

Expression of caritive semantics in Hill Mari and Chuvash

Irina Khomchenkova (*irina.khomchenkova@yandex.ru*)

Lomonosov Moscow State University; Vinogradov Russian Language Institute,
RAS

Maksim Fedotov (*tequila.lime@gmail.com*)

Institute for Linguistic Studies, RAS; NRU Higher School of Economics in Saint
Petersburg

Introduction

- Caritive semantics in two Volga-Kama languages
 - **Hill Mari** (< Uralic)
Kuznetsovo, Gornomariysky District, Mari El Republic
Field data collected in 2018–2019
 - **Chuvash** (< Turkic)
Maloye Karachkino, Yadrinsky District, Chuvash Republic
Field data collected in 2017–2019

The study was supported by the RSF's grant # 18-78-10058

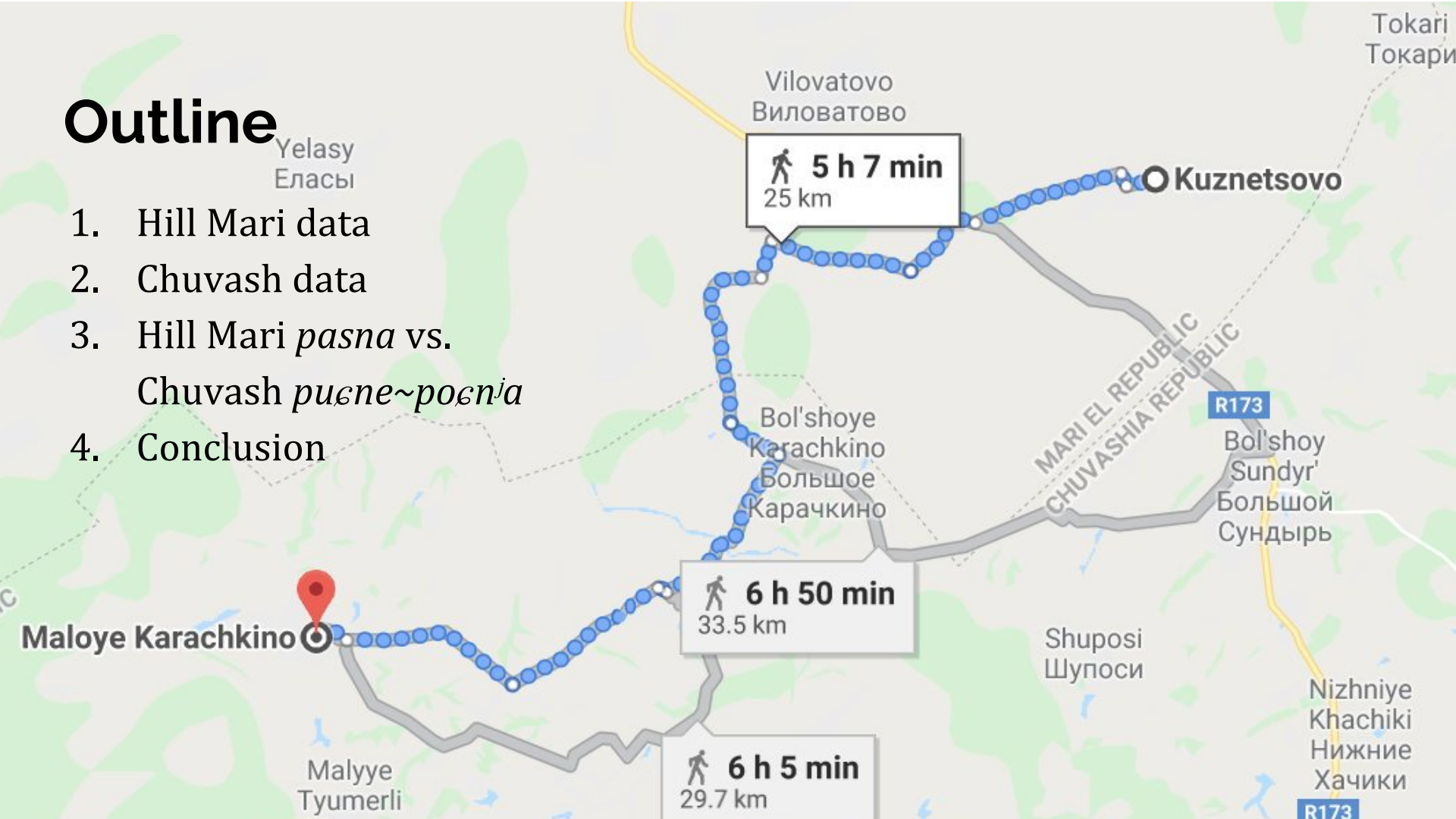
“Grammatical periphery in the languages of the World: a typological study of caritives”.

Why these languages?

- Hill Mari and Chuvash have immediately adjacent areas and have been in contact for many years (Fedotov 1990).
- The varieties of Kuznetsovo and Maloye Karachkino, which the field data were obtained from, are situated especially close, on both sides of the border between Chuvashia and Mari El (17~25 km from each other).
- In particular, we are interested in Hill Mari *pasna* / Chuvash *poɛnʲa*, since the former is the borrowing of the latter (Fedotov 1990: 120, 216; Galkin 1964: 32)

Outline

1. Hill Mari data
2. Chuvash data
3. Hill Mari *pasna* vs.
Chuvash *пуçне~роçня*
4. Conclusion



Hill Mari



Hill Mari

- Caritive case suffix **-de** <CAR>
- Construction **gäc-(än) pasna** <EL-FULL separate>
- Attributivizer **-dâmâ / -dämä** <NEG.ATTR>

(1) *maša pört-äškä kot'i-de / kot'i gäc pasna pârâ-š.*
Mary house-ILL cat-CAR cat EL separate enter-AOR.3SG
'Mary came into the house without a cat'.

(2) *pač-dâmâ kot'i-län kolbasa-m pu-š-âm.*
tail-NEG.ATTR cat-DAT sausage-ACC give-AOR-1SG
'I gave some sausage to a tailless cat'.

Hill Mari: VP-level vs. attributive caritives

- VP-level caritive phrases attach *-de* or *gäc pasna*.
- Attributes attach *-dâmâ/-dämä*:

- (3) a. **[pač-de kot'i-län]* / *[kot'i-län pač-de]* *kolbasa-m pu-š-âm.*
tail-CAR cat-DAT cat-DAT tail-CAR sausage-ACC give-AOR-1SG
- b. **[pač gäc pasna kot'i-län]* / *[kot'i-län pač gäc pasna]*
tail EL separate cat-DAT cat-DAT tail EL separate
kolbasa-m pu-š-âm.
sausage-ACC give-AOR-1SG

Intended: 'I gave some sausage to a tailless cat'.

Hill Mari: VP-level vs. attributive caritives

- A pan-Uralic pattern: predicative vs. attributive opposition, e.g. Finnic, Saami, Permic languages, see [Hamari 2011]:
 - Komi *-teg* <CAR> vs. *-tem* <NEG.ATTR>
 - Udmurt *-tek* <CAR> vs. *-tem* <NEG.ATTR>
 - Finnish *-tta/-ttä* <CAR> vs. *-ton/-tön* <NEG.ATTR>

Hill Mari: VP-level vs. attributive caritives

- *-de* and *gäc pasna* modify the situation (4a) or its participants: S, DO (4b)

(4a) *kečä-de / kecä gäc pasna üštä.*

sun-CAR sun EL separate cold

‘It is cold without the sun’.

(4b) *män' maša-m šänzä-lâk-de / šänzä-lâk gäc-än pasna*

I Mary-ACC eye-DEST-CAR eye-DEST EL-FULL separate

už-âñ-am.

see-PRET-1SG

‘I saw Mary (who was) without glasses’.

Hill Mari: VP-level vs. attributive caritives

- *-de* and *gäc pasna* also have predicative uses:

(5) *maša tengečä sumka-de / sumka gäc pasna âl'-â.*
Mary yesterday bag-CAR bag EL separate be-AOR.3SG
'Yesterday Mary was without her bag'.

- *-dâmâ/-dämä* modifies situation participants (all structural positions):

(6) *ti pžäš mäm-nä-n pač-dâmâ pi-nä-n.*
this nest we-POSS.1PL-GEN tail-NEG.ATTR dog-POSS.1PL-GEN
'This is the kennel of our tailless dog'.

Hill Mari: POSS and PL

- *-de* and *gäc pasna* are compatible both with possessive markers and with the plural marker:

(7) *pet'a* *šärgä-m* *nänä-n* *pört-vlä-štä-de* /
Peter forest-ACC they-GEN house-PL-POSS.3PL-CAR
pört-vlä-štä ***gäc pasna*** *jâlat-en* *kolt-en*.
house-PL-POSS.3PL EL separate burn-CVB send-PRET
'Peter burned down the forest without their houses'.

Hill Mari: POSS and PL

- *-dâmâ/-dämä* is compatible with the plural marker, but not with possessive markers:

(8) *män' t'et'ä-(vlä)-dämä ädärämäš-äm uż-ân kolt-en-äm.*
I child-PL-NEG.ATTR woman-ACC see-CVB send-PRET-1SG
'I saw a childless woman'.

(9) *män'-än paket-(*em)-dämä ädäräš lapka-š ke-n.*
I-GEN bag-POSS.1SG-NEG.ATTR girl shop-ILL go-PRET
'A girl which is without my bag went to a shop'.

Hill Mari: verbs

- Verb stem + *-de* = “negative converb”;

(10) *män' lem-äm kač-de mad-aš ke-n-äm.*
I soup-ACC eat-CAR play-INF go-PRET-1SG
'I went out to play without having eaten my soup.'

(11) **män' lem-äm kačk-aš / kačk-ên kolt-en-äm*
I soup-ACC eat-INF eat-CVB send-PRET-1SG
gäc pasna mad-aš ke-n-äm.

EL separate play-INF go-PRET-1SG

Intended: 'I went out to play without having eaten my soup.'

- [Hamari 2011]: **Mari, Saami, Permic**: CAR + stem, **Finnic**: CAR + nominalized form.

Hill Mari: verbs

- Verb stem + *-dəmâ/-dämä* = “negative participle”

(12) *män' pälä-dämä edem-län olma-m pu-š-âm.*
I know-NEG.ATTR man-DAT apple-ACC give-AOR-1SG
'I gave an apple to an unfamiliar (lit. “**without-known**”) man'.

Hill Mari: *-de* vs. *gäc pasna*: semantic difference

- (Savatkova 2002: 99): *gäc pasna* is used only with animate nouns
- Reality in Kuznetsovo: *gäc pasna* can be used with any noun, *-de* is not fully acceptable with animate pronouns and impossible with 1st/2nd person pronouns.

(13) *män' tädä gäc pasna / ?tädä-de äl-en a-m kert.*
I he EL separate he-CAR live-CVB NEG.NPST-1SG be_able
'I cannot live without him'.

(14) *tidä gäc pasna / tidä-de lem totlê a-k li.*
this EL separate this-CAR soup tasty NEG.NPST-3 be
'The soup will not be tasty without this'.

Hill Mari: *-de* vs. *gäc pasna*: semantic difference

- [Savatkova 2002: 99]: *gäc pasna* is used only with animate nouns
- Reality in Kuznetsovo: *gäc pasna* can be used with any noun, *-de* is not fully acceptable with animate pronouns and impossible with 1st/2nd person pronouns

(15) *pet'a šärgä-škä män' gäc-em pasna /*
Peter forest-ILL I EL-POSS.1SG separate
**män'-de-(em) ke-n.*
I-CAR-POSS.1SG go-PRET
'Peter went to the forest without me'.

Hill Mari: *-de* vs. *gäc pasna*: **exceptive**

- *gäc pasna* can be used in **exceptive** constructions in contrast to *-de*

(16) *ivan* ***gäc pasna*** / **ivan-de* *cilä-n* *tol-ân-ât*.
Ivan EL separate Ivan-CAR all-ADV come-PRET-3PL
‘Everyone came except for Ivan’.

Hill Mari: summary

	<i>-de</i> <CAR>	<i>gäc pasna</i> <EL separate>	<i>-dâmâ/-dämä</i> <NEG.ATTR>
VP-level	OK	OK	*
Attributive position	*	*	OK
PL	OK	OK	OK
POSS	OK	OK	*
Verb stem	OK	*	OK
Exceptives	*	OK	

Chuvash (Maloye Karachkino)



Chuvash (M. K.)

- Caritive case suffix **-SƏr** (*-sər / -sër / -zər / -zër*) <CAR>
- Used both for verb dependents and attributively:

(17) *maʃə kozak-sər ki-ze.*
Mary cat-CAR come-CV_SIM
'Mary came without a cat'.

(18) *jep [xyre-zër kozaq-a] kəlbassi par-d-əm.*
I tail-CAR cat-OBJ sausage give-PST-1SG
'I gave [some] sausage to a tailless cat'.

Chuvash (M. K.)

- *-Sər* also has predicative uses:

(19) *jep* *xalʲ* *jidə-zər.*

I now dog-CAR

‘[My dog died]. I’m without a dog now’.

(20) ^{OK} *jep* *maşinə-zər* *bol-d-əm.*

I car-CAR be-PST-1SG

‘I was without a car’.

Chuvash (M. K.): POSS/DEF and PL

- *-Sər* is compatible both with possessive markers and with the plural marker — both as verb dependents and attributes:

(21) *vəl* *matematika* *kəneg-i-zər* *kil-ze*.
this math book-**P_3**-CAR come-CV_SIM
'He came without a/the math book'.

(22) *vəl* *kənege-zem-zər* *kil-ze*.
this book-**PL**-CAR come-CV_SIM
'He came without (many) books'.

Chuvash (M. K.): POSS/DEF and PL

- *-Sər* is compatible both with possessive markers and with the plural marker — both as verb dependents and attributes:

(23) [*man podarok-sər /^{OK} podarog-əm-zər atəa-zam*],

I.GEN gift-CAR gift-P_1SG-CAR child-PL

man batnʲa gil-ër.

I.GEN to come-IMP.2PL

‘[Santa Claus:] Children without my presents, come closer to me’.

Chuvash (M. K.): verbs

- *-Sə̄r* can attach to verbal stems, but only together with an “infinitive” suffix *-mA*, giving *-mA-zə̄r* <INF-CAR>. The resulting form is used as a negative equivalent to the converb in *-sA* <CV_SIM>:

(24) *jep abat ɛi-me-zër(=ex) vɨʎa-ma kari-əm.*
I food eat-INF-CAR=EMPH play-INF go.PST-1SG
'I went out to play, without having eaten my soup'.

Chuvash (M. K.): exceptive

- *-Sə̄r* cannot be used in exceptive construction as opposed to...
-Sə̄r pɔɛnʲa

(25) *man-zə̄r bɔɛnʲa, por=da xola-ja kaj-za.*
I-CAR except all=and city-OBJ go-CV_SIM
'Everyone except me went to town'.

- *-Sə̄r pɔɛnʲa*, in its turn, cannot be used in caritive contexts in M. K.:

(26) * *maʂə̄ kɔzak-sə̄r pɔɛnʲa ki-ze.*
Mary cat-CAR except come-CV_SIM
Intended: 'Masha came without a cat.'

Chuvash: summary

	<i>-Sər</i>	<i>-Sər poɛnʲa</i>
VP-level	OK	*
Attributive	OK	*
PL	OK	OK
POSS	OK	OK
Verb stems	* (OK with INF)	* (OK with PC_PST)
Exceptives	*	OK

Hill Mari *pasna* vs. Chuvash *пуҫне~роҫня*



Hill Mari *pasna* vs. Chuvash *пуҫне~роҫнја*

- Hill Mari *pasna* / Meadow Mari *posna* is the borrowing of Chuvash postposition
 - Standard *пуҫ-н-е* («*пуҫне*»)
 - Mal. Kar. *роҫ-н^j-а* <head-P_3-OBJ>(Fedotov 1990: 120, 216; Galkin 1964: 32).

Exceptive semantics

- OK in Chuvash, OK in Hill Mari
 - Affirmative exceptives:

Chuvash

- (27) *man-zər boɕnʲa, por=da xola-ja kaj-za.*
I-CAR except all=and city-OBJ go-CV_SIM
'Everyone except me went to town'.

Hill Mari

- (28) *ivan gäc pasna cilä-n tol-ân-ât.*
Ivan EL separate all-ADV come-PRET-3PL
'Everyone came except for Ivan'.

Exceptive semantics

- OK in Chuvash, OK in Hill Mari
 - Negative exceptives:

Chuvash

- (29) *man-zər poεne xola-ja ni-gam=da gaj-m-an.*
I-CAR except city-OBJ no-who=also go-NEG-PC_RES
'No one except me went to town'.

Hill Mari

- (30) *ivan gäc pasna ik-tä=t tol-tel-ât.*
Ivan EL separate one-INDEF2-ADD come-NEG.PRET-3PL
'No one came except for Ivan'.

Caritive semantics

- * in Mal. Kar. Chuvash, OK in Hill Mari

Maloye Karachkino Chuvash

(31) * *maʃə koʒak-sər poɕnʲa ki-ze.*

Mary cat-CAR except come-CV_SIM

‘Mary came without a cat’.

Hill Mari

(32) *maša pört-äškä kot'i gäc pasna pârâ -š.*

Mary house-ILL cat EL separate enter-AOR.3SG

‘Mary came into the house without a cat’.

Caritive semantics

- But in some **other varieties** of Chuvash the caritive semantics is attested for *puɕne*, too.
- Cf. an example from 1920 cited in [Ashmarin 1928–1950], who lists ‘without’ among the meanings of *puɕne*:

*О сохр. здор. Шывсар пуɕне (без воды) никам та
пурăнайманнине есир хăвар та пĕлетĕр.*

- (33) *ʃiv-sər* *puɕne* *ni-kam=ta* *purən-aj-m-ann-in-e*
water-CAR except no-who=also live-POT-NEG-PC_RES-P_3-OBJ
jesir *xəvər=ta* *pĕl-et-ër.*
you_all self.P_2PL=also know-PRS-2PL
~‘That without water no one can live, you (pl.) yourselves know’.

'separate'

- Hill Mari *pasna* can also mean 'separate'

(34) *d'iktant-šê-m=at* ***pasna*** *blank-eš* *sir-ät.*
dictation-POSS.3SG-ACC=ADD separate form-LAT write-NPST.3PL
'And the dictation is written on separate forms'.

- *pasna* governs the elative

(35) *mä ät'ä-ävä* ***göc pasna*** *äl-äš* *tängäl-än-nä.*
we father-mother EL separate live-INF start-PRET-1PL
'We started living separately from our parents'.

'separate'

- For Chuvash *puɕne* we also find this meaning, again at least in some varieties — [Ashmarin 1928–1950]:

|| Оригинальный. *Сѣт-к.* Илле вӑл пуɕне-рех ɕын. Илья оригинальный человек. || Отдельно, врозь, особо. *Н. Карм.* † Епирех те виɕɕен пѐр тӑван, сассӑмӑрсем пѐр пек тухаӑ пуль те, ӑрӑскалсен пуɕне пулаӑ пуль. *Н. Пасар пѐрле, телей пуɕне.*

- (36) Pasar pѐrle, telej **puɕne**.
~'Market together, happiness **separately**'.

Hill Mari *pasna* vs. Chuvash *puɕne~poɕnĭa*

- As for the difference in case marking (EL in Hill Mari and CAR in Chuvash) — in fact, the **reverse** combinations (*pasna* + *-de* <**CAR**> in Hill Mari and *puɕne* + *-RAn* <**ABL**> in Chuvash) seem to exist, too (at least marginally), in some other varieties of the two languages:
- (Savatkova 2002: 100) on *-de pasna* in Kilemarsky variety of Hill Mari:

В килемарском подговоре левобережного говора, как и в северо-западном наречии отсутствие предмета выражается сочетанием ...*de pasna*: *äťäde pasna* 'без отца', *äβäde pasna* 'без матери', *imñide pasna* 'без лошади' и т.д.

Hill Mari *pasna* vs. Chuvash *puɕne~poɕnʲa*

- [Ashmarin 1928–1950] gives several examples of *-RAn puɕne* from different varieties of Chuvash:

Пуɕне, кроме, без. Альш. Хунартан пуɕне пёртте тухма та пулман. Тухсанах пуɕпа-пуɕ перённе. Юрк. † Хёвел, пёр аннеçам, çерё пёр мар, çерё пёр аннеçам, çынни пуɕне. Рыули 163. Çав кёпе, ёçленисёр (=çёленисёр) пуɕне, виç сом тарағ. Н. Хамартан пуɕне çырман (без нас, т. е. в наше отсутствие, не писали). Янш.-Норв. Пиччемсёр пуɕне еп мён тавăп? Баран. 139. Ўсекен йапаларан, выльах-чёрлөхрен пуɕне етем те пурăнаймасĕ. Ольш. Ашшёнчен пуɕне, кроме отца. Рыули 546. Манян онсёр поçнех номай. У меня и без

Hill Mari *pasna* vs. Chuvash *puεne~poεnʲa*

- [Ashmarin 1928–1950] gives several examples of *-RAn puεne* from different varieties of Chuvash:

(37) *xa-mər-tan puεne εir-m-an.*
self-P_1PL-ABL except write-NEG-PC_RES
'Without us (in our absence) [they] didn't write'.

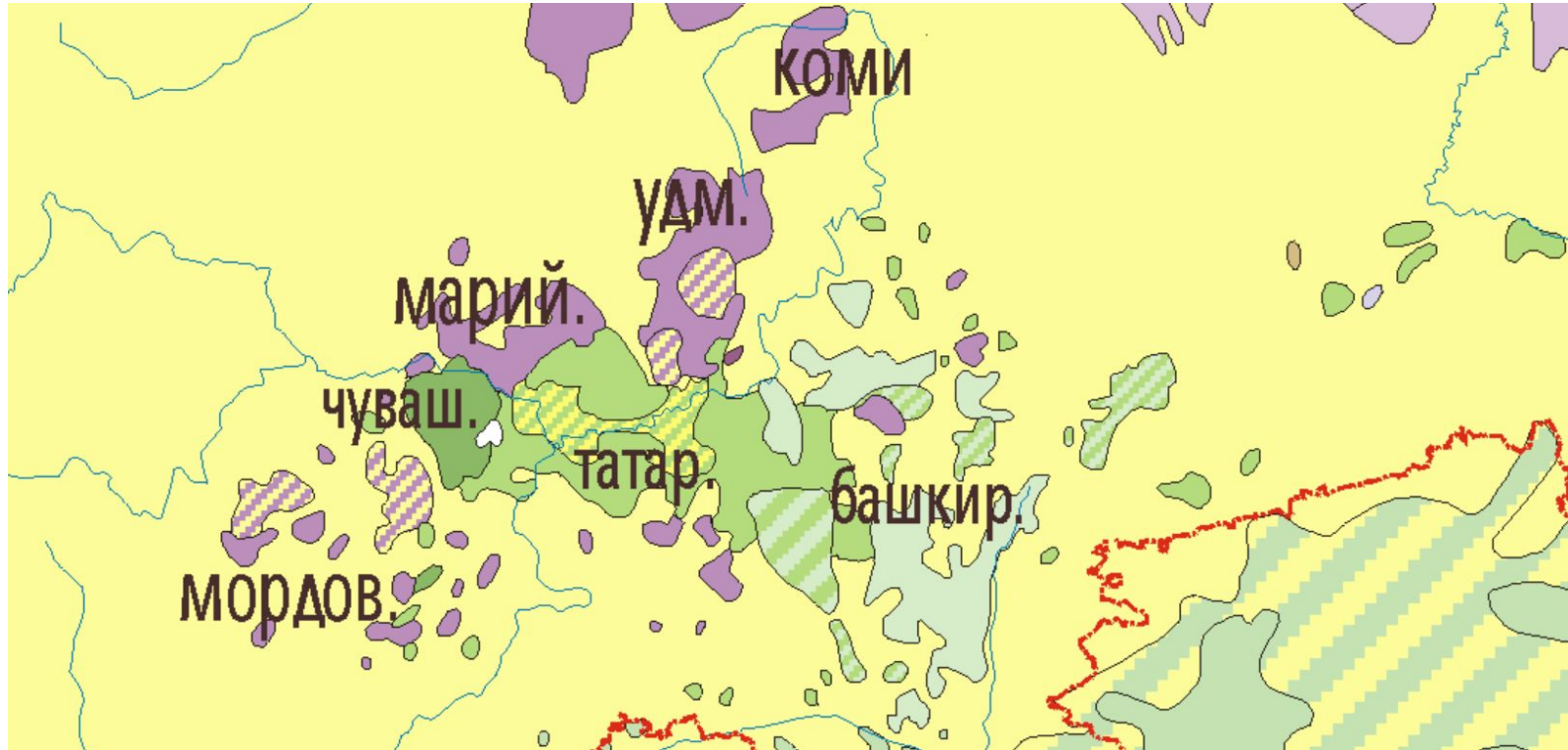
Mordvin and Tatar data

- Tatar word *baška* ‘other’, ‘separate’, ‘except for’
- Mordvin *baška* ‘except for’, ‘separate’ is borrowed from Tatar [Serebrennikov 1967:240; Fedotov 1990: 216]
- The structure of Tatar *baška* is similar to Chuvash: *baš* ‘head’ + dative-directive case marker (the same pattern in many other Turkic)

Summary

	Hill Mari <i>pasna</i>	Chuvash <i>puçne~poçnʲa</i>	Mordvin <i>baška</i>	Tatar <i>baška</i>
caritive	OK	* / OK? (Mal. Kar. / some other varieties)	*	*
exceptive	OK	OK	OK	OK
‘separate’	OK	OK?	OK	OK

...the Volga-Kama Sprachbund!



Diachrony

	Hill Mari <i>pasna</i>	Chuvash <i>puene~poen'ia</i>	Mordvin <i>baška</i>	Tatar <i>baška</i>
caritive	OK	* /OK	*	*
exceptive	OK	OK	OK	OK
'separate'	OK	OK/?	OK	OK

- What is primary: caritive, exceptive or 'separate'?
- 1st scenario: 'separate'
 - 'Separate from smth.' → 'without smth.'
Mary came without her cat. ← *Mary was separate from her cat.*
 - 'Separate from smth.' → 'except from smth.'
All people came, except for Mary. ← *All people were separate from Mary*
- Still, 'separate' can disappear despite its importance... (cf. Chuvash)

Diachrony

	Hill Mari <i>pasna</i>	Chuvash <i>puene~poen'a</i>	Mordvin <i>baška</i>	Tatar <i>baška</i>
caritive	OK	* /OK	*	*
exceptive	OK	OK	OK	OK
'separate'	OK	OK/?	OK	OK

- 2nd scenario: exceptive is primary
- Chuvash and Tatar words are derived from the noun 'head':
 - 'on~over the head' →
 - 'above' →
 - 'besides' (Besides Mary, Peter came to the party too [= Mary + Peter]) →
 - 'except' (Except Mary, everyone came to the party [= all – Mary]) →
 - 'separate' → caritive || caritive → 'separate'

Hill Mari (left) and Chuvash (right): summary

	<i>gäc pasna</i> <EL separate>	<i>-de</i> <CAR>	<i>-dəmə</i> <NEG.ATTR>	<i>-Sər</i> <CAR>	<i>-Sər poɕnʲa</i> <CAR except>
VP-level caritive	OK	OK	*	OK	* (Mal. Kar.) / OK? (other)
Attribut. car.	*	*	OK	OK	(?)
+ PL	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
+ POSS	OK	OK	*	OK	OK
+ Verb stems	* (OK with NMLZ)	OK	OK	* (OK with INF) (only as a converb?)	* (OK with PC_PST)
Exceptive	OK	*		*	OK

Thank you! Спасибо!

Tau! Тау=да буш!