

Partitivity and Part-Whole Constructions in Indo-European

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Partitivity

Ancient Indo-European Languages

- ▶ Fully entrenched notion in some ancient I-E languages, but
- ▶ Morphosyntactically always co-expressed:
no dedicated partitive case/flag and/or construction
- ▶ Structurally akin to
 - ▶ Adnominal modification by nouns
 - ▶ SOURCE semantics
 - ▶ Possession
 - ▶ Quantifier constructions
- ▶ Much more research needed

Expression of Partitivity

Outline

1. Adverbial partitive genitives, argumental and non-argumental
 - ▶ Vedic Sanskrit (ca. 1000 BCE)
 - ▶ Ancient Greek (ca. 500 BCE)
 2. Adnominal partitivity: Part-whole constructions
 - ▶ Hittite (ca. 1300 BCE)
 - ▶ Greek
 - ▶ Vedic Sanskrit
- Status quo prior to Romance innovations

Adverbial Partitive Genitive

Vedic Sanskrit: *Ingestion Verbs*

- (1) a. *pácantī te vṛṣabhāṃ átsi téṣāṃ*
cook:PRS.3PL 2SG.DAT bulls:ACC eat:PRS.2SG 3PL.M.GEN
‘They cook bulls for you, you eat (some) of them.’ (Rigveda X 28.3)
- b. *subhú ánnam atti*
good:ACC food:ACC eat:PRS.3SG
‘He eats excellent food.’ (Rigveda II 35.7)

- ▶ Accusative: partial **and** complete involvement of 2nd argument
- ▶ Genitive: partial involvement
(cf. Hettrich in press; Dahl 2014; Dahl 2010)

Brugmann 1911, p. 568

“Der Gegensatz zwischen dem Objektgenitiv und dem Objektsakkusativ ist aber nicht etwa immer der gewesen, dass der Genitiv einen Teil, der Akkusativ das Ganze betonte, sondern der Akkusativ steht ganz gewöhnlich auch dann, wenn es nur auf die Gattung im Gegensatz zu anderen Gattungen ankommt und die Quantität dahingestellt bleibt.”

- ▶ ACC used for partial and complete affection, as well as generic statements
- ▶ GEN restricted to expression of partial affection

► Emitters and stimuli (probably no DOM)

- (2) a. **śyāvāśuvasya śṛṇu**
Śyāvāśuva:GEN hear:PRS.IMP.2SG
'Listen to Śyāvāśuva!' (Rigveda VIII 36.7)
- b. *vísve devāḥ śṛṇutá imám hávam=me*
all.gods:VOC hear:PRS.IMP.2PL 3SG.M.ACC invocation:ACC=1SG.GEN
'O all-gods!, hear this invocation of mine!' (Rigveda VI 52.13)

- (3) a. *ayám agníḥ **suvíryasya** íse maháḥ*
3SG.M.NOM Agni:NOM rich.in.sons:GEN control:PRS.3SG great:GEN
saúbhagasya
happiness:GEN
'This Agni here controls the great welfare of having many sons.'
(Rigveda III 16.1)
- b. *kṣéti **kṣítih***
control:PRS.3SG race.of.men:ACC.PL
'(With his warriors he attacks and defeats his enemy with his warriors.)
he gains control over the races of men.'
(Rigveda V 37.4)
- c. *índur **devéṣu** patyate*
drop:NOM god:LOC.PL be.lord:PRS.3SG
'The drop (Soma) is lord of the gods.'
(Rigveda IX 45.4)

- Lexically determined *pat-* (3c): **no** genitive (ACC/LOC/INS)

- (4) *mahás carkarmi árvataḥ*
great:GEN praise:PRS.1SG steed:GEN
'I praise the mighty steed.' (Rigveda IV 39.2)
- (5) *índraṃ stavā nṛ́tamaṃ*
Indra:ACC praise:PRS.SBJ.1SG most.manly:ACC
'I will praise the most courageous Indra.' (Rigveda X 89.1ab)
- Genitive with *kar-* in (4) lexically determined (no alternation)

- (6) *yáḥ sómēna jaṭhāram apiprata*
REL:NOM.SG soma:I.SG belly:AKK.SG fill:IPF.3SG
‘who filled his belly with soma‘
- (7) *sómasya jaṭhāram pṛṇethām*
soma:GEN belly:ACC fill:PRS.IMP.2DU
„With soma fill your belly!“

- ▶ Genitive alternating with instrumental case in 3rd Argument
- ▶ R arguments in ditransitives never take genitive case

Telicity

- ▶ High affinity between genitive objects and atelic verbs
- ▶ Very few examples with change-of-state verbs (8)
- ▶ May introduce a conative reading as in Avestan ex. (9)

(8) *vidanvān vai bhārgava indrasya pratyahaṁs*
Vidanvat:NOM indeed Son.of.Bhṛgu:NOM Indra:GEN smite:IPF.3SG
'Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu (once upon a time) smote Indra.'
(Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa XIII 11.10)

(9) *janaiti vīspaēšaṃ aṅrō mainiiuš*
smite:PRS.SBJV.3SG everyone:GEN Aṅra:NOM Mainiius:NOM
'Aṅra Mainiius will (try to) smite everybody.'
(Avestan, Yašt 3.5)

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(10) *índro no asyá pūrvyáḥ papīyād*
Indra:NOM 1PL.GEN 3SG.M.GEN first:NOM drink:PRF.OPT.3SG
'Indra, the heavenly king, shall have drunk/been drinking this (soma)'
(Rigveda VI 37.2cd)

- ▶ Perfective aspect (10) “very rarely” occurs with genitive objects
- ▶ Markedly atelic (Dahl 2014)

Frequencies

Data: Hettrich in press

	Acc	Gen	Ins	Loc
<i>ingest, gain, transfer, request</i>	1420 88%	157 (<i>drink</i> 106) 10%	37 2%	–
<i>rule over, dispose of</i>	24 13%	147 83%	2 2%	3 2%
<i>mention, percieve, mind, know</i>	224 66%	112 34%	–	–
<i>be glad, enjoy</i>	12 11%	34 31%	37 34%	26 24%

- ▶ Highest proportion with *controll* verbs
- ▶ SOURCE (ablative) not involved, but note hig degree of GEN-ABL syncretism (underinvestigated)

1st Argument/Subject

- ▶ Rather marginal
- ▶ Very few experiencer/stimulus (12, post-rigvedic)

(11) *ákāri* *vām* ***ándhaso***
make:AOR.PASS.3SG 2D.DAT soma.juice:GEN
'Some soma-juice has been prepared for you two.' (Rigveda VI 63.3)

(12) *yád vái* ***púruṣasya*** *āmáyati*
if PTC man:GEN be.ill:PRS.3SG
'If a man is ill.' (MS I 8.9)

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(13) *yaṭ hē stāraṃ bayō.dātanṃ aiḥi raocaiiānte*
so.that 3SG.M.DAT stars:GEN.PL god.shaped:GEN.PL round shine:PRS.3PL
'So that the stars, which are set up by the gods, shine around for him.'
(Avestan, Vidēvdād 19.23)

- ▶ Low agentivity/experiencers; unaccusative verbs
- ▶ May control agreement: *raocaiiānte*

Adverbials

(14) *kṣapás*
night:GEN.SG
‘de nuit; at some point during the night’

(15) *uṣásas*
dawn:GEN.SG
‘at dawn; at some point in the morning’

- ▶ Not all ancient I-E languages allow for genitive objects, but all do so for adverbials
- ▶ Necessarily related to partitivity?

Observations

Vedic Partitives

- ▶ Agent typically refers only to a part of the patientive concept but affects this part completely, or
- ▶ Refers to the nominal concept in its totality but affects it only partially
- ▶ Mass nouns and abstract nouns prevailing by far – other semantic classes not excluded
- ▶ Verbal predicates: predominantly verbs of ruling, ingestion, transfer, striving

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- ▶ Some occurrences of GEN lexically determined
- ▶ Syntactic competition of genitive with ACC, INS, LOC and NOM, but apparently not ABL
- ▶ GEN (in a partitive use) not attested with R arguments
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- ▶ Definiteness?

Ancient Greek

Adverbial Partitive Genitive

Cf. Luraghi 2003; Conti and Luraghi 2014; Seržant 2012

- ▶ Occurs in the place of all other cases

- (16) *Eisì gàr autōn kai parà basilēi tōi Perséōn*
be:PRS.3PL PTCL DEM.GEN.PL and by King:DAT ART.DAT Persian:GEN.PL
'Because the Persian king has some of them.' (Hdt. Hist. 3.102.2)
- (17) *óphra píoi oínoio*
for drink:AOR.3SG.OPT wine:GEN.SG
'that he might drink of that wine' (Od. 22.11)
- (18) *nuktós*
night:GEN
'at (some unspecified point of time during the) night'
- (19) *ē ouk Árgeos ēen*
Q NEG Argos:GEN be:IPF.3SG
'was he not in Argos?' (Od. 3.251)

Partitive Genitive in Ancient Greek

- ▶ Indefinite and non-topical referents
- ▶ Decrease of referential properties of the respective NP
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- ▶ Demotion of referents in discourse
- ▶ 1st arguments
 - ▶ low agentivity: stimuli with experiential predicates (*needed, taken care of*)
Some behavioral subject properties
- ▶ 2nd arguments
 - ▶ Low degree of involvement
 - ▶ Reduced extent of participation
- ▶ Not attested as R arguments with communication and transfer verbs
- ▶ Loose connection with negation
- ▶ Very similar to Indo-Iranian

Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case

- ▶ Adnominal partitivity typically expressed by genitive case or some SOURCE construction (Ablative, PPs)
- ▶ Involvement of PARTITIVE in case attraction

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(20) *takku* **LÚ.U₁₉LU-an** ELLAM **KIR₁₄** =set *kuiski*
if man:ACC free nose(:ACC) =3SG.POSS.ACC INDF.NOM
wāki
bite:PRS.3SG
'If anyone bites off the nose of a free person.' (Neo-Hittite, Laws § 13)

- ▶ Agreement in case of WHOLE (*man*) with PART (*nose*)

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Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case Hittite

- ▶ Predominantly in accusative case, but cf. (23)
- ▶ Almost exclusively in part-whole relations, mostly body parts

(22) *n=an tuikus isgahhi*
CONN=ACC.SG body-member.ACC.PL anoint:PRS.1SG
'I anoint his members.' (KUB 7.1+i 40)

(23) *nu=kan GAL-in arunan ^DKumarbiyaza É-irza uwater*
CONN=PTC big:ACC sea:ACC Kumarbi:ABL house:ABL bring:PRT.3PL
'They brought the big sea out of Kumarbi's house. (StBoT 14.11.16–19)

- ▶ Development in the history of Hittite (?)
- ▶ Possibly contact-induced (Luraghi 2008 with further ref.)

Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case Ancient Greek

- ▶ Well attested
- ▶ Mostly accusatives
- ▶ Dative/genitive constructions ambiguous (external possessor)

- (24) *tón hr' Oduseùs ... bále dourì kórsēn*
3SG.ACC PTCL Odysseus:NOM hit:AOR.3SG spear:DAT brow:ACC
'Odysseus hit his brow with a spear.' (Il. 4.501–2)
- (25) *boulei pónon moi tēide prostheĩnai kheri*
want:PRS.2SG distress:ACC 1SG.DAT ART:DAT put:INF Hand:DAT
'You want to put distress in my hand.' (Eur. Hel. 63)

Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case Ancient Greek

- (26) *Atréides d' ákhei megáloi bebolménos ētor*
Atreid:NOM PTC pain:DAT great:DAT hit:PTCP.PF.P.NOM soul:ACC
'Agamemnon, hit in his soul by great pain.' (Il. 9.9)

- ▶ WHOLE promoted to subject in passivization
- ▶ PART: body parts; armor
- ▶ Poetic genre (Homeric)

Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case Indo-Iranian

- ▶ Part-whole relation
- ▶ Inclusion of abstract and concrete PARTS

- (27) *ahám etāñ ... dvā-dvā índraṃ yé vájraṃ yudháye*
I DEM.ACC.PL ... two-by-two Indra:ACC REL.NOM.PL mace:ACC.PL to.fight
ákr̥ṇvata
make:IPF.3PL
'I (struck down) by twos those who caused **Indra's** mace to fight'
(Rigveda X 48.06)
- (28) *té tvā mádā amadan tāni*
DEM.NOM.PL 2SG.ACC drink:NOM.PL exhilarate:AOR.3PL DEM.ACC.PL
vṛṣṇiyā
bullish-power.ACC.PL
'These drinks exhilarated these bullish powers of yours.' (Rigveda I 53.6)

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'These drinks exhilarated these bullish powers of yours.' (Rigveda I 53.6)
- (29) *tám ... ná ródasī pári śrávo*
DEM.ACC.SG.M ... NEG world.half:NOM.DU about fame:ACC.SG.N
babhūvatuh
become:PERF.3DU
'The two world-halves do not encompass his fame' (Rigveda V 16.4)

Adnominal Partitivity

Double Case Indo-Iranian

- ▶ Locative case
- ▶ Iranian evidence

- (30) *á hí ruhátam ásvinā ráthe kóse hiraṇyáye*
to PTCL ascend:IPV.2DU Ásvin:VOC.DU chariot:LOK cask:LOK golden:LOK
'Ascend into the golden cask of the chariot, Ásvins!' (Rigveda VIII 22.9)
- (31) *hō maṃ ... vərənaṇ nijaiṇti*
DEM.NOM 1SG.ACC ... fetus:ACC.PL kill:PRS.3SG
'He induces the abortion of my children' (Avestan, Videvdat 18.38)

- ▶ Few clear instances
- ! Genitive as means of adnominal partitive modification clearly prevails

Double case

Separative Semantics Vedic

- (32) a. *duhāná údhar diviyám mádhu priyám*
milking:NOM udder:ACC heavenly:ACC honey:ACC dear:Acc
'milking out the lovely honey of the heavenly udder' (Rigveda IX 107.5)
- b. *nír jyótiṣā támaso gā aduṣat*
out light:I darkness:GEN cow:ACC.PL he.milked
'he milked the cows out of the darkness' (Rigveda I 33.10)
- (33) *dughdó aṁsúḥ ~ dugdhám páyas*
milk:PART.PASS plant milked:PART.PASS milk
'milked plant' ~ 'milked out milk'

- ▶ SOURCE attracted to direct object
- ▶ Both accusatives passivizable

Double case

Separative Semantics Vedic

- (34) **vṛkṣám** *pakvám* **phálam** *dhūnuhi* *índra*
tree:ACC ripe:ACC fruit:ACC shake:IMP.2SG Indra:VOC
'shake down ripe fruits of/from a tree, Indra!, (for us)' (Rigveda III 45.4)
- (35) **cakráṃ** *muṣāyá* *indra* **súriyam**
wheel:ACC steal:INJ.2SG Indra:VOC sun:ACC
'Indra!, you stole the wheel of the sun' (Rigveda IV 30.4)
- (36) a. **prā́tra** *bhedám* *sarvátātā* *muṣāyat*
toward=here Bheda:ACC.SG entirely steal:INJ.2SG
'He despoiled there Bheda entirely' (Rigveda VII 18.19)
- b. *muṣāyád* **pacatám**
steal:INJ.3SG porridge:ACC
'He stole the porridge' (Rigveda I 61.7)

- ▶ Applicative *prá* for SOURCE without direct object
- ▶ This type syntactically clearly different from Ancient Greek

Double Case

Ditransitives

- ▶ Double object ditransitives restricted to *steal/ask*-type verbs
- ▶ Double object ditransitives historically influenced by partitive part-whole constructions?

(37) *steal cart*'_{SPR/SOURCE CASE} *wheel*_{OBJECT CASE}

with case copying:

*steal cart*_{OBJECT CASE} *wheel*_{OBJECT CASE}

Armenian Double Case

Jensen 1959; Luraghi 2008; Caha 2013

- (38) *pndowt^ceamb srtiw / srti*
steadfastness.**INS** heart.**INS** / heart.GEN
'with steadfastness of the heart'
- (39) *i knoĵē t^cagaworē-n / t^cagawori-n*
i wife:**ABL** king:**ABL-ART** / king:**GEN-ART**
'by the wife of the king'

- ▶ Attraction only with instrumental and ablative case
- ▶ Not restricted to part-whole relations
- ▶ Historically not related (?)

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'by the wife of the king'
- ▶ Attraction only with instrumental and ablative case
 - ▶ Not restricted to part-whole relations
 - ▶ Historically not related (?)
 - ▶ Case copying – case stacking:
- (40) *y-eresac^c k^co-c^c*
from-face:**ABL.PL** 2SG.GEN-**ABL.PL**
'from your face'

Case Attraction

Partitivity in Case Attraction

- ▶ Hittite
 - ▶ Partitivity almost always involved
- ▶ Ancient Greek
 - ▶ Partitivity very often involved

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Partitivity in Case Attraction

- ▶ Hittite
 - ▶ Partitivity almost always involved
 - ▶ Ancient Greek
 - ▶ Partitivity very often involved
 - ▶ Vedic
 - ▶ Case attraction probably not deeply entrenched
 - ▶ Partitivity mostly involved
 - ▶ Armenian
 - ▶ Strong restriction on case attraction (ablative and Instrumental)
 - ▶ Partitivity clearly not dominant
-
- ▶ Vertical or horizontal development?
 - ▶ Case attraction squares well with pervasive system of adjectival expression of different relationships within the NP
 - ▶ Hardly extant in later attested languages (Latin influenced by Greek?)

Partitivity as a Category









- ▶ Partitivity not equally important in all branches of Indo-European
Balto-Slavic > Ancient Greek > Indo-Iranian >>> ...
- ▶ Some languages/communities feel no need to express it categorically
- ▶ Some structures of its own in Romance and the Baltic area (linked to possession)



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- ▶ Strongly related to genitive and/or ablative case
- ▶ Genitive case covers most of commonly known functions of partitive semantics
- ▶ Notable gap with R arguments
- ▶ Partitivity always the marked member of an opposition
- ▶ Partitivity participates in case attraction via part-whole relation
- ▶ Partitivity reaches out to ditransitives

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