

Syncretism as a tool for probing syntactic structure: the case of GEN.SG = NOM.PL

Pavel Caha

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The puzzle

Towards a solution

The proposal

Morphological realization

Tripartite and split systems

Conclusions

Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

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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LOC	žen-ě	žen-ách		písn-i	písn-ích		kost-i	kost-ech		aut-u	aut-ech
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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
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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'
- b. litr sirup-**u**
liter syrup-GEN
'a liter of syrup'

dimension

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 |

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'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’
- b. kilo másł-**a**
 kilo butter-GEN
 ‘a kilo of butter’

dimension

pseudo-partitive

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- (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 | |
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| d. | ty másł- a | |
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	“GEN”	PSEUDO-PART	N NUMERAL	PL
Czech MASC	GEN.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	NOM.PL

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Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

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Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

(6) Finnish (many thanks to Anne Häkkinen)

a. kirja-**n** kansi

book-GEN cover

‘the cover of the book’

(part whole)

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- 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)

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piece.NOM chocolate-PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

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'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 (many thanks to Merilin Miljan)

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

(dimension)

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piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

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- b. tükk šokolaad-**i**
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 ‘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)

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Czech SYNCRETIC	-a	-a	-a

(9) Two smaller tasks

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Fin/Est	GEN	PART	PART	PL

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

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(9) Two smaller tasks

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

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Towards a solution

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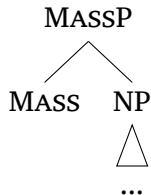
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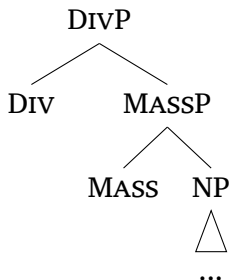
Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

The proposal



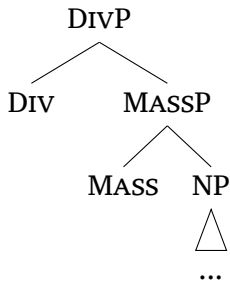
In pseudo-partitive structures, the measure noun (*a liter*) applies to a mass noun. Mass nouns are the simplest denotation type, which lacks a clearly defined atomic layer in their denotation (e.g., Borer 2005)

The proposal



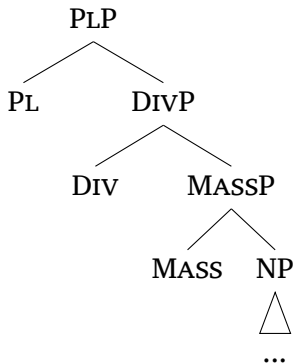
Numerals require their complement to be a count noun. Count denotations arise as a result of providing the mass denotation with a layer of non-overlapping atomic units (e.g., Borer 2005; Rothstein 2010). The count denotation is number neutral, corresponding to the so-called join semilattice (Link 1983)

The proposal



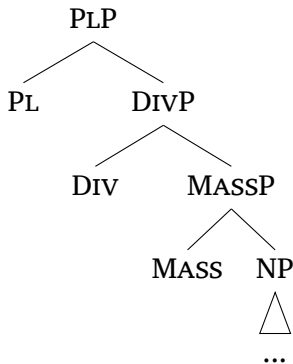
$$(10) \quad \llbracket \text{DivP} \rrbracket = \{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$$

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)

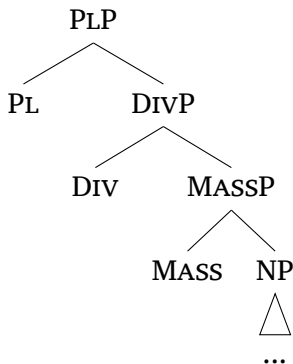
The proposal



$$(11) \quad \llbracket \text{DIVP} \rrbracket = \{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$$

$$(12) \quad \llbracket \text{PLP} \rrbracket = \{\alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$$

The proposal



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

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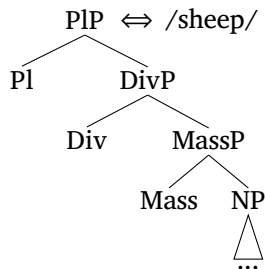
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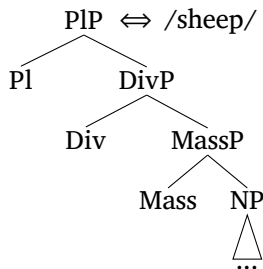
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 - ▶ lexical entries are restricted (only well-formed trees)

Syncretism (sheep-sheep-sheep)

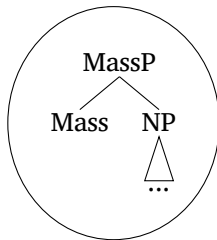
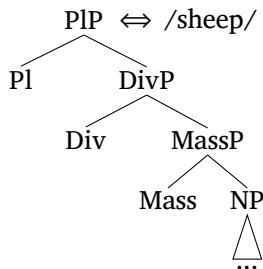


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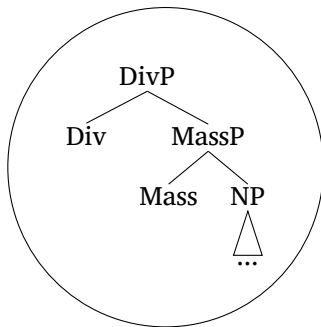
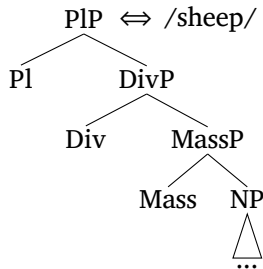
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A lexical item can spellout structures it contains.

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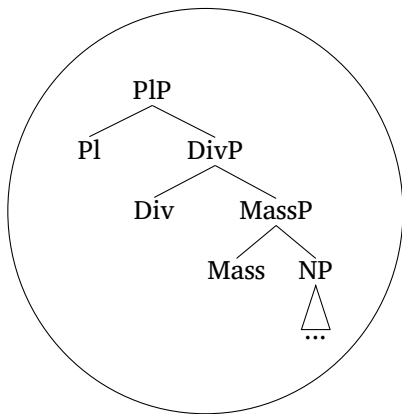
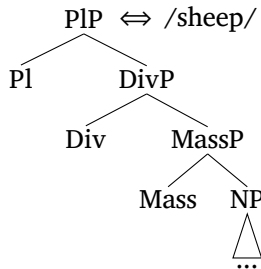
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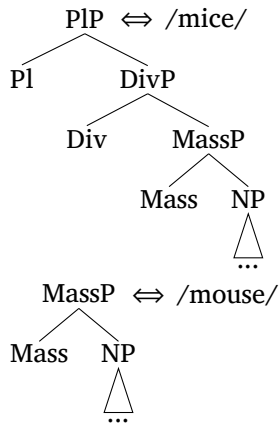
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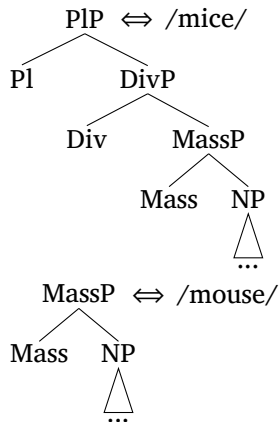


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A lexical item can spellout structures it contains.

Competition (mouse-mice-mice)

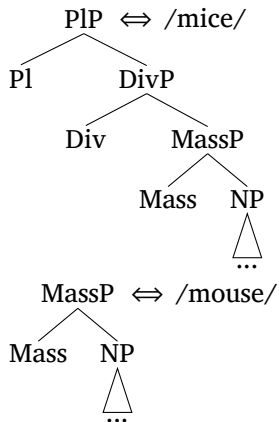


Competition (mouse-mice-mice)

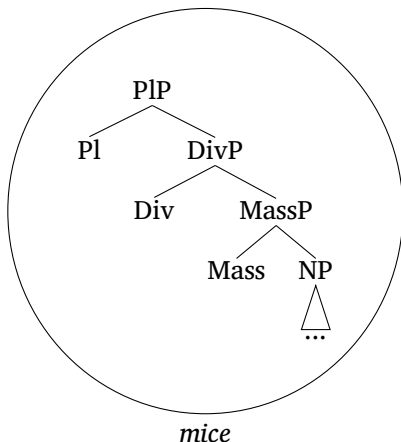


(14) *The Elsewhere Condition:*
When multiple items match,
use the more specific one.

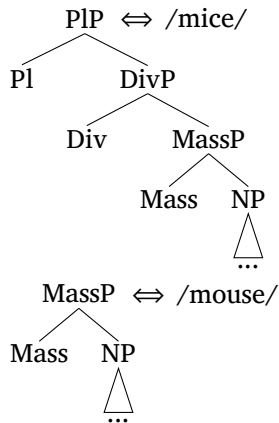
Competition (mouse-mice-mice)



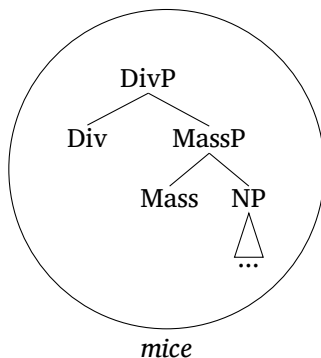
(14) *The Elsewhere Condition:*
When multiple items match,
use the more specific one.



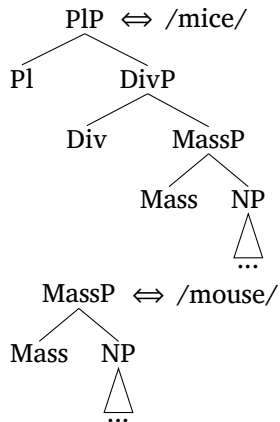
Competition (mouse-mice-mice)



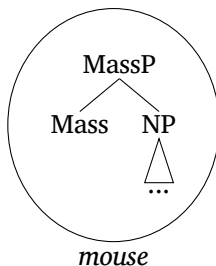
(14) *The Elsewhere Condition:*
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Competition (mouse-mice-mice)



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



Modelling Czech

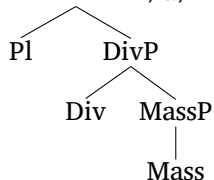
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



Modelling Czech

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /

Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



noun

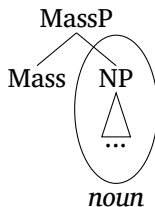
- (15)
- Merge F and spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP

Modelling Czech

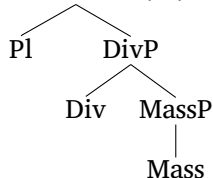
NP \Leftrightarrow /*noun*/



MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



- (16)
- 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

Modelling Czech

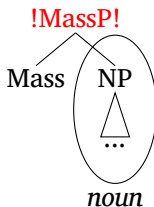
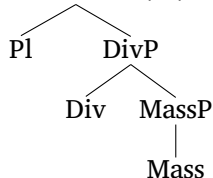
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow /β/



PlP \Leftrightarrow /α/



- (17)
- 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

Modelling Czech

NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



MassP \Leftrightarrow /β/

Mass

PlP \Leftrightarrow /α/

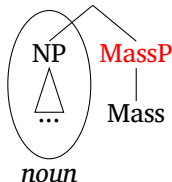
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (18)
- 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 /

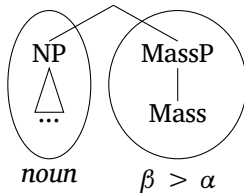
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (19)
- 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 /

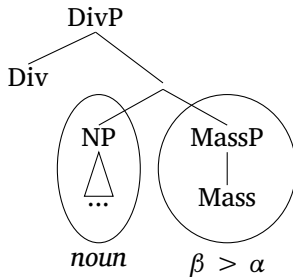
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (20)
- 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

$\beta > \alpha$

- (21)
- 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 /

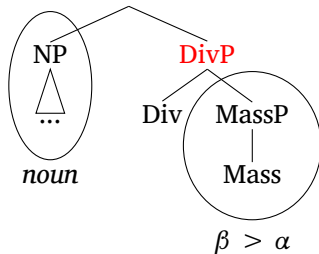
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (22)
- 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 /

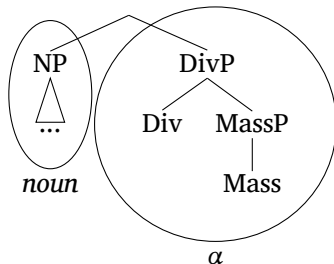
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (23)
- 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 /

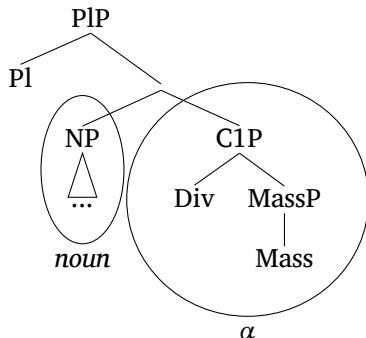
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (24)
- 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

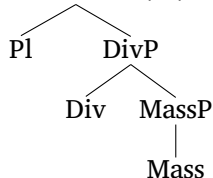
NP \Leftrightarrow /noun/



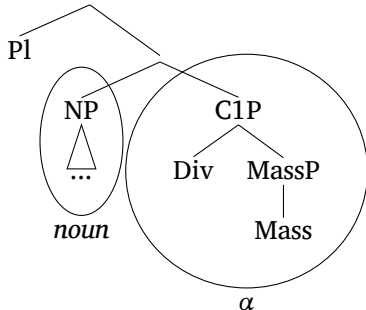
MassP \Leftrightarrow / β /



PlP \Leftrightarrow / α /



!PlP!



- (25)
- 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 /

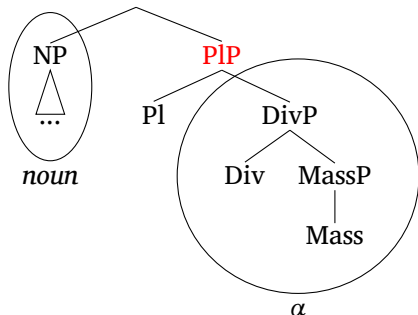
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (26)
- 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 /

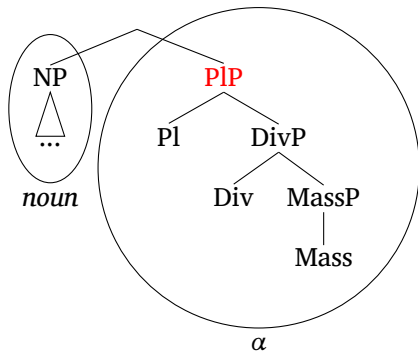
Pl

DivP

Div

MassP

Mass



- (27)
- Merge F and spell out FP
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Where does that leave us?

- ▶ All Czech nouns have two different plurals:

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 - ▶ one after the numeral (corresponding to the Estonian partitive)

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(28) Estonian

- a. kaks kinnas-t
two.SG glove-SG.PAR
'two (individual) gloves'
- b. kahe-d kinda-d
two-PL glove-PL
'two pairs of gloves'

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- ▶ All Czech nouns have two different plurals:
 - ▶ one after the numeral (corresponding to the Estonian partitive)
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- kaks kinnas-t
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(29) Czech

- dv-ě rukavic-e
two glove-PL
'two gloves'
- dv-oje rukavic-e
two-PL glove-PL
'two pairs of gloves'

Where does that leave us?

- ▶ All Czech nouns have two different plurals:
 - ▶ one after the numeral (corresponding to the Estonian partitive)
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Tripartite and split systems

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Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

Tripartite systems

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-bæl
ALL	eu khoppa don-mæ

Tripartite systems

Anatolian Digor Ossetic

	MASS one bowl water	COUNT ten horses
NOM	eu khoppa don-Ø	dæs bæx-i
ACC	eu khoppa don-Ø	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

Anatolian Digor Ossetic

	MASS one bowl water	COUNT ten horses	PLURAL horses
NOM	eu khoppa don-Ø	dæs bæx-i	bæx-tæ-Ø
ACC	eu khoppa don-Ø	dæs bæx-i	bæx-tæ-Ø
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

(30) a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C

Bulgarian

- (30)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. Feminine nouns: A – B – B

Bulgarian

- (30)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. Feminine nouns: A – B – B

A tripartite system

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

A tripartite system

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

A tripartite system

- (31) 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

- (32) 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

- (32) 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)

Syncretism within a tripartite system

- (32) 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

- (33)
- a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C
 - b. modifying adjectives: A – B – B

Adjectival modification in BG

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

Adjectival modification in BG

(34) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)

- a. edno parche vkusen-~~Ø~~ keks
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'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

- (34) Bulgarian masculine nouns (informant data, ABC)
- a. edno parche vkusen-~~Ø~~ 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>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-Ø</i>	konopc-a	konopc-a	konopc-i	AAB

split systems: Serbian

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

split systems: Serbian

	NOM.SG.	PSEUDO-PART	COUNTING	PLURAL	
new, MASC.	<i>nov-Ø</i>	nov-og(a)	nov-a	nov-i	ABC
rope, MASC.	<i>konopac-Ø</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-Ø</i>	kost-i	kost-i	kost-i	AAA
not attested	—	A	B	A	*ABA

Split systems: case

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

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

Split systems: case

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

- a. metr zabor-**a**
meter.NOM fence-GEN.SG
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- b. dva zabor-**a**
two.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'two fences'

Split systems: case

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meter.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'a meter of fence'
- b. dva zabor-**a**
two.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'two fences'
- c. zabor-**y**
fence-NOM.PL
'fences'

Split systems: case

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

- a. metr zabor-**a**
meter.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'a meter of fence'
- b. dva zabor-**a**
two.NOM fence-GEN.SG
'two fences'
- c. zabor-y
fence-NOM.PL
'fences'

Split systems: case

(37) 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

(37) 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

(37) 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

(38) 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

(39) Patterns of syncretism in Russian

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

An ABC pattern in Russian

(40) 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)

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Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

- ▶ Starting point: the GEN.SG = NOM.PL syncretism

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- ▶ One of the uses of the genitive is in pseudo-partitives

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- ▶ One of the uses of the genitive is in pseudo-partitives
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- ▶ One of the uses of the genitive is in pseudo-partitives
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 - ▶ Other uses of the genitive

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- ▶ One of the uses of the genitive is in pseudo-partitives
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 - ▶ Other uses of the partitive

- ▶ Starting point: the GEN.SG = NOM.PL syncretism
- ▶ One of the uses of the genitive is in pseudo-partitives
- ▶ Pseudo-partitives tend to be syncretic with the noun in noun-numeral constructions
 - ▶ = mass/count ambiguity
- ▶ Nouns in counting constructions tend to be syncretic with plurals
 - ▶ = similar to the ambiguity between the inclusive and exclusive plural
- ▶ What remains
 - ▶ Other uses of the genitive
 - ▶ Other uses of the partitive
 - ▶ Other uses of the plural

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

Thank you!

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Appendix I: indefinite quantities

Appendix II: A stab at the dual and the singular

(41) measure SUBSTANCE — numeral ENTITIES

(41) measure SUBSTANCE — numeral ENTITIES

(42) SUBSTANCE — ENTITIES

(41) measure SUBSTANCE — numeral ENTITIES

(42) SUBSTANCE — ENTITIES

indefinite amount of SUBSTANCE — indefinite number of ENTITIES

Serbian (indefinite amount)

(43) 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)

(43) 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')

Serbian (indefinite amount)

(43) 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 šećer-**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)

(44) Finnish (Kiparsky 1998)

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

(pseudo-partitive)

(44) 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')

(44) 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

(45) Estonian (Norris 2018)

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

(pseudo-partitive)

(45) 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’)

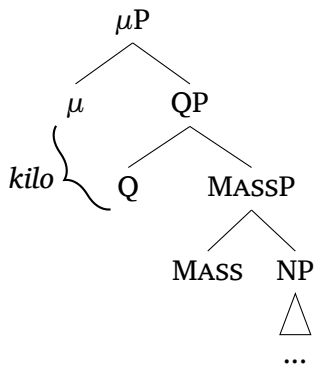
(45) Estonian (Norris 2018)

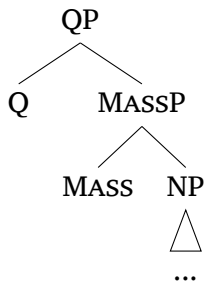
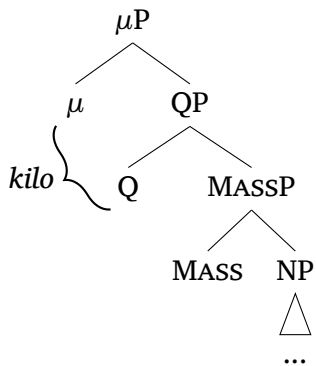
- a. tüki leiba
piece.ACC bread.**PART**
'a piece of bread' (pseudo-partitive)
- b. Otsin leiba.
I.bought bread.**PART**
'I bought (some) bread.' ('indefinite quantity')
- c. Klaasi-s on mehla
glass-INE is juice.**PART**
'There is (some) juice in the glass
(existential/locative)

- (46) a. litr mlík-**a**
 liter milk-GEN
 ‘a liter of milk’

- (46)
- 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

- (46)
- 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





(47) Turkish (Utku, d = Alexiadou 2019: 128, e = Bale et al. 2010: 586)

- 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)
- d. Kitap-Ø al-di-m
book buy-past-1sg
'I bought a book/books.' indef. Q
- e. John ve Brad çocuk-Ø
John and Brad boy
'John and Brad are boys'
- f. Park-ta ağaç-Ø var.
park-loc tree exist
There exist trees in the park. existential
- g. Şura-da-ki ağaç-lar-ı gör-dü.
There-loc-adj tree-pl-acc see-pst.3sg
He saw the trees that were there. definite plural

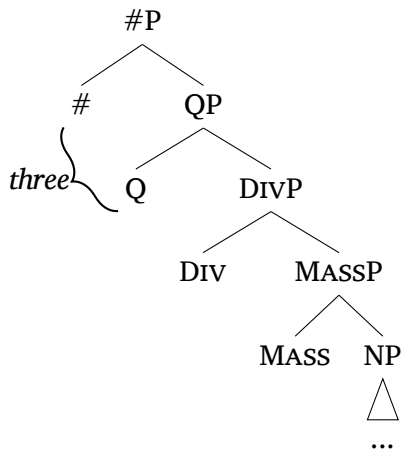
(48) Armenian Bale et al. 2010: 586)

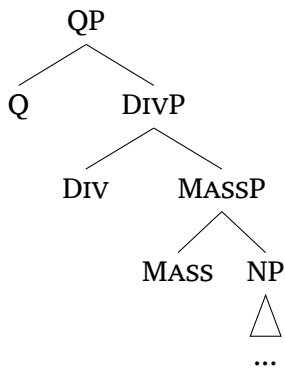
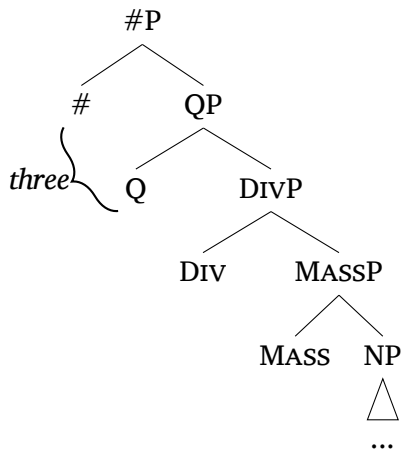
- a. yergu dəgha
two boy
- b. John-ə yev Brad-ə dəgha en
John-def and Brad-def boy are
'John and Brad are boys'

However...

(49) 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





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

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

(51) **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)

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

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

(53) [MIN [CL [MASSP]]]
 $\{a, one, \emptyset_{sg}\}$

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