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 Reanalysis of definite article:

(1) Reanalysis of definite article:

a. French:  
   la \textit{lune}  
   DEF moon  
   ‘the moon’

b. Haitian Creole:  
   \textit{lalin} \textit{nan}  
   moon DEF  
   ‘the moon’
The Reanalysis

The Phenomenon

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reunionnais</th>
<th>Mauritian</th>
<th>Rodriguan</th>
<th>Haitian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of reanalyzed forms</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Number of reanalyzed forms attested in several creoles (c.f. Baker (1994))
This work is an attempt to account for Creole article reanalysis cross-linguistically.
Haitian Creole

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- for now: exemplary treatment of Haitian Creole (clearest results so far, lack of time)
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comparison of different Creoles with different backgrounds will be necessary (topological distance, different substrates)
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Baker (1984)

• attempt to account for the unequal distribution of reanalyzed nouns in different creoles and explain causes
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- number of syllables and frequency of noun alone are irrelevant features
Previous Approaches

Bonami + Henri (2012)

- focus on reanalysis of definite determination in Mauritian
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- evaluate features statistically in machine learning
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- statistically relevant features:
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Guillemin (2009)

- treats reanalysis only as side effect of abandonment of French determiner system
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- generalizes broad classes of nouns responding to the subtypes of reanalysis:
  - consonant and vowel initial count and abstract nouns are suitable for reanalysis of singular definite determination
  - vowel initial count nouns are eligible for reanalysis of plural [z]
  - consonant initial count nouns may exhibit a reanalysis of the definite plural form
  - masculine mass nouns are candidates for reanalysis of partitive determiner du
  - feminine mass nouns may as well have undergone the reanalysis of singular definite determination (feminine and consonantal)
- adds conceptual semantic factors to these phonological generalizations to characterize the subtypes of reanalysis more accurately
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    - Des/les étoiles (some/the stars) $\Rightarrow$ zetwal (star)
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    - *Du beurre* (some butter) ⇒ *diber* (butter)
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• contextual meaning ≠ lexical meaning ⇒ type shifts
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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 ±eventive, ±telic and ±durative.
• nominal concepts find an important and grammatically relevant subcategorization in the mass/count distinction
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• another grammatically relevant distinction explains many asymmetries in the use of determination:
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  ▶ subcategorizes nominal concepts along the two semantic features *relationality* and *uniqueness*
• *relationality* ([±R]) concerns arity (monadic vs. polyadic nouns)
- **relationality** ([±R]) concerns arity (monadic vs. polyadic nouns)
- **uniqueness** ([±U]) is closely connected to semantics of definiteness: unambiguous interpretation
Cross-classification of the features [±R] and [±U] gives rise to four Nominal Concept Types:

(5) Nominal Concept Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>− relational</th>
<th>+ relational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>− unique</td>
<td>+ unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sortal concepts (SC), dog, table, adjective, water</td>
<td>individual concepts (IC), sun, weather, Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational concepts (RC), sister, leg, blood, modifier</td>
<td>functional concepts (FC), father, head, age, subject; difference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Löbner: CTD

- corresponding types of determination: definite ([+U]), indefinite ([–U]), possessive ([+R]), absolute([–R])
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• determination determines the concept type of the whole DP
  → can be used *congruently or incongruently*
  → *semantic* and *pragmatic* definiteness are marked differently in many languages (cf. Ortmann (to appear))
• Fraurud (1990): 90% of all uses of definiteness are congruent uses
Löbner: CTD

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For definite article: congruent and most frequent use with IN/FN.
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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
The reanalysis of definite Determination is by far the most frequent.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Haitian</th>
<th>Mauritian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partitive <em>du</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types</td>
<td>negligibly few</td>
<td>in both languages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- first approach: collect reanalyzed nouns from a dictionary (Targète and Uricolo (1993)) in an arbitrary fashion
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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?
(7) a. labalen ∨ balen, la baleine, the whale [SC]
b. lafimen, la fumée, smoke [SC]
c. lafyèv, 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 plue, rain [IC]
j. lapo ∨ po, la peaux, 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. lepedan, 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]
Only Individual and Functional Nouns

- all of this data consists of inherently [+U] concepts
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Only Individual and Functional Nouns

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  ▶ (8a) *labalen* (whale) [SC]
  ⇒ deity of the sea in Haitian voodoo cult (prevalently shifted)
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  - (8a) labalen (whale) [SC]: Deity of the sea in Haitian voodoo cult (prevalently shifted).
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- this suggests [+U] as the one necessary condition for definiteness reanalysis
- what about sortals and relationals?
None of these items shows reanalysis of definite determination
• in Haitian, not all [+U] concepts undergo this reanalysis
Is this criterion sufficient?

- in Haitian, not all [+U] concepts undergo this reanalysis

(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]
Is this criterion sufficient?

- in Haitian, not all [+U] concepts undergo this reanalysis
- Although this criterion is not sufficient, we are successful in characterizing the class of reanalyzed nouns positively.
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congruency as necessary criterion adds to the picture of morphophonological prerequisites and statistical factors
Why input frequency is not the whole story

- CTD helps us to predict input frequency of use of article + noun combinations
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Reanalysis of Definite Determination

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  - reanalysis was (is?) productive after stabilization of creole
Lexical Doublets

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- disambiguation of polysemous nouns
- **or:** lexicalization of frequent type shifts
Reanalysis of Definite Determination

*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.
Reanalysis of Definite Determination

**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
Zribi-Hertz and Jean-Louis (2014)

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- similar to formation of doublets, but on a grammatical level
in order to account for this reanalysis several features play a role
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Conclusion

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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
• 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
References


Bonami, Oliver and Fabiola Henri (2012). Predicting article agglutination in Mauritian. Talk held at Formal Approaches to Creole Studies conference in Lisbonne, November 2012.


