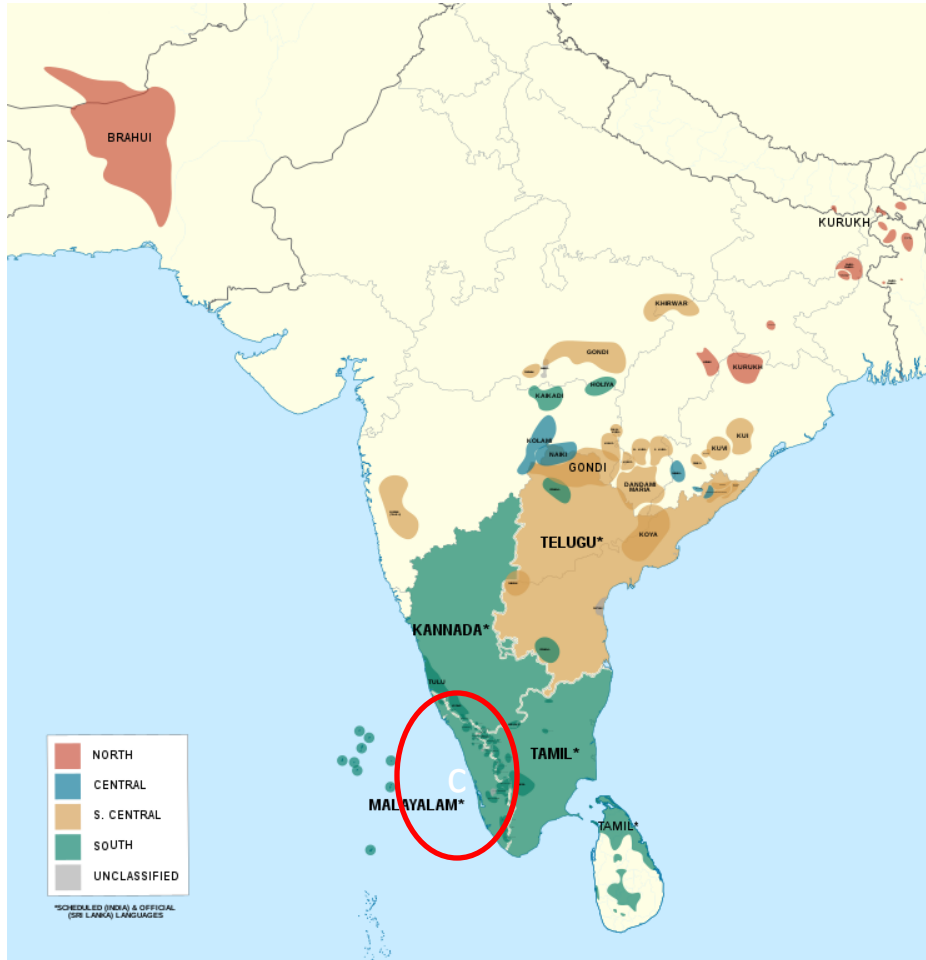Elizaveta Zabelina
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Caritive constructions in Malayalam

Malayalam

മലയാളം

o Differentiated from a dialect of Tamil around the 9th century CE

o Lost person marking in the verbal morphology

o Unlike Tamil, and to a greater degree than Kannada and Telugu, has borrowed from Sanskrit

o No diglossia of the Tamil kind

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dravidian_map.svg

Work in progress

Sources of data:

- # Grammars
- Elicitation: fieldwork in February 2020, Kochi
- Web-corpus*

* Malayalam Leipzig Corpus — Leipzig Corpora Collection (2017): Malayalam community corpus based on material from 2017. Leipzig Corpora Collection. Dataset. URL: https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en?corpusId=mal_community_2017

- Typological background
- Dravidian overview
- Malayalam data
- ~~Results/ findings~~ Discussion

Typological background

Definition

o "negated comitative/instrumental" (Seiler 2000: 172)
   > marked member of a set of functionally opposed categories?

o [Abessive]: "The gram used to encode the relation between two (or three) participants in a situation as being one of absence (= negated accompaniment). One participant — the absentee — fails to be co-present with the other — the accompanee or the user-in a given situation" (Stolz et al 2007: 66).

o 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 (caritive.org/about-caritive)

*Stolz, Thomas & Stroh, Cornelia & Urdze, Aina. (2007). WITH(OUT): On the markedness relation between comitatives/instrumentals and abessives. Word. 58. 63-122.

Typological overview

Stolz et al 2007:

o **A-strategy:** *dedicated marker*

o **B-strategy:** *negative existential*

o **C-strategy:** *negated comitative / instrument*

Typological overview

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o A-strategy: *dedicated marker*

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Criteria of classification?

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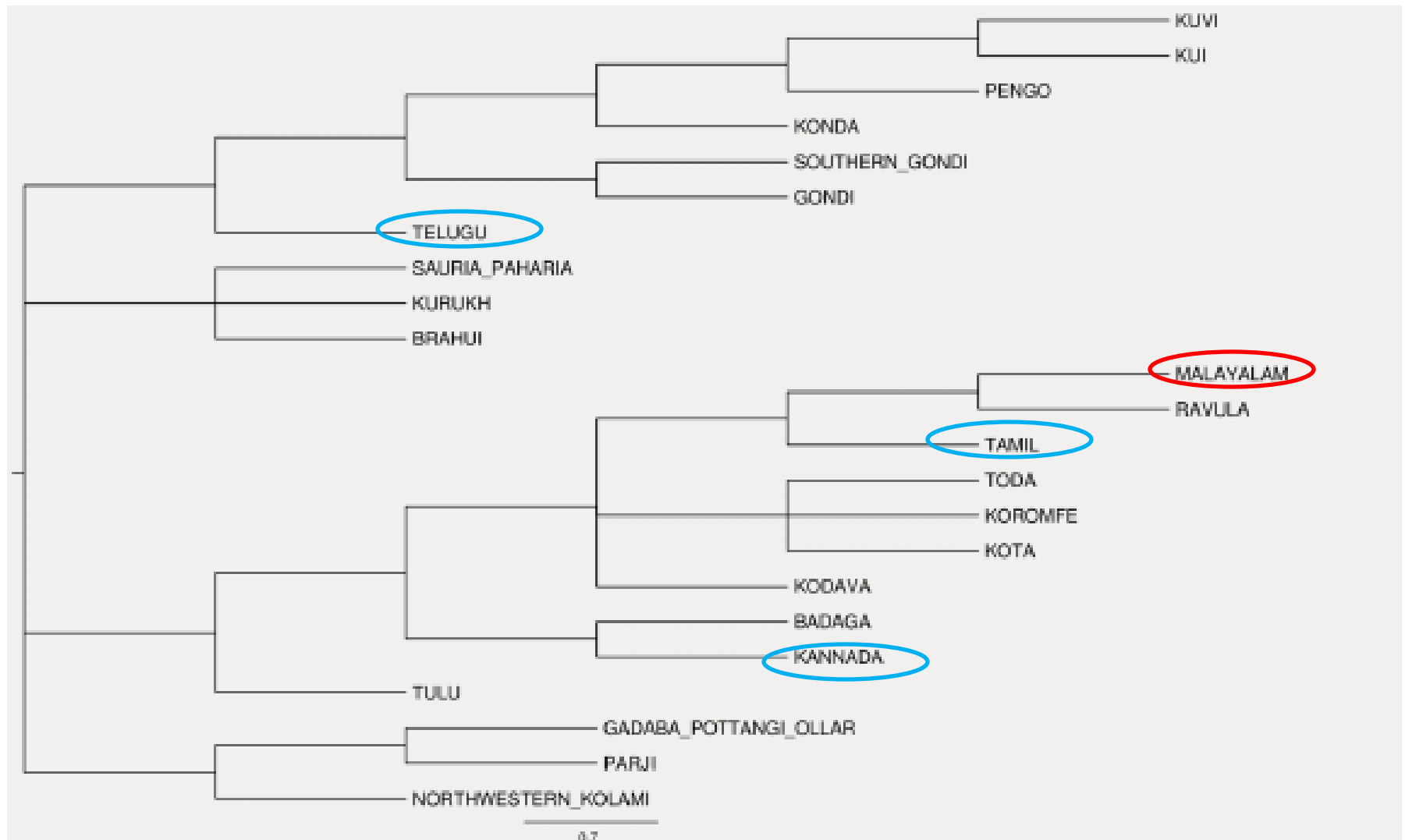
Criteria of classification?

+ checking negated possession

Dravidian overview

Stolz et al 2007: Appendix C

Kannada	Dravidian	B	Jensen 1969
Malayalam	Dravidian	B	Asher/Kumari 1997
Tamil	Dravidian	B	Q Annamalai[*]
Telugu	Dravidian	B	Janert 1985

[*] Questionnaire, data elicited by Stolz et al.

Rama, Taraka & Kolachina, Sudheer. (2013). Distance-based Phylogenetic Inference Algorithms in the Subgrouping of Dravidian Languages.

Dravidian overview

- Strong tendency to SOV and left branching, even for sentential dependents

\>> specialized nonfinites rather than conjunctions

Dravidian overview

- Strong tendency to SOV and left branching, even for sentential dependents
- Case systems, differentiating COM and INSTR

Dravidian overview

- Strong tendency to SOV and left branching, even for sentential dependents

- Case systems, differentiating COM and INSTR

- Nonfinite verbal forms >> postpositions; analitical expansion of the nominal morphology

Comitative

Reinforcement?

(283a) saara kuuʈʈukaariyooʈə kuuʈi vannu
Sarah friend-FEM-SOC-along with come-PAST
'Sarah came, along with a friend.'

(1063) ɲaan acchanɽe kuuʈe sinimakkə pooyi [*or:* acchanooʈə
I father-GEN with cinema-DAT go-PAST kuuʈi/kuuʈe]
'I went to the cinema with father.'

(1064) avaḷ kuuʈʈukaariyeyum konʈə vannu [*or:* kuuʈʈukaariyum aayiʈʈə]
she friend-ACC-also with come-PAST
'She came with a friend.'

Asher & Kumari 2012

Dravidian overview

- Strong tendency to SOV and left branching, even for sentential dependents
- Case systems, differentiating COM and INSTR
- Nonfinite verbal forms >> postpositions; analitical expansion of the nominal morphology
- Two be-verbs (copulas): ~existential (EX) and identity (EQ)*

*Mohanan, Tara and K. P. Mohanan. 1999. Two forms of "BE" in Malayalam. In Proceedings of the LFG99 Conference, eds. by Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King

Dravidian overview

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- Possession: X-DAT + Y(NOM) + be (existential)

Dravidian overview

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- Possession: X-DAT + Y(NOM) + be (existential)

- Negation: the verbal suffix -*a*- / lexical verbs

Malayalam data

Asher & Kumari 1997, Nair 2012:

3 strategies for comitative negation

- (i) an additional "negative-existential" clause (B)
- (ii) an additional clause with a comitative Absentee and a negative converb of the identity be-verb (C)
- (iii) an Adverbial Phrase with an exceptive marker (grammaticalized from a negative participle of a verb 'to add') (?)

(i)-B

an additional "negative-existential" clause

Adverbial

(1) *oru   sr̠r̠ēj   illāte   nāṭakan   avatarippikkuv-ān   kaẓiy-um*

     one   stage   ex.neg.cvb   drama   perform-inf   be_able.npst-fut

     'One can <u>put on a play</u> **without any stage** '.

     (ml.wikipedia.org, *gecrawlt am 21.07.2011*)

+ Adnominal

(2)   *ōksijen   illatta   antarīkṣatt-il   itə*

     oxygen   ex.neg.ptcp   space-loc   this

     prāyēṇa   eḷuppav-um-āṇə

     for_the_most_part   easy-add-eq

     'In <u>the space</u> **void of oxygen** it is, for the most part, even easy [to stretch titanium]'.

     (ml.wikipedia.org, *gecrawlt am 06.04.2013*)

(i)-B

an additional "negative-existential" clause > postposition?

- Exceptional non-compositional form: lexically negative stem + neg.cvb
- Different subjects: possible, but not typical of Malayalam converbs
- Relatively flexible position in the sentence
- Neutralization of several semantic distinctions: accompaniment, instrument, manner, material, circumstance… (Asher & Kumari 2012)

(ii)-C

an additional clause with a comitative Absentee and a negative converb of the identity be-verb

(3) *ɲān ačcan-ṟe   kūṭe   allāte   puṟattə   pōk-illa*
    I   father-gen   with   eq.neg.cvb   outside   go.npst-neg
    'I don't go out without father.' (Asher & Kumari 1997: (1065b))

(4)   *ānsi   čēčciy-uṭe kūṭe   allāte   oṟṟaykk   varaṇaṁ*
    Ansi   sister-gen with   eq.neg.cvb   alone   come.dir
    'Ansi should come alone, without [her] sister'.
    (https://www.asianetnews.com/magazine/nee-evideyaanu-sajana-joseph)

NB: not exactly constituent negation of adverbials: cleft construction

(405b) kaaṛukaḷ veegattil alla   pooyatŭ
    cars   fast   be-NEG-PRES go-PAST-NOMNL
    'The cars did not go in a fast manner'

(405c) kaaṛukaḷ veegattil pooyilla
    car-PL   fast   go-PAST-NEG
    'The cars did not go fast' [Sentential negation]

(Nair 2012: 73)

(ii)-C

an additional clause with a comitative Absentee and a negative converb of the identity be-verb

com

(3) *ɲār* *aččan-ṟe* *kūṭe* *allāte* *puṟattə* *pōk-illa*
    I   father-gen   with   eq.neg.cvb   outside   go.npst-neg
    'I don't go out without father.' (Asher & Kumari 1997: (1065b))

(4) *ānsi* *čēččiy-uṭe* *kūṭe* *allāte* *oṟṟaykk* *varaṇaṁ*
    Ansi   sister-gen with   eq.neg.cvb   alone   come.dir
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(Nair 2012: 73)

(ii)-C

an additional clause with a comitative Absentee and a negative converb of the existential be-verb

Contamination?

(5)   *ārenkilum* *kūṭe*   *illāte*   *pa<u>rr</u>-illa*
     whoever   with   ex.neg.cvb   manage.npst-neg
    '[He] won't manage alone [lit. "without anyone"]'.

    (https://www.asianetnews.com/woman-life/mothers-day-special-story-qa4372)

(iii)-?

an Adverbial Phrase with an "exceptive" marker

(6) *oru   kuṭṭi   terru-kal   kūṭ-āte   oru   vaakya   ezuti*
   one   child   mistake-pl   add_up.neg.cvb   one   sentence   write.pst
   'A child wrote a sentence without mistakes'. [elicitation]

(7) *ā   peṇṇə   avaruṭe   kuṭṭiy-e   kūṭ-āte   nagaram viṭṭu*
   that   woman   they-gen   girl-acc   add_up.neg.cvb   city   leave.pst
   'That woman left the city without her daughter'. (elicitation)

(8) *oru   katti   kūṭ-āte   orenj   kaḷikk-ān buddhimutti   āṇə*
   one   knife   add_up.neg.cvb   orange   eat-inf   difficulty   eq
   'It is difficult to eat an orange without [using] a knife'. (elicitation)

Adnominal

(9) *engane   uṇṭākk-āṁ   muṭṭa   kūṭātta   ḍērr   kēkk*
   how   make-hort   egg   add_up.neg.ptcp   date   cake
   'How to cook an eggless date cake?' (https://www.milkmaid.in/ml/recipes/mautata-kauutaatata-daerara-kaekaka)

(iii)-?

an Adverbial Phrase with an "exceptive" marker

kūṭuka 'to increase', 'to add up', 'to join'.

o   CVB form *kūṭāte* also grammaticalized as a 'moreover' linking adverb: 41% (166/386) occurrences in the Leipzig web-corpus, in the left periphery of the sentence

Discussion

- (B) construction >> (A) ?

- Analogical expansion of other constructions: *kūṭāte* as negation of instrument

- Distribution of the constructions: semantic / pragmatic factors? Syntactic rank of the Absentee?

- Frequency in other grammaticalized uses?

Thank you for your attention!