



“Caritive constructions in the languages of the world”

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## Caritive constructions in Paraguayan Guaraní

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## Paraguayan Guaraní

- ISO 639-3      gug
- ca. 6 mln speakers in Paraguay and adjacent regions of Argentina and Brasil.
- ≈SVO (<\*SOV), GenN, NPostp
- split intransitivity

The talk is mostly based on fieldwork data collected specifically for this project in Sept 2019 in Villarica, Dept. Guaira, Paraguay, mostly from one speaker, Juan Garcia Silvero.



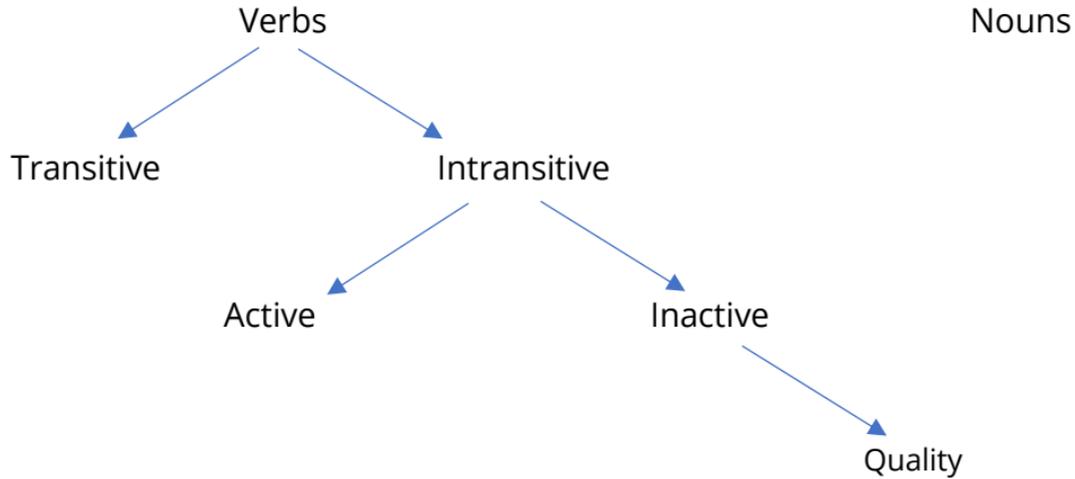
## Outline of the talk

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1. Preliminaries: parts of speech, predicative possession, clausal negation
2. Adjacent constructions: Exceptive, Deprivative
3. CARitive suffix
4. Adverbial/depictive/resultative caritives (-CAR-OBL)
5. Adnominal caritives (-CAR-REL)
6. “Caritives” in the verbal domain

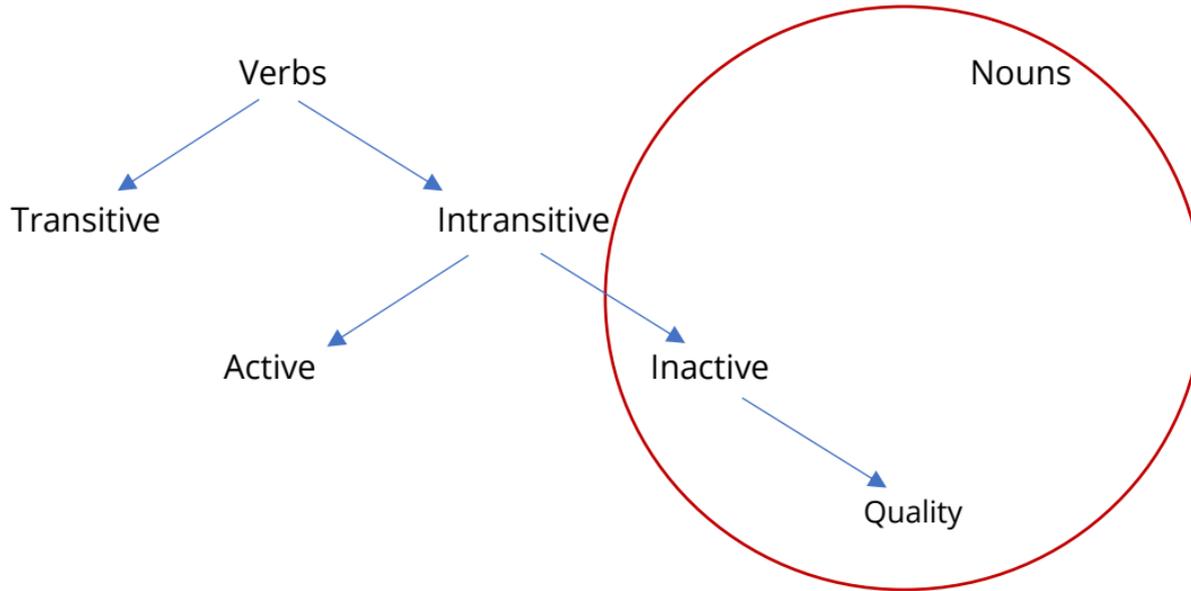
## Parts of speech

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## Parts of speech

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[Nordhoff 2004]

## Predicative possession

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(1a) *che-kyse*  
1SG-knife  
'my knife.'

(1b) *Che che-kyse.*  
I 1SG-knife  
'I have a knife.' [Nordhoff 2004: 56]

See [Stassen 2009: ; Bertinetto et al. 2019] for a comparative overview, [Gerasimov 2016] against an analysis in terms of a covert copula.

## Predicative possession (+ clausal negation)

- (2) *Na-iñ-aka-i*    *ni*    *nda-huguái-ri,*    *o-atravesa*    *kompléto*    *t-a-pe,*  
NEG-3-head-NEG nor    NEG-3.tail-NEG    3A-cross    completely    road  
*o-ñepyrũ*    *ka'aguý-pe*    *ha*    *o-pa*    *ambue*    *hendá-pe*    *ka'aguý-pe.*  
3A-begin    forest-LOC    and    3A-finish    other    3.place-LOC    forest-LOC  
'It [the anaconda] had neither head nor tail, it bridged the road completely, it started in the forest and ended in some other place in the forest.' (oral narrative)

- (3) *Ko'áãa*    ***nda-che-rape-vé-i-ma,***  
now    NEG-1SG-road-CMPR-NEG-IAM  
'Now I don't have a way (out of this) any more.'  
[Kalaíto Pombéro, 18:124]



## Towards the expression of absence: no exceptives

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PG does not have a dedicated lexical or grammatical element encoding the meaning of subtraction from the domain of quantification ('except'). The only way to express this meaning is via a full clause:

- (4) *Maymá-va o-u, Peru nd-o-ú-i.*  
every-REL 3A-come Pedro NEG-3A-come-NEG  
'Everybody came, except Pedro.'

## Towards the expression of absence: Deprivative

PG has a dedicated suffix that derives transitive verbs from nouns:  $X \rightarrow$  'to deprive of X'

- (5) *O-ñe-me'ẽ-ta*      *avei*      *peẽ-me*      *peteĩ*      *machéte*      *jakare*  
3A-REFL-give-PROSP    also      2PL-LOC      one      machete      crocodile  
*pe-kopi*      *haġua*      *pende-kokue*  
2PL.A-chop    PURP      2PL-field  
*ha*      *pe-ñ-akã-’o*      *haġua comunista*      *pe-juhú-rõ*      *pende-rapé-pe.*  
и      2PL.A-REFL-head-DEPR PURP    communist    2PL.A-meet-COND    2PL-road-LOC  
'A crocodile machete will also be given to (each of) you, so that you would chop your field with it and behead communists if you encounter them on your way.' [Kalaíto Pombéro, 14:125]

Cf. *de-capit-are*, *des-cabez-ar*, *be-head*, *о-без-глав-ить*.



## Caritive suffix

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Derives antonyms from nouns/inactive verbs:

(7)	<i>vy'a</i>	'joy'	→	<i>vy'a-ŷ</i>	'grief';
	<i>po'a</i>	'luck'	→	<i>po'a-ŷ</i>	'bad luck, misfortune';
	<i>sarambi</i>	'chaos, disorder'	→	<i>sarambi-ŷ</i>	'order';
	<i>atã</i>	'hard, strong'	→	<i>atã-ŷ</i>	'weak';

...from active verbs:

(8)	<i>-hecha</i>	'see'	→	<i>-hecha-ŷ</i>	'to be blind';
	<i>-karu</i>	'dine'	→	<i>-karu-ŷ</i>	'fast';
	<i>-ke</i>	'sleep'	→	<i>-ke-ŷ</i>	'to keep vigil';

## Caritive suffix

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...and possibly also adverbs/lexicalized PostPs:

- (9) *Che katu, nd-a-'é-i che-j-ehe mba'eve henda-pe-'ỹ.*  
I CNTR NEG-1SG.A-say-NEG 1SG-REFL-OBL nothing 3.place-LOC-CAR  
'As for me, I will not say anything inadequate about myself.'  
(We, however, will not boast beyond proper limits,.. [2Cor 10:13])
- (10) *O-ĩ mitã o-kakuaá-va henda-pe-te ha mitã o-kakuaá-va henda-pe-'ỹ.*  
3A-be child 3A-grow-REL 3.place-LOC-AUG and child 3A-grow-REL 3.place-LOC-CAR  
'There are children who develop quite normally and children who develop atypically.'

The resulting meanings are highly abstract or belong to religious contexts; the forms could be coined by Jesuit missionaries or later language planners (?).

## Adverbial caritives

N-*ĩ*-re/-rehe/-reheve 'without N'

(A49) Distribution patterns compared I

Relation	Turkish	Guaraní	Mongolian	Kalmyk	Armenian
(A40.1)	<i>ile</i>	<i>ndive</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-lä -tä</i>	<i>hed</i>
(A40.2)	<i>ile</i>	<i>ndive</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-lä -tä</i>	<i>hed</i>
(A40.3)	<i>ile</i>	<i>ndive reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>hed</i>
(A40.4)	<i>ile</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>hed -ov</i>
(A40.5)	<i>ile -li</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>hed -ov</i>
(A40.6)	<i>ile -li</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>hed -ov</i>
(A40.7)	<i>ile -li</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>hed -ov</i>
(A40.8)	<i>ile -li</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.9)	<i>ile -li</i>	<i>reheve</i>	<i>-tVj</i>	<i>-tä</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.10)	<i>ile</i>	<i>-pe</i>	<i>-(g)V:r</i>	<i>-är</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.11)	<i>ile</i>	<i>-pe</i>	<i>-(g)V:r</i>	<i>-är</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.12)	<i>ile</i>	<i>-pe</i>	<i>-(g)V:r</i>	<i>-är</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.13)	<i>ile</i>	<i>-pe</i>	<i>-(g)V:r</i>	<i>-är</i>	<i>-ov</i>
(A40.14)	<i>ile</i>	<i>-pe</i>	<i>-(g)V:r</i>	<i>-är</i>	<i>-ov</i>

[Stolz et al. 2006: 55]

## Adverbial caritives

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No apparent restrictions concerning animacy, specificity, topicality, number, constituent size, etc. of the absentee:

- (11) *Kalo akói-nte o-mba'apo pytyvõ-háre-**ỹ-re** / pytyvõ-háre-**ỹ** rehe.*  
Carlos always-RESTR 3A-work help-NMR-CAR-OBL help-NMR-CAR by  
'Carlos always works without assistants.'
- (12) *Ño-rairõ-há-gui o-u mokõi kua-**ỹ-re** i-po akatúa-pe-gua.*  
REC-fight-NMR-ABL 3A-come two finger-CAR-OBL 3-hand right-LOC-ATTR  
'He returned from the war missing two fingers on his right hand.'
- (13) *O-jupi jerekoirĩ ári i-po-**ỹ-re**.*  
3A-ascend bicycle on 3-hand-CAR-OBL  
'He mounted the bicycle without (<sup>OK</sup>lacking/\*not using) hands.'

## Adnominal caritives

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- (14) *Mitã o-hecha i-ké-pe kavaju-ári-gua iñ-akã-ʔy-va.*  
boy 3A-see 3-sleep-LOC horse-on-ATTR 3-head-CAR-REL  
'The boy dreamed of the Headless Horseman.'
- (15) *Ha'u-se-ve kafe kamby-ʔy-re ij-asuka-ʔy-va-gui.*  
1SG.A.eat-DES-CMPR coffee milk-CAR-REL 3-sugar-CAR-REL-ABL  
'I prefer to drink coffee without milk, rather than without sugar.'

## Adnominal caritives + Negation of non-finite clauses

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The caritive suffix is employed as negator in several types of dependent clauses, including relatives (17). Hence, adnominal caritives can be analyzed as just negated relativized clauses of predicative possession: there are no structural differences between the two.

(16) *O-ĩ mitã iñ-akã-porã-va ha mitã iñ-akã-porã-ŷ-va.*  
3A-be child 3-head-good-REL and child 3-head-good-CAR-REL  
'There are children who have bright minds and children who don't.'

(17) *O-ĩ o-ñe-mo-arandu-sé-va ha o-ñe-mo-arandu-se-ŷ-va.*  
3A-be 3A-REFL-CAUS-wise-DES-REL and 3A-REFL-CAUS-wise-DES-CAR-REL  
'There are those who want to learn and those who don't.'

## Adverbial caritives + Negation of non-finite clauses

Adverbial caritives also show parallels to certain types of adverbial clauses (18-19), but visibly differ in their lack of person marking.

(18) *O-ho o-japo-’ỹ-re maitei paha.*

3A-go 3A-make-CAR-REL greeting final

‘He left without saying goodbye.’

(19) *Na’añete-i-va-icha chu-pe o-ĩ-ha koty-’i ñe.mboty.pý-pe*

NEG-true-NEG-REL-EQU 3-OBL 3A-be-COMPL room-DIM closed-LOC

*i-katu-’ỹ-re o-sẽ ha, i-vai-vé-va, o-u-ve-’ỹ-re*

3-be.able-CAR-OBL 3A-exit and 3-bad-CMPR-REL 3A-come-CMPR-CAR-OBL

*iñ-akã-me purahéi pepo-kuéra.*

3-голова-LOC song wing-PL

‘He could not believe he was in a cell, unable to come out and, even worse, having no inspiration for the song any more’. [Purahéi ani hağua omano peteĩ kuimba’e, 30]

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