

The (pseudo-)morphology of the pseudo-partitive

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The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

Appendix III: Morphological realization

Syncretism

Syncretism

(1) you

Syncretism

(1) you

a. ADDRESSEE

Syncretism

- (1) you
 - a. ADDRESSEE
 - b. ADDRESSEE + OTHERS

Syncretism

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My puzzle

Czech declension (partial)

	woman	woman		song	song		bone	bone		car	car
	SG.	PL.		SG.	PL.		SG.	PL.		SG	PL
NOM	žen-a	žen-y		píseň-ø	písn-ě		kost-ø	kost-i		aut-o	aut-a
ACC	žen-u	žen-y		píseň-ø	písn-ě		kost-ø	kost-i		aut-o	aut-a
GEN	žen-y	žen-ø		písn-ě	písn-í		kost-i	kost-í		aut-a	aut-Ø
LOC	žen-ě	žen-ách		písn-i	písn-ích		kost-i	kost-ech		aut-u	aut-ech
DAT	žen-ě	žen-ám		písn-i	písn-ím		kost-i	kost-em		aut-u	aut-ům
INS	žen-ou	žen-ama		písn-í	písn-ěma		kost-í	kost-ma		aut-em	aut-ama

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GEN	žen-y	žen-ø		písn-ě	písn-í		kost-i	kost-í		aut-a	aut-Ø
LOC	žen-ě	žen-ách		písn-i	písn-ích		kost-i	kost-ech		aut-u	aut-ech
DAT	žen-ě	žen-ám		písn-i	písn-ím		kost-i	kost-em		aut-u	aut-ům
INS	žen-ou	žen-ama		písn-í	písn-ěma		kost-í	kost-ma		aut-em	aut-ama

- (1) you
- a. **ADDRESSEE**
 - b. **ADDRESSEE** + OTHERS

Baerman et al. (2002): “Few would dispute that these patterns have come about by chance as a result of independent phonological developments, and [...] no Gesamtbedeutung should be sought.”

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The uses of the Czech genitive

- (2) The Czech genitive has at least the following uses
 - a. possession (the table **of** my colleague)

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- after numerals 2-4 (two ros-**es**)

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- after numerals 2-4 (two ros-**es**)
 - reference to pluralities (the ros-**es**)
 - bare plurals (There are ros-**es** in the garden)

A masculine noun

- (4) a. cena sirup-**u**
price syrup-GEN
'the price of syrup'

dimension

A masculine noun

(4) a. cena sirup-**u**
price syrup-GEN
'the price of syrup'

dimension

b. litr sirup-**u**
liter syrup-GEN
'a liter of syrup'

pseudo-partitive

A masculine noun

- (4) a. cena sirup-**u**
price syrup-GEN
'the price of syrup' dimension
- b. litr sirup-**u**
liter syrup-GEN
'a liter of syrup' pseudo-partitive
- c. tři sirup-**y**
three syrup-PL
'three packages of syrup' counting

A masculine noun

- (4)
- | | | |
|----|--|------------------|
| a. | cena sirup- u
price syrup-GEN
'the price of syrup' | dimension |
| b. | litr sirup- u
liter syrup-GEN
'a liter of syrup' | pseudo-partitive |
| c. | tři sirup- y
three syrup-PL
'three packages of syrup' | counting |
| d. | ty sirup- y
the syrup-PL
'the packages of syrup' | plural |

A syncretic noun

- (5) a. cena másł-**a**
price butter-GEN
'the price of butter'

dimension

A syncretic noun

- (5) a. cena másł-**a**
price butter-GEN
'the price of butter' dimension
- b. kilo másł-**a**
kilo butter-GEN
'a kilo of butter' pseudo-partitive

A syncretic noun

- (5) a. cena másł-a
price butter-GEN
'the price of butter' dimension
- b. kilo másł-a
kilo butter-GEN
'a kilo of butter' pseudo-partitive
- c. tři másł-a
three butter-PL
'three packages of butter' counting

A syncretic noun

- (5) a. cena más-l-a
price butter-GEN
'the price of butter' dimension
- b. kilo más-l-a
kilo butter-GEN
'a kilo of butter' pseudo-partitive
- c. tři más-l-a
three butter-PL
'three packages of butter' counting
- d. ty más-l-a
the butter-PL
'the packages of butter' plural

Czech MASC	“GEN” GEN.SG	PSEUDO-PART GEN.SG	N NUMERAL NOM.PL	PL NOM.PL
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	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N NUMERAL	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N NUMERAL	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N NUMERAL	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

(6) Finnish

- a. kirja-**n** kansi
book-GEN cover
'the cover of the book'

(part whole)

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a. kirja-**n** kansi
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'the cover of the book'

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b. suklaa-**n** hinta
chocolate-GEN price
'the price of chocolate'

(property)

(6) Finnish

- a. kirja-**n** kansi
book-GEN cover
'the cover of the book' (part whole)
- b. suklaa-**n** hinta
chocolate-GEN price
'the price of chocolate' (property)
- c. pala suklaa-**ta**
piece.NOM chocolate-PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

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two.NOM chocolate-PART
'two chocolates' (counting)

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piece.NOM chocolate-PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
- d. kaksi suklaa-**ta**
two.NOM chocolate-PART
'two chocolates' (counting)
- e. Nämä suklaa-**t** ovat halpoja.
these chocolate-NOM.PL are cheap
'These chocolates are cheap.' (plural)

Estonian is like Finnish except that...

(7) Three Estonian paradigms

	church, SG.	corridor, SG.	church, PL.
NOM	kirik	koridor	kiriku-d
ACC	kirik-u	koridor-i	kiriku-d
GEN	kirik-u	koridor-i	kiriku-te
PART	kirik-u-t	koridor-i	kiriku-sid
DAT/ALL	kirik-u-le	koridor-i-le	kiriku-te-le
INS/ADE	kirik-u-le	koridor-i-l	kiriku-te-l
...

(8) Estonian

- a. šokolaad-i hind
chocolate.GEN price.NOM
'the price of a third of a tart'

(property)

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- a. šokolaad-**i** hind
chocolate.GEN price.NOM
'the price of a third of a tart' (property)
- b. tükk šokolaad-**i**
piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

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- a. šokolaad-**i** hind
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piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
- c. kaks šokolaad-**i**
two.NOM chocolate-SG.PART
'two chocolates' (counting)

(8) Estonian

- a. šokolaad-**i** hind
chocolate.GEN price.NOM
'the price of a third of a tart' (property)
- b. tükk šokolaad-**i**
piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
- c. kaks šokolaad-**i**
two.NOM chocolate-SG.PART
'two chocolates' (counting)
- d. Need šokolaad-**id** on odavad.
these.NOM.PL chocolates-PL.NOM be.PRES.3 cheap.PL
'These chocolates are cheap.' (plural)

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a

(9) Two smaller tasks

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a

- (9) Two smaller tasks
- Pseudo-partitive = counted noun
(mass-count ambiguity)

	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL

	PSEUDO-PART	N-NUM	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL
Fin/Est	PART	PART	PL
Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a

- (9) Two smaller tasks
- Pseudo-partitive = counted noun
(mass-count ambiguity)
 - counted noun = plural
(number-neutral denotation vs. true plural)

The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

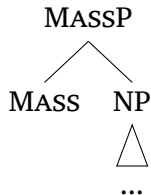
Conclusions

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Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

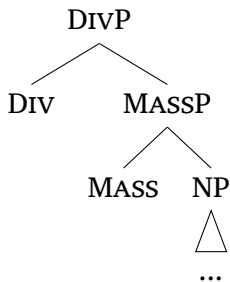
Appendix III: Morphological realization

The proposal



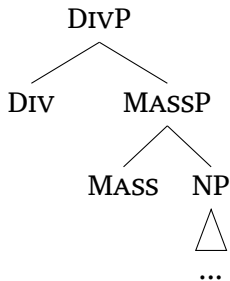
In pseudo-partitive structures, the measure noun (*a liter*) applies to a mass noun. Mass nouns are the simplest denotation type, which lacks a clearly defined atomic layer in their denotation (e.g., Borer 2005)

The proposal



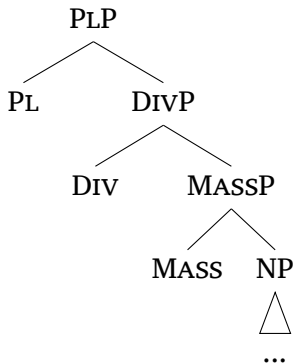
Numerals require their complement to be a count noun. Count denotations arise as a result of providing the mass denotation with a layer of non-overlapping atomic units (e.g., Borer 2005; Rothstein 2010). The count denotation is number neutral, corresponding to the so-called join semilattice (Link 1983)

The proposal



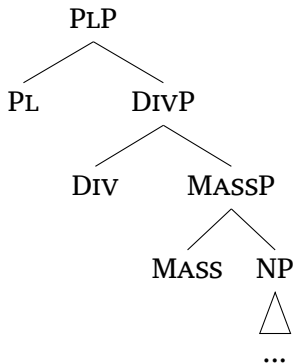
(10) $[[\text{DivP}]] = \{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$

The proposal



The plural denotation arises by restricting the countable (but number-neutral) denotation of DivP to all its non-atomic members (Harbour 2014; Martí 2020)

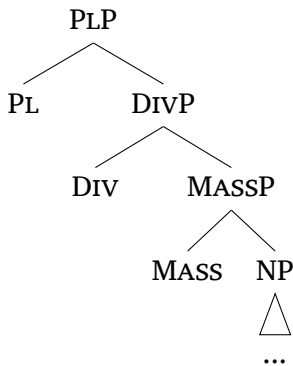
The proposal



(11) $[[\text{DIVP}]] = \{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$

(12) $[[\text{PLP}]] = \{\alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$

The proposal



Structures like these are known to restrict syncretism: Only structurally adjacent layers can show syncretism (Caha 2009; Bobaljik 2012)

The proposal

(13) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)

a. bi(r) parça kek-~~Ø~~

a piece cake

'a piece of cake'

(pseudo-partitive)

b. üç kek-~~Ø~~

three cake

'three cakes'

(counting)

c. kek-**ler**

cake-PL

'cakes'

(plural)

The proposal

- (14) Dutch (Fenna Bergsma, p.c.)
- a. een meter touw- \emptyset
one meter rope
'one meter of rope' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. twee touw-**en**
two rope-PL
'two ropes' (counting)
 - c. Er liggen touw-**en** op de grond.
there lie rope-PL on the ground
'There are (some) ropes on the ground.' (plural)

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Tripartite systems

(15) Anatolian Digor Ossetic

MASS

one bowl water

NOM	eu khoppa don- Ø
ACC	eu khoppa don- Ø
INE	eu khoppa don- i
DAT	eu khoppa don- æn
ABL	eu khoppa don- æj
ADE	eu khoppa don- bæI
ALL	eu khoppa don- mæ

Tripartite systems

(16) Anatolian Digor Ossetic

	MASS	COUNT
	one bowl water	ten horses
NOM	eu khoppa don- \emptyset	dæs bæx-i
ACC	eu khoppa don- \emptyset	dæs bæx-i
INE	eu khoppa don-i	dæs bæx- em-i
DAT	eu khoppa don- æn	dæs bæx- em-æn
ABL	eu khoppa don- æj	dæs bæx- em-æj
ADE	eu khoppa don- bæl	dæs bæx- e -bæl
ALL	eu khoppa don- mæ	dæs bæx- e -mæ

Tripartite systems

(17) Anatolian Digor Ossetic

	MASS one bowl water	COUNT ten horses	PLURAL horses
NOM	eu khoppa don- \emptyset	dæs bæx-i	bæx-tæ- \emptyset
ACC	eu khoppa don- \emptyset	dæs bæx-i	bæx-tæ- \emptyset
INE	eu khoppa don-i	dæs bæx-em-i	bæx-t -i
DAT	eu khoppa don-æn	dæs bæx-em-æn	bæx-t -æn
ABL	eu khoppa don-æj	dæs bæx-em-æj	bæx-t -æj
ADE	eu khoppa don-bæl	dæs bæx-e -bæl	bæx-tæ-bæl
ALL	eu khoppa don-mæ	dæs bæx-e -mæ	bæx-tæ-mæ

Bulgarian

(18) a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C

Bulgarian

- (18)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. Feminine nouns: A – B – B

Bulgarian

- (18)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. Feminine nouns: A – B – B

A tripartite system

- (19) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche keks
one piece cake
'a piece of (pound) cake' (pseudo-partitive)

A tripartite system

- (19) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche keks
one piece cake
'a piece of (pound) cake' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dva keks-**a**
two cake-COUNT
'two (pound) cakes' (counting)

A tripartite system

- (19) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche keks
one piece cake
'a piece of (pound) cake' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dva keks-**a**
two cake-COUNT
'two (pound) cakes' (counting)
 - c. keks-**ove**-te
cake-PL-DEF
'the (pound) cakes' (plural)

Syncretism within a tripartite system

- (20) Bulgarian feminine/neuter nouns (informant data, ABB)
- a. edno parche tort-**a** / masl-**o**
one piece cake-SG butter-SG
'a piece of cake/butter' (pseudo-partitive)

Syncretism within a tripartite system

- (20) Bulgarian feminine/neuter nouns (informant data, ABB)
- a. edno parče tort-**a** / masl-**o**
one piece cake-SG butter-SG
'a piece of cake/butter' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. dve tort-**i** / masl-**a**
two cake-COUNT butter-COUNT
'two (whole) cakes / two packages of butter'
(counting)

Syncretism within a tripartite system

- (20) Bulgarian feminine/neuter nouns (informant data, ABB)
- a. edno parche tort-**a** / masl-**o**
one piece cake-SG butter-SG
'a piece of cake/butter' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dve tort-**i** / masl-**a**
two cake-COUNT butter-COUNT
'two (whole) cakes / two packages of butter'
(counting)
 - c. tort-**i-te** / masl-**a-ta**
cake-PL-DEF / butter-PL-DEF
'cakes / packages of butter' (plural)

Adjectival modification in BG

- (21)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. modifying adjectives: A – B – B

Adjectival modification in BG

- (22) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche vkusen- \emptyset keks
one piece tasty-MASC.SG cake
'a piece of good cake' (pseudo-partitive)

Adjectival modification in BG

- (22) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parče vkusen- \emptyset keks
one piece tasty-MASC.SG cake
'a piece of good cake' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. dva vkusn-i keks-a
two tasty-PL cake-COUNT
'two tasty cakes' (counting)

Adjectival modification in BG

- (22) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche vkusen- \emptyset keks
one piece tasty-MASC.SG cake
'a piece of good cake' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. dva vkusn-i keks-a
two tasty-PL cake-COUNT
'two tasty cakes' (counting)
- c. vkusn-i-te keks-ove
tasty-PL-DEF cake-PL
'tasty cakes' (plural)

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-Ø</i>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-Ø</i>	<i>nov-og(a)</i>	<i>nov-a</i>	<i>nov-i</i>	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-Ø</i>	<i>konopc-a</i>	<i>konopc-a</i>	<i>konopc-i</i>	AAB

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-∅</i>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-∅</i>	konopc-a	konopc-a	konopc-i	AAB
wife, FEM.	<i>žen-a</i>	žen-ē	žen-e	žen-e	ABB

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-∅</i>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-∅</i>	konopc-a	konopc-a	konopc-i	AAB
wife, FEM.	<i>žen-a</i>	žen-ē	žen-e	žen-e	ABB
bone, FEM.	<i>kost-∅</i>	kost-i	kost-i	kost-i	AAA

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-∅</i>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-∅</i>	konopc-a	konopc-a	konopc-i	AAB
wife, FEM.	<i>žen-a</i>	žen-ē	žen-e	žen-e	ABB
bone, FEM.	<i>kost-∅</i>	kost-i	kost-i	kost-i	AAA
not attested	—	A	B	A	*ABA

Split systems: case

(23) Russian, nominative (S. Toldova, p.c.)

- a. metr zabor-a
meter.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'a meter of fence'

Split systems: case

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two.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'two fences'

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fence-NOM.PL
'fences'

Split systems: case

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'two fences'
- c. zabor-y
fence-NOM.PL
'fences'

Split systems: case

- (25) Russian, instrumental (S. Toldova, p.c.)
- a. s metr-om zabor-a
with meter-INS fence-GEN
'with a meter of fence'

Split systems: case

(25) Russian, instrumental (S. Toldova, p.c.)

- a. s metr-om zabor-**a**
with meter-INS fence-GEN
'with a meter of fence'
- b. s dv-umja zabor-**ami**
with two-INS fence-INS.PL
'with two fences'

Split systems: case

- (25) Russian, instrumental (S. Toldova, p.c.)
- a. s metr-om zabor-**a**
with meter-INS fence-GEN
'with a meter of fence'
 - b. s dv-umja zabor-**ami**
with two-INS fence-INS.PL
'with two fences'
 - c. s zabor-**ami**
with fence-INS.PL
'with fences'

Split systems: case

(26) Russian, instrumental (S. Toldova, p.c.)

- a. s metr-om zabor-a
with meter-INS fence-GEN
'with a meter of fence'
- b. s dv-umja zabor-**ami**
with two-INS fence-INS.PL
'with two fences'
- c. s zabor-**ami**
with fence-INS.PL
'with fences'

Split systems: case

(27) Patterns of syncretism in Russian

	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL
INS	-a	-ami	-ami
NOM	-a	-a	-y

An ABC pattern in Russian

(28) Russian, special masculines, nominative

a. konec **rjad-a**

end row-GEN.SG
'the end of the row'

(part-whole)

b. dva **rjad-á**

two row-NUMER
'two rows'

(counting)

The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

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 - ▶ Other uses of the genitive

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 - ▶ Other uses of the genitive
 - ▶ Other uses of the partitive
 - ▶ Other uses of the plural
 - ▶ singular, dual, ...

Thank you!

The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

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(29) measure SUBSTANCE — numeral ENTITIES

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(30) SUBSTANCE — ENTITIES

(29) measure SUBSTANCE — numeral ENTITIES

(30) SUBSTANCE — ENTITIES

indefinite amount of SUBSTANCE — indefinite number of ENTITIES

Serbian (indefinite amount)

(31) Serbian (Hammond 2005)

a. Molim vas, litar benzin-**a**.

I.ask you liter petrol-GEN

'A liter of petrol, please.'

(pseudo-partitive)

Serbian (indefinite amount)

(31) Serbian (Hammond 2005)

- a. Molim vas, litar benzin-**a**.
I.ask you liter petrol-GEN
'A liter of petrol, please.' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. Kupili smo čecer-**a**
bought we.are sugar-GEN
'We bought (some) sugar.' ('indefinite quantity')

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'A liter of petrol, please.' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. Kupili smo čećer-**a**
bought we.are sugar-GEN
'We bought (some) sugar.' ('indefinite quantity')
- c. Bilo je vod-**e** u česmi.
be there.is water-gen in tap
'There was water in the tap.' (existential/locative)

Finnish

(32) Finnish (Kiparsky 1998)

- a. Kasa hiekka-**a**
stack.NOM sand-PAR
'a stack of sand'

(pseudo-partitive)

Finnish

(32) Finnish (Kiparsky 1998)

a. Kasa hiekka-**a**
stack.NOM sand-PAR
'a stack of sand'

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b. Matti ost-i maito-**a**
Matti bought milk-PART
'Matti bought milk.'

('indefinite quantity')

Finnish

- (32) Finnish (Kiparsky 1998)
- a. Kasa hiekka-**a**
stack.NOM sand-PAR
'a stack of sand' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. Matti ost-i maito-**a**
Matti bought milk-PART
'Matti bought milk. ('indefinite quantity')
- c. Lattialla on vett-**ä**.
floor.ADE is water-PAR
There is water on the floor. (existential/locative)

Estonian

(33) Estonian (Norris 2018)

- a. tüki leiba
piece.ACC bread.PART
'a piece of bread'

(pseudo-partitive)

Estonian

(33) Estonian (Norris 2018)

a. tüki leiba
piece.ACC bread.PART
'a piece of bread'

(pseudo-partitive)

b. Otsin leiba.
I.bought bread.PART
'I bought (some) bread.'

(‘indefinite quantity’)

Estonian

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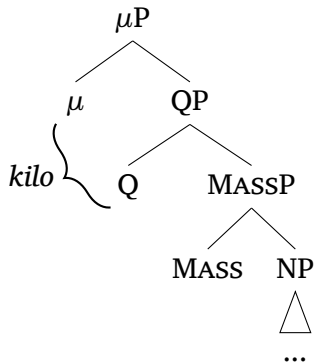
- a. tüki leiba
piece.ACC bread.PART
'a piece of bread' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. Otsin leiba.
I.bought bread.PART
'I bought (some) bread.' ('indefinite quantity')
- c. Klaasi-s on mehla
glass-INE is juice.PART
'There is (some) juice in the glass
(existential/locative)

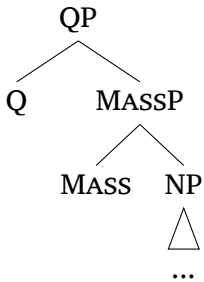
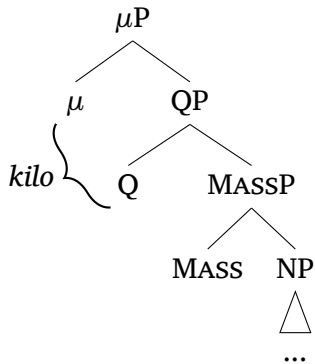
- (34) a. **litr mlík-a**
liter milk-GEN
'a liter of milk'

- (34) a. **litr mlík-a**
liter milk-GEN
'a liter of milk'
- b. **Koupil mlík-o.**
he.bought butter-ACC
'He bought some butter.'
- indefinite quantity

Czech

- (34)
- a. **litr mlík-a**
liter milk-GEN
'a liter of milk'
 - b. **Koupil mlík-o.**
he.bought butter-ACC
'He bought some butter.' indefinite quantity
 - c. **Ve sklenici bylo mlík-o.**
in glass was milk-NOM
'He bought some milk.' existential/locative





(35) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)

- a. bi(r) parça kek-Ø
a piece cake
'a piece of cake'

(pseudo-partitive)

(35) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)

a. bi(r) parça kek-Ø

a piece cake

'a piece of cake'

(pseudo-partitive)

b. üç kek-Ø

three cake

'three cakes'

(counting)

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a. bi(r) parça kek-Ø

a piece cake

'a piece of cake'

(pseudo-partitive)

b. üç kek-Ø

three cake

'three cakes'

(counting)

c. kek-ler

cake-PL

'cakes'

(plural)

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a piece cake
'a piece of cake' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. üç kek-Ø
three cake
'three cakes' (counting)
 - c. kek-ler
cake-PL
'cakes' (plural)

- (36) Turkish (Alexiadou 2019: 128, Bale et al. 2010: 586)
- a. Kitap al-di-m
book buy-past-1sg
'I bought a book/books.'
 - b. John ve Brad çocuk
John and Brad boy
'John and Brad are boys'

(37) Armenian Bale et al. 2010: 586)

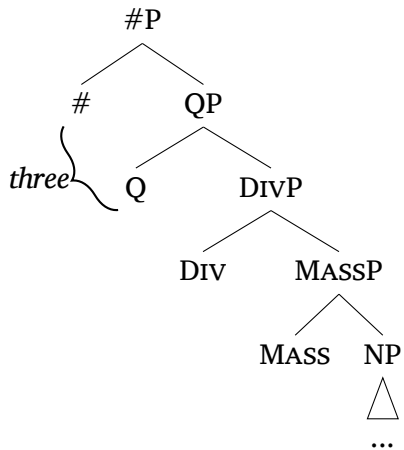
a. yergu dəgha
two boy

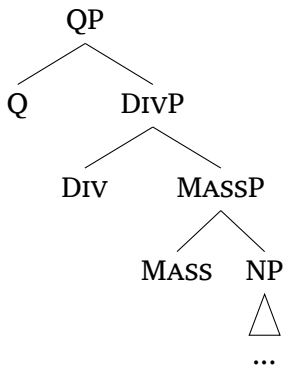
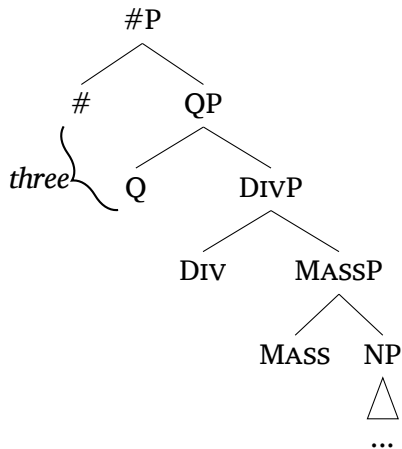
b. John-ə yev Brad-ə dəgha en
John-def and Brad-def boy are
'John and Brad are boys'

However...

(38) Bulgarian

- a. dva zelenchuk-a
two vegetable-COUNT
- b. domat-at i krastavica-ta sa zelenchuc-i
tomato-DEF and cucumber-DEF are vegetable-PL
- c. *domat-at i krastavica-ta sa zelenchuk-a
tomato-DEF and cucumber-DEF are vegetable-COUNT





The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

Appendix III: Morphological realization

(39) *A possible structure of the dual: [MIN [PLP]]*

(39) *A possible structure of the dual: [MIN [PLP]]*

(40) **Guolleoaggu-t le-igga** **dasa** **boahtá-n**
fisherman-NSG be-3DU.PST DEM.ILL come-PRF
muohtabiilla-in
snow.car-COM
‘The fishermen had come there by snow car.’ (North
Saami)

(41) *A possible structure of the singular: [MIN [CLP]]*

(41) *A possible structure of the singular:* [MIN [CLP]]

(42) [MIN [CL] [MASSP]]]
{*a, one, \emptyset_{sg}* }

The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

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Nanosyntax

- ▶ Structures are built from abstract meaningful features

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- ▶ Semantic interpretation has two components:

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 - ▶ formal features (do not correspond to morphemes)

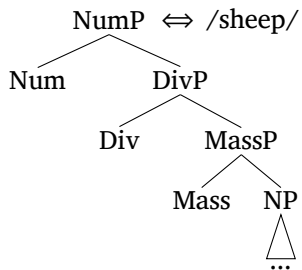
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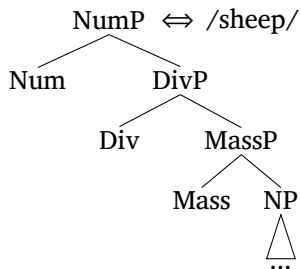
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Syncretism

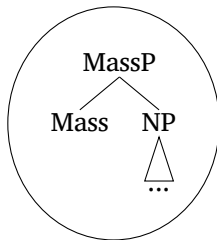
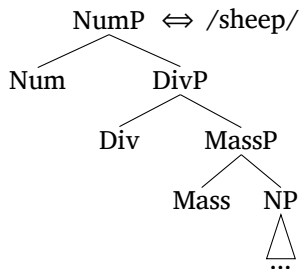


Syncretism



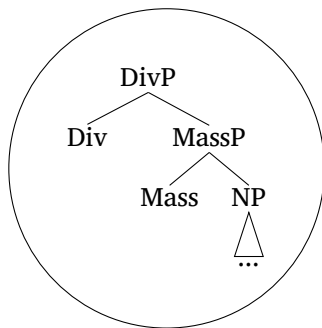
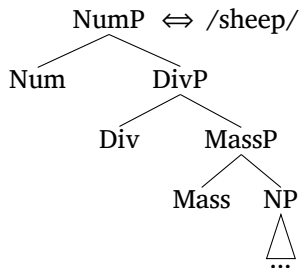
- (43) *The Superset Principle* (Starke 2009):
A lexical item can spellout structures it contains.

Syncretism



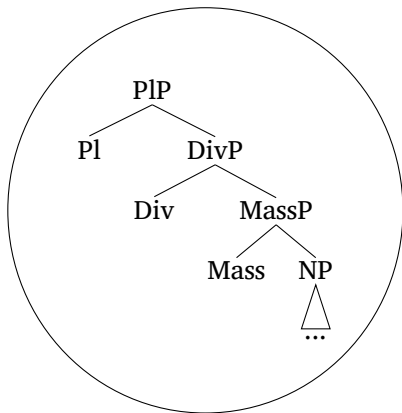
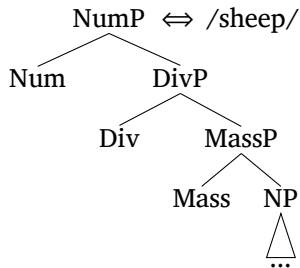
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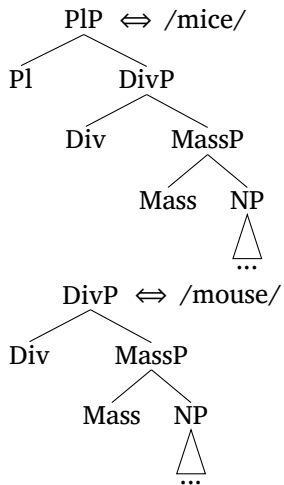
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Syncretism

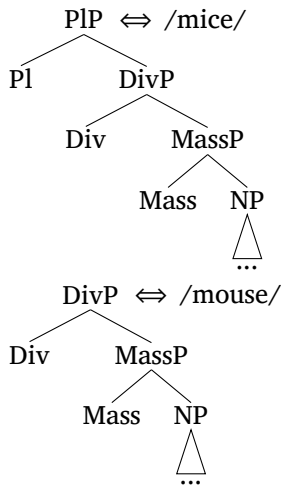


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Competition

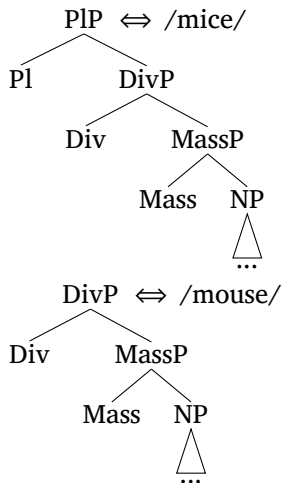


Competition

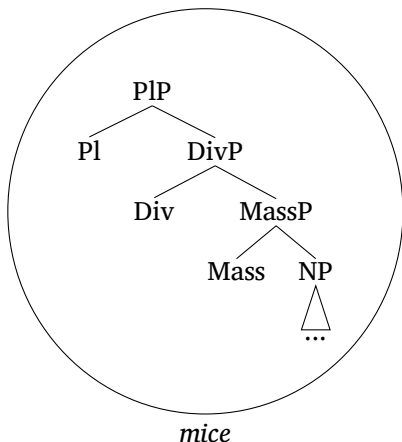


(44) *The Elsewhere Condition:*
When multiple items match,
use the more specific one.

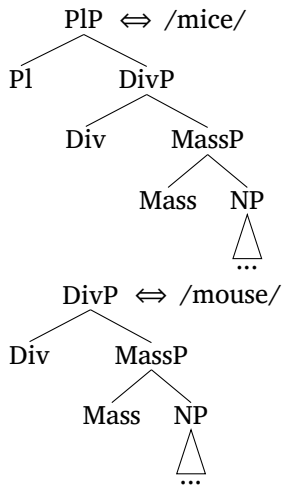
Competition



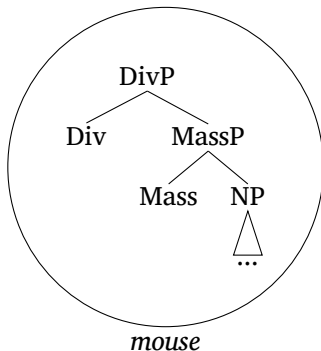
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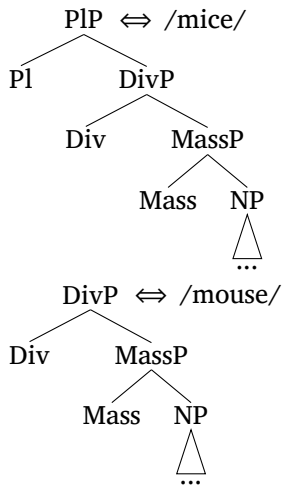
Competition



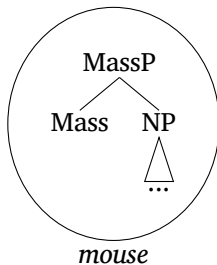
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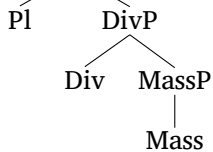
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/

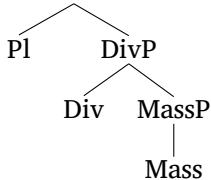


MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



noun

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

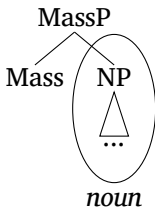


- (45)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

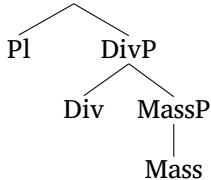
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

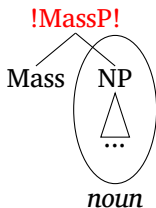


- (46)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

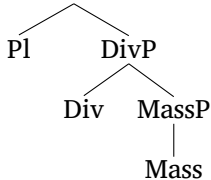
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



- (47)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow /β/



Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow /α/

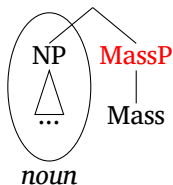
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (48)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

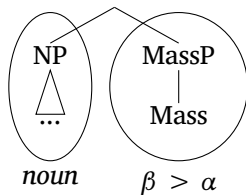
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (49)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



...

MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PLP \Leftrightarrow / α /

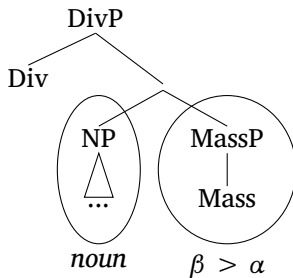
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (50)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



...

MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PLP \Leftrightarrow / α /

Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass

!DivP!

Div

NP

...

noun

MassP

Mass

$\beta > \alpha$

- (51)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PLP \Leftrightarrow / α /

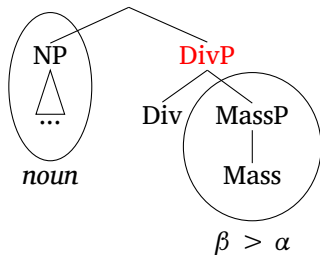
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (52)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β — N- α

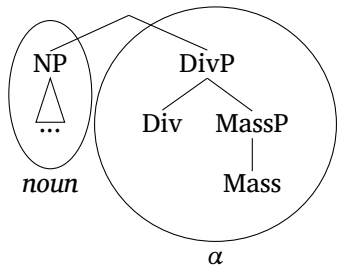
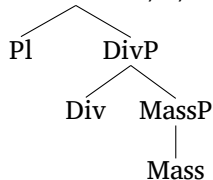
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PLP \Leftrightarrow / α /



- (53)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β — N- α

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

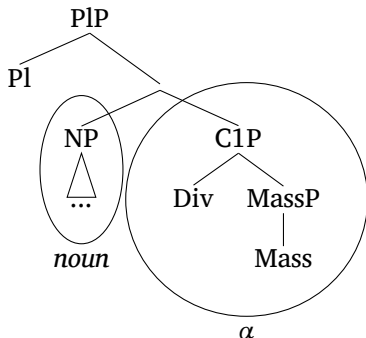
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (54)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β — N- α

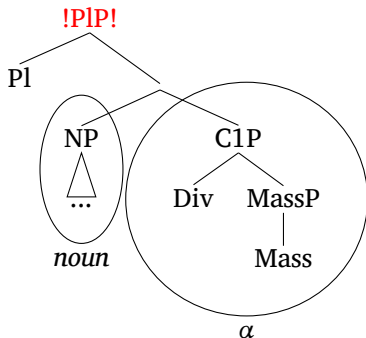
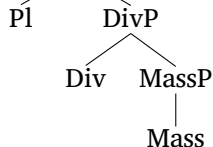
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



- (55)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β — N- α

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

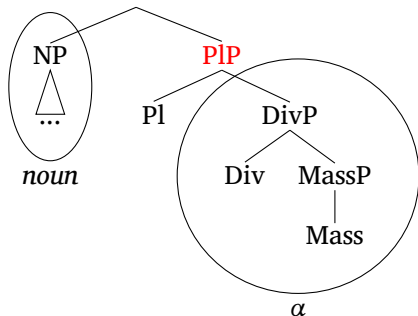
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (56)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

N- β — N- α — N- α

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

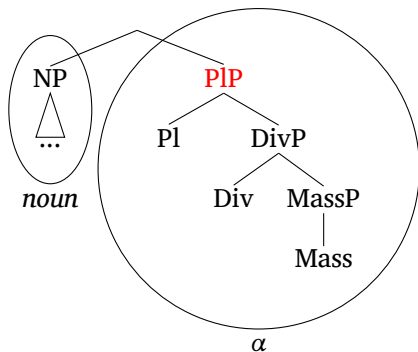
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (57)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

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