ALEXANDER PFAFF
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF (PSEUDO-)PARTITIVITY -
- GENITIVES, PREPOSITIONS AND RELATIONS
27 JANUARY 2023
The Neighbourhood of Partitivity
Genitives, Prepositions, Relations
alexander.pfaff@ling.uni-stuttgart.de
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 $P_n$ and case $K_m$
→ 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 ]
  [ manche von den Studenten ]
  [ der Konsum lecker-en Wein-es ]

  relation type: [ . ]
  outer nominal (OUT): xyz
  linking type: xyz
  inner nominal (INN): xyz

- pseudo-partitive:
  OUT = measuring/classifying exp. & INN is indefinite;
  monophrasal: [DP ]

- proper partitive:
  OUT = Q/measuring exp. & INN is definite;
  biphrasal: [DP₁ [DP₂ ] ]
Partitivity and "Genitivity": Parts, Wholes and Relations

Linking

(1) a. sumir [stráka-nna]
some [boys-the]-GEN

b. Kaks nende-st raamatute-st
two these-ELAT books-ELAT

c. üks vanem-aid ülikool-e Europaas
one oldest-PART universities-PART in.Europe

d. sumir af stráku-num
manche von den Studenten

šloša bakbukim šel yayin
three bottles of wine
eine Reihe an Sehenswürdigkeiten

e. some of the cars / beaucoup de/des voitures

f. ein Liter Wein

G. margir strákar-nir
many boys-the

h. šloša bakbuiei yayin
three bottles wine

i. yi bei/ping/xiang hongjiu
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: $\theta_2$)
- employee of the month; the city of Rome; man of noble descent . . .  (?)
- John’s eyes/right arm/name/life  (Inalienable Possession)
- the weight/size/hight/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 manninum
car.the at [man.the]-DAT
“the man’s car”
⇒ Innovation: prepositionst 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 prepositiona 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 option

→ af not an option

1 N-DEF + genitive with different interpretation:

(1) Þú hefur augu-n hennar mómmu 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 sprengði þakið af húsinu
air.pressure blew roof.the off house.the
Genitives and prepositions in Icelandic

(10) 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 option

3 Except 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 leikmmanna-nna
   many [players-DEF]-GEN

c. margir af leikmönnu-num
   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 / *kífó 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 epl-i
   liter beer / pack cigarettes / kilo apples

⇒ pseudo-partitives: *af is the only option
summary:

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

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
   a glass wine-GEN

b. *Auswahl/Verzehr Wein-es
   selection/consumption wine-GEN

c. *der Geschmack Wein-es
   the 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

    steaked-AGR bear-AGR

  d. ein-es gebraten-en Bär-en
    a-GEN steaked-AGR bear-AGR

  e. dies-er Würst-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 vs. a liter French-AGR wine-GEN

b. eine Schachtel stark-e Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-er Zigarren
   a box strong-AGR cigars vs. 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 humanAnimate 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 vs. a liter French-AGR wine-GEN

b. eine Schachtel stark-er Zigarren vs. eine Schachtel stark-er Zigarren
   a box strong-AGR cigars vs. 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-er Rüben (= "carots") vs. ?ein Kilo gelb-er Rüben (lit.)
    a kilo yellow-AGR turnips vs. a kilo yellow-GEN turnips

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

c. ?eine Gruppe ausländisch-e Studenten vs. eine Gruppe ausländisch-er Studenten
    a group foreign-AGR students vs. 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 Prickles"
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

- 52.3% chose (A) - only (A) is possible
- 40.9% chose (B) - only (B) is possible
- 7% chose (AB) - (A) and (B) are ok (= gleichwertig)

- (A<>B) - (A) and (B) are possible, but there is a small (semantic-) difference
Survey: a delegation of catholic nuns

(A) eine Delegation katholischer Nonnen
(B) eine Delegation katholische Nonnen

38 Antworten

- 60,5%: (B) -- nur (B) ist möglich
- 26,3%: (A) -- nur (A) ist möglich
- 7,9%: (AB) -- (A) und (B) sind ok (= gleichwertig)
- 6,4%: (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
Survey: *a cartload of newly hatched baby-chicks*

(A) eine Wagenladung neulich geschlüpfter Küken
(B) eine Wagenladung neulich geschlüpfte Küken

47 Antworten
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*

\[\text{manche } \text{von}/**an \text{ den Studenten} \]
\[\text{some from/on the students} \]
\[\text{“some of the students”} \]

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

a. genug/genügend/reichlich/viel ... an/**von* Wein
\[\text{enough/sufficient/plenty/much ... on/from Wein} \]

b. eine Unmenge \[\text{an/???von Klamotten} \]
\[\text{an enormous amount on/from clothes} \]

c. [...] verliert ein Erwachsener täglich bis zu 2,5 Liter an/???von Wasser
\[\text{loses an adult daily up to 2,5 liters on/from water} \]

d. eine (geringe/größere) Menge \[\text{an/von Blut} \]
\[\text{a (small/large) amount on/from blood} \]
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. $K = \text{THE } e. \ consume'(e) \ & \ \text{THEME}(e)(A)$
    $A = \nu x. \ \sqcup \text{ALCOHOL}(x)$

b. *Lieblingsbeschäftigung-vieler-Deutscher’*(K)

(39)  a. $K = \lambda d. \ \text{THE } e. \ \exists x. \ \sqcup \text{ALCOHOL}(x) \ & \ \text{consume'}(e) \ & \ \text{THEME}(e)(x) \ & \ R(d, x) \ & \ R'(d, e)$

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
   (Krater 2000)

(42) Ich war das Buch *am* Schreiben/Lesen/Verbrennen
   I was the book on the writing/reading/burning
   (“Rhenish progressive”)

(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, \( \theta \)-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?


More on *an*

⇒ Interference from locative meaning:

(44) Die Zerstörung *an* Gebäuden/Autos hat zugenommen

• increasingly more buildings/cars have been destroyed
• increasingly more buildings/cars have been damaged

→ ambiguous?

(45) thius uuerold uuas sô suîdo besmitin *an* sundiun

this world was so very stained on sins

“this world was so tainted with sins”