

Doing the work of Free Choice determiners without any¹

Mélanie Jouitteau, UMR 7110, CNRS

I. The Breton article system

The /a/ vs. /ə/ vowel alternation encodes syntactico-semantic information: distribution of the associated consonant is phonologically dependent (/n/ before /n, d, t, h/ or vowel; /l/ before /l/; /r/ anywhere else).

- (1) a. /ã̃n, al, ar/ *definite*
an natur, **al** lapin, **ar** c'hokodil > the nature, the rabbit, the crocodile
- b. /ən, əl, ər/ *indefinite*
un natur, **ul** lapin, **ur** c'hokodil > a nature, a rabbit, a crocodile

The /a/ based article is never accentuated (probably a clitic).

The /ə/ based article is not a clitic: it can be accentuated for focus.

In the dialects that have accentuation on the penultimate syllable, accentuation falls on the article before monosyllabics (Hemon 1995:§281). The pronominal adjectives all function as prefixes for accentuation.

- (2) *ur gwir vab*, [yr'gwi:rva:p]
'a real son' Hemon (1995:§281)

The articles bear no gender or number marking, but trigger some on its following noun.

In an older state of the language, a rich gender and number morphology on the article triggered liaison on the following noun. Following reduction of the morphology of articles, the phonological trigger for liaison disappeared, but the liaison remained, leaving in Modern Breton a complex consonant mutation system on the noun.

Reduced mutation (/k/>/X/) signals a masculine noun in *krokodil*, *ar c'hokodil*.

Lenition (/k/>/g/) signals a singular feminine noun as in (2a), or a masculine plural noun as in (2b).

- (3) a. ar **g**rokodilez, ur **g**rokodilez > the/a female crocodile *fem sing noun*
b. ar **g**rokodiled > the crocodiles *definite masc plural noun*
c. ø **k**rokodiled, ø **k**rokodilezed > crocodiles, female crocodiles *plural indefinite*

In synchrony, the article is still clearly the trigger for consonantic mutation: plural indefinites require article drop and the noun appears un-mutated, independently of gender as in (2c).

>> at the syntactic level, the presumed article system is embodied under a three-value alternation (/a/, /ə/ vs. /ø/). Presence or absence of the article conditions a morphologically complex system of gender and number marking on the noun.

¹ This talk has benefited from precious discussions with Lucia Tovenà, Milan Rezac and Anamaria Falaus. Thanks to Pablo Albizu and Urtzi Etxeberria for comments, questions and suggestions. Many thanks to Herle Denez for his judgements and patience.

Descriptive grammars assume that the Breton determiner system mimics the French and English one and propose a [+/- definite] divide as in (1).

However, the /a/ based article fails to be associated with most classical salient traits of definite expressions: familiarity, uniqueness effect or specificity.

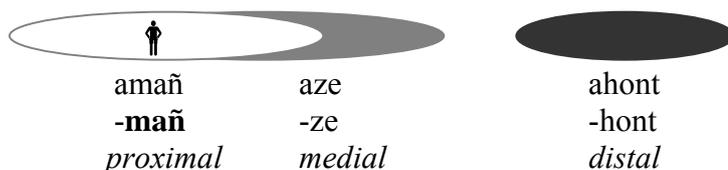
Not a specificity marker:

Some specific constructions have obligatory article-drop.

- (4) \emptyset *Marijo* Proper noun
 Marijo
- (5) \emptyset *dour lous ar gêr* Genitive direct constructions
 water dirty the town
 ‘The dirty water of town’

Breton has a system of analytic demonstratives obligatorily associated with the /a/ article.

- (6) /a/ N-deictic adverb > demonstrative
- (7) proximity of deictic markers with respect to the speaker:



- (8) *an dra-mañ,* *an dra-se,* *an dra-hont*
 the thing-here the thing-there the thing-over.there
 > 'this thing'

Both article-less constructions can form analytic demonstratives with /a/ drop.

- (9) \emptyset *Marijo-mañ* Proper noun
 Marijo-here > 'Marijo here present'
- (10) \emptyset *dour(-mañ) lous ar gêr* Genitive direct constructions
 water-here dirty the town
 ‘this dirty water of town’

Not a familiarity marker

The analytic demonstrative occurs in contexts where it has not been activated in discourse (cf. the specific indefinite English *this* (Prince 1981, Gundel and al. 1993),

- (11) Aet on tre er bar hag aze meus en em gavet gant *ar plac'h-se* / *ar plac'h-mañ*.
 gone I.am in in.the bar & there I.have REFLEX found P the girl-there/ the girl-here
 Bez' e oa o kanañ un dra iskis...
 EXPL R was at singing a thing strange
 ‘I went into the bar and there was *this* girl. She was singing a strange song.’

The /a/ article thus can introduce a new referent in discourse
 ≠ OUT OF THE BLUE: *I went into the bar and there was # the girl.*

No ‘indefinite’ use of the demonstrative can license an /ə/ based ‘indefinite’ article.

- (12) ***ur** plac’h-mañ
 a girl-here

No uniqueness effect

Like indefinites, the demonstrative bears no presupposition of uniqueness.

- (13)a. *I saw a bird. I could just hear the others.*
 b. *I saw this bird. I could just hear the others.*
 c. *I saw the bird. # I could just hear the others.*

- (14) Gwelet em eus **al** labous-se. Ar re all a c’hellfen klevout nemetken.
 seen 1SG have the bird-there the N other Fin could.1SG to.hear only
 ‘I saw this bird. I could just hear the others.’

- (15) *Every farmer beats the donkey he owns.*
 (= as many donkeys as farmers)

The /a/ article appears in structures referring to specific unknown entities that necessitate a set to be contrasted from.

- (16) C’hoand am euz da gaoud **ar** marc’h-mañ (*ar*) marc’h.
 wish R.1SG have P have the horse-here (the) horse
 ‘I want to have such and such a horse.’ (specific unknown/uncited)
 ‘J’ai envie d’avoir *tel* cheval.’

French

Again, an /ə/ article would be banned from this *specific unknown* construction.

Anaphoricity

- (17) Every /a/ DP can be used as an anaphora (but doesn’t have to)
 No ¬ /a/ DP can be used as an anaphora.

- | | |
|---|----|
| >> Prediction 1: Proper nouns should be # with antecedents | √ |
| >> Prediction 2: Bare nouns should be # with antecedents | √ |
| >> Prediction 3: Demonstratives should be OK with antecedents | √ |
| >> Prediction 4: Genitive direct constructions should be # with antecedents | √? |
| >> Prediction 5: Specific cited/unknown should be OK with antecedents | √? |

But still...

- (18) Biskoazh n' he doa Naig gwelet **ken** **bras** bag.
 Never NEG she had Naig seen so/such big boat
 ‘Never had Naig seen such a big boat.’

Bijer (2007:392)

In search of a minimal pair

The reduplicated specific unknown indefinite associated with /a/ does not survive irrealis contexts.

- (19) Me meus c'hoant kaout *ar stajiad-mañ-stajiad* (* vefe farsus ha jentil war ar memes tro).
1SG I.have wish have the intern-here-intern would.be funny and nice P the same turn
'I want such and such intern (*that would be nice and funny at the same time).'

In non-specific irrealis contexts:

- (20) Me meus c'hoant kaout *ur stajiad* a vefe farsus ha jentil war ar memes tro.
1SG I.have wish have a intern R would.be funny and nice P the same turn
'I want an intern that would be nice and funny at the same time.'
- (21) Me meus c'hoant kaout *stajiad-mañ-stajiad* a vefe farsus ha jentil war ar memes tro.
1SG I.have wish have intern-here-intern R would.be funny and nice P the same turn
'I want any intern that would be nice and funny at the same time.'

Jayez and Tovina (2010) :

“FCIs signal that the choice of an element from a given reference set is unconstrained. For instance, *Pick any card!* in English and *Prends n'importe quelle carte!* in French invite the addressee to choose the card she prefers, from some contextually salient set of cards.”

A contribution typical of Free Choice Items (FCIs) is that any element in the denotation of the restrictor is a suitable candidate for satisfying the nucleus.

- (22) Trapit *kartenn-mañ-kartenn*.
Pick card-here-card
'Pick any card.'
- (23) Pouez war *touchenn-mañ-touchenn* evit derc'hel da vont.
press on key-here-key for continue P go
'Press any key / whatever key in order to continue.'

(24) specific unknown indefinite – /a/ = \exists -FCI

The Breton /a/ article can turn a dependent indefinite (namely an \exists -FCI) into an independent specific indefinite.

ROAD MAP:

- II. The reduplicated structure with /a/ article is a specific unknown independent indefinite
- III. The article-less reduplication structure is a \exists -FCI
- IV. Building an FCI by article-drop

Material: a literature corpus search.

Google examples (“-*mañ*” makes it relatively easy for numeric searches)
ten hours elicitation with H. Denez (HD), native speaker from Douarnenez
+ his “corrections” on the Google and literature examples.

> local variety and easy access to written Standard Breton- low exposure to other dialects

II. 'the X-man-X' is a specific indefinite built on a demonstrative

- (25) a. the N-*mañ* specific indefinite (*DEMONSTRATIVE*)
 b. the [N-*mañ*- N]
 c. the [N-*mañ*-the-N] } specific unknown(?) indefinite

The partitive hypothesis (Pablo Albizu's suggestion):

- (26) al loa-*mañ* holen al loa-*mañ* koad
 the spoon-here salt the spoon-here wood
 'this spoon of salt.' 'this spoon of wood'
- (27) al loa-*mañ* loa
 the spoon-here spoon
 '?this spoon of spoon(massique)' > 'such and such spoon'

A quantifier adverb can reduplicate:

- (28) *Kement-mañ-kement* e kousto deoc'h ar pred.
 as.much-here-as.much R cost.FUT P.2PL the meal
 'The meal will cost you such and such amount.'
Stantard Breton, An Here (2001:kement-mañ)

Kement, with reduplication, is independently compatible with deictic adverbs:
 'All this' is expressed by *kement-mañ*; 'all that' by *kement-se*; one may say, though it is rare, *kement-hont* 'all that over there' (Hemon 1995:36).

* Non-specific (= irrealis)

Only specificity seems to restrict this structure as shown by the irrealis in **Error! Reference source not found.**

OK in episodic contexts – specific indefinite reading

- (29) *Al labous-mañ labous* a oa o nijal tost dezhi, met ne rae ket van.
 the bird-here bird R was at flying close P.3SGF but NEG did NEG care
 'A (specific) bird was flying close to her but she didn't care.'

Reading: specific unknown/uncited/irrelevant. No presupposition of uniqueness.

- (30) a. C'hoand am euz da gaoud ar marc'h-*mañ* marc'h. DET N-*mañ*-N
 wish R.1SG have P have the horse-here horse
 'I want to have a horse.' (specific unknown/uncited)
 'J'ai envie d'avoir *tel cheval*.' Hingant (1868 :210, §202)
 b. N'em eus (ket) gwelet an den-*mañ*-den.
 NEG R.1SG have seen the guy-here-guy
 'I didn't see someone'.

Semantics of reduplication in the DET N-here-N compound

Specific known by the speaker of reported discourse:

- (31) O! a lavare dezo [ar sorser] kerkent ha ma tigoueze, me oar diwar-benn petra oh deuet. C’hwi zo deuet evid klask **an dra-mañ-’n-dra**.
‘Oh, used to tell them the sorcerer, as soon as they arrived, I know why you’ve come. You came for *such and such* a thing.’
Jezegou, K. 1923. *E korn an oaled*, p.23 [pdf].

Specific known by both the speaker and the speaker of reported discourse:

- (32) Setu bremañ va mamm oa hardishaet, hag hi neuze, abaoe tri bloaz ma oa o stourm ouzh he zud, lavaret dezho : « graet em eus mat va soñj, dimeziñ a rin gant **an den-mañ-’n-den**. »
‘And now my mother was becoming fearless, and she then told her parents, to which she had been fighting against for three years: “I have made my mind, I will marry *so-and-so*.”’
Naig Rozmor, [Bro Leon, Rosko], *AHAC4*

It is not the case that identification of the entity is always irrelevant (Tovena p.c.):

- (33) CONTEXT : THE POLICE WENT IN A CAFE BECAUSE OF LOUD MUSIC
An amezeg-mañ-amezeg en neus douget klemm, a-dra-sur, met aet da c’hoût piv eo !
a neighbour-here-neighbour R has complained certainly, but go to know who is
‘Some neighbor must have complained, that’s for sure, but who knows who!’
- (34) Klask ez eus war *ar medisin-mañ-medisin* er c’harr-nij.
search R is for the doctor-here-doctor in.the plane
‘One searches for a certain doctor (whose name I can’t find right know) in the plane.’

The N reduplication process is not an evidentiality marker, because it neither qualifies the source of information nor the attitude of the speaker toward the utterance.

Evidence for a compound word

Among the three deictic markers, only the proximal *-mañ* can appear inside compound words
Demonstratives pronouns have a synthetic form:

- (35) *hemañ*, **he-se*, **he-hont*, *houmañ*, **hou-se*, **hou-hont*
3SGM-here 3SGF.here
‘this one.♂’ ‘this one.♀’

> Restriction to the deictic *-mañ* is a sign of morphological composition.

- (36) **an dez-se* ('n) *dez* / * *dez-hont* ('n) *dez*
the day-there (the) day day-over.there (the) day
- (37) * *dez-se* *dez* / * *dez-hont* ('n) *dez*
day-there day day-over.there (the) day

Both bloc 1 and 2 can appear with elements that are never found in isolation:

(38) [the N-mañ]₁ - [(the)-N]₂

(39) [N-mañ]₁ -[N]₂ / * [N-mañ]₁
hini-ma-hini / * hini-mañ
one-here-one one-here
'so-and-so'

Cornouaillais, Trépos (2001:§217)

Recall demonstratives pronouns have a synthetic form:

(40) hemañ glas / * an hini-mañ glas
3SGM.here blue the one-here blue
'this blue one'

(41) [N-mañ]₁ -[N]₂ / *[N]₂
hen-mañ **-hen** / * hen
3SGM-here-3SGM 3SGM
'so-and-so' *Cornouaillais, Trépos (2001:177)*

III. *X-mañ X* structure is an *Existential Free Choice* (∃-FCI).

* FCI in episodic contexts > Polarity item

Polarity items are elements whose distribution and interpretation are sensitive to the properties of the context of occurrence.

Their hallmark property is “exclusion from positive assertions with simple past” (*Giannakidou 2009:1*).

- (42)a. **Paul called anybody.*
b. **John choose an apple, any apple.*
c. **Anybody came in.*

- (43) a. *Ur paotr (bennak) a zeuas tre.*
A boy (any boy) R came in
'Some man walked in.'
b. * *Paotr-mañ-paotr a zeuas tre.* *Douarnenez, [HD 08/2010]*
guy-here-guy R came in

- (44) * *Labous-mañ labous a oa o nijal tost dezhi, met ne rae ket van.*
bird-here bird R was at flying close P.3SGF but NEG did NEG care
'A (specific) bird was flying close to her but she didn't care.'

(45) A BABY BROKE HIS ARM IN THE PLANE. ANNOUNCEMENT: Non-specific (= irrealis)

- a. Klask 'zo war *ur medisin* er c'harr-nij.
search is on a doctor in plane
'We are looking for a doctor in the plane.'
b. *Klask 'zo war *medisin-mañ-medisin* er c'harr-nij.
search is on a doctor-here-doctor in plane

Negation is not a licenser > ≠ API

In episodic context, negation is a licenser for ‘Affective Polarity Items’ (APIs), but not for FCIs (Giannakidou 2001:662).

(46) N’ em eus gwelet *den*. NEG & API
NEG R.1SG have seen guy
‘I didn’t see anybody.’

(47) a. *N’ em eus gwelet *den-mañ-den*.
NEG R.1SG have seen guy-here-guy
‘I didn’t see anybody.’

b. *En noz-mañ **ne** oa *den-mañ-den*.
In night-here NEG was guy-here-guy
‘There was nobody tonight.’

∃- FCIs :

- (48) *∃-FCI Principles:*
- (i) co-occurrence with modalities of necessity and possibility
 - (ii) OK in the restriction of *every* and if-clauses (Chierchia 2010)
 - (iii) no rescuing by subtriggering (≠ universal-FCI, cf. Dayal 2004, Chierchia 2010)
 - (iv) unambiguous existential interpretation

(i) Co-occurrence with modalities

Imperatives

∃-FCIs are allowed in imperative sentences (Giannakidou 2001)

(49) D’an nebeutañ, **lenn** *levr-mañ-levr* diwar al listennad a zo bet roet dit.
P the least read book-here-book from the list R is been given P.2SG
‘Read at least one book, (whatever book) from the reading list.’
‘Lis au moins *un livre (quelconque)* de la liste de lecture.’

COND

∃-FCIs are allowed in conditional sentences (Giannakidou 2001).

(50) Kenkas **wellfes** *studier-mañ studier* o truchañ, lavar din.
in.case would.see.2SG student-here-student at cheating tell me
‘Tell me in case you would see any student cheating.’
‘Dis-moi si tu vois *le moindre élève* tricher.’

Futur

(51) Hervez an amzer hag an degouezhioù **e vo** lakaet *tra mañ tra* war a rouedad.
following the time & the evenements R will.be put thing here thing on the web
‘Such and such thing will be added on-line depending on the time and the events.’

FUT does not have to be synthetic ('be at going to V'):

- (52)a. **Mañ o vont da** zimihñ gant *plac 'h-mañ-plac 'h*.
C.is P go P marry with girl-here-girl
'He is going to marry a girl, any girl.
'Il va épouser une fille (quelconque).'

Modals

∃-FCIs are allowed in modal sentences (Giannakidou 2001).

- (53) **Gell** a ri pediñ *mignon-mañ-mignon*
can R will.do.2SG invite friend-here-friend
'You will be able to invite whatever friend.'
- (54) **Ret eo** diwall meskañ ster boutin *ger-mañ-ger* e yezh bemdez gant e ster skiantel.
obligatory is be.careful confuse meaning common word-here-word ...
'One has to be careful not to confuse meaning of a word in everyday speech and its scientific meaning.'
- (55) **Dav eo dezhañ** reiñ *ali-mañ-ali*.
is P.3SGM give opinion-here-opinion
'This one always has to give such and such opinion.'
- (56) **Dav 'oa dezhañ** reiñ *ali-mañ-ali* er jury.
was P.3SGM give opinion-here-opinion in.the jury
'He has had to give such and such opinion.'
- (57) **Dav eo** da *baotr-mañ-paotr* reiñ e ali.
is P for guy-here-guy give his opinion
'Some guy has to give his opinion.'
- (58) **Aes eo** dit reiñ *ali-mañ-ali*.
easy is P.2SG give opinion-here-opinion
'It is easy for you to give such and such opinion.'
- (59) **Eun dizesper eo** lakaad ac'hanoñ da glask *tra-mañ-tra / kement tra a zo*.
a despair is put P.2PL P search thing-here-thing as.much thing R is
'You are perfectly hopeless at finding anything.'

HAB modal ?

- (60) **Abaoe nav bloaz** zo bremañ e vod Fañch Broudig ur juri brezhonegerien bep bloaz evit priziañ labour *den-mañ-den*, e brezhoneg.
'Since nine years now, each year, Fañch Broudig unites a jury of Breton speakers in order to prize the work of so-and-so, in Breton.'
- (61) **bep deiz** em eus desket tra pe dra, gant *den-ma-den...*
each day R.1SG have learned thing or thing, with guy-here-guy
'Each day I've learned such and such a thing, with so-and-do...'

*WH Question but *Q*

FCIs are often not felicitous in interrogative sentences, a distribution that distinguishes them from Negative Polarity Items (Jayez and Tovenà 2010).

WH questions license *X-mañ-X*

(to be checked with other types of *wh*)

(62) FAQ ON A WEBSITE :

Perak n' hallan ket ober *tra-mañ-tra* ?

Why NEG can.1SG NEG do thing-here-thing

Why can't I do such and such thing?

'Pourquoi je ne peux pas faire ceci ou cela / tel ou tel truc?'

But polar questions do not license:

(63) * Fenozh emañ ma oto ganin. C'hoant peus da vezañ kaset *lec'h-mañ-lec'h* ?

tonight C.is my car with.me. Q wish have P be sent place-here-place

'I have my car here tonight. Do you want me to drop you of somewhere?'

(64) * **Hag eñ** neus graet *tra-mañ-tra* evit lakaat anezho war e du ?

Q has.3SG done thing or thing P put them on his side

'Did he do anything to convince them?'

'A-t-il fait *quoi que ce soit* pour les convaincre ?'

A Q head is not an anti-licensing factor: as soon as we switch the auxiliary to a conditional or a futur tense, reduplication becomes OK.

(65) a. Hag eñ **nefe** graet *tra-mañ-tra* evit lakaat anezho war e du ? COND

Q would.have.3SG done thing or thing P put them on his side

b. Hag eñ **nije** graet *tra-mañ-tra* evit lakaat anezho war e du ? COND past

Q would.have.3SG done thing or thing P put them on his side

c. Hag eñ e **raio** *tra-mañ-tra* evit lakaat anezho war e du ? FUTUR

Q will.do.3SG thing or thing P put them on his side

*Interactions: * past COND and negation*

(66) * **Douetiñ** a ran **nije** gwelet *tra-mañ-tra*.

doubt R do.1SG would.PAST seen thing-here-thing

'I doubt he has seen anything.'

'Je doute qu'il ait vu *quoi que ce soit*.'

(67) * Ur roll eus ar gerioù rannyezhezhel (Kerne-Uhel) zo er fin, ha **n' eo ket ral**
a list of the words dialectal Kerne-High is at.the end & NEG is NEG rare

e vije displeget *ger-mañ-ger* gant un notennig e traoñ ar bajenn.

R would.be explained the word-here-word with a note P bottom the page

'There is a list of dialectal (High-Kerne) words at the end, and it is not rare that such and such word would be explained in a footnote.'

> the *X-mañ-X* structure is sensitive to modality

(ii) OK in the restriction of if-clauses

- (68) **Ma** c'hoarvezh *tra-mañ-tra*, kelaouit ac'hanomp.
If happens thing-here-thing call us
'Call us if *anything* happens.'
'Si *quoi que ce soit* se produit, prévenez nous.'
- (69) Lavar din **ma** welles *studier-mañ studier* o truchañ.
tell P.1SG if see student-here-student at cheat
'Tell me if you see *any student* cheating.'
'Dis-moi si tu vois *le moindre élève* tricher.'
- (70) 'Vefe bet dimezet gant *medisin-mañ-medisin*, a vefe bet fierder he mamm.
would be married with doctor-here-doctor R would be proudness her mother
'Would have she been married with a doctor, she would have made her mother proud.'
'Si elle s'était mariée à un médecin, elle aurait fait la fierté de sa mère.'

(iii) No rescuing by subtriggering

∀-FCI can be rescued by subtriggering (71), ∃-FCI can not (Dayal 2004, Chierchia 2010)

- (71) ∀-FCIs
Qualunque ragazzo ^{???}(voglio sapere dell'esame) si fara' vivo. *Italian*
Quiconque ^{???}(veut se renseigner sur les examens) viendra. *High-Fr (MJ)*
Any boy ^{???}(who wants to know about the exam) will show up. *English*
- (72) ∃-FCIs
* Un ragazzo qualunque (che voglio sapere dell'esame) si fara' vivo. *Italian*
* Un garçon quelconque (qui veut se renseigner sur les examens) viendra. *High-Fr (MJ)*
- (73) *John choose an apple (that was red), any apple (that was red). *English*

In Breton, *X-mañ-X* is not rescued by subtriggering.

- (74) **Paotr-mañ-paotr* (en dije choant da c'houzout diwar-benn an arnodenn) a zeuio.
guy-here-guy 3SGM would.have wish P know about the exam R come.FUT
'A boy ^{???}(who wants to know about the exam) will show up, any boy.'

(iv) Existential interpretation

OK in non-specificity (irrealis) contexts:

- (75) Du musst *irgeneinen Artz* heiraten. *German, Chierchia (2010)*
Tu dois épouser *quelque* docteur. *High French [MJ]*
'You must marry a doctor, any one will do.'
- (76) Ret e oa dezhi dimihiñ gant *medisin-mañ-medisin* evit ma vefe fier he mamm.
obliged R was P.3SGF marry with doctor-here-doctor for C would.be proud her mother
'She had to marry a doctor for her mother to be proud, any doctor.'

Not anti-specific : Muller (2007)

E-FCI can be used in contexts where a particular entity is favored *accidentally*. In that sense, they are not anti-specific

Below, I can have a cake in my hand while uttering the sentence.

(77) CONTEXT: STOP EATING CAKE, DEAR.

If I want to eat <i>such and such a cake</i> , I will eat <i>such and such a cake!</i>	English
Si je veux manger <i>tel ou tel gâteau</i> , je mangerai <i>tel ou tel gâteau!</i>	French

Dissociation between non-specification in modalized context and the specified projection at another level (Muller 2007).

(78) PEOPLE WERE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE QUESTION.

Sellout a raent ouzh o bier, ouzh o bicher-koad, pe *tra-mañ-tra*

look R do P their bier P their stick or thing-here-thing

‘Ils regardaient la bière ou leur canne, ou *n’importe quoi*.’ Camus, *L’étranger* 1942.

> they are each looking at something specific.

(79) DURING A SHOW, THE MAGICIAN SAYS :

Trapit *kartenn-mañ-kartenn*.

Pick.up card-here-card

‘Pick up any card.’

> one could add : ‘for example, this one’.

But *specific and known* entities are out:

(80) Mañ o vont da zimihiñ gant *plac’h-mañ-plac’h* (*ha teus bet tro da gejañ ganti dija).

C.is at go to marry with girl-here-girl C has had way to meet with.her already

‘He is going to marry a girl (*that you have had an occasion to meet already), any girl.’

‘Il va épouser une quelconque fille (*que tu as déjà rencontré.)’

singular:

(81) \exists -FCI

You must read *any one book* from the reading list.

English

Devi leggere *un libro qualsiasi* dalla lista di letture.

Italian

Tu dois lire *un livre quelconque* de la liste de lecture.

French

> obligation to read one book from the expressed set.

Chierchia (2010)

(82) \forall -FCI

You must read *any book* from the reading list.

> obligation to read all books from the expressed set

(83) D’an nebeutañ, lenn *levr-mañ-levr* diwar al listennad a zo bet roet dit.

P the least read book-here-book from the list R is been given P.2SG

‘Read at least *a book (any book)* from the list that has been given to you.’

‘Lis au moins *un livre (quelconque)* de la liste de lecture.’

Summarizing

Distribution of the \exists -FCI:

SYNTACTIC CONTEXT		except:
Positive assertion with simple past	*	
Negation in episodic context	*	
With modalities	√	
Imperatives	√	
future (both synthetic and analytic)	√	
Conditional	√	
Past conditional	√	With negation
Why/how questions	√	
Restriction of if-clauses	√	
Yes/no questions	*	
Comparatives	*	
Rescuing by subtrigging	*	
INTERPRETATION		
unconstrained reference in a reference set	√	
Non-specificity (irrealis) contexts	√	
Specific unknown (identification irrelevant)	det √	
Specific and known entities	*	
Singular	√	
Genericity	*	

- (91) a. the N-*mañ* specific indefinite (*DEMONSTRATIVE*)
 b. the [N-*mañ*-N] specific unknown(?) indefinite
 c.  d. * N-*mañ*
 e. [N-*mañ*-N] \exists -FCI, non-specific dependent indefinite
 \forall -FCI under influence

- (92) Ret-groñs eo dezho sinañ *paperenn-mañ-paper*.
 obliged-intensifier is to.3SGM sign paper.SG-here-paper
 ‘It is mandatory for him to sign such and such paper.’

IV. A unique morphology for an \exists -FCI

Disjunction & noun-doubling is crosslinguistic widely spread strategy to create FCIs:

- (93) *Na inona na inona* mahatahotra azy.
 or what or what CAUSE.fear 3(ACC)
 ‘Anything can frighten him.’

Malagasy, Paul (2005)

(94) *den pe zen tra pe dra hini pe hini*
 person or person thing or thing N or N
 'one person **or** the other', 'one thing **or** the other', 'one **or** the other' Hemon (1995:40)

(95) *hen-a-hen en deuz prénéed eur marc'h.*
 pron-&-pron 3SG has bought a horse
 'So-**and**-so has bought a horse.' Hingant (1868 :210, §202)

In French and most languages, FCIs make use of interrogative morphology (except FCI *tout*).

N'importe qui, n'importe quoi n'importe quel N
Qui que ce soit, quoi que ce soit, quelque N que ce soit
quiconque, un N quelconque, un quelconque N
quelque N

Jayez and Tovena (2005:66):

“Free choiceness is a phenomenon that concerns determiners [...] Free choiceness is a form of irrelevance, and determiners use their normal resources to go about it, namely constraints on their restriction and on the intersection between restriction and scope.”

An exocentric type of reduplication ?

A reduplication process can trigger a change in category in the reduplicated element (toward adjective).

(96) C'est une femme. C'est une femme-femme.
 'It is a woman.' 'It's a feminine woman.'

In the “Surinamese ECs [...] a reduplicated verb yields a predicative element rather similar to a European past participle” (Parkvall 2000:79)

(97) /dí **náki-náki** wómi/
 DEF beat beat man
 'the beaten man' Saramaccan, Veenstra (1996:81)

(98) /a fensee fika **opo-opo**/
 DEF window remain open open
 'The window was left open' Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar (1997:405)

The small set of elements that can separate the article from its noun contains: cardinals, measure and degree quantifiers (*half-*) and some pejorative adjectives.

(99) breakfast-smreakfast > 'bullshit' reading

A FCI determiner created by reduplication?

* article	}	X_1 - <i>mañ</i> - X_2	}	
* numeral				
* quantifier				Relative

Numerals are out before the *X-mañ-X* structure:

- (100) **Teir flac 'h-mañ-flac 'h* a raio war-dro ar c'hef. Ar re all a raio krampouezh..
 3 girl FCI R do.FUT P the cashier. The N other R do.FUT crepes
 'Three girls (whatever girls) will work the cash register. The others will make crepes.'
 'Trois filles (quelconques) doivent tenir la caisse. Les autres feront les crêpes.'

But most quantifiers are out before the *X-mañ-X* structure, including the indefinite determiner *ur*.

- (101) *? *Pep floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. each/every
 (102) ** *Un nebeut floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. some
 (103) ** *Muioc 'h-mui a floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. more and more
 (104) ** *Nep floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. each
 (105) ** *Kalz floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. a.lot.of
 (106) ** *Muioc 'h floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk. more
 Quant. tax.evader-here-tax.evader R be. FUT punished badly

A quantifier adverb like *kement*, 'as much', is OK, but gives the specific unknown reading.

- (107) *Kement floder-mañ-floder* a vo kastizet drouk.
 as.much tax.evader-here-tax.evader R be. FUT punished badly
 'Any tax evader will be severely punished.'
 'Tout/N'importe quel fraudeur sera puni.'

Article-less proper nouns can not reduplicate:

- (108)**Kejet teus gant Nikolaz-mañ-Nikolaz* er voest-noz ha pedet teus anezhañ da zrebi.
 met has.2SG P Nikolaz-here-Nikolaz in.the disco and asked has.2SG him P eat
 'You met a Nikolaz (any Nikolaz) in the disco, and you invited him for diner.'

Comments welcome: melaniejoutteau@gmail.com

=====bibliography=====

- An Here (ed) 2001. *Geriadur Hollvrezhoneg* (Breton monolingual dictionary).
 Chalm 2008. *La grammaire bretonne pour tous*, An Alarc'h Embannadurioù / Editions Le
 Cygne, Lannion.
 Chierchia, G. 2010. 'Existential indefinites', chap 5 of book ms. –draft January 2010.
 Corblin, F. 2010. 'Une analyse compositionnelle de *quoi que ce soit* comme universel',
 Francis Corblin, Lucia M. Tovenà, Evangelia Vlachou (éds.), *Les indéfinis de choix libre
 du français*, numéro thématique 166 de *Langue Française*, 15-48.
 Dayal, V. 2004. 'The universal force of free choice any', *Linguistic variation yearbook*, vol.
 4, ed. J. Rooryck, 5–40. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
 Falas, A. 2009. *Polarity Items and Dependent Indefinites in Romanian*, PhD thesis ms.,
 University of Nantes/Naoned.
 Farkas, D. 2009. 'Free choice in Romanian', Betty J. Birner and Gregory Ward (eds.),
Drawing the Boundaries of Meaning, Benjamins, 71-94.
 Favereau, F. 1993. *Dictionnaire du breton contemporain = Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*.
 Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.
 Favereau, F. 1997. *Grammaire du breton contemporain*. Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

- Giannakidou, Anastasia 2001. 'The Meaning of Free Choice', *Linguistics and Philosophy* 34, 659-735.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2009. 'Negative and positive polarity items: licensing, compositionality and variation'. Maienborn, Claudia, Klaus von Stechow, and Paul Portner (eds). *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gundel, J. K., N. Hedberg & R. Zacharski 1993. 'Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse', *Language* 69:274-307.
- Haspelmath, Martin 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hemon, R. 1995. *Breton Grammar*, Dublin.
- Hingant, 1868. *Eléments de la grammaire bretonne*, Tréguier.
- Huttar, Mary & George Huttar. 1997. 'Reduplication in Ndyuka', Spears & Winford (éds.), 395-414.
- Jayez, Jacques and Lucia Tovenà. 2006. 'Epistemic determiners', *Journal of Semantics* 23, 217-250.
- Jayez, Jacques and Lucia Tovenà. 2005. 'Free Choiceness and non-individuation', *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1-71.
- Jayez, J. and L. Tovenà. 2010. 'Description et évolution de *quelque*', *Déterminants en diachronie et synchronie*. Paris : Projet ELICO Publications.
<http://elico.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/livre-elico.html>
- Jayez and Tovenà. 2006. xxx', *General Semantics*.
- Jayez, J. and L. Tovenà. 2004. 'Tout as a genuine FCI', Corblin, F. & de Swart, H. (eds), *Handbook of French Semantics*, Stanford: CSLI. 71-81.
- Jayez J. and L. Tovenà. to appear. 'Scenarios of equivalence - The case of *quelque*', Hinterwimmer Stefan, Hendriks Cornelia (eds.), *Funny Indefinites*, Springer.
- Kratzer, A. and Y. Shimoyama. 2002. Indeterminate pronouns: The view from Japanese. Paper delivered at the 3rd Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics, Tokyo, Japan.
- Muller, Claude. 2007. 'QUELQUE, déterminant singulier', *Cahiers de lexicologie*, 90, 135-149.
- Nicolas, M. 2005. *Yezhadur ar brezhoneg komzet e Kistinid hiriv-an-deiz*, Mémoire de maîtrise de l'Université de Haute Bretagne, Rennes II. manuscrit.
- Parkvall, M. 2000. *Out of Africa, African influences in Atlantic Creoles*, Battlebridge Publications.
- Paul, Ileana. 2005. 'Disjunction in Free Choice and Polarity in Malagasy', *Actes du congrès annuel de l'Association canadienne de linguistique 2005/Proceedings of the 2005 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*.
- Prince, E. F. 1981. 'On the inferencing of indefinite-*this* NPs', Joshi & al. (eds.), *Elements of discourse understanding*, 231-50.
- Schapansky, N. 1996. *Negation, Referentiality and Boundedness in Gwenedeg Breton. A Case Study in Markedness and Asymmetry*. Ms. Thesis [published in 2000 by Lincom Studies in Indo-European Linguistics 05] München: Lincom Europa.
- Trépos, P. 2001. *Grammaire bretonne*, Brud Nevez – Emgleo Breiz, Brest.
- Veenstra, Tonjes 1996 *Serial verbs in Saramaccan. Predication and Creole genesis*. [n pl] Holland Institute of Generative Linguistics.