Areal aspects of partitives

Silvia Luraghi, University of Pavia

(Joint work with Merlijn De Smit, Stockholm)
Areal aspects of partitives

Structure of the presentation:
- Partitive: a case that is not a case
- Partitives in Finnic and Balto-Slavic
- Partitive genitive in Greek, Avestan, Vedic
- Possible partitives in Siberian languages
- Ablative objects in Uralic languages
- Partitives in Basque
- Partitive determiners in medieval Romance
- Conclusion: areal contact and the rise of the partitive case
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A case that is not a case

Finnish

1) \( Aino \quad sö-\dot{i} \quad leivä-n \)
\( \text{Aino eat-PST.3SG bread-ACC} \)
'Aino ate the (whole) bread.'

2) \( Aino \quad sö-\dot{i} \quad leipä-ä \)
\( \text{Aino eat-PST.3SG bread-PAR} \)
'Aino ate (some of the) bread.'

Often discussed as an instance of DOM,
disregarding co-occurring DSM (which involves the same ‘case’)}
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Finnish

3) naise-\textit{t}  \textit{tul-i-vat} \textit{kotiin}
woman-PL come-PST-3PL home:ILL
'The women came home.'

4) nais-i-\textit{a} \textit{tul-i} \textit{kotiin}
woman-PL-PAR come-PST.3SG home:ILL
'Some (of the) women came home.'
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Typical function of morphological case: “marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads” (Blake 1994: 1) Moravcsik (1978: 727): the marking difference brought about by the partitive “does not correlate with any difference in semantic case function” → partitive cases do not share the distribution of other case marking devices.

Quantifying function of the partitive: “the function of a partitive comes close to the function of number, rather than to the function of case: the partitive denotes a quantity (‘some’), and not a relation of an NP with some other constituent in the sentence.” (Luraghi 2003: 61)
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Terminology
‘Quantifying’ partitive cases/determiners NOT to be confused with partitive constructions!

- Partitive constructions:
  Some of the/that (specific, previously identified) bread

- Pseudopartitive:
  A loaf of water

- ‘Quantifying’ partitive markers:
  I’d like some bread (non-specific or previously identified)

- ‘Quantifying’ partitive may originate out of partitive constructions, but they develop an indefinite meaning which is not proper of partitive constructions
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Quantifying partitive cases in Uralic
- Balto-Finnish: Finnish, Estonian, Veps
- Finno-Volgaic: Mordvin → Subject only with quantifiers.

Kiparsky (1998): “unlike the Finnish partitive, which is syntactically a structural case, the Mordvinian partitive and inessive are syntactically inherent (lexical, oblique) cases ... The first stage in the evolution of the Balto-Finnic aspectual partitive object was the partitive’s change in status from a strictly locative (“from”) case to case with quantificational force”
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IE parallel: the partitive genitive

Russian

5) \(Ja\) \(vypil\) \(vody\)

1sg drink:pst.pfv.m.sg water:gen

'I drank (some) water.'

6) \(Nočju\) \(snega\) \(navalilo!\)

night:ins snow:(m).sg.gen piled.up:n

'During the night, there fell piles of snow!'
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IE parallel: the partitive genitive

Baltic - Latvian
7) zooloģiskajā darzā nebija lauvu
zoo:(m).sg.loc lion:gen.pl not be.3sg
'lThere were no lions in the zoo'

Baltic - Lithuanian
8) radau svečių
meet:ipf.1sg visitor:gen.pl
'I met some visitors'
9) geriu vandens
drink:1sg water:(m).gen.sg
'I drink some water'
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Origin of the Balto-Finnic partitive case

Uralic ablative case ending *-tA (Wickman 1955: 27; Bjarnadóttir & De Smit 2013), possibly also cognate of plural object case, Proto-Saami *-dē

when the ablative became grammaticalized as partitive it lost its local function. The present elative and ablative cases are formed by compound endings -s-ta and -l-ta (Abondolo 1998: 167)
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The Balto-Slavic genitive:

In Balto-Slavic the PIE genitive merged with the PIE ablative. The Balto-Slavic ending of the thematic inflection continues the PIE ablative ending.

Possible contact: in which language family did the quantifying partitive (or genitive) arise first?
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The Ancient Greek partitive genitive

10) óphra píoi oínoio
for drink:3sg.opt wine:gen
'in order to drink some wine' (Od. 22.11);

11) pîné te oînon
drink:impt.2sg ptc wine:acc
'Drink the wine!' (Hom. Od. 15.391)

12) epeî k’ olooîo tetarpómestha góoio
when ptc dire:gen.m enjoy:pf.m/p.1pl groan:gen.m
'when we have taken our fill of dire lamenting' (Il. 23.10);

13) philótēti trapeíomen
love:dat enjoy:aor.mid.1pl
'We take our joy together in love.' (Hom. Il. 3.441).
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14) \( eisì \)  \( gàr \)  \( autôn \)  \( kài \)  \( parà basiléi \)

be:pres.3pl ptc dem.gen.pl and by king:dat
\( tôn \)  \( Perséon \)
art.gen.pl.m Persian:gen.pl.m
'there are (some) of these (sc. ants) even by the king of the Persians' (Hdt. 3.102.2);

15) \( pínein \)  \( te \)  \( kài \)  \( eupathéein, ouste hēmerēs ouste \)

drink:inf ptcand enjoy:inf neg day:gen neg
\( nuktós anienta \)
night:gen let.go:part.prs.acc
'and would drink and enjoy himself, not letting up day or night,'
(Hdt. 2.133.4):
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16) \( \text{è halòs} \quad \text{è epi gês} \)

or \( \text{sea:gen or on land:gen} \)

'either at sea or on land'\((Od. \ 12.26-27)\)
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Avestan - Subject
17)  uruuaranqm  zairi.gaonanqm  zaramaēm  paiti  zəmādəa  
    plants:gen  yellow.colored:gen  spring:acc  again  earth:abl  
    uzuxšieiti  
    grow.forth:prs.3.sg  
    'Yellow-colored plants grow forth again across the earth in the 
    spring.' (Avestan, Yašt 7.4)

Vedic Sanskrit - Direct object
18)  pácanti  te  vṛṣabhamā  ātsi  téšām  
    cook:prs.3pl  2sg.dat  bulls:acc  eat:prs.3sg  3pl.m.gen  
    'They cook bulls for you, you eat (some) of them.' (Vedic Sanskrit, 
    Rigveda X 28.3)
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- The quantifying function of the partitive genitive was inherited in IE languages
- In Ancient Greek, it extended to all syntactic functions (except for third argument of verbs of transfer)
- In languages in which the ablative did not merge with the genitive the quantifying function was a feature of the genitive (not of the ablative)
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Trademark of the partitive genitive:

Not connected with a specific grammatical relation/syntactic function and not even a specific semantic role → it is not correct to describe the partitive genitive as the case of ‘a partially affected patient’ (cf. Blake 2001: 151), as it can also encode indefinite subjects and some types of adverbials (in IE languages, typically time and place).
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Similar developments of case marking in Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolian, Yukaghir?

- Pakendorf (2007: 157) “the grammaticalization of ablatives to partitives is cross-linguistically common”
- all possible candidates only mark direct objects

The Partitive in Sakha and Dolgan developed out of the Common Turkic Locative case in -DA (Stachowski & Menz 1998, Tenišev 2002). This had both locative and ablative meanings in earlier Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 173, 174f), and it is suggested that the Partitive developed from such an ablative meaning of the Locative, e.g. ‘from the water’ > ‘some water’ (Poppe 1959: 681). However, it is believed that the shift in meaning in Sakha was enabled by Evenki influence (Poppe 1959: 681; Ubrjatova 1985: 118; Artem’ev 1999b: 105, 106).
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DOM in Sakha

19) emie eji:y K. xaččĩ-ta
also older.sister K. money-part

ięttĩn die-n Joku:skay-ttan huruy-ar
send-imp.3sg say-pf.cvb Yakutsk-abl write-prspt

'She also wrote from Yakutsk: “Let aunt K. send (some) money.”'

20) mixxe at-ta tut-an bier
1sg.dat horse-part hold-pf.cvb BEN[PRXIMP.2SG]

'Catch me a horse.'
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- the so-called Saha partitive can also indicate indefinite singular count nouns

- the Sakha and Dolgan partitive appears to be primarily a marker for indefinite, nor for partial or open-quantity objects.
- It only functions for direct objects, i.e. it is connected to a specific grammatical relation
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Partitive in Tofa?

Like Sakha, Tofa has a Partitive case that is used to mark partially affected mass nouns in direct object position in the Imperative mood, e.g. sug-da hal [water-PART bring[IMP.2SG]] ‘bring (some) water!’, šey-da iši-vit [tea-PART drink-RES[IMP.2SG]] ‘drink some tea!’, cf. šey-ni iši-vit [tea-ACC drink-RES[IMP.2SG]] ‘drink (all) the tea!’ (Rassadin 1978: 40). However, there is a difference between the Tofa and the Sakha Partitive cases in that the former can express only partitive meanings, that is, it marks only partially affected mass nouns in direct object positions. The function of marking indefinite direct objects, which the Partitive additionally has in Sakha, is not fulfilled by the Tofa Partitive.
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Sakha and Tofa - Diachrony

the Partitive case endings in Sakha and Tofa are cognate, with the archiphonemic form -TA/-DA. This is cognate to the Common Turkic Locative case. **Tofa still has the Common Turkic Locative case, marked by the suffix -DA;** this expresses location in place or time, e.g. o taš-ta oluru [3SG stone-LOC sit.PRS] ‘he is sitting on a stone’; ol hire-de ög-de kum ta yok bol-gan [that time-LOC house-LOC who PTL nonexistence AUX-PSTPT] ‘at that time nobody was home’ (Rassadin 1978: 39). **In Sakha, however, the Common Turkic Locative case has been lost, with the Dative taking over locative functions.**
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Partitive ablatives: The ablative can be used sporadically as a partitive direct object.

Mongolian

21) ene cayn-a:s u:-ž xo:ln-o:s id-e:rey
   this tea-abl drink-ipf.cvb food-abl eat-prescr
   'Please drink some of this tea and eat some of this food.'

Cf. Turkish

22) Ali şarap-tan iç-ti
   Ali wine-abl drink-past
   'Ali drank (an unspecified amount of the) wine.'
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Kolyma Yukaghir may use the ablative to mark partially affected objects (Maslova 2003a: 119), though this is rare (Pakendorf 2007: 152):

(23)  \textit{met-in}  \textit{tet}  \textit{čolhorō-get}  \textit{qarte-k}
     \begin{tabular}{lll}
     l-dat & your & hare-abl & share-IMP.2SG
     \end{tabular}
     \begin{tabular}{l}
     'Share some of your hare with me.' (Maslova 2003a: 119).
     \end{tabular}

Tundra Yukaghir uses the ablative to mark non-specific indefinites in imperative sentences, similarly to Sakha (Maslova 2003b: 60):

(24)  \textit{met-in´}  \textit{øl’d’e-hat}  \textit{kī-ŋi-k}
     \begin{tabular}{llll}
     l-dat & boat-abl & give-pl-imp.2
     \end{tabular}
     \begin{tabular}{l}
     'Give me any boat.'
     \end{tabular}
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DOM in Evenki

(25)  
oron-mo  java-kal  
reindeer-def.acc  take-prs.imp.2sg  
'catch that reindeer.'

(26)  
oron-o  java-kal  
reindeer-indef.acc  take-prs.imp.2sg  
'catch yourself a/any reindeer.'

(27)  
min-du  ulle-ye  kolobo-yo  by:-kel  
1sg-dat  meat-indef.acc  bread-indef.acc  give-imp.prs.2sg  
'Give me (some) meat and (some) bread.'

28)  
d’av-ja-tyn  o:d’ara-s  
boat-indef.acc-3pl-poss  make-fut-2pl  
'You will make a boat for them.'

29)  
Bi girki-l-du-n  d’u-va  o:d’a-m  
1 friend-pl-dat-3sgposs  house-def.acc  make-fut.1sg  
‘I will make a house for their friends.’
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The Definite Accusative case is the predominant way to mark direct objects, while the Indefinite Accusative is used only to mark clearly indefinite direct objects, objects that have not been made yet, and partially affected mass nouns.

**Definite accusative:** all tenses/moods/aspects, definite and indefinite objects

**Indefinite accusative:** optional and limited to the Future Indicative, Imperative mood, and with habitual verbs

*Definite Accusative case* = the default case for marking direct objects

*Indefinite Accusative case* = used only when the speaker wants to emphasize the indefinite or non-referential nature of the direct object
Summary:

- So-called partitive cases in the languages reviewed only mark direct objects.
- In some languages they cannot even be called partitives, as they can also mark indefinite singular count nouns.
- In all cases, case alternation must better be described in terms of DOM, and it does not also correspond to DSM in the same languages.
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Other partitive cases in Uralic?

Saami

Saami does not have partitive subjects or objects: Uralic ablative *-tA lies at the basis of the Saami plural accusative *-i-tA. East Saami languages have retained a partitive (comparative constructions, certain quantifiers and numerals, adpositions (Feist 2010: 223)).

Earliest surviving texts from South Saami (17th century):
partitive objects with certain atelic verbs like 'seek', 'follow', etc. (Korhonen 1981: 216). South Saami also: DOM with plural objects, partially definiteness- and partially quantity-based.

Plural objects unmarked if they are indefinite or of closed quantity, but marked with the plural accusative (*-i-tA) if definite or if affected in an incremental, one-by-one manner (Magga and Magga 2012: 185-186, Korhonen 1981: 216).
Other partitive cases in Uralic?

DOM in South Saami

30) $maan-i-de$ $gujht$ $damte-m$
child-pl-acc surely know-1SG
'I surely know the children.'

31) $dejtie$ $måaro-j-de$ $veelt-i$ $akti$ $akti$
that.acc.pl bone-pl-acc take-ipf.3sg one one
'He took those bones one by one.'

32) $dah$ $maana-h$ $utnie-h$
they child-nom.pl have-3pl
'they have children.'

33) $gaameg-h$ $noelede-m$
shoe-nom.pl take off-1SG
'I take my shoes off.'
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Ablative object in Mansi

In West Mansi dialects, a case based on the Ugric ablative *-nāl (unrelated to Uralic *-tA) is used as an object case marker -n, -nV. Partial ablative objects occur in other Mansi dialects (Liimola 1963: 43-44). Grammaticalization of the ablative as an object case may have been preceded by its usage as a partial object marker (Liimola 1963: 44).

Tavda Mansi

34)  nǐβäämp  küntašaaləmtkar- nâl  ĕnalânt-s
    she-dog.nom  overboiled- abl  lick-3sg

'The she-dog licked overboiled (liquid)'

Konda Mansi

35)  tîtə  xuł- nəl  peetx  kō`ærx
    these  fish- abl  boil  must

'These fish should be boiled'
Mordvin

In Erzya and Mokša, “partitive occurs on indefinite bare plural or mass noun objects of a small class of verbs, most commonly “eat”, “drink”, and “smoke”, less often transfer verbs like “give”, “bring”, “take”, and “steal”.” It does not indicate imperfective aspect (this is indicated by the inessive case on the direct object, see Kipasky 1998, Grünthal 2007), but it marks the object of some low transitivity verbs (perception and emotion, such as 'fear' and 'see' Itkonen 1972: 170-171)

Erzya

36) śimś  vina-do / śimś  vina-do-ńt́

drink-pst.3sg liquor-abl  drink-pst.3sg liquor-abl-def

'He drank some liquor / he drank some of that liquor'
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“Although the Erzya -de, -do and Moksha -da are misleadingly labelled as ablative (or separative), it is primarily the case of object in Erzya … and frequently the case of object in Moksha, as well.” In addition, the partitive occurs after numerals and to indicate material (Zaicz 1998: 209)

Mordvin languages have a distinct definite/indefinite declension for nouns → the indefinite function of the partitive appears to be an inherited feature, but does not undergo an extension comparable to Balto-Finnic.
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Summary on Uralic languages

- Proto-Uralic ablative → partitivity-based DOM
- When it became grammaticalized as an object case, the ablative lost any local function
- It remains variously connected with the direct object function
- Extension to DSM typical of Balto-Finnic
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The Basque partitive determiner

...in almost all of its occurrences ... the partitive ending -(r)ik does not act like a case-marker. Given that it attaches only to absolutive noun phrases, considering it a case-marker would force us to give up the generalization that the absolutive case in Basque is invariably marked by zero. Fortunately, there is no need to do this, since the partitive morpheme as used here has all the characteristics of a determiner rather than a case-marker. Syntactically it is a determiner in that it operates like an article on a par with -a, -ok, bat and balifl, with which it is incompatible. Its semantic import, moreover, is clearly that of a determiner: it serves to indicate that the noun phrase is construed as indefinite, or more precisely, that its reference is non-specific.

(De Rijk 1998)
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Basque - The partitive as a case

37)  ETArik ez balego
     ETA:part neg if.be:3sg.irr
     ‘If there were not ETA’ (emphatic)

(Joxe Azurmendi, *Euskal Herria krisian*, 1999)

‘If there were neither ETA nor any other armed organization [like ETA]’ (Aritzimuño 2014)

38)  gizon onik bada Euskal Herrian
     man good:pl.part yes.is Basque contry:loc
     'There are good men in the Basque Country'
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Ablative meaning

etxerik etxe 'from house to house'
herririk herri 'from village to village, from town to town'
hiririk hirri 'from city to city'
kalerik kale 'from street to street'
mendirik mendi 'from mountain to mountain'
oherik ohe 'from bed to bed'

39) Jostailurik politena nik ekarri dut gaur.
toy:part nicest I:erg bring aux today
'I brought the nicest toy today.'
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Quantifiers

40) \(\text{Beste penarik ez daukat ezer}\) (Basarri, in Uztapide, \textit{Noizb}.
64) 'Of other sorrows I have nothing'

41) \(\text{Beretzat ez zegoen beste gizonik inor}\) (Agirre, \textit{Kres}. 190)
   'For her there was no other man'

42) \(\text{Lehengo idazle zaharren kartarik gutxi dugu}\) (Etxaniz, \textit{Nola}
41) 'We have few letters of the ancient writers of the past'

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Basque - Partitive article
Etxeberria (2014), “[t]he partitive marker can be argued to be the negative form of the existential interpretation (in absolutive case) of the Basque definite article (D) [-a(k)]”.

43) Amaiak  goxokiak jan ditu.  [\sqrt{\text{definite} / \text{existential}]  
   Amaia:erg candy:def.pl eat  aux  
   ’Amaia has eaten (the) candies’

44) Amaiak  ez ditu goxokiak jan  [\sqrt{\text{definite} / \text{existential}]  
   Amaia:erg neg aux candy:def.pl eat  
   ’Amaia has not eaten the candies’

45) Amaiak  ez du goxokirik jan  [*\text{definite} / \text{existential}]  
   Amaia:erg neg aux candy:prtv eat  
   ’Amaia has not eaten any candy’
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The partitive is used under negation with the object of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitives.

It can occur in yes/no questions:

46) *Ba al da euskal musikarik?* (MEIG I, 55)
    'Is there Basque music?'
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Old Basque
(non-assertive modality)

47) Artalastoa agin egizu ni-k ahal dagidan
   corn.silk:det order aux.imp.2sg 1sg.erg can do:1sg.3sg.sbjv
gauza.rik
thing.part

'Order a corn silk so I can do something.';

48) Dama-rik dakus-en-ean (corrected from <dama bat dakusenean)
lady:part (s)he.sees:comp.loc

'When (s)he sees a lady...'

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**Basque:**
Diachronic and diatopic variation of the ablative-partitive suffix(es) (from Aritzimuño 2014)

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<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Partitive</th>
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<td>Singular</td>
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<td>west.</td>
<td>-(r)ik</td>
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From partitive construction to partitive article

49)  et  misit    ad agricolas    in tempore    servum
     and send:pf.3sg to  peasant:acc.pl in time:abl  servant:acc
     ut  ab  agricolis  acciperet  de
     for from peasant:abl.pl  collect:subj.impf.3sg from
     fructu    vineae
     fruit:abl vineyard:gen

'At harvest time he sent a servant to the tenants to collect from them some
of the fruit of the vineyard.',  Mark 12,2

50)  dicit  eis  Iesus  adferite  de
     say:prs.3sg  3.dat.pl Jesus:nom  bring:imper.prs.3pl from
     piscibus    quos    prendidistis    nunc
     fish:abl.pl  rel.acc.pl  catch:pf.2pl  now

'Jesus said to them, ‘Bring some of the fish you have just caught!’  John
21,10
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Medieval Romance varieties

51)  \( \text{Cogió del agua en él} \)
     take:pst.3sg of.def.art.f.sg water:sg[\text{f}] in 3sg.m
     \( e a sus \ primas \ dio \)
     and to poss.3pl cousins:pl[\text{f}] give.pst

'He took some water into it [his hat] and gave (it) to his cousins'
(Old Spanish, end 12th cent., \textit{Cid} 1281)

52)  \( \text{Blancandrins fut des plus} \)
     B.nom[m] be:pst.3sg of.def.art.pl most
     \textit{saives paiens}

'Blancadrin was among the most wise heathens'
(Old French, \textit{Roland}, 1100, v. 24)
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53) Et le lendemain le fault tresbien
and the following.day 3sg.acc.m must:prs.3sg very.well
ondre avecques du savon
rub:inf with of.def.art.m.sg soap:sg[m]

'And the following day, you have to rub him very well with soap' (Old French transl. of Albertus Magnus, De falconibus, BNF ms. fr. 1304, 16th cent.)

→ à de no longer shares the distribution of other prepositions
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Contextually defined and concrete partition object
Unspecified quantity

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Unspecified quantity
Not univocally identifiable by the addressee

i. The notion of partition set fades away.
ii. The notion of a non-specified quantity remains.
iii. The partitive article acquires the new property of marking indefiniteness.
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Areal effects

- The Uralic ablative which had started grammaticalizing for partitivity-marked DOM acquired a quantifying function disconnected from a specific grammatical relation in Balto-Finnic under the influence of the Balto-Slavic partitive genitive.
- The Basque ablative acquired a partitive function and developed into a partitive determiner under the influence of Romance varieties.
- The peculiar distribution of partitive markers (independent of grammatical relations) is typical of these two areas.