The diachrony of partitives
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1.   What are partitives?

- ✓ ***Dedicated cases***: Fennic and Mordva, Basque, Russian ('second' genitive)
- ✓ ***Partitive genitives***: various IE languages
- ✓ ***Articles***: Romance languages, Oceanic languages
- ✓ ***Particles***: Oceanic languages

2.   'Typical' functions of partitives

- ✓ Imperfectivity
- ✓ Low affectedness
- ✓ Indefiniteness (quantification)

⟹   Which comes first?

In Mordva languages Erza 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)

Mordva (from Kiparsky 1998)
(1)   jarsa-n   kal-do. sima-n   veŕ-ťe.   mon, aďa, sim-ť-ťan
        eat-1SgSubj fish-**Part** drink-1SgSubj water-**Part**. OK,   fine, drink-caus-1SgSubj/2SgObj
        vina-do.
        vodka-**Part**
        "I'm eating fish and drinking water. OK, so I'll let you drink some vodka."
Mordva (Erzya) (Itkonen 1972: 171)
(2)   *son   a   pazdo,   a   šajtando   a   p'el'i*
        he   NEG   God-ABL   NEG   devil-ABL   NEG   fear-3SG
        'He fears neither God, nor the devil'
Ancient Greek (Hom.*Il.* 16.182)
(3)   *tês   dè   kratùs   argeïphóntēs   ērásat(o)*
        DEM.GEN.SG.F PTC   mighty:NOM   slayer.of.Argus:NOM love:AOR.3SG
        'Mighty Hermes loved her.'

3.   Partitives from ablatives

Mordva and Fennic: 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 elative and ablative cases are formed by compund andings *-s-ta* and *-l-ta*

(Abondolo 1998: 167)
- Mordva --> "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)
  - Mordva languages have a distinct definite/indefinite declension for nouns --> the quantifying function of the partitive is an inherited feature, but does not undergo an extension comparable to Fennic.

➢ Partitive constructions:

Finnish (from Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001)

(4) *pala*   *tä-stä*   *hyvä-stä*   *kaku-sta*
     bit:NOM   this:ELA   good:ELA   cake:ELA
     'A bit of this good cake.'

Finnish

(5) *pala*   *hyvää*   *kakkua*
     bit:NOM   good:PAR   cake:PAR
     'A bit of good cake.' (an indefinite cake, not a quantity of a previously identified whole).

Finnish

(6) *pala*   *tä-tä*   *hyvä-ä*   *kakku-a*
     bit:NOM   this:PAR   good:PAR   cake:PAR
     'A bit of this good cake.'

"Note, however, that in this construction it is more typical for the partitive to have the indefinite meaning, and that the part-whole reading in (6) is triggered by the occurrence of the demonstrative 'this'. ... In fact, even example (6), in spite of its demonstrative, allows the alternative reading where the partitive phrase *tätä hyvää kakkua* refers to a particular type of cake ('this kind of good cake'), not necessarily a certain individual cake, as the elative construction in(4)." (Luraghi & Huumo 2014)

➢ Pseudopartitives

Finnish (from Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 523)

(7) *säkki*   *peruno-i-ta*
     sack:NOM   potato:PL.PAR
     'A sack of potatoes.'

Basque:

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

		Ablative			Partitive
		Singular	*Plural*	*Indefinite*	
16th c.	*west.*	**-(r)ik**	*-eta*-rik	*-ta*-rik	**-(r)ik**
	east.	-tik	*-eta*-rik	*-ta*-rik	
Modern	*west.*	-tik	*-eta*-tik	*-ta*-tik	
	east.	-tik	*-eta*-rik	*-ta*-rik	

➢ Archaic uses of the Basque partitive:

alde-rik alde 'from one side to the other, right through'
esku-rik esku 'from hand to hand, hand in hand'
herri-rik herri 'from town to town'
egun-ik egun 'day by day, from day to day'

➢ Partitive constructions:

Basque

(8) *Tarta horren   zati   bat*
     cake   that:GEN   piece one
     'A piece of that cake.'
(9) *Tarta horretatik   zati bat*
     cake   that:ABL   piece one
     'A piece of that cake.'

➢ Pseudopartitives

(10) *Tarta zati   bat*
     cake   piece one
     'A piece of cake.'

4.   Partitives from genitives

In the IE languages in which the genitive functions as a partitive, it also retains its functions as a genitive (e.g. modification).
In some IE languages (Greek, Balto-Slavic) the genitive merged with the ablative at a pre-literary stage. In these languages, the partitive genitive also functions as an ablative.

➢ Partitive and pseudopartitive constructions

Greek (Napoli 2010, Conti & Luraghi 2014)
   o   DEFINITE ARTICLE: PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION OR INDEFINITE
(11) *Kuaxárēs   kaì hoi   pareóntes   daitumónes tôn*
     Cyaxares:NOM and ART.NOM.PL be.present:PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL guest:NOM.PL ART.GEN.PL
     kreôn   toútōn   epásanto
     flesh:GEN.PL DEM.GEN.PL eat:AOR.MID.3PL
     "Cyaxares and the guests who were with him ate of that flesh" Hdt. 1.73.6
(12) *en hósoisi   **toû**   **liparoû** enên*
     in INDEF.DAT.PL ART.GEN fat.GEN   be:IMPF.3SG
     'There was *fat* even in them (*sc.* the bones)'14 (Hp. *Carn.* 4.6)
   o   NO ARTICLE: INDEFINITE OR PSEUDOPARTITIVE
(13) ***ikhthúōn*** *dè   oú sphi   éxesti   pásasthai*
     fish:GEN.PL PTC NEG 3PL.DAT may:PRS.3SG. eat:AOR.INF
     'They may not eat fish.' (Hdt., 2.37. 18–19)
Latvian (from Koptjevskaja Tamm 2001: 540)
   o   GENITIVE: PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION, INDEFINITE OR PSEUDOPARTITIVE
(14)   a. glāze   **tējas**
           glass-NOM *tea*-GEN.SG
           'a glass of tea'
        b. glāze   **šīs**   **garšīgās**   **tējas**
           glass-NOM *that*-GEN.SG *good*-GEN.SG *tea*-GEN.SG
           'a glass of that good tea'

Russian
- GENITIVE: PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION, INDEFINITE OR PSEUDOPARTITIVE

(15) a. | *Ja* | *s"uela* | *kusok* | *piroga* |

| 1SG.NOM | eat:PST.F | piece:ACC | cake:GEN |

'I ate a piece of cake'

b. | *Ja* | *s"uel* | *kosok* | *etogo* | *piroga* |

| 1SG.NOM | eat:PST.F | piece:ACC | DEM.GEN | cake:GEN |

'I ate a piece of that (specific) cake.'

(16) | *Ja* | *vypil* | *vody* |

| 1SG | drink:PST.PFV.M.SG | water:GEN |

'I drank (some) water.'

- DEICTIC + DEMONSTRATIVE: PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION

c. | *Ja* | *s"uel* | *kosok* | *von* | *togo* | *piroga* |

| 1SG.NOM | eat:PST.F | piece:ACC | PTC | DEM.GEN | cake:GEN |

- ***Functional merger of ablative, genitive and partitive***

  - ***Type a.   Balto-Finnic, Basque: partitive ≠ genitive ≠ ablative***
  - ***Type b.   Indo-Iranian, Latin: partitive = genitive ≠ ablative***
  - ***Type c.   Greek, Balto-Slavic: partitive=genitive=ablative (--> original situation = type b))***

4.1.   Rise of a new partitive case: the Russian second genitive (Daniel 2014)

<u>Genitive ending of the *-u* declension</u>
  - *-u-* and *-o-* decletion merged
  - some of the former -u stems (typically mass nouns) preserved the older genitve while also acquiring the new one
  - old genitive acquired the special meaning of partitive
  - second genitive extended to nouns which were not original *-u-* stems based on similar lexical features

--> **Exaptation** (see Lass 1990): the -u stem genitive, which had lost its function following the disappearance of the inflectional class to which it belonged, was so to speak re-cycled, and acquired a new function, for which there was previously no dedicated morpheme (Luraghi & Kittilä 2014)

5.   Partitives from prepositions: From the Late Latin partitive construction to the Romance partitive articles

Late Latin (Luraghi 2013)

(17) *et misit   ad agricolas   in tempore servum   ut ab agricolis*
and send:PF.3SG to peasant:ACC.PL in time:ABL servant:ACC for from peasant:ABL.PL
acciperet   <u>de</u> fructu vineae
collect:SUBJ.IMPF.3SG from 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;

(18) *probet   autem se   ipsum   homo   et sic <u>de</u> pane   illo*
examine:SUBJ.3SG indeed REFL.ACC self:ACC man:NOM and so from bread:ABL DEM.ABL
edat
eat:SUBJ.PRS.3SG
"A man ought to examine himself before he eats of the bread.", 1 *Corinthians* 11.28.

Old French

(19) *Il trova .i. ostel   en selve clere: De sains moines i   a   de sa contree Qui por*
he found there dwelling in forest sparse of   saint monks there have from his land that for

l' amor de Dieu bien l' ostelerent.
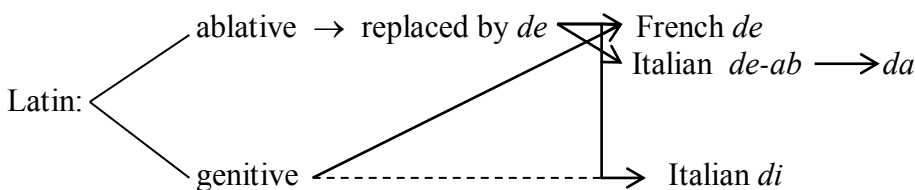the love of God well him lodged
"He found a dwelling in a sparse forest: there were of holy monks from his land that lodged him for God's sake." (12 century, adapted from Carlier 2007: 14)

➢ From Old to Middle French (from Carlier 2007: 26):
   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.

Old Italian

(20) *Ela mançà **del** pomo qe li de' un serpente*
   she ate of+the apple that her gave a snake
   "She ate of the apple that a snake gave her", *Uguccione da Lodi*, (beginning of 13. century)

(21) ***Del** mal fa quela asai sí ke no g' è mensura.*
   of+the evil does she much so that not there is measure
   "She does so much evil that it cannot be measured" *Pietro da Bescapè, 1274*

(22) *che **del** ben non vi sia*
   that of+the good neg there is
   "that there is not some good" *Ubertino del Bianco d'Arezzo, a. 1269*

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│ Two different developments!!   │
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          ablative  → replaced by de ⟍    French de
                                      ⟍  Italian de-ab ⟶ da
Latin: <
          genitive ◄----------------------⟶ Italian di
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The Italian partitive article comes from the GENITIVE preposition
Resulting patterns:

   o ***French: partitive=genitive=ablative (cf. Type b)***

   o ***Italian: partitive = genitive ≠ ablative (cf. Type c)***

   ➢ Partitive construction
Italian
   o *Del < di*(prep) + *il*(art) can be analyzed as representing two different items:
      ▪ preposition for adnominal modifiers + article (*La casa del mio amico*)
      ▪ indefinite/partitive article (< transcategorization)

(23) *Mangio **del** pane*
   I.eat indef.art bread
   "I'm eating some bread." (indefinite)

(24) *Mangio un pezzo **del** pane che hai comprato ieri*
   I.eat a piece of.the bread that you.have bought yesterday
   "I'm eating a piece of the bread that you bought yesterday." (partitive construction)

Apparently, the same form occurs as partitive/indefinite article and in partitive constructions, but in fact in (23) *del* can no longer be analyzed as containing the preposition for nominal modifiers, as there is no nominal head to which it should be attached.

   ➢ Pseudopartitive

(25) *Mangio un pezzo di pane*
   I.eat a piece **of** bread

"I'm eating a piece of bread." (pseudopartitive)

Prepositions in transition?

Dutch *van* as so-called 'faded partitive'
Dutch (De Hoop 1998: 194)

(26) *Er   lagen   van   die   dikke*
      boeken
      there   lay:PRS.3PL   of   DEM.PL   thick:PL
      book:PL
      op   de   tafel
      on   ART   table
      'Some thick books lay on the table.'

The effect of *van* in this construction is to cancel the meaning of the determiner *die* 'those'--> the phrase *van die boeken* functions as a bare plural (Zwart 1987).

6.   Oceanic partitives

Case markers
Proto-Oceanic *ta < Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *ta, sometimes called accusative in descriptive grammars. More correctly, this was the ending marking <u>indefinite undergoers</u> of antipassice constructions.
(These languages showed ergative alignment with S and the O in the absolutive, and A in the genitive. The O of a regular ergative clause could only be definite. Antipassive intransitive verbs indicating activity (as in 'I am eating') could take an <u>undergoer argument</u>. The latter was <u>indefinite (non-specific)</u>, and was marked as an <u>oblique</u>, nowadays called accusative (Ross p.c.)).
Toqabaqita (from Budd 2014)

(27) *Kuki   **ta**   kafo*
      cook   some   water
      'Boil some water.'

Prepositions
Locative preposition *i*:
Tongan (from Clark 1973: 600)

(28) *Na'e kai   'a   e   ika   'e   he   tamasi'i.*
      PST   eat   ABS   REF   fish   ERG   REF   boy
      'The boy ate (up) a fish.'

(29) *Na'e   kai   'a   e   tamasi'i '   **i**   he   ika.*
      PST   eat   ABS   REF   boy   in   REF   fish
      'The boy ate some (of a) fish.'

Serial verb constructions
 "Bierebo *ja* seems likely to be an accreted form of *gicha*, a variant form which occurs in some more conservative dialects of the language. In turn, *gicha* can be diachronically analyzed as *gi-cha*, where gi is a serial verb meaning 'take time' which is still productive in the contemporary language and cha is perhaps a phonologically-conditioned variant of ta. What seems likely here then, is that a modified serial verb with a literal meaning of 'take a little time' has developed into a more general VP partitive meaning 'do a little'. It remains to be seen whether this analysis would be valid for other Vanuatu languages with VP partitives." (Budd 2014)

Indefinite articles

In some Polynesian languages the numeral 'one' (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *esa) developed into an indefinite marker and further into a partitive morpheme.

Māori (Bauer 1997: 294)

(30)   *Kawe-a*   *atu*   ***he***   *wai*   *ki*   *a*   *au*
        bring-PASS   away   a   water   to   PERS   1SG
        'Bring me some water.'

⟹   <u>Contrary to developments seen thus far</u>:
  ▪ Romance: preposition > partitive article > indefinite article (plural)
  ▪ Polynesian: numeral 'one' > indefinite article > partitive article

7.   Partitive objects and partitive subjects

Russian - Direct object cf. (16)
Russian - Subject

(31)   *Nočju*   *snega*   *navalilo*!
        night:INS   snow:(M).SG.GEN   piled.up:N
        'During the night, there fell piles of snow!'

Estonian - Subject

(32)   *Taigna*   *sees*   *on*   *pipar-t*
        batter.GEN   in   be:PRS.3SG   pepper-PAR
        'There is (some) pepper in the batter.'

Avestan - Subject

(33)   *uruuaranąm zairi.gaonanąm   zaramaēm   paiti zəmāδa   uzuxšiieiti*
        plants:GEN   yellow.coloured:GEN spring:ACC   again   earth:ABL 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

(34)   *pácanti*   *te*   *vṛṣabhẫm̐*   *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)

Araki - Subject

(35)   *... co de re   huira co roho ro   raholo lo   cada di ...*
        1IN:I say PRTV octopus 3S:I stay PRG straight LOC place ANA
        "(if you go to the sea) suppose that some octopus is right in that place…"
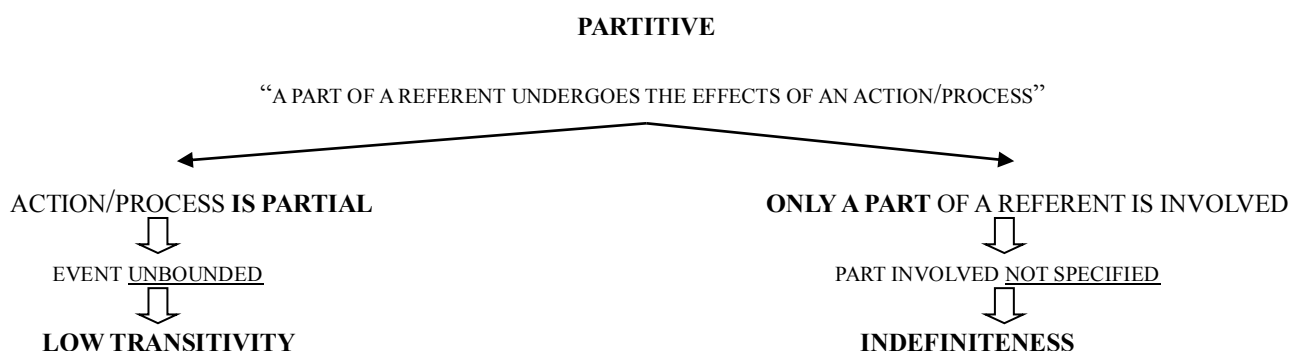
Araki - Direct object

(36)   *No-ku   ta, o   vodo   re   þaka-ku, re vina-ku.*
        POSS-1S dad 2S:I make PAR bow-1S, PAR arrow-1S
        "Dad, could you make me a bow, make me some arrows?"

⟹   Which came first?

Partitive object > partitive subjects with existentil 'be' > partitive subjects in presentative constructions

7. Further develpments of partitives

INFERENCES ARISING FROM THE PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION

PARTITIVE

"A PART OF A REFERENT UNDERGOES THE EFFECTS OF AN ACTION/PROCESS"

ACTION/PROCESS **IS PARTIAL**   **ONLY A PART** OF A REFERENT IS INVOLVED

EVENT <u>UNBOUNDED</u>   PART INVOLVED <u>NOT SPECIFIED</u>

LOW TRANSITIVITY   **INDEFINITENESS**

Left branch

Only a part of a referent is affected --> implicature that affectedness is partial --> <u>the feature of partiality is profiled</u> --> use of partitive in low transitivity contexts

- o Low transitivity
    - ▪ imperfective aspect
    - ▪ non-assertive modality
    - ▪ negation
    - ▪ ...

Right branch

Only a part of a referent is affected --> implicature concerning identifiability: "a non-specified quantity is necessarily non-uniquely identifiable to the hearer." (Carlier 2007: 27) --> the feature of non-specificity is profiled --> pragmatic implicature becomes more prominent than the original notion --> indefinte artcile

(see Traugott & Dasher 2002; Luraghi & Kittilä 2014)

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