

# Areal aspects of partitives

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*(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

## Areal aspects of partitives

### A case that is not a case

Finnish

- |    |                                 |             |             |                |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1) | <i>Aino</i>                     | <i>sö-i</i> |             | <i>leivä-n</i> |
|    | Aino                            |             | eat-PST.3SG | bread-ACC      |
|    | 'Aino ate the (whole) bread.'   |             |             |                |
| 2) | <i>Aino</i>                     | <i>sö-i</i> |             | <i>leipä-ä</i> |
|    | 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')

## Areal aspects of partitives

Finnish

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

4)      *nais-i-a*                                      *tul-i*                                      *kotiin*  
 woman-PL-PAR                      come-PST.3SG                      home:ILL  
 'Some (of the) women came home.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

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)

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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:

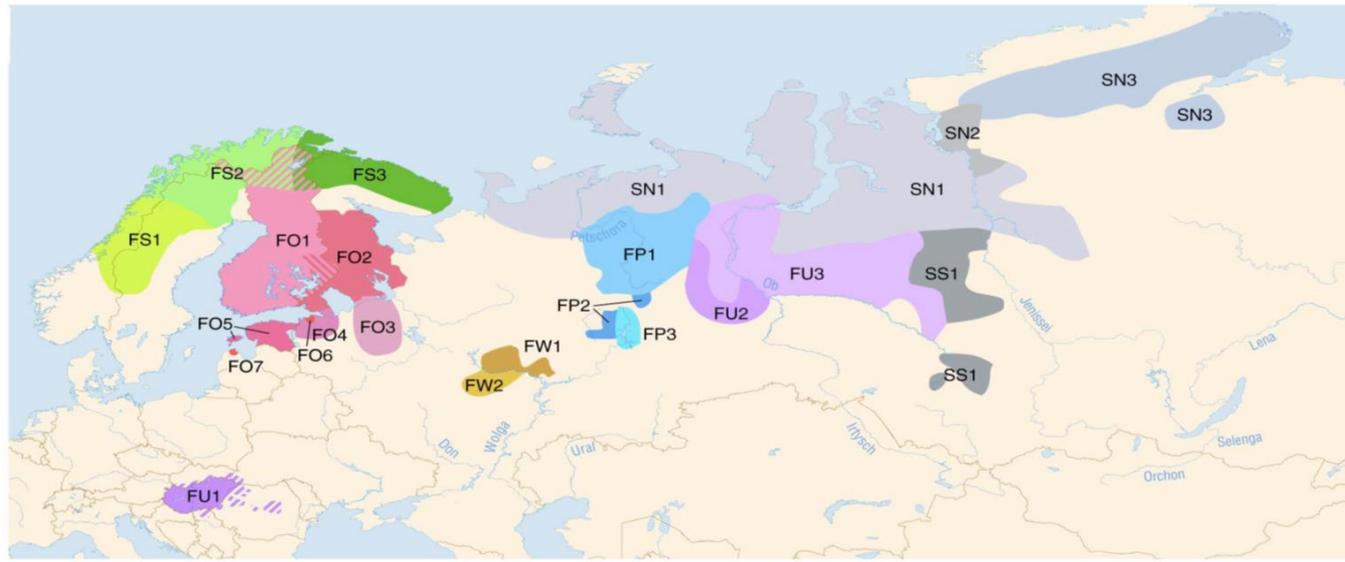
*I’d like some bread (non-specific or previously identified)*

▫ ‘Quantifying’ partitive may originate out of partitive constructions, but they develop an indefinite meaning which is not proper of partitive constructions

# Areal aspects of partitives

## URALIC LANGUAGES

F Finno-Ugric			S Samoyedic		
<b>FO</b> Baltic-Finnic	<b>FS</b> Sami languages	<b>FP</b> Finno-Permic	<b>SN</b> Northern Samoyedic		
FO1 Finnish	FS1 Western Sami	FP1 Komi-Zyrian	SN1 Nenets		
FO2 Karelian	FS2 Central Sami	FP2 Komi-Permyak	SN2 Enets		
FO3 Veps	FS3 Eastern Sami	FP3 Udmurt	SN3 Nganasan		
FO4 Ingrian	<b>FU</b> Ugric	<b>FW</b> Finno-Volgaic	<b>SS</b> Southern Samoyedic		
FO5 Estonian	FU1 Hungarian	FW1 Mari	SS1 Selkup		
FO6 Votic	FU2 Mansi	FW2 Mordvinic			
FO7 Livonian	FU3 Khanty				



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## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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”



## Areal aspects of partitives

IE parallel: the partitive genitive

Baltic - Latvian

- 7) *zooloģiskajā darzā nebija lauvu*  
 zoo:(m).sg.loc                      not be.3sg  
 lion:gen.pl  
 'There 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'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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

o Finnish, Estonian --> when the ablative became grammaticalized as partitive it lost its local function. The present relative and ablative cases are formed by compound endings -s-ta and -l-ta (Abondolo 1998: 167)

## Areal aspects of partitives

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?

## Areal aspects of partitives

### The Ancient Greek partitive genitive

- 10) *óphra*                      *πίοι*                                      *οίνοιο*  
 for                                      drink:3sg.opt                                      wine:gen  
 'in order to drink some wine' (*Od.* 22.11);
- 11) *πίνε*                                      *τε*                      *οἶνον*  
 drink:impt.2sg      ptc                      wine:acc  
 'Drink the wine!' (Hom. *Od.* 15.391)
- 12) *επεῑ κ' ολοοῖο*                      *tetarpómestha*                      *γόοιο*  
 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) *φιλότητι*                                      *τραπέιομεν*  
 love:dat                                      enjoy:aor.mid.1pl  
 'We take our joy together in love.' (Hom. *Il.* 3.441).

## Areal aspects of partitives

- 14) *eisì*            *gàr autôn*        *kai 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 kai eupathéein, oute hēmerēs oute*  
 drink:inf ptcand enjoy:inf neg day:gen neg  
*nuktós aníenta*  
 night:gen let.go:part.prs.acc

'and would drink and enjoy himself, not letting up day or night,'  
 (Hdt. 2.133.4):

## Areal aspects of partitives

- 16) *è halòs è epì gês*  
or sea:gen or on land:gen  
'either at sea or on land'(Od. 12.26-27)

## Areal aspects of partitives

Avestan - Subject

- 17) *uruaranəm zairi.gaonanəm zaramaēm paiti zəmāḍa*  
 plants:gen yellow.colored:gen spring:acc again earth:abl  
*uzuxšiiēiti*  
 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 vṛṣabhām̐ átsi téṣām*  
 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)

## Areal aspects of partitives

- ◉ 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)

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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).

## Areal aspects of partitives

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).

## Areal aspects of partitives

### DOM in Sakha

- 19) *emie*    *eji:y*                      *K. xaččī-ta*  
 also        older.sister                      K.            money-part
- ī:ttin 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) *miexe*    *at-ta*            *tut-an*                      *bier*  
 1sg.dat    horse-part    hold-pf.cvb                      BEN[PRXIMP.2SG]  
 'Catch me a horse.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

→ 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, not for partial or open-quantity objects.
- ◉ It only functions for direct objects, i.e. it is connected to a specific grammatical relation

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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.

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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.**

## Areal aspects of partitives

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.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

Kolyma Yukaghir may use the ablative to mark partially affected objects (Maslova 2003a: 119), though this is rare (Pakendorf 2007: 152):

- (23)     *met-in*   *tet*            *čolhoro-get*                            *qarte-k*  
           I-dat     your            hare-abl                                 share-IMP.2SG  
 'Share some of your hare with me.' (Maslova 2003a: 119).

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

- (24)     *met-in* ´                    *əl'd'e-hat*                            *kī-ŋi-k*  
           I-dat                         boat-abl                                 give-pl-imp.2  
 'Give me any boat.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

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*  
 I friend-pl-dat-3sgposs     house-**def.acc**     make-fut.1sg  
 'I will make a house for their friends.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

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

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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.

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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).

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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*                      *noeledem*  
           shoe-nom.pl                      take off-1SG  
 'I take my shoes off.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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)      *nīβäämp*                      *küntašaaλəmkar-nāl*                      *ńaλànt-s*  
             she-dog.nom                      overboiled-abl                      lick-3sg  
             'The she-dog licked overboiled (liquid)'

#### Konda Mansi

- 35)      *tittə*      *xùl-nəl*      *peetx*      *kö`ärx*  
             these      fish-abl      boil      must  
             'These fish should be boiled'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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) *šimś*                      *vina-do*                      /                      *šimś*                      *vina-do-ńt´*  
 drink-pst.3sg liquor-**abl**                      drink-pst.3sg                      liquor-**abl-def**  
 'He drank some liquor / he drank some of that liquor'

## Areal aspects of partitives

“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.

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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

## Areal aspects of partitives



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## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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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## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### Ablative meaning

<i>etxerik etxe</i>	'from house to house'
<i>herririk herri</i>	'from village to village, from town to town'
<i>hiririk hirri</i>	'from city to city'
<i>kalerik kale</i>	'from street to street'
<i>mendirik mendi</i>	'from mountain to mountain'
<i>oherik ohe</i>	'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.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### Quantifiers

40) *Beste penarik ez daukat ezer* (Basarri, in Uztapide, Noizb.

64) 'Of other sorrows I have nothing'

41) *Beretzat ez zegoen beste gizonik inor* (Agirre, Kres. 190)

'For her there was no other man'

42) *Lehengo idazle zaharren kartarik gutxi dugu* (Etxaniz, Nola

41) 'We have few letters of the ancient writers of the past'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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.* [√definite / existential]

Amaia:erg candy:def.pl eat aux

'Amaia has eaten (the) candies'

44) *Amaiak ez ditu goxokiak jan* [√definite / existential]

Amaia:erg neg aux candy:def.pl eat

'Amaia has not eaten the candies'

45) *Amaiak ez du goxokirik jan* [\*definite / existential]

Amaia:erg neg aux candy:prtv eat

'Amaia has not eaten any candy.'

## Areal aspects of partitives

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?'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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...'

## Areal aspects of partitives

### *Basque:*

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

		<i>Ablative</i>			<i>Partitive</i>
		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	
<i>16th c.</i>	<i>west.</i>	<b>-(r)ik</b>	<i>-eta-rik</i>	<i>-ta-rik</i>	<b>-(r)ik</b>
	<i>east.</i>	<b>-tik</b>	<i>-eta-rik</i>	<i>-ta-rik</i>	
<i>Modern</i>	<i>west.</i>	<b>-tik</b>	<i>-eta-tik</i>	<i>-ta-tik</i>	
	<i>east.</i>	<b>-tik</b>	<i>-eta-rik</i>	<i>-ta-rik</i>	

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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 adferte 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](#)

## Areal aspects of partitives

### Medieval Romance varieties

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

'He took some water into it [his hat] and gave (it) to his cousins'  
 (Old Spanish, end 12<sup>th</sup> cent., *Cid* 1281)

- 52) *Blancandrins fut des plus*  
 B.nom[m] be:pst.3sg of.def.art.pl most  
 wise:pl heathen:pl  
*saives paiens*

'Blancadrin was among the most wise heathens'  
 (Old French, *Roland*, 1100, v. 24)

## Areal aspects of partitives

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

## Areal aspects of partitives

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.

## Areal aspects of partitives

### 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.