CARITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN MWAN

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Abstract: The paper deals with strategies for expressing caritive meanings in Mwan (Niger-Congo < Mande < South Mande). The difference between the strategies used in Mwan and in some other languages of the same family (Gban, Looma, Bambara) is discussed. Conclusions are made about the grammaticalization of constructions with the suffix *-kle* and the postposition *blaan* into specialized caritive means.

Key words: Mwan, South Mande, Bambara, caritive constructions

CONSTRUCTIONS CARITIVES EN MWAN

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Résumé : L'article traite des stratégies d'expression des significations caritives en mwan (Niger-Congo < Mande < Mande Sud). La différence entre les stratégies utilisées en mwan et en certaines autres langues de la même famille (gban, looma, bambara) est discutée. On en conclut que les constructions avec le suffixe *-kle* et la postposition *blaan* subissent le processus de grammaticalisation et se transforment en moyens caritifs spécialisés.

Mots clés : mwan, Mandé Sud, bambara, constructions caritives

1. Introduction

The caritive is a relatively new "comparative concept" (Haspelmath 2010), which is defined in Oskolskaya et al. (2020: 7) as follows: "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 another situation".

The caritive in African languages is practically not studied. I am only aware of studies conducted as part of the caritive research project (Oskolskaya 2019; Fedotov 2020; Mishchenko 2020). It should be noted that, despite the relative genetic proximity of Mwan to Looma and Gban, there are not so many similarities in terms of expressing caritive meanings. More similarity is observed between the means of expressing caritive meanings between Mwan and Bambara.

2. Data and methodology

The data were collected by the author during several field trips to the Ivory Coast (2003–2020). The following types of data were used: a) spontaneus narratives and dialogues; b) written sources (stories, book of proverbs); c) elicited data. I used the caritive questionnaire designed by Sofia Oskolskaya (2018; 2020).

The next stage was the analysis and comparison of the data obtained. The proportion of caritive constructions of different types in natural and elicited data was taken into account. The results obtained for Mwan were compared with the materials on Gban, Looma and Bambara. The conclusion about the grammaticalization of the suffix *-kle* and the postposition *blaan* into a specialized caritive marker was made.

3. Caritive constructions in Mwan

3.1. Overview of caritive constructions in Mwan

Mwan uses the following means to express caritive values:
−   word-level negation (suffix *-kle*):

(1) *nɛ̀*   *dɛ-kle*   *nɛɛ-kle*
    child   father-NEG   mother-NEG
    'fatherless motherless child'

– combinations with certain nouns or adjectives:

(2) *gbàán   wɛɛ   kpu*
    dog   tail   piece
    'dog without tail (it was cut off)'.

(3) *À   són   kló   ò.*
    3SG.NSBJ   tooth   idle   COP
    'S/he is without teeth'

– pospositions *blaan* 'after' and *zanta* 'behind':

(4) *À   dɛ   blaan   ga   kpà-à   à   ma.*
    3SG.NSBJ   father   after   illness put-PFV 3SG.NSBJ on
    'Without his father he fell ill (lit. After his father the illness fell
    on him).'

– dependent clauses with existential negation:

(5) *Nɛ̀   ɛ́   nu-à   yaan   ɛ́   lé   ké   bɔtɔ̀*
    child   ART   come-PFV yam   art   with   and   bag
    láò   (à   kɔɔ́).
    COP.NEG 3SG.NSBJ   hand
    'The child brought this yam without a bag (in his hands).'

– general verbal negation:

(6) *È   jà   ké   yaa   púbɔ   wo.*
    3SG   go.PFV   and   NEG   greeting do
    'He left without saying good-bye.'

The next section contains the analysis of the presented above means of transmitting the caritive values in Mwan.

3.2. Attributive caritive constructions

3.2.1. Constructions with the suffix *-kle*

I classify the marker *-kle* as a derivative suffix which cannot be used independently (for details see Perekhvalskaya 2015). It can be attached to nouns or verbs turning them into words used as noun modifiers.

With nouns *-kle* forms adjectives which have caritive meaning, see (7).

(7) a *wɛɛ* 'tail'   *gbàán wɛɛkle* 'dog without tail'
b.   *gaan* 'foot, wheel'   *sòó gaankle*   'bycicle without wheel'
c.   *wíŋ* 'top'   *fɛ́ wíŋkle*   'house without roof'
d.   *trɛ* 'eye'   *mɛɛ trɛkle*   'blind person (without eyes)'

It is worth noting that in (7) we deal with inalienable nouns. Examples (8) demonstrate the use of *-kle* with alienable nouns, in this case the complex N-*kle* is linked to the preceding NP with the postposition *lé* 'with'.

(8) a. *ziɛ̀* 'sauce'   *pɛbhle ziɛ̀kle lé*   'food without sauce'
b.   *kulaŋ* 'electricity' *wàla kulaŋkle lé*   'village without electricity'

This shows that the suffix *-kle* can be classified as a dedicated caritive means. Constructions presented in (8) may be translated as "with without-N" or probably deserve the lable "anticomitative" (Kämpfe & Volodin 1995).

With verbs, *-kle* forms attributive constructions with negative meaning (9).

(9) a. *À*   *maza*   *ò*   *wɛ̀ɛ̀n*   *mí-kle*   *glɔ́an*
       3.SG.NSBJ   need   COP   wine   drink-NEG   guy
       do   *ma.*
       one   on
       'He needs a guy who doesn't drink alcohol.'

b. *Nὲ   yá-kle   mu έ,   ò   sέlí   wo Wàànbhaa ni*
    child give.birth-NEG PL ART 3PL prayer do god   to
    ké   ò   nὲ   srɔ́   wò.
    and   3PL   child   getting   do
    'Childless (women), they pray to God to have children.'

These constructions could be analyzed as negative participles or negative converbs, as in Mwan unmarked verbs cannot be used as NPs.

3.2.2. Combining with the relational noun *kpu* or the adjective *kló*

The suffix *-kle* denotes the situation of the absence of a participant as stable. If it is known or supposed that the NP became N-less at certain point, it should be explicit.

(10) a. *gbàán wεε kpu* 'dog with cut tail'
b.   *mεε gaan kpu*   'man without leg'

Combinations with *kpu* are genitive constructions as *kpu* is a relational noun 'piece, something that was cut off': cf. *bluu lὲ kpu* 'the end of the bread'; *dìŋ yrì kpu* 'a cut piece of a tree'; *blàkɔ kpu* 'a cork made of a piece of bamboo'. So, examples presented in (10) are just particular cases of the use of *kpu*. However, its usage is obligatory if the way of the loss was known or presumed (11).

(11) a. *mεε gaan kpu*   'man without leg (with leg cut)'
b.   *mεε gaankle

(11b) is denied on semantic reasons: it would mean that a person was born without legs, which is considered impossible.

The adjective *kló* 'idle, useless' forms the attributive construction with the Absentee (12).

(12) *Mánì dà-à   Bíjàn   ké   à   sónbhɛ kló ò.*
      Mani return-PFV Abidjan and 3SG.NSBJ tooth   idle COP
      'Mani returned from Abidjan without a tooth.'

In my corpus, *kló* in caritive constructions occurs only with nouns *són* 'teeth', *sónbhɛ* 'tooth'. Taking into account expressions like *fɛ́ kló* 'unfinished house' it may be supposed that *kló* points out to something incomplete that lacks an integral part.

3.3. Constructions with postpositions

The meanings of concomitant circumstances, a cause or a condition as well as the absence of a companion and the addition of a participant are most often coded by the postposition *blaan* 'after' or much less often by the postposition *zanta* 'behind'. We deal here with the expansion of the meaning 'after / behind N' → 'without N'.

Consider the following examples: cause (13), condition (14); concomitant circumstances (15); absence of a participant (16); addition of a participant (17).

(13)   *Nììníí   ò   yrɛ̀tɛ́   blaan.*
        cold   COP   sun   after
        'It is cold without sun.'

(14)   *Mɛɛ   laa   sɔ   bo-lè   trɛ́   ta   yì*
        person   NEG   can   rest-SBJV earth   on   water
        pegéé   pɛɓle   blaan.
        and   food   after
        'Man cannot live on the earth without water and food.'

(15)   *À   nɛɛ   blaan ga   kpà-à   nɛ̀   ɛ́   ma.*
        3SG.NSBJ mother   after illness put-PFV child   ART   on
        'Without the mother the child fell ill.'

(16) a. *Ɪ́ɔ́   nu   ge-lɛ   Bíjàn   é   zanta.*
        1SG   FUT   go-SUP   Abidjan   2SG   behind
        'I will go to Abidjan without you.'

b.   *Yaá*   *nu-lɛ*   *é*   *dɛ*   *blaan!*
      2SG.NEG.COP   come-SUP   2SG   father   after
      'Do not come without your father!'

(17) a. *Mí*   *blaan mɛɛ*   *sóó*   *lè*   *yàà.*
        1SG.EMPH after   person five   FOC COP.PFV
        'There were five people besides me.'

b.   *Yáa*   *sróókpá gbɛ*   *bhɛ̀ɛ̀ké láò*   *lì*   **bhɛ́ blaan** *ɛ̀ɛ̀?*
      2SG.POSS song   manner other   COP.NEG ever this after   Q
      'Don't you have another song, **apart from that one**?'

The example (17b) presents a negative question; the negative copula is not connected with the caritive construction that uses the postposition *blaan* (*bhɛ́ blaan* 'besides this one').

The following examples (18a–b) should be interpreted as condition or concomitant circumstances and not as absence of an instrument; as the latter meaning (to do something without NP) is expressed by dependent copular negative clauses, see §3.4.

(18) a. *Waa*   *sɔ*   *wi*   *dɛ-lè*   *màfá*   *blaan.*
        3P.NEG   can   animal   kill-SBJV   gun   after
        'One can't kill an animal without a gun.'

b.   *Waa*   *sɔ*   *yrì*   *kláá-lé*   *poo*   *blaan.*
      3PL.NEG   can   tree   chop-SBJV   ax   after
      'One can't chop down a tree without an ax.'

3.4. Negative copular clauses

In my data, the meanings of the absence of content, means of transportation, tool or temporarily possessed object are encoded by copular negative clauses with the negative copula *láò / làò*. These clauses are often but not always introduced by the conjunction *ké*. This conjunction has a large range of usages and in this case it denotes an action simultaneous with the action of the main clause. Consider the following examples:

Absense of content (19).

(19) *Mɛɛ   ɛ́   nù-à   bɔ̀lɔ̀   lé   ké   bhlɔn   láò*
person   ART come-PFV sack with and rice   COP.NEG
à   yì.
3SG.NSBJ in
'This person brought a bag without rice (lit. The person came
 with a bag and the rice was not in it).'

Absence of tool (20).

(20) *Búàtí ɛ́   líí   gùà   ké   wla   làò   á   kɔ́ɔ́.*
can   ART mouth leave.PFV and knife COP.NEG 3SG.NSBJ hand
'He opened a can without a knife (lit. The can was open and he
 had no knife in his hands).'

Absence of temporary possessed object (21).

(21) *È   jà   Bíjà   ké   gɔ̀lí   láò   á   kɔ́ɔ́.*
3SG go.PFV Abidjan and money COP.NEG 3SG.NSBJ hand
'He went to Abidjan without money (in his hands).'

Absence of clothes (22)–(23).

(22) *Nè   mu ɛ́ blasan zí   ké   dunè   láò   ò   ta.*
child PL ART run   PROG and clothes COP.NEG 3PL on
'Children are running without clothes (on them).'
(23) *Ba   le   mu laa tááwo ké   srùŋgbhɔɔ láò   ò*
Jula   woman PL   NEG walk and scarf   COP.NEG 3PL
ŋgbhlo ma.
head   on
'Jula women do not walk without scarf on the head.'

Absence of material (24).

(24) *È   fɛ́   ɛ́   dùà   ké   làsò   láò   à   ba.*
3SG house ART put.PFV and cement COP.NEG 3SG.NSBJ in
'He built the house without cement (in it).'

The examples (19)–(24) demonstrate the strategy used mostly in elicited examples. In these cases, the exact role of the absentee is specified by the postpositional phrase in the dependent clause'. The role of absentee may not be specified, as in (25).

Absence of means of transportation (25).

(25) *Lenɛ̀   nù-à   Lroŋla¹   à   gaan   ma*
girl   come-PFV Sukuruban¹ 3SG.NSBJ foot   on
ké   mótó   láò.
and   motocycle COP.NEG
'The girl came to Sukuruban without a motocycle (because there was no motocycle).'

The dependent clause may be strucutured as a relative one, as in (26) with relativizer *lá* in the main clause, for relative clasus in Mwan see Perekhvalskaya (2007).

(26) *Ŋɔ́ɔ̀   zi   lá   glìiŋ   zí   ké   glù*
1SG.COP road   REL   look.for PROG and   hole
láò   à   lìì.
COP.NEG 3SG.NSBJ on
'I am looking for a road without holes.'

In (26), the relativizer *lá* follows the head *zi* 'road', which has the antecedent in the dependent clause the pronoun *à (lì)ì* '(on) it'.

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¹ The Jula and official name of the Lroŋla village is Sukuruban.

3.5. Competing strategies and lexical means

3.5.1. Competing strategies

In many cases, several strategies may be used to encode the same meaning, cf. (27).

(27) a. *Srɔ̀àsɛ́mi   ɛ́   dà-à   glɔe   ma   ké   à*
    soldier   ART   return-PFV   war   on   and   3SG.NSBJ
    gaan   do   làò.
    leg   one   COP.NEG
    'The soldier returned from the war without a leg.' {a=b}

b.   *Srɔ̀àsɛ́mi   ɛ́   dà-à   glɔe   ma   ké   à*
    soldier   ART   return-PFV   war   on   COMIT   3SG.NSBJ
    gaan   do   kpú   lé.[2]
    leg   one   piece   with

In (27a), the caritive meaning is encoded by the copular clause, and in (27b) the construction with the noun *kpu* 'piece' is used.

Rather widespread is the strategy described by Maksim Fedotov for Gban: "Lexical means can also be employed — with a greater or lesser loss of semantic detail. For example, 'The bus departed without me' can be rendered in Gban as, literally, "The bus left me" (Fedotov 2020: 190). The same is also characteristic for Mwan, consider the following translations (28)–(29).

(28)   [Stimulus: "The Abidjan bus goes without a stop in Kongasso".]
    Bíjà   goŋ ɛ́   nu   ké   yaa   duláá   Kongopla.
    Abidjan   car   ART   come   and   3SG.NEG   stop   Kongasso
    'Abidjan bus comes and doesn't stop in Kongasso.'

(29)   [Stimulus: "He constructed the house without cement".]
    È   fɛ́   ɛ́   dùà   ké   pɛ̀ɛ̀   lé.
    3SG   house   ART   put.PFR   COMIT   clay   with
    'He constructed the house with clay.'

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    [2] In (27b) and (29), the comitative frame construction *ké … lé* 'with' is used.

4. Discussion and conclusion

As it follows from the analysis given in the previous section, Mwan has more diverse means of expressing caritive meanings than Gban and Looma.

According to Fedotov, "Gban <…> has no specialized markers to express caritive semantics, neither affixes nor adpositions (Fedotov 2020: 18). To encode caritive semantics Gban uses multi-clausal periphrases and lexical means (see §3.5.2) as well as comitative postposition with clausal negation, "for example, 'He's working without a hoe' can be rendered as, literally, "He's not working with a hoe" (Fedotov 2020: 19).

Looma also demonstrates the absence of special means of expressing caritive meanings. "The main way to express caritive semantics is the use of various constructions, which include negation. So, for example, sentence <'Koluma came without a husband'> literally is 'Koluma came, her husband did not come', sentence <'I went to the market without money'> is 'I went to the market, I had no money'. Both sentences represent the only way to express the respective meanings in Looma" (Mischenko 2020: 85).

It is worth comparing Mwan data to Bambara, which is perhaps better described than most Mande languages, see also Bambara corpus (Vydrin et al. 2011–2018).

There are two derivational suffixes in Bamabara that encode caritive meaning: the participle suffix *-bali* and the adjective suffix *-ntan*. The suffix *-ntan* is used in a more or less similar way to the Mwan suffix *-kle* (§3.2.1), see (30).

(30) a. *tìgi* 'master'   *fàli tìgintan* 'donkey without master (masterless donkey).'
b.   *ɲɔ̀n* 'millet'   *gàtigi ɲɔ̀ntan* 'householder without millet'.[3]

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[3] These and further Bambara examples from the Corpus of Bambara were provided by Valentin Vydrin.

The participle suffix *-bali* has no parallels in Mwan. It denotes "negative agent or patient",[4] see (31).

(31) *Tìle   bán-bali   té.*
     sun   finish-PTCP.PRIV   COP.NEG
     'There are no days without end (lit: non-finishing suns (=days)
      do not exist).'

Other Mande languages, namely Gban, Looma and Dan (Vydrin, personal communication), do not possess similar caritive means. Still, it does not seem probable that the privative suffix *-kle* in Mwan would be a loan from Jula which is a widespread trade dialect of Bambara. In fact, being close by the meaning these suffixes (Mwan *-kle* and Bambara *-ntan*) are completely different in their forms which prevent us from making assumptions of a possible direct loan.
     Another interesting parallel is the use of the Bambara postposition *kɔ́* 'behind, after' which also encodes the meaning 'besides, except, in the absence of', see (32)–(33).

(32) *Júgu   tɛ́   mɔ̀gɔ   lá   bàna-jugu   kɔ́.*
     enemy   COP.NEG   man   to   illness-evil   after
     'Man has no other enemy except for a dangerous disease.'
(33) *À   fɔ́-rá   ń   kɔ́.*
     3SG   fail-PFV.INTR   1SG   after
     'He came in my absence.' (Vydrin 2019: 78).

Here again we find a similarity in the way the primary meaning 'after, behind' is extended: 'behind, after' > 'in the absence' > 'without' (see §3.3). There is no information about the use of a postposition with

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     [4] « Il exprime : - la valeur d'agent négatif <et> la valeur de patient négatif » (Vydrin 2019: 232), in other words, V-*bali* means 'which does not V' with intransitive verbs, cf. *mɔ̀gɔ kúma-bali* 'silent (non-speaking) person' (*kúma* 'to speak') or 'which is not V-ed' with transitive verbs, cf. *jóli fúrakɛ-bali*` 'unhelaed wound' (*fúrakɛ* 'to heal').

the meaning 'after' in caritive constructions in other Mande languages. At the same time, the Mwan postposition *blaan* and the Bamabara *kɔ́* have no similarity in form. So, it is not the case of a direct loan. It should also be noted that in Mwan the caritive usage of *blaan* is rather widespread, see examples (13)–(18).

The comparison between natural and elicited examples in Mwan shows that caritive constructions with the suffix *-kle* and the postposition *blaan* differ from other strategies. Unlike the latter they are used in natural contexts, including traditional folk tales. On the contrary, in my corpus of natural texts there are no instances of the use of the negative copula *láò / làò* in caritive constructions. In the corpus, the negative copula is used only in existential negative constructions. The fact that the suffix *-kle* and the postposition *blaan* with the caritive meaning occur in traditional narratives seems important. These are functional styles less affected by French or town-styles of speech. The following conclusion can be made: these means are the only true caritive markers used in natural speech. The suffix *-kle* can be classified as a dedicated caritive means.

Abbreviations

ART – article
COMIT – comitative
COP – copula
EMPH – emphatic pronoun
FOC – focalizer
FUT – future
INTR – intransitive
NP – noon phase
NEG – negation
NSBJ – non-subject pronoun

PL – plural
POSS – possessive pronoun
PFV – perfective
PROG – progressive
PTCP.PRIV – privative participle
REL – relativizer
SBJV – subjunctive
SG – singular
SPN – supine

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