

Title: **When reduplication gives a choice**

I investigate an undocumented structure of Breton that creates a Free Choice Item (FCI) by productive reduplication. As far as I know, this phenomena is typologically unique because the FCI here does not contains *wh* morphology, a disjunction or an equivalent of ‘one’. The reduplication process applies on a head noun (or a DP) over a deictic marker.

Introduction to the reduplicated structure

In Breton, adverbial deictic locatives (*-mañ*, *-se* and *-hont*) are affixed to DPs in order to create demonstratives (1, 2). Such an analytic structure is not crosslinguistically rare for demonstratives, (cf. other Celtic languages, or Haitian Creole).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>an deiz-mañ</i> | <i>Mari-mañ</i> | |
| | DET day-here | Marie-here | |
| | 'this day' | 'Marie here present' | |
| (2) | <i>an deiz-se</i> | <i>Mari-se</i> | <i>Mari-hont</i> |
| | DET day-there | Marie-there | Marie-there.far |
| | 'this (particular) day' | 'this Marie (I just told you about)' | 'this (far) Mary' |

The construction is ungrammatical with the indefinite article *un*, but can be shown to be an indefinite: the demonstrative occurs in contexts where it has not been activated in discourse, like the specific indefinite English *this* (Prince 1981, Gundel and al. 1993).

- (2) * **un** *deiz-mañ*
- (3) 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.'

It is the indefinite demonstrative with the affix *-mañ* as in (1) that can serve as a basis for a reduplication process that obtains the free choice indefinite (4). Demonstratives created with the other deictic affixes *-se* and *-hont* in (2) can not undergo reduplication. Reduplication over *-mañ* is productive but strictly constrained. The reduplicated element (on the right-hand of the compound) can duplicate the determiner in Central and Northern dialects. Reduplication never includes the deictic locative *-mañ* itself. Reduplication results in a specific independent indefinite as in (4), (5).

- (4) C'hoand am euz da gaoud *ar marc'h-mañ* (*ar*) *marc'h*.
wish R.1SG have P have the horse-here horse
'I want to have a horse.'/'J'ai envie d'avoir *tel cheval*.' (specific unknown/uncited)
- (5) *an dez-mañ* ('n) *dez* ar *plac'h-mañ-plac'h*
DET day-here (DET) jour DET girl-here-girl
'a given day/ some day' 'whatever girl/a girl lambda.'

As expected, the specific unknown indefinite in (4) does not survive irrealis contexts. Surprisingly, the reduplication structure in irrealis contexts is repaired by article-drop (6). Note that the analytic demonstrative in (1) can appear determinerless only in the case of proper nouns. In (6), the left part of reduplication */stajiad-mañ/* is ungrammatical in isolation.

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

(7) 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.'

I show with extensive evidence that the determinerless reduplication structure is a *dependent* indefinite, precisely an existential free-choice item. Semantically, any element in the denotation of the restrictor is a suitable candidate for satisfying the nucleus (Jayez and Tovenà to appear), and the licensing of the free-choice item depends on modality (ex. (7) and table content).

SYNTACTIC CONTEXT FOR \exists -FCI		except:
Positive assertion with simple past	*	
Negation in episodic context	*	
With modalities	√	Out of the scope of the licenser if no reconstruction
Imperatives	√	
future (both synthetic and analytic)	√	
Conditional	√	
Past conditional	*?	
Direct & indirect WH questions	√	
Restriction of if-clauses	√	
Yes/no questions	*	
Comparatives	*	
Rescuing by subtriggering	*	under \forall uses

I first present the syntactic and semantic properties of the construction, laying the ground for the questionnaire of a large crossdialectal study (ARBRES collecting project).

In the second part of the talk, I locate this free choice indefinite in an inventory of Breton free choice indefinites and indefinites, including Breton impersonals.

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