

## Attributive and depictive uses of caritive in Bashkir

Oral / poster

The Bashkir language (Altaic, Turkic) has an affix *-həð* (with variants *-heð* / *-hoð* / *-höð*) that expresses caritive meaning 'without'. It is highly productive and combines with any noun and personal pronouns.

There are at least two types of uses of caritive: attributive and depictive<sup>1</sup>. The attributive use implies that the word with suffix *-həð* is a syntactic dependent of a noun that it characterizes. In Bashkir it means that it takes place in preposition of a noun:

- (1) *Anda min bala-lar-həð duθ-tə kür-ðe-m.*  
there I child-PL-CAR friend-ACC see-PST-1SG  
'There, I met a friend who doesn't have children'

The depictive use implies that the caritive form functions as copredicative and can't be considered as a syntactic dependent of a noun, although semantically, it characterizes the referent expressed by the noun.

- (2) *Anda min Bolat-tə bala-lar-həð kür-ðe-m.*  
there I Bulat-ACC child-PL-CAR see-PST-1SG  
'There, I met Bulat without (his) children.'

Depending on the attributive or depictive use, the caritive has different grammatical features. For example, in attributive use the word with the caritive marker can't (with some exceptions) have dependent adjectives, pronouns, numerals:

- (3) \**Bəl kitap-həð bala mäktäp-kä kil-de.*  
this book-CAR child school-DAT come-PST  
'A child without this book came to school.'

At the same time the depictive use allows all these dependents:

- (4) <sup>ok</sup>*Bala bəl kitap-həð mäktäp-kä kil-de.*  
child this book-CAR school-DAT come-PST  
'A child came to school without this book.'

Personal pronouns can have the caritive marker (like *heð-heð* you-CAR 'without you') only in depictive contexts.

Besides, the caritive form never allows any expression of possession such as personal-possessive markers (\**kitab-əm-həð* book-P.1SG-CAR 'without my book') or genitive form of a noun (\**Bolat-təñ kitap-həð* Bulat-GEN book-CAR 'without a book of Bulat'). This phenomenon is supposed to be connected with the nature of caritive form: the marker *-həð* is not a case marker and has some derivational properties, that is why it has some morphological restrictions which case markers do not have.

In the talk the grammatical features of the Bashkir caritive form will be discussed in detail considering attributive and depictive uses. The semantic and pragmatic difference between two types of uses will also be taken into consideration. Different grammatical properties connected with the two uses of the caritive can probably be explained by the fact that the attributive use usually implies non-referential object (cf. (1) where children do not exist) while dependent adjectives, pronouns, numerals are often used with referential nouns, i.e. in depictive use.

### References

J. van der Auwera, A. Malchukov. A semantic map for depictive adjectivals // E. Schultze-Bernd & N. P. Himmelmann (eds.). Secondary predication and adverbial modification: the typology of depictives. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. 393-421.

### Abbreviations

1 – 1<sup>st</sup> person; ACC - accusative; CAR - caritive; DAT - dative; GEN - genitive; P - possessive; PL - plural; PST – past; SG - singular.

<sup>1</sup> Although Bashkir form with *-həð* is not regarded here to be a pure, the terms are borrowed from the studies of adjectives (see [van der Auwera & Malchukov 2005]).