

The spatial distribution of partitive articles and invariable DE in Francoprovençal

Tabea Ihsane, Olivier Winistörfer and Elisabeth Stark, University of Zurich

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In this presentation, we will focus on partitive articles (henceforth PA; PAs historically stem from the fusion of the preposition DE and Latin ILLE-determiners and generally have an indefinite interpretation), and on invariable DE (cf. below) in Francoprovençal, a non-standardized, highly endangered Gallo-Romance language (Zulato/Kasstan/Nagy 2018), and show the fine-grained spatial distribution of these elements in the Swiss and Aosta Valley (Italy) varieties. This spatial distribution will add to the knowledge of the Francoprovençal determiner system, especially in contrast to French, with which it is in close language contact.

We will present several maps, based on fieldwork data assembled in the ALAVAL, an audiovisual atlas of Swiss varieties, plus additional data from fieldwork in the Aosta Valley in 2017 (see Ihsane 2018, Stark/Gerards 2020) and in Evolène, in Valais, in 2019 (see Davatz/Ihsane/Stark accepted), *firstly*, in order to complement Kristol's (2014, 2016) basic subdivision of Francoprovençal into two types by a more nuanced geographical picture. According to Kristol, there exists, on the one hand, "Francoprovençal A", which comprises the Western varieties of Valais (Switzerland) as well as the Northern varieties (in France and Switzerland) and which has PAs, like French, and, on the other hand, "Francoprovençal B", which consists of Southern Francoprovençal, that is, the Southern varieties spoken in France, the Eastern varieties in the Swiss canton of Valais, and the Aosta Valley in Italy, and which only has an obligatory invariable DE with indefinite mass singulars and indefinite plurals. We will show that the Francoprovençal varieties with PAs and the ones without PAs do not represent two sharply split geographic zones, as DE is used next to PAs in the Francoprovençal A area, sometimes even predominantly, and, as PAs are found in some varieties of the Francoprovençal B area, even if this element is not prevalent (see Stark/Gerards 2020, Stark/Davatz 2021).

Secondly, we will show the spatial distribution of two morphosyntactic features: i) the grammatical number of noun phrases with PAs (singular vs. plural); ii) the appearance of PAs and DE in certain syntactic contexts, namely, after quantifiers/quantity expressions like Fr. *beaucoup* 'a lot' and under the scope of sentential negation (Kristol 2014, 2016). Regarding i), there has been a lively debate in the literature on the functional relation between the singular and the plural PAs in French, in particular on whether they form a paradigm or not (cf. Anscombe 1996, Galmiche 1986, Kupferman 1998; Cardinaletti/Giusti 2016 for Italian *dei*). Our data show that the singular and plural PAs attested in the Francoprovençal B area do not have the same distribution, and, hence, that they need to be distinguished. As for ii), Francoprovençal A, in contrast to French, has been reported to have PAs also in these contexts, which is supported by our data, although with a more nuanced picture: our results show that there is an implicational scale in the use of PAs in these varieties, i.e., if PAs are used in positive contexts with a quantifier, they are also used in negative contexts and in positive contexts without a quantifier.

This research shows that the spatial distribution of PAs and DE is more complex than reported in the literature and that the morphosyntactic features of PAs and DE play a crucial role in this distribution.

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