



Is invariable DE an allomorph of the partitive article? The insight from Francoprovençal

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Outline

1. Introduction
2. State-of-the-art: PAs vs. DE in Standard French and Francoprovençal
3. Sketch of an analysis
4. Conclusion and outlook

Research project *Distribution and Function of 'Partitive Articles' in Romance (DiFuPaRo): a microvariation analysis*; (<https://www.rose.uzh.ch/de/seminar/wersindwir/mitarbeitende/stark/DiFuPaRo.html>), directed by E. Stark and C. Poletto, funded by the *Swiss National Science Foundation* (project number 100012L_172751) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (project number: PO1642/8-1).

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1. Introduction

Objectives of the presentation

Main RQ: Are Francoprovençal PAs ([1]; with gen./num. marking) and invariable DE (2) allomorphs?

- (1) *sɔv'eẽ nɔ dzɔntɛn də la pari'eta [...] dẽ la s'ɔpa*
often 1PL add.PRS.1PL **PA.F.SG** **savory.F.SG** [...] in the soup
'Often, we add savory to the soup.' (St.-Nic. 4)
- (2) *sœẽã æn dz'ɔntø də parj'eta e də pɛzɛ a la*
often 3SG add.PRS.3SG **DE** **savory.F.SG** and **DE** **pea.M.PL** to the
s'ɔ:pa
soup.F.SG
'Often, we add savory and peas, to the soup.' (BREL 5)

Stark/Gerards (2020)

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1. Introduction

Main findings

- No, PAs and DE are not allomorphs; idea:
 - DE is an underspecified default merged in Div^o and which – in varieties without PAs – is moved to #^o (evidence: wide-scope properties of DE-nominals in FrPr, see Davatz/Ihsane/Stark accepted; Ihsane 2008: e.g., non-overt quantity (ec) in the structure)
 - number feature sits on Div^o for agreement;
 - PAs contain a lowered *le/la/les*-element that marks gender and overwrites the underspecified default number value of DE = PA nominals like in French.

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2. State-of-the-art: PAs vs DE in Standard French

No allomorphy: PAs and DE are not in complementary distribution in indefinite nominals (in Standard French)

Three relevant syntactic contexts ((*pas*) *ec de*, *beaucoup de* etc. occupy together syntactic slot of *du*)

- When introducing a noun phrase (as determiners):
(3) Jean achètera [**du** / ***de**] vin.
'Jean will buy (some) wine.'
- After a quantifier (*beaucoup* 'a lot', *peu* 'a little/few'):
(4) Jean achètera [*beaucoup de* / ***du**] vin.
'Jean will buy a lot of wine.'
- In the scope of a negative particle (*pas* 'not')
(5) Jean n'achètera *pas* [*ec de* / ***du**] vin.
'Jean won't buy (any) wine.'

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2. State-of-the-art: PAs vs DE in Francoprovençal

At least from a macro-varietal perspective, FrPr does not replicate the contrasts of Standard French in the three syntactic contexts of (3) – (5), i.e.:

- for "simple" direct objects, cf. (1) vs. (2)
- for negation particle and quantifiers, see (5) and (6) [DE available, too]:

(5) *ma miŋ grã el atfet'av pa dle br'õje*
 my mother big CL buy.PST.3SG not PA.FPL clothes
 'My grandmother didn't buy clothes' (Val-d'Illeiez, Valais)

adapted from Kristol (2014: 40)

(6) *no atsatom po da from'a:zo no læ fiʒã*
 IPL buy.IPFV.IPL NEG DE cheese.M.SG IPL 3M.SG.ACC make.IPFV.IPL
 no m'ẽmɔ
 ourselves
 'We didn't buy cheese, we made it ourselves.' (St.-Nic. 4)

Stark/Gerards (2020: 313)



Free variation?

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2. State-of-the-art: PAs vs DE in Francoprovençal

But: macro perspective ≠ micro perspective! (Ihsane/Winistörfer/Stark in prep.):

1a. PAs are not available everywhere in FrPr

1b. Where available, PAs may not be available in all numbers/genders; attested systems (blue = PA available):

	SG	PL
M		
F		

	SG	PL
M		
F		

	SG	PL
M		
F		

	SG	PL
M		
F		

	SG	PL
M		
F		

- generalization₁: If there are sg. PAs, then there are sg. feminine PAs.
- 2. generalization₂: (Ihsane/Winistörfer/Stark in prep.): (ii) If there are PAs with NEG/QUANT, then there are PAs with “simple” DOs ≠ vice versa
- N.B.: bare nouns ungrammatical in FrPr, i.e.: even if there are no PAs, FrPr always needs DE (Stark/Gerards 2020)



2. State-of-the-art: PAs vs DE in Francoprovençal

N.B.: The FrPr system of nominal determination of indefinites (only affirmative contexts without quant.) represents a type hitherto “overlooked” in Romance, i.e., it is also different from the Italo-Romance varieties described in Pinzin/Poletto (2022):

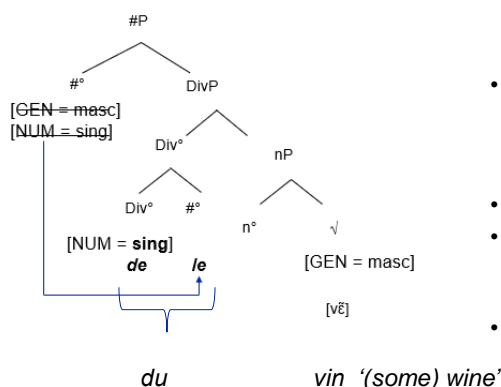
	Language	BNs	DE	PAs
1	Spanish / Friulian			
2	French / Emilian			
2	Standard Italian ¹			
4	FrPr ₁			
5	FrPr ₂			

1: for the semantic differences between BNs and PAs in Standard Italian, cf. Cardinaletti/Giusti (2016, 2018), a.o.



3. Discussion:

Analysis: e.g. Standard French



- **Div°**: (non)division of a substance into units (cf. Borer 2005). In French: DE, for non-division (Gerards/Stark 2020), as no completely empty heads are assumed.
- **#P**: Quantifying elements indicating counting/measuring. In Spec or in #° (Borer 2005, also Stark/Davatz 2021). **ILLE-element** in #° when no explicit quantifiers or ec bound by NEG (cf. Ihsane 2008 for a similar account).
- **PA**: lowering of the ILLE-element from #° to Div°
- **System based on Agreement: Features** GEN and NUM checked by probe in #°; GEN valued on root-level, NUM valued on Div° level (locus of syntactic agreement).
- No n° movement, defective element stays in its low position.

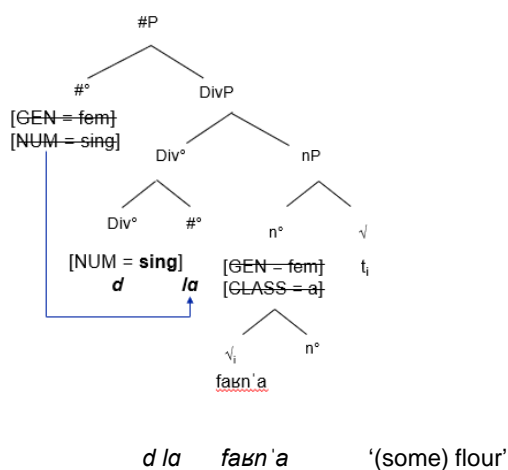
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3. Discussion

Proposal for FrPr 1 with PA



- **Div°** contains a valued NUM feature like in French – no systematic overt number marking in FrPr (in contrast to Italian) since there are declensions in which Ns are unmarked.
- **#P and PA formation**: as in French = if nothing at all here, insertion of ILLE element with subsequent lowering.
- **nP**: portmanteau-morphemes (vocalic) indicating partially declension classes, gender and number (see Ihsane/Winistörfer/Stark submitted).
- **Root** contains valued GEN and CLASS features; n° contains a GEN and CLASS probe. Movement (after AGREE) from root into n°.
- Competing grammars (Kroch 1989, 1994) for PAs and DE (cf. next slide).

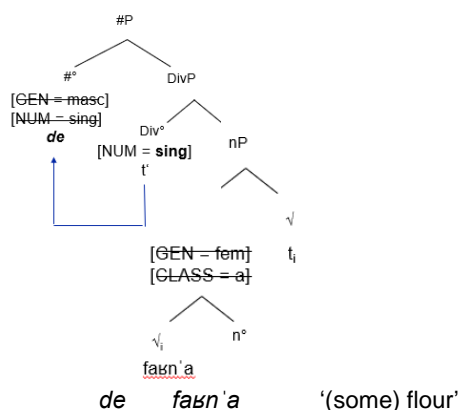
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3. Discussion

Proposal for FrPr 2 with DE



- **Div°**: DE insertion; again, **Div°** contains a valued NUM feature like in French – no systematic overt number marking in FrPr in contrast to Italian. **All the rest as on slide 10. Resulting syntactic elements are defective = cannot be arguments, no quantification!**
- **#P**: DE moves to #°. Phonologically zero quantificational feature in #°.
- Note that DE-NPs cannot function as preverbal subjects (Ihsane 2018, 2021): no overt number at all on the nominal (cf. Ihsane/Winistörfer/Stark's talk).



4. Conclusion and Outlook

- PAs and DE are no allomorphs in FrPr, like in French:
Div° vs. #°;
- Prediction: DE nominals should have different scope properties than the ones known for PA nominals (narrow scope in the singular, cf. Ihsane 2008, Cardinaletti/Giusti 2016 etc.).
- This prediction should concern FrPr as well: in FrPr, DE nominals and PA nominals should have different scope properties : to be tested!
- Question: Why impossible preverbal DE nominals (cf. Ihsane 2018, 2021)?
Tentative answer: no overt number marking at all (number feature value in Div° without any overt reflex) – unspecified quantity is not enough to have 'topical subjects'.



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