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POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS AND DEFINITENESS

— A Contrastive Study of English, Macedonian and Serbocroatian —

1. The analyses that follow are to be looked at as particular segments of complete grammars of English, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, such as have been provided by generative grammars of English¹).

1.1 While traditional grammars consist of descriptive statements that merely present the inventory of elements that appear in structural descriptions and their contextual variants, generative grammars specify the indefinite set of well-formed sentences and assign to each of them one or more structural descriptions. All generative grammars are based on the distinction between underlying and surface structure.

1.11 According to Chomsky²), the underlying structure is divided into two parts: the categorial component and the lexicon. The categorial component consists solely of branching rules and defines implicitly the basic grammatical relations that function in the underlying structure of language. The lexicon consists of inherent subcategorization features and contextual selectional features. It is a complex symbol, a matrix of features which together with the phonological features yields the final lexical items in the surface structure.

1.12 Fillmore³) proposes a different underlying structure: he defines as primitives from which surface structures are derived a number of categorial relationships which he calls cases. By interpreting the subject and object of a sentence as aspects of the surface structure and by viewing the specific phonetic shapes of nouns in actual utterances as determinable by

¹) The term has been defined by Chomsky in „Current Issues in Linguistic Theory“, *The Structure of Language*, J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz eds., Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

²) N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

³) Ch. J. Fillmore, „The Case for Case“, *Proceedings of the Texas Symposium on Language Universals*, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

many factors, vastly variable in space and time, he makes provisions for the non-compatibility of the surface structure and the underlying structure 'case' systems.

1.13 McCawley⁴⁾ identifies underlying structure with semantic representation and suggests that a grammar should consist of a 'formation rule' component which specifies the membership of a class of well-formed semantic representations, and a 'transformational component' which consists of rules correlating semantic representations with surface syntactic representations in much the same fashion in which Chomsky's transformational component correlates underlying structure with surface structure representations.

1.2 In the present paper, the surface structure of the sentence is conceived as developing from a set of universal notions that relate to each other much like Fillmore's primitives⁵⁾. There is only one action-like notion, which we shall call the verb phrase (VP), but there are more actor or object-like notions to which we shall refer as noun phrases (NP)⁶⁾. The latter dominate a *noun* and three markers: the *number marker* (NuM), the *case marker* (CaM) and the *reference marker* (RM).

1.21. The reference marker brings information from outside the boundary of the sentence. This information might be contained in a single

⁴⁾ J. D. McCawley „The Role of Semantics in a Grammar“, a mimeographed paper; also elsewhere in his papers.

⁵⁾ Fillmore, *op. cit.* It should be pointed out that Fillmore's rules projecting underlying 'cases' into surface structures are based on English, and one encounters difficulties when trying to apply them to other languages. For example, his rules for choosing the subject select the agent of the underlying structure, provided there is one. If the latter is missing, another 'case' is selected. So, Fillmore claims, the subject of

a. The car broke, the window with its fender.

is the 'possessor' of the 'possessed noun' of the instrument of the underlying structure (the car's fender). The choice of the 'possessor' is conditioned by leaving a 'trace' of the latter in the instrument phrase, in the form of the appropriate possessive pronoun ('its fender'). But it is precisely this 'trace' which makes the Serbo-Croatian sentence

b. *Kola su probila izlog svojim branikom.

ungrammatical since inanimate nouns in Serbo-Croatian do not permit reflexive possessive modifiers. The general rule, does not appear to be so general, after all.

⁶⁾ Our categories sometimes, but not always, correspond to the traditional ones. „It is continuous and exclusive reference to the total system that prevents the analysis of segments isolated on a more or less notional basis from being merely the more or less rigorous description of categories from traditional grammar. On the other hand, if the grammar itself contains distinctions analogous to those categories, then the existence of such analogs is at least one measure of how interesting and revealing the analysis is . . . We shall be interested in what is said, even quite impressionistically, about language and especially in bits of insights into structural relationships between linguistic elements. In the scholarly work on English grammars of the past century, there is no lack of sophisticated expression of this sort of insight into the structure of the language. Certainly, one way of evaluating the rules and conventions of a formal generative grammar is to compare the resultant analysis with carefully formulated observations made on the basis of just such sharpened linguistic insight. E. S⁶⁶. Klima, „Negation in English“, *The Structure of Language*, J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz eds., Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964, p. 249.

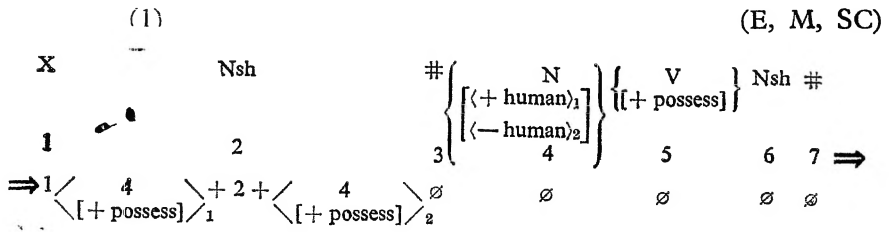
lexical item or in a single noun phrase but it may be a number of sentences away. Very often it comes from some idea which has taken several sentences to describe thus defying any precise structural description. Whether we are concerned with discourses or single lexical items, there is no way of giving an account of the antecedent of the reference marker that is both comprehensive and general, with transformations that instruct the reader to find it. Therefore, in order to make context part of the formal structure of the noun phrase we shall try to fit all information carried by the reference marker into a couple of oppositions.

The first opposition is the opposition [+m definite]/[-m definite], where m = marked. The charge of the RM is [-m definite] when the speaker has no knowledge of the scope of the situation in which he is speaking. In this case the RM refers to an unspecified set of objects and generates [-m definite] determiners. When the speaker has some ideas, views, knowledge about the scope of the situation under consideration, the RM no longer refers to an unspecified set. The speaker's knowledge delimits a certain area of the set and makes a subset which we call *domain of reference*. An RM which refers to a domain of reference has a [+m definite] charge and generates [+m definite] determiners. The [+m definite] determiners can be [+m definite] or [- definite] depending on the nature of the domain of reference. The domain of reference is sometimes inherent in the noun itself.

1.22 The entries for the nouns are complex symbols containing a number of semantic and syntactic features that specify whether they do or do not have a specific property. In addition to features like animateness and humanness, which are inherently positive or negative, the semantic feature vector of the noun includes features like definiteness and gender, which are not inherently binary. In terms of gender the noun can be: (a) [+ masculine], (b) [- masculine], (c) [- masculine]. In terms of definiteness the noun can be [+m definite] and [-m definite]. When it is [+m definite] the determiner preceding it is deleted. A [- definite] noun becomes (+ definite] or [- definite] after it is introduced into the sentence.

2. The possessive modifiers, the concern of this paper, are not constituents of underlying structures. They are subsequently introduced into the noun phrase by relative clause embedding.

2.1 A possessive modifier is embedded into a noun phrase by the following transformation:



where:

Nsh = shared noun phrase

= sentence boundary

< >_x < >_x denotes correlation

Note: N can be equal to Nsh.

This transformation specifies that a two-noun sentence can be embedded into a noun phrase in case the formed and the latter share a noun. If the verb of the embedded sentence is [+ possessive] the output is a possessive modifier that precedes the shared noun of the matrix sentence when the non-shared noun of the embedded sentence is [+ human] and follows it when the latter is [- human].

2.2 By the application of transformation (1), agreement transformations and some morphophonemic rules peculiar to the lexical items involved, the embedding of the sentence:

- (2) (E) Peter has a boy.
- (M) Петре има момче.
- (SC) Петар има дечка.

into the noun phrase of:

- (3) (E) A boy is coming in.
- (M) Влегува момче.
- (SC) Улази дечко.

would yield:

- (4) (E) Peter's boy is coming in.
- (M) Влегува Петровото момче.
- (SC) Улази Петров дечко.

The same transformations would yield:

- (5) (E) The child broke the tip of the pencil.
 (M) Детето го⁷⁾ скрши врвот од моливот.
 (SC) Дечко је сломио врх оловке.

when:

- (6) (E) The pencil has a tip.
 (M) Моливот има врв.
 (SC) Оловка има врх.

is embedded into the noun phrase of:

- (7) (E) The child broke a tip.
 (M) Детето скрши врх.
 (SC) Дечко је сломи врх.

We see that the indefinite noun phrases in (2) and (6) were definitized by the embedding of possessive modifiers.

2.3 In the English and Macedonian noun phrases in (5) the definiteness of the modified noun is formally expressed by prepositive and postpositive articles, respectively. In Serbo-Croatian, there are no articles. Since the [— definite] Serbo-Croatian noun phrase in (7) becomes [+ definite] after the genitive *olovke* is introduced, the question may arise: Is the genitive *per se* [+ definite]? If it were, the genitivus temporis noun phrase in:

- (8) *Отпутовао је недеље. (SC)

might have been definite. But it is not and the sentence is ungrammatical unless a determiner — a non-omissible determiner⁸⁾ is embedded to yield:

- (9) Отпутовао је ове недеље.⁹⁾ (SC)

Moreover, with material nouns (which are inherently [+ definite]) the partitive genitive in:

- (10) Дај ми хлеба. (SC)

denotes indefiniteness as opposed to the nominative in:

- (11) Дај ми хлеб. (SC)

⁷⁾ The contracted form of the possessive noun always accompanies a definitized object in Macedonian. This will be formalized later in this chapter.

⁸⁾ M. Ivić, „Non-Omissible Determiners in Slavic Languages“, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, pp. 457—479.

⁹⁾ The genitivus temporalis does not behave differently from the accusative denoting time. Compare:

а. Спавао је вече. (SC)

and

б. Спавао је оно вече. (SC)

Exhaustive study of the feature contents (if any) of the cases has to be done before a statement of whether any case is [+ def.] or [- definite] is made. The research we have done does not offer grounds for assuming that the feature [\pm definite] is inherent in any case. The partitive genitive denotes indefiniteness because the indefinite quantifier preceding it has been deleted. The locative in:

(12) Он скаче на ливади. (SC)

is intuitively felt as [+ definite], and the accusative in:

(13) Он скаче на ливаду (from the air). (CS)

is interpreted as either definite or indefinite, only because the locative case is always associated with prepositions that connect definitizers whereas the accusative is only occasionally used with such prepositions. Performance or occurrence leaves some trace which might in future lead to selecting one or another case depending on whether the noun is definite or indefinite. At present, however, we cannot claim the possibility of such selection. The possessive genitive in (5) *per se* does not represent definiteness. The feature [+ definite] is introduced by the reference marker which refers to a domain of reference specifically delimited by the embedded possessive modifier.

3. This definitization through embedded possessive modifiers is differently reflected on the surface structures of the three languages considered, as shown by examples (2) and (5). To provide for the occurrence of the prepositive article in (5) E and its non-occurrence in (2) E, for the introduction of the prepositive article in both (5) M and (2) M and the genitive in (5) SC, we propose a set of rules which apply after the application of rule (1).

3.1 The occurrence of the English definite article in (5) E¹⁰) might be represented by the following rule:

$$(14) N_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ [+ \text{ possess}] \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ definite}] \\ [- \text{ demonstr}] \end{array} \right\} + \quad (E)$$

$$+ N_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep} \\ [+ \text{ possess}] \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ definite}] \\ [- \text{ demonstr}] \end{array} \right\} + N_2$$

3.2 The changes that take place in the generation of the Macedonian modified noun phrase in (5) M might be given by:

¹⁰) (4) E is generated by (1) directly.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (15) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ [+ \text{ agent}] \end{array} \right\} \frown \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ def}] \\ - \text{ pres} \\ - \text{ prox} \\ - \text{ dem} \end{array} \right\} + \text{V} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ [+ \text{ object}] \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ [+ \text{ poss}] \end{array} \right\} \\
 \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \Rightarrow \\
 \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pro} \\ [+ \text{ short}] \\ [+ = \text{N}_2] \end{array} \right\} + 3 \quad 4 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ def}] \\ - \text{ pres} \\ - \text{ prox} \\ - \text{ dem} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep} \\ [+ \text{ poss}] \end{array} \right\} + 5 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ def}] \\ - \text{ pres} \\ - \text{ prox} \\ - \text{ dem} \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

where:

= denotes 'agrees'¹¹⁾

⌢ denotes concatenation

The changes that participate in the generation of (4) M, on the other hand, are represented by:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (16) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_2 \\ [+ \text{ possess}] \end{array} \right\} + \text{N}_1 \Rightarrow \quad (M) \\
 \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_2 \\ [+ \text{ possess}] \end{array} \right\} \frown \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{ definite}] \\ - \text{ demonstr} \end{array} \right\} + \text{N}_1
 \end{array}$$

This last transformation has to be followed by gender, number and case transformations.

3.3 The generation of the Serbo-Croatian sentence in (5)¹²⁾ can be represented by rule:

$$(17) \quad \text{N}_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_2 \\ [+ \text{ possess}] \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \text{N}_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}_2 \\ [+ \text{ Gen}] \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{SC})$$

4. Rulle (1) says that a [+ human] modifier noun precedes the noun it modifies. However, our examples in 2.2 refer to $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ human} \\ + \text{ unique} \end{array} \right]$

¹¹⁾ It agrees in case, number and gender.

¹²⁾ See footnote 10.

modifier nouns and we shall have to test the [power of the rule (rule 1) with $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{human} \\ - \text{unique} \end{bmatrix}$ nouns:

4.1 If we embed the set of sentences:

- (18) (E) Uncle has a boy.
 (M) Вујко има момче.
 (SC) Ујак има дечка.

into the matrix noun phrase (3), the output would be:

- (19) (E) *Uncle's boy is coming in.
 (M) Влегува вујковото момче.
 (SC) Улази ујаков дечко.

The subject nouns in (19) are nouns denoting relation. They are not [+ unique] but have a strong tendency to be positively determined. The Macedonian sentences:

- (20) а. Вујко ми има момче. (M)
 б. Влегува момчето на вујко ми. (M)

are much more common than the respective sentences in (18) and (19). The English sentence in (19), in its turn, is ungrammatical without the determiner *my* yielding:

- (21) My uncle's boy is coming in. (E)

Consequently, rule (1) has to be supplemented with a restriction that specifies that $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{human} \\ - \text{unique} \end{bmatrix}$ English possessive modifier nouns can be embedded only as noun phrases containing second level embedded possessive pronominal determiners.¹³⁾

Serbo-Croatian, however, requires a restriction directly opposite to that required by English. In this language, rule (1) does not hold when the $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{human} \\ - \text{unique} \end{bmatrix}$ possessive modifier nouns contain second level embeddings.

4.2 In Serbo-Croatian, and in all Slavic languages other than Macedonian and Bulgarian, the possessive adjective is complemented by the possessive genitive.

In Old Slavic, the former was used in one level embeddings and the latter in more than one level embeddings. So, when the noun *боѝъ* was embedded by a possessive clause into the noun phrase of the noun *синь* one got:

- (22) синьъ боѝии.

¹³⁾ Non-omissible determiners. Compare with the Serbo-Croatian examples in 2.3.

But when the noun *боѝ* had been previously modified (through an embedded possessive qualitative or quantitative clause) to yield say *живѝѝ боѝ*, the output of the transformation which embeds *живѝѝ боѝ* into *синь* was:

(23) синь бога живаго.¹⁴⁾

The same principle is observed in Serbo-Croatian for [+ human] nouns. So we have (19) SC and:

(24) Улази дечко мога ујака. (SC)

but not:

(25) *Улази дечко ујака. (SC)

The pronominal possessive modifiers are also embedded by transformation (1). However, the outputs of the specific rules, referring to each of the three languages considered are somewhat different from the outputs of the respective embeddings of nominal possessive modifiers.

5.1 If instead of (2), the pronominalized possessive clauses:

(26) (E) I have a boy.

(M) Јас имам момче.

(SC) Ја имам дечка.

were embedded into (3), the output would be:

(27) (E) My boy is coming in.

(M) Влегува моето момче.

(SC) Улази мој дечко.

Both the English and the Serbo-Croatian sentences in (27) are generated by rule (1) directly in this case. There is no determiner and the feature [+ definite] is included into the possessive modifiers themselves. In Macedonian, however, the feature [+ definite], introduced by the possessive determiner, is transferred to the article by transformation (17) with pronominalized N₂.

5.2 There are two issues connected with pronominal possessive modifiers which we would like to tackle.

5.21 The first issue concerns the Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian reflexive possessive pronominal modifier *свој*, common in all Slavic languages.

¹⁴⁾ Н.С. Трубецкой, „О притяжательных прилагательных староцерковнославянского языка“, *Зборник у часи А. Белића*, Београд, 1937, п. 16.

Whereas the modifiers (M, SC) *мој*, (M, SC) *иџвој*, (M) *нејов*, (SC) *њејов*, can occur with any noun phrase, the embedding of the modifier *свој* is restricted to non-agentive (non-subject) noun phrases, and has to have same identification index¹⁵) with the agent of the sentence in which it occurs. Namely, if sentence (26) were embedded into:

- (28) (M) Таа сака едно иомче.
 (SC) Она воли дечка.

one would get:

- (29) (M) Таа го сака моето момче.
 (SC) Она воли мога дечка.

However, if the same sentence is embedded into:

- (30) (M) Јас сакам едно момче.
 (SC) Ја волим дечка.

the output is:

- (31) (M) Јас го сакам своето момче.
 (SC) Ја волим свога дечка.

A rule specifying the realization of the possessive pronominal modifier in cases like (31) should be added accordingly:

- (32) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mod} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{Pro} \\ + \text{possess} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow [+ \text{ reflexive}] / - \text{Nagent} \quad (\text{M, SC})$

Condition: $I_{\text{agent}} = I_{\text{mod}}$,

where I = Identification Index.

5.2 The other issue refers to the lexical realization of the pronominal possessive modifiers.

We are rather inclined to argue that the lexemes (E) *my*, (E) *your*, (E) *his* (M, SC) *мој*, (M, SC) *иџвој*, (M) *нејов*, (SC) *њејов*, (M, SC) *свој*, are not always possessive modifiers. Our argument follows from the ambiguity of the sentences:

- (33) (E) I have his picture.
 (M) Ја имам неговата слика.
 (SC) Имам његову слику.

¹⁵) To refer to the same person.

which can be derived by embedding into:

- (34) (E) I have a picture.
 (M) Јас имам слика.
 (SC) Ја имам слику.

any sentence of the respective language of the following three sets of sentences:

- (35) a. (E) He has a picture.
 (M) Тој има слика.
 (SC) Он има слику.
- b. (E) He is on the picture.
 (M) Тој е на сликата.
 (SC) Он је на слици.
- c. (E) He painted the picture.
 (M) Тој ја нацрта сликата.
 (SC) Он је насликао слику.

The sentences in (35) a. are embedded into those of (34) by the transformations we have been discussing (transformation (1) plus the transformations for the respective language). The sentences in (35) b. and (35) c. are embedded by different transformations. In the surface structure, we end up, in each case, with (33). We call (E) *his*, (M) *нејов*, (SC) (*његов*), possessive modifiers just because they are most frequently the surface structure realizations of embedded possessive clauses.

On the other hand, if the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian possessive clauses:

- (36) (M) Јас имам глава.
 (SC) Ја имам главу.

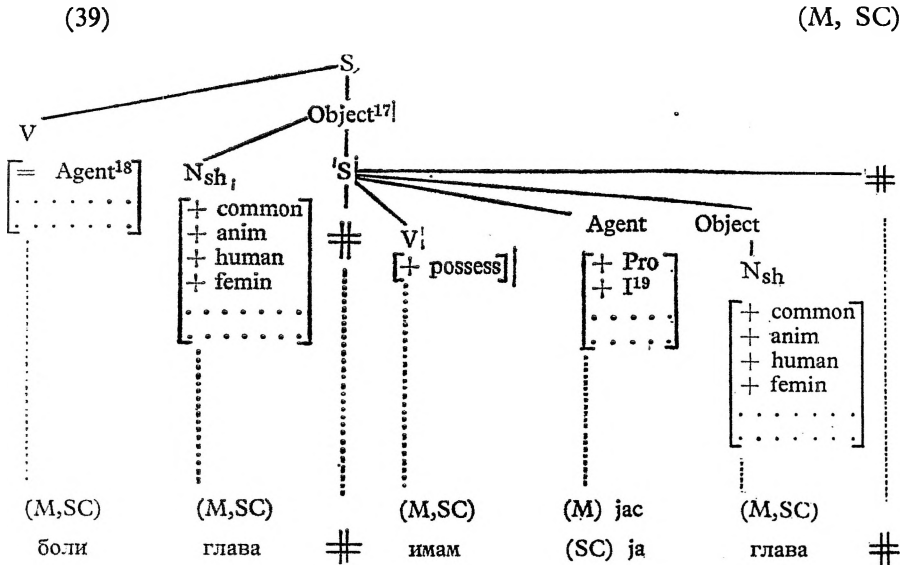
are embedded in:

- (37) (M) Боли глава.
 (SC) Боли главу.

the product is:

- (38) (M) Ме боли глава.
 (SC) Боли ме главу.

The underlying phrase structure marker¹⁶ of (38) is:



By application of rule (1) we get:

- (40) (M) *Боли мојата глава.
 (SC) *Боли моја глава.

since the sentence has no agent the noun *глава* from the objective noun phrase is made the subject of the sentence. The pronominalized possessive modifier, left alone in the objective noun phrase, becomes the object of the sentence in the surface structure²⁰).

¹⁶ The phrase marker is similar to the phrase markers proposed by Fillmore, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Object and Agent are elements of noun phrase.

¹⁸ This is a syntactic feature denoting that the agent of the verb is not expressed.

¹⁹ (M) јас, (SC) ја is $\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}$; (M, SC) ти is $\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \end{bmatrix}$; (M) тој, он, (SC) ис

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}$.

²⁰ Here we accept Fillmore's treatment. Fillmore's theory has not been sufficiently tested and we are not able to speak about its generality. But it explains the phenomenon discussed here.

$$(41) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ [- \text{Agent}] \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mod} \\ [+ \text{possess}] \\ [+ \text{Pro}] \end{array} \right\} N \quad (\text{M}, \text{SC})$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & 3 \Rightarrow \\ \Rightarrow 1 + 3 & \emptyset & 2 \end{array}$$

where: [- Agent] specifies that the verb has no Agent (subject)

The output of (41):

$$(42) * \text{Боли глава мене.} \quad (\text{M}, \text{SC})$$

is subsequently changed into:

$$(43) \begin{array}{l} (\text{M}) \text{ Ме боли глава.} \\ (\text{SC}) \text{ Боли ме глава.} \end{array}$$

by application of rules specifying the place of the short forms of pronouns. The pronoun *ме* is in fact the surface structure realization of the possessive pronominal modifier.

5.3 In our embeddings the indefinite determiner has often been replaced by the definite.²¹⁾ This replacement is quite natural: The indefinite determiner is generated by a reference marker referring to non-specifically delimited domain of reference. When the latter becomes specifically delimited the originally generated determiner disappears and a new, definite determiner takes its place.

6. The sentence:

$$(44) * \text{Таа го сака едно моето момче.} \quad (\text{M})$$

is ungrammatical²²⁾ and to exclude it from the grammar of Macedonian we might draw the following rule:

$$(44) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [- \text{definite}] \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset / - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Det} \\ [+ \text{definite}] \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{M})$$

We notice, however, that

$$(46) \text{ Таа сака едно наше момче.} \quad (\text{M})$$

is quite acceptable.

But (46) is not the output of the embedding of

$$(47) \text{ Ние имаме момче.}$$

²¹⁾ See examples: (28), (29), (30), (31), (35) and other.

²²⁾ Compare it with (29) M.

into (28). Its generation is as follows: Through transformations (1) and (16) the sentence:

(48) Ние имаме момчиња.

is embedded into (28) to yield:

(49) Таа ги сака нашите момчиња.

The subsequent introduction of the quantifying modifier *еден* produces:

(50) Таа сака едно од нашите момчиња.

of which (36) is a paraphrase.

Example (46) and similar examples are only surface structure phenomena specific for Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian²³) without English counterparts. Translated into English, (46) would read:

(51) She loves a boy of ours.

which, in fact, is the counterpart of (50).

7. Let us now examine other combinations of determiners and possessive modifiers:

(52) a. (M) *Таа го сака едно нашево момче.

(E) *She loves a the our boy.

b. (M) Таа го сака ова нашево момче.

(E) *She loves this the our boy.

c. (M) *Таа го сака ова нашено момче.

d. (M) Таа го сака ова наше момче.

(CS) Она воли овог нашег дечака.²⁴)

(E) *She loves this our boy.

e. (E) She loves this boy of ours.

Sentences a. are ungrammatical — the existence of the definite article excluds the occurrence of the indefinite one in both English and Macedonian.²⁵) With sentences b., however, there is incompatibility between the English and Macedonian examples: whereas in English the cooccurrence of [+ demonstrative] and [— demonstrative] determiners in one noun

²³) Compare: a. Она воли једног од наших дечака.

b. Она воли једног нашег дечака.

²⁴) Since Serbo-Croatian does not have [— demonstrative] determiners we could

not give (SC) examples for a., b., and c.

²⁵) Rule (45).

phrase is excluded, in Macedonian it is quite possible, though emphatic. The ungrammaticality of c., in its turn, points to a restriction to the cooccurrence of [+ demonstrative] and [— demonstrative] determiners in Macedonian: the latter can coexist only when $\left[\begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ present} \\ \beta \text{ proximate} \end{array} \right]$.

d. (E) is ungrammatical, but its paraphrase e. is not. The latter is actually the counterpart of the paraphrase of d. (M) and (SC):

(53) (M) Таа го сака ова од нашите момчиња.

(SC) Она воли овог од наших дечака.

which are grammatical but rather unfrequent. They are generated when the $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ demonstrative} \\ + \text{ definite} \end{array} \right]$ determiners (M) *ова* (SC) *овој*, are introduced into (50) and its Serbo-Croatian counterpart.

Олиа МИШЕСКА ТОМИЌ

ПРИСВОЈНИТЕ МОДИФИКАТОРИ И ОПРЕДЕЛЕНОСТА

Контрастивна анализа на англискиот, македонскиот и српскохрватскиот јазик

Резиме

1. На анализите во овој труд треба да се гледа како на сегменти од генеративните граматика на англискиот, македонскиот и српскохрватскиот јазик.

Основната одлика на генеративните граматика е дистинкцијата меѓу длабинската и површинската структура. Во нашиов случај, длабинската структура ја претставува едно множество на универзални поимни релации. Центарот на овие релации е акциониот поим што го означуваме со VP (вербален израз). Неговите аргументи ги означуваме со NP (номинални изрази). Секоја NP доминира над една именка (N) и три ознаки — ознака за број (NuM), ознака за падеж (CaM) и ознака за обем (RM). Содржината на ознаката за обем ја разбираваме со помошта на спротивностите [+ m определен] и [— определен], каде m означува обележеност.

2. Присвојните модификатори не се конституенти на длабинската структура. Тие се внесуваат во реченицата дополнително, преку релативни трансформации. Процесот на релативизацијата различно се манифестира во различните јазици: во англискиот јазик имаме препозитивен член, во македонскиот постпозитивен член, а во српско-

хрватскиот само (а) именка придружена со друга именка во генитивен падежен облик (ако именката на внесената реченица е [— људска]) или (б) именка на која ѝ претходи присвојна именска придевка (ако внесената именка е [+ људска]).

3. Во процесот на релативизацијата, неопределените детерминатори се честопати заменети со определени детерминатори или модификатори. Ова заменување е сосем природно. Неопределените детерминатори се генерираат преку ознаки за обем, кои упатуваат на неспецифично делимитиран домен на упатување. Кога овој домен се делимитира специфично, првобитно генерираниот детерминатор се заменува со определен.

4. Неопределениот детерминатор, по правило, не коегзистира со модификатори. Обидот за комбинации на детерминатори и присвојни модификатори води до следниве заклучоци:

а. Во англискиот и македонскиот јазик појавата на определениот член го исклучува постоењето на неопределениот член.

б. Во англискиот јазик [+ демонстративните] и [— демонстративните] детерминатори не можат да коегзистираат; во македонскиот јазик нивната коегзистенција е можна (иаку емфатична), но ограничена на $\left[\begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ присутни} \\ \beta \text{ блиски} \end{array} \right]$ детерминатори.

в. Во англискиот јазик секаква коегзистенција на детерминатори и модификатори е исклучена: во македонскиот и српскохрватскиот оваа е можна само како површинска реализација на длабинската структура, која изразува партитивна присвојност. Таа површинска реализација се сфаќа како парафраза на површинската реализација, која го запазува односот на партитивноста.