

Introduction

Aims and claims

- ◆ To revise the model proposed for the grammar of referential marking in Old Hungarian
- ◆ To account for a certain set of data (ignored or unexplained)
- ◆ To propose that the absence of article can be related to the properties of certain phrase-internal modifiers that may anchor the reference

The definite article in Old Hungarian



Proto-Hungarian		1000 BC – 896 AD
	Early Old Hungarian	896 – 1370
Old Hungarian	Late Old Hungarian	1370 – 1526
Middle Hungarian		1526 – 1772

DEM **az** > DEF.ART **az**

az in associative-anaphoric use

(For this use as a diagnostic context, see
 Hawkins 1978: Ch.3; Himmelmann 1997: §3.1;
 Himmelmann 1998: 322-323; Himmelmann 2001: 833-834)

(1) Janus nevēw parāzt: ky zantuala ew mezeyben (...) elmene
 Janus named peasant who was.plowing he field.POSS.PL.INE went

az mezewre hollott **az ewkrewkewt** hattauala
 the field.SUB where the oxen.ACC left

‘a peasant called Janus, who was plowing in his fields ... went to the field where he left the oxen.’ (Jókai Codex 66)

Absence of article in definite descriptions

◆ with inherently unique nouns

- (2) A nap-ot ke· es aʒ ido-t fènki nē tugga
that day-ACC CONJ and that time-ACC nobody not knows
fem ∅ mē-n^c angal-i fem ∅ fiu hanēčac ∅ at'a
neither heaven-DAT angel-POSS.PL nor son but.only father

‘But nobody knows the day and the time, not even the angels of **heaven** nor **the Son**, but only **the Father**.’ (Munich C. 30rb)

◆ noun phrases with a generic reading

- (3) Eleg ∅ taneituān-nac hog legen mikent o, mēfter-e,
enough disciple-DAT that be-SBJV like s/he master-POSS.3SG
es ∅ ʒolga-nac hog legen mikent o, vr-a.
and servant-DAT that be-SBJV like s/he lord-POSS.3SG

‘It is enough for **the disciple** to be like his teacher, and **the servant** like his master’ (Munich C. 16va)

(Egedi 2013, 2014)

Absence of article in definite descriptions

◆ modified by a demonstrative

- (4) ez ∅ kener-ek-re
this bread-PL-SUB
'onto **these breads**' (Jókai C. 76)

◆ in possessive constructions

- (5) ∅ èn keñèr-i-m-èt
I bread-POSS.PL-1SG-ACC
'**my breads**' (Vienna C. 182)

- (6) az èlèt-n^c ∅ keñèr-è
the life-DAT bread-POSS
'the **bread of life**' (Munich C. 91ra)

Proposal

- the article first appeared to encode *pragmatic* definiteness (semantic uniqueness remained unmarked)
- the article must only appear, if definiteness has not been encoded otherwise (e.g. dems, overt possessors)

Spreading



The proportion of definite determiners (*a/az*)
in five Old Hungarian codices (Egedi & Simon 2012)

Manuscript	Date	Tokens	<i>a/az</i>	%
Jókai Codex	after 1370/c.1448	22733	573	2.52
Vienna Codex	after 1416 /c.1450	54423	2233	4.10
Guary Codex	1495	21714	1390	6.40
Könyvecse	1521	8745	623	7.12
Kazinczy Codex	1526-1541	20027	1437	7.17

Previous observations and claims in descriptive literature



- ◆ S. Hámori (1995): a chapter in the *Historical Grammar of Hungarian* (=Benkő 1995)
- ◆ S. Hámori (1998): a paper on "Attributive constructions and definiteness,"
- ◆ Imre (1953): "The use of the definite article in Vienna Codex"
 - About the variation of article-use in qualifying and quantifying constructions (pp. 356-357)

Previous observations and claims in descriptive literature

Imre (1953: 356-357): variation in the use of the article
in qualifying and quantifying constructions in Vienna Codex

- the article *appears* before constructions that are introduced by an inherently unique noun (which normally does not need an article in the codex)
- the article *usually appears* with modified nouns that are inherently unique (e.g. god, lord, king)
- the article *may appear* with modified proper names
- the article *does not appear* before constructions that are introduced by an inflected personal pronoun or by the personal pronoun as a possessor

Previous observations and claims in descriptive literature

- the article *does not appear* before constructions that are introduced by an inflected personal pronoun or by the personal pronoun as a possessor

(6) es **tégéd** **dičeroḵnç** zaiokat bè rəkèztèni
and you.ACC praise.PART.PL.DAT mouth.3PL.ACC in shut.INF
'and to shut down the mouth of those who praise you' (Vienna C. 78)

(7) ki nē hattam̄g **obèlè** **rēmēkédokèt**
who not left-PRT 3SG.in trust.PART.PL.ACC
'who has not left those who trust in him' (Vienna C. 38)

(8) es vduoffeḡ lezē **o, fent** **nèuet** **feloḵnèc**
and salvation will.be 3SG saint name.ACC fear.PART.PL.DAT
'and there will be salvation for those who fear his name' (Vienna C. 254)

(9) **o labaiban** **gors** ne zabadolhatmeḡ
3SG foot.POSS.PL.3SG.INE swift not get.free.POSSIB-PRT
'the swift-footed cannot flee away' (Vienna C. 218)

Previous observations (Egedi 2011)

- (10) es **halal arńekanac vidėkibėn vľoĉnėc** vilag tamada nėkic
and death shadow.POSS.DAT country.POSS.INE sit.PART.PL.DAT light sprang.up 3PL.DAT
'on those living in the land of the shadow of death a light has dawned'
(Munich C. 10rb)
- (11) es **tolled koľĉoņ veuoťoľ** ělne fordol'
and 2SG.ABL loan take.PART.ABL away-not turn.IMP
'and do not turn away from the one who borrows from you' (Munich C. 11vb)
- (12) es imadkoziatoc **tuťokėt vľdozokert** es patuarozokert
and pray.IMP.2PL 2PL.ACC persecute.PART.PL.CAUS and litigant.PL.CAUS
'and pray for those who persecute you and for the litigants' (Munich C. 11vb)
- (13) Haluan ke· ězt i^c ĉudalkodec es **oťėt kouėtoĉn^c** monda
hearing PRT this Jesus was.amazed and him follow.PART.PL.DAT said
'When Jesus heard this, he was amazed and said to those following him.'
(Munich C. 14ra)

Questions

- ◆ Is the divergence from the basic principles established for the early use of the article related to the appearance of a modifier in the noun phrase?
- ◆ If so, what features of such modifiers trigger the absence of articles?
- ◆ Do they restrict the reference by themselves?
- ◆ If so, how can we embed the new observations in a coherent system, while keeping the basic shape of the original model?

Typology of adnominal modifiers

Attributes = dependent constituents within the noun phrase that narrow the denotation (NP, AdjP, PP, AdvP, CP), cf. Rießler (2016)

Historical Grammar of Hungarian (S. Hámori 1995)



➤ qualifying attributive constructions

- qualifiers
- designators (= *kijelölő jelzős szerkezetek*) → demonstratives, locative attributes, ordinal numbers as modifiers (*másod* 'second', *harmad* 'third'), pronominal elements derived by the suffix *-ik* (e.g. *egyik* 'one (of them)', *másik* 'the other (of them)'), NB: sporadic as modifiers in the early codices!

➤ quantifying attributive constructions

- including the quantifiers *mind, minden* 'all' which has a different distribution from ordinary numerals (For Old Hungarian, see Bende-Farkas 2014, 2015)

➤ possessive constructions

➤ appositive constructions

Typology of adnominal modifiers

Rijkhoff (2001, 2002)

- qualitative adnominal modifiers
- quantitative adnominal modifiers
- locative adnominal modifiers
 - locating the head noun in a spatio-temporal or cognitive dimension (~identification)
 - typically expressed by demonstratives, possessor phrases, restrictive relative clauses, adpositional phrases (of the type *the book on the table*)

(14) I bought the house next to the Van Gogh Museum /
my father's house /
the house that you wanted to buy last year

- referential adnominal modifiers

Finding the absence...

A possible diagnostic context: objective agreement with DO

- (15) Meñècn^c orzaga hafonlatic èmberhèz
heaven.PL.DAT country.POSS is.like man.ALL
ki vètet **io magot** o, žantafaba
who sowed good seed.ACC 3SG plough.POSS.ILL

‘The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field’ (Munich C. 19vb)

- (16) Ki vèti a· **io magot** a3 èmbern^c fia
who sows the good seed that man.DAT son.POSS

‘The one who sows the good seed is the Son of Man’
(Munich C. 30ra)

Proposal 1/2

∅ modifier N → N is [+U]

∅ modifier N → NP is generic

ART modifier N_[+U] → ?

Imre's (1953) observations in Vienna Codex:

- the article *usually appears* with modified nouns that are inherently unique (e.g. god, lord, king)
- the article *may appear* with modified proper names

ART modifier N_[+U] → *usually*

ART modifier N_[PN] → *sometimes*

} ?

In Munich Codex, **∅ modifier N_[+U/PN]** is predominant.

But observe the variation:

- (17) Te vag x^c **elo, iftènn^c** fia
2SG are Christ living God.DAT son.POSS
'You are the Christ, the son of the living God' (Munich C. 22vb)
- (18) Kèrdlec teged **a3 elo, iftènrè** hog mōgadm̄g nèkoṅc
I.ask.you 2SG.ACC the living God.SUB that you.tell-PRT 1PL.DAT
'I adjure you by the living God, that you tell us...' (Munich C. 33va)
- (19) E3 es a· **nazareti i^cfal** vala
this also the Nazareth.ADJ Jesus.INSTR was
'This (man) was with Jesus of Nazareth.' (Munich C. 33vb)
- (20) mōdanac ke· oṅèki hog **nazarethi i^c** menne
they.told PRT 3SG.DAT that Nazareth.ADJ Jesus would.go
'And they told him that Jesus of Nazareth is passing by.' (Munich C. 77rb)

Basic conceptual lexical types of nouns (Löbner 2011)

	-U	+U
-R	<p>sortal nouns <e,t></p> <p><i>stone, book, adjective, water, etc.</i></p>	<p>individual nouns <e></p> <p><i>moon, weather, date, Maria, etc.</i></p>
+R	<p>relational nouns <e,<e,t></p> <p><i>sister, leg, part, attribute, etc.</i></p>	<p>functional nouns <e,e></p> <p><i>father, head, age, subject, etc.</i></p>

Type-shift: <e> → <e,t>

Cf. also the "metaphoric use" of proper names in Kornai (1989: 202)
 → the subject of interpretation is not the individual, but rather a set of its prototypical properties

- (21) a. Egyiptom b. az ókori Egyiptom c. a kopt Egyiptom
 Egypt the ancient Egypt the Coptic Egypt

- the article *appears* before constructions that are introduced by an inherently unique noun (which normally does not need an article in the codex)

(22) Mert latta **az iftèntoḷ iojo,** haragot tvnèktec
because saw the God.ABL coming wrath.ACC 2PL.DAT
'For she saw the wrath of God coming upon you' (Vienna C. 106)

az [iftèntoḷ iojo] haragot
the God.ABL coming wrath.ACC

rather than

[az iftèntoḷ iojo] haragot
the God.ABL coming wrath.ACC

- the article *does not appear* before constructions that are introduced by an inflected personal pronoun or by the personal pronoun as a possessor

(23) es **tégéd** **dičeroḵnç** zaiokat bè rèkèztèni
 and you.ACC praise.PART.PL.DAT mouth.3PL.ACC in shut.INF
 ‘and to shut down the mouth of those who praise you’ (Vienna C. 78)

(24) ki nē hattam̄g **obèlè** **rēmēkédokèt**
 who not left PRT 3SG.in trust.PART.PL.ACC
 ‘who has not left those who trust in him’ (Vienna C. 38)

(25) es v̄duoffeḡ lezē o, **fent** **nèuet** **feloḵnèc**
 and salvation will.be 3SG saint name.ACC fear.PART.PL.DAT
 ‘and there will be salvation for those who fear his name’ (Vienna C. 254)

(26) **o, labaiban** **gors** ne zabadolhatmeḡ
 3SG foot.POSS.PL.3SG.INE swift not get.free.POSSIB-PRT
 ‘the swift-footed cannot flee away’ (Vienna C. 218)

generic noun phrases \Rightarrow no article!

◆ personal pronoun inside the modifier:

- (27) es **tolled** **koļčon veuotoļ** èlne fordol'
and 2SG.ABL loan take.PART.ABL away-not turn.IMP
'and do not turn away from the one who borrows from you'
(Munich C. 11vb)

◆ no personal pronoun in modifier:

- (28) Fialim mel' nèhèž **penžbè** **bizocnac**
son.POSS.PL.1SG how hard money.ILL trust.PART.PL.DAT
bè mēni iftènn^c oržagaba
in go God.DAT country.POSS.ILL
'Children, how hard it is for them that trust in riches to enter
the kingdom of God!' (Munich C. 46va)

non-generic noun phrases ⇒ article!

(29) hog vадnac nemel'`èc **a3 it alloc** ko33o|
that are some.PL the here stand.PART.PL from.among
'That there are some of them that stand here' (Munich C. 23ra)

◆ Even before personal pronouns...

(30) Es o,fèlèluen **a· nèki žolonac** mōda
and 3SG answering the 3SG.DAT call.PART.DAT said
'But he answered and said unto him that told him' (Munich C. 19ra)

non-generic reading, no article...

- (31) Haluan ke· èzt i^c čudalkodec es **otèt kouètoçn^c** monda
hearing PRT this Jesus was.amazed and him followers.DAT said
'When Jesus heard this, he was amazed and said to those following him.'
(Munich C. 14ra)

Minimal pair:

- (32) es kellet volna herodefn^c es **vèle ožuo, egembè èuoknèc**
and liked be.COND Herod.DAT and 3SG.INSTR together together eat.PART.PL.DAT
'she pleased Herod and them that sat at meat with him' (Munich C. 41rb)
(i.e. Herod liked the dance of the daughter of Herodias)
- (33) Es megžomorodec a· kiral' až èfert
and became.sad the king the oath.POSS.CAUS
es **a· vèle ožuo, egèmbè euokert**
and the 3SG.INSTR together together eat.PART.PL.CAUS
'And the king was sorry for the sake of his oaths, and of them that sat at meat
with him' (Munich C. 41va)

Proposal 2/2

(34) a. ART [modifier] N b. [ART modifier] N c. ∅ [ART modifier] N



Regular absence of the definite article

i) with locative adnominal modifiers that appear in the form of a relational adjective, derived from an inherently referential noun (e.g. a proper name)

(35) herodes (...) toṅ nag vačorat a· fedèlmècnèc es
Herodes made big supper the chieftain.PL.DAT and
a· biracnac es **galileabèli** oregbècnèc
the judge.PL.DAT and Galilee.inside.ADJ elder.PL.DAT

‘Herodes gave a great supper to the chieftains and the judges and the elder people of Galilee.’ (Munich C. 41rb)

- ii) with locative adnominal modifiers that appear in the form of a postpositional phrase.

To avoid ambiguity of the type (34), postpositional modifiers are only to be considered if postnominal (cf. Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992: 251-258; Hámori 1954, Honti & H. Varga 2012)

- (36) `hytett es zerelmett zent fferenczben el vezetteuala`
faith and love saint Francis.INE PRT has.lost
'he has lost the faith in and the love for Saint Francis.' (Jókai C. 51)

- iii. with complex (clausal) modifiers: prenominal participles and postnominal, finite relative clauses

In (37) the restrictive relative clause performs a reference establishing function (in terms of Hawkins 1978: 130-138).

(37) Haluan ke· èzt i^c čudalkodec es **otèt** **kouètoçn^c** monda
hearing PRT this Jesus was.amazed and 3SG.ACC followers.DAT said
'When Jesus heard this, he was amazed and said to those following him.'
(Munich C. 14ra)

(38) czudakert **kyket** **zent fferenczrewl** **hallottuala**
miracle.PL.CLAUS REL.PL.ACC Saint Francis.DEL has.heard
'for the miracles he heard about Saint Francis' (Jókai C. 37)

Proposal (unified)

The spreading of the Old Hungarian definite article delayed in well-definable groups of modified noun phrases.

Independently of modification:

- ◆ the absence of the article is either related to the properties of the head noun (+U), in which case it follows from semantic properties even if it comes modified
- ◆ or it is related to the generic reading of the noun phrase

Depending on the modification:

- ◆ the absence of the article is related to the properties of a phrase-internal modifier
- ◆ in this latter case, the article may remain absent if the head noun has relational adjectival or a complex adnominal modifier that contains an already anchored element

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A research supported by
the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (**OTKA/NKFI 112828**)