The paper describes caritive constructions in two neighbouring languages of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund: Chuvash (< Turkic; Maloye Karachkino dialect) and Hill Mari (< Uralic; Eastern dialects), which have been in contact for many years (cf. [Fedotov 1990]). The study is based on field data (elicitation and spontaneous texts) collected in the village of Maloye Karachkino, Yadrinsky district, Chuvash Republic in 2017–2019 and in the village of Kuznetsovo and nearby villages of the Gornomariysky district, Mari El Republic in 2018–2019.

Caritives can be characterized as describing non-involvement of a certain participant in a situation: cf. John came without his wife; John came without money; John opened the bottle without a corkscrew. In a certain sense, caritive acts as a negative equivalent of a comitative (John came with his wife / with money) and instrumental (John opened a bottle with a corkscrew) [Stolz et al. 2007; Oskolskaya et. al. 2020].

Chuvash has a caritive suffix -SƏr (-sər/-sər/-zər/-zər) ‘CAR’, which is used both in non-attributive (1) and attributive (2) positions.

(1) maʂə koʐak-sər ki-ze.  
Mary cat-CAR come-CV_SIM  
‘Mary came without the cat’.

(2) jep [xyre-zər koʐag-a] kəlbassi par-d-əm.  
I tail-CAR cat-OBJ sausage give-PST-1SG  
‘I gave a sausage to a tailless cat’.

In Hill Mari, caritive semantics can be expressed by the case marker -de ‘CAR’ or by the postpositive item gə̈c pasna ‘EL separate’ (3). A specialized suffix marker -dƏmƏ (-də̈mə̈ / -də̑mə̑) ‘NEG.ATTR’ is used in the attributive position (4). Such pairs of caritive suffixes, where one is used in the attributive position, and the other in non-attributive positions, are typical for other Uralic languages, too [Hamari 2011] — as opposed to Turkic.

(3) maša pört-ə̈skə kot’i gə̈c pasna / kot’i-de pərə̈-š.  
Mary house-ILL cat EL separate cat-CAR enter-AOR  
‘Mary entered the house without the cat’.

(4) [pač-də̈mə̈ kot’i-lən] / *[pač-de kot’i-lən] kolbasa-m pu-š-ə̈m.  
tail-NEG.ATTR cat-DAT tail-CAR cat-DAT sausage-ACC give-AOR-1SG  
‘I gave a sausage to a tailless cat’.

In both languages, the caritive suffixes are also used in the verbal domain. Chuvash caritive suffix, attached to an infinitive suffix, derives what functions as a negative converb: -mA-zƏr ‘INF-CAR’ (5). In Hill Mari, similar “negative converses” are derived by attaching the caritive suffix directly to the verbal stem (6). The latter model is typologically unusual for caritive markers: normally they attach to some nominalized form, as in Chuvash.

(5) jep abat ei-me-zər(=ex) vilə-ma kər-i-əm.  
I soup eat-INF-CAR=EMPH play-INF go.PST-1SG  
‘I went to play without eating soup’.
(6) mən’ lem-ə̈m kač-de(=ok) mad-aš ke-n-ə̈m.
   I soup-ACC eat-CAR=EMPH play-INF go-PRET-1SG
   ‘I went to play without eating soup’.

The Hill Mari item pasna ‘separate’ is a borrowing from the Chuvash postposition \(pu\)ene ‘except’ (Mal. Kar. poenia; ‘head:p_3:OBJ’) [Fedotov 1990: 216; Galkin 1964: 32]. In contrast to Hill Mari, in Mal. Kar. Chuvash this postposition does not express caritive proper (7). However, in some other varieties of Chuvash caritive semantics is attested for \(pu\)ene, too, e.g. Ashmarin [1928–1950: iss. X, p. 25] lists ‘without’ among its meanings.

(7) *maʂə kozak-sər poenia ki-ze.
   Mary cat-CAR except come-CV_SIM
   ‘Mary came without the cat’.

Both in Chuvash (8) and Hill Mari (9) \(pu\)ene / pasna are used in exceptional constructions (whereas the caritive affixes in both languages cannot express exceptive semantics).

(8) man-ə̈r bocea / *man-ə̈r, por=da xola-j-a kaj-za.
   I-CAR except I-CAR all=and town-P_3-OBJ go-CV_SIM
   ‘Everyone except me went to town’.

(9) ivan gə̈c pasna / *ivan-de cilâ-n tol-ə̈n-ə̈t.
   Ivan EL separate Ivan-CAR all-ADV come-PRET-3PL
   ‘Everyone came except for Ivan’.

Hill Mari pasna can also mean ‘separate’, governing the elative postposition (10). For Chuvash \(pu\)ene this meaning is also attested, at least in some varieties [Ashmarin 1928–1950: ib.].

(10) mä ät’ä-ävä gə̈c pasna ə̈l-ə̈s tə̈ngä-ə̈n-nä.
   we father-mother EL separate live-INF start-PRET-1PL
   ‘We started living separately from our parents’.

As regards the difference in case marking (EL in Hill Mari and CAR in Chuvash), the reverse combinations exist too in some other varieties (e.g., pasna + -de ‘CAR’ in Hill Mari [Savatkova 2002: 100], \(pu\)ene + -RAn ‘ABL’ in Chuvash [Ashmarin 1928–1950: ib.]).

In the talk, we will also consider the morphological properties of caritive markers in the two languages, including their compatibility with number markers and possessive markers. Moreover, we will draw data from Moksha and Tatar, since there is a similar item baška, which was borrowed by Moksha from Tatar [Fedotov 1990: 216], with meanings and uses similar to pasna/\(pu\)ene. We will speculate on the meaning evolution in constructions with pasna/\(pu\)ene and baška in these four languages, explaining the differences in their use.

Glosses
1, 3 — 1st and 3rd person; ACC — accusative; ADV — adverbializer; AOR — aorist; CAR — caritive; CV_SIM — “simultaneity” converb (is also used finitely, with a past time reference); DAT — dative; EL — elative; EMPH — emphatic particle; ILL — illative; INF — infinitive; NEG.ATTR — negative attributivizer; OBJ — objective case; P — possession; PL — plural; PRET — preterite; PST — past tense; SG — singular.

References