

A diachronic typology of definite articles

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Introduction

Aims

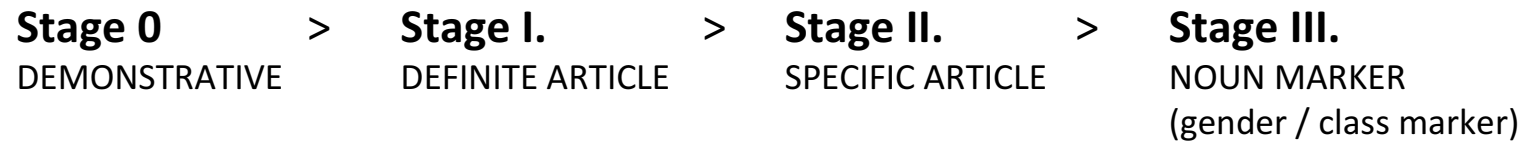
- ◆ To explore how different markings of referential identification correlate i.) with diachronic processes; ii.) with the functional split between articles in synchronic systems that make use of more than one determiner to encode simple definiteness
- ◆ To show that using synchronic data, observations, and generalizations wrt. double article systems may contribute to form new claims in diachronic typology

Proposals

- ◆ More stations can be recognized within the life of the grammaticalized Stage I article in Hungarian
- ◆ Marking pragmatic definiteness > marking semantic uniqueness

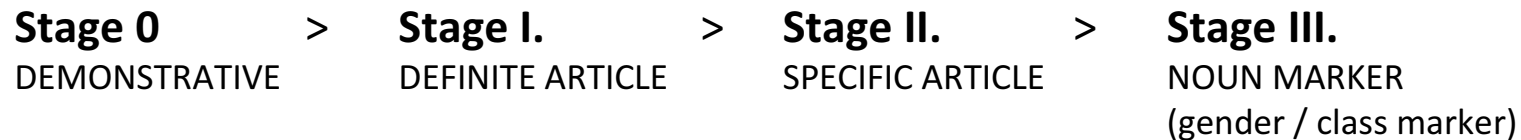
The definite article-cycle

The grammaticalization path of definite articles
(Greenberg 1978):



The definite article-cycle

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The grammatical encoding of definiteness may segment the semantic/pragmatic field *at different points* in different languages, and this semantic range may even change in time.
(Lyons 1999: 336-337)

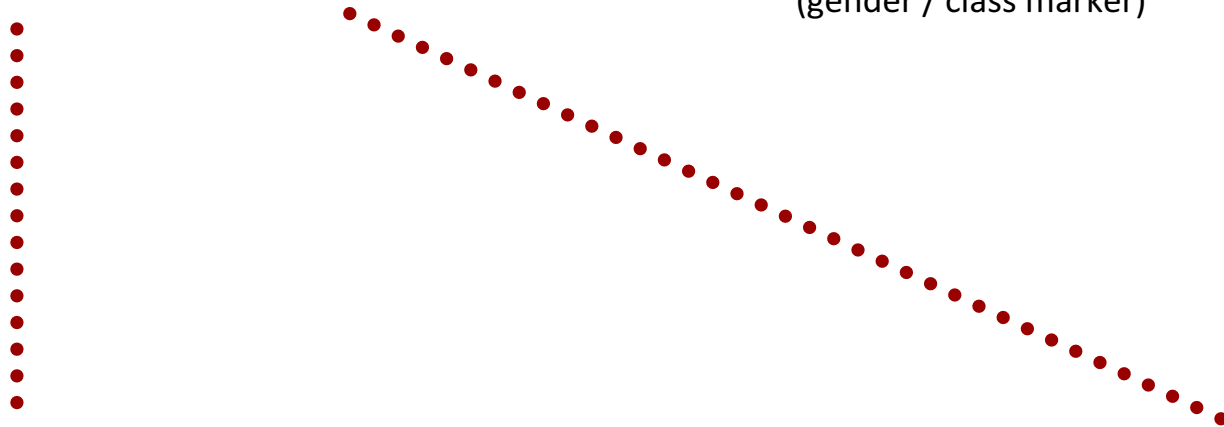
The definite article-cycle

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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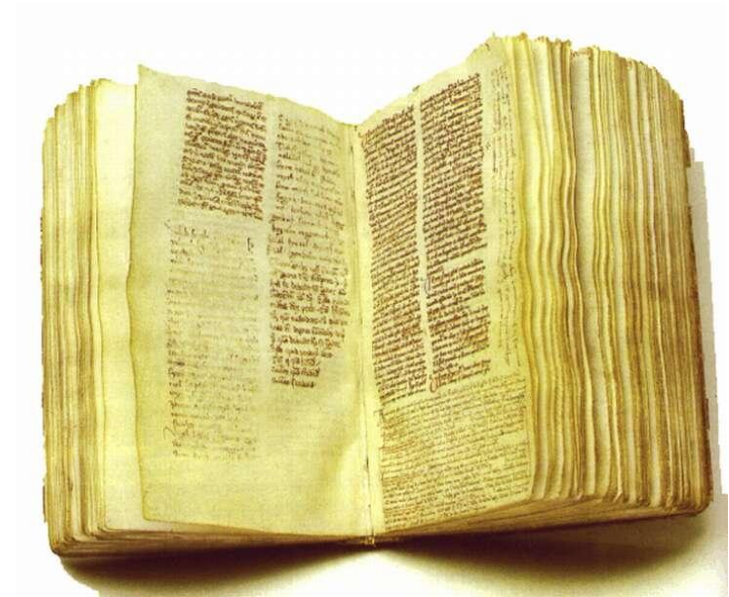
Referents not explicitly present in previous
discourse / speech situation ⇒

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 nevew 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 aʒ ido,-t fènki nē tugga
that day-ACC CONJ and that time-ACC nobody not knows

fem Ø mē-n^c angal-i fem Ø fiu hanēčac Ø 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 Ø taneituān-nac hog legen mikent o, mēfter-e,
enough disciple-DAT that be-SBJV like s/he master-POSS.3SG
es Ø 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 \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	sortal nouns <e,t> <i>stone, book, adjective, water, etc.</i>	individual nouns <e> <i>moon, weather, date, Maria, etc.</i>
+R	relational nouns <e,<e,t> <i>sister, leg, part, attribute, etc.</i>	functional nouns <e,e> <i>father, head, age, subject, etc.</i>

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

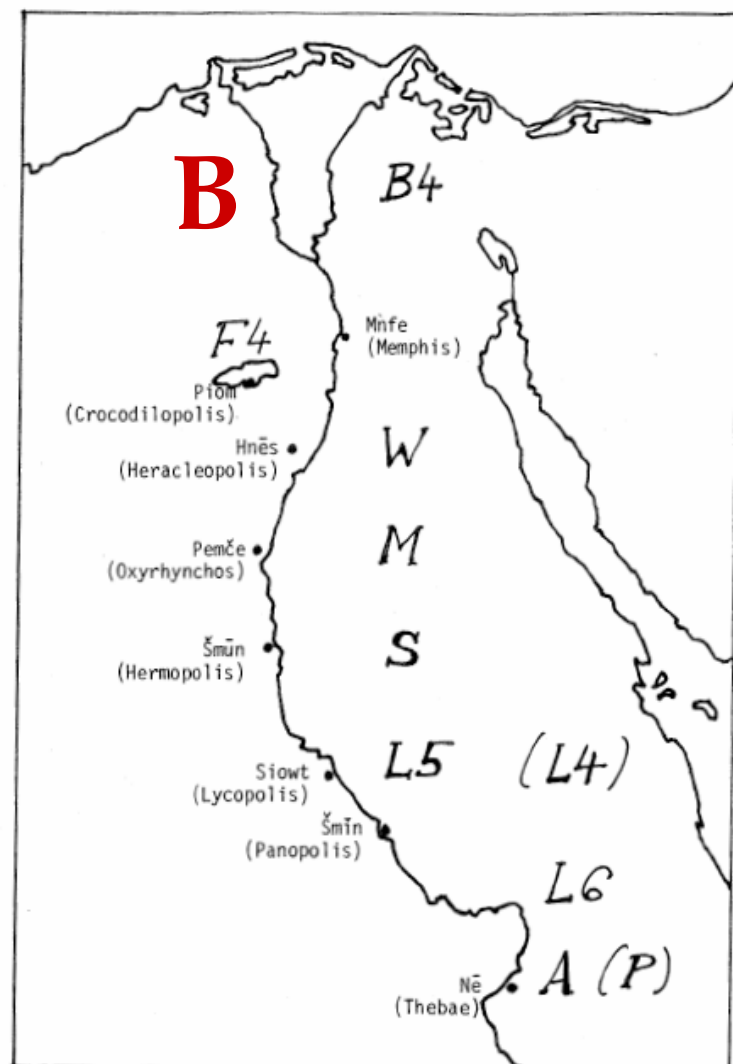
	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B	Stage I/C
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM+ ART / ART
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / ART	POSS / ART	POSS+ ART / ART
situational use	DEM	DEM / ART	DEM / ART	DEM+ ART / ART
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	ART	ART

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)

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	π-	†-	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)
- ◆ Cf. also the opposition between simple marking vs. double marking, e.g. Swedish (Lyons 1999: 327; Schroeder 2006: 564)

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

- ◆ Weak articles with larger situational *and* situational uniqueness
- ◆ Strong articles in anaphoric contexts
- ◆ Associative anaphoric contexts *are not uniform*

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



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) 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; Scroeder 2006; Gerland 2014)

NOTE: the distribution of non-possessive Px-s is not identical in the individual languages (Simonenko 2014) !

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Uralic languages

	Khanty	Komi
anaphoric use	DEM / POSS	DEM / POSS
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS
situational use	DEM	DEM / POSS
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	POSS

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