

SEKTION 4

Präsenz und Virtualität von Determinierern in der Romania

0.A. Ulrike Albers (Université de la Réunion):

The interpretative patterns of former French articles in a contact language

Our talk deals with cognates of French articles in contemporary Reunion Creole (or *Réyoné*). It illustrates how a language may synchronically reflect different stages of grammaticalisation: the reanalysed forms of former French articles each have different functions, in Réyoné,

- as determiners marking relational definiteness (cf. example (1) below);
- as noun classification devices (cf. examples (2)-(3));
- as phonological augments to monosyllabic noun stems (like in *loton* from *ton* ‘tuna’);
- as completely agglutinated consonants (like in *linfo* ‘news’).

Lo (from the French masculine singular form of the definite article) is a determiner which we show is used with functional nouns and expressions, anchoring the referent to some other concrete individual. Its use and interpretation are opposed to those of bare noun phrases, which are obligatory in generic NPs, for individual concepts such as nouns referring to unique entities and in weak definites.

(1)

- a. M'i sar {volkan / #lo volkan}.
1sg.i go volcano DET_F volcano
'I'll go to the volcano (unique place in the community)'
- b. A.: Kosa i ariv kanapé -la ?
what i arrive sofa DEM
B.: {#Dosyé / Lo dosyé} la fine kasé.
back DET_F back PRF TEL break
'What's up with that sofa ? The back is broken.'

Do- (originating from the French “partitive” article) and *la-* (from the French feminine singular definite article) are shown to be prefixes. *Do-* attaches to nouns denoting masses; *la-* to nouns that have a default construal as abstract concepts. These nouns may be recategorised; in that case however, the non-prefixed form is obligatory.

(2)

- a. in bonpé {**la-kolér** / **la-bétiz** / **dolwil** }
some *la-anger* / *la-stupidity* / *do-oil*
- b. dé **lwil** diféran (type reading)
two oil different
'Two different oils'
- c. in gran **kolér** (instance reading)
a biganger
'a big anger'

- (3) Rerakont in kou out **krak** la, va ! –
 La pa **lakrak**, lé vré po vréman. (Gauvin cited by Armand 2014)
 ‘Tell us your crap again – It’s not crap, it’s really true.’

1. Georgina Alvarez Morera (Universitat Rovira i Virgili):

Lo que el nombre esconde: una propuesta de análisis de las construcciones con verbo de apoyo

Las construcciones con verbo de apoyo (CVA) son estructuras con verbos con escasa entidad semántica (como *hacer*, *dar* o *tomar*) seguidos de un complemento de carácter nominal que aporta el contenido semántico principal (como *dar un paseo* o *domar una decisión*). Se trata, pues, de un tipo de estructura que se encuentra en la interfaz léxico-sintaxis por la distribución atípica del peso semántico en sus elementos (De Miguel, 2011).

En lenguas románicas se han detectado diferencias entre las CVA con determinante (*hacer una colección*) y con nombre escueto (*hacer colección*), en tanto que el primer tipo presenta propiedades argumentales y el segundo tipo no (Longobardi, 2001). Esta variación en la estructura interna de las CVA evidencia la importancia del análisis a partir de la presencia de núcleos sintácticos que proyectan por encima de N para dar cuenta de estas diferencias.

El análisis se sitúa dentro de una aproximación neoconstruccionista a la estructura argumental (Acedo-Matellán, 2016). En este marco, los verbos inergativos se analizan como una estructura transitiva subyacente con un verbo ligero (1a). La diferencia entre un verbo inergativo (*dance*) y su correspondiente CVA (*do a dance*) es la naturaleza del complemento, que en (1a) es una raíz DANCE, mientras que en (1b) es un sintagma determinante (SDet) en una construcción transitiva.

- (1)
- a. danced [SVoz [SDet] Voz [Sv [v DANCE]]]
 - b. did a dance [SVoz [SDet] Voz [Sv [v a dance]]] (Acedo-Matellán, 2016)

Este trabajo pone el foco en las propiedades del elemento nominal de las CVA y toma datos del español y el catalán como base empírica. Estableciendo una comparación entre las CVA y otras construcciones verbo-nominales que también se pueden combinar con sustantivos escuetos (como *llevar corbata*, Espinal y McNally, 2011), se hace uso de la noción de proyección extendida (Grimshaw, 2005) para ilustrar las posibilidades combinatorias de los sustantivos con determinantes, cuantificadores y adjetivos.

Los resultados apuntan a una jerarquía composicional dentro del dominio nominal. La clasificación propuesta de las CVA a partir de la estructura interna del elemento nominal es la siguiente: los sustantivos introducidos por un determinante tienen flexibilidad en la modificación (2), mientras que los sustantivos escuetos presentan restricciones que dependen de su estructura eventual interna (3). Excepcionalmente, el español Rioplatense hace uso de una CVA con sustantivo escueto que admite un segundo objeto (4).

- (2) Van donar un suport {econòmic / financer / enorme} a les associacions veïnals
 ‘Dieron un apoyo {económico/financiero/ enorme} a las asociaciones vecinales’
- (3)
- a. Tomaron conciencia {social / precisa/ plena} de los problemas
 - b. La atleta hace ejercicio {gimnástico /*extenuante}
- (4) Juan dio vuelta la hoja

A diferencia de estudios previos que atribuyen estas diferencias al peso del verbo de apoyo dentro de la construcción (Mendívil, 1999), nuestra propuesta defiende que es la naturaleza del elemento nominal la que establece las posibilidades combinatorias de la CVA.

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2. Eduardo Amaral (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais) & Wiltrud Mihatsch (Universität Tübingen):

Determiner use in the emergence of Brazilian Portuguese impersonal nouns

Among the Romance languages, notably Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is known to show a series of particularities in determiner use when compared to other Romance languages. The use of determiners in BP, allowing for bare nouns where other Romance languages require determiners, depends on various factors (see Ferreira/ Correia 2016 and Wall 2017) such as syntactic position, number, referential functions and lexical semantics. These factors interact in highly complex ways.

When lexical nouns undergo processes of pronominalization, they are fossilized with or without determiners, depending on the determiner system of a particular language at a particular time. Starting in the 19th century both European and Brazilian Portuguese (Amaral/Mihatsch in press, Posio 2021) have been developing a series of new impersonal lexically based pronouns, *a pessoa*, *uma pessoa*, *as pessoas*, *o povo*, and more recently, and restricted to BP, *a galera* and *o geral*. In the case of *a pessoa* ‘the person’ and *uma pessoa* ‘a person’, the impersonal pronoun fossilizes the definite and indefinite determiner, with interesting diatopic differences between EP and BP. While *a pessoa* and *uma pessoa* just like the older *a gente* ‘we’ fossilize determiners in their impersonal uses, the more recent emerging impersonal pronouns *as pessoas* ‘the persons’, *o pessoal* ‘the staff’, *o povo* ‘the people’, *a galera* and *o geral* ‘the mainstream, the majority’, according to first observation arising from the 20th century onward, show both uses with and without the definite determiner. The aim of our paper is to investigate patterns of determiner use for the latter category of emerging impersonal pronouns, based on acceptability judgments and corpus analyses (Amaral 2015, ptTenTen18), comparing presumably more and less established impersonal functions. In our analysis we will focus on the following aspects:

- a) Differences in determiner use between the different items.
- b) Possible patterns of determiner use in relation with different impersonal contexts and syntactic positions

- c) Differences in determiner use between impersonal expressions and comparable lexical human nouns in the selected corpora.

By addressing these questions, we would like to test the hypothesis that the determiner use gets fossilized in the process of pronominalization and find out whether our data point to a fossilization at the outset of pronominalization or later with more pronominalized functions. We further want to find out whether the near-synonyms show comparable patterns due to analogy and paradigmatic integration or fossilize diachronic tendencies, with more recent impersonal pronouns possibly showing a stronger tendency of bare uses reflecting increasing bare uses in oral colloquial language in general.

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3. Anne Carlier (Sorbonne Université) & Anna Pineda (Universitat de Barcelona):

A comparative study of non-singular indefiniteness in French, Catalan and Spanish

This paper offers a comparative study of non-singular indefiniteness in three Romance languages: French, Catalan and Spanish. These three languages offer different configurations with respect to the expression of non-singular indefiniteness. Only French has a dedicated article for non-singular indefiniteness, the so-called partitive article *du/des*, whereas Spanish and Catalan use bare plural or mass nouns. French and Catalan are similar to each other and distinct from Spanish in that they have a pronoun *en* for indefiniteness, distinct from the definite pronoun.

Current research on the topic takes its starting point in Carlson's (1977) major hypothesis: since bare nouns do not establish a stable referent, they are argued to be invariably as kind-denoting, both in their existential and generic use. Post-Carlsonian research has put forward three hypotheses, analyzing bare plural or mass nouns as (i) kinds (in line with Carlson 1977), (ii) property-denoting (Van Geenhoven 1995), or (iii) indefinites (Diesing 1992). However, hypothesis (i) does not account for the distribution of bare nouns in most Romance languages (except Brazilian Portuguese), since, in contrast to English, bare nouns are ruled out as a generic subject (Laca 1999, Dobrovie & Laca 2003).

(1) English

- a. *Whales are mammals.*
- b. *Whales are almost extinct.*

(2) Spanish

- a. ***Ballenas** son mamíferos.
- b. ***Ballenas** están casi extinguidas.

Both hypotheses (ii) and (iii) have been considered. In line with their predicative use (3/4), Dobrovie & Laca (2003) argue that plural bare nouns are invariably property-referring, hence accounting for constraints in preverbal subject position, especially with individual-level predicates (5).

(3) Fr. *Pierre et Marie sont **médecins**.*

(4) Cat. *Pierre i Marie són **metges**.*

(5) Esp. ***Niños** son inteligentes.

More recently, Dobrovie (2009) returns to a more referential analysis of Romance bare plurals and analyzes them as weak indefinites. Diesing (1992) defines weak (in contrast with strong) indefinites in terms of the following features:

- weak indefinites supply variables;
- weak indefinites are necessarily VP-internal and as such have only narrow scope;
- weak indefinites lack quantificational force.

In Diesing's view (cf. also Kratzer 1990), indefinites are intrinsically ambiguous and can occur either within or outside the VP. Dobrovie (2009) rightly points out that some indefinites can be intrinsically either strong (e.g. *certain*) or weak. Bare plural or mass nouns, if considered as indefinites, turn out to behave consistently as weak indefinites (Dobrovie 2009).

The French partitive articles *du/des* have been widely assumed to behave in all respects like the bare plural and mass nouns, on the basis of similar conditions of use: they are, except under specific conditions, incompatible with a generic interpretation (6), appear in predicative position (7), but are disfavored in preverbal subject position with individual-level predicates (8).

French

(6)

- a. ***Des baleines** sont des mammifères.
- b. ***Des baleines** sont presque éteintes.

(7) *Ces fleurs sont **des roses**.*

(8) ***Des enfants** sont intelligents. (Bosveld-de Smet 1998)

Recent work has challenged this assumption and highlighted contrasting features of French *des*-indefinites with respect to bare plurals. In object position, they cannot take local narrow scope with respect to negation in unmarked contexts (Dobrovie 2021). Moreover, they show hybrid behavior regarding their scope properties: they have variable scope with respect to intensional predicates and negation, but only narrow scope in relation to quantifiers¹ (Carlier 2021). If *du/des*-DPs are recognized to be (weak) indefinites while different from bare plural and mass nouns, how should we conceive the semantic analysis of bare plural and mass nouns? Two options seem available: the first one consists in a return to their analysis as property-denoting (Dobrovie 2021), the second is to assume that there are several types of weak indefinites. This comparative study, which takes into account not only scope properties, but also syntactic constraints, interaction with the aspectual feature of telicity and pronominal anaphora, will show how Catalan, which has no partitive article (Brucart 2002), but a pronominal marker of indefiniteness (Todolí 2002), allows to gain insight into the differential properties between bare plural and mass nouns and French *du/des*-DPs.

¹ Scope and other properties of partitive articles may vary among Romance languages. Cf. Zamparelli (2008), Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016) for (Standard) Italian, Giusti (2021) for Italian dialects, and Stark & Gerards (2021) for Francoprovençal.

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4. Hans-Jörg Döhla (Universität Regensburg):

Der bestimmte Artikel im Mozarabischen und die Agglutinierung des arabischen bestimmten Artikels in den frühen iberoromanischen Arabismen

Dieser Beitrag analysiert die Distribution und die Funktion des bestimmten Artikels im Mozarabischen, d.h. der (proto)romanischen Sprache, die von der christlichen Minderheit im maurischen Herrschaftsgebiet von al-Andalus bis ins 12. Jh. gesprochen wurde. Als Grundlage für die Datenanalyse werden die *Ḥaraǧāt* (Sg. *Ḥarǧa*) herangezogen, nämlich die meist zweisprachigen, d.h. romanisch-arabischen, Endverse der andalusischen *Muwaššah*-Gedichte (11./12. Jh.). Hierbei werden die Editionen von Corriente (1997) mit der Faksimile-Ausgabe der arabischen *Ḥaraǧāt* von Jones (1988) und den Manuskript-Vorlagen der hebräischen *Ḥaraǧāt* abgeglichen. Auch letztere sind oft zweisprachig, ebenfalls romanisch-arabisch.

Insgesamt wird von der Hypothese ausgegangen, dass die romanische Varietät des Mozarabischen einen weitaus geringeren Grammatikalisierungsgrad des bestimmten Artikels vorweist als das Altspanische in seinen ersten Dokumenten Anfang des 13. Jh. (z.B. *El tratado de caberos* von 1206), wenngleich auch in beiden iberoromanischen Idiomen der bestimmte Artikel vom lateinischen Demonstrativum abstammt. Substantive stehen im Mozarabischen oft ohne Determinierer, wo das Altkastilische einen bestimmten Artikel setzen würde, und auch im Gegensatz zu dem Arabischen, wo artikellose Substantive vor allem in den (modernen) gesprochenen Dialekten äußerst selten sind.

Der Befund aus der Analyse der Verwendung des bestimmten Artikels in den *Ḥaraǧāt* dient nun in einem zweiten Schritt dazu, eine Erklärung für den agglutinierten arabischen Artikel in den frühen Arabismen der leonesischen lateinischen Schriftlichkeit (siehe Pérez 2010) zu liefern. Dies ist vor allem deswegen relevant, da davon ausgegangen wird, dass die durch die lateinische Schriftlichkeit überlieferten Arabismen vor 1200 durch die Vermittlerrolle der Mozaraber in den christlichen Norden gelangt sind.

Der Beitrag schließt mit einem Ausblick auf die Verwendung des bestimmten Artikels in den beiden, neben dem Mozarabischen, weiteren heterodoxen Varietäten des Spanischen (gemäß der Terminologie von Bossong 1991), nämlich dem Judenspanischen und dem Aljamiado-Morisco (Spanisch mit aragonesischen Einfluss, gesprochen und geschrieben von den nach 1492 (bis 1609) in Spanien verbliebenen Krypto-Muslimen).

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5. Benjamin Dufour (École Normale Supérieure, PSL (Paris)):

Possessive adjectives and definiteness in the Old French *chanson d'Aspremont*: an example of split possession?

While definiteness and possession have both been thoroughly debated over the years, the interaction between the two tends nevertheless to be oversimplified. As scholars have now shown, the semantic implications of possessives cannot simply be reduced to those of definite articles (Barker, 2000; Aikhenvald, 2019), and the traditional distinction between “AG-languages” and “DG-languages” (Lyons, 1999) fails to properly describe earlier stages of Romance languages, where the grammaticalization of definiteness is still underway (Baldi & Nuti, 2010; Van Peterghem, 2012). Old French is a prime example of this matter: beside the main dichotomy between *mon fils* and *le mien fils*, other existing structures (*le mon fils*, *mien fils*...) remain overlooked in many studies and the distribution between them is yet to fully receive the attention it deserves (Wunderli, 1978; Buridant, 2000; Ledgeway, 2012).

By comprehensively studying a lesser-known *chanson* from the 12th century, with both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, this paper aims at providing new data and at describing them through the lens of the Concept Type Theory (Löbner, 2011), whose distinction between semantic – also known as “weak definiteness” – and pragmatic (or “strong”) definiteness is yet to be thought in the broader context of OF possessives. As this distinction has lately been shown to allow for a better description of definite article in the history of French (Carlier & Simonenko, 2016; Marchello-Nizia *et alii*, 2020), it could also be expected to provide new insights into the distribution of *mon* and *mien*, as well as their relation to the on-going grammaticalization of definiteness in OF.

The *mien*-structure is often characterised by scholars as being more salient or more emphatic (Moignet, 1973), and one could thus wonder if this salience is to be related with inherently non-relational nouns – called *sortal* and *individual* in Löbner’s theory – while the inherently relational nouns would tend to occur with the article-less *mon*-structure. If this hypothesis were to be confirmed, it would make OF possessives an example of *split possession* (Stolz *et alii*, 2008), famously illustrated by Italian (*mio fratello*, *(*il*) *mio libro*) or Catalan (*mon germà*, *(*el*) *meu llibre*) structures.

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6. Teresa Espinal (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) & Giuliana Giusti (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia):

Presence vs. absence of DE in dislocated nominals and predicates, and resumption by NE. Catalan and Italian in contrast.

Aim: In this paper we focus on two main contrasts that have gone unnoticed in the linguistic literature when comparing the syntax of two Romance languages, namely Catalan and Italian. We refer to two structures that show DE (Cat. *de*, It. *di*) in dislocated constituents resumed by NE (Cat. *en/ne/n'/n*, It. *ne*).

Data: First, Catalan, but not Italian, allows what looks like bare singulars (i.e., bare nouns unspecified for Number) in object position of a restricted class of verbs (so-called *have* predicates). These bare nominals can be dislocated by means of *de* and resumed by *ne*. See the contrast in (1).

- (1)
- a. Porto barret. *De* barret, *en* porto. /
Wear hat de hat ne wear
 - b. Metto *(il) cappello. Il / **Di* cappello, *lo* / **ne* metto.
Wear the hat the di hat it ne wear
'I wear a hat.'

Second, Catalan, but not Italian, also allows *de* introducing dislocated predicates (either nominal or adjectival) irrespective of whether the dislocated predicate is resumed by *ne* or the neuter clitic *ho*.

- (2)
- a. (*De*) mestra, la Maria *ho/n'* és. / (**Di*) Maestra, Maria *lo/*ne* è.
De teacher the Maria it/ ne is di teacher Maria it/ne is
'Maria is a teacher.'
 - b. (*D*) alegres, les criatures *ho/en* són. / (**Di*) Allegre, le bambine *lo/*ne* sono.
de happy the children it/ ne are di happy the children it/ne are
'Children are happy.'

Analysis: Focusing on these contrasts and on the well-known similarity between the two languages observed in (3),

- (3)
- a. *De* llibres, *n'*he llegit. / *Di* libri, *ne* ho letti.
de books ne.have read di books ne have read
 - b. *N'*he llegit, *de* llibres. / *Ne* ho letti, *di* libri.
ne.have read de books ne have read di books
'Books, I read some.'

this paper postulates that Catalan *ne* and *de* display the three types of denotation, namely properties of kinds (4a), predicate properties (4b), and properties of individual entities (4c), while Italian *ne* and *di* only display properties of individual entities (4c).

- (4)
- a. $[[\{\text{NE}, \text{DE}\}]] = \lambda P \lambda x^k [P(x^k)]$ *property of kinds anaphora* (Cat.)
 - b. $[[\{\text{NE}, \text{DE}\}]] = \lambda P \exists x [P(x)]$ *predicate anaphora* (Cat.)
 - c. $[[\{\text{NE}, \text{DE}\}]] = \lambda P \lambda y^\circ \exists x^k [P(x^k) \wedge R(y^\circ, x^k)]$ *property of individuals anaphora* (Cat., It.)

This paper further supports the hypothesis, independently held by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2015, 2016) and Espinal and Cyrino (2022a, 2022b), that the indefinite determiner DE can be overt or silent, thereby unifying *de*-phrases (and the Italian partitive article) with bare plurals and bare mass nouns.

Arguments: We first argue that DE is a marker of indefiniteness not a marker of partitivity (i.e., quantification). As a property-denoting determiner, we further argue that three different nuances of indefiniteness can be singled out, thereby capturing the different distribution in Catalan and Italian (1)-(3). We then consider the occurrence of DE preceding stranded adjectives, which is common to both languages, as in (5).

- (5) (*De* llibres), *n*he llegit *(*d*)interessants. / (*Di* libri), *ne* he llegit *(*di*)interessanti.
 de books ne.have read de.interesting di books ne have read di interesting
 ‘Books, I read interesting ones.’

We argue that DE is a marker of nominal concord on the predicative adjective, that is a uninterpretable feature valued against the property of individuals anaphora (4c) displayed by the dislocated nominal.

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7. Urtzi Etxeberria (CNRS-IKER (UMR 5478)) & Anastasia Giannakidou (University of Chicago):

Domain restriction, partitivity, and definite reduplication revisited

In recent literature, the term ‘*weak*’ definites (cf. Carlson & Sussman 2005, Schwarz 2009, Aguilar & Zwarts 2010, Corblin 2013, etc.) refers to cases such as ‘Bill takes *the bus* to go to school every day’, where uniqueness is violated or is relativized to situational uniqueness (Elbourne 2012). Other analyses deny the referential type of definites altogether and suggest that the definite description is predicative (Fara 2009, Coppock & Beaver 2015). In all analyses, the non-referring definite determiner D is admittedly used ‘lighter’ than expected by the classical approaches. In the present paper, we present two puzzles of non-referring D in Greek, Basque and other languages that seem, at first glance, to fall under the label of weak definites: (i) D appearing on a quantificational determiner; (ii) D appearing with another definite. We argue that in these cases we are D functions as domain restriction creating a structure akin to a partitive. Romance languages, curiously do not employ either strategy.

D on Q: Giannakidou (2004), Etxeberria (2005), and Etxeberria and Giannakidou (2009, 2014, ff). propose

that in this use D functions as domain restrictor (D_{DR}):

$$(1) \llbracket D_{DR} \rrbracket = \lambda Z_{et,ett} \lambda P_{et} \lambda Q_{et} Z (P \cap C) (Q); \text{ where } Z \text{ is the relation denoted by } Q$$

D_{DR} is an unsaturating function (i.e. it does not create a referential expression), a modifier that introduces C , the context set variable. By supplying just the context set variable, D_{DR} triggers the presupposition that the common ground contains a property that can function as the antecedent, or identifier for C . This produces presuppositionality for Q . Syntactically, it is assumed that in D_{DR} D attaches to the Q . As can be seen, D applies to the Q , not the NP argument.

(2)

- a. **o** kathe fititis ‘each student’ Greek
 D.sg every student
 *kathe o fititis

(3)

- a. mutil guzti-**ak** ‘all of the boys’ Basque
 boy all-D.pl
 b. *mutil guzti; *mutil-**ak** guzti

Such uses of D on a Q are completely unexpected, even from the weak definite perspective—since the argument of D is not an NP but a Q .

In St’át’imcets Salish, we have a pattern of D_{DR} on the N (not on the Q).

- (4) Léxlex [tákem **i** smelhmúlhats-**a**].
 intelligent [all D.pl woman(pl)-D]
 ‘All of the women are intelligent.’

$$(5) \llbracket D_{DR} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{et} \lambda x P(x) \cap C(x)$$

D_{DR} in (5) is similar to Contextual *Restrict* ($[\lambda x NP(x)], C) = \lambda x NP(x) \wedge C(x)$ (Giannakidou 2004: (31), following Chung & Ladusaw 2003). The NP is not an individual but a predicate with variable C , which then combines with the Q . Languages parametrize as to whether they allow D_{DR} on the Q or the NP. When D is fed an NP it functions referentially in “European languages”, hence the need for the partitive preposition to give back the right input (*et*) for composition with Q , e.g. *ikasleetatik asko* ‘lit.: students-D-of many’. Interestingly, St’át’imcets lacks partitive constructions of the type [Q of D NP] that we find in European languages, where the partitive ‘of’ allows embedding of the DP: *three of the boys*, *many of the boys*. In European languages, thus, the partitive can be seen as the analogue of the St’át’imcets Q with the D_{DR} restricted NP.

If we assume D_{DR} , the ability to perform DR is a property of D -elements: the definite D or a deictic D . Matthewson, however, claims that the St’át’imcets D is *indefinite*. We argue that her arguments provide no conclusive arguments for indefiniteness of the St’át’imcets D , and are fully compatible with an analysis of St’át’imcets D as a demonstrative. Crucially, St’át’imcets D is morphologically deictic, it therefore makes more sense to treat it as a definiteness element. The broad prediction of our theory is that in the absence of the definite vs. indefinite distinction, as in St’át’imcets, Korean (Kang 2015) and Mandarin (Cheng 2009), the functions of definiteness (including D_{DR}) will be undertaken by the next of kin, i.e. a deictic or demonstrative (as in Salish/Korean), or an element that also functions as *iota* (Mandarin *dou*, even though it may not morphologically be a definite). In all cases, D_{DR} arises as a semantic function of definiteness.

Definite reduplication: This is a pervasive phenomenon (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998, Campos & Stavrou 2004, Kolliaou 2004, Ioannidou & den Dikken 2006, Lekakou & Szendroi 2009):

- (6) to kokkino to podhilato
 the red the bike
 ‘The red bike’

Here one of the definite determiners combines with the noun whereas a second D combines with the adjective. Interestingly, the ‘polydefinite’ structure is not a possibility in Spanish, French or Italian. The [DP+DP] structures are sometimes thought to express a predication relation between the two DPs, and the sentence would be translated as something like “the bike that is red” (Campos & Stavrou 2004, Alexiadou & Wilder 1998).

We argue that definite reduplication involves the DDR function on the additional (non-N) applications of D, and that essentially definite reduplication is the way to form a partitive with an adjective. Kolliakou 2004 is the first to make a clear connection between definite reduplication and partitive interpretation. Interestingly, contexts of uniqueness, maximal contexts with no subset available, and overt partitives with adjectives in Greek disallow polydefinites. The head of the structure is the combination of D with the N, which we call below DP1. DP2 is the additional layer that undergoes D_{DR} . The whole derivation proceeds as follows, bottom up:

(7) $[[D_{DR}]] = \lambda P_{et} \lambda x P(x) \cap C(x)$

(8)

- a. DP1: $\iota x \text{ bike}_i(x)$. The subscript i serves to indicate the property index.
- b. DP2, with D_{DR} : to kokkino (the red) = $\lambda x (\text{red}(x) \cap C(x))$.
- c. DP1 and DP2 will combine with any version of the predicate modification or *Restrict* rule. The result will be:
 DP: to kokkino to podhilato (the red the bike) = $\iota ((\text{red}(x) \cap \text{bike}_i(x)))$
- d. Partitive presupposition: $\iota (\text{red}(x) \cap \text{bike}_i(x)) \in \text{bike}_i$

Greek, thus, turns out to allow the St’át’incets strategy (see EG 2009, 2014). At the same time, it is important to note that neither of the two phenomena can be captured by the concepts of ‘weak definiteness’ or ‘determinacy’ (Coppock & Beaver 2013) used in the literature.

Conclusion: ‘Definiteness’ is not simply tied to entity reference, but it designates a family of referential phenomena, including partitivity, depending on the following functions of D.

(9) Types for D:

- Saturating:** $et \rightarrow e$ (iota); intensionalized version (generic)
- Non-saturating:**
- (a) $et, ett \rightarrow et, ett$ (D_{DR} on Q)
 - (b) $et \rightarrow et$ (D_{DR} on NP or AP)

We will discuss what the factors are that affect which functions will manifest in which languages, including Romance—and ask also why Romance lacks the definite reduplication strategy.

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8. Erick García Chávez (Universität zu Köln):

The role of the determiner in infinitive phrases in Spanish and Italian

While the use of bare infinitives as nouns is widespread in Romance languages, Italian and Spanish are particularly permissive in the use of infinitival clauses (InfPs) preceded by a determiner. As a result, in both languages, different types of nominal infinitives are recognized.

The first type (1) consists of a nominalized V within in a DP; these infinitives are syntactically analogue to action nouns and occur with different types of determiners. As to their semantics, they yield an event or manner-of-event reading. The second type (2) consists of infinitives surrounded by a mix of nominal and verbal syntactic properties. Like the previous type, they also allow different kinds of determiners and refer to events. Lastly, the third type (3) consists of a full infinitival clause preceded by a definite article. Unlike the previous two types, they are propositional and often refer to facts. Due to their ability to project verbal arguments and adjuncts, they are referred to as Sentential Infinitives by the literature (SInfs, e.g., Zucchi 1993 in Italian; Yoon & Bonet-Farran 1991, De Miguel 1996, Hernanz 1999, Ramirez 2003 in Spanish).

(1) Nominal infinitive

- a. [El/este/* \emptyset desafiado cantar de los niños] no es normal.
- b. [Il/questo/* \emptyset stonato cantare dei bambini] non è normale.

- (2) Hybrid nominal infinitive
- a. [El/este/* \emptyset continuo martillar la pared por la mañana] no es normal.
 - b. [Il/questo/* \emptyset continuo martellare il muro al matino] non è normale.
- (3) Sentential nominal infinitive
- a. [El/aquél/ \emptyset comer pescado todos los días] no es normal.
 - b. [Il/quel/ \emptyset mangiare pesce tutti i giorni] non è normale.

This work focuses on the latter kind of infinitive. In the first place, it seeks to explain the role of the definite article, which can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality or the semantics of the InfP. Indeed, partly due to these constructions, the role of the determiner as a nominalizing element has been questioned by some authors (e.g., Skytte 1983, Skydsgaard 1977). In the second place, it seeks to determine whether the determiner in these constructions has a comparable function and distribution in both languages.

The use of the determiner is analyzed in relation to factivity and discourse familiarity. With regards to factivity, SInfs are often claimed to be propositional (e.g., Zucchi 1993 in Italian) and, to the extent they tend to occur in factive contexts (e.g., in factive- emotive predicates), yield fact interpretations (De Miguel 1996 in Spanish). Skytte (1983), moreover, has noted that in Italian the determiner is omitted when the InfP serves as the object of communication (e.g., *dire*, *affermare*) and belief predicates (e.g., *credere*, *ritenere*), both of which are non-factive. As to discourse novelty/familiarity, it is to be seen whether use of the definite article is related to discourse grounding and is used to signal familiar discourse referents (Heim 1983, Szabó 2000). These two features have been previously discussed by Rosemeyer (2012), who holds that the use of the definite article is related to the fact interpretation of SInfs, which in turn must be grounded in the discourse. Ultimately, this translates into SInfs being more informative than other nominal infinitives.

The influence of factivity and discourse novelty in the occurrence of the determiner is tested experimentally by means of an acceptability judgment task and a forced-choice task. The predictions for these variables are, respectively, that factive predicates favor the use of the definite article and that familiar discourse referents promote the occurrence of the definite article.

As to the comparison between Italian and Spanish data, the prediction is to observe a higher acceptability in the latter, given that the use of the definite article with clauses is not only attested in the case of infPs, but also occurs, for instance, with complement clauses (e.g., [*el pensar así/el que María piense así*] *me sorprende*). The results will shed light not only on the properties of nominalized InfPs, but on the function of determiners in Romance languages in general.

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9. Miguel Gutiérrez Maté (Universitat Augsburg):

Determinao nominal em portugus de Cabinda (Angola)

Esta apresentao examina os factores estruturais, discursivos e sociolingusticos que condicionam a utilizao ou omisso do artigo em diferentes tipos de sintagmas nominais no portugus falado na provncia de Cabinda, Angola, centrando-se nos contextos em que o portugus europeu (a norma predominante at  data na escolarizao do portugus em frica) mostraria invariavelmente o emprego do artigo. A ausncia do artigo definido  particularmente frequente com substantivos no especficos de referncia plural (1-2), mas pode aparecer em outros contextos (3-5).

- (1) **cubano** [=os cubanos] deixaram filhos aqui (67/m_Kiyombe/Lingala/Portugus_Cabinda Cidade)
- (2) **gorilo** [=os gorilas] so gostam fic[r] me[s]mo na mata (49/f_Kiyombe/Portugus_Belize)
- (3) tem bu de problema na mi[nh]a famlia pa[ra] resolver,  pa[ra] estudar, **criana** [=as (minhas) crianas]  estudar (52/f_Kiyombe/Kilaari/Portugus_Belize)
- (4) **pai dele** [=o pai dele] tem carro (49/f_Kiyombe/Portugus_Belize)
- (5) **tempo colonial** [=o tempo colonial] era muito complicado (72/m_Iwoyo/Portugus_Tando Pala)

O grau de variabilidade idiolectal dentro de Cabinda, como em muitos outros cenrios ps-coloniais no mundo luso-africano (Endruschat / Schmidt-Radefeldt 2014: 240-241)  bastante notvel. A fim de controlar parcialmente a sua descrio, sero includas variveis sociolingusticas clssicas como o sexo e a faixa etria, bem como outras como o grau de exposio ao portugus e (s) outra(s) lngua(s) do repertrio multilngue dos falantes, que incluem pelo menos um dos membros do *Kikongo Language Cluster* (DeSchryver et al. 2015) (a maior parte desta informao j  recolhida, juntamente com a localidade exacta, no final dos exemplos). Alm disso, dentro do mesmo falante e do mesmo discurso h variao na utilizao do artigo (definido ou no):

- (6) aqui primeiro vieram ingleses; pois, **ingleses** primeiro vieram aqui no Mboka, **os ingleses**, [em] 1957 (ca. 45/m_Kisundi/Portugus_Belize)
- (7) temos **uma lagoa** aqui, que chama Massabi; tem **lagoa** que chama Massabi (35/m_Tsivili/Portugus_Tando Pala)

A análise estatística necessária para dar prioridade a algumas variáveis em relação a outras é realizada com o software *Rbrul*.

Finalmente, estudo à interação da determinação nominal com a marcação plural e com a informação sintáctica de localização/direcção, discutindo a possibilidade de *os* ser exclusivamente um marcador plural em alguns idiolectos (*os mulher* ‘(as) mulheres’, *os lavra* ‘(as) lavras’, etc.), tal como *no* poderia funcionar simplesmente como uma preposição, independentemente da sua origem (*em + o*). A fim de caracterizar este tipo de gramáticas “reestruturadas” (Inverno 2009) (próximas em alguns aspectos dos crioulos), será dada atenção tanto aos universais de aquisição de segunda língua (Selinker 1973) como à acção específica das línguas de substrato (kikongo, cuja influência na determinação nominal no ibero-românico já foi estudada no caso do crioulo palenquero: Schwegler 2007).

Os dados provêm de entrevistas semidirigidas que realizei com quase uma centena de falantes bilingues em diferentes partes de Cabinda em Março/Abril de 2019 e Fevereiro/Março de 2020.

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10. Inga Hennecke (Universität Tübingen) & Anja Hennemann (Universität Potsdam):

Diskurspragmatische Funktionen von *Bare nouns*? Pragmatische Marker nominalen Ursprungs im Brasilianischen Portugiesischen

Manche Substantive können zusätzlich zu ihrem lexikalischen Status diskurspragmatische Funktionen entwickeln, wie beispielsweise frz. *genre* und sp./pt. *tipo* (vgl. Mihatsch et al. to appear). Dieser Pragmatikalisierungsprozess geht u.a. einher mit einem Verlust des Artikels und der festen Position innerhalb der Äußerung sowie der Prozeduralisierung der Einheit (Detges/Waltereit 2016). Die Forschung hat sich bislang wenig mit der Verwendung von artikellosen Substantiven in diskurspragmatischen Funktionen beschäftigt, die nichts oder nur marginal mit dem Gebrauch von *bare nouns* als z.B. *mass nouns* (cf. Kleineberg 2022) oder in generischer Funktion (cf. Wall 2017) zu tun haben. Dabei finden sich vor allem in der Umgangssprache des Brasilianischen Portugiesisch (BP) viele Substantive in diskurspragmatischen Funktionen. Insbesondere *beleza* ‘Schönheit -> schön/fein’ ist in diskurspragmatischer Funktion und Satzposition – vor allem in der Umgangssprache – bereits stark etabliert. Während *beleza* und *firmeza* Einverständnis und Zustimmung einfordern oder seitens des Gesprächspartners signalisieren (Beispiel 1, 2) wird *comédia* ‘Komödie -> witzig/lustig’ häufig als Reaktion auf etwas Unterhaltsames gebraucht (Beispiel 3):

- (1) L: [...] uma vez eu tava parado ali passou Itaguaí e eu falei ué... pô dá pra ir pra praia daqui ... **beleza**... muito bom... aí: va/ o transporte aqui é bem bem diverso tem bastante possibilidade você pode ir pro centro do Rio [...] (*CorporaPort*)
- (2) Sentir se bem ao andar independente da magrela, **firmeza** !?! Não compre pegs de Flatland e vá treinar no street. (*Corpus do Português*)

- (3) Pessoas interessadas em debater temas relevantes da sociedade!! hahaha... **Comédia** ! (*Corpus do Português*)

Ziel unseres Beitrags ist die Beschreibung der verschiedenen diskurspragmatischen Funktionen pragmatischer Marker nominalen Ursprungs im Brasilianischen Portugiesisch, wie beispielsweise *beleza, firmeza, comédia, satisfação, tranquilidade, palavra, animal*. Ein Fokus liegt hierbei auf der Beschreibung der unterschiedlichen Pragmatikalisierungsgrade und dem Nachzeichnen des vorliegenden Pragmatikalisierungsprozesses. Neben einer qualitativen Analyse präsentieren wir erste quantitative Aussagen zur Frequenz der diskursiv verwendeten *bare nouns* in Korrelation mit den verschiedenen Funktionen.

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11. Tabea Ishane (Universität de Genève) & Elisabeth Stark (Universität Zürich):

Systems of 'number marking' and indefinite determiners in Romance

The grammatical category of number is not, at least in Indo-European languages, directly related to the action of counting or indicating an extralinguistic quantity. On the contrary, it is the expression of several semantic categories, among which are intensity (e.g. in classical Latin) or collectivity (e.g. in the Italian plurals in *-a*, derived from the Latin neuter). In modern Romance, the morphological nominal plural is, however, usually interpreted as the main indicator of countability, whereas the singular is neutral with respect to the count-mass distinction. Determiners have to take over the function of marking this opposition, e.g., in French (see already Herslund 1998, Stark 2008):

- (1) Je bois un vin (= individualized, contoured object = a glass of wine or a specific sort of wine)
- (2) Je bois du vin (= mass reading, substance, cumulative reference).

Although the grammaticalization of a complex system of indefinite determiners has been linked (causally) to nominal morphology on several occasions (cf. Stark 2006, Carlier 2007), a simple equation 'loss of number marking triggers the grammaticalization of the so-called 'partitive' articles' turns out to be falsified by many Romance languages and varieties, such as Italian, with a 'partitive' article and a consistent nominal number marking system, or some varieties of Francoprovençal with an only partially existing nominal number marking system (see Paciaroni et al. in prep.).

Only when we have a comparative look at Romance can we see two different strategies to mark the threefold opposition 'count plural' – 'mass singular' – 'count singular', where morphology seems to lose its relevance: Languages and varieties either mark at least unambiguously the *morphological plural* vs. singular (grammatical

category of number; e.g. Spanish) and admit bare mass singular nominals, whereas others (e.g. Francoprovençal) mark at least unambiguously *semantic plurals* in the sense of a semilattice interpretation (cf. Link 1983, Heycock & Zamparelli 2005) of nominals denoting sets of sets of singletons or portions, with overt indefinite determiners:

	Plural (count): 'mushrooms'	Singular (mass): 'mushroom'	Singular (count): 'a mushroom'
Spanish	<i>seta-s</i>	<i>Seta</i>	<i>una seta</i>
Francoprovençal (Aosta Valley)	<i>DE buli</i> ¹	<i>DE buli</i>	<i>un buli</i>

The resulting systems are surprisingly parallel in that they systematically oppose cumulative reference, the *semantic plural*, to singular count nouns – which is typical for systems of nominal classification. However, as Romance clearly also possesses the grammatical category of number on nominals and verbs, our findings challenge earlier typological claims about Romance languages (Gil 1987, Chierchia 1998) and have to lead to a comprehensive understanding of ‘number’ in Romance.

¹ DE is used here to represent the abstract indefinite determiner in Francoprovençal, which has many different realizations in the different varieties as to its vowel, see Stark & Gerards 2020 on fieldwork results from the Aosta Valley.

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12. Tommaso Mattiuzzi (Goethe Universität Frankfurt):

Bare doesn't mean weak: Ladin article-drop with 'locative' nouns

This talk discusses novel evidence on the little-known article-drop construction in Ladin varieties (Rhaeto-Romance), where specific classes of singular count nouns appear without a determiner in spatial PPs. The interest of these bare nouns lies in the fact that they can receive a strong-definite reading, despite 'bare PPs' being generally analyzed as involving weak referentiality (cf. e.g. De Swart, 2015), and bare strong definites being unexpected in Romance (Chierchia, 1998; but cf. Longobardi, 1996). This apparent tension in the syntax-semantics mapping is resolved under a structural approach where article-drop is licensed by the relevant nouns through phrasal Spell Out (Starke, 2009 and ff.). It is argued that Ladin data represent a new contribution to the landscape of phenomena involving the absence of determiners in Romance, and thus shed new light on the syntactic and semantic underpinnings of 'bareness'.

Ladin varieties allow the omission of the definite article in spatial PPs with a specific set of 'locative' singular count nouns, whose referent is a spatially salient object in either the domestic space or the outdoor space (1):

- (1) tol l stuel che ie **dan** usc de mi majon (Gherdëina Ladin)
take.imp the chair that be.3 **in.front.of door** (of my room)
"Grab the chair in front of the door (of my bedroom)"

Under article-drop, the head noun cannot be pluralized (2a) and nominal modifiers (e.g. prenominal adjectives (2b)) require the realization of the article, as is the case in similar cases of 'bare' PPs (Stvan, 1998 and ff.):

- (2)
- a. I se à ascundù do ***(i)** **ujes**
3pl refl have.3 hidden behind ***(the)** **doors**
"They hid behind the doors"
- b. Ti tascia ie do ***(l')** **ultim usc**
your bag be.3 behind ***(the)last** **door**
"Your bag is behind the last door"

The novelty of the Ladin pattern lies in the observation that 'bareness' does not entail 'weak referentiality' (Aguilar-Guevara et al., 2014), since a strong-definite reading of the nominal is available under article-drop. The approach argued for in the talk builds on the idea that bare 'locative' nouns in Ladin correspond to DPs, accounting for their reading despite the lack of an article. Specifically, these nouns are taken to lexicalize a DP as a single structural 'chunk', licensing the observed definite readings in the absence of an article through Phrasal Lexicalization (Starke, 2009 and ff.). Due to how this mechanism works, the DP structure realized by the noun is 'frozen' and tolerates no internal articulation (a configuration here termed 'slim DP'), capturing the generalization that plural features and nominal modifiers require an article. Thus, the correlation between lexical restrictions, the structurally-dependent distribution of article-drop, and the interpretation of the noun is reduced to the same source, namely the ability of Ladin 'locative' nouns to lexicalize a DP structure under the configuration here termed 'slim DP'. On the other hand, alternative analyses based on either movement or incorporation (cf. e.g. Longobardi, 2001) are shown not to directly capture all aspects of the distribution of article-drop.

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13. Martina Nicklaus (Universität Düsseldorf):

„[...] cullata da piroga sacra“ - ?„einbaumgewiegt“: Die Spielräume für Nicht-Determination als Herausforderung für literarische Übersetzung aus dem Französischen/Italienischen ins Deutsche.

Wenn literarische Sprache eine Ausreizung aller Potenzen des Systems darstellt („extreme manifestation“, Tabakowska 2013, 230) oder als „Ort der Entfaltung, der funktionellen Vollkommenheit der Sprache“ (Coseriu 1971, 185) begriffen wird, dann müsste sie einen unmittelbaren Zugang zu den im System angelegten Funktionsspielräumen sprachlicher Zeichen verschaffen können. Erst wenn diese Spielräume bestimmt sind, kann der von Autoren praktizierte, über die Gebrauchsnorm hinausgehende Umgang mit sprachlichen Zeichen auch in der Zielsprache nachempfunden werden. Auch grammatische Zeichen, z.B. Artikel, als Mittel der Nominaldetermination, tragen zu einer gezielten, die Spielräume ausreizenden Gestaltung bei (Tabakowska 2013, 248). So dürfte im Italienischen, wo der Definitartikel sogar in unspezifischen Nominalphrasen (in Objektfunktion, cf. Kupisch/Kops 2007) toleriert ist, Nichtdetermination als außergewöhnliche Nuancierung auffallen:

Mai passasti sotto gli alberi magici [...], né ti addormentasti sotto le stelle d'oriente, **cullata da piroga sacra.** (Buzzati 1968, 92; Hervorh.: MN)

Eine dt. Entsprechung ?„von Ø heiligem Einbaum gewiegt“ ist kaum vom System zugelassen; funktional nicht adäquat scheint „von einem/vom heiligen Einbaum gewiegt“. Wenn für *piroga sacra* zusätzlich zum Effekt des Außergewöhnlichen die Löschung von Zählbarkeit („number neutrality“; Espinal 2010, 1006) sowie der Ausdruck von „property“ (2010, 985, hier: Eigenschaft einer Handlung), angesetzt wird, wäre dt. „einbaumgewiegt“ denkbar, bei Verzicht auf *sacra*.

Anhand von Belegen aus einem frz. und ital. Textkorpus soll im Vortrag der Funktionsspielraum von Nichtdetermination ausgeleuchtet werden. Die Belege werden nach syntaktischer Position, Semantik des nominalen Elements (z.B. KOLLEKTIVITÄT, Kleineberg 2022) und kontextuellen Faktoren (z.B. TOTALITÄT, Nicklaus 2010, 605; Leiss 2000) typisiert. In einer deutsch-romanischen Perspektive werden funktional weitgehend äquivalente Entsprechungen im Deutschen vorgeschlagen. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass sich die Spielräume für Nichtdetermination im Deutschen und Italienischen/Französischen keineswegs decken, dass sich jedoch Entsprechungsmuster identifizieren lassen.

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14. Petra Sleeman (Universiteit van Amsterdam):

Existential bare plural subjects in Romance

Since Carlson (1977) it is generally assumed that bare plural subjects with an existential interpretation are allowed in English:

- (1) Dogs are sitting on my lawn.

For the acceptability of sentences like (1) in other Germanic and in Romance languages, judgments vary. Delfitto & Schroten (1991) judge existential bare plurals in subject position acceptable in English and Dutch, but not in Spanish and Italian. Giusti (2021) also makes a distinction between Germanic and Romance. According to Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca (2003) as well, existential bare plural subjects are excluded in (European) Romance languages. Longobardi (1994), however, states that existential bare plural subjects occur in English, but are excluded not only in Romance, but in all the Continental Germanic languages.

For languages in which existential bare plural subjects have been claimed to be unacceptable, it has been observed that modification by an additional adjective or PP or narrow or contrastive focus may make the bare subject acceptable (Longobardi 1994 for Italian; Suñer 1982, Salem 2010, Leonetti 2013 for Spanish; Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003 for Romanian; Müller & Oliveira 2004 for European Portuguese).

French does not have bare nouns, but has indefinite plural nouns introduced by a partitive article. Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca (2003) claim that, in French, existential subjects introduced by the partitive article *des* have the same semantic and pragmatic properties as the English ones, which would make them acceptable in preverbal subject position (see also Bosveld-de Smet 2004 and Ihsane 2008). The goal of this paper is to provide a theoretical analysis of bare plural subjects based on comparable data from Romance languages. French subject plural nouns introduced by a partitive article, although not bare, are also included.

Since linguistic analyses on bare subject nouns depend on the judgment of the data, it is important to collect judgments on comparable data in different languages and in a larger linguistic context. It has been observed by Englebert (1992) for French and Leonetti (2013) for Spanish that *des*-/bare subjects occur essentially in written texts, such as literary texts. Therefore, for the analysis two literary texts in a Germanic language were chosen in which existential bare subjects occur relatively abundantly and which have been translated into Romance languages. The examples of existential bare plural subjects that were found in the original version were analyzed with respect to information structure and the presence of modification. Their translations in

the versions of the books in five Romance languages (Italian, Spanish, European Portuguese, Romanian and French) were analyzed with respect to bareness (or *des* in French) and modification.

The results show that the subject does not have a contrastive focus interpretation, as expected on the basis of the literature, but is part of a sentence with a broad focus interpretation (cf. Carlier 2020, who searched in the literary French database Frantext). Furthermore, not only French, but the other Romance languages as well turn out to behave much more like Germanic in accepting bare subjects than has been claimed in the literature. Also, for most Romance languages the acceptance of bare subjects is not influenced by modification of the noun.

Building on Cohen & Erteschik-Shir (2002), an account is proposed in which focus structure is mapped onto the nuclear scope (Diesing 1992). A broad focus sentence is therefore entirely within the nuclear scope. Contrary to what has been claimed in the literature (e.g., Salem 2010), preverbal bare subjects in languages such as Spanish and Italian are thus not necessarily contrastive foci, the postverbal position being reserved for information or identificational focus. Preverbal bare subjects can also be used in broad focus sentences.

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15. Johanna Stahnke-Raub (Universität Wuppertal):

Phonologische Bedingungen des bilingualen Erstspracherwerbs am Beispiel französischer Determinierer

Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht den bilingualen Erstspracherwerb von Determinierern (D) im Französischen und gliedert sich damit in die Achse „Diachronie und Spracherwerb“ ein. Aufgrund des Fokus' auf den mehrsprachigen Erwerb wird auch der Sprachkontakt erforscht – hier zu verstehen als Kontakt zweier Sprachen innerhalb von Individuen. In einem generativ ausgerichteten Ansatz werden die Sprachdaten simultan bilingualer Kinder mit zwei romanischen Sprachen sowohl in Bezug auf einzelsprachliche phonologische Eigenschaften als auch auf Sprachdominanz diskutiert.

Obleich die drei hier betrachteten romanischen Sprachen sich hinsichtlich einiger syntaktischer Aspekte der DP gleichen (Montrul 2004, Prévost 2009, Belletti/Guasti 2015), zeichnet sich das Französische gegenüber dem Italienischen und Spanischen über kürzere prosodische Wörter (Demuth/Johnson 2003) sowie einen Phrasen- anstelle eines lexikalischen Akzents (Jun/Fougeron 2000) aus. Beide Eigenschaften sind sprachübergreifend für den (monolingualen) Erwerb der Prosodischen Hierarchie (PH; Selkirk 1984) und für die Prosodifizierung von D von Bedeutung (z.B. Demuth/Tremblay 2008 zum Französischen).

Zwar wurde in der Forschung zum bilingualen Spracherwerb von D unter Beteiligung des Französischen sowohl auf unterschiedliche Typen von Spracheinfluss (Paradis/Genesee 1996) als auch auf die (unklare) Rolle der Sprachdominanz hingewiesen (Kupisch 2006, 2008), phonologische Bedingungen des D-Erwerbs bislang jedoch nicht untersucht. Die Auswertung der Longitudinalstudien zweier französisch-italienischer und eines französisch-spanischen Kindes im Alter von 1;6,12 bis 3;5,17 (ca. 7.500 NPn) zeigt unterschiedliche Erwerbsverläufe und Spracheinfluss, die jeweils weder anhand sprachenspezifischer Phonologie noch aufgrund von Sprachdominanz allein erklärt werden können. Die Ergebnisse werden im Rahmen möglicher parametrischer Unterschiede im Erwerb der PH diskutiert (Özçelik 2017).

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16. Zeina Tmart (ENS de Lyon):

Coordinated bare nouns in French diachrony

Unlike the other Romance languages, French does not allow bare determination in referential uses (Longo-bardi, 2001). However, recent studies, comparing Romance and Germanic with regards to their use of bare coordination, have shown that coordination licenses this unhabitual use (Roodenburg, 2004). Furthermore, linguistic typology has shown that some linguistic areas do have syntactic strategies for marking different semantic interpretations of coordination – cf. the natural vs accidental interpretation related to asyndetic vs syndetic coordination (Haspelmath, 2004; Wälchli, 2005). Transposing this problem into Indo-European languages, which do not allow for asyndetic coordination in non-appositional contexts, raises the question of considering marked bareness of coordinated nouns a systemic marker of natural coordination. This question has been paid little attention in French, where, however, coordination is the very condition of the grammaticality of bare nouns. By drawing up a typology of bare binominals (BB), Lambrecht (1994) formalized the intuitions underlining this topic. The first type of BB he identifies (type A) is considered prototypical (cf. *He eats with **fork and knife***). These nouns make up fixed and idiomatic formulas and lend themselves to generic readings easily. Their early existence in the history of French can be assumed. The second type (type B) relies on a pre-schematized cognitive frame (cf. *When she came into the bathroom, she saw **washcloth and soap** on the floor*). These BB are more difficult to account for, as they build structural formulas complex to define (Fillmore, 1976). We propose to examine the nature of the relation linking the BB to the pre-schematized frame and revisit Lambrecht's continuum by envisaging the possibility of a transition from type B to type A in diachrony. The last type (C) implies a different mode of functioning, since BB find support, for their reference, in the previous context (cf. *He went [...] to buy a shirt and a knife. After he paid for **shirt and knife***). They are mostly used in direct anaphora, and this explains why they are very often restricted to definite readings (Heycock & Zamparelli, 2002). Compared to the other two types, the BB of type C might appear later in diachrony. They might also be accompanied by less cognitive and referential cost as they use highly thematic nouns acting as a group of referents which tend to disappear soon from discourse. In this paper, we would like to address this issue by trying to account for the grammaticality of these BB arguments in French. Our study will focus on semantics, reference and pragmatics. It will be coached within corpus linguistics methodology and address the questions of representativity and textual genres in diachrony.

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17. Albert Wall (Universität Wien) & Senta Zeugin (Universität Wien):

Zur Variation generisch verwendeter Nominalphrasen im europäischen und brasilianischen Portugiesisch – zwei parallele Akzeptabilitätsstudien

Generisch verwendete Nominalphrasen (NPs) in Artikelsprachen zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie sowohl mit definitem und indefinitem Artikel, als auch ganz ohne Artikel konstruiert werden können (1).

- (1) {Ein / Der / Die (pl) / Ø (pl)} Rabe(n) hat / haben schwarze Federn.

Im brasilianischen Portugiesisch (BP) kann darüber hinaus auch der artikellose Singular in solchen Sätzen auftreten (2). Diese zusätzliche Möglichkeit ist laut Literatur im europäischen Portugiesisch (EP) nicht gegeben (u.a. Müller & Oliveira 2004), was jedoch empirisch noch nicht genauer untersucht wurde.

- (2) {Um / O / Ø (sg) / Os / Ø (pl)} corvo(s) possui / possuem penas pretas. (BP)

Publikationen zur Semantik von NPs haben eine Vielzahl von Restriktionen innerhalb dieser grundsätzlichen Verfügbarkeit unterschiedlicher Determinierer vorgeschlagen, meist auf Basis introspektiver Satzurteile (Carlson 2012, Wall 2017). Die Variation selbst ist jedoch eher selten Gegenstand der Untersuchung.

Dieser Beitrag verfolgt zwei Fragestellungen: Zum einen überprüft er vergleichend die Verfügbarkeit generischer Lesarten von artikellosen Subjekt-NPs im EP und BP, insbesondere die Frage, ob artikellose Subjekte im Singular im EP tatsächlich ungrammatisch sind, wie von Müller & Oliveira (2004) behauptet. Zum anderen wird die Variation von Determinierern in Subjektposition für generische Sätze empirisch untersucht. In einem ersten Schritt wird die von Gerstner-Link (1995:111f) geäußerte Hypothese getestet, dass natürliche Arten (*Spezies/natural kinds*) bevorzugt mit dem definiten Singular bezeichnet werden, während für Personengruppen der artikellose Plural präferiert wird.

Dazu wurden je zwei parallele Akzeptabilitätsstudien mit 42 Studierenden in Rio de Janeiro und Lissabon durchgeführt. Die Proband:innen bewerteten im ersten Experiment sowohl definit singulare Subjekte als auch artikellosen Plurale, jeweils mit humanen bzw. animierten Referenten (2X2 Latin Square Design). Im zweiten Experiment wurde in einem 3X2 Latin Square Design der artikellose Singular, sowie der definite und indefinite Singular in generischen bzw. partikulären Sätzen getestet.

Die Ergebnisse bestätigen die genannten Hypothesen und Behauptungen teilweise oder in der Tendenz. Es fällt beispielsweise auf, dass auch im EP artikellose Singulare eine hohe Akzeptabilität haben, auch wenn der Kontrast zu (in)definiten NPs stärker ausgeprägt ist als im BP. Des Weiteren lässt sich die von Gerstner-Link (1995) vermutete Präferenz als Tendenz nur im EP beobachten. Da die Experimente keine klare Bestätigung bringen, wird in diesem Beitrag auch diskutiert, inwiefern die Behauptungen in der Literatur einer Revision bedürfen und welche Faktoren in zukünftigen Experimenten beachtet werden sollten. Es wird unter anderem dafür argumentiert, dass im EP generische artikellose Singulare in Subjektposition nicht kategorisch ausgeschlossen werden sollten. Bezüglich der Hypothese von Gerstner-Link wird darüber hinaus

diskutiert, inwiefern ein angepasstes Folgeexperiment und/oder zusätzliche Elizitationsstudien klarere Ergebnisse liefern könnten.

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