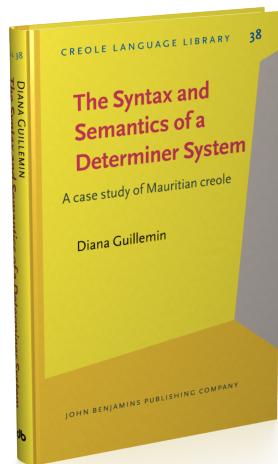


Table of contents

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.38.toc>



Pages v–xvi of

The Syntax and Semantics of a Determiner System: A case study of Mauritian creole

Diana Guillemin

[Creole Language Library, 38] 2011. xviii, 310 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

For further information, please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website at benjamins.com/rights

This work is dedicated to the memory of the slaves who created Mauritian Creole, and to Simone, whose ancestral gift for story telling incited my passion for this language. It expresses my gratitude to Bernard, without whom I could not have indulged my passion.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements	xvii
CHAPTER 1	
Sources of Mauritian Creole	1
1. Origins	1
2. Language situation in Mauritius	2
3. A corpus-based approach to the study of MC determiners	3
4. Outline of this work	4
CHAPTER 2	
Introduction	7
1. Why the determiner system?	7
1.1 A quantificational approach	8
2. Early changes from French to MC	9
3. The new MC determiner system	10
4. Syntactic framework	11
4.1 A rationale for Minimalism	11
4.2 The Determiner Phrase	16
5. Semantics of determiners	18
5.1 Definitions	18
5.2 Formal Semantics	18
5.3 Noun categories and layers in the DP	19
6. The feature Argumental [ARG]	21
7. Contribution to linguistic theory	21
CHAPTER 3	
Syntactic framework	23
1. Assumptions of the Minimalist Program	23
1.1 X-bar theory	25
1.1.1 Bare phrase structure	25
1.2 Contain and c-command	26
1.3 Economy principles	27
1.4 The principle of Full Interpretation	28
1.5 Derivation by phase	28
1.6 Case and agreement	30
2. Logical form	32

- 2.1 Quantifier raising 32
- 2.2 Scope 32
- 2.3 Legitimate LF elements 34
- 3. The architecture of the MC clause 34
 - 3.1 The Split Inflectional Hypothesis 34
- 4. Predication 38
 - 4.1 The predicate phrase 38
- 5. DPs and NPs 40
 - 5.1 Weak and strong determiners 41
- 6. Bare nouns and the feature Argumental [ARG] 41
- 7. The architecture of the MC noun phrase 42
 - 7.1 Phases within the DP 44
 - 7.1.1 Licensing empty categories 45

CHAPTER 4

Semantics: Definitions and formalism

47

- 1. Introduction 47
- 2. Part I: Definitions 48
 - 2.1 Definiteness 48
 - 2.1.1 The 'Familiarity' theory of definiteness 48
 - 2.1.2 Incomplete definite descriptions 48
 - 2.1.3 Singular and plural definite descriptions 49
 - 2.1.4 Referential and attributive uses of definite descriptions 50
 - 2.1.5 Stages of Familiarity 51
 - 2.1.6 Anaphoric uses of definite descriptions 52
 - 2.1.7 Immediate situational uses of definite descriptions 53
 - 2.1.8 Larger situational uses of definite descriptions 54
 - 2.1.9 Unfamiliarity uses of definite descriptions 54
 - 2.2 Specificity 56
 - 2.2.1 The indefinite article 57
 - 2.2.2 Indefinite 'this' 60
 - 2.2.3 Are all definites specific? 63
 - 2.3 Deixis 65
 - 2.3.1 Exophoric functions of demonstratives 66
 - 2.3.2 Endophoric functions of demonstratives 67
- 3. Part II: The function of determiners and the denotation of nouns 68
 - 3.1 Weak and strong determiners 68
 - 3.2 DPs and NPs 68
 - 3.3 Denotation 69
 - 3.4 Kinds 70

4. The count vs. mass distinction 73
 - 4.1 Parts and boundaries 73
 - 4.1.1 The function PL(ural) 75
 - 4.1.2 The ELT (Element of) function 75
 - 4.1.3 The function definiteness 76
 - 4.2 The atomic structure of nouns 76
5. Part III: Formal semantics 77
 - 5.1 Categories of noun phrases 78
 - 5.2 Partee's 'Noun interpretation and Type-shifting principles' 79
 - 5.3 Chierchia's 'Derived Kind Predication' 80
 - 5.4 Zamparelli's 'Multi-Layer DP Hypothesis' 81
6. The semantics of predication 82
 - 6.1 Aristotle's definition of predication 82
 - 6.2 Bowers' (1993) semantics of predication 83
 - 6.3 Type-shifting: General principles and particular rules 85

CHAPTER 5

Early changes: From French to creole

87

1. Introduction 87
2. Reanalysis and loss of the French determiners 88
 - 2.1 From French DP to MC N 90
 - 2.2 Bantu influence? 91
 - 2.3 Ambiguous interpretations of bare nouns 93
 - 2.4 Early evidence of article incorporation 94
 - 2.4.1 Ambiguous interpretations of MC nouns in early MC 95
3. A new determiner system 97
 - 3.1 The demonstrative 'sa' 97
 - 3.2 The indefinite singular 'enn' 98
 - 3.3 The post nominal Specificity marker 'la' 98
 - 3.4 The plural marker 'bann' 98
 - 3.5 The definite determiner 'so' 99
 - 3.6 Bare nouns 99
 - 3.7 A phonologically null definite determiner 99
4. The loss of an overt copula 101
 - 4.1 The copula 'ete' 102
 - 4.2 Predicative constructions in early MC 104
 - 4.3 The resumptive pronoun 'li' 105
 - 4.4 'Li' a predicate marker? 106
 - 4.5 'De-marking' 107

5. The loss of the French functional prepositions ‘à’ and ‘de’ 110
 - 5.1 The lexical prepositions 110
 - 5.1.1 The preposition ‘à’ 110
 - 5.1.2 The preposition ‘de’ 111
 - 5.2 Genitive constructions 111
 - 5.2.1 Two genitive constructions in modern MC 112
6. Conclusion 115

CHAPTER 6

The emergence of a new determiner system

117

1. Introduction 117
2. The discourse markers 118
 - 2.1 Marking topic: The demonstratives ‘ça ... là’ – 1750 to 1820 118
 - 2.2 ‘ça’ without ‘là’ – 1820 onwards 121
 - 2.2.1 No proximate vs. distal deictic contrast in MC 122
 - 2.3 The Specificity marker ‘là’ – 1820 onwards 123
 - 2.4 Recalling a Topic – ‘là’ marks old information 124
 - 2.5 A Number feature in ‘ça’ and ‘là’? 125
 - 2.6 Indefinite ‘ça ... là’ 128
 - 2.7 Summary 128
3. Bare mass nouns 129
 - 3.1 Bare mass nouns as subject 129
 - 3.2 Bare mass nouns as direct object 130
 - 3.3 Bare mass nouns as object of preposition 131
 - 3.3.1 The demonstrative ‘ça ... là’ with mass nouns – 1850 onwards 132
 - 3.4 Summary 133
4. Bare nouns 133
 - 4.1 Bare count nouns as subject 133
 - 4.2 Bare count nouns as direct object 134
 - 4.3 Bare count nouns as object of preposition 135
 - 4.4 Bare count nouns in the scope of negation 136
5. The quantificational determiners 137
 - 5.1 The indefinite singular article ‘enn’ – 1820 onwards 137
 - 5.1.1 Nominal predicates 137
 - 5.1.2 Existential constructions 138
 - 5.1.3 Indefinite singular direct object 139
 - 5.1.4 Indefinite singular subject 140
 - 5.2 The definite determiner ‘so’ – 1835 onwards 141
 - 5.2.1 From possessive pronoun to determiner 141

5.2.2	'So' marks Focus	143
5.2.3	'So' as an emphatic determiner	145
5.3	The universal quantifier 'tout/tous' – 1820 onwards	146
5.4	The proportional quantifier 'bon morceau' – 1820 onwards	148
5.5	The proportional quantifier 'enne bande' – 1850 onwards	148
5.6	The plural marker 'bann' – 1885 onwards	152
5.7	The mass noun quantifier 'morceau' – 1820 onwards	156
5.8	'(Bon) morceau' with unique and abstract nouns	158
6.	Summary	158

CHAPTER 7

The modern MC determiner system 163

1.	Introduction	163
2.	Bare count nouns	163
2.1	Bare count nouns in existential constructions	163
2.2	Bare count nouns as subject of stage level predicates	164
2.3	Bare count nouns as subject of individual level predicates	166
2.4	Bare count nouns as complement of opacity inducing predicates	166
2.5	Bare nouns as complement of stage level predicates	168
2.6	Bare count nouns as object of preposition	169
2.6.1	Object of preposition in generic contexts	170
2.7	Unique nouns	170
3.	Bare mass nouns	171
3.1	Bare mass nouns in existential constructions	171
3.2	Bare mass nouns as subject of stage level predicates	172
3.3	Bare mass nouns as subject of individual level predicates	172
3.4	Bare mass nouns as complement of opacity inducing predicates	172
3.5	Bare mass nouns as object of preposition	173
4.	The discourse markers	174
4.1	The Specificity marker 'la'	174
4.1.1	'La' is not a suffix	175
4.1.2	'La' with singular count nouns	177
4.1.3	'La' with plural count nouns	177
4.1.4	'La' with mass nouns	178
4.2	The demonstratives 'sa ... la'	179
4.2.1	Indefinite 'sa ... la'	180
4.3	'Sa' without 'la'	180
5.	The quantificational determiners	181
5.1	The indefinite singular 'enn'	181
5.1.1	'Enn' in existential constructions	181

5.1.2	Singular indefinites as subject of stage level predicates	182
5.1.3	Singular indefinites as subject of individual level predicates	182
5.1.4	Singular indefinites as direct object	183
5.1.5	Singular indefinites as object of preposition	184
5.2	The proportional quantifier 'ennbann'	185
5.3	The plural marker 'bann'	188
5.3.1	The plural marker in existential constructions	188
5.3.2	The plural marker in subject position	189
5.3.3	The plural marker in direct object position	190
5.3.4	The plural marker in prepositional object position	191
5.3.5	A definition of 'bann'	191
5.3.6	Why does MC need a plural marker?	193
5.4	The emphatic determiner 'so'	194
6.	Summary	196

CHAPTER 8

Noun denotation and function of determiners 199

1.	Introduction	199
2.	Noun denotation	199
2.1	Kinds and properties	199
2.2	Categories of nouns and type shifting principles	201
2.3	The count vs. mass distinction	201
2.4	Kinds, predicates and GQs	202
3.	DPs and NPs	204
3.1	English bare plurals	204
4.	Comparing MC bare nouns and English bare plurals	205
4.1	Similarities between MC bare nouns with English bare plurals	205
4.1.1	In the scope of negation	205
4.1.2	With opacity inducing predicates	206
4.1.3	In the scope of sentence final time adverbs	206
4.1.4	Anaphora	207
4.1.5	Bare plurals and mass nouns	208
4.2	Differences between MC bare nouns and English bare plurals	208
4.2.1	Count nouns with stage level predicates	208
4.2.2	Count nouns with individual level predicates	210
4.2.3	Mass nouns with stage level predicates	210
4.2.4	Mass nouns with individual level predicates	211
5.	A shift in noun denotation from French to Creole	211
5.1	From predicative nouns in French to argumental nouns in MC	212
5.2	The feature Argumental [ARG]	212

5.3	Deriving instances of kinds	214
5.4	The functions PL(ural) and ELT (Element of) in English	215
5.5	Marking plural in MC: The function of 'bann'	216
5.6	Marking singular in MC: The function of 'enn'	216
5.7	Marking Definiteness	217
6.	Type shifting principles	218
6.1	How type shifting operators apply in MC	219
6.1.1	The function lift	219
6.1.2	The function nom	219
6.1.3	The function pred	220
6.1.4	The function THE	221
6.1.5	The function BE	222
6.1.6	The function A	222

CHAPTER 9

The syntax of the MC noun phrase

227

1.	Introduction	227
2.	Kinds, predicates and GQs	231
2.1	Layers in the DP	231
2.2	Count and mass nouns in predicative constructions	232
2.3	Kinds as arguments	234
2.3.1	Generic contexts	234
2.3.2	Opaque contexts	236
3.	The number phrase	237
3.1	The [+count] feature	237
3.2	The indefinite singular 'enn'	237
3.3	The plural marker 'bann'	238
4.	The Definiteness Phrase	238
4.1	Definite mass nouns	238
4.2	Abstract nouns	239
4.3	Definite count nouns	239
4.3.1	Unique nouns and proper nouns	239
4.4	Licensing null δ	241
4.5	Definite plural subjects	242
4.6	The emphatic definite determiner 'so'	243
5.	The Specificity Phrase	244
5.1	Specific indefinites	244
5.1.1	Specific [–definite] mass nouns	244
5.1.2	Specific [–definite] count nouns	245

5.2	Specific definites	247
5.2.1	Specific [+definite] mass nouns	247
5.2.2	Specific [+definite] singulars	248
5.2.3	Specific [+definite] plurals	249
5.3	Denoting and referring expressions	250
5.4	A 'Derivation by Phase' (DbP) analysis	250
5.4.1	DP and CP parallel	250
5.4.2	DefP and SpP phases	251
6.	The Demonstrative Phrase	252
6.1	'Sa' without 'la'	252
6.2	Indefinite Specific 'sa ... la'	255
6.3	Definite and Specific 'sa ... la'	255
7.	The position of adjectives	257
8.	The Quantifiers	262
8.1	The universal quantifiers	262
8.2	The proportional quantifiers	264
9.	The Possessive Phrase	267
9.1	The possessive adjectives	267
9.2	Two types of genitive constructions	269
9.2.1	The postposed genitive and Semitic Construct State	269
9.2.2	The preposed genitive	273
9.2.3	'Portrait' genitives	276
10.	A Topic – Possessive construction	277
11.	Summary	279

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

281

1.	A new determiner system	281
1.1	A change in noun denotation	281
1.2	Bare nouns	282
1.3	The indefinite singular article 'enn'	282
1.4	The plural marker 'bann'	283
1.5	The null definite determiner δ	284
1.6	The Specificity marker 'la'	285
1.7	The demonstrative 'sa'	286
2.	Contribution to linguistic theory	287
2.1	Contribution to the creole genesis debate	287
2.2	Syntax and semantics	288

2.2.1	Definiteness	288
2.2.2	Specificity	289
2.2.3	Economy principles and 'empty categories'	290
2.2.4	The definite article is a type-shifting operator	291
Abbreviations and symbols		293
Texts (Sources of Examples)		295
References		299
Index		307

