

Distribution and Function of 'Partitive Articles' in Romance (DiFuPaRo): A microvariation analysis

https://www.rose.uzh.ch/de/seminar/personen/stark/DiFuPaRo.html

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1 General information

- Elaboration of the project:
- Co-funded by the URPP Language and Space (part-time postdoc for two years)
- Input from the international workshop Partitivity and Language Contact (2016, UZH), co-funding URPP Language and Space
Funding of the project (2018-2021):
- SNSF (Swiss National Science Foundation) and DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)
Project leaders: Elisabeth Stark (UZH) and Cecilia Poletto (Frankfurt am Main)
Staff at UZH: Jan Davatz (PhD), Tabea Ihsane (collaborator), Jordan Irrera (MA); at Frankfurt: Francesco Pinzin (post-doc)

2 Aim

- Study so-called 'partitive articles' (PAs), e.g. French du/des and Italian del/dei
Concentrate on the indefinite interpretation (Storto 2003, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006, 2016, Carlier & Melis 2006, Ihsane 2008) vs. 'real' partitive (part-whole) interpretation
Data comparable to bare nouns in other languages:
1. a. J'ai acheté du lait. 'I bought (some) milk.'
b. J'ai acheté des fraises. 'I bought (some) strawberries.'

3 Scope

- Investigate several Gallo- and Italo-Romance varieties in Switzerland and Northern Italy (Ihsane 2018, Stark 2016, 2018, Pinzin & Poletto 2019, Stark & Gerards forth., Gerards & Stark forth.)
Focus on standard French/Italian, colloquial (Swiss) French, Francoprovençal (FrPr) and Northern Italian dialects (NIDs)
Provide a detailed description of the spatial distribution and function of these elements
Compare the morphosyntactic properties and track down how characteristics of the linguistic system cluster together

4 Research Questions

- RQ1: Can we define a set of 'core properties' of PAs present in all the varieties we study?
RQ2: Can we establish implicational scales of the contexts/functions/values of PAs, e.g. stating that a variety with wide-scope readings of PAs always also has narrow-scope readings, but not necessarily PAs in generic contexts?
RQ3: Can we identify a pattern in the geographical distribution of 'types of PAs' in our Romance varieties and explain their existence, e.g. based on observed internal correlations or as a result of language contact (or both)?

5 Data

- Existing databases:
- ASit for NIDs: Atlante sintattico d'Italia, U. Padova and U. Venice (Section 7)
- ALAVAL for FrPr: Atlas linguistique audiovisuel du francoprovençal valaisan, UNINE (Section 8)
- OFROM for colloquial Swiss French: Corpus oral de français de Suisse romande, UNINE (Section 9)
Data gathered in fieldwork in Switzerland and Northern Italy

6 Data selection

- ASit:
- NPs from 37 relevant input sentences: overt PAs, overt Qs, bare DE, bare nouns, generic definites
- Translations from the data points relevant for the project: Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardia, Emilia Romagna, Veneto, Friuli, Trentino Alto Adige, northern Toscana and Marche (plus other Gallo-Italic communities)
ALAVAL:
- NPs from more than 70 relevant input sentences: overt PAs, overt Qs, bare DE, generic definites
- Relevant NPs from free speech material
OFROM:
- Relevant NPs from free speech material

7 ASit

7.1 Tagging and analysis



- Tagging following the tagging system (Section 10.1).
Identification of the main variation patterns:
Morphological realization of plurality on N / Agreement patterns with an overt quantity / Dislocation phenomena

7.2 Example of variation

- Agreement with Q and presence of DE:
-agr +DE: ...mangia fondos ed torta... (Torino,TO) much of cake
-agr -DE: ...magna masa torta... (Aldeno,TN) much cake
+agr +DE: ...minja trote'd mariosse... (Ramats,TO) many.f'of strawberries
+agr -DE: ...mangia tropa torta... (Arcola,SP) much.f cake

https://www.disil.unipd.it/ASit

10 Output

10.1 Tagging system

Table with columns: Feature, Description, Tag, Meaning, Note. Lists various linguistic features like 'number (1,2)', 'gender (M, F)', 'plurality (S, P)', etc.

10.2 Database:

Database giving systematic insights into the linguistic properties and geographical distribution of different types of PAs in the Romance varieties under investigation. Co-funded by the URPP Language and Space.

10.3 Presentations:

- 2019. Davatz J./E. Stark. Unexpected partitive articles in Francoprovençal. Partitive case, pronouns and determiners: diachrony and variation. University of Pavia, Italy.
2019. Pinzin F./C. Poletto. Partitive Articles in French, Italian (and Northern Italian Dialects). PARTE workshop. University of Zurich, Switzerland.
2018. Ihsane T. Preverbal subjects with a partitive article: The case of Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley. Societas Linguistica Europaea 2018. University of Tallinn, Estonia.
2018. Ihsane T./E. Stark. Presenting DiFuPaRo: Distribution and Function of 'Partitive articles' in Romance: A microvariation analysis. Days of Swiss Linguistics 2018. University of Bern, Switzerland.
2018. Stark E. (invited by A. Carlier). Pourquoi des 'articles partitifs' dans les langues romanes? Approche morphologique comparative. Colloque de recherche en linguistique. University of Lille, France.

10.3 Publications:

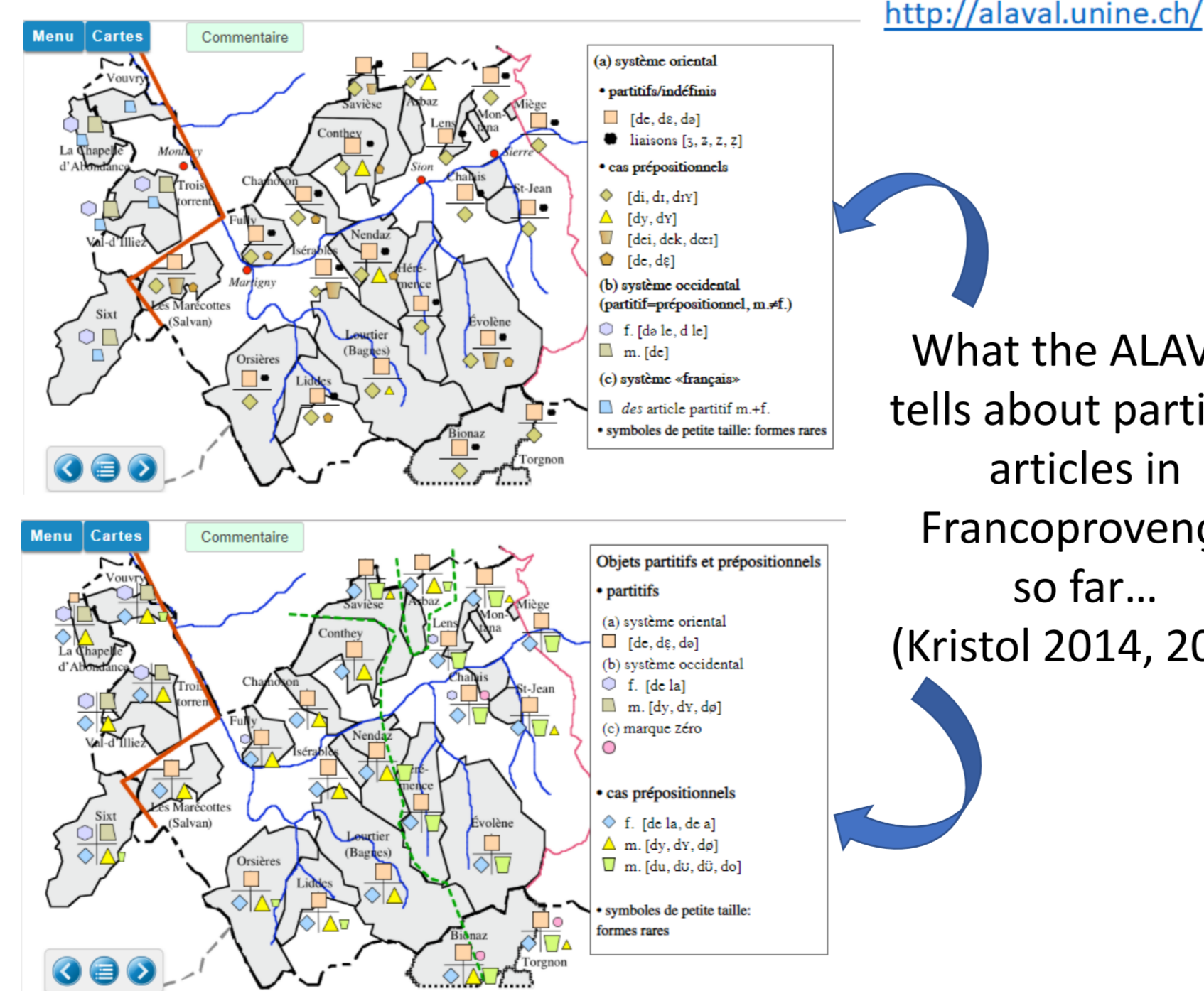
- Submitted. Garzonio J./C. Poletto. Partitive Objects in Negative Contexts in Northern Italian Dialects. Submitted to Linguistics. ISSN 163-396X
Forth. Gerards D./E. Stark. Why 'Partitive Articles' do not Exist in (Old) Spanish. In Ihsane T. (eds.). Brill.
Forth. Ihsane T. (eds.). Bare nouns vs. 'partitive articles': disentangling functions. Syntax and Semantics. Brill.
Forth. Ihsane T./E. Stark. (eds.). Shades of Partitivity: Formal and areal properties. Special issue in Linguistics.
Forth. Stark E./D. Gerards. Partitive Articles in Aosta Valley Francoprovençal—Old Questions and New Data. In Ihsane (eds.). Brill.

References. Avanzi M./Béguelin M.-J./F. Diémoz 2012-2017. Présentation du corpus OFROM - corpus oral de français de Suisse romande. Université de Neuchâtel \* Cardinaletti A./G. Giusti 2016. Talk at Partitivity and Language Contact, UZH \* Carlier A./L. Melis 2006. In Kleiber/Schneedecker/Theissen (eds.), La Relation partie-tout. Louvain: Peeters. \* Ihsane T. 2008. The layered DP in French. Form and Meaning of French Indefinites. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins. \* Kristol A. 2014. Les grammaires du francoprovençal: l'expression de la partitivité. Quelques leçons du projet ALAVAL. In La géolinguistique dans les Alpes au XXe siècle: méthodes, défis et perspectives. Actes de la Conférence annuelle sur l'activité scientifique du Centre d'études francoprovençales 'René Willien', Région autonome de la Vallée d'Aoste, Bureau régional pour l'ethnologie et la linguistique, 29-44. \* Kristol A. 2016. Francoprovençal. In Ledgeway/Martin (eds.), The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 350-362. \* Stark E. 2016. Nominal morphology and semantics - Where's gender (and 'partitive articles') in Gallo-Romance? In Fischer/Navarro (eds.) Proceedings of the VII Nerus International Workshop Clitic Doubling and other issues of the syntax/semantic interface in Romance DPs. Universität Konstanz. \* Storto B. 2003. On the status of the partitive determiner in Italian. In Quer/Schroten/Scorretti/Sleeman/Verheugd (eds.), Romance languages and linguistic theory 2001: Selected papers from Going Romance 2001. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

8 ALAVAL

Tagging and analysis

Table with columns: ID, Point, Sexe, Énoncé, Transcription, Traduction. Lists linguistic data points from the ALAVAL database.



What the ALAVAL tells about partitive articles in Francoprovençal so far... (Kristol 2014, 2016)

- Tagging following the tagging system (Section 10.1).
Identification of the main variation patterns:
PAs with overt quantity
PAs after negation
Dislocation phenomena

9 OFROM

9.1 Preparing data

Table with columns: text, type of data, gender, agreement, element belonging to the nominal group, DE, number. Lists linguistic data from the OFROM corpus.

9.2 Example of variation

- Optionality in French partitivity?
... y a pas grande différence
... there has not big difference
... y a pas de grande différence
... there has not DE big difference
Negation + PAs:
on n'a pas du travail pour...
one NEG has not PA.M.SG work for...
Quantities + PAs:
on faisait beaucoup du tennis
one did much PA.M.SG tennis

A closer look at the data!

- Morphosyntactical tagging of relevant PAs and pairing with respective sociolinguistic information (Section 10. 1). (Avanzi, M., Béguelin, M.-J. & Diémoz, F. 2012-2017)