Questionnaire for the typological study of caritives

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8th conference

"Language issues: A young scholar's perspective",

27/03/2021

Outline

1.Introduction

2.Principles of the questionnaire

3.Structure of the questionnaire

4.Problems of the questionnaire

1. Introduction: project

"Grammatical periphery in the languages of the world: a typological study of caritives"

https://www.caritive.org/

1. Introduction: definition

- 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)   *John came **without his children**.*

(2)   *John travelled **without money**.*

(3)   *A beard**less** man was sitting in the corner of the room.*

(4)   *John opened a bottle **without a corkscrew**.*

1. Introduction: goal of the research

- To study how the caritive meaning(s) is expressed in the languages of the world.
  - We include both dedicated (English *without*) and non-dedicated (e.g., "not having") markers.
  - How often is caritive expressed with dedicated constructions?
  - What are grammatical features of different types of caritive constructions?
  - What semantics can be expressed by caritive constructions?
  - …

2. Principles of the questionnaire

1) - The questionnaire for a scholar (~a specialist in some language):

a list of linguistic parameters (morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of a caritive construction)

- Not a questionnaire for a speaker, although there is a list of sentences for translation based on the list of parameters.

2. Principles of the questionnaire

2) The questionnaire must be applicable to any caritive expressions.

- Dedicated markers
  - Case affixes:
  (5) Ingrian Finnish (elicitation by M. Muslimov)
      *kuv-i-**tta***
      picture-PL-ABESS
      'without pictures'

  - Clitics / adpositions:
  (6) *John came **without** Mary.*

2. Principles of the questionnaire

- Derivational suffixes:

(7) *A beard**less** man*

- Applicatives:

(8) Bauni (Corris 2005: 258)
    *Mônrai   n-opu-t̂ît̂î-**bo**-na.*
    singsing   IRR-2SG.M-dance-WITHOUT-1SG.M
    'You carry on dancing without me.'

2. Principles of the questionnaire

- Periphrastic construction

(9)   Lezgian (?) (Haspelmath 1993: 324 (ex. 887))
*Am   tup'.u-qʰ   tup'al   **galama-č-iz**   xta-na.*
he:ABS [finger-POESS ring   be.still.behind-NEG-IMC]   return-AOR
'He came back without the ring on the finger (lit. with the ring no longer being on the finger).'

- Non-dedicated markers

(10)   Khmer (elicitation by D. Saparova)
*koat   baək   daːp   sraː   **daoj***
3   open   bottle alcohol   daoj
mɨn   jɔːk   ʔupaːkaː   təw   baək
NEG   take   tool   go   open
'He opened a bottle of wine without a corkscrew'

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2. Principles of the questionnaire

- Non-dedicated markers

(11)   Kayardild (Evans 1995)

nginyinangkuru-ya   kiwali-ja   niwan-marri   wumburu-warri

why-MLOC   wade-ACT   his-PRIV   spear-PRIV

'Why is he wading about without his spear?'

= negation of possession

2. Principles of the questionnaire

3) The questionnaire should reveal semantic and syntactic functions of caritive expressions.

Examples of semantic functions: companion (*He came without Mary*), instrument *(He opened a bottle without a corkscrew) ...* time (*без пяти четыре*)...

4) The collected data must be available for statistical processing.

3. Structure of the 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

(Sorry for complicated description!)

1.° "Level· of· realization· of· the· caritive· marker":· we· refer· to· the· level· of· the· smallest· (morpho)syntactic· unit· that· contains· the· marker.· This· unit· must· also· include· the· root/word/noun· phrase· expressing· the· absentee.¶

In· the· simple· case,· one· should· put· "1"· in· the· one· row· that· corresponds· to· the· syntactic· level· of· realization· of· the· whole· caritive· phrase· (absentee·+·caritive· marker).¶

For· example,· the· caritive· adjectivizing· derivational· affix· -*less*· in· English· would· get· "1"· only· in· the· row· 1a,· and· "0"· in· all· other· rows.· The· caritive· case· affix· -*ta*· in· Estonian· would· get· "1"· only· in· the· row· 1b.· The· Spanish· preposition· *sin*· would· also· get· only· one· "1",· but· in· the· row· 1c.· A· caritive· applicative· verbal· marker· (the· case· where· caritive· is· head-marked)· would· get· one· "1"· in· the· row· 1d.· A· construction· that· introduces· a· dependent· clause· (like· "He· left,· [not· having· money]")· would· get· "1"· only· in· the· row· 1e.¶

However,· "1"· can· be· put· in· more· than· one· row· for· this· parameter,· if· the· caritive· marker· contains· several· components.¶

For· example,· one· of· the· ways· to· express· caritive· semantics· in· Gban· is· a· combination· of· sentential· negation· plus· a· comitative· postposition· that· introduces· the· absentee· (similar· to· "He· didn't· come· with· Mary").· Such· a· combination· would· get· "1"· in· the· row· 1c· "part· of· a· constituent"· (for· the· postpositional· component)· and· "1"· in· the· row· 1d· "part· of· the· same· clause"· (for· the· negation· marker),· and· "0"· in· the· remaining· rows.· The· Russian· preposition· *bez*· would· not· only· get· "1"· in· the· row· 1c· "part· of· a· constituent",· but· also· "1"· in· the· row· 1b· "part· of· the· word·—·inflectional",· because· the· preposition· *bez*· obligatorily· governs· the· genitive· case· of· the· noun.¶

Another· complex· case· is· attested· in· Enets:· one· of· the· negative· predicative· possessive· constructions· is· formed· by· attaching· a· verbalizing· suffix· meaning· 'not· to· have· X'· to· a· noun· stem.· And· such· derived· verbs,· with· the· addition· of· a· participial· suffix· (which· allows· to· use· the· clause· based· on· this· verb· attributively),· are· used· to· express· caritive· semantics,· lit.· "house-not_have-ing· man"· for· 'homeless· man'.· In· such· cases· it· is· suggested· to· put· "1"· in· the· row· 1a· (because· the· verbalizing· suffix· itself· is· derivational)· and· "1"· in· the· row· 1e· "part· of· an· additional·…·clause"·

PART 1. GRAMMAR
Parameter 1. Level of expression of the caritive marker

1a – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — derivational (*beard-less*)

1b – …as a part of the word [expressing absentee] — inflectional (Chuvash *jɨdə-zər* 'without a dog')

1c – …as a part of a constituent (adposition phrase) (*without money*)

1d – …as a part of the (same) clause ("*he didn't leave with money*")

1e – …as a part of additional "auxiliary" clause ("he left, not having money")

Parameter 2. Morphological properties of the caritive marker (with respect to the morpheme expressing absentee)

2a – affix? (what type of position?)

2b – clitic/adposition? (what type of position?)

2c – clausal syntactic construction?

2d – OTHER?

- Parameter 3. Is it possible to attach other affixes "on top of" the caritive marker (which would semantically relate to the caritive phrase as a whole and express meanings "external" to it)? (What are they?)

- Parameter 4. Is it possible to attach other affixes to the caritive marker (clitic/adposition) itself (which would mark its syntactic relation to the absentee)? (What are they?)

Parameter 5. Morphosyntactic properties of the absentee

- Is it possible to express "classifying" grammatical categories (of the same word)? (What are they?)
- Is it possible to express inflectional grammatical categories? (What are they? Are all of them allowed or only part of them?)
- Is it possible for the absentee to have dependents of its own?

Parameter 6. Compatibility: what classes of the words expressing the absentee does this marker combine with?

- …nouns (common nouns)?
- …nouns (proper nouns)?
- …pronouns (personal)?
- …pronouns (other: wh-pronouns, etc.)?
- …non-finite verb forms (nominalizations, etc.)?
- …(finite) verbs?#
- …adverbs?#
- …adjectives?#
- OTHER?

Parameter 7. Productivity

- Is the marker (absolutely) productive?

Parameter 8. Syntactic functions of the caritive phrase

- 8a - Secondary predicate - depictive?
- 8b - Secondary predicate - resultative? (?) "he robbed him without money" (cf. *Killed him dead*)
- 8c - Adverbial dependent (non-depictive adjunct)?
- 8d - Attribute?
- 8e - Predicate / part of a predicate?
- 9 - Headless use? (+ in what positions - subject, object, ...?)

Parameters 10-12. Dedicatedness

Dedicated nature

10 - Is the caritive marker dedicated on the whole (i.e. all the components together, if there are several components)?

11 - Is at least one component of the caritive marker dedicated (i.e. specific for caritive expression)?

Parameters 10-11. Dedicated markers

<u>Dedicated nature</u>

10 - Is the caritive marker dedicated on the whole (i.e. all the components together, if there are several components)? **= 1**

11 - Is at least one component of the caritive marker dedicated (i.e. specific for caritive expression)? **= 0**

(12)   Mian (Fedden 1973: 92)

nē   afoksmîk=o asumâtna   fút-besa

1SG   hour=N2   three   tobacco-nothing

'I (have gone) three hours without a smoke.'

Parameters 10-12. Dedicatedness

Not dedicated (synchronically) constructions

12a - Equal to negation of comitative (phrasal or sentential)?

12b - Equal to standard negation construction / verbal negation construction (including any additional, expressed or implicit, predicate)?

12c - Equal to negative existential construction?

12d - Equal to negative predicative possessive construction?

12e – OTHER?

Parameters 13-16. Etymology (for dedicated markers)

- Is it borrowed? (From what language? From what item/marker?)
- Is it derived from or related to an item with a different meaning? (Which one?)
- Is it possible to recognize inside this marker (at least historically) any negative marker (not a proper caritive one)?
- (Other) diachronical information (all available)

PART II. SEMANTICS

Parameter 17. Animacy: can the absentee be...

- ...human?

- ...animate (non-human)?

- ...inanimate?

Parameter 18. Definiteness: can the absentee be...

- ...non-specific?

- ...definite?

- ...indefinite?

Parameter 19. Functions of the absentee and other meanings/functions

- Companion? *John came without Mary.*

- Instrument? *It's impossible to cut bread without a knife.*

- Legal possession? *It's hard to live without a car [not having a car].*

- Temporary possession? *[John left money at home]. He left without money.*

- Garment? *John came without trousers / without a hat.*

- Kinship relations? *Citizens without children will not get money (allowance).*

- Body part—possessor relation? *A soldier came back without an arm / a leg after the war.*

Parameter 19. Functions of the absentee and other meanings/functions

- Part—whole relation? *There's a windowless house on top of the hill.*
- Vehicle (means of transportation)? *He reached the village without the bus, on foot.*
- Adjacent entity / locality? *a village without a church*
- Paramter (of the anchor participant)? *I bought a dress without patterns.*
- Content? *I brought a bag without potatoes.*
- Circumstance? *It's cold without the sun.*
- Cause / condition? [combines with other functions] *You won't be able to open the door without me.*

Parameter 19. Functions of the absentee and other meanings/functions

- Participant exception (in an affirmative clause)? *Everybody went to the city except for John.*

- Participant exception (in a negative clause)? *Nobody went to the city except for John.*

- Participant addition? *Apart from me, there were five (more) people there.*

- Concomitant situation? *He bought it without thinking.*

- OTHER? *They managed to survive without food. / He ate vegetables instead of meat.*

Parameter 20. Restrictions on the type of anchor participant or predicate

- Are there any restrictions on the type of anchor participant?
- Are there any restrictions on the type of predicate?

Parameter 21. Type of caritive situation

- Temporary situation?
- Permanent situation?

Parameter 22. Involvement of the absentee

- The companion absentee is simply absent?
- The companion absentee is present but does not participate in the situation?
- The instrument absentee is simply absent?
- The instrument absentee is present but does not participate in the situation?

PART III. INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Parameters 24-25. Topic – focus

- The caritive phrase can occur in topic. *(conditional:) Mary won't go to the city without John.*

- The caritive phrase can occur in focus. *[Mary was going to the city with John, but he felt sick. Thus] Mary went to the city without John.*

- The caritive phrase can occur in contrastive topic. *With Peter, Mary will agree to play, but she definitely won't without Peter.*

- The caritive phrase can occur in constrastive focus. *(answer to a WH-question:) [How did John open the can in the end?] John opened the can without a knife.*

4. Problems of the questionnaire

- It does not include "caritive" adjectives: *empty, naked* etc.

- It does not reflect whether a language is "caritive-friendly" (prefers proper caritive expressions) or not (prefers caritive adjectives):

  cf. *a bag without potatoes* VS. *empty bag*

4. Problems of the questionnaire

- The questionnaire is descriptive. It is not clear which of the values of parameters are caritive specific and which of them depend on other language features.

Example: headless use (*безрукий пришел*) depends on the properties of adjectives in the language (?).

➢ Our database will be comparable with data from other sources like WALS.

4. Problems of the questionnaire

- Some of the parameters depend on each other. The questionnaire might be redundant.

Example: if a caritive can be used with a personal pronoun (parameter 6c, *without me*), the absentee can be definite (parameter 18b).

➤It is better to have some extra repeated information just in case.

Thank you!

References

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