

Typological study of caritives: an overview and methodology of research

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Introduction

- Project “Grammatical periphery in the languages of the world: a typological study of caritives”
- I thank all participants of the project who helped collect and analyze the data: Ezequiel Koile, Dmitri Gerasimov, Irina Khomchenkova, Sergei Klimenko, Kirill Kozhanov, Anna Mazarchuk, Mehmet Muslimov. Daria Saparova, Igor Vinogradov, Elizaveta Zabelina, Anastassiya Zhuk.
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- Carried out at the Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Webpage of the project: <https://www.caritive.org/>
- 2018 – 2021, work in progress

Outline of the talk

- Goal of the project
- Definition of caritive
- Questionnaire
- Sample
- Preliminary results

Goal of the project

- How is caritive semantics expressed in the languages of the world?

Assumption: caritive semantics can be expressed in any language.

- What is the distribution of different types of caritive constructions? How often caritive semantics is expressed by a dedicated (or grammaticalized) construction?
- What grammatical features are typical for caritive expressions (e.g. attributive and other syntactic functions)?
- What meanings can be expressed by caritives (e.g., absence of a companion, of a possessum, etc.)?
- ...

Definition of caritive

- *caritive* ~ *abessive* ~ *privative* ~ ...
- 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) *I saw a man without beard / a beardless man.*

Beard (absentee) is absent. Absence of a beard modifies *a man*, a participant of the situation *I saw a man*.

Definition of caritive

Caritive markers semantically express **low-level negation** together with an **operator** that takes a term and converts it into a (negated) predication, by inserting this term into one or another abstract relational predicate, such as 'have', 'be accompanied', 'use'.

(2) *a man **without** money / a penniless man*
≈ 'a man who does not have money'

— the term 'man' is modified by a negated predication of possession (legal ownership), which has a term 'money' as its argument

(term 'money' → predication 'have money' → is being negated: 'not to have money' → modifies another term: 'a man who does not have money').

Definition of caritive

- Predicative expressions of negative possession (< negative existentials) do not fit:

(3) *John does not have a car.*

➤ The absence of the car does not modify another situation.

Definition of caritive

Proper caritive uses:

(4) Attributive: *I saw a beardless man.*

(5) Adverbial: *John opened a can without a knife.*

(6) Co-predicative (~depictive ~ secondary predicate): *John came without money.*

Definition of caritive

Caritive expression is a way of expression the caritive meaning. It combines with an item expressing absence but does not include it.

- dedicated caritive expression: English *without*, *-less*
- not dedicated: cf. Gban (< South Mande)

Wà nɛ̀yɛ̀, ɛ̀-kɛ̀ nũ lǎ̀lǎ̀ yɛ̀ lóólà.
time this 3SG-IND.NEG\PST come\PFV.HEST money with market
'This morning, he came to the market **without money** [he forgot it]'
(lit. 'He **didn't** come to the market **with** money').
{But his friend lent him some there.}

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

Questionnaire: grammatical parameters

- Level of expression of the caritive marker (as a part of the word, of a constituent, of a clause...)
- Morphological properties of the caritive marker with respect to the morpheme expressing absentee (affix, clitic/adposition, clausal syntactic construction)
- Morphosyntactic properties of the absentee (is it possible to add dependents; to express grammemes of inflectional categories...)
- Compatibility with different word classes (nouns, pronouns, non-finite verb forms...)
- Productivity of the construction
- Syntactic functions of the caritive phrase (attribute, adverbial dependent, predicate...)
- Dedicated nature
- Not dedicated constructions (equal to negative predicative possessive, negative comitative construction, etc.)
- Etymology of dedicated markers

Questionnaire: semantical parameters

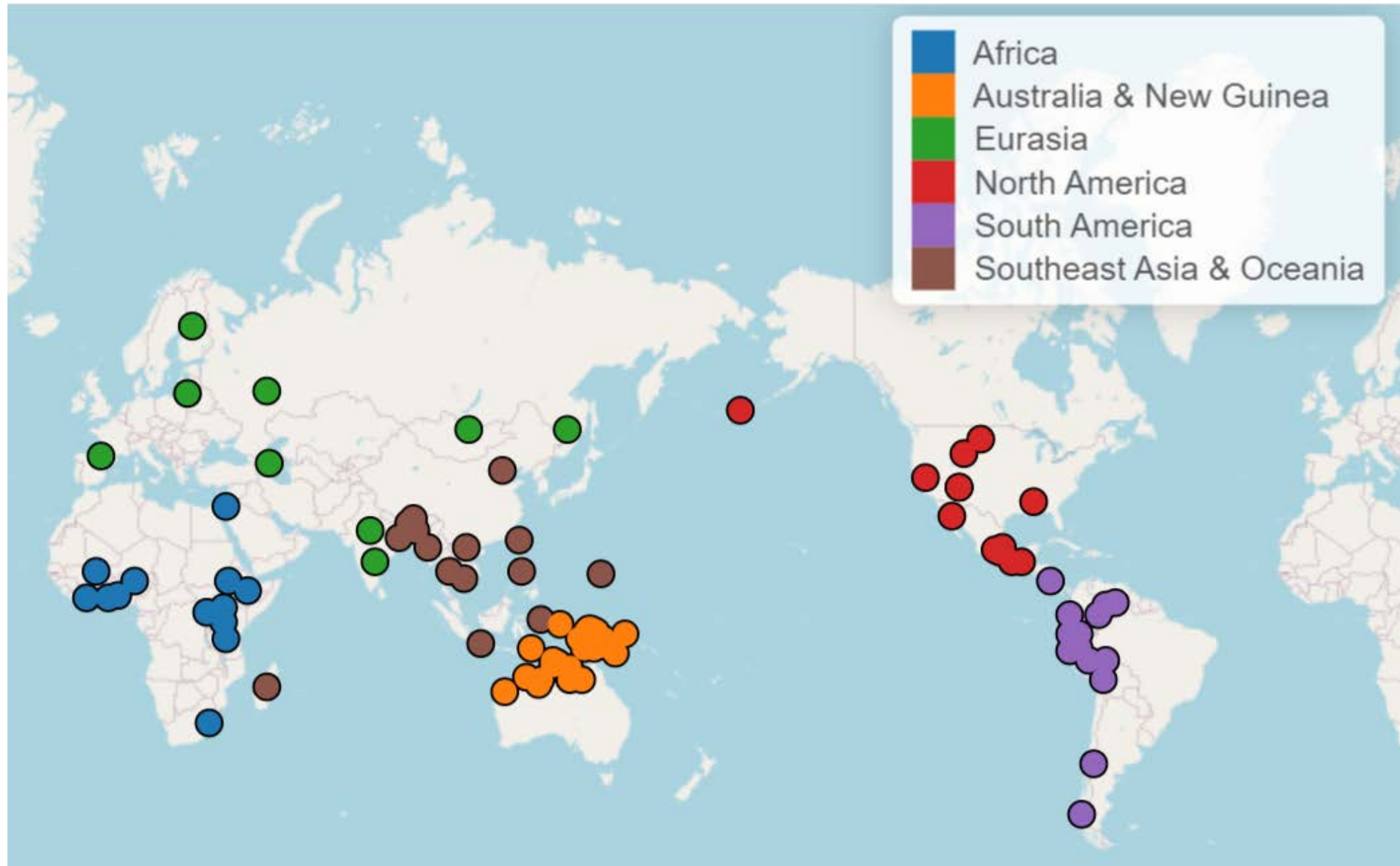
- Animacy of the absentee
- Definiteness of the absentee
- Absentee's functions (companion, instrument, body part, kinship relations ... + additional non-caritive functions, e.g. participant exception)
- Restrictions on the type of an anchor participant or a predicate
- Type of caritive situation (temporary or permanent)
- Involvement of the absentee (whether absentee is absent or just does not participate in the situation)

Questionnaire: information structure

- Caritive phrase can occur in topic or focus

Sample

- Genetically balanced, 100 languages <https://www.caritive.org/sample>
+ several additional languages (mostly from Eurasia)
- Methodology (Dryer 1989). Main sampling item is genus
- The proportion of languages from different families and macroareas is maintained in the sample.



Data

- Elicitation (13 languages)
- Corpora of texts
- Grammar descriptions and vocabularies

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

- Later (before May 2021?) our database will be presented online.
- New questionnaires are welcome.

Preliminary results

- 102 questionnaires (100 languages in a representative sample + Hill Mari and Kazakh)
- 185 caritive expressions (181 in 100 languages)
- The results below are based on 93 languages and 173 caritive expressions (others are presented in an outdated format)
- Amount of caritive expressions per language:

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

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)

(7) Negative existential marker *marlami*

<i>gambinyi</i>	<i>marlami</i>	<i>bija</i>	'empty nest'
egg	nothing	nest	

(8) *gamba-winyja* *riminyloondi* 'I got thirsty without water'
water-CAR I:got:thirsty

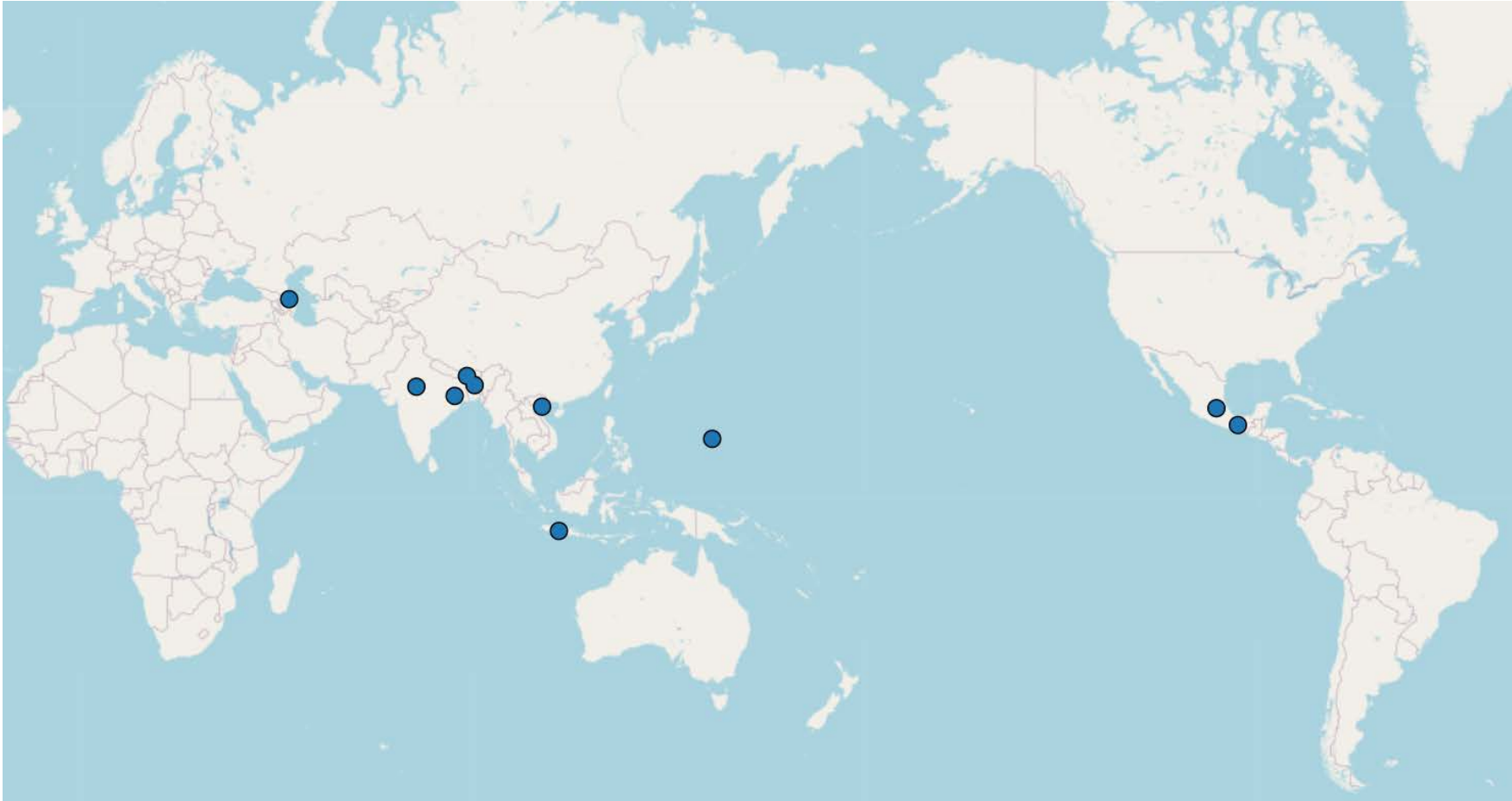


Not dedicated constructions

- 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

Etymology

- Borrowed markers: 14



Level of expression of the caritive marker

- ...as a part of the word, derivational: 24 (*fearless*)
- ...as a part of the word, inflectional: 19 (Est. *tasu-ta* 'free')
- ...as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase): 69 (*without a car*)
- ...as a part of the (same) clause: 7
- ...as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause: 52

Grammar + semantics

- Hypothesis: there might be a correlation between possible syntactic positions and semantic functions:

-less – attributive position, *companion

(9) * *He was wifeless at the party.*

‘He came to the party without his wife’

Problem: extremely little negative data (~no \emptyset for syntactic or semantic functions).

Syntactic position + semantic function

- Assumption: markers *~less* – “1” for attribute and possession
“ND” for co-predicative and companion

markers *~without* – “1” or “ND” for any functions

Syntactic position + semantic function (rough analysis)

Correlation between attributive position and semantic function

	companion	possessee (e.g. without a car, leg, children)
1 (possible)	35 caritive constructions	67
No Data or 0 (impossible)	56	24

(Non-)correlation between adverbial / co-predicative position and semantic function

	companion	possessee (e.g. without a car, leg, children)
1 (possible)	55	78
No Data or 0 (impossible)	64	41

Morphology + semantic function (rough analysis)

Correlation between derivational affix and semantic function

	companion	possessee (e.g. without money)
1 (possible)	4	10
No Data or 0 (impossible)	20	14

(Non-)correlation between clitic / adposition and semantic function

	companion	possessee (e.g. without money)
1 (possible)	34	31
No Data or 0 (impossible)	36	39

Thank you!

References

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