

On the relationship among pseudopartitives, counting constructions and plurals

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Partition and Individuation in Germanic & Slavic
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Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

Functional hierarchies

Traditional ways of probing for hierarchies of functional categories: order

Functional hierarchies

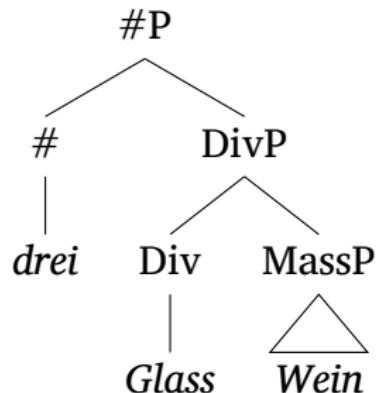
Traditional ways of probing for hierarchies of functional categories: order

- (1) drei Glass Wein
 three glass wine

Functional hierarchies

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Syncretism

(2) Personal pronouns in English

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|-----------------|---------------|--------|
| 1 st | I | we |
| 2 nd | you | you |
| 3 rd | he / she / it | they |

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- (3)
- a. ADDRESSEE
 - b. ADDRESSEE + OTHERS

Syncretism

(4) In the sequence

MASS-DENOTING NOUN – COUNT NOUN – PLURAL
forms exhibit a *ABA restriction on syncretism

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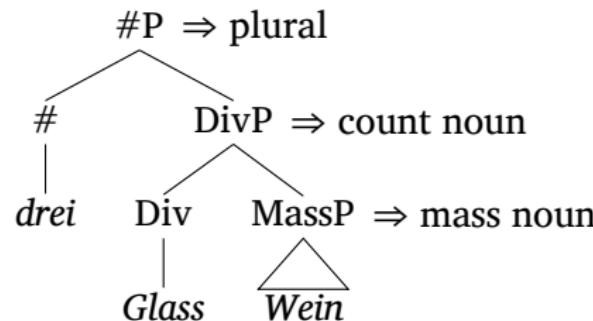
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The basic facts

- (5) In English, nouns after numerals 2+ are plural
- a. one boy
 - b. two boy-s
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- a. bir çocuk
one boy(sg)
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The basic facts

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- If numerals behave cross-linguistically the same, then singular and plural must have different meanings

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- b. $\llbracket \text{boy} \rrbracket = \{ a, b, c \}$

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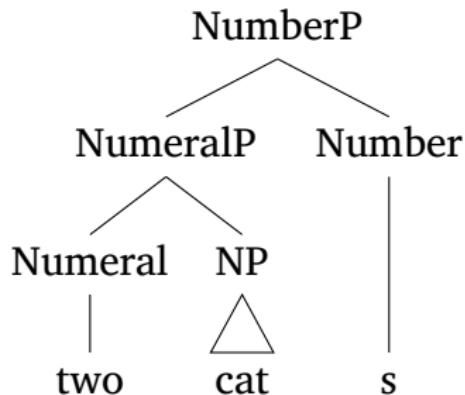
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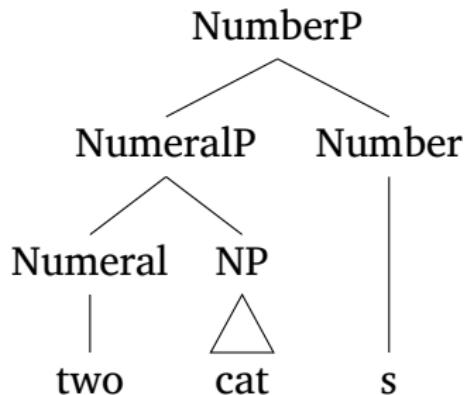
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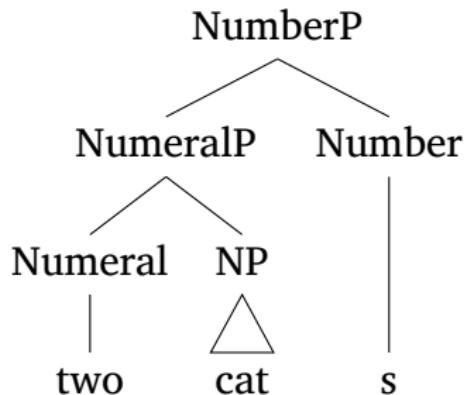


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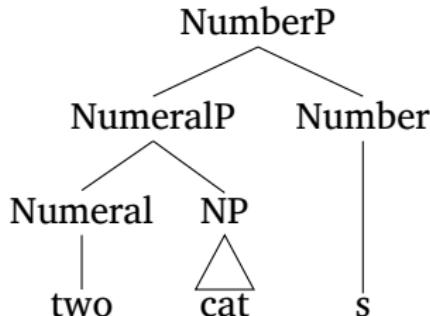
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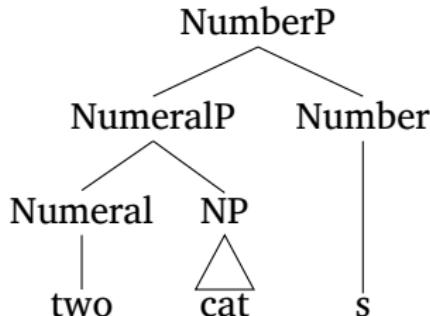
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Nouns after numerals



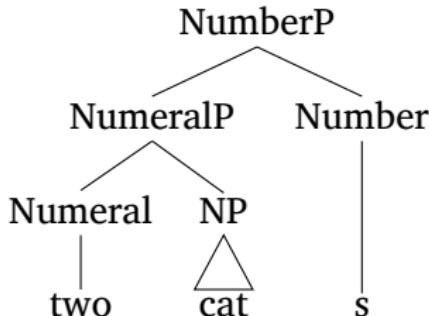
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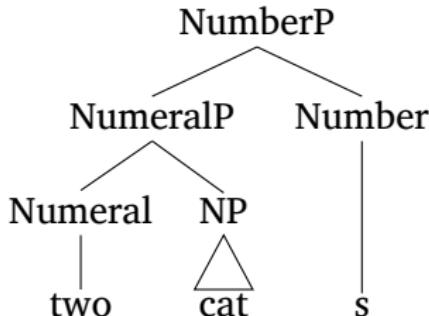
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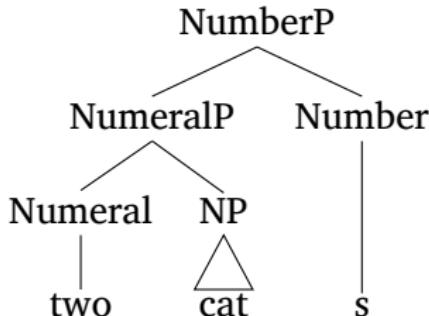
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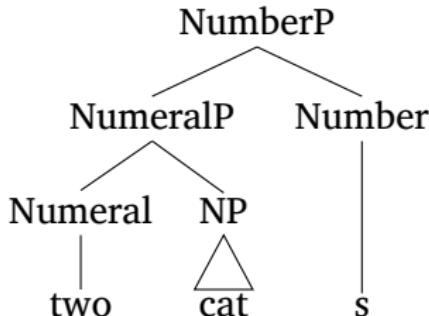
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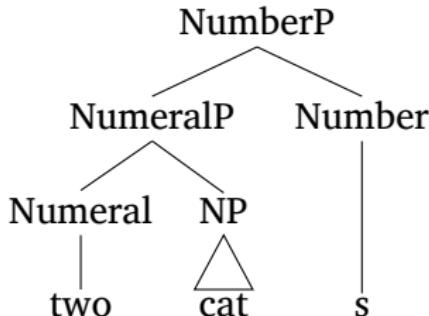
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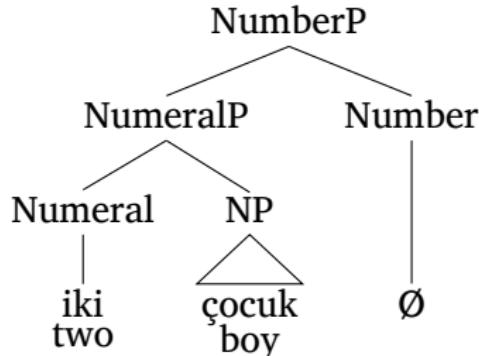
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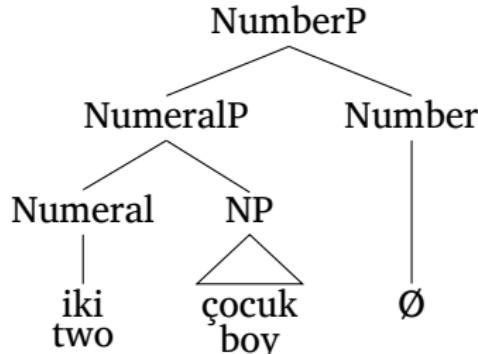
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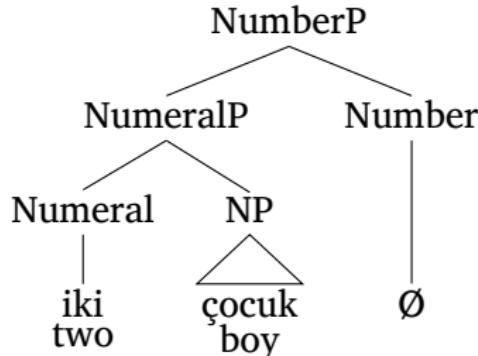
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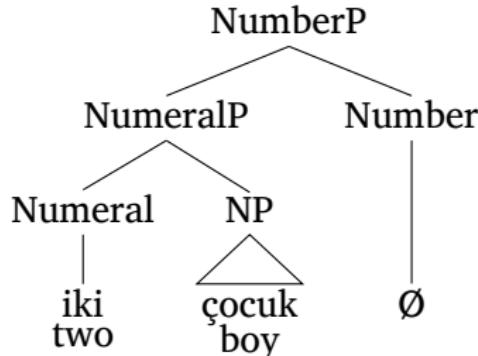
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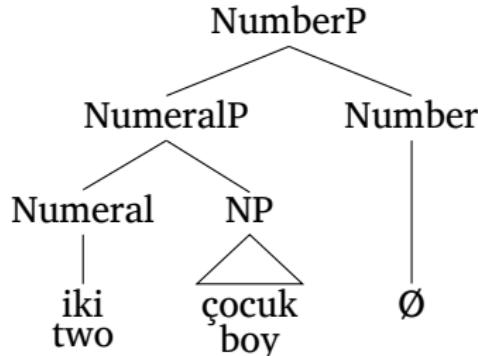
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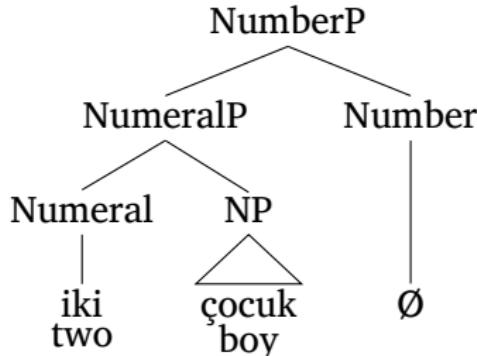
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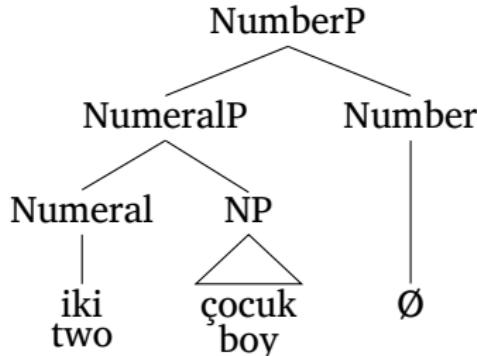
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Summary

(15) Semantic parameter

- a. boy-s
- b. boy-S

Split system: gender

(16) Estonian Swedish (Ionin & Matushansky 2018: 108-9)

- a. tri mann
 three man.SG
 'three men'
- b. fem bärkiar
 five birch.PL
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- ▶ The boy-s system: difficult
- ▶ The boy-s system: masculine/feminine nouns denote something else

Split systems: case

South Saami paradigm fragment (Bergsland 1946: 263, 264)

| | house | two houses | houses |
|-----|------------|----------------------|------------------|
| NOM | goåtie | g<ekt'ə goåtieh | goåtieh |
| GEN | goåtien | g<ekt'ən goåtien | goåtiej |
| ILL | goåtan | g<ekt'ən goåtan | goåt'əjdə |
| INE | goåt'əsn | g<ekt'əñə goåt'əsn | goåt'ə(j)ñə |
| ELA | goåt'əst'ə | g<ekt'əŕə goåt'əst'ə | goåtəjsťə |
| COM | goåtə(j)ñə | g<ekt'əñə goåtə(j)ñə | (goåtiej gújmie) |

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- ▶ For the case-based split, I find it hard to extend the boy-s system.

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(17)

Patterns of syncretism in Estonian Swe

SG COUNTING PLURAL

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(19) Patterns of syncretism in Turkish vs. English

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Benefits (Acquaviva 2008)

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- (21)
- a. ABB (car-cars-cars)
 - b. AAA (sheep-sheep-sheep)
 - c. AAB (three head of cattle)

The result...

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They combine with a special number: the counting number

- (22) a. [[singular]] = { a, b, c }
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 c. [[plural]] = { ab, ac, bc, abc }

The result...

⇒ Numerals do not combine with either the singular or the plural

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► Whenever the counting number looks identical either to the singular or plural, this is because of syncretism

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

a. English: ABB

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB

The usual empirical work....

- (23) SG – COUNT – PL
- a. English: ABB
 - b. Turkish: AAB
 - c. South Saami: ABB, AAB

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB
- c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
- d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB

The usual empirical work....

- (23) SG – COUNT – PL
- a. English: ABB
 - b. Turkish: AAB
 - c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
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 - e. ...

The usual empirical work....

- (23) SG – COUNT – PL
- a. English: ABB
 - b. Turkish: AAB
 - c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
 - d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB
 - e. ...

► Can all three numbers be different? (yes)

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB
- c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
- d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB
- e. ...

- ▶ Can all three numbers be different? (yes)
- ▶ Can they all be the same? (yes)

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB
- c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
- d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB
- e. ...

- ▶ Can all three numbers be different? (yes)
- ▶ Can they all be the same? (yes)
- ▶ Are there any observable limits/restrictions on what can be syncretic? (yes)

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB
- c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
- d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB
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- ▶ Can all three numbers be different? (yes)
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- ▶ Are there any observable limits/restrictions on what can be syncretic? (yes)

(24) In the sequence

SINGULAR – COUNTING – PLURAL

syncretism only targets adjacent regions

The usual empirical work....

(23) SG – COUNT – PL

- a. English: ABB
- b. Turkish: AAB
- c. South Saami: ABB, AAB
- d. Estonian Swedish: ABB, AAB
- e. ...

- ▶ Can all three numbers be different? (yes)
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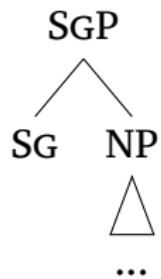
(24) In the sequence

SINGULAR – COUNTING – PLURAL

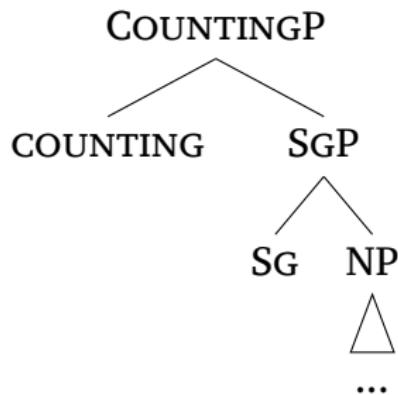
syncretism only targets adjacent regions

- ▶ A constraint like this places some interesting restrictions on grammatical representations (Caha 2009, Bobaljik 2012)

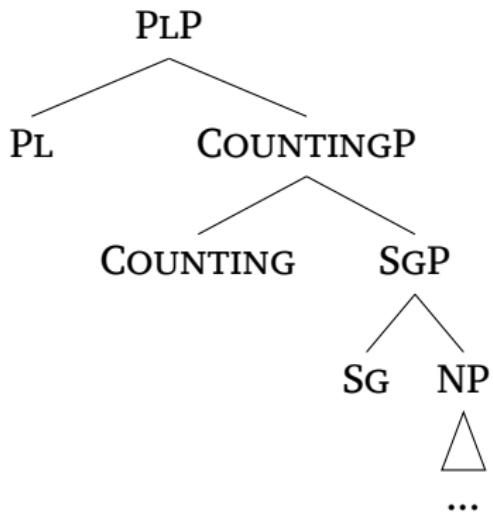
A standard approach to *ABA



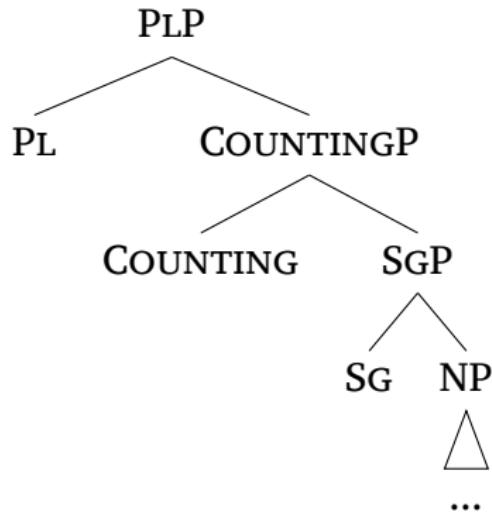
A standard approach to *ABA



A standard approach to *ABA

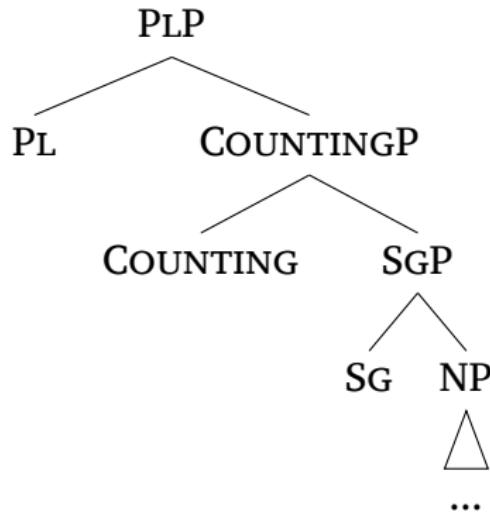


Meaning composition



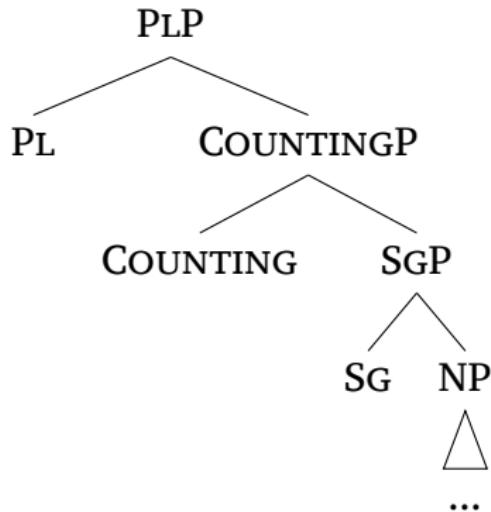
- (25) a. $\llbracket \text{SgP} \rrbracket = \{ \text{a, b, c} \}$

Meaning composition



- (25) a. $\llbracket \text{SgP} \rrbracket = \{ a, b, c \}$
b. $\llbracket \text{CountingP} \rrbracket = \{ a, b, c, ab, ac, bc, abc \}$

Meaning composition



- (25) a. $\llbracket \text{SgP} \rrbracket = \{ a, b, c \}$
b. $\llbracket \text{CountingP} \rrbracket = \{ a, b, c, ab, ac, bc, abc \}$
c. $\llbracket \text{PlP} \rrbracket = \{ ab, ac, bc, abc \}$

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

Bulgarian

- (26) a. Masculine nouns: A – B – C

Bulgarian

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

Bulgarian

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

A tripartite system

- (27) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edin keks
one cake
'a (pound) cake' (pseudo-partitive)

A tripartite system

- (27) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edin keks
one cake
'a (pound) cake' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dva keks-a
two cake-COUNT
'two (pound) cakes' (counting)

A tripartite system

- (27) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edin keks
one cake
'a (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

- (28) Bulgarian feminine (ABB)
- a. edna tort-**a**
one piece cake-SG
'a cake' (pseudo-partitive)

Syncretism within a tripartite system

- (28) Bulgarian feminine (ABB)
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'two cakes' (counting)

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one piece cake-SG
'a cake' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dve tort-**i**
two cake-COUNT
'two cakes' (counting)
 - c. tort-**i-te**
cake-PL-DEF
'the cakes' (plural)

Adjectival modification in BG

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

Adjectival modification in BG

- (30) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edin vkusen-∅ keks
one tasty-MASC.SG cake
'one good cake' (pseudo-partitive)

Adjectival modification in BG

- (30) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
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two tasty-PL cake-COUNT
'two tasty cakes' (counting)

Adjectival modification in BG

- (30) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edin vkusen-∅ keks
one tasty-MASC.SG cake
'one 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)

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

An important footnote on ‘singular’

- (31) a. one **dog**

An important footnote on ‘singular’

- (31) a. one **dog**
 b. There was **dog** on the wall

- (32) Dutch (Fenna Bergsma, p.c.)
- a. een (meter) touw-Ø
one meter rope
'one (meter of) rope' (sg/mass)

- (32) Dutch (Fenna Bergsma, p.c.)
- a. een (meter) touw-∅
one meter rope
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 - b. twee touw-en
two rope-PL
'two ropes' (counting)

- (32) Dutch (Fenna Bergsma, p.c.)
- a. een (meter) touw-Ø
one meter rope
'one (meter of) rope' (sg/mass)
 - 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)

An important footnote on ‘singular’

- (33) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)
- a. bir (parça) kek-Ø
a piece cake
'a (piece of) cake' (sg/mass)

An important footnote on ‘singular’

- (33) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)
- a. bir (parça) kek-Ø
a piece cake
‘a (piece of) cake’ (sg/mass)
 - b. üç kek-Ø
three cake
‘three cakes’ (counting)

An important footnote on ‘singular’

- (33) Turkish (Utku Turk, p.c.)
- a. bir (parça) kek-Ø
a piece cake
‘a (piece of) cake’ (sg/mass)
 - b. üç kek-Ø
three cake
‘three cakes’ (counting)
 - c. kek-ler
cake-PL
‘cakes’ (plural)

A tripartite system

- (34) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
- a. edno (parche) keks
one piece cake
'a (piece of) cake' (sg/mass)

A tripartite system

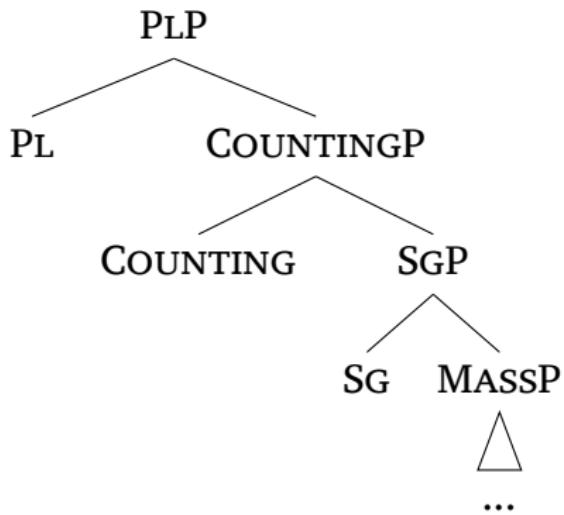
- (34) Bulgarian masculine nouns (ABC)
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two cake-COUNT
'two (pound) cakes' (counting)

A tripartite system

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An important footnote on ‘singular’



Serbian

- (35) Serbian (Hammond 2005: 120-1)

 - a. Miloš je kupio televizor-∅.
Miloš is bought TV-MASC.ACC
'Miloš bought a TV.' count noun

Serbian

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- a. Miloš je kupio televizor-∅.
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 - b. Kupili smo šećer-a.
bought we.are sugar-MASC.GEN
'We bought (some) sugar.' (indefinite quantity)

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I.ask you liter petrol-MASC.GEN
'A liter of petrol, please.' (pseudo-partitive)

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'A liter of petrol, please.' (pseudo-partitive)
 - d. tri student-a
three student-COUNT
'three students' (counting)

Finnish

- (36) a. Jääkaapissa on greippi.
fridge.INE is grapefruit.NOM
'There is a grapefruit in the refrigerator.' (singular)

Finnish

- (36) a. Jääkaapissa on greippi.
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- b. Jääkaapissa on maito-a.
 fridge.INE is milk.PART
 ‘There is milk in the refrigerator.’ (indefinite quantity)

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- b. Jääkaapissa on maito-a.
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'There is milk in the refrigerator.' (indefinite quantity)
- c. pala suklaa-ta
piece.NOM chocolate-PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

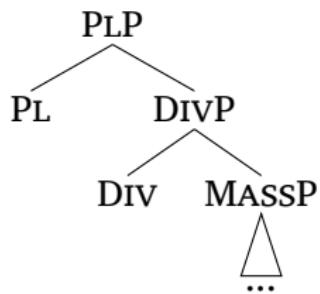
Finnish

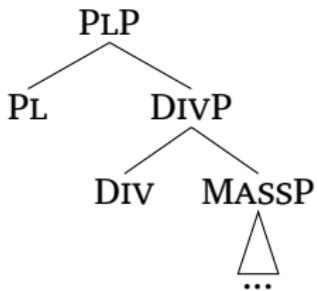
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- c. pala suklaa-ta
piece.NOM chocolate-PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
- d. kaksi suklaa-ta
two.NOM chocolate-PART
'two chocolates' (counting)

Finnish

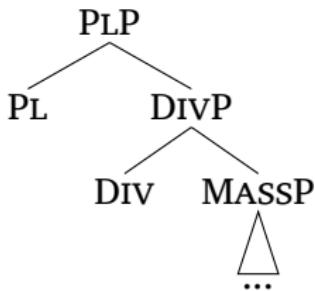
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'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
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two.NOM chocolate-PART
'two chocolates' (counting)

(37) SG – MASS – COUNT – PL

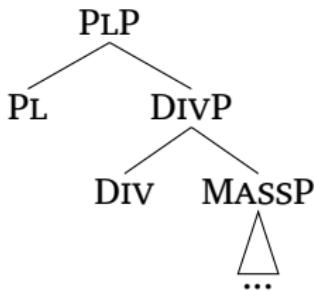




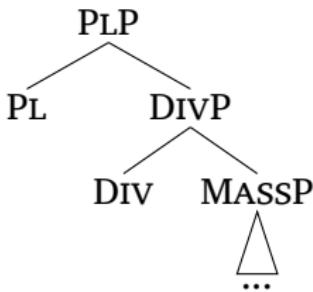
- ▶ mass nouns represent the simplest denotation type, which lacks a clearly defined atomic layer in their denotation



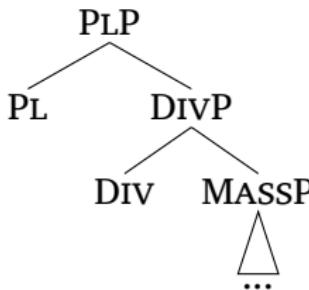
- ▶ mass nouns represent the simplest denotation type, which lacks a clearly defined atomic layer in their denotation
- ▶ count denotations arise as a result of providing the mass denotation with a layer of non-overlapping atomic units (e.g., Borer 2005; Rothstein 2010)



- ▶ mass nouns represent the simplest denotation type, which lacks a clearly defined atomic layer in their denotation
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- ▶ a denotation that is count, but number neutral ($\llbracket \text{DIVP} \rrbracket = \{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$)



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- ▶ When numerals apply to such a number-neutral countable denotation, they pick out members of the right cardinality (Bale et al. 2010, Martí 2020)



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- ▶ When numerals apply to such a number-neutral countable denotation, they pick out members of the right cardinality (Bale et al. 2010, Martí 2020)
- ▶ the plural denotation arises by restricting the countable (but number-neutral) denotation to all its non-atomic members (Harbour 2014; Martí 2020, $\llbracket \text{PLP} \rrbracket = \{\alpha\beta, \alpha\gamma, \beta\gamma, \alpha\beta\gamma\}$)

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

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 |

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> | <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 |
| wife, FEM. | <i>žen-a</i> | <i>žen-ē</i> | <i>žen-e</i> | <i>žen-e</i> | 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> | <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 |
| wife, FEM. | <i>žen-a</i> | <i>žen-ē</i> | <i>žen-e</i> | <i>žen-e</i> | ABB |
| bone, FEM. | <i>kost-Ø</i> | <i>kost-i</i> | <i>kost-i</i> | <i>kost-i</i> | AAA |
| not attested | — | A | B | A | *ABA |

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (38) Estonian, nominative (AAB)¹
- a. tükk šokolaad-i
piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
'a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (38) Estonian, nominative (AAB)¹

 - a. tükk **šokolaad-i**
 piece.NOM.SG chocolate-SG.PART
 ‘a piece of chocolate’ (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. kaks **šokolaad-i**
 two.NOM chocolate-SG.PART
 ‘two chocolates’ (counting)

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (39) Estonian, oblique (AAB)
- a. tüki-s šokolaadi-s
piece-INE chocolate-INE
'in a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (39) Estonian, oblique (AAB)
- a. tüki-s šokolaadi-s
piece-INE chocolate-INE
'in a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. kahe-s šokolaadi-s
two-INE chocolate-INE
'in two chocolates' (counting)

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

(40) Estonian:

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL | PATTERN |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| NOM | PART.SG | PART.SG | NOM.PL | AAB |
| OBL | OBL.SG | OBL.SG | OBL.PL | AAB |

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (42) Finnish, oblique (ABC)

 - a. palassa **suklaa-ta**
piece-SG.INE chocolate-PART
'in a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (42) Finnish, oblique (ABC)

 - a. palassa **suklaa-ta**
piece-SG.INE chocolate-PART
'in a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. kahdessa **suklaa-ssa**
two-INE chocolate-INE
'in two chocolates' (counting)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (42) Finnish, oblique (ABC)
- a. palassa **suklaa-ta**
piece-SG.INE chocolate-PART
'in a piece of chocolate' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. kahdessa **suklaa-ssa**
two-INN chocolate-INN
'in two chocolates' (counting)
 - c. näissa **sukla-i-ssa**
these.PL.INE chocolate-PL-INN
'in these chocolates' (plural)

Class and case conditioned split systems

(43)

Finnish:

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL | PATTERN |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| NOM | PART.SG | PART.SG | NOM.PL | AAB |
| OBL | PART.SG | OBL.SG | OBL.PL | ABC |

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (45) Russian, instrumental (ABB)
- a. s metr-om **zabor-a**
with meter-INS fence-GEN.SG
'with a meter of fence' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (45) Russian, instrumental (ABB)
- a. s metr-om **zabor-a**
with meter-INS fence-GEN.SG
'with a meter of fence' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. s dv-umja **zabor-ami**
with two-INS fence-INS.PL
'with two fences' (counting)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (45) Russian, instrumental (ABB)
- a. s metr-om **zabor-a**
with meter-INS fence-GEN.SG
'with a meter of fence' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. s dv-umja **zabor-ami**
with two-INS fence-INS.PL
'with two fences' (counting)
 - c. s **zabor-ami**
with fence-INS.PL
'with fences' (plural)

Class and case conditioned split systems

Russian

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL | PATTERN |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| NOM | GEN.SG | GEN.SG | NOM.PL | AAB |
| OBL | GEN.SG | OBL.PL | | ABB |

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (46) Russian, special masculines, nominative (ABC)²
- a. čaška čaj-u (čaj-a)
cup tea-PART (tea-GEN.SG)
'a cup of tea' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (46) Russian, special masculines, nominative (ABC)²
- a. čaška čaj-u (čaj-a)
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end row-GEN.SG
'the end of the row' (pseudo-partitive)

Class and case conditioned split systems

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- a. čaška čaj-u (čaj-a)
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'a cup of tea' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. konec rjád-a
end row-GEN.SG
'the end of the row' (pseudo-partitive)
 - c. dva rjad-á
two row-NUMER
'two rows' (counting)

Class and case conditioned split systems

Russian

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL | PATTERN |
|-----------|-------------|------------|--------|---------|
| NOM 'tea' | PARTITIVE | GEN.SG | NOM.PL | ABC |
| NOM 'row' | GEN.SG | NUMERATIVE | NOM.PL | ABC |
| NOM | GEN.SG | GEN.SG | NOM.PL | AAB |
| OBL | GEN.SG | OBL.PL | | ABB |

Class and case conditioned split systems

- (47) Russian, feminine, nominative (AAA)³
- a. dva metra **nit-i**
two meters thread-GEN.SG
'two meters of thread' (pseudo-partitive)
 - b. dve **nit-i**
two.NOM thread-GEN.SG
'two threads' (counting)
 - c. **nit-i**
thread-NOM.PL
'threads' (plural)

Class and case conditioned split systems

(48) Russian

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL |
|-----------|-------------|------------|--------|
| NOM D III | | NIT-I | |
| NOM ‘tea’ | GEN.SG | GEN.SG | NOM.PL |
| NOM ‘row’ | GEN.SG | NUMERATIVE | NOM.PL |
| NOM | GEN.SG | GEN.SG | NOM.PL |
| OBL | GEN.SG | | OBL.PL |

- (49) dve krasiv-ye lamp-y
two beautiful-NOM.PL lamp-GEN.SG

- (49) dve krasiv-ye lamp-y
two beautiful-NOM.PL lamp-GEN.SG

Russian

| | PSEUDO-PART | COUNTED | PLURAL | PATTERN |
|---------|-------------|-----------|--------|---------|
| NOUN | GEN.SG | GEN.SG | NOM.PL | AAB |
| FEM.ADJ | GEN.SG | KRASIV-YE | | ABB |

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

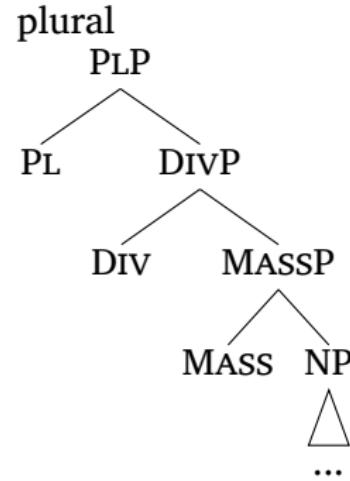
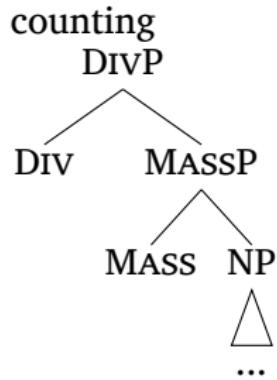
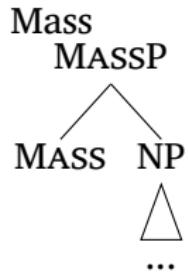
An important footnote on ‘singular’

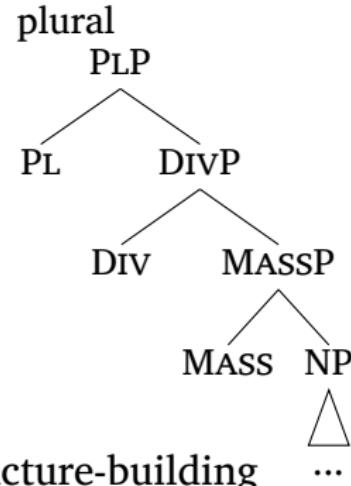
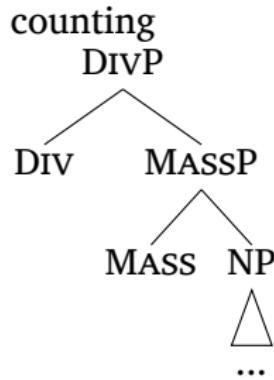
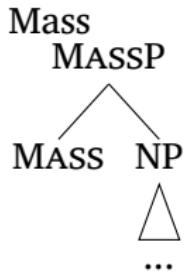
Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

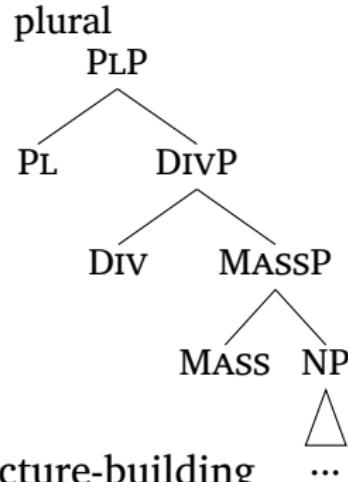
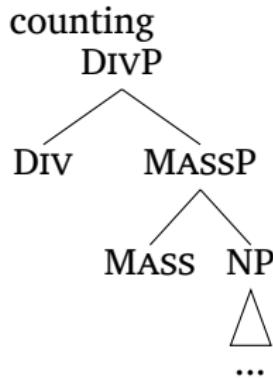
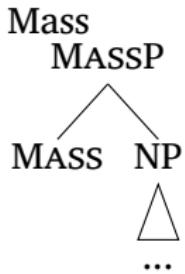
Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

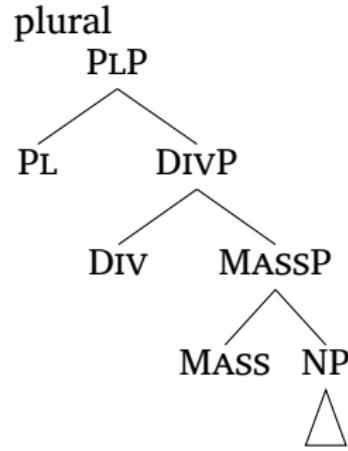
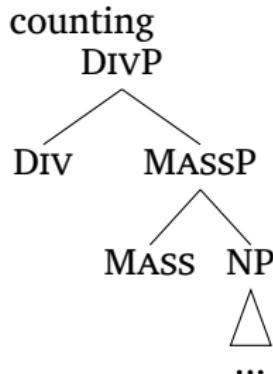
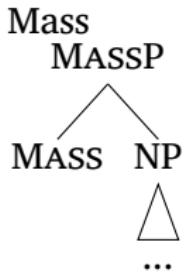




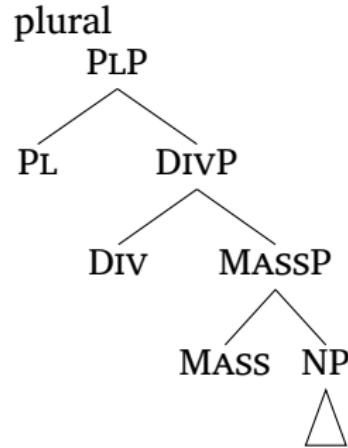
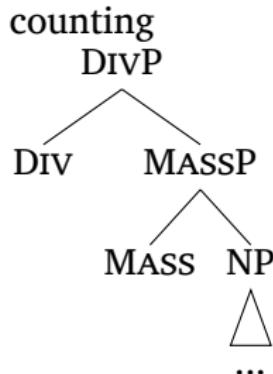
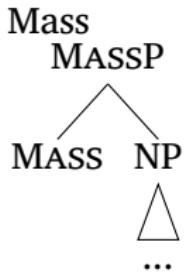
- ▶ Meanings are assigned to abstract structure-building blocks.



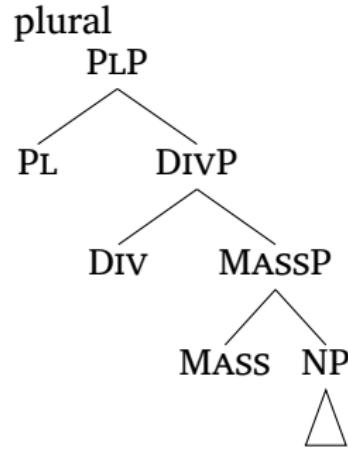
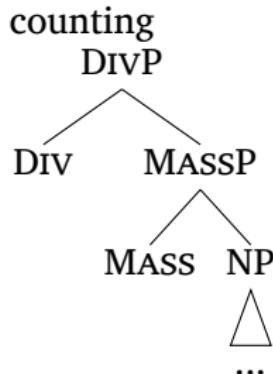
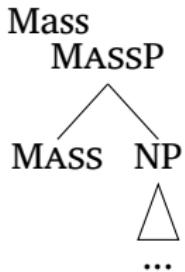
- ▶ Meanings are assigned to abstract structure-building blocks.
- ▶ Forms have meaning inasmuch they spell out the meaning-bearing elements (features)



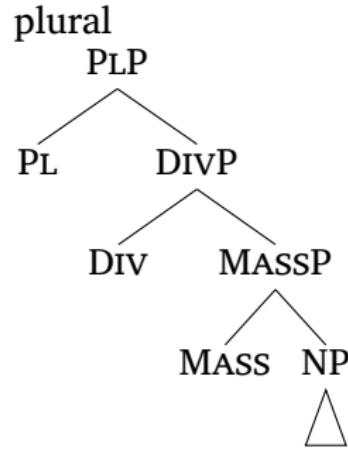
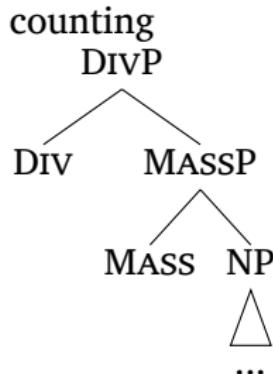
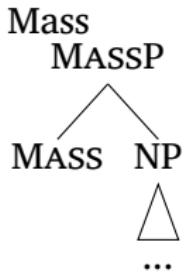
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MASS – COUNTING – PLURAL

syncretism only targets adjacent regions

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g. *ABA

Thank you!

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

Czech

- (52) a. Na stole stálo jedno piv-o
on table stood one beer-SG
‘There was one beer on the table.’ (sg)

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'He bought beer.' (indefinite quantity)

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- c. litr piv-a
liter beer-MASS
'a liter of beer' (mass)

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'He bought beer.' (indefinite quantity)
- c. litr piv-a
liter beer-MASS
'a liter of beer' (mass)
- d. dvě piv-a
two beer-COUNT
'two (glasses of) beers' (count)

Czech

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on table stood one beer-SG
'There was one beer on the table.' (sg)
- b. Koupil piv-**o**
He.bought beer-SG
'He bought beer.' (indefinite quantity)
- c. litr piv-**a**
liter beer-MASS
'a liter of beer' (mass)
- d. dvě piv-**a**
two beer-COUNT
'two (glasses of) beers' (count)
- e. Na stole stály piv-**a**
on table stood beer-PL
'There stood some glasses with beer on the table.' (plural)

(53) SG – INDEFINITE QUANTITY – MASS – COUNT – PL

(54) Sutton & Little (2021)

- a. kýbl čokolád-y
bucket chocolate.GEN.SG
'a bucket of chocolate'

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- a. kýbl čokolád-y
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three chocolates-NOM.PL
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- c. kýbl čokolád-Ø
bucket chocolate-GEN.PL
'a bucket of chocolates'
- d. pět čokolád-Ø
five choolates-GEN.PL
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(55) iki kilo elma

two kilo apple

'two kilo of apples'

Introduction

Nouns after numerals

Bulgarian

An important footnote on ‘singular’

Class and case conditioned split systems

Conclusions

Work in Progress...

An agglutinative tripartite system

Digor Ossetic

► Digor Ossetic, Anatolian variety

| | MASS one bowl water | SINGULAR horse | COUNT ten horses | PLURAL horses |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| NOM | eu khoppa don-Ø | bæx-Ø | dæs bæx-i | bæx-tæ-Ø |
| ACC | eu khoppa don-Ø | bæx-Ø | dæs bæx-i | bæx-tæ-Ø |
| GEN | eu khoppa don-i | bæx-i | dæs bæx-e -j | bæx-t -i |
| INE | eu khoppa don-i | bæx-i | dæs bæx-em-i | bæx-t -i |
| DAT | eu khoppa don-æn | bæx-æn | dæs bæx-em-æn | bæx-t -æn |
| ABL | eu khoppa don-æj | bæx-æj | dæs bæx-em-æj | bæx-t -æj |
| ADE | eu khoppa don-bæl | bæx-bæl | dæs bæx-e -bæl | bæx-tæ-bæl |
| ALL | eu khoppa don-mæ | bæx-mæ | dæs bæx-e -mæ | bæx-tæ-mæ |

Digor Ossetic

► Digor Ossetic, Anatolian variety

| | MASS one bowl water | SINGULAR horse | COUNT ten horses | PLURAL horses |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| NOM | eu khoppa don-Ø-Ø | bæx-Ø-Ø | dæs bæx-i | bæx-tæ-Ø |
| ACC | eu khoppa don-Ø-Ø | bæx-Ø-Ø | dæs bæx-i | bæx-tæ-Ø |
| GEN | eu khoppa don-Ø-i | bæx-Ø-i | dæs bæx-e -j | bæx-t -i |
| INE | eu khoppa don-Ø-i | bæx-Ø-i | dæs bæx-em-i | bæx-t -i |
| DAT | eu khoppa don-Ø-aen | bæx-Ø-aen | dæs bæx-em-aen | bæx-t -æ |
| ABL | eu khoppa don-Ø-æj | bæx-Ø-æj | dæs bæx-em-æj | bæx-t -æ |
| ADE | eu khoppa don-Ø-bæl | bæx-Ø-bæl | dæs bæx-e -bæl | bæx-tæ-b |
| ALL | eu khoppa don-Ø-mæ | bæx-Ø-mæ | dæs bæx-e -mæ | bæx-tæ-m |

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