

GEN AND PART CASE VALUATION: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS*

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Ukrainian is characterized by a high complexity of its case morphology. Compared to Polish and Russian, it tends to replace Prepositional Phrases (PP) in direct object (DO) and adjunct positions with inflectional periphrases. Besides, each case, in particular INSTR and GEN, has many (one main along with various secondary) functions in both positions (Bilous 2010). Ukrainian case richness and multifunctionality as well as its ability to mark temporal and locative adjuncts with distinct cases have been inherited apparently from its direct ancestor – the Late-Proto-Indo-European (or the Trypillian) language.

1. Introduction

There are languages (e.g. French, English, etc.) that make a clear distinction between GEN and PART cases. Some Slavic languages, however, are characterized by intricate irregularities in the distribution of endings serving to mark the so-called Partitive Genitive (PART-GEN) (Pliushch 1983; Matthews 1997; Valkova 1999; among others). This study, based on generative and functionalist typology of cases, offers a contrastive analysis of GEN and PART case valuation in Ukrainian and French. Keeping in mind that the two cases are the only instances of differential object marking (DOM) shared by Ukrainian and French, our main objective is to answer the following question: What is the mechanism of the GEN and PART case checking or case assignment in the languages in question? In our investigation we draw a clear demarcation line between GEN and PART in Slavic targeting those functions of GEN case that are related to the DO position – the function of a DO marker (Ex. 1a-b) and the function of copular verb transitivizer (Ex. 1c-d):

- (1) a. Petryk sluxajet'sia mamy.
Petryk obeys-CL mother-GEN
'Petryk obeys his mother.'
- b. Saško ne čytaje knyhy.
Saško not read book-GEN
'Saško does not read a/the book.'
- c. Tsia divčyna – dvorians'koho rodu.
This girl noble-GEN descent-GEN
'This girl is of noble descent.'

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- d. Vony dijšly zhody
 They went-PERF agreement-GEN
 ‘They achieved an agreement.’

Following our view on the transitivity relation and INSTR case valuation (Bilous 2009, 2010), across languages there are two main categories in any sentential structure with an established transitive relation: the functional projection TrP and the lexical projection v P. Following Bowers’s (2002) stipulation that Tr is a syntactic category which encodes the semantic (interpretable) feature of transitivity, we propose that this feature is responsible for the establishment of a transitive relation and that it is, in fact, uninterpretable. According to this proposal, sentences containing unaccusative and unergative verbs are characterized by lack of the functional category (FC) TrP, and the distinction between V and v reflects the distinction between high and low transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980) or between a ‘normal’ transitive verb governing a DO in ACC case and a defective verb (transitive or transitivized) assigning to its DO a non-accusative case. This view helps us to offer a unified approach to any type of case marking in DO position.

One of our major proposals in this article is that in Ukrainian the difference between GEN and PART cases can be seen at two levels: semantic and syntactic. Semantically speaking, GEN cannot have a partitive reading, unlike the PART case. Syntactically speaking, we distinguish between three types of GEN: 1) GEN marking a post-copular noun and assigned as an inherent lexical case by the (null) lexical head P (cf. Ex. 1c/d), realizing the feature of characterization or transitivizing an unaccusative verb; 2) GEN marking a DO of a transitive (or transitivized) verb, assigned (obligatorily or optionally) by the lexical head v as an inherent lexical case (cf. Ex. 1a); 3) Genitive of Negation (GEN-NEG) checked by a quantifying preposition embedded in v OP in the head-complement configuration [P–DetP] (after being licensed by negation). The last type of GEN, GEN-NEG (cf. Ex. 1b), is similar to PART, sharing with it the same checking domain. However, PART case is valued by Asp, if the verb is or becomes v Q (i.e. one which quantifies its DO). This is a modified version of Brown’s (1999) proposal on GEN-NEG and PART checking and of Harves’s (2002) proposal on GEN-NEG checking.

We conclude that in spite of important differences between Ukrainian (a non-configurational system with rich case morphology) and French (a generally configurational system with impoverished case morphology) in terms of case valuation, both codes share two instances of DOM – GEN-NEG and PART cases, representing a mix of structural and inherent lexical case properties.

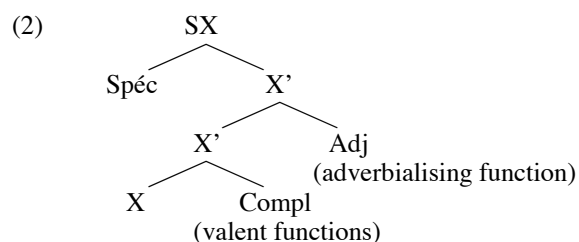
The article is organized as follows. In Section 2 we will briefly discuss the difference between GEN and PART cases and some aspects related to their use in the DO position. In Section 3 we explain formally how the two cases are valued. And finally, in Section 4 we summarize our findings and draw some conclusions.

2. PART and GEN in Ukrainian

The following aspects with regard to the use and functionality of the two cases are to be kept in mind: 1) GEN and PART endings in Ukrainian are often the same (partitive morphology is distinct generally on masculine singular nouns of the second declension); 2) GEN can mark indefinite reading, while PART marks partitive reading; 3) the use of PART is optional; 4) the use of ACC versus PART versus GEN depends primarily on a semantic trigger¹; 5) in negative sentences GEN (of negation) is a preferred form (in Ukrainian similarly to French it is GEN-NEG that replaces PART in case of negation); 6) aspect can also play in some cases a decisive role in case selection (ACC versus GEN or GEN versus PART); 7) in Ukrainian PART is not possible after a copular verb in a negative sentence, which is not the case in French (e.g. *Ce n'est pas du pain./ Je n'ai pas mangé du pain, mais des biscottes.*).

2.1 GEN case

GEN is the principal transpositional case on DO (alternating with ACC). There are three functions of GEN in post-verbal position in Ukrainian (two – valent and one – non-valent): 1) object function; 2) transitivity function (cf. also Tymchenko 1913; Dzhura 2001; among others) (copular verb transitivity); and 3) adverbialising function (Tymchenko 1913; Dzhura 2001; among others). Those functions correspond to the following syntactic positions:



In Ukrainian there is also an ‘obligatory’ GEN, assigned by certain verbs, such as:

- (3) *torkatysia* ‘to touch’, *bojatysia* ‘to fear’, *storonytysia* ‘to shun’, *unykaty* ‘to avoid’, *straxatysia* ‘to be scared’, *saxatysia* ‘to flee, avoid’, *čekaty/dočekatysia* ‘to wait’, *očikuvaty* ‘to await’, *prosyty* ‘to ask’, *zasluhovuvaty* ‘to deserve’, *vartuvaty* ‘to be worth’, *xotity* ‘to want’, *bažaty* ‘to wish, desire’, *vymahaty* ‘to demand’, *prahnuty* ‘to aspire’, *žadaty* ‘to desire, long’, *dobyvatysia* ‘to demand’, *šukaty* ‘to look for’, *sluxaty(s’)* ‘to obey’.

¹ The question of possible case alternations (ACC – PART, ACC – GEN, GEN – PART) will be left out because of limited space.

Certain verbs contain, however, a bound clitic *sia* 'self'. It is an element that generally has no independent status. Therefore, the verbs bearing it can be called pseudo-reflexive by excellence.

In some cases GEN is optional:

- (4) a. Andrij bojit'**sia** Mariji.
Andrew fears-CL Mary-GEN
'Andrew fears Mary.'
- b. Andrij bojit'**sia** Mariju.
Andrew fears Mary-ACC
'Andrew fears Mary.'

It is possible to suggest that in (4b) the ACC case does not constitute a regular instance of structural case checking. It behaves like a lexicalized or inherent lexical case, since the clitic *sia* 'self' might be interpreted as a partially independent element functioning as an internal argument. If we assume that this is the case, then ACC would be assigned by the null head P, although receiving its thematic role from the verb.

2.2 PART case

According to Fischer (2003), there are two functions of PART in Polish and Russian: 1) assignment of PART to quantitatively undetermined (plural) NPs, and 2) aspectual function – PART is assigned to objects of perfective verbs and can alternate with ACC. The same two functions are available in French:

- (5) a. Marc boit **du** café.
Mark drinks coffee-PART
'Mark drinks (some) coffee.'
- b. Annette achète **des** pommes.
Annette buys apples-PART
'Annette buys (some) apples.'

As to Ukrainian, some linguists (cf. Hrek 2000; Dzhura 2001; among others) distinguish between 1) quantifying partitivity (Ex. 6a) and 2) temporal partitivity (Ex. 6b);

- (6) a. pidkynuty **suxoho** xmyzu u vohnyšče
throw.PERF dry-PART wood-PART in fire-ACC
'throw some dry (fire)wood in the fire'
- b. pozyčyty lopaty
borrow.PERF spade-PART
'borrow a spade'

Thus, in Ukrainian PART can alternate with ACC not only on mass nouns, but also on count nouns, which seems to be quite a unique phenomenon.

According to previous studies (Brown 1999; Collopy 1998; Valkova 1999; Fischer 2003; among others) PART case follows the syntactic model of structural cases, but it is semantically conditioned. In our view, however, it is a non-accusative case licensed by a perfective aspect. In Section 3 we will explain our view with more details.

Apparently, the choice of GEN or PART case can depend not only on the semantic content of the governing verb and/or the governed noun (or triggers like lexical aspect or syntactic negation), but also on some prosodic and pragmatic factors. Due to space restrictions, however, we will not explore here all the possible factors that determine case selection in Ukrainian.

It is also important to note that singular masculine nouns of the second declension represent quite a challenge. There is an ongoing debate about them in the literature (cf. Sulyma 1928; Hjemslev 1959; Sheveliov 1963; Ilarion 1969; Zatovkaniuk 1975; Vykhoanets' 1987; Nedashkivska 1998; Hrechanychenko & Matulevska 2008; among others). There are two issues to be mentioned: 1) marking of (in)animate nouns with the desinence $-\emptyset/-a$ (Ex. 7a/b), and 2) the existence of two different desinences $-a/ja$ and $-u/ju$, which mark GEN (or ACC) and PART cases (Ex. 7c/d, cf. also Hrechanychenko & Matulevska 2008 : 2):

- (7) a. Ja šukaju slovnyk/a
I look for dictionary-ACC(??GEN)
'I am looking for a(the) dictionary.'
- b. Ja šukaju niž/noža
I look for knife-ACC(??GEN)
'I am looking for a(the) knife.'
- c. detektyva (an agent)
detective-ACC
'detective'
- d. detektyvu (a literary work, film)
detective story-PART
'detective story'

We cannot discuss here all the details of the debate about whether the alternating endings $-\emptyset$ and $-a$ represent ACC–GEN alternation or simply an alternative marking of ACC. Since no clear-cutting conclusion has been drawn so far, we subscribe ourselves under Zatovkaniuk's (1975) Extended Accusative Hypothesis, according to which the ending $-a$ marks ACC case. As far as $-a/ja$ and $-u/ju$ endings are concerned, we believe they are markers of ACC and PART cases.

3. Formalization

Since there has been no agreement among Slavists as to the functional structure of sentences containing ‘quirky’ cases on DO, in Bilous (2010) a unified approach has been offered to DOM in Slavic to deal primarily with excessive ‘cluttering’ of sentential structure (rendering it unnecessarily too complex) with various functional categories (FC), having ambiguous status in the approaches proposed during the last two decades or so.

Building on the approach outlined for the first time in Bilous (2010) we make several proposals. Firstly, we posit the existence of a FC between T and V that should be able to: 1) account for the opposition ‘intransitive/transitivised’ (defective) vs. transitive’ and ‘V+OD-ACC vs. V+OD-ACC’, and 2) formalize any differences in case functionality. Secondly, we offer that a clear distinction be drawn between two types of case valuation – case checking and case assignment (a structural case [e.g. NOM, ACC, etc.] must be checked, an inherent case must be assigned by a lexical head, v or null P). Thirdly, we agree with Bowers (1993, 2002) that the head Tr encodes a transitivity feature (TF). In our view, it is the TF that is responsible for the establishment of a transitive relation (Bilous 2009, 2010).

Following Bilous (2010), structural cases are checked during verb-raising and inherent (lexical) cases (among which we find predicate and default cases) are assigned either by a weak (or defective) v or by (an overt or null) preposition (P) *in situ*.

If a verb is transitivized or defective because of assigning a non-accusative case, then the sentential structure where it appears would contain the categories v and Tr. But if a verb is a full-fledged transitive predicate selecting the ACC case, then its sentential structure would have the categories V and Tr. It is time to decide now how the ACC case is valued (or checked).

The ACC case in Ukrainian cannot be checked under AspP, since, like in Russian (Harves 2002: 51–52), it can be selected by both perfective and imperfective verbs. Therefore, we propose that it should be checked under TrP. However, we have a problem here: transitivized verbs also raise to TrP in order to check their TF and establish a transitive relation. The possible solution would be as follows. We do not agree with Bowers that the TF is an interpretable feature. It should be an uninterpretable feature [\pm Trans], which has to be checked. All verbs carry this feature, but intransitive verbs do not have it activated. If the TF is not activated, then the FC TrP is not instantiated and the TF cannot be checked. In case of full-fledged transitive verbs the ACC case should be checked during V-raising towards Spec,TrP. If a verb is transitivized, then v must raise to Tr⁰ (Spec of Tr’ or sister of v P), to check the TF. The little v cannot raise to Spec,TrP, since before its raising it assigns an inherent (GEN or any other lexical) case to the complement of the head v^0 . As to V, it raises directly to Spec,TrP to check the ACC case. It does not need to raise to Tr⁰ to check the TF. Besides, if a verb is telic, the FC AspP also has to appear in the sentential structure and the verb has to raise through this category to check its telicity. Finally, all verbs end up under the FC TP. Thus, it can be said that partitivity and negation can contribute to the selection of case and therefore

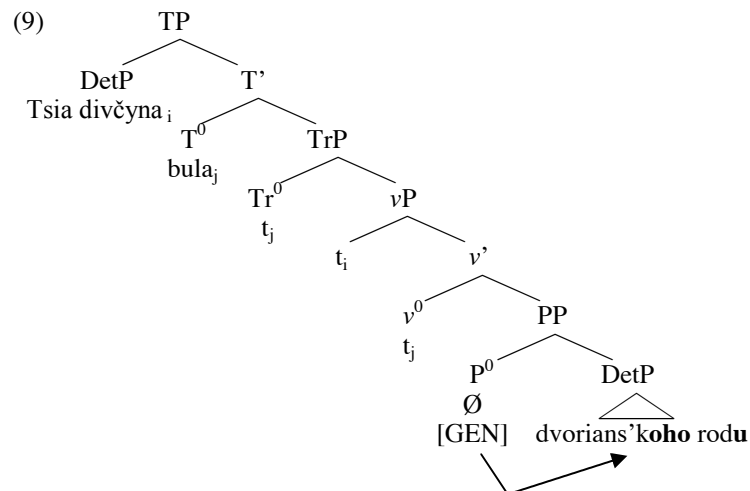
determine the type of case valuation (checking of ACC through raising or assignment of GEN/PART *in situ* by the null head P^0).

Let us return now to the question of GEN and PART case valuation. How does it work?

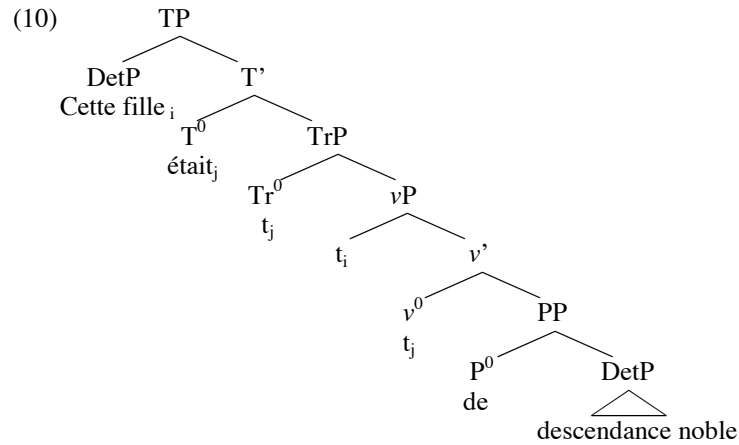
Modifying Brown's (1999) proposal on GEN-NEG and PART checking and Harves's (2002) proposal on GEN-NEG checking, we will show below that GEN-NEG and PART cases represent nothing but a mix of structural and inherent lexical case properties. The difference between GEN and PART can be seen at two levels: semantic and syntactic. Semantically speaking, GEN cannot have a partitive reading, unlike the PART case. Syntactically speaking, we distinguish between three types of GEN: 1) GEN marking a post-copular noun and assigned as an inherent lexical case by the (null) lexical head P, realizing the feature of characterization or transitivity of an unaccusative verb; 2) GEN marking a DO of a transitive (or transitivity) verb, assigned (obligatorily or optionally) by the lexical head v as an inherent lexical case; 3) GEN-NEG, checked by a quantifying preposition embedded in v_QP in the head-complement configuration [P-DetP] (after being licensed by negation). The last type of GEN, GEN-NEG, is similar to PART sharing with it the same checking domain. However, PART case is valued by Asp, if the verb is or becomes v_Q (i.e. one which quantifies its DO).

In our classification the first type of GEN is the one marking post-copular nouns. Following our proposal in Bilous (2010) for the assignment of INSTR as an inherent case after copular-like verbs, we propose that post-copular GEN is assigned by the null lexical head P. The copular verb (cf. Ex. 8) is transitivity (GEN is in this instance an inherent lexical obligatory case):

- (8) Tsia divčyna bula dvorians'koho rodu.
This girl was noble-GEN descent-GEN
'This girl was of noble descent.'

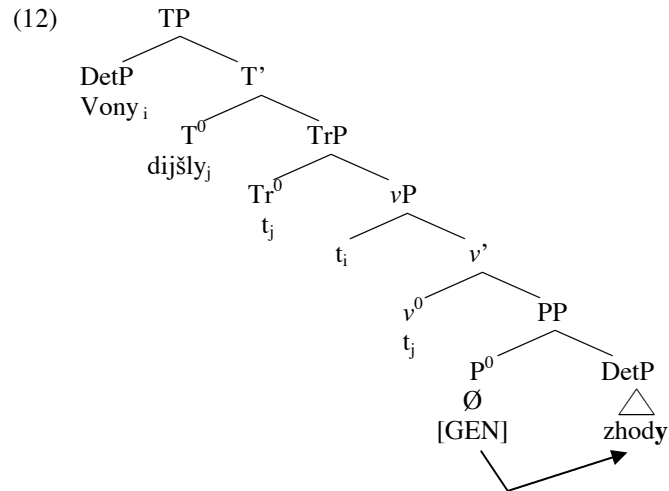


It is useful to note that in French (a language with impoverished case system) P does not assign GEN, since it is simply part of this case. So, the sentential structure is equivalent to the one in Ukrainian (Ex.9), but there would be no case assignment:



Verbs semantically close (being intransitive) to the copular one would also have the GEN case assigned by the null head P:

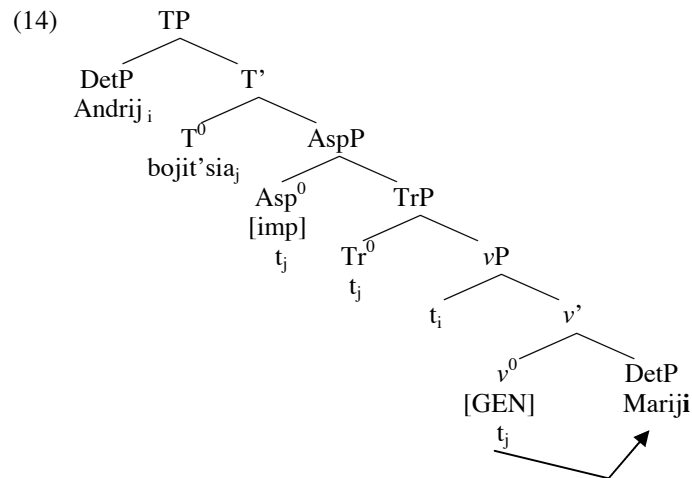
- (11) Vony dijšly zhody
 They go-PAST.PERF agreement-GEN
 'They came to an agreement.'



The second type of GEN, an inherent lexical one, can be either obligatory in case of verbs, which assign GEN only or optional (Ex. 13-15) in case of those verbs,

which allow for an alternation of GEN with ACC. This GEN is assigned by the lexical head v .

- (13) Andrij bojit'sia Mariji.
Andrew fears-CL Mary-GEN
'Andrew fears Mary.'

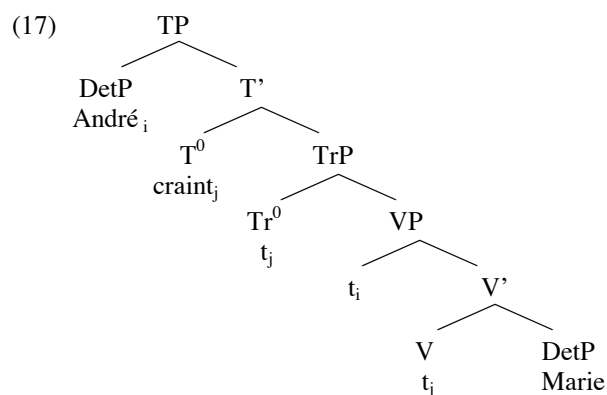


- (15) Andrij bojit'sia Mariju.
Andrew fears-CL Mary-ACC
'Andrew fears Mary.'

We do not, however, reject the possibility that this type of GEN could be alternatively assigned by the null P.

In French, the expression semantically equivalent to the example in (13/15) would have a slightly different structure: the verb would not be defective (and therefore it is not represented by little v , cf. Ex. 17), since it would select the ACC case (checked during V-raising to TrP), which represents a default configuration characteristic of languages with impoverished case systems:

- (16) André craint Marie.
Andrew fears Mary-ACC
'Andrew fears Mary.'

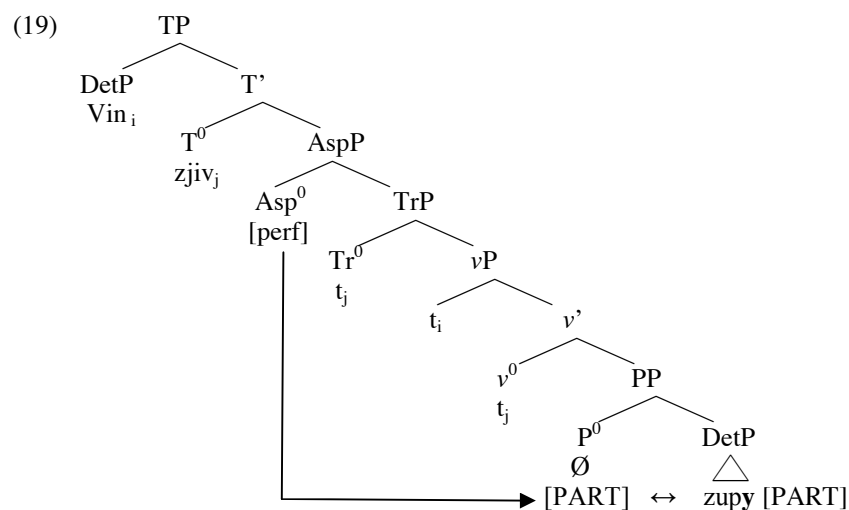


As to the third type of GEN, the situation is a little more complex. Before it is checked by a quantifying preposition, it must be licensed by negation. Here is how we arrived at this conclusion.

Some linguists (Chvany 1975; Fowler 1987; among others) believe that there exists a null quantifier that triggers the assignment of GEN-NEG. According to Freidin & Babby (1984), Babby (1987), Bailyn (2004), Madariaga (2009), it is the functional head Q that values GEN. Harves (2002) proposes that GEN is a structural case and it needs to be checked *in situ* through feature-matching with the Probe Neg. According to Pereltsvaig (1999), a null quantifier is an item belonging to negative polarity, responsible for the assignment of GEN case under negation. In this view, the DO receiving GEN is non-referential and must be quantified by Q. For Franks & Dziwirek (1993) verbs capable of assigning PART should have the feature [+Qu]. Chvany (1975) and Fowler (1987) view the negative particle as a natural quantifier which can force a verb to become v_Q (i.e. become capable of quantifying its DO).

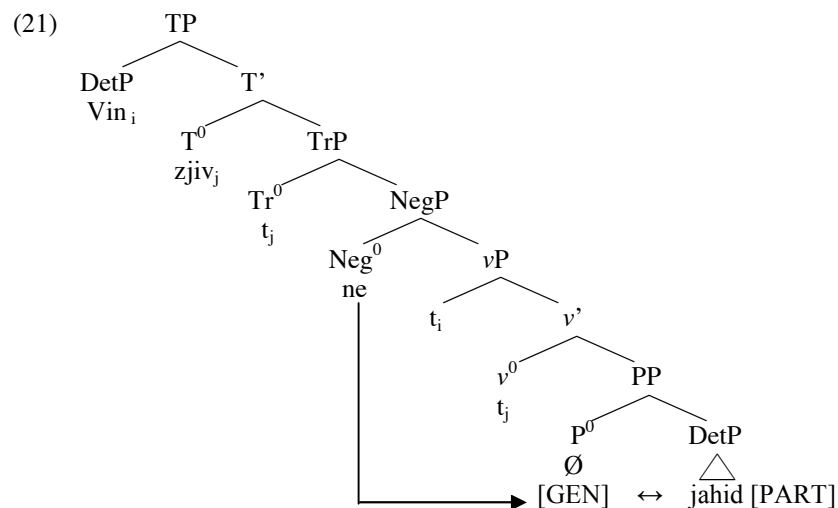
In our view, it is the null P that serves as a quantifier. It is a lexical (and not a functional) head Q. We agree with Fowler (1987) that the feature of null Q is activated under the appropriate conditions in a spontaneous manner. All or at least many verbs should carry the feature [+Qu]. Under negation the activation of this feature is licensed by the negative particle *ne* 'not', and the null P can assign GEN. Similarly, in case the feature of partitivity needs to be realized, perfective aspect (syntactic or lexical) licenses the assignment of the PART case by the null P. The Probe Neg and the Probe Asp look for Goal on P to licence GEN case. In other words, GEN is valued *in situ*, in the feature-matching domain, or in the head-complement configuration [P-DetP]. A verb that allows a noun to have PART must carry the feature [+Qu]. The following examples illustrate our proposal:

- (18) Vin zjiv zupy.
 He eat-PAST.PERF soup-PART
 'He ate soup.'



- (20) Vin ne zjiv jahid.
 He not eat-PAST.PERF berries-GEN
 'He did not eat berries.'

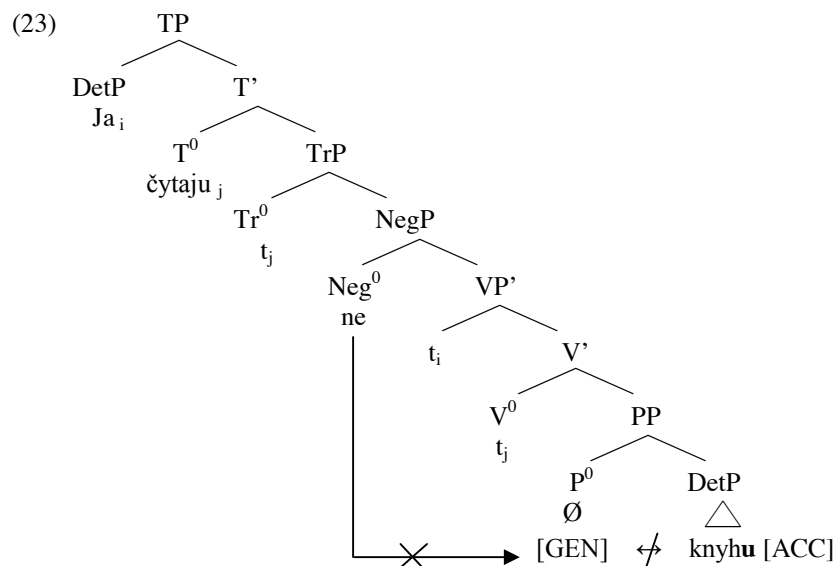
Verbs that receive a mass noun, obtain the feature [+Qu] and thus become v_Q quantifying their DO. Under negation GEN-NEG is assigned. It is important to mention that in Ukrainian GEN-NEG shares the same ending with the PART case (the phenomenon of syncretism):



It is noteworthy that crosslinguistically the ACC case can appear under negation. This means that the feature of referentiality, realized by this case can block

quantification and have precedence over non-referentiality provided by syntactic negation:

- (22) Ja ne čytaju knyhu.
 I not read book-ACC
 'I am not reading the book.'



By the same token, in French equivalent sentences the negative particles *ne...pas* 'not' (Ex. 24) would license the activation of the feature [+Qu] on the verbs followed by mass or indefinite nouns, and those nouns would become non-referential. The head P, being part of the GEN-NEG case, would become visible.

- (24) Je ne lis pas de livre.
 I not read not Prep-NEG book-GEN
 'I am not reading a(any) book.'

Thus, the formal treatment of data outlined above can be applicable to linguistic codes with both rich and impoverished case systems.

4. Conclusion

The difference between GEN and PART in Ukrainian can be seen at two levels: semantic and syntactic. From the semantic point of view GEN has generally an indefinite reading, whereas the PART case realizes partitivity. From the point of view of syntactic formalism, there are three types of GEN: 1) GEN marking a post-copular noun and assigned as an inherent lexical case by the (null) lexical head P; 2) GEN marking a DO of a transitive (or transitivized) verb, assigned (obligatorily or optionally) by the lexical head *v* as an inherent lexical case; and 3) GEN-NEG, licensed by negation and checked in the head-complement

configuration [P–DetP] by a quantifying preposition embedded in v_Q P. As to the PART case, like GEN-NEG, it is checked in the head-complement configuration, but licensed by aspect, if the verb is or becomes v_Q .

In spite of important differences between Ukrainian and French in terms of case valuation, these codes share two instances of DOM – GEN-NEG and PART cases, representing a mix of structural and inherent lexical case properties: checking (not by means of V-raising, but *in situ*, in a special checking domain) and assignment (of case by the null quantifier P).

Although Ukrainian is a non-configurational language and French – a configurational one, the two codes share, from the point of view of our approach, the configuration of NOM and ACC case checking. This configuration seems to be characteristic of many languages and therefore appears to be provided by the Universal Grammar as a default selection.

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