

FRANZÖSISCH

für Anfänger



La Byrinth	Der Irrgarten
Le Gehenne	Das Huhn
La Gerfeuer	Die Kochstelle
Le Inwand	Das Kino
La Kritz	Die Süßware
Le Thargie	Die Faulheit
La Sagne	Der Nudelauflauf

The Reanalysis of Determination in French-based Creole Languages

An Argument for a Concept-type Semantics

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Overview

Introduction

The Reanalysis

The Languages

Theory and Background

Previous Approaches

Concept Types and Determination

Analysis

Reanalysis of Definite Determination

Conclusion

The Phenomenon

(1) Reanalysis of definite article:

a. French:

la lune

DEF moon

'the moon'

b. Haitian Creole:

lalin nan

moon DEF

'the moon'

The Phenomenon

- occurs in French-based Creoles
- reanalysis of French determination as Creole noun-stem initial segment
- different kinds of determination are reanalyzed

The Phenomenon

(2) Reanalysis of French Possessive Pronoun:

a. French:

ma tante

1.SG.POSS aunt

'my aunt'

b. Haitian Creole:

matant li

aunt 3SG

'his/her aunt'

Reanalysis

- reanalyzed nouns can be used with determination
- reanalyzed segments have lost their morphosyntactic features

Not all nouns undergo this reanalysis

(3) a. French:

le chien

DEF dog

'the dog'

b. Haitian Creole (HC):

chen an

dog SPEC

'the/a dog'

Question

- Which nouns undergo reanalysis and which do not?
- Which subkinds of reanalysis is observed with which kinds of nouns?

Creoles with this Phenomenon

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- also some Portuguese-based ones (e.g. Principense)

Creoles with this Phenomenon

Map from APiCS (Atlas of Pidgins and Creole Language Structures) online



Statistical overview

(4) Number of reanalyzed forms attested in several creoles (c.f. Baker (1994))

Language	Reunionnais	Mauritian	Rodriguan	Haitian
Number of reanalyzed forms	12	417	337	112

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- comparison of different Creoles with different backgrounds will be necessary (topological distance, different substrates)

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- number of syllables and frequency of noun alone are irrelevant features

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- no absolute predictions

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 - ▶ vowel harmony

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 - ▶ Du beurre (some butter) ⇒ *diber* (butter)

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- add conceptual semantic factors to these phonological generalizations to characterize the subtypes of reanalysis more accurately

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- For verbs, such a conceptual distinction is generally agreed on: Aspectual types, a classification tracing back to Vendler (1957), commonly expressed by the distinctive features \pm eventive, \pm telic and \pm durative.

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- another grammatically relevant distinction explains many asymmetries in the use of determination:
 - ▶ appointed by Löbner (2011)
 - ▶ subcategorizes nominal concepts along the two semantic features *relationality* and *uniqueness*

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- *uniqueness* ($[\pm U]$) is closely connected to semantics of definiteness: unambiguous interpretation

Löbner: CTD

Cross-classification of the features $[\pm R]$ and $[\pm U]$ gives rise to four Nominal Concept Types:

(5) Nominal Concept Types

	– unique	+ unique
– relational	sortal concepts (SC), <i>dog, table, adjective, water</i>	individual concepts (IC), <i>sun, weather, Mary</i>
+ relational	relational concepts (RC), <i>sister, leg, blood, modifier</i>	functional concepts (FC), <i>father, head, age, subject; difference</i>

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 - can be used *congruently* or *incongruently*
 - *semantic* and *pragmatic* definiteness are marked differently in many languages (cf. Ortman (to appear))

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- the French definite/indefinite articles are even further grammaticalized than German or English ones
- for definite article: congruent and most frequent use with IN/FN
- the most important of Baker's features (frequency of collocation) is predicted by this

Frequency

The reanalysis of definite Determination is by far the most frequent.

- (6) Forms attested of different subtypes of reanalysis (once again from Baker (1984))

	Haitian	Mauritian
Definite	108	437
Partitive <i>du</i>	4	34
other types	negligibly few in both languages	

Although the other types are interesting for CTD, concentrating on the reanalysis of definite determination will be the most fertile.

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- start with most frequent subtype: reanalysis of definite determination
- for this type of reanalysis, no phonological constraints have been proposed
- sometimes this reanalysis is optional, sometimes obligatory
- what do the nouns exhibiting one subtype of reanalysis have in common?

Reanalysis of Definite Determination in Haitian

- (7) a. *labalèn* ∨ *balèn*, la baleine, the whale [SC]
 b. *lafimen*, la fumée, smoke [SC]
 c. *lafyèw*, la fièvre, fever [IC]
 d. *lajistis*, la justice, justice [IC]
 e. *lakoz*, la cause, cause [FC]
 f. *lalin*, la lune, moon [IC]
 g. *lamen*, la main, hand [FC]
 h. *lanwit* ∨ *nwit*, la nuit, night [IC]
 i. *lapli*, la pluie, rain [IC]
 j. *lapo* ∨ *po*, la peau, skin [FC]
 k. *late*, la terre, earth [IC]
 l. *latet*, la tête, head [FC]
- m. *lannuit* ∨ *nuit*, la nuit, the night [SC/IC]
 n. *laverite* ∨ *verite*, la vérité, truth [IC]
 o. *lemal*, le mal, evil [IC]
 p. *lepèdan*, le perdant, loser [FC]
 q. *labsent* ∨ *absent*, l'absinthe, absinthe [IC]
 r. *lamitye* ∨ *amitye*, l'amitié, friendship [IC/RC]
 s. *lekòl*, l'école, school, [FC]
 t. *lespri* ∨ *espri*, l'esprit, the intelligence, spirit [IC/FC]
 u. *leta*, l'état, state, government [IC/FC]
 v. *lete*, l'été, summer [IC]
 w. *livè*, l'hiver, winter [IC]

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- what about sortals and relationals?

Control Samples of 'classic' [-U] nouns

- (8)
- a. *fanm*, la femme, woman [SC]
 - b. *nonm*, l'homme, man [SC]
 - c. *zannimo*, l'animal, animal [SC]
 - d. *pwason*, le poisson, the fish [SC]
 - e. *pye*, le pied, the foot [RC]
 - f. *chen*, le chien, the dog [SC]
 - g. *forè*, le forêt, the forest [SC]
 - h. *zamni*, l'ami, the friend [RC]
 - i. *baton*, le bâton, the stick [SC]
 - j. *fwi*, le fruit, the fruit [SC]
 - k. *zong*, l'ongle, the fingernail [RC]
 - l. *boutèy*, la bouteille, bottle [SC]
 - m. *fèy*, la feuille, leaf [RC/SC]

⇒ None of these items shows reanalysis of definite determination

Is this criterion sufficient?

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 - (9) a. *solèy*, le soleil, the sun [IC]
 - b. *kè*, le coeur, the heart [FC]
 - c. *non*, le nom, the name [FC]
 - d. *bouche*, la bouche, the mouth [FC]
 - e. *efè*, l'effet, effect [FC]
 - f. *otòn*, l'automne, autumn [IC]
 - g. *prentan*, le printemps, spring [IC]
 - h. *pòt*, la porte, door [FC]
 - i. *ekwatè*, l'équateur, equator [IC]
 - j. *krisyanis*, le christianisme, christianity [IC]

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- *congruency* as necessary criterion adds to the picture of morphophonological prerequisites and statistical factors

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- **or**: lexicalization of frequent type shifts

lakwa vs. kwa

- (10) a. Fi Ø yo renmen priye devan lakwa.
 women DEF PL like pray before cross[+U]
 The women like to pray in front of the cross.
- b. Fè kwa ou bo l' pou ou pa janm fè
 do cross[-U]2SG kiss 3SG for 2SG not never do DEM
 sa ankò.
 more
 Make a cross, embrace it and never to that again.

lakay vs. kay

- (11) a. Sa yo se kay leta.
DEM PL be house[-U] state
These/those are government buildings.
- b. Ozetazini, 60 pousan moun nan popilasyon an
in.the.USA 60 percent people SPEC population SPEC
gen Entènèt lakay yo.
have Internet home PL
In the USA, 60 percent of the population have internet
access at home[+U].

Productivity

- reanalysis was probably still productive after stabilization of creole
- *lasiri*, Syria (Grant (1995))
- toponym
- small number of French-speakers

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- this is a strategy of the language to treat nouns with ambiguous, unclear or frequently shifted concept types
- similar to formation of doublets, but on a grammatical level

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- which nouns can undergo which subtype of reanalysis is motivated by input frequency of combination 'Det + N'
 - this frequency, in turn, is predicted by CTD
 - the contrast of doublets and the late productivity show that the motivation is not merely frequentative but the reanalysis is in fact conceptually driven

Conclusion

- further research will have to examine Mauritian Creole, where there are far more reanalyzed nouns
- there, congruent use of determination is not a necessary criterion, also RCs and SCs are reanalyzed here
- further progression on a scale of uniqueness
- also, a comparison to other French-based (and Portuguese-based) Creoles will be necessary
- the other subtypes of this reanalysis seem to behave similarly within a language

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