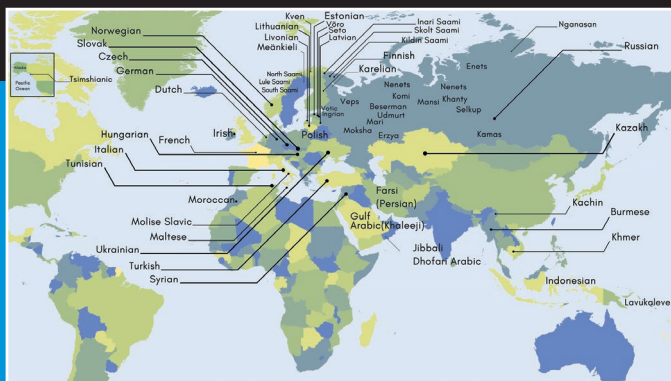


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European Partitives in Comparison

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IN COMPARISON



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EUROPEAN PARTITIVES IN COMPARISON



Edited by

Réka Hajner, Kata Kubínyi, Dóra Pődör, Anne Tamm

Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary

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PREFACE

With data from language areas that span over vast geographical distances and involve various contact situations, we aim to bring new insights into what is universal and what is particular in partitive constructions and elements in Europe.

The volume presents data that have not been discussed before in the literature and some of which were presented at the PARTE workshop in Budapest in September 2022 and during the online lectures on partitives, both organized by Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (KRE). For detailed information on the workshop, please visit the main page at Workshop Information (<https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/index.php>). To read the abstracts of the presentations, head over to Abstracts (<https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/index.php?kat=abstract>). For broader context about the network and its focus on Partitives in European Languages, explore Partitives in European Languages Network (<http://www.parte.humanities.uva.nl/>). And for insights from the online talks specifically related to Partitives, you can find the relevant talks at Online Talks on Partitives (<https://btk.kre.hu/konf/parte/?kat=onlinelectures>).

The workshop or earlier workshops and online series on partitives featured a diverse range of contributions from various scholars. In this volume, we arranged the work in three parts: perspectives from Finno-Ugric, Slavic and other European languages in their contexts. One of the Finno-Ugric studies is Erzsébet Panka's recent work based on her dissertation on object cases, definiteness, and aspect in Finnish and Hungarian to see how Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases. This research is part of a broader research agenda on how Finnish object case alternation is approached by learners with Hungarian linguistic background. Jack Rueter presents joint work with Nadežda Kabaeva and discusses issues of quantification and the ablative case in two related and endangered Finno-Ugric languages, Erzya and Moksha. In both languages, we can find morphological marking in two types of partitives, the proper partitives as well as the pseudo-partitives. Therefore, the Erzya and Moksha languages represent an interesting link between Hungarian and Finnic (Finnish and Estonian). From among the Slavic languages, Martin Janečka examines the adnominal partitive genitive in Czech journalism, offering both a historical and contemporary perspective on its usage. Iman Al Siyabi, Maris Camilleri, and Anne Tamm discuss fractional proportional partitives, focusing on the variation found within European, Asian, and African Arabic "one in N" partitives and their agreement patterns.

The manuscripts were divided among the editors, who took primary responsibility for the communication with the authors and arranging the review process.

Réka Hajner was responsible for the introduction and the manuscript 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): *Fractional proportional partitives (FPP). Focus on the variation in “one in three” partitives and agreement*. Kata Kubínyi and Anne Tamm were responsible for the review process of the manuscript by Erzsébet Panka (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań): *Object cases, definiteness, and aspect in Finnish and Hungarian. How Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases* and the manuscript by Jack Rueter (University of Helsinki) and Nadežda Kabaeva (Mordovian State University): *On quantification and the ablative in Erzya and Moksha*. Dóra Pődör was responsible for the manuscript by Martin Janečka (Technical School of Electrical Engineering Jecna, Prague): *Differences in using (not only) adnominal partitive genitive in chosen Czech journalistic texts*.

Here we would like to extend our thanks to the members of the research group EKNYEK (<https://btk.kre.hu/index.php/2015-12-05-09-31-20/kari-kutatocsoportok/958-elmeleti-es-kiserletes-nyelveszeti-kutatasok.html>) and the PARTE network for feedback.

We are grateful for the support of the research grant obtained from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics, reg. no. 20736B800) to the publishing of the online volume.

Last but not least, we extend our deepest thanks to the distinguished reviewers of the papers, who have agreed to reveal their identities so that we can express our gratitude to them in the preface (without revealing the exact manuscripts they were contributing to). Their diligent and expert efforts were essential to the existence of this volume. Our gratitude goes to Edyta Jurkiewicz-Rohrbacher (University of Regensburg), Asta Laugalienė (Vilnius University), Virpi Mäsonen (Seinäjoki University of Applied Sciences), Judit Molnár (University of Göttingen), Tibor M. Pintér (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary), Lena Dal Pozzo (University of Florence), Aicha Rahal (Pázmány Péter Catholic University), and Gabriella Tóth (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary). Their contributions were vital in shaping the high quality and integrity of this volume.

Budapest, December 8, 2023.

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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



European Partitives in Comparison, 9–75

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

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”

¹ We thank our informants and language guides for data elicitation sessions: Niina Aasmäe on Erzya and Elena Vedernikova on Mari. We acknowledge the support of the research grant obtained from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (Theoretical and Experimental Research in Linguistics, reg. no. 20736B800) to the chapter. We thank Gyöngyvér Fazekas and Katalin Hegyi for their help with the manuscript, Elvira Glaser, Tabea Ihsane, Elisabeth Stark, and Thomas Strobel for pointers to ongoing research and partitive questionnaires, Marianne Bakró-Nagy, Johanna Laakso, and Elena Skribnik for feedback concerning partitives in their edited volume, and Gabriella Tóth for discussions on the Hungarian partitive questionnaire items in Appendix 2. Two anonymous reviewers and the editors Réka Hajner and Dóra Pődör, fully deserve our gratitude, as well as the audiences of CIFU 2022 in Vienna, the PARTE workshops in Pavia and Budapest, feedback from the CILG 2020 conference organizers in Sevilla, from the workshop on the Science Day in 2022 at ELTE, and from the EKNYEK meetings. We are responsible for all the remaining mistakes.

(e.g. *a cup of tea*).² 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.³

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.

² 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>

³ 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)⁴

- 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-eś*
 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

⁴ 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.⁵ 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)⁶

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.⁷

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.⁸

⁵ 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>

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

⁷ 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. Huomo (eds.): *Partitive Cases and Related Categories*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 2014, 87–152. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110346060.89>

⁸ 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 Maling⁹ 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)¹⁰

- 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)¹¹

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

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Anne Tamm: *The Partitive Concept*.

¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ It is compatible with both indefinite and definite “wholes/supersets”, once the quantity of the “part/subset” is indeterminate,¹⁴ compare (7a) and (7b) to (7c) and (7d), respectively.

(7) Erzya (Finno-Ugric, Mordvin)¹⁵

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

- b. *tonś* *třeskat* *lovso-do-ńť*, *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. *Nujańzin* *šimiže* *lovso-ńť* *dı ...*
 Nuyanzin drink.PRT1.3SG>3SG milk-GEN.DEF and ...
 ‘Nuyanzin drank the milk and ...’ (Superset definite, subset determinate.)

¹² 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.

¹³ Bartsens: *Mordvalaiskielten*, 93; cf. also Rueter and Kabaeva, this volume.

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Many are

¹⁶ 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 Larjovaara: *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.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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*¹⁹ – possessive suffixes or markers that reflect the 1PL, 2PL, 3PL features of the superset can be attached to this quantifier.²⁰ 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)

¹⁷ 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*.

¹⁸ 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/>

¹⁹ Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 3.

²⁰ 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.²¹

In the Kazakh examples of (8) from Koshkin,²² 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.²³

(8) Kazakh (Koshkin)²⁴

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

²¹ 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-Altaic 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).

²² Aidana Koshkin: *Partitives in Kazakh*, OSF dataset. https://osf.io/a5eqp/?view_only=735a59c958b64e5ebad32b37633ce6ba

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

²⁴ 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* + *off/from*). The 3rd person pronominal part, *it/them* forms a morphological word with the prepositional part, *off/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).²⁵

(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 3rd 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 3rd person singular marker can be associated in colloquial speech even with 1st and 2nd person plural pronominal supersets, as in (11). All in all, it seems that the 3rd 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.²⁶

(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.)

²⁵ Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*.

²⁶ 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 3rd person plural possessive suffix,²⁷ turning into a subset marker applied on the quantifier constituents of canonical partitive phrases. Similar processes are reported also from other Uralic languages.²⁸

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).²⁹ 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 elative case as in (1b) or the postposition *közül* as

²⁷ Katalin É. Kiss: Possessive Agreement Turned into a Derivational Suffix, in H. Bartos – M. Den Dikken – T. Váradí (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

²⁸ See, e.g., Katalin É. Kiss – Orsolya Tánzos: 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.

²⁹ 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 Säätiö, 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 elative case marker in the Mari local case system;³⁰ (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’³¹ (14).

(14) Mari (Finno-Ugric, Volgaic)³²

<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.³³ As a striking reminiscence of the inessive strategy, in Modern Hungarian still preserved is the intriguing set of the inessive-based accusative plural pronouns *bennünk(-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].³⁴ Tálos,³⁵ however, regards these pairs as inclusive–exclusive marking in Hungarian. What is covered by the 1st person plural pronoun *us* and its 2nd 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 *bennünket* ‘us’ would be a pronoun with the 1st and 2nd person features, the speaker and addressee in the discourse, while *minket* ‘us’ combines the 1st and 3rd person features. Conversely, *benneteket* ‘you’ encodes the 2nd and 3rd person features as opposed to *titek* ‘you’, which combines two or more 2nd person singular referents of the discourse.

³⁰ Gábor Bereczki: *Chrestomathia Ceremissica*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1990, 32.

³¹ Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 7.

³² Riese et al.: *Mari*, 80.

³³ 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.

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

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

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

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,³⁷ 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.³⁸

(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.’

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

³⁷ Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*.

³⁸ Klemm: *Magyar történeti mondatattan*, 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).³⁹

(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 Zamparelli⁴⁰ – 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,

³⁹ Klemm: *Magyar történeti mondattan*, 127; Bartos: *Az inflexiók jelenségei*, 758.

⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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’.⁴² In Hungarian, when not accompanied by an overt subset, the elative-marked superset is reported to be as a “new kind” of subject (19a) or object (19b) according to some authors.⁴³

(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.’

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

⁴² Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 5.

⁴³ 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 Valijärvi⁴⁴ and Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik,⁴⁵ 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

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

⁴⁵ 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,⁴⁶ overviews of groups of languages, vast previous research areas such as Proto-Uralic,⁴⁷ or notes on the history of Uralic linguistics⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ Also in cognitive approaches such as Huumo,⁵⁰ 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,⁵¹ Bakró-

⁴⁶ 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>

⁴⁷ 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>;

⁴⁸ 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>

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

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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,⁵² Kildin,⁵³ Lule,⁵⁴ North⁵⁵ and South Saami,⁵⁶ Skolt Saami,⁵⁷ while Abondolo and Valijärvi⁵⁸ include Skolt⁵⁹ and South Saami.⁶⁰ Next to general chapters on Finnic,⁶¹ Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik discuss Livonian,⁶² Seto South Estonian,⁶³ North and Standard Estonian,⁶⁴ Votic,⁶⁵

- ⁵² 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>
- ⁵³ 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>
- ⁵⁴ 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>
- ⁵⁵ 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>
- ⁵⁶ 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>
- ⁵⁷ 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>
- ⁵⁸ Daniel M. Abondolo – Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic languages*.
- ⁵⁹ 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>
- ⁶⁰ 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>
- ⁶¹ 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>
- ⁶² 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>
- ⁶³ 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>
- ⁶⁴ 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>
- ⁶⁵ 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,⁶⁶ Veps,⁶⁷ Karelian,⁶⁸ and Finnish, Meänkieli, and Kven⁶⁹ in separate chapters dedicated to these languages. Abondolo and Valijärvi⁷⁰ also devote a chapter to Finnic in general⁷¹ in addition to North and Standard Estonian⁷² and Võro South Estonian, which represent the Finnic languages.⁷³ 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,⁷⁴ 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,⁷⁵ information structure,⁷⁶ person marking,⁷⁷ possessive structures

⁶⁶ 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>

⁶⁷ 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>

⁶⁸ 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>

⁶⁹ 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>

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

⁷¹ 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>

⁷² 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>

⁷³ 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>

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

⁷⁵ 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>

⁷⁶ 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>

⁷⁷ 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),⁷⁸ 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 sources⁷⁹ for more comprehensive information on proper partitives.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹

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.⁸² 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.⁸³ One of the conspicuous features of Finnic

⁷⁸ 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; 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.

⁷⁹ 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.

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

⁸¹ 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*.

⁸² 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>

⁸³ 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,⁸⁴ 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,⁸⁵ and there is much variation especially in contact situations. Relativization⁸⁶ and clause combining⁸⁷ involves partitives, for instance, in Estonian, where diachronically diverse non-finites⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ Frequently, postverbal subjects appear in existential sentences and are typically partitive, but such details are marginal to discuss in chapters on existentials.⁹⁰ Also, a discussion of nominal predication

in Hungary 2022. 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>

⁸⁴ 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>

⁸⁵ 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>

⁸⁶ 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>

⁸⁷ 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>

⁸⁸ 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>

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹

Furthermore, sources such as Fokos⁹² 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.⁹³ This could be done in chapters discussing connections between Uralic and other language families of the handbook chapter type as Georg.⁹⁴ A classical source such as Fokos⁹⁵ 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,⁹⁶ Mari,⁹⁷ Permic,⁹⁸ Komi,⁹⁹ Udmurt,¹⁰⁰ Ugric,¹⁰¹ North

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

⁹¹ 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>

⁹² Dávid Fokos: *Finnugor-török mondattani egyezések*; Dávid Fokos: *Uráli és altaji*.

⁹³ 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*).

⁹⁴ 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>

⁹⁵ Dávid Fokos: *Finnugor-török mondattani egyezések*; Dávid Fokos: *Uráli és altaji*.

⁹⁶ 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>

⁹⁷ 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>

⁹⁸ 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>

⁹⁹ 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>

¹⁰⁰ 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>

¹⁰¹ 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,¹⁰² East Mansi,¹⁰³ North Khanty,¹⁰⁴ East Khanty,¹⁰⁵ Hungarian,¹⁰⁶ Samoyedic,¹⁰⁷ Nenets,¹⁰⁸ the Enets Languages,¹⁰⁹ Nganasan,¹¹⁰ Selkup,¹¹¹ Kamas,¹¹² and we could not find the phenomena to be related to partitivity. In Abondolo and Valijärvi, we investigated the Ugric chapters on Mansi¹¹³ and Khanty,¹¹⁴ and the Samoyedic chapters on Nganasan,¹¹⁵ Forest and Tundra Enets,¹¹⁶ Nenets,¹¹⁷

¹⁰² Marianne Bakró-Nagy – Katalin Sipőcz – 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>

¹⁰³ 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>

¹⁰⁴ 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>

¹⁰⁵ 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>

¹⁰⁶ 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>

¹⁰⁷ 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>

¹⁰⁸ 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>

¹⁰⁹ 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>

¹¹⁰ 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>

¹¹¹ 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>

¹¹² 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>

¹¹³ 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>

¹¹⁴ 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>

¹¹⁵ 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>

¹¹⁶ 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>

¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ Other chapters that we searched where person marking could be found to be related to proper partitives were Moksha Mordvin,¹¹⁹ Mari,¹²⁰ Udmurt,¹²¹ and Zyrian Komi.¹²² 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 prosody¹²³ or consonant gradation.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ 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.

¹¹⁸ 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>

¹¹⁹ 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>

¹²⁰ 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>

¹²¹ 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>

¹²² 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>

¹²³ 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>

¹²⁴ 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>

¹²⁵ Ilse Lehist: 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 elative could be added.¹²⁶ 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”.¹²⁷ In Mari, the partitively used postpositional ‘from’-case and the partitively used inessive could be discussed.¹²⁸ Partitives could fit into a discussion of Hungarian, together with other case functions if they were mentioned.¹²⁹

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,¹³⁰ 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.

¹²⁶ Johanna Laakso: *Finnic: General introduction*, 244.

¹²⁷ Johanna Laakso: *Finnish, Meänkieli, and Kven*, 259.

¹²⁸ Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 442.

¹²⁹ Kenesei – Szécsényi: *Hungarian*, 640–642.

¹³⁰ 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,¹³¹ where the collective quantifiers with *-n'E+Px* (i.e., maximal pronominal partitives,¹³² 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'.¹³³ 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').¹³⁴ Where the Ugric chapter mentions that noun-like words, also many quantifiers, can be marked for person,¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶

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;¹³⁷ pragmatic functions, the marking of specificity or identifiability in Permic;¹³⁸ discourse functions, the marking of definiteness, uniqueness, identifiability, and the common ground of a conversation for the addressee in Komi;¹³⁹

¹³¹ Hamari – Ajanki: *Mordvin (Erzya and Moksha)*, 406.

¹³² Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 7.

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

¹³⁴ Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 467.

¹³⁵ Elena Skribnik – Johanna Laakso: *Ugric: General Introduction*, 527–8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 529.

¹³⁷ Sirkka Saarinen: *Mari*, 445.

¹³⁸ Gerson Klumpp: *Permic: General Introduction*, 480.

¹³⁹ Nikolay Kuznetsov: *Komi*, 493.

topicalization, focusing, demonstration, and definiteness in Udmurt;¹⁴⁰ information structuring in terms of anchoring, reactivation, topic chaining, and topic switching in Ugric;¹⁴¹ 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;¹⁴² 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;¹⁴³ the use of 3SG for singling out an entity and nominalizing the expression of its crucial characteristics in Nganasan¹⁴⁴ (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”.¹⁴⁵

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”

¹⁴⁰ Svetlana Edygarova: *Udmurt*, 512.

¹⁴¹ Elena Skribnik – Johanna Laakso: *Ugric: General Introduction*, 529.

¹⁴² Mária Sipos: *North Khanty*, 589.

¹⁴³ Beáta Wagner-Nagy: *Nganasan*, 764.

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

¹⁴⁵ *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.¹⁴⁶ 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’,¹⁴⁷ as well as from Lavukaleve (Papuan), where the person marker is prefixed, as 3PL-some ‘some of them’.¹⁴⁸

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.

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

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 901.

¹⁴⁸ *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.¹⁴⁹

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

¹⁴⁹ 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)¹⁵⁰ 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,¹⁵¹ 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

¹⁵⁰ Luraghi–Huumo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

¹⁵¹ 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_AlSiyabi_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,¹⁵² and parallel corpora have been used for Finnic-Balto-Slavic comparison.¹⁵³ Finnish and Estonian have enjoyed especially much research with corpus methods, also contrastively.¹⁵⁴ 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.¹⁵⁵ 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.¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷ A recent special issue of a journal is dedicated specifically to

¹⁵² 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.

¹⁵³ 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)

¹⁵⁴ 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>

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

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

¹⁵⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹

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 Seržant¹⁶⁰ or Luraghi and Kittilä¹⁶¹ have investigated the form and function of partitive structures in a way that can be used for making a questionnaire for further research.¹⁶² Formal approaches have also used questionnaires, and for partitivity, Falco and Zamparelli¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴ Romance and Germanic have a rich tradition of investigating partitives with various questionnaires combined with other methods.¹⁶⁵ This is how the material of

¹⁵⁸ 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>.

¹⁵⁹ 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*.

¹⁶⁰ 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>

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

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

¹⁶³ Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*, 1–49.

¹⁶⁴ De Hoop: *Partitivity*, 179–212.

¹⁶⁵ 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’om’ou’n 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.¹⁶⁶ 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

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; 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>

¹⁶⁶ 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.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ 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 Simonenko¹⁶⁸ and Tóth et al.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰ The Romance series of prepositions with *de* and the German *von* are also ablative (separative) or source structures that have grammaticalized as possessives.¹⁷¹

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*).¹⁷² 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

¹⁶⁸ 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.

¹⁶⁹ Tóth et al.: *Possessive partitive strategies*, 101–126.

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

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 145–146.

¹⁷² 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.¹⁷³

(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.)*

¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵

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.¹⁷⁶

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

¹⁷⁴ 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>

¹⁷⁵ 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>

¹⁷⁶ 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.¹⁷⁷

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

¹⁷⁷ 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.¹⁷⁸

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.¹⁷⁹

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

¹⁷⁸ Martin Janečka: Differences in using (not only) adnominal partitive genitive in chosen Czech journalistic texts, 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, 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>

¹⁷⁹ 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. Kubínyi – 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 – 3rd person singular suffix indicating a 3rd person object simultaneously

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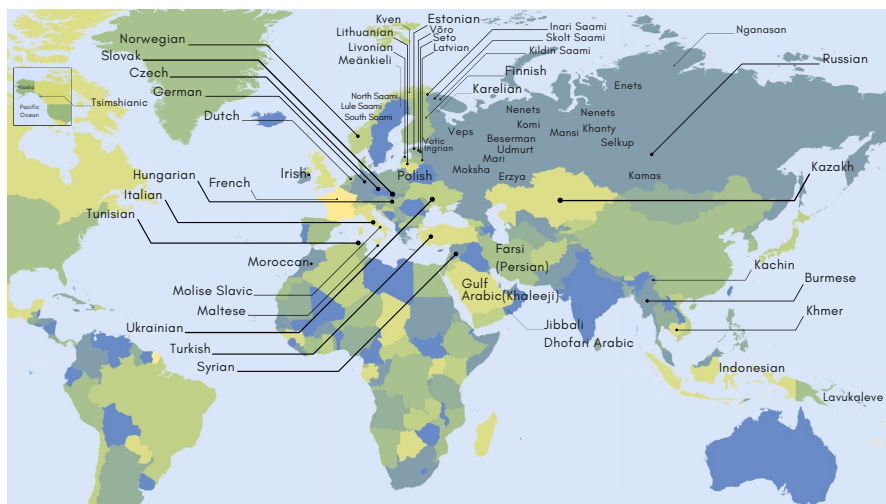
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APPENDIX 1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTITIVES IN THIS PAPER

- (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)¹⁸⁰ and its structure can be found in Tamm's *Methodological solutions*.¹⁸¹ 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.”

¹⁸⁰ Falco – Zamparelli: *Partitives*.

¹⁸¹ 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: „Kakskümmend 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: „Ostin (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)

PART 1



URALIC LANGUAGES

OBJECT CASES, DEFINITENESS, AND ASPECT IN FINNISH AND HUNGARIAN

How Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive
and total object cases

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Abstract

According to the most recent and most complete Finnish descriptive grammar, *Iso suomen kielioppi*, the use of the Finnish object cases is governed by three main factors: (1) the polarity of the sentence (affirmative / negative); (2) the aspect of the sentence (bounded / unbounded or perfective / imperfective); and (3) the quantitative boundedness / unboundedness (quantification) of the object-NP. In my paper, I briefly compare how object cases, quantification, definiteness and aspect are expressed in Finnish and Hungarian. I show that there are some similarities but also several differences between the ways the two languages express these grammatical categories. I argue that these structural differences may affect Hungarian learners' use of object cases in Finnish.

KEYWORDS: aspect; quantitative boundedness; definiteness; object cases; partitive; total; Finnish; Hungarian; Finnish as L2 ("S2")

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1. INTRODUCTION

The distinction between the Finnish object cases is often considered as one of the most difficult parts of Finnish grammar to learn for foreign learners of Finnish.¹

According to the most recent and most complete Finnish descriptive grammar, *Iso suomen kielioppi* (henceforth, ISK),² the use of the Finnish object cases is governed by three main factors: (1) the polarity of the sentence (affirmative / negative); (2) the aspect of the sentence (bounded / unbounded or perfective / imperfective); and (3) the quantitative boundedness / unboundedness (quantification) of the noun phrase denoting the object (the object-NP).

In order to facilitate comparisons between the Hungarian and Finnish language, in the present paper I chose to use the terms ‘quantitative boundedness’ / ‘unboundedness’,³ whereas in modern linguistics, the term quantification is more widely used.⁴ The corresponding Finnish term *kvantitatiivinen määräisyys* (quantitative definiteness) was first used by Paavo Siro, who also used the term *notiivinen määräisyys* (notional definiteness) to differentiate quantification from definiteness.⁵

I follow the terminology of ISK⁶ in using the term ‘total object’ (Finnish: *totaaliobjekti*) to refer to objects in the nominative, accusative or genitive cases, and in referring to partitive object (Finnish: *partitiiviobjekti*) when the object of the sentence is in the partitive case. By contrast, Huumo (2023) uses the term ‘restrictive object’ instead of total object, and Larjavaara (2019) uses the term *totalitiivi*.⁷ Again, I follow ISK in using the term genitive object when

¹ See, e.g., Helinä Koivisto: *Ulkomaalaissuomen syntaksia* [Syntax of foreign Finnish], Tampere, Tampereen yliopiston suomen kielen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 17, 1994: 214; Maisa Martin: Mikä on keskeisintä suomen kielessä? [What is the most important in Finnish language?], in Pekkola, Seppo (ed.): *Sadanmiehet. Aarni Penttilän ja Ahti Rytkösen juhla-kirja*. Jyväskylä, Suomen kielen laitoksen julkaisuja 41, 1999: 155–181.

² Auli Hakulinen – Maria Vilkkuna – Riitta Korhonen – Vesa Koivisto – Tarja Riitta Heinonen – Irja Aho: *Iso suomen kielioppi* [Comprehensive grammar of Finnish], Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. <https://scripta.kotus.fi/visk/etusivu.php> (accessed 20 November 2023)

³ Spoelman, for example, also uses the terms ‘quantitative boundedness’ / ‘unboundness’ in Spoelman, Marianne: The use of partitive predicates by Estonian learners of Finnish at different levels of L2 proficiency. *Lähivertailuja* 21, 2011: 280–304. <http://arhiiv.rakenduslingvistika.ee/ajakirjad/index.php/lahevordlusi/article/view/LV21.11> (accessed 15 August 2023) and Spoelman, Marianne: *Prior Linguistic Knowledge Matters: The Use of the Partitive Case in Finnish Learner Language*, Oulu, Acta Universitatis Ouluensis Humaniora 111, 2013.

⁴ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/grammar/british-grammar/quantifiers>

⁵ Paavo Siro: Suomen kielen subjektista kielen rakenteen osana [The Subject of the Finnish language as part of the language structure]. *Virittäjä* 1957, 181–190. 189. <https://journal.fi/virittaja/article/view/33451/45937> (accessed 20 November 2023)

⁶ Hakulinen et al.: ISK, §925.

⁷ See Tuomas Huumo: Toward a Cognitive Grammar account of the Finnish partitive case, in Minna Jaakola – Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö: *The Finnish Case System – Cognitive Linguistic*

referring to the *-n* ending (the old term was ‘accusative’, which is motivated historically).⁸

In what follows, I briefly compare how object cases, quantification, definiteness, and aspect are expressed in Finnish and Hungarian. I show that there are some similarities but also several differences between the ways the two languages express these grammatical categories. I argue that these structural differences may affect how Hungarian learners use the object cases in Finnish.

The paper is structured as follows: in Chapter 2, I briefly review the materials and methods I used in my research. In Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5, I briefly compare how object case alternation, quantification versus definiteness, and aspect are expressed in Finnish and Hungarian. At the end of each chapter (in Subchapters 3.3, 4.3 and 5.3 respectively), I will present some of the most interesting explanations provided by the interviewed Hungarian learners, concerning the problems described in the respective chapters before. Then, in Chapter 6, I sum up and conclude the main results of my research.

2. MATERIALS AND THE METHODS

In my doctoral thesis,⁹ I analyzed Hungarian and German students’ use of Finnish object cases: In which syntactic contexts do they use the total object, and when do they use the partitive? I analyzed two corpora: a fill-in test for object cases, which was created by myself, and language-exam essays from the Finnish National Certificates of Language Proficiency (YKI) corpus.¹⁰ In the present paper, I will only present some results of the fill-in tests in more detail.

In the fill-in test, language learners were asked to write the NP (usually an object argument) with the correct ending to the sentence, based on the nominative form that was presented to the participant. Task 1 consisted of 20 sections. It had a total of 50 gaps, most of which (48) tested the use of object cases. In my later analysis, I paid special attention to the use of the partitive versus total object cases, but the test also included imperative and necessary sentences,¹¹ where the learners had to choose not only between the partitive

Perspectives, Helsinki, SKS, 2023. and Matti Larjavaara: *Partitiivin valinta*, Helsinki, SKS, 2019.

⁸ For more details about the topic see, e.g., Matti Larjavaara: *Aspektuaalisen objektin synti* [The emergence of the aspectual object], *Virittäjä* 95 (4), 1991: 372–408. About the use of the terms see Huomo: *Toward a Cognitive Grammar*, 2023.

⁹ Erzsébet Panka: *Objektin sijanvaihtelun oppiminen ja opettaminen. Tutkimuskohteena unkarin- ja saksankielisten suomenoppijoiden sijanvalinnat kielenoppimisen eri vaiheissa*, [Learning and teaching Finnish object cases. On the choices of Hungarian and German learners of Finnish at different stages of language learning], PhD dissertation, Budapest, ELTE, 2019.

¹⁰ Finnish: Yleiset kielitutkinnot (YKI). For more details see: <https://www.oph.fi/en/national-certificates-language-proficiency-yki>

¹¹ Necessary sentences mainly express necessity, obligation or advisability. The subject is in the

versus the total object but also between the genitive versus the nominative form. Except for the objects to be tested, the other parts of the sentence were given in advance. In this way, learners had some contextual information available to them. At the end of the test, learners were asked to answer the following question: *What was the easiest and the most difficult part of the test?* I show two examples from Task 1 next.¹² Originally, these examples looked like the following in the test: *Tässä tutkimuksessa käsitellään* __ (*objektin sijanvaihtelu*). *Lukekaa* __ (*se*) (Task 1, Section 10); *Koska rakastan* __ (*vaimoni*), *haluan halata* __ (*hän*) *usein* (Task 1, Section 13). Here, the original sections are split into clauses, see Examples (1)–(2) and (3)–(4):

(1) Section number 10A, Task 1

<i>Tä-ssä</i>	<i>tutkimukse-ssa</i>	<i>käsitel-lään</i>
this-INESS	study-INESS	deal-PASS.PRS
	_____	(<i>objekti-n sijanvaihtelu</i>)
	GAP	object-GEN case.alternation.NOM

‘This study deals with object-case-alternation’

(2) Section number 10B, Task 1

<i>Luke-kaa</i>	_____ (<i>se</i>)
read-IMP.2PL	GAP it.NOM
‘Read it’	

(3) Section number 13A, Task 1

<i>Koska</i>	<i>rakasta-n</i>	_____ (<i>vaimo-ni</i>)
because	love-1SG	GAP wife-PX1SG.NOM
‘Because I love my wife’		

(4) Section number 13B, Task 1

<i>...halu-an</i>	<i>halata</i>	_____ (<i>hän</i>)	<i>usein</i>
want-1SG	hug-INF	GAP she.NOM	often
‘I want to hug her often’			

genitive, and the predicate in the 3rd person singular. The predicate either consists of an auxiliary + main verb or a copula + nominal, or is a crystallised unit, e.g. *meidän täytyy lähteä* [we.GEN must leave-INF], *meidän on pakko lähteä* [we.GEN be.PRS.3SG compulsion leave-INF], *meidän on lähdettävä* [we.GEN be.PRS.3SG leave.PASS.PTC.PRS] ‘we have to leave’. The total object of a necessary construction is in the nominative (lexical NPs) or in the accusative (personal pronouns). See Hakulinen et al.: ISK §505, §1580–1583.

¹² The whole test and the detailed description of the sentences can be found in Panka: *PhD diss.*, 353.

The fill-in test was completed by 69 Hungarian learners (16 beginners, 29 intermediate and 24 advanced) and 46 German learners (34 intermediate and 12 advanced). In order to analyze the data more successfully, I also conducted introspective interviews with seven Hungarian learners while taking the test, and four Hungarian learners answered my questions in writing after completing the test. I will present some of the most interesting responses from the interviews at the end of each chapter in this paper.

3. DIRECT OBJECTS AND OBJECT CASES

According to grammars like *Magyar grammatika* (henceforth MGr)¹³ and ISK, the object is one of the arguments of a sentence; usually, it is considered as the second complement of a transitive verb. Semantically, the object does not have a clear single semantic function, but in the prototypical case, the object of the sentence refers to the entity toward which the action is directed and which, as a consequence, is affected by the action and undergoes a change.¹⁴ Objects are typically noun phrases (headed by a noun or pronoun) so in the present study, I will discuss only NP-objects.

In languages that have accusative case marking systems¹⁵ (such as Finnish or Hungarian), the object of the sentence is usually marked by a distinctive case ending, but there are languages which do not have such a marker or have it only under certain circumstances (e.g., English, French or German). The Finnish language is rather special in this respect because the object can be marked by four morphological cases. In the next subchapter, I will briefly describe the distribution of Finnish object cases.

3.1 The object case alternation in Finnish

In Finnish, the object can be marked by four morphological cases: nominative, accusative, genitive and partitive.

¹³ Judit Balogh – Lea Haader – Borbála Keszler – Nóra Kugler – Krisztina Laczkó – Klára Lengyel: *Magyar grammatika* [Hungarian grammar], Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2000.

¹⁴ Balogh et al.: MGr. 414. See also: Hakulinen et al.: ISK §925–929.

¹⁵ See Bernard Comrie: Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases, in: Dryer, Matthew S. – Haspelmath, Martin (eds.): *WALS Online*. <http://wals.info/chapter/98> (accessed 20 November 2023)

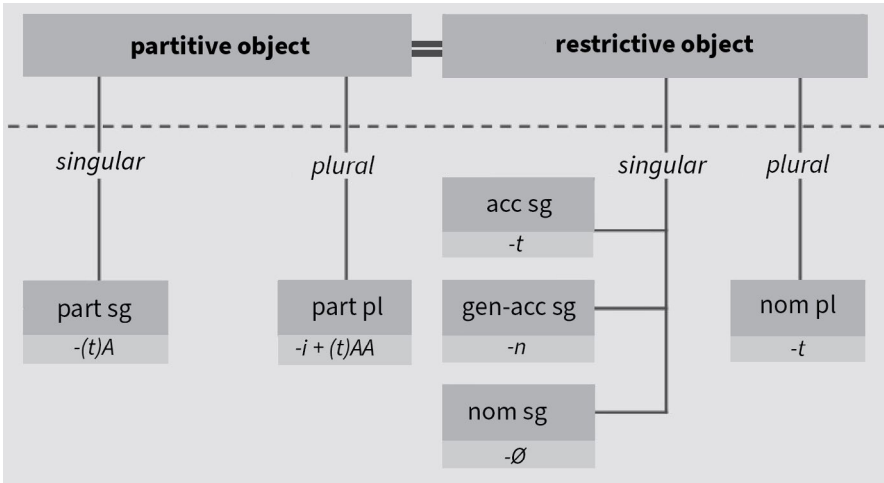


Figure 1: Case endings of the Finnish object, adopted from Spoelman¹⁶ (Note: Spoelman uses the terms ‘genitive-accusative’ instead of ‘genitive’ and ‘restrictive object’ instead of ‘total object’ along the lines of Huumo.¹⁷)

According to ISK,¹⁸ there are three basic situations in which a partitive object is used in a sentence. Firstly, an object is partitive when the sentence is negative, for instance, as in (5).

(5) Finnish

<i>En</i>	<i>ole</i>	<i>näh-nyt</i>	<i>si-tä</i>	<i>elokuva-a</i>
neg.1SG	be.CNG.PRS	see-PTCP.PST	that-PART	film-PART
‘I have not seen that film’				
(ISK §930)				

Secondly, the object is in the partitive when the sentence expresses the progressive or the imperfective aspect, as in (6).

(6) Finnish

<i>Katso-n</i>	<i>tässä</i>	<i>neloskanava-n</i>	<i>elokuva-a</i>
see-1SG	here	Channel.Four-GEN	film-PART
‘I am watching a/the film on Channel Four’			
(ISK §930)			

¹⁶ Marianne Spoelman: *Prior Linguistic Knowledge Matters: The Use of the Partitive Case in Finnish Learner Language*, Oulu, Acta Universitatis Ouluensis Humaniora 111, 2013: 45.

¹⁷ Tuomas Huumo: Kvantiteetti ja aika I, Nominaalisen aspektin näkökulma suomen objektin ja subjektin sijamerkintään [Quantity and time I. Nominal aspect perspective to Finnish object and subject cases]. *Virittäjä* 2006 (4): 504–538.

¹⁸ Hakulinen et al.: ISK §930.

Thirdly, the object is partitive when the object-NP of the sentence is quantitatively unbounded, as in (7).

(7) Finnish

<i>Sö-in</i>	<i>aamu-lla</i>	<i>puuro-a</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>omena-n</i>
eat-PST.1SG	morning-ALL	porridge-PART	and	apple-TOT
'I ate porridge and an apple in the morning'				
(ISK §930)				

By contrast, total object can only be used in an affirmative and aspectually perfective sentence if the object is quantitatively bounded, as in (8).

(8) Finnish

<i>Ole-n</i>	<i>näh-nyt</i>	<i>se-n</i>	<i>elokuva-n</i>
be-1SG	see-PTCP.PST	that-TOT	film-TOT
'I saw that film'			
(ISK §930)			

Of the total object cases, the nominative can be used in singular and plural, the genitive only in singular, and the accusative only with personal pronouns.¹⁹ The syntactic structure of the sentence determines which of the total object cases is used. I will not discuss the use of the different case endings of the total object in this paper, instead I will concentrate on the distinction between the partitive and the total object.

The way in which the object is approached in the teaching of Finnish as a second and foreign language (shortly S2) naturally differs from the way in which it is presented in Finnish grammars. In my dissertation, I discussed this issue in more detail;²⁰ here, I will only briefly review how object cases are discussed in Leila White's S2-grammar,²¹ and in the most well-known S2-textbook series, *Suomen mestari 1–4*,²² as those are the most used teaching materials internationally and in Hungary.²³ In both S2-grammars and S2-textbooks, the rules of the use of object cases are simplified: the books explain that mass nouns and object-NPs of negative and progressive sentences are in the partitive

¹⁹ Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §931, §934

²⁰ See Panka: *PhD diss.*, 41–58.

²¹ Leila White: *Suomen kielioppia ulkomaalaisille* [Finnish grammar for foreigners], Helsinki, Finn Lectura, 2001.

²² Sonja Gehring – Sanni Heinzmann: *Suomen mestari 1–4*. [Master of Finnish 1–4], Helsinki, Finn Lectura, 2010–2016.

²³ There are Finnish textbooks also for Hungarian learners of Finnish, e.g. Karanko, Outi — László Keresztes– Kniivilä, Irmeli: *Finn nyelvkönyv 1–2* [Finnish textbook 1–2]. Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1985–1990; Sándor Maticsák— Anna Tarvainen: *Finn nyelv* [Finnish language]. Dupess, 2018., but they are not commonly used.

case. In addition (as a fourth rule), both White's grammar and Gehring's and Heinzmann's books mention some so-called "partitive verbs" (e.g., *odottaa* 'wait', *rakastaa* 'love' or *auttaa* 'help'), that are verbs whose objects are always in the partitive case.²⁴ Textbooks (and also White's grammar) usually do not discuss quantitative boundedness, mentioning only mass nouns (Finnish: *ainesanat*), and the concept of aspect is altogether absent.

The terms used in White's grammar are 'partitive object' (Finnish: *partitiivi-objekti*) versus 'accusative object' (Finnish: *akkusatiiviobjekti*) and the endings of accusative object are called *n*-accusative (Finnish: *n-akkusatiivi*), "endingless" accusative (Finnish: *päätteetön akkusatiivi*) and plural accusative (Finnish: *monikkoakkusatiivi*), while the ending for personal pronouns is called the *t*-form of accusative (Finnish: *t-akkusatiivi*).²⁵ In Gehring's and Heinzmann's books, the term 'total object' (or any superordinate term) is not used at all, the forms of the object-NPs are presented only as genitive, partitive, plural (Finnish: *monikko*) and nominative, and the ending of personal pronouns is not referred to by any term at all.²⁶

3.2 The accusative in Hungarian

In Hungarian, the object is marked by the accusative case. The accusative case ending is *-t*, which should be added to (almost) all NP-objects.²⁷

So, while in Hungarian there is only one ending (the accusative) for NP-objects, there are four object cases in Finnish (nominative, accusative, genitive and partitive). This fact alone would make the task of learning the use of the object cases difficult for Hungarian learners of Finnish.

Finnish grammars generally claim that there are 15 cases in Finnish (one of them, the accusative, is very limited: it can be used only with personal pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *kuka* 'who'). Hungarian grammars usually take 18 cases into account in Hungarian (these are the commonly used cases).²⁸ In Table 1, I compare the Finnish and the Hungarian case system.

²⁴ See, e.g., White: *Suomen kielioppia*, 249 and Gehring et al.: *Suomen mestari 1*, 201.

²⁵ White: *Suomen kielioppia*, 247–254.

²⁶ See, e.g., Gehring et al.: *Suomen mestari 2*, 54.

²⁷ The *-t* ending can only be absent in very rare, morphologically defined situations (e.g. after 1st and 2nd person singular possessive suffixes and in some pronouns), but even in these cases the absence of the ending is optional, e.g., *Vezsem a kalap-om* [hat-px1sg] / *a kalap-om-at* [hat-px1sg-acc] 'I take my hat'; *Látasz engem* [I.acc] / *engem-et* [I.acc-acc] 'You see me'. See, e.g., Balogh et al.: *MGr*, 415; or Ilona P. Lakatos (ed.): *Grammatikai gyakorlókönyv (mintaelemzésekkel és segédanyagokkal)* [Grammar exercise book (with sample analyses and supporting materials)], Budapest, Bölcsész Konzorcium, 2006: 119–120.

²⁸ See, e.g., Balogh et al.: *MGr*. 203–204.

Table 1: The Finnish and Hungarian case systems

Case	Finnish case ending(s)	Hungarian case ending(s)
1. nominative	ø	ø
2. partitive	-a/-ä, -ta/-tä, -tta/-ttä	
3. genitive	-n	(-nak/-nek)
4. dative		-nak/-nek
5. accusative	-t	-t
6. elative	-sta/-stä	-ból/ből
7. inessive	-ssa/-ssä	-ban/-ben
8. illative	-Vn, -hVn, -seen	-ba/-be
9. delative		-ról/-ről
10. superessive		-n/-on/-en/-ön
11. sublative		-ra/-re
12. ablative	-lta/-ltä	-től/-től
13. adessive	-lla/-llä	-nál/-nél
14. allative	-lle	-hoz/-hez/-höz
15. terminative		-ig
16. essive	-na/-nä	-ként
17. translative	-ksi	-vá/-vé
18. abessive	-tta/-ttä	
19. instructive	-in	
20. comitative/ instrumental-comitative	-ine-	-val/-vel
21. causal-final		-ért
22. essive-modal		-ul/-ül

As can be seen from Table 1, the Finnish and Hungarian case systems are very similar. Almost the only (grammatical) case that is present in Finnish but completely absent in Hungarian is the partitive.²⁹ This is why learning the functions and the meaning of the partitive causes many difficulties for Hungarian learners. One of the most important functions of the partitive in Finnish is to mark the so-called partitive object.

In addition, the use of the total versus partitive objects in Finnish is further complicated for the learner by cognitively complex factors such as the aspect of the sentence (bounded versus unbounded or perfective versus imperfective) and the quantitative boundedness versus unboundedness of the object-NP. In Chapters 4 and 5, I will briefly compare how quantification versus definiteness and aspect are expressed in Finnish and Hungarian.

²⁹ And Hungarian has no genitive case, genitive structures combine possessors marked by possessive suffixes and possessors with or without the dative ending, see, e.g., Balogh et al.: *MGr.* 192–193.

3.3 Examples from Hungarian learners' responses regarding the use of object cases

The results of my research show that the use of the Finnish object cases is not always difficult for Hungarian learners: they usually used the partitive case correctly in negative sentences, with easily recognizable uncountable nouns and with some well-known partitive verbs.

In Chapter 9.21 of my doctoral thesis,³⁰ I concluded Hungarian learners' responses to the question '*What do you think was the easiest part of the test?*'. Here are two examples from the learners' answers:

Learner1: ...so for me, the easiest is that there is partitive in negative sentences and with mass nouns.

Learner2: Okay, it's easier for the easy ones, so let's say, I don't know, verbs like *rakastaa* ['love'], and *odottaa* ['wait'], and *auttaa* ['help'], and so on, these immediately indicate that the object is in the partitive...³¹

4. QUANTIFICATION AND DEFINITENESS

In linguistics, definiteness is a semantic feature of noun phrases that distinguishes between referents that are identifiable in a given context (definite noun phrases) and those that are not (indefinite noun phrases). The prototypical definite noun phrase picks out a unique, familiar, specific referent. It seems that the semantic basis of definiteness lies in different characteristics, such as salience, identifiability uniqueness and familiarity. But there is considerable variation in the expression of definiteness across languages.³²

For learners of Finnish, definiteness as a grammatical category becomes particularly relevant when trying to cope with the subject and object case marking system. In the Finnish grammatical tradition two notions of definiteness are used: quantitative, that is, based on the quantitative boundedness of the entity in question (English terminology: quantification), and notional, that is, based on the familiarity, recognizability, identifiability of the entity in

³⁰ Panka: *PhD diss*, 217–222.

³¹ The interviews were recorded in Hungarian, but sometimes learners used Finnish as well. This is indicated by italics.

³² Aguilar-Guevara, Ana – Pozas Loyo, Julia – Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado, Violeta (eds.): *Definiteness across languages*. (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 25). Berlin: Language Science Press. 2019, pp. III–IV.

question (English terminology: definiteness).³³ The Finnish terms *kvantitatiivinen* and *notiivinen* (quantitative and notional) were first used by Paavo Siro.³⁴

A noun phrase (NP) is definite (in terms of notivity) if the referent with which it is associated is known to the interlocutors, has a high degree of individuation, is precisely defined, names a certain, distinct, definable entity.³⁵ In many European languages, the definiteness of a noun phrase is marked by a definite article, as *the boy* in English, *le garçon* in French, *der Junge* in German or *a fiú* in Hungarian.

Conversely, a noun phrase is indefinite if its referent is not known, cannot be identified, or its identification is not relevant to the parties involved in the communication.³⁶ An indefinite noun phrase may, for example, refer to an indefinite member of a group. In many European languages, the indefiniteness of a noun phrase is expressed by an indefinite article; for example, English *a person*, French *un homme*, German *eine Person* and Hungarian *egy ember*.³⁷

4.1 Quantitative boundedness in Finnish

In Finnish, the definiteness of a noun phrase (NP) isn't indicated grammatically through articles, as Finnish lacks them. However, in spoken Finnish, definiteness can be signaled by using other types of determiners.³⁸ The marking of definiteness is partly based also on word order, as a preverbal NP is usually decoded as the theme of the clause (and therefore usually as definite). Frequently, however, definite reference can only be inferred from the context, or it is often irrelevant for the interpretation.³⁹

³³ Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §1421.

³⁴ Paavo Siro: *Suomen kielen subjektista*, 189. – The terms quantitative 'definiteness' versus 'indefiniteness' (Finnish *kvantitatiivinen määräisyys* versus *epämääräisyys*) have been introduced in Finnish mostly to describe mass and plural, partitive marked nouns. Quantitative definiteness corresponds to what is referred to as "quantized". Notional definiteness corresponds to what is referred to as definiteness. – For other meanings that can be associated to the notion "definite" crosslinguistically, see Aguilar-Guevara, Ana – Pozas Loyo, Julia – Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado, Violeta (eds.): 2019. *Definiteness across languages*. (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 25). Berlin: Language Science Press. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3265959>

³⁵ See Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §1409; or A. Jászó Anna (ed.): *A magyar nyelv könyve* [The book of Hungarian language], Budapest, Trezor Kiadó, 1991: 224–226.

³⁶ Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §1409.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ In spoken Finnish, definiteness is most often indicated by the pronoun *se* 'that'; e.g., *Mitä se kirja maksoi?* 'How much did that book cost?'. *Se* shows similarities with definite articles in other languages, but it is not currently considered as an article in Finnish (cf. *ISK* §1418). Indefiniteness of the noun can also be expressed by pronouns, such as *eräs* 'certain', *jokin* 'some' and *muu* 'other'.

³⁹ Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §1409–1422.

While definiteness is typically not marked in Finnish, the marking of the quantitative boundedness / unboundedness of the subject- and object-NPs is a very important factor determining case marking. Quantitative boundedness is closely related to the feature of countability / uncountability (in Finnish terminology *jaottomuus* ‘indivisibility’ / *jaollisuus* ‘divisibility’). Among the uncountable nouns in Finnish, there are the following groups of nouns: mass nouns, collective and abstract nouns, e.g., *jäätelö* ‘ice cream’, *raha* ‘money’, *energia* ‘energy’, *poikue* ‘litter’, *rakkaus* ‘love’, *ilo* ‘joy’, *tiede* ‘science’, and plural nouns.⁴⁰

Count nouns are always quantifiable, but uncountable nouns can be quantitatively bounded or unbounded.⁴¹ The quantitative boundedness of NPs in the subject or object role is expressed by a nominative or genitive case in Finnish. Thus, subject- or object-NPs with uncountable meaning can only be in the nominative or genitive case respectively if they refer to the total (unresidual) quantity of the substance or group, as shown in Example (9) (uncountable subject-NP) and (10) (uncountable object-NP).⁴²

(9) Finnish

<i>Kato-lta</i>	<i>putos-i</i>	<i>lumi</i>
roof-ABL	fall-PST.3SG	snow.NOM
‘(All of) the snow fell off the roof’		
(ISK §1421)		

(10) Finnish

<i>Mies</i>	<i>pudott-i</i>	<i>kato-lta</i>	<i>lume-n</i>
man.NOM	throw-PST.3SG	roof-ABL	snow-TOT
‘A/The man threw (all of) the snow off the roof’			
(ISK §1421)			

By contrast, the quantitative unboundedness of uncountable NPs in the role of subject or object is expressed by the partitive case in Finnish. Quantitatively unbounded NPs refer indefinitely, without restriction to the quantity of the substance or group, thus allowing the interpretation that there is a part or amount left over from it, as shown in Examples (11) and (12).⁴³

⁴⁰ For differences in expressing definiteness between Finnish and English in more detail cf., e.g., Andrew Chesterman: *On Definiteness. A study with special reference to English and Finnish*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

⁴¹ Hakulinen et al.: ISK §1409–1422.

⁴² Ibid. §1421.

⁴³ Ibid. §1421.

(11) Finnish

<i>Kato-lta</i>	<i>putos-i</i>	<i>lun-ta</i>
roof-ABL	fall-PST.3SG	snow-PART

‘(Some) snow fell off the roof [but it is not relevant how much / whether all of it fell off]’
(ISK §1421)

(12) Finnish

<i>Mies</i>	<i>pudott-i</i>	<i>kato-lta</i>	<i>lun-ta</i>
man.NOM	throw-PST.3SG	roof-ABL	snow-PART

‘A/The man threw (some) snow off the roof [but it is not relevant how much / whether all of it was thrown off]’
(ISK §1421)

Since singular count nouns are always considered bounded in quantity, when functioning as objects, they are in the nominative or genitive case in affirmative sentences with bounded / perfective aspect. Thus, they can be in the partitive case only when the aspect of the sentence is imperfective / progressive, or in negative sentences.

4.2 Definiteness in Hungarian

In Hungarian, the notional or logical definiteness of the NP is overtly expressed by (definite or indefinite) articles: “the article usually expresses the contrast of definiteness / indefiniteness, familiarity / unfamiliarity, it is a logical particle”.⁴⁴

Furthermore, in Hungarian, definiteness of the object-NP affects verbal agreement. Verbs with 3rd person definite objects take forms of the so called “definite conjugation”, while verbs with indefinite (and 1st and 2nd person) objects are in the so called “general / indefinite” form.⁴⁵ The differences are contrasted in Examples (13) (indefinite conjugation) and (14) (definite conjugation).

(13) Hungarian

<i>Péter</i>	<i>egy</i>	<i>film-et</i>	<i>néz-ett</i>
Péter.NOM	ART_ INDF	film-ACC	watch-PST.3SG

‘Péter watched a film’
(constructed example)

⁴⁴ Balogh et al.: *MGr*, 282.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 416.

(14) Hungarian

<i>Péter</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>film-et</i>	<i>néz-te</i>
Péter.NOM	ART_DEF	film-ACC	watch-PST.3SG>3
'Péter watched the film'			
(constructed example)			

The ten main types of definite object-NPs in Hungarian are listed by Pete (2006).⁴⁶ In contrast to definiteness, quantitative boundedness has no explicit grammatical marker in Hungarian. For example, uncountable object-NPs occur usually without an article and precede the verb, as in Example (15).

(15) Hungarian

<i>Víz-et</i>	<i>iszik</i>
water-ACC	drink.3SG
'He drinks / is drinking water'	
(constructed example)	

Countable nouns with generic reference behave similarly, as shown in Example (16).⁴⁷

(16) Hungarian

<i>Level-et</i>	<i>ír</i>
letter-ACC	write.3SG
'He writes/is writing a letter'	
(constructed example)	

Although there are important (semantic) connections and substantial overlaps between quantitative boundedness and definiteness, they are different concepts. Quantitative boundedness is different from familiarity, uniqueness, and recognizability. An important distinction between the expressions of quantitative boundedness and definiteness is that although a quantitatively unbounded NP is often also indefinite, as in Examples (15) and (16), a quantitatively bounded NP can be either definite or indefinite in terms of what Siro's tradition refers to as notivity.

⁴⁶ See István Pete: A határozott tárgyas ragozásról [About the definite objective conjugation]. *Magyar Nyelvőr* 3: 2006: 319.

⁴⁷ Balogh et al.: *MGr*, 285–286.

4.3 Examples from Hungarian learners' responses regarding quantitative vs notional definiteness

In Finnish, it is the quantitative boundedness / unboundedness (quantification) of the object-NP that is encoded by the case of the object-NP: total object expresses that the object-NP is quantitatively bounded, but a quantitatively bounded NP can be either definite or indefinite in terms of notivity. In Hungarian, on the other hand, the key function of a definite NP is to indicate the notional or logical definiteness of the referent. Therefore, Hungarian learners of Finnish have problems in distinguishing between quantitative boundedness and notional definiteness and in some contexts, they have problems in applying the target language rules. Based on my research,⁴⁸ Hungarian learners often overgeneralize the rule 'indefinite or no article in Hungarian = partitive object in Finnish'. Now I show examples from learners' responses regarding the quantitative boundedness versus definiteness dilemma. Target-like Finnish sentence is shown in Example (17), Hungarian translation of the target-like Finnish sentence is shown in Example (18), and the learner's answer in the test is shown in Example (19).

(17) The target-like Finnish sentence

<i>Löys-it-kö</i>	<i>virhee-n</i>
find-PST.2SG-Q	error-TOT

'Did you find an/the error?'

(18) The Hungarian translation of (17)

<i>Talál-tál-e</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>hibá-t</i>
find-PST.2SG-Q		error-ACC

'Did you find an error?'

(19) The learner's answer, version of (17)

<i>Löys-it-kö</i>	<i>virhe-itä</i>
find-PST.2SG-Q	error-PL.PART

'Did you find errors? / Did you find any error?'

The learner's explanation in the interview:

Learner3: Do I have to use the singular in the second sentence? (...) because if I use the singular, then I think the total object sounds better (...) but then the sentence means '*megtaláltad-e a hibát?*' [PREF.find.PST.2SG>3-Q ART_DEF error.ACC] ['Did you find the/that error?']

⁴⁸ Panka: *PhD diss*, 313.

Another learner's response regarding the quantitative boundedness versus definiteness dilemma is shown next, in the same order: the target-like Finnish sentence is shown in Example (20), Hungarian translation of the target-like Finnish sentence is shown in Example (21). There is no third sentence here, because the learner's answer was target-like; I only cite the learner's explanation regarding the quantitative boundedness versus definiteness dilemma here.

(20) The target-like Finnish sentence

<i>Jos</i>	<i>tiedä-t</i>	<i>käännökse-n</i>
if	know-2SG	translation-TOT

'If you know a/the translation...'

(21) The Hungarian translation of (20)

<i>Ha</i>	<i>tud-sz</i>	<i>egy</i>	<i>fordítás-t</i>
if	know-2SG	ART_INDEF	translation-ACC

'If you know a translation...'

This time, the learner's answer was target-like in the test with the total object case, but in the evaluative explanation, he wasn't that sure about the correct answer:

Learner4: Well, maybe that should be in the partitive case, because the translation is *tudsz egy fordítást* ['you know a translation'], but you do know the whole translation totally, so I am not sure...

5. ASPECT

In a linguistic sense, aspect is related to the boundedness of the situation described by a sentence. Aspect is thus a view of completeness of a situation: it expresses whether the action or event is bounded, successfully completed (perfective or bounded aspect), e.g., *I ate an/the apple*, or non-bounded, in progress (imperfective or unbounded aspect), e.g., *I am (just) eating an/the apple*.

ISK⁴⁹ describes aspect as a broad and multiply interpretable concept with close and complex ties to the temporal structure of the clause as well as to the aspectual situation types (telic / atelic; resultative / irresultative), the lexical-semantic meanings, and the Aktionstart of the verb. This complexity has been widely studied.⁵⁰ In the present paper, I discuss only the concepts that

⁴⁹ Hakulinen et al.: ISK §1498.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., Zeno Vendler: Verbs and times. *Philosophical Review* 66 (2), 1967: 143–60; or Bernard Comrie: *Aspect*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976; or Ferenc Kiefer: *Aspektus és akcióminőség. Különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvre* [Aspect and Actionsart. With particular reference to Hungarian], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006.

are indispensable to my analysis of aspect in the Finnish and Hungarian language.

All languages can express aspect, but the grammatical tools by which they express it vary from language to language. In Slavic languages, for example, aspect is expressed by a system of perfective / imperfective verb pairs and triplets covering the whole verb paradigm; in other languages (e.g., in English, French, and German), the aspect of the sentence is expressed compositionally: it is influenced, among others, by temporal adverbs, object cases, and tenses.⁵¹ In the next two subchapters, I will briefly summarize the expression of aspect in Finnish and Hungarian.

5.1 Aspect in Finnish

In Finnish, the aspect of a transitive sentence is mainly expressed by the use of the total or partitive object-NP: total object expresses that a significant change has occurred or is to occur in the state of the object-NP of the sentence, as shown in Examples (22) and (23).⁵²

(22) Finnish

<i>Kirjoita-n</i>	<i>kirjee-n</i>
write-1SG	letter-TOT
'I write / I will write a/the (whole) letter'	
(ISK §1514)	

(23) Finnish

<i>Lue-n</i>	<i>kirja-n</i>
read-1SG	book-TOT
'I read / I will read a/the (whole) book'	
(constructed example)	

On the other hand, a partitive object expresses that the event is still in progress; the outcome (or change) has not yet occurred or is not relevant, as shown in Examples (24) and (25).⁵³

(24) Finnish

<i>Kirjoita-n</i>	<i>kirje-ttä</i>
write-1SG	letter-PART
'I am writing a/the letter / I write a part of a/the letter'	
(ISK §1514)	

⁵¹ Kiefer: *Aspektus*, 313–319.

⁵² Hakulinen et al.: *ISK* §1514.

⁵³ Ibid.

(25) Finnish

<i>Lue-n</i>	<i>kirja-a</i>
read-1SG	book-PART
'I am reading a/the book / I read a part of a/the book'	
(constructed example)	

So, in Finnish, transitive sentences with perfective or bounded aspect have a total object, as in Examples (22) and (23), while sentences with imperfective or unbounded aspect have a partitive object, as in Examples (24) and (25). As we can also see from the Examples (22)–(25), in Finnish, with certain transitive verbs (e.g., the so-called resultative–irresultative verbs, like *kirjoittaa* ‘write’ and *lukea* ‘read’) a total object and a partitive object can both be used depending on the context. So, with these verbs, the systematic opposition of the partitive versus total object expresses the boundedness and unboundedness of the aspect of the sentence.

However, this systematic case opposition does not hold for all verb groups in Finnish. Depending on their aspectual meaning, some verbs can typically have only a partitive object; others can have typically a total object, and yet others may have both a partitive and a total object, depending on the meaning of the sentence or the lexical sense of the verb.⁵⁴ So, an important feature of the Finnish verb system is that some verb groups, such as irresultative verbs (e.g., *odottaa* ‘wait’, *etsiä* ‘search’, *auttaa* ‘help’) or verbs expressing emotions and touch (e.g., *rakastaa* ‘love’, *halata* ‘hug’, *lyödä* ‘hit’, *iskeä* ‘slap’) do not allow a choice between total versus partitive object: we can say that the argument of these verbs is a partitive object, and we call these verbs partitive verbs.⁵⁵

5.2 Aspect in Hungarian

According to Hungarian grammars, the most important markers for indicating the aspect of the sentence are the so-called verbal prefixes.⁵⁶ Hungarian grammars generally regard the verbal prefix as a sign of the perfective aspect. But this is not always true, because a verb without prefix may also be able to represent perfective aspect with an external delimiter. Thus, the completion of an action can be expressed not only by verbal prefixes, but by other

⁵⁴ Therefore *ISK* (§1508) divides verbs into three groups according to the type of object they typically have.

⁵⁵ Paul Kiparsky: Partitive Case and Aspect, in Butt, Miriam – Geuder, Wilhelm (eds.): *The Projection of Arguments: Lexical and Compositional Factors*, CSLI Publications, Stanford, 1998: 265–308.

⁵⁶ Kiefer and Honti call them preverbs (for more details see Ferenc Kiefer – László Honti: Verbal ‘prefixation’ in the Uralic languages. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 50 (1–2), 2003: 137–153).

grammatical markers, too. According to Kiefer,⁵⁷ in Hungarian, there are both syntactic tools such as the use of certain delimiting arguments and morphological tools, that is, the verbal prefixes, for expressing the perfective aspect, as shown in Examples (26) (delimiting argument) and (27) (verbal prefix).

(26) Hungarian

<i>Mari</i>	<i>színház-ba</i>	<i>men-t</i>
Mari.NOM	theatre-ILLAT	go-PST.3SG
'Mari went to the theatre'		
(constructed example)		

(27) Hungarian

<i>Mari</i>	<i>el-men-t</i>
Mari.NOM	PREF-go-PST.3SG
'Mari went away'	
(constructed example)	

There is often a difference between the two languages in terms of what we mean by an event being completed, delimited, bounded or perfective. For example, there are verbs that can be bounded in Hungarian by means of a verbal prefix, but in Finnish, the same verbs are considered partitive verbs. This is the case, for example, with the Hungarian verb *vár* 'wait' and its Finnish equivalent *odottaa*: in Hungarian we can use the verb *vár* with a prefix, when the aspect of the sentence is perfective / bounded, as in Example (28), but in the Finnish sentence, there is always a partitive object, as in Example (29).

(28) Hungarian

<i>Péter</i>	<i>meg-vár-ta</i>	<i>Mari-t</i>
Peter.NOM	PREF-wait-PST.3SG>3	Mari-ACC
'Peter waited for Mari ~ Peter waited until Mari arrived'		
(constructed example)		

(29) Finnish

<i>Péter</i>	<i>odott-i</i>	<i>Mari-a</i>
Peter.NOM	wait-PST.3SG	Mari-PART
'Peter waited for Mari'		
(constructed example)		

In Finnish, verbs that express movement (e.g., *vetää* 'pull', *nostaa* 'raise', *painaa* 'push, press') are usually used with partitive object, as shown in Examples (30) and (32), while their Hungarian counterparts are almost always prefixed verbs, as in Examples (31) and (33).

⁵⁷ Ferenc Kiefer: *Jelentélmélet* [Theory of Semantics], Budapest, Corvina, 2000: 288.

(30) Finnish

<i>Anna</i>	<i>paina-a</i>	<i>painike-tta</i>
Anna.NOM	press-3SG	button-PART
'Anna presses a/the button'		
(constructed example)		

(31) Hungarian

<i>Anna</i>	<i>meg-nyom-ja</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gomb-ot</i>
Anna.NOM	PREF-press-3SG>3	ART_DEF	button-ACC
'Anna presses the button'			
(constructed example)			

(32) Finnish

<i>Anna</i>	<i>nosta-a</i>	<i>kipeä-ä</i>	<i>kät-tä-än</i>
Anna.NOM	raise-3SG	sore-PART	hand-PART-PX.3
'Anna raises her sore hand'			
(constructed example)			

(33) Hungarian

<i>Anna</i>	<i>fel-emel-i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>fájó</i>	<i>kez-é-t</i>
Anna.NOM	PREF-raise-3SG>3	ART_DEF	sore	hand-PX.3SG-ACC
'Anna raises her sore hand'				
(constructed example)				

So, while these Finnish sentences with the partitive object imply that the action has no relevant result that causes a change,⁵⁸ Hungarian sentences with the verbal prefix imply that the action is completed. In Hungarian, punctual verbs are almost always prefixed, as shown in Examples (34) and (35).

(34) Hungarian

<i>Péter</i>	<i>meg-simogat-ta</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>macská-t</i>
Peter.NOM	PREF-stroke-PST.3SG>3	ART_DEF	cat-ACC
'Péter stroked the cat'			
(constructed example)			

(35) Hungarian

<i>Péter</i>	<i>meg-üt-ötte</i>	<i>Dani-t</i>
Peter.NOM	PREF-hit-PST.3SG>3	Dani-ACC
'Péter hit Dani'		
(constructed example)		

⁵⁸ Hakulinen et al.: *ISK*, §1515.

In Finnish, in turn, these verbs stand almost always with a partitive object; they are the so-called partitive verbs, as shown in Examples (36) and (37).

(36) Finnish

<i>Peter</i>	<i>silitt-i</i>	<i>kissa-a</i>
Peter.NOM	stroke-PST.3SG	cat-PART
'Peter stroked a/the cat'		
(constructed example)		

(37) Finnish

<i>Peter</i>	<i>lö-i</i>	<i>Dani-a</i>
Peter.NOM	hit-PST.3SG	Dani-PART
'Peter hit Dani'		
(constructed example)		

5.3 Examples from Hungarian learners' responses regarding the partitive verbs in Finnish

Based on my research,⁵⁹ it seems that Hungarian learners often overgeneralize the 'Hungarian verbal prefix = Finnish total object' rule, and they use the total object in sentences where they would use verbal prefix in Hungarian. For example, Hungarian learners often use a non-target-like object case in sentences containing punctual verbs (e.g. *halata* 'hug', *lyödä* 'hit', *iskeä* 'slap, beat', *painaa* 'push, press'), which are usually used with prefixes in Hungarian (*meg-ölel* 'hug', *meg-üt* 'hit', *meg/be/le-nyom* 'push, press (down)'), because they automatically interpret the action as completed, even though these are irresultative verbs, so in Finnish a partitive object is used in these constructions.⁶⁰ Now I show two examples from Hungarian learners' responses regarding the use of Finnish partitive verbs. In Example (38), I show the target-like Finnish sentence, in Example (39) follows the Hungarian translation and in Example (40) the learner's response.

(38) The target-like Finnish sentence

<i>Käännös-tä</i>	<i>voi-t</i>	<i>muokata</i>	<i>paina</i>	<i>se-n</i>	<i>jäljessä</i>	<i>ole</i>	<i>painike</i>
			<i>-ma-lla</i>			<i>-va-a</i>	<i>-tta</i>
translation	can	edit.INF	press	it	after	be	button
-PART	-2SG		-INF-ADE	-GEN		-PTCP-PART	-PART
'A/The translation can be edited by pressing the button behind it'							

⁵⁹ Panka: *PhD diss*, 314, 316–317.

⁶⁰ Larjavaara explains the difference by introducing the terms 'aspect of change' (*muutosaspekti*) in Finnish and 'aspect of time' (*aika-aspekti*) in other languages; see more detail in Larjavaara: *Partitiivin valinta* [The choice of partitive], 2019: 209.

(39) The Hungarian translation of (38)

<i>A</i>	<i>fordítás-t</i>	<i>úgy</i>	<i>szerkeszt-</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>meg-nyom-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mögött-e</i>	<i>lév-ő</i>	<i>gomb</i>
			<i>het-ed</i>		<i>od</i>				<i>-ot</i>
ART	translation-	so	edit-POT-	if	PREF-press-	ART_	after-3SG	be-	button-
_DEF	ACC		2SG>3		2SG>3	DEF		PTCP	ACC

'You can edit the translation, if you press the button behind it'

(40) The learner's answer, version of (38)

<i>Käännös-tä</i>	<i>voi-t</i>	<i>muokata</i>	<i>paina-</i>	<i>se-n</i>	<i>jäljessä</i>	<i>ole-va-n</i>	<i>painikkee-n</i>
			<i>ma-lla</i>				
Translation-	can-	edit.INF	press-	it-GEN	after	be-PTCP-	button-TOT
PART	2SG		INF-ADE			TOT	

'A/The translation can be edited by pressing the button behind it'

The learner's explanation:

Learner2: *Painamalla sen jäljessä olevan painikkee-n* [button-TOT] ['By pushing the button after it']. Oh, almost, if... Yeah. Because if you push a button, obviously, if you don't push it many times, but you push it only once, it's a total object. Yes.

Now I show another Hungarian learner's response. In Example (41), I show the target-like Finnish sentence; in Example (42), the Hungarian translation follows, and in Example (43), the learner's answer.

(41) The target-like Finnish sentence

<i>Kun</i>	<i>mies</i>	<i>lö-i</i>	<i>minu-a</i>	<i>sateenvarjo-lla</i>	<i>pää-hän</i>
when	man.NOM	hit-PST.3SG	I-PART	umbrella-ADE	head-ILLAT

'When the man hit me over the head with an umbrella...'

(42) The Hungarian translation of (41)

<i>Amikor</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>férfi</i>	<i>fej-be</i>	<i>vág-ott</i>	<i>(engem)</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>esernyő-vel...</i>
when	ART_	man.	head-	hit-PST.3SG	(I.ACC)	ART_DEF	umbrella-INST
	DEF	NOM	ILLAT				

'When the man hit me over the head with an umbrella...'

(43) The learner's response, a version of (41)

<i>Kun</i>	<i>mies</i>	<i>lö-i</i>	<i>minu-t</i>	<i>sateenvarjo-lla</i>	<i>pää-hän...</i>
When	man.NOM	hit-	I-TOT	umbrella-ADE	head-ILLAT
		PST.3SG			

'When the man hit me over the head with an umbrella...'

The learner's explanation:

Learner3: *Kun mies löi minut* [I.TOT] ['When the man hit me'], well I think it's a clear accusative. It's the same as *tappaa minut* [I.TOT] ['kill me'], or yes. Or *näki mi- minut* [I.TOT] ['saw me'].

6. SUMMARY

In view of the above discussed similarities and differences between the two languages in marking the object case and in coding quantitative boundedness versus definiteness and aspect, it seems that the main difficulties for Hungarian learners of Finnish arise from the fact that Hungarian language operates with only one object case. In Hungarian, the object-NP is morphologically marked, the case of the object is always the accusative. Hungarian lacks the partitive case. Therefore, finding the object-NP usually does not present a problem for Hungarian learners, while using the target-like object case is not always easy: learning the functions of the partitive case is a difficult process, and learning how to use the multiple object cases in Finnish is also difficult.

In Hungarian, the definiteness (the “logical” or “notional” definiteness) of the object-NP is mostly indicated by the use of the definite article and, on the other hand, by the definite conjugation of the verb. In Finnish, definiteness (the “logical” or “notional” definiteness) is not indicated by articles, as Finnish lacks them. Instead, quantitative boundedness versus unboundedness (“quantification” or “quantitative definiteness” in other terms) is indicated by the opposition of the partitive versus total object. However, my research suggests that, for Hungarian learners of Finnish, it is often difficult to distinguish quantitative boundedness and definiteness, and they often overgeneralize the ‘indefinite or no article in Hungarian = partitive object in Finnish’ rule (e.g., in sentences like ‘Did you find an/the error?’ and ‘If you know a/the translation...’), as Examples (17)–(19) and (20)–(21) illustrate.

Other problems can arise, when Hungarian learners of Finnish try to apply the ‘verbal prefix in Hungarian = total object in Finnish’ rule. In Finnish, certain verbs (e.g., verbs expressing touch, such as *lyödä* ‘hit’, *halata* ‘hug’ or verbs expressing movement, e.g., *työntää* ‘push’, *nostaa* ‘lift, raise’, *painaa*, ‘push, press’) are irresultative and usually have a partitive object. However, in Hungarian, these events are interpreted as bounded and completed because of the exact meaning of the verbs, and the verbs are usually used with a prefix like the completive *meg-* in *meg-nyomja a gombot* ‘press the button’, *meg-üt/meg-ver valakit* ‘hit/beat someone’, as Examples (38)–(40) and (41)–(43) illustrate.

The use of the Finnish object cases is influenced by and closely interacts with a variety of grammatically relevant features: quantity, definiteness, referentiality, countability, negation, and aspect⁶¹ and, in addition, these factors often overlap.⁶² My research shows that Hungarian learners usually use the

⁶¹ Huumo: *Kvantiteetti ja aika*, 506

⁶² Pentti Leino: *Lauseet ja tilanteet. Suomen objektin ongelmia* [Sentences and situations. Problems of the Finnish object], Helsinki, SKS, 1991: 137.

partitive case in a target-like manner in negative sentences, with easily recognizable uncountable nouns, and with some well-known partitive verbs. Apparently, these are the easiest features to grasp cognitively, probably because they are more central in the perception of a Hungarian learner. On the other hand, Hungarian learners seem to have difficulties in distinguishing quantitative boundedness and definiteness and in using certain irresultative but bounded partitive verbs, such as *lyödä* ‘hit’ in a target-like manner in Finnish (i.e., with a partitive object). I have argued that the structural differences between the ways in which the two languages express these grammatical categories may affect how Hungarian learners use the object cases in Finnish. This could be taken into consideration when developing new teaching methods.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 – first person
- 2 – second person
- 3 – third person
- >3 – 3rd person object expressed by person-number suffix
- ABL – ablative
- ACC – accusative
- ADE – adessive
- ALL – allative
- ART_DEF – definite article
- ART_INDEF – indefinite article
- CNG – connegative (verb)
- GEN – genitive
- ILLAT – illative
- IMP – imperative
- INESS – inessive
- INF – infinitive
- INSTR – instrumental
- NEG – negative auxiliary
- NOM – nominative
- NP – noun phrase
- PART – partitive
- PASS – passive
- PL – plural
- POT – potential
- PREF – verbal prefix
- PRS – present
- PST – past tense

PTCP – participle
 PX – possessive suffix
 Q – question particle or clitic
 SG – singular
 TOT – total (object case)

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ON QUANTIFICATION AND THE ABLATIVE IN ERZYA AND MOKSHA



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Abstract

In this paper, the ablative case and quantification in the Mordvin languages are addressed, drawing on parallel sentences for various notions associated with ablative and paucal/mass quantification marking. Specific morphology is discussed, and two openly accessible and morpho-syntactically annotated corpora are described: the Tetûrev parallel corpus and the Electronic Resources for Moksha and Erzya (ERME2) corpora. An illustration of semantic nuances of the ablative is provided, as found in the parallel corpus, dealing with divergence in ablative quantificational structures, second only to the “standard of comparison” function. Paucal and mass quantifier patterns, used extensively in Moksha but not in Erzya, are inspected, along with a search for contexts where quantifiers in Moksha occur without an ablative counterpart. Finally, further observations from the Tetûrev parallel corpus are mentioned, potentially leading to new, unaddressed matters of Erzya–Moksha divergence in quantification research.

KEYWORDS: Erzya, Moksha, morphologically annotated corpora, ablative case in syntax, quantification



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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper was born in response to the main ideas presented in a recent publication by Rueter¹ (2023), which describes findings on partitive-function ablative-case adjuncts/arguments presented in Vienna (Congressus XIII Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, 21–26 August 2022) and Budapest (Partitives in European Languages, 15–17 September 2022).

We use two principles for transliterating what is written in Erzya and Moksha. If the native language text represents bibliographical materials, such as those found in international library search engines, we apply the ISO 9 transliteration.² If, however, the materials are used in examples or other illustrations of the language, we use a version of the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet in our transcriptions.³

This paper attempts to provide a two-language perspective with examples from Erzya (E.) and Moksha (M.). Whereas Erzya and Moksha have been referred to as supradialects (Russian ‘*narečie*’) in early treatises, each language form has an ample literary record of its own and, therefore, we apply the term ‘language’ here.

According to Rueter⁴ (2020), the Mordvin languages share a native lexicon ranging between 27 and 46 percent, and a mutual morphology slightly over 80 percent. The essence of this paper, however, is to examine the ablative of both languages and syntactic constructions in order to ascertain points of divergence. Needless to say, the illustration of language diversity calls for a closer inspection of ablative-related morphology in the two languages and an examination of syntactic structures typical to quantification (cf. Rueter 2013⁵).

The ablative, or *-TO-* case, appears in the nominal morphology of both Erzya and Moksha.⁶ Nominals in Erzya and Moksha are an extensive group of word classes that include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, determiners, numerals,

¹ Jack Rueter: On the verbs of ingestion and partitive function in Erzya, *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 29, Finnugor Nyelvtudományi Tanszék, Debrecen, 2022, 139–154.

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_transliteration_of_Cyrillic (accessed 15 August 2023)

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uralic_Phonetic_Alphabet (accessed 15 August 2023)

⁴ Jack Rueter: Corpus of the national languages Erzya and Moksha: principles of development and perspectives of function/action [Korpus nacional'nyx mordovskix žykov: principy razrabotki i perspektivy funkcionirovaniâ/ dejstviâ]. *Conference July, 2020: Meždunarodnaâ naučnaâ konferenciâ «Finno-ugorskie narody v kontekste formirovaniâ obšerossijskoj graždanskoj identičnosti i menâjšesja okružâjšej sredy»*. Saransk, Mordovia, Russian Federation, 2020.

⁵ Jack Rueter: Quantification in Erzya, in: Suihkonen, P. – Solovyev, V. (eds.): *Typology of quantification: on quantification in Finnish and languages spoken in the Volga–Kama Region*, LINCOM Studies in Language Typology, Vol. 28, Helsinki, Lincom, 2013, 99–122.

⁶ The ablative ending in the Mordvin languages is related to the partitive case of the Balto-Finnic and Saamic languages, since they all derive from the Uralic ablative (separative) case **-ta*. The Mordvin ablative also shows signs of partitive-type usage familiar from Balto-Finnic (cf. Raija Bartens: *Mordvalaiskielten rakenne ja kehitys* [Structure and development of the Mordvin languages] Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia 232, Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1999, 75–76).

verbal nouns and verbal adjectives.^{7,8} From a morphological perspective, even some words presently classified as adverbs, adpositions and converbs⁹ might be included as nouns with defective declensions (cf. Bartens: *Mordvalaiskielten*, 154–156¹⁰; Rueter 2011¹¹).

In order to compare the two languages, Erzya and Moksha, and to study the morphological phenomena and syntactic nuances, we require access to extensive corpora and an understanding of the complex morphological aspects of the languages themselves. To this end, we establish two corpora, and provide a morpho-syntactic sketch of the two literary languages.

2. CORPORA

Until recently, openly available, lemmatized and parsed corpora for either of the languages has been extremely limited. The first openly searchable, morphologically annotated corpora for Erzya and Moksha appear on the Erzya Web Corpora¹² and Moksha Web Corpora¹³ (see Arkhangelskij 2019¹⁴). At this time, Arkhangelskij acknowledges the existence of an ERME¹⁵ corpus for both

⁷ The terms ‘verbal noun’ and ‘verbal adjective’ are used here to indicate forms derived from verbs through regular morphology to distinguish them from deverbal derivations that cannot be predicted. Elsewhere, these might be called ‘action nouns’ and ‘participles’, respectively.

⁸ Cf. Bartens: *Mordvalaiskielten*, 70–122; Maria Imajkina: «The concepts of morphemics and morphemes», «Morphology, the study of inflection and derivation of forms» [«Valon’ smusten’ kandycâ pel’kstnède dy morfemikado čar’kodemas’», «Morfologiâs – valon’ polavtnemado dy forman’ teemado tonavtoma»]. In: Redkollegiâs: D. V. Cygankin (ed. in chief, N. A. Agafonova, M. D. Imajkina dy liât) *The Erzya language, morphemics, derivation and morphology: [Ėrzân’ kel’, morfemika, valon’ teevema dy morfologiâ:] Vuzon’ Ėrzân’ dy finnen’ oždeleniân’ tonavtnicâtnen’ turtov*, Saransk, Krasnyj Oktâbr’, 2000, 4–34, 53–73; Raisa Buzakova [Buzakova, R. N.]: Definition of the cases [Padežtnen’ smustest], in: Redkollegiâs: D. V. Cygankin (ed. in chief, N. A. Agafonova, M. D. Imajkina dy liât) *The Erzya language, morphemics, derivation and morphology: [Ėrzân’ kel’, morfemika, valon’ teevema dy morfologiâ:] Vuzon’ Ėrzân’ dy finnen’ oždeleniân’ tonavtnicâtnen’ turtov*, Saransk, Krasnyj Oktâbr’, 2000, 82–87.

⁹ The term ‘converb’ (a.k.a gerund, verbal adverb) is used here as it is in the Universal Dependencies (<https://universaldependencies.org/u/feat/all.html#conv-converb-transgressive-adverbial-participle-verbal-adverb>, accessed 15 August 2023) project to indicate non-finite verbal forms that share the characteristics of adverbs and verbs, whereas they are used as adverbial constituents of a sentence in much the same way as NPs might be in non-core case.

¹⁰ Cf. Bartens: *Mordvalaiskielten rakenne ja kehitys*, 75–76.

¹¹ Jack Rueter: The status of the non-finite OmstO morpheme in Erzya, in: *Linguistica Uralica. XLVII* (2011), 1, 2011, 41–55 15, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274117359_The_Status_of_the_Non-Finite_-_OmstO_Morpheme_in_Erzya (accessed 20 November 2023)

¹² <http://erzya.web-corpora.net/index.html> (accessed 27 October 2023)

¹³ <http://moksha.web-corpora.net/index.html> (accessed 27 October 2023)

¹⁴ Timofey Arkhangelskij: Corpora of social media in minority Uralic languages, in Tommi A. Pirinen – Heiki-Jaan Kaalep – Francis M. Tyers (eds.): *Proceedings of the Fifth International Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Uralic Languages*, Tartu, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2019, 125–140, <https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/w19-0311>

¹⁵ ERME <https://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-201407306> (accessed 27 October 2023)

languages (800,000 tokens), but only states that the corpus lacks morphological annotation.

Ideally, extensive work in the study of ablative-case phenomena in the Mordvin languages of Moksha and Erzya would contain both revised and non-revised source examples from the literary languages as well as spoken languages of individual villages, dialects as well as social media. Here, however, we limit ourselves to two corpora, one of which is the Electronic Resource for Moksha and Erzya (ERME) corpus of original Erzya and Moksha literature, and the other is «Tetûrev», a parallel corpus based on a translated schoolbook from the 1930s and 1940s.

In March of 2023, a new version of ERME (version 2¹⁶) was published through the Language Bank of Finland. The entire ERME corpus consists of literary language materials from the two Mordvin languages, including content from the Erzya-language journals *Sâtko* and *Suran' tolt* (1956–2001), the Moksha-language journal *Mokša* (1956–2000), and writings of individual authors from 1925 onwards in both languages. In addition to the bibliographic annotation practices of the earlier version, the new version introduced morphological annotation, lemmatization and disambiguation with some syntactic annotation, all available on the <https://korp.csc.fi> server¹⁷ (cf. Rueter 2020¹⁸ and see Rueter & Erina 2023¹⁹). Presently, these materials are partially accessible through the newest version of ERME, with over two million tokens of Erzya and eight hundred thousand tokens of Moksha.

The «Tetûrev» parallel corpus²⁰ consists of manually aligned materials from the 1939 Erzya and 1940 Moksha translations and publications of a natural science reader by Tetûrev, one of the many books from the National Library of Finland, «Kindred Language Pilot» materials available through the

¹⁶ ERME version 2 meta-share <https://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2023021601> (accessed 27 October 2023)

¹⁷ ERME version 2 access <https://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2023021602> (accessed 27 October 2023)

¹⁸ Rueter: *Corpus of national languages*, 2020.

¹⁹ Jack Rueter – Olga Erina (compilers): *Erzya and Moksha Extended Corpora (ERME) version 2, Korp*, Helsinki, Kielipankki, 2023. Persistent Identifier of this resource: <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2023021601>, Access location: <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2023021602> (Automatically lemmatized and morpho-syntactically annotated treebanks: Erzya: over two million tokens; Moksha: over 800,000 tokens) (accessed 27 October 2023)

²⁰ Tetûrev meta-share: <https://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2023042421> (accessed 27 October 2023); Erzya: TETÛREV, Vladimir Alekseevič: *Estestvoznaniâ: 1 pel'ks: načal'noj školan' 3 klasso tonavtnema kniga*, Moskov, Gosudarstvennoj učebno-pedagogičeskaj izdatel'stvas', 1939. <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2013123010091> (accessed 20 November 2023); Moksha: TETÛREV, Vladimir Alekseevič: *Estestvoznaniâ: 1 pâl'kss': načal'naj školan' 3-ce klassa tonafnema kniga*, Mosku, Gosudarstvennaj učebno-pedagogičeskâj izdatel'stvac, 1940. <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2013123010104> (accessed 20 November 2023)

Fenno-Ugrica site.²¹ The parallel corpus (*cf.* also Rueter 2022²²; and see also Rueter & Erina 2023²³) consists of 2090 sentences in each language (E. 22,690 tokens, M. 22,887 tokens). When parallel sentences do not exist, a comment *Not Attested* (NA) has been placed in lieu of a correlate sentence.

In order to provide for a common point of departure in Mordvin language studies and repeatable research outcomes, the two corpora have been made available as openly searchable resource materials. Both corpora share the practice of bibliographically enhanced metadata, and a granularity for reference to number for chapter, paragraph, sentence, and token (both words and punctuation), which allows for library research work as well. Since 1999, the texts have been automatically annotated for both morphology and syntax, using finite-state tools constructed by Rueter (*cf.* Rueter et al. 2020²⁴). Additional parallel corpora for these languages are already available on the Language Bank of Finland server (<https://korp.csc.fi>), e.g., Parallel Biblical Verses for Uralic Studies (PaBiVUS).²⁵ Other results of this morphological work can also be found on the Giellatekno Korp server²⁶ at the Norwegian Arctic University in Tromsø and at GiellaLT on Github.²⁷

3. METHOD AND MOTIVATION

Our method is empirical and descriptive. We draw our comparative materials from a small parallel corpus, which helps to delimit the extent of our text describing the two languages. When speaking of two closely related languages, there is frequent mention of their shared lexica and morphology – something that makes it easier for humans to learn each other’s language.

The task here, however, is to go one step further and to align a language-technological endeavor with a linguistic one – find out how to implement a shallow-transfer rule-based machine translation system. To this end, we make

²¹ Fenno-Ugrica, National Library of Finland, <https://fennougrica.kansalliskirjasto.fi/> (accessed 27 October 2023)

²² Jack Rueter: Shallow-transfer problems in Erzya-Moksha conjunctive-preterite2 syncretism. *Journal of Brief Ideas*. 2022, Online: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7232614> (accessed 20 November 2023)

²³ Jack Rueter – Olga Erina (annotators): *Tetiurev: Environment and Natural Science for 3rd grade, part one, Korp* [data set]. Kielipankki. 2023 (accessed 20 November 2023)

²⁴ Jack Rueter – Mika Härmäläinen – Niko Partanen: Open-Source Morphology for Endangered Mordvinic Languages, in *Proceedings of Second Workshop for NLP Open Source Software (NLP-OSS)*. 2020, 94–100.

²⁵ PaBiVUS Meta-Share: <https://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2020021121>, <https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/2020.nlposs-1.13> (accessed 20 November 2023)

²⁶ Giellalt Uralic language Korp server: https://gtweb.uit.no/u_korp/ (accessed 27 October 2023)

²⁷ Moksha <https://github.com/giellalt/lang-mdf>, Erzya <https://github.com/giellalt/lang-myv> (accessed 20 November 2023)

observations that can be helpful in the construction of a Constraint Grammar for the Erzya and Moksha languages,²⁸ which uses textual context to select or eliminate morphological analyses as well as syntactic functions and dependencies. In its simplest implementation, shallow-transfer machine translation merely analyzes the source text in Example (1a), transfers the lemmas, where cat = *psaka* : *katə*, very = *pek* : *päk* and big = *pokš* : *oču* and then the result of the morphological analysis is used in generation to obtain the target text in (1b). Both languages have a zero copula here, so we are fine.

(1) a. Erzya

<i>psaka-ś</i>	<i>pek pokš</i>
cat-NOM.SG.DEF	very big

b. Moksha

<i>katə-ś</i>	<i>päk oču</i>
cat-NOM.SG.DEF	very big

‘The cat is very big.’

In a word, we want to know how to detect where a given text in a source language cannot (a) be simply analyzed, (b) have the lemmas translated and (c) be simply generated as a text in a target language as in Examples (1a)–(1b) (*cf.* Rueter & Hämäläinen 2020²⁹). For this reason, we attempt to clarify just where the two language forms diverge in context and morphological annotation.³⁰ Once we

²⁸ Work with Constraint Grammar, originally conceived by Prof. Fred Karlsson at the University of Helsinki in the early 1990s, is continued, for example, at the University of Southern Denmark. https://edu.visl.dk/constraint_grammar.html

²⁹ Jack Rueter – Mika Hämäläinen: Prerequisites for Shallow-Transfer Machine Translation of Mordvin Languages: Language Documentation with A Purpose, In *Materials of the Salon for International Education [Materialy Meždunarodnogo obrazovatel'nogo salona]*, Iževsk: Institut komp'üternyx issledovanij, 2020, 18–29.

³⁰ In order to render uniform tagging, the authors have chosen to order tags in a way closest to what might be perceived in morpheme ordering. Hence, while the Erzya plural *kudo-tše-đe* home-PL.DEF-ABL ‘of the homes’ illustrates an ordering number, definiteness, case, the singular *kudo-do-ńt* home-ABL-SG.DEF ‘of the home’ places case before the oblique-case definite singular marker. There are two instances in the singular where a cluster of case, definiteness and number marking are represented by a single morpheme; these are the nominative definite singular and genitive definite singular. The argumentation for placing the singular (sg) annotation at the end of the “genitive definite singular” cluster is based on the fact that the same morpheme (-ńt SG.DEF) is used throughout the Erzya definite singular paradigm, with the exception of the dative, which appears as a segment merged with the definite singular marker (-ńt(ťeń SG.DEF.DAT) in *kudo-ńtēń* house-SG.DEF.DAT ‘into the house’. (Upon examining the ERME corpus, it was noted that the form “*kudo-ńtēń*” occurs multiple times but only in a single book by Kuz'ma Abramov — Purgaz.) The Moksha tag ordering will follow that of the Erzya in this article, but only for the purpose of simple alignment. In future work, it might be pertinent that the Moksha singular definite combination precede the case marker so as to match the combination *kud-ťi* house-SG.DEF.DAT ‘to the house’, because this ordering is retained in the

know what the actual morphological analysis of a word form is, we look to the surrounding context for clues as to what function the word form has.

After locating a divergency in the quantification structures of Erzya and Moksha, we provide a description of the context types observed. Sometimes, the context of a single sentence is not sufficient, and therefore we refer back to previous sentences. These observations are then used to enhance our understanding of ablative functions and how they align across Mordvin languages.

4. MORPHOLOGY

The closely related Erzya and Moksha languages share many of the same morphologically encoded categories. One of these is the ablative, which then combines with the categories of number, definiteness, possession, as well as tense, predicate person and number³¹ to different extents in the sibling languages. Both languages have three declensions: a basic declension (a.k.a. indefinite declension), a possessive declension, and a definite declension.

The basic declension attests marking for complex NPs of as many as 15 and 16 cases in Erzya and Moksha, respectively (see Rueter 2010³²; 17; Kholodilova 2016³³), case marking occurs only on the NP head. In the basic declension, however, only the nominative is associated with the category of number. Hence, in the absence of a number reading, forms in, for instance, the genitive, dative, ablative, illative, inessive, elative, prolative, etc. may be used in context to represent either.

The possessive declension can only be associated with 10-12 cases in Erzya and Moksha (*cf.* Rueter 2010: 129³⁴), and of these, only the three core cases, nominative, genitive and dative are associated with the category of number with the singular possessors in Moksha. Erzya, on the contrary, only regularly distinguishes a nominative singular for the third person singular possessor

Moksha western dialect form *pakšä-ĭ-ksa* house-SG.DEF.CAU ‘for the field’ (*cf.* Feoktistow 1990: L–LIV, LXXIX–LXXXII).

³¹ In Erzya and Moksha predicate marking that does not involve finite verbs, these categories can be marked morphologically directly on nominals, non-finites and adverbs, alike. Therefore, *vadřa-tře-ĭ-good-PL.DEF-ABL-COP.PST.SG3* ‘was of the best’ illustrates where regular synthetic predicate marking combines with other regular morphology, i.e., *-ĭ* indicates past tense and third person singular.

³² Jack Rueter: *Adnominal person in the morphological system of Erzya*, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia 261, Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 2010, 17.

³³ Maria Kholodilova: Moksha Non-verbal Predication, in *Mordvin Language in the Field*, Ksenia Shagal and Heini Arjava (eds.): Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 2016, 229–259.

³⁴ Rueter, *Adnominal Person*, 2010, 129.

(see Rueter 2016³⁵; Rueter 2020³⁶; Rueter 2023³⁷). The ablative and other noncore cases can, once again, be used in context with singular and plural NP heads.

The definite (a.k.a. determinate) declension is associated with the category of number, and there are certain limitations to the number of cases used in this declension. The literary Moksha language, for instance, recognizes only three cases: the nominative, genitive and dative. Other cases, such as the ablative and local cases, can be represented analytically, using postpositions in conjunction with definite or possessive genitive marking on the preceding NP head. In contrast, the literary Erzya language attests more synthetic case categories with the definite plural (as many as 13) than with the definite singular (as many as 11) (see Rueter, *Adnominal Person*, 129), but it also takes analytical case marking in the form of postpositions. This divergence in case structures also affects the ablative.

Moksha only has three cases in the definite declension. In order to associate the ablative case and definiteness, the postposition *ezda* POSTP.ABL is often used for analytically expressing some of the same categories as the synthetic ablative case in *-də/-tə* (cf. Imäreškova 2000³⁸; Keresztes 2011³⁹; Buzakova 2000: 250⁴⁰). Thus, the synthetic Moksha basic declension form *kut-tə* home-ABL is aligned with the two analytic definite/determinate ablative forms in Example (2). In Erzya, however, the basic declension form *kudo-do* home-ABL ‘from home; than home; about home’ can be associated with four definite forms, two of which are synthetic (see (3a)), and the other two analytic (see (3b)). The analytic forms present a change in terminology, i.e., instead of a postposition with an ablative, Erzya uses the elative. In fact, the analytic elative case marker *ejste* POSTP.ELA ‘away from; of; out of’ in Erzya covers for both the elative and

³⁵ Jack Rueter: Towards a systematic characterization of dialect variation in the Erzya-speaking world: Isoglosses and their reflexes attested in and around the Dubyonki Raion, in: Shagal, Ksenia – Arjava, Heini (eds): *Mordvin languages in the field*, Uralica Helsingiensia 10, Helsinki, 2016, 109–148.

³⁶ Jack Rueter: Linguistic Distance between Erzya and Moksha. Dependent morphology, in: Klement'eva, E. F. – Močalova, T. I. – Râbov, I. N. (eds.): *Finno-ugorskije âzyki v sovremennom mire: funkcionirovanie i perspektivy razvitiâ: materialy Vserossiïskoï naučno-praktičeskoï konferencii, posvâšennoï 95-letiiu zaslužennogo deâtela nauki RF, doktora filologičeskih nauk, professora Cygankina Dmitriâ Vasil'eviča*; MGU im. N. P. Ogar'eva, Saransk, 2020, 90–110.

³⁷ Jack Rueter: Moksha Mordvin, in Daniel Abondolo and Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (eds.): *The Uralic Languages*, 2023, 487–492, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315625096-11>

³⁸ V. Imäreškova = Imäreškova V.M.: «Čislitel'najs'», «Valmel'gaksne», «Soūsne», «Časticatne». *Mokšen' kâl'. Morfologija: Vuzon' mokšen' i finno-ugran' M 74 otdeleniân' tonafnixnendi učebnik /Sërmatf-tif N. S. Alâmkinon' kâdâla*, Saransk, Tip. «Kras. Okt.», 2000, 190–201.

³⁹ László Keresztes: *Bevezetés a mordvin nyelvészetbe* [Introduction to Mordvin linguistics], Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2011, 73–74, 100.

⁴⁰ Raisa N. Buzakova: The postposition [Valmel'gaksos'], in: Redkollegiâs': D. V. Cygankin (ed. in chief, N. A. Agafonova, M. D. Imajkina dy liât) *The Erzya language, morphemics, derivation and morphology: [Ėrzân' kel', morfemika, valon' teevema dy morfologija:] Vuzon' Ėrzân' dy finnèn' oždeleniân' tonavtnicâtnen' turtov.*, Saransk, Krasnyj Oktâbr', 2000, 249–254.

ablative, while its Moksha counterpart, the analytic ablative case *ezdā* POSTP. ABL ‘from; out of’ also covers for both.⁴¹ In both Examples (2) and (3), the translation might involve marking the standard of comparison, other definitions will be given below.

(2) Moksha

<i>kut-í</i>	<i>ezdā</i>
house-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ABL
<i>kut-tńā-ń</i>	<i>ezdā</i>
house-PL.DEF-GEN	POSTP.ABL
‘away from the house’ (Own information.)	‘away from the houses’

(3) a. Erzya

<i>kudo-do-ńí</i>	<i>kudo-tńe-ďe</i>	<i>bajtak</i>
house-ABL-SG.DEF	house-PL.DEF-ABL	plenty
‘about the house’ (Own information.)	‘there were plenty of houses’	

b. Erzya

<i>kudo-ńí</i>	<i>ejste</i>	<i>kudo-tńe-ń</i>	<i>ejste</i>
house-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ELA	house-PL.DEF-GEN	POSTP.ELA
‘away from the house’ (Own information.)		‘away from the houses’	

5. ABLATIVE FUNCTIONS

The Erzya and Moksha ablative is associated with several uses. Here, we will present its meanings according to Anan’ina (2000)⁴² with essential additions in as far as they present themselves in the Tetûrev corpus (*cf.* Bartens,

⁴¹ The Erzya postposition *ejste* covers for some elative and ablative case functions. The stem in *ez-/ej-* cannot be translated by itself, but it is the locus of some other cases: *ej-s* POSTP-ILL ‘into; up to’, *ej-se* POSTP-INE ‘in; incomplete object’, *ez-ga* POSTP-PRL ‘along; distributed throughout’, *ej-ška* POSTP-COMP ‘the size of’. Likewise, the Moksha postposition *ezda* covers for some of the elative and ablative case functions with a stem in *ez-/e-*. In addition to the ablative case, this Moksha postposition declines: *e-s* POSTP-ILL ‘into; up to’, *e-sā* POSTP-INE ‘with’, *ez-ga* POSTP-PRL ‘along; distributed throughout’, *e-ška* POSTP-COMP ‘the size of’.

⁴² K.I. Anan’ina: Sušestvitel’najs’, in N. S. Alâmkın (ed.): *Mokšen’ kâl’*. *Morfologijâ: Vuzon’ mokšen’ i finno-ugran’ otdeleniân’ tonafnixnendi učebnik* /Sërmatf-tif N. S. Alâmkınon’ kâdâla, Saransk, Tip. «Kras. Okt.», 2000, 65–66.

Mordvalaiskielten, 93–95; Buzakova, *Definition of cases*, 84; Toldova et al. 2018⁴³; Hamari & Ajanki 2022⁴⁴; Rueter, Moksha, 492–497):

Standard of comparison

Quantification of items, persons, phenomena

Quantifying modifier (*mońđeń [přado] seřej*) ‘taller than me by a head’

Portion of food (argument with verbs of ingestion a.k.a. consumption)

Reference point of separation

Against

Cause

Point of manipulation on patient (as opposed to instrument controlled by agent)

Topic of discourse (only found in Erzya)

5.1 Standard of comparison

In Erzya and Moksha, there is no morphological marking for comparative or superlative on adjectives or adverbs. Instead, the notion of comparison is indicated by marking the standard of comparison, which is primarily a noun, but it can also be a numeral, pronoun or even an adjective.

Work with the Tetûrev parallel corpus, introduced above, reveals that probably the most frequent use of the ablative in both literary languages is to mark the standard of comparison. In Examples (4a) and (4b), the numeral ‘450 thousand’ is marked as standard of comparison with the ablative, and it modifies the determiner *lamo* (E.) and *lamə* (M.) ‘a lot’, which is followed by a nominative plural form of the noun ‘tractor’.⁴⁵

(4) a. Erzya

<i>mińek</i>	<i>kolxoz-tne-ńeń</i>	<i>dı</i>	<i>sovхоз-tne-ńeń</i>
PL1.GEN	collective.farm-PL.DEF-DAT	and	state.farm-PL.DEF-DAT

⁴³ Toldova, S.Û. (chief ed.) – Xolodilova, M.A. (chief ed.) – Tatevosov, S.G. – Kaškin, E.V. – Kozlov, A.A. – Kozlov, L.S. – Kuxto, A.V. – Privizenceva, M.Û. – Stenin, I.A.: *Elements of the Moksha Language in the Light of Typology* [Élementy mokšanskogo âzyka v tipologičeskom osveštenii], Moscow, «Buki Vedi», 2018, 91–92, 107–108, 130–135, 154–155.

⁴⁴ Arja Hamari – Rigina Ajanki: Mordvin (Erzya and Moksha), in: Bakró-Nagy, Marianne – Laakso, Johanna – Skribnik, Elena (eds.): *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages* (Oxford Guides to the World's Languages), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022, 399–403.

⁴⁵ A note on segmentation: The Erzya perfect participle *maks-ož* ‘given’ shows a morpheme-initial vowel ⟨o⟩, which elsewhere might be shown attached to the stem. Our reasoning is that although the quality of this vowel is determined by the preceding stem, due to what is called progressive vowel harmony in Erzya, the requirement of vowel presence is dictated by the affix (cf. ÈRS 1993: 17; Rueter: *Adnominal Person*, 15–16).

<i>maks-ož</i>	<i>uš</i>	450	<i>tišča-do</i>	
give-PRFPTC	already	450	thousand-ABL	
<i>lamo</i>	<i>traktor-t,</i>	<i>kona-t</i>	<i>mogut</i>	<i>fej-eme</i>
a.lot	tractor-NOM.PL	that-NOM.PL	can.PL3	do-INF.LOC
<i>kavkso</i>	<i>millon-do</i>	<i>lamo</i>		
eight	million-ABL	a.lot		
<i>lišme-ń</i>	<i>koŋa-s</i>	<i>še-ďe</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>robota</i>
horse-GEN	in.relation.to-ILL	PRON.DEM-ABL	a.lot	work

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.50.2.)

b. Moksha

<i>miń</i>	<i>kolxoz-əńkə-ńďi</i>			<i>i</i>	<i>sovхоз-əńkə-ńďi</i>
PL1.GEN	collective.farm-PXPL1-DAT			and	state.farm-PXPL1-DAT
<i>maks-f</i>	<i>ńi</i>	450	<i>tožäń-ďə</i>	<i>lamə</i>	<i>traktor-t,</i>
give-PRFPTC	already	450	thousand-ABL	a.lot	tractor-NOM.PL
<i>kona-t</i>	<i>rabota-də</i>	<i>mogut</i>	<i>tijəms</i>		
that-NOM.PL	work-ABL	can.PL3	do-INF.ILL		
<i>ša-də</i>	<i>lamə,</i>	<i>čem</i>	8	<i>million</i>	<i>alaša-ś.</i>
PRON.DEM-ABL	a.lot	than	8	million	horse-NOM.SG.DEF

‘Our collective and state farms have already been given more than 450 thousand tractors that can do more work than eight million horses.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.50.2)

Tetûrev parallel corpus references, after the year, indicate chapter, paragraph, and sentence. Despite word-order differences in the two languages (Examples (5a) and (5b)), we can identify the use of a synthetic case ablative form marking an NP head noun the standard of comparison. Note the Erzya word *norma-do-ńt* is in the definite declension whereas the Moksha counterpart *norma-də-nzə* is in the possessive declension. In addition to marking a numeral or noun as the standard of comparison, pronouns are also marked with the ablative. In fact, the ablative case form of the demonstrative pronouns *še* (Erzya) and *ša* (Moksha) ‘that’ in *še-ďe* and *ša-də*, respectively, are oftentimes seen as comparative particles (see Examples (4a), (4b) and (5a)).

(5) a. Erzya

<i>íte</i>	<i>uľńe-ś</i>	<i>rekordnoj</i>	<i>vyrabotka,</i>	<i>kona</i>
PRON.DEM	be-PST.SG3	record.ADJ	production	PRON.REL
<i>14 raz</i>	<i>śe-ďe</i>	<i>pokš-oľ</i>		
14 time	PRON.DEM-ABL	big-PST.SG3		
<i>zabojščik-eń</i>	<i>obyčnoj</i>	<i>norma-do-ńť.</i>		
butcher-GEN	usual	norm-ABL-SG.DEF		

‘This was a record achievement, which was 14 times bigger than the usual norm of a butcher.’

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.235.3)

b. Moksha

<i>íta</i>	<i>uľ-ś</i>	<i>rekordnaj</i>	<i>vərabotka,</i>	<i>íta</i>
PRON.DEM	be-PST.SG3	record.ADJ	production	PRON.DEM
<i>mäk</i>	<i>kemńiľ-kśť</i>	<i>zabojščik-ť</i>	<i>obəčnaj</i>	
even	fourteen-times	butcher-GEN.SG.DEF	usual	
<i>norma-də-nzə</i>	<i>lamə.</i>			
norm-ABL-PXSG3	a.lot			

‘This was a record achievement, it [was] even fourteen times more than a butcher’s usual norm.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.235.3)

Both Mordvin languages express absolute superlatives with a structure similar to the English *bigger than big*. In Example (6a), we see the Erzya adjective *pokš* ‘big’ reduplicated with the first instance taking the ablative standard of comparison marker and an additional additive clitic, rendering *pokš-to-jak pokš* (lit. even than big big). Example (6b) illustrates the same structure with *oću-də-ŋga oću*. The parallel corpus did not reveal a single instance where both languages were using the same structure, i.e., when one language used the ADJ_i-ABL-CLT/ADD ADJ_i structure, the other used the degree modifier ‘very’ *pek* and *päk* for Erzya and Moksha, respectively. Thus it might be assumed that *pokš-to-jak pokš* might be replaced with *pek pokš* in Erzya, and *oću-də-ŋga oću* might be substituted with *päk oću* in Moksha ‘quite big’.

(6) a. Erzya

<i>vana</i>	<i>kosto</i>	<i>saj-ev-št</i>	<i>pesok-on</i>
look	where.ELA	take-PASS-PST.PL3	sand-GEN
<i>dı</i>	<i>šovoň-eň</i>	<i>ňe-t</i>	<i>pokš-to-jak</i>
and	clay-GEN	these-NOM.PL	big-ABL-CLT/ADD
<i>pokš</i>	<i>massa-ťne</i>		
big	mass-PL.DEF.NOM		

‘Look where those bigger than big masses of sand and clay have come from.’

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.75.1)

b. Moksha

<i>stroja-f-t</i>	<i>čvetnoj</i>	<i>metall-əň</i>	<i>šăňăft-əma-ň</i>
build-PRFPTC-NOM.PL	flowered	metal-GEN	produce-VNOUN-GEN
<i>oču-do-ŋga</i>	<i>oču</i>	<i>zavot-t:</i>	
big-ABL-CLT/ADD	big	factory-NOM.PL	

‘There have been factories built for producing non-ferrous metals that are bigger than big.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.328.1)

The temporal adverbs *mejĭle* ‘late’, *meĭle* ‘late’ and *ikeĭle* ‘before’, *ingăĭle* ‘before’, which elsewhere might be classified as postpositions with ablative government (see Examples (7a) and (7b)) form the second largest group of frequency in the Tetûrev parallel corpus. Here, we will simply consider it yet another instance of standard of comparison marking, where the standard of comparison is usually a demonstrative pronoun or a verbal noun in the ablative. Both sentences translate in the same way, regardless of the habitual aspect marking (7b) (*cf.* also Rueter, *Shallow-transfer*, 2022).

(7) a. Erzya

<i>pulta-mo-do</i>	<i>mejĭle</i>	<i>izvestňak-oš</i>
burn-VNOUN-ABL	late.ADV	limestone-NOM.SG.DEF
<i>velavt-ı</i>	<i>ňegašenoj_izvešt-eks.</i>	
turn-SG3	quicklime-TRA	

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.130.2)

(7) b. Moksha

<i>pəɭta-m-də</i>	<i>meɭə</i>	<i>izvešt'-s</i>	
burn-VNOUN-ABL	late.ADV	limestone-NOM.SG.DEF	
<i>tij-əndəv-i</i>	<i>af</i>	<i>gašonaj</i>	<i>izvešt'-əks.</i>
become-HAB-SG3	NEG	slaked	lime-TRA

‘After burning, limestone turns into quicklime.’

(Tetürev 1940: 2.130.2)

No instances of ablative analytic case markers *ezdə* (M. ablative) or *ejste* (E. elative) were attested in the Tetürev or ERME corpora as markers of the standard of comparison.

5.2 Quantification of items, persons, and phenomena

The quantifying phrase in Moksha and Erzya appears to exhibit a dichotomy reminiscent of that found in the locative vs existential clauses. Whereas a locative clause provides a definite NP₁ with a location in NP₂ (see Example (8)), the existential clause departs from an established place for which there is some instance of something (see Examples (9a) and (9b)).

(8) (locative clause)
The cat₁ is in the woods₂

(9) a. (existential clause)
In the woods₁ is a cat₂

b. (existential clause)
There is a cat₂ in the woods₁

In Moksha and Erzya, the quantifying phrase takes an item, person or phenomenon marked with the ablative, and then makes an indication of quantity by using the paucal and mass quantifiers *lamo* ‘a lot’, *alamo* ‘little’, *žarija* ‘a few’ in Erzya or their equivalents in Moksha: *lamə* ‘a lot’, *af lamə* ‘little’, *šnarə* ‘a few’. Both languages will take cardinal numerals as well.

Both Mordvin languages begin the first quantifying construction with what is going to be quantified marked ablative. In Erzya, the element to be quantified tends to be expressed in the definite declension, where the category of number is required (see Example (10a)). In Moksha, on the contrary, the item to be quantified is most likely to appear in the basic declension, where the category

of number is not applied (see Example (10b)). Hence, let us make note of plural marking in Erzya but not in Moksha, whereas in context, definiteness in Erzya can be derived from the high salience of ‘lakes’, introduced in the previous sentence (e.g., Erzya to English: ‘There is a lot of salt dissolved in the waters of salty lakes’).

(10) a. Erzya

<i>išta-t</i>	<i>eške-tńe-ďe</i>	<i>mińek</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>příkaspiskoj</i>
such-NOM.PL	lake-PL.DEF-ABL	PL1.GEN	a.lot	Caspian.ADJ

štep-tńe-va.

steppe-PL.DEF-PRL

‘As for lakes of this kind, we have a lot across the Caspian steppe.’

(Tetürev 1939: 2.160.3)

b. Moksha

<i>íaftamə</i>	<i>ožəra-də</i>	<i>miń-ćəŋk</i>	<i>lamə</i>	<i>příkaspiskäj</i>
such	lake-ABL	PL1-INTENSE.GEN	a.lot	Caspian.ADJ

štep-ńə-ń

steppe-PL.DEF-GEN

ezga.

POSTP.PRL

‘As for lakes of this kind, we have a lot across the Caspian steppe.’

(Tetürev 1940: 2.160.3)

Similar to the examples in (10a)–(10b), Erzya uses a definite singular ablative marker where Moksha uses an ablative marker in the basic declension. Once again, the definite marking in the Erzya version might readily be associated with the salience of ‘feldspar’ in the preceding sentence (see (11a) and (11b)), yet as we can see this salience is not shown by Moksha definiteness.

(11) a. Erzya

<i>poľevoj</i>	<i>špat-to-ńť</i>	<i>śex</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>grańit-se-ńť,</i>
field	spar-ABL-SG.DEF	most	a.lot	granite-INE-SG.DEF

śeks

therefore

śex

most

pek

very

poľevoj

field.ADJ

špat-ońť

spar-GEN.SG.DEF

ćvet-enze

color-GEN.PXSG3

ejste

POSTP.ELA

ašť-i

stay-SG3

<i>grañit-eñí</i>	<i>ćvet-eze:</i>	<i>jakśteře</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>šeroj.</i>
granite-GEN.SG.DEF	color-SG.NOM.PXSG3	red	or	gray

‘Feldspar [occurs] most of all in granite, because of this the color of the granite depends most on the color of the feldspar.’

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.60.4)

b. Moksha

<i>poľəvoj</i>	<i>špat-tə</i>	<i>šembə-də</i>	<i>lamə</i>	<i>granit-sə,</i>	<i>śas.i</i>
field	spar-ABL	all-ABL	a.lot	granite-INE	therefore.and

<i>poľəvoj</i>	<i>špat-í</i>	<i>ezdə</i>	<i>zavišit</i>
field.ADJ	spar-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ABL	depend.SG3

<i>grañit-ť</i>	<i>jakśťər</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>šeraj</i>	<i>ćvet-əc-ka.</i>
granite-GEN.SG.DEF	red	or	gray	color-SG.NOM.
PXSG3-CLT/ADD				

‘Feldspar [occurs] most of all in granite, and therefore even the red or gray color of granite is dependent on it.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.60.4)

In Examples (12a) and (12b), the word for ‘clay’ cannot be derived from the previous context. In Erzya, this is typically seen in the absence of a *mass or paucal quantifier* + *ablative* formula, which, in contrast, is found in Moksha. Both texts can be translated in the same way.

(12) a. Erzya

<i>kona~kona</i>	<i>počva-ťńe-se</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>śovoń.</i>
PRON.INDEF	soil-PL.DEF-INE	a.lot	clay

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.30.1)

b. Moksha

<i>kona~kona</i>	<i>počva-ťńə-ń</i>	<i>esə</i>	<i>lamə</i>	<i>śovəń-də.</i>
PRON.INDEF	soil-PL.DEF-GEN	POSTP.INE	a.lot	clay-ABL

‘In some types of soil, there is a lot of clay.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.30.1)

5.3 Quantifying modifier (*mońdeń [přado] seřej*) ‘taller than me by a head’

The ablative forms *přa-do* (E.) and *přa-də* (M.) ‘by a head’ are direct quantification modifiers of the predicate. Finnish has a similar use of the partitive in *minu-a pää-tä pitempi* ‘taller than me by a head’. In Examples (13a) and (13b), we observe the quantifier *lamo* and *lamə* ‘a lot/greatly’ being used in the ablative to express this.

(13) a. Erzya

<i>śovońev</i>	<i>počva-ńť</i>	<i>svojstva-nzo</i>	<i>lamo-do</i>
clayey	soil-GEN.SG.DEF	characteristic-NOM.PL.PXSG3	a.lot-ABL
<i>ašť-it</i>	<i>śovoń-eńť</i>	<i>svojstva-nzo</i>	<i>ejste.</i>
stand-PL3	clay-GEN.SG.DEF	characteristic-GEN.PXSG3	POSTP.ELA

‘The characteristics of the clayey soil depend greatly on the characteristics of the clay.’

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.30.3)

b. Moksha

<i>śovəńu</i>	<i>počva-ťńə-ń</i>	<i>svojstva-snə</i>	<i>lamə-də</i>
clayey	soil-PL.DEF-GEN	characteristic-NOM.PXPL3	a.lot-ABL
<i>zaviśat</i>	<i>śovəń-ť</i>	<i>ezdə.</i>	
depend.PL3	clay-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ABL	

‘The characteristics of the clayey soil depend greatly on the clay.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.30.3)

In Examples (14a) and (14b), however, we observe that the Moksha sentence does not use the ablative construction when the quantifier modifies a noun, the object of the transitive verb ‘give’. The Erzya version has a quantification structure where the hundredweight-ABL quantification further develops the theme of the sentence.

(14) a. Erzya

<i>śředńej-ste</i>	<i>sojuz-ońť</i>	<i>kele-s</i>	<i>jarvoj</i>
mid-ELA	union-GEN.SG.DEF	breadth-ILL	spring

<i>tovsũuro-ńť</i>	<i>jarovizaćija-ś</i>	<i>kast-ı</i>		
wheat-GEN.SG.DEF	vernalization-NOM.SG.DEF	raise-SG3		
<i>urožaj-eńť</i>	<i>mala-v</i>	<i>omboće</i>	<i>peľ</i>	<i>ćeńťner-de</i>
harvest-GEN.SG.DEF	near-LAT	second	half	hundredweight-ABL
<i>gektar-s.</i>				
hectare-ILL				

‘On an average vernalization of spring crops throughout the Soviet Union has raised the harvest by nearly one and a half hundredweights per hectare.’
(Tetũrev 1939: 6.97.4)

b. Moksha

<i>sojuz-sə-ŋk</i>	<i>jarovoj</i>	<i>tožer-ńə-ń</i>	<i>jarovizaćija-snə</i>		
union-INE-PXPL1	spring	wheat-PL.DEF-GEN	vernalization-NOM.PXPL3		
<i>maks-ś-ixť</i>	<i>śředńäj-sta</i>	<i>eř</i>	<i>gektar-sta</i>	<i>pəctaj</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$
give-HAB-PL3	mid-ELA	every	hectare-ELA	nearly	$\frac{1}{2}$
<i>ćeńťner</i>	<i>pribavka.</i>				
hundredweight	increase				

‘Vernalization⁴⁶ of spring wheat in our Union provides, on an average, an increase of nearly one half a hundredweight per hectare.’
(Tetũrev 1940: 6.97.4)

5.4 Portion of food (argument with verbs of ingestion a.k.a. consumption)

The ingestives, ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘swallow’, etc. comprise a small group of verbs with ablative government, all of which can be used without an ablative argument. The rules in both languages appear to show no divergence in the alignment of verb with ablative-case argument (see Examples (15a) and (15b)).

⁴⁶ In Moksha, only the possessa in core cases (nominative, genitive, dative) and with singular possessors show a distinction for number. Elsewhere, no distinction for the category of number is made in any of the cases. Thus, the possessum *jarovizaćija-snə* vernalization-NOM.PXPL3 ‘their vernalization’ is not annotated for number. In this context, however, the verb clearly demonstrates the presence of the plural category, as seen in *maks-ś-ixť* give-HAB-PL3 ‘they give’.

(15) a. Erzya

<i>a</i>	<i>eřav-i</i>	<i>šim-ems</i>	<i>avol'</i>	<i>vańks</i>	<i>ved'-te.</i>
NEG	have.to-SG3	drink-INF	NEG	clean.ADJ	water-ABL

(Tetûrev 1939: 7.43.2)

b. Moksha

<i>af</i>	<i>eřäv-i</i>	<i>šim-əńd'-əms</i>	<i>ərdazu</i>	<i>ved'-tə.</i>
NEG	have.to-SG3	drink-HAB-INF	dirty	water-ABL

'You shouldn't drink dirty water.'

(Tetûrev 1940: 7.43.2)

5.5 Reference point of separation

In Examples (16)–(17), the ablative equivalent in English might be 'from', where the NP could be considered a point in 'two-dimensional space'. The translations are given once, as the texts correspond to a single text.

(16) a. Erzya

<i>pši</i>	<i>ved'</i>	<i>marto</i>	<i>omboće</i>	<i>stakan-oš</i>	
hot	water	with	second	tumbler-NOM.SG.DEF	
<i>eřva</i>	<i>jon-do</i>	<i>piřa-ž</i>	<i>vozdux-oń</i>	<i>sloj-se...</i>	
every	direction-ABL	set.off-PRFPTC	air-GEN	layer-INE	

(Tetûrev 1939: 4.35.7)

b. Moksha

<i>pši</i>	<i>ved'</i>	<i>marʒə</i>	<i>omboćə</i>	<i>stakan-ć</i>	<i>šembə</i>
hot	water	with	second	tumbler-NOM.SG.DEF	every
<i>šir'-də</i>	<i>peřa-f</i>	<i>kožf-əń</i>	<i>sloj-sə...</i>		
direction-ABL	set.off-PRFPTC	air-GEN	layer-INE		

'The second tumbler with hot water in it was set off with a layer of air from all directions.'

(Tetûrev 1940: 4.35.7)

(17) a. Erzya

<i>stratostat-oš</i>	<i>paršte</i>	<i>valg-š</i>
balloon-NOM.SG.DEF	well	go.down-PST.SG3
<i>Moskov-do-ńt</i>	<i>avol'</i>	<i>vaso-v.</i>
MOSCOW-ABL-SG.DEF	NEG	far-LAT

(Tetûrev 1939: 4.63.6)

b. Moksha

<i>stratostat-ś</i>	<i>lac</i>	<i>valg-ś</i>	<i>af</i>	<i>ičkəž-i</i>
balloon-NOM.SG.DEF	well	go.down-PST.SG3	NEG	far-LAT

<i>Mosku-ť</i>	<i>ezda</i>
MOSCOW-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ABL

‘The stratospheric balloon landed without mishap not far from Moscow.’
(Tetûrev 1940: 4.63.6)

5.6 Against

The ablative function illustrated in Examples (18a) and (18b) comes close to ‘against’ as in *protect against* or *from something*.

(18) a. Erzya

<i>son</i>	<i>vansta-ž-eľ</i>	<i>keľme-ma-do-ńť</i>	<i>eščo</i>
SG3	protect-PRFPTC-PST.SG3	cool-VNOUN-ABL-SG.DEF	yet

<i>vozdux-oń</i>	<i>sloj-se-ńť</i>
air-GEN	layer-INE-SG.DEF

‘It was protected against cooling with a layer of air, too’
(Tetûrev 1939: 4.36.2)

b. Moksha

<i>son</i>	<i>uľ-ś</i>	<i>keľmə-ma-ť</i>	<i>ezdə</i>
SG3	be-PST.SG3	cool-VNOUN-GEN.SG.DEF	POSTP.ABL

<i>arala-f</i>	<i>kožf-sa</i>
protect-PRFPTC	air-INE

‘It was protected against cooling with air’
(Tetûrev 1940: 4.36.2)

5.7 Cause

The ablative can be used to indicate cause ‘due to lack of air’ (see (19a) and (19b)).

(19) a. Erzya

<i>vozdux-oń</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sato-ma-do-ńť</i>	<i>śovońev</i>
air-GEN	NEG	suffice-VNOUN-ABL-SG.DEF	clayey

<i>počva-íńe-se</i>	<i>sasto</i>	<i>moľ-i</i>	<i>navoz-oń</i>
soil-PL.DEF-INE	slowly	go-SG3	manure-GEN

naksad-oma-ś-kak.
rot-VNOUN-NOM.SG.DEF-CLT/ADD

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.37.2)

b. Moksha

<i>šovəńu počva-sə</i>	<i>kožf-ť</i>	<i>af</i>
clayey soil-INE	air-GEN.SG.DEF	NEG

<i>satńə-ma-nc</i>	<i>ezdə</i>	<i>ša-da</i>	<i>valom</i>
suffice-VNOUN-GEN.PXSG3	POSTP.ABL	PRON.DEM-ABL	slowly

<i>moľ-i</i>	<i>nažom-ť</i>	<i>naksad-əma-c.</i>
go-SG3	manure-GEN.SG.DEF	rot-VNOUN-SG.NOM.PXSG3

‘Due to lack of air in the clayey soil, the manure decomposes (M.: more) slowly.’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.37.2)

5.8 Point of manipulation on patient

In Examples (20a) and (20b), we see the point of manipulation marked with the ablative and the instrument, which is controlled by the agent, marked with the inessive.

(20) a. Erzya

<i>ńej</i>	<i>saj-sńek</i>	<i>řatak-ońť</i>	<i>kraj-ďe</i>	<i>ščipca-so</i>
now	take-PL1>3	coin-GEN.SG.DEF	edge-ABL	tweezer-INE

(Tetûrev 1939: 2.67.4)

b. Moksha

<i>ťäńi</i>	<i>śav-sašk</i>	<i>řatak-ť</i>	<i>ščipca-sə</i>	<i>kraj-də</i>
now	take-PL1>3	coin-GEN.SG.DEF	tweezer-INE	edge-ABL

‘Now let’s take the coin with tweezers by the edge...’

(Tetûrev 1940: 2.67.4)

5.9 Topic of discourse (only found in Erzya)

Marking the topic of discourse with the ablative is a practice found in Erzya. The ablative appears with several verbs and nouns, e.g., ‘write’, ‘talk’, ‘tell’, ‘hear’, ‘inform’, ‘know’, ‘science’, ‘plan’, ‘law’, ‘picture’, etc. Next to words of ingestion, this usage is much more robust. In Moksha, the topic of discourse is indicated by the postposition *kolga*.

(21) a. Erzya

<i>příroda-do</i>	<i>nauka-ńteń</i>	<i>meř-ít</i>	<i>ješťestvoznańija.</i>
nature-ABL	science-SG.DEF.DAT	say-PL3	natural.science

(Tetûrev 1939: 1.1.2)

b. Moksha

<i>příroda-ť</i>	<i>kolga</i>	<i>nauka-ťi</i>	<i>märg-ixť</i>
nature-GEN.SG.DEF	about	science-SG.DEF.DAT	say-PL3

ješťestvoznańija.
natural.science

‘They call the science of nature «natural sciences».’

(Tetûrev 1940: 1.1.2)

5.10 Summary

In the Tetûrev parallel corpus (2090 sentences in all), the three uses most frequently attested were the standard of comparison, quantificational phrase, quantifying modifier adverbial. The most common use of the ablative case in either language was marking the standard of comparison. The association of the ablative with quantificational phrase or with quantifying modifier adverbials, on the contrary, appeared to split the two languages, whereas Moksha featured a high number of quantificational phrases, and Erzya had a high number of quantifying modifier adverbials. Of approximately 418 and 382 instances of synthetic ablative marking in Erzya and Moksha, respectively, approximately 208 and 190 instances of standard of comparison marking were automatically annotated, i.e., slightly under 50%.

6. QUANTIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS

While searching for examples in the Tetûrev corpus, we encountered ample materials for work with quantification and future research. We noted that the Moksha Tetûrev text had 131 sentences with one of the following paucal or mass quantifiers *lama* ‘a lot’, *kərža* ‘little’, *məžarə* ‘how many’, *śəñarə* ‘as many’, of which 110 also featured an instance of an ablative. The analogical figures for Erzya were 128 and 72, respectively, for the Erzya paucal or mass quantifiers *lamo* ‘a lot’, *alamo* ‘little’, *žaro* ‘how many’, *žñaro* ‘as many’ (Rueter & Erina 2013⁴⁷). Upon simply comparing the figures $110/131 = 0.84$ for Moksha and $72/128 = 0.56$ for Erzya, we had to assume that something was different in the quantification structures.

We began our description to illuminate quantification structures addressed in Examples (10)–(12), above, by aligning Moksha and Erzya sentences with ablative marking and one of four quantifiers from the Tetûrev parallel corpus. Once aligned, the 110 Moksha and 72 Erzya sentences gave us a cumulative number of 151 sentences. Of these sentences, 52 illustrated that both languages shared the initial feature pair, and 99 did not. We inspected the sentence pairs, during the process of which many pairs were discarded as irrelevant, i.e., the ablative forms and quantifiers were not part of the same construction. Once again, we inspected the sentence pairs and validated 94 sentences. Of the 94 sentences, 18 shared the ablative + quantifier construction in both languages, whereas 77 sentences only attested the construction in Moksha.

The ablative + quantifier construction is shared by Moksha and Erzya when the item to be quantified is part of the topic. In Examples (8)–(9), above, a parallel was alluded to between quantifying construction dichotomy and the locative versus existential clause split. The idea was one of topic development whereby the ablative + paucal or mass quantifier in Erzya is present where the item quantified is not only part of the topic but is readily derived from the focus of the previous sentence (cf. Rueter 2013⁴⁸). This seems to hold in Examples (10)–(11), where the Erzya item is definite declension ablative, and the Moksha item is in the basic declension. The category of number in Erzya makes reference to countability, such as when a plural indicates paucal quantification and a singular mass. Moksha does not make this distinction.

Of the sentences where both languages use the ablative + quantifier construction, ten pairs attested to a copula construction, six pairs attested to

⁴⁷ Jack Rueter – Olga Erina: Lexical quantifiers in Erzya, in: Suihkonen, P. – Solovyev, V. (eds.): *Typology of quantification: on quantification in Finnish and languages spoken in the Volga–Kama Region*, LINCOM Studies in Language Typology, Vol. 28, Helsinki, Lincom, 2013, 223.

⁴⁸ Jack Rueter: Quantification in Erzya, in: Pirkko Suihkonen – Valery Solovyev (eds.): *Typology of Quantification: On quantification in Finnish and languages spoken in the Volga–Kama Region*. LINCOM Studies in Language Typology Vol 28, Helsinki, Lincom, 2013, 111.

intransitive verb collocation ('gather', 'remain', 'fly around', 'perish'), one pair of transitive verbs showed a collocation ('collect'), and there was one odd pair where the Moksha used the verb 'give' but the Erzya parallel sentence, using different arguments, used the ambitransitive verb *pribavams* 'gain' and the ablative *žarodo* 'to what extent', see Examples (22a)–(22b) (cf. quantifying adverbial modifiers in Examples (13)–(14)).

(22) a. Erzya

<i>možna</i>	<i>lov-oms,</i>	<i>žaro-do</i>	<i>pribav-i</i>
possible	count-INF	how.much-ABL	gain-SG3
<i>urožaj-eś</i>	<i>mińek</i>	<i>mastor-ońť</i>	<i>turtov.</i>
harvest-NOM.SG.DEF	PL1.GEN	country-GEN.SG.DEF	for

'We can count to what extent the harvest has gained for our country.'
(Tetûrev 1939: 6.97.5)

b. Moksha

<i>možna</i>	<i>luv-oms,</i>	<i>măžara</i>	<i>dopolńiteľnaj</i>	<i>urožaj-da</i>
possible	count-INF	how.much	additional	harvest-ABL
<i>maks-i</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>miń</i>	<i>strana-ńkə-ńďi.</i>	
give-SG	SG3	PL1.GEN	country-PXPL1-DAT	

'We can count how much additional harvest it gives our country.'
(Tetûrev 1940: 6.97.5)

In Examples (12a) and (12b), the parallel sentences show only Moksha using the ablative + mass or paucal quantifier construction. In the Tetûrev parallel corpus, as stated above, there are 77 such sentences where the Erzya parallel sentences use nominative marking instead of ablative. Of these, thirty pairs have a Moksha sentence that attests a copula construction, 23 collocate with intransitive verbs and 24 with transitive verbs. It was noted that two Erzya intransitive verbs ('gather', 'remain') occurred both with and without ablative marking. This might indicate a new point of comparative research.

Above, we have discussed accumulated data on ablative + quantifier in Moksha, and showed where the parallel sentences in Erzya have it or do not. The next question then is what kinds of Moksha constructions have a paucal or mass quantifier but no collated ablative. Upon inspecting forty pairs we noted that 24 instances placed the paucal quantifiers as determiners modifying nouns in oblique cases, e.g., inessive and prolative, and there were 16 whose heads could be identified as nominative in form. Of these 16, seven could be equated with indefinite objects, and the remaining nine with subjects.

7. CONCLUSION

Nearly fifty percent of ablative marking in the Tetûrev parallel corpus is associated with the standard of comparison. The second most prevalent attestation of the ablative is associated with a quantification structure, which we have investigated here, using a subgroup, a set of paucal and mass quantifiers for each of the languages: *lamo* ‘a lot’, *alamo* ‘little’, *žňaro* ‘a few’, *žaro* ‘how many, how much’ in Erzya and their equivalents in Moksha *lamə* ‘a lot’, *af lamə* ‘little’, *kərža* ‘few’, *šňarə* ‘so many’, *məžarə* ‘how many, how much’.

It was found that Moksha makes much more use of paucal and mass quantification than Erzya. Numerically, Erzya would seem to limit ablative marking to the quantification of topic elements with preceding focus, while Moksha uses ablative quantification with new information as well. Both languages attest ablative marking with a copula, intransitive and transitive verbs. The intransitive verb set shared by the two languages includes concepts such as: ‘gather’, ‘remain’, ‘fly around’, ‘perish’, while the transitive verb was ‘collect’. In instances where Erzya used a nominative singular or plural instead of the ablative, the contextually intransitive verbs ‘gather’ and ‘remain’ were also attested.

There are also instances where the Moksha language does not attest ablative marking in collocation with paucal and mass quantification markers (cf. e.g. (14a) and (14b)). In these instances, the ablative is most frequently absent in Moksha when verbal government requires an object marker on the object NP head, i.e., nominative, genitive or even a genitive with subsequent inessive postposition. Needless to say, a small number of instances require further investigation.

Future research in this vein will require additional parallel corpora for the attestation of language variations. In the instance of comparative Erzya and Moksha studies, we need three types of parallel corpora in addition to native-language corpora. At present, the ERME corpus provides relatively extensive information for Erzya (over two million tokens), but requires work with Moksha (over 800,000 tokens). Only corpora which use Erzya and Moksha as the languages for the parallel texts are under development, i.e., the Tetûrev corpus, PaBiVUS and a few small other ones. So far, no extensive Erzya-to-Moksha or Moksha-to-Erzya translation corpora are openly available, whereas personal experience of the authors would indicate that translations between the sibling languages tend to retain high percentages of source language features in the target languages.

Work beyond the ablative, however, might be the investigation of the habitual aspect observed fleetingly in Examples (7b), (14b) and (15b), which might also be worked into the intersection of temporal quantification and regular inflection.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	– first person
3	– third person
ABL	– ablative
ADJ	– adjective
ADV	– adverb
CAU	– causative (case)
CLT/ADD	– additive clitic
COMP	– comparative (case)
COP	– copula
DAT	– dative
DEF	– definite
DEM	– demonstrative
E.	– Erzya
ELA	– elative
GEN	– genitive
HAB	– habitual
ILL	– illative
INDEF	– indefinite
INE	– inessive
INF	– infinitive
INTENSE	– intensive
LAT	– lative
LOC	– locative
M.	– Moksha
NOM	– nominative
NEG	– negative particle
PASS	– passive
POSTP	– postposition
PRFPTC	– perfect participle
PST	– past
PX	– possessive suffix
REL	– relative
PL	– plural
PL1>3	– 1st person plural suffix indicating a 3rd person object simultaneously
PRL	– prolative
PRON	– pronoun
REL	– relative
SG	– singular
TRA	– translative
VNOUN	– verbal noun

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Part 2



SLAVIC LANGUAGES

DIFFERENCES IN USING (NOT ONLY) ADNOMINAL PARTITIVE GENITIVE IN CHOSEN CZECH JOURNALISTIC TEXTS

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Abstract

In this paper, we try to analyze the adnominal genitive with a focus on the partitive genitive, i.e. one of the adnominal genitive semantic subtypes, in Czech journalistic texts from two different periods: one from 1848 to 1915 and a more recent one from 1950 to 2000. We compare the usage of the adnominal genitive in Czech in these periods and in these texts, and, based on our data, we point out that there is a decrease in the use of specific types of adnominal genitives, e.g. partitive or possessive genitives, on the one hand, and that there is an increase of the genitive of affiliation, at least in this text type.

KEYWORDS: adnominal genitive, partitivity, partitive, enumerative, semantics, syntax, journalism

European Partitives in Comparison, 137–148

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1. INTRODUCTION

Fundamental contributions by V. Skalička (2004 [1960]: 767; [1963]: 859, etc.), K. Hausenblas (1958), Lamprecht – Šlosar – Bauer (1986: 361) and O. Uličný (2003) indicate that the genitive in Czech has, at least in the last few centuries, gradually profiled as an adnominal case (most often in the syntactic function of an incongruent attribute), while its use in adverbial positions (in the function of an object) has been weakening.¹

The research described in this paper is part of a more extensive project focused on the adnominal genitive in Czech and other languages, e.g. German, English, Slovak, and other Slavic languages, particularly West Slavic languages (Janečka & Bláha 2020).² Our goal was to analyze and classify the syntactic and semantic functions of the genitive case. We limited ourselves to the adnominal genitive – the remaining types of genitives (such as genitives following an adverb, adjective, or preposition, etc.), which were described elsewhere, have remained outside our attention. We have two main goals in the present study: 1) to discuss general tendencies of decrease or increase of some certain specific types of adnominal genitives in Czech; 2) to focus on the use of the adnominal partitive genitive in Czech in chosen older and more recent journalistic texts.

2. CASE IN CZECH

Considering the category of case in Czech, Uličný and Veselovská (2017) claim that case is a grammatical category that corresponds to the relationship between the noun and the next expression in the sentence by which this noun is controlled.³

In Czech, which is an inflected language, we can differentiate seven cases for singular and plural. Within a sentence, case meanings together with their formative basis and relation to other expressions realize part-of-sentence relations.

¹ Vladimír Skalička: *Vývoj jazyka*, Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1960. Reprinted in Skalička, Vladimír: *Souborné dílo. Tři svazky*, Praha, Karolinum, 2004–2006; Vladimír Skalička: *Typologie a komparatistika*, in B. Havránek – I. Němec – Š. Peciar – K. Rosenbaum – O. Říha – S. Wollman (eds.): *Československé přednášky pro V. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Sofii*, Praha, 1963, 41–45. Reprinted in Skalička, Vladimír: *Souborné dílo. Tři svazky*, Praha, Karolinum, 2004–2006; Karel Hausenblas: *Vývoj předmětového genitivu v češtině*, Praha, ČSAV, 1958; Arnošt Lamprecht – Dušan Šlosar – Jaroslav Bauer: *Historická mluvnice češtiny*, Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1986; Oldřich Uličný: *K deflektivizačním tendencím ve slovanských jazycích*, in I. Pospíšil – M. Zelenka (eds.): *Česká slavistika 2003: české přednášky pro 13. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Lublani*, Praha, Academia, 2003, 155–163.

² Martin Janečka – Ondřej Bláha: *Genitiv adnominální v češtině: vývoj a současný stav*, Olomouc, Vydavatelství FF UP, 2020.

³ Oldřich Uličný – Ludmila Veselovská: *Pád*, in P. Karlík – M. Nekula – J. Pleskalová (eds.): *CzechEncy: nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, 2017, <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/PÁD> (accessed 03 December 2023)

Still, the vocative is typically excluded because it is not attached to other syntactic relations in a sentence. To express the fact that the phenomenon named by the noun enters into specific relationships with other events, the noun has accusative, genitive, dative, local, and instrumental cases (indirect case) and these, together with the nominative case (direct case), form the case category.

We can also look at the category of case from the viewpoint of parts of a sentence. Different functions are realized by the case form so that we can differentiate cases of the subject (usually nominative), cases of the object (cases without prepositions), cases of adverbs, or cases of the incongruent attribute (specifically genitive). The most common case of the object of a transitive verb in Czech is the accusative; it is called a direct object. If the verb has a second object, it is mostly dative. When we want to describe syntactic functions of case forms of the noun, we describe their functions on the surface syntactic level, so we can speak about direct or indirect object, subject or attribute. To describe the semantic functions of case forms, i.e. functions in the deep structure of the sentence, terms such as ‘agent’, ‘patient’, and others are used.

The genitive is typically carried by a noun related to another noun, normally directly, or as part of a prepositional construction. There are two possible options for a genitive noun: (1) a noun in the position of a postponed incongruent attribute (e.g. *trest smrti* ‘punishment of death’, *klíče od bytu* ‘keys of the apartment’); (2) a noun belonging to a verb or an adjective, either directly or as part of the prepositional construction (e.g. *litovat činu* ‘to regret an act’, *vidět bez brýlí* ‘to see without glasses’, *plný vína* ‘full of wine’, etc.) (Karlík 2017).⁴ In what follows, we deal with only type (1). The adnominal genitive is grammatically characterized by a single feature, a position by another noun that is superior to it and that requires it as a facultative addition.

The different types of the adnominal genitive found in examined Czech journalistic texts are: genitive of affiliation (*koruna stromu* ‘tree crown’), genitive of the bearer of the quality (*směnitelnost koruny* ‘convertibility of the crown’), genitive of the possessor (*zahrada našeho souseda* ‘our neighbor’s garden’), authorial genitive (*román Milana Kundery* ‘a novel by Milan Kundera’), genitive of defining (*povinnost mlčenlivosti* ‘a duty of confidentiality’), subjective genitive (*běh biatlonistů* ‘running of biathletes’), objective genitive (*porušení smlouvy* ‘breach of contract’), partitive genitive (*část území* ‘a part of the territory’), genitive of time (*vítězství 5. ledna* ‘victory on January 5’). For a detailed list of these genitive types, see the semantic classification in Karlík (2000).⁵ In our previous corpus analysis (Janečka & Bláha 2020), we pointed out that not all types described in that list are

⁴ Petr Karlík: Genitiv, in P. Karlík – Marek Nekula – Jana Pleskalová (eds.): *CzechEncy: Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, 2017, <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/GENITIV> (accessed 03 December 2023)

⁵ Petr Karlík – Marek Nekula – Zdenka Rusínová (eds.): *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*, 2nd revised edn., Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000.

present in current Czech, e.g. the genitive of comparison (in older literature, called the Hebrew genitive, e.g. *kniha knih* ‘a book of (all) books’).⁶

3. THE PARTITIVE (NOT ONLY) IN SLAVIC LANGUAGES

In many Slavic languages, the genitive case forms of nouns and pronouns are the most prominent means of expressing a partitive meaning. This can also be found in Molise Slavic (Breu 2020); a competition of partitive vs. genitive (vs. accusative) in Russian and Polish as described in Fischer (2003); and the partitive function of the genitive is also described in Lithuanian (Seržant 2021), i.e. in a typologically very similar language to Slavic languages.⁷

The partitive and enumerative are also treated as adnominal genitives, although these are not standard adnominal genitives. Numerals take the position of the determining noun, but they have a substantive inflection. Thus, cases such as *kus plechu* ‘a piece of sheet metal’ or *stovka mostů* ‘a hundred bridges’ are traditionally included here. The partitive genitive is governed by a noun with a quantifying meaning (*kus plechu* ‘a piece of sheet metal’); its special case is the enumerative, i.e. the genitive of the counted object after basic definite and indefinite numerals (e.g. *šest gólů* ‘six goals’, *několik hráčů* ‘several players’, *mnoho peněz* ‘a lot of money’, etc.).

However, these genitives are very specific because of their partitive, enumerative semantics, which makes them different from other types of adnominal genitives. This functional profiling of the genitive case is one of the manifestations of a wider developmental process that affects the entire case system of Czech. First, there is a tendency to suppress the surface semantics of the case, e.g. partitivity (the type *nabral vody* ‘he took water’, in the meaning ‘he took a little water’). On the contrary, there is also a tendency to strengthen more abstract semantics or the tendency for individual cases to be profiled to fulfil very specific syntactic functions (subject, attribute, object, etc.). The case system thus tends towards a formalization that is to some extent parallel to the processes that had already taken place earlier in the Romance and Germanic languages of Western Europe. These phenomena are the background of what Roman Jakobson (1936: 269) already calls the “decomposition” of the system of case opposites (see also Janečka & Bláha 2020: 19).⁸

⁶ Janečka – Bláha: Genitiv adnominální v češtině: vývoj a současný stav.

⁷ Walter Breu: Partitivity in Slavic-Romance language contact: the case of Molise Slavic in Italy, *Linguistics* 58 (2020). 837–868, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2020-0092>; Susann Fischer: Partitive vs. genitive in Russian and Polish: an empirical study on case alternation in the object domain, in S. Fischer – R. van de Vijver – R. Vogel (eds.): *Linguistics in Potsdam 21*, Potsdam, Universitätsverlag, 2003, 73–89; Ilja A. Seržant: Typology of partitives, *Linguistics* 59 (2021), 881–947, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2020-0251>

⁸ Roman O. Jakobson: Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre, in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, vol. 6, Prague, Jednota československých matematiků a fysiků, 1936, 240–288.

From our viewpoint, there is a very valuable contribution to the description of the partitive in the Indo-European area from Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001).⁹ According to her, within the Indo-Europeanistic tradition, the term “partitive” is normally associated with case semantics, primarily concerning the genitive case. Lists of meanings attributed to genitives often include “partitive (meanings/uses of) genitives”. These terms are used inconsistently in different works (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 525).¹⁰ Partitive genitive may cover:

- reference to parts of the body and “organic” parts of objects: ‘the roof of the house’, ‘the middle of the street’;
- reference to a set from which a subset is selected through various non-semantic words, e.g. quantifier nouns like ‘a section of the barbarians’ or adjectives in their superlative forms (‘the best among the Trojans’);
- definite quantification, i.e. indication of the kind of entity that is quantified by a nominal quantifier, a numeral, a quantifying adjective, etc. (‘dozens of soldiers’);
- indefinite quantity, i.e. reference to “partial objects” of certain verbs (‘to eat’, ‘to drink’, etc.).

There are examples like ‘amphora of wine’, where the term “partitive” could be misleading because these constructions do not refer to a part in any sense, because there is no well-defined “whole” to which it could refer. Selkirk (1977) introduced the term “pseudo-partitives” for such constructions.¹¹ Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 527) concludes this general description with the words that both partitive constructions (PC) and pseudo-partitive constructions (PPC) are noun phrases consisting of two nominals, one of which is a quantifier (e.g. ‘cup’, ‘pile’).¹² Although the same quantifiers may appear in both types of NPs, their nature is different: Partitive nominal constructions and pseudo-partitive nominal constructions are two types of nominal quantification. Partitive constructions involve a presupposed set of items, while pseudo-partitive constructions only quantify the entity indicated by the other nominal. The two constructions differ both in the referentiality and specificity of substance components.

Reprinted in Jakobson, Roman O.: *Selected writings, II: word and language*, Hague, Mouton, 1971, 269; Janečka – Bláha: *Genitiv adnominální v češtině: vývoj a současný stav*, 19.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 525.

¹¹ 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.

¹² Koptjevskaja-Tamm: “A Piece of Cake” and “a Cup of Tea”, 527.

4. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Within our analysis, we decided to use journalistic texts because journalism tends to reflect contemporary phenomena in the spoken language so certain developmental tendencies can be shown relatively well on these texts (e.g. Bláha 2017: 17–18).¹³

Since the relationship between the verb and nominal parts of speech is largely bound by style and the oldest journalistic texts that could be compared with contemporary texts date back to the 1840s, the analysis of the development of the adnominal genitive entails certain material difficulties. We decided to examine the development of this type of genitive in two different series of texts: on the one hand, in journalistic texts from three historical periods (1848–1860, 1882–1885, and 1915), and, on the other hand, journalistic texts published in the years 1950, 1970 and 2000. Thus, we worked with a total of six samples of journalistic texts from different periodicals, the scope of each sample being set at 20,000-word forms. The sample of the latest texts from 2000 was limited to using the Czech national corpus (syn2013pub). The reason is that we can use the Czech national corpus for this period but not for older periods; for data from older periods, we had to examine our texts manually. These periods were chosen randomly; we always wanted an interval of at least two decades between historical periods, meaning one generation.

To be more concrete, we examined the following amount of text for analysis: the corpus of texts from the three January issues of *Rudé právo* [Red Law] from 1950 contains 20,099 words, the corpus of texts from the three January issues of *Rudé právo* from 1970 contains 20,058 words, the corpus of texts from 2000 was created from 40 texts of the news section on the www.idnes.cz portal and contains a total of 20,302 words. The samples from the 1950s and 1970s are almost identical in extent, the sample of the year 2000 is approximately 200 words larger than the samples from the earlier periods, however, we do not consider this difference of approximately 1% to be statistically significant. Thus, we continue to consider these three samples from the examined periods as being equivalent in extent.

Regarding journalistic texts from the period 1848 to 1860, we examined four different newspapers, i.e. *Prostonárodní holomoucké nowiny* [Free National Newspaper of Olomouc], *Holomoucké nowiny* [Newspaper of Olomouc], *Moravský národní list* [Moravian National Paper], and *Pražské noviny* [Prague Newspaper]. Regarding journalistic texts from the period 1882 to 1885, we examined three different newspapers, i.e. *Našinec* [Our Countryman], *Národní listy* [National Paper], and *Moravská orlice* [Moravian Eagle]. Regarding journalistic

¹³ Ondřej Bláha: Syntaktické funkce pádu v češtině (na materiálu publicistických textů z roku 1915 a 2015, in O. Uličný (ed.): *Struktura v jazyce, jazyk v komunikaci*, Liberec, Technická univerzita, 2017, 17–18.

texts from 1915, we examined three different newspapers, i.e. *Národní listy*, *Moravská orlice*, and *Našinec*.

5. RESULTS

Table 1. Types of adnominal genitives in chosen journalistic texts between 1848 and 1915 with indication of frequency ranking in brackets

	1848–1860		1882–1885		1915	
	In total	%	In total	%	In total	%
AFF	159	20.5 (2)	194	23.1 (1)	302	31.9 (1)
AUT	0	0 (9)	5	0.7 (9)	0	0 (9)
BoQ	13	1.7 (8)	24	2.9 (8)	18	1.9 (8)
DEF	83	10.7 (4)	78	9.3 (5)	121	12.8 (3)
OBJ	140	18 (3)	164	19.6 (2)	214	22.6 (2)
PAR	75	9.7 (5)	74	8.9 (6)	66	7 (6)
POS	60	7.7 (7)	44	5.3 (7)	22	2.3 (7)
SUB	68	8.7 (6)	79	9.4 (4)	105	11.1 (4)
TIM	172	22.1 (1)	141	16.9 (3)	75	7.9 (5)

Table 2. Types of adnominal genitives in chosen journalistic texts between 1950 and 2000 with indication of frequency ranking in brackets

	1950		1970		2000	
	In total	%	In total	%	In total	%
AFF	786	44.2 (1)	829	50.7 (1)	557	48.3 (1)
AUT	44	2.5 (6)	16	1 (7)	7	0.6 (9)
BoQ	23	1.3 (7)	40	2.4 (6)	20	1.7 (7)
DEF	151	8.5 (4)	129	7.9 (4)	137	11.9 (3)
OBJ	449	25.3 (2)	348	21.3 (2)	218	18.9 (2)
PAR	77	4.3 (5)	58	3.5 (5)	50	4.3 (5)
POS	0	0 (9)	0	0 (9)	22	1.9 (6)
SUB	212	11.9 (3)	204	12.5 (3)	123	10.7 (4)
TIM	14	0.8 (8)	11	0.7 (8)	14	1.2 (8)

Explanatory note:

AFF = genitive of affiliation, AUT = authorial genitive, BoQ = genitive of a bearer of a quality, DEF = genitive of defining, OBJ = objective genitive, PAR = a partitive genitive = partitive, POS = possessive genitive, SUB = subjective genitive, TIM = genitive of time.

6. DISCUSSION

We have found that in the texts of the 19th century, there are more various semantic types of the adnominal genitive (e.g. POS) and the share of individual types is more even than in the texts from the later periods; nevertheless, some other semantic types of genitives were marginal (e.g. genitive of grading or dedicative genitive, but we did not consider these types in our analysis). In general, the examined texts showed decreased partitivity expressed by the adnominal genitive (Janečka & Bláha 2020: 33).¹⁴

When looking at Table 1, we can see that, in the first period observed, TIM is in the 1st place, since the texts were full of time data, reporting where something happened, which is not to be found in more recent journalism. The AFF is in 2nd place. This is the most general genitive category, so it is not surprising that this subtype is the second most frequent, similarly to the very general DEF taking 4th place.

Rather than the originator of the event, something that is affected by the event was reported, so OBJ taking 3rd place was more frequent than SUB taking 6th place. Thus, little emphasis was placed on the originator of the event. There was also a lot of reference to the ownership of something by someone expressed by POS, taking 7th place. BoQ is more of a marginal type. After all, there were occasional reports about subjects bearing some characteristic, e.g. when someone was missing, and it was necessary to describe this person in the newspapers.

In the next observed period, TIM and POS decrease more significantly. On the contrary, AFF, OBJ and SUB subtypes increase. In the last observed period, SUB, OBJ, AFF, and DEF still increased. On the contrary, the frequency of POS and TIM increasingly drops, just as affiliation increases significantly. Concerning PAR, it only slightly decreases throughout these earlier periods.

When looking at Table 2, we can see that AFF clearly leads, so the tendency continues from the first period observed. DEF, as another general type of genitive, is in 4th place and in 3rd place in the last period. Subtypes OBJ and SUB hold the other two places among the first four, i.e. the emphasis is on the originator of the action, as well as on the action caused by the originator. PAR is in 5th place (having a similar position in Table 1 for the first three periods), with AUT and BoQ marginally present. Subtype AUT is found there because it is often reported in directives, decrees, or written statements issued by politicians. BoQ is present there for a similar reason as in texts from the 19th century, and from the beginning of the 20th century, but also, more precisely, due to an emphasis on references to the characteristics of ordinary people, workers, etc., i.e. their daily activities in “building a society”.

¹⁴ Janečka – Bláha: Genitiv adnominální v češtině: vývoj a současný stav, 33.

In texts from the year 2000, POS was identified in 22 occurrences, representing 1.9% of the total number of adnominal genitives, but not, curiously, in 1950 and 1970. Thus, this fact could be a downward trend, traceable from Table 1 (for a more detailed analysis see Bláha 2017), if it were not for the most recently observed period, i.e. the year 2000.¹⁵

Both SUB and OBJ weaken slightly, more in terms of absolute frequency than in percentage terms, i.e. the emphasis is shifting concerning the originator of the event, as well as to the thing affected by the event. Nevertheless, subtype SUB shows a smaller drop than subtype OBJ, with its share increasing even in the middle period. Interestingly, in 1970, AFF was at its highest point in 1970, regarding the number of occurrences as well as percentage. DEF is relatively constant after a slight drop in the middle part; in 2000 it almost reverts to the value in the first part. AUT and BoQ are decreasing in the last period. Interestingly, the share of PAR in 2000 and 1950 is 4.3% of the total number, while its absolute number in 2000 is only 50 compared to 77 in 1950. At the same time, 77 occurrences mean the highest number of PAR in all the observed periods.

We tried to analyze the formal and semantic diversity of constructions expressing partitivity, i.e. to select all possible PARs from 1848 to 2000. However, we did not find them to be significantly different formally or semantically. Examples are given below:

Examples from the older periods

<i>pluk</i>	<i>pevnostního</i>	<i>dělostřelectva</i>
regiment.NOM.SG	fortress.GEN.SG	artillery.GEN.SG
‘regiment of fortress artillery’		

<i>většina</i>	<i>italského</i>	<i>obyvatelstva</i>
most.NOM.SG	Italian.GEN.SG	population.GEN.SG
‘most of the Italian population’		

<i>pytel</i>	<i>mouky</i>
sack.NOM.SG	flour.GEN.SG
‘a sack of flour’	

Examples from the more recent periods

<i>část</i>	<i>domu</i>
part.NOM.SG	house.GEN.SG
‘part of the house’	

¹⁵ Bláha: Syntaktické funkce pádu v češtině (na materiálu publicistických textů z roku 1915 a 2015.

<i>kus</i>	<i>cesty</i>
part.NOM.SG	road.GEN.SG
‘part of the road’	

<i>polovina</i>	<i>zadržéných</i>	<i>demonstrantů</i>
half.NOM.SG	arrested.GEN.PL	protester.GEN.PL
‘a half of arrested protesters’		

We can probably claim that concrete names were more often used in place of a controlling constituent in texts from the 19th century and from the beginning of the 20th century. In texts from the second half of the 20th century, e.g. indefinite numerals are more often used in place of a controlling constituent. Even though it is possible to mention the fact that the frequency of the partitive is slightly increasing in time, i.e. maybe it is replaced by some other construction, we still do not know what exactly could compete with the partitive on a similar principle e.g. ‘house of my father’ / ‘my father’s house’, when discussing the concurrence of the possessive genitive/possessive adjective. Thus, this possible competition may be one of the research topics for future investigation.

Considering the differentiation between PC and PPC established by Selkirk (1977) and examined in detail in many Indo-European languages by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001), we do not see a significant difference in using these two types between texts chosen from the 19th century and from the beginning of the 20th century on the one hand, and texts chosen from the second half of 20th century on the other hand.¹⁶ We can only claim that PC slightly predominate in earlier as well as in the more recent texts because, in journalistic texts, authors usually report on parts of a more or less specific whole, e.g. part of the population of a certain country, part of the electorate, part of the members of a political party, etc.

7. CONCLUSION

Based on the data analysis, we found, on the one hand, that in our journalistic texts from the 19th century, there is a strong tendency to prefer some semantic types of the adnominal genitive (namely AFF, DEF, OBJ, and TIM – this last one especially in the first two subperiods). The reasons for this state are not clear yet and it requires further research. On the other hand, other semantic types of genitives were already peripheral at this time, and they remain peripheral even in more recent texts (genitive of grading, genitive of product,

¹⁶ Selkirk: Some remarks on noun phrase structure; Koptjevskaja-Tamm: “A Piece of Cake” and “a Cup of Tea”.

or dedicative genitive). Compared to the earlier texts, we can also consider TIM as peripheral in the more recent texts. Particularly in our journalistic texts between 1848 and 1915, an increase in various actant subtypes of the adnominal genitive was observed. This fact can be associated with the formalization of sentence structure in Czech, or with functional case specialization. Based on the data analysis, we showed that it is possible to observe a decrease in the partitivity expressed by the adnominal genitive in journalism and possessiveness in particular. The highest frequency is detectable in the oldest examined texts, and the lowest frequency in the most recent texts. We also showed that there is a strong increase in the use of the genitive of affiliation in the more recent examined texts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GEN.SG – Genitive Singular
 GEN.PL – Genitive Plural
 NOM.SG – Nominative Singular
 PC – Partitive Construction
 PPC – Pseudo-partitive construction

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Part 3



ARABIC IN ITS EUROPEAN
AND WORLD CONTEXT

FRACTIONAL PROPORTIONAL PARTITIVES (FPP). FOCUS ON THE VARIATION IN “ONE IN THREE” PARTITIVES AND AGREEMENT

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Abstract

This exploratory paper presents a new and understudied type of partitives, the “Cardinal Numeral 1 Preposition/Case Cardinal Numeral 2” partitive structures (e.g., “one in three”, “egy (a) háromból / háromból egy” in Hungarian). It proposes the term *fractional proportional partitives* (FPP) and examines variation in types (from, in, of) and subject agreement. That is, whether “one in N2” triggers only grammatical agreement, such as *one in N is*, or allows also for semantic agreement, such as *one in N are*. The data are primarily from varieties of Arabic. The Arabic dual agreement, “two of N2”, is also presented. Two pilot surveys and an elicitation-based study clarify the nature of FPPs, whereby Maltese, Standard, Gulf and Tunisian Arabic are the focus. Forays are made into other unrelated and geographically distant languages of the world. The first survey establishes that there is variation in the subject–verb agreement within FPPs among Arabic speakers of different varieties and Arabic speakers of English. A supplementary elicitation study of Hungarian, Khmer, and Burmese serves to establish the typological variation in the “from” (separative), “in” (locative),

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and “of” (possessive) types in FPPs. The second survey adds more typological diversity to the database, whereby it becomes clear that while the possessive “of” strategy is not used for FPPs with this method, the separative “from” strategy is predominant. The locative strategy can further be divided into a container “in” strategy and a surface “on” strategy. Genealogically and areally distant languages may employ similar FPP strategies. Any sort of correlation between the strategies and agreement types did not emerge clearly in the dataset, thus the causes for agreement patterns could be sought elsewhere. The study additionally reflects upon several methodological considerations, particularly the use of typological questionnaires and elicitation in the study of FPPs and agreement.

KEYWORDS: variation and typology; part–whole relationships in fractions and proportions; partitivity marking of subset and superset; prepositions, adpositions; singular, dual and plural agreement; semantic and grammatical agreement

1. INTRODUCTION

This study¹ has originally started with a puzzle from a “mistake” in learning English subject–verb agreement, where the phrase “one in three” triggers plural (“one in three *are*”) instead of the “correct” singular (“one in three *is*”) agreement. When searching in the search engine Google for the phrase “one in three”, Google users were not certain between the two forms: *one in three is* or *are*. This possibly English L2 puzzle is in itself an interesting linguistic feature. Hence the example has led to a more detailed study of the structures where the expression of the type “one in three” belongs to.

In this paper, we propose the term *Fractional Proportional Partitives* (FPP) for the “N1 in N2” partitive structures (e.g., “one in three”) and a working definition of it. N stands here for “numeral” (the term “number” refers here to grammatical number: the singular, dual, and plural number), a cardinal numeral. FPPs are generic linguistic patterns capable of expressing any fractional

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proportional part of a whole with numerals in a given language. This generic pattern for English consists of a cardinal numeral, the preposition “in”, and another cardinal numeral: “N.card1 in N.card2”. A pilot survey study on the variation of the English partitive expression “one in three” in Arabic (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic branch) and Arab speakers of English will be presented.

Our test sentences were:

- (1) a. *only one in three are lucky to get it*
- b. *only one in three is lucky to get it.*

The survey was conducted to establish the variation in agreement within partitives in first language and second language use.² An additional elicitation task explores the variation in more detail to see how the variation that emerges in the FPP structures as well as subject–verb agreement patterns among Arab speakers of Arabic and English fits into a typologically larger sample. The structures “one in N” *is* or *are* are studied, and the dual agreement is also briefly described. Finally, a larger sample of the world’s languages is collected. See Appendix 1 for the research design of this article.

The objective of this study is to answer two main questions. The first question is: Is there the same variation in the subject–verb agreement in “one in three” in Standard Arabic, Gulf Arabic, Tunisian Arabic and Maltese as in English? And the second question is: What are the types of FPP partitive structures in the languages of Europe, in the Arabic speaking regions and in the world, based on the data sample?

Therefore, this paper is structured as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the FPPs and the research objectives. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology. The results are presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to the analysis and discussion of the findings. Limitations that should be considered are in Chapter 6. Lastly, Chapter 7 ends up with the conclusion.

2. FPPs AND THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES OF THIS PAPER

2.1 Conceptualizing the structures within partitives (Part–whole relationships)

Seržant defines “partitives” as structures that can convey the proportional relationship between a subset and a superset.³ The superset is the whole in the part–whole relationship, and the subset is a part of the whole. Subsets thus

² Due to the colonization of some Arab countries by Great Britain in the past, English is frequently seen as the most dominant foreign language or second language L2, in most Arab nations: M. Jihad Hamdan – Wafa A. Abu Hatab: English in the Jordanian Context, *World Englishes* 28 (2019), 394–405.

³ Ilja Seržant: Typology of partitives. *Linguistics* 59 (2021), 881–947.

correspond to parts and supersets correspond to wholes. The question that should be raised here is the following: How do these terms apply to part–whole relationships of the type in “one in three”? In the constructions of “one in three”, the “part” is “one”, and the whole is “three”. Thus, the “part” (“one”) is the so-called subset of “three”. “Three” is the “whole” in this construction, and the so-called superset in this specific partitive expression.

It has been shown that various partitive constructions cross-linguistically exhibit different features in their syntax while displaying different morphological markings.⁴ Some languages have partitive pronouns, such as Italian, German or Dutch.⁵ A dedicated partitive case may occur, as in Uralic, but researchers have argued that the form and the meaning referred to by the same terminology do not match. Partitives that are associated with the meaning of part–whole in the Uralic languages are expressed in three main ways, namely as juxtaposed bare nouns, ablatives- (or elatives), or possessive structures.⁶ The Finno-Ugric case that bears the name “partitive” is only marginally used for expressing the strictly partitive relational meaning of subsets and supersets.

Partitives are cross-linguistically diverse due to their highly abstract nature, which is open to much interpretation. Neither abstract nor concrete objects compose wholes and are divisible in parts by themselves. Consequently, languages differ as to how parts and wholes are conceptualized. There are three grammaticalization paths known for partitives, based on literature on conceptualizations or strategies.⁷ One way of conceptualizing parts and wholes relates the whole to a source (Strategy 1, separative or source grammaticalization strategy). Wholes (in other terminology, supersets) are perceived as sources, and the parts (in other terminology, subsets) are moved and separated from their original source.⁸ Another way to conceptualize parts and wholes is in terms of containment (Strategy 2, locative grammaticalization strategy). Wholes or supersets are then perceived as containers that contain the parts or subsets that are inside, being static. In addition to the locative and separative strategies, there is another widespread strategy for conceptualizing part–whole relationships: Strategy 3, the possessive strategy. In the possessive strategy,

⁴ See Silvia Luraghi – Petra Sleeman (eds.): *Crosslinguistic variation in partitives*, 2023, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.21020.lur>

⁵ For further reference, see various works by e.g., Cardinaletti and Giusti 2018, Carlier and Lamiroy 2014, Glaser 1992, Ihsane and Stark 2020, Luraghi et al. 2020, Luraghi and Huomo 2014, Sleeman and Giusti 2021, Sleeman and Luraghi 2023, Selkirk 1977, Strobel 2017 etc.

⁶ 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)*, Venice, Edizione Ca'Foscari, 101–126.

⁷ As described by Silvia Luraghi – Tuomas Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*, Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton, 2014.

⁸ Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

wholes are conceptualized as possessors and parts are conceptualized as possessed items. Section 4.3 adds a “simulative strategy”.

We will refer to the first way of conceptualization as the separative or *from*-strategy, to the second way of conceptualization as the locative or *in*-strategy, and the third one, as the possessive or *of*-strategy. The locative type can have subtypes that relate to containment (*in*) or surface (*on*), as will be illustrated in the ensuing discussion.

2.2 What are FPPs?

Suitable terminology and/or a definition for the “N1 in N2” partitives (e.g., of the type “one in three”) are missing in sources that are otherwise rich in detail about various partitive structures in languages.⁹ Until now we have not found a suitable definition or a term; therefore, we will create a new working term for these part-whole structures where “N1” is “one” (or more, typically, still referred to as “one”) and N2 is more. The crucial point is that in a case such as “one in three”, the actual quantity of “one” is typically more than one in real-life situations. If someone speaks of one in three applicants who would get the scholarship, then there are more applicants than three in the situation that is described. The actual quantity of “three” is understood as more than “three” in these constructions, but in a regular way. The quantity of applicants in the applicant pool can be understood as an approximation of six (as two times three, but not for instance “four”, “five”, “seven”, or “eight”), nine (as three times three), and so on, including six hundred (as two hundred times three) or their approximations or perceived proportions. The quantity of applicants receiving the scholarship is two, three, or more: the two numerals are proportionally tightly related by multiplication. Another condition of such phrases is that they involve count nominal expressions, and also, that N1 is smaller in number than N2.

Typically, thus, “one” stands for more than “one” in these expressions, but the same condition applies to other numerals as well, such as “two” or “four”. It represents a proportional fraction of a larger number of entities that represent a whole number and of which this cardinal number represents a selected fraction.

We have not found an adequate discussion of this type of linguistic expressions in previous literature on partitives in relation to the semantic properties that affect agreement patterns. However, several sources discuss structures

⁹ 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; Tania Ionin – Ora Matushansky: *Cardinals: The Syntax and Semantics of Cardinal-Containing Expressions*, MIT press, 2018; Michelangelo Falco – Roberto Zamparelli: Partitives and Partitivity, *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 4 (2019), 1–49, <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.642>; Ilja Seržant, 59(4), 881–947; Ilja Seržant: Typology of partitives. *Linguistics* 59 (2021), 881–947.

that are related to the ones we refer to as FPP. We review here some accounts that elaborate on similar phenomena. In the literature on partitives, two related structures have been covered.¹⁰ The first structure discussed under partitives includes that of percentages (type “C”). Type C contains proportional partitives and percentages, which “express the subset in terms of a proportion of its total”. Here are some examples: *half of the doctors, all of the students, 100% of the students, 20% of those, 80% of school children, much of theater is improvisation*, etc. The authors discuss examples such as: *Almost all / Half / 80% of the house was underwater* and *(With the flood,) half of most buildings was underwater*, giving the following representation to the latter: Most x: building(x). underwater(half of(x))

In our test sentences it should be noted that the sentences *only one in three are lucky to get it* and *only one in three is lucky to get it* do not display a semantic difference, and the proportion operator along the lines of Falco and Zamparelli¹¹ remains identical:

- (2) applicant(x). lucky to get it (one_in_three ((x))

One special feature of FPPs is that the proportion operator has a semi-conventionalized linguistic form of two cardinals and a linker that is not necessarily based on the separative strategy (“out-of”). The other is that the cardinals represent fractions, a part and a whole.

The second similar or related structure in Falco and Zamparelli is that of “out of” partitives, the type “L”, which “[i]ntuitively, [...] express the proportion of the number of Ns who satisfy some predicate over the total number of Ns and are thus strictly related to the count cases [all of the students], but with a special syntax”.¹² Two forms are provided in the source: *{two/four}out of four doctors*, and *{two/four}doctors out of four*.

The term “out-of” needs more nuance although the intuition behind it is useful. It is unsuitable because of the diversity in expression. It might be a suitable term for the separative strategy based in Hungarian, which uses *-ból*, a case ending that means “from, out of”, but not in English, which uses the preposition *in*, or Italian, where the preposition *su(l)* is used, which translates as *on*. The literal translation of such expressions in Italian would be ‘one ON three’.

The English “N1 in N2” type cannot be equated with either the “percentage” or the “out of” type of structures. Percentages represent proportional relations, but the wholes (supersets) are linguistically rarely expressed as they are invariably understood as “one hundred” in this construction (*per+cent*). In the “N1

¹⁰ Such as Michelangelo Falco – Roberto Zamparelli: Partitives and Partitivity, *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 4 (2019), 1–49, <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.642>

¹¹ Falco–Zamparelli: *Partitives and Partitivity*.

¹² Ibid.

in N2” type, both numerals are expressed obligatorily and overtly. The nouns are optional and the reference presumably indefinite. There is a whole or total that is indefinite or mass-like but quantized,¹³ and there is an indefinite but quantized part (as in “one applicant in three applicants”). Only the quantizers, the cardinal numerals, are overt and obligatory (as in “one in three”). If one aims at establishing an extended typology of FPPs, then reference to ‘both numerals being expressed obligatorily and /overtly’ allows us to exclude many partitive structures. This constraint is too strong for allowing the term FPP to be applied to Finnic and Romance partitive data, or Jibbali¹⁴ data where, technically—syntactically—we have ‘ZERO from ZERO’, rather than ‘N from N’. Semantically, and hypothetically, the numeral N1 that is syntactically zero or covert could be construed as “some”, like “some of the people”, while the numeral N2 can be construed as “an amount of” or “a number of”. The data follows in (3).

(3) Jibbali¹⁵ (Afroasiatic, Semitic; Oman)

<i>mən</i>	<i>é-yō</i>	<i>dʕəd</i>	<i>yəzɪr</i>	<i>ikbért</i>
from	DEF-people	still	visit.IMPF.3M.PL	DEF.tomb
‘some people still visit a (saint’s) tomb’				

The Jibbali data does not fall under the formulation of FPPs in the present paper. However, the Jibbali construction is a partitive, but with covert elements, or possibly a structure that is already grammaticalized as a pseudo-partitive. We disregard here the cases that have undergone grammaticalization and lexicalization, as we do not consider the unrecognizable *per+cent* to stand for the linker “per” and the superset, the whole, “one hundred”. Discussing the Jibbali data also serves the purpose of pointing out, in the Arabic context, the variability of agreement patterns in the partitive phrases in subject positions (or, generally, in functions where agreement is attested in a language). The subject agreement with the partitive phrase is third person plural.

Are these expressions simply fractions? Anicotte¹⁶ provides a discussion on fractions, which is helpful in understanding the multiple levels of linguistic structure involved in FPPs: “a fraction in a partitive expression can be an indivisible semantic unit or may, on the contrary, have a noun or a measure word inserted between its constituents”. Indeed, the “one in three” may be

¹³ For further research, it should be kept in mind that with respect to mass-like, it is important to keep separate morphological mass/collective forms in Arabic, e.g. *baqar* versus the plural *baqrat*, as the mass/collective form is in singular and additionally does not allow for any numeral in front of it.

¹⁴ A South Arabian endangered language spoken o.a. in Oman.

¹⁵ Hofstede, Antje Ida: *Syntax of Jibbāli*. University of Manchester, 1998, 42. (Doctoral dissertation.)

¹⁶ Rémi Anicotte: Description of the Linguistic Expressions of Fractions, *Language Sciences* 92 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2022.101483>

expanded to “one kilo of flour in three kilos of flour (gets moths each time it is shipped through the Bosphorus)”. Anicotte¹⁷ uses the terms ‘numerator’ and ‘denominator’, which can be applied for describing our data set of the type: “one in three”, where “one”, the N1, is the numerator and “three”, the N2, is the denominator. The expression “one in three” is “humanese” for the representation of two cardinals and a symbol, such as $1/3$. This brings us back to the issue of what the linguistic expression of the element represented by the slash, “/”, is, as cardinal constructions follow the same linguistic semantic composition and syntactic structural principles.¹⁸

However, linguistic expressions of fractions are more abstract than FFPs. Among other languages, Anicotte¹⁹ discusses the morphology of Arabic fractions such as $1/5$. It is possible to express “six fifths” as a fraction in Arabic, but an FPP does not allow for the expression of “six from five” with “from”, as it is a partitive not a fraction.

Thus, the “one in three” structures have a peculiar set of properties that set them apart from fractions, percentages, and “out-of” constructions. Consequently, we propose a novel working term to capture the fractional, yet proportional semantics expressed by these partitives as: *Fractional Proportional Partitives* (FPPs). FPPs are generic linguistic patterns capable of expressing any fractional proportional part (larger than zero) of a whole in cardinal numerals in a given language. This generic pattern for English is “N.card1 in N.card2”, i.e., “numerator” in “denominator”. FPPs are semantic operators that operate with the semantics of partitives of proportions that often have a form of a fraction. The two cardinals are linked by an overt linker and the structure can be extended by noun and measure phrases.

2.3 Agreement phenomena: grammatical versus semantic

The verb can be taken to usually agree with its subject’s features, such as number, person or gender.²⁰ English, for example, has subject–verb agreement in number as part of its grammar. If the subject is singular, then the verb is singular as well, and vice versa, i.e., if the subject is plural, the verb agrees with

¹⁷ Anicotte: *Description of the Linguistic Expressions of Fractions*.

¹⁸ Following the work of Mark C. Baker: *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

¹⁹ Anicotte proposes a typology. Any expression of a fractional numeral is either a suppletive form (called non-systematic) or an analytic form (called systematic). The analytic form can split into monodimensional (systematic, single argument) and bi-dimensional (systematic, double argument).

²⁰ Baker: *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*.

it in the plural. We call this type of agreement “grammatical” to distinguish the singular agreement with “one” from the logical or real number agreement, which would reflect a number that is more than one, thus plural. We use the term ‘semantic agreement’ (as in “The police *are* present.”).

In Afro-Asiatic, Semitic languages such as Standard Arabic, and Arabic variants of Gulf Arabic and Tunisian Arabic, there is a full subject verb agreement in SV word order; it involves agreement in all features: number, person and gender.²¹ When the subject is plural or dual, then the verb remains in its standard – singular – form. This shows that the agreement is only partial. For example, if the subject is feminine/plural, the verb agrees with it. Besides, if the subject is masculine/singular or masculine/plural, it agrees with the verb accordingly.²² What will be additionally discussed in our sample is a reference to the fact that the dual number value happens to be relevant for agreement (and concord) purposes in Standard Arabic; something which, as we will show, is not relevant for the non-Standard varieties. Additionally relevant to our discussion will be the fact that predicative adjectives enter in an agreement relation with the clauses’ subject in a pattern that is similar to how attributive adjectives display concord with the noun they modify.

Burmese is the most unique language among the contrasted languages. In Burmese, the verb “be” is a morphologically unchanging copula where it doesn’t matter whether the subject is singular or plural in terms of agreement (i.e., it is an uninflecting form). As the glossed examples from Burmese will demonstrate, agreement is not applicable in this Sino-Tibetic language. In contrast, the other language that will be compared with the Arabic variants is Hungarian, a Uralic language, which has agreement with the subject and the object that is marked on the verb by suffixes.²³ A verb can agree with other grammatical functions as well as its object, in our sample. Some scholars have recently addressed object agreement and partitivity in Hungarian and other Uralic languages,²⁴ and there is scope to integrate this further in our future studies on FPPs. We will be discussing agreement with indirect objects in our Maltese sample.

Although extensive studies have investigated the phenomenon of agreement, some questions remain unanswered. Notably, there is cross-linguistic variation when it comes to agreement in the three lexical categories: noun, verb, and adjective. If a partitive structure functions as the subject, then there may be

²¹ Mohammad T. Alhawary – Elabbas Benmamoun (eds.): *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XVII-XVIII: Papers from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual Symposia on Arabic Linguistics*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins, 2005.

²² Turki Alwahibee: *Simple Subject–Verb Agreement: A Morphosyntactic Path to Arabic Variations*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020. (Doctoral dissertation).

²³ Robert. M. Vago – István Kenesei – Anna Fenyvesi: *Hungarian*, London, Routledge, 1998.

²⁴ Other Uralic languages as in Nikolett Gulyás: *Object Marking in Komi-Permyak*, talk given at the online UIC series, 30 November 2022

several factors that can condition agreement on the verb (or the adjective, when the adjective takes on a predicative function). In languages with gender and agreement, the verb agrees with the subject's gender, and in a language with number and person agreement, the verb agrees with the subject's number and person, typically present in, for instance, European Slavic languages (4).

(4) Ukrainian

<i>Вона</i>	<i>спал-а.</i>	<i>Вони</i>	<i>спал-и.</i>
<i>Vona</i>	<i>spal-a.</i>	<i>Voni</i>	<i>spal-i.</i>
3F.SG	sleep-3F.SG	3PL	sleep-3PL
'She was sleeping. They were sleeping.'			

Subject–verb agreement in a partitive structure is more interesting since N1 and N2 may have diverging features. Language-specific features such as headedness, word order, complexity of the structures, and cognitive processing may play a role in the type of agreement that results. If the part and the whole are represented by entities that have diverging gender or number features, then this issue may become relevant in terms of processing.

2.4 Languages of the sample

European, Asian, and African Arabic variants are targeted in this study and are represented by Maltese, Gulf and Tunisian Arabic, respectively. Standard Arabic is also targeted, particularly as a means for our comparison. Arabic is spoken by millions across the Middle East and North Africa. It is a significant language within the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family. The geographical differences can have a significant impact on how it is spoken. Its variants are better regarded as separate languages although they share many linguistic features and lexical items, but we refer to Arabic spoken in various parts of the world as “Arabic variants”. Hungarian, Khmer, and Burmese are targeted by elicitation. Several additional European and Asian languages are targeted in comparison in a second survey study. Figure 1 represents the languages of this study. English is included as an L2 for Arabic L1 speakers.

FRACTIONAL PROPORTIONAL PARTITIVES (FPP)



Figure 1 (Map 1): Languages of the sample (Source of the map: <https://gisgeography.com/high-resolution-world-map/>)

2.5 Research objectives

This study addresses two main research questions. The first question is as follows: Is there the same variation in the subject–verb number agreement in “one in three” in Standard Arabic, Arabic Gulf, Tunisian Arabic, and Maltese as in English? And the second question is about the types of FPP: What are the types of FPP partitive structures in the languages of Europe, in the Arabic speaking regions, and in the world, based on the data sample?

3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Two data collection methods were used: two surveys and an elicitation task. The first survey aims to find out the differences in agreement on a smaller sample. The purpose of the second survey is to examine the FPP types and agreement patterns on a larger sample. The elicitation task was used to discover variation among distant and related languages and variants: Maltese, Gulf and Tunisian Arabic, Hungarian, Burmese and Khmer. The original surveys and elicitation were followed by follow-up survey distribution and elicitation in the final stages of the research (November 2023).

3.1 Pilot survey 1 on agreement

A forced choice task (Figure 2 and Figure 3) was distributed to Arabic and Arab speakers of English using a snowball sampling method. The two surveys were administered via SurveyMonkey and were distributed between the 9th and 10th of September, and the 10th and 11th of September 2022, respectively. The snowball sampling method was primarily used for convenience. The method allowed us to reach subjects who were likely to use English and feel comfortable with online surveys. Therefore, we could obtain the answers in a relaxed way instead of a grammar test-like situation. The survey was distributed to the subjects via social media (WhatsApp) in Oman and Tunisia, as a continuation of an expression such as “one in three”, by the author Iman Al Siyabi in Oman and by Najah Jellali in Tunisia. The sentential stimuli are detailed in Examples (5) and (6); they are presented as seen in Figures 2 and 3.

Figure 2: Arabic trigger sentence

Figure 3: English trigger sentence

(5) English (Indo-European)

- How would you finish the sentence: I am applying for a scholarship in Hungary, but I know that
- a. only one in three are lucky to get it
- b. only one in three is lucky to get it.

(6) Standard Arabic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)

أُرغب في التنافس للحصول على منحة دراسية في جمهورية المجر

a-rghab *fi* *al-tanafus* *li-l-husool* *ala* *minha_dirasya*
 1SG-want.IPFV in DEF-competition for-DEF-getting.SG.M on scholarship

fi jumhuryat al-majar
in Republic DEF-Hungary
‘I would like to compete for a scholarship in Hungary.’

a.

شخص واحد فقط من بين ثلاثة أشخاص محظوظين للحصول عليها

shakhs wahid faqat min thalath-at ashkhas mahdhoudh-in
person.SG.M one.SG.M only from three-PL.F person.PL.M lucky-PL.M

li-l-husool alay-ha
for-DEF-getting.SG.M on-3SG.F.GEN
‘Only one in three are lucky to get it.’

b.

شخص واحد فقط من بين ثلاثة أشخاص محظوظ للحصول عليها

shakhs wahid faqat min thalath-at ashkhas mahdhoudh
person.SG.M one.SG.M only from three-PL.F person.PL.M lucky.SG.M

li-l-husool alay-ha
for-DEF-getting.SG.M on-3SG.F.GEN
‘Only one in three is lucky to get it.’

3.2 Exploratory elicitation of genealogically diverse languages

The Hungarian, Tunisian Arabic and Burmese data were elicited on December 11, 2022, from students at the PhD school of intercultural linguistics, who are native speakers of Hungarian, Tunisian Arabic, and Burmese. The platform used for collecting the elicitation task was Teams. The students were asked to translate and gloss the following two statements in the context specified above in (5): (a) *only one in three are lucky to get it*, and (b) *only one in three is lucky to get it*. Some minor changes were added, mainly related to the abbreviations in some of the glossing that was provided by the students trained in linguistics. The students were occasionally asked to comment on the FPP strategy and the agreement pattern as well as on the causes for the emergence or lack of agreement.

Occasionally, if it turned out in elicitation that the language has plural agreement with subjects but, for various reasons, the agreement does not appear on the verb, other elements were sought for. For instance, the forms of the

Estonian verb “be” in 3pl and 3sg coincide (testing Estonian is discussed in Section 5).

The data on variants of Arabic provided by two of the authors of this paper (Al Siyabi and Camilleri) and elicited from PhD students by Al Siyabi are presented below. The Gulf Arabic examples were segmented and glossed by Al Siyabi. The Khmer data were elicited by Tamm (the third author), and they were transcribed in IPA, glossed, and segmented by Siset Ven, student at the PhD school of intercultural linguistics. The Tunisian Arabic, Hungarian and Burmese data were segmented and glossed by students of the Intercultural Linguistics Doctoral School of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest,²⁵ and the segmentation and glossing were slightly adjusted by the authors for better comparability. The variants of Syrian and Moroccan Arabic were provided by Yosha Alabdullah and Zakariaa Nini, MA students of English at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (KRE). The Maltese examples were provided and glossed by Maris Camilleri, and they represent data from the Maltese Language Resource Server (MLRS) corpus.

3.3 An additional pilot survey for cross-linguistic variation

An additional survey was administered in June 2023 to collect data from speakers of various languages, involving students at the PhD school of intercultural linguistics, ERASMUS Mundus International Lexicography MA students at KRE and the faculty members of the language departments at KRE. The first version of Survey 2 proved to be too elaborate and seemed to require much linguistic knowledge; therefore, it was simplified so that it consists of two questions, both presented with checkboxes and an additional comment box. The first question targeted the partitive strategy (see the precise text and presentation in Figure 4) and the second probed for the agreement patterns (see Figure 5).

²⁵ Nour Ben Braham, Dorottya Szabó-Kovács, and Wai Yan Min Oo, pers. comm.

1. If you translate the English expression "one in three" in the context "Thousands apply for this scholarship. But only **one in three** can get it", which spatial strategy do you use in your language: **in**, **on**, **from**, something else, or several strategies? Click on which are possible.

☐ one IN three

☒ one FROM three

☐ one ON three

☐ Other (please specify and/or write the expression in your language here)

Figure 4: Survey 2 for determining the type of FPP construction

2. Can you use **IS or ARE** in your language (singular or plural in some other way, on "lucky") if you translate the English expression "one in three is/are lucky to get it"? The context is "Thousands apply for this scholarship". Click on the possible options of your language.

☐ Only one in three ARE lucky to get it.

☐ Only one in three IS lucky to get it.

Please specify if the choices do not fit your language well, and/or write the expression in your language here

Figure 5: Survey 2 for determining the type of agreement in the FPP construction

4. RESULTS

4.1 Results of the forced choice task

Figure 6 and Figure 7 present the results of the first survey. The forced choice task, which was sent to participants as a link in social media (WhatsApp) to gather data by means of the snowball sampling method in Oman and Tunisia had the following result: as a continuation of an expression such as “one in three”, roughly one in four chose to continue the sentence with plural agreement on the verb, while three quarters of the respondents chose the continuation with singular agreement. The same sort of pattern was also replicated in the L2 English of native Arabic speakers. The exact number is represented in the figures below.

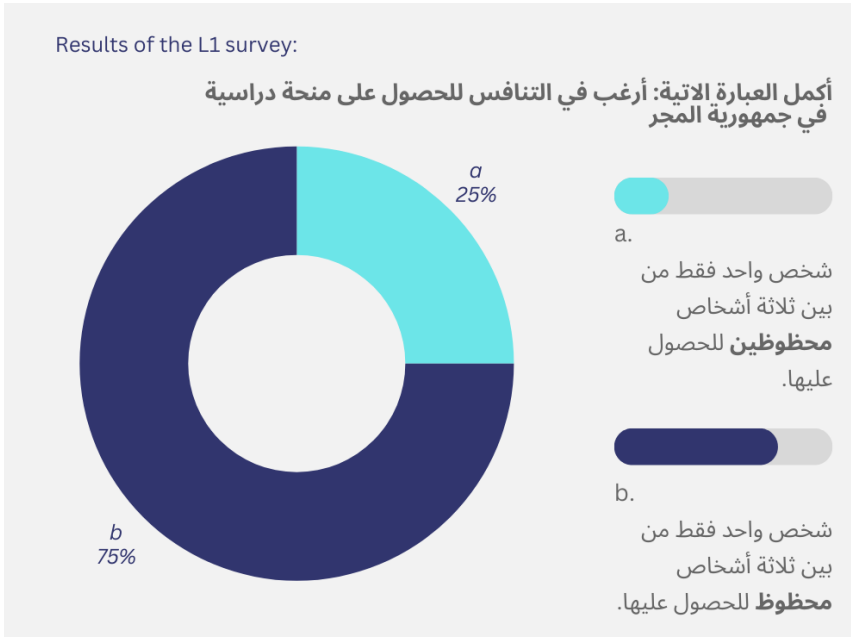


Figure 6: Results of the L1 survey

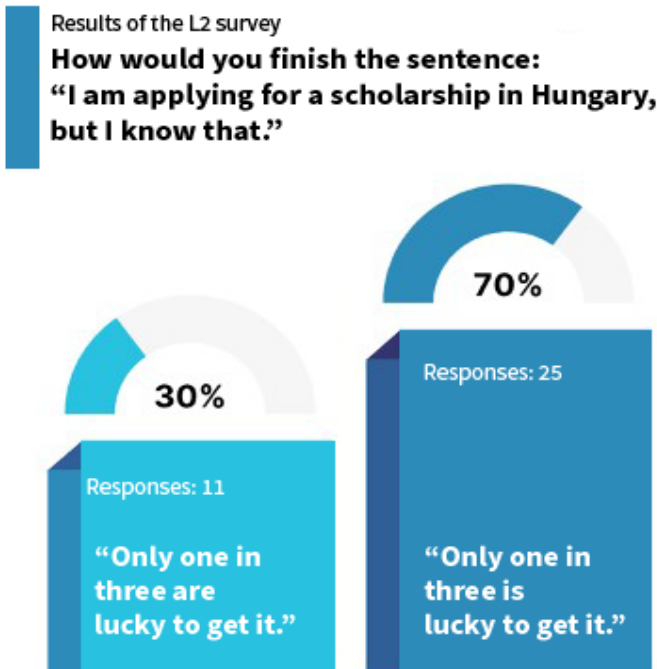


Figure 7: Results of the L2 survey

The results of the Arabic forced choice task showed that around 25% (9) of the participants (36 in total) chose plural agreement. The results of the English (Arabic L1) forced choice task showed that around 30% (11) of the participants (36 in total) chose plural agreement. See Appendix 2 for an illustration of the survey platform and its results.

4.2 Results of the elicitation task

The examples of this section comprise the results of the elicitation task in variants of Gulf (7) and (8), Tunisian (9), and Standard Arabic as well as Maltese (10). The discussion in Section 5 will focus on the strategies in encoding the FPPs and the agreement patterns in these languages.

(7) Colloquial Gulf Arabic: Khaliji (Oman, house and home environment)

a.

واحد بس من ثلاثة بيحصلوا البعثة

wahed bas min thalatha ba-yhasl-u el-batha
 one only from three FUT-3.get.IPFV-PL.M DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only one in three are lucky to get scholarship.’

b.

واحد بس من ثلاثة بيحصل البعثة

wahed bas min thalatha ba-yhasl el-batha
 one only from three FUT-3.get.IPFV.SG.M DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only one in three is lucky to get the scholarship.’

(8) Colloquial Gulf Arabic: Khaliji (Oman, formal environment)

a.

واحد فقط من ثلاثة اشخاص بيحصلوا البعثة

wahed faqat min thalath ashkhas ba-y-hasl-u el-batha
 one.SG.M only from three person.PL.M FUT-3.get.IPFV-PL.M DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only one in three people are lucky to get the scholarship.’

b.

واحد فقط من ثلاثة اشخاص بيحصل البعثة

wahed faqat min thalath ashkhas ba-y-hasl el-batha
 one.SG.M only from three person.PL.M FUT-3.get.IPFV-SG.M DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only one in three is lucky to get the scholarship.’

(9) Tunisian Arabic (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic) (elicitation with transcription)

- a. *ken wehed men tletha and-hom el-zhar bish ye-khdh-u=h*
 only one.SG.M from three have-3.PL.GEN DEF-luck in_order_to 3-get.IPFV-PL=
 3.SG.M.ACC

‘Only one in three are lucky to get it.’

- b. *ken wehed fi/men tletha and-u el-zhar bish*
 only one.SG.M in from three have-3.SG.M.GEN DEF-luck in_order_to
ye-khedh-ou=h
 3-get.IPFV-PL=3.SG.M.ACC

‘Only one in three is lucky to get it.’

(10) Maltese (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

- a. *Wiehed minn kull hamsa ji-ġri-l-hom hekk*
 one.SG.M from all five 3.happen.IPFV.SG.M-DAT-3.PL like.that
 ‘This happens to one in five.’

- b. *Wiehed minn kull hames persun-i j-kun-u fil-mira*
 one.SG.M from all five person-PL 3.be.IPFV-PL in.DEF-aim
ta’ attakk-i min-nemus
 of attack-PL from.DEF-mosquito.PL

‘One in five people are attacked by mosquitoes.’

- c. *...raġel minn kull tlieta lest i-qatta’*
 ...man from all three ready.SG.M 3.spend.IPFV.SG.M
 ‘a man from every three is ready to spend ...’

- d. *Mara minn kull erbgħa ghadd-iet minn forma jew*
 woman.SG from all four pass.PFV-3.SG.F from form or
oħra ta’ vjolenza domestik-a
 another.SG.F of violence.SG.F domestic-SG.F
 ‘One in four women suffers from one form or another of domestic violence.’

The results of eliciting the data collection from languages other than English and Arabic are presented for Hungarian (11), Burmese (12), and Khmer (13). The discussion in Section 5 will focus on the strategies in encoding the FPPs and the agreement patterns in these languages.

(11) Hungarian (Uralic, Ugric)

- a. *három-ból csak egy olyan szerencsés, hogy meg-kap-ja.*
 three-ELA just one so lucky.SG that PV-get-OBJ.3SG
 ‘Only one in [out of] three is lucky to get it.’

- b. **három-ból csak egy olyan szerencsés-ek, hogy meg-kap-ják.*
 three-ELA just one so lucky-PL that PV-get-OBJ.3PL
 Intended to express: ‘Only one in [out of] three are lucky to get it.’

(12) Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Burmese-Lolo)

- a. *Thone yout mhar ta yout bae aedar*
 three.ADJ men.CLF in one.ADJ man.CLF only it.OBJ
go ya (bolt kankaung tal)
 to.TOP get.V be.COP lucky.ADJ SUF
 ‘Only one in three are lucky to get it.’
- b. *Thone yout mhar ta yout bae aedar*
 three.ADJ men.CLF in one.ADJ man.CLF only it.OBJ
go ya (bolt kankaung tal)
 to.TOP get.V be.COP lucky.ADJ SUF
 ‘Only one in three is lucky to get it.’

(13) Khmer (Austroasian)

a.

Khmer	មួយ	ក្នុង	បី	មានសំណាង	ទទួល	វា
IPA	muɔj	knɔŋ	bei	miɔn samna:ŋ	tɔ:tuɔl	viɔ
Latin	muoy	knong	bei	mean samnaang	tortuol	vea
English	one	in	three	is lucky	to.get	it

b.

Khmer	មួយ	ក្នុងចំណោម	បី	មានសំណាង	ទទួល	វា
IPA	muɔj	knɔŋ camnaom	bei	miɔn samna:ŋ	tɔ:tuɔl	viɔ
Latin	muoy	knong camnorm	bei	mean samnaang	tortuol	vea
English	one	among	three	is lucky	to.get	it

c.

Khmer	មួយ	លើ	បី	មានសំណាង	ទទួល	វា
IPA	muɔj	lɜ:	bei	miɔn samna:ŋ	tɔ:tuɔl	viɔ
Latin	muoy	leu	bei	mean samnaang	tortuol	vea
English	one	on	three	is lucky	to.get	it

d.

Khmer	មួយ	នៃ	បី	មានសំណាង	ទទួល	វា
IPA	muɔj	nɜi	bei	miɔn samna:ŋ	tɔ:tuɔl	viɔ
Latin	muoy	niy	bei	mean samnaang	tortuol	vea
English	one	of	three	is lucky	to.get	it

4.3 Results of the additional survey for cross-linguistic variation

The representative summary of the FPP strategies and agreement patterns as manifested in various other languages within our language sample is presented in Table 1.

*Table 1: Results of the additional survey for cross-linguistic variation
in FPP realizations*

	Strategy			Agreement			
	Locative		Separative	Grammatical agreement IS	Semantic agreement ARE	Both	Neutral
Languages	IN	ON	FROM				
	English	Dutch	Farsi (Persian)	Turkish	none	Farsi / Persian	Burmese
	Khmer	Italian	Estonian	French		Dutch	
	Burmese	French	Irish	Indonesian		Arabic	
		Estonian Khmer Norwegian	Turkish Norwegian	Khmer Kachin French			

The additional survey resulted in additional information on the following languages:

The locative strategy was found in the following languages:

- English, Burmese, Khmer (IN languages),
- Dutch, Norwegian, Italian, French, Estonian, Khmer (ON languages).

The separative strategy was found in the following languages:

- Farsi (Persian), Estonian, Irish, Turkish, Norwegian (FROM languages).

Dutch, French, and Italian have the “on” locative strategy and in Dutch, both “is” and “are” are used (although there is a normative pressure to use “is”). Farsi and Irish have also “from”. Estonian has “from”, but “onto” is also possible. Khmer has locative strategies based on “in”, “on”, and “among”. Additionally, it has “of”, the possessive strategy for the FPP that we did not attest elsewhere. The question on the agreement patterns, however, did not match what we had learned previously, so the question could have been too complicated or there is variation. The results demonstrate that besides Arabic, French, Indonesian, Kachin, Turkish also have grammatical agreement. Semantic agreement as the only possibility does not emerge in any of these languages. We also found that both agreement patterns appear in Farsi/Persian. For several languages, in sum, it is difficult to interpret the agreement data.²⁶

²⁶ As a pointer to promising further study, more research on Arabic fractions/percentages/quantities could provide us with robust evidence that FPPs are genuinely distinct structures. Percentages in Arabic actually use the LOC strategy, while a number of structures such as

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

We identified a type of partitive that has not been well defined in previous literature²⁷ and proposed a working term, *fractional proportional partitives*, FPP, to refer to this type. Examples of these partitives comprise two cardinal numerals and a grammatical element such as a case or a preposition (or an adposition) to link them, like in “one in three” or “two in three”. Their structure consists of “N1 linker N2”, where N1, either a numeral or a noun that stands for the numeral (e.g., “man”, “woman” in Maltese) is a proportional fraction of N2, which represents the whole (superset).²⁸ For agreement, they are semantically peculiar, as the head, i.e., the N1, may be grammatically singular, while, typically, it is semantically plural. If one in three wins the scholarship, it is typically more than one person. We can see that these expressions are semantically plural from the following Example (14), where “one” cannot be interpreted in a follow-up sentence with singular (14a); plural is, however, compatible (14b). The hash mark “#” indicates semantic incongruity.

(14) [I want to apply for a scholarship in Hungary, but I know that only one in three gets it.]

a. #He sure will throw a party when he gets it.

b. They sure will throw a party when they get it.

The peculiarity of grammatically- versus semantically-motivated number in FPP agreement patterns in Arabic and Arab speakers of English could be verified with the first pilot study. Our first pilot study, a forced choice task conducted via a snowball sampling by distributing a link to participants on social media (WhatsApp) in Oman and Tunisia, showed a predominantly separative strategy and a variable agreement pattern: grammatical and semantic. For the linking element, previous literature on partitives had established separative, locative, and possessive strategies, based on different metaphors, of which separative

majority, amount, etc, make use of the POSS strategy. In a more extended study, these can be considered separately, and then compare/contrast with other languages such as Hungarian/Estonian and Irish alone, since BOTH are genealogically distinct but typologically share the FROM FPP strategy.

²⁷ Hereby we mean the standard sources such as Cardinaletti and Giusti 2018, Carlier and Lamiroy 2014, Glaser 1992, Ihsane and Stark 2020, Luraghi et al. 2020, Luraghi and Huomo 2014, Sleeman and Giusti 2021, Sleeman and Luraghi 2023, Selkirk 1977, Strobel 2017.

²⁸ Note that in ‘two cardinal numerals’, the Maltese data provided is not strictly necessarily a cardinal numeral in N1. Of course: man/woman entails a representation of ‘one’, but just to ensure that our description of the phenomenon in question is encompassing of the overall data this should be noted here. These structures resemble the pure or proper partitives (in terms of Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001 and other literature) in that both sets are quantified, but they also resemble pseudo-partitives as the referents in both sets are indefinite, yet numerically defined in relation to each other.

(“from”) and locative (“in”) emerged in the first survey. However, we found only the separative and locative strategies (“in” and “on”) in the first, pilot survey.

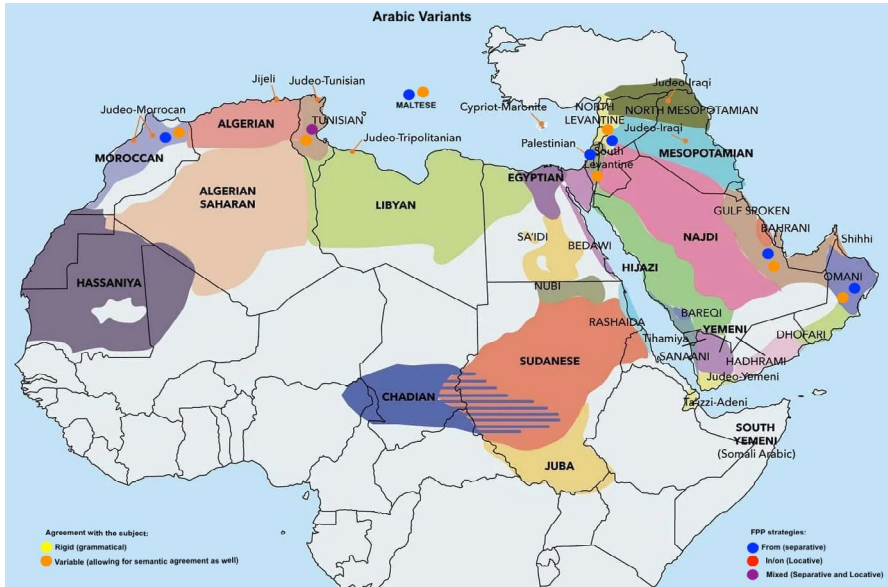


Figure 8 (Map 2): Arabic languages of the sample
Source of the map: <https://industryarabic.com/arabic-dialects/>

Next followed the elicitation task that was carried out with a larger number of languages, expanding the data set with Maltese, Hungarian and Burmese. No additional typological diversity was found for the strategies. These remained locative and separative in the elicitation study. However, fuzzy intuitions and interpretations could be resolved in elicitation for Tunisian Arabic. It shows the same partitive structures in subject agreement as in other Arabic variants in our study, using *men* as the linking element. The adposition *men* or *min* refers to the source metaphor and a separative strategy, meaning “to be out of or from somewhere”.²⁹ The Tunisian participant in elicitation stated that she first made use of *fi* ‘in’ as she thought of the data as a sort of mathematical fraction. The *fi* ‘in’ option reveals the metaphor of the container and the strategy of location (parts are in the whole, subset is within the superset).³⁰

The elicitation study revealed relevant typological diversity in agreement to be considered in the method due to two factors. The first factor to consider in

²⁹ Following the work of Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

³⁰ Both the plural and singular forms were attested as subject verb agreement in *andhom* ‘have’ and *andou* ‘has’. The participant later agreed to change it to *men* ‘from’. Thus, variation was retained in the sample, *fi/men*, in Example (9.b), because both variants are possible in interpretation.

similar studies is that in Burmese and Khmer, no agreement could be established for language-internal reasons. The second factor is that in Hungarian, other language-internal reasons prevented semantic agreement. Burmese examples illustrate a divergence from examples (7) and (8) in Gulf Arabic, (9) in Tunisian Arabic, (10) in Maltese and (11) in Hungarian. The Burmese and Khmer singular and plural clauses, as in (12a) and (12b) and in (13), show lack of agreement. The conclusion is that establishing a typology of agreement may fail with the given methods, elicitation and survey based on translation, if it is not known if a language has subject–verb agreement at all or if the numeral phrase structure interacts with agreement in a particular way. The language may mistakenly be classified as a rigid FPP agreement language.

There are certainly more languages that should be excluded from the sample purely on the grounds of structural incompatibility with the research question. We can assume that for any further study of agreement, a pre-selection of languages based on their agreement patterns should exclude languages that lack subject agreement altogether.

The second point learned from the elicitation study concerns the choice of the word class or a particular lexical item for testing, as in many languages, the copula “be” does not emerge in predicative contexts (e.g., Hungarian, 3rd person singular and plural), or its form may be identical in singular and plural (e.g., Estonian). Here, the situation can be remedied when subject agreement markers may appear on predicative adjectives in some languages instead (Hungarian, Arabic). Moreover, the methods in the present paper mainly address only subject agreement with what stands for the predicate. It is an unexplored area yet to study how partitive phrases agree in those languages that have other types of agreement, such as object agreement in addition to subject agreement with the verb. Hungarian and many Uralic languages have object agreement, but the numeral-related expressions may differ in the object function (e.g., consider that the subject–verb asymmetries in “the two of them” may vary in “the two of them sang” and “I saw the two of them”). The elicitation showed that in Maltese, semantic agreement is attested with the FPP dative indirect object (10a), although grammatical agreement is not excluded in such a context.

Many languages have asymmetries that concern (typically postverbal) partitive subjects that do not trigger subject agreement (e.g., Finnic). In Arabic, word order is an attested factor that influences the agreement pattern on verbs, which would be an interesting avenue to explore with FPPs. In languages such as Arabic, with gender marking playing a role in partitives and their agreement patterns in addition to number, it is an additional avenue to explore. Moreover, Standard Arabic also has a dual number value that is relevant for agreement purposes, as shown in Example (15), which adds a pairwise interpretation and a new puzzle to the study of FPPs in languages with duals (e.g., many Uralic languages and Slovenian).

(15) Standard Arabic

- a. فقط اثنان من ثلاثة محظوظين سيحصلان على البعثة.
faqat ithn-an min thalatha mahdhudh-een sa-y-hsul-an
 only two-DU.M from three.SG.F lucky-DU.M FUT-3-get.IPFV-DU.M
ala al-betha
 upon DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only two from three will be(come) (DU.M) lucky to get the scholarship.’
- b. فقط اثنان من ثلاث محظوظات سيحصلن على البعثة.
faqat ithnat-an min thalath mahdhudh-aat sa-y-hsul-n
 only two-F-DU from three.SG.F lucky-PL.F FUT-3get.IPFV-PL.F
ala al-betha
 upon DEF-scholarship
 ‘Only two from three will be(come) (PL.F) lucky to get the scholarship.’

The elicitation and the second pilot survey showed that some languages have multiple strategies for encoding FPPs, and the division of labor between them and their effects on agreement are little understood. Variation in agreement in the Arabic variants between “one in N *is* or *are*” emerges regardless of the separative or optionally locative partitive marking strategy.

Hungarian does not allow plural agreement with the FPP phrase. Hungarian shows similarities to the different Arabic varieties in its use of strategy, namely, *három-ból* ‘from three’, which is elative. However, there is a difference in agreement when compared to the different Arabic varieties. In Hungarian translation and glossing of the verbs “is” and “are”, no difference arose, in contrast to how it did in both Arabic Gulf and Tunisian Arabic examples in (7), (8) and (9). The agreement with the FPP subject is invariantly singular in Hungarian (except when using adverbial constructions such as, e.g., “*kett-en*” [two-adv] ‘two’ as in ‘two in three’), even though the language is known to have singular and plural agreement with subjects. Note that here we do not consider adverbial constructions such as, e.g., “*kett-en*” [two-adv] ‘in a pair, in two, both’ as the condition of proportionality and fraction are not met, and it does not mean in ‘two in three’. However, number phrases lack plural agreement, which could explain the rigid agreement pattern; see Hungarian in (16a, b) and Estonian in (16c, d).

(16) a. Hungarian, singular agreement only, verbal predicate

- [...]
Kettő a három-ból / Három-ból kettő jó jegyet
 two[NOM] DEF three-ELA three-ELA two[NOM] good grade.ACC
*kapott / *kaptak.*
 get.PST.3SG / get.PST.3PL
 ‘[Twelve students took the exam.] Two in three got a good grade.’

b. Hungarian, singular agreement only, other predicates

[...]

Kettő a három-ból / Három-ból kettő tanár / beteg
 two[NOM] DEF three-ELA three-ELA two[NOM] teacher.NOM.SG sick.NOM.SG
**tanár-ok / *beteg-ek.*
 teacher-NOM.PL sick.NOM.PL

‘[Twelve people were absent.] Two in three were teachers/sick.’

c. Estonian, plural agreement

[...] *Kaks kolme-st sa-i-d hea hinde.*
 two[NOM] three-ELA get-PST-3PL good.ACC grade.ACC

‘[Twelve/many students took the exam.] Two in three got a good grade.’

d. Estonian, singular agreement

[...] *Kaks kolme-st sa-i hea hinde.*
 two[NOM] three-ELA get-PST.3SG good.ACC grade.ACC

‘[Twelve/many students took the exam.] Two in three got a good grade.’

Hungarian allows only singular agreement, but Estonian varies. Note that there is only one agreement pattern available in Hungarian for this particular structure: SG, as presented here on the verbal predicate *kap* ‘get’. The agreement structure is not only available for verbal but also nominal predicates, for instance, *tanár* ‘teacher’ or *beteg* ‘sick’ (16b). That is, the structure is available for the predicate of the structure, whatever that may be. As an interesting comparative note, we see plural agreement available in Estonian, example (16c), in contrast to its language relative, Hungarian. Plural agreement is the preferred, not the only agreement available for Estonian (see an example with singular agreement in 16d), that is, it is not strictly non-alternate as in Hungarian.

This is an example where a preselection of languages based on their agreement details is warranted before launching a large-scale study of verb or adjective agreement with partitive structures. Szőke³¹ explains the morphosyntactic features of numeral phrases in Hungarian as follows: “Quantified noun phrases (such as *két lány* ‘two girls’) are morphologically singular in Hungarian, hence they lack a number feature, triggering singular agreement on the verb”.

The Estonian example (16c) is like Hungarian, with singular agreement in the context of a numeral. However, example (16b) is like the English numeral phrase, where the agreement is with the overt number.

³¹ Bernadett Szőke: Appositive constructions, in G. Alberti – T. Laczkó (eds.): *Syntax of Hungarian Nouns and Noun Phrases Volume 2*, Amsterdam University Press, 2018, 896–931.

Note that gender is absent in both languages and there is a relevant difference in the Uralic examples when compared to the English counterpart: number. Neither Hungarian nor Estonian nouns in numeral phrases carry plural markers (17). Nevertheless, Hungarian and Estonian do differ: in case. The Hungarian noun in ‘two girls’ (17a) bears no case marker; the form is in the nominative. The Estonian noun in ‘two girls’ bears the partitive case marker instead; the form is partitive singular with plural (17b) as well as singular (17c) agreement.

(17) a. Hungarian, singular agreement only

[...]	<i>Két</i>	<i>lány</i>	<i>jó</i>	<i>jegyét</i>	<i>kapott</i> /* <i>kaptak</i> .
	two.NOM	girl.NOM	good	grade.ACC	get.PST.3SG /3PL
	‘Two girls got a good grade.’				

b. Hungarian, singular agreement only, other predicates

[...]	<i>Két</i>	<i>lány</i>	<i>tanár</i> /	<i>beteg</i>
	two.NOM	girl.NOM	teacher.NOM.SG	sick.NOM.SG
		<i>*tanár-ok</i> /	<i>*beteg-ek.</i>	
		teacher-NOM.PL	sick.NOM.PL	
	‘[Twelve people are present.] Two girls are teachers/sick.’			

c. Estonian, plural agreement

[...]	<i>Kaks</i>	<i>tüdruku-t</i>	<i>sa-i-d</i>	<i>hea</i>	<i>hinde</i> .
	two.NOM	girl-PART	get-PST-3PL	good.ACC	grade.ACC
	‘Two girls got a good grade.’				

d. Estonian, singular agreement

[...]	<i>Kaks</i>	<i>tüdruku-t</i>	<i>sa-i</i>	<i>hea</i>	<i>hinde</i> .
	two.NOM	girl-PART	get-PST.3SG	good.ACC	grade.ACC
	‘Two girls got a good grade.’				

Identical patterns persist in adjectival agreement patterns for Hungarian, which allows only singular. In Estonian, predicative adjectival agreement can be studied in two environments, with an overt copula or within secondary predication. In the copular construction, there is obligatory number agreement and in secondary predication, the adjectives prefer singular number, merely allowing for plural. An asterisk marks ungrammatical options and a question mark dispreferred but grammatical options.

(18) a. Hungarian, singular, agreement with adjective

<i>Két</i>	<i>lány</i>	<i>jó</i> .
two.NOM.SG	girl.NOM.SG	good.NOM.SG
‘Two girls are good.’		

b. Hungarian, no plural agreement with adjective

**Két lány jó-k.*
 two.NOM.SG girl.NOM.SG good-NOM.PL
 Intended ‘Two girls are good.’

c. *Kaks tüdrukut on hea/ hea-d.*
 two.NOM.SG girl-PART.SG be good.NOM.SG good-PL
 ‘Two girls are suitable.’

d. *Kaks tüdrukut osutu-si-d hea-ks/ ?hea-de-ks*
 two.NOM.SG girl-PART.SG turn.out-PST-3PL good-TRA.SG good-PL-TRA
 ‘Two girls turned out to be suitable.’

These examples show that variation in number should also be checked against other factors in a generic translation questionnaire. These factors include numerals other than “one”, and clarifying how quantifier and numeral phrases are built up in the language. These factors may determine agreement patterns with numeral phrases. Non-verbal and verbal predication may also cause unexpected results in a large-scale typological translation questionnaire-based survey. Even within a language with predicative adjectives, patterns may diverge.

Before discussing further, it is useful to remind that “number” is discussed here in a multitude of ways; therefore, we distinguish the term “number” and “numeral”. The term “numeral” applies to words (or symbols) that stand for numeral quantity. The term “number” pertains to the grammatical category (singular, plural, dual) and the features of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verb agreement that expresses count distinctions.

As we can see after an examination of South-East Asian languages and Hungarian, there are language-specific structural factors that determine the ban on semantic agreement. In Hungarian *numeral* and quantifier phrase subjects, agreement must always be singular regardless of the *numeral* or quantifier (one, two, three, some, many etc.). Note that this feature does not extend to the *category of number* (singular versus plural) as nouns in *plural number* trigger *plural agreement*. The lack of detailed knowledge of quantifier, numeral, and determiner phrase structures forms a limitation for a method of this kind.

The language-internal reasons for the variation need thus further study, and it is required for the case of English as well, which displays variation and makes use of a locative marking strategy (“in”). It seems that languages with prepositions are more prone to varying versus rigid agreement patterns. English, Arabic, and Dutch have prepositions, and their agreement varies, but Hungarian and Estonian, which employ case marking as the element that links the numerals in the construction, do not. The difference in the structures that the predicate agrees with, that is, the NP/QP/DP is likely to be different in these

cases, but this requires further study. We could exclude semantic agreement in Hungarian because of the structure of agreement with numeral phrases in example (16a), but Estonian in (16b) would then remain unexplained. It is possible that in languages with prepositions, N2, the second numeral that stands for the superset or the whole, interferes more readily with processing as a potential head to agree with, as it precedes linearly more tightly the element that the partitive construction agrees with, and it is formally more ambiguous (being nominative) than a form that has a case suffix. It is also possible that the salience of N2 in the discourse plays a role, or that the grammars of different languages handle the salience of the referent groups in a diverging way. The situation is comparable to the agreement patterns of collective nouns such as *the committee* in language varieties such as English as it is used in the UK versus US. In the UK as opposed to the US, both agreement patterns are in use.

Some of the FPP strategies and agreement research could be understood better if placed within the context of other partitive or measure structures in agreement environments cross-linguistically, and here we can offer mere insights into gaps in research. Regarding this matter, it is also likely that we did not see a correlation between the partitive strategy and agreement type, because of the lack of sufficient data to generalize.

From the second pilot survey, an additional interesting point appeared: possible interaction with definiteness markers, as in Italian, Hungarian, or Dutch: *een op (de) drie* (Dutch), literally: ‘one (on) the three’. Variation within these expressions emerged from the study as well (*de* ‘the’). The variation between the variants with and without definite articles requires further study of spoken or at least spontaneous language.³² We can only hypothesize that overt definite markers and spontaneous agreement patterns might correlate; this is left for further study.

Comparing Hungarian to Dutch, which allows definiteness marking with N2, we see that Hungarian, the only uncontested Uralic language with definite and indefinite articles, does so, too: *egy a háromból* (one def.art three-ela), ‘one in [the previously mentioned set of] three’. In Dutch, the definite article is redundant in the structure, as there are no specific three referents in the discourse. The structure is an FPP. In Hungarian, the structure with the definite article is not an FPP, because its superset contains three referents only: they are discourse-linked.

However, this word order and construction is ungrammatical or dispreferred for most native informants (Réka Hajner, Kata Kubínyi, Katalin Hegyi, pers. comm.). Additional information revealed that semantic agreement seems to become available with numerical state adverbials (e.g., *ketten* ‘in two’).

³² Agreement here should become singular only, i.e., grammatical, something to consider for further work on Arabic fraction types.

Examples with an overt nominative numeral subject (19a, b) are subject to variation in grammaticality judgements. However, for those who find it grammatical, there is semantic agreement. Examples (19c, d) with numerical state adverbials such as *ketten* ‘in two’ show plural agreement, but whether this displays semantic agreement is dubious as there is a subject drop. No definite article appears in (19a–e). Examples (19a, b) are considered either ungrammatical or substandard by various linguistically educated speakers (Kata Kubínyi, Katalin Hegyi, pers. comm.).³³

Example (19e) shows that a numeral *egy* ‘one’ or *kettő* ‘two’ in an FPP shows singular agreement.

(19) Hungarian

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a. | ?? <i>Három-ból</i> | <i>egy-en</i> | <i>jött-ek</i> | <i>el.</i> |
| | three-ELA | one-ADV | come.PST-3PL | PV |
| | ‘One in three came.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| b. | ?? <i>Három-ból</i> | <i>egy-en</i> | <i>boldog-ok.</i> | |
| | three-ELA | one-ADV | happy-3PL | |
| | ‘One in three are happy.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| c. | <i>Három-ból</i> | <i>kett-en</i> | <i>jött-ek</i> | <i>el.</i> |
| | three-ELA | two-ADV | come.PST-3PL | PV |
| | ‘Two in three came.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| d. | <i>Három-ból</i> | <i>kett-en</i> | <i>boldog-ok.</i> | |
| | three-ELA | two-ADV | happy-3PL | |
| | ‘Two in three are happy.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| e. | <i>Három-ból</i> | <i>egy/kettő</i> | <i>boldog /</i> | <i>eljött.</i> |
| | three-ELA | one-ADV/two | happy.3SG | PV.come.PST.3SG |
| | ‘One/two in three is happy/came.’ | | | |

The type of FPP grammaticalization strategy employed, i.e., whether separative or locative, is not found to correlate with the optional variability of singular versus plural agreement. This suggests that there are other differences in the structures of the languages that may cause the variation. The alternation in (19) is partly explained by the adverbial nature of the numeral, where the semantic agreement type must apply, without an overt nominative numeral “one” that

³³ See Tóth et al. on Uralic for more information on Hungarian partitives with *-ik*; it is clear that the partitive suffix *-ik* cannot be used in FPPs in Hungarian as in numerals with *-ik*, the cardinality is exactly as the numeral denotes: *az egyik a háromból* one-1K DEF.ART three-ELA ‘one in three’. See also É. Kiss (2018) for the suffix *-ik*.

would trigger the grammatical, singular agreement. The Hungarian adverbial strategy based on an essive case ending on the N1 suggests an additional adverbial numeric state or essive strategy type that could be called “AS” (similative).

The following figures illustrate the agreement (Figure 9) and the type of FPP partitive strategy (Figure 10). The FPP and subject agreement values are shown in Figure 9 and the FPP strategies are presented in Figure 10: as in those languages: Arabic Gulf, Tunisian Arabic, Burmese, Khmer, Hungarian, Farsi (/Persian), Irish, Turkish, Maltese, Estonian, Dutch, Italian, French, and English.



Figure 9 (Map 3): Agreement with the subject: rigid (grammatical) or variable (allowing for semantic agreement as well).
Key: Variable: blue. Rigid: red. Not applicable: yellow



Figure 10 (Map 4): FPP strategies. In/on (Locative): red. From (separative): blue. Mixed type (Separative and Locative): purple

Various semantic constraints can be hypothesized to hold, such as:

a. the numeral in Q2 multiplies the numeral in NP1 to obtain the number of referents in NP2.

b. the DP2 can be definite or not (on conditions yet to be determined).

Partitives in spoken and written languages may affect the agreement forms of the sentence, as written language in the corpora may be more normative and less dependent on variation that occurs under cognitive load. For future studies, it seems that an experimental processing method is likely to provide insights.

6. LIMITATIONS

A word on limitations is also in order. This study is exploratory, presenting the limits of the variation on a sample that is based on four Arabic variants, complemented with languages that belong to genealogically different Asian and European languages. The generalizations in the present paper are limited to the data based on our two pilot surveys, translation questionnaire-based elicitation, personal language proficiency, and corpus work of the authors, thus there is a lack of sufficient data and insights to generalize more.

For instance, the translation method in sampling leaves aside examples such as Hungarian (or any other) fractions, which have a possessive structure of a fraction (20a) or an ordinal numeral construction (20b), which were missing from the translation questionnaire-based data but provided by the editors of this volume, Kata Kubínyi and Katalin Hegyi, pers. comm.

- (20) a. *Csak egy harmad-a/-uk szerencsés.*
 just INDEF third-3SG/PL.POSS lucky.SG
 ‘Only a third is lucky.’
 b. *Minden harmadik szerencsés.*
 every third lucky.SG
 ‘Every third one is lucky.’

Additionally, semantic, plural agreement in adverbial structures was not elicited through the questionnaire, but provided in a comment of an online presentation, as in (21).

- (21) *Ketten/ ??Egyen három-ból szerencsés-ek.*
 two-ADV one.ADV three-ELA lucky-3PL
 ‘Two/One in three are lucky.’

Various readers have pointed out that there is word order variation and that some word orders ameliorate the structure (22a) or render it unacceptable

(22b). Example (22d) is a grammatically acceptable word order variant of (22c). Example (22b), lacking a definite article, is ungrammatical, and is not deemed as a grammatically acceptable word order variant of (22a). Note that examples (22c, d) are not FPPs, as opposed to Dutch, where the definite article is in free variation, in *een op de drie* lit. ‘one in the three’. These are questions that are left for further study.

- (22) a. *Három-ból egy szerencsés.*
 three-ELA one lucky.SG
 ‘One in three is lucky.’
- b. **Egy három-ból szerencsés.*
 one three-ELA lucky.SG
 ‘One in three is lucky.’
- c. *Egy a három-ból szerencsés.*
 one DEF three-ELA lucky.SG
 ‘One in three is lucky.’
- d. *A három-ból egy szerencsés.*
 DEF three-ELA one lucky.SG
 ‘One in three is lucky.’

A reviewer points out that another interesting topic is the verb—preverb order that may vary. In *háromból egy jött el* ‘one in three came’, with a preverb that follows the finite verb as the FPP is in the focus position. However, the FPP can also be a topic, and the preverb appears attached to the finite verb, as in *háromból egy eljött* ‘one in three came’. We can observe that topichood versus focushood does not influence the agreement pattern either, as it is invariantly grammatical not semantic.

Some of the FPP agreement research could be placed within the context of other partitive structures. For instance, variation in definiteness emerged from Hungarian and from the ON-strategies, as in the Dutch *een op (de) drie* [one on DEF three] ‘one in three’. No clear correlations between the agreement patterns and the presence of the definite article could be observed with our methods. In Hungarian word order contributes to the availability of the fractional proportional partitive reading.

The FPP type and variable agreement does not correlate with language families, thus suggesting that general cognitive mechanisms (e.g., limits on processing, salience, memory) might be involved in structures where language-internal factors are excluded. These mechanisms could not be addressed in our study.

7. SUMMARY

Based on a pilot study of the partitive N1 linker N2 type expressions such as “one in three”, for which we use the working term *fractional proportional partitives*, or FPPs, we have shed light upon an understudied partitive structure that is frequent and widely spread in languages and that causes variation in agreement in a wide variety of languages as well as within closely related variants.

In the present paper, we have established that languages vary in how they encode FPPs, and how FPPs trigger subject agreement. The focus is on the Arabic languages and variants Maltese, Gulf Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, and Standard Arabic. L2 English (L1 Arabic), Hungarian, Khmer, and Burmese agreement with FPP structures have also been studied to illustrate the limits of studying the variation in grammaticalization and agreement patterns. Various European and Asian languages have been explored via a pilot survey study to expand the sample.

The sample languages display mainly two different patterns or strategies in marking the part-whole relationships in FPP: separative and locative. Using a questionnaire method and elicitation, the results were as follows: Arabic displays mostly the separative (“one from three”) strategy, but English, Khmer, and Burmese languages have the locative strategy (“one in three”). The Hungarian marking involves the elative case, corresponding to separative (“from”), and Tunisian Arabic has both strategies (“in” and “from”). In addition to the locative and separative strategies, there is another widespread strategy for conceptualizing part-whole relationships:³⁴ the possessive strategy. In the possessive strategy, wholes are conceptualized as possessors and parts are conceptualized as possessed items. It is noteworthy that the first and second pilot survey and elicitation did not detect any possessive strategies for FPPs. This could be so, because FPPs are not the most common type of partitives, as the referents are more abstract and “one” may apply to many referents (as is the case with “one in three”). We found the possessive strategy of the structure “N1 linker N2” only after additional data query and elicitation in Khmer. Note that fractions that contain a possessive structure were found also in Hungarian, but these structures may be present in other languages as well, left for further study. One language may have several strategies of grammaticalization of FPPs. Khmer sports four options, three of which are locative (“in”, “on”, and “among”), and one is possessive (“of”). Tentatively, we can assume that the FPP type of fractionality and proportionality is not as compatible with possession as the separative and locative constructions are. At present, we can only conclude that due to lack of sufficient data we cannot generalize here.

³⁴ As described in Luraghi–Huomo (eds.): *Partitive cases and related categories*.

We found that genealogically distant languages may have similar strategies: Maltese, Standard and Gulf Arabic versus Hungarian (and Irish) are typologically similar in using the separative strategy. English, Burmese, Khmer, and partly, Tunisian Arabic are similar in using the locative strategy. Genealogically close languages, such as the Arabic variants, may thus diverge in their strategy type.

Note that for some languages, respondents reported different data, as some languages have multiple strategies for encoding various FPPs. Within the locative strategy, we have found two main types, the IN (as in English, Burmese, Khmer) and an additional ON (as in Italian, Dutch, Estonian, French, Norwegian, Khmer) strategies in our sample. Khmer also featured AMONG. The Hungarian adverbial strategy based on an essive N1 suggests an additional type that could be dubbed as a numerical state strategy or a similitive AS. Additionally, interaction with and variation within definiteness markers emerged as a topic for further study, as in Italian, Hungarian, or Dutch: *een op (de) drie* ‘one (on) the three’.

Agreement with FPP subjects can be divided in two types in our sample: variable and rigid. For example, Hungarian is “rigid” based on elicitation, as plural subject agreement—semantically motivated agreement—is rejected with the FPP phrase. Agreement between FPP subjects and the predicates in languages such as Hungarian is predominantly singular with “one in three”, which we called “grammatical”. This, however, has language-internal causes related to agreement with number (numeral) phrases. Language-internal causes explain the lack of plural agreement with languages such as Burmese as well, where semantic agreement cannot be observed as there is no subject–verb agreement. English (as spoken by Arab speakers) and Arabic (Maltese, Standard, Gulf, and Tunisian) display variation: agreement is singular or plural, grammatical or semantic. We have provided tables grouping languages according to their agreement patterns and the rigidity of the agreement patterns.

This research also explored some of the limits of the methods used for obtaining large-scale typological generalizations in exploring FPPs and subject–predicate agreement. Methodologically, our observation is that a larger translation-based questionnaire sample collection should be preceded by a study on subject agreement patterns, verb morphology, word order, and the structure of numeral phrases in the target languages.

This contribution has provided insights into partitives that are less studied, fractional proportions. Various open questions are left for further study. For instance, the pilot studies and the elicitation detect just one language, Khmer, with the possessive strategy for FPPs, but much variation between the forms of the locative strategy. Even well-studied languages such as Hungarian seem to have much regional variation and division of judgments about the data on FPPs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 – first person
- 3 – third person
- ACC – accusative
- ADJ – adjective
- AS – similative
- ADV – adverb(ial)
- ALL – allative
- ART – article
- CLF – classifier
- COP – copula
- DAT – dative
- DEF – definite
- DU – dual
- ELA – elative
- F – feminine
- FUT – future
- INDF – indefinite
- IPFV – imperfective
- M – masculine
- N – numeral; noun/nominal; neuter
- NOM – nominative
- OBJ – objective agreement; the object (function)
- PART – partitive
- PL – plural
- POSS – possessive
- PRT – particle
- PV – preverb
- SG – singular
- SGM – singular masculine
- SUF – SUFFIX
- TOP – topic
- TR – transitive
- TRA – translative
- V – verb

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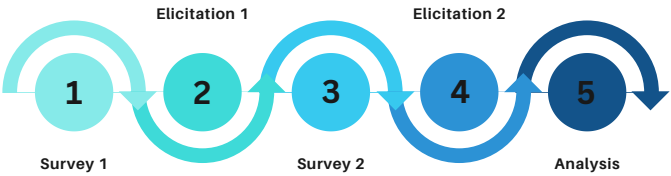
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APPENDIX 1

Research design of the study on agreement and grammaticalization
pattern of FPPS

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

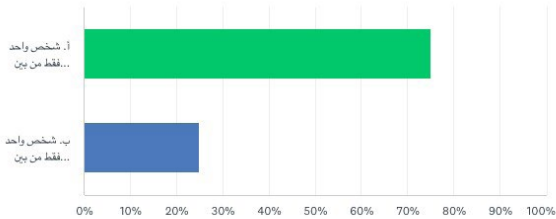


FPP Research design flow chart.pdf

APPENDIX 2
Results of the Arabic survey

أرغب في التنافس للحصول على منحة دراسية في جمهورية المجر:

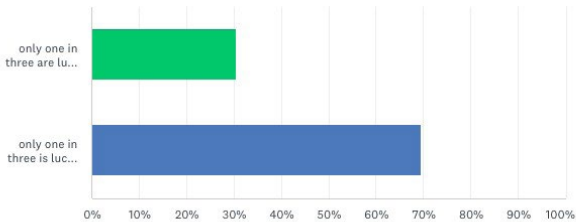
Answered: 36 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
أ. شخص واحد فقط من بين ثلاثة أشخاص محظوظين للحصول عليها	75.00% 27
ب. شخص واحد فقط من بين ثلاثة أشخاص محظوظين للحصول عليها	25.00% 9
TOTAL	36

How would you finish the sentence: "I am applying for a scholarship in Hungary, but I know that

Answered: 36 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
only one in three are lucky to get it.	30.56% 11
only one in three is lucky to get it.	69.44% 25
TOTAL	36

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