Anchoring reference with modifiers Once more about the Old Hungarian definite article and its regular absence Barbara Egedi Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Aims: The paper aims to revise a recent model proposed for referential marking in Old Hungarian and to explain a certain set of data that has been neither examined nor accounted for in an adequate manner. The absence of article will be explained in definite noun phrases in which referentiality is anchored by constituents that syntactically serve as modifiers.

Background and new observations: Earlier research (Egedi 2013, 2014) showed that by the time of the first half of the Late Old Hungarian period, the definite article had grammaticalized to systematically encode the definiteness of the noun phrase. However, this early article had a more restricted use than in the subsequent stages of the language: it was at first used to encode pragmatic uniqueness (thus absent with inherently unique nouns, or in noun phrases with a generic reading), and only appeared when referential identification was not encoded otherwise (by demonstratives or possessor expressions). It has also been claimed that the use of the article proportionally increased already within the Old Hungarian period, although on a different degree in the possible target contexts.

However, the article seems not to appear in further contexts where the noun phrase is definite and has some kind of modifier. This might be surprising considering that modification only narrows the denotation descriptively, but normally does not anchor the referent in discourse. The occasional resistance to the article in modified constructions has already been observed in descriptive literature (Imre 1953, S. Hámori 1998), but has not been adequately accounted for.

Proposal: First of all, I will show that the question must be addressed from two different aspects. One group of data can be easily explained based on the original model. It is either the semantic properties of the head noun (i.e. its inherently unique nature), or the generic reading of the noun phrase that is responsible for the absence of the article, independently of other, accompanying elements. Nevertheless, there is a group of data in which the absence of the article is in fact related to the properties of a phrase-internal modifier. These are typically locative adnominal modifiers (in terms of Rijkhoff 2001, 2002), which contribute to the identification of the referent by locating the head noun in a spatio-temporal dimension. In structural terms, such modifiers will appear as relational adjectives, postpositional phrases, or restrictive relative clauses in Hungarian. What is tricky in these examples is that a definite article at the left edge may just belong to the constituent *inside* the modifier expression. Such ambiguous cases, therefore, are not diagnostic. The sufficient test contexts must have an element to the left that is referential, but, at the same time, normally remain undetermined (e.g. inherently unique nouns, personal pronouns), or the modifier itself must follow the head noun in a linear order.

I propose that the definite article is regularly absent in the following cases:

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). Observe that the noun phrases are coordinated in (1), but the article is only missing in the third member.

(1) herodes (...) ton nag vačorat a fedèlmècnèc es a biracnac / Herodes made big supper the chieftain.PL.DAT and the judge.PL.DAT
es galileabèli oregbècnèc [Munich C 41rb] and Galilee.inside.ADJ elder.PL.DAT
'Herodes gave a great supper to the chieftains and the judges and the elder people of Galilee.' ii) with locative adnominal modifiers that appear in the form of a postpositional phrase. However, to avoid ambiguity, postpositional modifiers will only be considered in postnominal position (cf. Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992: 251-258; Hámori 1954, Honti & H. Varga 2012). The definiteness of the noun phrases in (2) is proven by the objective conjugation of the verb.

(2) hytett es zerelmett **zent fferenczben** el veztetteuala [Jókai C 51] faith and love saint Francis.INE VM has.lost 'he has lost the faith in and the love for Saint Francis.'

iii) with complex (clausal) modifiers: prenominal participles and postnominal, finite relative clauses. In (3), the noun phrase includes a participial modifier with a SG3 personal pronoun as its complement:

- (3) Haluan ke èzt i^c čudalkodec / es **otèt kouètoc**n^c monda [Munich C. 14ra] hearing PRT this Jesus was.amazed and him followers.DAT said 'When Jesus heard this, he was amazed and said to those following him.'
- (4) czudakert kyket zent fferenczrewl hallottuala miracle.PL.CAUS REL.PL.ACC Saint Francis.DEL has.heard 'for the miracles he heard about Saint Francis'

[Jókai C. 37]

To sum it up, the paper argues that the spreading of the Old Hungarian definite article was also delayed in contexts where the head noun had a complex adnominal modifier, containing either an already anchored element, or performing a reference establishing function (cf. restrictive relative clauses, in terms of Hawkins 1978: 130-138). Note, however, that the pattern is not arbitrary, since these modifiers have much more in common with demonstratives and possessives, than with qualifying or quantifying attributes.

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