa>).
- OEH — L. Michelena. Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia  
([http://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=276&Itemid=413&lang=eu](http://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=276&Itemid=413&lang=eu)).
- The map on the 1<sup>st</sup> slide:  
<http://www.luventicus.org/cartes/europe/paysbasque.html>

Milesker zuen arretagatik!  
Thank you for your attention!  
Спасибо за внимание!