

Introduction

- ◆ Diachronic syntax of Old and Middle Hungarian:

Hungarian Generative Diachronic Syntax

Part 1: 2009-2013 (OTKA 78074; PI: Katalin É. Kiss)

Part 2: 2015-2018 (OTKA/NKFI 112057; PI: Katalin É. Kiss)

Diachronic and comparative linguistic study of Hungarian noun phrases and determiners

2014-2017 (OTKA/NKFI 112828; B. Egedi)

- ◆ Comparative dialectal studies in Coptic:

The grammar of Fayyumic

2015-2018 (János Bolyai Research Fellowship)

- ◆ Syntax of Uralic languages:

Languages under the Influence. Uralic syntax changing in an asymmetrical contact situation

2016-2017 (OTKA/NKFI 118079; PI: Katalin É. Kiss)

Nominal Structures in Uralic Languages

Proposed research period: 2017-2021; under review



Introduction

Aims

- ◆ To combine diachronic and synchronic observations, and to point out that i.) different stages of article use, ii.) distribution of articles in double article systems, iii.) distribution of possessive affixes in non-possessive uses → are all related

Proposals

- ◆ More stations can be recognized within the life of the grammaticalized Stage I article in Hungarian
- ◆ The grammaticalization of Uralic Px-determination shows a reversed order
- ◆ The functional split between articles in double-article grammars contributes to a better understanding of diachrony
- ◆ Marking pragmatic definiteness > marking semantic uniqueness

The definite article-cycle

The grammaticalization path of definite articles
(Greenberg 1978):



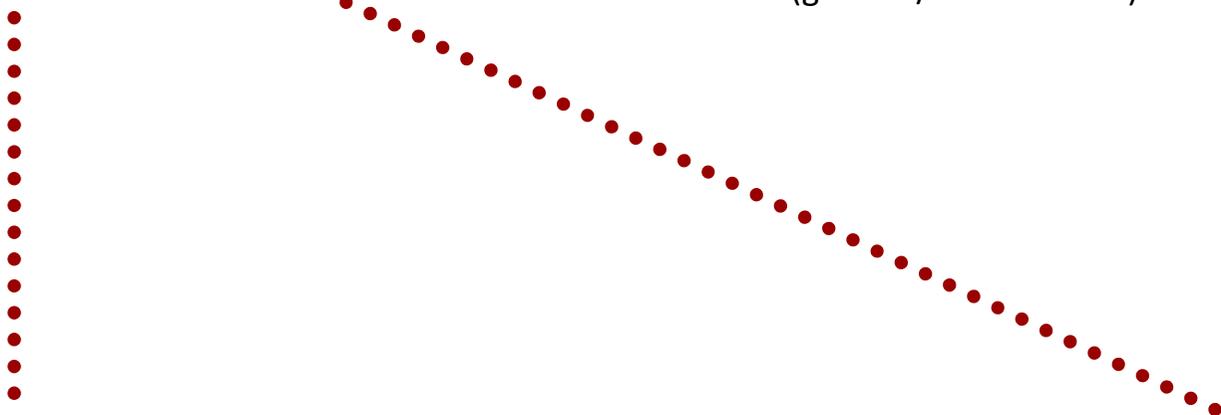
The definite article-cycle

Stage 0 >
DEMONSTRATIVE

Stage I. >
DEFINITE ARTICLE

Stage II. >
SPECIFIC ARTICLE

Stage III.
NOUN MARKER
(gender / class marker)



Stage I/A > **Stage I/B** > **Stage I/C** > ...
DEFINITE ARTICLE DEFINITE ARTICLE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Strategies for referential identification

anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. We have nothing in the fridge. Let's go and see what we can get in the café ."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. The owner has just come back from Japan."
situational use	"What does the cheesecake cost?" <i>(here, in the café where we are)</i>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	" The sun is shining brightly." "I am never bored with the Italian cuisine "

After Hawkins (1978), Lyons (1999) and Himmelmann (1997, 1998, 2001)

Cf. also Givón's (2001: 459-465) types of mental structures for grounding referents



Strategies for referential identification

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larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	" The sun is shining brightly." "I am never bored with the Italian cuisine "

Referents not explicitly present in previous discourse / speech situation ⇒

No DEMONSTRATIVES are used!



Newborn articles – the case of Hungarian

First half of the Late Old Hungarian period



Proto-Hungarian		1000 BC – 896 AD	no written documents
Old Hungarian	Early Old Hungarian	896 – 1370	sporadic records, glosses, 4 short texts (from ca.1195)
	Late Old Hungarian	1370 – 1526	mainly codices; religious literature
Middle Hungarian		1526 – 1772	book printing; secular genres

Newborn articles – the case of Hungarian

DEM *az* > DEF.ART *az*

Diagnostics: *larger situation use* and *associative-anaphoric use*

(cf. Hawkins 1978: Ch.3. Sec.3; Himmelmann 1997: §3.1; Himmelmann 1998: 322-323
Himmelmann 2001: 833-834; see also Egedi 2013 for further examples)

The determiner *az* in **associative-anaphoric contexts** in OH:

(1) Janus nevw paraszt: ky zantuala ew mezeyben (...)
Janus named peasant who was.plowing he field.POSS.PL.INE

elmene az mezewre hollott **az ewkrewkewt** hattauala
went 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 a3 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 ∅ 3olga-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 \emptyset kener-ek-re
this bread-PL-SUB
'onto **these breads**' (Jókai C. 76)



Munich Codex

- ◆ in possessive constructions:

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

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

The Old Hungarian grammar of referential identification

Absence of article in definite contexts:

- ◆ with inherently unique nouns
- ◆ noun phrases with generic reading

referents identified independently of the direct context

⇒ *semantic* uniqueness

- ◆ with demonstratives
- ◆ with an overt possessor expression

referents identified by *other morphosyntactic devices*

Proposal

- the article first appeared to encode *pragmatic* definiteness
- the article must only appear, if definiteness has not been encoded otherwise

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>

Löbner (2011): marking congruent definiteness is semantically redundant
 ⇒ an asymmetry may develop in the grammatical encoding of semantic and pragmatic uniqueness

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅

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

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Old Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	ART

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Old and Middle Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B	Stage I/C
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM+ ART / ART
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART	POSS+ ART / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM+ ART / ART
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	ART	ART

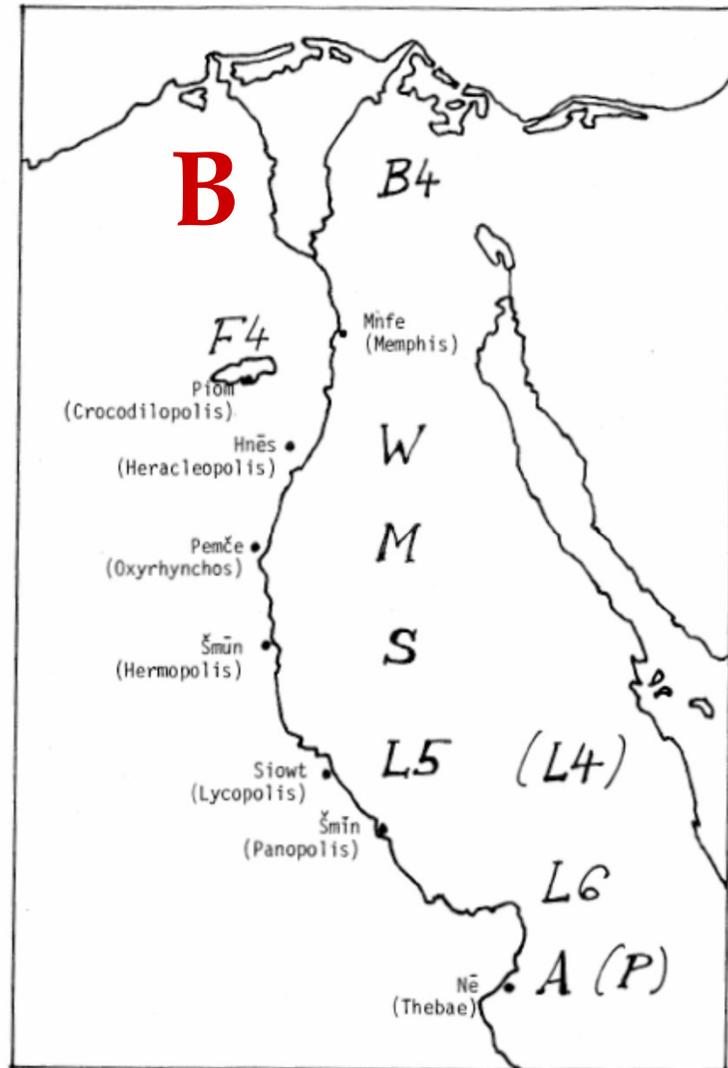
Evidence from other languages

Newborn articles to encode pragmatic definiteness

- ◆ Czardybon (2012): Upper Silesian dialect of Polish
- ◆ Breu (2004) and Scholze (2012):
Colloquial Upper Sorbian (Slavic dialect)

Any more case studies...?

Double article systems – Coptic



- ← COPTIC: last stage of Egyptian (Afroasiatic)
- ← Dialects between the 4th and 6th centuries (After Funk 1988: 182)

B = Bohairic: two series of articles



	SG.M	SG.F	PL
'weak' article	π- / φ-	τ- / θ-	ΝΕΝ-
'strong' article	ππ-	†-	ΝΙ-

	-U	+U
-R	sortal nouns	individual nouns
+R	relational nouns	functional nouns

Double article systems

Two sets of articles in other languages, mainly German dialects (weak vs. strong, full vs. reduced)

- ◆ Ebert (1971): the Frisian dialect of Fering
- ◆ Himmelmann (1997): with further literature on Rhineland dialects
- ◆ Schroeder (2006): Low German dialects of the North Sea region
- ◆ Schwarz (2009): Standard German PPs and minor dialects
- ◆ Studler (2011): Swiss German
- ◆ Unrelated languages, e.g. Hausa and Lakhota, cf. Lyons (1999: 53-54)

Simple marking vs. double marking

- ◆ Simple vs. double marking in Scandinavian languages → a shift in distribution
- ◆ *Exception*: Danish dialects in Jutland (Schroeder 2006: 562, after Ebert 1971: 194)
- ◆ Faarlund (2009) on the history of definiteness marking in Scandinavian:
Old Norse DP

Double article systems...

Schwarz's (2009) dissertation on contracted vs. non-contracted forms in Standard German PPs

- ◆ Strong articles in anaphoric contexts
- ◆ Weak articles with larger situational *and* situational uniqueness

Definiteness marking in Old Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART ?	DEM / ART !
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	ART



Double article systems...

Schwarz (2009) on contracted vs. non-contracted forms in Standard German PPs

- ◆ Associative-anaphoric contexts are not uniform: different types of bridging influence the choice between the articles
→ part-whole bridging relationship requires the weak article

(6) We found the church in the middle of the village. **The** tower was a little crooked.

ART_{weak}



(7) The play displeased the critic so much that he tore **the** author to pieces in his review.

ART_{strong}



Double article systems...

- ◆ Associative-anaphoric contexts are not uniform...

Definiteness marking in Old Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A/1	Stage I/A/2	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
associative-anaphoric use (general relationship)	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART	POSS / ART
associative-anaphoric use (part-whole)	POSS	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART??	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	∅	ART

Stage I/A/2 = Stage I/B ?

Px-determination in Uralic languages

Referential anchoring by the non-possessive use of possessive personal affixes

- ◆ Uralic languages in general have no definite article
- ◆ The Hungarian definite article is the result of an internal development
- ◆ Other exceptions: Mordvin definite vs. indefinite declension (Zaicz 1998: 191-193) and a currently emerging article in colloquial Finnish (Laury 1997)

The non-possessive use of possessive affixes (**Px-determination**) in many Uralic languages (Khanty, Mansi, Udmurt, Komi, Mari; Samoyedic languages)

- ◆ mainly 3SG (but also 2SG)
- ◆ function: \approx definite article (cf. *inter alia* Collinder 1960: 203-204, §616; Künnap 2004)
- ◆ a feature already present in Proto-Uralic (Décsy 1990: 81)

Analyses: identifiability, associativity, relational affix

(Fraurud 2001; Nikolaeva 2003; Schroeder 2006; Gerland 2014)

NB. the distribution of non-possessive Px-s is not identical in the individual languages (Simonenko 2014)

- (8) Guždor vylin turyn-ez čeber [Udmurt]
 field on grass-3SG beautiful
 'In the field, the grass is beautiful.'
 (if the referent is available for direct sensory perception, Nikolaeva 2003(6b))

Strategies for referential identification (4 > 5)

anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. We have nothing in the fridge. Let's go and see what we can get in the café ."
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situational use	"What does the cheesecake cost?" <i>(here, in the café where we are)</i>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	" The sun is shining brightly." "I am never bored with the Italian cuisine "
associative-situational use	"How is the dog ?" (addressee's dog is meant) "Where is the remote control ?" (TV in room)

Strategies for referential identification

→ Associative contexts are natural for Uralic Px

anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. We have nothing in the fridge. Let's go and see what we can get in the café ."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. " The owner has just come back from Japan."
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associative-situational use	"How is the dog ?" (addressee's dog is meant) "Where is the remote control ?" (TV in room)

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Uralic languages

	Stage 0	Stage I/A (Khanty)	Stage I/B (Komi)
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / POSS	DEM / POSS
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS	POSS
situational use	DEM	DEM	DEM / POSS
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	POSS
associative-situational use	POSS	POSS	POSS



Associative-situational uses are not uniform...

Px (or other POSS) in associative-situational contexts in L_{+ART}

1st,2nd persons > 3rd person

3rd person (part-whole) > 3rd person (general relationship)

- (9) Where is the (/✓its) power button? [TV in room]
 (10) Where is the (/?its) owner? [in a restaurant]
 (11) Will you give me please the number of the (/ *its) painter?
 [visiting the neighbour's renewed kitchen]

	Stage 0	Sub-stage 1	Sub-stage 2	Sub-stage 3
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM / ART
associative-situational use (general relationship)	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART	ART
associative-situational use (part-whole)	POSS	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART
associative-situational use (1/2 persons)	POSS	POSS	POSS	POSS / ART

Testing...

Scene III

[Visual stimulus:
Living-room with a TV and other typical objects;
two women]



- W1: - Look, **the TV** is working again! It was repaired yesterday.
- W2: - Will you give me please the number of **the repairman**? My TV's been out of order for two weeks.
- W1: - Sure! I'll go to **the kitchen**, **the mobile** is on **the table**.
- W2: - Let me try **the TV** in the meantime. Where's **the power button**?
- W1: - **The remote control** is in **the drawer**.
- W2: - Why on earth did you put **the remote control** in **the drawer**??
- W1: - 'Cause **the dog** always steals it.
- W2: - You shouldn't let him in **the room** anyway! Where's **the dog** now?
- W1: - He's playing with **the neighbor kid** in **the garden**. I'll call them in, if you want to have a look at **the dog**. We can also give some cookies to **the boy**.

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