Free-choice and reduplication A study in Breton dependant indefinites

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Introduction

Indefinites are felicitous with a reading where, internally to a contextually relevant set, the particular choice of referent is irrelevant. When a magician says *Pick a card*, context favors an interpretation where *any card* from the set would be a felicitous choice, as long as it is a card from the proposed set, as illustrated for modern Breton (Continental Celtic) in (1)a. Some indefinite constructions have this free-choice reading as the only felicitous one. This paper closely investigates such a free choice indefinite (FCI) that presents a typologically unusual morphology as illustrated in (1)b. This free-choice indefinite is realized by reduplication of the head noun around what seems like a spatial proximate deictic morpheme (-*mañ*-). The relevant contrast with the regular indefinite *ur gartenn* in (1)a is loss of optionality for the free-choice reading. The sentence in (1)a is felicitous if the magician proposes only one card, whereas (1)b is not.

(1) DURING A SHOW, THE MAGICIAN SAYS:
  a. *Trapit ur gartenn*   b. *Trapit kartenn-mañ-kartenn.*
      Pick a card   pick   card-here-card
      ꞊Pick a card.ø   ꞊Pick a card, any card.ø   *Breton*

In this paper, I will first investigate the DP-internal syntax and morphology of the reduplication construction in (1)b. I will propose that it results from the creation of a complex head noun by reduplication in a morphological step operated between syntax and phonological form. Next, I investigate the distribution of the Breton reduplicated FCI. I show that when preceded by a specificity marker, this construction behaves like a regular indefinite. When not preceded by this specificity marker, the noun exhibits the typical distributional restrictions of dependent indefinites. I will show that the bare use has existential quantificational force, but can acquire universal force when bound by a universal quantifier.

There is a considerable amount of variation in the reduplicated FCI across Breton dialects, both in morphology and in syntactic licensing, and its interpretations can be very subtle. I have favoured multiple in-depth elicitations with a single speaker with consistent judgments (about ten hours in five sessions). The informant, H.D., in his fifties, is a native from the Douarnenez dialect. One of his parents is a non-native but a fluent speaker, the other one a native. He also had a native caretaker as a young child. H.D. is at least trilingual, in French and Breton, as well as English. He has easy access to the Breton literature and to the written standard, for which he overtly assumes a normative attitude. Apart from the Douarnenez and standard varieties, the speaker has had little exposure to other dialects. He showed persistent judgments from one session to the other. The protocol material was built with both (i) contextually enriched translation tasks from French and (ii) corrections and judgments on

Breton examples previously collected in the literature or via Goggle searches. Unless mentioned otherwise, data in this article is from H.D. For comparison and a consistent preview of dialectal variations, the obtained data was further checked with B.R., a young native from the Vannetais variety.

I.   The DP-internal distribution of reduplication

In this section I will investigate the DP internal distribution of reduplicated heads and the type of heads that can reduplicate. I will propose a morphological derivation for this morphologically complex head.

In (2), the left morphemes *he-* and *hou-*, marked for gender in synthetic demonstratives, do not exist in isolation. They can however reduplicate around the bound morpheme -*mañ*, making (3) an occurrence of reduplication of a morpheme that is never found in isolation.

(2)   ***he****mañ*,   /   ***hou****mañ*
     3SGM-here   3SGF.here
     ÷this one. ø   ÷this one. ø

(3)   *hen-mañ -hen*   *Cornouillais dialect*, Trépos (2001:177)
     3SGM-here-3SGM
     ÷so-and-soø

Once the complex head noun is formed, it can enter regular noun derivations, like suffixation of the default plural marker –*où* (*yezh-mañ-yezhoù,* /language-here-language-PL/, ÷any languagesø [B.R 11/2014]).

The meaning of the reduplicated noun is indefinite, but the indefinite article is illicit before the complex noun head. The definite article is however possible, as in (4). We will see in the following sections that absence of an article is grammatical in a precise set of syntactico-semantic contexts.

(4)   { *Ar* /**ur* / **Ø* }   *floder-mañ-floder*   *a vo*   *kastizet   drouk.*
     the / *a / _   tax.evader-here-tax.evader R be. FUT punished badly
     ÷A tax evader (whose identification is irrelevant) will be severely punished.ø

Kement, ÷as much/anyø, is a determiner that can precede the reduplicated head. It gives it a universal reading: the sentence in (4) is verified if a unique individual is punished, whereas (5) is verified if each and every tax-evader is indeed punished. *Kement* can appear together with an article (Stephens 1993:138), but not so before a reduplication (6).

(5)   *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.ø

(6)   * ***ar**** c'hement floder-mañ-floder*
     the as.much   tax.evader-here-tax.evader

Most prenominal quantifiers are out before the reduplicated head structure including, as we saw, the indefinite determiner *ur* (at least for HD).

(7)   *?   *Pep*   *floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   each/every
(8)   **   *Un nebeut*   *floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   some
(9)   **   *Muioc'h-mui a floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   more and more
(10)   **   *Nep*   *floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   each

(11) **   *Kalz*   *floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   a.lot.of
(12) **   *Muioc'h*   *floder-mañ-floder*   a vo kastizet drouk.   more

The determinerless structure seems to be more accurately described in terms of bare uses: absence of determiner seems to imply absence of other prenominal elements. In the absence of a determiner, prenominal cardinals are ungrammatical (13). This is also the case for prenominal analytic singulatives, as exemplified here with *pezh* before the collective noun *chatal* (a structure equivalent to *piece of furniture*), and with *tamm* before a mass abstract noun, ÷pleasureø

(13)   *(An) teir flac'h-mañ-flac'h a raio war-dro ar c'hef.*
       the   3   girl-here girl   R do.FUT P   the cashier.
    ÷Three girls (whatever girls) will work the cash register.ø
(14) a. *Trap { ar pezh chatal-mañ-chatal / (* pezh) chatal-mañ-chatal }.*
      catch the piece cattle-here-cattle   /   piece cattle-here-cattle
   b. *(*tamm) plijadur-mañ-plijadur*
      piece   pleasure-here-pleasure

The table in (15) summarizes the results so far and reveals systematic DP internal differences in the distribution of reduplications preceded by the definite article *an, al, ar* and reduplications without it. We will see in the next section that these differences correlate with meaning, but also with DP external distributional differences.

(15)   Summary of the possible pronominal orders in DPs containing reduplications:

	articles	quantifiers	analytic singulative	
ç	Ø			
ç	Ø	*kement*		
*	Ø	other quantifiers		
*	Ø		*pezh, tam*	
*	Ø	numerals		
ç	definite			
*	definite	*kement*		
ç	definite		*pezh*	
ç	definite	numerals		
*	indefinite			

$\}$ X_1-*mañ*-X_2

Let us now turn to the candidates for X_1 and X_2 in (15). Morphologically plural nouns cannot reduplicate even when monomorphemic (**an dud-mañ-tud*, /the people.PL-here-people.PL/). Collective nouns are syntactically plural (they trigger verbal plural agreement and plural anaphora) but bear no morphological mark of plurality. They can reduplicate, and logically co-refer with a plural pronoun (16). Breton has complex singulars obtained by suffixation of a singulative *-enn* ending to a collective noun. Complex singulars can reduplicate.

(16) a. *Trap al logod-mañ-logod   ha skarzh anezh**o**   er-maez*
    catch the mice-here-mice   and throw P.them   outside
   b. *Trap al logod**enn**-mañ-logod**enn** ha skarzh anezh**i**   er-maez!*
    catch the mice.SG-here-mice.SG   and throw P.her   outside

Reduplication seems limited to nouns, but is not available for all nouns. For H.D., deverbal nouns consistently fail to reduplicate (17). These are however fine for B.R. from the Vannetais dialect. There is also variation as to the availability of reduplication for compound nouns (18) and proper nouns (19), attested elsewhere but both rejected by H.D.

(17) { *galvadenn* / *baleadenn* / *kaozeadenn* }(*-mañ-V.adenn*)
     call.action.of walk.action.of speak.action.of
    ÷(a) call, (a) walk, (a) discussionø

(18) *...pe ne vez ket gwraet ken   get amzer-mañ-amzer, stumm-verb-mañ-stumm-verb.*
      or NEG is NEG done anymore P tense-here-tense,   form-verb-here-form-verb
    ÷í or that such and such tense, such an such verbal form is not used anymore.ø
                                        Vannetais (Kistinid), Nicolas (2005:7)
(19) *Pok Nikolaz-mañ-Nikolaz ha laosk ac'hanon e peoc'h!*
    kiss Nikolaz-here-Nikolaz and let   P.1SG   in peace
    ÷Kiss whatever Nikolaz and leave me alone!ø   [B.R. 11/2014]

Kement can reduplicate as in (20)a. It is homophonous to the adverb we saw in (5), but its nominal status is not a stipulation meant to preserve the generalization that only nouns reduplicate. *Kement* is independently found with *–mañ*, with which it forms an anaphora. In (20)b, it can be replaced by another noun.

(20)a *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.ø
   b. {*Kement-mañ* / *ur mousc'hoazh* } *e kousto   deoc'h ar pred.*
     as.much-here / a smile   R cost.FUT P.2PL the meal
    ÷The meal will cost you this much/all this/as much as this / a smile.ø

Only nouns thus can reduplicate, which bring in an obvious hypothesis as to the derivation of reduplication, because only nouns can be independently be followed by *-mañ*. Is independent compatibility with the spatial proximate deictic adverb *–mañ* an obligatory intermediate step in reduplication? I briefly discuss this question.
As is crosslinguistically common, Breton makes use of a deictic clitic (21) in order to create demonstratives (22).

(21) proximity of spatial adverb and clitic deictic markers with respect to the speaker:

      amañ   *aze*   *ahont*
      -mañ   *-ze*   *-hont*
      proximal   *medial*   *distal*
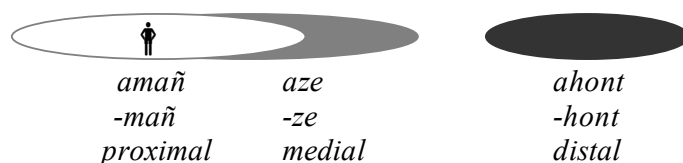
(22)a. *an dra-**mañ**,*   *an dra-**se**,*   *an dra-**hont***
    the thing-here   the thing-there   the thing-over.there
    ÷this thingø
   b. *kement-**mañ**,*   *kement-**se**,*   *kement-**hont***
    as.much-here   as.much-there   as.much-over.there
    'this much', 'as much as this there', 'as much as all that over there'   (Hemon 1995:36)

Nouns thus can appear with *ómañ* independently of reduplication. However, there exists a morpheme that is found in reduplication but cannot independently combine with *-mañ*. For some speakers, the head noun *hini* reduplicates in *hini-mañ-hini* in (23).

(23) *hini-mañ-hini*
       one-here-one
       ‒so-and-soø   Trépos (2001:§217) - H.D. never reduplicates pronouns

However, this head can not be found in analytic demonstratives on the pattern of (22). The form **(an) hini-mañ* is an ungrammatical outcome for ‒this oneø. The synthetic form of the demonstrative pronoun *hemañ* / *houmañ* (also illustrated in (2)) appears instead. A morphological filter with a rewriting rule can correctly obtain **hini-mañ > hemañ*, but we do not want it to rule out (23). I propose the following scenario in (24), where the rewriting rule operates from an abstract input and gives a morphologically well-formed output. The filter prevents [N + DEM] to turn into *hini-mañ, and rewrites it as *hen-mañ*, a compound that will later be interpreted at PF as what I write *hemañ*, an orthographic abstraction standing for the different phonological forms in different dialect.

(24)   how reduplication operates at the morphological level

input		filter output		final output	
	N	*hini*		*Hini*	ç
def	N	*an hini*		*an hini*	ç
def	N + DEM	*hen-mañ*		*Hemañ*	ç
			reduction of *–*mañ-mañ* + reduplication		
def	Thing	*an dra*	*an dra-mañ-dra*	*an dra-mañ-dra*	ç
	N	*hini*	*hini-mañ-hini*	*hini-mañ-hini*	ç
def	N	*an hini*	*an hini-mañ-hini*	*an hini-mañ-hini*	ç
def	N + DEM	*hen-mañ*	*hen-~~mañ~~-mañ-hen*	*hemañ-hen*	ç
def	N + DEM	*an hen-mañ*	*an hen-~~mañ~~-mañ-hen*	*an hemañ-hen*	ç

Reduplication applies at the output of the filter, and does not have access to raw material, preventing forms like *hemañ-hini. I follow the hypothesis of Grohman and Nevins (2004) who propose, for the English reduplication process obtaining *money-shmoney*, that the lower copy of too local a movement has to be differentiated from its antecedent. Reduplication thus operates around the bound morpheme *-mañ-* that is merely needed to differentiate the two copies obtained by reduplication.

This *-mañ-* morpheme is homophonous with, but different from the deictic marker present in demonstratives. Reduplication operates in two steps. First, the *ómañ-* morpheme is added, triggering morphological reduction if two occurrences of *-mañ* are adjacent. Second, the morpheme to the left of *ómañ-* is copied and reproduced to the right of it. The reduction of double occurrences of *-mañ* correctly obtains the grammatical form *hemañ-hen* (instead of *hemañ-mañ-hemañ). Postulating reduction before copying obtains that the right hand pronoun is *–hen* and never *hemañ* (*hen-mañ-hemañ). Letting the *hen-mañ* rewriting rule apply at every step, and especially after reduplication, is not an option because we donøt want

the reduplications *hini-mañ-hini* and *an hini-mañ-(an) hini* to be rewritten as **hemañ-hini or *hemañ-(an) hini*.[2]

This scenario implies that reduplication of both *an dra*, ='the thing' and *an dra-mañ*, ='this thing' will produce the same output, both yielding *an dra-mañ-tra* or *an dra-mañ-(an) dra* (see below for *tra* vs. *dra*). I don't think this is a problem for the semantics of the construction: the common result is a specific indefinite. More importantly, this scenario implies that the *-mañ-* morpheme in reduplication is completely different from the deictic *–mañ* morpheme of analytic demonstratives. I believe this is correct. The very possibility of the reduplicated form *hemañ-hen* might seem to suggest that reduplication is a productive process somehow building on the demonstrative paradigm. However, among the three deictic markers, only the proximal *-mañ* ever appears in reduplications (25). Pronominalisation of (22) results in *hemañ,* but also *hennezh* and *henhont.* If reduplication built on demonstratives, we would have to explain why and how the medial *–se* and distal *–hont* morphologically ban reduplication.

(25)   **(an)*   *dra-**se***   *('n) dra*   / * (*an*)   *dra-**hont***   *('n) dra*
       the   ting-there (the) thing   the   thing-over.there (the) thnig

Moreover, a scenario building reduplication on a demonstrative construction (26) would have to account for the reduplicated structures with a missing article (d.). Analytic demonstratives (except with *kement*) start with a definite determiner and would logically produce only reduplicated structures also starting with a determiner, contrary to facts.

(26) a.   the   N-*mañ*   specific indefinite (demonstrative)
       b.   the   [N-*mañ*-N]   specific unknown/uncited indefinite
       c.   *   N-*mañ*
       d.   [N-*mañ*-N]   non-specific dependent indefinite

One could argue that *-se* and especially the more rare *-hont* are marked, making *-mañ* in contrast somehow unmarked and default, appearing as a last resort during the process of reduplication. I point that if so, *-mañ* has been deprived of all its deictic properties. The semantic reason as to why the proximal maker would be the one preferred in order to refer to unknown entities is immediately counter-intuitive. I thus conclude that as proposed in (24), the *–mañ-* morpheme at the heart of the reduplicated structure is distinct from the deictic marker appearing in analytic demonstratives. It is their homophony that triggers reduction under adjacency. I now turn to the question of the module of grammar where the operation in (24) takes place. There are some indications that reduplication does not copy phonologically formed blocks. In (27), the definite article triggers a lenition /k >g/ on the initial of the left hand noun. The right-hand duplicate is untouched. Cases of mutation on reduplicates are also found (Jouitteau 2014a), but the important point here is that the reduplication operation can have access to unmutated forms.

(27)   *Livet   e veze gantañ   ar **g**oantenn-mañ-**k**oantenn hag   e   veze kontant.*
        painted R was   by.him the beautiful-here-beautiful   and he was happy
        ='He used to paint some beautiful girl (whose identity is irrelevant) and was happy.'

---

[2] Both *hini-mañ* and *an hini-mañ* are uniformly rewritten as pronominal *hemañ*, whereas in reduplication structures, *hemañ-hen* and *(an) hemañ-hen* are both found. I could not check that the two were indeed available for the same speaker, but the anomaly remains that the article can be preserved before pronominal reduplications and never before the synthetic demonstrative pronoun *hemañ*. This is another difference between demonstratives and reduplications, but my proposal does not account for it.

There is also evidence that the reduplication process can be partial, and thus have access to morphological decomposition. For morphologically complex nouns, the left one can be morphologically more complex than the right one. In (28), the suffix –*enn*, a singulative marker on a mass noun, is absent on the right. The same partial reduplication is observed with the diminutive form (*paperig-mañ-paper*, vannetais Breton [B.R 11/2014]). For H.D., partial reduplication is not possible with collective nouns (29). It is possible that his rejection is triggered by a SG/PL number asymmetry.

(28) *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.ø
(29) * *ar steredenn-mañ-stered*   * *siviel enn-mañ-sivi*
      the stars.SG-here-stars   strawberries.SG-here-strawberries

There is considerable variation as to the possibility of articles in right-hand duplicates as in (30). H.D. obligatorily drops it and consistently duplicates only the head noun. The forms where the right-hand article is realized provide interesting information about the reduplication process and the syntactic domain of what can be reduplicated. Speakers who can duplicate the article of the duplicate have to have access to material outside of the head-noun.

(30) *an   dez-mañ* (*'n*) *dez*
      the   day-here (the) day
      =(on) such and such a dayø   Favereau (1993:§ *-mañ*)

Stress provides an argument that the definite article is indeed not integrated to the head noun. In dialects where word stress is on the penultimate syllable, integration of the definite article into the word structure would wrongly predict it would receive stress when preceding monosyllabics. Breton definite articles are however generally not stressed, even if the following noun is monosyllabic (Hemon 1995:§282). The definite article could however be an unstressable clitic adjoined to the head noun.

In conclusion, reduplication is a productive operation on most nouns and on the adverb *kement*. It operates around a dedicated ó*mañ*- morpheme. The process can reduce morphological information on the duplicate. Reduplication does not have access to the abstract bundle of features nouns have, but to the output of morphological filters like the **hini-mañ* filter and its > *hemañ* rewriting rule. Reduplication has access to morphological information (it recognizes deverbal nouns and reduces morphological complexity in the copying process), but it does not have access to phonologically formed material. The domain of what is visible to reduplication can include the (possibly cliticized) definite determiner outside of the word boundary.

(31)   summary of the heads that can reduplicate:

	article	original head	proximal deictic marker	reduplicated head
ç	def.	N		(def) N
ç		*kement*		*kement*
ç		*mass noun-singulative*		*mass noun-singulative*
ç		*mass noun-singulative*	*-mañ-*	*mass noun*
ç		*collective-singulative*		*collective-singulative*

*		collective-singulative		*-se	collective
*		non-collective plural	}	*-hont	{ non-collective plural
*		deverbal noun			deverbal noun

II. Specific indefinite vs. bare noun

In this section, I turn to the distributional and semantic differences between reduplicated head nouns with and without determiner. The definite article *an, al, ar* is a specificity marker.[3] In (32), the irrealis conditional is shown ungrammatical in the modifying relative of the reduplication. This is predicted if the article indeed enforces specificity. The reduplication structure with the determiner is felicitous in episodic contexts, with a specific indefinite reading (33). In (34), I show that the specific indefinite takes wide scope with respect to negation (*I didn't see anyone*). Negation does not have the effect to maximize it, suggesting that the reduplication does not create a minimizer (compare with the favourite reading of *I didn't see a person*).

(32) *Me meus c'hoant kaout **ar** stajiad-mañ-stajiad a **zo / *vefe** farsus ha jentil.*
      1SG I.have wish   have the intern-here-intern   R would.be funny and nice
      ='I want to have an intern that would be nice and funny.'

(33) *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.'

(34) *N' em eus   (ket) gwelet an den-mañ-den.*
      NEG R.1SG have not   seen   the guy-here-guy
      ='I didn't see someone (*I didn't see anyone/*I didn't see a person)'

The precise reading associated with the reduplication form preceded by an article is somewhat hard to define. It can be specific unknown (35), or specific known by the speaker of reported discourse (36), or even specific known by both the speaker and the speaker of reported discourse (37). One could think that identification of the entity at least has to be irrelevant, but it is not always the case (38). In (39), one could even be bragging about actually knowing the name in question by refusing to reveal it.

(35) *Deuet tre eo Yann en   ostaleri o klask kaojeal gant ar   paotr-mañ-paotr.*
      went in is Yann in.the bar   P search speak   with the guy-here-guy.
      ='He went into the bar and started speaking to so-and-so.'
      (He knew the guy was here, but he didn't know him)

(36) *« D'an eur-mañ-eur, me a yelo, ha giz-se,   bezañ pare tout an traoù. »*
      P the hour-here-hour 1SG R go.fut & way-there be   fixed all   the things
      ='(And the priest then used to decide for a time and say): at such and such hour, I will go, and this way, things were done.'

(37) *« Graet em   eus mat va soñj, dimeziñ a rin   gant an den-mañ-'n-den. »*
         done R.1SF has good my mind to.marry R will.do with the guy-here-the-guy

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[3] The prenominal head *an, al, ar* is treated in Breton descriptive grammars and in my glosses as the definite article. It appears in analytic demonstratives (/the guy-here/, ='this guy'). This specificity marker does not have to appear in all specific nominal constituents (for example the genitive structure /guitar Yann/, ='the guitar of Yann' that requires absence of the determiner of the possessed). In modern Breton, it shows no overt morphological variation for case, number, or gender. It triggers mutation on the following noun initial consonant based on a calculation of gender and number, suggesting morphological encoding of abstract number and gender features.

"I have made my mind, I will marry *so-and-so*."
(Naig Rozmor citing her own mother)

(38)　CONTEXT : THE POLICE WENT INTO 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!"

(39)　*Klask　ez eus war **ar** medisin-mañ-medisin.*
search R is　for the doctor-here-doctor
="One searches for a certain doctor (whose name I can't find right now or won't reveal)"

The semantic contribution of a free-choice item is that any element in the denotation of the restrictor is a suitable candidate for satisfying the nucleus (Jayez and Tovena 2010). To the extend that Breton reduplication brings in the free-choice meaning and the definite article brings in specificity, we should be witnessing from (32) to (39) a *specific free-choice indefinite*. Any element in the denotation of the restrictor has to be a suitable candidate for satisfying the nucleus, in a way that is fully compatible with the speaker suggesting s/he fully identifies the referent in question. The syntactic distribution of this structure is that of a specific DP.

In contrast, the determinerless reduplication structure obeys only the definition of free-choice items. Known entities are consistentlty out (40). The bare noun FCI obtains the same reading as an indefinite (*ur stajiad a vefe farsus…*) in non-specific irrealis contexts as in (41).

(40)　*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."

(41)　*Me　meus c'hoant kaout stajiad-mañ-stajiad a vefe　　farsus ha　jentil.*
1SG I.have wish　have　intern-here-intern　　R would.be funny and nice
="I want **an intern** that would be nice and funny, **any intern that…**."
="I want **any intern** that would be nice and funny."

In the next section, I will show that the bare noun non-specific FCI created by reduplication has the restricted distribution of a dependent indefinite. It precisely shows the prototypical distribution of an existential free choice.

III.　Identification as an *Existential Free Choice* (∃-FCI)

Polarity items like dependent indefinites are elements whose distribution and interpretation are sensitive to the properties of the context of occurrence and their hallmark is exclusion from positive assertions with simple past (Giannakidou 2009:1, Jayez and Tovena 2005:6) like in English (42). Breton bare noun reduplicated structures are likewise banned from episodic contexts, in contexts where existence of the referent is presumed (realis context in (43)) or not (irrealis in (44)).

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

(43)　　{ *Ur paotr (bennak)* / * *paotr-mañ-paotr* } *a　zeuas tre*.
　　　 a　boy　(any boy)/　guy-here-guy　　　R came in
　　="Some man walked in."

(44)　A BABY BROKE HIS ARM IN THE PLANE - ANNOUNCEMENT:

> *Klask 'zo war { ur medisin / * medisin-mañ-medisin } er c'harr-nij.*
> search is on a doctor / doctor-here-doctor in plane
> ‡We are looking for a doctor in the plane.ø

In past episodic contexts, negation is a licenses the so-called negative polarity items or affective polarity items but crucially not free-choice indefinites (Giannakidou 2001:662). Breton negation in episodic contexts licenses the bare noun *den*, but fails to license reduplicated structures.

(45)   *N' em eus gwelet* { *den* / * *den-mañ-den* }.
       NEG R.1SG have seen person / person-here-person
       ‡I didnøt see anybody.ø
(46)   *En noz-mañ* **ne** *oa* { *den* / * *den-mañ-den* }.
        In.the night-here NEG was person / person-here-person
       ‡There was nobody tonight.ø

The licensing contexts for the bare noun formed by reduplication coincide with those proposed in the literature for existential free-choices (Giannakidou 2001, Chierchia 2013). These contexts are illustrated down below.

(47)   *Ǝ-FCI licensing contexts:*
        (i)   occurrence in imperatives, conditional and future tenses, modalities of necessity and possibility
        (ii)   restriction of *if*-clauses

Imperatives

(48)   *D'an nebeutañ,* **lenn** *levr-mañ-levr diwar al listennad a zo bet roet dit.*
       at the least read book-here-book from the list R is been given to.2SG
       ‡Read at least one book, (any book) from the reading list.ø
(49)   **Pouez** *war touchenn-mañ-touchenn evit derc'hel da vont.*
       press on key-here-key for continue to go
       ‡Press a key, any key, in order to continue.'

Conditional tense

(50)   *Kenkas* **welfes** *studier-mañ studier o truchañ, lavar din.*
       in.case would.see.2SG student-here-student at cheating tell me
       ‡Tell me in case you see any student cheating.ø
(51)   ‡**Vefe** *bet dimezet gant medisin-mañ-medisin, a vefe bet fierder he mamm.*
       would been married with doctor-here-doctor R would been proudness her mother
       'Had she married a doctor, she would have made her mother proud.'

Past conditional

(52)   *Hag eñ* **nije** *graet tra-mañ-tra evit lakaat anezho war e du ?*
       Q would.have done thing-here-thing for put P.3PL on his side
       ‡Would he have done anything to gain their approval?ø
(53)   *Gant plijadur* **mije** *tanvaet gwastell-mañ-gwastell.*
       with pleasure would.have tasted cake-here-cake

'I would have tasted a cake with pleasure (, any cake)'

Synthetic and analytic future tenses ('be at going to V'):

(54) *A-benn ar fin,   ar gomzerien eo a zistaol**o**   pe a vir**o**   ger-mañ-ger.*
      at   the end the speakers is R drop.FUT or R keep.FUT word-here-word
      'At the end, it is the speakers who will keep or drop a given word / a word or another.'
(55) *Mañ **o vont da** zimihiñ 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.'

Modals and modal constructions

(56) *Bez 'e **c'hell** ar gevredigezh rein al labour da hini-mañ-hini a ginnig   e anv.*
      EXPL R can   the group   give the job   to *N-here-N*   R proposes his name
      'The group can offer the job to anyone (whatsoever) that offers their name.'
(57) ***Aes eo** da baotr-mañ-paotr rein e   ali,   memestra !*
      easy is P guy-here-guy   give his opinion (interjection)
      'But it is easy for a guy, any guy, to give his opinion!'

Restrictions of if-clauses

(58) ***Ma** c'hoarvezh tra-mañ-tra,   kelaouit ac'hanomp.*
      if happens   thing-here-thing inform P.1PL
      'Inform us if *anything* happens.'
(59) *Lavar din   **ma** weles studier-mañ studier o truchañ.*
      tell   to.1SG if see   student-here-student at cheat
      'Tell me if you see *any student* cheating.'

Free-choice indefinites bear either existential readings (∃-FCI) or universal readings (∀-FCI). A set of properties of the Breton reduplication points toward an existential free-choice. I will show that the reduplication structure can bear a universal reading only when the latter is brought by another element.

(60) properties opposing existential and universal FCI
      (i)   only an ∃-FCI is felicitous in non-specificity (irrealis) contexts
      (ii)   an ∃-FCI is not rescued by subtrigging
      (iii)   an ∃-FCI has a singular reading
      (iv)   an ∀-FCI is licensed by comparative constructions
      (v)   an ∀-FCI is licensed by generic readings

First, the reduplication is felicitous in non-specificity (irrealis) contexts, which is a property of existential FCIs.

(61) *Du musst irgeneinen Artz heiraten.*   *German*, Chierchia (2013)
      Tu dois épouser quelque docteur.   *High French*
      'You must marry a doctor (, any one will do).'
(62) *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.'

∀-FCI can typically be rescued by subtrigging, that is by addition of a modifying relaive (*Any boy* $^{???}$*(who wants to know about the exam) will show up.*), whereas ∃-FCI can not (**John chose an apple (that was red), any apple (that was red)*, Dayal 2004, Chierchia 2013). In Breton, the bare noun reduplicated is not rescued by subtrigging.

(63) **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.ø

A further contrast is between the readings of ∃-FCIs like Italian *qualsiasi* and French *quelconque* (64) that refer to a singular entity, and that of universal FCIs like English *any book* (65). Breton patterns with ∃-FCI.

(64)   *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 (2013)
(65)   *You must read any book from the reading list.*
       > obligation to read all books from the expressed set
(66)   *D'an nebeutañ, lenn levr-mañ-levr   diwar al listennad a zo bet   roet   dit.*
       at the least   read book-here-book from the list   R is been given to.2SG
       ÷Read at least *one book (any book)* from the list that has been given to you.ø   *Breton*

∀-FCI are fine in comparative constructions, but the reduplication structure is not (67).

(67) ** Hennezh 'zo pinvidikoc'h eget hini-mañ-hini/henmañ-hen/paotr-mañ-paotr.*
       this.one is richer   than N-here-N   / N-here-N   / guy-here-guy
       (intended) ÷this one is richer than anybody.ø

∀- FCIs are fine with generic readings (68)a, whereas ∃-FCIs are incompatible with it ((68)b, Corblin 2010). The reduplication is ungrammatical in (69).

(68)a. *∀-FCI*   b.   *∃-FCI*
        Any bird flies.   **A bird flies, any bird.*
(69) ** Labous-mañ-labous a nij.*
       bird-here bird   R flies

A prototypical universal reading is possible but requires the overt universal quantifier *kement* preceding the reduplication structure. The reading is then clearly universal. The structure then becomes fine for generic claims (71) and can be rescued by subtrigging.

(70)a. **   Floder-mañ-floder   a vo   kastizet drouk.*
     b. ***Kement** floder-mañ-floder   a vo   kastizet drouk.*
        as.much tax.evader-here-tax.evader R is. FUT punished badly
        ÷Any tax evader will be severely punished.ø
        ÷∀ x, x a tax evader, x will be punished.ø   (example translated from Muller 2007)
(71)   ***Kement** studier-mañ-studier e kentañ bloavezh a zo barrek da ziluziañ ar gudenn-se.*
        as.much student-here-student in first   year   R is able   to solve the problem-here
        ÷*Any first year student* is able to solve this problem.ø

(72) *Kement paotr-mañ-paotr*(en dije c'hoant da c'houzout diwar-benn an arnodenn) a zeuio.*
as.much guy-here-guy   would.have wish P know   about   the exam R come.FUT
'Any boy ^{???}(who wants to know about the exam) will show up.'

Farkas (2006) postulates that the quantificational force of free-choice items 'depends on whether they are caught by an existential quantifier (in which case they are existential) or not (in which case they are universal)'. In Breton, the default interpretation seems the opposite. The reduplicated bare noun is an existential, except under the scope of a universal quantifier. However, if this is true for most of the collected data, there remain a few examples where the favored interpretation is universal, without any obvious universal quantification.

(73)   *Eun dizesper eo lakaad ac'hanoh da   glask tra-mañ-tra*
        a   despair is put   P.2PL   to   search thing-here-thing
        'You are perfectly hopeless at finding anything.'
        *∃ thing x, such that it is a despair to make you search for x.
        ∀ x, x a thing, that it is a despair to make you search for x.

(74)   I REGRET I'VE HIRED THIS COORDINATOR. HE IS TOO YOUNG.
        Spi em   boa vefe   deuet a-benn da dallañ ouzh kudenn-mañ-kudenn en e labour.
        hope R.1SG had would.be come at-end to front   at problem-here-problem in his job
        'I hoped he could solve any problem in his job.'
        *∃ problem x, such that I had hoped he could have solved x in his job.
        ∀ x, x a problem, I had hoped that he could have solved x in his job.

The literature has found that certain properties act as parameters frequently observed among free choice indefinites across languages. I briefly review here where the Breton reduplication structure stands with respect to those parameters.

(75)   *∃-FCI Parameters:*
        (i) licensing by interrogatives
        (ii) appearance in seemingly episodic contexts (to the extent that they can be interpreted modally, Chierchia 2013).
        (ii) 'no winner / no loser' constraint (Jayez and Tovena 2006, 2010).

FCIs do vary across languages with respect to licensing by interrogatives (Jayez and Tovena 2010). Breton reduplicated structures add to the variation, because they are not felicitous in polar interrogatives, be they realized by intonation (76) or by a segmental Q head like *hag eñ* (77). However, *wh*- questions do license Breton FCIs.

(76) * *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 to be   sent place-here-place
        'I have my car here tonight. Do you want me to drop you of somewhere?'

(77) * **Hag eñ** neus   graet tra-mañ-tra   evit lakaat anezho war e du ?
        Q   has.3SG done thing or thing for put   them on his side
        'Did he do anything to convince them?'

(78)   **Piv** en deus   bet tro   da welet steredenn-mañ-steredenn?
        who R.3SGM has had chance to see   stars.SG-here-stars.SG
        'Who has had the chance to see a star (, any star)?'

(79)   **Piv** zo bet   gwelet gant archer-man-archer?
        who is been seen   by cop-here-cop
        'Who has been spotted by a cop (, any cop)?'

(80) ***Pegement*** *eo bet   paieet archer-man-archer evit ober-se?*
How.much is been paid cop-here-cop   for do-so
=How much has a cop (,any cop) been paid in order to do so?ø

∃-FCIs can appear in seemingly episodic contexts in German, Italian, French.

(81) *Irgendjemand hat eingerufen.*   *German*
=Somebody or other called.ø
(82) *Gianni e' entrato in classe e si e' rivolto ad un ragazzo qualunque.*   *Italian*
Yann est entré dans la classe et s'est adressé à un garçon quelconque.   *French*
=Gianny walked into the classroom and addressed a boy FCI.ø

Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002) and Chierchia (2013) propose that crosslinguistic variation on the possible occurrence of *∃-FCI* in seemingly episodic occurrences follows from the availability of a null =assertoricø modal licenser. In Breton, there is evidence for a licensing operator linked to iterativity (for (84)and (85), recall that generic sentences do not license the bare reduplication structure).

(83) ***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 Iøve learned such and such a thing, with so-and-doí   ø
(84) *Eno e chom bev   hiziv c'hoazh gizioù kozh a zo bet **a-viskoazh gizioù ar vro***
here R stay alive today again   customs old R is been   always customs the country
da festañ   tra-mañ-tra,   darvoud-mañ-darvoud.
to celebrate thing-here-thing   event-here-event
=The old customs that have always been the customs of the country to celebrate such and such thing, such and such event are still alive today here.'
(85) *Klevout eo bet   plijet bras den-mañ-den a vez   **atav**   un allazig d'an unan.*
hear   is been pleased big   guy-here-guy R is.GEN always a comfort P the one
=to hear that so-and-so has been really pleased is always a comfort.ø

According to Corblin (2010), FCIs are not compatible with a restriction of the set of values available for interpretation. He argues for instance that French indefinites *un ami/quelqu'un*, =a friend, someoneø are not FCIs, because the choice of a value let to the choice of the hearer can be restricted (86). Following this criterion, the Breton reduplication would not be an FCI (87).

(86) *Tu peux inviter un ami   / quelqu'un, mais pas n'   importe qui.*
you can invite a   friend / someone, but   not NEG matter who
=?? You can invite any friend, but not just anyone.ø   *French*, Corblin (2010)
(87) *Gell a ri   pediñ mignon-mañ-mignon, met arabat pediñ n'   eus forzh piv.*
Can R will.do invite friend-here-friend   but -   invite NEG is   matter who

However, this seems to merely test the =no loser constraintø from Jayez and Tovena (2006, 2010) and which is subject to crosslinguistic variation.

(88) No loser/no winner constraint
= Equity rule (Jayez and Tovena 2010)
A tripartite form [Free Choice] [R] [P] is compatible with an interpretation I only if:
A: every member of R can be P under I (no looser)

B: every member of R can not be P under I (no winner)   Jayez and Tovena (2006)

I summarize the findings in the table below. Intuitively, free-choice existentials appear when several worlds and alternatives are evoked, with at least one alternative leading to the assertion being either wrong or non-verifiable. This is not the case for universal free-choice items, which can appear in episodic contexts when modified by a relative, or in comparatives (see Jayez & Tovena 2005:23-4 for discussion of French equivalents).

(89)   Distribution of the bare ∃-FCI:

SYNTACTIC CONTEXT	positive assertion with simple past	*
	negation in episodic context	*
	imperatives	ç
	modalities	ç
	Future (both synthetic and analytic)	ç
	conditional (present and past)	ç
	restriction of if-clauses	ç
	iterative readings	ç
	wh- questions	ç
	yes/no questions	*
	comparatives	*
	rescuing by subtrigging	*
	genericity	*
INTERPRETATION	singular	ç
	unconstrained reference in a reference set	ç
	non-specificity (irrealis) contexts	ç
	specific and known entities	*

A proper alternative semantics for the reduplication, far outside the scope of this paper, would have to address the contrast between polar and *wh*- questions. The impossibility of ∃-FCI in generic contexts is also surprising, if one considers that generic claims can generally survive overtly expressed counter-examples, and are thus compatible with different alternatives.
I finally turn to the syntactic distribution of the reduplication head: licensing seem to operate under surface scope. Preverbal subject FCIs are not licensed by the following tensed verb, be it a future tense and/or a modal.

(90)   (*Ar*)* *paotr-mañ-paotr a zeuio*   _ .
        the   guy-here-guy   R come.FUT
        ÷A guy will comeø

(91)   (*Ar*)* *mignon-mañ-mignon **a c'hello** _ dont da chom e pad   ar   vakañsoù.*
         the   doctor-here-doctor   R can.FUT   come P stay   P during the vacations
        ÷So-and-so can come to stay during the vacations.ø

This is of great importance for the analysis of Breton verb second orders, because in (90), the subject is the only potential satisfier for the Breton ban on verb-first. Jouitteau (2005, 2007) predicts that movement into the preverbal area, when last resort for V2, is completely transparent for semantic interpretation. Here the FCI designs a sharp contrast between a preverbal and post verbal subject in last resort V2 environments. If there is an element like conditional mood that is usually thought to be with the verb in T or C that licenses FCIs, how come the subject is not licensed if it is interpreted below it?

Sensitivity to surface scope is not a property shared by all Breton dependent indefinites. Some Breton bare nouns are negative polarity items, and as such, have to be licensed by negation (Jouitteau 2014b). The immediately preverbal position is a felicitous site for licensing (92) despite overtly preceding negation.

(92) *Den   ne   gar   den.*
      human NEG loves human
      ꞊(Love has disappeared,) nobody loves nobody.ø   *Breton Callac*, Jouitteau (2014b)

The reduplication structure can precede its licensor only under reconstruction, as when the FCI is fronted for focus in (93). The two next examples show ꞊wrong subject constructionsø with a preverbal nominal constituent corefering with a resumptive pronoun internal to IP (see Rezac 2011, 2013 for detailed analysis of these structures). The free-choice bare noun is ungrammatical in the preverbal area of those structures.

(93) [*Gant plac'h-mañ-plac'h*] *emañ o vont da zimihiñ _* !
         with girl-here-girl   C.is at go   P   marry _
      ꞊He is going to marry a girl, ANY GIRL.
(94) *(Ar)* c'hrennard-mañ-krennard a vo dav dezhañ   ober war-dro ar vugale.*
      The adolescent-here-adolescent R will.be P.3SGM do   P   the children
      ꞊Such and such adolescent will have to take care of the children.ø
(95) * *Plac'h-mañ-plac'h emañ o vont da zimihiñ ganti.*
       girl-here-girl   C.is   at go   P   marry with.her

IV.   Conclusion

I will conclude this portrait of Breton reduplication structures by a quick discussion of its typologically outstanding morphology. In a great majority of languages, free choice indefinites are constructed around an interrogative marker and some õindefiniteness markerö, which comes in four main types: *wh+ever*, *wh+and*, *wh+want*, and *wh+be* (Haspelmath 1995:371, 1997), illustrated by French, English and Greek below. [4]

(96)   French   Greek   English

   a. **qui**conque   **opjos**dhipote   **Who**ever

   b. **quoi** que ce soit   **oti**dhipote   **what**ever

   c. *à* **quel**que moment que ce soit **opote**dhipote   **when**ever

   d. **où** que ce soit   **opu**dhipote   **where**ever   *Greek, English from* Giannakidou (2001)

Nothing in Breton prevents formation of such FCIs: this pattern even represents a productive competing strategy to reduplication. Breton *bennak* (illustrated in context in (43)) is a compound of old Breton *py*, the unstressed form of interrogative pronoun *pe-* with negative *na(g)* (Willis 2013:279). Breton *n'eus forzh pe-X* (illustrated in context in (87)) means literally ꞊there is no importance which-Xø Free choiceness is crosslinguistically linked to determiners. As pointed out by Jayez and Tovena (2005:66), free choiceness is õa form of

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[4] In Greek, *opjos* is a *wh-* determiner used in free relatives, *dhi* is an invariant emphatic particle (comparable to *indeed*), and *pote* means ꞊(n)everø(Giannakidou 2001:3). In French *quiconque*, one recognizes the modal part of Old French *oncques*, '(n)ever', but the compound traces back to the Latin **qui**cumque, 'whoever'.

irreference, and determiners use their normal resources to go about it, namely constraints on their restriction and on the intersection between restriction and scopeö. From this semantic point of view, it seems rather peculiar that a free choice item would lack such material.

Breton however shows this outstanding reduplicative strategy that does not make use of any determiner in order to realize free-choiceness.

Noun doubling around disjunction (97) or coordination (98) is a crosslinguistically widely spread strategy to create FCIs that is also independently represented in Breton, but as far as I know, reduplication proper is not reported a means of creating free-choiceness in human languages outside of Breton.

(97) *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)

(98) *Hen-ha-hen en   deus prenet ur marc'h.*
pron-&-pron 3SG has   bought a horse
꞊So-**and**-so has bought a horse.ø   Hingant (1868 :210, §202)

Noun reduplication is reported as a means of creating an independent plural indefinite in Daøa. Barr (1988:5) reports a diffuseness effect (õmultiple, non-singular, non-definiteö, õa non-specific number greater than oneö). Reduplication is crosslinguistically a productive way to create plurals. However, in Breton, a singular element keeps its singular reading (across a wider set) once reduplicated.

(99) **ju'a-ju'a**   *to na-ria   ni kampu bagia nu Da'a.*
sickness-sickness C realis-be in village   area of Daøa
꞊The sicknesses that are in the villages in the Daøa areaø   *Da'a*, Barr (1988:5)

One might explore the hypothesis that the reduplication process can be exocentric and trigger a change of category in the duplicate, morphologically creating an epistemic indefinite in a language lacking one. Reduplication can indeed be descriptively exocentric, suggesting a silent head as a category changer. In French, reduplication of the noun head ꞊womanø produces an adjective. In Surinamese, a reduplicated verb yields a predicative element similar to a past participle (Parkvall 2000:79), like illustrated here for Saramaccan and Ndyuka. I leave careful exploration of this proposal and its implications for further research.

(100)a.*C'est une femme.*   b.   *C'est une femme-femme.*
꞊It is a woman.ø   ꞊Itøs a woman-feminine.ø
꞊It is a woman.ø   ꞊Itøs a feminine woman.ø   *French*
(101) /*dí*   **náki-náki** *wómi*/
DEF beat beat   man
꞊the beaten manø   *Saramaccan*, Veenstra (1996:81)
(102) /*a*   *fensee fika*   **opo-opo**/
DEF window remain open open
꞊The window was left openø   *Ndyuka*, Huttar & Huttar (1997:405)

The reduplicated FCI also provides a typologically unique minimal pair between, on the one hand, a dependent indefinite existential FCI, and on the other hand a specific FCI whose distribution seems free. Morphologically, the difference between the two lies in that the former is a bare noun whereas the latter is preceded by a specific marker. The article *an, al, ar* that the Douarnenez informant can precede reduplication with enforces a specific reading on it

and frees it from licensing constraints in one go. The same connection between appearance of the determiner and free distribution is provided by B.R. from the Vannetais dialect, who allows the reduplicated head to be preceded by an indefinite article (*ur plac'h-mañ-plac'h*, /a girl-here-girl/, 'a girl, any girl'). This structure has the same (non-specific) meaning as HD's bare structure, but it is available for her in all environments including past episodic contexts. The Breton determiner thus seems to consistently free the FCI from distributional restrictions. I leave further exploration of the cross-dialectal validity of this generalization to further research.

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