Agreement Partitives
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Dimensions of Partitivity in Icelandic (and beyond)

*Methods for approaching variation: partitives and beyond*
*Károli Gáspár University, Budapest, Sept 15-17, 2022*

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September 16, 2022
Point of Departure: Agreement vs. Dependency

(1) a. marg-ar bækur-nar
    [many-STR books-DEF]-FEM.PL.NOM/ACC
    $\rightarrow$ full agreement in case, number and gender ("many books-the")

"many of the books"

$\Rightarrow$ Agreement construction: strongly inflected item + definite noun & partitive "effect"
(e.g. Delsing 1993; Sigurðsson 1993, 2006; Pfaff 2015, 2017)

STR: strong adjectival inflection
DEF: suffixed definite article
Point of Departure: Agreement vs. Dependency

(2) a. marg-ar bækur-nar
    [many-STR books-DEF]-FEM.PL.NOM/ACC
    → full agreement in case, number and gender (“many books-the”)

b. marg-ar bóka-nna
    [many-STR.FEM.PL.NOM/ACC [books-DEF]-FEM.PL.GEN]
    → head noun is marked genitive

c. marg-ar af bóku-num
    [many-STR.FEM.PL.NOM/ACC of [books-DEF]-FEM.PL.DAT]
    → head noun is embedded under (functional) preposition

“many of the books”

⇒ Agreement construction: strongly inflected item + definite noun & partitive "effect"
   (e.g. Delsing 1993; Sigurðsson 1993, 2006; Pfaff 2015, 2017)

STR: strong adjectival inflection
DEF: suffixed definite article
A pervasive pattern

- existential quantifiers can occur in all three above constructions:
  
  (3)  
  a. einhverjar / nokkrar / sumar bækur-nar  
      some / some / some books-DEF  
  b. einhverjar / nokkrar / sumar bóka-nna  
      some / some / some [books-DEF]-GEN  
  c. einhverjar / nokkrar / sumar af bóku-num  
      some / some / some of [books-DEF]-DAT  
      “some of the books”

- universal quantifiers can only occur in the agreement construction:
  
  (4)  
  a. allar / báðar bækur-nar  
      all / both books-DEF  
  b. *allar / báðar bóka-nna  
      all / both [books-DEF]-GEN  
  c. *allar / báðar af bóku-num  
      all / both of [books-DEF]-DAT  
      “all / both (of) the books”

⇒ violation of Proper Partitivility (cf. Jackendoff 1977; Falco and Zamparelli 2019)
Some more agreement constructions

(5) “dual quantifiers”
   (‘___ out of two’)
   a. anna-r / hin-n strákur-inn
      the.one-MASC.SG.NOM / the.other-MASC.SG.NOM boy-DEF
      “(the) one boy (out of the two) — the other boy (out of the two)”
   b. hvor strákur-inn
      which/each.MASC.SG.NOM boy-DEF
      “which/each boy (out of the two)”
   c. hvorug-ur strákur-inn
      neither-MASC.SG.NOM boy-DEF
      “neither boy (= none out of the two boys)”

(6) “Positional predicates”
    (temporal/spatial part-whole relation; Pfaff 2015, 2017, 2021)
   a. í mið-ri borg-inni / þessari borg
      in middle-STR.FEM.SG.DAT city-DEF.DAT / this.FEM.SG.DAT city
      “in the middle (part) of the / this city”
   b. á norðanverð-u nesi-nu
      on northward-STR.NEUT.SG.DAT peninsula-DEF.DAT
      “in the northern part of the peninsula”
   c. á öndverð-ri öld-inni
      on former-STR.FEM.SG.DAT century-DEF.DAT
      “in the beginning/former part of the century”
much isn’t necessarily the singular of many

⇒ agreement construction not possible with mass (pseudo-partitive instead)

(7) a. *mikið (**margt) vín-ið / cf. mikið (*margt) af víni (-nu)
   much many.SG wine-DEF / much many.SG of wine.DAT (–DEF)
   (intended “much of the wine”) “much/a lot of (the) wine”
   b. mörg (*mikil) vín-in
   many much.PL wines-DEF
   “many of the wines (= sorts of wine)”

⇒ Nonetheless, the agreement construction with “many” is found in the singular:

(8) a. marg-ur nemandi-nn
   many-STR.SG student-DEF
   “many a student” ∼ Germ: “mancher/manch ein Student”
   b. í þeim efnahagssveiflum var mörg-u fyrirtæki-nu fórnað
   in those economic fluctuations was many-STR.SG company-DEF sacrificed
   “During those economic fluctuations, many (of the) companies were sacrificed”

⇒ Singular form – implicit plural reference

margur, mörg, margt (sg.); margir, margar, mörg (pl.):
   “many” (with +count)
   mikill, mikil, mikið (sg); miklir, miklar, mikil (pl):
   “great; much” (with –count)
Numerals

- Numerals are prenominal, but follow the definite article (cardinal reading!):

  (9) a. (þessar) tvær bækur
      (these) two books
      “(these) two books’

  b. bækur-nar tvær
      books-DEF two
      “the two books”

- The deviant (“ungrammatical!”) ordering has a partitive reading

  (10) tvær bækur-nar
       two books-DEF
       “two of the books” – *“the two books”

- Acceptability can be improved with a superlative adjective:

  (11) a. tvær frægu-st-u bækur-nar
       two famous-SUPL-WK books-DEF
       “two of the most famous books”

  b. margar (frægu-st-u) bækur-nar
     many famous-SUPL-WK books-DEF
     “many of the (most famous) books”
The numeral *einn* “one” also occurs in the agreement construction:

(12) a. Ein-n helst-i munur-inn á mönnum og dýrum
one-STR foremost-WK difference-DEF betw. men and animals
“one of the foremost difference-s ...”

b. Ein best-a bók-in á markaðnum í ár
one.STR best-WK book-DEF on market.the this year
“one of the best book-s ...”

- NB: “one” is fine without superlative A:

(13) einn strákur-inn (Sigurðardóttir 2018: 7)
one boy-DEF
“one of the boys” (out of more than two)

- if the total only comprises exactly two, the item *annar* is used:

(14) annar strákur-inn
another.STR boy-DEF
“(the) one of the (two) boys”
Partitive construction(s) in Estonian(?)

(15) ⇒ with Elative case ("out of")

a. noorim mu laste-st (Tamm 2014: 110)
   youngest my child.PL-EL
   “the youngest of my children”

b. Kaks nende-st raamatu-te-st ilmuvad juba varstī eesti keele-s
two these-EL book-PL-EL appear already soon Estonian language-INESS
   “two of these books will appear in Estonian already soon”

• clearly not an agreement construction!
• partitive reading(?) – role of the comparative ("superlative") adjective?
• in what way comparable to the Icelandic examples?
Partitive construction(s) in Estonian(?)

(17) ⇒ with Elative case (“out of”)
   a. noorim mu laste-st (Tamm 2014: 110)
      youngest my child.PL-EL
      “the youngest of my children”
   b. Kaks nende-st raamatu-te-st ilmuvad juba varsti eesti keele-s
ten two these-EL book-PL-EL appear already soon Estonian language-INESS
      “two of these books will appear in Estonian already soon”

(18) ⇒ numeral(?) + (comparative adjective +) Partitive plural
   a. Leipzigi Ülikooli on üks vane-m-aid ülikool-e Europaa-s
      Leipzig’s university is one old-COMP-PART.PL university-PART.PL Europe-INESS
      “The University of Leipzig is one of the oldest universities in Europe”

• clearly not an agreement construction!
• partitive reading(?) – role of the comparative ("superlative") adjective?
• in what way comparable to the Icelandic examples?
Partitive construction(s) in Estonian(?)

(19) ⇒ with Elative case (“out of”)
   a. *noorim* mu laste-st (Tamm 2014: 110)
      youngest my child.PL-EL
      “the youngest of my children”
   b. *Kaks nende-st raamatu-te-st* ilmuvad juba varsti eesti keele-s
      two these-EL book-PL-EL appear already soon Estonian language-INESS
      “two of these books will appear in Estonian already soon”

(20) ⇒ numeral(?) + (comparative adjective +) Partitive plural
   a. Leipzigi Ülikooli on *üks vane-m-aid ülikool-e* Europaa-s
      Leipzig’s university is one old-COMP-PART.PL university-PART.PL Europe-INESS
      “The University of Leipzig is one of the oldest universities in Europe”
   b. Siin on *kolm parem-aid fänne turu-l*
      here are three better-PART.PL fan-PART.PL market-ADESS
      “Here are three of the best fans on the market”

• clearly not an agreement construction!
• partitive reading(?) – role of the comparative ("superlative") adjective?
• in what way comparable to the Icelandic examples?
Fuzziness: four biggest EU nations?

(21)  

(a) Fjögur stærstu ESB-ríki-n* hvetja til alheimsskatts á fyrirtæki  
*four biggest EU-states*-DEF encourage universal.tax on companies  
(i) “four of the biggest EU nations ...”  
(ii) ... or “the four biggest EU nations ...”?  

(b) fjögur stærstu ESB-ríkja-anna  
*four biggest [EU-states-DEF]-GEN.PL  

c. fjögur af stærstu ESB-ríkju-num  
*four of [biggest EU-nations-DEF]-DAT.PL  

- Context (see below) makes it clear that (21a) must mean (i)  
- Informant reports uncertainty on the precise interpretation (i)/(ii) (without context)  
- (21b/c) unambiguously mean (i) (also without context)  
  ⇒ observation: partitive interpretation with agreement construction doesn’t always come naturally/easily!  
  ⇒ likely failure: they do not entail/encode proper subsectivity (= Proper Partitivity)  
  ⇒ ≠ Superlative partitives (Falco and Zamparelli 2019: 5)

*= Germany, France, Italy, Spain  
NB: France >> Spain >> Sweden >> Germany >> Finland >> Poland >> Italy ... (size)
“Scope” of Relative Clauses – monophrasal/biphasral

⇒ Many authors use relative clauses to diagnose (the complexity of) partitives

(22)  

a. In the Uffizi, they saw [a whole lot of [the famous paintings]_{i}, several of which\textsubscript{ij} were by Sienese authors.  
b. She bought him [dozens of [those daffodils]_{i}, only two of which\textsubscript{ij} were faded.

(23)  

a. In the Uffizi, they saw [a whole lot of famous paintings]_{j}, several of which\textsubscript{j} were by Sienese authors.  
b. She bought him [dozens of daffodils]_{j}, only two of which\textsubscript{j} were faded.  
  (Selkirk 1977: 307, quoted from Falco and Zamparelli 2019: 9)

(24)  

a. Three of the children in the party, who were playing with a balloon, started fighting  
b. Three children in the party, who were playing with a balloon, started fighting  
  (Girbau 2003: 46)

⇒ proper/canonical partitives are **biphasral**: RC has “two possible scopes”  
relative pronoun can refer to the entire DP (subset) or the inner nominal (whole)

⇒ pseudo-partitives/quantitative nominals are **monophasral**: RC has only one scope  
relative pronoun can only refer to the entire DP (subset)
“Scope” of Relative Clauses

(25) a. margir krakkar-nir sem voru að leika sér fóru að rífast
   many children-DEF who were playing started fighting
   [ many of [the children] \(k\) ] \(j\) who\textsubscript{\(j/\ast k\)} were playing ...

b. margir krakka-nna sem voru að leika sér fóru að rífast
   many children-DEF.GEN.PL who were playing started fighting
   [ many of [the children] \(k\) ] \(j\) who\textsubscript{\(j/k\)} were playing ...

c. margir af krökku-num sem voru að leika sér fóru að rífast
   many of children-DEF.DAT who were playing started fighting
   [ many of [the children] \(k\) ] \(j\) who\textsubscript{\(j/k\)} were playing ...

(Pfaff 2015: 85/6)

according to the evidence from RC scope:
⇒ the agreement partitive is monophrasal (RC targets only the entire nominal)
⇒ canonical\textsubscript{gen}/canonical\textsubscript{PP} partitives are biphrasal (RC is ambiguous)
Agreement partitives are not proper partitives

- evidence from relative clause scope → agreement partitives are monophrasal
- supported by the fact of agreement itself! (one agreement domain)
  contrasted with canonical \textit{gen}/canonical \textit{pp} partitives: one vs. two case domains
- but that is possibly not sufficient:
  agreement partitives are not pseudo-partitives – as evidenced by the definiteness marking – and definiteness effect:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \[\text{þpað eru margar bækur-nar í hillunni}\]
  \begin{itemize}
  \item there are many books-DEF in shelf.the
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

and not mere quantity expressions, either

- resemblance to “hidden partitives” in English

\begin{enumerate}
\item [context: university] \textit{SOME} students may not take the exam
\item (28) \begin{enumerate}
  \item there are many/sm books on the shelf
  \item \textit{*there} are many/some of the books on the shelf
  \item \textit{*there} are MANY/SOME books on the shelf
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

⇒ books/students out of a \textit{contextually salient reference set}

⇒ partitive reading; definiteness effect (albeit no overt def marking)
Scale of Partitivy

Conceiving of partitivity in terms of a semantically/referentially incremental scale,

- we can place agreement partitives above pseudo-partitives and quantity
  (→ definiteness marking/definiteness effect),
- but below canonical partitives (→ monophrasal vs. biphrasal)

part-whole relation
(e.g. “a/the chapter of the book”; “this member of that team”)

↑
canonical partitive

↑
{agreement partitive / hidden partitive}

↑
{pseudo-partitive / quantity / weak NPs}

↑
{partitive case/article / bare plurals}

(part and whole are referential)

(accessible reference set)

(contextually salient reference)

(indefinite reference set)

(weak existential)
Patterns and Adjectival Inflection (Pfaff 2015, 2017)

(29) a. **A-WK N-DEF**
   
   gul-i bíll-inn
yellow-WK car-WK

b. **ART A-WK N**
   
   hinn fræg-i leikari
ART famous-WK actor

c. **N-DEF A-WK**
   
   heimspekingur-inn mikl-i
philosopher-WK great.WK

d. **A-STR N-DEF**
   
   full-ur strákur-inn
frunk-STR boy-DEF

- free article (ART) and suffixed article (DEF) are identical; the weak adjective is c-commanded by “THE” article in its base position

(30) a.

```
DP
   
   [DEF] αP
     
   AP   NP
     
   [WEAK]
```

b.

```
DP
   
   NP
     
   [DEF] αP
     
   AP   NP
     
   [WEAK]
```

c.

```
DP
   
   [DEF] αP
     
   AP   NP
     
   [WEAK]
```

- in pattern (IV), the strong adjective is merged outside the c-command domain of the article to begin with
Patterns and Adjectival Inflection (Pfaff 2015, 2017)

(31) a. **A-WK N-DEF**
   
   gul-i bíll-inn
   yellow-WK car-WK

b. **ART A-WK N**
   
   hinn fræg-i leikari
   ART famous-WK actor

c. **N-DEF A-WK**
   
   heimspekingur-inn mikl-i
   philosopher-WK great.WK

d. **A-STR N-DEF**
   
   full-ur strákur-inn
   frunk-STR boy-DEF

- free article (ART) and suffixed article (DEF) are identical; the weak adjective is c-commanded by “THE” article in its base position
- the strong adjective in pattern (IV) is merged outside the c-command domain of the article to begin with

(32) a. **DP**
   
   [DEF] αP
   AP
   NP
   [WEAK]

b. **DP**
   
   [DEF] αP
   AP
   NP
   [WEAK]

c. **DP**
   
   [DEF] αP
   AP
   NP
   [WEAK]

D. **AP**
   
   [STRONG]
   DP
   NP
   [DEF]
   [WEAK]
Cardinal vs. partitive reading; adjectival inflection II

⇒ agreement partitives are an instance of pattern (IV): strong infl + N-DEF

⇒ but they illustrate the correlation position-inflection-interpretation more clearly

a. marg-ar bækur
   many-STR books
   "many books" (great amount/number of books = CARDINAL)

b. þessar mörg-u bækur
   these many-WK books
   "these many books" (this great number/amount of books = CARDINAL)

c. marg-ar þessar bækur
   many-STR these books
   "many of these books" (= PARTITIVE)
Agreement partitives as DP modifiers

- items: weak Q, numerals, ∃, ∀, ‘special’ items ... (lexical Adj)
- plural vs. singular
- (special requirements, e.g. superlative adjective)
- . . . . . . . . .

⇒ what contribution does the construction/structure itself make?
Scale of "Genitivity"  
(genitive semantics/relationality)

- John’s car  
- John’s mother/brother/friend  
- John’s destruction of the city  
- employee of the month  
- John’s eyes/right arm/name/life  
- the weight/size/hight/prize ... of the car  
- roof of the house / wheel of the car / corner of the room  
- member of the team / part of the team/students  
- many/some of the team / students  
- glass of wine  
- . . . . . . . .

*Genitivus Partitivus*
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(33)  
  a. bíll Jón-s  
       car Jón-GEN  
       “John’s car”
  b. bróðir Jón-s  
       brother Jón-GEN  
       “John’s brother”
  c. starfsmaður mánaðar-ins  
       employee [month-DEF]-GEN  
       “employee of the month”
⇒ possession, kinship and ?: genitive

(34)  
  a. eyðilegging Sesar-s á borginni  
       destruction Cesar-GEN on city.the.DAT  
       “Cesar’s destruction of the city”
  b. eyðilegging borgar-innar  
       destruction [city-DEF]-GEN  
       “the city’s destruction”
⇒ event nominals: highest realized θ-argument – genitive;
second θ-argument – functional prepositiona á “on”
(∼ structural case alternation, cf. nom/acc in passive)
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(35)  a. hluti Jón-ís  af arfinum
      part  Jón-GEN of inheritance.the.DAT
      “John’s part/share of the inheritance”

b. hluti arfs-ins
   part [inheritance-DEF]-GEN
   “a/the part of the inheritance”
⇒ “part”: preposition af “of”; genitive

NB: Icel. af ≠ Engl. of  (has more substance; not mere functional element)
   ○ encodes "part-of" and "belonging-to" to some extent,
   ○ but also "source" more broadly, esp. "causal source/reason"
   ○ af hverju? "of what?" = “why?”; (út) af því "(out) of that" = “because; therefore”
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(36)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{hár-ið á mér *af mér} \\
& \text{hair-DEF on me.DAT of me} \\
& \text{“my hair”} \\
\text{b. } & \text{augu-n í henni *af henni} \\
& \text{eyes-DEF in her.DAT of her} \\
& \text{“her eyes”} \\
\text{c. } & \text{tennur-nar í henni / tennur hennar} \quad (\text{Thráinsson 2007: 94}) \\
& \text{teeth-DEF in her / teeth her.GEN} \\
& \text{“her teeth”} \\
\Rightarrow & \text{inalienable possession (body arts): external – preposition á “on”} \\
& \text{internal – preposition í “in”} \\
\rightarrow & \text{genitive (no DEF) is a formal option}\textsuperscript{1} \\
\rightarrow & \text{af not an option} \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{1} N-DEF + genitive with different interpretation:

\begin{align*}
(1) & \text{Þú hefur augu-n hennar mömmu þinnar og nef-ið hans pabba þíns} \\
& \text{you have eyes-DEF [she mom your]-GEN and nose-DEF [he dad your]-GEN} \\
& \text{“you have your mom’s eyes and your dad’s nose”}
\end{align*}
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(37) a. þak-ið á húsinu / þak (*-ið) húss-ins  
   roof-DEF on house.the / roof -DEF [house-DEF]-GEN  
   “the roof of the house”

   b. sæti-n í bílnum / sæti (*-n) bíls-ins  
   seats-DEF in car.the / seats -DEF [car-DEF]-GEN  
   “the seats of the car”

(38) kafli í bókinni / kafli bókarinnar / kafli af bókinni  
   chapter in book.the / chapter book.the.gen / chapter of book.the  
   “chapter of the book”

(39) a. ??þak-ið af húsinu  
   roof-DEF of house.the

   b. *sæti-n af bílnum  
   seats-DEF of car.the

⇒ part-whole nouns: prepositions: á, í; genitive (formal)

→ preposition af – not exactly clear
Agreement Partitives — Dimensions of Partitivity in Icelandic (and beyond)

Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(40) a. stærð / hæð / breidd / þyndgd . . . . hússins/götunnar/bílsins . . . .
   size / height / width / weight house.the/street.the/car.the-GEN
   “the size / height / width / weight ... of X ”
   
   b. #? stærð(in) / hæð(in) / breidd(in) / þyndgd(in) . . . . á X
   size / height / width / weight on X.DAT

   c. #? stærð / hæð / breidd / þyndgd . . . . af X . . . .
   size / height / width / weight of X.DAT

⇒ inherent properties (dimensions): genitive
   → af not an option
   → á not an option²

²Except for verð “price”, where it even seems to be slightly preferred to genitive.
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(41) a. margir leikmennir-nir
   many players-DEF

b. margir leikmmanna-nna
   many [players-DEF]-GEN

c. margir af leikmönnu-num
   many of [players-DEF]-DAT

(42) a. meðlimur í liðinu / (?)liðsins / *af liðinu
   member in team.the / team.the.GEN / of team.the

b. margir í/úr liðinu / *margir liðsins / *margir af liðinu
   many in/out.of team.the / many team.the.GEN / many of team.the

c. margir leikmenn í/úr liðinu / liðsins / *af liðinu
   many players in/out.of team.the / team.the.GEN / of team.the

⇒ part-whole/partitive; collective singular inner nominal:
   N x N: preposition; genitive (formal); af not an option
   Q x N: preposition; genitive & af not an option
   Q N x N: preposition; genitive; af not an option
Formalities – genitives and prepositions

(43) a. lítri af bjór / pakki af sígarettum / kíló af eplum
   liter of beer.DAT pack of cigarettes.DAT.PL kilo of apples.DAT.PL
b. *lítri á bjór / *pakki á sígarettum / *kíló á eplum
   liter of beer.DAT pack of cigarettes.DAT.PL kilo of apples.DAT.PL
c. *lítri bjór-s / *pakki sígarett-na / *kíló epl-a
   liter beer-GEN / pack cigarettes-GEN / kilo apples-GEN
d. *lítri bjór / *pakki sígarettur / *kíló epli
   liter beer / pack cigarettes / kilo apples
⇒ pseudo-partitives: af is the only option
Formalities – genitives and prepositions: German

(44) a. ein Glas Wein / eine Schachtel Zigaretten / ein Kilo Äpfel  
    a glass wine a pack cigarettes a kilo apples

b. eine Menge an/von Wein // eine Auswahl/Verzehr an/von Wein  
    an amount on/from wine a selection/consumption on/from wine

(45) a. *ein Glas Wein-es  
    a glass wine-GEN

    cf. *glas bjór-s  
    glass beer-GEN

b. *Auswahl/Verzehr Wein-es cf. neysla bjórs  
    selection/consumption wine-GEN consumption beer-GEN

(46) a. ein Glas gut-en Wein-es // Auswahl/Verzehr gut-en Wein-es  
    a glass good-AGR wine-GEN selection/consumption good-AGR wine-GEN

b. ein Liter kühl-er Limonade // eine Schachtel gut-er Zigarren  
    a liter cool-GEN lemonade a box good-GEN.PL cigars

- pseudo partitives: juxta position without dependency marking – or preposition an/von  
  (these prepositions are also used with AS nominals)

- no genitive with pseudo-partitives (nor AS) – general restriction on adnominal genitives

- genitive ok IFF at least one inflecting adnominal element & one strong genitive ending
"AGR" vs. Genitive: subtle differences (?)

(47) a. eine Schachtel gelb-e Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel gelb-er Zigarren
da box yellow-AGR cigars  vs. a box yellow-GEN cigars

b. eine Schachtel stark-e Zigarretten vs. eine Schachtel stark-er Zigarretten
a box strong-AGR cigarettes  vs. a box strong-GEN cigarettes

c. eine Kiste einzeln-e Socken vs. eine Kiste einzeln-er Socken
a box single-AGR socks  vs. a box single-AGR socks

d. ein Liter französisch-er Wein vs. ein Liter französisch-en Wein-es
a liter French-AGR wine  vs. a liter French-AGR wine-GEN

e. ein Kilo gelb-e Rüben (= "carots") vs. ein Kilo gelb-er Rüben (lit.)
a kilo yellow-AGR turnips  vs. a kilo yellow-GEN turnips

f. ein Kilo saur-e Gurken (sort of candy) vs. ein Kilo saur-er Gurken (lit.)
a kilo sour-AGR cucumbers  vs. a kilo sour-GEN cucumbers

⇒ vague intuition:
⊙ AGR → kind, sort; retains idiomatic interpretation
    *Schachtel stark-e Zigaretten*: "strong cigarettes" is a kind of cigarettes
    *Kilo gelb-e Rüben*: sim carots as a kind
⊙ GEN → individual(ized) items (pl), instance; only literal interpretation
    *Schachtel stark-er Zigaretten*: every individual cigarette is strong
    *Kilo gelb-er Rüben*: ~ lit. "yellow turnips", individually
The Dimensions

⇒ **Partitivity**  
"degree of partitivity" in terms of reference/quantification

⇒ **Genitivity**  
(semantic type of relation)

⇒ **Formality**  
(morphological marking of the relation  
Ø; AGR; CASE₁ ... CASEₙ; P₁ ... Pₘ; classifier; other linkers ...)

⇒ **Number**<sub>OUT_vs_IN</sub>  
(singular, plural; coll<sub>IN</sub> ....)*

⇒ **Complexity**  
(monophrasal vs. biphrasal ....)

⇒ **Grammaticalization path** (?)

**"many of the team" vs. "one of the players" vs. ....**
The Nanosyntax of Case (Caha 2009)

(48)

Comitative

F Instrumental

E Dative

D Genitive

C Accusative

B Nominative

A DP

... ...
(Caha 2021)

(49) **pseudo-part:**

\[
\text{MASSP} \\
\text{MASS} \quad \text{NP}
\]

(50) **counting:**

\[
\text{CLP} \\
\text{CL} \quad \text{MASSP} \\
\text{MASS} \quad \text{NP}
\]

(51) **plural:**

\[
\text{PLP} \\
\text{PL} \quad \text{CLP} \\
\text{CL} \quad \text{MASSP} \\
\text{MASS} \quad \text{NP}
\]


