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A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH, MACEDONIAN AND SERBOCROATIAN DETERMINERS

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 The human mind regognizes grammatical categories with explicit formal realizations easier than those with implicit ones just as it identifies objects faster than ideas. Therefore, the distinction definite/indefinite has been exhaustively discussed predominantly in connection with articles — the lexical category representing them.

0.11 The English article has been devoted time and space by most grammarians of the English language.

The English grammar classics[1] have been defining it as proclitical element which modifies the noun and determines its function in the setence. The nature of this modification and determination has been subject to many controversies. Henry Sweet says that the definite article is put before a noun „to show that the idea expressed by the noun has already been stated and to refer back to that statement"[2]; whereas the indefinite article denotes that an individual is taken more or less at random out of a whole class of species. For Curme the definite article has a two-fold function: an anaphoric — pointing backwards to a person or thing already mentioned and determinative — pointing to a definite person or thing described usually by a following genitive, adverb, prepositional phrase or relative clause; whereas the indefinite denotes the contrast between one unit and all other units that belong to the same species[3]. In an exhaustive treatment of the English article, Christophersen plots the forms familiar, unital, unfamiliar and continuous on the coordinate system and states that each English noun phrase has to contain two of the four given features embodied in the noun or the article preceding it[4].

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[1] Otto Jespersen, Henry Sweet, George Curme, R. A. Zandvoort and others.

[2] Henry Sweet, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical, Part II: Syntax*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1890 (reprinted 1931), p. 55.

[3] George O. Curme, *A Grammar of the English Language, Volume III; Syntax*, Boston and New York, D. C. Heath, 1931, p. 510.

[4] Paul Christophersen, *The Articles, A Study of Their Theory and Use in English*, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1939, p. 72.

The above and other treatments of the article show no great unanimity of opinion. Like most grammarians of Indo-European languages, these authors insist only on familiarity and previous mention. However, in all languages these notions are interpenetrated with others. In Macedonia, for example, familiarity and previous mention co-occur with proximity and presence.[5]

0.12 The Macedonian postpositive articles *-ov*, *-on*, *-ot*, are directly related to the so-called demonstrative pronouns *ovoj*, ‚this', *onoj*, ‚that one over there' and *toj*, ‚the one mentioned'. As a matter of fact, not only in Macedonian but also in all Indo-European languages that have article, the definite articles have developed from the unstressed forms of the demonstrative pronouns. Evidently, the latter are definite, just as the numeral *one*, from which indefinite articles have developed, is indefinite. But whereas in English, French and German both definite and indefinite articles are uniform, in Macedonian the defnite article exhibits spacial differentiation. In his recent grammar of the Macedonian language Blaže Koneski rightly insists on this spaciality of the Macedonian article though not failing to note that the fundamental role of the article is to individualize and familiarize the objects: „Vo svojata vistinska služba členot ja označuva opredelenosta na daden predmet, negovoto obosposobuvanje od rodoviot poim pod koj potpagja"[6].

0.13 However, the articles are not exclusive in individualization or familiarization. The definite/indefinite distinction does actually exist within a multi-member category which includes demonstrative pronouns and which more or less contemporary grammarians call determiners.

American structuralists made attempts to define the definite and indefinite determiners in purely formal terms as members of classes which have formal properties. For Bloomfield, the determiners are „defined by the fact that certain types of noun expressions are always accompanied by a determiner"[7]. Fries, carrying a formal analysis to an extreme asserts that all „words that can occupy the position of *the* in a particular test frame „constitute a group"[8].

Eearly transformational grammars[9] recognize the determiner as a constituent of a well-formed noun phrase, and phrase structure rules were written accordingly:

$$\begin{array}{lll} (1) & S \rightarrow NP + VP & \\ & NP \rightarrow Det + N & (E) \\ & Det \rightarrow \text{the, a, some. . . .} & \end{array}$$

[5] This notion is spacial rather than temporal.

[6] Blaže Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturen jazik*, Kultura, Skopje, 1967, p. 228.

[7] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1963, pp. 202—203.

[8] Ch. C. Fries, *The Structure of English*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1952, pp. 156—7.

[9] Specifically: Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1957, p. 26; Lees, „Grammar of English Nominalizations", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 26. 3, 1960, pp. 14—15, 22.

More recent writings show attempts to account for syntactic restrictions for occurrence of various determiners. Beverly Robbins suggests that *the* in a relative complex[10] sentence is the result of applying the relative clause transformation[11]. Carlota Smith goes further and claims casually (without justification) that „definiteness is associated with appositive relative clauses and indefiniteness with restrictive relative clauses"[12], and proceeds to categorize determiners as unique, specified and unspecified, supporting her categorization by different types of restrictions on the embedding[13] of restrictive and appositive relative clauses. Sandra Annear also accounts for the distinction between definite and indefinite determiners through the deletion of relative clauses. She distinguishes three types of determiners, cooresponding to three types of underlying relative clauses: descriptive, restrictive and selective[14]. Postal suggests that all determiners are segmented out of nouns[15]. Perlmutter refutes the idea that definite and indefinite determiner have uniform origin. He maintains that while the definite detrminers are connected with relative clauses, the indefinite ones are given in underlying structures and are present in each noun phrase[16]. Shopen contends that determiners should be altogether eliminated as a given category and replaced by reference and domain markers. According to him, the articless should be derived through reference markers which are or are not coextensive with domain markers[17].

The tranformational treatments of determiners do not reveal greater consistency than previous treatments of articles. They do not seem to advance much further from the notion of familiarity or previous mention already established in pre-transformational analyses.

0.14 But the opposition definite/indefinite is not limited to determiners. Speakers differentiate definite from indefinite noun phrases even when they appear without determiners. Noun phrases containing words like John or

[10] A sentence is a relative complex sentence if it contains a relative clause. The noun (which appears both in the matrix and the constituent sentences and by means of which the latter are conjoined into one relative complex sentence is the shared noun. (Definition modified from Kuroda „English Relativization and Certain Related Problems", *Language* 44, 1968, pp. 244—266.

[11] Beverley Robbins, „Relative Clause Adjuncts of a Noun", *TDAP Nu* 47, University of Pennsylvania, 1963, pp. 62—64.

[12] Carlota Smith „Determiners and Relative Clauses in a Generative Grammar of English", *Language* 40, 1963, p. 33 *et passim*.

[13] A term used in transformational grammar to denote the introduction of a subordinate clause into originally simple main clauses.

[14] Sandra Annear „English and Mandarin Chinese: Definite and Indefinite Determiners and Modifying Clause Structures", *RF Project* 1685—4, The Ohio State University, pp. 27—32.

[15] Paul Postal, „On So-Called Pronouns in English", *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics*, 17th Annual Round Table, Georgetown University Press, Washington, 1966.

[16] M. Perlmutter, „On the Article in English", M. Bierwisch and K. E. Heidolph, eds., *Recent Developments in Linguistics*, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1969.

[17] „Domain is the part of the context which constitutes an antecedent in anaphora and any specific or definite noun phrase has a domain". Timothy Shopen, „Reference or How Anyone Knows What in the World Anyone Else Is Talking About", *PEGS Paper* № 35. Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D. C., 1968, p. 8.

Mary, Petko or Stanko which in English and Macedonian, respectively, as a rule, appear without articles are also marked for definiteness and so are the noun phrases of a great many languages that have no articles at all.

Consider the Serbo-Croatian sentences:

(2) Dečko dolazi. (SC)[18]

and

(3) Dolazi dečko. (SC)

In the English translation of (2):

(4) The boy is coming. (E)

the noun is definite, whereas in that of (3):

(5) A boy is coming. (E)

it is indefinite. Sentence (2) has structure:

(6) S → N+V (SC)

and sentence (3), the reverse:

(7) S → V+N. (SC)

The noun precedes or follows the verb depending on whether it refers to material which had previously been known or to material which is just being introduced. Obviously, word order denotes the definite/indefinite distinction.

Peškovskij points out that in Russian in addition to word order, choice of case and intonation contribute to making the above distinction[19]. So, while *kniga* in:

(8) Ja ne beru knigu.
'I am not taking the book'.[20]

is definite, in

(9) Ja ne beru knigi.
'I am not taking a book'.[21]

it is indefinite.

Christian makes a more sweeping statement and claims that while the Russian accusative is the equivalent of the article, the Russian genitive is the equivalent of 'zero indication' and illustrates his statement by the distinction between:

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[18] (SC)=Serbo-Croatian; (M) = Macedonian; (E) = English.

[19] A. M. Peškovskij, *Ruskij sintaksis v naučnom osveščenii*, Moskva, 1956, *passim*.

[20] English translations given in the respective references.

[21] These distinctions are only surface structure phenomena. In the underlying structure the genitive follows an indefinite quantifier which is subsequently deleted.

(10) Peredajte mne hleba.
'Pass me some bread'[20].

and

(11) Peredajte mne hleb.
'Pass me the bread'.[21]

He even notes that choice of preposition can indicate the difference between definite and indefinite, particular and general, in his terms. According to Christian *na* in:

(12) On podnjalsja na goru.
'He climbed up the hill'.

as opposed to *v* in:

(13) Neskol'ko časov on šel v goru.
'For several hours he walked up hill'.

suggests the difference between the definite and the indefinite.[22]

An examination of sentences (12) and (13) might give us a hint that the aspect may also be involved into this distinction. However, there are many uncertainties in terms of definitness with Slavic nouns co-occuring with perfective, imperfetive and repetitive aspects of the verb. For each of the Serbo-Croatian sentences:

(14) a. Jeo sam jabuku. (SC)
b. Pojeo sam jabuku.

there is a pair of Macedonian sentences:

(15) a. i. Jadev jabolko. (M)
ii. Go jadev jabolkoto.
b. i. Go izedov jabolkoto.
ii. Izedov jabolko.

And though (15) a. i. and (15) b.i. are the preferred translations of (14) a. and (14)b., respectively, this preference should not be ascribed to the aspect exclusively; it might also be due to the semantic features of the lexemes involved.[23] No claims, if any, on the definitization of nouns co-occurring with perfective verbs can be made before the aspect of the Slavic languages is studied extensively.

0.16 At the present, we can safely conclude only that the distinction definite/indefinite, often inherent in determiners, is far from being limited to

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[22] R. F. Christian, „Some Consequences of the Lack of a Definite and Indefinite Article in Russian", *Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 5, 1961, pp. 5—6.

[23] When the lexemes are *pišuvav*, *napišav* and *pismo* there is no preference for the cooccurrence of *pišuvav* with an indefinite noun and *napišav* with a definite one.

lexico-grammatical categories. In languages that lack articles, lexical representation of definiteness is supplemented by various sfntactic and prosodic devices, and this fact lends support to recently repeated claims that essentially identical notions underly the languages of the world. The distinction discussed may be placed within the contrast absolute/relative made by Bally who argues that „L'association est dite absolue quand le term qui sert de point de comparaison est attaché au sujet parlant (par example, le moment ou l'endroit où il parle); elle est relative quand cette norme est exterieure a lui. L'association est le plus souvent implicite dans le premier cas, explicite dans le second".[24] And later: „Le difference entre absolu et relatif est aussi celle entre deux classes de pronoms, les deictiques et les représentants. Un sign est deictique quand il situe une chose ou un fait par rapport au sujet parlant . . . un représentante est, au contraire, un pronom qui désigne un chose ou un fait en identifiant avec un autre chose, un autre fait."[25]

An exhaustive study of the manifestation of the „absolute and the „relative" or the „definite" and the „indefinite" might lead to typological grouping of languages according to these features.

0.2 There are many degrees of definiteness. To simplify the analysis, however, we shall not use any differential notation for various degrees of definiteness[26] and shall refer to features pointing at previously supplied inl formation as [+ definite] and to those indicating newly introduced materiaas [— definite].

0.21 Main source of data are sentences elicited by the author from native speakers. In the case of English and Macedonian, the discussions of the article in the grammar books mentioned in the Appendix have been of great help in determining the nature of definitization. No grammar book, however, talk; about definiteness in Serbo-Croatian. There have been scattered remarks on this subject in papers on indefinite sentences[27] or historical developments[28], but these are far from being reliable sources of reference. We make frequent checks against a statistical study of the representation

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[24] Ch. Bally, „Les notions grammaticales d'absolut et de relatif", *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*, V. 33, 1933, № 1—4, p. 341.

[25] *op. cit.*, p. 343.

[26] Degrees of definiteness should be distinguished from types of definiteness (unique specified and unsgecified).

[27] For example, S. I. Sjatkovskij, „Neopredelenno-ličnije predloženija v sovremennych slavjanskich jazykach, *Slavjanskaja filologija*, Moskva, 1963, vyp. 5, pp. 265—297.

[28] There is a disagreement among scholars as to whether article existed in Proto-Slavic. Some say that the Old Slavic pronoun *jь, ja, jь* reflected in some compound words in many modern Slavic languages, had originally been the definite article. Others claim that Proto-Slavic never had articles and the articles in Macedonian and Bulgarian are influences from Illyrian. See J. Kurz, „K otázce o členu v jazycích slovenských se zvláštním zřetelem k staroslověnštině", *Byzantinoslavica*, № 7, 1937—8, Praha, pp. 212—340. (There is no doubt that the threefold definite article in Macedonian and some Bulgarian dialects is a superstrat. though, it is questionable whether one can contend that Proto-Slavic was deprived of arti, cles. In Check, for example, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ten, ta, to* is very closto that of an article).

of the feature [± definite] in Serbo-Croatian based on some 3500 examples drawn from a couple of translations of Hamingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* into Serbo-Croatian[29]. However, it is obvious that these checks cannot be adequate compensate for the lack of grammar book references.

0.22 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 English.[30]

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. According to Chomsky[31] they should ideally contain a central syntactic component and two interpretative components, a phonological component and a semantic component. The syntactic component is assumed to consist of two subcomponents: (a) constituent structure — an ordered set of rewriting rules[32] that generate strings of minimal syntactically functioning elements, and (b) transformational subcomponent — partially ordered set of complex operations called transformations, each of which maps the C-terminal strings (constituent structure terminal strings) into T-terminal strings (transformational terminal strings). The structural description of this string will be a set of Phrase-markers and the representation of its transformations—transformation markers. The phrase markers of the underlying strings and the transformation-markers, which constitute jointly the deep structure, contain all information relevant to semantic interpretation while the labelled bracketing that constitutes the final derived Phrase-marker of the T-terminal string — the surface structure, contains all and only the information relevant to phonetic interpretation.

To get a general idea of generative grammar as a set of rules for generating the sentences of a language, consider the following informal sketch of generative grammar of English.[33] We shall begin with an initial symbol S, to be referred to in the text as S (entence), and account for its basic constituents and their structures by the progressive ordered expansion (symbolized by a single arrow →) of single symbols into a string of other symbols until the ultimate lexical items are generated.

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[29] See O. Tomić, *Prevodjenje engleskog člana na srpsko-hrvatski*, M. A. thesis, University of Beograd, 1965.

[30] The term has been defined by Chomsky in „Curent Issues in Linguistic Theory" *The Structure of Language*, J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz eds., Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] No one has ever adequately described what a rule of language is, although we are presented with a plethora of analogies for what a rule of language is like. Generative grammarians maintain that the rule of language should be formulated so as to explain the abilities that have been acquired by someone who has learned a natural language. The data for which a linguistic theory must account have to be determined by the intuitions of fluent speakers.

[33] Only the general forms of those parts of the grammar rules that pertain to simple sentences will be examined. The motivation for postulating these particular rules and their order will not be discussed in these illustrative examples.

(16) S → NP+VP (E)

where:

NP = noun phrase
VP = verb phrase

(17) NP → $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Pro}\\ \text{N}\end{Bmatrix}$[34] (E)

where:

N = noun
Pro = all other words that can be subjects of a sentence

(18) VP → Aux + MV (Place) (Time) (E)

where:

Aux = various helping verbs
MV = main verb
Place = adverbial constituent of place
Time = adverbial constituent of time

(19) MV → $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{V (NP)}\\ \text{be + Pred}\end{Bmatrix}$ (E)

where:

Pred = the non-verb part of a nominal predicate

(20) Aux → Tense (M) (have PP) (be + PrP) (E)

where

M = modal
PP = past participle
PrP = present participle

(21) Tense → $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Present}\\ \text{Past}\end{Bmatrix}$ (E)

(22) M → $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{can}\\ \text{will}\end{Bmatrix}$ (E)

(23) V → $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{write}\\ \text{believe}\end{Bmatrix}$, in the environment — NP[35] (E)

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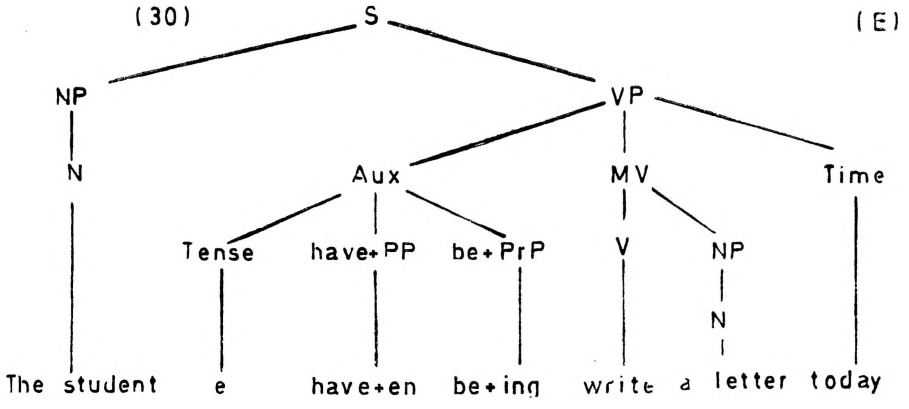
[34] See the list of symbol at the end.

[35] The environment is specified only when relevant. The rules with which it is specified are called contex sensitive rules.

(24) V → think, . . . (E)
(25) Place → here, . . . (E)
(26) Time → there, today, . . . (E)
(27) Pro → it, someone, anybody, . . . (E)
(28) Noun → the student, a letter, . . . (E)

Accordingly, the constituent structure of the sentence:

(29) The student has been writing a letter today. would be:



To obtain the T-terminal string we have to apply:
(a) the auxiliary placement transformation:

(31) X + Af + v + Y → X + v + Af + Y (E)

where:

Af = Tense, en or ing
v = V, M, have or be
X, Y = any other element

and (b) the morphophonemic rule.[36]

(32) have + s → has (E)

In his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*[37] Noam Chomsky develops his theory further. He proposes that the deep structure, the base, be devided into two parts: categorial component and lexicon. The categorial component would consist solely of branching rules and would define implicitly the basic

[36] Combined morphological and phonological rule.
[37] M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

grammatical relations that function in the deep structures of the language. The lexicon would consist of inherent subcategorization features and contextual selectional features. It is a complex symbol, a matrix of features which togather with the phonological features yields the final lexical items.

In spite of the innovations, in *Aspects* syntax still determines semantics, semantics does not determine syntax. Meaning may be used heuristically in discovering the underlying generative machinery of language but semantic absolutes may not be used as primitives. The prevailing idea is that the phrase markers presented are essentially identical with the phrase markers underlying all natural languages.

0.23 But in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian the nominative, the accusative and the instrumental noun phrases do not seem to be definable in terms of the oppositions; noun phrase dominated by sentence, noun phrase dominated by verb and noun phrase dominated by prepositional phrase, respectively. In these languages the noun phrase precedes of follows the verb irrespective of the case:

(33) a. (SC) Žena je ušla u sobu.
(M) Ženata vleze vo odajata.

b. (SC) U sobu je ušla žena.
(M) Vo odajata vleze žena.

c. (SC) Dečko jede viljuškom a devojčica kašikom.
(M) Deteto jade so vilica a devojčeto so lažica.

d. (SC) Viljuškom jede dečko a kašikom devojčica.
(M) So vilicata jade dete a so lažicata devojče.

Since the word orders in the two Slavic languages considered is different from that in English we have to allow for differential surface phrase structure. But changes in surface structure involve not only changes in manipulation, but also alteration of the underlying structure of the grammar itself. If so, why not dispense with the underlying phrase structure and conceive of the surface structure of a grammar as a subset of a language-universal set of categories and relationships?

0.24 To meet the failure of the transformational grammars proposed by Chomsky to account for many surface structure relationsships, recent studies suggest various adjustments and modifications. Fillmore[38] 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 many factors, vastly variable in space

[38] Charles J. Fillmore, „The Case for Case", E. Bach and R. Harms eds., *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1968.

and time, he makes provisions for the non-compatibility of the surface structure and the underlying structure 'case' system. McCawley disputes the justification for the hypothesis of the underlying structure level.[39] „There is no *a priori* reason why a grammar could not instead consist of, say, 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 suface syntactic representations in much the same fashion in which Chomsky's 'transformational component' correlates deep structures with surface syntactic representations.[40]

0.3 The authors of research works usually argue that currently accepted approaches fail completely or partially to offer satisfactory solutions and discuss at large the details of the failure. We shall not go along these lines. We have been discussing previous developments only in order to state the extent to which the work of individual linguists or linguistic schools have contributed to providing a basis for the present analysis.

0.31 In the present study, 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 primitives[41]. 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)[42]. The latter dominate

[39] James D. McCawley, „How to Find Semantic Universals in the Event That There Are Any", E. Bach and R. Harms eds., *Universals in Linguistic Theory*.

[40] *ibid.*

[41] Fillmore, *op. cit.* It should be pointed out that Fillmore's rules projecting underlying 'case' 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.

[42] 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 distrinction 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. S. 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.

a *noun* and three markers: the *number marker* (NuM), the *case marker* (CaM) and the *reference marker* (RM).

0.311 The reference marker brings information from outside the boundary of the sentence. It has been argued that such information is not linguistic. Postal says that taking context outside the sentence into account when accounting for pronominalization would be „vague and unclear"[43]. McCawley argues that reference does play important role in linguistic description but it refers to extralinguistic knowledge[44]. However, it is highly problematic whether we can account for the grammatical forms of all and only the sentences of a language without taking this knowledge into consideration. If so, isn't it obvious that the alleged extralinguistic information which is commonly known as context is linguistic?

This information might be contained in a single 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 antecendent 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 a 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 un 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 shall call *domain of reference*. In other words the domain of reference designates all those members of a set that are relevant at the moment. Or graphically:

An RM which refers to a domain of reference has a [+m definite] charge and generates [+m detinite] determiners. The [+m definite] determiners can be [+ definite] or [— definite] depending on the nature of the domain of reference to be discussed later.[45]

0.312 The domain of reference is sometimes inherent in the noun itself.

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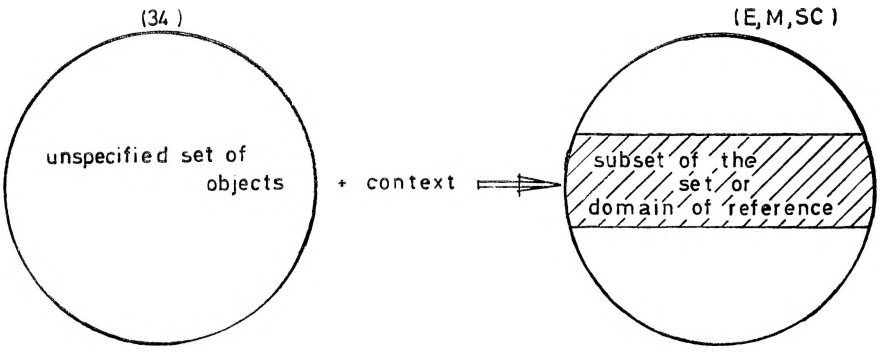
[43] P. Postal, „On So-Called Pronouns in English", *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics*. 17th Annual Round Table, Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C., 1966, p. 178.

[44] J. D. McCawley, „How to Find Semantic Universals in the Event That There Are Any".

[45] In Parts 2 and 3.



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:

(35) a. $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ masculine} \\ - \text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ (E,M,SC)

b. $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ masculine} \\ + \text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

c. $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ masculine} \\ - \text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

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 [—m definite] noun becomes [+definite] or [—definite] after it is introduced into the sentence. As a matter of fact, it is definitized by the determiner generated by the reference marker.

The nouns in:

(36) a. (M) Se ču istrel.
(SC) Čula se paljba.
(E) A shot was heard.

b. (M) Istrelot se povtori.
(SC) Paljba je nastavljena.
(E) The shot was repeated.

had not been marked for definiteness before being mapped into the respective sentence structures, but the ones in:

(37) a. (M) Majka doaǵa.
(SC) Majka dolazi.
(E) Mother is coming.

b. (M) Doaǵa majka.
(SC) Dolazi majka.[46]
(E) Mother is coming.

which are uniquely associated with a definite person had been marked for definiteness originally. When the lexicon is extended to include other nouns, one observes that proper names and unique nouns as well as material nouns behave like the nouns in (37), while common nouns behave like those in (36), In (36) the English nouns have definite and indefinite articles alternatively; the Macedonian nouns have definite articles in (36) b. and (37)b. whereas in (36)a. and (37)a. the definiteness is positionally determined; the Serbo-Sroatian nouns are definite or indefinite depending on word order in each case.

0.32 In what follows we shall try to develop formally and compare the definite and indefinite noun phrase of the three languages exemplified above.

When working on the problem we have been postulating grammar rules to account for certain cases of definiteness in sample sentences. We have subsequently been broadening the problem area by considering other sentences to the test of which we have been putting the existing rules. The study has developed through constant re-examination of grammar rules already formulated, with a view to their improvement or possible rejection. A presentation of all the steps of our trial and error method might have been very illustrative of the nature of the phenomena which might be problematic and of the way they can be handled. However, this would have been too cumbersome. So, in most cases we present only the alternative which to the best of our knowledge, appears to be most appropriate.

0.33 Our dissertation discusses a category of grammar in English and two Slavic languages that have not been taken into consideration when general statements have been made in the universal grammars proposed so far.

We have already mentioned that linguists have not been unaware of the fact that existing grammars do not capture numerous important generalities.[47] But without trying to collect more data about a representative sample of languages they start digging deeper into the language they are familiar with (most frequently English). However, a search for deep generalities yields powerful, enduring results and leads towards a theory of uni-

[46] When nouns like those are not uniquely associated with a definite person or thing they are preceded by an indefinite determiner.

(M) Doaǵa edna majka.
(SC) Dolazi jedna majka.
(E) A mother is coming.

[47] McCawley, *op. cit.*, Bach and others.

versals only if it is complemented by numerous case studies. While digging deeper and deeper into the grammatical relations governing language, when searching for generalities, one should not forget to widen the scope of coverage.

A comparison with digging for water in sandy soil is most appropriate. If one tries to penetrate into the sand without gradually enlarging the radius of the excavation, the sand will continually slide down the sides of the whole and obstruct the penetration. In order to limit the sliding, one has to widen the radius. The wider the radius, the slower the sliding. Similarly, the greater the number of languages that are tested for general truths about language, the safer the assumptions of generality of linguistic descriptions. While empirical constraints on logically possible diversity of natural languages enrich the theory of universal language structure, no constraint can be imposed on systems that qualify as linguistic descriptions before case studies of a variety of particula rlanguages have warranted them. It is towards these warrants, towards safer generalizations, that we hope our analysis will make a modest contribution. Such generalizations are not only interesting and revealing from the point of view of theoretical linguistics, they might also be instrumental in facilitating the study of foreign languages.

1. THE [— M DEFINITE] DETERMINER

1.1 Our [—m definite] determiners are derived from RM's that refer to unspecified sets of objects. In most Indo-European languages, this determiner is represented by what is currently called *wh-words*[1] or *k-slova.*[2]

1.2 Transformational grammarians considered *wh-words* to be [+ definite] if they were derived form *wh* + *defin art.* and [— definite] if derived from *wh* + *indef. art.*[3] This caused problems when in the process of relative clause attachment [+ definite] *wh-words* had to be attached to [— definite] noun phrases and *vice versa* which has made some linguists doubt whether the sets of relative and interrogative *wh-words* are derivid from the same underlying structure[4].

By treating wh-words as [—m definite] determiners which are independent of the articles and are *a priori* only potentially relative/interrogative, we avoid many of these problems. Our *wh-words* become [+ relative] or [+ interrogative] *a posteriori.* In fact, they are relativized or interrogativized by the Relative Marker (RelM) or the Interrogative Marker (QM) of the respective sentences they are mapped into, provided the latter include such markes.

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[1] *ad passim* in transformational literature quoted in the Bibliography.

[2] See A. V. Isačenko „O sintaksičeskoj prirode mestoimenij", *Problemy sovremennoj filologii,* Moskva, 1965, p. 159.

[3] J. J. Katz and P. M. Postal, *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions,* M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 79—120.

[4] See Andreas Koutsoudas, „On Wh-Words in Anglish".

(1) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det} \\ \text{[— m definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}<\text{relative}>_a \\ <\text{inter} \ >_b\end{matrix}\right\} / — \left\{\begin{matrix}<\text{RelM}>_a \\ <\text{QM} \ >_b\end{matrix}\right\}$ (E,M,SC)

where $< \ > x < \ > x$ denotes correlation, i. e. that both or neither part should occur

If the potentionality of those determiners to become relative or interrogative is not realized they are deleted:

(2) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det} \\ \text{[— m definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \varnothing$ (E,M,SC)

Condition: $S_{Det} \ \Phi \ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{RelM} \\ \text{QM}\end{matrix}\right\}$

where S_{Det} = the sentence that dominates the determ.
and Φ = excludes, does not contain

Rules (2) and (3) may be combined in a Rule that specifies that the [—m definite] becomes [+ relative] or [+ inter] in the environment of RelM or QM, respectively, if not it is deleted:

(E,M,SC)

(3) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det} \\ \text{[— m definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}<+\text{relative}>_a \\ <+\text{inter} \ >_b \\ \varnothing\end{matrix}\right\} / — \left\{\begin{matrix}<\text{RelM}>_a \\ <\text{QM} \ >_b\end{matrix}\right\}$

1.3 In Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, there are three [—m definite] determiners: *koj-*, *kak-* and *kolk-/kolik*. *Kak-* refers to quality, *kolk-/kolik-* to quantity and *koj-* may be distunguished by the absence of either of these features[5]:

(4) a. $\begin{bmatrix}— \text{m definite} \\ — \text{qualitative} \\ — \text{quantitative}\end{bmatrix}$ (M,SC) *koj-*

[5] In a way, *kolik-* is a subset of *kak-* since the feature (+ quantitative) is contained in the feature (+ qualitative), but not vice versa. The quantitative modifier in the Serbo-Croatian sentence:

a) Želim veliku lutku. is quite acceptable in aswer to sentences containig both quantitative and qualitative determiners:

(b) i. Koliku lutku želiš?
ii. Kakvu lutku želiš?

However, the qualitative modifier in:

(c) Želim lepu lutku.

can be used only in answer to (b) ii.

b. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ m definite} \\ +\text{ qualitative} \\ -\text{ quantitative} \end{bmatrix}$ (M,SC) *kak-*

c. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ m definite} \\ -\text{ qualitative} \\ +\text{ quantitative} \end{bmatrix}$ (M) *kolk-*
(SC) *kolik-*

To obtain the determiners which occur in the surface structure of Macedonian: *koj, koja, koe, koi; kakov, kakva, kakvo, kakvi; kolkav, kolkava, kolkavo, kolkavi* and Serbo-Croatian: *koji, koja, koje, koji, koje, koja; kakav, kakva, kakvo, kakvi, kakve, kakva; koliki, kolika, koliko, koliki, kolike, kolika,* respectively, one should apply to the output of (4) the gender and the number and case agreement transformations[6] of the respective languages:

(5) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ \text{Mod} \end{Bmatrix} \Rightarrow [\alpha \text{ gender}] / - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{N} \\ [\alpha \text{ gender}] \end{Bmatrix}$ (M,SC)

where α can be:

a. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ masculine} \\ -\text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

b. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ masculine} \\ +\text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

c. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ masculine} \\ -\text{ feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

and Mod = modifier[7].

(6) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ \text{Mod} \end{Bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ number} \\ \beta \text{ case} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ number} \\ \beta \text{ case} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$ (M,SC)

where α can be: [+ singular] or [— singular]
and β ranges over a number of variables like: [+ genitive], [+ dative] etc., the positive specification of each of which specifies all the others as negative.

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[6] The number and case transformation is not given together with the gender transformation since the noun phrase constituents are assumed to derive gender from the head of the noun phrase, whereas the case and number are derived from the number and case markers attached directly to the noun phrase. Of course, one could have everything dependent on the noun and take care of all agreements by one agreement transformation. That would be simpler but would not reflect the intuitive distinction between the case and number features on one hand, which can differ for the same noun, and the gender feature which is always the same for a given noun.

[7] These transformations apply to modifiers as well.

1.4 The Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian determiner *koj-* correspond to the English *which*. The English couterparts of the two other Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian determiners *kak-* and *kolk-/kolik-* are composite itms: *what kind* and *what size*, respectively. The first part of these items constitutes a determiner that might be treated as a variant of *which*. The English equivalent of

(7) (M) Koja kniga vi se dopaǵa?
(SC) Koja knjiga vam se dopada?

is not only:

(8) Which book do you like?

but also?

(9) What book do you like?

However, the syntactic features of *which* and *what* are different. *What* collocates with *kind, size* and similar nouns to yield the two-word items mentioned above, *which* does not. On the other hand, the features of the pronominalized and deleted noun in the process of relativiziation can be assumed by *which* but not by *what*.

1.5 Relativization is a transformation which embeds one sentence into another as a relative clause. The transformation takes place only if the two sentences share a noun phrase. There is a more or less established assumption in transformational grammars of English that the relative clause is preceded by the marker Rel — yielding *wh*. The general form of a relative complex sentence is taken to be:

(10) $X + Det + N_{sh}$ (wh + Det + N_{sh} + VP) VP + Y (E)
where N_{sh} = shared noun
and X, Y = any element(s)

If the shared noun of the embedded clause is pronominalized and deleted, the noun phrase of the later will consist of *wh+Det*. It has been argued that *wh+some* yields *what* and *wh+that* produces which[8]. Since *what* never stands for *wh+Det+N* in an embedded relative clause, a transformation has been introduced into the grammar stating that the indefinite determiner *some* is replaced by the definite *that* if the noun it modifies is preceded by another occurrence of the same noun. This has pompted linguistic analyses[9] to show how indefinite determiners of certain basic forms appear as definite determiners in the surface structure.

1.6 A treatment like this implies change of features and its justificatation is rather complex. It would be more simple and therefore more adequate, if the non-appearance of *what* in embedded relative clauses is ascribed to the

[8] See footnote 4.

[9] e. g. S. T. Kuroda, „English Relativization and Certain Related Problems", *Language* 44, 1968, pp. 244—266.

lack of potentiality for relativization in the base of this lexeme. It would also be more simple if the wh-pronouns: *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *how* and *why* are derived from the concatenation of the unmarked determiner and nouns with characteristic feature specifications, instead of from *what one*, *what one's* . . . etc., which according to Katz and Postal[10] exist alongside *which one*, *which one's* etc. So, the input of *where* would have the feature [+ locative], the input of *when* — [+ temporal] and the input of *who* — [+ human]. *What* could be derived from the concatenation of the unmarked determiner and the pronominalized inanimate noun but that would exclude reference to animals; therefore, we would opt for the feature [— human] at the base of this pronoun. As for *whose*, it might be marked as [— animate] i.e. unmarked for „animateness", since it refers to both human beings, animals and inanimate objects.

The derivations would be:[11]

(11) a. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [+\text{human}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [+\text{human}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ (E) *who*

b. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [-\text{human}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [-\text{human}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *what*

c. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [-\text{m anim}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [-\text{m anim}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *whose*

d. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [+\text{loc}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [+\text{loc}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *where*

e. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [+\text{temp}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [+\text{temp}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *when*

f. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [+\text{mod}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [+\text{mod}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *how*

g. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [+\text{caus}]\\ [+\text{Pro}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Pro}\\ [+\text{caus}]\end{matrix}\right\}$ *why*

and their Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian counterparst: *koj*, *što*, *čij*, *kade*, *koga*, *kako*, *zošto* and *ko*, *šta*, *čiji*, *gde*, *kada*, *kako zašto*, respectively.

[10] J. J. Katz and P. M. Postal, *op. cit.* p. 92.

1.7 By deriving all *wh-words* from [—m definite] bases we evidently deviate from usual transformational procedures, but do that with the intention of capturing some important generalities. The more so, since our treatment is particularly appropriate for the derivation of sets of composite indefinite determiners and pronouns typical of Slavic languages.

2. THE INDEFINITE DETERMINER

2.1 The indefinite determiner is generated by an RM which refers to a domain of reference which is delimited but not otherwise specified. It represents any single unit or any number of units[1] of the set of objects referred to.

2.2 The most simple and most common [— definite] determiner, the one whose feature matrix consists of the feature [— definite], exclusively, is a determiner the phonetic representation of which has developed from the numeral *one*. Originally, this determiner must have always contained the feature [+ quant], but frequent usage to denote ,,an individual being taken more or less at random out of a whole class of objects"[2] or to ,,single out the idea expressed by the noun"[3] has caused the deletion of this feature in a great number of cases and so give birth to a new lexeme. The latter still implies the idea of unity and arouses in the hearer the expectation of being told about individual traits. This is why this determiner is mostly used with persons and material things, not so often with immaterial things and with collectives.[4] With time, the feature [— definite] has become so prominent that it has blotted out everything else.

2.21 In English, the determiner representing the feature [— definite], the indefinite article, diverges from the numeral *one* even formally. It has developed from the weakened Old English *ān*. ,,A weakened form of Old English (OE) *ān*, 'one', was already by 1150 reduced before a consonant to *a*. About the same time the numeral began to be used in a weakened sense (usually unexpressed in OE), becoming in this sense proclitic and toneless *ān*, '*ă*', while as a numeral it remained long *ān*, '*ā*', and passed regularly during the next century into *ō*, *ōn*."[5]

Traditional grammarians[6] distinguish the ,individualizing'[7] or 'introductory'[8] *a* from the ,generic'[9] one. But the article in the noun phrases in:

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[1] Depending on the number marker of the noun phrase.

[2] P. Christophersen, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[3] Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[4] Christophersen, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[5] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, I., p. 1. Note that in some frequently used expressions containing *a*, like 'a foot deep', 'a shilling a piece', 'in a second', 'once in a while'... the quantitative feature is rather prominent. The *a* in these expressions is easily substtutable by *one*. In fact, it is a weakened form of *one* which has retained its original features and as such should be differentiated from *a* which represents indefiniteness exclusively.

[6] See Ch. O, footnote 1.

[7] R. A. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, Longmans, London, 1960, p. 32.

[8] Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

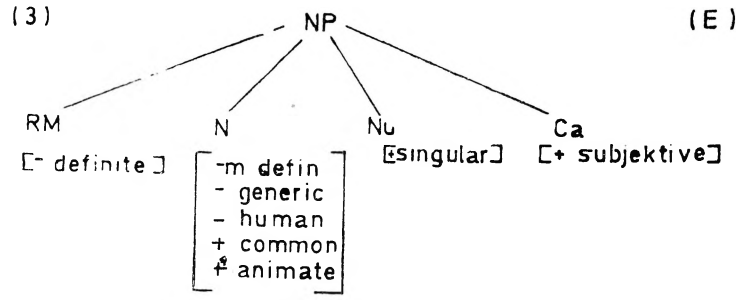
[9] See footnote 8.

(1) A cat walked by. (E)

and

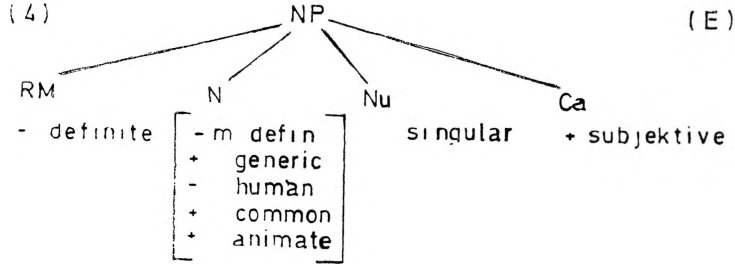
(2) A cat is wiser than you. (E)

are the same. The difference between the two noun phrase is due to the different entries in the feature matrices of the respective nouns. The noun phrase in (1) is derived from the phrase marker (P-marker):



a cat ∅ ∅

and that in (2) from



a cat ∅ ∅

Whereas in (1) the individual is singled out of a set of individuals, in (2) it represents a unit of the total sum of these individuals. The choice is random in both cases. However, in the former case, the set is taken to be a mere cluster of individual units, while in the latter all the features of n-number of individuals in the cluster had been itemized and then evenly distributed to n-number of individuals out of which one is selected. In a similar way, in the noun phrases in:

(5) That was a stupidity. (E)

or

(6) He did me a favour. (E)

the reference marker has singled out a single instance or act of the quality which is usually conceived of en mass.

2.22 In Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian the feature [— defin] is represented by a determiner which always has the same phonetic representation as the numeral ‚one' — *jedan* or *eden*, respectively.

2.221 Both in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian the determiners *eden* and *jedan* can be used with both [+ generic] and [— generic] nouns:

(7) a. (M) Da se uplašiš od edno dete!
(SC) Da se uplašiš od jednog deteta!

b. (M) Edno dete me uplaši.
(SC) Jedno dete me je uplašilo.

In both Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian the determiner *eden* or *jedan* can be optionally deleted from (7)a. However, whereas Macedonian prefers the presence of the determiner, Serbo-Croatian favours its deletion. The preferred Serbo-Croatian counterpart of (7)a. (M) would be:

(8) (SC) Da se uplašiš od deteta![10]

2.222 With [— generic] noun phrases the [— definite] determiner can equally frequently optionally be deleted from both Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian noun phrases after it marks the nouns following them as [— definite]. In such noun phrases definiteness is expressed by the position of the NP in the respective sentences; while noun phrases containing the feature [— definite] embodied in the determiners *eden* or *jedan* can both precede or follow the verb phrase, [— definite] noun phrases from which the above determiners have been deleted usually follow the verb phrase. In other words, having marked for definiteness of the nouns following them, the determiners

[10] Serbo-Croatian appears to supplete the lack of the determiner by case endings. However, at the present stage of development of linguistic description we cannot make any reliable statements about the extent of this suppletion, if any.

It should be noted that expressions without determiner are common also in Macedonian. Prof. Koneski, in a private discussion, kindly suggested the example:

a. Se plaši od volk.

However, as concerns (7) a., all the native speakers of Macedonian that have been consulted favoured the sentence with the determiner whereas the native speakers of Serbo-Croatian preferred the sentence without determiner.

eden and *jedan* can be unconditionally optionally deleted[11]. However, the optional deletion triggers obligatory transportation of the noun from pre-verbal to post-verbal position.

An attempt to formalize[12] the changes that can take place in the initial noun phrases of

(9) (M) Edno dete vleze vo odajata.
(SC) Jedan dečko je ušao u sobu.

and possibly yield:

(10) (M) Vo odajata vleze dete.
(SC) U sobu je ušao dečko.

would require the following set of ordered grammatical rules:[13]

(11) a. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N} \\ \text{[— m definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} \\ \text{[}\alpha\text{ definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} / \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det} \\ \text{[}\alpha\text{ definite]}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (M,SC)

where α can be positive or negative.

b. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det} \\ \text{[— definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset$

c. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP} \\ \text{[— definite]}\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow$ [post-verbal]

Rule (11)a. is obligatory. Rule (11)b. is optional but triggers obligatorily rule (11)c. As a matter of fact, rule (11)a. represents the definitization of [—m definite] nouns upon their introduction into the noun phrase next to the determiners. The nature of definitization correlates with the definiteness features of the determiner, represented by the Greek letter in our rule. Rule (11)b. allows for the deletion of [— definite] determiners. Rule (11)c. transposes the [— definite] noun phrase to post-verbal position. The condition specifies that the rules do not hold when the noun is preceded by determiners

[11] The English sentence.

a. A boy came into the room.

can be translated into Serbo-Croatian by either of the there sentences:

b. U sobu je ušao jedan dečko.
c. U sobu je ušao dečko.
d. Jedan dečko je ušao u sobu.

But the Serbo-Croatian sentence:

e. Dečko je ušao u sobu.

is not a translation of a., it means:

f. The boy came into the room.

[12] This formalization is not an end in itself. It makes structural description more clear, more precise and, consequently, contributes to its simplification.

[13] Rules A, B and C are ordered if B cannot apply after C and A cannot apply after either of the other two. This does not imply that all the rules have to apply, but that if they do apply they should follow the given order.

and/or modifiers. The rules are ordered and rule (11)b. can apply only after rule (11)a. has definitized the noun whereas rule (11)c. is instrumental only upon deletion of the determiner, i.e. upon application of rule (11)b.[14]

It is in part due to Rule (11) that *eden* and *jedan* are much less frequently used in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, respectively, then *one* in English. The statistical analysis of the translation of the English indefinite article into Serbo-Croatian in my thesis mentioned in the previous chapter[15] shows that 25 per cent of the English subject noun phrases with indefinite articles are translated into Serbo-Aroatian by change of word order (Rule (11)c. But lexical devices do not in the least exhaust the compensates for the relatively unfrequent use of the above determiners in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian.

2.3 In the latter two languages and in all Slavic languages for that matter, indefiniteness is often expressed through one of a series of composite indefinite determiners: (M) *nekoj-*, (SC) *neki*, (M) *nekakov*, (SC) *nekakav;* (SC) *makoji*, (SC) *makakav*, etc. These determiners are complex lexical items containing other features in addition to definiteness. They are derived by concatenating various particles with characteristic feature specifications to the [—m definite] determiners: (M and SC) *koj-*, (M) and (SC) *kak-*, (M) *kolk-* and (SC) *kolik-*. Since these particles reflect the delimitation of a certain area of the universal set of objects referred to by the determiner, which we call domain of reference, their concatenates, are no longer unmarked for definiteness. They do not refer to universal sets but to subsets consisting of single representative units or a number of units.

2.31 The most frequent composite indefinite determiner is (M) *nekoj-*, (SC) *nek-* (the contracted form of nekoj-), the concatenations of the particle *ne* and the [—m definite] determiner *koj-*. The particle *ne* carries and adds to the determiner the feature [+ random] through the following derivation:

$$(12)\ [+\ \text{random}] + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [-\text{m defin}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{defin}\\ +\text{random}\end{bmatrix}\end{matrix}\right\} \qquad \text{(M,SC)}$$

In a similar manner, the concatenation of *ne* with *kak-* and *kolk-/kolik-* would yield $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{definite}\\ +\text{random}\\ +\text{qualitative}\end{bmatrix}$ (*nekak-*) and $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{definite}\\ +\text{random}\\ +\text{quantitative}\end{bmatrix}$ (*nekolk-/nekolik-*) respectively.

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[14] Examples like:

a. Volk vlegol vo trloto.

might cause a doubt as to the obligatoriness of rule (11) c. However, the noun *volk* in the above example is especially stressed, or logically distinguished. And our rules do not and cannot take into consideration variations of register (for the signifficance of the termse, N. E. Enkvist *et. al.*, *Linguistics and Style*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964).

[15] O. Tomić, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

It should be noted, however, that while *nekoj* is very frequent *nekak-* is relatively rare and *nekolk-/nekolik-* non occurrent as determiner. Compare:

(13) a. (SC) Koju lutku želite?
(M) Koja kukla ja sakate?
b. (SC) Kakvu lutku želite?
(M) Kakva kukla sakate?
c. (SC) Koliku lutku želite?
(M) Kolkava kukla sakate?

to

(14) a. (SC) Dajte mi neku lutku.
(M) Dajte mi nekoja kukla.
b. (SC) Dajte mi nekakvu lutku.
(M) Dajte mi nekakva kukla.
c. (SC) Dajte mi nekoliku lutku.
(M) Dajte mi nekolkava kukla.

2.32 (14) a. and b. are not straightforward answers to (13)a. and b. If the above questions are to be answered with indefinite noun phrases, the native speakers of Macedonian would rather use the two word expressions *bilo koj-* and *bilo kak-*:

(15) a. Dajte mi bilo koja kukla. (M)
b. Dajte mi bilo kakva kukla.

The Serbocroatian speakers would also use these two word expressions as well as the composite determiners *makoj-* and *makak-;*

(16) a. Dajte mi makoju lutku. (SC)
b. Dajte mi makakvu lutku.

These determiners, in addition to the feature „randomness" contain the feature „irrelevance". Their derivations could be formalized as follows:

(17) a. $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{random} \\ + \text{irrel} \end{bmatrix} + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ [- \text{m defin}] \end{bmatrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{defin} \\ + \text{random} \\ + \text{irrel} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$ (SC) *makoj-*

b. $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{random} \\ + \text{irrel} \end{bmatrix} + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{m defin} \\ + \text{qualit} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{defin} \\ + \text{random} \\ + \text{irrel} \\ + \text{qualit} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$ *makak-*

Like *nekoj-* and *nekak-*, *makoj-* and *makak-* belong to triplets with a [+quantitative] third member, *makolik-*, which is used in actual speech only as an adverbial:

(18) Makoliko molio neću te pustiti. (SC)

2.33 The $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrelevant} \end{bmatrix}$ triplet *makoj-*, *makak-*, *makolik-*, patterns with two other triplets *ikoj-*, *ikak- ikolik-*, and *nikoj-*, *nikak-*, *nikolik-*. The differences between these three triplets may be ascribed to the negation and interrogation operators of the sentences that dominate them. So,their derivations could be:

(18) a. $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ [- \text{ m defin}] \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow$ (SC)

$$\Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ inter} \end{bmatrix} / - \text{Q} \\ \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ negat} \end{bmatrix} / - \text{Neg} \\ \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ random} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \textit{ikoj-} \\ \textit{nikoj-} \\ \textit{makoj-} \end{matrix}$$

b. $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ qualit} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow$

$$\Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ qualit} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ qualit} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ inter} \end{bmatrix} / - \text{Q} \\ \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ qualit} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ negat} \end{bmatrix} / - \text{Neg} \\ \text{Det} \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ irrel} \\ + \text{ qualit} \\ + \text{ random} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \textit{ikak-} \\ \textit{nikak-} \\ \textit{makak-} \end{matrix}$$

c. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{random} \\ +\text{irrel} \end{bmatrix} + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ -\text{defin} \\ +\text{quantif} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$ [16] ⇒

$$\Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ -\text{defin} \\ +\text{irrel} \\ +\text{random} \\ +\text{quantif} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ -\text{defin} \\ +\text{irrel} \\ +\text{random} \\ +\text{quantif} \\ +\text{inter} \end{bmatrix} / -\text{Q} & \textit{ikolik-} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ -\text{defin} \\ +\text{irrel} \\ +\text{random} \\ +\text{quantif} \\ +\text{negat} \end{bmatrix} / -\text{Neg} & \textit{nikolik-} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ -\text{defin} \\ +\text{irrel} \\ +\text{random} \\ +\text{quantif} \end{bmatrix} & \textit{makolik-} \end{array} \right\}$$

The surface structure determiners **ikoji*, **ikoja*, **ikoje*, **ikoji*, **ikoje*, **ikoja: nikoji*, *nikoja. . . ; makoji*, *makoja. . . ; ikakav*, *ikakva*, *ikakvo. . . ; nikakav*, *nikakva. . . ; makakav*, *makakva. . . ; *ikoliki*, **ikolika. . . ; *nikoliki*, **nikolika*[17]; *makoliki*, *makolika. . .* would be obtained upon the application of the number agreement transformation.

2.34 However, there are syntactic phenomena which require modification of the above derivations. The sentences:

(19) a. Ako te iko vidi, stradao si.

b. Ne miče se, niti ičim pokazuje da je živ.

contain the pronouns *iko* and *ičim*, derived through transformations similar to those decsribed in 1.6, although they are not interrogative. Should we claim such sentences as exceptional? Partially. It seems appropriate to set up two binary distinctions one (a) between the non marked and the marked members

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[16] The derivations are ordered; makoj is the non-marked member of the subset — defived if neither the Q nor the Neg transformations apply.

[17] The asterisked lexemes very seldom if at all occur in actual speech as determiners. We have listed them since they participate in the derivation of pronouns:

a. Niko nije došao.

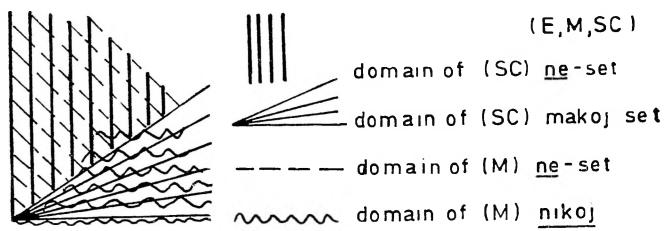
and/or quantifiers:

b. Koliko novaca imaš?
Nikoliko.

of the triplet and another (b) between the two marked members. So, the output of the derivations would be *makoj-*, *makak-*, *makolik-*, if neither Neg nor Q is present and *ikoj-*, *ikak-*, *ikolik-* when an operator of the grammatico-semantic category Affective[18], including Neg, Rel, Q and some other operators, occur. A second level transformation would then produce *nikoj-*, *nikak-* and *nikolik-* if the operator is Neg. Sentence (19)b and similar sentences would be exceptional to the derivation of the negative members of the triplet; the *niti* blocks double negation. The occurrence of *iko* in (19)a. would require a more subtle solution. Since both *iko* and *mako* are possible in this sentence, the choice is determined by the expectations of the speaker: when *iko* is used the expectations are negative, when *mako* appears they are positive. As yet, there are no formal apparata that can explain explicitely the semantic and syntactic differences that are due to differencial expectations but there are strong indications that intentional logic will provide them.

2.35 In Macdonian, the $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrelevant} \end{bmatrix}$ set is incomplete. It contains only the negative members of each subset; the surface structure determiners being *nikoj, nikoja, nikoe, nikoi, nikakov, nikakva, nikakvo, nikakvi, *nikolkav, *nikolkava, *nikolkavo *nikolkavi.* Where Serbo-Croatian employs the positive and interrogative members of the *makoj*-set, Macedonian uses (in either case) the *ne*-set. So, in Macedonian, the domain of the *ne*-set is wider; it extends beyond the limits of its Serbo-Croatian counterpart adn covers two thirds of the *makoj*-set of the latter.

(20)

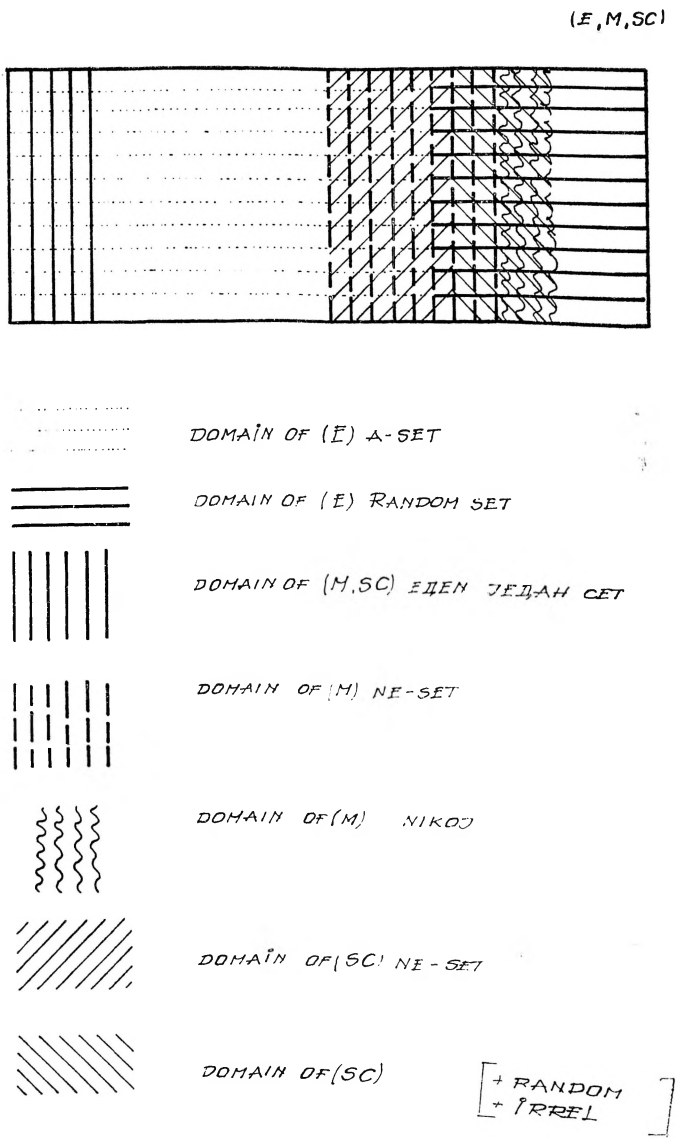


2.36 The $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ definite} \\ + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix}$ Slavic subset has an English counter-part with

[18] Term used by E. Klima, „Negation in English", *The Structure of Language*, J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz eds., Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jervey, 1964. p. 313.

surface structure determiners: *some*, *any* and *no*. To one another, the latter relate in a similar (but not the same) way as do the Serbo-Croatian *makoji*, *ikoji* and *nekoi*. However, the English determiners have wider domain — covering parts of the domains of the Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian *ne*-sets.

Graphically, the relations of the English *a* and Random sets and the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian *eden/jedan* and Random sets would look as follows:



The above graph is not based on any statistical analysis. It does not represent the accurate extent of intersection of sets, but only indicates where this intersection takes place. We see that the domain of reference of (M) *eden* and (SC) *jedan* is within the domain of reference of the English, *a* that the domain of reference of (SC) *ne* is within that of (M) *ne* and the one of (M) *nikoj* is within that of the (SC) $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ random} \\ + \text{ irrel} \end{bmatrix}$ set which itselft is within the domain of reference of the (E) Random-set and intersects with the domain of reference of the (M) *ne*-set. The domains of (M) and (SC) *ne* sets, on their part, intersect with the domain of (E) *a*, on one hand, and with that of the (E) Random set, on the other.

2.4 A number of not unfrequent indefinite determiners: (E) *each*, *every*, (SC) *svaki*, *svakakav*, **svakoliki:* (M) *sekoj*, *sekakov*, **sekolkav*[19], has not been considered in the Graph. since their domains never intersect with any of the domains given above. These determiners refer to at list two units of the indefinite set, to everyone of them equally.

2.41 The Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian determiners of this group are derived through the concatenation of the [+ inclusive] particle (M) *se* (SC) *sve* and the [—m definite] determiner:

(22) a. $[+ \text{ inclusive}] + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Det} \\ [- \text{ m defin}] \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ inclus} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$ (M,SC)

b. $[+ \text{ inclusive}] + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{ m defin} \\ + \text{ qualit} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ inclus} \\ + \text{ qualit} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$

c. $[+ \text{ inclusive}] + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{ m defin} \\ + \text{ quantit} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Det} \\ - \text{ defin} \\ + \text{ inclus} \\ + \text{ quantit} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$

The surface structure determiners (M) *sekoj*, *sekoja*, *sekoe*,[19] *sekakov*, *sekakva*, *sekakvo*, *sekakvi*; **sekolkav*, **sekolkava*, **sekolkavo*, **sekolkavi* and (SC) *svaki*, *svaka*, *svako*[20]; *svakakav*, *svakakva*, *svakakvo*, *svakakvi*, *svakakve*, *svakakva*; **svakoliki*, **svakolika*, **svakoliko*, **svakoliki*, **svakolike*, **svakolika* are obtained upon the application of the number and gender agreement transformations.

[19] The plural is suppleted by the quantifiers (M) *site*, (SC) *svi*.

2.42 In English there are two inclusive indefinite determiners: *each* and *every*, the distinction between them being the tendency of each to single out the idnividuals to which it refers. Compare:

(23) a. We had a pencil each.
b. *We had a pencil every.

Their feature contents would be:

(24) $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ -\text{definite}\\ +\text{inclusive}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ — *every*

$\left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ -\text{definite}\\ +\text{inclusive}\\ +\text{singling}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ — *each*

2.43 The two English inclusive determiners correspond to the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian nonquantitative and nonqualitative inclusive indefinite determiners:

(25) a. He used to come every day. (E)
Doaǵaše sekoj den. (M)
Dolazio je svaki dan. (SC)

b. Each boy has a story of its own. (E)
Sɛkoe dete ima svoja prikazna. (M)
Svaki dečak ima svoju priču. (SC)

The Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian qualitative inclusive determiners, however, correspond to two word expressions in English:

(26) a. (M) Mi prikažuvaše sekakvi prikazni.
(SC) Pričao mi je svakakve priče.
(E) He used to tell me every kind of story.

2.5 Regardless of the differences in their English counterparts, the derivation of the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian random and inclusive indefinite determiners fall into a pattern that can be expressed by the rule:

(27) $\begin{bmatrix}\alpha\ \text{random}\\ \beta\ \text{irrelevant}\\ \gamma\ \text{inclusive}\\ \delta\ \text{singling}\end{bmatrix} + \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ -\text{m definite}\\ \varepsilon\ \text{qualitative}\\ \theta\ \text{quantitative}\end{bmatrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ -\text{definite}\\ \alpha\ \text{random}\\ \beta\ \text{irrelevant}\\ \gamma\ \text{inclusive}\\ \delta\ \text{singling}\\ \beta\ \text{qualitative}\\ \theta\ \text{quantitative}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$

where α, β, γ, δ, ε, θ, range over + and —.

The above rule specifies that all [—m definite] determiners when concatenating with particles containing the features „randomness", „irrelevance", „inclusiveness", „singling" yield [— definite] determiners that are random, irrelevant, inclusive, singling, qualitative, quantitative or have none of these features if their inputs are random, irrelevant, inclusive, singling, qualitative, quantitative or have none of these features. This rule captures all the transformations that have taken place in the derivation of the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian composite indefinite determiners. Its generality is a test for its power.

3. THE DEFINITE DETERMINER

3.1 The definite determiner is generated by and RM which refers to a specifically delimited domain of reference.

To illustrate the process of definitization we shall take a [—m definite] noun phrase in a matrix sentence and successively add information through modifiers introduces by subordinate clauses.

(1) a. Horses run fast.
\+ b. There are some horses.

= c. Some horses run fast.
\+ d. Some horses are on the meadow.
\+ e. Some horses are young.
\+ n. .....

The young horses that are on the meadon.....run fast.

The first subordinate clause (1)b. establishes a domain of reference. The other subordinate clauses specify the domain. The number of such clauses is potentially indefinite. We introduce the definite teterminer when the noun phrase becomes identifiable.

3.2 The most common and most often referred to definite determiner is the definite article.

3.21 The English definite article has been described as a grammatical element which points at a definite person or thing previously mentioned or determined by attributive or adverbial phrases, by a genitive or by relative clauses. When pointing to a thing mentioned previously, the definite article has been called „anaphoric"[1], „article of complete determination"[2] or „(a) referring back and (b) identifying"[3]. When determined, it has been referred

[1] Curme, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

[2] Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar*, George Alen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1933 (last edition 1948), p. 161.

[3] Sweet, *op. cit.*, pp. 55—56.

to as „determinative"[4] or „article of incomplete determination"[5]. For some authors, both these uses are „specifying"[6] or „individualizing"[7] as opposed to the „generic"[8] or „classifying"[9] one when the „representative idea becomes more prominent than the conception of a sharp individualization, one individual representing a whole class"[10].

However, there are no inherent features that differentiate individualizing definite articles from classifying ones. The difference between the definite noun phrase in:

(3) The sparrow is found on several continents (E)

and

(4) The sparrow has desappeared.

is due to the difference in the indices of the feature „generic" in the semantic feature matrix of the respective nouns.[11]

Even when used to indicate parallel growth in two mutually dependent cases:

(5) The stone gets the harder the longer it is exposed to the weather. the article is not any different. Since it is the reduced form of the Old English neuter instrumental it may be considered as a concatenation of the article and the case ending derived from the noun.

3.22 In Macedonian, in addition to denoting familiarity the definite article determines the noun phrase spacially. It is a post-positive triplet whose members differentiate on the basis of their indices for the features „presence"[12] and „proximity".

3.221 The article which communicates that the noun referred to is close to the speaker is $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{present} \\ + \text{proximate} \end{bmatrix}$, the article which tells that the noun is far, though within reach of at least one of the senses of the speaker[13] is $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{present} \\ - \text{proximate} \end{bmatrix}$ and the one that denotes that the noun is out of reach of the

[4] Curme, *ibid.*, p. 511.

[5] Jespersen, *ibid.*, p. 161.

[6] Zandvoort, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[7] Christophersen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[8] Jespersen, *ibid.*, p. 213.

[9] Zandvoort, *ibid.*, p. 119.

[10] Curme, *ibid.*, p. 513.

[11] See the phrase markers of the [+generic] and [— generic] nouns with indefinite articles in 2.21.

[12] „Presence" is a spacial feature, not a temporal one. The opposite of „present" is here „absent", not „past".

[13] „Koga govorime za prostranstvenoto opredeluvanje na predmetite so členot, togaš ne treba da mislime deka toa stanuva samo do kolku možeme odnosite da gi ustanovime so pomošta na našeto čulo na vidot. So členot go izrazuvame i prostranstvenoto opredeluvanje za koe stanuvame svesni i preku drugite naši čula. Na primer: 'go seќavaš li mirisov vo sobava'". B. Koneski, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

senses is [— present / — proximate]. On the surface struture of the Macedonian literary language the definite article has the following phonetic realizations:

(6) a. [+ present / + proximate] *-ov, -va, -vo, -ve* (M)

b. [+ present / — proximate] *-on, -na, -no, -ne*

c. [— present / — proximate][14] *-ot, -ta, -to, -te*

3.222 The choice of one of the four variants of each form depends to some extent on the number marker of the noun phrase and the gender of the noun. So, two nouns ending on the same consonant can have different articles because of the different genders:

(7) a. Proletta ne donese golemi radosti. (M)
b. Poletot zgasna.

But with nouns ending on vowel the choice is not so simple. Though *-te*, *-ve*, *-ne* are exclusevely plural, plural nouns are not exclusively restricted to these articles. Note:

(8) a. Decata izlegoa nadvor. (M)
b. Planinjeto se modreea vo dalečinata.

With these nouns the choice of articles more or less depends on the final vowel of the noun. However, it is rather unnatural to assume that the rules that operate with nouns ending on consonant differ from those that operate with nouns ending on vowel. It might be rather the case that the rules are uniform but the phonetic representations of a number of endings (for different genders) are the same. If so, the choice of the Macedonian article can be taken care of by context sensitive rules that make the choice of articles contingent on the ending of the noun.[15]

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[14] The feature indices of this matrix are liable to dispute. Since the article *-ot*, compared to *-ov* and *-on* is unmarked, it could be described as [± present / ±proximate]. Yet, *-ot* can never be interpreted as [+ present / + proximate], it more or less implies absence and remoteness. Moreover, a negative index is acceptable whenevor the positive one is absent. (The Nominative can be [—oblique] and the Present can be [—past]. In the light of these observations and in order to observe a patterned contrast to the feature matrices of *-ov*, *-va*, *-vo*, *-ve* and *-on*, *-na*, *-no* *-ne* we select for *-ot* *-ta*, *-to*, *-te* the feature matrix [— present / — proximate]. Our choice might conveniently be interpreted as relative.

[15] This supplementary rule shall not be given. It is too perriferal to our discussion to be devoted special attention.

3.223 The articles *-ov* and *-on* are more frequently used with names of persons and material things than with abstracts. But this has nothing to do with the nature of the nouns or articles. The predominat occurrence of abstract nouns with the unmarked article *-ot* is rather the consequence of the unfrequent spacial determination of such nouns.

3.23 Both the English and the Macedonian definite articles have developed form demonstrative determiners. The English article is actually a reduced root of the Old English demonstrative pronoun *se, seo* (later *þe, þeo, þat*). The Macdonian article represents the Common Slavic deictic morphemes *tъ, ov-, -on-*, which with the pronoun *-jь*, yield demonstrative determiners.[16]

In the process of reduction the demonstrative function of the article has weakened. We shall therefore mark it as [— demonstrative] as opposed to the [+ demonstrative] determiners from which they have developed.[17]

3.3 The [+ demonstrative] determiner occurs in all the three languages that are subject to our discussion.

3.31 In Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, it has the following feature specifications:

$$(9)\quad \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ +\text{ definite}\\ +\text{ demonstrative}\end{bmatrix}\right\} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}\alpha\text{ present}\\ \beta\text{ proximate}\\ \gamma\text{ quantifying}\\ \delta\text{ qualifying}\end{bmatrix} \qquad (\text{M, SC})$$

where α, β, γ, δ, range over + and —.

Since each of the features „presence", „proximity", „quantity" and „quality" range over two values, one should expect sixteen different definite demonstrative determiners in each of the two languages considered.

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[16] The reduction of the English demonstrative pronoun is known to have taken place in Middle English. That of the Macedonian one has not as yet been exactly located in time. However, both reductions have left behind similar traces. Macedonian as well as English has adverbialized expressions without article:

a. (M) Mi dojde veḱe do guša.
(M) Ja fati za raka.
(E) He goes to school.
(E) His mother is in hospital.

in which the nouns preceded by prepositions refer to the objects as such rather than to any particular objects and contrast with Prep + Det + N expresions:

b. (M) Ja fati za rakata.
(E) He goes to the school.

These adverbialized expressions as well as some greetings and blessings like:

c. (M) I na tvoja gla, milo.
(M) I za sinče da si iščekaš.

are obviously remnants from the time when articles did not exist.

[17] This negative feature cannot be justified on independent grounds. The articles have inherited something from their demonstrative ancestors. But relatively — in comparizon with the demonstrative determiners — the articles are [—demonstrative].

However, the features „presence" and „proximaity" are internally ordered (the positiveness of the latter is contingent on the positiveness of the former) and the features „quality" and „quantity" are mutually exclusive. So, the possible choice of demonstrative determiners in each language is limited to nine:

(10) a. [+ present, + proximate, — quantifying, — qualifying] (M, SC)
phonetic realization *ov-*

b. [+ present, — proximate, — quantifying, — qualifying]
phonetic realization *on-*

c. [— present, — proximate, — quantifying, — qualifying]
phonetic realization *t-*

d. [+ present, + proximate, + quantifying, — qualifying]
phonetic realization:
(M) *ovolk-*
(SC) *ovolik-*

e. [+ present, — proximate, + quantifying, — qualifying]
phonetic realization:
(M) *onolk-*
(SC) *onolik-*

f. [— present, — proximate, + quantifying, — qualifying]
phonetic realization:
(M) *tolk-*
(SC) *tolik-*

g. [+ present, + proximate, — quantifying, + qualifying]
phonetic realization:
(M) *vak-*
(SC) *ovak-*

h. [+ present, — proximate, — quantifying, + qualifying]
phonetic realization:
onak-

i. $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ present} \\ - \text{ proximate} \\ - \text{ quantifying} \\ + \text{ qualifying} \end{bmatrix}$ phonetic realization: *tak-*

The determiners that appear in the terminal strings of each language are produced after the above listed forms undergo the gender and the case and number transformations of the respective languages.

3.32 The English definite demonstrative determiners are not marked for presence, quantification or qualification. The only distinction they make is that of proximity, the phonetic realization of the [+ proximate], definite demonstrative determiner being *this* and that of the [— proximate] one — *that*. Of these two, the latter determiner is more general; negatively marked for proximity, it can and does correlate with all Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian [— proximate] determiners, whether [+ present] or (— present], [+ quantifying] or [— quantifying], [+ qualifying] or [— qualifying].[18]

3.33 We should, point out that the correlation of the English [— proximate] definite demonstrative determiner with the Macedonian [— proximate] definite demonstrative determiners differs from that with the Serbo-Croatian ones. Namely, the domain of reference of the Macedonian [— proximate] definite demonstrative determiners is narrower and the one of the Serbo-Croatian determiners is wider than the domain of the English determiner possessing these features.

English has only one definite article and English speakers use demonstrative determiners whenever spacial differentiation is essential to the meaning. In Macedonian, the use of demonstrative determiners is restricted to cases when demonstration is necessary — spacial differentiation being usually well expressed by the [— demonstrative] definite determiners — the articles.

Serbo-Croatian has no articles whatsoever and the domain of reference of its demonstrative definite determiners covers not only the domain of reference of the English [+ demonstrative] determiners but also part of the domain of the (— demonstrative] determiner of that language.[19]

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[18] It should be mentioned that the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian qualitative and quantitative definite determiners often correlate with two word expressions in English.:

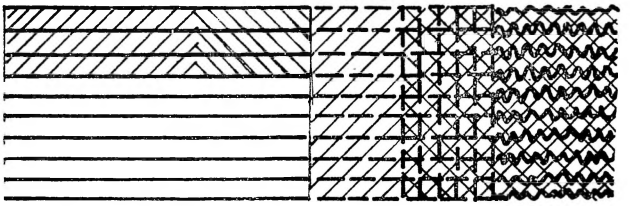
a. To se šije sa ovakvom iglom.
a. That should be sown with this type of needle.
b. Tatko mi mi kupi ovolkav moliv.
b. Father bought me a pencil this big (of this size).

[19] Compare:

a. Gde je ta knjiga?
b. Where is the book?

(11)

a. *Domains of Macedonian and English Definite Demonstrative Determiners*



(M) [- demostr] defin. determ.

(M) [+ present, + proximate] def. demonstr. det.

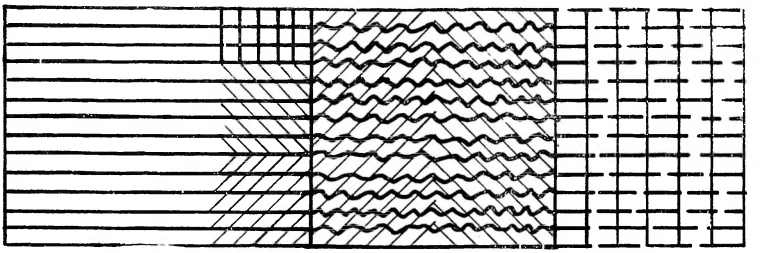
(M) [+ present, - proximate] def. demonstr. det.

(M) [- present, - proximate] def. demonstr. det

(E) [+ proximate] def. demonstr. det.

(E) [- proximate] def. demonstr. det

b. *Domain of Serbo-Croatian and English Definite Demonstrative Determiners*



(E) [— demonstrative] def. determiner

(E) [— proximate] def. demonstr. det.

(E) [+ proximate] def. demonstr. det.

(SC) [— present, — proximate] def. dem. det. — *t-*

(SC) [+ present, — proximate] def. dem. det. — *on-*

(SC) [+ present, + proximate] def. dem. det. — *ov-*

3.34 The domain of reference of the English as well as the one of the Macedonian [— demonstrative] definite determiners intersects not only with the domain of reference of the Serbo-Croatian [+ demonstrative] definite determiners but also with the domain of reference of a number of other Serbo-Croatian lexicogrammatical categories, of pronouns first of all.

3.4 The features of a pronominalized and deleted noun can concatenate with the determiner preceding it. When the determiner is [— definite] the output of the concatenation is indefinite pronoun, when it is [+ defin] the output of the concatenation is definite pronoun.

3.41 All the definite demonstrative determiners discussed in this chapter can concatenate with pronominalized deleted pronouns. The process of concatenation can be described as follows:

$$(12)\quad \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Det}\\ +\text{ definite}\\ +\text{ demonstr}\end{bmatrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{N}\\ +\text{ Pro}\end{bmatrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \left\{\begin{bmatrix}\text{Pro}\\ +\text{ def}\\ +\text{ dem}\end{bmatrix}\right\} \qquad \text{(E,M,SC)}$$

This transformation would yield the pronouns *this* and *that* in English; *ovaj, onaj, taj; ovakav, onakav, takav* and *ovoliki, onoliki, toliki* in Serbo-Croaian and *ovoj, onoj, toj: vakov, onakov, takov* and *ovolkav, onolkav, tolkav* in Macedonian.

3.42 The domains of reference of these pronouns referer to one another in the same way as the domains of reference of the definite demonstrative determiners that participated in their derivation. The Serbo-Croatian definite demonstrative determiners have wider domains than either thier English or Macedonian counterparts, and so have the Serbo-Croatian derfinite demonstrative pronouns[20]. Their domains also intersect with the domain of reference of the English [— demonstrative] definite determiner as do the domains of all other Serbo-Croatian pronouns.[21] Even the domain of reference of the Serbo-Croatian personal pronoun can intersect with the domain of an English noun phrase with definite article. Compare:

(13) (E) Then it started out and *the old man* knelt down and let it go grudgingly into the dark water.

(SC) Zatim se koncpac zateže i *on* ga je zatezao sve dok sa njega kapljice nisu počele prskati na suncu[22].

---

[20] Compare at least one of the examples of the translation of the English definite article in the Serbo-Croatian version of *The Old Man and the Sea*:

(E) . . . . he would have welts and sores on his arms and hands of *the sort* that poison ivy or poison oak can give.

(SC) . . . . ostale bi mu na rukama i članovima modrice i prištevi poput *onih* kakve čovjek dobije od otrovnog bršljana ili otrovnog hrasta.

O. Tomić, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[21] Compare:

(E) He is over 1.500 pounds *the way* he is. . . .

(SC) a. Teška je preko 1.500 funti, *takva kakva* je. . . .

b. *Ovakva kakva* je sada ima više od petnajest stotina funti.

O. Tomić, *op. cit.* p. 32.

[22] From O. Tomić, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

This intersection speaks in favour of Postal's contention that the personal pronouns have developed from the concatenation of the definite article and the pronominalized deleted pronoun.[23]

3.5 Since Serbo-Croatian has no articles, Postal's contention seems inapplicable to this language. However, Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns can be considered an output of the concatenatioon of [— demonstrative] definite determiners with zero phonetic representation and pronominalized deleted nouns. Justification for the existence of [— demonstrative] definite determiners with zero representation in the underlying structure of Serbo-Croatian can best be found in the following grammatical phenomenon:

The Serbo-Croatian counterparts of English and Macedonian noun phrases containing a definite article and a noun are nouns with initial sentencial position, while the Serbo-Croatian counterparts of English and Macedonian noun phrases containing an indefinite article and a noun are nouns with final sentencial position.

In 2.222 we said that the indefinite determiner definitizes the noun (rule (11) a.) and can be optionally deleted (rule (11) b.). This deletion tiggers an obligatory placement of the noun phrase in post-verbal position (rule (11) c.).

Similar rules operate in the case of the Serbo-Croatian [— demonstrative] definite determiner; though, here the deletion is obligatroy. We could, consequently, capture the transformations that take place in both definite and indefinite Serbo-Croatian noun phrases in one set of rules:

(14) a. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [-\text{m def}]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow [\alpha \text{ definite}] \,/\, \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ [\alpha \text{ definite}]\end{matrix}\right\}\_\_$ (SC)

b. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Det}\\ \left[\begin{matrix}\alpha \text{ definite}\\ -\text{demonstr}\\ -\text{random}\\ -\text{inclusive}\\ -\text{quantif}\\ -\text{qualit}\end{matrix}\right]\end{matrix}\right\} \Rightarrow \varnothing \_\_ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ [\alpha \text{ definite}]\end{matrix}\right\}$

c. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ <+\text{definite}>_1\\ <-\text{definite}>_2\end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}<\text{pre-verbal}>_1\\ <\text{post-verbal}>_2\end{matrix}\right\}$

where ( ) x ( ) x denotes correlation, and α has the values + and —.

Condition: N=NP

[23] P. Postal, „On So-Called Pronouns in English", *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics*, 17th Annual Round Table, Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C., 1966.

Rule (14) a. is obligatory. Rule (14) b. is obligatory for $\alpha = +$ and optional for $\alpha = -$. Rule (14) c actually represents the conseuqence of rules (14) b. and (14) a. It specifies that in the surface structure rules (14) a and (14) b. are realized by syntactic devices: a [— m definite] noun which becomes [+m definite] through an $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ definite} \\ - \text{ demonstrative} \\ - \text{ random} \\ - \text{ inclusive} \\ - \text{ quantifying} \\ - \text{ qualifying} \end{bmatrix}$ determiner precedes the verb

if the determiner that definitizes it is [+ definite] and follows the verb if the latter is [— definite][24]. The differential word order would not be possible without the existence of reference markers producing determiners in the deep structure of Serbo-Croatian.

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[24] See the Serbo-Croatian examples in 0.312.

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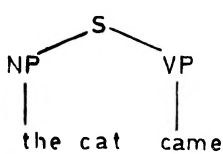
ABBREVIATIONS

1. E = English
2. M = Macedonian
3. SC = Serbo-Cro tian
4. NP = noun phrase
5. VP = verb phrase
6. N = noun
7. V = verb
8. NuM = number marker
9. CaM = case marker
10. RM = reference marker
11. RelM = relativization marker
12. QM = interrogativization marker
13. Det = determiner
14. Mod = modifier
15. Pro = pronoun
16. Neg = negative element
17. I = identification index
18. Conj = conjunction
19. Comp = complement
20. Attr = attribute
21. Cop = copula
22. Prep = preposition
23. p = potentially
24. sh = shared

SYMBOLISM

1. An asterisk* indicates the non-existence of a structure, sentence or word.
2. $\rightarrow$ describes rules of const tuent structure: $X \rightarrow Y + Z$ is read X is rewritten as, or expanded to, $Y+Z$.
3. $\Rightarrow$ describes transformational rules.
4. + indicates the association of two symbols.
5. $\frown$ indicates concatenation.
6. ( ) denotes the optional presence of a constituent.
7. { } indicates the selection of one constituent. Thus, in accordance with the symbolism described in 3 and 6, $\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}Y\\Z\end{matrix}\right\}\right)$ reads X alone or followed by either Y or Z.
8. $<\ >\ x\ <\ >\ x$ indicates correlation.
9. [ ] indicates features matrix.
10. + indicates binding of constituents.
11. $\not\supset$ denotes exclusion.
12. $\supset$ denotes inclusion.
13. $X \rightarrow Y + Z\ /\ -\!\!-\ W$ represents contextual restrictions in the expansion of a symbol; it is read: X, when in the onvironment of a following W is rewritten as $Y+Z$.
14. $X\ \overbrace{Y\ Z}$ indicates the segmentation of a string of constituents into one consisting of X and other of $Y+Z$.
15. X_1, X_2 represents different occurrences of the symbol X when reference to them requires this differentiation.
16. X, Y, Z are used in the various rules as cover symbols for whatever may occur in the positions occupied by those symbols.
17. X_Y indicates that X is dominated by Y; i. e. contained within Y.
18. Ø indicates deletion.
19. α, β, γ and other Greek letters indicate feature indices.

20.



The full line indicates progressive ordered expansion. The dotted line represents the intervening of semantic rules to yield the ultimate lexical items.

Олга МИШЕСКА-ТОМИЌ

ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИОТ И НЕОПРЕДЕЛЕНИОТ ДЕТЕРМИНАТОР ВО АНГЛИСКИОТ, МАКЕДОНСКИОТ И СРПСКОХРВАТСКИОТ ЈАЗИК

(Р е з и м е)

Категоријата „определеност“ е универзална и секогаш присутна во длабинската структура на реченицата. Таа е формално претставена преку опозициите [± о определен] и [± определен] (каде *о* значи обележеност), кои се дел на семантичката содржина на операторите на опсегот на именскиот израз, што ги наречуваме детерминатори.

Детерминаторите се [— о определени] кога упатуваат кон универзално множество. Во јазиците кои ги анализираме тие се претставени со к-зборови: (А) *which* и *what*, (М) *кој*, *каков* и *колкав* и (СХ) *који*, *какав* и *колики*.

Кога детерминаторот упатува не кон универзалното множество во целина туку кон една негова област која ја наречуваме „домен на упатувањето“, тој станува [+ о определен]. Во зависност од усмереноста на определувањето [+ о определениот] детерминатор може да биде [+ определен] или [— определен]. [— определениот] детерминатор претставува кои било единици или извесен број на истите од универзалното множество. Наједноставен и најчест [— определен] детерминатор е детерминаторот (А) *а*, *ап*, (М) *еден*, (СХ) *један*. *Еден* и *један* се употребуваат во македонскиот и српскохрватскиот многу поретко отколку *а*, *ап* во англискиот, бидејќи во постглаголска положба тие честопати се бришат. Освен тоа, почесто отколку *еден* и *један*, во македонскиот и српскохрватскиот неопределеноста се изразува преку членовите на цели множества сложени неопределени детерминатори кои се изведуваат преку конкатенации на партикули со карактеристични особености и [— определени] детерминатори. Фонетските репрезентации на вака изведените множества се (М, СХ) *некој-*, (СХ) *макој-*, *икој-*, *никој-*, (М) *никој-*, (М, СХ) *секој-*/*свак-*.

[+ определениот] детерминатор упатува на посебно ограничен домен на универзалното множество. Највообичаен и најчесто третиран определен детерминатор е определениот член. Во англискиот јазик овој детерминатор е само [+ определен]. Во македонскиот, меѓутоа, постои и просторна диференцијација што резултира во тројноста *-ов*, *-он*, *-от̄*. Македонскиот член корелира со македонскиот и српскохрватскиот показен детерминатор *овој*/*овај*, *оној*/*онај*, *тој*/*тај*, кој, покрај просторната обележеност, содржи и признаци за квалитативност и квантитативност. И англискиот јазик има определени показни детерминатори: *this* и *that*, но тие не се обележени по однос на квалитет и квантитет, а само двојно издиференцирани по однос на просторност.

Во трудов кој го резимираме е анализирано совпаднувањето и укрстувањето на домените на упатувањето на одделни детерминатори во англискиот, македонскиот и српскохрватскиот јазик.