Definiten esssplits

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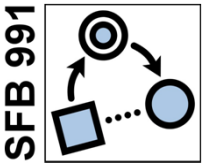

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1. **Observations about definite descriptions**

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   Concept types, (In)definite determinations, (in)congruent uses

3. **Uses of Definites**
   Uses in the light of CTD, type e, semantic vs. pragmatic uses

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1. Observations about definite descriptions

For languages with definiteness marking:

- There are certain conceptual types of nouns for which the definite article is — almost — obligatory.
- Certain types of definite NPs are usually not marked with a definite article, e.g. proper names and personal pronouns.
- There are splits of definiteness marking in almost all languages.
- In most cases, definite articles developed from demonstratives.
- *Semantic theory is preoccupied with anaphoric uses of definites.*

2. Concept types

[© stands for: "in need of support by special context"]

individual concepts

(1) ***The***/©*A* ***pope*** *will visit Switzerland in 2016.*

(2) *By 2030, the catholic church will have* ***a***/**the different pope.*

sortal concepts

(3) ***A***/©*The* ***cat*** *killed* ***a***/©*the* ***mouse***.

(4) © *Our* ***cat*** *caught a* ***mouse*** *yesterday. She killed* ***the***/©*a* ***mouse***.

functional concepts

(5) ***The***/©*A* ***mother*** *of Jeanne consulted the teacher*.

(6) *Every person has* ***a***/**the* ***mother***.

[–U]	[+U] **conceptually unique**	
sortal nouns *girl book water* © **definite** © **possessiv** logical type: <e,t>	**individual nouns** *pope*; *Jeanne;* *she* ✓ **definit** © **possessiv** logical type: <e>	[–R]
relational nouns *daughter part kin* © **definit** ✓ **possessiv** logical type: <e,<e,t>>	**functional nouns** *mother mouth amount* ✓ **definit** ✓ **possessiv** logical type: <e,e>	[+R] **conceptually relational**

[–U]	[+U] **conceptually unique**	
sortal concepts describe the potential referents in terms of its properties ▸unary predicate ▸open number of referents	**individual concepts** describe the potential referents in terms of a functional relation to the situation ▸description of an individual ▸1 referent	[–R]
relational concepts describe the potential referent in terms of a relation to a „possessor“ ▸binary predicate ▸open number of referents	**functional concepts** describe the potential referent in terms of a functional relation to a „possessor“ ▸unary function concept ▸1 referent per possessor	[+R] **conceptually relational**

Concept types and determination

- The conceptual type of a noun or pronoun is **lexically fixed** (modulo polysemy):
  The meaning of a sortal/relational/individual/functional [pro]noun
  is a concept of the respective type.

- When a CNP (common noun phrase = operand of determination) is formed,
  the noun may undergo **conceptual shifts**,
  - (overtly) by combination with modifiers
  - (overtly) by combination with argument specifications
  - (covertly) by application of a general meaning shift (e.g. metonymy)
  - (covertly) by adding contextual information

- Simple determination (= definite / indefinite / possessive / absolute without further semantic content) **fixes the conceptual type of the NP token**. Determination may coerce a type shift of the CNP.

Definite determination

- Definite determination means:
  “Construe the NP token as a conceptually unique description, i.e. as [+U] ! ”.

  - The meaning/function of definite determination is the same for singular, plural, and mass CNPs

Indefinite determination

- Indefinite determination means:
  “Construe the NP token as a sortal description, i.e. as [–U] ! ”.

  - The meaning/function of indefinite determination is the same for singular, plural, and mass CNPs

Congruency and type shifts

- If the CNP is not semantically [+U],
  definite determination coerces a type shift [–U] → [+U]

  > *In particular, definite determination coerces a type shift on sortal nouns: anaphoric and deictic DDs*

- If the CNP is not of semantically [–U],
  indefinite determination coerces a type shift [+U] → [–U]

  > *Indefinite uses of individual or functional concepts*

- Determination is (**in**)**congruent** iff_{def} the CNP is (not) of the resulting type.

- A DD is **semantically definite** iff_{def} the CNP is [+U].
  A DD is **pragmatically definite** iff_{def} the CNP is [–U].

Levels of type shifts

Level 0	a. choice of lexical meaning variant b. compositional modification: attributes, complements, adjuncts	core semantics
Level 1	general conceptual shifts applying across types of meanings (such as „artefact“, „institution“, „profession“, „attribute“, „property“)	dynamic lexicon
Level 2	enriching the concept for the referent of an NP by adding extralinguistic information	pragmatic enrichment

3. Uses of definites

- **Congruent definite determination: individual and functional CNPs**
  If the CNP is [+U], definite determination is semantically redundant.

  - CNP = lexically [+U] individual and functional nouns
    (cf. the pope and mother examples)

  - CNP = lexically [–U] sortal or relational noun **plus**
    a modifier that turns a [–U] concept into a [+U] concept, such as

    - *only* (adnominal)
    - superlatives, *last*, *next*, *favourite* (Partee & Borschev), ordinals
    - [+U] appositions, *number 2*, *word 'kinezumi'*, *rumour that …*
    - autophoric DDs: SC with "establishing clause"
    - artefacts-in-exclusive-use-possessives *my* / *the toothbrush*

level 0 shifts

level 1 shift

- **Incongruent definite determination: sortal and relational CNPs**
  If the CNP is [–U], definite determination is functional;
  it inevitably involves a type shift [–U] → [+U] (or: <e,t> → e).

  - **deictic** use: The deictic gesture maps the sort described by the [–U] CNP to an individual of the sort. Note that "what S points to" is a functional concept (here enriched with sortal information on the value)

  - **anaphoric** use: The sentential and wider context of the *antecedent* plus the sentential context of the anaphoric definite NP yields an *individual concept* for the referent.

  (8) *Reinhold met a yeti. He took a picture of **the snowman**.*

  individual concept: "x such that:
  Reinhold met x; x is a yeti; (= *antecedent sent. context*)
  x is a snowman, x is visible" (= *anaphor sent. cotext*)

Functional concepts and definiteness (1)

- The [U] value of a functional N/CNP is the minimum of the [U] values of the possessum concept and the possessor concept:

(9) a. $[[\text{the father}]_{+U}$ of $[\text{the girl}]_{+U}]_{+U}$

b. $[[\text{the father}]_{+U}$ of $[\text{a girl}]_{-U}]_{-U}$

c. $[[\text{a sister}]_{-U}$ of $[\text{the girl}]_{+U}]_{-U}$

d. $[[\text{a sister}]_{-U}$ of $[\text{a girl}]_{+U}]_{-U}$

- If the possessum CNP is a functional concept (FC), it inherits its [U] value from the possessor concept.

- **Referential transparency of FCs**: If the possessum CNP is an FC, it inherits the total determination from the possessor concept, i.e. being (in)definite, possessive, deictic, anaphoric, quantifying, generic etc.

Functional concepts and definiteness (1)

- Definite or indefinite determination applies only to the immediate operand, not necessarily to the whole NP !
  (> mismatch of constituent structure and semantic composition)

(10) a. *Reinhold claims he saw* [[*the footsteps*]$_{+U}$ *of* [*a yeti*]$_{-U}$]$_{-U}$ *in the snow*.
≈ *Reinhold saw* [*yeti footsteps*]$_{-U}$ *in the snow*.
≠ *Reinhold saw* [*the yeti footsteps*]$_{+U}$ *in the snow*.

b. *Reinhold claims he saw* [[*the footsteps*]$_{+U}$ *of* [*the yeti*]$_{+U}$]$_{+U}$ *in the snow*.
= *Reinhold saw* [*the yeti's footsteps*]$_{+U}$ *in the snow*.

c. *Reinhold claims he saw* [[*footsteps*]$_{-U}$ *of* [*a yeti*]$_{-U}$]$_{-U}$ *in the snow*.
≈ *Reinhold saw* [*yeti footsteps*]$_{-U}$ *in the snow*.

d. *Reinhold claims he saw* [[*footsteps*]$_{-U}$ *of* [*the yeti*]$_{+U}$]$_{-U}$ *in the snow*.

Functional concepts and definiteness (2)

- A functional CNP in absolute use (i.e. with no explicit possessor specification) with definite determination has an implicit [+U] possessor.

  (11) special case: **definite associative anaphor** (DAA):
  definite [+U][+R] CNP with implicit anaphoric possessor argument

  a. *"How much is this?"* – *"The price*$_{+U}$ [= of **this**$_{+U}$] *is attached on the back."*

  b. *I've bought a car, but something's wrong with the clutch*$_{+U}$ [of **the car**$_{+U}$].

- A functional CNPs in absolute use with indefinite determination has a [–U] possessor (or else is shifted lexically to [–U]

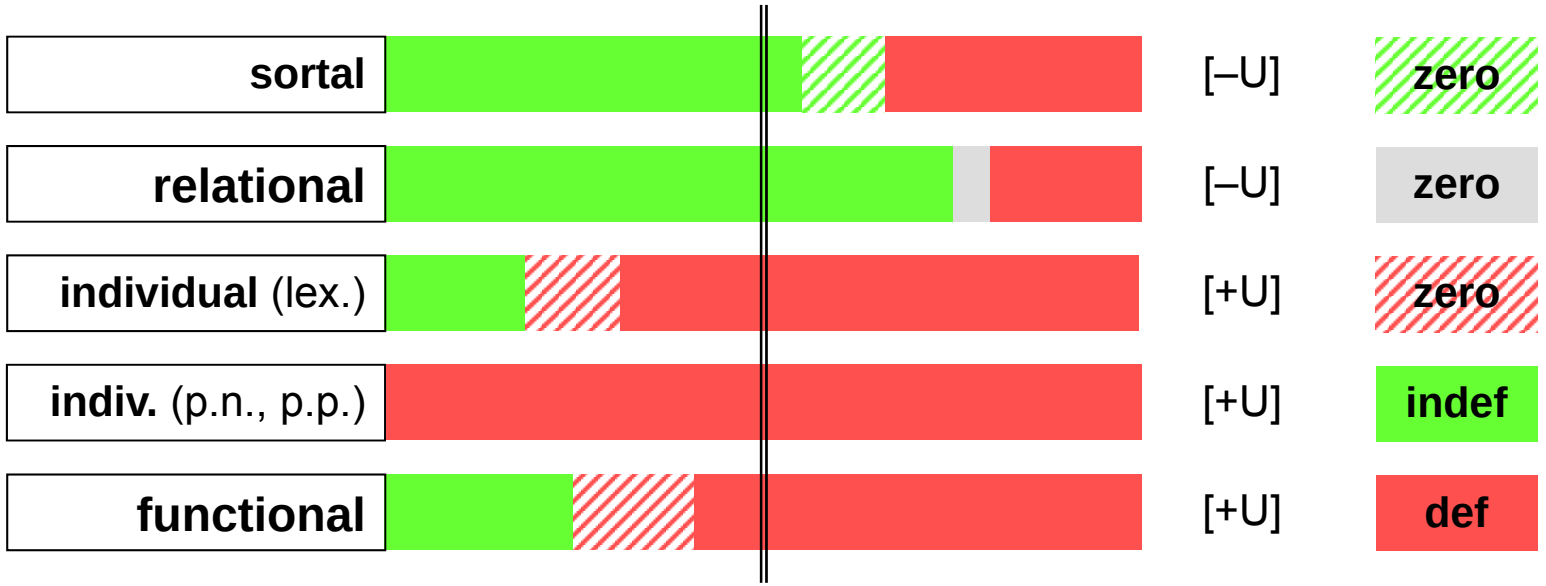
  (12) a. *A father* [of **a** student] *came to my office hours the other day*.

  b. *A father* [of **the** student] *came to my office hours the other day*.

- With functional CNPs in absolute use, explicit definite determination is **pragmatically not redundant**, as it entails that the possessor argument is [+U].

Evidence

- **Incongruent uses of definite and indefinite determination are less frequent than congruent uses.**



from: Horn, Kimm & Gerland (to appear)

Incongruent ICs: lexical ICs > proper names > 3rd p.p. > 2nd, 1st p.p.

Evidence

- **Incongruent determination requires more processing time.**
  (work in progress)

- **Incongruent determination receives more salient marking:**

  - Incongruent uses are marked, while congruent uses are not

  - Congruent uses receive reduced marking as opposed to incongruent uses.

  - Definiteness splits:
    > Existence of definiteness marking entails marking of pragmatic definiteness.
    > Certain types of semantically definites NPs are left unmarked

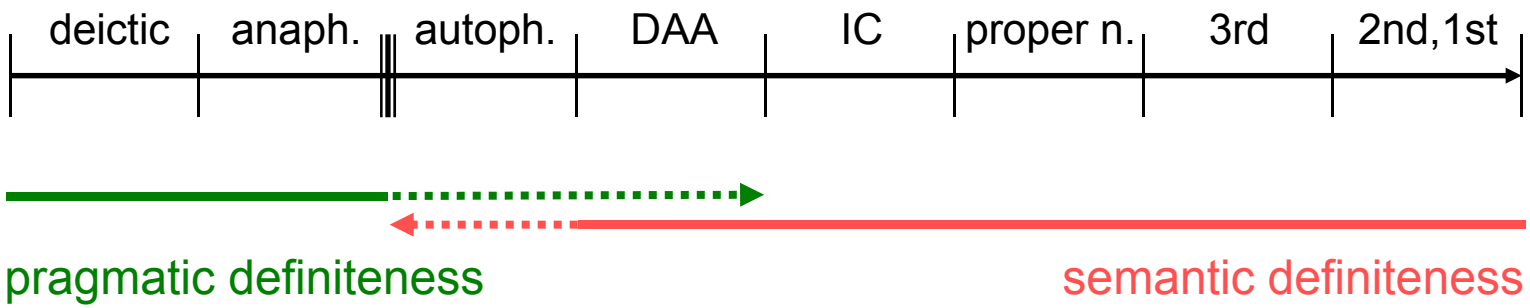
4. The scale of uniqueness / definiteness

- deictic definites < anaphoric definites, SC with establishing rel. cl.
- pragmatic definites (PD) < semantic definites (SD)
- PD ≤ definite associative anaphors (DAA) ≤ SD
- semantic definites:

DAA
< lexical IC, complex IC (SC with superlative, ordinal etc.)
< proper names
< 3rd person pronouns
< 2nd, 1st person pronouns

4. The scale of uniqueness / definiteness

Types of definite NPs



Grammatical distinctions

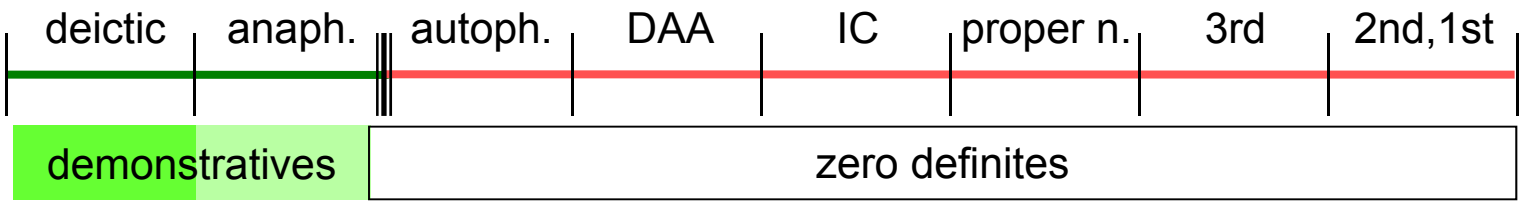
5. Definiteness splits

5.1 Adnominal demonstratives (Dem)

- The standard uses of AD – deictic and anaphoric – require a [–U] CNP for enabling the deictic choice.
- Demonstrative determination results in a [+U] NP:
  Dem Det: [–U] → [+U]

  Demonstrative determination inevitably involves a level-2 type shift, i.e. reference draws on extralinguistic information.
- Historically, anaphoric demonstratives emerge from deictic demonstratives.
- Some languages have separate anaphoric determiners (e.g. Lakhota, Hausa. Lyons 1999: 53ff).
- Application of Dem coincides with pragmatic definiteness.

Split type A : no definiteness marking
(Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Latin, …)



(13) Japanese

a. *sono* *hon* *wa* *nani?* **deictic, anaphoric**
DEM$_{MED}$ book TOP what
'what's about this book?'

b. *kinō* *katta* (**sono*) *hon* *wa* *tsumaranai* **autophoric**
yesterday *bought* DEM$_{MED}$ book TOP boring
'the book I bought yesterday is boring'

c. *kinō hon o katta.* (**sono*) taitoru wa oboe- nai **DAA**
DEM$_{MED}$ title TOP remember-NEG
'I bought a book yesterday. I don't remember the title'

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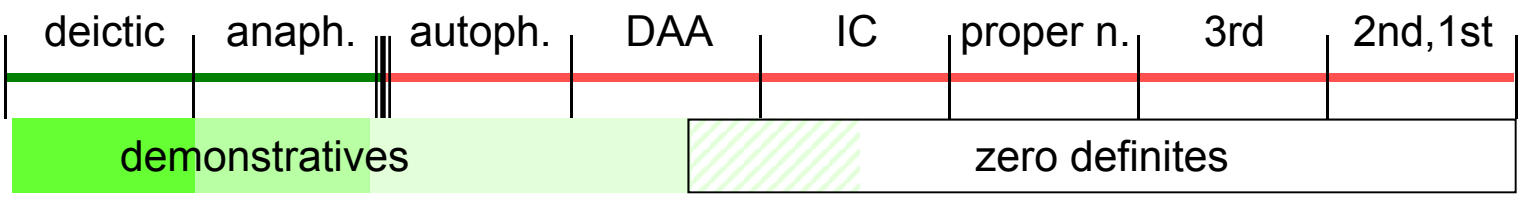
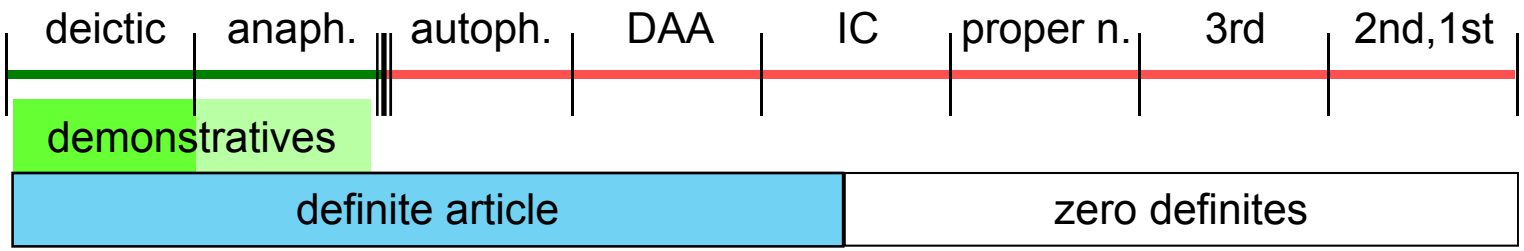
Split type B : demonstratives extended to semantic definites



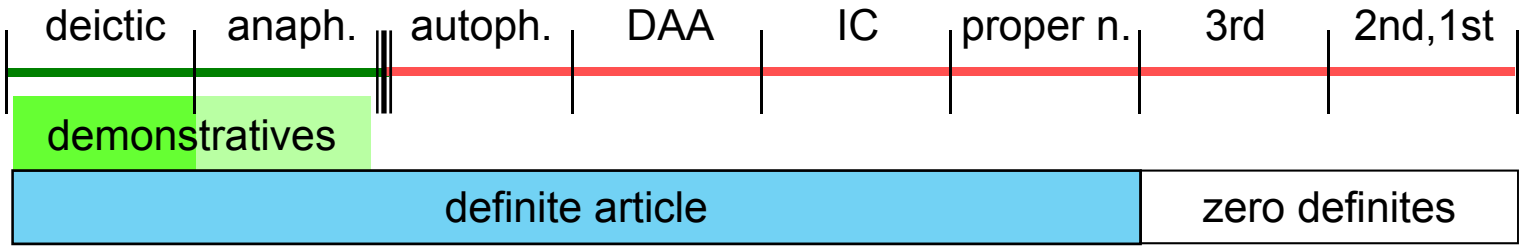
West Slavic: Upper Sorbian [Breu 2004], Polish Upper Silesian [Czardybon 2010]

(14) a.

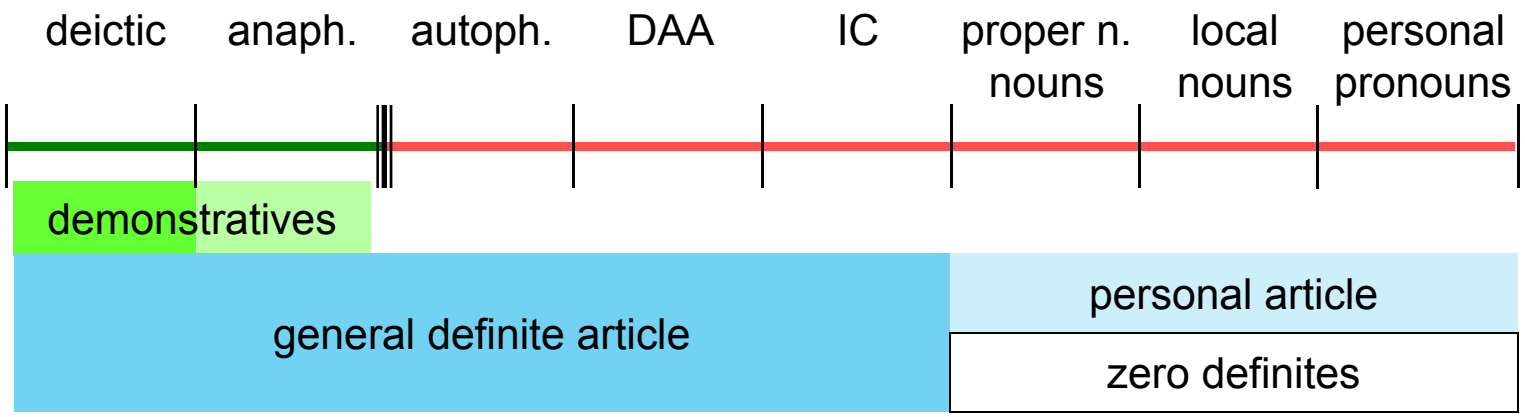
Split type C : definite article different from demonstratives
(English, standard German)



Split type D : proper names included
Modern Greek

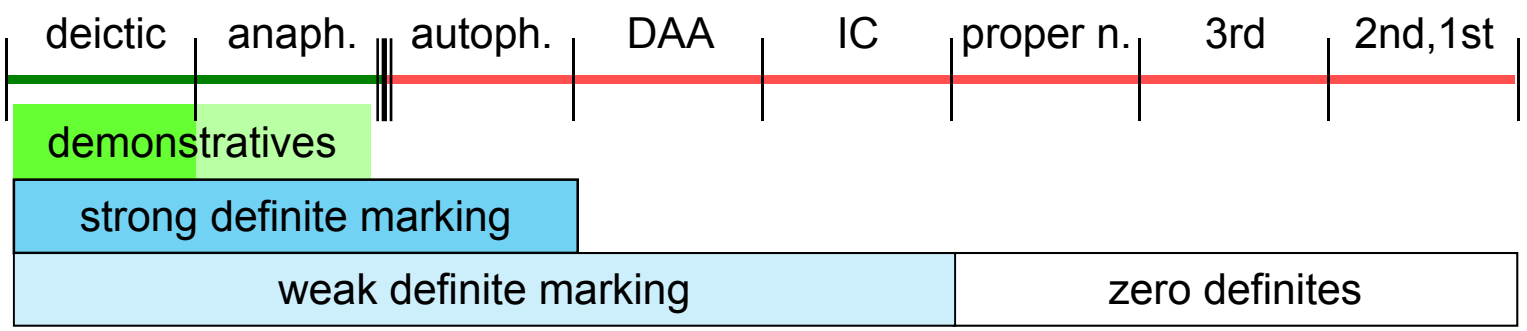


Split type E : demonstratives, def. article, personal article



Maori: definite article *te* (sg., generic), *ngaa* (plural)
a (with local noun subjects, proper name and personal pronoun direct objects) [Bauer 1993]

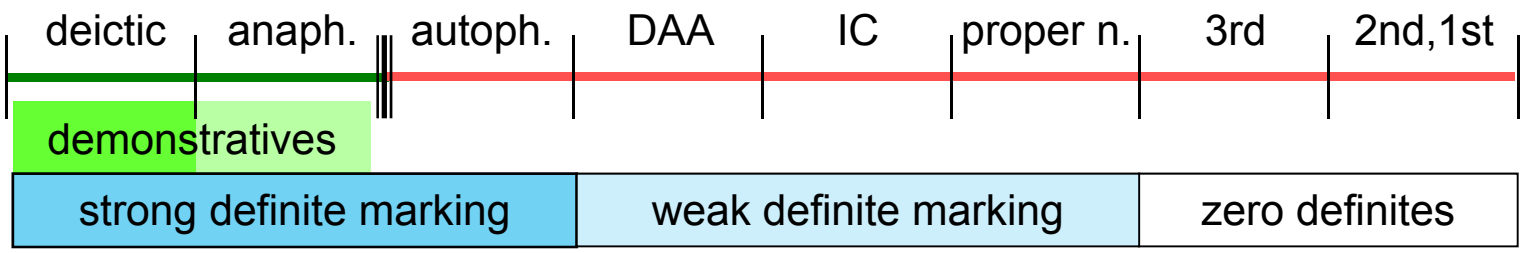
Split type F : demonstratives, strong def, weak def, zero



Standard Swedish: weak def = def. suffix *–en/-et,* strong def = determiner + def. suffix [Stroh-Wollin 2003]

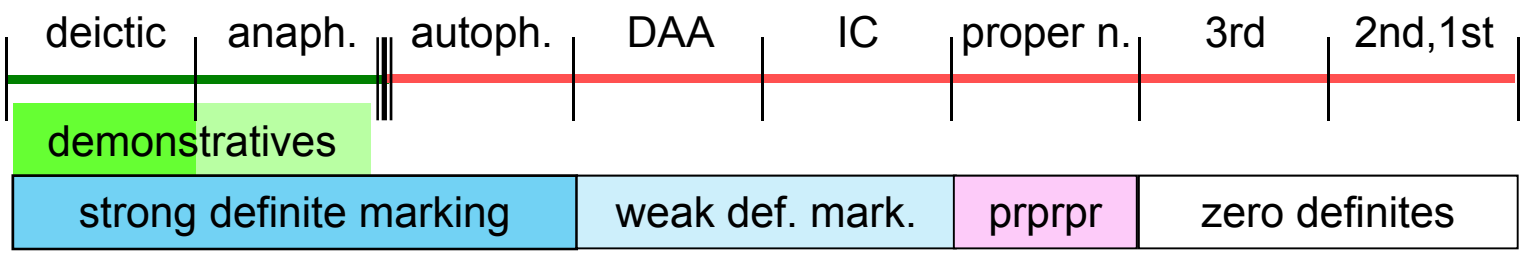
Standard Dutch: weak *de* / *het,* strong *die* / *dat* [Ortmann, to appear]

Split type G : demonstratives, strong def, weak def (including proper names), zero



Standard German: weak def = contraction of preposition and article, [Schwarz 2009]
German dialects: weak def = weak article, or contraction, [Studler 2004]
North Frisian: weak “a-article”, strong “d-article” (Fering) [Ebert 1971]

Split type G : demonstratives, strong def, weak def, preproprial article



Swedish dialects: reduced 3rd person pronouns *a* / *n* with proper names as "preproprial" articles, [Dahl 2007]

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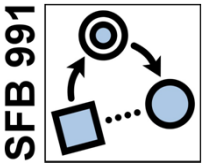
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