

# INTRODUCTION TO EUROPEAN PARTITIVES IN COMPARISON



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## Abstract

The introduction to European partitives in comparison outlines the basic concepts of partitive structures and proposes research questions, two questionnaires, and new questionnaire items based on the book's chapters. Partitive constructions encode relationships between parts and wholes, and the chapter explores their broad application, particularly in Uralic languages. The findings indicate significant linguistic variation in partitive expressions, necessitating further research.

**KEYWORDS:** partitive constructions, linguistics, Uralic languages, European languages, morphology



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1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The goal of the volume is to highlight some universal and varying features of partitives, based on the languages of Europe in its Central, Northern, Southern and Eastern areas. The aim of this introduction is to introduce, synthesize and develop the content of the chapters of the book further, put forward some claims as well as research questions and guidance in the form of questionnaire items.

Parts and wholes are categories that are possibly expressed in all human languages. Partitives are linguistic expressions that encode part-whole relationships between two sets of entities or amounts, one of which is an indefinite larger set or a definite superset, and the other one is the subset. Many languages in the world have been attested to differentiate between reference to parts and wholes in their grammar; some of them have a dedicated morphological marker of partitivity. As to their syntactic category, partitives are typically noun phrases or adpositional phrases with an embedded noun phrase. The semantics of a part-whole relationship can apply to a wider domain than nouns: it can cover relationships between situations, states, processes, qualities, or propositions.

In languages that have a specific partitive marker, it can either denote part-whole relationships, concrete and more abstract as well, or, due to semantic bleaching, it can fulfill completely new functions. On the other hand, there are languages where partitivity has not emerged as an independent grammatical category at all. Be this the case or not, some part-whole relationships can be encoded in multiple ways, while some of them can remain unmarked. Therefore, it is hard to explore partitives across languages or to decide what should be included in a uniform notion of partitivity.

However wide the semantics of partitive expressions might be, it is common ground among researchers that the original Partitive Concept manifests itself in two kinds of constructions: “partitives proper” (a.k.a. real, pure, true or canonical partitives; e.g. *the youngest of my children*) and “pseudo-partitives”

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(e.g. *a cup of tea*).<sup>2</sup> The concept or category of proper partitives contains different types of expressions where the superset is definite, while the pseudo-partitives typically cover indefinite amounts that are quantized or measured. There is quite some interest in and literature on the properties of partitives in formal linguistics, which may be enlightening for the description of the partitive concept across languages and their varieties as well.<sup>3</sup>

We present a general background of partitives and partitivity (Section 2), discovering how these concepts connect with Uralic languages. Then some comparison is offered based on the languages of the volume and other languages that have not been described well in terms of partitives and partitivity (Section 3). We also claim in this article that even in a language family as well described as Uralic, there are many challenges that prevent the exploration of the category even in a rich research situation with many excellent recent resources. This is so because of the customary grammar writing traditions, as we argue. In Section 4 we propose a supplementation strategy for recent high-quality comprehensive Uralic grammars, suggesting where specific chapters could insert the partitivity data. We introduce the chapters of the book in Section 5 and examine how more specialized studies address partitivity. For other languages, we offer the main questions we addressed in this volume for guidance before starting further studies on them (Section 6) and the possible further questionnaire items that could be formulated based on this book's chapters (Section 7). Section 8 is the conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm: "A Piece of Cake" and "a Cup of Tea": Partitive and Pseudo-partitive Nominal Constructions in the Circum-Baltic Languages, in Ö. Dahl and M. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.): *The Circum-Baltic Languages. Typology and Contact*. Vol. 2, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins, 2001, 523–568; and Michelangelo Falco – Roberto Zamparelli: Partitives and Partitivity, *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 4 (2019), 1–49. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.642>

<sup>3</sup> Jacob Hoeksema (ed.): *Partitives: Studies on the distribution and meaning of partitive expressions*, Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter, 1996; Ray Jackendoff: Parts and boundaries, *Cognition* 41 (1991), 9–45; Ray Jackendoff: Quantifiers in English, *Foundations of Language* 4 (1968), 422–442; Ray Jackendoff: *X'-syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1967; Manfred Krifka: Thematic relations as links between nominal reference and temporal constitution, in I. A. Sag – A. Szabolcsi (eds.): *Lexical matters*. Stanford University, 1992, 29–53; Helen de Hoop: A semantic reanalysis of the partitive constraint, *Lingua* 103 (1997), 151–174; Helen de Hoop: Partitivity, in L. Cheng – R. Sybesma (eds.): *The Second Glot International State-of-the-Article Book: The Latest in Linguistics*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton, 2003, 179–212. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110890952.179>; Helen de Hoop: Partitivity. *GLot International* 3 (1998), 3–10; Elisabeth O. Selkirk: Some remarks on noun phrase structure, in P. W. Culicover – T. Wasow – A. Akmajian (eds.): *Formal syntax*, New York, Academic Press, 1977, 285–316.

2. PROPER PARTITIVES AND PSEUDO-PARTITIVES IN URALIC

In what follows here, we present examples of real and pseudo-partitive phrases from three Uralic, more specifically, Finno-Ugric languages spoken in Europe: Hungarian, Erzya, and Estonian. Examples (1a), (2a) and (3a) are instances of the “amount of N”-relation, while (1b), (2b) and (3b) represent the “part-of-N”-relation which holds between a separable subset and a definite superset that belong to the same kind.

(1) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)<sup>4</sup>

a. *egy pohár bor*  
 a glass[NOM] wine[NOM]  
 ‘a glass of wine’

b. *a gyerekeim-ből a legkisebb*  
 the child.PL.1SG-ELA the youngest  
 ‘the youngest of my children’

(2) Erzya (Finno-Ugric, Mordvin)

a. *vina čarka*  
 wine[NOM] glass[NOM]  
 ‘a glass of wine’

b. *ejkakš-on ejste-st vežeńć-eš*  
 child-PL.1SG from-3PL younger-DEF  
 ‘the youngest of my children’ (Niina Aasmäe, pers. comm.)

(3) Estonian (Finno-Ugric, Finnic)

a. *klaas veini*  
 glass[NOM] wine.PAR  
 ‘a glass of wine’

b. *noorim mu laste-st*  
 youngest my child.PL-ELA  
 ‘the youngest of my children’

In examples (1)–(3), it is the superset or amount expression where the partitive relationship is morphologically marked (if anywhere). As can be seen, pseudo-partitivity is morphologically marked only in the Finnic branch of the family as in (3a), while all other Finno-Ugric languages operate with juxtaposition in

<sup>4</sup> If not otherwise mentioned, examples are created by the authors.

such phrases, as in (1a) and (2a). The structures of phrases that are juxtaposed on surface may hereby diverge in structure nonetheless.<sup>5</sup> However, the Mordvin sibling languages of Erzya and Moksha constitute a link between the Finnic group and the rest of the Finno-Ugric family in this respect in that they can, under certain conditions, express pseudo-partitives also with ablative case as in (4), not only with bare nouns as in (2a).

(4) Erzya (Finno-Ugric, Mordvin)<sup>6</sup>

*lamo tumo-do*  
a.lot oak-ABL  
'a lot of oaks'

In the proper partitive constructions of (1b)–(3b), by contrast, the superset phrases are each marked with a source (separative) case or an adposition with equivalent meaning. Note that the Finnic language, Estonian, does not use the same marker for the relationships expressed in (3a) and (3b). The Finnic designated partitive case can appear only in rare cases on the phrase that stands for the superset in proper partitive structures. Proper partitive structures appear more frequently with the elative or adpositions.<sup>7</sup>

Synchronically, a morphological partitive covers, as can be seen in (3a), either pseudo-partitivity, or a range of more abstract categories. This is the case not only with the Finnic (and, to certain extent, Saamic) dedicated partitive case, but also with, for instance, the partitive genitive of most of the Balto-Slavic languages.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Natalia Serdobolskaya – Maria Usacheva: Pseudopartitive constructions are not a subtype of nominal juxtaposition in Beserman, *JUL* 2 (2023), 243–285. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jul.00018.ser>

<sup>6</sup> Raija Bartens: *Mordvalaiskielten rakenne ja kehitys* [Structure and development of the Mordvin languages], MSFOu 232. Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1999, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm: “A Piece of Cake”; Anne Tamm: The Partitive Concept versus Linguistic Partitives: From Abstract Concepts to Evidentiality in the Uralic Languages, in S. Luraghi – T. Huumo (eds.): *Partitive Cases and Related Categories*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 2014, 87–152. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110346060.89>

<sup>8</sup> Paul Kiparsky: Partitive case and aspect, in Miriam Butt – Wilhelm Geuder (eds.), *The projection of arguments*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998, 265–307; Lars-Gunnar Larsson: *Studien zum Partitivgebrauch in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, 1983; Helle Metslang: On the developments of the Estonian aspect: The verbal particle *ära*, in Östen Dahl – Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.), *Circum-Baltic languages*, volume 2, Grammar and typology, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001, 443–479; Ilja A. Seržant: The Independent Partitive as an Eastern Circum-Baltic isogloss, *Journal of Language Contact* 8 (2015), 341–418; Anne Tamm: *The Partitive Concept*; Anne Tamm: Scalarity and Dimensionality across Categories. Estonian Pseudo-partitive Constructions, *Linguistica Uralica* 47 (2011), 22–40. See also Janečka, this volume.

Vainikka and Maling<sup>9</sup> point out that partitive represents default complement marking (indication of complementhood); we illustrate it with examples from Estonian dependent marking in (5).

(5) Estonian (Finno-Ugric, Finnic)<sup>10</sup>

a. *kaks*                      *jõge*  
 two[NOM]              river.PAR  
 ‘two rivers’

b. *vaatan*              *jõge*  
 look.1SG              river.PAR  
 ‘I am looking at the river.’

c. *mööda*    *jõge*  
 along    river.PAR  
 ‘along the river (prepositional phrase)’

d. *jõge*                      *mööda*  
 river.PAR              along  
 ‘along the river (postpositional phrase)’

In example (5), the partitive form of Estonian *jõgi* ‘river’ represents the complement either of a numeral (‘two’), a verb (‘look at’), or an adposition (‘along’), not a quantized amount (indefinite superset) as the partitive form of *vein* ‘wine’ in (3a).

Another example of a more abstract category encoded via conventional partitive marking is causing event or reason (6), which is, in various Finnic languages, one of the multiple functions of the morphological partitive.

(6) Karelian (Finno-Ugric, Finnic)<sup>11</sup>

*Suurdu*                      *keittämiä*              *pada*                      *musten-i*.  
 big-PAR                      cooking.PAR              pot[NOM]                      blacken-PST.3SG  
 ‘Intensive cooking has made the pot turning black.’

<sup>9</sup> Anne Vainikka – Joan Maling: Is partitive case inherent or structural?, in J. Hoeksema (ed.): *Partitives: Studies on the distribution and meaning of partitive expressions*, Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, 179–208.

<sup>10</sup> Anne Tamm: *The Partitive Concept*.

<sup>11</sup> Anne Tamm: Cross-categorial spatial case in the Finnic non-finite system: focus on the absentive TAM semantics and pragmatics of the Estonian inessive *m*-formative non-finites. *Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences*, 49(4) (2011), 863. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2011.025>

Less advanced is the spread of the partitive marker into abstract functions in the Saamic and Mordvin languages. There are two recent dissertations that contain discussions about the Mordvin ablative, which is also regarded as a kind of partitive.<sup>12</sup> In Mordvin, pseudo-partitives appear with a separative case, which is restricted also in more abstract relations such as objecthood: the separative (ablative) case typically marks objects of ingestion verbs.<sup>13</sup> It is compatible with both indefinite and definite “wholes/supersets”, once the quantity of the “part/subset” is indeterminate,<sup>14</sup> compare (7a) and (7b) to (7c) and (7d), respectively.

(7) Erzya (Finno-Ugric, Mordvin)<sup>15</sup>

a. *šimśt*                      *lovso-do*                      *dɪ ...*  
 drink.PRT1.3PL                      milk-ABL                      and ...  
 ‘They drank some milk and ...’ (Superset indefinite, subset indeterminate.)

b. *tonś*                      *třeskat*                      *lovso-do-ńt*,                      *tonś*                      *poťavtt*.  
 2SG.REFL eat.voraciously.2SG milk-ABL-DEF 2SG.REFL milk.IMP.2SG  
 ‘[Since] you are the one drinking the milk, you milk [the cow] yourself’  
 (Superset definite, subset indeterminate.)

c. *Vašilij*                      *šimś*                      *stakan*                      *lovso*.  
 Vasili drink.PRT1.3SG                      glass[NOM]                      milk[NOM]  
 ‘Vasili drank a glass of milk.’ (Superset indefinite, subset determinate.)

d. *Nujanžin*                      *šimiže*                      *lovso-ńt*                      *dɪ ...*  
 Nuyanzin drink.PRT1.3SG>3SG milk-GEN.DEF and ...  
 ‘Nuyanzin drank the milk and ...’ (Superset definite, subset determinate.)

<sup>12</sup> Mariann Bernhardt: *Määräisyys ja objektin merkitseminen mordvalaiskielissä* [Definiteness and differential object marking in Mordvinic], Doctoral dissertation, Turku, Turun yliopisto, 2021. <https://www.utupub.fi/handle/10024/152777> (Accessed 15 August 2023); Giovanna Albonico: *Object marking and object-verb agreement with verbs of cognition in Mordvinic*, Pavia, University of Pavia dissertation, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> Bartsen: *Mordvalaiskielten*, 93; cf. also Rueter and Kabaeva, this volume.

<sup>14</sup> Jack Rueter: *Inessive object and ablative adjunct with Erzya verbs of ingestion*, PARTE workshop 15-17 September 2022, Hungary Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary 2022. [https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/6\\_PARTE\\_TALK\\_RUETER%20Inessive\\_object\\_and\\_ablative\\_adjunct\\_with\\_Erzya\\_verbs\\_of\\_ingestion\\_Bp\\_2022-09-16%20\(1\).pdf](https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/6_PARTE_TALK_RUETER%20Inessive_object_and_ablative_adjunct_with_Erzya_verbs_of_ingestion_Bp_2022-09-16%20(1).pdf) (Accessed 15 August 2023).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

## 3. PARTITIVES IN COMPARISON

Partitivity can cover various notions that can be encoded by different means, even in languages that have partitivity as a grammatical category, like the Finnic partitive case. How about languages with no partitive case? What strategies do they use to encode the basic partitive concepts? In what grammatical relations are these strategies employed in their grammar? Various languages in Europe have determiners that relate to indefiniteness, others have partitive prepositions, and several European languages have partitive pronouns, sometimes marked for person, and some have a partitive or partitive genitive case; there can also be overlaps between categories of article and preposition, however, these forms usually relate to pseudo-partitive semantics or quantification rather than proper partitivity.<sup>16</sup> Many are

<sup>16</sup> Anna Cardinaletti – Giuliana Giusti: Indefinite determiners: Variation and optionality in italo-romance, in R. D'Alessandro – D. Pescarini (eds.): *Advances in dialectology. Sketches of Italo-Romance grammars*, Leiden, Brill, 2018, 135–161; Lesia Chaika – Natalia Lehka – Anne Tamm – Natalia Vaiss: Ukrainian aspect and object case in ukTenTen: The partitive genitive of perfective verbs and mass nouns, in E. Glaser – P. Sleeman – T. Strobel – A. Tamm (eds.): *Partitive constructions and partitive elements within and across language borders in Europe*. (LiVVal. Linguaggio e Variazione. Variation in Language 3). Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice; Helen de Hoop: A semantic reanalysis of the partitive constraint, *Lingua* 103 (1997), 151–174; Helen de Hoop: Partitivity, in L. Cheng – R. Sybesma (eds.): *The Second Glot International State-of-the-Article Book: The Latest in Linguistics*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton, 2003, 179–212, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110890952.179>; Helen de Hoop: Partitivity. *GLOT International* 3 (1998), 3–10; Urtzi Etxeberria: The partitive marker in Basque and its relation to bare nouns and the definite article, in P. Sleeman – G. Giusti (eds.): *Partitive determiners, partitive pronouns and partitive case* (Linguistische Arbeiten 580), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2021, 319–355; David Paul Gerards – Elisabeth Stark: Why “partitive articles” do not exist in (Old) Spanish, in *Disentangling bare nouns and nominals introduced by a partitive article*, Leiden, Brill, 2020, 105–139; Giuliana Giusti – Petra Sleeman: Partitive elements in the languages of Europe: An advancement in the understanding of a multifaceted phenomenon, in P. Sleeman – G. Giusti (eds.): *Partitive determiners, partitive pronouns and partitive case* (Linguistische Arbeiten 580), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2021, 1–30; Elvira Glaser – Petra Sleeman – Thomas Strobel – Anne Tamm (eds.): *Partitive constructions and partitive elements within and across language borders in Europe*, (LiVVal. Linguaggio e Variazione. Variation in Language), Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice; Riho Grünthal: Diachronic bottlenecks of the Uralic (ablative-)partitive. *Linguistic Variation*, 23 (2022), 124–156. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.21003.gru>; Jacob Hoeksema (ed.): *Partitives: Studies on the distribution and meaning of partitive expressions*, Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter, 1996; Tabea Ihsane: Telicity, specificity, and complements with a “partitive article” in French, in T. Ihsane (ed.): *Disentangling bare nouns and nominals introduced by a partitive article*, Leiden, Brill, 2020, 227–261; Helena Metslang: Coding and behaviour of Estonian subjects, *Eesti Ja Soome-Ugri Keeleteaduse Ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 4 (2013), 217–293. <https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2013.4.2.12>; Matti Larjvaara: *Partitiivin valinta* [The choice of partitive], Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2019; Dóra Pődör: Az ír nyelvtudás segítéségül hívása a Magyar mint idegen nyelv oktatásban [Relying on knowledge of Modern Irish in teaching Hungarian as a foreign language], *THL2* 1-2 (2017), 226–237; Dóra Pődör: Corpus perspectives on some Irish Gaelic (pseudo-)partitives, in E. Glaser – P. Sleeman – T. Strobel – A. Tamm (eds.): *Partitive constructions and partitive elements within and across language borders in Europe*. (LiVVal. Linguaggio e Variazione. Variation in Language 3). Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice; Cecilia Poletto – Francesco Pinzin: An indefinite maze: On the

interested in how partitives emerge, and how they are in between categories that are in transition.<sup>17</sup>

Hungarian proper partitives serve as an example in order to show what answers can be given to at least some of these questions. The main strategies of Hungarian for encoding proper partitives are subset marking via possessive agreement and superset marking via case or adposition.<sup>18</sup> Subset marking via possessive agreement with the superset means that if the subset is represented by a quantifier – which is the case in the “canonical” type of proper partitive constructions like English *two / many / some(one) / each of the / those students*<sup>19</sup> – possessive suffixes or markers that reflect the 1PL, 2PL, 3PL features of the superset can be attached to this quantifier.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the Hungarian partitive relationship can be denoted by a single possessive marked word; see the paradigms of some possessively inflected quantifiers in Table 1. DP stands for the superset.

Table 1. Some possessively inflected quantifiers in Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

	‘two of DP’	‘many of DP’	‘one of DP’	‘someone of DP’	‘each of DP’
1PL	kettő-nk	sok-unk	egyik-ünk	valamilyik-ünk	mindegyik-ünk
2PL	kettő-tök	sok-atok	egyik-etek	valamilyik-etek	mindegyik-etek
3PL	kettő-jük	sok-uk	egyik-ük	valamilyik-ük	mindegyik-ük

distribution of partitives and bare nouns in the Northern Italian dialects, *Isogloss Open Journal of Romance Linguistics* 8 (2022), 1–23; Bożena Rozwadowska – Ewa Willim: The Role of the Accusative/Partitive Alternation in Aspectual Composition in Polish, *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 39 (2004); Natalia Serdobolskaya – Maria Usacheva: *Pseudopartitive constructions are not a subtype*. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jul.00018.ser>; Petra Sleeman – Giuliana Giusti (eds.): Partitive determiners, partitive pronouns and partitive case. De Gruyter, 2021; Petra Sleeman – Silvia Luraghi: Crosslinguistic variation in partitives. in S. Luraghi – P. Sleeman (eds.): *Partitives cross-linguistically*, special issue of *Linguistic Variation* 23 (2023), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.21018.sle>; Petra Sleeman: Partitive pronouns in intransitive contexts in Italian and Dutch, in S. Luraghi – P. Sleeman (eds.): *Partitives cross-linguistically*, special issue of *Linguistic Variation* 23 (2023), 217–243. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.21018.sle>; Klaus von Heusinger – Jaklin Kornfilt: Partitivity and Case Marking in Turkish and Related Languages, *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 2 (2017) 1–40. <https://www.glossa-journal.org/article/id/4882/> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

<sup>17</sup> Silvia Luraghi – Merlijn De Smit – Iván Igartua: Contact-induced change in the languages of Europe: The rise and development of partitive cases and determiners in Finnic and Basque, *Linguistics* 58 (2020), 869–903. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2020-0083>; Ilja A. Seržant: *The Independent Partitive*.

<sup>18</sup> Gabriella Tóth – Kata Kubinyi – Anne Tamm: Possessive partitive strategies in Uralic: Evidence from Mari and Hungarian quantifiers and inflected adpositions, in E. Glaser, P. Sleeman, T. Strobel & A. Tamm (eds.): *Partitive constructions and partitive elements within and across language borders in Europe* (LiVVaL - Linguaggio e Variazione. Variation in Language 3), 101–126. Venice, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, <https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/libri/978-88-6969-795-1/>

<sup>19</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 3.

<sup>20</sup> By quantifier we mean here both numerals, whether cardinal or “weak”, and indefinite or universal pronouns, as well as their interrogative and relative variants.

Similar systems of marking canonical partitives on quantifiers using possessive suffixes can be found throughout the Uralic family (except the Finno-Saamic branch) and are well-known also in the Turkic languages.<sup>21</sup>

In the Kazakh examples of (8) from Koshkin,<sup>22</sup> for instance, possessive affixes attach to the quantifiers, as in ‘one of them’, or ‘one of my friends’, we see the possessive marker. Also, in ‘which of them’, ‘any of them’, and ‘most of them’ we see the same pattern in proper partitive formation. The present paper uses an online Cyrillic to Latin transliteration in providing the Latin transliteration to the original Cyrillic examples.<sup>23</sup>

(8) Kazakh (Koshkin)<sup>24</sup>

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| a. | <i>олар-дың</i><br><i>olar-dyn'</i><br>they-GEN<br>'one of them'                            | <i>бір-і</i><br><i>bir-i</i><br>one-3SG               |
| b. | <i>лар-дың</i><br><i>lar-dyn'</i><br>they-GEN<br>'which of them'                            | <i>қайсы-сы</i><br><i>qai'sy-sy</i><br>which-3SG      |
| c. | <i>олар-дың</i><br><i>olar-dyn'</i><br>they-GEN<br>'any of them'                            | <i>кез_келген-і</i><br><i>kez_kelgen-i</i><br>any-3SG |
| d. | <i>олар-дың</i><br><i>olar-dyn'</i><br>they-GEN<br>'most of them'                           | <i>көбі-сі</i><br><i>ko'bi-si</i><br>many-3SG         |
| e. | <i>дос-тар-ым-ның</i><br><i>dos-tar-ym-nyn'</i><br>friend-PL-1SG-GEN<br>'one of my friends' | <i>бір-і</i><br><i>bir-i</i><br>one-3SG               |

<sup>21</sup> Dávid Fokos: Finnugor-török mondattani egyezések [Finno-Ugric-Turkic Syntactic Correspondences], *Magyar Nyelvőr* 68 (1939), 13–19, 40–5, 84–7; Dávid Fokos: Uráli és altaji összehasonlító szintaktikai tanulmányok III [Uralo-Altai Comparative Syntactic Studies III], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 63 (1961), 63–81; Klaus von Heusinger – Jaklin Kornfilt: *Partitivity and Case Marking in Turkish*; Kata Kubinyi – Anne Tamm: *Partitivity in Uralic Languages without a Designated Partitive Marker*, Paper presented at the Congressus XIII Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum (Vienna, 22. August 2022). <https://cifu13.univie.ac.at/programme/symposia/b9-syntactic-typology/> (Accessed 15 August 2023).

<sup>22</sup> Aidana Koshkin: *Partitives in Kazakh*, OSF dataset. [https://osf.io/a5eqp/?view\\_only=735a59c958b64e5ebad32b37633ce6ba](https://osf.io/a5eqp/?view_only=735a59c958b64e5ebad32b37633ce6ba)

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.translitteration.com/transliteration/en/kazakh/national/> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

<sup>24</sup> Aidana Koshkin: *Partitives in Kazakh*.

In addition to the strategy whereby the element that stands for the subset bears possessive marking that shows agreement with the superset (“subset-marking”, as the subset is the locus of marking), Hungarian also has marking on the element that corresponds to the superset (“superset-marking”, the locus of marking is the superset). Superset-marking appears in the form of a case or an adposition. This central strategy for encoding proper partitives is illustrated in (1b). This superset-marking strategy is attested in most European languages, Uralic included. Furthermore, in Uralic, another possessive structure links the superset to the subset. This strategy is similar to the Dutch *ervan* or German *davon*, which are composed of a pronominal and a prepositional part (*it/them* + *of/from*). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal part, *it/them* forms a morphological word with the prepositional part, *of/from*. In Hungarian, the pronominal part may refer to more persons than only the third person. The pronominal part is a possessive agreement marker that emerges on an adpositional base such as “from (among)”, more specifically, on the postposition *közül* (as in *from among us*). In all structured forms, the morphological element serves as a link between the part and the whole. Thus, in Hungarian, altogether three main structures and forms are available to express proper partitivity:

- 1) marking that appears on the element denoting the part (subset-marking, as in *egyik-ünk* ‘one of us’), see example (9a);
- 2) marking that appears on the element denoting the whole or the amount (superset-marking, as in *gyerekeim-ből* ‘from among my children’), see example (9b); and
- 3) providing an agreement marker on another relating entity, an adposition (*közül-ünk* ‘from among us’), see example (9c).

The first and the third of these strategies are possessive-based.

(9) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

[*Húsz diák vizsgázott le.*]

twenty student take\_exam PV

[‘Twenty students took the exam.’]

a. *Kettő-jük-kel beszéltem.*

two-3PL-INS speak.PST.1SG

‘I spoke with two of them.’ (subset-marking)

b. *E diákok közül kettő-vel beszéltem.*

this student.PL from two-INS speak.PST.1SG

‘I spoke with two of these students.’ (superset-marking)

c. *Közül-ük kettő-vel beszéltem.*

from-3PL two-INS speak.PST.1SG

‘I spoke with two of them.’ (agreement on relating entity)

- d. \**Közül-ük* / \**E diákok közül kettő-jük-kel beszéltem.*  
 from-3PL this student.PL from two-3PL-INS speak.PST.1SG  
 Intended to mean: 'I spoke with two of them / these students.'

The picture in other Uralic languages is basically similar, but there are many differences. For instance, (9) shows that the three strategies are mutually exclusive in Hungarian: the superset cannot be overtly represented in a construction where the subset is inflected for it (9d). Mari, another Uralic language spoken in Europe, is much more tolerant in this respect: the proper partitive relationship can be marked simultaneously by means of two (10b) or even all the three (10c) of the structures or strategies available (10).<sup>25</sup>

(10) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)

[...]

- a. *Kokyt-šo dene kutyrenam.*  
 two[NOM]-3SG with speak.PST2.1SG
- b. *Nunyn koklašte kokyt-šo dene kutyrenam.*  
 they.GEN among two-3SG[NOM] with speak.PST2.1SG
- c. *Nunyn koklašty-št kokyt-šo dene kutyrenam.*  
 they.GEN among-3PL two-3SG[NOM] with speak.PST2.1SG  
 '[Twenty students took the exam.] I spoke with two of them.' (Elena Vedernikova, pers. comm.)

Another notable difference between Hungarian and Mari lies in the fact that Hungarian proper partitives exhibit regular possessive agreement, while in Mari, a default 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessive marker (*-šE*, *-žE*, *-ž*) is used, irrespective of the fact that the superset that it is associated with is inherently plural. This invariable 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular marker can be associated in colloquial speech even with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronominal supersets, as in (11). All in all, it seems that the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessive suffix in Mari has gained a new function as a marker of proper partitivity and in these constructions it does not behave as a regular possessive suffix anymore.<sup>26</sup>

(11) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)

[...]

- Kokyt-šo provalitl-en-na.*  
 two-3SG[NOM] fail-2PST-1PL  
 '[We took the exam.] Two of us failed.' (Elena Vedernikova, pers. comm.)

<sup>25</sup> Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

It is argued that such development took place earlier also in Hungarian: the specific nominalizer suffix *-ik*, which appears attached to pronoun bases like the ones in Table 1, is considered to have evolved from the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural possessive suffix,<sup>27</sup> turning into a subset marker applied on the quantifier constituents of canonical partitive phrases. Similar processes are reported also from other Uralic languages.<sup>28</sup>

Let us point out two more differences between Hungarian and Mari proper partitive constructions. The first of them concerns the distribution of the subset-marked constructions across syntactic roles: in Hungarian, subset-marked constructions with *ik*-less quantifiers (based on numerals like ‘two’ or ‘many’) tend to avoid the subject function, becoming replaced with collective quantifiers (which bear a modal-essive marker and trigger plural agreement) (12), while in Mari, this is not the case (13).<sup>29</sup> Thus, in Hungarian, subset-marked partitives, or at least some of them, are in complementary distribution with collectives.

(12) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

[...]

*Közül-ük kett-en megbuktak. / ??Kettő-jük megbukott.*

from-3PL two-MODESS PV.fail.PST.3PL / two-3PL PV.fail.PST.3SG

‘[Twenty students took the exam.] Two of them failed.’

(13) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)

[...]

*Student gyč kokyt-šo provalitl-en.*

student.[NOM.SG] from two-3SG fail-2PST.3SG

‘[Twenty students took the exam.] Two of the students failed.’ (Elena Vedernikova, pers. comm.)

The other difference concerns the case that appears on the element that stands for the superset (“superset-marker”). Both languages use either source (separative) cases or postpositions with source (separative) meanings for superset-marking. Hungarian has the relative case as in (1b) or the postposition *közül* as

<sup>27</sup> Katalin É. Kiss: Possessive Agreement Turned into a Derivational Suffix, in H. Bartos – M. Den Dikken – T. Váradi (eds.), *Boundaries Crossed, at the Interfaces of Morphosyntax, Phonology, Pragmatics, and Semantics*. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 94, Dordrecht, Springer, 2018, 87–105. [https://doi.org/10.0007/978-3-319-90710-9\\_6](https://doi.org/10.0007/978-3-319-90710-9_6)

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Katalin É. Kiss – Orsolya Táncczos: From Possessor Agreement to Object Marking in the Evolution of the Udmurt *-jez* Suffix: A Grammaticalization Approach to Morpheme Syncretism, *Language*, 94(4) (2018), 733–57. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.0.0233>; Irina Nikolaeva: *A Grammar of Tundra Nenets*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 2014, 69.

<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, Mari also has a type of subset-marked construction (a possessively inflected quantifier in morphological terms) which is incompatible with subjecthood, see Timothy Riese – Jeremy Bradley – Tatiana Yefremova: *Mari. (Марий йылме.) An essential grammar for international learners*. Vienna: Koneen Säätio, 2022, 115, <https://mari-language.univie.ac.at/grammar/eg2022.pdf>. (Accessed 15 August 2023)

in (9b-c) and (12), and Mari has the postpositions *gyč* (which is actually on its way to becoming the relative case marker in the Mari local case system;<sup>30</sup> (13)) or *koklašte* (10b-c), *inter alia*. Nonetheless, Mari has also a locative, more specifically, inessive option for a subtype of proper partitives which Falco & Zamparelli call ‘out of-construction’<sup>31</sup> (14).

(14) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)<sup>32</sup>

<i>Индеш студент-ыште</i>	<i>нылыт-ше</i>	<i>коми йылмым,</i>
<i>Indeš student-yšte</i>	<i>nylyt-še</i>	<i>komi jylmym,</i>
nine student-INE[SG]	four-3SG	Komi language.ACC
<i>а визыт-ше</i>	<i>ханты йылмым</i>	<i>тунемеш.</i>
<i>a vizyt-še</i>	<i>hanty jylmym</i>	<i>tunemeš.</i>
and five-3SG	Khanty language.ACC	learn.3SG

‘Of the nine students, four study Komi, and five study Khanty.’

The inessive strategy, too, is attested for Old Hungarian; actually, it had anticipated the separative one.<sup>33</sup> As a striking reminiscence of the inessive strategy, in Modern Hungarian still preserved is the intriguing set of the inessive-based accusative plural pronouns *benniünk(-et)* [in(side).1PL-ACC], *bennetek(-et)* [in(side).2PL-ACC], which by now have lost their partitive semantics whatsoever and are considered purely alternatives to the regular accusative forms *mink-et* [we.1PL-ACC], *titek-et* [you.2PL-ACC].<sup>34</sup> Tálos,<sup>35</sup> however, regards these pairs as inclusive–exclusive marking in Hungarian. What is covered by the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun *us* and its 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural counterpart *you* (i.e., not *thee*) in English, is covered by pronouns with different feature sets in Hungarian according to the view of Tálos. The pronoun *benniüket* ‘us’ would be a pronoun with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person features, the speaker and addressee in the discourse, while *minket* ‘us’ combines the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person features. Conversely, *benneteket* ‘you’ encodes the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person features as opposed to *titek* ‘you’, which combines two or more 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular referents of the discourse.

<sup>30</sup> Gábor Bereczki: *Chrestomathia Ceremissica*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1990, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Riese et al.: *Mari*, 80.

<sup>33</sup> Antal Klemm: *Magyar történeti mondattan* [A historical syntax of Hungarian], Budapest, 1928, 183; Magdolna R. Hutás: Az alárendelő szerkezetek: Az igei szerkezetek [Subordinate structures: Verbal structures], in Loránd Benkő (editor-in-chief), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana I. A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991, 654.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., József Bencédy – Pál Fábíán – Endre Rácz – Mártonné Velcsov: *A mai magyar nyelv* [Modern Hungarian], Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1974, 271.

<sup>35</sup> Endre Tálos: A magyar inkluzív személynévmásai [The inclusive personal pronouns of Hungarian], *Magyar Nyelv* 76 (1980), 70–72.

Note that in dialects, also the 3<sup>rd</sup> person form *bennük(-et)* [in(side).3PL-ACC] exists.<sup>36</sup>

So far, we have discussed the strategies that Hungarian – along with several of its kindred languages – mainly employs in the morphosyntax of proper partitive phrases. Some of the proper partitive subtypes, listed by Falco and Zamparelli,<sup>37</sup> diverge from them. There is considerable variation also cross-linguistically, even between closely related languages, as to how one or another subtype of the proper partitive phrase is encoded. Providing a list of the form-and-meaning correlations in the phrasal domain will be left for further study, and we examine now two phenomena in the domain of sentences that relate to the proper partitive concept.

One of the phenomena that interact with proper partitives in Hungarian is verb agreement. In Hungarian, proper partitivity interacts both with object-verb agreement and with agreement in conventional possessive domains. The basis for the interaction is the choice between default (or regular) and semantic (or irregular) agreement patterns: using the semantic, that is, the so-called “disagreement” pattern, a partitive reading can be assigned to a formally non-partitive construction.

Like several other Uralic languages, Hungarian has two verbal paradigms: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with indefinite objects take the so-called subjective form, and transitive verbs with definite objects the so-called objective form. Thus, objects like the one in (15a) trigger object agreement, since a possessively inflected head noun is definite by default. In other words, the default agreement pattern allows for both the ‘whole’ and the ‘part-of-the-whole’ reading (‘my three trees’ versus ‘three of my trees’), but with the disagreement pattern (15b), the interpretation of the referent is partitive.<sup>38</sup>

(15) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

a. *Három fá-m-at kivág-ta.*

three tree-1PL-ACC PV.CUT-PST.3SG>3

‘She has cut down my three trees / three of my trees.’

b. *Három fá-m-at kivág-ott.*

three tree-1PL-ACC PV.CUT-PST.3SG

‘She has cut down three of my trees.’

<sup>36</sup> József Végh: *A bennüket ‘öket’ jelentésben való használatáról* [On the use of *bennüket* with the meaning ‘them’], *Magyar Nyelv* 49 (1953), 171–3.

<sup>37</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*.

<sup>38</sup> Klemm: *Magyar történeti mondattan*, 123–4; Huba Bartos: *Az inflexiók jelenségek szintaktikai háttere* [The Syntactic Background of Inflection Phenomena], in F. Kiefer (ed.), *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 3. Morfológia*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000, 747–752.

Another instance where disagreement with a definite object gives rise to partitive reading is illustrated in (16). The demonstrative pronoun *az* ‘that’ with an objective verb form, has a total reading; it cannot be interpreted as a subset of any superset (16a). With the disagreeing, subjective, verb form, on the contrary, the interpretation is partitive. This means that the interpretation of *az* ‘that’ is like that of the superset of a covert subset (16b).<sup>39</sup>

## (16) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

a. *Az-t rendel-te, ami-t János.*  
 that-ACC order-PST.3SG>3 what-ACC John  
 ‘She ordered the same [e.g., food] as John.’

b. *Az-t rendel-t, ami-t János.*  
 that-ACC order-PST.3SG what-ACC John  
 ‘She ordered some of the same [e.g., food] as John.’

Also, one of the proper partitive constructions – maximal pronominal partitives in Falco and Zamparelli<sup>40</sup> – can be subject to “reinterpretation via disagreement”. In this case, illustrated in (17), the Hungarian object agreement provides a new detail to consider, or a dimension, in examining the semantic and discourse properties of partitives, the inclusion of the speaker or the addressee in the subset (or their exclusion from the superset). In (17), it is the choice between object (i.e., default) and subject (i.e., irregular) agreement that determines the availability of the inclusive interpretation. In (17b), the irregular, subject agreement pattern leads to the inclusive interpretation. The objective, default, agreement in (17a) remains neutral as far as inclusivity is concerned.

## (17) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

a. *Csak kettő-nk-et hív-ták meg.*  
 only two-1PL-ACC invite-PST.3PL>3 PV  
 ‘Only (the) two of us were invited.’ (Speaker either included or not.)

b. *Csak kettő-nk-et hív-tak meg.*  
 only two-1PL-ACC invite-PST.3PL PV  
 ‘Only the two of us were invited.’ (Speaker included.)

Another context where a proper partitive construction can be interpreted as an inclusive construction is shown in (18). In this possessive construction, if the possessed noun exhibits default agreement with the (over or covert,

<sup>39</sup> Klemm: *Magyar történeti mondattan*, 127; Bartos: *Az inflexió jelenségei*, 758.

<sup>40</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 7.

case-marked or unmarked) possessor, no inclusive reading emerges, cf. (18a), but with the semantic agreement pattern, the interpretation is inclusive (18b).

## (18) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

- a. *Csak kettő-nk-nek volt siker-e.*  
 only two-1PL-GEN be.PST.3SG success-3SG  
 ‘Only (the) two of us had success.’ (Speaker either included or not.)
- b. *Csak kettő-nk-nek volt siker-ünk.*  
 only two-1PL-GEN be.PST.3SG success-1PL  
 ‘Only the two of us had success.’ (Speaker included.)

Distinguishing inclusive subset-marked partitives via semantic agreement is not unique to Hungarian.<sup>41</sup> It must be emphasized, however, that the exact conditions of this variation in Hungarian await further examination.

The other strategy that interacts with proper partitives in Hungarian on the sentence level can be called subset omitting. The omission of the element that stands for the subset, together with superset marking, is a means to create a subtype of proper partitive constructions that formally coincide with what Falco and Zamparelli call ‘bare partitives’.<sup>42</sup> In Hungarian, when not accompanied by an overt subset, the relative-marked superset is reported to be as a “new kind” of subject (19a) or object (19b) according to some authors.<sup>43</sup>

## (19) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Ugric)

- a. *A kenyér-ből is maradt.*  
 the bread-ELA also remain.PST.3SG  
 ‘Also, some of the bread remained.’
- b. *A kenyér-ből is evett.*  
 the bread-ELA also eat.PST.3SG  
 ‘She ate also some of the bread.’

Interestingly, Mari shows no such tendency, since the omission of the subset is not allowed (20).

## (20) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)

- a. *Tudo kinde gyč šultyš-ym kočk-yn.*  
 she bread from piece-ACC eat-2PST.3SG  
 ‘She ate a piece of the bread.’

<sup>41</sup> For examples in Turkic, see Ekaterina Lyutikova: Person Agreement with Anaphors: Evidence from Tatar, *Languages*, 8 (2023), 46. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages8010046>

<sup>42</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Bencédy et al.: *A mai magyar nyelv*, 233–234, 273, 315.

b. \**Tudo kinde gyč koč-yn.*

she bread from eat-2PST.3SG

Intended to mean: ‘She ate some of the bread.’ (Elena Vedernikova, pers. comm.)

#### 4. THE CHALLENGE IN UNDERSTANDING PARTITIVES: THE EXAMPLE OF URALIC OVERVIEWS

##### 4.1 Challenges and possibilities

Understanding and even detecting partitives in various languages is complicated by the rather abstract nature of the linguistic concepts that have evolved from the semantics of the core “part of the X” or “amount of X” semantics. One of the challenges for researchers of partitives is that grammars are often written following traditional grammar organizing principles, which may not serve well the researcher of partitives. We have observed that viewing a language from the point of view of part-whole relationships is beneficial for understanding how its grammar and categories could be explained in their interrelationships. In this subsection, we look at some possibilities in grammar descriptions where partitive related discussions emerge – or fail to emerge – due to the fragmentation of the research agenda targeting the phenomenon. We also suggest where such discussions could be more extensive or could have been inserted, had there been a less fragmented research agenda available or fewer constraints on space.

Uralic languages are one of the best language families researched in the world, but even in this rich research situation, it is easy to miss relevant connections in natural data, and it is difficult to interpret natural phenomena. Two comprehensive recent handbooks on Uralic languages serve as the basis for the discussion in this section, and we discuss them to guide research in other morphologically rich languages that may also have evolved grammar involving partitivity. The two recent handbooks or grammar guides on Uralic languages are Abondolo and Valijärvi<sup>44</sup> and Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik,<sup>45</sup> from 2023 and 2022, respectively. The notes on Uralic are not intended as criticism of the sources but rather as an indication of where a discussion of partitives could assist a researcher in connecting related dots. We do not claim

<sup>44</sup> Daniel M. Abondolo – Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023.

<sup>45</sup> Marianne Bakró-Nagy – Johanna Laakso – Elena Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.001.0001>

that, given the space constraints of introductions,<sup>46</sup> overviews of groups of languages, vast previous research areas such as Proto-Uralic,<sup>47</sup> or notes on the history of Uralic linguistics<sup>48</sup> must discuss partitives or any other overarching cognitive and not specifically typical grammatical categories. Even if the partitives of Uralic are special because the rich morphology expresses abstract partitive meanings as well as concrete, and because partitive relations are a relevant part of various areas of Uralic grammars, our overview is rather to be understood as something that shows how pervasive the phenomenon of partitives in the grammars of other languages could also be but remain undetected. In works that encompass Uralic languages within a specific framework in linguistics, one example may be an LFG overview of Uralic by Laczkó, the partitives may receive more encompassing treatment.<sup>49</sup> Also in cognitive approaches such as Huumo,<sup>50</sup> the relationships between broader categories and the levels of grammar become more central than in more detailed but, for partitive phenomena, also more fragmented descriptive works.

Morphologically encoded partitives appear in all Finnic languages and also in Inari, Skolt, and Kildin Saami. Next to general chapters on Saamic,<sup>51</sup> Bakró-

<sup>46</sup> Daniel M. Abondolo – Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi: Introduction to the Uralic languages, with Special Reference to Finnish and Hungarian, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 1–80. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-1>; Marianne Bakró-Nagy – Johanna Laakso – Elena Skribnik: Introduction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 54–56. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.002.0013>; Johanna Laakso: The Making of the Uralic Nation-State Languages, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 59–67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0003>; Annika Pasanen – Johanna Laakso – Anneli Sarhimaa: The Uralic Minorities: Endangerment and Revitalization, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0004>

<sup>47</sup> Ante Aikio (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte): Proto-Uralic, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 3–27. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0001>; Janne Saarikivi: The Divergence of Proto-Uralic and its Offspring: A Descendent Reconstruction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 28–58. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0002>;

<sup>48</sup> Péter Simoncsics: Notes on the History of Uralic Linguistics, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 210–234. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-5>

<sup>49</sup> Tibor Laczkó: LFG and Finno-Ugric languages, in M. Dalrymple (ed.) *Handbook of Lexical Functional Grammar* 2023, 1467–1530.

<sup>50</sup> Tuomas Huumo: Toward a Cognitive Grammar account of the Finnish partitive case, in M. Jaakola – T. Onikki-Rantajääskö (eds.): *The Finnish Case System – Cognitive Linguistic Perspectives*, Helsinki, SKS, 2023.

<sup>51</sup> Eino Koponen: Saami: General introduction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 103. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0007>

Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik include and discuss the following Saamic languages in dedicated chapters Aanaar or Inari Saami,<sup>52</sup> Kildin,<sup>53</sup> Lule,<sup>54</sup> North<sup>55</sup> and South Saami,<sup>56</sup> Skolt Saami,<sup>57</sup> while Abondolo and Valijärvi<sup>58</sup> include Skolt<sup>59</sup> and South Saami.<sup>60</sup> Next to general chapters on Finnic,<sup>61</sup> Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik discuss Livonian,<sup>62</sup> Seto South Estonian,<sup>63</sup> North and Standard Estonian,<sup>64</sup> Votic,<sup>65</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Taarna Valtonen – Jussi Ylikoski – Ante Aikio (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte: Aanaar (Inari) Saami, M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 178. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0011>

<sup>53</sup> Michael Rießler: Kildin Saami, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 219. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0013>

<sup>54</sup> Jussi Ylikoski: Lule Saami, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 130. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0009>

<sup>55</sup> Ante Aikio (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte) – Jussi Ylikoski: North Saami, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 147. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0010>

<sup>56</sup> Jussi Ylikoski: South Saami, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 113. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0008>

<sup>57</sup> Eino Koponen – Matti Miestamo – Markus Juutinen: Skolt Saami, M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 196. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0012>

<sup>58</sup> Daniel M. Abondolo – Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic languages*.

<sup>59</sup> Timothy Feist: Skolt Saami, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 302–346. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-7>

<sup>60</sup> Torbjörn Söder: South Saami, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 235–301. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-6>

<sup>61</sup> Johanna Laakso: Finnic, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 240. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0014>

<sup>62</sup> Johanna Laakso: Livonian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 380–391. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0022>

<sup>63</sup> Karl Pajusalu: Seto South Estonian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 367–379. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0021>

<sup>64</sup> Helle Metslang: North and Standard Estonian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 350–366. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0020>

<sup>65</sup> Elena Markus – Fedor Rozhanskiy: Votic, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 330–349. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0019>

Ingrian,<sup>66</sup> Veps,<sup>67</sup> Karelian,<sup>68</sup> and Finnish, Meänkieli, and Kven<sup>69</sup> in separate chapters dedicated to these languages. Abondolo and Valijärvi<sup>70</sup> also devote a chapter to Finnic in general<sup>71</sup> in addition to North and Standard Estonian<sup>72</sup> and Võro South Estonian, which represent the Finnic languages.<sup>73</sup> Information on partitive case marking and its basic functions is provided in each of these chapters. However, most of the partitives of Finnic are more accurately described as pseudo-partitives due to their evolved meanings, which diverge significantly from the proper partitive concept of “X of the Y” or “part of the X”. The Saamic morphological partitives as discussed in the source are mostly related to certain numeral phrases and thus also pseudo-partitives.

Previous sections of the present paper detailed some evidence that the proper partitive concept is rather expressed by structures that involve separative cases,<sup>74</sup> adpositions, and possessive suffixes in most Uralic languages, while some Uralic languages display also special morphemes that relate to partitivity of this kind, like the Hungarian *-ik* (see Section 3 above). Nonetheless, chapters on definiteness,<sup>75</sup> information structure,<sup>76</sup> person marking,<sup>77</sup> possessive structures

<sup>66</sup> Elena Markus – Fedor Rozhanskiy: Ingrian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 308–329. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0018>

<sup>67</sup> Riho Grünthal: Veps, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0017>

<sup>68</sup> Anneli Sarhima: Karelian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 269–290. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0016>

<sup>69</sup> Johanna Laakso: Finnish, Meänkieli, and Kven, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 254–268. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0015>

<sup>70</sup> Daniel M. Abondolo – Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic languages*.

<sup>71</sup> Riho Grünthal: The Finnic Languages, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 433–480. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-10>

<sup>72</sup> Reili Argus – Helle Metslang: North and Standard Estonian, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 347–385. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-8>

<sup>73</sup> Helen Plado – Liina Lindström – Sulev Iva: Võro South Estonian, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 386–432. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-9>

<sup>74</sup> Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm: “A Piece of Cake”, see also Anne Tamm: *The Partitive Concept*.

<sup>75</sup> de Smit, Merlijn – Janda, Gwen Eva: Definiteness in Uralic, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 979–1006. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-22>

<sup>76</sup> Gerson Klumpp – Elena Skribnik: Information Structuring, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 1018–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0054>

<sup>77</sup> Gwen Eva Janda – Johanna Laakso – Helle Metslang: Person Marking, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 894–903. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0045>

(even if possessive suffixes are the explicit focus of research),<sup>78</sup> pronouns or quantifiers often miss a discussion on the pure partitives (canonical partitives) as they are discussed in typological-functional or formal approaches. Consequently, we are referring readers to some more theoretically oriented sources<sup>79</sup> for more comprehensive information on proper partitives.<sup>80</sup>

Although pseudo- and proper (pure, canonical) partitives clearly differ in syntactic and semantic terms, even in languages with full-fledged partitive morphological cases, elatives and partitives may be used interchangeably in various structures, such as some types of interrogative sentences.<sup>81</sup>

The partitive case in Finnic and Saamic languages is notable for its extensive range of meanings, having evolved to encompass various extended interpretations and uses. A chapter on case in Uralic could be extended to encompass morphological forms that have evolved from a partitive morphological case in future comprehensive works.<sup>82</sup> Where partitive is diachronically part of another form could also merit more discussion in languages where the forms are present. For instance, the chapter on evidentiality could mention the semantic connection between the Estonian and South Estonian evidential verb forms being based on a partitive form. As semantic and formal links between evidentiality, epistemicity, and partitive phenomena have been attested in various languages, Uralic data are likely to be relevant.<sup>83</sup> One of the conspicuous features of Finnic

<sup>78</sup> Gwen Eva Janda: “Northern Mansi Possessive Suffixes in Non-Possessive Function”. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics*, 6:2 (2015), 243-58. <https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2015.6.2.10>; Kari Fraurud: Possessives with extensive use: A source of definite articles? in I. Baron – M. Herslund – F. Sørensen: *Dimensions of Possession*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, 243–267; Doris Gerland: “Definitely Not Possessed? Possessives with Non-Possessive Function”, in T. Gamerschlag – D. Gerland – R. Osswald – W. Petersen (eds.), *Frames and Concept Types. Applications in Language and Philosophy*. Dordrecht, Springer, 2014, 269–92. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-01541-5\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-01541-5_12); Irina Nikolaeva: Possessive Affixes in the Pragmatic Structuring of the Utterance: Evidence from Uralic, in Suihkonen, P. – Comrie, B. (eds.), *International Symposium on Deictic Systems and Quantification in Languages Spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia. Collection of Papers*. Iževsk and Leipzig: Udmurt State University and Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, 2003, 130–45.

<sup>79</sup> See Koptjevskaja Tamm’s works for partitives in many Uralic languages, and also person and possessive marking as part of proper partitive constructions in É. Kiss, É. Kiss, Táneczós and Tóth et al.

<sup>80</sup> Katalin É. Kiss: *Possessive Agreement*; Katalin É. Kiss – Orsolya Táneczós: *From Possessor Agreement to Object Marking*; Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*.

<sup>81</sup> Renate Pajusalu: Multiple Motivations for Meaning of an Elative Wh-Construction in Estonian. *Trames Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2006 (10:4), 324-340. <https://doi.org/10.3176/tr.2006.4.02>; Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*.

<sup>82</sup> Seppo Kittilä – Johanna Laakso – Jussi Ylikoski: Case, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 879–893. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0044>

<sup>83</sup> Silvia Luraghi – Giovanna Albonico: *Evidential functions of the partitive with verbs that indicate acquisition of knowledge: a comparison of Erzya and Ancient Greek*, PARTE workshop 15-17 September 2022, Hungary Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church

partitive cases is its emergence under the scope of negation,<sup>84</sup> which is semantically related to the role of partitive as the marker of aspectual unboundedness in Finnic. Adpositions, as pointed out by recent sources, differ in their ways of combining with genitive or partitive noun phrases,<sup>85</sup> and there is much variation especially in contact situations. Relativization<sup>86</sup> and clause combining<sup>87</sup> involves partitives, for instance, in Estonian, where diachronically diverse non-finites<sup>88</sup> receive case but then develop further meanings as in many other languages. Yet, discussions of relativization and non-finites could but do not reach the topic of partitives. A discussion of word order is also necessarily related to partitives, as partitive marked phrases have distinct distribution. Their parts can be separated in syntax, and recent research has discovered new aspects about their structure; partitive objects and subjects are placed differently with regard to the verb in sentences.<sup>89</sup> Frequently, postverbal subjects appear in existential sentences and are typically partitive, but such details are marginal to discuss in chapters on existentials.<sup>90</sup> Also, a discussion of nominal predication

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in Hungary 2022. [https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/5\\_PARTE\\_TALK\\_LURAGHI\\_ALBONICO\\_Evidential%20functions%20of%20the%20partitive.pdf](https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/5_PARTE_TALK_LURAGHI_ALBONICO_Evidential%20functions%20of%20the%20partitive.pdf) (Accessed 15 August 2023); Jeremy Bradley – Gerson Klumpp – Helle Metslang: TAM and Evidentials, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 904–923. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0046>

- <sup>84</sup> Matti Miestamo – Beáta Wágner-Nagy – Anne Tamm: *Negation in Uralic languages*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2015; Matti Miestamo: Negation and Negatives, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 924–935. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0047>
- <sup>85</sup> Riho Grünthal: Adpositions and Adpositional Phrases, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 961–969. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0050>
- <sup>86</sup> Shagal, Ksenia: Relative Clauses in Uralic, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 939–978. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-21>
- <sup>87</sup> Elena Skribnik: Clause Combining, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 996–1017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0053>
- <sup>88</sup> Jussi Ylikoski: Non-Finites, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 936–949. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0048>
- <sup>89</sup> Maria Vilks: Word Order, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 950–960. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0049>; Norris, Mark: Nominal structure in a language without articles: The case of Estonian. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics*, 3(1), 41 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.384>; Éva Dékány – Marcel den Dikken: *Partitive case in Estonian*, PARTE workshop 15-17 September 2022, Hungary Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary 2022; Tibor Laczkó: *On Chisarik (2002) Partitives in Hungarian: an LFG approach*, PARTE workshop 15-17 September 2022, Hungary Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary 2022.
- <sup>90</sup> Johanna Laakso – Beáta Wagner-Nagy: Existential, Locational, and Possessive Sentences, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*,

in Finnic would need to include partitives, but the discussion is too brief in standard sources even if there is a separate chapter on nominal predication.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, sources such as Fokos<sup>92</sup> can be consulted for insights into parallels between Uralic and Turkic languages in discussing the relations between Turkic and Uralic, which exhibit similar systems of marking canonical partitives on quantifiers and pronouns using possessive suffixes.<sup>93</sup> This could be done in chapters discussing connections between Uralic and other language families of the handbook chapter type as Georg.<sup>94</sup> A classical source such as Fokos<sup>95</sup> would make us hope that the general overview chapters on Mordvin, Mari, Permic, Ugric, and Samoyedic would relate various pronoun and quantifier structures and prominent and central items of their morphology such as possessives to partitivity. However, we did not find this in the chapters on Mordvin, Mari, Permic, Ugric, and Samoyedic in Bakró-Nagy et al. We have examined the chapters on Mordvin,<sup>96</sup> Mari,<sup>97</sup> Permic,<sup>98</sup> Komi,<sup>99</sup> Udmurt,<sup>100</sup> Ugric,<sup>101</sup> North

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*1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 970–980. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0051>

<sup>91</sup> Rigina Ajanki – Johanna Laakso – Elena Skribnik: Nominal Predication, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 981–995. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0052>

<sup>92</sup> Dávid Fokos: *Finnugor-török mondattani egyezések*; Dávid Fokos: *Uráli és altaji*.

<sup>93</sup> One could even consider “partitive cycles” that evolve in languages based on the different linguistically expressed conceptualizations of entities forming parts as well as wholes evolving over time (as in É. Kiss, *Possessive Agreement*).

<sup>94</sup> Stefan Georg: Connections between Uralic and Other Language Families, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 176–209. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-4>

<sup>95</sup> Dávid Fokos: *Finnugor-török mondattani egyezések*; Dávid Fokos: *Uráli és altaji*.

<sup>96</sup> Arja Hamari – Rigina Ajanki: Mordvin (Erzya and Moksha), in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 392–431. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0023>

<sup>97</sup> Sirkka Saarinen: Mari, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 432–470. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0024>

<sup>98</sup> Gerson Klumpp: Permic: General Introduction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 471–486. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0025>

<sup>99</sup> Nikolay Kuznetsov: Komi, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 487–506. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0026>

<sup>100</sup> Svetlana Edygarova: Udmurt, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 507–522. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0027>

<sup>101</sup> Elena Skribnik – Johanna Laakso: Ugric: General Introduction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 523–536. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0028>

Mansi,<sup>102</sup> East Mansi,<sup>103</sup> North Khanty,<sup>104</sup> East Khanty,<sup>105</sup> Hungarian,<sup>106</sup> Samoyedic,<sup>107</sup> Nenets,<sup>108</sup> the Enets Languages,<sup>109</sup> Nganasan,<sup>110</sup> Selkup,<sup>111</sup> Kamas,<sup>112</sup> and we could not find the phenomena to be related to partitivity. In Abondolo and Valijärvi, we investigated the Ugric chapters on Mansi<sup>113</sup> and Khanty,<sup>114</sup> and the Samoyedic chapters on Nganasan,<sup>115</sup> Forest and Tundra Enets,<sup>116</sup> Nenets,<sup>117</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Marianne Bakró-Nagy – Katalin Sipócz – Elena Skribnik: North Mansi, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 537–564. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0029>

<sup>103</sup> Ulla-Maija Forsberg: East Mansi, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 565–581. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0030>

<sup>104</sup> Mária Sipos: North Khanty, M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 582–607. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0031>

<sup>105</sup> Zsófia Schön – Katalin Gugán: East Khanty, M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 608–635. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0032>

<sup>106</sup> István Kenesei – Krisztina Szécsényi: Hungarian, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 635–658. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0033>

<sup>107</sup> Beáta Wagner-Nagy – Sándor Szeverényi: Samoyedic: General Introduction, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 659–673. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0034>

<sup>108</sup> Svetlana Burkova: Nenets, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 674–708. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0035>

<sup>109</sup> Florian Siegl: The Enets Languages, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 709–753. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0036>

<sup>110</sup> Beáta Wagner-Nagy: Nganasan, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 754–776. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0037>

<sup>111</sup> Olga Kazakevič: Selkup, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 777–816. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0038>

<sup>112</sup> Gerson Klumpp: Kamas, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 817–844. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0039>

<sup>113</sup> Susanna Virtanen – Csilla Horváth: Mansi, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 665–702. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-15>

<sup>114</sup> Márta Csepregi: Khanty, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 703–752. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-16>

<sup>115</sup> Beáta Wagner-Nagy: Nganasan, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 753–792. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-17>

<sup>116</sup> Olesya Khanina – Andrey Shluinsky: Forest and Tundra Enets, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 793–852. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-18>

<sup>117</sup> Nikolett Mus: Nenets, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 853–896. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-19>

and Selkup.<sup>118</sup> Other chapters that we searched where person marking could be found to be related to proper partitives were Moksha Mordvin,<sup>119</sup> Mari,<sup>120</sup> Udmurt,<sup>121</sup> and Zyrian Komi.<sup>122</sup> Some instances of possessively inflected quantifiers (i.e., partitive structures where subsets are marked for their supersets) were found in some of these chapters, but the discussion of their relatedness to partitivity could not be traced for a researcher interested in partitives.

An additional note is in order. Dedicated morphological partitives are a development in the Uralic (Finnic) languages that is a relevant topic in other areas of language description of forms as well, such as prosody<sup>123</sup> or consonant gradation.<sup>124</sup> At least for Estonian, knowledge of the special features of partitive forms is relevant in those areas. The well-known phenomenon of three syllable lengths, which emerges also in consonant gradation in the morphology of Estonian, is in modern discussions more accurately described as a tonal distinction that interacts in specific ways with prosody, suprasegmental phonological features.<sup>125</sup> The partitive forms and the forms they are alternating with or in opposition with (in a paradigm) are often distinguishable from each other in prosodic terms.

<sup>118</sup> Gerson Klumpp – Josefina Budzisch: Selkup, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 897–938. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-20>

<sup>119</sup> Jack Rueter: Moksha Mordvin, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 481–526. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-11>

<sup>120</sup> Jeremy Bradley – Jorma Luutonen: Mari, D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 527–575. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-12>

<sup>121</sup> Pirkko Marjatta Suihkonen: Udmurt, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 576–613. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-13>

<sup>122</sup> Rogier Blokland: Zyrian Komi, in D. Abondolo – R.-L. Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages (Second edition)*, London, Routledge, 2023, 614–664. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-14>

<sup>123</sup> Karl Pajusalu: Prosody, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 868–878. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0043>

<sup>124</sup> Marianne Bakró-Nagy: Consonant Gradation, in M. Bakró-Nagy – J. Laakso – E. Skribnik (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages, 1st ed.*, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2022, 859–867. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0042>

<sup>125</sup> Ilse Lehiste: Prosodic change in progress: From quantity language to accent language, in *Development in prosodic systems, Studies in Generative Grammar*, Berlin, New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 2003, 47–65; Eva Liina Asu – Pärtel Lippus – Pire Teras – Tuuli Tuisk: The realization of Estonian quantity characteristics in spontaneous speech, in M. Vainio – R. Aulanko – O. Aaltonen (eds.): *Nordic Prosody – Proceedings of the Xth Conference, Helsinki 2008*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang Verlag, 2009, 49–56.

#### 4.2 On associating the material in the grammar guide by Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik with partitivity

The handbook by Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik contains more numerous examples and discussions that are relevant for a discussion of partitives than the handbook by Abondolo and Valijärvi. As it is in this sense more valuable for our chapter, we focus on this source. Therefore, we examine here only some sections in the grammar guide edited by Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik, where we briefly point at the possibilities where a more in-depth discussion of partitivity or partitives could fit the existing materials. This concerns mainly the areas of grammar where the partitive relationship is encoded via case marking on the superset or person marking on the subset. In other words, locative cases used in partitive functions, possessively inflected quantifiers and, in general, the partitive functions of possessive suffixes (Px) are of main concern here.

Firstly, in the sections on locative cases, where their metaphorical and purely grammaticalized uses are also discussed, our proposal is to envisage additions to the existing materials in various contexts. For instance, where Finnic external cases are mentioned to have possessive and instrumental functions, the partitive function of the Finnic internal relative could be added.<sup>126</sup> More discussion on partitivity could fit in the section where Laakso discusses Finnish, where she discusses that “the local cases are also used to express predicative possession and related meanings, the adessive case can be used to express an instrument or means, and some local cases have completely grammaticalized (government) uses”.<sup>127</sup> In Mari, the partitively used postpositional ‘from’-case and the partitively used inessive could be discussed.<sup>128</sup> Partitives could fit into a discussion of Hungarian, together with other case functions if they were mentioned.<sup>129</sup>

Secondly, in the sections for “Phrase structure”, where short descriptions of agreement and other morphosyntactic phenomena in NumP or QP are given in most of the cases, we could envisage a mention of phrases with a quantifier head and a separative – or partitive – modifier, which qualify as canonical partitives,<sup>130</sup> such as ‘two of the students.’ Note that the NumPs and QPs, discussed in these sections, are all pseudo-partitive phrases, while the partitivity phenomena also extend to proper partitives, that is, canonical partitives in this case.

<sup>126</sup> Johanna Laakso: *Finnic: General introduction*, 244.

<sup>127</sup> Johanna Laakso: *Finnish, Meänkieli, and Kven*, 259.

<sup>128</sup> Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 442.

<sup>129</sup> Kenesei – Szécsényi: *Hungarian*, 640–642.

<sup>130</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 3.

Thirdly, possessively inflected quantifiers and indefinite pronouns, that is, instances where reference to a superset appears on a subset, constitute another suitable context for discussing partitivity. The source offers some instances of possessively inflected quantifiers; for a researcher of partitivity, it could discuss them more explicitly as such. The Mordvin and Ugric chapters provide some information where a few pointers would help those who are interested in partitivity. In the chapter on Mordvin,<sup>131</sup> where the collective quantifiers with *-n'E+Px* (i.e., maximal pronominal partitives,<sup>132</sup> such as ‘all the three of us’) are discussed, the overall quantifier+Px (alternatively referred to as indefinite pronoun+Px) structure could also be highlighted, as it corresponds to canonical partitive phrases, such as ‘one of them’, ‘which of them.’<sup>133</sup> In the chapter on Mari, a specialist on partitives would emphasize the quantifier (or an indefinite pronoun)+Px structure, for which we find an example (see example 218), where such an instance indeed occurs based on the glosses and translations (one-3SG-ACC=DIP ‘neither of them’).<sup>134</sup> Where the Ugric chapter mentions that noun-like words, also many quantifiers, can be marked for person,<sup>135</sup> further information would serve a researcher of more language-specific categories on the nature of the functions that this kind of person marking may have, as a few paragraphs later, in the section for “Nominal person marking,” the possible contexts of the Px are confined to the structures of nouns, non-finites, and postpositions.<sup>136</sup>

Lastly, and in general, the partitive function of possessive suffixes could be envisaged as an addition in the contexts of the “determinative” function of the Px as a secondary or non-possessive use. This use is mentioned and referred to via various terminology and categories to which also the partitive or partitivity could be added. As to the “determinative” functions of the Px (mainly those of the second and third person singular, 2SG and 3SG), the following functions are mentioned: foregrounding of a forementioned referent in Mari;<sup>137</sup> pragmatic functions, the marking of specificity or identifiability in Permic;<sup>138</sup> discourse functions, the marking of definiteness, uniqueness, identifiability, and the common ground of a conversation for the addressee in Komi;<sup>139</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Hamari – Ajanki: *Mordvin (Erzya and Moksha)*, 406.

<sup>132</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 7.

<sup>133</sup> Jack Rueter: *Adnominal Person in the Morphological System of Erzya*, MSFOu 261, Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 2010, 115, 153–4.

<sup>134</sup> Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 467.

<sup>135</sup> Elena Skribnik – Johanna Laakso: *Ugric: General Introduction*, 527–8.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 529.

<sup>137</sup> Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 445.

<sup>138</sup> Gerson Klumpp: *Permic: General Introduction*, 480.

<sup>139</sup> Nikolay Kuznetsov: *Komi*, 493.

topicalization, focusing, demonstration, and definiteness in Udmurt;<sup>140</sup> information structuring in terms of anchoring, reactivation, topic chaining, and topic switching in Ugric;<sup>141</sup> the marking of what is called “definiteness” or “determination”, such as identifiability, salience, uniqueness, contrast or individuation, common knowledge, or simply an associative relationship between two entities within the actual situation in North Khanty;<sup>142</sup> the use of 3SG for the marking of definiteness of a truly unique or topicalized referent; the use of 1PL and 2SG or 3SG in an identifying function; the use of 3PL to mark an “entity contrasted with others on the basis of quality” (“the new one”) in Nganasan;<sup>143</sup> the use of 3SG for singling out an entity and nominalizing the expression of its crucial characteristics in Nganasan<sup>144</sup> (see also the previous reference). In addition, Janda et al. suggest in their typological discussion on person marking in Uralic that the “determinative” uses of the Px “deserve to be researched from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and discourse”. One of the contexts where a “determinative” Px occurs (described for Komi, Mari, and Ob-Ugric) is the “conclusion of a common activity of two or more participants, followed by a new chapter featuring only one of the participants”. The authors claim that “at least the 3SG Px is used as a kind of deictic/focal marker in order to guide the hearer’s attention” and emphasize “the necessity of a yet more detailed analysis of possessive suffixes outside a possessive or determinative (i.e., non-possessive) context to capture the manifold referential features of Px-es in Uralic”.<sup>145</sup>

In summary, with this brief digression, we wish to contribute to the understanding of how pervasive an abstract category such as partitivity is and, also, how elusive it may remain in thorough and detailed comprehensive language descriptions if they follow a certain grammaticographic tradition suited for rendering the materials accessible for a wider public. Partitives are markers of relations between two entities – such as sets or amounts – that involve anaphoric relations that are often expressed by possessive suffixes in Uralic. It seems that many of the descriptions of the phenomena in the volume cover markers that correspond to term “canonical partitivity”. Thus, considering the association of these discussions with partitivity would be helpful where we find terminology such as “foregrounding” or “reactivation” of an aforementioned referent, “associative relationship between two entities, “singling out an entity”

<sup>140</sup> Svetlana Edygarova: *Udmurt*, 512.

<sup>141</sup> Elena Skribnik – Johanna Laakso: *Ugric: General Introduction*, 529.

<sup>142</sup> Mária Sipos: *North Khanty*, 589.

<sup>143</sup> Beáta Wagner-Nagy: *Nganasan*, 764.

<sup>144</sup> Gwen Eva Janda – Johanna Laakso – Helle Metslang: *Person Marking*, 898.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 901.

by virtue of its characteristics, or identifying “only one of the participants” (two or more).

Recent typological literature has contributed descriptions of comparable structures that are found in previous secondary literature on various languages in the world.<sup>146</sup> For instance, examples from Dhofari Arabic and Tsimshianic contain the glosses and translations that resemble the proper partitive structures composed via suffixed person or possessive markers that we found in Uralic, such as of some-3PL ‘some of them’,<sup>147</sup> as well as from Lavukaleve (Papuan), where the person marker is prefixed, as 3PL-some ‘some of them’.<sup>148</sup>

Abstract relations between abstractions are a common theme in theoretical linguistics and discussions of categories in psycholinguistics, which could be used to discover the linguistic categories and their development. For Uralic, which has reliable descriptions and rich resources for examining a linguistic category, a whole language family could be an excellent source for discovering more about an overarching category such as partitivity.

One of the challenges in detecting proper partitives within Uralic sources lies perhaps exactly in the distinct morphological partitive case present in many of these languages, such as the Finnic and Saamic languages. The Finnic languages, in particular, exhibit rich separative case systems in which the partitive is prominently featured, often as one of the core cases.

This morphological case is semantically closer to the concept of pseudo-partitives than proper partitives. While it must be emphasized that the above overview is not intended as criticism, the pervasive lack of a ubiquitous element running as a red line through the grammar of a language family is highly informative. Partly, it informs those who study languages with less available historical sources how their grammar structures may have developed. We have made a more in-depth study in the person and possessive markers in terms of proper (canonical) partitives, as it may inform researchers about where they can rely on secondary or primary sources in designing their research instruments and choosing between methodologies. Our brief investigation indicates that other prominent features in organizing a grammar structure and categories of a language, even in thorough and comprehensive grammar books, might go undetected without additional research instruments.

<sup>146</sup> Ilja Seržant, *Typology of Partitives*, *Linguistics* 59(4) (2020), 881–947.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 901.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 906.

## 5. AN OVERVIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS

The following short descriptions briefly present the content of the papers of our volume.

The study by **Erzsébet Panka** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań) titled *Object cases, definiteness, and aspect in Finnish and Hungarian. How Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases* delves into the complexities of Finnish grammar, particularly the distinction between the total (accusative) and partitive cases of objects. This is a topic that Hungarian learners find challenging due to differences in how object cases, definiteness, and aspect are conceptualized and expressed in Finnish and Hungarian. Finnish object cases are determined by sentence polarity, aspect, and the definiteness of the noun phrase (NP), whereas Hungarian typically employs the accusative case for object marking. The paper compares Finnish and Hungarian object cases, noting the unique presence of the partitive case in Finnish, which is absent in Hungarian. This absence contributes to the difficulty Hungarian learners have in acquiring the Finnish language. The research includes analysis from a fill-in test designed to assess Hungarian learners' use of Finnish object cases, with introspective interviews providing additional insight into the learners' thought processes. In Finnish, the partitive object is used in negative sentences, with imperfective aspect, or when the object NP is non-quantized. Conversely, the total object is used in affirmative, perfective aspect sentences with a quantized object-NP. The study found that while learners could use the partitive correctly in certain contexts, they struggled with its broader application, particularly in distinguishing between definiteness and quantification. In earlier Finnish literature on the topic, these phenomena are referred to as quantitative and notional definiteness. Quantitative definiteness in Finnish earlier terminology is closely tied to countability, affecting whether an NP is in the nominative or genitive case (these morphological cases cover the semantic total and syntactic accusative), while its opposite, quantitative indefiniteness, is seen as marked by the partitive case. Hungarian, however, emphasizes what in Finnish literature is referred to as notional definiteness, marked by articles and affecting verb conjugation. For learners, the lack of a specific grammatical marker associated with quantification (in earlier Finnish terminology, quantitative definiteness) poses challenges. The author points out that Hungarian learners often overgeneralize the partitive case in Finnish, applying it in contexts where the object is quantized. While certain verb classes are easily patterned with partitive objects, aspect as such is not. This can be seen as the learners' attempt to map Hungarian verbal prefix rules onto Finnish, resulting in total object cases where Finnish has partitive verbs. The study concludes that the difficulties stem from the interplay between object cases, quantification, defi-

niteness, and aspect, which diverge in Finnish and Hungarian. Understanding and using Finnish object cases exactly as native Finnish speakers is a complex cognitive process for Hungarian learners, involving multiple decisions about overlapping grammatical categories.

***On quantification and ablative in Erzya and Moksha*** by Jack Rueter (University of Helsinki) and Nadežda Kabaeva (Mordovian State University) aims to examine the quantificational uses of the ablative case in the Mordvin languages of Erzya and Moksha in order to establish to what extent these closely related literary languages diverge in this respect. The Mordvin ablative case, marked by an ending cognate with the Finnic and Saamic partitive marker, has numerous secondary functions, some of which are not uniformly shared by the sibling languages.

In their study, the authors use two morphosyntactically annotated corpora, one of which is a parallel corpus that contains Erzya and Moksha translations of a natural science schoolbook from the pre-World War II Soviet era. On this basis, instances of nine ablative functions are identified, paucal/mass quantification marking being the second most common of them. This ablative function has a strong link to the Conceptual Partitive, while the most frequent one, standard of comparison, can be considered an equivalent to what is encoded by the Linguistic Partitive in Finnic.

After a brief overview on how ablative combines with other inflectional categories of Mordvin nominal paradigms, the authors illustrate the construction types associated to these nine functions. They show that constructions with the paucal or mass quantifier + ablative formula are significantly more frequent in Moksha than in Erzya: while in the Moksha sample, 84% of the quantifier phrases that were analyzed involved ablative marking, the corresponding figure for Erzya was 56% only. Reasons both for the deviation between the two languages and for the variation in ablative marking are also investigated.

The authors mention further observations from the parallel corpus, suggesting new approaches to and new issues for comparative Erzya and Moksha research that they think can be helpful also in the construction of a Constraint Grammar for the Erzya and Moksha languages. The chapter is related to a presentation on a similar topic at the PARTE workshop.<sup>149</sup>

In his chapter on ***Differences in using (not only) adnominal partitive genitive in chosen Czech journalistic texts***, Martin Janečka makes use of a corpus study to investigate if the genitive case with a partitive interpretation as an adnominal case still emerges in modern Czech (it includes the enumerative). Journalistic texts were studied to examine the development of the

<sup>149</sup> Jack Rueter: *Inessive object and ablative adjunct*.

partitive genitive. Firstly, journalistic texts from three relatively recent historical periods (from 1848–1860, 1882–1885 and 1915) and, secondly, journalistic texts published in the years 1950, 1970, and 2000 (20,000 word forms for each sample were studied). A decrease in genitive adnominal partitivity emerged in the analysis of the data in journalism. The highest frequency appeared in the oldest examined texts, the lowest frequency, in turn, in the most recent journalistic texts. The decrease particularly concerns the written texts that were examined, while it is known that in Moravian dialects (spoken, but not written Czech), the partitive genitive still exists. There is a pattern in the change: “there is a decrease in the use of specific types of adnominal genitives, e.g. partitive or possessive genitives, on the one hand, and [- -] an increase of specific types, e.g. affiliation or defining at least in this text type”, on the other.

***Fractional proportional partitives (FPP). Focus on the variation in “one in three” partitives and agreement*** by **Iman Al Siyabi** (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), **Maris Camilleri** (University of Essex) and **Anne Tamm** (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary) proposes the term “fractional proportional partitives” (FPP) for the “one in N” (e.g., “one in three”) partitive structures and examines variation in types (from, in, of, see Luraghi and Huumo 2014)<sup>150</sup> and agreement in European, Asian and African variants of Arabic (one in N *is* or *are*). European, Asian and African Arabic are represented by Maltese, Gulf and Tunisian Arabic. The paper also presents an experimental pilot study on the variation of the English partitive expression of the type “one in three” (N1 in N2, Cardinal numeral N1 REL Cardinal numeral N2) in Arabic and Arabic speakers of English. Agreement in European, Asian and African Arabic between “one in N *is* or *are*” emerges regardless of the separative (“from”) or optionally locative partitive marking strategy.

Hungarian, with a separative marking strategy, does not allow plural agreement with the partitive phrase. English has variation and a locative marking strategy. The study mainly addresses subject–verb agreement. As an interesting find, in Maltese, there is semantic agreement attested with the dative indirect object, with a separative FPP strategy. In the experimental pilot study on the variation of FPPs in Arabic and Arabic speakers of English,<sup>151</sup> a forced choice task was administered via snowball sampling via social media in Oman and Tunisia. As a continuation of an expression such as “one in three”, roughly one in four chose for continuing the sentence with plural agreement on the verb. The type of FPP (from, in, of) is not found to correlate with the optional variability of singular

<sup>150</sup> Luraghi–Huumo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

<sup>151</sup> Iman Al Siyabi: *New Media Technologies for Learning to Use “one in three” Partitives*, PARTE workshop 15-17 September 2022, Hungary Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary 2022. [https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/18\\_PARTE\\_POSTER\\_AISiyabi\\_one%20in%20three%20English%20Partitives.pdf](https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/userfiles/18_PARTE_POSTER_AISiyabi_one%20in%20three%20English%20Partitives.pdf) (Accessed 15 August 2023.)

versus plural agreement. In several other languages, their FPP types and their agreement patterns are discussed (e.g., Burmese, Khmer, Dutch, Estonian) to pinpoint the bottlenecks of questionnaire-based data collection of partitive structures and their subject–predicate agreement variations.

## 6. IMPROVING THE METHODS FOR PARTITIVES

A variety of corpus-based approaches have been applied to studying partitives in less studied languages. For instance, in Finnic languages, corpus studies have targeted the use and variation of partitive case marking in different historical periods and learners' texts, also assessing factors like sociolinguistic variation or contact influence in them,<sup>152</sup> and parallel corpora have been used for Finnic-Balto-Slavic comparison.<sup>153</sup> Finnish and Estonian have enjoyed especially much research with corpus methods, also contrastively.<sup>154</sup> The language-technological corpus approach is present also in our volume. The emergence of large and accessible corpora, with a toolkit such as SKETCH ENGINE, helps develop and research linguistic resources in a wide variety of languages, including studies in partitives.<sup>155</sup> Various new results have appeared on partitives where the languages have not been studied based on large corpora yet, for instance, Ukrainian, where a large dataset is provided for the genitive partitive study.<sup>156</sup> Various sources start the quest for partitives with defining the functions of a clear morpheme associated with amounts or parts. Other sources employ translation questionnaire style questions about the true, or proper, or canonical partitives.<sup>157</sup> A recent special issue of a journal is dedicated specifically to

<sup>152</sup> Aet Lees: *Case alternations in five Finnic languages: Estonian, Finnish, Karelian, Livonian and Veps*, Leiden, Brill, 2015; Helle Metslang – Külli Habicht: Partitive, genitive or nominative?, in S. Luraghi & P. Sleeman (eds.): *Partitives cross-linguistically*, special issue of *Linguistic Variation* 23 (2023), 157–189; Helena Metslang: Partitive noun phrases in the Estonian core argument system, in Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*, 177–255; David Paul Ogren: *Object case in Estonian da-infinitive constructions* (Dissertationes Philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis 41). Tartu, Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2018.

<sup>153</sup> Asta Laugaliene: *Partitivity in Finnish and Lithuanian: object marking*. Vilnius: Vilnius University doctoral dissertation, 2022; Edyta Jurkiewicz-Rohrbacher: *Polish verbal aspect and its Finnish statistical correlates in the light of a parallel corpus*. University of Helsinki and University of Regensburg, doctoral dissertation, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/300771> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

<sup>154</sup> Ilmari Ivaska – Anne Tamm: Same yet different: Distributional Differences in the Use of Partitive objects in Estonian and Finnish, *Linguistic Variation*, <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.23042.iva>

<sup>155</sup> SketchEngine = <https://www.sketchengine.eu/> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

<sup>156</sup> Chaika et al.: *Ukrainian partitives*. OSF Dataset, 2023. <https://osf.io/fja5u/> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

<sup>157</sup> Anne Tamm: Methodological solutions for researching the variation of partitives in languages with rich nominal morphology. *Linguistic Variation. Online First*.

the methods of studying mostly Germanic partitives.<sup>158</sup> Several methods of studying little discussed types of Uralic partitives have also received attention in the volume, such as experimental field methods for collecting Beserman pseudo-partitives, but also the more studied Finnic pseudo-partitives.<sup>159</sup>

In what follows, we examine the empirical material of the present volume from the viewpoint of possible typological or comparative syntactic questionnaire questions for inclusion in further studies on partitives. Questionnaires are a method of various fields in linguistics, especially typology. Typological approaches to partitives, however, have not used extensive questionnaires yet, but the diachronic approaches such as the one taken by Seržant<sup>160</sup> or Luraghi and Kittilä<sup>161</sup> have investigated the form and function of partitive structures in a way that can be used for making a questionnaire for further research.<sup>162</sup> Formal approaches have also used questionnaires, and for partitivity, Falco and Zamparelli<sup>163</sup> have listed a number of items that we have formulated in terms of questions and some answers in Appendix 2 that are considered in this chapter alongside with some comprehensive approaches such as de Hoop.<sup>164</sup> Romance and Germanic have a rich tradition of investigating partitives with various questionnaires combined with other methods.<sup>165</sup> This is how the material of

<sup>158</sup> Leonie Cornips – Petra Sleeman: Variation in the use of the partitive pronoun ER in regional (Heerlen) standard Dutch, *Linguistic Variation*. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.23026.cor>; Elvira Glaser: Bare nouns, indefinite articles and partitivity in an Early New High German cookbook, *Linguistic Variation*, <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.23045.gla>; Alexander Pfaff: Dimensions of partitivity in Icelandic (and beyond), *Linguistic Variation*, <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.24018.sle>; <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.23034.pfa>; Petra Sleeman: Methods for studying variation in partitives, *Linguistic Variation*, <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.24018.sle>.

<sup>159</sup> Natalia Serdobolskaya – Maria Usacheva: Pseudopartitive constructions are not a subtype of nominal juxtaposition in Beserman, *Journal of Uralic Linguistics* 2(2) (2023), 243–285. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jul.00018.ser>; Ivaska – Tamm: *Same yet different: Distributional Differences in the Use of Partitive objects in Estonian and Finnish*.

<sup>160</sup> Ilja Seržant: Diachronic Typology of Partitives, in P. Sleeman, – G. Giusti (eds.): *Partitive Determiners, Partitive Pronouns and Partitive Case*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2021, 111–67. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110732221-004>

<sup>161</sup> Silvia Luraghi – Seppo Kittilä: Typology and diachrony of partitive case markers, in Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*, 17–62.

<sup>162</sup> Luraghi – Kittilä: *Typology and diachrony of partitive case markers*; Seržant: *Diachronic Typology*; Tamm: *The partitive concept*, 87–152.

<sup>163</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 1–49.

<sup>164</sup> De Hoop: *Partitivity*, 179–212.

<sup>165</sup> Jan Davatz – Tabea Ihsane – Elisabeth Stark: Enquêtes dialectologiques à Evolène : les articles dits ‘partitifs’ et leurs équivalent, in D. Aquino-Weber – S. Cotelli Kureth – A. Kristol – A. Reusser-Elzingre – M. Sauzet (eds.): *“C’oum’on ètèila que kòoule... Come una stella cadente... Comme une étoile filante...”*. *Mélanges à la mémoire de Federica Diémoz*, 2023, 65–85. Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Librairie Droz. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-253575>; Elvira Glaser – Thomas Strobel: The rise and fall of partitive markers in some Germanic varieties, in T. Ihsane (ed.): *Disentangling Bare Nouns and Nominals Introduced by a Partitive Article*. 2020, 17–53. Leiden/Boston: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-198358>; Tabea Ihsane: Preverbal subjects with a partitive article: a comparison between Aosta Valley Francoprovençal and French. *Studia Linguistica* 76(1) (2021) (Special Issue edited by Francesco Pinzin / Cecilia Poletto). Open

this book has been approached. In what follows, we present some thoughts on the motivation for the questions that we have pursued in this volume, identifying them as Q and an identifying number. They are also listed in Appendix 1 of this chapter.

### Questions and the motivation for the questions that we have pursued in the present volume

(Q1) *Can proper partitives and pseudo-partitives be distinguished?*

Task 1. Translate *some of the/these students*

In this expression, several elements that are useful for describing partitive structures are overtly present.<sup>166</sup> The quantifier *some* stands for *some students* that denotes the subset (the part), the phrase *the/these students* stands for the superset (the whole). What we do not see in this structure is the element *students* in what stands logically for *some students*. In the questionnaire sentence, *the/these students* are options in English for representing the superset that is definite. If the superset is definite, the part-whole expression is often referred to as a *true* or *proper partitive*. In this case, the term *canonical partitive* is also used. An article (“the”) determiner, however, is less useful than a demonstrative for a questionnaire for partitives simply as very few languages have similar devices in their grammar inventory. The definite article for spotting the proper

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Access: <https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12180>; Thomas Strobel: On the areal and syntactic distribution of indefinite-partitive pronouns in German: methodological advances and empirical results within the project ‘Syntax of Hessian Dialects’ (SyHD), in Á. P. Xosé Afonso, E. Carrilho – C. Magro (eds.): *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Limits and Areas in Dialectology (LimiAr)*. Lisbon, 2011. 2012, 405–430. Lisboa: Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa. [https://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/files/limiar/26\\_strobel.pdf](https://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/files/limiar/26_strobel.pdf); Francesco Pinzin – Cecilia Poletto: An indefinite maze: on the distribution of partitives and bare nouns in the Northern Italian dialects. *Isogloss* 8(2)/20 (2022), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/isogloss.130>; Petra Sleeman – Tabea Ihsane: The L2 acquisition of the quantitative pronoun in French by L1 speakers of German and the role of the L1, in G. Giusti – P. Sleeman (eds.): *Partitive Determiners, Partitive Pronouns and Partitive Case*. *Linguistische Arbeiten* (2021), 205–236. Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110732221-006>; Petra Sleeman – Tabea Ihsane: Convergence and divergence in the expression of partitivity: a cross-linguistic experimental study, *Linguistics* 58:3 (2020), 767–804. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2020-0090>; Petra Sleeman – Tabea Ihsane: The L2 acquisition of the French quantitative pronoun *en* by L1 learners of Dutch: vulnerable domains and cross-linguistic influence, in E. Blom – L. Cornips – J. Schaeffer (eds.): *Cross-linguistic Influence in Bilingualism*. In honor of Aafke Hulk, 2017, 303–330. [Studies in Bilingualism 52]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.52.14sle>; Elisabeth Stark – Jan Pavel Davatz: Unexpected Partitive Articles in Francoprovençal, *Studia Linguistica* 76(1) (2021), [Special issue edited by Francesco Pinzin – Cecilia Poletto], 101–129. Open Access: <https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12186>

<sup>166</sup> Elisabeth O. Selkirk: Some remarks on noun phrase structure, in P. W. Culicover – T. Wasow – A. Akmajian (eds.): *Formal syntax*, New York, Academic Press, 1977, 285–316; Koptjevskaja-Tamm: “A Piece of Cake”, 523–568; Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 1–49.

or canonical partitives is a useful device for many European languages, where it serves to distinguish the proper partitives from the so-called pseudo-partitives. (Q1) above contains a plural expression that stands for the superset; example (1) illustrates a classic example of a mass noun in a proper partitive structure, and (2) illustrates a pseudo-partitive structure for comparison.

- (1) *a cup of this tea*  
 (2) *a cup of tea*

It is also quite likely that the distinction that hinges on the definiteness of the superset, which easily distinguishes the forms of the two semantic categories, proper partitives (1) and pseudo-partitives (2), is more useful for some languages and not for others. A partitive has a semantic side and a formal side. There are commonalities in partitive structures that express the semantics, but there are also significant mismatches. Here we present the basic terminology for discussing partitive structures. Usually, the subset is referred to as N1 and superset as N2 in approaches to partitives. As it can be a quantifier, we reflect it in the question set Q1.

- (Q1) N1 rel (det) N2  
*some of the/these students*  
*some of the/this tea*  
*all of the/these students*  
*all of the/this tea*  
*[measure] of the/these students*  
*two of the/these students*  
*[measure] of tea*

Additionally, we have a third element, here, the preposition “of” that relates the two sets of *some students* and *these students*. This element is often called the relator. Semantically, the relator can reflect different conceptualizations of relationships between parts and wholes, and formally, it can be overt via a morphological form or a specific structure that can be tested via syntactic tests. The semantics of conceptualization has been targeted by several studies that have been used in this book to explore the “one in three” partitives. The relator can be conceptualized as instantiating a separative, possessive, or locative strategy: some FROM these students, some OF the students, or some IN/ON the students. One questionnaire question could thus target the conceptualization of the relation.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

(Q2) *What is the grammar of the expression like semantically: some FROM these students/this tea, some OF these students/this tea, or some IN/ON these students/this tea? Is there a difference between the way mass and plural supersets are encoded?*

The discussion in Simonenko<sup>168</sup> and Tóth et al.<sup>169</sup> has contributed to the understanding of the relationship between possessive- and separative-based partitive structures in Uralic. In the better described languages, such as in English, the preposition *of*, originally a marker of separative relation between two entities, has developed to primarily mark possessivity.<sup>170</sup> The Romance series of prepositions with *de* and the German *von* are also ablative (separative) or source structures that have grammaticalized as possessives.<sup>171</sup>

In Uralic, we see the opposite direction in grammaticalization: from possessives to partitives. One important difference between the partitive marking derived from possessive agreement is the locus of the morpheme in terms of the phrase it attaches to. While the English preposition combines with the superset (*ten of the girls*) in grammar, the Uralic-type possessive partitive marker combines with the subset instead (*ten of the girls*).<sup>172</sup> The Uralic possessive-based partitive marker typically links specific supersets and emerges in proper partitive constructions only. The English separative-based possessive *of* is not restricted to proper partitives and specific supersets emerging in proper partitives (as in *the youngest of my children*), but it can also be used in pseudo-partitives (*a cup of tea*).

It is also possible that the marker is not overt at all, and that there are juxtaposed elements N1 and N2, or structures that can be teased apart from other structures with syntactic tests, or there could be other markers of structure (that we do not know yet).

Here we arrive at the question about the semantic relevance of the identity condition of the partitive structures.

(Q3) *Where in grammar do you find the same forms that instantiate a partitive (relationship)?*

This question, with its modulations tailored to the language at hand, will see if the partitive relationship marker is different from other possessive, locative, or separative strategies in the language. This is the case in Finnic, where the partitive is a special kind of separative. Various languages that have

<sup>168</sup> Alexandra Simonenko: Microvariation in Finno-Ugric possessive markers, in H-L. Huang – E. Poole – A. Rysling (eds.): *The North East Linguistic Society (NELS) 43*, Amherst, MA: GLSA, 2019, 1–12.

<sup>169</sup> Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*, 101–126.

<sup>170</sup> Bernd Heine: *Possession: Cognitive Sources, Forces, and Grammaticalization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 145–146.

<sup>172</sup> Kubinyi – Tamm: *Partitivity in Uralic Languages*; Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*.

a dedicated partitive marker may express part-whole relationships by means of a wide variety of spatial cases.<sup>173</sup>

(Q4) *Does the marker appear on (or in a close syntactic relationship to) N1 (subset, part) or on N2 (superset, whole), or both, or somewhere else in the clause?*

This question sets apart languages where the partitive relationship is marked on N1, and other languages where the partitive relationship is marked on N2. There are also languages where both N1 and N2 bear partitive marking.

(Q5) *Which elements are formally not overt in the specific structures that stand for part/whole relationships? Which semantic parts have dissolved in language change in structures associated with partitives?*

Here we can detect diachronic, dialectal and variational pathways, as well as learner variants of partitives. This leads to the “opposite” approach for examining partitives:

(Q6) *What are the semantic features, syntactic characteristics or environments, and properties of other structures that appear in the language, associated with a dedicated partitive form?*

There are various subtypes of partitives, about which specific questions can be asked. In this volume, probably five of them are more prominent.

(Q7) *Do partitive expressions pattern with specific verb classes in a particular way?* For instance, as subjects or objects, or with verb classes such as consumption verbs, or with regard to object and subject agreement.

(Q8) *Are there partitive elements such as quantifiers or pronouns in the language?* (some, one, of them, which, etc.)

(Q9) *How are the indefinite fractional proportional partitives expressed?* (one in three)

(Q10) *What strategies do Second Language learners use in their interlanguage in developing target-like partitives?*

(Q11) *How are genitives and partitives related in adnominal structures?*

Questions that are additionally posed in the volume for various languages could be worded as follows:

(Q12) *Does negation interact with partitive expressions?*

(Q13) *Do other categories interact with partitive expressions in a special way? (definiteness, topicality, and other information structural features, quantification, aspect, agreement, non-finiteness, voice, nonveridicality, mood, etc.)*

<sup>173</sup> Ludovico Franco – Giulia Bellucci – Lena Dal Pozzo – M. Rita Manzini: Locatives, Part and Whole in Uralic, in J. Emonds – M. Janebová (eds.): *Language Use and Linguistic Structure, Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2016*, Palacký University, Olomouc 2017, 283–304. <https://olinco.upol.cz/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/olinco-2016-proceedings.pdf#page=284> (Accessed 15 August 2023)

(Q14) *Which elements must and which elements can appear in a partitive structure? Which elements are optional?*

(Q15) *How and to what extent do partitive strategies and structures vary across dialects and closely related languages?*

We have summarized the questionnaire items in Appendix 1, and we have proposed another questionnaire in Appendix 2, based on the article by Falco and Zamparelli, as a translation questionnaire with sample translations in Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian. While exploring the topics and languages of the chapters, we composed additional questionnaire items.

## 7. NEW QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS THAT ARE BASED ON THE CHAPTERS OF THIS VOLUME

The following items represent the possible comprehensive partitive questionnaire items based on this volume's chapters.<sup>174</sup> The example sentences of Section 2 and 3 can serve as translation questionnaire items, and the aspects of areas of grammar pointed out in Section 4 can guide a researcher of partitives in an unexplored language.<sup>175</sup>

### **Possible new questionnaire items based on Part 1, Uralic languages**

Based on Rueter and Kabaeva, this volume, we propose that partitives and ablatives can be investigated in their variation between closely related languages.<sup>176</sup>

1. What notions or functions are associated with the partitive form or the partitive marker (whether designated or not, expressed synthetically or analytically)?

<sup>174</sup> Réka Hajner – Kata Kubínyi – Dóra Pődör – Anne Tamm (eds.): *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1]. Budapest/Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary–L'Harmattan, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225.06>

<sup>175</sup> Kata Kubínyi – Anne Tamm: Introduction to European Partitives in Comparison, in R. Hajner – K. Kubínyi – D. Pődör – A. Tamm (eds.). *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1], 2023, 9–75. Budapest–Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary – L'Harmattan. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225-6.01>

<sup>176</sup> Jack Rueter – Nadežda Kabaeva: On quantification and the ablative in Erzya and Moksha, in R. Hajner – K. Kubínyi – D. Pődör – A. Tamm (eds.): *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1], 2023, 105–133. Budapest/Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary – L'Harmattan. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225-6.03>

For instance, is any of the following functions indicated by partitive marking?

- standard of comparison (bigger *than x*)
  - quantified entity (instances of paucal and mass quantification) (a lot *of x*)
  - quantifying modifier (bigger than *x by y*)
  - complement to verbs of ingestion (e.g., ‘eat’ or ‘drink’, verbs of consumption, incremental theme verbs)
  - reference point of separation (not far *from x*)
  - against (as in *protect against* or *from x*)
  - cause (due *to x*)
  - topic of discourse (complement to verbs and nouns like ‘write’, ‘talk’, ‘tell’, ‘hear’, ‘inform’, ‘know’, ‘science’, ‘plan’, ‘law’, ‘picture’, etc.)
2. Which of these notions or functions listed above are the most prevalent? What are the most frequent uses of the partitive marker?
  3. Are there any specific conditions (e.g., discourse-related, or other) for the partitive marker to appear in these structures or contexts? Is the use of the partitive marker in these structures or contexts obligatory or optional? Are there any verbs that occur both with and without a collated partitive marking?
  4. Focusing on language variation and conducting comparative or contrastive approach to (closely) related or unrelated languages, examine the following questions:
    - a. What are the functions (i.e., contexts or use of the partitive marker) that differentiate the languages?
    - b. What functional divergences exist between the languages in terms of semantics, frequency, and conditions of use of the partitive marker?
    - c. What formal divergences exist between the partitive structures of the languages (in terms of word order, declension type, and analytical versus synthetic marking)?

Based on Panka, this volume, we propose the following additional questionnaire for the learner structure, the interlingual L2 object cases, if partitive is one of them.<sup>177</sup>

1. What grammatical categories are encoded by the case of the object-NP in L2?

<sup>177</sup> Erzsébet Panka: Object cases, definiteness, and aspect in Finnish and Hungarian. How Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases, in R. Hajner – K. Kubinyi – D. Pődör – A. Tamm (eds.): *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1], 2023, 79–104. Budapest/Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary – L’Harmattan. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225-6.02>

2. How are categories like quantification, definiteness, and aspect encoded/expressed in L2 and L1?
3. What are the differences between how these grammatical categories are perceived by L2 and L1 speakers? (E.g., the quantitative boundedness versus definiteness dilemma; different interpretations of aspectual boundedness in terms of what we mean by an event being bounded.)
4. How and by what terms are these concepts (the concept of objecthood, quantification, definiteness, aspect, etc.) taught to L2 learners? How is the concept of objecthood, etc., approached in the teaching of L2?
5. What features influence the interlanguage use of L2 object cases: countability, negation, quantity, definiteness, referentiality, aspect, etc.? How do structural differences affect how L2 learners use object cases in their interlanguage? In which syntactic contexts do L2 learners choose the partitive object?
6. What functions and uses of the partitive case or the multiple object cases are the easiest for L2 learners to grasp cognitively, and which do they find the most difficult to learn? What explanations do learners give for what is easy and what is difficult in learning how to use the object cases in L2?

**New questionnaire items based on Part 2, Slavic languages**, based on the chapter by Janečka, follow here.<sup>178</sup>

1. How does the usage of the adnominal partitive genitive vary across different times, genres of literature or text types?
2. If there is a notable decline in the adnominal partitive genitive usage, what alternative grammatical structures might be taking its place?
3. How does the frequency of proper partitives compare to pseudo-partitives when analyzed independently?

**New questionnaire items based on Part 3, Arabic in its European and world context**, based on the chapter of Al Siyabi et al., follow here.<sup>179</sup>

The questions are grouped according to three overlapping areas relevant for fractional proportional partitives, such as “one in three”: agreement patterns,

<sup>178</sup> Martin Janečka: Differences in using (not only) adnominal partitive genitive in chosen Czech journalistic texts, in R. Hajner – K. Kubinyi – D. Pődör – A. Tamm (eds.): *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1], 2023, 137–148. Budapest–Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary–L’Harmattan. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225-6.04>

<sup>179</sup> Iman Al Siyabi – Maris Camilleri – Anne Tamm: Fractional proportional partitives (FPP). Focus on the variation in “one in three” partitives and agreement, in R. Hajner – K. Kubinyi – D. Pődör – A. Tamm (eds.). *European Partitives in Comparison*. [Károli Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics / Elméleti és kísérleti nyelvészeti kutatások 1], 2023, 151–188. Budapest/Paris: Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary – L’Harmattan. <https://doi.org/10.56037/978-2-336-47225-6.05>

information structure, and the grammaticalization patterns of fractions and proportions.

#### Agreement patterns

1. Does the language have agreement with the subject, object, or another argument? What kinds of agreement patterns are there in the language?
2. What are the agreement patterns like if the subject, object, or another argument are phrases that are either pure or pseudo-partitives?
3. Are the agreement patterns different if these arguments are pure or pseudo-partitives? What are these patterns?
4. Are the subject-verb and subject-predicative noun or adjective agreement patterns similar in the language?
5. What are the agreement patterns within an NP/DP/QP?
6. Is there any reference in the literature about the language about differences in further agreement patterns depending on the status of NP/DP/QP?

#### Articles and other devices of encoding information structure

7. Does the language have definite or indefinite articles, or any other means of encoding information structure?
8. Does information structure, definiteness, specificity, or discourse linking play a role in agreement with the partitive phrase?
9. If yes, are there any mismatches and variation in the expected form, depending on the semantic content?

#### Grammaticalization of fractions and proportions

10. What is the grammaticalization strategy or pattern of the fractional proportional partitives (separative, locative, possessive)?
11. Are there subdivisions within the separative, locative, or possessive strategies?
12. Does the grammaticalization pattern of the fractional proportional partitives differ from what are identified with fractions, percentages, and other phrases identifiable or identified as partitives?
13. Is there a difference between the grammaticalization pattern of proportional and simple partitives (understood as canonical and pseudo-partitives)?
14. Is there anything in the grammar of the language written about encoding the relations between measures, amounts, or about the encoding of proportions?
15. How are fractions expressed in the language?
16. Is there a difference between “four fifths” and “fifths”? Are there any other lexicalised fractions?

If yes, are there differences in agreement patterns or grammaticalization patterns?

## 8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced the volume and provided the basic terminology and concepts for discussing the universality and variation of partitive constructions and elements across European languages. The introduction has argued that less studied languages in the literature on partitives, such as Maltese in its context of Arabic varieties, Czech as a Slavic language, and the Finno-Ugric Erzya and Moksha as well as special registers and linguistic areas, such as the Finnish of Hungarian learners, are valuable for gaining insights into the partitive phenomena. We have argued that even the languages that are much studied in terms of partitives, such as Finnish or Hungarian, can be approached from new perspectives that make further research necessary.

The introduction has explored partitive cases, but also partitive phenomena in languages that lack such a case, proposing a wider perspective on them. We have argued that the data reveal significant variation in partitive expressions, from morphological convergence in peripheral European languages to diverse strategies of partitivity marking across the continent.

Based on examples from mostly Uralic languages, especially Hungarian, the introduction has pointed out some specific areas where more research would be desirable after completing this volume on partitives. The notable absence of a consistent, unifying category or feature across very comprehensive, quality grammar descriptions of a language family is highly instructive. This observation relies on the information that is to be found in terms of encoding partitivity in the most recent comprehensive grammars on Uralic languages. We have done this investigation also to provide insights for scholars studying languages with much more limited historical documentation, offering clues about how their grammatical structures may have evolved, against the backdrop of the richly documented Uralic work. It is important to clarify that the overview provided here of these two new handbooks is not intended as criticism but as a tool for further research. In particular, we have demonstrated in this introduction to the volume that the expression of partitive semantics, as a fundamental relationship between parts and wholes, assumes forms that influence the development of numerous grammatical categories from a diachronic perspective. Moreover, partitives interact with key abstract categories in languages, such as person and possession in Uralic, providing instructive insights for the study of less-documented languages. Understanding these interactions can offer valuable perspectives on the evolution of grammatical structures in languages with limited historical documentation. Therefore, we have proposed two questionnaires to explore the topics and languages of the chapters and also

additional questionnaire items based on what we have learned while editing the volume.

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONS

- 1 – first person
- 2 – second person
- 3 – third person
- ACC – accusative
- ABL – ablative
- ALL – allative
- ART – article
- COM – comitative
- DAT – dative
- DEF – definite (also a declension form)
- DIP – discourse particle
- ELA – elative
- GEN – genitive
- FUT – future
- ILL – illative
- IMP – imperative
- INE – inessive
- INF – infinitive
- INS – instrumental
- IPFV – imperfective
- LOC – locative
- M – masculine
- MODESS – modal-essive
- N – indication of a set in partitives; noun
- NOM – nominative
- PAR – partitive
- PL – plural
- PRT1 – first preterite
- PST – past
- PST2 – second past
- PTC – participle
- PV – preverb
- PX – possessive suffix
- REFL – reflexive pronoun
- SG – singular
- 3SG>3SG – 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular suffix indicating a 3<sup>rd</sup> person object simultaneously

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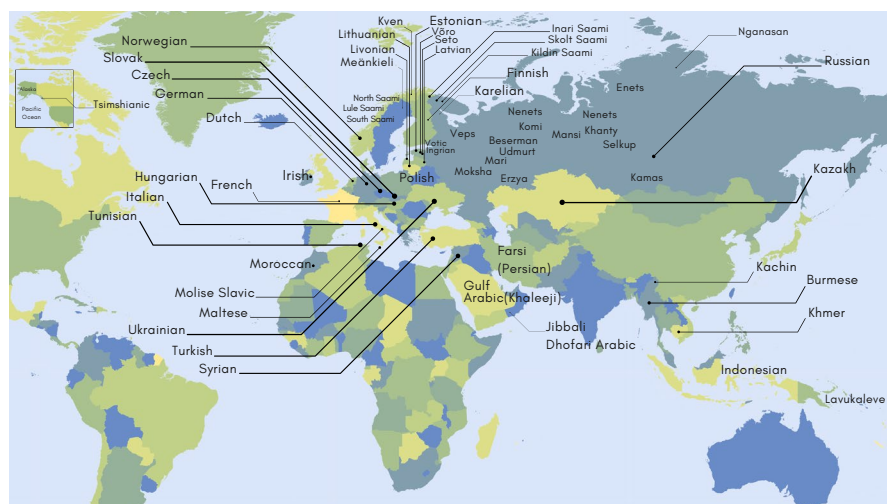
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(courtesy of Iman Al Siyabi, based on the coordinates of [wals.info](http://wals.info) and

<https://mapswire.com/>)

APPENDIX 1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTITIVES IN THIS PAPER

- (A) Translate the prototypical examples that show the difference between proper and pseudo-partitives:
- some of the/these students
  - some students
- (B) What is the grammar of the expression like semantically:
- some FROM these students
  - some OF these students
  - some IN/ON these students
- (C) Where in grammar do you find the same forms that instantiate a partitive (relationship)?
- (D) Does the marker appear on (or in a close syntactic relationship to) N1 (subset, part) or on N2 (superset, whole), or both, or somewhere else in the clause?
- (E) Which elements are formally not overt in the specific structures that stand for part/whole relationships? Which semantic parts have dissolved in the course of language change in structures that are associated with partitives?
- (F) What are the semantic features, syntactic characteristics or environments, and properties of other structures that appear in the language, associated with a dedicated partitive form?
- (G) Do partitive expressions pattern with specific verb classes in a particular way? (As subjects or objects, with verb classes of consumption verbs, or with regard to object and subject agreement?)
- (H) Are there partitive elements such as quantifiers or pronouns in the language? (E.g., some, one, of them, which, etc.)
- (I) How are the indefinite fractional proportional partitives expressed? (“one in three”)
- (J) What are the learner structures of partitives?
- (K) How are genitives and partitives related in adnominal structures?
- (L) Does negation interact with partitive expressions?
- (M) Do other categories interact with partitive expressions in a special way? (E.g., definiteness, quantification, aspect, non-finiteness, nonveridicality, any kinds of mood, etc.)
- (N) Which elements must, and which elements can appear in a partitive structure? Which elements are optional?
- (O) How and to what extent do partitive strategies and structures vary across dialects and closely related languages?

APPENDIX 2. TYPOLOGICALLY ORIENTED ELICITATION QUESTIONNAIRE  
FOR PARTITIVES

This questionnaire is designed to explore the various types of partitive constructions as described by Falco and Zamparelli (2019)<sup>180</sup> and its structure can be found in Tamm's *Methodological solutions*.<sup>181</sup> The example answers (note that these are only some of the possible answers) in Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian are provided and minimally glossed by the authors as further help for users of the questionnaire in Uralic languages and dialects.

## A. Canonical Partitives

## 1. Canonical Partitives:

- How do you express canonical partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: "Twenty students took the exam. I spoke with two of them/the students."
  - Hungarian: „Húsz diák tette le a vizsgát. Közülük/a diákok közül kettővel beszéltem.”
    - Gloss: twenty student took down the exam.ACC of.3PL/the student.PL.NOM of two.with spoke.1SG
  - Finnish: ”Kaksikymmentä opiskelijaa suoritti tentin. Puhuin heistä/opiskelijoista kahden kanssa.”
    - Gloss: twenty student.PAR took exam.ACC spoke.1SG they.ELA/student.PL.ELA two.GEN with
  - Estonian: „Kakskümmend õpilast tegi eksami. Ma rääkisin neist/õpilastest kahega.“
    - Gloss: twenty student.PAR did exam.ACC I spoke they.ELA/student.PL.ELA two.COM
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 3)

## B. Indefinite Partitives

## 2. Indefinite Partitives:

- How do you express indefinite partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: "He ate three of some apples he found on the ground."
  - Hungarian: „Megevett három almát, amit a földön talált.”

<sup>180</sup> Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*.

<sup>181</sup> Tamm: *Methodological solutions*.

- Gloss: ate.3SG three apple.ACC that.ACC the ground.LOC found.3SG
- Finnish: "Hän söi kolme maasta löytämänsä omenaa." "Hän söi kolme kappaletta joitakin omenoita, jotka hän oli löytänyt maasta."
  - Gloss: he.NOM ate three ground.ELA find.PTC.PAR.3SG apple.PAR he ate three piece.PAR.SG some.PL.PAR apple.PL.PAR which he had found from the ground
- Estonian: „Ta söi ära kolm õuna, mis ta maast leidis.“
  - Gloss: he ate up three apple.PAR that he ground.ELA found
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 3)

### C. Proportional Partitives and Percentages

#### 3. Proportional Partitives:

- How do you express proportional partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: "Half of the doctors."
  - Hungarian: „Az orvosok fele.”
    - Gloss: the doctor.PL half.3
  - Finnish: "Puolet lääkäreistä."
    - Gloss: half.PL doctor.PL.ELA
  - Estonian: „Pool arstidest.“ „Pool arste.“ „Pooled arstid.“
    - Gloss: half doctor.PL.ELA half doctor.PL.PAR half.PL doctor.PL.NOM
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 4)

#### 4. Percentages:

- How do you express percentages in partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: "80% of the house was underwater."
  - Hungarian: „A ház 80%-a víz alatt volt.”
    - Gloss: the house 80%-3SG water under be.PST.3SG
  - Finnish: "80% talosta oli veden alla."
    - Gloss: 80% house.ELA be.PST.3SG water.GEN under
  - Estonian: „80% majast oli vee all.“
    - Gloss: 80% house.ELA be.PST.3SG water.GEN under
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 4)

#### D. The “Among” Construction

##### 5. Among Construction:

- How do you express the “among” construction in your language?
- Example sentence: “Twenty students took the exam. Only five among all these students managed to pass.”
  - Hungarian: „Húsz diák tette le a vizsgát. Közülük csak ötnek sikerült átmenni.”
    - Gloss: twenty student took down the exam.ACC of.3PL only five. DAT managed pass.INF
  - Finnish: ”Kaksikymmentä opiskelijaa suoritti tentin. Vain viisi heistä pääsi läpi.”
    - Gloss: twenty student.PAR took exam.ACC only five they.ELA got.3SG through
  - Estonian: „Kaksikümmend õpilast tegi eksami. Ainult viis neist sai(d) läbi.“
    - Gloss: twenty student.PAR did exam.ACC only five they.ELA got3(PL) through
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 4)

#### E. Superlative Partitives

##### 6. Superlative Partitives:

- How do you express superlative partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “Only the most diligent of the freshmen managed to pass.”
  - Hungarian: „Csak a legszorgalmasabb gólyák tudtak átmenni.”
    - Gloss: only the most.diligent freshman.PL could.3PL pass.INF
  - Finnish: ”Vain ahkerimmat fuksit pääsivät läpi.”
    - Gloss: only most.diligent.PL freshman.PL got.3PL through
  - Estonian: „Ainult kõige usinamad rebased said läbi.“
    - Gloss: only most diligent.PL freshman.PL got.3PL through
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 5)

#### F. Double-Noun Partitives

##### 7. Double-Noun Partitives:

- How do you express double-noun partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “I only got two packages of the mail you sent me.”

- Hungarian: „Csak két csomagot kaptam abból a postából, amit küldtél.”
    - Gloss: only two package.ACC got.1SG that.ELA the post.ELA which.ACC sent.2SG
  - Finnish: ”Sain vain kaksi pakettia siitä postista, jonka lähetit minulle.”
    - Gloss: got.1SG only two package.PAR that.ELA post.ELA which.ACC sent.2SG me.ALL
  - Estonian: „Ma sain ainult kaks pakki sellest postist, mille sa mulle saatsid.“
    - Gloss: I got only two package.PAR that.ELA post.ELA which.ACC you me.ALL sent.2SG
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 5)

#### G. “Bare Partitives”

##### 8. Bare Partitives (Italian):

- How do you express bare partitive constructions in your language?
  - Example sentence: ”Dei ragazzi sono qui. “
    - Gloss: PAR.DET boys are here
    - Translation: ‘Some boys are here.’
  - Hungarian: „Néhány fiú itt van.”
    - Gloss: some boy here be.3SG
  - Finnish: ”Joitakin poikia on täällä.”
    - Gloss: some.PL.PAR boy.PL.PAR be.3SG here
  - Estonian: „Siin on poisse.“
    - Gloss: here be.3SG boy.PL.PAR
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 5)

##### 9. Bare Partitives (Italian):

- Provide another example of a bare partitive construction.
  - Example sentence: ”Ho comprato della birra. “
    - Gloss: I.have bought PAR.DET beer
    - Translation: ‘I bought some beer.’
  - Hungarian: „Vettem egy kis sört.”
    - Gloss: bought.1SG one little beer.ACC
  - Finnish: ”Ostin vähän olutta.”
    - Gloss: bought.1SG little beer.PAR
  - Estonian: „Ostsin (vähe, veidi, natuke) õlut.“
    - Gloss: bought.1SG (little, some, a small amount of) beer.PAR
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 6)

## H. Covert Partitives

**10. Covert Partitives:**

- How do you express covert partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “Ten students took the exam. Two got top grades.”
  - Hungarian: „Tíz diák tette le a vizsgát. Kettő kapott kitűnő jegyet.”
    - Gloss: ten student took down the exam.ACC two got.3SG excellent grade.ACC
  - Finnish: ”Kymmenen opiskelijaa suoritti tentin. Kaksi sai parhaat arvosanat.”
    - Gloss: ten student.PAR took exam.ACC two got.3SG best.PL.ACC grade.PL.ACC
  - Estonian: „Kümme õpilast tegi(d) eksami. Kaks (neist) (õpilastest) said parimad hinded.“
    - Gloss: ten student.PAR did3(PL) exam.ACC two (they.ELA) (students.ELA) got.3PL best.PL.ACC grade.PL.ACC
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 6)

## I. EXTRAPOSED PARTITIVES

**11. Extraposed Partitives:**

- How do you express extraposed partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “Of all the students who took the exam, only five managed to pass.”
  - Hungarian: „Az összes vizsgázó diák közül csak ötnek sikerült átmenni.”
    - Gloss: all exam\_taking student from among only five.DAT managed pass.INF
  - Finnish: ”Kaikista tenttiin osallistuneista opiskelijoista vain viisi läpäisi sen.”
    - Gloss: all.ELA exam.ILL participate.PTC.PL.ELA student.PL.ELA only five passed.3SG it
  - Estonian: „Kõigist eksamit sooritanud õpilastest sai(d) ainult viis läbi.“
    - Gloss: all.ELA exam.PAR taken student.PL.ELA got3(PL) only five through
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 7)

## J. Inverted Partitives

### 12. Inverted Partitives:

- How do you express inverted partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “One friend of John’s.”
  - Hungarian: „John egyik barátja.”
    - Gloss: John one friend.3SG
  - Finnish: ”Yksi Johnin ystävästä.”
    - Gloss: one John.GEN friend.PL.ELA
  - Estonian: „Üks Jaani sõpradest.“ „Jaani sõpradest üks.“
    - Gloss: one Jaan.GEN friend.PL.ELA Jaan.GEN friend.PL.ELA one
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 7)

## K. Maximal Pronominal Partitives

### 13. Maximal Pronominal Partitives:

- How do you express maximal pronominal partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “All of them.”
  - Hungarian: „Mindegyikük.”
    - Gloss: all.3PL
  - Finnish: ”Kaikki heistä.”
    - Gloss: all they.ELA
  - Estonian: „Kõik neist/nendest.“ „Neist kõik.“ „Nad kõik.“
    - Gloss: all they.ELA they.ELA all they all
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 7)

## L. The “Out-of” Construction

### 14. Out-of Construction:

- How do you express the “out-of” construction in your language?
- Example sentence: “Two out of four doctors.”
  - Hungarian: „Négy orvosból kettő.”
    - Gloss: four doctor.ELA two
  - Finnish: ”Kaksi neljästä lääkäristä.”
    - Gloss: two four.ELA doctor.ELA
  - Estonian: „Kaks neljast arstist.“ „Neljast (arstist) kaks (arsti)“
    - Gloss: two four.ELA doctor.ELA four.ELA (doctor.ELA) two (doctor.PAR)
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 7)

M. Pseudo-Partitives

**15. Pseudo-Partitives:**

- How do you express pseudo-partitive constructions in your language?
- Example sentence: “A number of objections.”
  - Hungarian: „Számos kifogás.” „[N] kifogás.”
    - Gloss: many objection [N] objection
  - Finnish: ”Useita vastalauseita.” ”[N] vastalauseita”
    - Gloss: many.PL.PAR objection.PL.PAR [N] objection.PAR
  - Estonian: „Hulk vastuväiteid.“ „Mitmed vastuväited.“ „[N] vastuväidet.“
    - Gloss: number objection.PL.PAR many.PL objection.PL.NOM [N] objection.PAR
- Source: Falco and Zamparelli (2019, 8)