

Partitive Genitive the North Russian area

Ilja A. Seržant

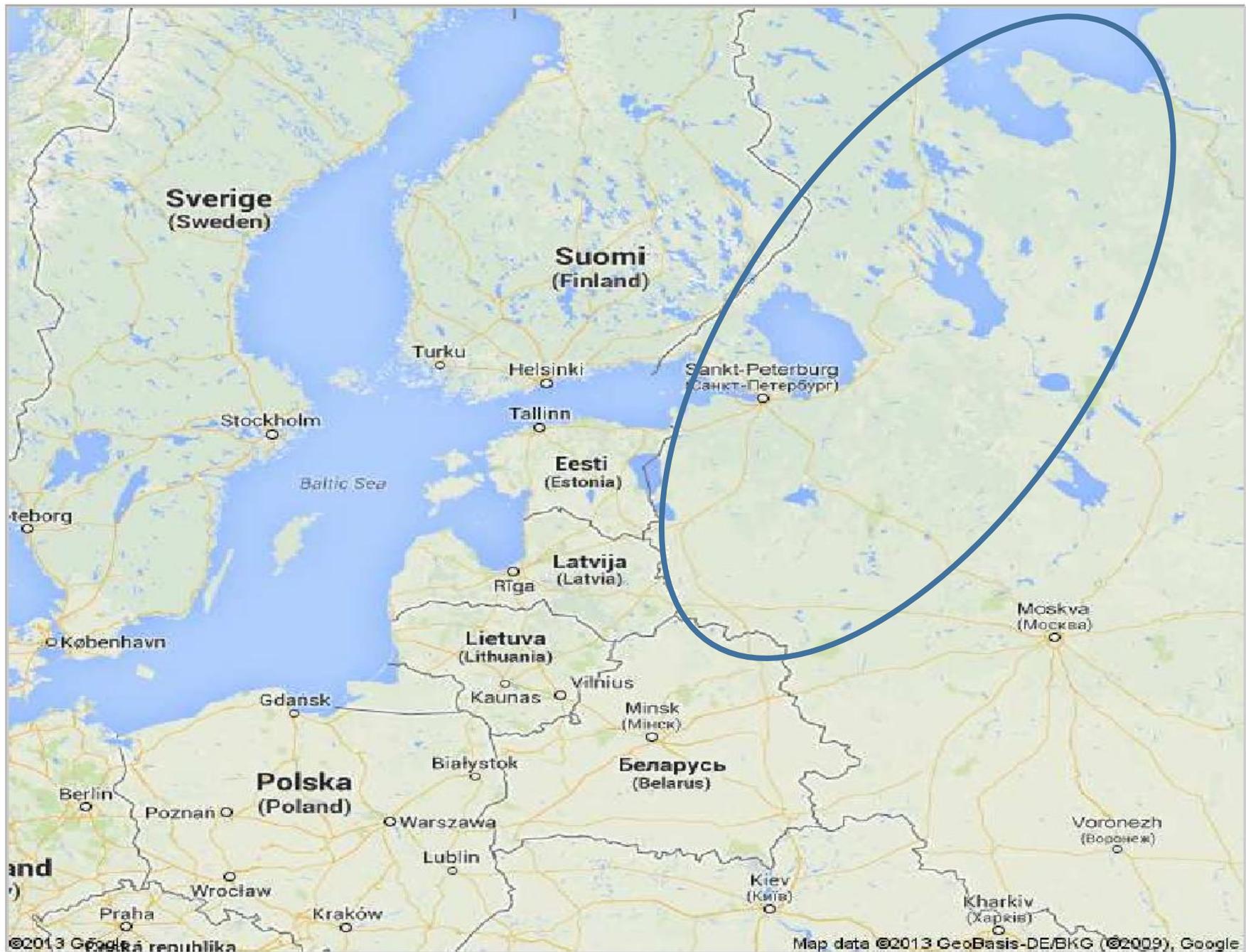
Partitivity and Language Contact

University of Zurich,

November 25th/26th, 2016



UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



Structure

1. Intro
2. The IPG and predicate quantification
3. Occasional, non-canonical agreement
4. Conclusions

Intro: disclaimers

- Contrastive to Standard Russian.
- On the basis of dialectological literature (*inter alia*, Trubinskij (Meščerskij (ed.) 1972), Markova (1991, 2008), Lopatina (2000), Ustja Korpus 2013).
- No fieldwork.
- **Partitive** genitive is just a convenient label (in analogy to the partitive case in Finnic) (henceforth IPG).

Intro: disclaimers

Dialectological remark:

- while North Russian represents a much more developed system than Standard Russian,
- both equally undergo the demise of the IPG
- mainly **in terms of token frequency not in terms of type frequency**
- while **ACC** is becoming more and more **the default**.

Intro: semantics

- Functionally, the IPG represents a cluster or multi-faceted category with bearings in at least three domains:
 - ✓ (weak) **quantification**,
 - ✓ **negation** (negative polarity)
 - ✓ **(in)definiteness** (with intensional predicates) and
 - ✓ (discourse prominence)
- “decreased referentiality” (cf. Partee 2008).
- Immediately related to *pseudo-partitivity* (Silkirk 1977); true partitivity infrequent.
- Etymologically related but synchronically represent rather independent categories in terms of homonymy.
- All these domains allow ACC as well (default),
- yielding different types of DOM, each of which has its own system.

Intro: syntax

- The IPG is not assigned by some head.
 - Historically, it emerged from a true partitive expression with a covert head,
 - gradually converging from two constituents into one constituent (as the result of the semantics: *partitivity* > *pseudo-partitivity*).
 - IPG overrides structural case assignment *only* (not in Old Russian or Ancient Greek, cf. Seržant 2012, 2015a).
 - Coordinatable with structurally marked NPs (scil. ACC+NOM).
- => rather a determiner/quantifier than a case.

Structure

1. Intro
- 2. The IPG and predicate quantification**
3. Occasional, non-canonical agreement
4. Conclusions

Quantification of the NP

NP-internal quantification:

- (1) *nam zimoj predsedatel' daval gorox-u*
1PL.DAT winter.INS director.NOM give.ITER.PST.SG pea-GEN.SG
'The director distributed **[some] peas** in the winter to us'.
(Ustjanskij r.; Ustja Corpus 2013)
- 

- The IPG induces an implicit quantifier \approx 'some, somewhat' (not in terms of syntactic dependency, cf. Neidle 1988; Franks 1995: 182).

Quantification of the NP and the predicate

Standard Russian:

(2) *My* *na-sobirali* *grib-ov*
1PL.NOM QUANT-collect.PST.PL mushroom-GEN.PL
'We collected [quite a lot] mushrooms.'



- Predicate quantification is found in Standard Russian only under *Isomorphismus* (lots of events of collecting = lots of mushrooms),
- i.e. with overtly quantified verbs and incremental-theme verbs.

Quantification of the NP and the predicate

- In North Russian, isomorphism is not a condition.
- The IPG may additionally be triggered by:
 - (i) an overt adverb quantifier;
 - (ii) the implicit quantifier of the IPG may itself quantify the predicate.

An overt verb quantifier triggering the IPG

- (3) *Ognja* *na-klali,* *nok* *po-greli*
fire.GEN.SG QUANT-put.PST.PL foot.GEN.PL DELIM-warm.PST.PL
'We made fire and **warmed our feet**.'
(Šenkurskij r.; from Malyševa 2008: 238)
-
- 'somewhat, for a while'

- Some(what) warmed but not *some feet**
- (4) *Golov-y* *po-poanjal* *malen'ko* *i* *upal*
'head.GEN.SG QUANT-put.PST.SG somewhat and fell'.
'He **slightly** raised head and fell down.'
(Siniki, Ustjanskij r.; Malyševa 2008: 237)

The implicit quantifier of the IPG quantifies the predicate

NB: the implicit quantifier of the IPG is – differently from the one of the partitive case in Finnic – is delimited (Padučeva 1998: 80), “unspecified but delimited” (Timberlake 2004: 319) like ‘some’.

The implicit quantifier of the IPG quantifies the predicate /1

(5) *Ja* *otvorju* *dverej*

1SG.NOM open.FUT.1SG door.GEN.PL

'I will **slightly/somewhat** open the door(s).'

(Kuškopola, Pinežskij r.; from Malyševa 2008: 237)

(6) *Ja* *tvoix* *oc'kof* *omocil*

1SG.NOM your.GEN.PL glasses.GEN.PL water.PST.SG

'I **slightly/somewhat** watered your glasses.

(Ozerko, Kargopol'skij r.; Malyševa 2008: 237)

The implicit quantifier of the IPG quantifies the predicate /2

- Temporal transfer found with verbs of transfer *dat'* 'give', *vzjat'* 'take', *brat'* 'take' (examples from Markova 1989: 76a; Lopatina 1998: 236).
- The IPG induces the meaning of a temporally delimited result of transfer:

The implicit quantifier of the IPG quantifies the predicate /2

(7) *Daj nožnicej!*

give.impv.sg scissors.gen.pl

'Give me the scissors [**for a while/short time**]!'

(Lešukonskij r.; from Malyševa 2008: 234)

(8) *Defki, ja u vas voz'mu malen'kovo*

kipetil'nic'ku, cjaj skipeccju

'Girls, I'll take your **small water cooker-IPG (for a short time)**, I'll brew tea.'

(Javzora, Pinežskij r.; Malyševa 2008: 235)

The implicit quantifier of the IPG quantifies the predicate /1+2

- To sum up:
- A quantifier needs a divisible event which it can measure while momentary events such as achievements cannot be measured by their definition.
- **Accomplishments** (...*otkryvaju dverej* 'open door.GEN') are complex events that contain two parts: (i) the preparational part and (ii) the culmination.
- While culmination cannot be measured by the implicit quantifier the **preparational phase** is an activity that can be quantified.
- **Achievements** (...*daj nožnicej* 'give scissors.GEN') are momentary and cannot be measured.
- However, **the resultant after-state** (i.e. the possession) can be measured.
- Temporal transfer is derived by the metonymic extension of the transfer to include the after-state/possession which is measured by the implicit quantifier: lit. 'to possess for a while/somewhat/a little bit'.

Diachronic and typological background

- We thus observe the following development in North Russian:

D(eterminer)-Quantifier (QP-intern) => ***A(dverb)-Quantifier*** (terms coined by Löbner 1985; Partee 1995):

‘I ate **a little bit** of the cake.’

‘I ate the cake **a little bit**.’



- Typologically such a change is trivial (Gil 1993, Keenan and Paperno 2012: 941), cf. English *some, a little bit* vs. *somewhat, a little bit*,
- However, it is extremely unusual w.r.t. the locus of realization of the quantifier.

Structure

1. Intro
2. The IPG and predicate quantification
- 3. Occasional, non-canonical agreement**
4. Conclusions

- (9) *K jim vseгда ljud-ej nabeg-ut,*
 to 3PL.DAT always people-GEN.PL come-3PL
dak jabloku nekudy upast'
 so that there is no space for an apple to fall down
 'Always lots of people come to them so that there is no space for an apple
 to fall down.' (Meščerskij, ed., 1972: 211)
- (10) *Tut-to medved-ej byvaj-ut, tol'ko malo*
 here-PRT bear-GEN.PL be-3PL only few
 'There are bears but not that many.' (Sujsar', Onežskij r.)
- (11) *A kto rabotal pokrepče, tak ix byl-i*
 but who worked harder so 3PL.GEN be.PST-3PL
 'As regards those who worked harder – there **were some.**' (Sujsar', Onežskij r.)

(12) *Zdes' vsjak-ix rast-ut*

'Various [things] (GEN.PL) grow (PL) here'.
(Derevjannoe, Onežskij r.; Markova 2008: 153)

Cf. Corbett (2006):

(13) *Počti vs-ex poraz''ex* - *ad formam*

'Almost all (GEN.PL) r - *ad sensum*

(Šun'ga, Onežskij) (M - domain: subject-predicate

- **Condition: nominative marking**

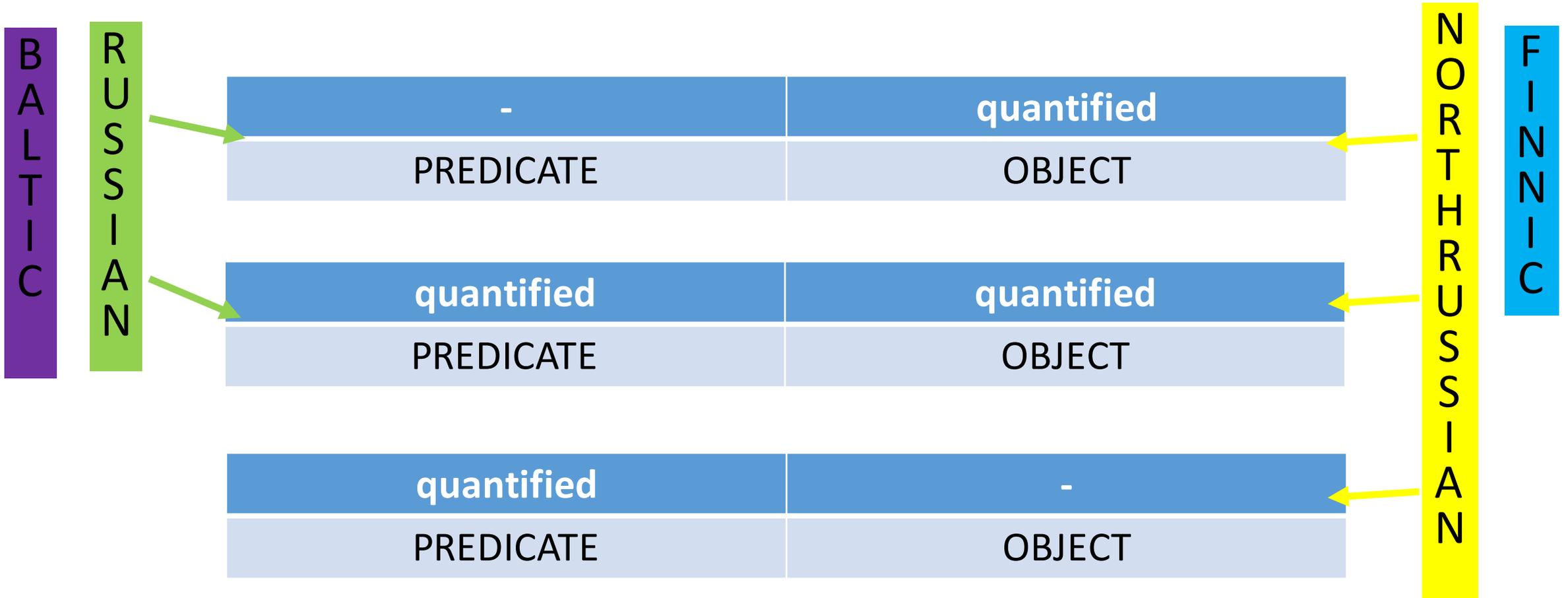
(14) *Sn-ov bud-ut*

'There will (PL) be dreams (GEN.PL)'.
(Šun'ga, Onežskij) (Markova 2008: 153)

Structure

1. Intro
2. The IPG and predicate quantification
3. Occasional, non-canonical agreement
- 4. Conclusions**

Conclusions / Quantifier Domains



Conclusions / Quantifier Functions

- Standard Russian (and Baltic) allow the predicate to be quantified by the IPG only under isomorphism (= more archaic);
- North Russian (and Finnic), in turn, allow the predicate to be quantified regardless of isomorphism.
- In contrast to Finnic, the IPG in (North) Russian has only arbitrarily *delimited* (non-cumulative) existential meaning (\approx 'some(what)') (cf. Padučeva 1998; Neidle 1988; Franks 1995; Seržant 2014a, 2014b)
- while Finnic may also have less specified, non-referential property-denoting meaning (Seržant 2015b).
- Consequently, the IPG in Russian (and Baltic) is compatible only with the perfective viewpoint as it entails an upper-bound limit (= 'to do something for a while and then stop').

Conclusions / Quantifier Functions

- The IPG quantifier needs a process (= state or activity) as its input to quantify over.
- With accomplishments this process is lexically available, i.e. the preparatory phase.
- With achievements (only transfer verbs) such a process is metonymically created by referring to the after-phase (i.e. the possession resulting from the transfer). It is the after-phase that is quantified over by the IPG here (Seržant 2014b).

Conclusions / Agreement

- Agreement is found only sporadically.
- The agreement is “almost canonical” in that it is both *ad formam* and *ad sensum* (cf. Corbett 2006).
- However, it violates the conditioning: only NOM subjects trigger agreement.
- This formal agreement is found also in Veps (Finnic) (Lytkin *et al.*, 1975: 108; Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 658).
- but also on the Internet from Finnish which is not grammatical for many speakers (Tuomas Huumo, p.c. in Toscana).

Conclusions / Agreement

- The appearance of the formal agreement is the end result of the process (cf. Seržant 2015a):

Head constituent + Dependent constituent  One constituent

- Cf. English:

a group of students IS

a number of students ARE

Thank you!

- Corbett, Greville 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge textbooks in linguistics. Cambridge, UK / New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Franks, Steven, 1995, *Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax), New York & Oxford.
- Gil, David. 1993. Nominal and verbal quantification, *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 46 (4): 275-317.
- Keenan, Edward L. & Denis Paperno. 2012. Overview. In Keenan, Edward L. and Denis Paperno (eds.), *Handbook of Quantifiers in Natural Language*, 941-950. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Löbner, Sebastian. 1985. Natürlichsprachliche Quantoren – Zur Verallgemeinerung des Begriffs der Quantifikation, *Studium Linguistik* 17/18: 79-113.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria & Bernhard Wälchli. 2001: *The Circum-Baltic languages: an areal-typological approach*. In Dahl, Östen and Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.), *Circum-Baltic Languages*, Volume 2, 615–750. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Löbner, Sebastian. 1985: Natürlichsprachliche Quantoren – Zur Verallgemeinerung des Begriffs der Quantifikation, *Studium Linguistik* 17/18: 79–113.
- Lopatina, L. E. 2000. Konstrukcii tipa rus. korova (korovu) podoeno, bel. gryby pazbirana, ukr. groši uzjato. In: Popova, T. V. (ed.), *Vostočnoslavjanskije izoglossy 3*, Moscow: Institut Russkogo Jazyka im. V. V. Vinogradova. 139-142.
- Meščerskij, N.A. (ed.), 1972, *Russkaja Dialektologija*, Moscow.
- Malyševa, A.V., 2008, “Tipy upotreblenija količestvennogo genetiva iščisljaemyx suščestvitel’nyx (na materiale sovremennyx arxangel’skix govorov i russkix letopisej),” *Materialy i issledovanija po rusškoj dialektologii* 3 (9), 5: *Grammatika*, ed. L.L. Kasatkin, Moscow, pp. 232–47.
- Markova, Nina, 1991, “Roditel’nyj padež sub”ekta v onežskix govorax,” *Sovremennye russkie govory*, ed. Ju.S. Azarx, Moscow, pp. 134–41.
- Markova, Nina, 2008, “Glagol’nye konstrukcii s roditel’nym padežom ob”ekta i sub”ekta v onežskix govorax,” *Severno-russkie govory* 9, pp. 146–55.
- Neidle, Carol, 1988, *The Role of Case in Russian Syntax* (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 10), Dordrecht.
- Paduceva, E.V., 1998> On the Non-compatibility of Partitive and Imperfective in Russian, *Theoretical Linguistics* 24 (1), pp. 73–82.
- Partee, Barbara H. 1995. Quantificational structures and compositionality. In Bach, Emmon, Eloise Jelinek, Angelika Kratzer and Barbara H. Partee (eds.), *Quantification in Natural Languages*, 541-601. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Partee, Barbara H., 2008, "Negation, Intensionality, and Aspect: Interaction with NP Semantics," *Theoretical and Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Semantics of Aspect* 110, ed. S. Rothstein, Amsterdam, pp. 291–317. Manuscript (final): <https://udrive.oit.umass.edu/partee/ParteeInPressNegIntensAsp.pdf>.

Selkirk, E.O. 1977: Some Remarks on Noun Phrase Structure. In: *Formal Syntax: Papers from the MSSB-UC Irvine Conference on the Formal Syntax of Natural Language, Newport Beach, California, June 9–11, 1976*, ed. P.W. Culicover, T. Wasow & A. Akmajian, New York, pp. 285–316.

Seržant, Ilja A. 2012b. Morphosyntactic properties of the partitive genitive in Ancient Greek, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 117: 187–204.

Seržant, Ilja A. 2013. The diachronic typology of non-canonical subjects. In Seržant, Ilja A. and Leonid Kulikov (eds.), *The Diachrony of Non-Canonical Subjects*, 313–360. slcs 140. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Seržant, Ilja A. 2014a. Denotational properties of the independent partitive genitive in Lithuanian. In Holvoet, Axel and Nicole Nau (eds.), *Grammatical Relations and their Non-Canonical Encoding in Baltic*, 257–299. [Valency, Argument Realization and Grammatical Relations in Baltic, 1]. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 417 The Independent Partitive as an Eastern Circum-Baltic isogloss

Seržant, Ilja A. 2014b. Independent (bare) partitive genitive in Russian and North Russian. In Seržant, Ilja A. and Björn Wiemer (eds.), *Contemporary Approaches to Dialectology: The area of North, Northwest Russian and Belarusian subdialects*, 270–329. Slavica Bergensia 13. Bergen: John Grieg AS.

Seržant, Ilja A. 2015a: An approach to syntactic reconstruction. In Vitti, Carlotta (ed.), *Perspectives on Historical Syntax*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 117-154.

Seržant, Ilja A. 2015b: Independent partitive as a Circum-Baltic isogloss, *Journal Language Contact* 8, 341-418.

Timberlake, Alan, 2004, *A Reference Grammar of Russian*, Cambridge.

Ustja Corpus 2013: Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina, Ruprecht von Waldenfels. The language of the Ustja river basin. A corpus of North Russian dialectal speech. 2013. Bern, Moscow. Electronic resource, available at: <http://parasol.unibe.ch/Pushkin>.