



Presenting *DiFuPaRo*: “Distribution and Function of ‘Partitive articles’ in Romance: A microvariation analysis”

Days of Swiss Linguistics 2018, University of Bern

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Project

- SNSF (Swiss National Science Foundation) – DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) Project
- Project leaders:
 - Switzerland: Elisabeth Stark (University of Zurich), main applicant
 - Germany: Cecila Poletto (Frankfurt am Main)
- Staff:
 - Switzerland: Tabea Ihsane (collaborator/coordinator, 50%), Jan Davatz (PhD), Jordan Irrera (MA student)
 - Germany: Francesco Pinzin (post-doc, 65%)



Project

- External partners
 - Federica Diémoz (University of Neuchâtel)
 - Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin (CNRS/University Paris Diderot-Paris 7)
 - Claudine Fréchet (Catholic University of Lyon)
 - Leonardo Savoia (University of Florence)
- Duration: 3 years (2018-2021)
- Website:
<https://www.rose.uzh.ch/de/seminar/personen/stark/DiFuPaRo.html>



Aim and scope

- Study so-called ‘partitive articles’ (PAs), i.e. elements like French *du/des* and Italian *del/dei*, typologically marked
 - Concentrate on the **indefinite** interpretation (despite the presence of *de* ‘of’ + *le/la/les* ‘the’; cf. Storto 2003, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006, 2016, Carlier & Melis 2006, Ihsane 2008, Hilgert 2010)
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.’



Aim and scope

- Investigate several Gallo- and Italo-Romance varieties in Switzerland and Northern Italy
- 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 characters of the linguistic system cluster together



Aim and scope

- Broaden our understanding of nominal determination and quantification in Romance (with respect to established typological classifications, e.g. Chierchia 1998: Romance languages as number-marking languages without classifiers)
- Propose a formal analysis for the linguistic properties of PAs, including the internal structure of the nominals with PAs
- Address the question (microvariation): why do we find PAs where we do?



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)?



Data

- Existing databases:
 - OFROM for colloquial Swiss Frenchs: *Corpus oral de français de Suisse romande*, UNINE
 - ALAVAL for Francoprovençal: *Atlas linguistique audiovisuel du francoprovençal valaisan*, UNINE
 - ASIt for Northern Italian Dialects: *Atlante sintattico d'Italia*, U. Padova and U. Venice.
 - Data gathered in fieldwork in Switzerland and Northern Italy
- Set up a common database/tagging system



Data

- Create a database compatible with the PARTE database
- PARTE: *PARTitivity in European languages*
Network of 9 research teams of theoretical linguists, dialectologists, sociolinguists, typologists, historical linguists and applied linguists
 1. University of Amsterdam: Petra Sleeman (PI), Enoch Aboh
 2. Meertens Institute: Leonie Cornips
 3. **University of Zurich: Elvira Glaser, Elisabeth Stark, David Paul Gerards, Tabea Ihsane, Paul Widmer**
 4. Ca' Foscari University of Venice: Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti
 5. University of Pavia: Silvia Luraghi
 6. Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary: Anne Tamm
 7. University of Leipzig: Ilja A. Seržant
 8. Goethe Universität Frankfurt: Cecilia Poletto
 9. University of Turku: Tuomas Huomo
- NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research) grant



Schedule

Three phases:

- **Phase I: ‘Core properties’ of PAs. Evaluation of existing data and gathering of new data, dialectological fieldwork (1 year)**
- Phase II: Description of PAs, exploitation of the existing databases and fieldwork data, and building up the common database, identify “implicational scales” and ‘types’ of PAs (1 year)
- Phase III: Visualization, comparison, verification of correlations, and analysis (1 year)



Phase I

- Extraction/selection of the data from the existing databases (OFROM, ALAVAL, ASIt)
E.g. Exclude the preposition *de* 'of'
*un tableau **du** 16^e siècle* 'a painting from the 16th c.'
- Elaboration of a tagging system: tags + values
E.g. Number on N (morph): sg, pl, ∅
- Tagging of the data (Excel sheets)



DiFuPaRo Tagging System (Oct. 2018, F. Pinzin)

Tags and tagging system_041018_bis.xlsx - Excel

Fichier Accueil Insertion Mise en page Formules Données Révision Affichage Dites-nous ce que vous voulez faire..

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Standard

Normal Insatisfais Neutre Satisfais

D23 Plural is marked by a specific morpheme which is the same both for masculine and feminine

	A	B	C	D	E
1	Column	Symbol	Meaning	Tagging hints	Example (Italian)
2	ID	ASitX	ID number of an ASit example	Replace the X with the actual number in the sequence	
3	ID	ALAVAlX	ID number of an ALAVAl exam	Replace the X with the actual number in the sequence	
4	Source		Name of the file	In this column we put the name of the actual file in which the example is	
5	Type of data	quest	Questionnaire		
6	Type of data	FrSp	Free speech		
7	Type of data	input	Input sentence		
8	Gender speaker	fem	feminine		
9	Gender speaker	masc	masculine		
10	Age	x	age (in years)		
11	Marker of the nominal group	Ø	Bare Nominal	Quantifiers, adjectives and adverbs do not count, they are tagged	molte case/case/pane
12	Marker of the nominal group	Dind	Indefinite determiner		un bambino
13	Marker of the nominal group	Def	Definite determiner		il bambino
14	Marker of the nominal group	DE	Preposition	The form of the element is not inflected and is morphophonologic	di ragazzi/di pane
15	Marker of the nominal group	Part	Partitive article	The form of the element is inflected and is different from the form	dei ragazzi/del pane
16	Marker of the nominal group	Deix	Deictic element		
17	Marker of the nominal group	ell	Ellipsis	A NG is present but the noun is absent	
18	Mass/Count	M	Mass noun	A DP marked for sg can be both M and C. It is M when it is introd	del pane/pane/di pane
19	Mass/Count	C	Count noun	Every DP marked for pl is count	ragazzi/i ragazzi/dei ragazzi/quei ragazzi/di ragazzi
20	Number (N)	sg	singular	The noun is overtly marked for singular (the noun cannot be used	foglia (*le foglie)
21	Number (N)	pl	plural	The noun is overtly marked for plural (the noun cannot be used	ir foglie (*la foglie)
22	Number (N)	Ø	no marking	The noun is not marked for number (it can be used both in singul	caffè (il/i caffè)
23	Number N (morphological reali	morph	Specific plural morphology for	Plural is marked by a specific morpheme which is the same both	el libri (sg) vs. i libris (pl) (Friul.)
24	Number N (morphological reali	voc	Alternation of the final vowel	Plural and singular are signalled on the noun by a vocalic alternat	il cane (sg) vs. i cani (pl)
25	Number N (morphological reali	vocAbsPI	Absence of the final vowel in th	Plural and singular are signalled by the absence, in the plural form, of the final vowel of the singular	
26	Number N (morphological reali	vocAbsSg	Absence of the final vowel in th	Plural and singular are signalled by the absence, in the singular form, of the final vowel of the plural	
27	Number N (morphological reali	cons	Alternation of the final consonan	Plural and singular are signalled on the noun by a consonantal alternation on both	
28	Number N (morphological reali	int	Internal modification of the noun		
29	Number (DP)	sg	singular	The DP is semantically singular. If the DP is subject, look at verb	Il caffè/cane/quel cane/della carne
30	Number (DP)	pl	plural	The DP is semantically plural. If the DP is subject, look at verb	a i caffè/cani/quei cani/delle carni
31	Number (D)	sg	singular	The leftmost of these elements (D, Dind, Deix, Part, Poss) is morphologically marked for singular	
32	Number (D)	pl	plural	The leftmost of these elements (D, Dind, Deix, Part, Poss) is morphologically marked for plural	

Foglio1

Prêt

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ASIt (Oct. 2018, F. Pinzin)

A	B	C	D	E	F	K	L	M	N	O	P
ID	Variety/Language	Municipality, Province, Reg.	Microarea, Area, M.	Sentence	Marker	Number	Number N (morph)	Number D	Number I		
1 ASIt1	Italian (Standard)	NA	NA	Avendo mangiato troppa torta , Gianni si è sentito male	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
2 ASIt2	Albosaggia	Albosaggia, Sondrio, Lombardia	Alpino	Gianni al se sintit mal parche la maiat trop torta	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
3 ASIt3	Aldeno1	Aldeno, Trento, Trentino Alto Ad. Orientale		El Giani l'ha magnà masa torta e l'è sta mal.	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
4 ASIt4	Aldeno2	Aldeno, Trento, Trentino Alto Ad. Orientale		La magnà masa torta , così el Giani el se senti mal.	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
5 ASIt5	Aldeno3	Aldeno, Trento, Trentino Alto Ad. Orientale		Siccome l'aveva magnà masa torta , Gianni el s'è senti ma	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
6 ASIt6	Altare	Altare, Savona, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	Dato che u l'ò mangioo troppa turta , Gianni u s'à sentù m	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
7 ASIt7	Arcola	Arcola, La Spezia, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	Giane i se nteso mae perché già mangià tropa torta	Ø	M Ø	NA	sg	NA		
8 ASIt8	Arenzano	Arenzano, Genova, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	U Giani u s'è sentiu ma aprovu cu l'à mangiau tropu turta	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
9 ASIt9	Bologna2	Bologna, Bologna, Emilia Roma Orientale		Gianni al s è sintò mel, l a magnè tropa tourta	Ø	M sg	vocAbsPI	sg	NA		
10 ASIt10	Bondeno	Bondeno, Ferrara, Emilia Romè Orientale		Giani l'è sta mal parchè l'a magnà tropa torta	Ø	M sg	vocAbsPI	sg	NA		
11 ASIt11	Borgofranco d'Ivrea	Borgofranco d'Ivrea, Torino, Piv Alto piemontese		Gianni a l'ha mangià tropa torta e a s'ha sentù mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
12 ASIt12	Borgomanero	Borgomanero, Novara, Piemont Occidentale		Avendu mangià tonta torta , Giuan i j l'a sintossi mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
13 ASIt13	Calizzano	Calizzano, Savona, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	Avendu mangiò troppa turta , Gianni u se senti mo	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
14 ASIt14	Casalmaggiore	Casalmaggiore, Cremona, Lom Orientale		Lu l'ha mangià tropa turta et el s'è senti mal / Giani l'ha m	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
15 ASIt15	Casarza Ligure	Casarza Ligure, Genova, Liguri	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	U Giani u s'è sentiu mae perché u l'à mangiau troppu dus	Ø	M ??	??	sg	NA		
16 ASIt16	Castellano	Villa Lagarina, Trento, Trentino	Trentino orientale	El Giani l'ha magnà masa torta e el s'ha sentù mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
17 ASIt17	Cencenighe Agordina	Cencenighe Agordina, Belluno	Ladino-veneto	Da che l'avea magnà masa peta , el Gioani el s'à sentù m	Ø	?? ??	??	??	NA		
18 ASIt18	Cesena1	Cesena, Forlì-Cesena, Emilia F Romagnolo		Avend magnè tropa torta Gianni u s'è sinti mel	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
19 ASIt19	Cicagna	Cicagna, Genova, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	D oi mangiò tropa turta u Giani us è sentiu ma	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
20 ASIt20	Cividale	Cividale del Friuli, Udine, Friuli	Friulano Centro-orient	Vint mangiada massa torta , Gianni si a sintuut mal	Ø	M sg	morph + voc	sg	NA		
21 ASIt21	Colle Val d'Elsa	Colle di Val d'Elsa, Siena, Tosc	Toscano Senese	Siccome ha mangiato troppa torta , Gianni (e') s'è sentito	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
22 ASIt22	Comano	Comano, Massa-Carrara, Tosc	Lucigniano	ur Giani l'ha mangiat tropa turta e l s'a sentut ma	Ø	M sg	??	sg	NA		
23 ASIt23	Farra di Soligo	Farra di Soligo, Treviso, Venet	Centro-settentrionale	Siccome l'ha magnà masa torta , Gianni l'è stat mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
24 ASIt24	Finale Ligure	Finale Ligure, Savona, Liguria	Gallo-Italoico Ligure	Pe avei mangiun tropa turta , u Gianni u se sentiu mò	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
25 ASIt25	Firenze	Firenze, Firenze, Toscana	Toscano Fiorentino	Avendo mangiato troppa torta , Gianni e s'è sentito male	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
26 ASIt26	Forlì	Forlì, Forlì-Cesena, Emilia Rom	Romagnolo	Avend magnè tropa torta , Gianni u s'è sinti (sintù) mel	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
27 ASIt27	Lecco	Lecco, Lecco, Lombardia	Orientale	Gianni al se sentù mae perché a l'eva mangià tropa turta	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
28 ASIt28	Lecco	Lecco, Lecco, Lombardia	Orientale	Giani s'è sentu mal perché l'a mangià tropa turta	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
29 ASIt29	Lecco	Lecco, Lecco, Lombardia	Orientale	Gianni al se sentu mae perché a l'eva mangià tropa turta	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
30 ASIt30	Longare	Longare, Vicenza, Veneto	Meridionale	Sicome ch' el gà magnà masa dolse , Giani se gà sentio m	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
31 ASIt31	Malonno	Malonno, Brescia, Lombardia	Orientale	Al Giani che l'ha maiat trop tanta turta , ades al sta mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
32 ASIt32	Mantova	Mantova, Mantova, Lombardia	Mantovano	Sicume l'a magnà tropa turta , Giani al s'è senti mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		
33 ASIt33	Mestre	Venezia, Venezia, Veneto	Lagunare	Vendo magnà masa fusassa , Nane se na sentio mal	Ø	M sg	voc	sg	NA		



Phase I

Fieldwork

Mixed test setting (see Buchstaller & Corrigan 2011)

1. First session: Guided free speech / story-telling
2. Second session: Translation task (with context)
3. Third session:
 - a) Fill the gap
 - b) Grammaticality judgement task (with context)



Phase I

Pilot study:

- Northern Italy: 5-7 October 2018
Wallis: 16 November 2018
- Story telling / description of short video clips: 2 native speakers; 1 of them has to describe short videos to the other one (who cannot see them). Use of a computer, also for the recording (e.g. QuickTime)
- Same material for the NIDs and Francoprovençal
- Sociolinguistic questionnaire



Next steps

- Create the database (November-December 2018)
- Complete the tagging of the existing data (Excel sheets)
- Start the quantitative analysis
- Transcribe the data gathered in the pilot study
- Carry out fieldwork



Conclusion

- Areal, typological and theoretical interests
- Fine-grained comparative approach of one complex phenomenon across several Romance languages and dialects
- Global and also detailed understanding of the functions and main morphosyntactic properties of PAs
- Focus on understudied and/or endangered varieties of Romance
- New database that serve as a descriptive tool for the study of other Romance varieties with PAs



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Background: Francoprovençal

- **Non-standardised Romance language** (Kristol 2016)
- Poorly understood **complex** facts, e.g. subject pronouns (Diémoz 2007):
 1. a. *Bèyo lo cafì.* (Arvier)
drink the coffee
 - b. *Dze bè on cafì.*
I drink a coffee
- Emergency: **endangered** language
- **Crossroads** between e.g. Northern Italian Dialects (like Piedmontese) and oïl dialects (like French)



Source: Holtus, G./Metzeltin, M./Schmitt, C. (ed.) Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik, vol. V.1 (Tübingen 1990)

