

**Definiteness
as Semantic Content and
its Realization in Grammatical Form**

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VALÉRIA M. KORCHMÁROS

DEFINITENESS
AS SEMANTIC CONTENT AND
ITS REALIZATION
IN GRAMMATICAL FORM

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INTRODUCTION

By determining our theme we meet the first difficulty of dealing with the problem of definiteness: what do we mean by the term *definiteness*. The meaning of this terminology causes problems and needs explanations in Hungarian — its numerous particularities connected with definiteness impelled me to study the question more intensively — in which we have only one accepted term: *határozottság* 'definiteness, determination'. Quite else is denoted with it depending on whether it is the object or the subject of the sentence which is qualified as "*határozott*, 'definite'", and it is not certain at all that the head of a subordinate construction is "*határozott*, 'definite'" even if it is preceded by a "*meghatározó*", 'determiner'. — To choose the right terminology needs explanations: in English, too, in which *definiteness* and *determinedness*, often used as synonyms are rivals to each other even as basically used terms, — not mentioning the particular formation of terminologies that emphasizes a certain aspect of the phenomenon studied. (Collinson 1937.)

We prefer the expression *definiteness*, as we wish to examine above all the grammatical nature of definiteness, the most apparent signs of which in a great number of languages are the definite — and indefinite — articles constituting a distinct word class.

We have to preclude the possibility of using the term *determinedness* also for the reason of its close connection with the conception of "determination" interpreted similarly in several ways. Modern approach to this subject discovers "determination" as a process during which a noun is determined by one of the items of the word class called *determinatives* (Krámský 1972, 44.) or *determiners* (Stephanides 1974, 3pp.) id est we make up a nominal construction including this special defining element in it. According to the determiner's

definiteness or indefiniteness determination is duplex, too. Further we use *determinedness* to denote the state of nouns into which they get through any "determination" mentioned above.

We emphasize the difference between *determinedness* and *definiteness* to make it clear — as it will be discovered further on — that, in our opinion, articles may not be identified with the items of the word class called *determiners*, even less can they be ranged among any of the subgroups of the word class of *adjectives*. (Stephanides after Bloomfield holds a somewhat different opinion about it.)

* * *

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THE FUNCTION OF THE ARTICLES

1. As it is the article that expresses definiteness most clearly, it was obvious that after discovering the function of articles scientists considered the problems of the nature of definiteness as solved. The function of articles in speech was studied by ancient grammarians, too, on the basis of Ancient Greek. Dionysios Thrax approached the function of articles (τὸ ἄρθρον) through comparison between the expressions with articles and the expressions without articles. Later on, in languages in which other types of articles also developed, the comparison of various expressions constructed by the aid of different articles seemed to be a suitable working method.

The fact that articles had been considered for a long time as the only possibility to express definiteness led to misconclusions in two ways. On the one hand, some scientists regarded the languages that have no articles in their structure as unable to express any subtle differences in meaning such as definiteness; these languages are consequently called primitive; on the other hand, as in different languages articles considering their form and function show many features that are characteristic only of the language in question, the differences in judging both the general function of articles and the essence of definiteness resulted in contradictions. Today, luckily, it is clear that to establish a hierarchy among the grammars of languages according to their state of development is impossible. To prove the various functions the articles are able to fulfil even within one language and their highly different usage in certain languages, let us examine more closely the well-known and most generally used definite article.

1.1. Semantically, the definite article has the possibility either to concretize:

The cat stole the sausage!

or to generalize the meaning of the noun actualized by it:

The cat is an animal.

Its use for concretizing the meaning can be justified either by the common knowledge deriving from the situation (e. g. we say at a well-laid table:)

Pass the salt, please!

or by the context — if you like "the second mentioning" (Moravcsik 1969, 65.):

Two children are bathing in the river: a boy and a girl. The boy may be six, the girl is younger, —

or by the common knowledge shaped by preliminaries that are completely independent of the given speech situation:

The Party determined the next tasks.

Our examples show these contradictory semantical functions of articles, the differently oriented heterogeneous nature of references within one language, and if this language were not English but Hungarian or German, we should see the article in them varied to the same extent. — Language comparison also reveals that in some languages articles are used in the same semantical position in which their usage is considered unnecessary in other languages. In English, for example, we don't use the definite article with proper names, as their definiteness is evident. In Italian, however, — for the same reason of the palpability of definiteness — articles are used to emphasize definiteness not only in familiar usage (as it is characteristic of the Hungarian language, too: "*Megjött a Janosi!*"), but also when naming widely-known personages: *il Sforza, il Dante.*

1.2. The function of the definite article as a grammatical auxiliary lexeme may be even more heterogeneous grammatically.

1.2.1. The system of grammatical relations that forms the basis of our next section was worked out by László Deme in his book entitled "A beszéd és a nyelv" ('Speech and Language' Budapest, 1976). Deme postulates the fact that "the world [...] is the system of existing substances [...]" in which "the elements and items of reality are in different *r e l a t i o n s* with one another. These relations are, of course, comprehended by our mind; thus the development of those elements, devices and procedures that help to express the relations of things was inevitable in the instrument of our speaking: in the language. The relations they denote are, of course, not real, but *g r a m m a t i c a l o n e s*; they are neither independent of those of reality nor are they identical with them (37-8. spaced letters are after the original).

Devices and procedures for expressing relations are needed, on the one hand, when we have to insert in a sentence with a descriptive force new sentence elements reflecting new circumstances that cannot be sufficiently expressed by an independent part of speech (e. g. we are going to express an adverbial phrase or an object with a noun originally suitable for the expression of the subject), on the other hand, when "those moments are beginning to manifest themselves which have no direct references to reality but characterize the speaker's (objective) relation or (subjective) relationship to it" (38).

Relative meanings can be expressed in different languages — and even within one language — in several ways. The most important and most frequent ways in the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages are the following:

1. By analytical method, i. e. by means of a formally independent morpheme (= auxiliary lexeme):

by John; with you;



2. By synthetical method, by the use of affixes accessory both in their form and meaning:

note — notes — noted;

3. By the use of inflections, i. e. by means of alternatives of the basic lexeme that are engaged to fulfil certain functions:

write — wrote;

4. Without any formal means, by the aid of positional rules;

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Predicate</u>	<u>Indirect object</u>	<u>Direct object</u>
Jack	gave	Kate	a little dog.
The little dog	was afraid.		
Kate	gave	the little dog	a lump of sugar.
The little dog	ate	∅	the sugar.

The relations realized by different methods may operate on various functional planes according to the nature of relation expressed in them by linguistic forms.

1/ If the lexeme marked with a device or procedure of relation goes over as a result to function as a new sentence element, the grammatical means used belong to the relative plane. Such are the changes of Latin and Russian nouns in declension, the prepositions, the postpositions, and the suffixes of the Hungarian adverbial changes.

2/ In Indo-European languages, however, adjectives are declined not with the purpose to fulfil their attributive function in the sentence, but according to what part of the sentence they qualify; adjectives are declined not with the purpose but as a consequence of fulfilling their function in the sentence. The device or procedure marking relation in this case operates on the congruative plane, and its aim is to make the lexeme agree with the glosseme which it refers to. Conjugation that serves the agreement of verbs with the subject has a similar function.

3/ The expression of the mood and tense of verbs is also a relating procedure but they do not denote the function of certain glossemes within the sentence; they point out of the sentence construction: they inform us "about factual or actual

(timely) moments connected with the speaker or speech" (43). They belong therefore to the `in f o r m a t i v e` `p l a n e`. The mood of verbs shows (thus in the main sentence basically) the speaker's attitude to the moment of reality described in the sentence: whether he considers the relation indicated between the subject and the predicate actually existing (indicative), desirable (imperative), probable (potential), as a reality dependig on condition, or as an irreality (conditional moods). In comparison to the moment of speech the speaker's subjectivity is reflected also in the tense of the verb; the use of the appropriate tense reflecting time relations among the events described is motivated, however, by objective circumstances. — The plural of nouns also informs us about objective relations that are independent of the speaker.

The most important common feature of all means of informative plane is the fact that they do not determine by themselves which part of sentence the basic word marked by them belongs to

4/ The devices and procedures marking relations either on the relative, congruative or informative plane have no influence upon the part-of-speech value of the basic lexeme, on the contrary: the certain means are specifically characteristic of the nature of the basic word as a part-of-speech. The fact that we should place the semantic content expressed by the basic word into the sentence in a function that is basically unfamiliar with the part-of-speech the basic word belongs to, occurs frequently: e. g. when verbal meaning appears as subject, object, adverbial phrase or attribute in the sentence. Verbs, however, as parts of speech that have the original verbal meaning, are unsuitable for any other function in the sentence but for a predicative one. In order to use them in a different function we have to alter their part-of-speech value in a way that their basic meaning should remain unchanged. Those devices and procedures that form such means out of the basic word the grammatical features of which fit differently into the sentence operate on the `m u t a t i v e` `p l a n e`. Their most pregnant representatives are the suffixes of participles.

It is characteristic of all the four above mentioned types of grammatical relation that their formal means appear only in the glosseme constructed properly for fitting into a sentence: either because they denote the quality of the sentence element, or because they carry the additional information that is prevalent only at the actual use of the lexeme. (The procedure expressing relation by the positional rule is feasible, of course, only in the sentence.) The morphemes operating on these planes have only the value of denoting grammatical relations. That is why László Deme calls them *g r a m m e m e s*. In such a way he draws a sharp line between the grammemes and another group of relation-denoting morphemes that do not function on the level of usage, in the sentence, but on that of the word-stock: by forming new lexemes they take part in increasing the number of lexemes. They are called *f o r m e m e s* that, unlike grammemes, modify the meaning of the basic word, either they alter its part-of-speech value or not. E. g.:

lexeme + grammeme — in Hungarian:

érez (verb) → *érez + t + e* (basic word + Past tense + Vx3Sg)
érez + ni (basic word + infinitive ending)
érez + ve (basic word + gerund ending)
érs + ő (basic word + participle ending)

in English:

feel (verb) → *feel + e* (basic word + Vx3Sg)
feel + ing (basic word + gerund ending)

lexeme + formeme — in Hungarian:

érez 'feel' → *érs + ékeny* 'sensitive'
érez + tet 'make feel'
érs + et 'sensation'

in English

feel → *feel + er* 'organ of touch in certain animals'
feel + ing 'emotion'

1.2.2. If we compare the possibilities of the use of the definite article with the requirements of the certain functional planes we learn the following:

In some cases, the only proof of the changed case of the noun seems to be the article and it becomes therefore a standby on the relative plane of grammatical relations.

E. g. in German: nominative — *der* Mann,
accusative — *den* Mann,
dative — *dem* Mann.

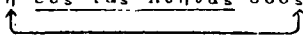
In such cases articles can be used with proper names in German, too: *der* Tod *des* Sokrates. — Every other words used as nouns are declined by the aid of articles in Rumanian, too. (Ádám—Balázs, 1962, 61.)

In close connection with its previous function, the article may influence the realization of the attributive congruence. It is a well-known fact that in German the usage of the strong and weak adjectival declensions depends on the presence or absence of the article. — Articles may be instrumental in denoting the gender and in governing the agreement between adjectives and nouns based on gender even in languages in which the different types of nominal declensions are separated by their endings, generally. In Italian: regularly *il* ottimo amico ~ *la* ottima amica

but *il* noto cantante ~ *la* nota cantante.

The fact that the nouns ending in *-a* are of feminine gender, and the nouns ending in *-o* are of masculine gender seems to be generally accepted in Spanish, and yet: *el* hermoso día but *la* hermosa mano; only the article indicates the gender of nouns ending in *-e*: *el* chocolate ~ *la* parte.

Congruence may also be substituted by the article if it makes the word, otherwise undeclinable, suit the noun, thus strengthening the unity of the word construction. Several examples of it are found in Ancient Greek, e.g.: $\eta \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\varsigma \Lambda\theta\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma \delta\delta\acute{o}\varsigma.$



In languages in which the gender of nouns is denoted by articles it is very frequent that the plural of nouns is expressed only by the forms of the article — but it is always shown in the form of the article. In such cases, the article as the only exponent of the relation of plurality becomes a morphological device on the informative functional plane. In German: *das* Feuer ~ *die* Feuer; in Italian: *il* lapis ~ *i* lapis, *la* città ~ *le* città; in Spanish: *el* cactus ~ *los* cactus, *la* tesis. ~ *las* tesis.

In French a distinction between the singular and plural of nouns is made in writing, but in speech they are distinguished, in most cases, only by the articles.

At last, articles may also fulfil a function similar to word formation when, as means of occasional conversion they are used to form nouns. According to the grammatical rules of the Rumanian language, for example, any part-of-speech may fulfil a nominal function when used with an article. This method of noun formation may indicate different characteristics according to the inner structure and partial systems of certain languages.

Obviously, the English definite article functions on the *l e x i c a l* plane, because the presence of the article may be a criterion of the nominal quality of the word when we try to distinguish the polysemantic and formally identical words that are used both in verbal and nominal meaning:

Take *the lead* - *Lead* the way.

Similarly the change *leben* - *das Leben** in German has a lexical value and quality, because, in both cases, together with the changed ability of the word to fit into the sentence (i.e. with its part-of-speech value) the quality of its complements also changes (part-of-speech character):

in English: *e a s i l y l e a d s o m e b o d y* — but:
to fight out the t h r e e t o o n e l e a d;

in German: *g l ü c k l i c h l e b e n* — but:
das g l ü c k l i c h e L e b e n;

in Hungarian: *M i n d e z t ő s z i n t é n s z d n o m - b d n o m* —
but: *U n a l m a s a s ő r ő k ő s s z d n o m - b d n o m.*

The article, here, has a function that is otherwise characteristic of *f o r m e m e s*.

Adjectives, nevertheless, become nouns in Hungarian and German more easily without such a radical change. Though they take over the substantival meaning of the omitted noun, they evoke in

* The capital letter of the noun is merely a convention in writing, registrating properly the grammatical conversion, in speech, however, it has no distinguishing role.

our mind the quality and attribute of this noun and refer to it only indirectly not by a change of their meaning but by modification of their denoting value. They operate one level higher in the sentence, fulfilling the function of the qualified word but their complements do not necessarily change, their part-of-speech character remains. Articles, in such cases, fulfil the function of grammemes operating on the *mutative* plane. In Hungarian: <Fruits arrived on an assembly line.> *A hibdsat kiválogatták, s csak a teljesen egészségesek kerültek ládába.* 'The damaged were picked out and only the entirely unhurt [ones(!)] were put into boxes.'

The reference of the quality to the thing carrying it is more obvious in languages in which articles show the difference in gender, e. g. in German: *Die Blonde* ist sympathisch *dem Braunen*. In this respect, the most significant is the Spanish language in which the neuter gender has lost its importance almost completely, the article occurs with a neuter gender exclusively in this mutative function when the adjective, numeral or pronoun is substantivized by means of abstraction (V. Macchi, 103.):

- lo bueno* — 'das Gute, the good thing'
- lo pasado* — 'the Past [Tense]'
- lo unico* — 'the only [thing we can do for ex.]'
- lo mio* — 'das Meinige, mine'.

2. The definite article is only one type of article, and although the above-mentioned phenomena have been exemplified both by prepositional and postpositional (in Rumanian) articles I could not say that I have exhausted the problematics of the function of articles by the above enumeration. Nevertheless, my aim was to suggest the wide range of possibilities the theme had. In every languages, the way of using the articles is closely connected with all the other partial systems of the language, its usage is dependent on them. Whichever of the above-mentioned functions is taken into consideration, in a changed semantical situation all of them can be fulfilled by other grammatical means (e. g. by a pronoun), many functions, however, must be excluded in certain lan-

guages (e. g. the declension of articles and their agreement with nouns in the Hungarian and English languages). We have not found among these functions that common thing that would be characteristic of all the articles and only the articles alone. There are long passages devoted to the function of articles in the grammars of certain languages but grammarians are reluctant to give any definition of the article in general. Krámský in 1972 could still validly quote Hodler's statement made in 1954 that "the investigation of articles is still in its beginnings" (29).

VIEWPOINTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF DEFINITENESS

The different usage of articles in certain languages may explain in itself the various interpretations of the term *definiteness*. Our topic can be approached not only from the point of view of form but also of content; and there can be other aspects of this set out as well.

The language conception based on logic had early stated that linguistic definiteness reflected the opposition of the *i n d i v i d u a l* and the *g e n e r a l*. Linguistics borrowed the concept and the term "determination" from logic, and since there is a close connection between the narrowing of the conceptual sphere by determinants and the possibilities of the usage of various articles playing a role in the linguistic formation, the expressions with definite and indefinite articles in certain steps of narrowing the conceptual sphere were considered as degrees of determination.

Individualization, however, proved to be insufficient in itself to explain definiteness from the point of view of the content. Language conception having the greater interest in psychology soon discovered that definiteness was inseparable from the criterion of "being known" that was referred to as *f a m i l i a r i t y*. It was Collinson who first noticed familiarity having different linguistic consequences according to the fact whether it was the

speaker's, the listener's or their common knowledge that had supported the statement.

There are often similarities between the articles and other linguistic means both semantically, morphologically and syntactically, moreover they may mutually preclude the possibility of each-other's usage, this is why many grammarians separate a special kind of word-group within the word class of adjectives and they assign the articles also to this word-group which is called by them "determiners". (E.g. L. Bloomfield 203-6.) There are pronouns, adjectives, numerals also ranged beside the articles among the members of this group, moreover, as being the equivalents of English possessive pronouns Hungarian possessive personal endings are also mentioned here (Stephanides *passim*); although in certain languages the set of the words that can be assigned to the group of "determiners" highly dependent on their morphological and syntactical nature. Bloomfield emphasizes that for example in Italian the possessive pronoun cannot be a "determiner", as it can be used to make up a construction quite differently from the English rules (205). In German, too, there are only few pronouns that are drawn together with the articles in a common group, — it is true, however, that they are collectively called "Artikel" (in Kallmeyer, 1974. 235).

The analysis of the content of definiteness and determinedness and the widening of grammatical means that are connected with definiteness made the study of expressing definiteness possible even in those languages in which there were no articles or any other defining expedient like, for example, the objective conjugation of verbs. The significance of definiteness in the functional sentence perspective was also discovered and after the first excesses its real place was determined (Jan Firbas, László Dezső), and important results were achieved both in the field of contrastive linguistics and that of teaching foreign languages (Összevető nyelvvizsgálat; Szerbhorvát-magyar kontrasztív nyelvtan; Al'ehina; Stephanides etc.).

Contextual grammar also pays increasing attention to the linguistic consequences of definiteness: as being the main source

of pronominalization and the completion of defectiveness in the sentence and a significant cohesive force it has an important role in the linguistic examinations that point out of the sentence (I. Bellert; U. Figge; in Hungarian: F. Kiefer; Cs. Pléh—K. Radics; L. Antal; K.É. Kiss etc.).

The category of definiteness is studied more deeply than the mere examination of its usage by Edith A. Moravcsik and Jiří Krámský. They both are interested in the variety of grammatical means connected with definiteness. Moravcsik collected them in 100 languages so as to determine their main characteristics; Krámský established the typology of the world's languages according to which means are used in them to express the fact of definiteness or indefiniteness. They contributed valuable statements on the problem of the discovery of the essence of the category of definiteness and the specific function of the article, but the theme has not been exhausted yet. Moravcsik who sees the essence of definiteness in the "second mentioning" and considers the sentences in which definiteness is based not on the content but on the situation as ungrammatical (65) leaves unsolved not only the problem of definiteness of sentences standing at the beginning of the text but also the indefinite quality of the possessed noun in certain languages (70). According to Krámský's conclusion the category of definiteness "is based on the opposition of the individual and the genus" and it is in close connection with the functional sentence perspective, and this definiteness "is *something more* than a mere determination (as it is in determinatives) and it need not be expressed by formal means only". (My italics.)

A more exact description of the nature of definiteness is not only necessary but possible as well. But the reader doesn't regard the other central issue of Krámský-monography as closed, namely the definition of the article. While, on the one hand, he sharply distinguishes the articles from the pronominal "determinatives", on the other hand, the differences are completely blurred between the articles and other devices of grammatical relations that are also important from the point of view of

definiteness, namely certain affixes. After the analysis of the use of different types of "articles" — prepositional or postpositional independent word, proclitic or enclitic article — comes the characterization of those languages in which the category of definiteness is expressed by nouns, adjectival flecional endings or verbal forms, then he deals with the definiteness expressed by intonation; after this division, he summarizes all the languages in which none of the means of definiteness mentioned earlier can be found, under the title of "Languages without Article". I.e.: if there is in a language, for example, objective conjugation or if the case-endings are attached to the noun or adjective on certain conditions connected with definiteness, then this language is not considered by him a "language without articles", or with other words, it also means that in the language in question the objective conjugation or the case-ending connected with definiteness may also be considered an article. With this, however, we obliterate the specific features of both of the definiteness and the article similarly to that if we had assigned it to "determinatives".

We need an exact description of the essence of definiteness, its function in communication and its reflection in the language not only in order to make the comparison and, in particular, the mastery of languages with different structure easier; there are numerous phenomena in the languages we can explain better if we have a right view of this problem. To neglect the significance of definiteness is a similar mistake to the overestimation of its function. Kiekaev for example presupposes in the Uralian basic language the existence of such definite variations of the root in which a *-p, or *-t would denote the definiteness of the noun or adjective. He considers his argument justified by the Hungarian noun suffixes with an adverbial meaning: *-ba ~ -be* ('to, into'); *-ban ~ -ben* ('in'); *-tól ~ -től* ('from'), nevertheless there are documents in the Hungarian linguistic history to prove the fact that they devel-

oped into suffixes from originally independent nouns through the phase of their being postpositions.

In the remaining part of my work I try to give a complex analysis of the meaning of *definiteness* from the point of view of content and form on the level of speech and language. I take my native language as my starting point and controlling principle, for there is an especially rich stock of means for expressing definiteness in it. I try to avoid, however, the generalization of such phenomena that are characteristic only of Hungarian, therefore I amplify my observations with the study of other languages.

THE NATURE OF THE CATEGORY OF DEFINITENESS

I think the reason why there are rather different opinions about the significance of definiteness, its universal quality and whether it belongs to the categories of language or it is an "aspect modification" is partly because of the difficulty the various forms and functional diversity of applicable linguistic phenomena imply. This diversity has already been surveyed more or less in the languages, nevertheless we have hardly any overall harmonic picture developing from these details, probably because, on the one hand, the viewpoints of the semantical and grammatical approach to the problem are blurred, on the other hand, definiteness of a language nature is rarely distinguished from actualization of a parole nature.

To precede the discussion whether definiteness is a grammatical, a semantical or perhaps a logical category, we have to make it clear that logical categories may not be the targets of examination for a grammarian, — he must not avoid, however, employing the accomplishments of logic as far as they are related to the way of objectivizing out thinking, i. e. to lingual moulding. — As far as the linguistic side is concerned, I consider definiteness as a semantical as well as grammatical category, but these two aspects are not necessarily congruent, their numerous points do not correspond to one another. Therefore we have to examine the phenomenon in these two important fields of linguistics according to the specific nature of the field in question.

Semantical definiteness may be justified in most cases by the presence of the appropriate linguistic exponent, its absence, however, does not indicate semantical indefiniteness — consider the definite quality of the 1st and 2nd person, in spite of the fact that together with the object in the 1st and 2nd persons the same forms of the verb are used in the Hungarian language as with the indefinite object in 3rd persons:

Lehet, hogy v a l a k i t l á t o t t, de b i z t o s a n
n e m e n g e m l á t o t t.

Similar is the usage of nouns without articles in such English sentences as:

Father told me.

The mixture of semantical and grammatical references is reflected by the conception that considers definiteness as a category of verbs and adjectives besides nouns (cp., Krámský 30). The so called weak declension of adjectives in German in case of definiteness of the qualified noun, or the personal suffixes of verbs relating to a definite object obviously constitute a part of the *morphological* system of adjectives or verbs, but as far as their *content* is concerned they refer not to the definiteness of the quality or action denoted by the adjective or verb, but they are related to the definite quality of the substance that carries the quality or action. Definiteness as a semantical category may only be the category of substance-concepts objectivized in the texts as words with a nominal nature, or the category of concepts conceived as substances which are objectivized in the texts as words with a nominal value: e. g. they are substantivized.

DEFINITENESS AS A SEMANTICAL CATEGORY

1. LOGICAL APPROACH

Definiteness as a semantical category undoubtedly depends on the laws of human thinking: the socially formed concept is the core of the meaning of linguistic signs, and when we speak of the definiteness of the concept, we cannot ignore the facts established by logic.

1.1. According to the quantity of objects generalized in the concept formal logic distinguishes "empty", "general" and "individual" concepts.

The distinction of empty concepts is justifiable, as far as our thinking is concerned, since they originate in

the imperfect reflection of reality; yet a concept like "centaur" and concepts like "horse" or "rider" are similarly the products of social consciousness — and for the individual speaker the first one is likewise objectively given, and the usage of the word denoting this concept depends on the same rules that are valid, in general, for all the words belonging to the same word-group. The emptiness of the concept denoted by the word does not influence the form of the sentence containing the word, only its veracity. This does not mean, of course, that using empty concepts we cannot make a sentence containing correct judgements. These concepts, however empty, are treated by our mind as if they were similarly individual or general ones like those indicating evidently existing things. (General empty concepts are "centaur", "nymph" — individual empty concepts are "Styx", "Charon's barge".)

The concept indicating several things is called by logic a g e n e r a l concept, and the one indicating a single thing is called an i n d i v i d u a l concept. The otherwise correct conception about the categories of definiteness being based on the opposition of the individual and the general should not be interpreted so that the individual is always definite and the general is indefinite; the articles themselves disprove this. The definite article — as we have seen above — can have a generalizing role, since it is able to make the noun connected with it suitable for indicating the whole species, and it has similarly been stated many times that the indefinite article is capable of an individualizing role: the scope of the concept is narrowed by it to one single representative of the species in question. Both Raoul de la Grasserie and E. Schwyzer consider individualizing as the basic function of both types of articles, in their opinion there is not any other difference between them but a difference in degree. (Cp., Krámský, 20, 22.)

The generalizing function of the definite article deserves particular attention. It seems to be a special type of individualizing. Not in the way as Karl Horálek thought it, according to whom in such cases an individual appears in the role of the

whole genus; (the study written in Czech was shortly outlined by Krámský; 20.) but in such a way that the species being separated in our mind by means of its specific particularities constitutes a closed *u n i t y* as a partial class within the conceptual sphere containing it (similarly for example J. Kurz — cp. Krámský; 21. and Galton) and in this way it opposes all the concepts that, as partial classes equal in rank with it, are the immediate constituents of a more general genus-concept: "*The cat is a mammal*". This generalizing is therefore *r e - l a t i v e i n d i v i d u a l i z i n g*. It is worth mentioning here, that I know no case in which any other means of such relative individualizing were employed than (using the term of Schwyzer) the "absolute definite" article.

It should be emphasized, however, that it is only a *s e - m a n t i c a l* relative individualizing: the concept "cat" remains, for logic, a general concept whether as a species-concept or a genus-concept.

The evocative force of the linguistic sign indicating a general concept (during relative individualization) provokes in the receiver the general image of the conceptual class (i. e. of a partial class of the concept superior to it) — naturally, according to the intentions of the signaller. Any items belonging to the class of objects or concepts in question are able, in themselves, to evoke the linguistic sign in the people who use the language, and this evocative force is mutual; therefore every word-sign that serves for indicating a general concept may potentially refer either to the whole conceptual class or to any of its individual items. If in a sentence made with the purpose of conveying the idea of *i n d i v i d u a l* reference a given language uses an article to fulfil this function, than we can really consider the article as the one that determines, concretizes and individualizes something — but it is not sure to be definite at all.

It was *the cat* who took the sausage, I saw it.

It was *a cat* who took the sausage, I saw it.

In both sentences there is the only "cat-individuum" seen by the speaker, in its concretely individual nature; yet only the first

one is semantically (and also grammatically) definite, the latter indefinite. In such cases we can completely agree with Katalin G. Havas in her statement that "Even when general concepts are used the object of thinking is the individual, namely $\{x\}$ from the class constituting the scope of the concept" (162). It is the same when we make judgements: "Micu is a cat". But if the object of thinking could only be the individual, how should we be able to think about "society" etc? And if the object of thinking had always been the individual, how could general concepts have come into being?

We could more easily say about an individual concept that it is always definite — but those examples in which the grammatical exponents of indefiniteness also indicate the semantical indefiniteness contradict this opinion. "The prime number between 2 and 4": this is an individual concept. Still, we can say: "Say a prime number between 2 and 4!" — maybe there won't be any other right answer but "Three". Being wounded in his self-esteem *Alphons Smith* may rage as follows: "I will show them that an *Alphons Smith* won't be so easily done for!" In both standard examples the concept remains individual, logically. But here the stress is laid not upon the scope but the content of the class consisting of one item: the term by which it is objectivized not only indicates, but also, and this time primarily, qualifies the concept in question. There are many numbers that correspond to the criteria of being "prime numbers", and the limit fixed between 2 and 4 is another criterion that must be satisfied. It is true, however, that the limit is so narrow here, that only one number can be mentioned as a solution. "An *Alphons Smith*" may be every man who corresponds to all criteria of being an "Alphons Smith" — and it is another question that everybody should see or know (and if not, it will be shown now) that *Alphons Smith* has no equal — therefore the concept is individual in spite of its indefiniteness.

1.2. According to the nature of objects generalized in the concept, formal logic distinguishes "concrete" and "abstract" concepts.

In **c o n c r e t e** concepts we abstracted the concepts on the basis of objects. These "objects" may be material things having dimensions of space and time (e. g. "man", "war") and so called abstract objects as well (e. g. "reason, judgement"). If we examine concrete concepts according to the previous division we may find among them both the individual ("universe"), the general ("solar system") and the empty concepts ("heaven"). In this way, all that we have stated in the previous section is applicable for any of the items of concrete concepts.

Those concepts that are formed about the characteristics of objects or the relations between them in such a way that we consider these characteristics and relations in themselves, abstracted from the objects carrying them, are called **a b s t r a c t** concepts; "goodness", "fatness" (by abstracting qualities) and "equality", "causality" (by abstracting relations) are therefore abstract concepts.

The relations and mainly the qualities may be present in more or less different forms in the object carrying them. Quite a different characteristic is denoted by "goodness" if we try to abstract on the basis of a *good child*, a *good manager* or *good news*. Nevertheless there is something common they all share, namely the fact that all of them may be characterized by the "good" quality that pleases us by satisfying our requirements (that are, naturally, different for each of them). In this way, the abstracted "goodness" denotes after all the same positive quality even if it manifests itself in various peculiarities as far as the concrete objects carrying the quality are concerned.

If we do not isolate the characteristics or relations from the object carrying them we form a concrete concept about the quality, e. g.: "my mother's goodness", "equality of men" etc.; we also denote a concrete concept by the word "equality" if we use it not for the indication of the theoretically possible relation but for any of the mathematical formulae embodying this relation.

The concepts abstracted from all kinds of carrier objects are individual concepts. Their individuality is a guarantee for

their semantical definiteness similarly to proper nouns, and this may have the result, on the one hand, that in English, articles are not used with them at all: "*Truth* is the daughter of *time*", and on the other, that a Hungarian speaker without any anaphorically or situationally determined condition connects them with a definite article: "Győz az igazság". In Hungarian texts, however, the nouns denoting abstract concepts may be accompanied not only by the definite article but by the linguistic exponents of indefiniteness as well.

In such cases the abstract concept with an individual nature is conceived similarly to concrete nouns like a continuum, and in connection with them at the same time we speak about a specific aspect of indefiniteness, namely the indefiniteness of partitive meaning: "Mennyi jósdgot, szeretetet tékozlak rá!" ('How much goodness and love was wasted on him!'); "Igazsdgot akarunk!" ('We want justice!')

Summing up:

If we compare the logical quality of the concept (constituting the core of the meaning of the word-sign) with the definiteness of the content of the word, we see that while the semantically definite word-signes carry logically individual or at least relatively individualized concepts, we should not say, however, that if a concept is logically individual it will necessarily be definite semantically. The logical quality of the denoted concept may only offer the possibility of definiteness for the linguistic sign, but whether this possibility is utilized by the speaker during the speech or not, depends on what he has to say, on the listener, and on the whole speech situation.

2. THE QUESTION OF BEING KNOWN

Let us examine more closely that interpretation of the definiteness of content according to which the objects known both to the speaker and the listener are definite.

We cannot escape our statement that it is not at all clear what this "knowledge" refers to.

2.1. We can by no means think of some factual knowledge or material knowledge obtained about the denotatum of the linguistic sign bearing the mark of "definiteness". What kind of factual knowledge may convey the introductory sentence: "Volt egyszer egy ember." 'Once upon a time there was a man.' It is still enough to continue the tale like this: "Az embernek volt három fia." 'The man had three sons.' (In Hungarian only by definite article.) The contextual antecedents did not make *him* "known", only turned our attention to the fact that the hero (or one of the heroes) of our story would be a man, and further one has to think of *the same man*, unless the appearance of a new person is indicated. We can say, in this case, that the so-called "second mentioning" justifies the definiteness, — in many other cases, however, we cannot refer to it. In spite of the lack of all common antecedents, or even of preliminary knowledge on the part of the listener, the form of the verb still indicates the object of the sentence as definite in the following Hungarian utterance: "Egyszer megkérdezték az egyik barátomat — te nem ismered őt —, hogy mit tenne ilyen helyzetben." 'Once they asked one of my friends — you don't know him — what he would do in such a situation.' But the noun may also remain indefinite even in the second mentioning, though its denotatum is obviously the same, cp., Moravcsik 72-3. about the example "She is an anthropologist. She never wanted to become an anthropologist." — "My son", "my work" obviously indicate quite differently known contents for the speaker, while "your son", "your work" could only be characterized by the listener, and none of us knew "the secrets of the mysterious stranger" — they are still equally definite in the context.

2.2. We cannot consider the knowledge of the content of the denoted concept

as the background for definiteness either, for the proper usage of the linguistic sign presupposes that we should more or less know the concept denoted by it, and we should have a picture about the distinctive features constituting the content of the concept and underlying the concept formation, whether these linguistic signs are used in a definite or indefinite form.

2.3. But the definiteness of a certain word cannot originate in the familiarity with the sign either, since we have known for a long time that the repetition of the linguistic sign is not necessary even in the clearest cases of the "second mentioning": the coincidence of the first and the second reference in a certain semantical field, is sufficient: "A cart passed by. *The horses* were ambling wearily, and *the coachman* was dozing in *the coach-box*." (Cp., János Balázs, NyK. LVII, 204-225.)

The study of the criterion of being known resulted therefore in something negative.

3. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNICATIVE VIEWPOINTS

What is that surplus content that determines whether the substance in question is qualified as semantically definite or indefinite during speech? It was stated long ago that the speaker uses the articles taking into account his listener's position. Consequently, the semantical category that is expressed most apparently in the article is not the category of thinking — even if it is not independent of it — as Krámský believed (w. q. 52), but it belongs to the field of communication. Its study is successful only in the case of our taking the communicative situation as our starting point. Logic studies how man thinks about the world. A grammarian is interested in the way how a man tells the other what he thinks about the world.

3.1. Apart from the few so to speak primary outbursts, emotional exclamations that are often inarticulate linguistically, and their communicative value can hardly be derived from the semantical characteristics of their structural elements, even if they are morphologically or syntagmatically constructed and, perhaps, articulated, we usually address our speech to the listener, and in such cases we are always ruled by the intention of influencing him; we even say the mostly descriptive—informative sentences with the purpose of inducing our audience to think together with us and getting them to accept, or, at least understand what we have conveyed. To convey the information successfully, it is essential for the speaker to adjust the details of the content of his consciousness that are used in the communicative act with those of the listener's. I see the essence of definiteness in the fact that the speaker should use the applicable linguistic means in a way that the images required to be evoked in the listener by the signs should agree with the content of his own consciousness in a suitable degree.

In the case of accident-concepts the mastery of the language, the knowledge of the meaning of the sign seems to be sufficient for this agreement. If we hear *sold* or *green*, *put* or *run* these signs evoke more or less the same images in everyone who understands these words. If we want to narrow the shades within the range of colours that can be qualified as "green", or the modes of carrying out the action, we use generally either a quite new word (a synonym, e.g. in Hungarian: *türkiz*; in English: *turquoise*; Hung.: *kocog*, *üget*, *hóhol*, *szalad*, *rohan*, *sádguld*, *vdgtat*, *vdgtdzik*, *robog* etc.; Engl.: *jog along*, *trot*, *rush*, *gallop*, *dash*, *howl along* etc.) or still remaining in the field of word-stock we construct a new, motivated sign, a sign combination that is perhaps formally looser, but still considered as a phraseological locution to denote a new, motiv-

ated concept that is richer in content, but more limited in range. (Hung.: *sötétszöld, vildgoszöld, kékeszöld, haragoszöld, fűszöld, almászöld, tengerszöld, olajszöld, méregszöld* etc.; Engl.: *dark-green, bottle-green, rifle-green, vivid-green, bright-green, grass-green, light-green, fierce-green, apple-green* etc.).

The situation is quite different in the case of *s u b - s t a n c e - c o n c e p t s*. The distinctive features constituting the content of a general concept are also characteristic of every individual item belonging to its range. Besides sharing common features the individual items have also specific features that are characteristic only of them and on the basis of which they are separated from one another, and in what degree — it is only a question of stand-point. From our point of view, or perhaps also from the point of view of the cat it is enough to know that it has caught *a m o u s e*. From the mouse's point of view, however, it is not insignificant at all *w h i c h m o u s e* has been caught.

The more direct our relation with an element of reality around us is, the more we consider its items and lay stress on their precise identification and for this sake on the individual denotation of individual concepts. — Every man has a distinctive name, and this name, in its individual nature, refers to him for his acquaintances. The traditions and conventions of naming circumscribe the fantasy of the name-giving parents, therefore there are many similar personal names in a society; nevertheless their denoting value is more or less unambiguous for the restricted sphere of people who use the homonym-like sign for a given "denotatum". If it is still ambiguous we usually make clear the reference by modifying the sign: *Joe, Josh — Joseph III. Smith* or *Joseph Smith, the baker*. — Proper names are used to identify the geographical points, the celestic bodies, the significant works of humanity, but among the animals only those that we have a closer connection with: dogs, cats, horses, cows, parrots; among the domestic animals, however, proper names are not generally usual:

a cock, a pig or a duck is rarely called by its "proper" name — nevertheless a bear or a lion getting into a circus or zoo, even a famed experimental mouse may have a proper name as well, like *Algernon* in the famous book of Daniel Keyes.

because it is the simplest proof of our evoking in the listener the image of exactly the same individual we also have in mind.

If we gave a distinct proper name to every new phenomenon and every bit of our environment — considering only their differences —, reality would fall to its atoms and it would be an obstacle to the understanding of communications. It is often more to the point to speak of the individuals having a proper name as belonging to one of a general conceptual sphere (brothers, housemates, colleagues, the intellectuals, the Hungarians etc.). Consumer goods used for the same purpose and having more or less the same outward appearance are, for example, mentioned by their common name. In most cases, of course, we speak of only one of these goods and usually we expect our listener to know which object it is and to understand as well if we think not of a concrete thing but the whole range of the conceptual class. To achieve this we try to harmonize the content of our consciousness with that of our interlocutor to the desirable extent. We can adequately influence his thoughts by determining which individual (or what kind of individual, or perhaps it is not an individual at all) we are going to speak of. In this sense we speak of actualization: among the meanings possible in the language we turn the listener's or reader's attention to things actual from the point of view of the speech-situation.

3.2. Such an interpretation of actualization contains the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in full: the extreme poles and also the degrees between them. I think, however, that there must be a gap somewhere between these degrees, and there is a significant difference manifested by the speaker's

semantical sense between this side and the opposite side of this gap. The languages are very different as regards the ways and means by which they actualize this or that degree and this or that counterpole; besides this their choice is characteristic of each particular language. We could enumerate a large number of differences between the languages, whether a language uses the article in the same place where an other language — also using the article-type in question — won't employ it. Usually the contrastive examinations of definiteness of a practical purpose are centred around this question. (Összevető nyelv- vizsgálat — nyelvoktatás, Pécs, 1971; Stephanides; István Vörös etc.) We hardly have any examples to prove that in a language the definite article should be used in such a semantical position in which some other language would use the indefinite article.

What degrees may the agreement of images have between the communicating partners, and where can the gap that draws the line between the definiteness and indefiniteness be found?

A/ Semantically definite is a word or wordgroup, if in the speech-situation the listener knows exactly what item of reality it denotes according to the speaker's intention.

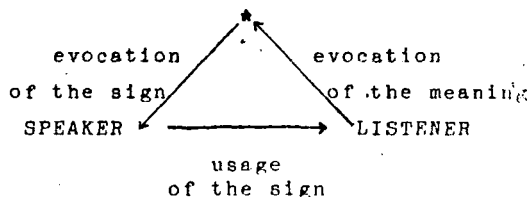
/a/ The concept is individual, and they are both fully aware of it:

-- Még sohasem láttam a Balatont.

-- I have never seen Lake Balaton.

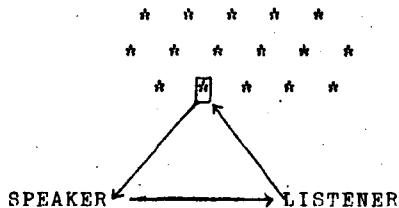
-- Az idő végtelen.

-- Time is infinite.



/b/ The concept is general, but in the given context only a certain one of its individual items may come into question:

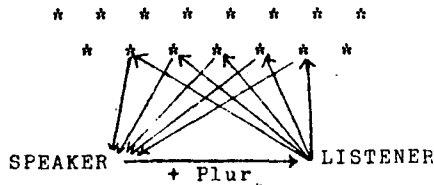
- Nem láttad az esernyőmet?
- Haven't you seen my umbrella?
- A bal felső fiókba tettem a kulcsot(, amelyre szükséged van)..
- I have put the key (you need) into the upper drawer on the left.
- Egy ember hadonászva kiabált. Mindenki őt figyelte.
- Throwing his arms about a man was crying. Everybody was watching him.
- Az iskolában felejtettem. <ti. amelybe járok>
- I have left it in the school. <viz. that I attend>
- A 7-es játékos dobja a büntetőt. <ti. amelyet épp most ítélték meg>
- The No. 7 player throws the penalty. <viz. that has just been ordered>



We can, of course, refer to several items of the concept at a time:

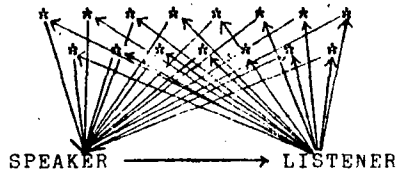
- Mikor hozod vissza a könyveket(, amelyeket a múlt héten kölcsönkértél)?
- When will you bring back the books (you borrowed last week)?

- < Fegyveres terroristák eltérítettek egy utasszállító repülőgépet. > (Mind) az öt géprablót elfogták.
- < A passenger-aeroplane was highjacked by armed terrorists. > All/The five highjackers were caught.



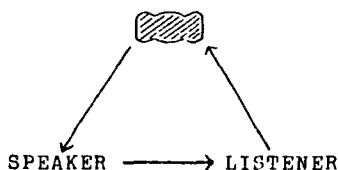
/c/ The validity of statement is extended to all the individual items belonging to the conceptual sphere:

- A kutya háziállat.
- The dog is a domestic animal.



/d/ In the case of concrete nouns and continuums, the usage of the sign refers to a certain given quantity of the substance:

- Kiitta a tejet. < Ami az edényben volt, mind. >
- He has drunk the milk. < All that was in the bottle. >
- Megvette a cementet. < Amennyi az építkezéshez kell. >
- He has bought the cement. < All that is needed for the building. >
- Itt az idő, induljunk! < Amit kitűztünk az indulásra. >
- The time has come to start. < That was appointed for starting. >



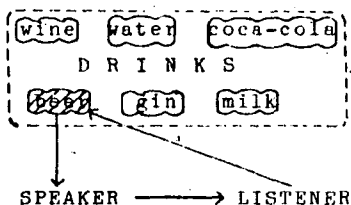
/e/ The indicators of continuums are always definite semantically if their usage is extended to the whole range of the concept. In this way the unified concept itself becomes an individual that stands opposite to the generic concept containing it, and separates itself from the other species-concepts. The opposition is not necessarily explicit.

-- *A kávé drágább lett.*

-- *Coffee* has become more expensive.

-- Szereted a sör~~t~~?

-- Do you like beer?

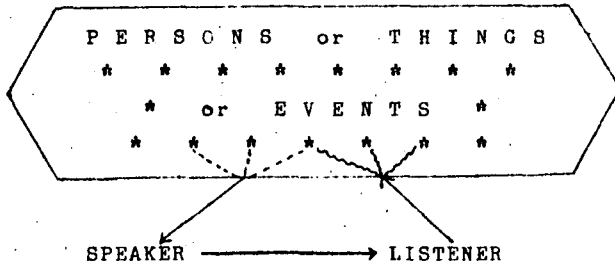


B/ The word denoting a substance is semantically indefinite if its occurrence represents for the listener not a certain individual item of the conceptual sphere or a concretely circumscribed given quantity of the continuum, but any of its elements that satisfy the criteria of the concept in question.

/a/ As a consequence of the speaker's lack of information the agreement of images is impossible; the reference is made only to the kind of substance by indicating the widest and most general conceptual sphere (person, inanimate thing, etc.).

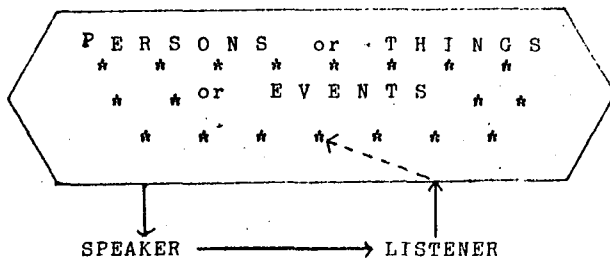
/a-1/ The speaker does not consider the usage of a more precise reference important:

- *Valaki* kopog.
- *Somebody* is knocking.
- *Valami* belement a szemembe.
- *Something* has got into my eyes.
- *Még akármi* közbejöhhet.
- *Anything* may happen.



/a-2/ The speaker asks questions because he thinks that by the aid of his partner he can complete his insufficient knowledge, and they are able to agree their images precisely in this way:

- *Ki* telefonált?
- *Who* telephoned?
- *Mi* történt?
- *What* has happened?
- *Mit* hoztál?
- *What* have you brought?



/b/ It satisfies the speaker if his partner knows what kind of reality-element he speaks of, but of which element exactly doesn't matter at the moment.

/b-1/ The image is individual in the content of the speaker's consciousness but he doesn't consider its identification by the listener important (or possible):

-- Vettem *egy kalapot*.

-- I have bought *a hat*.

-- *Levelet* kaptam apámtól.

-- I have got *a letter* from my father.

-- *Egyet-mást* már hallottam róla.

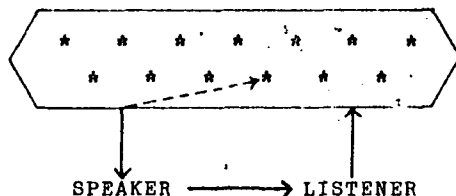
-- I have already heard about him *this and that*.

-- Hoztam neked *valamit*.

-- I have brought you *something*.

-- Az alapszervezetből *két embert* jelöltek a delegációba.

-- *Two men* from the primary organization were proposed into the delegation.



(Several individuals of the conceptual sphere may, of course, come into question; it is exemplified by the last sentence. It is similar to A/ -/b/ point.)

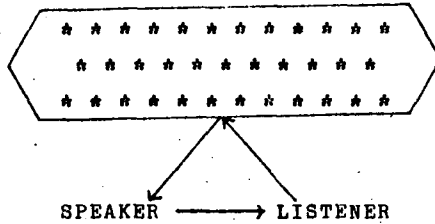
/b-2/ Only the content of the concept and the sort of the individuals belonging to it are important in the given context, the speaker also concentrates his attention on them:

-- A szomszédunk *kutyát* tart.

-- Our neighbour keeps *a dog*.

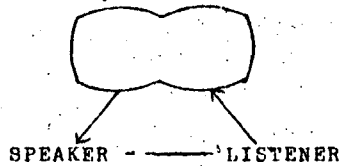
-- A képen a hetes játékos éppen *büntetőt* dob.

-- In the picture the No. 7 player is just throwing *a penalty*.



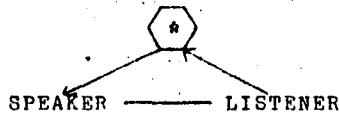
The same is true for the concrete noun and any other continuum:

- *Igyunk több tejet!*
- Let us drink more *milk!*
- *Az edző időt kért.*
- The coach asked for *time.*



Similarly, the qualitative side of the individual concept is actualized:

- *Egy új Adyt sejtettek benne.*
- He was thought to be *a new Ady Endre.*



Summing up:

The linguistic signs suitable for denoting substance-concepts appear as *semantically definite* if the listener knows exactly, which element within the range of the concept or which proportion of the continuum the speaker refers to.

There may be two sources of *semantic indefiniteness*:

/a/ lack of information on the part of the speaker;
/b/ lack of information on the part of the listener, knowing which the speaker first of all informs the listener about the conceptual sphere. (The speaker, thus from the point of view of speaking is indifferent to the fact that the listener is actually uninformed, the point is that the speaker should suppose it.)—Strictly speaking, this is the case that opposes definiteness in a way that in such cases first of all the content of the concept is actualized.

The opposition of definiteness and indefiniteness is not contradictory:

individualizing is necessary to definiteness, but indefiniteness does not preclude its possibility either (cp., the individualizing function of the indefinite article);

indefiniteness is not simply the lack of definiteness, but both are something positive: different ways of the actualization of the potential meanings of the linguistic sign;

semantic definiteness or indefiniteness is a category occurring in the communicative relation, and realized by the usage of substance-indicators available in the language stock, and which is, therefore, a universal element of speech.

4. THE SOURCES OF SEMANTIC DEFINITENESS

What is the source of semantic definiteness, and what secures that the listener shall be sure in the communicative relation of the individual substance (or at least a substance used in an individual value) the speaker wanted to refer to by the given sign?

There are several factors that can be summarized in two great types: the ones belonging to the extralinguistic type and those belonging to the linguistic type.

4.1. I consider those factors extralinguistic that are present in the communicative relation in a non-linguistic form: these are — the situation and the common content of the partners' consciousness. The latter is usually not considered in itself. Generally, it is implied in the situation as the partners

are necessary factors of a speech-situation and thus the content of their consciousness must be taken for granted. — Nevertheless I maintain the difference between them, and not only because of the fact that what I call a common content of consciousness came to the partners' mind before the given speech-situation, while, the situation interpreted in a narrow sense includes only those circumstances among which the given communicative relation is valid: material setting, time relations, social connections, etc. There are specific speech-situations clearly indicating the fact that the physical reality surrounding the speakers influences speech differently from the earlier knowledge in the partners' mind. What we can indicate with a single gesture or/and a pronominal reference-word in the "traditional" direct communicative relation, must be expressed by a forceful description in a telephone conversation. Nevertheless, also in such cases, the common content of consciousness is latent. Moreover: it can do an especially useful service with its references known only to the initiated, say, during the exchange of information when unwanted ear-witnesses are present:

-- "Have you met *him* yet? Did you give *it* to *him*?" — "No, he hasn't been *there* since *that* time."

We feel much more necessary to objectivize in a linguistic form the possibly existing common content of consciousness in one-sided communicative situations. At a public lecture, for example, the lecturer surrounded by diagrams can show with his stick without any difficulty how "*this phenomenon*" is connected with "*that one*", but having no possibility to find out whether all of his listeners share (and keep on the surface) a certain knowledge that could have been acquired previously, he would do well to express his message with notional words rich in content, instead of using empty pronominal references.

We acquire our knowledge through the medium of language, and when we are thinking we also do it in a certain language, and if we express our thoughts we also use language; why do I still consider the content of consciousness extralinguistic? Because,

the point is that we do not express it unless we consider it particularly necessary, we do not even refer to it with perhaps an explicit, reference-word, still the exchange of information is complete, the agreement of images is perfect and all these are the result of this latent factor taken into account by the speaker. This factor, therefore, is also of a psychological nature like emotion or will, which can also be expressed by the means of language, but hereby, they will not be elements of language.

A/ A linguistic sign (or sign-group) becomes semantically definite typically through the situation, independently of the fact whether the speaker speaking the given language uses, or at least could use an article,

if only one of the potential denotatums of the sign may come into question:

-- *Tedd az asztalra!*

-- Put it on the table! < There is no other table nearby >

-- *A sárga rózsát kérem.* or:

-- *A sárgát kérem.*

-- I want the yellow rose. or:

-- I want the yellow one. < There is only one yellow rose in the vase >

if the use of the plural sign refers to all the individual things or persons in question:

-- *Az üres üvegeket visszaváltjuk.*

-- We buy the empty bottles back.

-- *A többi elviheted.*

-- You can take the rest.

if the concrete noun denotes the whole quantity, that may come into question:

-- *Kérem a sót.*

-- Pass the salt please. <That is in the salt-cellar on the table >

if we indicate the given element of reality by gesture:

-- *Azt nem kérem. Ezt a három szílat tessék becsomagolni!*

-- I don't want that. Will you please wrap up these three roses!

if the sign refers to those appearing in 1st and 2nd person as factors in the situation:

-- Hiszek *neked*.

-- I believe *you*.

-- A kérdés *mindnyadjunkat* érint.

-- The question concerns *us all*.

(The fact, that, similarly to several Finno-Ugric languages, Hungarian doesn't indicate the definiteness of the object in the form of the verb, proves not the indefiniteness of the objects in the first and second persons, but it goes to show that the objective conjugation in Hungarian is used only in the third person, when the object of the verb is definite.)

if the identification is made according to the coordinates that are valid in the given situation:

-- *Itteni barátainkat* meghívjuk *a holnapi vacsora*ra.

-- We invite *our friends here* to *tomorrow's dinner*.

(In most cases it is the immediate environment, that has a situationally determining role, the deictic dominates the most unambiguously here, but there may be such connections in which the situation is extended: "our friends *here*" may indicate either the citizens of a town, or perhaps the inhabitants of another country; "gravitation *here*" is the gravitation measured on the Earth as opposed to gravitation on the Moon or to the weightlessness in space.)

B/ We can speak about a common content of consciousness if the speaker rightly expects that his use of the signs will evoke in the listener the image of the same denotatum that impelled him to start speaking,

because in connection with the given denotatum he can refer to common antecedents deriving from their earlier acquaintance:

-- "Képzeld, találkoztam *(a) Meldnia néni*vel!" — "Ne mondd! Még mindig *abban a házban* lakik?"

-- "Just imagine, I have met *Aunt Melanie*!" — "Really? Is she still living *in that house*?"

because by knowing the listener's place in the macrocosm of society he is fully aware, that the listener should know the denotatum. Earlier acquaintance is not necessary in this case, for the same job, employment, dwelling, field of interest, education or perhaps their similar age may provide proper preliminary knowledge for the common theme:

-- Hallotta, hogy leváltják a vesetőséget?

-- Have you heard that *the management* will be relieved?

-- Ott lakik az új hídnál, abban a tízemeletesben.

-- He lives over there, at the new bridge in that ten-storey building.

-- A történet a kiegyezés korában játszódik.

-- The story takes place in the age of the Compromise.

-- "Megvette már az e hetit?"

-- Have you bought it for this week yet? <the lottery ticket>

-- A mai tizenévesek unalomig füttyülnek a Babilont!

-- Present-day teenagers whistle *Babylon* until you are sick of it!

because the common language, the mere knowledge of the meaning of the linguistic sign can guarantee the proper reference (by virtue of the nature of the denotatum):

-- Folytatódnak a tárgyalások a lezsereléssel kapcsolatban.

-- The talks on disarmament continue.

4.2. We may class everything that is heard (or described) during a given communicative relation as factors of the linguistic type; nevertheless there are two large groups here: the partners speaking alternately in first person on the one hand, naturally rely on the determining effect of their own words that have been said already or perhaps are to be said, on the other hand, in forming their words they consider their partner's earlier statements in the highest degree. (It is, at the same time, the most authentic source as far as the content of the partner's consciousness is concerned.)

As a result of the determining function of the context, second mentioning - usually - has a definite form, and that is the reason why the sentence-element representing the subordinate clause, in most cases, shows the formal signs of definiteness in the main clause.

I consider a speaker's own linguistic discourse as a **c o n t e x t** from his point of view, whether it is continuous or broken by interjections. In this way I use this term in the narrowest sense applying it merely to the text itself. The opposite partner's words interfering and interpolating in the "context" but still constituting a distinct text are called an **i n t e r t e x t**. Both factors are realized in the same language and we can find many similar characteristics in them, yet there are differences between them that justify their distinction. These differences are due to the fact that the influencing role of the situation abruptly increases simultaneously with the intertext: the value of the "hier-jetzt-ich" co-ordinates turns just into the opposite in relation of the context, "this, here" automatically becomes "that, there" — unless it refers to something similarly near to or far from both you and me. The frequent usage of pronouns in lively situation has an unambiguous reference for the outsider, the "third person" (a potential partner!) only in the case he can follow what was said by whom. This is a rule we do not notice in spontaneous communication, but disregard of it may be a source of dramaturgic fault on the stage, where the actors must carry on a natural conversation with one another in such a way, that the meaning of every reference should be clear to the audience. (I dealt with detailed analysis of the context and intertext in an earlier paper of mine, in *NéprNyttud.* XXI. 77 sqq.)

In my usage of terminologies I try to separate consistently also the context and the situation. Not everybody draws such a sharp line between the text and the relation to the circumstances i. e. situation, there are those who use the term "context" for both. E. g. R. D. Brecht: *Deixis in Embedded Structures.* = *Foundation of Language* XI.4. 492: "when the point of orientation is outside the linguistic discourse, that is, is contained in the extra-linguistic *context*..." (My italics) — I should like to point out the importance of drawing a line between the presence of the physical environment forming the speech-situation and speech-work and the speech with a descriptive force. Every com-

munication, even the communication between animals has a situation. The environment adds its own elements to every communication, even if these elements become (without assuming linguistic forms) part of the information received. The often mentioned dance of the bees acquires its actual communicative value through the situation, but it has no "context" in the sense that human communications have. The whole thing is a complex system of movements indicating by its main vector the direction to be followed by the partners and by its intensity the approximate distance, consequently, it is completely dependent on the "situation" in the physical sense, in which even the position of the sun has an unquestionable but so far unexplained role. It is only the human speech that is able to detach itself from the situation and therefore informs about something that happens not here, not at this moment, that has never existed, that will be, would be or ought to be, all this, however, is possible only through the context.

The real situation is often expressed in a linguistic form, but it is not obligatory at all; whereas the image of the situation presented may develop in our mind only through the context. Personal 3.p.pronouns referring to the concrete speech situation indicate their denotatum mainly by deictic reference even if this denotatum was named earlier: "Here it is a letter, give it to Mr. So-and-so please!" — My wish is similarly understandable if I give the letter to my partner saying: "Give it to Mr. So-and-so please!"

In a described situation, if the rendering is transpositional, the usage of the deictic may also lend colour to the speech but the textual antecedent is indispensable, in such cases, therefore, the pronouns are always of an anaphorical nature. E. g.: "As soon as he enters he catches sight of the letter put on the window-sill. This is the one then, he has to give to Mr. So-and-so." — N.B. The directly quoted statements reflect the real situation of the circumstances among which the statements were originally delivered, of course, in a deictic way.

The factors enumerated under point 4. are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions of semantical definiteness! Any of them, respectively, can guarantee the fact of "familiarity" that may serve as the basis of pronominalization for example, but they all are not enough to warrant the fact, that by the identification of the individual, the speaker's and the listener's images will coincide in a way that the linguistic forms sensitively registering the definitive relations should indicate them as "definite". E.g.:

-- Látod, pont *ilyen kucsmadt* szeretnék.

-- You see, I would like just *this kind of fur-oap*.

-- V a n a b a r á t n ő m n e k e g y e z ü s t -
r ó k a k u c s m á j a, *olyat* szeretnék én is ma-
gamnak.

-- M y g i r l - f r i e n d h a s a s i l v e r
f o x f u r - c a p, I would like *that kind* for me,
as well.

In the first sentence the situation, in the second one the textual antecedent provides an unambiguous content for the demonstrative pronoun, but the pronoun — even with an additional understanding and by being used in a nominal value — indicates the *q u a l i t y* with the identification of which the speaker is contended, to whom it is all the same whether the listener thinks of a concrete fur-cap or not. This semantic indefiniteness is marked in the Hungarian examples by the verbal suffix.

It follows from the examples above, that the factors determining the content, in the English only by using the noun *kind* and the factors making the content definite are not the same, and semantical definiteness must have its special forms within the means of communication.

DEFINITENESS AS A GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

Definiteness or indefiniteness as a grammatical category is nothing else but the objectivization of semantical definiteness: content expressed in form.

The diversity of languages is the reason why the category of definiteness is expressed in so many ways. But what accounts for the fact, that there are languages in which the grammatical definiteness seems to be completely absent, although, we have seen above, that the category of semantical definiteness is universal, and it is realized in communication. How can it be realized if it is not expressed?

This contradiction, in my opinion, exists only seemingly. Every language necessarily has its means of expression that serve the expedient realization of the appropriately directed actualization of the substance-concepts in the communication. These possible means of expression govern the way of making up a speechwork not independently of what one has to say, or of the momentary speech situation; that is they act in the field of syntax — namely the field of syntax and textual syntax. The frequent syntactical relations may then become stereotypes, and the structure of certain languages especially serves their further development of being grammaticalized, partly renouncing their earlier themselves, and making the structure of the language in question richer by their change into new morphological or lexical elements, and further on, they themselves influence the later changes of this system.

Those who use *determination* in the widest sense, mentioning the attributive, adverbial or objectal determiners, speak about the syntactical possibilities of its actualization grammaticalized only on the level of *parole*. Those who interpret *determination* in a narrow sense (like Moravcsik) consider only the phenomena connected with definiteness that are embedded in the *language system* and becoming independent by morphematization. The classifications ranging the articles and the pronouns among the items of the

same category are fostered by the discovery that both are essentially the outward forms of contential-semantic definiteness; but these classifications do not consider that qualitative difference that distinguishes the determinative means operating only on the level of speech from those existing on the level of language, too.

Krámský, in several parts of his work quoted criticizing these views, tries to prove the fact that the articles interpreted in a narrow sense can give such an additional content to the noun that cannot be offered by other determiners. It is a natural phenomenon, as their independence in the stock of the morphemes could only become perfect by the fact, that a specific, distinct semantic element attached to them. Krámský, however, didn't search for the source of this surplus, neither did he determine more exactly its nature.

1. THE CATEGORY OF DEFINITENESS ON THE LEVEL OF USAGE

We can find the grammaticalization of definiteness on the level of speech in languages without articles. Among them, the most widely known (and by me as well) are classical Latin and present-day literary and colloquial Russian. In both languages the large number of ever-lasting masterpieces proves that the absence of the article brings no drawback about, and doesn't result in any kind of poverty of the language. In the following I shall not enumerate which elements of these languages fulfil sometimes the function of articles, I should like only to point out those grammatical means or combination of means that, by relying upon the proofs offered by the communicative relation discussed in pont 4. of the previous chapter, are suitable (even without articles) to make the agreement between the possible actualizations of the concepts existing in the speaker's and the listener's mind mostly satisfying the purpose of the speaker.



1.1. Forms equivalent to the degree of definiteness on the level of speech

Common Nouns

In general, they are the nouns denoting general concepts, and their definiteness or indefiniteness depends on whether the individualization and the identification of the individual are carried out or not. (Abstract nouns are generally definite.)

In real texts, the linguistic sign carrying the substance is defined, in most cases, by its immediate surroundings and its complements in the sentence. I use the phrase "immediate surroundings" because not only the subordinate, but also the superordinate constituents can have a defining role as far as semantic definiteness is concerned. The faulty classical syllogism may be an example here: "*Mus* syllaba est. *Mus* rodit caseum. Ergo syllaba rodit caseum." The *mus* that is claimed to be a syllable, is not identical with the one that eats a cheese. It is the predicate that in the first premise actualizes the *mus* sign in a metalinguistic meaning, and in the second refers it to a living being, and the predicate is relevant to every specimen belonging to this conceptual sphere, it follows therefore, that the *mus* here means for us the whole species of animals. Thus, in the first premise the *mus* sign appears to be the name of an individual concept quasi a proper name, and in the second one it has a role of individualizing fully the totality of the concept; the word is, therefore, definite in both cases, and it must be translated in Hungarian through an article.

There are certain types among the complements of the noun that specifically serve the purpose of making the content of the head-word definite, among them the determiners must be mentioned in the first place. I should like to emphasize here the demonstrative pronominal determiner that is most generally used as a determiner of such value. (The demonstrative pronoun used in a nominal value may be indefinite — e. g. Hung.: *Azt csinálók, amit akarok* 'I do as I like' — but if it is employed in an attributive function with a noun, this construction has always a definite value.)

-- Planities erat magna, et in ea tumulus ... *Hic locus*
aequum fere spatium a castris utriusque aberat ...
Legionem Caesar ... passibus ducenti ab eo tumulo
constituit. (BG. I. 43.1-2.)

-- Я никогда не видела этого человека. (everyday speech)

The non-pronominal determiners identify the individuals by order, position or the feature, quality characteristic only of them:

-- ... *reliqui sese ... in proximas silvas abdiderunt*
(BG. I. 12.3.)

-- В последние три года... (everyday speech)

-- Средняя заработная плата работающих женщин на 40 с лишним процентов ниже заработка мужчин, выполняющих аналогичную работу. (Правда)

This kind of determining method is especially frequent in Russian where the rich range of attributes not agreed with the noun has much greater determining possibilities than the Hungarian syntagm capable of being completed only on its left side:

-- Международный экипаж в составе Романенко, Гречко, Губарева и Ремек ... (Правда)

-- По программе изучения окружающей среды в интересах науки и различных отраслей народного хозяйства ... Ремек проводил наблюдение ледников ... (Правда)

According to Russian grammars the possessive attribute is also considered an attribute not agreed with the noun. Sign-combinations also expressing the relation to the possessor are definite — apart from the phrases with a strong partitive meaning — both in Hungarian and in other languages, too. Beside the demonstrative (pronominal) attributes, in the second case, it is the possessive pronoun that shows the definiteness most frequently. The conceptual core of the possessive pronoun is identical with that of the personal pronoun — its necessarily definite nature will be discussed further on; this attachment to a definite concept makes the noun determined by a

possessive pronoun also definite.

In connection with this, however, it is instructive to notice that during the speech act neither Latin nor Russian express this definiteness deriving from the possessive relation linguistically — unless the fact of possessing is emphasized. The proper equivalent of this sentence: "I opened *my mouth* and the dentist examined *my teeth*" in Russian is merely as follows: "Я открыла рот, и зубный врач осмотрел зубы." If we are faithful to Hungarian — always with possessive endings: "Kinyitottam a *szómat*, és a fogorvos megvizsgálta a *fogamat*" — and use the possessive pronoun in Russian as well, the listener whose mother tongue is Russian will roll with laughter, and ask who else's teeth we keep in our mouth. The Latins did not put the possessive pronouns in all places either, just because they spoke about such a concept that obviously closely belonged to something or somebody:

"ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,
instar montis . e q u u m divina Palladis arte
aedificant sectaque intexunt abiete costas;
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora lurtim
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas
ingentis uterumque armato milite complent"

(Verg. Aen. II. 14-20)

In such cases they relied on the context, and used the possessive pronouns only in those cases where a more exact linguistical identification was needed: "te *tua fata* docebo" (Verg. Aen. VI. 759)

The phenomena enumerated above did not exceed the sphere of word-combinations: the meaning of the dominant substance-indicator was in most cases narrowed by the constituent(s) subordinate to it, to indicate the precisely indefinable individual. On p. 50., in connection with the "mus" example, we have already mentioned the defining possibilities lying in the predicative relation, by this, however, we haven't yet determined the syntactical references of definiteness; in such and similar cases scil.

the meaning of the noun is actualized under the influence of semantic field-relations, independently of what the grammatical relation is between the words: *mus caseum rodit* — *mus caseum rodens*.

We have seen how a noun, word or construction with a nominal value can on occasion become definite by linguistic means, however, there is no "article" in the sign-connection — this class of morphemes is unknown to the structures of the languages in question. Nevertheless, it can be observed even in these languages that certain functions in the sentence are fulfilled in a different way by the word groups of a definite or of an indefinite value, i. e. the category of definiteness can be expressed on the level of the sentence — and followed by linguistic consequences — even in these languages. As far as I know the relations between word order and definiteness have not been summed up in Latin yet, but it has already been stated that in Russian the definite object or adverb often stands at the beginning of the sentence in front of the predicate, while the indefinite subject stands at the end (ср., László Dezső, 1972. 85): "*На улице шёл мальчик*"; "*Письмо написал мальчик*". Krámský considers this statement as relevant to other slavic languages, too (190-1).

There is a tendency, however, both in Latin and Russian, that is also a characteristic of English: if the object to which the action is directed, is definite, the verb beside it is preferred in the passive, and thus the definite object becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence. It is especially frequent in Latin in the case of the logical subject falling into the background. — It does not mean, of course, that the use of the definite object in a sentence with an active structure would be improper in any of these languages, and it does not mean that the subject of a passive sentence cannot be indefinite as well. Nevertheless, the subject of a passive sentence seems to be placed at the beginning, if it is definite, and after the predicate, if it is indefinite, in

Russian, e. g.: "Под Киевом, в поселке Главаха, возвед-
но *необичное сооружение*: Его точное название: трубчатая
взрывная камера. ... Проект камеры разработан со-
трудниками ..." (Правда)

Latin texts show the same, although I cannot refer to a
quantity of examples proving the case statistically, but it is
the following structure that seems to be widely used: "*Gallia
est omnis divisa in partes tres*" (BG.L.1); "*Ea res
est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata*" (BG.IV.1);
— but: "*Reliquetur una per Sequanos via*" (BG.
IX.1).

1.2. Forms of expression rele-
vant to the concept of *indefinite-
ness*.

Scientists have paid even less attention to these linguis-
tic means than to the definite ones. It is even more noticable
because of the fact that it is exactly the definite semantic
content that needs linguistic realization the least. It seems
to be evident, of course, that after we have considered all the
means of expressing definiteness, the elements that remain
unconsidered are indefinite. In this case, however, it is not
sure at all that the list will be complete; the inner content-
relationship of the forms and the logical-causal system of
phenomena are likely to get lost. It is also easy to understand
that an analyst who takes definiteness as his starting point,
not finding in the language an alteration corresponding to it,
hardly thinks of the fact that the other pole of the category
may still have forms of expression worth mentioning and rules
that are effective in usage of the language. Obviously this is
the reason why they have not paid any attention to the fact yet,
that while Latin and Russian are rather vague or sparing as far
as the expression of definiteness is concerned, they still have
means to express more subtle differences with respect to indefi-
niteness than some languages containing articles have.

The partitive element is more or less always present in the
types of indefiniteness — inseparably from quality-centricity —

enumerated in point /b/ on pages 38-39. In the semantic analysis of indefiniteness the most frequently occurring feature is "partialitas" standing in opposition to "totalitas", which is a characteristic of definiteness. Partitivity, however, is not identical with indefiniteness: we can refer to a definite part or to a definite individual of a group by using a partitive construction and thus the value of the expression will, of course, be definite, e.g.: *minor fratrum* 'the younger brother'. It is true, however, that we find a genitive partitive in Latin even in those cases when in Hungarian we use either an indefinite nominative or other case that is necessary in the sentence: Hung.: "néhány polgár" 'some citizens' = *pauci civium*; Hung.: "pohár(nyi) bor" 'a glass of wine' = *poculum vini*; Hung.: "arany-hegyek" or "aranyból való hegyek" or rather: "nagy rakás/csomó arany" 'heaps of gold' = *montes auri*. And the fact that here the noun in genitive serves the orientation referring to the quality of the marked element of reality, is justified not only by the pure cases of genitivus materiae, but also by those genitives that keep their grammatical forms even in the case when the head of the genitive construction (surely an elliptical structure) is left out of the sentence: "*Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.*" (Hor. Carm. 3.13.13) 'you will also become a noble fountain', i. e. 'one of such noble fountains'.

In Russian, there is an opposition shown by the case-endings between the concrete noun indefinite by its partitive nature and the one denoting in whole the quantity that is to be identified, if they appear in the sentence as direct objects (прямое дополнение): "Он купил хлеба" 'He has bought some bread' Hung.: 'Kenyeret vásárolt'; "хотелось бы съесть чегонибудь холодного" 'It would be fine to eat something cold' Hung.: 'jó lenne valami hideget enni'; "Мы заказали сухого вина и судака по-польски" 'We ordered dry wine and fogas fried in a Polish way' Hung.: 'Száras bort és lengyel módra készült fogast rendeltünk' (viz., a slice or a bottle of them) — and it continues as follows: 'The waiter served the fogas and the wine' (that we ordered); Hung.: 'A pincér kihozta a fogast és a bort'; Russian: "Официант принёс вино и судака".

We have already mentioned the consequences of the indefiniteness of the noun in the construction of the sentence, when we were discussing the means of the expression of definiteness: the positional restriction of a sentence-element is possible only through the parallel restriction of another one. In Latin texts, however, there occurs a phenomenon that cannot be considered anything else but the distinction of the indefinite sentence-element, so to say, its opposition to the definite one, through the utilization of the structural possibilities of the complex sentence.

Csaba Töttössy noticed the fact; that the classical Latin authors used the predicate of the subordinate clauses introduced by relative pronouns sometimes in *coniunctivus* without something else — for example the consecutive connotation of the subordinate clause — making this usage of mood justifiable. He developed the most probable explanation for this irregular usage of the verb very convincingly in his lecture entitled "Some Questions of Latin Syntax" at a conference of the Society of Classical Studies on Nov. 19., 1971. The train of thoughts discussed below is also a part of this lecture, Cs. Töttössy was so kind as to make the stock of examples gathered by him available for me in a letter for which I express my sincere gratitude to him.

According to the results of his investigation, the predicate of the attributive clauses introduced by a relative pronoun is in the conjunctive even without having a consecutive connotation, if the clauses are "qualitative attributive" ones, i. e. they answer the question "what kind/sort of":

-- "*Incidunt multae ... causae, quae o n t u r b e n t animos ...*" (Cic. Off. 3.40) 'There are many ... causes that disturb people's soul.'

-- "*octo hominum¹ milia tenebat Hannibal, non quos in acie cepisset, aut qui periculo mortis d i f f u g i s s e n t, sed qui relictis in castris f u i s s e n t...a consulibus*" (Cic.

¹ The genitive partitive is required here by the form *milia*.

Off. 3.114). (lit.) 'Hannibal kept *eight thousand people*, not [o n e s] who had been taken captive during the battle, nor [o n e s] who had fled from the danger of death, but [o n e s] who had been left in the camp by the consuls'

The occasionally used demonstrative pronoun (*is, ea* etc.) can here have the value of "a" = "that kind":

-- "Habetis *eum consulem*, qui et parere vestris decretis non *dubitet* et ea, quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare *possit*." (Cic. Cat. 4. 24) 'There is *a consul* among the ones you have, who is willing to obey your decisions, and able to defend everything you decree, as long as he lives, and can stand up for himself as well.'

The predicate of the subordinate clause is also used in this "coniunctivus qualitatis" in the case when the subordinate clause provides additional information not about the attribute, but fulfils a subjectival or objectival function, as linked with the main clause:

-- "hic, hic sunt in nostro numero ..., qui de nostrum omnium interitu ... *cogitent*" (Cic. Cat. 1. 9) (lit.) 'Here, here among us, there are [s o m e] who make plans about the perdition of us all!'

-- "Fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam *impulerit*" (Liv. 22. 6. 6) (lit.) 'There were [s. o m e] who being impelled by a frantic fear tried to flee swimming.'

These conjunctives justifiable by really nothing else are opposed to those "determinative", qualitative subordinate clauses answering the question "which?" and subordinate clauses having the value of other sentence-elements without any qualitative meaning, the predicate of which is in indicative (provided that there is no other reason for using the conjunctive), and in which the pronoun — if there is any — has the meaning of "that". E.g.:

-- "*Eorum hominum*, qui hoc idem *sentiunt*, mentibus ..." (Cic. Cat. 1. 29) 'in the opinion of *those people* who feel the same ...'

-- "Non solum orationes meas, sed *hos* etiam de philosophia libros, qui iam illis fere se *a e q u a r u n t*, studiose legas" (Cic. Off. 1.3) 'Read not only my orations enthusiastically, but also *t h o s e* philosophical books of mine that nearly rival them.'

-- "... dubitas, quorum mentis sensusque *volnera s, eorum* aspectum praesentiamque vitare?" (Cic. Cat. 1. 17) 'will you be (still) reluctant to avoid the glance and the company of *t h o s e* whose way of thinking and emotions you have hurt?'

I think, Cs. Tóttössy, having the evidence just mentioned, was right in drawing a parallel with the definite and indefinite articles in the Hungarian simple sentence, and in the case of objects, between the determining function of adjectival complements answering the questions "which?" or "what kind of?" and Latin subordinated clauses doing the same work. But while in Hungarian, the side of the category also indicated by the form of the verb, is definite, in Latin — considering the indicative as the basic form — we find the indefinite element marked. Though the marker is not specific, it has several other functions in the language — this is why this function of it could remain hidden so long — but it is indisputable that through this marker the distinction of the two poles of definiteness/indefiniteness could be realized by grammatical means, moreover such grammatical means that can be segmentalized, in Latin, too, in the cases when it is required by the unambiguous conveyance of the information.

I considered the phenomena collected in groups in points 1.1. and 1.2. as belonging to the grammatical side of the category of definiteness with the restriction that they belong to the "parole" grammar. The syntactic structural means or determining word-groups discussed up to this point, as means of expressing definiteness/indefiniteness, function obviously on the level of *s p e e c h*. We found the definiteness of the content to be the universal semantic category of speech: I think it likely that an intensive study of the world's languages would show: in every language, there is some kind of possibility of

the linguistic expression of definiteness/indefiniteness on the level of speech: on the level of usage.

2. THE APPEARANCE OF THE CATEGORY OF DEFINITENESS IN THE STOCK OF MEANS

The grammaticalization of definiteness on the level of linguistical stock results in the fact, that there are such elements in the word- or rather morpheme-stock from which the presence of one or the other side of the category of definiteness is inseparable already on the level of stock.

2.1.A D e f i n i t e n e s s i n t h e l e x i c a l m e a n i n g

In the case of some types of substance-indicators already the lexical meaning of the dictionary-form contains the element of definiteness without any other linguistic determining means being used.

Proper Nouns

As far as their history is concerned every proper noun originates from common nouns, but their meaning as common nouns, in most cases, is completely lost by the time they get into the category of proper nouns. This happens in the most different ways: their usage as common nouns is becoming obsolete (it is especially frequent in the case of geographical names); they are borrowed already as proper nouns from another language (such are personal names spread with Christianity); or perhaps those components of the originally motivated name that had independent meaning sink into insignificance and the several components of the name become united (it is especially characteristic of present-day Russian in which many mosaic-words are formed from abbreviations, to denote first of all institutions) etc.

The denoting value of proper nouns, however, can always have a reference only to a definite individual, therefore in languages indicating definiteness by other means, they are all qualified as definite. Presumably, there is not a single language today in which there were no proper nouns, and if it is true, then proper nouns seem to be the means of the expression

of definiteness, and exist on the level of "langue" in every language.

The usage of proper nouns is also determined by those extra-linguistic and contextual conditions that were discussed in the passage dealing with the semantic side of definiteness. The speaker can use a mere proper noun only if considering the content of his partner's consciousness: i. e.: only in that case, when he may well suppose that the denoting value of the noun is clear for the listener. (It is, of course, not to be confused with the real knowledge of the denotatum.) If the speaker's supposition is unfounded, the partner asks back at once, indicating that the conveyance of the information has remained unsuccessful; nevertheless the partner does not always have an opportunity to ask back, the speaker, however, often has reason to suppose that the listener does not know the value of the noun. That is the reason why in contexts other than a familiar conversation, a quite widely known name rarely occurs "barely" in itself on first mentioning. It is true, however, that literary fiction seems to be an exception: such usage of proper nouns proves to be an effectual stylistic means of beginning "in medias res". E. g.:

-- "*László* has no acquired title, rank yet." (A. Sütő: *Engedjétek hozzám jönni a szavakat* - 'Let the words come to me') The question arises in the reader at once: "Who is this *László*?" — although to state the fact of definiteness, it is a sufficient common antecedent both for the reader and the author, that the former holds in his hands the book, one hero of which will probably be "*László*". — Scientific and educational works, historiography, travelogue, publicizm, etc., however, cannot allow themselves to use such means even with the purpose of arousing the reader's interest. Iulius Caesar, for example, who speaks about himself in the third person in his work entitled "*Bellum Gallicum*" considers the mere mentioning of his own name sufficient even for the first time:

-- "*Caesari* cum id nuntiatum esset..." (I. 7. 1)

But mentioning any other person, he gives he gives the direction of reference of every newly occurring proper name by using either an appositive complement, an attributive clause, or giving a short characterization:

-- "*Gaium Fufium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris praererat, interficiunt...*" (VII. 3. 1)

-- "*Veroingetorix, Celtellini filius, Arvernus summae potentiae adolescens, cuius pater principatum totius Galliae obtinuerat...*" (VII.4.1)

-- "*Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix.*" (I. 2. 1.)

The indication of the office may have the same function as well in the structures of ablativus absolutus mancus:

-- "*Gutruato et Conconnetodumno ducibus...*" (VII.3.1)

For the audience contemporary with Horace, *Soraete* or *Aufidus* were names "full of content"; later readers, however, need an explanatory note such as a foreigner unacquainted with the geography of Hungary to "understand" not the meaning, but the reference of *Istállóskó* or *Feketevíz*. The following news is a similarly typical example which begins like this:

-- "*Товарищ Л. И. Брежнев (needs no explanations) и президент Социалистической Республики Бирманский Союз У Не Вин обменялись поздравительными телеграммами ...*" (Правда)

Using a proper noun as a subject, object etc. any language uses a "definite" subject, object etc.; the definiteness of the proper noun derives either from the content of consciousness of the communicating partners or, if it is not sufficient, the speaker or the author makes the proper identification possible in the direct context simultaneously with the usage of the name, most frequently by the aid of an appositive construction or an

attributive clause.

If — rarely — we need an indefinite actualization of the proper noun, we always have to use the linguistic determinants of indefiniteness, that so to say counter-check or correct the original, definite value of the proper noun.

-- *A Napoleon* was lost in him!

The indefinite article turns our attention to the quality of being like Napoleon, the proper noun almost becomes a common one (cp., p. 39).

-- Nem lehet a célnk *ki's Babitsokat* nevelni!

-- To educate *little Babits-es* cannot be our aim!

In plural the value of the \emptyset indefinite article is identical with the "a" in our previous example.

-- *Valami Fekete* telefonált.

-- *Some Mr. Fekete* telephoned.

One says it if he has no common antecedent with his partner as far as *Fekete* is concerned, maybe, the listener can identify the person, but the speaker cannot, and does not consider it important at all (cp., p. 37, /a-1/).

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to the identifiable individual as punctually as the proper nouns do, but the conditions among which they occur are different. The actual denoting value of the pronouns in first and second persons always derives from the speech situation, while the actual content of the pronouns in third persons can be found generally in the contextual antecedent, a merely deictic usage is rare, and the "conventional" usage of the pronoun fostered by the common content of consciousness occurs only in very special speech situations (e. g. the humorous reference to "the Great He/She").

Demonstrative pronouns

László Dezső says about the demonstrative pronouns that they denote definiteness universally. (1972. 69). This statement must be completed with the fact that it refers only to the nominal demonstratives, but does not refer to the adjectival ones like Hung. *ilyen, olyan, ekkora, akkora* and the numeral ones like Hung. *annyi, ennyi* etc., and that exceptions occur

also among the nominal ones. Such exceptions are also mentioned by L. Dezső, but he judges their value differently. In his opinion, in the pair of examples *Péter bort ivott. János is a z t issik.* ('Peter drank wine. John drinks the same') the Hung. demonstrative pronoun does not identify, it has merely an anaphoric function, it refers back to the word previously mentioned, but does not individualize (op. cit. 70). I think that it identifies, however, not the individualized, emphasized item, but the genus, with its partitive indefiniteness in the first sentence.

The usage of the nominal demonstrative pronouns of a substantive value is often mixed with personal pronouns in the 3rd person, especially in Latin (*is — hic — ille — iste — idem*). Also in Russian, they are distinguished semantically not according to whether they refer to a person or object — not like Hungarian in which the usage of the demonstrative pronoun referring to a person, in most cases suggests a pejorative meaning, but if we refer to the object anaphorically the use of the personal pronoun is often more proper than that of the demonstrative pronoun (after a predicate, in an unstressed position) —; the neuter personal pronoun of Russian can hardly be used to denote a person. They are distinguished rather on the basis that the Russian demonstrative pronouns have first of all a deictic reference, while anaphora is more often referred by unstressed personal pronouns. (This fact might be one of the causes why the Russian demonstrative pronoun has not developed into a definite article until now.)

Reflexive pronouns (-self pronouns)

We have in Hungarian the nominative of the reflexive pronoun, nevertheless, it actually has not a reflexive, but an emphasizing function. Both in Latin and Russian, however, this pronoun has only oblique forms and there are other pronouns to emphasize the subject. As, in real reflexive use, the reflexive pronoun always expresses that the subject and the object or experient of the action are the same, therefore it receives its definite semantic content from the context.

2.1.B I n d e f i n i t e n e s s i n t h e l e x i c a l m e a n i n g

Indefiniteness as an element of meaning inseparable from certain classes of the lexical stock also seems to be universal: presumably every language has interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Among them the interrogative pronouns influencing the partner to a high degree must be the most ancient ones, the indefinite pronouns are their derivatives. Both are basically the means of expression of the type of indefiniteness characterized in point /a/ on page 37-38, they usually indicate the speaker's real or pretended lack of information.

The indefinite pronouns of Russian deserve special consideration. For in this language, usually mentioned among the languages that have only a latent category of definiteness, the indefinite pronouns are strikingly differentiated: they contain more and subtler informative elements about the motives of indefiniteness than the Hungarian, German or English indefinite pronouns do. They are able to express, that:

1/ the certain *somebody/something* is totally vague, cannot be individualized:

-- Звонил мне *кто-нибудь*? 'Did anyone call me up?'

-- Я возьму *что-нибудь* почитать. 'I take with me something to read.'

2/ though the information refers to a definite person/thing, the speaker's knowledge is not sufficient for him to be able to identify some image of the listener with the individual image existing in his own mind:

-- К тебе *кто-то* приходил. 'Somebody was here to look for you (but I do not know who he was).'

-- Я видела, что он *что-то* принёс. 'I saw that he brought something (but I don't know what it was [as, for example, it was wrapped up])'.

3/ though the speaker could identify the person or thing exactly, his partner has no sufficient information to understand it, or the speaker considers the exact identification unnecessary, therefore he avoids it:

-- Мне надо с ним кое о чём поговорить. 'I must speak to him about something.' (I, of course, know about what, and it may be that "he" also knows it, but the partner has nothing to do with it.)

By means of the linguistical exponents of definiteness the original indefiniteness of the pronouns can be corrected as well as the definiteness of proper nouns may be counter-checked — it is true, however, that the part-of-speech value of the pronoun is damaged like that of the proper noun. E. g.:

-- "I should like to give Kate *something*." "Well, give her *that something*, but then let her learn!" In Hungarian with the objective conjugational form: "Szeretnék átadni Katinak *valamit*." "Hát add át neki *azt a valamit*, de aztán hagyd őt tanulni!"

2.2. The specific means of definiteness in the field of the language: the articles

The specific but not universal means of expression of the relations of definiteness demonstrable in the field of the language are the articles. The expression "specific" does not mean that the exclusive function of the articles is the indication of definiteness or indefiniteness, but that while fulfilling any other function they refer to the definiteness of the substance-concept, and there are such possibilities of their usage, when they have no other function but the expression of the relations of definiteness (for example the usage of the Hungarian article in combination with adverbs: *a tavaly* 'last year'; *az ősszel* 'in autumn'; *egy kicsit* 'a little'). — In other words: the article always expresses definiteness, although it can have additional accessory functions, too. I call these functions "accessory" and not "secondary", as, according to my observation, they are exactly the more ancient ones, and in the course of the historic development of the language they were overshadowed by the newly cristallized element of meaning that, at the same time also separated the article as a class of morfemes from the

group of those linguistic means to which it had belonged in its previous state. These accessory functions, together with the peculiarities in the form of the morpheme, can be as various in different languages as the characteristic features of the other part-of-speech categories.

On the basis of the articles known to me, it seems to me proper to consider the article generally as one morpheme, from a descriptive point of view. SgNom forms of the articles are considered today everywhere as their basic forms, despite of the fact, that historically they could develop quite certainly from morpheme complexes like the French or Italian partitive article. We cannot suppose even in these cases that the ordinary speaker's linguistic instinct feels the compound nature of the *du* form for example. We can more easily find morpheme complexes among the paradigms of articles (the Spanish *la*, in plural *las* still preserves the plural suffix), but most of these forms have also merged into one, therefore, in most part we find only form-variations, similarly in the inflexion of the German articles.

The articles are usually classified according to , whether they are independent or not, and their place in relation to the noun determined. The latter view was expressed by Edith A. Moravcsik in the appendix of her paper (93-98) mentioned earlier; in Krámský's typological system that question appears to be the basis of classification, whether both items of the category of definiteness are expressed with independent words, or a pre- or postpositional conjunct, suffix, or perhaps one pole is expressed in this, the other in that way, or some other means are used.

These peculiarities are undoubtedly striking, but, in my opinion, they are not basic, as they are the consequences of the conventions in the usage of an earlier state of the language preceding the development of the new class of morphemes just like the state of morphemes indicating adverbial relations, as prepositional or postpositional subsidiary lexemes or affixes. The typological classification of languages according to these

peculiarities has two serious drawbacks however evident are the differences it is based on: on the one hand, it is to be feared that the surface of seeming similarities obscures certain functional differences; on the other hand, there are quite a lot of languages that fit into several types at the same time.

The article with an independent form could remain only in those languages in which it had developed from a determiner independent in its form and constituting a syntagmatic construction in the sentence. There are also such languages in which the suffixal morpheme that had already become an affix changed its function in a similar way — e. g.: the possessive endings in the Komi, Cheremissian, Vogul, Udmurt, Nenets languages —, I know no examples, however, to prove that such an element had later become independent. The unstressed quality of articles must have a role in it.

The formal independence of the articles is rather an uncertain criterion. Together with the reduction of their meaning and the natural decline of their stress, their form was also more or less reduced. The degree of their form-change is hardly influenced by the length of time that has passed since their differentiation in meaning took place that also caused their form-change, but rather by the fact that depending on the quality of the original syntagmatic relation and the word order, either the prepositional or the postpositional article has become standardized. If the article stands after the word constituting one syntactical unit with it, it more easily joins the word as an affix — probably under the influence of tune expressing the connection of the elements — than in the case when it stands before the word. It may be, that it is the consequence of this enclitic inclination that the article attaches itself not only to the defined noun preceding it — e. g., in the Rumanian, Bulgarian, Swedish, Danish, Macedonian languages —, but also to the preposition belonging to the phrase, e. g.: German: *beim, zur, aufs*; Italian: *sull', al, nella* etc.

Krámský quotes examples from Indian languages in which the defined noun is followed by an article in an independent word-form; the question arises however: in what respect does the written form of the language reflect actual separation? — We cannot know from Moravcsik's examples whether among the postpositional cases of the "markers" considered by her as articles there is some with an independent form, or not.

The fact, whether the article in a language is enclitic or proclitic, or it preserves its formal independence even in the case when it stands after the word, is the characteristic not of the article but of the language in question. Such a change of form can take place only if it corresponds to the morpho-phonetic and morpho-phonologic principles of the language, and if these principles are not hindered by other, more imperative circumstances. For example in Italian or in French, the plural of the article carrying a considerable distinctive meaning never merges into the noun, although in the singular the merely genus-distinguishing *il* and *la* have the variant *l'* in both languages.

What is the nature of the relation that attaches this morpheme existing in various forms to its direct environment?

Only those elements can become articles that were originally suitable to serve the actualization of the substance-concept either in the direction of definiteness or indefiniteness in the speech act. They formed a syntactic structure together with the defined words the substance-denoting i.e. nominal nature of which prescribed that their determinatives should stand in attributive or appositive relation with them. Traditional terminology often calls the connection of a noun with an article a "syntagm". Generative grammar considers the article as a special subtype of pronominal determinatives — viz., actually attributes —, when its place is to be determined in the structure of the sentence.

The article, however, is distinguished from the pronominal determinatives by the fact that its relation to the head-word had changed. All the conceptual content has disappeared from its

meaning, but the same cannot be said of the words *this, such, one, my* etc.: they, — though very vaguely —, still contain references to a person, thing, quality or quantity. The article in itself, however, is incapable of referring to the elements of reality or their characteristics, it merely indicates, whether the speaker supposes, that his partner and the reality element in question has at least such a connection, on the basis of which the partner is able to refer the substance-indicator to something.

Thus even if the article has kept its independent form, its meaning is always accessory, because it is a meaning of some relationship. The independence of form is accompanied by a maximum restriction in usage: it can occur exclusively with a noun or a linguistic element in a nominal function; the article is therefore a typical subsidiary lexeme (if not just an affix). As a consequence of this, its connection with the noun defined by it is only syntactical, if this relation is interpreted as occurring always in the sentence, but it can never be of syntagmatical, but rather of morphological nature, and their combination is better called simply a "noun with article", or in general a "word combination with article".

The article, then, is a morpheme denoting relations; let's take into consideration what the nature of the relation it denotes is, and accordingly, which level of relation "the" article belongs to, in general.

(We have mentioned already that in certain languages certain articles can fulfil some function on any functional plane, on pages 12-15. They were, however, the accessory functions of the article that were rooted in the accessory peculiarities in form and the conventions of usage characteristic of the language.)

a/ In the next Hungarian example the new combination formed by the aid of the article is not a new lexical element, the meaning of the word is not changed by the article, only one of the possibilities existing in the word, comes into prominence:

-- Háza körül *virágok* voltak, az ösvény mentén almafák.

A fákat maga gondozta, a *virágokkal* a felesége foglalkozott.

In English:

-- There were *flowers* around his house and apple-trees along the path. He tended the trees by himself, his wife looked after *the flowers*.

It is of course not a lexical formation, the article does not operate on the plane of *f o r m e m e s*.

b/ The presence of the article can be proof of the fact, that a word of non-nominal nature appears with a nominal value. In Móra, for example:

-- (szidtam az olasz vánkost:) "Lehet is *an ilyen*en aludni!" '(I murmured against the Italian pillow:) "How can one sleep *on such a one*!"

Nevertheless, the article was placed before the adjectival element not with the purpose that the latter should become a noun through this article, but for the simple reason that, by that time, it had — through contraction — a nominal value, and moreover, a definite direction. The article is generally not the only means, not even a direct concomitant of the expression of the substantivized quality. If in this the article has any role, it always fulfils this role in a way that the relations of the definiteness of the concept should also be indicated; nevertheless this happens in every other case, not only in the cases of grammatical conversion required by its role in the sentence. Thus, the use of the definite article cannot be separated from the expression of definiteness, but it can be separated from the grammatical word-formation, i. e. the article as a class of morphemes cannot have a place among the *m u - t a t i v e g r a m m e m e s* either.

c/ The article can be declined in certain languages, moreover it can take over from the noun the task of denoting the function in the sentence. Nevertheless, even in these languages it is not the presence of the article that makes the word suitable for fulfilling a certain function in the sentence, for the same noun, having either a definite or indefinite quality, can be similarly used as any sentence element that can be expressed by a noun at all. Therefore, the article itself is neither a condition nor a consequence of some function in the sentence,

it does not belong either to the morphemes of the relative or those of the congruative functional planes.

d/ By the exclusion of the other planes we have only the informative plane, and the function of the article really seems to correspond to this one. It denotes a relation, but it is a relation not in the sentence, but between reality-elements, and it is supposed by the speaker to exist between the partner and the object of the speech, therefore it is similarly objective as the relation between the possessor and the possession or that of comparison and the plurality relation.

In the conception — considering the triad of formant—suffix—flexional ending — established in the Hungarian descriptive grammar, the group of formants can correspond to the group of formemes and mutative grammemes, the flexional endings can be included in the relative and congruative planes, and the suffixes can be placed on the informative functional plane. The traditional division, however, classified only those means of denoting relation that have already become affixes, and also László Deme has only suggested that the relation planes have other types of means as well. The above reflections are an attempt to try to extend the theory of functional planes, developed only sketchily for the grammemes, to the field of semi-free morphemes i.e. subsidiary or semi-lexemes. I think this functional study can be usefully completed by the discovery of such regularities of form and association that are already well known in the system of Hungarian affixes but not at all general in the study of semi-lexemes. Similar investigations could be made to study the means denoting relations, theoretically in every language, and if we found an appropriate number of examples to prove that the article is related to the element of the language in question denoting relation and having an informative function both from the point of view of form and syntactical behaviour, then we could prove the "suffix-like" quality of the article from several points of view. This work, however, should go far beyond the limits of this dissertation.

According to the quality of the relation expressed by the article we distinguish the definite, indefinite and partitive articles.

a/ The definite article — at least in those languages into the depths of which we have been able to penetrate by the aid of linguistic history and etymology — has two sources.

The best known one, as it is the most widely spread in Europe, is the definite article developed from the demonstrative pronoun. Such an article is found in the Hungarian, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Swedish¹, Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian etc. languages. The various rules of its usage testify that there could be several reasons and ways of the impoverishment of the meaning of the pronoun and the decline of stress falling on it. Today, grammarians generally hold the view, that the article could only develop in the anaphoric usage of the demonstrative pronoun. Formerly I also accepted this view, and I excluded the pronominal attributes used in deictic function from those syntactical positions in which the process of becoming articles may have happened. Now, however, I think that we cannot exclude the deictically used demonstrative pronouns from the possible antecedents of the article. In the following type of sentences: "I shall carry *the* basket, you'd rather take *the* suit-case!" the usage of the article justified by situational definiteness can hardly be originated in some ana-

1. The statement of János Pusztay, that, for example, in Swedish the definite noun indicator is nothing else but the indefinite article attached to the word as a postfix, is completely baseless. (*en gard* 'a garden' — *garden* 'the garden' *ett hus* 'a house' — *huset* 'the house'. Nyr. XCIX, 356.) Such a functional change would be difficult to explain even logically, and the explanation is not necessary, as Swedish language history categorically teaches that the end-article of the definite basic form of the nouns was originally an independent word, a demonstrative pronoun with an *en*, *in* form that is identical with the demonstrative pronoun *den* in present-day Swedish. C.p., Wennström: Svenska språkets historia, Stockholm, 1941. 93, 102.

phoric use of the pronoun, and the defining function — supposing a contrast — of the pronominal attributive is rather weak if there is only one suit-case and one basket on the spot, still we say: "I shall carry *that* basket ...". Therefore, I think it would be a mistake to reject the old grammarians' opinion about the article developed from deictic antecedents. The fact, however, that the pronouns used anaphorically must have got into a similar, unstressed syntactical position with a reduced distinguishing value incomparably more frequently, is unquestionable, and it is very likely that the possibility existing also in the pronouns used deictically could never have been realized in itself, without the large number of functional changes of the pronouns with an anaphoric reference.

In connection with this I find remarkable László Kubinyi's opinion according to which "the fashion of anaphora-predominance (that seemed to spread all over Europe at a certain time) remained a fashion even when those presumably historical-cultural causes had ceased to be effective that had enforced a repeated, repeated and again repeated reference to the preceding part upon the speaker" (Nyr. LXXXI, 478). I think it would be reasonable to search for these historical-cultural causes — that had been effective independently of linguistic borders on the European continent more or less at the same time — in the activity of the Church.

Christianity is a teaching religion. Instead of the pagans' ancient rituals accompanied by words understood by hardly anybody, in Christianity the preaching of the word of God and the Gospel has acquired an important function; and the preaching has grown to considerable proportions as Christianity is the only religious ideology of Europe in this time. Wherever its monopolistic position is in danger, the preaching activity is intensified; thousands of priests and monks are devoted to the purpose that their teaching should reach every person: their method is the word of mouth, and as they wanted even their most undereducated listeners to follow and accept without any misunderstanding what they heard, it is clear why they referred back to what they had said earlier, if possible, in a way, that the reference to

the preceding part should be confirmed not only by the anaphoric pronoun with a doubtful content, but also by a notional word beside it.

The question has often been raised in Hungarian linguistic literature, why exactly the pronoun with a back vowel in it became an article in the majority of dialects. In present-day Hungarian, however, the anaphoric reference with a front vowel in it is predominant. Examining the content of the pronouns with back or front vowels in them, I found that the textual antecedent referred to determines the vowel of the reference word. It is only the anaphoric pronoun with front vowels in it that can have an antecedent extending to larger passage units (an information expressed at least in one sentence utterance) like a "block"; and I found a reference word with a back vowel in it used only in the cases, when a single concept was referred to as a "point", but even in these cases these reference words are in minority. But if they occur, they function as "free" sentence-elements, or if they constitute a unit of a construction, they stand in the quality of a possessive attribute, or perhaps they are the objective or adverbial complements of a construction with a participle as a headword, i. e. they function in a nominal value (NéprNyttud. XVII-XVIII, 345 pp.). Nevertheless, the old linguistic data show that it was the semantically irrelevant pronominal defining attribute with a point-like reference and a back vowel in it, the use of which became general, although there also occurred pronominal defining attributes with front vowels in them. As everywhere in the respective places of the linguistic records the use of the article would be proper even today, we must assume that we do not find any anaphoric defining attributes with back vowels was day because these pronouns have become articles in such positions. The reason for choosing a pronoun with front vowels was not only the mere anaphora, on account of the liveliness of pointing to what is near, its deictic value remained on the surface and proved to be enough for it to avoid changing its function.

Among the Slavic languages Bulgarian and Macedonian have the article of the standard language: it is used postpositionally in both languages. This can be explained by that fact of the history of language that the postpositional use of the demonstrative pronoun was proper in Slavic, while the prepositional use indicated the strengthening and intensification of its defining function. (C.p., Horálek, 1967, 248.) — Moravcsik obviously did not consider the linguistic changes that have taken place since the formation of the article, this is why in her system these languages are exceptions among the majority of languages in that their word order in a nominal construction is not the same in case of the demonstrative pronoun or the definite article (op. cit. 89).

The postpositionally used articles in the Uralian languages (with the exception of Mordvinian) originated in the possessive endings. Moreover: the sameness of their forms is so striking that the article is usually not accepted in these languages as constituting an independent class of morphemes. In Collinder's opinion, for example, the possessive ending in certain cases may replace the definite article, may fulfil its function. (Comp. Gr. 1960, 203; Survey 1957 251: "Cheremis has no article, but the Px3sg /or the Px2sg/ may have this function"; 276: "Votyak has no article, but the Px3sg may function as a kind of definite article"; and so on about the other languages, pp. 301, 322, 349, 426, 459, 494.) The Russian grammarians put it more carefully when they state only that a possessive ending may occur also in the usage denoting not the possessor, and in such cases it comes near to the categories of definiteness of Indo-European languages (in Языки народов в СССР III, 203-4; 226).

In my opinion, in those cases when these endings have lost their content indicating a possessive grammatical relation, i. e. their function cannot be considered even as a redundant form of referring to the possessor, we undoubtedly have to do with an article. Such may be the example quoted from Cheremisian by Koved'aieva (op. cit. 227.): Шурни хо неш сай вет 'But the crop is very abundant' — supposing that the personal

* suffix does not really include a reference to the possessor appearing in the context that viz., it is *the drop of something* or perhaps *somebody*. It can hardly be determined on the basis of such examples taken out of their context.

In the case of such sentences, however, in which the possibility of indicating the grammatical possessive relation cannot be separated or eliminated, we cannot even say that the personal suffix has taken over the function of the article. And if in a given language such a word form is used in the structure of the sentence in a nominal function, for example, as an object with a verb in "objective" conjugation, this "grammatical" definiteness is merely *c o n c o m i t a n t* with the fact of being attached to the possessor, and its expression is consecutive: it is realized only in the sentence and not on the level of the morpheme stock. These possessive endings are not articles; neither is the Hungarian possessive ending, not even in the case when perhaps our word with a personal suffix corresponds to a construction with a definite article in another language. E.g.: German: Ich wasche *meine Hände* ~ Ich wasche mir *die Hände*; in Hungarian only: Mosom *a kezemet* ~ *kezet mosok*, but not **a kezet mosom*.

B/ The existence of the *i n d e f i n i t e a r t i - c l e* does not depend on the existence of the definite articles: not all the languages containing the definite article have also the indefinite one, and although its opposite occurs more rarely, there are languages in which only the indefinite article exists, as for example in Turkish.

Considering its origin, it developed in most languages from the definite numeral "one". In Edith Moravcsik's opinion the Arabic and Tonkawa languages are among the exceptions, because the indefinite article and the numerals do not seem to be obviously related at first sight in them. But the Rumanian *nişte* considered as the plural of the indefinite article does not originate in the numeral either: *nişte* < *neşte* < (lat.)

nescio quid (c. p., W. Rothe: Einführung 175 §).

If indefiniteness were really nothing else but the absence of definiteness, then the indefinite article would not be needed, as the absence of the definite article would be enough to distinguish the negative side. Nevertheless, we have already seen the fact that the absence of the definite article is often the consequence of the very evident definiteness, and it is exactly the definiteness that is in most cases obvious from the situation or the context without the aid of any additional grammatical means. This is the reason why I do not agree with János Pusztay according to whom "to determine" and "to emphasize" are related concepts, because both underline a certain — "important" — element of the statement (Nyr. XCIX, 356). In certain languages — under the influence of their morphological system — the use of some kind of article beside the noun is necessary at least in the singular (with the exception of words belonging to certain semantical categories or certain constructions with pronominal determinatives). In these languages not only the definite, but also the indefinite article is burdened with more, accessory functions than in other languages. That is why the use of the indefinite article has a much larger scale in German or in English, for example, than in Hungarian. However, in Hungarian we have an opportunity to state that a noun without an article expresses indefiniteness in a completely different way than a noun with an indefinite article. E. g.:

-- *Regényt olvasok* 'I read novel(s)' — if the question was: "What do you do willingly in spare time?"

-- (Most) *olvasok egy regényt* 'I am (just) reading a novel'
— I say, if I am going to speak about my reading, about a certain book.

It would be a mistake to see the difference in the word order only, because it can be inverted in a given situation, namely the Hungarian word order expresses emphasis rather than definiteness; and what is more: this subtle distinction may appear in

one-word answers when it is impossible to speak about "word order":

-- "Mit olvasol?" 'What are you reading?' "Regényt." 'A novel' — That is to say not news, not poems etc., but with this information I finished the conversation, don't disturb, please! But if I answer that question: "Egy regényt", I am not averse of entering into conversation about this certain one. That is, in Hungarian the indefinite object without an article serves rather to qualify the action generally, while in the second cases the fact of individuality is emphasized.

This individualizing function is the most general characteristic of the indefinite article; it is also common to the definite one, and this is the fact that makes them the items of a common category denoting relations. This could be the fact that caused certain grammarians to think of the indefinite article as being also the means of the expression of definiteness but only in a weaker degree.

Individualization with the indefinite article always occurs without the listener's identifying the individual with an individual already known to him — in accordance with the speaker's intention. The noun standing with this article is actualized first of all by the characteristics of the content of the concept coming into prominence, and the fact of individualization gains a somewhat partitive nature; the noun with an indefinite article indicates any item among the objects denoted by the noun. This reference to the individual coupled with a partitive value — that in most cases excludes the indefinite article from the plural — shows the indefinite article's most obvious inheritance of the numeral quality.

As a consequence of the strong predominance of its relationship with the numeral, the use of the indefinite article causes a problem much more frequently than that of the definite one, when we have to decide whether in a given linguistic occurrence the determinative of the noun is a numeral or an article. It seems to be a problem even in those languages in which the article is undoubtedly present; this is the reason

why the "article-like" use of the numeral is mentioned also in such languages in which the absence of this article is unquestionable, at least as far as the present-day state of the standard language is concerned. (We have no difficulties at all in languages, which have different forms for the numeral "1" and the indefinite article, like in English; but in German and in Hungarian, for example, these words are homonyms.)

The use of the numeral 'one' *egy, ein, un, uno* etc. is in most cases redundant: if the speaker wished to speak not about one thing, he would use the noun in the plural. In accordance with this, if the quantity is also denoted in an explicit way, it means that for some reason it is given some emphasis. It is also underlined sometimes by the use of the more emphatic synonym of "one" (Hung. *egyetlen*, German *einzig* 'single, sole'), in most cases by the presence of some modifier synonymous with "only", and in Hungarian often by the inverted word order of the predicate: "Egy, o s a k egy legény v a n t a l p o n a vidéken". There is only *one* lad... If we read those synonymic expressions, it is impossible to regard them as articles, of course, but the other means do not guarantee the emphasized quality of "one", as both the modifier and the emphatic word order can be directed toward the qualified noun, and then the determiner again becomes "article-like", e. g.: "C s a k egy legény van talpon..." 'There is only *a/one(?)* lad standing' (because the older men and the women are asleep). The intonation of living speech, of course, makes the meaning of such a text unambiguous, it is only the written text that may raise this problem. Still, in most cases it is easy to decide what the correct interpretation — and in accordance with it the proper intonation — is: the context and the situation cannot be ignored even from this point of view. The key to the problem is how the author of the text wishes the expression to be interpreted. If he uses it as a numeral it is the quantity that stands at the centre of his thoughts, and if he pronounces it as an article, then the indication of the quantity is not important, it is reduced to the degree of individuality, and it is first of all the qualitative side of the substance-concept denoted by the noun that acquires significance.

The stressing of the attributive numeral is not by all means strong: if it is mentioned as a circumstance of secondary importance, its emphasis is also diminished:

-- Vettem || két kosár almát 'I have bought two basketfuls of apples.'

This stress is, however, still greater than in the case of the (redundant) "egy" ('one'-'a') indicating the quantity:

-- Vettem egy kosár almát 'I have bought a basketful of apples'.

The part-of-speech value of this numeral-like "egy" having lost its stress is rather questionable, especially if some kind of attributive noun ("counter words" like "piece", "kg", "dozen" etc.) already refers to the quantity. (In such cases in Hungarian "egy" can be left out frequently:

-- "Fél zsemle, Ø pohár tejre / Nagykot sohajta" (Arany J.) - pohár tej = '[a] glass of milk'

The expressions of Hungarian colloquial language "kilós kenyér", "forintos bélyeg", "méternyi szövetmaradék" etc. came into being in this way) I should find it proper to consider all these "egy" forms as articles in Hungarian, too, as they are identical with the articles of uncountable attributive phrases: *egy kis darab kenyér* 'a small piece of bread' ~ *egy kis kenyér* 'some bread'.

Why do we have to insist on the expression "article-like" in certain languages, why can we not consider the attributive numeral having lost its stress an article in every language?

The article as a morpheme denoting relations and being formally either independent or fixed is a crystallized element of the language system that settled down from the numerous occurrences of use and that revives in a new quality even if it preserves the traces of its origin. We cannot speak of an indefinite article in a language if we have only the conceptual content of the attributively used numeral becoming obscure. The article can be considered as an established one only in case if its unstressed use has multiplied to such an extent that its appearance is justified no more by the claim to indicate the quantity but its use is made compulsory by the position of the determined noun closely connected with the

context. Separation in form only rarely accompanies this separation in function e. g. English, but as a consequence of the semantic element denoting relation becoming dominant, the article appears already in such syntactical positions that would have been alien to its original nature as a numeral. Such is the indefinite article of the uncountable quantities in Hungarian: *egy kis víz* 'some water! This *kis, kevés* 'some, little' must have been the attributive numerals of the qualified words, the nouns '... bit of...', '... glass of...'; '... sip of...', '... dose of...' (countable nouns!). Phraseologically the article is more bound to the adjective than to the noun even today in this expressions, the fact of which is justified by the phrases of adverbs of degree, measure and time in which the presence of the article before the adverb can be explained only in this way:

-- *Várj egy picit!* 'Wait a little!'

-- *Ezt egy kissé eldloztad* 'You have exaggerated it a little'.

Only the complete break from its meaning as a numeral could result in that colloquial usage that particularly emphasizes the indefiniteness: before a phrase with attributive numeral, in the meaning of 'approximately', e. g.:

-- *Kivett egy öt-hat darabot* 'He has taken about five-six pieces'.

In other languages the indefinite article has also developed plural forms, a fact that also proves its separation from the numeral "one", for it happened under the constraint of bearing the accessory functions of the article. I consider also important that in German only the otherwise also changed negative form of the article has developed its plural (*keine*). In Rumanian the functions of the indefinite article in the plural are fulfilled by *niște* of non-numeral origin (cp., 76. page) that can be replaced, however, by the indefinite pronouns *unii, unele* which derive from the numeral 'one', and by which the idea of individualization acquires a more concrete expression than by the word *niște*; they mean 'certain' and they emphasize

the "group of relatively well separable individuals" among the numerous phenomena the noun is able to denote (Ádám—Balázs—Balázs 65-66).

In the Portuguese and Spanish languages they also have the plural indefinite article in a form deriving from the numeral "one", but to determine if we have here also to do with merely the use of the indefinite pronoun developed from the numeral similarly to Rumanian *unii* would need a more thorough examination. The facts, according to which this particle still has a certain concept-denoting value, seem to support this argument. Krámský states about the Portuguese language the fact, that the plural forms of the article *um, uma* have not a function of the indefinite article, but that of the indefinite numeral (*uns, umas*), they fit into the word combinations with the meaning of 'several' (op. cit., 78.). V. Macchi's Spanish Grammar written in German considers the constructions such as *unos libros* etc. as those with indefinite articles in plural, but as far as their interpretation is concerned, he translates them as 'einzige Bücher' i. e. 'certain books'. — The development of the indefinite pronoun from the numeral "one" is not unknown to other languages either; in Latin, the direct predecessor of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, the use of the plural forms *uni, unae, una* was also common both in nominal and adjectival value in the meaning of 'some' or 'certain ...s'. With respect to these above, even if in the present-day state of language we could consider these plural forms as being undoubtedly articles, I think it possible that these forms derive not directly from the numeral "1" but from the indefinite numeral ~ indefinite pronoun state.

The partitive article occurs much more rarely than the other two: according to the sources I was able to reach, it can be found only in French and Italian among the Indo-European languages. It does not really constitute a distinct group, but proves to be one of the forms of the indefinite article. The partitive element is the most frequent motive of indefiniteness even in those languages in which there is no partitive article; and in which there is a partitive

article, its usage is related to that of the indefinite article in every respect (H. Frey; Krámský 121-2): the functions of the indefinite article are distributed among them, and they together are opposed to the definite article:

definite \longleftrightarrow non definite

indefinite \longleftrightarrow partitive

In connection with this I have to mention that both in Italian and in French the rôle of the indispensable indefinite article — that fulfils several accessory morphological functions in both languages — is taken over in plural by the plural of the partitive article.

While with respect to its functions the partitive article belongs to the indefinite article, it is related to the definite article as far as its origin is concerned: it is the definite article that is latently present in its form in the Italian and in the French feminine gender obviously, and if we historically analyze French *du* of masculine gender and the plural *des* used only as an indefinite article, we find the same.

How is it possible that the specific means of the expression of definiteness could become the means of expression of indefiniteness?

The part-whole relation of reality exists between two substance-concepts, and both have their actual definitive reference. We can speak of

1) a definite part of a definite whole:

-- "elhulltanak *legjobbaink* a hosszú harc alatt" (Vörösmarty) 'the best [of us] fell in the long struggle';

2) an indefinite part of a definite whole:

-- "Evet *pár szemet a cserecsnyéből* (lit.:)'He has eaten some pieces from the cherries.'

3) a definite part of an indefinite whole:

-- "Kémia órán *valami savas folyadéknak az alkotórészeit* kellett meghatározniunk 'During the lesson of chemistry we had to determine the constituents of some turbid liquid';

4) an indefinite part of an indefinite whole

-- *Átöntött egy keveset valami savaros folyadékból egy kémcsőbe* 'He has poured over a small part of some turbid liquid into a test-tube'.

The linguistic projection of the real part—whole relation in Indo-Germanic languages is the grammatical relation of the possession—possessor (genitivus partitivus) that builds both substances into the structure of the sentence in an explicit way, connecting them in a syntagmatic form. In Hungarian the attributive construction with a quantity-denoting noun is more frequent (*Evettd pár szem cseresznyét* 'He has eaten some cherries'—*Mennyi cseresznyét?* 'How many cherries?') or the solution similar to that with an adverbial complement of origin, in which the "totality" expressed in the adverbial complement subordinated to the predicate directly stands in a grammatically inorganic, not level-changing, i. e. "indifferent" relation with the object or subject or perhaps the adverbial complement carrying the part-concept but relating to the adverbial phrase only semantically:

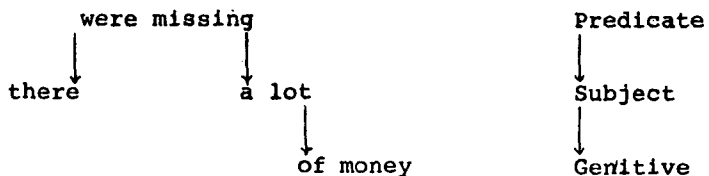
-- *Evettd pár szemet a cseresznyéből* 'He has eaten some cherries' verbatim: 'he has eaten some pieces of the cherries'.

-- *Hányzott pár szem a cseresznyéből* 'There were some [pieces of the] cherries missing';

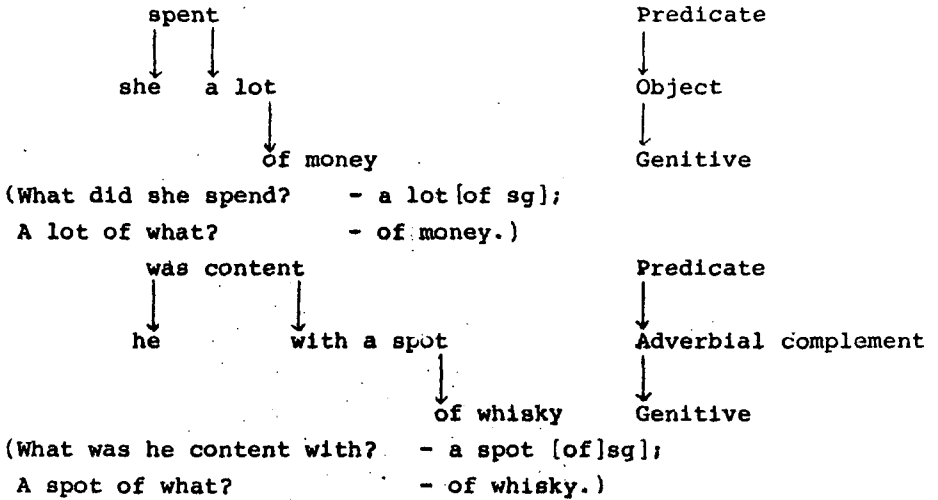
-- *Beérte párral a cseresznyéből* 'He was content with some [pieces of the] cherries'.

Illustrating the elements connecting with each-other in the sentence:

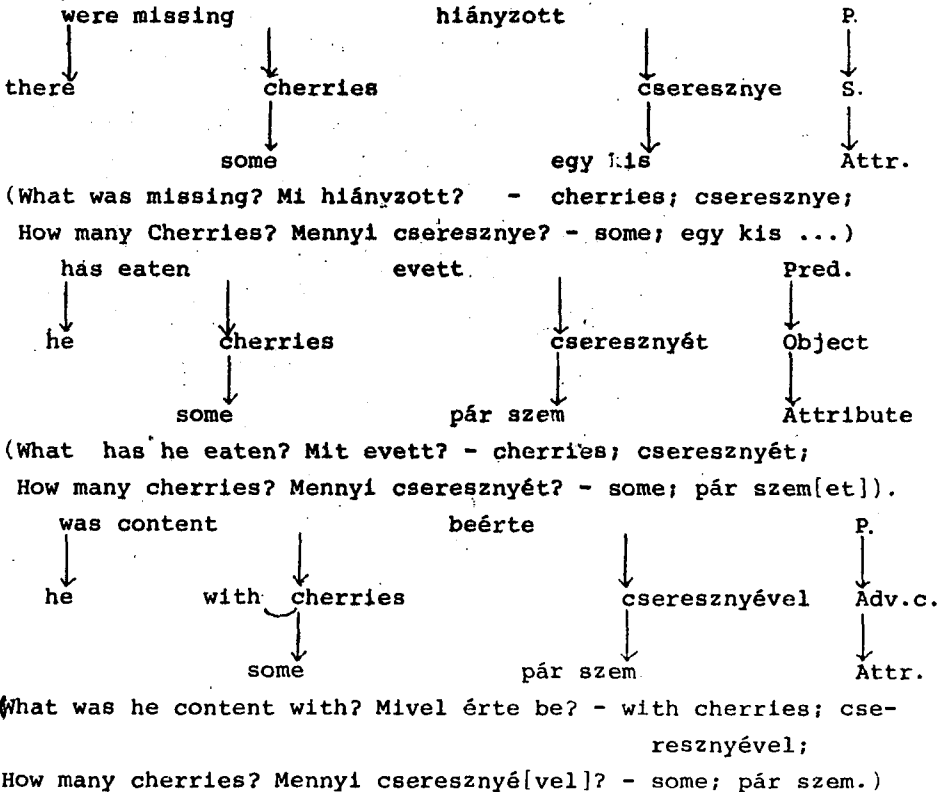
in a genitive construction (Indo-Germanic solution):



(What was missing? - A lot [of sg]
A lot of what? - of money.)



in a construction with an attribute denoting quantity:



with the adverbial complement of Hungarian:

hiányzott
↓ ↓
pár szem / egy kevés a cseresznyéből Subject Adv.c.
(Mi hiányzott? - pár szem; egy kevés;
Miből hiányzott? - a cseresznyéből.)

evett
↓ ↓
pár szemet / egy kicsit a cseresznyéből Obj. Adv.c.
(Mit evett? - pár szemet; egy kicsit;
Miből evett? - a cseresznyéből.)

beérte
↓ ↓
pár szemmel / egy kevéssel a cseresznyéből Adv.c. Adv.c.
(Mivel érte be?/Mennyivel érte be? - pár szemmel; egy kevéssel;
Miből érte be? - a cseresznyéből.)

The questions containing the modified member of the subordinating structures show how the structures change or keep the levels in the sentence.

If the measurement, form etc. of the indefinite part is so insignificant in the communication that it does not require the use of any word indicating measure or quantity, then the grammatical structure is reduced:

-- Szedett magának *levest*. 'He ladled himself *soup*'.
In the case of a solution with a possessive construction the possession is eliminated, and as in the French and Italian the possessive relation is indicated in the possessor: its case-indicating preposition remains to be an element of the partitive article. The definite article is the consequence of the definiteness of the "whole" appearing in the role of the possessor, and that usually derives from the situation (Szedelek a *levesből*. 'I ladle *from the soup*.' —(which is on the table)); but the definiteness of the whole can also derive from the context (which, in such cases, usually contains the description of some situation), and very often the possessor is an abstract noun, the definiteness of which is rooted in its abstract individuality. Nevertheless, the glosses forming

the possessive case of the definite noun can get higher from the level of the subordinated modifier (syntaheme) to the function of the eliminated dominant only if it also absorbs the actual content of its meaning, that is to say in this function the element including the relative meaning of definiteness of the glosseme adjusts itself to the indefinite value of the once dominant unit. A sense for language still finds the basic meaning of the glosseme in the noun and assigns the new and more complex state of being compared to the comparative elements that can be found in it. Hereby the morphemes lose their original meaning, and they are revalued to become the means — inseparable from each other — denoting relations of indefiniteness with a partitive value: cp., Italian:

-- Ho mangiato *d e l* pane.

French:

-- Je mange *d u* pain;

-- Il met *d u* café dans la tasse.

Reduction of the construction does not take place, however — and the partitive article cannot be used —, if we indicate the part exactly. In such cases the whole appears to be indefinite, only a marker of quality, and there is no mark of a definite article at all. Both French and Italian use only the preposition of genitive case in these constructions: French: beaucoup *de* pain; une tasse *de* café; Italian: una bottiglia *di* vino.

The definite article could not get into the structure either, if reduction took place but the whole itself was indefinite. This was the cause of the development of the constructions with qualifiers and indefinite value. In accordance with their meaning they did not require the definite article, and they did not need the indefinite one either, possibly because of the fact that the morphological secondary functions were fulfilled by the attributive adjective. This is why in French the mere preposition *de* stands in the place of the partitive article if the noun is preceded by an attribute: *de bon pain*;

even in the plural with the value of the simple indefinite article: *de grandes travaux*. The rule is the same with literary Italian: *Ho di bei gioielli*, although the colloquial language (obviously under the influence of analogy) admits also the article in the construction: *Noi facciamo dei brutti sogni*. Here the partitive article *dei* stands in the place of the literary *di*.

The partitive article is therefore not a marker of a new relation of definiteness but a special form of the indefinite article, which developed in certain languages to denote a frequent type of indefiniteness, and shares the indication of indefiniteness with the definite article.

There exist several other types of articles but if we examine them more closely, we find that they also belong to the sphere of either the definite or the indefinite article. It is the consequence of the different accessory functions deriving from the system of the languages in question that they are called "personal Artikel" and "Sachartikel" as distinct from the general terminology. This distinction also developed to denote the relations of definiteness of the nouns, but in such a way that the article indicates whether the defined substance is a person or a subject. All this is very similar to the division of the articles denoting the gender (genus) in Indo-Germanic languages, a division which the Indo-Germanic languages may have had at an earlier stage of their development, viz., at the time of the separation of the neuter gender denoting things from the words denoting living beings belonging to the masculine and feminine gender — supposing, of course, that there had been an article at all by that time.

The article of the American Ponka language also corresponds to the genus-concept based upon the meaning, although it constitutes a much more complex system. This article distinguishes not only the living being from the inanimate thing, but also the things of horizontal, stationary, moving, static, round etc. quality — but it contains all this, together with

the relation-element of definiteness; in spite of this numerous family of the definite articles they use only one indefinite article.

In the Roumanian language — in addition to the nominal enclitic article and the adjectival prepositive definite article — there is a third kind of the definite articles: the possessive article. Its treatment, however, — as far as I can judge it — is unfitting here among the pure articles, but belongs to the next group of morphemes denoting definiteness.

The genuine article forms a construction in the sentence always with a noun, the relation of which it expresses; but it expresses this relation independently of the noun's state of being compared in the sentence even in the case when the article happens to be the means of the indication of this relation. Its form may change according to the required grammatical case, but its meaning reflects the relations of the actual content of the meaning of the noun outside the sentence, and not its meaning, only its form is dependent on the case as a consequence of the syntactic construction.

2.3. The secondary means of the expression of definiteness

There are on the morphological level in the languages also means of denoting definiteness that cannot be called articles, though they undoubtedly express relations of definiteness within their own sphere of action, but they always do it dependently on some other grammatical function, i. e. they primarily express the relation in the sentence and the expression of definiteness is only accessory in them. Therefore, they are not specific, only secondary means of the expression of definiteness.

These means can morphologically present themselves as the grammatical category of not only the noun but also of the adjective or the verb, their meaning, however, always refers to the actual content of the meaning of a given noun — that stands in a syntactic relation with the verb or the adjective.

It is interesting to state as far as their division between the poles of definiteness is concerned, that here, definiteness is generally the marked, and indefiniteness the unmarked category. It can be explained by the fact, that it is the nouns with a definite content of meaning that are often pronominalized, they lose their emphasis, or perhaps they do not even occur in the text, they are present latently only in the reserves of the mind. The unstressed, reduced, definite substance-indicator with a pronominal form can attach to the verb, and it can become fixed as a conjugational affix: in such cases the definiteness of that sentence element may present itself as the grammatical category of the verb, the function of which was originally fulfilled by the pronoun reduced to a flexional ending.

The most necessary complement and the least separable from the verb is the subject. Apart from scarcely a dozen meteorological verbs or other impersonal verbs, the most verbal characteristic of the verb in every language is its relation to the carrier of the action: hereby it becomes "verbum finitum". (N. B. the "subjectless" impersonal meteorological verbs of Hungarian — *esik, villdmlik, havazik* etc. — are used in English or in German with a pronominal subject of neuter gender: *i t is raining; i t is lightening; i t is snowing; e s regnet; e s blitzt; e s schneit*.) It is obvious that the origin of the verbal personal-suffixes indicating the person and number of the subject is also connected with definiteness. This is confirmed by the history of the personal suffixes among which the oldest ones all show an etymological relationship with the personal pronouns, and by the use of verbs in languages having the full verb paradigm, according to which the — definite — pronominal subjects are very frequently represented only by the verb form with the personal suffix in the sentence. The member of full rights of the Hungarian conjugational paradigm, the subjective personal suffix \emptyset in the third person singular does not disprove, but rather confirms it, for if the subject was indefinite, it had

to be named by some noun or indefinite pronoun, but neither of them stood beside the verb frequently enough to become an affix. And if the subject was definite, especially if its definiteness derived from the context, then, to refer to it seemed to be unnecessary; in most cases, its presence in the content of consciousness proved to be sufficient as long as no other subject could come into question. Similarly, the marking of the second person singular in imperative was unnecessary because of the obvious reference of the speech situation, and it is marked by a \emptyset personal ending in a great deal of languages until now.

I think therefore that the influence of the grammaticalization of definiteness in most languages is the paradigm of personal suffixes formed on the basis of the definiteness of the subject — and maybe it has not been noticed so far because of its being so frequent. Their development is, of course, obscured by the past, and in the course of time numerous personal endings developed that have nothing to do with personal pronouns. Their connection with the definiteness of the subject became obscured mostly owing to the fact that the personal suffixes had become from the representatives of the subject the — after all redundant — means of referring back to the subject and assuring the congruence of the predicative relation. On account of their redundant nature they may disappear at certain stages of the development of the language and then again the single indicator of the subject will be the pronoun, as in English, today.

The indication of the person and number of the subject is exclusively a verbal category in most languages, but it is the consequence of the fact that the verb is generally the part of speech serving as predicate. If the nominal predicate is general enough in a certain language, and the use of personal suffixes with the nouns and adjectives is not alien to it, the nominal predicate may also develop an affix referring to the subject, as it is shown by Erza-Mordvinian: *lomañan* 'I am a man', *lomañat* 'you are a man'.

According to the frequency order the next valency of the verb is absorbed by the object; therefore its definiteness is especially often accompanied by a grammatical change, to such an extent that — ignoring the subject completely — the grammarians consider the object as such a sentence element the definite or indefinite quality of which determines most frequently the grammatical aspect of a language. Nevertheless, the fact whether a substance-indicator is a grammatical subject or a grammatical object is only a question of the surface construction. Several Finno-Ugric languages use a kind of objective conjugation; this conjugational form seems to be alien to the Indo-Germanic languages, on the other hand the use of the passive voice is wide-spread in them. Both uses of the verb are based on the definiteness of that reality element from the point of view of communication, towards which the action expressed by the verb with an objective meaning is directed; nevertheless it would be ignorance of the facts and oversimplification if we stated that the objective conjugation replaced the passive voice or conversely. The use of the passive voice is not alien to Hungarian language — as it is witnessed by our participles — and also in other Finno-Ugric languages the passive and the objective conjugation exist well side by side (e. g. in Wogul). The relations between the passive voice and the different expressions of the object have aroused the grammarians' interest lately. Béla Kálmán delivered a lecture on this topic in Nyiregyháza in August 1977. (Cp., NytudÉrt. 104. 449-51.) In Finno-Ugric languages, however, it needs an exploration when and why the speakers give preference to this or that sentence structure. And concerning the vitality of the objective conjugation, I have found an astonishing example in present-day colloquial German!

A few years ago playful sport competitions taken over from the television programme of the G.D.R. for the youth were broadcast serially on TV under the title of "Gyere velünk, csinálj velünk..." 'Come with us, do together with us ...'. Well, the motto of these competitions was often seen on the screen, on the transparencies placed in the gymnasium or sports ground: "Komm mit, mach mit, *mach's* besser!" (My italics). In German

the imperative 2nd person singular has \emptyset personal suffix, the subject can be only the person spoken to; the verb *mitkommen* indicates motion, it is an intransitive verb; *mitmachen* is not necessarily a transitive verb either, it can express "working together". *Machen*, however, by all means requires the indication of what the partner should do. *Mach es besser* 'do it better (i.e. that what you do together with us)'. As the tele-screen proves it, the agglutination was already completed in colloquial pronunciation to such an extent that it could be registered in the written form as well: *mach es* > *machs*. And this word form includes, that we expect the 2nd person singular subject to "do something" in a way that the action should be directed towards the object in 3rd person. What else is it if not an "implicative" verb form as John Lotz also called the Hungarian verbs with the personal suffix *-lak/-lek*, referring to the 1st person singular subject and the 2nd person object at the same time: *látlak* 'I see you'? The other items of the German paradigm have not developed (yet?) — in this respect it is also similar to the Hungarian *-lak/-lek* suffix.

The definiteness of the object can present itself in the languages not only as a verbal category, it can also influence the nominal declension. One of the possible forms of this is exemplified by the Turkish languages: only the definite object has the case-ending of the accusative, the indefinite one does not have it. Another possibility of expression that results in the enlarging of the nominal case-system is the use of the case form of the partitive in certain occurrences of the indefinite object. — These case-endings are undoubtedly the means of denoting the category of definiteness or indefiniteness, but their use is always bound to a certain function in the sentence and this fundamentally distinguishes them from the articles. Therefore I find it a mistake in Krámský's book that he assigns the Turkish and Mordvinian languages to the same type saying that in them the category of definiteness is expressed by the nominal declension (169 sqq.) The declension of the noun in Mordvinian is always full even in the indefinite cases, and

the case-endings of the definite noun differ from it only in that one of the variations of the article can be found before or after them — which must be connected with the historical order of the development of the various endings.

By further examining the necessary complements of the verb, we find that there are far fewer verbs the necessary complements (or at least the complement that can be represented) of which is not, or is not only the object but also the adverb. The more varied the stock of means of the adverbs is, the more the number of their necessary correlations is distributed. On the other hand, among the adverbial complements there are not only substantial ones, but — in the group of adverbs of manner and those of state — there are many of them having an accidental conceptual content that are indifferent from the point of view of definiteness. It is also explained by these facts that the adverbial cases had hardly any opportunity to acquire any greater significance as far as the category of definiteness was concerned, and it may have been hindered also by the fact that the adverbs are much more morphologically bound to some grammatical means; on the other hand, their place in the sentence is much freer, counting from the verb, their order in the sentence generally comes only after the subject and the object, even in Hungarian which has a fairly free word order, only the emphatic adverbial complement has a place close to the verb. If on account of the relations of the content of communication the definite actualization is still necessary, it is achieved by the aid of the article and/or one of the means of expression on the parole level:

- The Indians lived *in wig-wams*. — *In this wig-wam* there used to live Indians;
- *For children* not a single sip of spirits! — I have brought some cake *for the children*.
- He was shot down *with a revolver*. — It was *your revolver with which* he was shot down!

Moreover: in the Hungarian language reacting to the definiteness so sensitively, there are examples to prove that the definite actuality is discovered merely through the content relation given by the reserves of the mind without the use of any grammatical means:

- *Tavasszal* kezdődtek a hadjáratok 'The military expeditions began *in spring*' (= in most cases);
- *Tavasszal* kezdődtek a próbák 'The rehearsals began *in spring*' (*this spring*, i. e. the rehearsals of the summer performance).

Nevertheless the favourable syntactical position can create an irrevocable grammatical change even because of the definiteness of the adverbial complement of the verb: such a syntactical position may have been the case of the already mentioned adverb that could attach to the verb standing after it on account of the very fact of its being emphasized, because the stress on the first syllable of the verb had become insignificant in comparison with the emphasized sentence element and this resulted in the formation of the Hungarian verbs with prefix. We must think of especially those — not ancient — verbal prefixes in connection with definiteness, in which such an adverb became a prefix denoting direction that also corresponded to the adverbial form of the personal pronoun. In a full sentence they are generally parallel to an "explicit" adverbial complement (also in a redundant way) but if it is definite in 3rd person singular, then the sentence utterance is elliptical and the adverb is represented only by the pronominal meaning preserved in the verbal prefix. (In other persons, however, practically the same element is not a verbal prefix, but an independent pronominal adverb.) E. g.:

- A sötétben nem látta az akadályt, és belesérült / hozzá-
ütődött / nekiment / rdlépett etc. 'He could not see
the obstacle in the darkness and he ran *into it* /
knocked *against it* / hit *against it* / stepped on *it*...'

But:

-- A sötétben nem vett észre, s nekem jött / belém ütközött / rdm esett etc. 'He did not noticed [me] in the darkness and he ran *into me* / hit *against me* / fell *upon me*'.

From the point of view of the value of their usage such a verb with prefix can similarly represent the definite adverbial complement as a transitive verb can represent the object:

-- Nem látta *az akadlyt*, és fellökte. 'He did not see *the obstacle* and knocked [*it*] over'.

The fact that not only the objective conjugation of the verb but already its meaning brings about a gap that must be filled in and that can be filled in always with a definite element taken from the situation, context or from the content of common consciousness of the speaker and his partner is proved by the elliptical sentences containing a verb with subjective conjugation completed with an-object in the first or the second person: Cp., NéprNyttud XXI, 71-87.

-- Elmondom, ha érdekel. 'I can tell you if [*you*] are interested [in it]' The verbal structure of Hungarian verb *érdekel* is an active one: "vmi érdekel vkit" — verbatim: 'sg interests sy'. And in the answer the same form of the verb changes the object understood:

-- Nem érdekel. '[I] am not interested [in it].'

The definite, or sometimes the indefinite, nature of the meaning of a noun can influence the morphological structure of the sentence accordingly to the functional role of the noun in question in the sentence not only on the sentence level, but it can determine the morphological characteristics of the syntagm containing it, namely from two directions, according to whether the noun is the modifier or the modified member of the syntagm.

If the noun is the modified member of the syntagm, then its definiteness very frequently influences the construction of the whole syntagm. We already explained in detail, above, that the article itself was formed by the reduction of the construction with a pronominal defining attribute, i. e. a syntagm.

The definiteness of the modified member can be independent of the complement in the construction, but can also be its consequence:

-- Amikor ellopták a kiscicánkat, a síró gyerekeket alig lehetett megvigasztalni.

-- 'When our kitten was lost, the crying children were hard to comfort.'

Here *a gyerekek*, 'the children' are given, and the fact that they cry, indicates only their present state of mind, why they must be comforted, but this "determiner" makes the qualified word not definite, only more colourful and richer in content.

-- Az óvónő egykettőre rendet csinált: a verekedő kiskasokat szétválasztotta, a síró gyerekeket megnyugtatta.

-- The nurse made order in a trice: she separated the fighting cocks and consoled the crying children.

Here only *those children* had to be consoled *who cried*, therefore here the appropriate members of the group of children were defined by the attribute.

It still needs proof to show, to what an extent it is characteristic what is true in these examples: if we had to leave out something in the first case it could only be the attribute: "... alig lehetett *a gyerekeket* megvigasztalni", "...*the children* were hard to comfort". Although the statement is a little bit colourless in this way but it still has full value, while it would be not only awkward, but also senseless if the qualified word were merged into the attributive: "Amikor elveszett a kiscicánk, alig lehetett *a sírókat* megvigasztalni"; "When our kitten was stolen, *the crying ones* were hard to comfort". In the second sentence, however, the

(defining) attribute can embrace the qualified word, moreover such an abbreviation is required by our linguistic instinct:

-- "... *a verekedőket szétválasztotta, a sírókat megnyugtatta.*"

-- "...*the fighters* (verbatim: *the fighting [ones]*) were separated and *the weepers* (verb.: *the crying [ones]*) were consoled."

We know several languages in which the ending of the attributive adjective changes according to whether there is an article in the word construction or not and what kind of article it is (e. g., German and Swedish). Certain Slavic languages also preserve the mark of the duality of the adjectival declension in Old Slavic: the attribute of the noun of masculine gender has a different ending in Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian according to whether the noun is definite or indefinite, although the use of the indefinite, shorter form is more and more limited to the predicative position (cp., Russian!). Krámský says (op. cit., 181) that in certain languages or in a certain state of a language (e.g. in Old English) in which there is no definite article, the adjective with such a changing declension is the embodiment of the opposition in definiteness. We have to notice, however, that the so called "definite", "weak" declensions are used not only beside the article, but also beside certain pronouns, namely first of all demonstrative pronoun known as the ancestor of the definite article (the pronoun is also present in Krámský's example), and this shows clearly that such a relation between the definiteness of the qualified word and the use of the qualifier is again only a secondary, situational consequence. The form-change of the adjective derives from its role as an attribute and from that communicative striving that the audience should refer the addressee to the appropriate substance as precisely as possible; the unity of the syntagms with attribute is the consequence of this, and presents itself in the agreement of the adjective with the noun in those languages in which the adjectives are also declined.

In his study quoted above István Fodor saw one of the main motives of the development of grammatical gender in the significance of agreement. It seems to be very likely, that the various realizations of the universal semantical content of definiteness in the different languages are not independent from the fact either, by what means the reference of the concepts to each other and the connection of the units of the syntagms belonging together are achieved in the languages in question. In German and Swedish the "indefinite" form of the adjective has a fuller affix realizing the congruence more perfectly, but I think, not on account of the noun being indefinite, but because of the fact that there is no such pronominal attribute standing before the noun phrase and asserting the congruence of its members more powerfully the ending of which referring back to the noun would keep the whole construction together, embracing it in some way, ensuring hereby the belonging of the intermediate elements into it, too, — and under the influence of which, however casually from the point of view of the adjective, the substance-concept still became definite.

The connection between the adjectival congruence and the means of the expression of definiteness — first of all the article — as far as I know has not yet got into the centre of interest as a possibility to examine. Though — at least in the languages I know — it is striking that there is nearly an inverse ration between the spreading of the article and the richness of the flectional ending of the adjective in most Indo-Germanic languages. In the Finno-Ugric language family having very different structural systems from those of the Indo-Germanic languages, in Hungarian that has the articles, the criterion of an adjectival construction appears to be only the indissoluble word order, while in Finnish, which has no article, the attribute is connected with the qualified word by repetition of the entire flexional ending.

The languages, of course, cannot be compartmentalized in this respect either, that is exactly the reason why a further, more thorough study of the question is needed.

If the noun whose relations of definiteness and their consequences we analyze is the subordinate constituent of the syntagm¹, then we have to separate the various types of construction according to the nature of the principal constituent of the syntagm.

The element superior to the determiner with a nominal nature can have either a verbal or a nominal nature.

In case it has a verbal nature then it is a non-finite form of the verb: infinitive, participle, gerund, verbadverb, supinum etc. All these can be completed by a noun having the function of an object, adverbial or rarely a subject complement, and the non-finite forms of the verb themselves can fit into the sentence in different functions. — I do not know if in any language the relation between the participle and its complement has been examined from the point of view of definiteness, so I try to outline here my observations in the field of the Hungarian language.

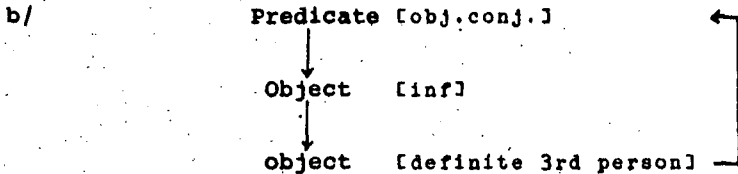
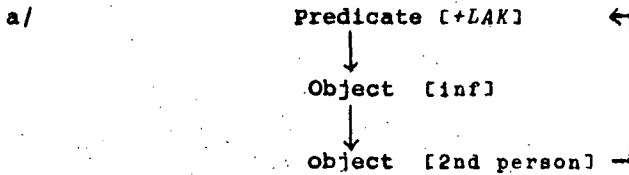
There are three types of the non-finite form of a verb in the contemporary Hungarian: the infinitive, the participle and the verbadverb. (Cp., Imre-Benkő: *The Hungarian Language*, Budapest, 1972, 109 sqq.)

The infinitive can be the subject, object or the adverbial complement of the sentence and the noun can be the object or the adverbial complement of the infinitive. — Only that position has a morphological consequence in which the element subordinate to the infinitive having the function of an object is a definite object in the 2nd or 3rd person: in such cases the verbum regens is conjugated as if the direct object on the level of sentence were definite, i. e. the definiteness of the

1. I use this term in the narrowest sense according to Deme's definition,

defining element of the syntagm covers the whole syntagm:

-- Nem akar^{LAK} zavarni [téged], csak meg akar^{OM} mutatni est. '[I] don't want to disturb [you], only [I] want to show [you] this'.



The use of the verb beside these structural objects seems to be the result of analogic development; that is also indicated by the fact that it extends to such intransitive verbs as could never get the objective personal endings according to their meaning (e. g.: "Jöttelek figyelmeztetni" 'I came to warn you').

The object complement of the infinitive functioning as a subject or adverbial complement (apart from a few irregular and improper colloquial forms like that) is unable to cause any morphological change so is the adverbial complement of the infinitive functioning as an object. The definiteness of them all is expressed by the usage of the article according to our present-day state of language. According to my observations not authenticated statistically, if the subordinate element is an indefinite noun, it usually stands before the infinitive, while it stands more frequently after the infinitive if it is a definite one. It reminds me very much of the word order of the verb and the complements on the level of sentence.

The typical usage of the participle is the adjectival, attributive use; if it gets to the level of sentence we usually speak of an occasional substantivization by attachment. We can-

not speak of the definiteness of a qualificative syntagm or combined qualifier, nevertheless, if the definiteness of the subordinate noun makes the action denoted by the participle concrete, then the element superior to the participle is very likely to become definite, too, as, by qualifying it we have also determined and defined it among the other individuals that cannot be characterized with the same action.

-- *A folyón átívelő hidat* nemrég adták át; *a hidat tervező mérnököt* kitüntették. 'The bridge spanning the river was inaugurated not long ago; the engineer designing the bridge was rewarded.'

The ending of the specific participle having a personal suffix and occurring together with the subject complement ("bivalyok vontatta szekér" 'a cart drawn by buffalos') must have been an objective verbal personal ending originally, but even then it had referred to that noun that became the head of the attributive construction (cart), as, the participle referring to it is passive. Today, however, its presence depends not on definiteness but the subject complement attracts this form independently of the definiteness of either the subordinate or the superior noun:

-- *As anydm süttete kenyérnek* volt ilyen jó íze 'The bread baked by my mother used to have such a good taste'.

Ennél az ötvözetnél csak *minimális hő okozta tágulást* várhatunk 'We can expect only a minimal expansion caused by heat' in the case of this alloy'.

The definiteness of the nouns superior and subordinate to the participle is not necessarily of the same value, as our statement about the noun with an attribute is also valid here that viz., its definiteness can be independent of the attribute.

The indefinite element of the construction is generally used without an article. In the case of a definite principal element the article introducing the combined functional part of the sentence is before the whole construction, but its force does not necessarily extend to the noun standing beside it:

- A fából készült hidat pillanatok alatt elborították a lángok 'The bridge made of wood was covered with flames in a trice'

In this sentence the noun *fa* 'wood' is standing after the article only because of the strict word order of the Hungarian attributive constructions, but it is not definite, only the *híd* 'bridge'. It would, however, become clear only from a more complete context that the "wooden" quality is mentioned let's say to justify the quick spreading of the flames, independently of definiteness, or it serves as a distinguishing mark against another, for example, a stone bridge, because in this latter case the combined attribute, although it is not definite itself, still becomes the source of definiteness of the whole syntagm.

(It can also be imagined, however, that *fa* — wood is definite; then we can observe how its definiteness spreads over the noun superior to it, namely by the aid of the wholly evoked reserves of the mind:

- A menekülők a szakadék szélén kidöntöttek e g y h a t a l m a s f á t, majd a fából rögzített hidat a mélybe taszították, miután átkeltek rajta. 'The fugitives on the brink of the abyss threw down a l a r g e t r e e, then the bridge made of this tree was thrust into the depth after they had crossed the abyss on it.'

The subordinate indefinite noun is used without an article in the construction even if the superior element is indefinite:

- Zsebkendővel integető nyaralók mellett haladt el a vonat 'The train was passing holidaymakers waving [their] handkerchiefs'

the indefinite article standing before the construction in such cases belongs not to the defining noun but to the qualified word of the participle:

- E g y zsebkendővel integető g y e r e k c s o p o r t mellett száguldott el a vonat 'The train was passing a g r o u p o f c h i l d r e n w a v i n g [t h e i r] h a n d k e r c h i e f s'

But if the subordinate noun is definite and the superior element still remains indefinite, then these relations must by all means be indicated by the use of the articles: this is the case, when two — always different — articles stand side by side:

-- Egy, a esereplőket nem ismerő szemtanú
így mondta el az esetet... 'A n e y e w i t n e s s
not knowing *the persons*, related the incident as
follows...'

The inverted order of the articles is much rarer, we have said above that the indefiniteness of the subordinate noun is expressed through its use without an article. Idiomatic phrases, however, keep their indefinite article even in such cases, although this article has stronger stress than usual and gets nearer to the numeral than in any other position:

-- As egy pillanatra sem tévővázó rendőr
a menekülő után vetette magát. 'The policeman not hes-
itating even for a moment dashed off in
pursuit of the fugitive '.

According to my observations, the colloquial language tries to avoid using the article with the indefinite subordinate element, we rather use a complex sentence instead (*A rendőr egy pillanatra sem tévővázott, hanem a menekülő után vetette magát* 'The policeman did not hesitate even for a moment, but dashed off in pursuit of the fugitive'), — although the handbook of "Correct Hungarian" does not condemn such solutions (Magyar Nyelvhelyesség 335).

The verbadverb fits into the sentence as an adverb of manner, or of state on the sentence level, and the quality of definiteness of the element subordinate to it is not accompanied by morphological change. It has usually no fixed place in the sentence, both the definite and the indefinite complement can stand before or after the verbadverb; there is, however, such a tendency, if the indefinite noun is used without an article, it usually precedes the verbadverb — and if it still follows the verbadverb, it has an interpretative value:

-- Az asztalnál ült, süteményt majszolva ~ majszolva egy süteményt 'He was sitting at the table, munching a cake'.

-- Az asztalnál ült, majszolva, || süteményt. 'He was sitting at the table, munching, || a cake'.

It may not be clear enough from this linear enumeration, therefore, let me mention again the difference that distinguishes the infinitive and verbadverb functioning on the level of sentence from the adjectival participle fitting into the sentence as a subordinate member of a syntagm. Its word order is determined by that of the attribute, the completion "from right to left": the elements subordinate to it can only precede it, and this fact influences even the usage of the article. The complements are placed "freely" around the other two, and this seeming freedom carries the possibility of expressing as slight differences in the content as an independent sentence-unit has. All three can be used within the framework of a simple sentence, although it is not accidental that the greatest difficulty is caused by the construction centring round the infinitive and the verbadverb during the separation of sentence units. They are much closer to a real subordinate clause of the sentence-compound than the adjectival construction is. Therefore, the study of the question of definiteness can help us to solve also a significant problem of syntax, the fitting of the constructions with participles, infinitives and verbadverbs into the sentence.

The determiner of nominal nature can belong to the principal element of nominal nature in two ways: it can function as a so called nominal attribute to indicate quantity or quality, or it may be the possessive adjective expressing the belonging to something/somebody.

The principal element is usually a noun or another word having a nominal value; nevertheless the noun denoting a quality and having a content to be compared to is often connected with adjectives in Hungarian: "farkas éhes" 'as hungry as a wolf'. The relation between the two members of the syntagm is so close

that they usually constitute one word: *farkasétvdgy* 'wolfish appetite', *szárfekete* 'coal-black' etc. But even if they keep their formal independence, the word order in the construction is always fixed — it follows the word order of the attribute —, and the qualifying noun is always indefinite, namely, used without an article; and the use of any article here would break the attributive relation and give it a predicative meaning which, of course, would result in a senseless sentence in the given context: *a farkas éhes* 'the wolf is hungry'; *egy farkas éhes* 'a wolf is hungry'. Therefore, the noun as a qualifier is indefinite in Hungarian attributive constructions, but its indefiniteness has no morphological mark; nevertheless its strong tendency to become a compound word seems to be the consequence of just this indefiniteness.

Finally at the end, we have to deal with the circumstances of definiteness of the constructions consisting of nouns standing in a possessive relation with each other.

The subordinate element, the possessive attribute may be either definite or indefinite, the superior element, however, and hereby, of course, the value of the whole construction, is always independent of the quality of the subordinate element, and it is generally definite. This definiteness is the result of the relation between the two members, and the fact, that the object with a possessive personal suffix is indicated back by the objective declensions as definite, is the consequence of this definiteness. It manifests itself also in the way how we separate the case ending of the genitive from that of the dative in Hungarian: by using the quasi necessary definite article we refer to the fact that the phrase must be continued with the possession: *-nak a ... / -nek a ...* '... of [sg]'.

We have seen above that the possessive personal ending can change into an article in certain languages. Apart from this fact, I have to affirm here what I have already stated when I classified this phenomenon: the possessive declension

is not primarily a means of expressing definiteness, it is not an "article". Although it belongs to the field of the informative functional plane, it conveys an objective content that is, however, not identical with the relation expressed by the article, because it shows two substances' objective belonging together *i n d e p e n d e n t l y* of the speaker or the listener. And although to express semantic definiteness we often indicate the possessor, it is not one single specimen of the denoted species that can belong to the possessed noun, therefore the possessive attribute has *n o t n e c e s s a r i l y* a defining role. This is the reason why there are several languages not fitting into Moravcsik's hypothesis, because in them the possessed noun can also be indefinite (cp., the no. 12 foot note on p. 9.). It also occurs in Hungarian that the object with a personal suffix has a partitive value, and in such cases it is the subjective conjugation of the verb that is to be used. Although this phenomenon, which was treated by Zoltán Gombocz with a great attention in his *Syntax*, is becoming today rarer and rarer, probably under the influence of analogy. The great power of this analogy is shown by the fact that it is able to subdue the presence of the indefinite article:

-- *E g y b a r á t o m a t várom* 'I am waiting for a friend of mine'.

In this sentence the verb is in the objective form; — it is true that here the indefinite article has the meaning 'one of ...' like the indefinite pronoun *egyik*.

In Hungarian the usage of the article in a possessive construction raises several questions that are interesting especially from the point of view of the proper use of the language, as it is not always easy to determine which constructional element the article standing before the construction belongs to, therefore it is sometimes questionable whether the article is to be used or not. (Cp., László Grétsy; Béla Nagy, J.)

The method of the study of semantical relations used so far proves that it is not always true that in such cases the article determines the whole construction, i. e. it belongs after all to the possessed noun. Moreover: the possessed noun (apart from the above-mentioned rare exception having a partitive meaning and seeming to be archaic now) is always definite without being used together with an article, and hereby, of course, the whole construction has a definite value. It is justified by those sentences in which the construction is preceded by an indefinite article, still it is considered as a definite object by our linguistic instinct — and not at all in the cases similar to the above-mentioned one having the meaning of 'one of ...'.

-- Ezen a helyen e g y f é r f i osontvdsdt
tárták (obj. pers. suffix) fel a régészek 'A man's
skeleton was excavated by the archeologists here'.

It is quite obvious that the indefinite article refers only to the possessor here and does it in a completely proper way. It is the same with the \emptyset indefinite article in the plural:

-- G y e r e k e k lármdját visszhangoszdak az iskola-
falak 'The walls of the school echo children's noise'.

The subjective conjugation would be impossible in either case, it would be proper only if the construction were changed into an attributive compound: e g y f é r f i c s o n t v á -
z a t tártak fel 'a male skeleton was excavated', g y e -
r e k l á r m á t visszhangosnak ... 'children['s] noise
is echoed...'. In the latter example even the plural has dis-
appeared.

This led me to the conclusion that perhaps the definite article, too, denotes the definiteness of the possessor rather than that of the thing possessed. As it was mentioned above, the name of the possessed thing occurs but very rarely with an indefinite value, and then only to underline partitivity:

-- Combját kérek 'I want a leg/legs [of the roast chicken]'

and:

-- Három csirkéjét elvitt a róka 'The fox carried away three of his chickens'

Compare:

-- Három csirkéjét elvitte a róka 'His three chickens [i. e. all three chickens] were carried away by the fox'.

But let us see the next sentence:

-- Megismerte a kocsit zörgését 'He recognized the rattling of the cart'

Here "the car" is a l s o definite, and its definiteness is expressed by the article. If we invert the Hungarian construction, the article still remains beside it:

-- Megismerte [a] zörgését a kocsinak 'id.'

The absence of the article indicates again the change of the relations of definiteness of the possessor:

-- Megismerte kocsit zörgését, ajtó nyikordását 'He recognized the rattling of a / some kind of a cart the creaking of a door / doors' <but he did not understand speech>.

According to the objective conjugation of the verb the whole nominal group appears as a definite object. The principal member of it is the noun denoting the thing possessed and having the possessive personal ending, and in the Hungarian system of the use of the objective conjugation this is enough for placing it in the category of grammatical definiteness.

As the definite article the use of which is the consequence of the definiteness of the possessor does not contrast with the whole construction, it rather seems to belong to it. But we have seen above that if the possessor requires the use of the indefinite article, this article cannot refer to the head-word of the construction; why should, then, the definite article be required to fulfil this function? Therefore it would be unnecessary to try to justify János Arany's "delict", namely that he used the definite article before the possessor denoted by a

proper noun when he spoke of a *Péter tyúkja* 'the Peter's hen'. It was exactly Béla Nagy, J. who pointed out how many times Arany used the article before proper names — he was fully aware of the intimate, familiar, direct or disparaging overtones of this usage. The mentioning of "the Peter" in the poem entitled *Fulemle* (Nightingale) is very life-like, there is no need to justify it with the definiteness of "his hen". Similarly the definiteness of the *hat* does not change either if I say:

-- *A Kovács kalapját lefújta a szél* [The] Kovács's hat was blown by the wind'

or:

-- *Kovács úr kalapját lefújta a szél* 'Mr. Kovács's hat was blown by the wind.'

It is my partner's and my relation with János Kovács that justifies this usage either in the first or in the second case.

The situation is quite different, of course, in the case of the article standing before a possessive attribute denoted by a personal pronoun. The article, here, always belongs to the possessed noun. Its presence may have been motivated by the claim to secure the belonging together of the elements of the syntagm formally, and the homonymy with the form of the pronoun in nominative especially justifies this fact:

-- *a te dolgod* 'your business'

az én legkedvesebb két pesti tanítványom 'my two favourite students in Budapest'

The definite nature of the word-form with a possessive personal suffix is very strong, anyway, and it can be ascribed to the fact that the personal suffix is itself a result of the agglutination of the *d e f i n i t e* personal pronoun, therefore the possessor repeated on the word form appears in a definite form when the nominal attribute is still indefinite.

Among the means of the expression of the possessive relation a strange phenomenon is worth mentioning here, which is most article-like, but still cannot be considered a real article on the basis of the train of thought used so far: the so

called possessive article, the "articol posesiv" known from the Rumanian language. As it serves first of all the expression of the possessive grammatical relation within the syntagm, in my opinion, it also has to be mentioned among the secondary means of the expression of definiteness. It is also proved by its irregular morphological behaviour: while the "regular" inflected articles always agree with that noun in form, with which they constitute one glossem, the Rumanian possessive article (the place of which is thought to be before the noun) agrees in gender and number not with the noun it precedes, but with the possessed noun. This article can even replace the possessed noun in the sentence, and in such cases I consider its function similar to that of the Hungarian possession suffix -*s*.

The possession suffix -*s* is also a specific, secondary means among the ones of the expression of definiteness: it expresses the fact of the possession basically in every case, but by means of this possession suffix -*s* the phrase always becomes definite at the same time. I think that this morpheme registers a state that can excellently throw light upon the way in which the grammaticalization of the definite semantic content may happen.

The possession suffix represents the head of the possessive construction, the possessed noun, if this possessed noun is definite due to the context — or rarely to the situation. As far as its meaning is concerned, it occupies an intermediate position between the morphemes denoting relations and those denoting concepts: it combines the indication of the possessive relation with the pronoun-like reference to that substance-concept which the relation refers to. Therefore, in its function it stands closest to the pronominal adverbs that similarly combine other types of relations — namely adverbial ones — with their carriers similarly evoked by references and must be interpreted actually. It is, however, separated from them due to its accessory form, as the adverbs may be con-

sidered independent items of the word-stock, while the possession suffix cannot be regarded as such. Nevertheless it undoubtedly carries an independent conceptual content as a morpheme, as if in a reference-like way: the semantic content of the word-forms with -*e* possession suffix is always completed with the meaning of a further substance-concept in comparison with the content of the underlying form — besides its denoting the possessive relation. Moreover, the function in the sentence would be fulfilled by this implicitly introduced concept, the possessed noun being present latently; the concept occurring explicitly could have been only a subordinated structural unit of the syntagm, if the word qualified by it had not been incorporated — as in many other similar cases — by the qualifying member of the syntagm.

The most logical explanation for the development of the objective conjugation proves to be the fact that it was a definite object referred to unambiguously also by the pronoun that joined the verb (cp., Tibor Mikola, *Nyudért.* 46, 57-62); and the objective verbal suffixes are able to represent the object if it is definite, even today. At the present day stage in the development of the verbal conjugational system, however, even a verb form with subjective conjugation is able to represent the necessary objective government of the transitive verbs if it is in the 1st or 2nd person determined by the speech-situation. — The possessive personal suffixes may similarly replace the possessive attribute in every person, moreover: in the 3rd person plural we have the real suffix of this person only if there is no possessive attribute in the sentence, or we have to extend the homonymy of pronominal *ő* in genitive 'his/her/its ~ their':

- <A fiúk labdája átrepült a szomszédba.> A haragos szomszéd alig akarta visszaadni a fiúknak a labdájukat.
'<The boys' ball has flown to the neighbour's garden.>
The angry neighbour was unwilling to give back the boys *their* ball.

Present-day usage of both the verbal and nominal personal paradigm is characterized by the fact that, though they have preserved their power to refer and to represent all the time, their usage became necessary even if the concept they refer to appeared explicitly in the appropriate function in the sentence. The personal suffixes have become real relation-denoting elements in these sentences, because here they really have only the function of securing the unity of the construction through agreement.

The usage of the possession suffix *-é* was formed by a reverse development, and it is not so surprising at all, as it is not the subordinate complement, but on the contrary, the principal element of the syntagm that is present latently in it. The possession suffix inherited only a relation-expressing meaning from the flexional ending of the *lativus* and preserved it in its primary predicative function, specially in questions beginning with interrogative words:

-- *Kié* ez a sál? 'Whose scarf is it?'

The answer is:

-- *Katié*. 'Kate's.'

and even in unemphasized declarative sentences:

-- A sál *Katié*. 'This scarf is Kate's.'

In these cases the repetition of the word as a proof of the sameness with the subject constituting the other pole of the predicative construction would be awkward, therefore we read the content of the "scarf" into the *-é* suffix to a lesser degree. Although in well-founded cases, when we want to emphasize this sameness, the extended construction may as well be used even in the case of the predicative position:

-- "Ez az ország a mi országunk" 'This country is our country'

Nevertheless, such a word form has spread in a non-predicative function as well, and the contamination in meaning can hardly be separated from the appearance of the suffix by our present-day linguistic instinct. *Katié* does not mean 'belonging to Kate', but it rather means 'Kate's /scarf(or) anything else' by the implication.

- Milyen sálád van? 'What kind of scarf have you got?'
- Olyan, mint a *Katig*, de a *Katig* szebb, a *Katigt* mindenki irigyli, a *Katigal* nem versenyezhet egyetlen más sál sem, mert a *Katignak* különleges a színe.
'Similar to Kate's, but Kate's is more beautiful, Kate's is envied by everybody, no other scarf is comparable with Kate's, because the colour of Kate's is very peculiar.'

In such and similar cases the possession suffix, beyond its meaning of denoting the belonging to something, undoubtedly fulfils the function similar to that of the demonstrative pronoun, namely the indication of the most general substance-concept always acquiring an actual content from the speech situation. This pronoun-like reference is possible only because of the definiteness of the denoted concept, and as this denoted concept is functionally superior to the meaning of the underlying form in the sentence-construction, the value of the whole phrase will be definite if the possession suffix *-é* is used in it — independently of the value of definiteness of the underlying noun form. This is how this morpheme has become also a marker of definiteness.

RETROSPECTION

In my present paper I have tried to survey those phenomena that can emerge in connection with the question of definiteness. I strove to find that inner logic in this mass of problems of many aspects, that can also serve as an explanation of the question: what is the reason for this semantically comprehensive content being realized in such various and contradictory forms? I was led by the principle that the aim of our communication is to deliver our thought as accurately as possible, which can, however, be successful only if we formulate what we have to say in the most suitable way, considering all circumstances.

I referred in more or less detail only to those works of the literature of this question, which contributed to my notion of definiteness: either because I accepted their convincing statements, or taking issue with their views seeming to be mistaken, I could examine my subject always in a new light.

I found that the inner, content side of the category of definiteness presented itself in every communicative relation, namely through the speaker's striving that the listener should interpret the content of the communication as precisely as possible in accordance with the speaker's intentions. This striving always leaves its mark on the linguistic realization of the communication, but the way in which it happens is dependent on the *s y n c h r o n i c* state of the language in question, and it also proves to be a *f a c t o r* of the *h i s t o r i c a l* development of the language, interrelated with the other elements and items of the whole linguistic system.

The possibilities of the linguistic expression of definiteness are partly provided by the usage of the language, and these are the rules of how to construct a syntagm, sentence or text. In other cases, however, — if the inner relations of the language system, and not only the quality, but also the quantity

of the facts of usage are favourable to the process, the possibilities of expression may extend to the field of the langue, if definiteness becomes an inseparable element of the meaning of certain classes of morphemes. The highest degree of the grammaticalization of definiteness is the one, in which a new class of morphemes is developed, whose primary function is only the indication of the relation of definiteness even if it is able to fulfil other functions inherited from an earlier state of the language: this is the case when we can speak of an article.

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EXPLANATION OF SPECIAL TERMS
USED WITHOUT BEING DETAILED IN THE TEXT

adjectival demonstratives see adjectival pronouns

adjectival pronouns pronouns derived from demonstrative pronominal roots and having a qualitative reference substitute adjectives. Also relative, interrogative, indefinite and general pronouns have adjectival types in Hungarian

auxiliary lexeme formally independent, separate word (lexeme), which has only grammatical, relative (=auxiliary) meaning

functional plane the sphere the morpheme can be effective within, depending on the nature of the information carried by the sign

glosseme the minimal unit of the constructed sentence, which is apt to fulfil the function of a sentence element, i. e. predicate, subject, direct object, indirect object and any kind of complements. E.g.: in the sentence "We do not claim that the selection we have made gives an uncontroversial picture of the state and development of linguistics" we find the glossemes as they follow: we | do not claim | the selection | we | have made | gives | a ... picture | uncontroversial | of the state | [of the] development | of linguistics. The conjunctions "that" and "and" constitute no glossemes.

level(s in the sentence) degrees of the constructional hierarchy of the glossemes within the sentence

nominal nature the characteristic of a word that it may be complemented as a noun

nominal value the characteristic of a word that it can be fit into the sentence as a noun

numeral demonstratives see numeral pronouns

numeral pronouns pronouns derived from demonstrative pronominal roots and having a pronominal reference on quantity substitute numerals. Relative, interrogative, indefinite and general pronouns. too. have numeral variants in Hungarian.

speechwork the largest unit of speech: it is a coherent text, 'mostly but not necessarily constructed. An essay of Julien Huxley is but one speechwork of the author and an exclamation "Help!" or any unorganized interjection "Alas!" may be a speechwork as well.

syntagm An unit of two glossems one of which is subordinated to the other, except units of predicate plus subject, object, or adverbial complement immediately subordinated to it.

verbal nature the characteristic of a word that it can be complemented as a verb.

verbal value the characteristic of a word that it can be fit into the sentence as a verb.

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