

SLE Zürich

Workshop on Definiteness, possessivity, and exhaustivity

Formalizing synchronic and diachronic connections

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# The fifth element

The associative-situational use in referential marking

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# Introduction

## Aims and claims

- ◆ to explore how the grammar of definiteness may typically change
- ◆ to argue that the comparison between Uralic possessive suffixes in non-possessive uses (Px-determination) and the use of definite articles is valid in a sense
- ◆ to propose that the grammaticalization of Px-determination shows a reversed order wrt. the grammaticalization of definite articles
- ◆ within the new model, to introduce a new component into the study of the grammatical marking of referential identification

## Perspectives, testing and new results to come...

### Nominal Structures in Uralic Languages (NKFI 125206)

Host: **Research Institute for Linguistics**, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Research period: September **2017** – August **2021**

Based on combined data mining from **corpora** and **fieldwork**

Languages in focus: Khanty, Udmurt, Tundra Nenets



## 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 <b>the café</b> ."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. " <b>The owner</b> has just come back from Japan."
situational use	"What does <b>the cheesecake</b> cost?" <i>(here, in the café where we are)</i>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	" <b>The sun</b> is shining brightly." "I am never bored with <b>the Italian cuisine</b> "

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

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

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

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

Referents not explicitly present  
in previous discourse / speech  
situation ⇒

**No DEMONSTRATIVES are used!**

# The definite article-cycle

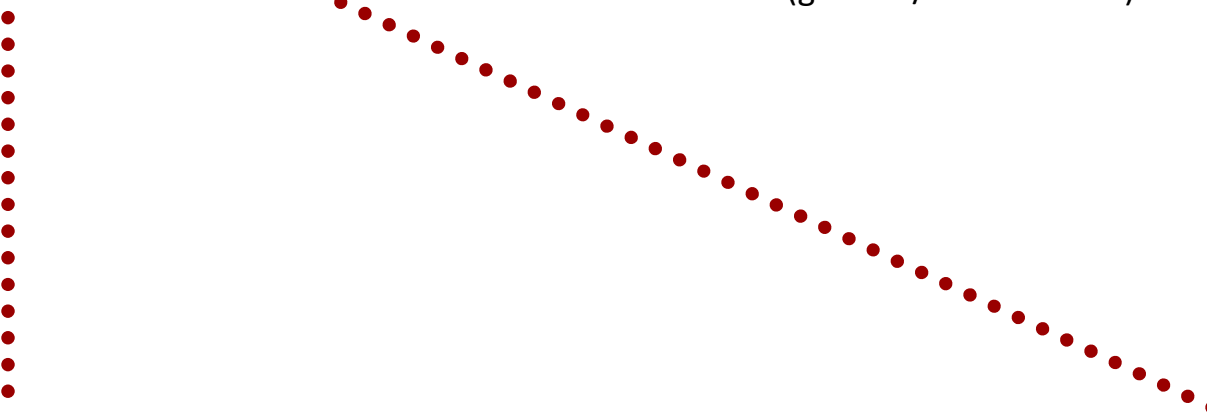
The grammaticalization path of definite articles (Greenberg 1978)

**Stage 0** >  
DEMONSTRATIVE

**Stage I.** >  
**DEFINITE ARTICLE**

**Stage II.** >  
SPECIFIC ARTICLE

**Stage III.**  
NOUN MARKER  
(gender / class marker)





# 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)
	<b>Late Old Hungarian</b>	1370 – 1526	mainly codices; religious literature
Middle Hungarian		1526 – 1772	book printing; secular genres

# 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

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

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





## 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 / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
situational use	DEM	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	<b>ART</b>	<b>ART</b>

## 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 / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
situational use	DEM	DEM / <b>ART?</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM+ <b>ART</b> / <b>ART</b>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	<b>ART</b>	<b>ART</b>

## Double article systems

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

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

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

ART<sub>weak</sub> 

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

ART<sub>strong</sub> 

[Examples cited from Schwarz (2009), but only English translations given]

## 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 / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>
associative-anaphoric use (general relationship)	POSS	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS / <b>ART</b>
associative-anaphoric use (part-whole)	POSS	POSS	POSS / <b>ART</b>	POSS / <b>ART</b>
situational use	DEM	DEM / <b>ART??</b>	DEM / <b>ART(?)</b>	DEM / <b>ART!</b>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	∅	<b>ART</b>

## 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



Grammaticalization path of the definite article: **deixis** > **identifiability**

anaphoric use > associative-anaphoric use

situational use > larger situational use

# Px-determination - previous analyses

## The non-possessive use of possessive suffixes

- ◆ Also referred to as:
  - extended use (Fraurud 2001)
  - non-personal definite function (Künnap 2004)
  - non-prototypical use (Janda 2015)
  - definiteness-marking function (Gerland 2014)
  
- ◆ in Uralic languages: Khanty, Mansi, Udmurt, Komi, Mari, Samoyedic languages (cf. *inter alia* Collinder 1960: 203-204, §616; Künnap 2004)
  
- ◆ A feature present in Proto-Uralic? (Janhunen 1981: 32; Décsy 1990: 81)

## Comprehensive studies

- ❑ Fraurud (2001), Nikolaeva (2003), Schroeder (2006), Gerland (2014), Simonenko (2014)
  - Central notions: *identifiability* and *associativity*, (+ aspects of information structure, cf. Janda 2015, Zayzon 2015)
  - the extended use of Px does not correspond to the process of grammaticalization of definite articles

## Recent results based on fieldwork or corpus-studies:

- ❑ Zayzon (2015) for Nganasan
- ❑ Janda (2015) for Northern Mansi (only considers anaphoric contexts)
- ❑ Budzisch (2016) for Southern and Central Selkup



# Px-determination

## *Problems*

- the distribution of Px-determination is not identical in the individual languages (cf. Simonenko 2014, Gerland 2014: 271)
- contradictions in the literature, wrt
  - concrete uses in a given context
  - inconsistency in selecting the relevant contexts
  - examples often cited without contexts ( $\Rightarrow$  ambiguity)

## *(Some of the) new questions*

- How is referential identification encoded in Uralic languages and what part, if any, do possessive suffixes have in it?
- What does the extended use of Px mean?

## Strategies for referential identification (4 > 5)

Proposal for an extended version of the model

The fifth context: **associative-anaphoric use**

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 <b>the café</b> ."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's <i>a new café</i> in our street. " <b>The owner</b> has just come back from Japan."
situational use	"What does <b>the cheesecake</b> cost?" <i>(here, in the café where we are)</i>
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	" <b>The sun</b> is shining brightly." "I am never bored with <b>the Italian cuisine</b> "
<b>associative-situational use</b>	"How is <b>the dog</b> ?" (addressee's dog is meant) "Where is <b>the remote control</b> ?" (TV in room)

## Associative-situational contexts are not uniform

*associative-situational* context (1st/2nd person)

➤ association made with one of the interlocutors

(1) 'How is **the** / **your** / (**\*that**) dog?'



	L <sub>+ART</sub>	L <sub>-ART</sub>
DEM	*	*
ART	✓	—
POSS	✓	✓

## Associative-situational contexts are not uniform

*associative-situational* context (3rd person)

➤ association made with an entity different from the interlocutors

(2) 'Where did you put **the** / **its** / (**\*that**) remote control?'

(3) 'Will you give me please the number of **the** / (**\*its**) / (**\*that**) painter?'

[looking around in the renewed flat]



	L <sub>+ART</sub>	L <sub>-ART</sub>
DEM	*	*
ART	✓	—
POSS	✓/*	✓

# I. Associative uses

Px-determination is *not* extended or non-prototypical in associative-anaphoric and associative-situational contexts

*associative-situational* context (1st/2nd person)

➤ association made with one of the interlocutors

(Udmurt, É. Kiss - Tánczos ms. ex. 23)

- (4) Otyñ koške n'i avtobus-ed  
there go.PRES.3SG already autobus-**2SG**  
'Your bus is already going there.'

(Northern Khanty Nikolaeva 1999: 83, ex. 213d)

- (5) tam xu:j-e:m xal'sa joxt-ə-s?  
this man-**1SG** where come-EP-PAST.3SG  
'Where did this man (lit. my man) come from (to me)?'

# I. Associative uses

*associative-situational* context (3rd person)

➤ association made with an entity different from the interlocutors

(Udmurt, Nikolaeva 2003, ex. 6b)

(6) Guždor vylin turyn-ez čeber  
field on grass-**3SG** beautiful

'In the field, the grass is beautiful.'

(if the referent is available for direct sensory perception)

**Special case:** time expressions

Nikolaeva (2003) discussing them under "identifiability based on deixis and situational uniqueness"

(Udmurt, É. Kiss - Tánczos ms. ex.22a)

(7) čukna-jez tunne kežyt val  
morning-**3SG** today cold was  
'The morning today was cold.'



## II. Beyond associativity

*Extended use:* Px for referential identification **in non-associative contexts**

- Direct anaphoric contexts
- Larger situational contexts
- Immediate situational contexts

### Direct anaphoric use

(Komi, Southern Permyak dialect, Fraurud 2001: 252 (8) after Rédei 1978: 474)

- (8) et-piriś sećće woktis ruć. rućis čig.  
once then came fox fox-**3SG** hungry  
'Once a/the fox came that way. The fox was hungry.'

(Selkup, Nikolaeva 2003, ex.10, after Kuznecova et al. 1980: 187)

- (9) Qoltyt qanyqqyn anty totta, anty-ty lapykɔ:l ε:ŋa.  
river bank.on boat stands boat-**3SG** oar.without is  
'A boat stands on the riverbank, the boat doesn't have an oar.'

## II. Beyond associativity

### Larger situational use

(Nganasan, Gerland 2014: 271, after Wagner-Nagy 2002: 156)

- (10) məu-δu    śürü            ŋil'ənu    čiməə  
earth-3SG   snow-GEN   under   hidden.PTPASS.3SG  
'The earth is covered with snow.'

(Southern Selkup, Vasjugan, Budzisch 2015: 47, ex.10)

- (11) tjele-di    kwed-i-mba  
sun-3SG    shine-EP-HAB.3SG  
'The sun is shining.'

## II. Beyond associativity

### Immediate situational use

(12) 'Look at the / that / (\*its, \*your) blackbird!'



	L <sub>+ART</sub>	L <sub>-ART</sub>
DEM	✓	✓
ART	✓	—
POSS	*	✓

(Selkup, Upper Ket dialect, Budzisch 2016, ex. 12)

(13) It'e, mata-l nü-di!  
Itja door-**2SG** open-IMP.2SG  
'Itja, open the door!'

## II. Beyond associativity

### Immediate situational use

(Northern Khanty, Nikolaeva 1999: 84, ex.215, Nikolaeva 2003)

(14) wa:nt-a      tam masina:j-e:n      je:wra      man-ə-s?  
look-IMP.2SG    this    car-**2SG**                    aside      go-EP-PAST.3SG

'Look, that car (lit. your car) went aside'

[NB. If the addressee had no relation to the car previously.]

(Nenets, Nikolaeva 2014: 69, ex.25b)

(15) t'ukona      sira-da      wər-cawey°  
here            snow-**3SG**    dirt-PROP

'Here the snow is dirty.'

**Px in *non-associative* contexts**  
**- based on literature**


	Mari	Udmurt	Komi	Khanty	Mansi	Nenets	Nganasan	Selkup
Anaphoric	+/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Situational	-	+/-	+	+/-	+?	+	+	+
Larger situational	-	+/-	+	+/-	+?	+	+	+

+/- opinions vary in literature!

+? no example provided but generally alluded to, or not claimed explicitly, but presumable based on some examples.

## Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Uralic languages

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



Grammaticalization path of the Px-determination: **associativity** > **identifiability**

associative-anaphoric use > anaphoric use

*associative-situational use* > situational use

> larger situational use



## Associative-situational uses are not uniform...

Px (or other POSS) in associative-situational contexts in L<sub>+ART</sub>

1st,2nd persons > 3rd person

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

(16) How is the (/✓ your) dog? [addressee's dog]

(17) Where is the (/✓ its) power button? [TV in room]

(18) Where is the (/ ?its) owner? [in a restaurant...]

(19) 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 / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>	DEM / <b>ART</b>
associative-situational use (general relationship)	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b> / <b>ART</b>	<b>POSS</b> / <b>ART</b>	<b>ART</b>
associative-situational use (part-whole)	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b> / <b>ART</b>	<b>POSS</b> / <b>ART</b>
associative-situational use (1/2 persons)	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b>	<b>POSS</b> / <b>ART</b>

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## 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	<b>2.52</b>
Vienna Codex	after 1416 /c.1450	54423	2233	<b>4.10</b>
Guary Codex	1495	21714	1390	<b>6.40</b>
Könyvecse	1521	8745	623	<b>7.12</b>
Kazinczy Codex	1526-1541	20027	1437	<b>7.17</b>