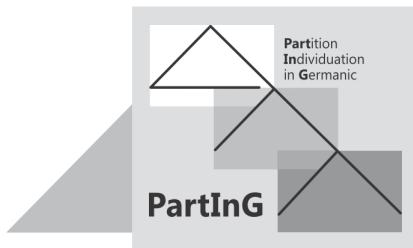


The Neighbourhood of Partitivity

Genitives, Prepositions, Relations

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Overview: The larger Agenda

- ⇒ Fine-grained typology of (pseudo-) partitive / part-whole constructions (cf. e.g. Falco and Zamparelli 2019: 12 types A-M)
- semantic distinctions encoded
- (morpho-)syntactic distinctions
- formal ingredients

- ⇒ Polysemy
- semantic contribution and function of prepositions_{*n*} and case_{*m*}
- distribution of P_{*n*} / K_{*m*} in other constructions
- relationship among semantic/nominal relations

Overview: Protagonists and Components

⇒ The protagonists – Partitives and Pseudo-Partitives

- The expression/components of (pseudo-)partitivity
- Formal means/Linking
- The "neighbourhood" of partitivity; genitives and prepositions – nominal relations
- Polysemy/multifunctionality/semantic contribution of prepositions/case?

⇒ The components —Terminology; Working Definitions

- | | |
|---|--|
| • [5 Liter an Wein] | relation type: [.] |
| [manche von den Studenten] | outer nominal (<i>OUT</i>): xyz |
| [der Konsum lecker-en Wein-es] | linking type: xyz |
| | inner nominal (<i>INN</i>): xyz |
| | |
| • pseudo-partitive:
OUT = measuring/classifying exp. & INN is indefinite; | monophrasal: [<i>DP</i>] |
| • proper partitive:
OUT = Q/measuring exp. & INN is definite; | biphrasal: [<i>DP</i> ₁ [<i>DP</i> ₂]] |

Linking

- (1) a. sumir [stráka-nna] GENITIV (Icelandic)
 some [boys-the]-GEN
- b. Kaks nende-st raamatute-st ELATIVE (Estonian)
 two these-ELAT books-ELAT
- c. üks vanem-aid ülikool-e Europaas PARTITIVE (Estonian)
 one oldest-PART universities-PART in.Europe
- d. sumir af stráku-num P (Icelandic)
 manche von den Studenten P (German)
 šloša bakkukim šel yayin P (Hebrew)
 three bottles of wine
 eine Reihe an Sehenswürdigkeiten P (German)
- e. some of the cars / beaucoup de/des voitures FUNP (Engl; Fr)
- f. ein Liter Wein Ø (German)
- g. margir strákar-nir AGR (Icelandic)
 many boys-the
- h. šloša bakkukei yayin STATUS CONSTRUCTUS (Hebrew)
 three bottles wine
- i. yi bei/ping/xiang hongjiu CLASSIFIER (Mandarin Chinese)
 one GLASS/BOTTLE/BOX red.wine

Range of "Genitivity"/relationality (~ genitive semantics)**

- John's car (Possession)
- John's mother/brother/friend (Kinship)
- John's destruction of the city (typically deverbal AS-Noun: $< \theta_1, > \theta_2$)
- ◇ author of the book; slayer of dragons; keeper of the 7 keys (agent-nomlz: θ_2)

- employee of the month; the city of Rome; man of noble descent . . . (?)

- John's eyes/right arm/name/life (Inalienable Possession)
- the weight/size/high/prize/colour/shape ... of the car (Inherent Property)
- roof of the house / peak of the mountain / corner of the room (Part-Whole)*
- member of the team / "part" of the team/students

- many/some of the students (Partitive)*
- glass of wine, liter of wine, barrel of wine (Pseudo-Partitive)*

⇒ OUT and INN are linked via genitive – or a genitive substitute (i.e. preposition)

* *Genitivus Partitivus*

**e.g. Barker and Dowty (1993); Barker (2011); Carlier and Verstraete (2013); Adger (2013) . . .

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (2) a. bíll Jón-s / bíll-inn hans
 car Jón-GEN car-DEF his
 “John’s car / his car”
- b. bróðir Jón-s / bróðir (*-inn) hans
 brother Jón-GEN brother -DEF his
 “John’s brother / his brother”
- c. starfsmaður mánaðar-ins
 employee [month-DEF]-GEN
 “employee of the month”
 ⇒ possession, kinship and ?: genitive
- (3) a. tölvan hjá mér er biluð (Sigurðsson 2006)
 computer.the at me.DAT is broken
 “my computer is broken”
- b. bíllinn hjá manningum
 car.the at [man.the]-DAT
 “the man’s car”
 ⇒ Innovation: prepositional *hjá* “at; bei” for possession

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (4) a. eyðilegging Sesar-s **á** borginni (*af borginni)
 destruction Cesar-GEN on city.the.DAT of 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 preposition *á* "on"

(~ structural case alternation, cf. nom/acc in passive)

- (5) a. hluti Jón-s **af** arfinum (*á arfinum)
 part Jón-GEN of inheritance.the.DAT on inheritance.the.DAT
 "John's part/share of the inheritance"
- b. hluti arfs-ins / hlutinn **af** arfinum
 part [inheritance-DEF]-GEN part.the of inheritance.the.DAT
 "a/the part of the inheritance"

⇒ "part": preposition *af* "of"; genitive

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (6) a. hár-ið **á** mér (***af** mér)
 hair-DEF on me.DAT of me
 “my hair”
- b. augu-n **í** henni (***af**) henni
 eyes-DEF in her.DAT of her
 “her eyes”
- c. tennur-nar **í** henni / tennur hennar (Thráinsson 2007: 94)
 teeth-DEF in her / teeth her.GEN
 “her teeth”

⇒ inalienable possession (body arts): external – preposition *á* “on”
 internal – preposition *í* “in”

→ genitive (no DEF) is a formal option¹

→ *af* not an option

¹N-DEF + genitive with different interpretation:

- (1) Þú hefur augu-n hennar mömmu þinnar og nef-ið hans pabba þíns
 you have eyes-DEF [she mom your]-GEN and nose-DEF [he dad your]-GEN
 “you have your mom’s eyes and your dad’s nose”

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (7) a. þak-ið **á** húsinu / þak húss-ins (Thráinsson 2007: 93/4)
 roof-DEF **on** house.the / roof [house-DEF]-GEN
 “the roof of the house”
- b. sæti-n **í** bílnum / sæti bíls-ins
 seats-DEF in car.the / seats [car-DEF]-GEN
 “the seats of the car”
- (8) tindur/toppur fjalls-ins / **á** fjallinu / ***af** fjallinu
 peak/top [mountain-DEF]-GEN / **on** mountain.the / of mountain.the
 “the peak/top of the mountain”
- (9) 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 an option²

²Ok in the context of motion:

Loftþrýstingur sprengdi þakið **af** húsinu
 air.pressure blew roof.the off house.the


Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (10) a. stærð / hæð / breidd / þyngd 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) / þyngd(in) á X
 size / height / width / weight on X.DAT
- c. *[?]stærð / hæð / breidd / þyngd af X
 size / height / width / weight of X.DAT

⇒ inherent properties (dimensions): genitive

→ *af* not an option?

→ *á* not an option³

³Except for *verð* “price”, where it even seems to be slightly preferred to genitive. 

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (11) a. margir leikmennir-nir
many players-DEF
- b. margir leikmanna-nna
many [players-DEF]-GEN
- c. margir af leikmönnum
many of [players-DEF]-DAT
- (12) a. meðlimur **í/úr** liðinu / liðsins / ***af** liðinu
member in/out.of 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

Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

- (13) 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 on beer pack on cigarettes kilo on apples
- 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
-

summary:

Inventory	use/functions
• GEN:	possession; θ -arguments; part-whole; inherent properties; proper partitives
• á₁:	various arguments of N; inherent properties (exceptionally)
• á₂, í, úr:	part-whole relations, inalienable possession
• af:	pseudo-partitives ; proper partitives; part-whole (<i>hluti</i>)
• hjá:	possession; (miscellaneous)

NB: all prepositions (in the above uses) assign dative case

- which factors govern the distribution of prepositions/use of genitive?
- why is *af* so restricted even though it seems predestined for part-of relations?
- multifunctionality/polysemy(?)
- (semantic) contribution of the preposition/case?

Pseudo-Partitives (PsP) in (Modern) German

- (14) 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
- (15) a. *ein Glas Wein-es cf. *glas bjór-s
 a glass wine-GEN glass beer-GEN
- b. *Auswahl/Verzehr Wein-es cf. neysla bjórs
 selection/consumption wine-GEN consumption beer-GEN
- c. *der Geschmack Wein-es cf. bragð vín-s
 the taste wine-GEN taste wine-GEN

- pseudo partitives: juxtaposition without dependency marking – or preposition *an/von* (these prepositions are also used with AS nominals)
- no genitive with pseudo-partitives → general restriction on adnominal genitives

Genitives in (Modern) German

- genitive ok IFF
 - at least one inflecting adnominal element (Det or Adj) &
 - at least one strong genitive ending (on Det, Adj or N)
- (16) der Geschmack/Konsum/Besitz
 the taste/consumption/possession
- a. gut-en Wein-es (masc, strong)
 good-AGR wine-GEN
- a' dies-es Wein-es (masc, strong)
 this-GEN wine-GEN
- b. frisch-er Limonade (fem)
 fresh-GEN lemonade
- c. *gebraten-en Bär-en (masc, weak; cf. gebraten-en Wolf-es)
 steaked-AGR bear-AGR
- d. ein-es gebraten-en Bär-en
 a-GEN steaked-AGR bear-AGR
- e. dies-er Wurst-e
 these-GEN sausage-PL
- (17) ein Glas / ein Liter gut-en Wein-es
 a glass / a liter good-AGR wine-GEN

"AGR" vs. Genitive: subtle differences(?)

(18) even though possible, genitive is not mandatory in PsP; stylistic differences(?)

- a. ein Liter französisch-**er** Wein vs. ein Liter französisch-en Wein-**es**
 a liter French-AGR wine a liter French-AGR wine-GEN
- b. eine Schachtel stark-**e** Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-**er** Zigarren
 a box strong-AGR cigars a box strong-GEN cigars

"AGR" vs. Genitive: subtle differences(?)

(20) even though possible, genitive is not mandatory in PsP; stylistic differences(?)

- a. ein Liter französisch-**er** Wein vs. ein Liter französisch-en Wein-**es**
 a liter French-AGR wine a liter French-AGR wine-GEN
- b. eine Schachtel stark-**e** Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-**er** Zigarren
 a box strong-AGR cigars a box strong-GEN cigars

Zimmer (2015: 15): Partitive genitive is generally dispreferred, but considered better with the dependent noun in the **plural** (irrespective of overall case environment).
 (but he examines only human/animate referents)

"AGR" vs. Genitive: subtle differences(?)

(22) even though possible, genitive is not mandatory in PsP; stylistic differences(?)

- a. ein Liter französisch-**er** Wein vs. ein Liter französisch-en Wein-**es**
 a liter French-AGR wine a liter French-AGR wine-GEN
- b. eine Schachtel stark-**e** Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-**er** Zigarren
 a box strong-AGR cigars a box strong-GEN cigars

Zimmer (2015: 15): Partitive genitive is generally dispreferred, but considered better with the dependent noun in the **plural** (irrespective of overall case environment).
 (but he examines only human/animate referents)

- (23) a. ein Kilo gelb-**e** Rüben (= "carots") vs. ?ein Kilo gelb-**er** Rüben (lit.)
 a kilo yellow-AGR turnips a kilo yellow-GEN turnips
- b. ein Kilo saur-**e** Gurken (sort of candy) vs. ?ein Kilo saur-**er** Gurken (lit.)
 a kilo sour-AGR cucumbers a kilo sour-GEN cucumbers

- AGR → kind, sort; mass/collective interpretation; retains idiomatic reading

"AGR" vs. Genitive: subtle differences(?)

(24) even though possible, genitive is not mandatory in PsP; stylistic differences(?)

- a. ein Liter französisch-**er** Wein vs. ein Liter französisch-en Wein-**es**
 a liter French-AGR wine a liter French-AGR wine-GEN
- b. eine Schachtel stark-**e** Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-**er** Zigarren
 a box strong-AGR cigars a box strong-GEN cigars

Zimmer (2015: 15): Partitive genitive is generally dispreferred, but considered better with the dependent noun in the **plural** (irrespective of overall case environment).
 (but he examines only human/animate referents)

- (25) a. ein Kilo gelb-**e** Rüben (= "carots") vs. ?ein Kilo gelb-**er** Rüben (lit.)
 a kilo yellow-AGR turnips a kilo yellow-GEN turnips
- b. ein Kilo saur-**e** Gurken (sort of candy) vs. ?ein Kilo saur-**er** Gurken (lit.)
 a kilo sour-AGR cucumbers a kilo sour-GEN cucumbers
- c. ?eine Gruppe ausländisch-**e** Studenten vs. eine Gruppe ausländisch-**er** Studenten
 a group foreign-AGR students a group foreign-GEN students

- AGR → kind, sort; mass/collective interpretation; retains idiomatic reading
- GEN → individual(ized) items (pl), instance; only literal interpretation
 +anim/hum referents strongly preferred with genitive

“Saure Gurken” – “Sour Pickles”



Probing the difference between AGR and GEN

⇒ Survey conducted October-December 2022; judgement tasks

⇒ "Forced Choice" – with the option of non-committal or qualification

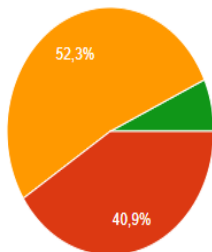
- Given: (A) = GEN; (B) = AGR
- Possible answers:
 - ◇ (A) – only GEN is possible
 - ◇ (B) – only AGR is possible
 - ◇ (AB) – GEN and AGR are equivalent
 - ◇ (A<>B) – GEN and AGR are possible, but there is a difference (in meaning), more specifically: ". " (= option to comment)

Survey: *a kilo of carrots*

(A) ein Kilo gelber Rüben

(B) ein Kilo gelbe Rüben

44 Antworten



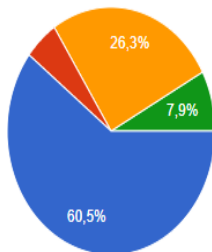
- (A) -- nur (A) ist möglich
- (B) -- nur (B) ist möglich
- (AB) -- (A) und (B) sind ok (= gleichwertig)
- (A<>B) -- (A) und (B) sind möglich, aber es gibt einen kleinen (Bedeutungs-) Unterschied

Survey: *a delegation of catholic nuns*

(A) eine Delegation katholischer Nonnen

(B) eine Delegation katholische Nonnen

38 Antworten



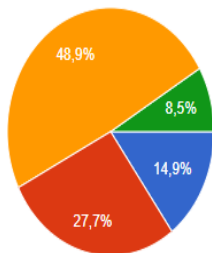
- (A) -- nur (A) ist möglich
- (B) -- nur (B) ist möglich
- (AB) -- (A) und (B) sind ok (= gleichwertig)
- (A<->B) -- (A) und (B) sind möglich, aber es gibt einen kleinen (Bedeutungs-) Unterschied . . .

Survey: *a portion of fried baby-chicks*

(A) eine Portion gebratener Küken

(B) eine Portion gebratene Küken

47 Antworten



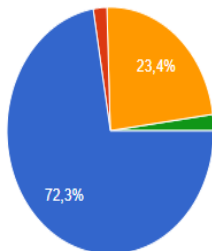
- (A) - nur (A) ist möglich
- (B) - nur (B) ist möglich
- (AB) - (A) und (B) sind ok (=gleichwertig)
- (A<>B) - (A) und (B) sind möglich, aber es gibt einen kleinen (Bedeutungs-) Unterschied...

Survey: *a cartload of newly hatched baby-chicks*

(A) eine Wagenladung neulich geschlüpfter Küken

(B) eine Wagenladung neulich geschlüpfte Küken

47 Antworten



- (A) - nur (A) ist möglich
- (B) - nur (B) ist möglich
- (AB) - (A) und (B) sind ok (=gleichwertig)
- (A<>B) - (A) und (B) sind möglich, aber es gibt einen kleinen (Bedeutungs-) Unterschied...

Prepositions

- preposition **von** “from” (SOURCE)
 - ⇒ default genitive replacement:

- (26) a. das Auto **von** unserem Professor
 the car from our professor
- b. der Bruder **von** Fritz
 the brother from Fritz
- c. der Konsum **von** diversen Substanzen
 the consumption from various substances

- preposition **an** “at, by, on, attached-to, close-to” (LOCATION)
 - (27) a. ein Bild **an** der Wand
 a picture on the wall
 - b. ein Haus **am** Meer
 a house on.the sea
 - c. ein Kratzer **am** Auto
 a crack on.the car

Prepositions

(28) **Proper partitives:** ^{ok} *von* / * *an*

manche **von**/***an** den Studenten
 some from/ on the students
 "some of the students"

(29) **Pseudo-partitives:** ^{ok} *an* / ?? *von*

- a. genug/genügend/reichlich/viel ... **an**/***von** Wein
 enough/sufficient/plenty/much ... on/ from Wein
- b. eine Unmenge **an**/?/?**von** Klamotten
 an enormous.amount on/ from clothes
- c. [...] verliert ein Erwachsener täglich bis zu 2,5 Liter **an**/?/?**von** Wasser
 loses an adult daily up to 2,5 liters on/ from water
- d. eine (geringe/größere) Menge **an**/**von** Blut
 a (small/large) amount on/from blood

Prepositions: *an* vs. *von*

- (30) a. Besitz **an/von** Grund und Boden
 possession on/from ground and soil (= land)
- b. Auswahl/Angebot **an/?von** Früchten
 selection/offer (= supply) on/ from fruits
- c. Konsum/Zerstörung/Verschwendung **an/von** natürlichen Ressourcen
 consumption/destruction/waste on/from natural ressources
- (31) der Konsum **an/von** Alkohol hat die letzten 2 Jahre zugenommen
 the consumption on/from alcohol has the past 2 years increased

Prepositions: *an* vs. *von*

- (35) a. Besitz **an/von** Grund und Boden
possession on/from ground and soil (= land)
- b. Auswahl/Angebot **an/?von** Früchten
selection/offer (= supply) on/ from fruits
- c. Konsum/Zerstörung/Verschwendung **an/von** natürlichen Ressourcen
consumption/destruction/waste on/from natural ressources
- (36) der Konsum **an/von** Alkohol hat die letzten 2 Jahre zugenommen
the consumption on/from alcohol has the past 2 years increased
- (37) der Konsum **von/*an** Alkohol
the consumption from/ on alcohol
gehört seit jeher zu den Lieblingsbeschäftigungen vieler Deutscher ;))
has forever been one of the favorite pastimes of many Germans
- (38) a. $K = \text{THE } e. \text{ consume}'(e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(e)(A)$ $A = \iota x. \sqcap \text{ALCOHOL}(x)$
b. *Lieblingsbeschäftigung-vieler-Deutscher'(K)*
- (39) a. $K = \lambda d. \text{THE } e. \exists x. \sqcup \text{ALCOHOL}(x) \ \& \ \text{consume}'(e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(e)(x) \ \& \ \text{R}(d, x) \ \& \ \text{R}'(d, e)$
b. *hat-zugenommen'(d)*

More on *an* (vs. *von*)

- (40) cf. total vs. partial objects in Estonian
- a. ma lugesin leh-**e** läbi
I read (news)paper-GEN through
"I read a/the (news)paper" (genitive ↔ perfective)
- b. ma lugesin leh-**te**
I read (news)paper-PART
"I was reading a/the (news)paper" (partitive ↔ imperfective)
- (41) [Nina was in the process of knitting an incomplete mitten as a prop for a movie. Since an incomplete was needed for that particular, the mitten was never meant to be completed]
- a. Nina was knitting a mitten
- b. Nina hat **an** einem Handschuh gestrickt (Kratzer 2000)
- (42) Ich war das Buch **am** Schreiben/Lesen/Verbrennen (Rheinische Verlaufsform)
I was the book on.the writing/reading/burning ("Rhenish progressive")
"I was writing/reading/burning the book"
- (43) a. eine Gruppe **von**? **an** Kellnern a group of waiters
b. eine Gruppe **von**? ***an** 20 Kellnern a group of 20 waiters

⇒ *von* ⇔ totality, boundedness; perfective, "telic" (?)

⇒ *an* ⇔ unboundedness; imperfective, "atelic" (?)

Summary ↔ Open questions

- use of various case markers/prepositions in various nominal constructions/relations
- contribution of genitive case (vs. P/AGR) in German (vs. Icelandic)?
- which semantic ingredient allows them to participate in some relations, but not others? (e.g. partitive, pseudo-partitive, inalienable possession, θ -argument)
- (De-)Compositionality: $\text{Rel}_X = \text{Rel}_Y + Z$ (?)
- and which semantic ingredients are constant across nominal constructions? (e.g. *an* in pseudo-partitives vs. deverbal nouns)
- are <pseudo-> partitives amenable to a (re)analysis in terms of aspectuality/telicity?

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More on *an*

⇒ Interference from locative meaning:

- (44) Die Zerstörung **an** Gebäuden/Autos hat zugenommen
 the destruction on buildings/cars has increased → ambiguous?
- increasingly more buildings/cars have been destroyed (incremental)
 - increasingly more buildings/cars have been damaged (locative)
- (45) thiis uuerold uuas sô suîdo besmitin **an** sundiun (OHG)
 this world was so very stained on sins
 "this world was so tainted with sins"