

The 'invariable' de-Element and the Indefiniteness in a minority Gallo-Romance language (Franco-Provençal) and in Gallo-Italian Northern dialects. A real bare de? New hints from the consonantal liaison and UR representation

Michela Russo

▶ To cite this version:

Michela Russo. The 'invariable' de-Element and the Indefiniteness in a minority Gallo-Romance language (Franco-Provençal) and in Gallo-Italian Northern dialects. A real bare de? New hints from the consonantal liaison and UR representation. The Old World Conference on Phonology (OCP19), Shanti Ulfsbjorninn & Ane Berro (Deusto), Gorka Elordieta (UPV/EHU), Ander Egurtzegi (CNRS-IKER), Anastasia Klimovich-Gray (BCBL), resp., Jan 2022, Donostia, University of Deusto, Spain. hal-03550779

HAL Id: hal-03550779

https://hal.science/hal-03550779

Submitted on 1 Feb 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.









Michela Russo UMR SFL 7023 CNRS & Lyon III

THE 'INVARIABLE' DE-ELEMENT AND THE INDEFINITENESS IN A MINORITY GALLO-ROMANCE LANGUAGE (FRANCO-PROVENÇAL) AND IN GALLO-ITALIAN NORTHERN DIALECTS

1. Franco-Provençal: Indefinite without articles Romance languages bare articles vs. explicit articles

- Indefiniteness in Romance languages can be expressed by determiners:
- The indefinite articles are generally the result of P° + D° contraction
- DE +Art combined with nominals within indefinite DPs Invariable indefinite de inside a DP
- The Franco-Provençal indefinite articles do not seem to have undergone the fusion of the article and the

as in French du 'some'

- Indefiniteness comes from the preposition alone de.
- Yet, de is categorized as a D° functional marker. • A phonological *liaison* process, sensitive to both structural properties and nominal identity, affects its surface realisation at plural.

We account for the variation in shape of these indefinite determiners in Franco-Provençal without resorting to allomorphy.

- The (in)definite article has bisyllabic underlying representation C₁V₁C₂V₂ uniform across Franco-Provençal space
- The complexity of the indefiniteness values may depend on a final latent consonant –C
- A templatic [liaison CV] unit, which triggers liaison and cliticizes onto the following vocalic onset after the indefinite Franco-Provençal bare de.
- This liaison process is tied to structural restrictions, particularly to the internal properties of the nouns, such as number features.

Two contracted prepositions Latin P+P: DE + EX

- Crucially, this latent consonant is not the result of a contraction of P+Art (such as in French des), but it is issued from DE + EX.
- A comparative analysis of our issue covers Northern Gallo-Italian dialects, like Piedmontese and Genovese.

2. Challenging questions around indefiniteness

demonstratives ILLE, IPSE. However, not all Romance languages have undergone

A common property of all Romance languages: the

emergence of the definite articles from the Latin

the same grammatical change.

• Gascon-Occitan for instance does not have a partitive article, it has the structure as in (1):

$(1) [_{DP} 0 [_{D} 0]]$ Gascon-Occitan (& Spanish)

(Que) minji Ø pan

'I eat (some) bread'

as Spanish como pan 'I eat (some) bread'. whereas French je mange *du* pain.

→ article du: known in French as 'partitive' article'. Morpho-phonologically, the indefinite/Mass article (such as du) is generally recognized from the agglutination of the preposition 'de' (< Latin DE) and the definite article (Kupferman 2001; Zribi-Hertz

Plural indefinite article: the same pattern but with the plural definite article:

| | 'de' < Latin DE | M & F (SG) Def A | M/F PL Def A |
|----|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | French | le, la > du, de la | les > des |
| In | Italian | il, la > del, della | i, le > dei, delle |

and Fr. du pain 'some bread'

- Thus, Romance languages show asymmetry and competition between cover determiners and bare
- Semantic, syntactic and phonological constraints are at the origins of competing functional markers.
- Italian DP del pane (as in French du pain) indefiniteness: indefinite D° made up of 'di' + overt Art bearing φ-features in D position.
- This fully-fledged partitive article can alternate with a covert (null or bare) 'di' in SpecDP, and a covert (null) article in D (see Giusti & Lebani 2020; Russo 2021; Russo & Ulfsbjorninn 2021), as in (2):

(2) Covert vs. overt indefinite element

mangio pane 'I eat (some) bread'

mangio <u>del pane</u> 'I eat some bread'

Gascon $[_{DP}0[_{D}0]]$ Que minji par 'I eat (some) bread

French partitive/Mass construction:

- the partitive du is obligatory before nominals to express quantity: 'du pain/some bread'.
- pain 'some bread' come from the Latin construction DE + ILLO PANE
- is forbidden:

$*[_{DP} di/de [_{D} 0]]$

- It. 'mangio *di* pane/ Fr. 'je mange *de* pain'
- Standard Italian and some varieties, as well as Occitan varieties represent a challenge, since indefiniteness can be reached through both strategies, bare nouns and partitive articles, even though there is an explicit number marking on nominals.
- Stark & Gerards (2020): one single functional head, labeled Individuation (Ind°) (see the optional movement of N to Indo in Pesetsky & Torrego 2007; see Pinzin & Poletto to appear for discussion).
- Traditional belief: Bare nouns are banned from grammars when there is no nominal morphology of number and gender.

Italian varieties, this correlation does not hold as such.

- In these languages number marked nominal can have both bare Ds and indefinite articles that can vary in shape and morpho-phonological underlying form.
- Franco-Provençal.
- In addition, Franco-Provençal still exhibits processes of nominal derivation by means of affixes of number, that are no longer based on the sigmatics inflection (i.e.

express shades of indefiniteness.

Unlike French, in most of the Franco-Provençal varieties, there is a de element ([də]) invariable in gender and in number which fulfills these two functions.

For languages like Italian and its varieties such as Ligurian, the distribution of partitive articles and bare nouns is also not optional (Pinzin & Poletto to appear).

3. The phonology of Indefiniteness in Franco-

Franco-Provençal language: autonomous romanization as French and Occitan (Tuaillon 2007).

Space: between Lyon and Geneva in Switzerland, the Aosta Valley in Italy (Hasselrot 1938, Gardette 1941, Tuaillon 2007).

(departments of the Rhône and the Loire): from now on the Lyonnais, based upon a modern and medieval corpus.

For modern Franco–Provençal:

northern Alps (central Franco-Provençal) by Jean-Baptiste Martin and Gaston Tuaillon.

They belong to the collection of the Regional Atlases, a vast undertaking of the C.N.R.S. which proposed to collect and record the regional languages of France threatened with extinction.

Medieval Franco-Provençal:

The Linguistic documents of the Lyonnais (1225number], [paragraph] – [date])

The literary works of Marguerite d'Oingt, edited by Antonin Duraffour, Pierre Gardette and Paulette Durdilly (MargOingt, [paragraph]).

- All the Gallo-Romance varieties have undergone grammaticalization process, which turns a prepositional phrase (de-P) into a determiner phrase (de-D).
- The Franco-Provençal partitive article seems to differ from French, Gascon-Occitan, Spanish and Italian (Schüle 1961; Martin 1972; Vychenski 2000; Kristol 2014; Navailh 2016; Frechet 2019; Ihsane-Stark 2020; but also Occitan, cf. Ronjat 1913: 46-47; Alibèrt 1976).
- In Franco-Provençal the indefinite reference is made by means of an indefinite article de (bare [də], i.e. without a definite article) which determines both indefinite plural DPs and massive singular DPs.

Our claim: the indefinite article in Franco-Provençal is not a 'partitive' as in French. It may have had from its origin a function of an indefinite quantifier.

A bare 'di' without article also occurs in the Piedmont and in the eastern area of Italy (Rohlfs § 424; Lebani & Giusti to appear; Cerruti & Regis 2020).

4. The indefinite without article: a defective number morpheme?

In Franco-Provençal the article DE does not have undergone the fusion of the article and the preposition, but it seems derived from the *bare* preposition DE.

(4) *Indefinite without article* (Franco–Provençal/Lyonnais):

 $[_{DP} de [_{D} 0]]$ **MASS** [də kyar] 'du cuir/an amount of leather' 'de la toile/ an amount of canvas' FSG [də tɛla] 'des haricots/ an amount of beans' [də fjazul [də gruzaj] 'des groseilles/ an amount of gooseberries' ALLy: 1138, pt 42; 1141, pt 39; 256, pt 51; 486, pt 51

Still, the singular indefinite Mass (partitive) and plural indefinite behave as a determiner of a DP and not as the head of a prepositional phrase PP (P = de 'of'). Most of the Occitan varieties (Languedoc, Provençal) also have a Mass/partitive DE preposition without article, as in Franco-

However, Occitan can cover the three levels of structure (Alibèrt 1976: 92; Navailh 2016), as it can have:

(5) Occitan: three levels of partitivity

we sell books' aqui se venden Ølibres

| | in ruxeen Langueude |
|--|--------------------------|
| [_{DP} 0 [_D 0]] vòli <u>de pan</u> | 'I want some bread |
| | in the rest of Languedoc |
| $[_{DP} de [_{D} 0]]$ | |
| vòli <u>del pan</u> | 'I want some bread' |
| | in Orlhac (Cantal) |
| [pnde [p 1]] | |

- Unlike Occitan, Franco-Provençal Lyonnais mostly show indefiniteness/partitivity without an article.
- The indefinite/partitive marker does not distinguish gender.

(6) Franco-Provençal: NO Gender on the partitive element [də] (All

| , | | |
|---|-------------|---|
| | [də kyar] | 'Fr. du cuir/an amount of leather' |
| | | MASS SG (1138, pt 42) |
| | [də tɛla] | 'Fr. de la toile/ an amount of canvas' |
| | | Indef FSG (1141, pt 39) |
| | [də gruzaj] | 'Fr. des groseilles/ some gooseberries' |
| | | |
| | | Indef FPL (486, pt 51) |
| | [də fjazul] | 'Fr. des haricots/an amount of beans' |
| | | |

Indef MPL (256, pt 51) The absence of an indefinite article is common in Medieval Franco-Provençal (see Navailh 2016):

(7) Bare N – Medieval Franco–Provençal (13th century) jo ne croy que el mont ait cor si freyt 'je ne crois pas qu'il y ait au monde de cœur si froid'

• This indefinite constructions with bare–N was competed by the indefinite article *uns*, *-es*:

'I do not believe that there is in the world a heart so cold'

pleins d'unes genz 'plein de gens/full of people' (MargOingtD, 98)

• The indefinite value of bare 'de' is also found very early in Medieval Franco-Provençal in literary texts and nonliterary

aucons drapers = 'certains drapiers/some drapers' (DocLyonnais 24,

In (9) de invariably marks indefiniteness:

and also *alcuns* 'some, few', singular or plural:

(MargOingt, 102)

(9) Indefinite and bare 'de' marker + MASS N

Medieval Franco-Provençal (13th century) (MargOingt, 132)

quar il non aveyt <u>de argent</u> de que il puit iqui sojornar ne alar

• From the 16th century onwards, there is always a bare article, the only expression of the indefinite plural and MASS indefinite is *de* as in (10):

(Franco-Provençal)

'de sa ceinture, tira <u>des crepes</u>, et la Toinette <u>des gaufres</u>' 'from his belt, drew <u>crepes</u>, and the Toinette <u>waffles</u>'

- indefiniteness
- [d] forms before consonants are also found in Northern dialects, such as in Piedmont.
- <d'alti fochi> 'lots of fires' (*Boiardo*, 15th c.).

5. A real bare de? New hints from the consonantal liaison and **UR** representation

- Franco-Provençal: morphological defunctionalization of
- However, two processes work actively within indefinite DPs (Kristol 2014; Navailh 2016; Knecht in GPSR 5, 40b-53a):
- a consonantal *liaison* in the indefinite plural
- a vocalic elision, which triggers complex initial clusters in the indefinite singular Mass and indefinite plural.

Consequence: Number oppositions can be analyzed as much as covariation of markers.

Crucially in Franco-Provençal (Lyonnais and central varieties, Aosta Valley and Romandy) a morpho-phonological consonantal liaison applies when the indefinite 'DE' introduces a nominal indefinite plural:

ALLy 463 (pt 39) [dəz ərtjə] [dz ortjə] (pt 41)

(12) The *liaison* does not always apply to Partitive–de SG

| ALLy 631 | | The state of the s | |
|----------|----------------------------|--|--|
| [d eg] | 'Fr. de l'eau/some water' | (pt 29) | |
| [d ega] | | (pt 39) | |
| [d ega] | | (pt 39) | |
| [d egi] | | (pt 42) | |
| ALLy 799 | | | |
| [divon] | 'En de la neigo/some snew' | (mt 10) | |

- article.
- The liaison shows that the plural indefinite marker behaves as a determiner of a DP (and not as the head of a prepositional phrase).
- not made by a unique CV unit:

(13) Lyonnais/Franco-Provençal. Partitive UR C₁V₁C₂V₂ [daz artja] 'des orties/some nettles' d e + z

$\mathbb{C}_1\mathbb{V}_1 + \mathbb{C}_2\mathbb{V}_2$

- The consonantal liaison contributes to the morphosyntactic indefiniteness inside the Franco-Provençal DP.
- article de and the marked [z]. The *liaison* process gives evidence for the partitive bisyllabic

- The variation on shapes depends on which part of the templatic proclitic structure is realised at the spell-out according to phonological liaison conditions, as well as to the morphosyntactic environment and agreement.
- The omission of the second P, the latent [z], such as in (8) ([d ega]), interacts with structural nominal properties like number features.
- \rightarrow The indefinite D° category (the indefinite de) is licensed by nominal heads at Spell-Out.
- Consonantal liaison is only possible with plural nouns, and it is blocked with nominal singular marking.

Moreover, elision can also apply in these partitive forms.

- The nucleus is not only elided before a vowel: [d ega] 'some water' (see (8))
- BUT the form [d] without a vocalic nucleus is found also before a consonant (see Navailh 2016) producing any type of consonantal clusters:

(14) Phonological environments triggered by the partitive bare [d]

Schwa Elision → Complex Clusters [db] [dt] [dk] [df] [ds]

[d katɔ̃] 'Fr. des grumeaux/some lumps'

| [d] + bilabial occlusive | ALLy |
|--|---------------|
| [d borba] 'Fr. de la boue/some mud' | (806, pt 9) |
| [d bwi] 'Fr. du buis/some boxwood' | (451, pt 18) |
| [d posa] 'Fr. de la poussiere/some dust' | (595, pt 18) |
| [d] + dental occlusive | |
| [d tala] 'Fr. de la toile/some canvas' | (1141, pt 29) |
| [d trokaj] 'Fr. du maïs/some maize' | (74, pt 29) |
| [d toele] 'Fr. des tessons/ shards' | (622, pt 17) |
| [d] + velar occlusive | |
| [d grublo] 'Fr. du maïs/some maize' | (74, pt 40) |
| [d kwar] 'Fr. du cuir/some leather' | (1138, pt 29) |

| [d] + fricatives [d fojdil] 'Fr. (29) | du lierre/some ivy' | (ALLy 464, pt |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| [d so fina] | 'Fr. du sel fin/ some fine salt' | (ALLy 600, pt |
| 41) | | |
| [d] + nasal | | |
| [<mark>d n</mark> əz] 'Fr. o | de la neige/some snow' | (ALLy 799, pt |
| 28) | | |
| [d] + rhotic | | |
| [d rva] 'Fr. o | du regain/some grass' | (ALLy 42, pt |

- (14) suggests that the vocalic material in [d(a)] is floating and that the floating melody cannot link to governed positions.
- [d] without a vowel nucleus is possible in all preconsonantal contexts, without
- Cases of agglutination of /de/ + Art are residual in Lyonnais (French forms) such

(15) Residual cases of agglutination /de/ + Def 'du lierre/some ivy' (ALLy 464, pt 6) [dy koter]

'de la neige/some snow' (ALLy 799, pt 6) [dəla so fin] (ALLy 600, pt 6) 'du sel fin/fine salt'

The Franco-Provençal indefinite marker does not seem to have agglutinated the article to the preposition, but it comes from the preposition alone.

definite article. The MASS singular is homophone of the indefinite plural article [də], see in (6) and

(16) Indofinita plumal

(16):

18)

| (16) indefinite p | lurai | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------|
| [də gruzaj] | 'Fr. des groseilles/ some gooseberries' | Indef FPL (486, pt 51) |
| [də fjazul] | 'Fr. des haricots /some beans' | MPL (256, pt 51) |

- The variants [dəz] [dz] [d] at the indefinite plural show a case of phonologically conditioned allomorphy
- The liaison consonant is a lexical object that refers to the phonological shape of the indefinite. The floating object is attached to a skeletal position:

\mathbb{C}_1 \mathbb{V}_1 \mathbb{C}_2 \mathbb{V}_2

The liaison has to check the phonological form of the DPs to generate the variation in surface forms of the indefinite plural marker.

Crucially, the apparently monosyllabic variants [d də] are all underlyingly

- 'bisyllabic', composed of 2 CV units. The bisyllabic form shows up before vowel-initial stems. Phonological
- Liaison in Franco-Provençal is an instance of the C₁V₁C₂V₂ underlying bisyllabic representation of the indefinite plural.

• This process shows the active status of the consonantal liaison in articleless P+P

CONTACT: mrusso@univ-paris8.fr

6. Indefiniteness quantification: a Diachronic syntax-phonology mapping

- Our claim: these complex form of indefinite articles (PL and MASS SG) of Franco-Provençal can be detected in Latin texts:
- \rightarrow through the evolution of two indefinite markers (prepositions) contracted: DE + EX
- forming prepositions sequences: P + P turned into Indefinite Articles
- One use of DE in Latin leads to the indefinite/'partitive' article.

The partitive construction DE + N was attested in Latin and refers to the extraction of something from a whole:

(UNICUIQUE BOUI DATO) (Cato Agr.

(18) partitive constructions in Latin

(5th c. Peregrinatio 40.10) (a) DE POMIS

Part +N 'some fruits'

70.2) Part + D + N

'some of this potion' ('be given to each ox') (c) DE AUE SILUATICA (MANDUCET) (Antidot. Brux. 163)

Part + N + Adi

(610, pt 28)

(a) DE EA POTIONE

'An amount of birds wild' ('that he eats')

- Latin can therefore 'pluralize' nouns to designate a massive concept or substance.
- The bare partitive in Franco-Provençal and Northern Italian dialects draws back to such examples. • Moreover, we claim that the Franco-Provencal liaison of the partitive 'DE' [dəz]/ [dz]
- D, contraction, which is the base of the partitive in French. • EX was used in Latin partitive constructions. The preposition EX is generally replaced by DE in Romance,

in the indefinite plural is the result of two prepositions P + P contraction, instead of P +

since DE had a consonantal onset. • Crucially, we find in Latin some examples of a stage where the two partitive prepositions appeared agglutinated in partitive constructions, such as DEEX:

(19) Agglutinated partitive constructions in Latin UNUM DEEX CONSERUIS SUIS (Vangelo palatino, Corominas: s.v. desde)

INDEF + Part [P+P] + N + Poss

'one of his fellow slaves has arrived'

• The gender and number inclusion on indefinite determiners does not occur in Franco-

- Provençal. • The Franco-Provençal indefinite ('partitive' article) does not undergo the fusion between the article and the preposition, but rather it seems derived from the preposition

• This Franco-Provençal de is an invariable morpheme marking indefiniteness.

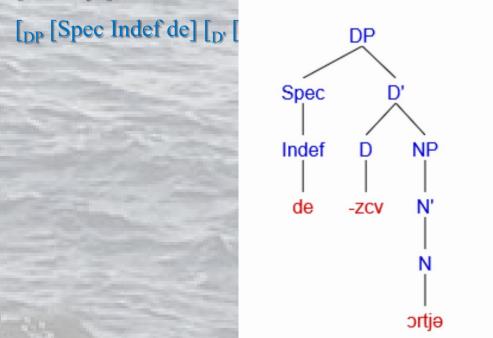
Moreover, the latent consonant [s], which is a marker of the indefinite plural, is a cue of a complex UR C₁V₁C₂V₂ in the bare partitive D and suggests a P+P Latin partitive contraction.

Still, the second P (the latent -C) in the partitive construction P + P (DE + z) is licensed in the liaison contexts when de is in SpecDP structure

 \rightarrow the first P cliticise on the second $C_2V_2 = P_2 = [z]$ and together they merge through liaison once the merged two CV (P_1P_2) c-commands the root as in (20):

[dəz ərtjə] 'des orties/some nettles'

(20) The layered indefinite quantification with *liaison*:



The interaction between these two prepositions P+P also involves a D-layer in the Franco-Provençal varieties as in (20).

Is Franco–Provencal a witness of an ancient state of French?

No! Franco-Provençal has developed diachronically an autonomous expression of

The written documentation shows that the defunctionalization of the sigmatic markers

signaling number is concomitant in French and in Franco-Provençal. A diachronic model based on the idea of a continuum, with more or less advanced states of

defunctionalization, is therefore not valid.

a) $[_{DP}0[_{D}0]]$ b) $[_{DP} de [_{D} l]]$

- Both Italian and French construction del pane and du
- In these Romance languages the structure such as in (3)

(3) Forbidden structure in Standard Italian and French

- However, in Franco-Provençal, Occitan and several
- This licensing feature distance French from the other varieties of the Gallo-Romance family: Occitan and

vocalic inflection). Yet, the number (and gender) is assigned through a mandatory insertion of determiners (indefinite articles) to

We are dealing here with a subset of the Franco-Provençal space constituted by the Lyonnais and the Forez

The linguistic and ethnographic Atlas of Lyonnais (ALLy [map number], P = survey point) by Pierre Gardette The linguistic and ethnographic Atlas of the Jura and

1425) edited by Paulette Durdilly (DocLyonnais, [text

'car il n'avait pas <u>de l'argent</u> pour séjourner ici ou pour aller ailleurs'/'because he had <u>no money</u> to stay here or to go anywhere

(10) The marker bare—de invariably marks indefiniteness from the

'de sa loyvi, Tira <u>de matafan</u>, Et <u>de gaffro</u>, la Toiny

- (1525–30, Escoffier & Vurpas 1981: 26) • Franco-Provençal de become an invariable morpheme marking
- The bare partitive 'DE' (without the article ILLE) and the elided
- Moreover, the bare DE is attested in medieval Italian followed by a prenominal adjective as in French:
- number's markers.

(11) Consonantal *liaison* Indefinite PL DE + [z] – which UR? 'Fr. des orties/some nettles'

[d ortje] (pt 29) • This liaison does not always apply to plural [d ortje] 'des orties' (pt 29), and it does not apply to the singular:

'Fr. de la neige/some snow' (pt 48) • The *liaison* is not mandatory and cannot be interpreted as evidence of a merger of the preposition de and the definite

• The *liaison* process is the sign that the 'de' UR is complex and

- The indefiniteness information is shared between the indefinite
- underlying structure: $C_1V_1C_2V_2$.

optimization produces V₁.C₂V sequences

headed by multiple (compositional) prepositions.

It does not distinguish gender, unlike French and Italian which do so through the

• The consonantal liaison can only be due to its underlying status

