

From Noun to Name: On definiteness marking in Modern Martinikè¹

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1. Introduction

This article bears on two functional morphemes written *l(a)-* and *lé* and pronounced [l(a)] and [le] which have developed in Modern Martinikè as definiteness markers of a sort, alongside the better known enclitic definite determiner LA,² which is common to all French-lexifier creoles (cf. Bernabé 1983, Gadelii 1997, Lefebvre 1998, Déprez 2007, Zribi-Hertz and Glaude 2007, Alleesaib 2012, a.o.). We shall argue that LA conveys "pragmatic definiteness", as defined by Loebner (1985, 2011), while *l(a)-* and *lé* form "semantically definite" DPs denoting individual terms in the manner of definite proper names. Since French—the lexifier language—ambiguously marks semantic and pragmatic definiteness by means of the same "definite article", and since the definite determiner in Gbe languages—a plausible substratic influence on Caribbean creoles—is restricted to pragmatic definiteness (cf. Aboh 2001), the fact that the grammar of Martinikè should have developed three distinct overt markers of definiteness is, incidentally, evidence that creolisation cannot be viewed as a "simplification" process, as claimed by McWhorter (2001).

We first summarise (section 2) Loebner's (1985) distinction between semantic and pragmatic definiteness (refined in Loebner 2011), which provides a theoretical background for the description to follow. Section 3 summarises some relevant information on DP syntax in Martinikè, and argues that the phrasal enclitic determiner -LA must be semantically characterised as a pragmatic definiteness marker, in Loebner's (1985, 2011) sense. The next two sections present the morphological, distributional and semantic properties of *l(a)-N* (section 4) and *lé+NP* (section 5), arguing that their

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² The form(s) taken by this morpheme vary across creoles, and in some of them according to the phonological context. The spelling LA we adopt here is meant to ignore this morphological variation, and the spelling -LA below, to specifically identify the LA morpheme of Martinikè, which crucially behaves as a phrasal enclitic.

behaviour echoes that of definite proper names, regardless of the lexical ("proper" or "common") nature of their head noun. Section 6 recapitulates and argues that *l(a)*-N and *lé*+NP in Martinikè instantiate a class of DPs we propose to call *Names*, characterised semantically as a subtype of semantic definites denoting individual concepts, and syntactically, by the occurrence of a special functional ("Name") projection distinct from nP.

2. Semantic vs. pragmatic definiteness

This distinction is developed by Loebner (1985, 2011), whose theory of Definiteness somewhat differs from such classical views as those proposed by Russell (1919), Strawson (1950), Hawkins (1978) Heim (1982), Kadmon (1990), Abbott (1999), Roberts (2003), Barker (2005), a.o., which characterise definite descriptions in terms of "referential uniqueness", cf:

- (1) A use of a definite description is felicitous if and only if there is exactly one object in the context that satisfies the content of the description.
[informal phrasing from Barker 2005]

Contrary to these authors, Loebner (1985) claims that definiteness involves non-ambiguity (uniqueness) of identification, rather than uniqueness of reference.³ According to this author, the definite article indicates that the (head) noun identifies the referent via the *unambiguous role* it plays in the relevant situation: "It is not uniqueness [of reference], but non-ambiguity which is essential for definiteness. Non-ambiguity is the property of an expression that allows for only one interpretation (possibly under additional constraints). Uniqueness of reference is always an accidental property of a sortal concept (...) Non-ambiguity, in contrast, may be an inherent property of (also non-sortal) concepts." (Loebner 1985: 291). Thus, unlike some other theories of definiteness, Loebner's straightforwardly accommodates such examples as (2a) (where the italicised DP does not identify a *unique referent*, but rather a *unique relational concept*) and does not consider as basic the deictic and anaphoric uses of definite descriptions illustrated in (2b,c):

- (2) a. He is *the son of a famous violinist*.
b. Could you pass me *the potatoes*, please?
c. Mary has a dog and a cat. *The dog* has fleas but *the cat* hopefully doesn't.

Non-ambiguity of reference may be established either independently of, or in relation to, the immediate situation or context of utterance. Loebner (1985, 2011) calls the first type *semantic definiteness*, and the second type, *pragmatic definiteness*, and crucially considers the first type as basic: "Semantic definites refer unambiguously due to general constraints. Pragmatic definites depend on the particular situation for unambiguous reference." (Loebner 1985: 299). The most basic type of semantic definites denote *one-place functional concepts* (FC1s in Loebner 1985, individuals of type <e> in Loebner 2011) such as *the moon*, *the sun*, *the truth* which only involve a situational argument. More complex types headed by relational nouns (e.g. *son* in (2a)) involve more than one argument and thus instantiate, e.g., two-place functional concepts (FC2s in Loebner

³ A rather similar view is developed by Corblin (*passim*).

1985). Proper names are crucially a subtype of FC1 semantic definites: "Within a certain range of situations, proper names refer unambiguously to certain objects. They constitute constant functional concepts, as their value does not vary with their possible arguments." (Loebner 1985: 299). Loebner (2011) further classifies lexical nouns into four lexical types (sortal : *dog, flower*; individual: *moon, truth*; relational: *brother, friend*; and functional: *roof, back*) and explores the articulation of lexical meaning with determination: determination is *congruent* if its function converges with the conceptual content of the noun, viz. if a definite determiner combines with a noun which inherently identifies a unique individual or function.

We find that Loebner's theory of definiteness, which straightforwardly integrates proper names, provides us with a convenient background to describe the determiner system of Martinikè, a language which overtly distinguishes a marker of pragmatic definiteness and two markers of semantic definiteness selecting individual terms. A morphological split between semantic and pragmatic definiteness is reported to exist in other languages, e.g. in various West-Germanic dialects (cf. Ebert 1970, 1971, Loebner 2011, Cabredo Hofherr this volume, Studler this volume), as well as in Upper Sorbian (Breu 2004). As regards French-related creoles, Wespel (2008) has observed that the occurrence or non-occurrence of the phrase-final definite determiner LA (discussed below), correlates with the semantic contrast between what Loebner calls pragmatic and semantic definiteness. In what follows we shall show that alongside its enclitic marker of pragmatic definiteness, -LA, Martinikè has two *overt* markers of semantic definiteness, morphologically distinct from -LA. Furthermore, while the pragmatic and semantic definites of Germanic dialects often involve full and morphologically reduced forms of a single diachronic source, the pragmatic and semantic definite markers of Martinikè have developed from morphemes which are historically unrelated.

3. DP syntax in Martinikè: a quick preliminary survey

3.1. Generalised bare nouns

Bare nominals are freely licensed in Martinikè in argument positions regardless of their Mass or Count denotation:

- (3) a. Roch té ka tonbé anlè tèt li.⁴
 stone ANT NONP fall on head 3SG
 'Stones were falling on his head.'
- b. Lyon danjéré.
 lion dangerous
 'Lions are dangerous.'
- c. Balenn sé mamifè.
 whale COP mammal
 'Whales are mammals.'
- (4) a. Jan manjé poul.
 John ate chicken

⁴ Abbreviations used in the glosses: ANT = anterior; COP = copula; DET = determiner; DM = demonstrative; EX = existential; FUT = future; LOC = locative; NEG = negation; NONP = nonpunctual (aspect); PL = plural; POSS = possessive; SG = singular; SPF = specific (in Gbe); 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person.

- 'John ate chicken(s).'
- b. Jan enmen poul.
John like chicken
'John likes chicken(s).'
- c. Té ni chyen toupatou anlè masonn-nan.
ANT EX dog everywhere on wall-DET
'There {was dog (flesh)/were dogs} all over the wall.'

These examples show that bare arguments in Martinikè may, context allowing, be construed as "existential" or "generic" (in Carlson's 1977 sense) in both subject and object positions. We shall see below that, under certain conditions, bare nominals can also be construed as the type of semantic definites we shall propose to call *Names*.

3.2. The pragmatic definite determiner -LA

The item commonly acknowledged as filling the D head in Martinikè is the phrase-final morpheme -LA glossed as DET in our examples, which displays in this creole some phonologically-conditioned allomorphy correlating with its enclitic nature. This determiner is attested across all French-lexifier creoles⁵ and has been extensively discussed in the specialised linguistic literature (cf. Valdman 1978, Bernabé 1983, Germain 1983, Gadelii 1997, Pinalie and Bernabé 1999, Lefebvre 1998, Zribi-Hertz and Glaude 2007, Déprez 2007, Alleesaib 2012, Glaude 2012, a.o.).

Martinikè:

- (5) a. Mari wè an chat/chyen (nwè).
Mary see a cat dog black
'Mary saw a (black) cat/dog.'
- b. Mari wè chat -la / chat nwè-a /chyen-an.
Mary see cat -DET/cat black-DET /dog -DET
'Mary saw the/this/that {cat/black cat/dog}.'
- c. Mari wè chat ta'a / chat nwè ta'a /chyen ta'a.
Mary see cat DM-DET/cat black DM-DET /dog DM-DET

⁵ The Gbe languages, spoken on the coastal area of Western Africa, also have a determiner whose phonological structure, linear position in the DP, and semantic effect (pragmatic definiteness) echo the properties of LA in creole. Cf. Aboh (2001), from whom we borrow the following example:

- (i) Kòkú m̀n t̀v̀v̀ c̀ c̀ b̀ ò
Koku see table 1SG-POSS and say
émì ná x̀ t̀v̀v̀ l̀.
3SG FUT buy table SPF

'Koku saw my table and said he would buy this table.'

[adapted from Aboh 2001: 11]

The converging properties of French *-là* and Gbe *lò* might therefore have contributed to the development of the strong definite determiner in Atlantic French-lexifier creoles. The phrase-final LA determiner is however also present in Indian-Ocean French-lexifier creoles (e.g. Seychellois, Mauritian — cf. Alleesaib 2012), whose substrate languages are likely to have been different from those of Martinikè. As emphasised by Chaudenson (2007), the emergence of a property common to all French creoles is least likely to have involved a substratic input. This diachronic problem cannot be sorted out without a fine-grained comparison of the distribution and semantic effects of the LO/LA determiners in Gbe and in Atlantic and Indian-Ocean creoles. Should Atlantic LA turn out to be semantically more Gbe-like than Indian-Ocean LA, the Gbe substrate could have influenced the recycling of French *-là* in one area but not in the other. An open issue.

'Mary saw this/that cat/black cat/dog.'

The creole enclitic determiner -LA is historically derived from the French locative morpheme *-là* which in Standard French may co-occur with the demonstrative determiner (6a), in some dialectal varieties of French also with the definite determiner (6b), and triggers a deictic effect:

- (6) a. Passe-moi ce livre-là. (Standard/Dialectal French)
 pass 1SG DM book LOC
 'Pass me THAT book.'
- b. Passe-moi le livre-là. (Dialectal French)
 pass 1SG DF book LOC
 'Pass me that book.'

The French phrase-final, noninflected, locative *-là*, as instantiated in (6), has grammaticalised in creole into an enclitic functional morpheme which may optionally combine with the demonstrative marker *ta* (cf. (5c)), but which on its own, as in (5b), triggers the semantic effect corresponding to what Loebner calls *pragmatic definiteness*. Thus the DP *chat-la* in (5b), like its proposed English translations, points to a cat creature whose nonambiguous identification crucially depends either on deixis (the referent is in sight of the speaker/hearer) or on the discourse context—the referent has been previously mentioned, or is anchored to another, previously introduced, referent. Unlike English (and French) definite DPs, Martinikè DPs headed by the -LA determiner cannot denote intensional kinds pertaining to all possible worlds or inherently unique functions identified independently of the discourse situation or context, as illustrated in (7) and (8). In (7a) and (8a), bare nouns are the only options in Martinikè to convey such intensional readings; and -LA naturally occurs in associative contexts such as (8c), where the referent of the boldfaced DP is d-linked to the sentence-initial locative:

- (7) a. Lyon danjéré.
 lion dangerous
 'Lions are dangerous.'
- b. Lyon-an danjéré.
 lion-DET dangerous
 'The lion is dangerous.' (the aforementioned or visible lion)
- (8) a. Lè an moun malad, yo ka kriyé doktè.
 when a person sick 3PL NONP call doctor
 'When someone is sick, you call {doctors/the Doctor}.'
 (the 'doctor' category).'
- b. Lè an moun malad, yo ka kriyé doktè-a.
 when a person sick 3PL NONP call doctor-DET
 'When someone is sick, you call the/this/that doctor.'
 (the doctor over there or previously mentioned)
- c. Adan an ti vil, sa fasil trouvé doktè-a.
 in a small town it easy find doctor-DET
 'In a small town, it is easy to find the doctor.'

We assume that the -LA determiner of Martinikè carries a locative feature and that the interpretation of -LA DPs in Martinikè characteristically involves the spatial anchoring of their referent.

Note in passing that the subject DP of (9a), adapted from Krifka (1995), is ambiguous in Martinikè between a "token" and a "type" reading, just like its English translation; a bare subject DP in this context would trigger, as in (9b), a nonsingular existential reading, whose temporal anchoring conflicts with the quantified temporal adverbial clause:

- (9) a. Lyon-an ka gwondé lè'y pran lodè manjé.
 lion-DET NONP growl when-3SG take smell food
 'The lion growls when it smells food.'
 (The aforementioned lion OR the lion species of our world)
- b. *Lyon ka gwondé {lè'y /lè yo } pran lodè manjé.
 lion-DET NONP growl when-3SG /when 3PL take smell food
 Lit. 'Lions are growling when it/they smell(s) food.'

Under our above descriptive assumptions concerning the -LA determiner, the ambiguity of *lyon-an* in (9a) suggests that this DP is construed as spatially anchored regardless of the "type" or "token" construal of its lexical component. In other words, even if *lyon-an* is understood as type-denoting, it is construed as anchored to the world we live in. We assume that the contrast between (9a)—where the type-reading is licensed—and (7b)—where the Kind reading is barred—is syntactically correlated with the presence (9) vs. absence (7b) of a TMA specification.

Summarising: the enclitic determiner -LA, in Martinikè, only triggers pragmatic definite readings, in Loebner's sense, a restriction we may correlate to the locative feature inherited from its French lexifier, possibly reinforced by the convergent semantics of Gbe *ló* (see fn.4). -LA, in Martinikè, indicates that the referent of its DP is unambiguously identified via its anchoring to the discourse situation or context.

3.3. Number

Lexical categories are uninflected in Martinikè: no TMA or number inflection on lexical roots, no morphological gender involved in agreement relations. Functional markers are mostly, though not only (as illustrated below), realised as free morphemes. Depending on context and lexical choices, Martinikè bare nouns may translate in English as singular semantic definites, as possible in (8a) above, or as plural or number-neutral nominals, as in (10):

- (10) Mari pòté gato épi lèt.
 Mary bring cake and milk
 'Mary brought cake(s) and milk.'

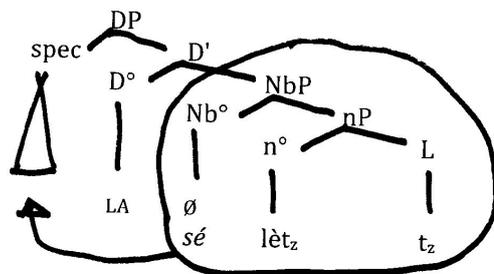
The Martinikè lexicon however contains a plural marker for the DP, *sé* ([se]), which occurs preminally and only in combination with the specific determiner -LA, as witnessed by the minimal pair in (11):

- (11) a. Mari pòté sé (dé) gato-a.
 Mary bring PL two cake-DET
 'Mary brought the (two) cakes (discourse-linked or visible).'
- b. *Mari pòté sé (dé) gato.

3.4. Syntactic structure

Two main lines of analysis have been explored in the syntactic literature to account for the phrase-final linear position of the specific determiner. Under one view (Gadelii 1997; Lefebvre 1998), the DP is parameterised as head-final in French-lexifier creoles. The main objection to this view is that it lacks generality since other phrases (VP, PP, CP) are overtly head-initial in these languages. Under an alternative approach (Lyons 2000, Zribi-Hertz and Glaude 2007, Déprez 2007) consistent with Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry theory, phrases are universally head-initial, and the complement of the -LA determiner must therefore raise up to the spec of DP, as shown in (12):

- (12) a. *lèt-la* 'the letter'; *sé lèt-la* 'the letters'



4. *L(a)*-N

We now turn to the *l(a)*- morpheme which initially motivates this work, which, unlike the enclitic specific determiner -LA discussed above, crucially occurs as a nominal prefix. This *l(a)*- is historically derived from the French proclitic definite singular article spelt out *le*, *la* or *l'*, depending on gender specification and on the phonological context. Although inflectional gender is absent from creole, the French article has entered the creole lexicon by attaching to a number of lexical roots.⁶ We must first distinguish the instable *l(a)*- prefix we want to focus on, which only occurs on the noun in certain contexts, from the stable word-initial *l(a)* syllable or segment, which occurs in some nouns regardless of context and must therefore be regarded as part of the lexical root rather than as a morpheme of its own. We then proceed to show that prefixed *l(a)*-Ns (in short: *l(a)*-N) behave, syntactically and semantically, as semantic definites denoting individual concepts, viz. individuals of type <e>.

⁶ This morpheme displays allomorphy characteristic of morphological attachment in Martinikè: *la* (*la-plaj* '(at/to/from) the beach'), *lan* (*lan-mizè* 'Misery'), *l* (*l-enjistis* 'Injustice').

A number of Martinikè nouns, a sample of which are listed below in (13), have incorporated the segment *l* or syllable *l(a)* into their lexical root:⁷

(13) agglutinated/stable *l(a)*: a small sample⁸

MC noun	French noun	English translation	MC noun	French noun	English translation
<i>lachas</i>	chasse	hunting	<i>labitid</i>	habitude	habit
<i>lafèt</i>	fête	party	<i>laj</i>	âge	age
<i>lafwa</i>	foi	faith	<i>lajan</i>	argent	money
<i>lajòl</i>	geôle	jail	<i>lanmou</i>	amour	Love
<i>lanmè</i>	mer	sea	<i>lèd</i>	aide	Help
<i>lannuit</i>	nuit	night	<i>lègzamen</i>	examen	Exam
<i>lapòt</i>	porte	door	<i>lékòl</i>	école	School
<i>lari</i>	rue	street	<i>lil</i>	île	Island
<i>larivyè</i>	rivière	river	<i>lizin</i>	usine	Factory
<i>latjüizin</i>	cuisine	kitchen	<i>lonnè</i>	honneur	Honour
<i>lavwa</i>	voix	voice	<i>lous</i>	ours	Bear

The *l* or *la* initial cannot be identified here as a morpheme since it is present in this class of creole nouns regardless of the syntactic or discourse context: there are no lexemes *jòl* and *ous* alongside *lajòl* 'jail' and *lous* 'bear' in Martinikè:

- (14) a. Ni an (nouvo) lajòl/lous adan vil ta'a.
 have a new jail/bear in town DM-DET
 'There is a (new) {jail/bear} in this town.'
- b. *Ni an (nouvo) jòl/ous adan vil ta'a.
 have a new jail/bear in town DM-DET

Another set of nouns, however, distinguish a bare form (N) and a prefixed form (*l(a)*-N) construed as semantically definite, in Loebner's sense. Nouns exhibiting the N/*l(a)*-N alternation are either common nouns, as in Table (13), or country-denoting proper names. We shall discuss each type separately.

4.1. Common nouns exhibiting the N/*l(a)*N alternation

4.1.1. Some examples

⁷ Baker (1984) and Ndayiragije (1984) suggest that its integration to the creole nominal lexicon may have been favoured by a Bantu substratic influence. This line of thought is challenged by the fact that the agglutination of the definite article is observed in both Caribbean and Indian-Ocean French-lexifier creoles (whose substratic influences are likely to have been different, cf. Chaudenson 2007). It has further been pointed out to us that in Portugueser-based creoles spoken in the Gulf of Guinea, where article agglutination is also attested, it is most developed in the creole varieties the *least* influenced by a Bantu substrate (thanks to Emmanuel Schang for this latter piece of information).

⁸As suggested by J. Zwarts (p.c.), it is possible that the French definite article *l(a)* got incorporated into these creole lexemes because the definite form was the most frequent in the lexifier language, this high frequency resulting from its semantic congruence (in Loebner's sense).

The nouns involved in this alternation have various lexical meanings and morphological properties.⁹ What they have in common is that they may a priori be construed as sortal concepts (used to classify referents) or as individual concepts (identifying singular terms). Under the sortal reading they may occur as bare and may combine with any type of determiner (in particular with a cardinal, or with specific -LA); under the individual reading these nouns occur as prefixed in Martinikè (*l(a)*-N) and cannot combine with any independent determiner. The following examples illustrate the complementary distributions and interpretations of simplex nouns and their *l(a)*-prefixed counterparts:

Types of places¹⁰

- (15) a. Ni dé *(*la-)pisin*/*(*la)plaj*/*(*la)fak*/*(*la)montann*
 have two swimming-pool/beach/college/mountain
 adan péyi ta'a.
 in country DM-DET
 'There are two {swimming pools/beaches/colleges/mountains}
 in this country.'
- b. Mari *(*la-)pisin* /*(*la)plaj*/*(*la)fak*.
 Mary *la*-swimming-pool/*la*-beach /*la*-college.
 'Mary is {at the swimming pool/at the beach/in college}.'
- c. Mari ka rète *(*la-)montann*.
 Mary NONP live *la*-mountain
 'Mary lives in the mountains.'
- d. Man pa alé *(*la-)pisin*/*(*la-)montann* paske man té malad.
 1SG NEG go *la*-pool / *la*-mountain because 1SG ANT sick
 'I didn't go to the {swimming-pool/mountains} because I was sick.'

Abstract properties

- (16) a. Pwof ta'a kòmèt anlo *(*l-)enjistis*.
 teacher DM-DET commit a-lot injustice
 Lit. 'This teacher committed a lot of injustices (was unfair
 in many situations).'
- b. *(*L-)enjistis* sé an bagay tout moun rayi.
la-injustice COP a thing everybody hate
 'Injustice/Unfairness is something everyone hates.'
- (17) a. Jan *kouyon*.
 John stupid
 'John is stupid.'

⁹ The subtypes exemplified in (15) through (18) are mentioned by Bernabé (1983) and Cervinka (1990). The temporal subtype exemplified in (19) is mentioned in passing by Valdman (1978: 153) who illustrates it by a single example from Dominican. The instrumental subtype in (20) is mentioned by none of these authors in relation with the *l(a)*- prefix. The exact lexical extension of *l(a)*- prefixation in Martinikè still needs to be thoroughly checked.

¹⁰ The class of *l(a)*-Ns illustrated in (15) interestingly seems to correspond to a type of examples discussed for English by Birner and Ward (1994) and for French by Furukawa (2010a,b) and Corblin (2011, 2013) under the label "short weak definites" (e.g. *go to the beach/bank/station/post-office/etc.*). Empirical evidence however suggests that *l(a)*-Ns in Martinikè cannot be characterised as having 'variable' readings, as claimed for "weak short definites" in French (cf. Corblin 2011, 2013) and English (cf. Aguilar and Zwarts 2010).

- b. Sé (*la-)kouyonni Jan ki mété'y konsa.
SE stupidity John that put -3SG that.way
'It is John's stupidity that landed him where he is.'
- c. Sé *(la-)kouyonni ki mété Jan konsa.
SE *la-* stupidity that put John that.way
'Stupidity (viz. Human Stupidity) is what landed John where he is.'

Miscel.: law, misery, etc.

- (18) a. Yo voté an nouvo (*la-)lwa.
3PL vote a new law
'They passed a new law.'
- b. Mari ka rèspèkté *(la-)lwa.
Mary NONP respect *la-*law
'Mary respects the Law.'
- c. Kité 'y bat (*lan-)mizè'y.
let 3SG beat misery-3SG
Lit. 'Let him/her beat up his/her misery.'
('Let him/her manage on his/her own.')
- d. Lapli tonbé anlè nou kon *(lan-)mizè sou lé pov.
rain fall on 1PL like *la-*misery on *lé* poor
'Rain poured over us like Misery on the poor.'

Some temporal nouns

- (19) a. Jan pasé trwa (*la-)jounen épi Mari.
John spend three day with Mary
'John spent three days with Mary.'
- b. Jan ka dòmi *(la-)jounen, i ka travay lannuit.¹¹
John NONP sleep *la-*day 3SG NONP work night
'John sleeps in the daytime, he works at night.'

Nouns available for instrumental marking

- (20) a. Fòk ni dé (*la-)ranm/(*)lva)vwèl adan kannòt ta'a.
necessary have two oar / sail in boat DM-DET
'Two {oars/sails} are needed on this boat.'
- b. Jan ka travèsé lanmè-a a- *(la-){ranm/*(la-)vwèl}.
John NONP CROSS sea-DET INSTR *la-* oar / *la-*sail
Lit. 'John is crossing the sea *à-la* {oar/sail}.'
('John is {rowing/sailing} across the sea.')

The individual-concept reading of such nouns is in various cases only licensed under a certain theta-role (Locative, Instrumental).

¹¹ Unlike *lajounen* 'the daytime', *lannuit* ' (the) night', which could replace *lajounen* in (19b), has an agglutinated *la*, as witnessed by its compatibility with a cardinal in (i) below:

(i) Jan pasé dé {lannuit /(*la)jounen} épi Mari.
John spend two night day with Mary
'John spent two {nights/days} with Mary.'

4.1.2. Unstable *l(a)*-: morphology

Unstable *l(a)*- is a word-level prefix: no lexical material may be inserted between it and the adjacent noun stem:

- (21) a. Ni dé ti plaj adan vil ta'a.
 have two small beach in town DM-DET
 'There are two small beaches in this town.'
- b. Mari laplaj.
 Mary *la*-beach
 'Mary is at the beach.' (the type of place called Beach)
- c. *Mari *la* ti plaj.
 Mary *la* small beach
- d. Mari anlè ti plaj -*la*.
 Mary on small beach -DET
 'Mary is on the small beach.'

The availability of *l(a)*- prefixation is a property of a designated set of lexemes qualifying as nouns: thus *plaj* 'beach' and *pisin* 'swimming-pool' have *la*-forms while *sinéma* 'movies' does not; *doulè* 'pain', *penn* 'sorrow' and *mizè* 'misery' have *la*-forms, but *bonè* 'happiness', *dézèspwa* 'despair' and *rimò* 'remorse' do not. Non-alternating nouns crucially occur as bare under the targeted semantic-definite reading:

(la)plaj 'beach' [alternating N] vs. *(*la-)sinéma* 'movies' [non-alternating N]

- (22) a. Mari alé *(la-)plaj.
 Mari go *la*-beach
 'Mary went to the beach.'
- b. Mari alé sinéma.
 Mari go movies
 'Mary went to the movies.'

(la)doulè, *(la)penn* 'pain' [alternating Ns] vs. *(*la)rimò* 'remorse' [non-alternating N]

- (23) a. Ni dé *(la-)doulè: *doulè fizik épi doulè mantal*.
 have two pain: pain physical and pain mental
 Lit. 'There are two pains: physical pain and mental pain.'
- b. *(La-)doulè pran'y.
la- pain take -3SG
 Lit. 'Pain took hold of him/her.' ('(S)he was suddenly in pain.')
- (24) a. Ni dé rimò: *rimò konsyan épi rimò enkonsyan*.
 have two remorse remorse conscious and remorse unconscious
 Lit. 'There are two remorse (viz. types of remorse): conscious remorse and unconscious remorse.'
- b. (*La-)rimò pran'y.
la- remorse take -3SG
 'Remorse took hold of {him/her}.' ('(S)he felt a pang of remorse.')

The lexically-constrained alternation between bare nouns and *l(a)*-DPs under semantic definite readings, in Martinikè, in some cases echoes such minimal pairs as (25), discussed by Carlson and al. (2006) and Klein and al. (2009) for English:

- (25) a. John dislikes going to {the store/the hospital}/listening to the radio.
 b. John dislikes going to {prison/hospital}/watching TV.

The enhanced definite DPs in (25a) are ambiguous between a context-dependent reading (Loebner's "pragmatic" reading), and a context-free reading, where the referent fails to be anchored to the specific discourse situation. The enhanced bare singular nouns in (25b) exhibit the same semantic properties as the definite DPs of (25a) under the context-free reading. Such examples lead Carlson and al.'s (2006) to assume that what some authors call "weak definites" (cf. Poesio 1994, Barker 2005, Aguilar and Zwarts 2010, a.o.)—a subtype of Loebner's semantic definites, see below—do not necessarily contain the definite article—in languages which have one. Under Loebner's theory, the alternation of overt and zero morphology in examples such as (25) is consistent with the "congruent" character of definiteness marking whenever the lexical noun inherently favours an individual-concept denotation.

The paradigm in (17) shows that *l(a)*- itself is not a nominaliser, as claimed by Valdman (1978: 153)¹², but rather selects a noun to form a semantic definite DP:

kouyon 'stupid' > *kouyon-ni* 'stupidity' (Noun, available for a functional reading ('John's stupidity') or for pragmatic definiteness)
 > *lakouyonni* 'Stupidity' (semantic definite DP: 'the unique individual concept thus named').

4.1.3. Instable *l(a)*- with common nouns: distribution and interpretation

DPs formed of nouns prefixed by *l(a)*- (hereunder: *l(a)*-N) are typically closed to cardinals and quantity markers (e.g. *anlo* 'a lot' in (16a)), as already clear from various examples above. This constraint correlates with the fact that *l(a)*-N always denotes an individual concept. It does not extend to agglutinated *l(a)* nouns such as those of Table (13), which may a priori denote sortal or individual concepts.¹³ Cardinality or quantity is

¹² Valdman (1978: 153) analyses *la-* (his transcription) as a nominalising affix in the following examples:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) | <i>fimen</i> 'smoke' (V) | <i>lafimen</i> 'smoke (N) |
| (ii) | <i>souèf</i> 'to be thirsty' | <i>lasouèf</i> 'thirst' |
| (iii) | <i>mò</i> 'dead' (predicate) | <i>lanmò</i> 'death' |

Such pairs are however rare. In most cases, *la-* attaches to lexemes available as nouns without their prefix (e.g. *jistis/lajistis* 'justice', etc.). Valdman's analysis is further disconfirmed by the paradigm in (17), where the nominalising affix is *-ni*, not *la-* — an expected finding under common assumptions regarding affixation.

¹³ Thus if *lajòl* 'jail', whose initial *la* is agglutinated, denotes a sortal concept, it may occur as an existential bare noun, as in (i-a), or combine with the *-la* determiner (and the plural marker), as in (i-b); if it denotes an individual concept it is construed as a singular semantic definite, just as *l(a)*-Ns whose *l(a)*- is prefixal (compare (i-c) below with, e.g., (27b)):

- (i) a. Yo ka konstrwi lajòl toupatou.
 3PL NONP build jail everywhere
 'They are building jails everywhere.'
 b. Adan vil ta'a, (sé) lajol -la bò gar-la.
 in town DM-DET (PL) jail-DET near station-DET
 'In this town the jail(s) is/are near the railway station.'

actually the main diagnostic test we use to tell apart prefixal *l(a)-* from stable *l(a)*: thus *la* is stable in *lajòl* 'jail' since it combines with a cardinal in (26a), and prefixal in *(la-)lwa* 'law' in (18) since it cannot cooccur with a cardinal, cf. (18a), (26b):

- (26) a. Ni dé lajòl adan vil ta'a. ⇒ stable *la*
 have two jail in town DM-DET
 'There are two jails in this town.'
- b. Yo voté dé (*la-)lwa jodi-a. ⇒ unstable *la*
 3PL vote two law today-DET
 'They voted two laws today.'

L(a)-N is crucially incompatible with the enclitic specific determiner -LA:

- (27) a. Mari anlè (*la-)plaj -la.
 Mary on *la*- beach DET
 'Mary is on the beach.' (the aforementioned or visible beach)
- b. Mari la-plaj (*-la).
 Mary *la*-beach -DET
 'Mary is at the beach.' (the kind of place called Beach)
- (28) a. Mari ka rèspekté (*la-)lwa-a.
 Mary NONP respect law-DET
 'Mary respects the (aforementioned) law.'
- b. Mari ka rèspekté la-lwa (*-a).
 Mary NONP respect *la*-law -DET
 'Mary respects the Law.'

The complementary distribution of prefixal *l(a)-* and enclitic -LA within a DP domain is expected under Loebner's theory, if we should identify these two determiners as respectively congruent and non congruent: prefixal *l(a)-* attaches to a noun which inherently favours an individual-concept denotation (congruent definiteness); whereas enclitic -LA signals that uniqueness is NOT inherently favoured by the lexical concept identified by the noun (noncongruent definiteness).

L(a)-N is incompatible with plural marking, an expected finding since *l(a)*-N characteristically denotes an individual (hence singular) concept. Interestingly, the plural marker *sé* in Martinikè must always cooccur with the specific determiner in its DP (cf. section 3.3):

- (29) a. Mari ka rèspekté sé lwa-a.
 Mary NONP respect PL law-DET
 'Mary respects the(se) laws.'
- b. *Mari ka rèspekté sé la-lwa-a.
 Mary NONP respect PL *la*-law-DET

-
- c. Mari lajòl.
 Mary jail
 'Mary is in jail.'

L(a)-N is incompatible with genitive modifiers (cf. (17b), (18c)) and with restrictive relativisation (cf. (30)):

- (30) a. Mwen pa konnèt (*la)lwa -a ou ka palé-a.
 1SG NEG know *la*- law -DET 2SG NONP talk-DET
 'I don't know the law you are talking about.'
- b. (*La)jistis -la yo ka pratiké-a pa menm -lan toupatou.
la-justice DET 3PL NONP observe-DET NEG same -DET everywhere
 Lit. 'The justice (= the law) which is observed is not the same everywhere.'
- c. (*L)esklavaj-la ou ka palé-a,
 slavery -DET 2SG NONP talk-DET
 i analizé adan liv Dèlakanpann -an.
 3SG analysed in book Delacampagne-DET
 'The slavery you are talking about, it is analysed in Delakanpann's book.'

L(a)-N is semantically definite and singular since it unambiguously identifies an individual concept, contrasting in this respect with DPs headed by its nonprefixed counterpart, which may be construed as indefinite and/or nonsingular. This point is shown by the translations of our previous examples and further brought out by the paradigms in (31) through (33):

- (31) a. An politik pa ni vérité.
 in politics NEG have truth
 'In politics there is/are no truth(s).'
- b. Tout vérité pa bon pou di.
 every truth NEG good to tell
 Lit. 'Every truth isn't good to tell.'
 ('Some truths are better left untold.')
- c. I di lavérité, tout lavérité, yen ki lavérité.
 3SG tell *la*-truth, all *la*-truth, nothing but *la*-truth
 'He told the Truth, the whole Truth, nothing but the Truth.'
- d. [Art teacher speaking]
 Mwen lé présizyon épi vérité.
 1SG want precision and truth
 'I want (some) precision and (some) truth.'
- (32) a. Jan pa enmen lenjistis.
 John NEG like *la*-injustice
 'John doesn't like Injustice/Unfairness.'
- b. Jan pa enmen enjistis.
 John NEG like injustice
 Lit. 'John doesn't like injustices/unfairnesses.'
 ('John doesn't like unfair decisions/situations.')

As witnessed by these latter sets of examples, the meaning of *l(a)*-N is conveyed in English either by singular definite DPs (cf. (31c)) or by bare singulars (cf. (32a)). This brings empirical support to Carlson and al.'s (2006) claim that such pairs as *the hospital* (under one reading)/*hospital* in (25) pertain to the same natural semantic class these authors call "indefinite definites". But it is also consistent with Loebner's theory of

congruence, which can easily accommodate bare nominals alongside proper names as a subclass of "semantic definites", whose inherent conceptual uniqueness needs not be overtly marked in morphology.

The properties of *l(a)*-N in Martinikè in some respects echo those of what Aguilar and Zwarts (2010), Corblin (2011) and Beyssade (2013) call "(short¹⁴) weak definites", Carlson and al. (2006) "indefinite definites", Furukawa (2010a,b,) "quasi intensional definites"—a subtype of Loebner's "semantic definites", as recalled above (section 4.1.2.). Such definite DPs are characteristically incompatible with restrictive modifiers and associated with a "sloppy" (variable) reading under VP ellipsis. Thus, while the definite DP *the store* is a priori ambiguous in (33a) between a strong reading (identifying a discourse-linked store referent) and a weak reading (identifying the discourse-free unique type of place also called Supermarket, where people go shopping for food), only the strong reading is available in (33c) in the presence of the descriptive modifier *new*; correlatively, VP ellipsis is ambiguous in (33b) between a referential reading (where Mary and John went to the same supermarket) and a "sloppy" reading (where they went to different supermarkets), while (33c) only allows the referential reading:

- (33) a. Mary had to go to the store.
 b. Mary had to go to the store, and so did John.
 c. Mary had to go to the new store.
 d. Mary had to go to the new store, and so did John.

Similarly, *l(a)*-N in Martinikè cannot host an adjectival modifier (21c) nor a relative clause (30); and we further observe that *l(a)*-N *seems* to trigger variable readings under VP ellipsis, contrasting in these respects with DPs containing the specific determiner -LA:

- (34) a. Mari laplaj, Jan osi.
 Mary *la*-beach, John too
 'Mary is at the beach and so is John.'
 [true if Mary is in Corsica and John in Martinique]
 b. Mari anlè plaj -la, Jan osi.
 Mary on beach -DET John too
 'Mary is on this/that beach, and so is John.'
 [false if Mary and John are on different beaches]
- (35) a. Mari ka kouté laradyo, Jan osi.
 Mary NONP listen *la*-radio John too
 'Mary {listens/is listening} to the radio, and so does/is John.'
 [true if Mary and John listen to different radio sets or channels]
 b. Mari ka kouté rado-a, Jan osi.
 Mary NONP listen radio-DET John too
 'Mary {listens/is listening} to the/that (preidentified) radio,
 and so {does/is} John.'
 [false if Mary and John listen to different radio sets or channels]

¹⁴ Contrastively, "Long weak definites" are those which contain a genitive modifier, e.g.:

(i) I met the daughter of a famous artist.

Cf. Poesio (1994), a.o., on English; Milner (1982), Flaux (1992, 1993), Corblin (passim), Furukawa (passim) on French.

However, the assumption that *l(a)*-Ns have "variable" readings does not fare equally with all instances of *l(a)*-N in Martinikè. We thus understand in (36a,b) that Mary and John love, and England and France abolished, the same pre-identified category. Furthermore, the variable-reading assumption does not account for the occurrence of *l(a)*-N in subject position, as in (36c):

- (36) a. Mari enmen lajistis, Jan osi.
Mary love *la*-justice John too
'Mary loves Justice, so does John.'
- b. Langletè aboli lesklavaj, Lafrans osi.
England abolish slavery France too
'England abolished Slavery, so did France.'
- c. Ladoulè pran Mari, ladoulè pran Jan.
pain take Mary pain take John
Lit. 'Pain took hold of Mary, pain took hold of John.'

Loebner's theory on the other hand allows us to propose a unified description of *l(a)*-Ns hosting common nouns, in Martinikè: they all denote constant individual concepts, whose abstract value is unambiguously retrieved from our collective mental encyclopaedia. The "variable" effect, when it intuitively seems to arise, is due to the variable setting of the situational argument: thus both *laradyo* 'the Radio' and *lesklavaj* ('Slavery') identify constant individual concepts, in the manner of proper names. But the variable concrete instantiations (channels, programmes, etc.) of *laradyo* 'the Radio' are culturally relevant, while those of *lesklavaj* are not. Correlatively, we construe (35a) as true if Mary and John are not listening to the same radio channels in their respective situational contexts, while we construe (36b) as meaning that England and France abolished the same legal clause allowing slavery, rather than different situational variants of this clause.

As regards place-denoting *l(a)*-Ns, as in (34a), the assumption that they are *not* construed as semantic variables in Martinikè is supported by the fact that, unlike their French and English translations, they do *not* occur in associative contexts such as (37a,b), nor in cooccurrence with an indefinite genitive modifier, as in (37c,d):

- (37) a. Adan an vil ki ni touris, {*laplaj /plaj-la} toujou plen moun.
in a town that have tourist *la*-beach/beach-DET always full people
'In a tourist resort, the beach is always crowded.'
- b. Amsterdam, {*lafak /fak-la} an mitan vil -la.
Amsterdam, *la*-uni /uni-DET} in centre town-DET
'In Amsterdam, the uni is in the centre of town.'
- c. (*La-)pisin an gran lotèl souvan payan.
swimming-pool a large hotel often not-free-of-charge
'The swimming-pool of a large hotel is often not free of charge.'
- d. (*La-)fak an ti vil pwovens pa ka mennè anlo étidyan étranjé.
uni a small town province NEG NONP attract many student foreign
'The university of a small provincial town does not attract many foreign students.'

Associative contexts such as (37a,b) call for the discourse-linked definite determiner -LA, while contexts such as (37c,d) call for a bare head noun supporting an indefinite genitive modifier.

Interestingly, for nouns alternating a bare and a *l(a)*- form, the *l(a)*- form is preferred over the bare form in denomination predicates linked to a singular subject, as in (38):

- (38) a. Yo ka kriyé la "laplaj", men ou ka mandé kow poutchi.
 3PL NONP call (t)here *la*-beach but 2G NONP ask yourself why
 'They call this/that place 'the Beach', but one wonders why.'
 b. *Yo ka kriyé la "plaj", men ou ka mandé kow poutchi.
 Lit. 'They call this/that place "beaches" but one wonders why.'

This supports Loebner's assumption that nouns denoting individual concepts are introduced in the syntax as default definite DPs, contra Matushansky's (2008) claim that proper names are introduced in the syntax as predicates rather than DPs.

4.2. *L(a)*-N with proper nouns

The analysis of *l(a)*-N as semantically akin to proper names in the examples discussed above is consistent with the productive occurrence of instable *l(a)*- in a subset of Martinikè proper names denoting countries. The morphosyntax of country nouns in this language is a complex issue which deserves a separate study: we only focus here on those involving an initial *l(a)*. These include two subsets: in the first subset, comprising, e.g., *Lafwans* 'France', *Lachin* 'China', *Lend* 'India',¹⁵ *l(a)* is present in all contexts but one: under the locative reading, where *an(n)*- fills the initial syllable in the word (39f,g):

- (39) a. Wo {Lafwans/Lend}, tè legzil. [vocative]
 oh France/India land exile
 'O France/India, land of exile!'
 b. {Lafwans/Lend} sé an bèl péyi. [definite subject]
 France/India COP a beautiful country
 '{France/India} is a beautiful country.'
 c. Mari ka vizité {Lafwans/Lend}. [definite DO]
 Marie NONP visit France/India
 'Mary is visiting France/India.'
 d. Espyon ta'a ka travay ba {Lafwans/Lend}. [definite PO]
 spy DM-DET NONP work for France/India
 'This spy works (is working) for France/India.'
 e. Ni dé {Lafwans/Lend}: [sortal reading]
 have two France/India
 {Lafwans/Lend} moun rich, {Lafwans/Lend} moun pov.
 France/India people rich France/India people poor
 'The France/India of the rich, and the France/India of the poor.'
 f. Mari (ay) {an-Fwans/ann-End}. [locative/ Place or Goal]
 Mary go *an*-France/*ann*-India
 'Mary is in (went to) France/India.'

¹⁵ Such nouns are historically derived from French monosyllabic, feminine nouns (*France, Chine, Inde*, etc.).

- g. Mari soti {*an-Fwans/ann-End*}. [locative/ Source]
 Mary return *an-France/ann-India*
 'Mary (has) returned from France/India.'
- h. Yo ka kriyé péyi ta'a {"*Lafrans/Lend*"}. [denomination]
 3PL NONP call country DM-DET *la-france/india*
 'They call this country "France/India".
 (This country is called "France/India")

Another subset of Martinikè country nouns contain a more instable initial *l(a)-* and is illustrated in (40) by the nouns meaning "Germany" and "Sicily". These¹⁶ distinguish three context-sensitive forms: a bare form (*Almàn* 'Germany', *Sisil* 'Sicily'), a *l(a)-*prefixed form (*Lalmàn*, *Lasisil*), and a locative form prefixed by *an(n)-* (*an-Sisil*, *ann-Almàn*):

- The bare form occurs in the vocative (40), in subject position (41), and if the noun is construed as sortal (42):

- (40) a. Wo {*Sisil/ Almàn*}, tè legzil!
 oh Sicily/ Germany land exile
 'Oh {Sicily/Germany}, land of exile!'
- b. *O {*Lasisil/Lalmàn*}, tè legzil!
- (41) a. {*Sisil/Almàn*} sé an bèl péyi.
 Sicily/ Germany COP a beautiful country
 'Sicily/Germany is a beautiful country.'
- b. *{*Lasisil/Lalmàn*} sé an bèl péyi.
- (42) a. Ni dé {*Sisil/Almàn*}(...)
 have two Sicily/ Germany
 'There are two Sicilies/Germanies.'
- b. *Ni dé {*Lasisil/Lalmàn*} (...)

- The *l(a)-*form occurs in governed positions — V+O (43a), P+O (43b):

- (43) a. Mari pa enmen {*Lasisil/Lalmàn*}
 Mary NEG like *la-Sicily/l-Germany*
 'Mary doesn't like {Sicily/ Germany}.'
- b. Espyon ta'a ka travay ba {*Lasisil/ Lalmàn*}.
 spy DM-DET NONP work for *la-Sicily/l-Germany*
 'This spy works for {Sicily/ Germany}.'

- The *an(n)-*form is definite and locative and contextually construed as Place, Goal or Source:

¹⁶ The nouns of this class are historically derived from French feminine nouns pronounced as bisyllabic (e.g. *Allemagne*, *Sicile*). Those derived from feminine trisyllables exhibit variation among speakers (some speakers align them on bisyllables, some on quadrisyllables). Country names derived from long French stems (4 syllables or more) are homogeneously left unprefixed by all Martinikè speakers, as illustrated below in (46).

- (44) a. Mari {an-Sisil/ann-Almàn}.
Mary *an*-{Sicily/ Germany }.
'Mary is in {Sicily/ Germany }.'
- b. Mari ay {an-Sisil/ann-Almàn}.
Mary go *an*-{Sicily/ Germany }.
'Mary went to {Sicily/Germany}.'
- c. Mari soti {an-Sisil/ann-Almàn}.
Mary return *an*-{Sicily/ Germany }.
'Mary (has) returned from {Sicily/ Germany }.'

As with alternating (*N/l(a)*-*N*) common nouns, the *l(a)*- form is selected over the bare form in denomination contexts such as (45):

- (45) a. Yo ka kriyé péyi ta'a {"Lasisil"/"Lalmàn"}.
3PL NONP call country DM-DET *la*-sicily/*la*-germany
- b. *Yo ka kriyé péyi ta'a {"Sisil"/"Almàn"}.
Lit. 'This country is called "Sicilies/Germanies".'

This contrast again supports Loebner's (2011), rather than Matushansky's (2008) syntactic analysis of proper names.

As other nouns naturally construed as individual concepts, country names may be coerced into sortal readings by means of quantity markers or indefinite determiners, as in (42) above. In such cases, the *l(a)*-prefix fails to occur, as expected of a marker of semantic definiteness.

In contradistinction with the cases discussed above, a third set of country nouns never involve an initial *l(a)*- , e.g.: *Patagoni* 'Patagonia' or *Endonézi* 'Indonesia', as illustrated in (46):

- (46) a. Wo {Patagoni/Endonézi}, tè legzil. [vocative]
oh Patagonia/Indonesia land exile
'O Patagonia/Indonesia, land of exile!'
- b. {Patagoni/Endonézi} sé an bèl péyi. [definite subject]
Patagonia/Indonesia COP a beautiful country
Patagonia/Indonesia is a beautiful country.'
- c. Mari ka vizité {Patagoni/Endonézi}. [definite DO]
Marie NONP visit Patagonia/Indonesia
'Mary is visiting Patagonia/Indonesia.'
- d. Espyon ta-a ka travay ba {Patagoni/Endonézi}. [definite PO]
spy DM-DET NONP work for Patagonia/Indonesia
'This spy works (is working) for Patagonia/Indonesia.'
- e. Ni dé {Patagoni/Endonézi}: [sortal reading]
have two Patagonia/Indonesia
{Patagoni/Endonézi} moun rich, Patagoni/Endonézi moun pov.
Patagonia/Indonesia people rich Patagonia/Indonesia people poor
'The Patagonia/Indonesia of the rich, and the Patagonia/Indonesia of the poor.'
- f. Mari (ay) {Patagoni/Endonézi}. [locative : Place/Goal]
Mary go Patagonia/Indonesia

- b. 'Mary is in (went to) Patagonia/Indonesia.'
 Mari soti {Patagoni/Endonézi}. [locative/ Source]
 Mary return Patagonia/Indonesia.
 'Mary (has) returned from Patagonia/Indonesia.'

The alternation of zero morphology and *l(a)*- marking on definite country names echoes the alternation of zero and *l(a)*- marking on Martinikè common nouns discussed in section 4.1 (*(La)doulè/Rimò*), and the alternation of zero and definite marking in English nominals construed as semantically definite (*to jail/to the store; Italy/the Strand*).

4.3. Recap: *L(a)*-Ns, singular, semantic definite DPs

We propose to analyse the nominal prefix *l(a)*- of Martinikè as a semantic definiteness marker selecting for its complement an individual term, in Loebner's (1985, 2011) sense—either common: *plaj* 'beach' or proper: *sisil* 'Sicily'. More precisely, *l(a)*-N denotes a singular individual concept which unambiguously identifies a referent independently of the specific discourse situation in which it occurs. In this respect, *l(a)*-Ns have the semantic properties of singular definite proper names, regardless of the "common" or "proper" nature of their head noun: this accounts for the capitalised initials in our English translations of *l(a)*-N in section 4.1. As a word-level prefix, *l(a)*- is always adjacent to its noun stem and must be listed as an available option for designated lexical entries. As shown by such examples as those in (17), *l(a)*- does not itself carry the categorial feature <n>, but takes a noun as its complement to derive a semantic definite DP instantiating what we propose to call a *Name*—a DP denoting an individual concept of type <e>. Correlatively, *l(a)*- is incompatible in its DP with the pragmatic definite determiner -LA (which signals noncongruent definiteness) and with any expression requiring a sortal or relational construal of the noun (e.g. cardinals, demonstrative, genitives, relatives).

5. *Lé*-NP

5.1. The collective predeterminer *lé*

We found the Martinikè determiner morpheme *lé*¹⁷ mentioned in two textbooks bearing on French-lexifier grammars: Bernabé (1983) and Germain (1983). *Lé* shares with *l(a)*- some properties characteristic of semantic definites, but differs from *l(a)*- as regards morphology (*lé* with common nouns is not a prefix, but a free morpheme) and interpretation (*lé* has a "collective" flavour while *l(a)*- serves to denote an atomic concept). The triplet of examples in (47), where *lé*+NP is contrasted with *sé*+NP-*la* and bare nouns in the argument of an existential predicate, gives a first hint of the semantics of *lé*:

- (47) a. An défilé-a, té ni ponpyé, majorèt, konséyé -minisipo.
 in parade-DET ANT have fireman majorette councillor-town
 'In the parade there were firemen, majorettes, town councillors.'
 b. An défilé-a, té ni sé ponpyé-a, sé majorèt -la,
 in parade-DET ANT have PL fireman-DET PL majorette DET

¹⁷ The grammar of *lé* exhibits some variation among Martinikè speakers: the *lé* we describe is regarded as typical of the Northern variety.

sé konséyé-minisipo-a...

PL councillor town -DET

'In the parade there was: the(se) firemen, the(se) majorettes, the(se) town councillors.'

c. An défilé-a, té ni lé ponpyé, lé majorèt, lé konséyé-minisipo...

'In the parade there was: the Firemen, the Majorettes, the Town Councillors.'

In (47a) the bare nouns receive an existential Kind reading (in Carlson's 1977 sense), as their analogues in the English translations: each enhanced DP denotes an undefined quantity of entities respectively assigned to the 'fireman', 'majorette' and 'town councillor' categories. In (47b), the DPs overtly specified as plural (*sé*) and specific (-LA) are construed as pragmatic definites: they refer to three sets of entities crucially identified via anchoring to the discourse or situation context: the aforementioned firemen/town councillors/majorettes, those of the town where the parade took place, or those in sight of the speaker and hearer. In (47c) the enhanced *lé*+NPs denote three collective entities ("groups", in Landman's 1989 terminology) whose unambiguous identification is crucially independent of the discourse or situation context: 'the Fire Brigade', 'the Majorettes', 'the Town Councillors' are three unique group concepts listed as such in our mental encyclopaedia, and which may be instantiated in any human collectivity. The "group" intuition is consistent with the *collective* label Bernabé (1983) attaches to the *lé* determiner. Calling *lé* a collective determiner on the other hand fails to capture the semantically definite reading of its including DP, a property common to *lé* and *l(a)*-, which we signal above and below in our translations of *lé*+NP by capitalising the initial of the N head.

We now present in further detail the morphosyntactic properties of the semantic definite determiner *lé* and of the DPs it occurs in.

5.2. Morphology

Unlike instable *l(a)*-, *lé* with common nouns is not a prefix, since lexical material may be inserted between it and the following noun:

- (48) a. An défilé-a, lé vyé ponpyé té douvan,
 in parade-DET *lé* old fireman- ANT in-front
lé jenn ponpyé té dèyè.
lé young fireman ANT in-back
 'In the parade, the Old Firemen were in front, the Young Firemen were behind.'
- b. Sinéma, lé dézyèm wòl ka genyen mwens lajan
 movies *lé* minor role NONP earn less money
 ki lé prèmyé wòl.
 than *lé* leading role
 'In the movies, the Minor Roles earn less money than the Leading Roles.'

Further evidence of the nonprefixal status of *lé* in such examples is the fact that unlike *l(a)*-, *lé* is not lexically restricted (it may combine with any noun a priori open to a

discontinuous denotation) and exhibits no sandhi signalling rightward attachment, as witnessed by the contrast between (49) and (50):

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (49) | a. | <i>la + jistis</i> | > | <i>lajistis</i> | |
| | | ‘justice’ | | ‘Justice’ | |
| | b. | <i>la + enjistis</i> | > | <i>*la enjistis</i> | > <i>lenjistis</i> |
| | | ‘injustice, unfairness’ | | | ‘Injustice’ |
| | c. | <i>la + mizè</i> | > | <i>*lamizè</i> | > <i>lanmizè</i> |
| | | ‘misery’ | | | ‘Misery’, ‘Poverty’ |
| (50) | a. | <i>lé + ponpyé</i> | > | <i>lé ponpyé</i> | |
| | | ‘fireman’ | | ‘the Fire Brigade’ | |
| | b. | <i>lé + étidyan</i> | > | <i>lé étidyan</i> | *> <i>létidyan/lézétidyan</i>) |
| | | ‘student’ | | ‘the Students’ | |
| | c. | <i>lé + mèb</i> | > | <i>lé mèb</i> | *> <i>len mèb</i>) |
| | | ‘piece of furniture’ | | ‘the Furniture’ ¹⁸ | |

5.3. Distribution

Lé+NP denotes an animate group in several of the above examples, but it may also freely denote inanimate groups:

- (51) Adan an jaden potajé, an pwensip lé tomat kay an solèy
 in a garden vegetable in general *lé* tomato go in sun
 épi lé jironom alonm.
 and *lé* pumpkin in-shade
 Lit. 'In a vegetable garden, the Tomatoes (should) generally go in the sun
 and the Pumpkins in the shade.'

As pointed out by Bernabé (1983), *lé* readily combines with patronyms, as in (52a); but patronyms may also combine with the plural marker *sé* (and the specific definite determiner -LA): *lé Lakwa* 'the Lakwas' in (52a) is construed as denoting a family unambiguously identified by the *Lakwa* patronym independently of the discourse context, while *sé Lakwa-a* in (52b) denotes a specific set of spatiotemporally anchored members of the *Lakwa* family ('the aforementioned Lakwas', or 'the Lakwas of our town or neighbourhood'):

- (52) a. Lé Lakwa jadinyé dépèranfis.
lé Lakwa gardener for generations
 'The Lakwas have been gardeners for generations.'
 b. Sé Lakwa -a jadinyé dépèranfis.
 PL Lakwa-DET gardener for generations
 'The(se) Lakwas have been gardeners for generations.'

Lé+NP may also naturally adjoin to a plural deictic pronoun, as in (53c), in which case it contrasts with both bare nouns and *sé* N-LA :

¹⁸ *Mèb* 'furniture' is a Count noun in Martinikè, as its French lexifier *meuble*.

- (53) a. Zòt, étidyan, zòt té pou konprann.
2PL student 2PL ANT MOD understand
'You students should have understood.'
- b. Zòt, sé étidyan-an, zòt té pou konprann.
2PL PL student-DET 2PL ANT MOD understand
'You the students (of this place/in question), you should have understood.'
- c. Zòt, lé étidyan, zòt té pou konprann.
2PL LE+étudiant 2PL ANT MOD understand
'You the Students (as opposed to, e.g., the Faculty),
you should have understood.'

Last but not least, *lé* productively co-occurs with an adjective licensing an elliptical noun to denote a common-ground group concept unambiguously identified by the property conveyed by the adjective, independently of the discourse context:

[Discussing ponies]

- (54) a. Sé gran-an mwen rapid ki sé piti-a.
PL big -DET less fast than PL small-DET
'The big ones (among the aforementioned) are slower than the small ones.'
- b. An pwensip, lé gran mwen rapid ki lé piti.
in principle *lé* big less fast than *lé* small
'As a rule, big ones are slower than small ones.'¹⁹

5.4. Interpretation

The interpretive properties of *lé*+NP may—for description's sake—be decomposed into four ingredients: (i) Definite; (ii) Plural; (iii) Group; (iv) Antispecific. Below we bring out each property separately.

5.4.1. *Lé*+NP is construed as definite

The definite effect of *lé* is brought out by such minimal pairs as (55) (a shortened variant of (47)), where *lé*-NP is contrasted with a bare noun:

- (55) a. An défilé-a, té ni ponpyé épi majorèt.
in parade-DET ANT have fireman and majorette
'In the parade there were firemen and majorettes.'
- b. An défilé-a, té ni lé Ponpyé épi lé Majorèt.
in parade-DET ANT have *lé* fireman and *lé* majorette
'In the parade there was: the Firemen and the Majorettes.'

In (55a), the bare nominals are construed as existential Kinds, in Carlson's (1977) terms. In (55b) *lé* leads us to construe the enhanced DPs as names of common-ground

¹⁹ Interestingly, Martinikè elliptical DPs such as *lé gran* translate in English as bare nominals (*big ones*), while the article triggers a pragmatic (d-linking) effect in English (*the big ones*). In French, plural elliptical definite DPs (*les grands* '(the) big ones') are ambiguous between the d-linked reading conveyed by *sé gran-an* in Martinikè, and the non-d-linked reading conveyed by *lé gran*.

collective entities unambiguously identified independently of the discourse context, and expected to be uniquely instantiated in any town parade: 'the Fire Brigade' and 'the Majorettes'.

5.4.2. *Lé*+NP is construed as plural

The fact that the pronouns coreferring with *lé Rigobè* 'the Rigoberts' in (56) surface as *yo* (3PL) rather than *i* (3SG) is evidence that *lé*+NP is construed as a set of atomic entities:

- (56) Chèrchè-a fè an étid anlè lé Rigobè_z.
 scientist-DET make a study on *lé* Rigobert
 I trouvé kè {yo/*i}_z ka pòté jenn-nan.
 3SG find that 3PL/3SG NONP carry gene-DET
 'The scientist made a study on the Rigobè_z(family).
 (S)he found that they_z carry (*it carries) the gene under discussion.'
 Men lé Rigobè_z pa sav ki {yo/*i}_z ka pòté jenn ta'a .
 but *lé* Rigobert NEG know that 3PL/3SG NONP carry gene DM-DET
 'But the Rigobè_z (family) are not aware that they_z carry this gene.'

5.4.3. *Lé* +NP is construed as a group (collective reading)

Lé is the only determiner option in DPs intended to denote common-ground *group* concepts, prototypically exemplified by music bands, as in (57), or by the social classes in Karl Marx's classification (58):

- (57) a. Lé Léopard sé {mizisyen/an gwoup} Senpyè.
lé Leopard it(is) musician/a group St- Pierre
 'The Leopards are {musicians/a group} from Senpyè.'
 b. #Sé Léopard-la sé {mizisyen/an gwoup} Senpyè.
 PL Leopard-DET it(is) musician/a group St-Pierre
 Lit. 'These Leopards are {musicians/a group} from St-Pierre.'
- (58) a. Léta ni klas laboryè épi klas profitè.
 State have class working and class exploiting
 'The State comprises working classes and exploiting classes.'
 b. #Léta ni sé klas laboryè-a épi sé klas profitè-a.
 State have PL class working-DET and PL class exploiting-DET
 Lit. 'The State comprises these working classes and these exploiting classes.'
 c. Léta ni lé klas laboryè épi lé klas profitè.
 State have *lé* class working and *lé* class exploiting
 'The State comprises: the Working Classes and the Exploiting Classes.'
 (ex. inspired by Landman's 1989 'Das Kapital series')

Lé is conversely barred from the argument of a Kind-selecting predicate such as the one translating 'to become extinct':

- (59) a. Konsyèj ka disparèt.
 janitor NONP disappear

- '*Concierges* [French janitors] are about to be extinct.'
 b. **Lé Konsyèj ka disparèt.*

In DP positions contextually consistent with either collective or distributive readings, *lé*+NP unambiguously selects the collective (Group) reading. Plural *sé...-LA* DPs are, contrastively, ambiguous between the collective and the distributive readings:

- (60) a. *Sé lengwis-la ni plis ki 8.000 liv an-près.*
 PL linguist -DET have more than 8.000 book in press
 'The linguists under discussion have over 8.000 books in press.'
 [ambiguous: 8.000 altogether or 8.000 each]
 b. *Lé lengwis ni plis ki 8.000 liv an-près.*
lé linguist have more than 8.000 book in press
 'The Linguists [contrasting with other similar scholarly groups]
 have (collectively) over 8.000 books in press.'

- (61) a. *Sé Lakwa-a épi sé Rigobè-a pa ka antann.*
 PL Lakwa-DET and PL Rigobè-DET NEG NONP get.along
 'The(se) Lakwas and the(se) Rigobès don't get along.'
 [ambiguous: individuals or groups]
 b. *Lé Lakwa épi lé Rigobè pa ka antann.*
 'The Lakwa family and the Rigobè family don't get along.' (group reading)

Lé+NP is barred whenever any expression in the context forces the predicate to be construed as distributive, e.g.:

- *ant yo* (a reciprocity marker) in (62b):

- (62) a. *Sé Rigobè-a pa ka antann ant ____ yo.*
 PL Rigobert DET NEG NONP get.along between 3PL
 'The Rigoberts do not get along with each other.'
 b. **Lé Rigobè pa ka antann ant yo.*

- *pyès* (negative-polarity distributive quantifier: 'none of the X') in (63b):

- (63) a. *Pyès sé Rigobè -a pa ka antann épi nouvo mè-a.*
 none PL Rigobert-DET NEG NONP get.along with new mayor-DET
 'None of the Rigobès gets along with the new mayor.'
 b. **Pyès lé Rigobè pa ka antann épi nouvo mè-a.*

- *chak* (positive-polarity distributive quantifier: 'each') in (64b):

- (64) a. *Adan défilé-a, sé ponpyé-a, yo chak té ka tchenbé an èkstenktè.*
 in parade-DET PL fireman -DET 3PL each ANT NONP hold a extinguisher
 Lit. 'In the parade, the firemen, they were each holding a fire extinguisher.'
 b. **Adan défilé-a, lé ponpyé, yo chak té ka tchenbé an èkstenktè.*

5.4.4. *Lé*+NP is antispecific

Lé+NP is infelicitous if the identification of the referent is dependent on the discourse context or situation. Thus, *lé* goes unlicensed in (65) since the firemen involved in a completed event necessarily denote a specific bunch of people anchored in space and time:

- (65) a. Sé ponpyé-a ja tiré nich mouchamyèl-la
 PL fireman-DET already remove nest honey-bee -DET
 an fitay kay -la.
 from roof house -DET
 'The firemen have already dislodged the honey-bee nest
 from the roof of the house.'
 b. **Lé* Ponpyé ja tiré nich mouchamyèl -la an fitay kay -la.

Lé is incompatible in its DP with the specific determiner -LA:²⁰

- (66) a. Sé lengwis *(-la) ni plis ki 8.000 liv an près.
 PL linguist -DET have more than 8.000 book in press
 'The(se) linguists have over 8.000 books in press.'
 b. Lé lengwis (*-la) ni plis ki 8.000 liv an près.
 'The Linguists (collectively) have over 8.000 books in press.'

Lé+NP cannot host a cardinality marker:

- (67) a. Sé senk ponpyé-a ka maché adan défilé-a.
 PL five fireman-DET NONP march in parade-DET
 'The five firemen are marching in the parade.'
 b. **Lé* senk ponpyé ka maché adan défilé -a.

With elliptical Ns, *lé*+NP is construed as discourse-free (antispecific), contrasting with specific *sé...LA*, cf. (53) above.

Lé+NP cannot host a restrictive relative clause, as illustrated below by (69c), contrasting with (68b) and (69b):

- (68) a. Pou jwé jé ta'a fòk séparé sé chif -la
 to play game DM-DET must separate PL number -DET

²⁰ In some idiolectal varieties of Martinikè, *lé* is but a morphological variant of the plural marker spelt out as *sé* in mainstream Martinikè:

- (i) a. **Lé** boug-la vini.
 guy -DET come
 (Sainte-Marie speaker; quoted by Bernabé 1983: 648)
 b. **Sé** boug-la vini.
 pl guy -DET come
 'The(se) guys came/arrived.'
 (mainstream Martinikè; our own example)

In the grammar we are describing, *sé* and *lé* are not free variants of the plural marker, as in (i) above, but in strict complementary distribution.

- épi sé koulè -a.
and PL face-card-DET
'To play this game you must separate the (those) numbers (in your pack) from the (those) face cards (in your pack).'
- b. Pou jwé jé ta'a fòk séparé lé chif épi lé koulè.
to play game DM-DET must separate *lé* numbers and *lé* face-cards
'To play this game you must separate the Numbers from the Face Cards.'
- (69) a. Pou jwé jé ta'a fòk séparé
to play game DM-DET must separate
kat ki pi piti ki 7 di kat aparti di 7.
card which(are) more small than 7 from card from-7-up
'To play this game you must separate cards below 7 from cards from 7 up.'
- b. Pou jwé jé ta'a fòk séparé
to play game dm-det must separate
sé kat -la ki pi piti ki 7 -la di sé lézòt -la.
PL card-DET which more small than 7-DET from PL the.other(s)-DET
'To play this game you must separate the cards below 7 from the other ones.'
- c. *Pou jwé jé ta'a fòk séparé lé kat ki
to play game DM-DET must separate *lé* card which(are)
pi piti ki 7 di lé kat apati di 7.
more small than 7 from *lé* card from-7-up

Lé+NP triggers what looks like narrow-scope effects in such examples as (70):

- (70) a. Lè difé pri, fòk kriyé lé ponpyé.
when fire break-out must call *lé* fireman
'When (a) fire has broken out, one must call the Fire Brigade.'
- b. Lè difé pri, fòk kriyé sé ponpyé-a.
when fire break-out must call PL fireman-DET
'When (a) fire has broken out, one must call the(se) firemen.'

Unlike (70b), (70a) does not need us to understand that the same actual individuals are called upon for every fire. This contrast, however, would follow from the assumption that the definite DP has in both cases wide scope over the universal quantifier but denotes a specific entity in one case (70b) and a common-ground category in the other (70a)—an assumption in keeping both with Aguilar and Zwarts's (2010) and Beyssade's (2013) analysis of "weak definites" as Kind-denoting, and with Loebner's theory of definiteness predicting the congruent compatibility of definiteness markers with individual concepts.

However, all instances of *lé* are not associated with the seemingly "narrow-scope effect" we get in (70a): thus, *lé Léopar* 'the Leopards' (a music band from Martinique) and *lé Lakwa* 'the Lacroix's', as definite proper names, have a constant value (wide-scope effect) in a range of situations.

5.5. *Lé*+NP in denomination predicates

Lé+NP is selected over bare nouns in denomination predicates whose subject argument denotes a group:

- (71) a. Yo ka aplé group ta'a "Lé Ponpyé".
 3PL NONP call group DM-DET *lé* fireman
 'This group is called "the Firemen".'
 b. *Yo ka aplé group ta'a "ponpyé".
 Lit. 'This group is called "firemen".'

- (72) a. *Yo ka aplé sé moun ta'a "Lé Ponpyé".
 b. Yo ka aplé sé moun ta'a "ponpyé".
 3PL NONP call PL person DM-DET fireman
 'These people are called "firemen".'

These examples are parallel to those in (38) and (45) involving *l(a)*-N.

5.5. *Lé*+NP: recap

The above data show that *lé* is a free morpheme which signals its DP as definite but antispecific (semantically definite in Loebner's sense), and plural but group-denoting. The "collective" effect may be derived from the fact that the head noun of *lé*+NP (as the head noun of *la*-N) denotes an individual concept, rather than a sortal concept; *lé*+NP however contrasts with *la*-N in that the group-denoting individual concept contains a plurality of members. The properties of *lé*+NP in Martinikè echo those of French definite plural proper names such as *les Etats Unis* ('the United States'):²¹

- (73) a. *L' /Cet Etat Uni a besoin d'argent.
 DF.SG/DM.MSG State United have.PRS.3SG need of money
 Lit. 'The/this United State needs money.'
 b. Les Etats -Unis {sont/*est} un grand pays,²²
 DF.PL United States be.PRS.3PL/3SG a big country
 et {ils ont /*il a} besoin d'argent.
 and 3MPL have.PRS.3PL/3MSG have.PRS.3SG} need of money
 Lit. 'The United States are a big country
 and they need money.'
 [Plural]

²¹ *Lé* actually also occurs in some Martinikè translations of plural country names, in which case it exhibits a prefixal morphology, signalled by external sandhi :

(i) Lé-zétazini sé an bèl péyi.
lé-United.States COP a beautiful country
 'The United States are a beautiful country.'

This subclass of cases is left out of the present article for lack of space, but it is quite consistent with the general analysis we propose for *l(a)*- and *lé*.

²² Standard French contrasts in this respect with Standard English, where singular agreement is recommended with the subject *the United States* (> *the United States is a big country*). Cf. < <http://www.visualthesaurus.com/cm/wordroutes/the-united-states-is-or-are/>>

- c. *Les Etats-Unis sont en compétition
 DF.PL States United be.PRS.3PL in competition
les uns avec les autres.
 DF.PL ones with DF.PL others
 Lit. 'The United States compete with each other.'
 [Collective]
- d. #Les Etats-Unis que Marie préfère sont riches.
 DF.PL States United that Mary prefer.PRS.3SG be.PRS.3PL rich.PL
 'The United States that Mary prefers are rich.'
 [Collective]
- e. *Ces Etats-Unis -là sont riches.
 DM.PL States United-LOC be.PRS.3PL rich. PL
 'These/those United States are rich.'

6. Conclusion: *l(a)-* and *lé* as Name markers

The properties brought out for *la*-N and *lé*+NP in Martinikè lead us to identify *l(a)-* and *lé* as markers of semantic definiteness, in Loebner's (1985, 2011) sense: they both signal the unambiguous identification of the referent of their DP as an individual concept. *l(a)-* and *lé* differ morphologically in that *l(a)-* is a lexically constrained prefix, while *lé* occurs as a free morpheme, except with country names. And they differ semantically as to number specification: *l(a)-*N is straightforwardly singular, while *lé*+NP is both plural and singular: plural since it triggers plural anaphora (licensed by the plurality of the group's members), but singular since the group itself stands as a singular entity whose members are not accessible for distributivity. Some instances of *l(a)-*N and *lé*+NP *seem* to trigger "sloppy" readings under VP ellipsis, a property regarded in the linguistic literature as characteristic of "short weak definites", but it turns out neither *l(a)-* nor *lé* actually license variable readings, as especially witnessed by their compatibility with proper nouns (*Lasisil*, *Lé Léopar*). We propose that *l(a)-* and *lé* are best characterised as markers of semantic definiteness identifying individual concepts, as opposed to sortal, functional and relational concepts. In this respect, *l(a)-* and *lé* together contrast with the phrase-final enclitic determiner -LA, which signals pragmatic definiteness; and *la*-N and *lé*+NP are semantically similar to what is commonly called "proper names", regardless of the "common" or "proper" lexical nature of their head noun. We therefore propose to characterise *l(a)-* and *lé* as *Name markers*:

- (74) a. Mari ka respèkté Lalwa. [la+ common n]²³
 'Mary respects the Law.'
- b. Mari pa enmen Lasisil. [la+ proper n]
 'Mary does not like Sicily.'
- c. (...) fok kriyé lé Ponpyé. [lé+ common n]
 'One must call the Fire Brigade.'
- d. Mari enmen lé Léopar. [lé+ proper n]
 Marie likes the Leopards.

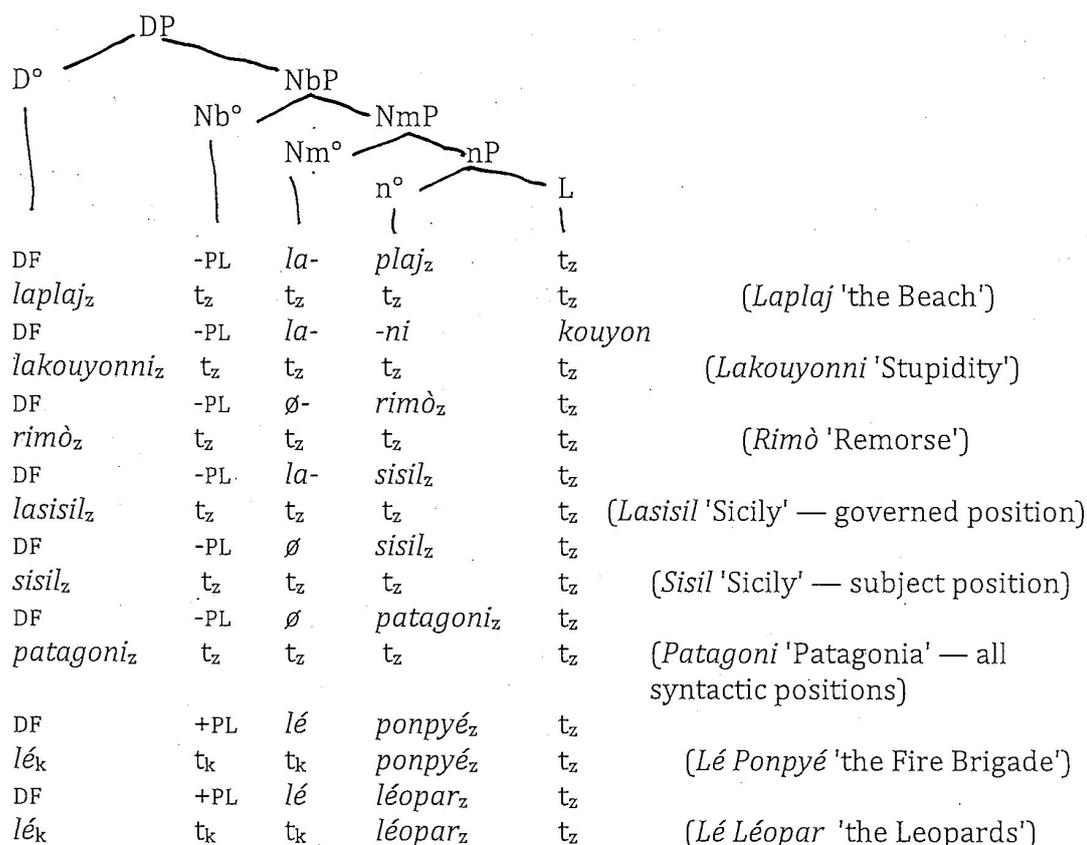
As shown in section 4, singular Names in Martinikè may surface as *l(a)-*N or as bare nouns—a lexical variation. A similar variation is observed in English between singular

²³ The official spelling rule for *la*-N and *lé*+NP varies in the textbooks we consulted, but we take it upon ourselves to capitalise their initial to signal their "Name" status.

Names morphologically marked as definite ((*tell*) *the Truth*, (*go to*) *the Beach*; (*visit*) *the Taj Mahal*, (*go to*) *the Strand*), and Names occurring as bare ((*watch*) *TV*, (*go to*) *Jail*; (*meet*) *John*, (*visit*) *France*). Plural Names, on the other hand, always involve overt definiteness marking—by *lé* in Martinikè (*lé Ponpyé* 'the Firemen', *lé Léopar* 'the Leopards', *lé Zétazini* 'the United States'), and by *the* in English (*the Working Classes*, *the Beatles*, *the Kennedys*, *the United States*).

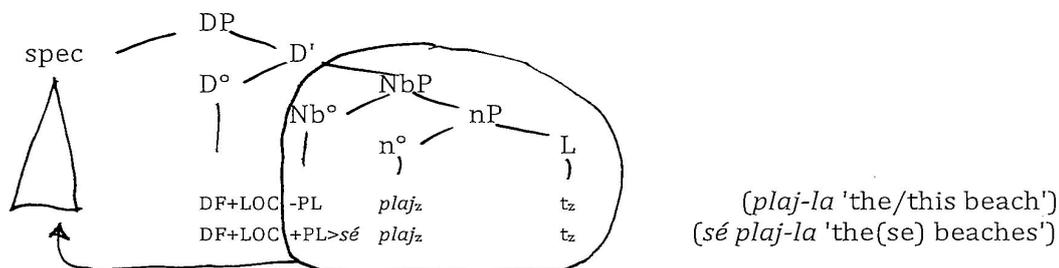
The existence of three definiteness markers in Martinikè— *-LA*, *l(a)-* and *lé*— calls for a revision of the DP structure proposed in (12) acknowledging Names as a type of definite DPs. We submit the derivations in (75) and (76):

(75) Deriving *l(a)-N* and *lé+NP* (Names)²⁴



DF = definiteness
 NbP = Number Phrase
 NmP = Name Phrase
 nP = noun Phrase (categorical phrase)

²⁴ The diagram in (75) leaves out country names (e.g. *lé Zétazini*), where *lé* must be analysed as a prefix, on a par with *l(a)-*.

(76) Deriving (*sé*) NP-LA (pragmatic definite DPs)

DF+LOC = pragmatic definiteness (spatiotemporal anchoring)

Under the proposed analysis, Names are DPs characterised by (i) the occurrence of a specialised (Name) head (Nm°) selected by an antispecific (-LOC) definite feature in D° , and which takes nP as its complement; and (ii) a set value (-PL or +PL) for the Number head: the Nm° marker is spelt out *l(a)-* in the singular, *lé* in the plural. *L(a)-*, being a prefix, may only take designated lexical nouns as its complement, while *lé*, as a free morpheme, may a priori combine with any noun whose semantic construal allows the group effect to obtain. After attachment, *l(a)-N* raises up to D° , in the spirit of Longobardi's (1994) analysis of bare proper names, surfacing as *Laplaj*, *Lasisil*, etc. If Number is specified as -PL but *l(a)-* fails to occur in Nm° (lexical restriction for *Rimò* and *Pagatoni*, syntactic restriction for *Sisil*), the Name ends up in D° with no prefix (e.g. *Rimò*, *Sisil*, *Patagoni*). *Lé* is identified in (75) as a Name marker (like *l(a)-*);²⁵ however, as a free morpheme, *lé* raises up to D and leaves the noun below.²⁶ Under the analysis proposed in (75), *l(a)-* and *lé* are restricted not only to semantically definite DPs (hosting no Locative feature in D), but more precisely to semantic definite DPs containing a Name projection, hence construed as denoting individual concepts rather than sortal or relational concepts. These properties account for the ban on Quantity markers and restrictive modifiers in *la-N* and *lé+NP*, and on distributivity for *lé+NP*, since Quantity, restrictive modification and distributivity correlate with a sortal or relational construal of the noun. Assuming that pragmatic definiteness in Martinikè is an effect of the Locative feature in D, we tentatively assume that this feature is what triggers the raising of NbP to spec,DP in specific (pragmatic definite) DPs: this movement therefore takes place in (76) but not in (75).

The Martinikè data presented in this study bring empirical support to the conceptual distinction drawn by Loebner (1985, 2011) between "semantic" and "pragmatic" definiteness. Like the West-Germanic dialects reported to distinguish

²⁵ This analysis sheds light on the dialectal variation concerning *lé* mentioned in fn. 17 and 20. In the Northern variety of Martinikè we describe, *lé* is merged in Nm° , hence selected by a nonlocative definite in D° and incompatible with -LA, and triggers a "collective" (group) effect due to the Name head (which restricts denotation to an individual concept). In varieties of Martinikè where *lé* combines with -LA, it is merged in Nb° , hence stands as an individual or dialectal variant of *sé* (cf. section 3.3) in pragmatic definite DPs.

²⁶ We could alternatively assume that *lé*, specified as a [+DF, -LOC], is directly merged in a D head whose complement includes the +PL value in Nb° and a NmP projection below. Our reason for preferring (75) is that it straightforwardly captures the parallel natures of *l(a)-* and *lé*, beyond their different surface positions in the structure.

"strong" (morphologically full) from "weak" (morphologically reduced) definite articles respectively conveying these two types of definite interpretations (cf. Ebert 1970, Loebner 1985, 2011, Schiering 2002, Studler 2008, Cabredo Hofherr this vol), the morphology of Martinikè distinguishes pragmatic from semantic definiteness. However, the morphemes *l(a)-* and *lé* of Martinikè are not licensed in the whole range of semantically definite DPs, but only in a subset of them denoting individual concepts in the manner of definite proper names. The assumption that *l(a)-N* and *lé+NP* contain a "Name" projection in their syntactic representation aims at capturing this restriction in the syntax. Under our analysis, *Names* thus instantiate a subtype of definite DPs characterised by the presence of a special "Name" projection, regardless of the lexical features merged in the n-head (e.g. 'Sicily' or 'beach'). The presence of the Name phrase may be made morphologically visible—as by *l(a)-* or *lé* in Martinikè—but needs not be, as witnessed by the many examples of bare Names in various languages—including English, French and Martinikè itself. While bare Names always seem construed as semantically singular, at least in the languages under discussion, plural Names seem to require some overt functional marking (English *the*, French *les*, Martinikè *lé*), a restriction reflecting their marked nature correlating with a "collective" effect. The fact that both *l(a)-N* and *lé+NP* are selected over their bare counterparts in denomination contexts (cf. (38), (71)) supports Loebner's (2011) analysis of proper names, once merged in syntax, as default definite DPs, rather than Matushansky's (2008) claim that proper names enter the syntax as bare denominating predicates.

The data presented in this study show that the morphosyntax of definiteness is radically different in Martinikè and in French, the lexifier language. While French uses a single "definite article" to convey pragmatic and semantic definiteness—a reminder of this morpheme's pronominal origin—,²⁷ Martinikè has developed a marker of pragmatic definiteness—*-LA*—historically derived from a French deictic locative, and two Name markers—*l(a)-* and *lé*—which have retained the uniqueness presupposition of their lexifier (the French definite article) but not its pronoun-inherited "anaphoric" feature.

Should French and Martinikè be equally listed in typological charts as "Languages With Definite Determiners"? We let typologists ponder over this practical issue.

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²⁷ Corblin (2013) proposes a unified analysis of the French paradigm, based on the anaphoric nature of the French definite article. This property has clearly not carried over to creole.

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