

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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**THE MARKING OF DEFINITENESS IN LITHUANIAN.
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF DANISH
AND OTHER ARTICLE LANGUAGES**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

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ARTIKELINĖMIS KALBOMIS**

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INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the Topic and Novelty of the Thesis

This study investigates formal means of definiteness marking in Lithuanian (the so-called pronominal adjectival form and demonstrative *tas* which has the function of emergent article) in comparison with definiteness markers in article languages (mainly Danish and English). The investigation is relevant for Lithuanian linguistics, since definiteness marking in Lithuanian has not been studied extensively. The novelty of the thesis lies in the fact that definiteness markers in Lithuanian were examined from a contrastive and typological perspective and that the semantic map method was used for highlighting the similarities and differences of definiteness marking in Lithuanian and Danish. Definiteness markers which have become part of the adjectival stem have not received much attention among researchers in international linguistics either, thus, the dissertation presents valuable material for the typology of the category of definiteness.

In previous research on the category of definiteness in Lithuanian, as reflected in the opposition of pronominal vs. non-pronominal adjectival forms (Valeckienė 1957, 1986, 1998) it is claimed that the category of definiteness in Lithuanian is to be regarded as an adjectival category, contrary to the view commonly held in Western linguistics that definiteness is the category of the noun phrase (NP). Consequently, Valeckienė mostly focuses on how the modifying adjectival makes the modified noun definite, paying less attention to the pragmatic factors which may yield either definite or indefinite interpretation of the NP. Moreover, it is stated in Valeckienė's works as well as in Lithuanian grammars that some pronominal adjectivals have not a defining, but merely an emphatic function.

In this study, definiteness is regarded as a noun phrase category in accordance with the latest publications on the topic within Lithuanian linguistics (Holvoet, Tamulionienė 2006; Mikulskas 2006a). Moreover, in agreement with the above mentioned authors, it is argued that pronominal forms of Lithuanian adjectivals should be called 'definite', while non-pronominal forms should be called accordingly 'non-definite', thus emphasizing the function of the pronominal morpheme contained in the definite adjectival form. It is also

argued that the so-called ‘emphatic adjectivals’ can be interpreted as having a defining function.

In previous research on Lithuanian demonstratives functioning as emergent articles (Rosinas 1972, 1976, 1996, 2009; Tumėnas 1988), the process of the development of a definiteness marker was not analysed with due reference to similar developments in other Indo-European languages. It is not clear which contexts of article use the Lithuanian demonstratives have gained access to. One could also call for valid operational criteria for distinguishing between true demonstratives and emergent articles.

Demonstratives in article function have been included in the present study for the sake of complete picture of the means of grammaticalized definiteness marking in Lithuanian. It has to be admitted, though, that a thorough examination of the usage and functions of emergent articles in Lithuanian is out of the scope of the present study and could indeed be a topic of a new thesis. Thus, the account of emergent articles in the present study is fragmentary and is merely intended to pose some of the problems than to present the answers.

Aim of Thesis

The **aim** of the thesis is to compare Lithuanian definiteness markers — definite adjectival forms and emergent articles — to definiteness markers of article languages (Danish, English etc.).

The **objectives** of the thesis are as follows:

- to examine to what extent and how regularly Lithuanian definite adjectivals are used with semantically definite NPs;
- to examine the distribution of the definite adjectival form determining in which contexts its use is obligatory, optional or ungrammatical and to establish factors governing the distribution;
- to examine the use of definite adjectivals to mark different types of definiteness;
- to perform the analysis of the opposition of definite and non-definite adjectival forms;

- to examine whether the definite adjectival form has other functions apart from definiteness marking;
- to determine whether definiteness rendered by the definite adjectival form differs from definiteness rendered by definite articles of article languages;
- to examine the distribution of emergent articles in Lithuanian determining which types of definiteness they are used to mark;
- to examine whether there is a correlation in Lithuanian between discourse prominence of the referent and definiteness marking;
- to draw a semantic map of Lithuanian definite adjectivals;
- to draw a semantic map of definiteness markers in Danish.

Research Methods

The following methods of analysis were applied in the present study: *contrastive analysis*, *L. Hjelmslev's commutation test* and *the semantic map method* (Haspelmath 1997; 2003). The contrastive analysis method was applied for comparing the use of definiteness markers in various contexts in different languages. The commutation test method was used for determining whether a change on the content side resulted in a change on the expression side and vice versa, thus establishing the coded meaning of a given grammatical morpheme. The semantic map method was used for describing the presumed development of the grammatical meaning of a definite marker in the languages of the world and for highlighting the similarities and differences in the use of definiteness markers in two typologically diverse languages — Lithuanian and Danish.

Empirical data

The empirical data of the doctoral dissertation comprises more than 1000 authentic Lithuanian examples, collected from original and translated fiction texts, *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian Language* (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/~andrius/SKT5/5SKT-paiesk.php>), *The Corpus of Contemporary (Written) Lithuanian Language* (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/>) and the Internet. The main body of the empirical data thus consists of examples of NPs with

definite adjectivals and demonstrative *tas* that were excerpted from the novel of the Lithuanian author Ischokas Meras *Lygiosios trunka akimirka*. For the sake of comparison, the corresponding examples were excerpted from the translation of this novel into Danish (*Det sidste træk*) and English (*Stalemate*). NPs with definite adjectivals and demonstrative *tas* were likewise excerpted from the translation of the Danish novel *Frøken Smillas fornemmelse for sne* by Peter Høeg into Lithuanian (*Panelės Smilos sniego jausmas*). The corresponding examples of the Danish original were also excerpted. All the occurrences of definite adjectival forms in *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian Language* were collected (458 examples).

In order to include data from at least one non-Indo-European language in the sample, a questionnaire was sent to a native speaker of Modern Hebrew, in which the informant was asked to translate English sentences representing different contexts of article uses into his mother tongue.

Practical and Theoretical Value of Thesis

The results of the study of definiteness marking in Lithuanian may be of interest to learners of Lithuanian as a foreign language as well as their teachers. Learners who have fully grammaticalized definiteness marking in their native language often wonder how the same distinctions are expressed in Lithuanian. The research might as well be useful for teaching Danish to Lithuanians, as it highlights the peculiarities of the Danish article system from the point of view of an articleless language.

The work may also be useful for Lithuanian language theoreticians, since it presents an attempt to draw a semantic map of Lithuanian definite adjectivals. Typologists may also refer to this dissertation and apply its findings in their typological investigations and research in the typology of the category of definiteness.

Structure of Thesis

The dissertation consists of an introduction (the first part) and four main parts. The second part presents the theoretical background of the study by introducing the key concepts in

definiteness research, the classification of definiteness types, the life cycle of the definite marker (Greenberg 1978) and Markedness Theory (Andersen 2001ab). The third part gives an overview of the Danish definiteness system. The fourth part *Definiteness Marking in Lithuanian* is devoted to the analysis of the usage of definite and non-definite adjectival forms in relation to definiteness marking and the analysis of the usage of demonstrative *tas* in article function. It also includes the examination of whether the use of definiteness markers in Lithuanian correlates with discourse prominence of the referent. The fifth part *The Semantic Maps* describes the semantic map method and presents three semantic maps: a Semantic Map of Lithuanian Definite Adjectivals, a Semantic Map of Danish Definiteness Markers and a Semantic Map of Danish Indefiniteness Markers. On the basis of the available typological and diachronic research into the category of definiteness, an attempt was made to draw a map of the Semantic Space of Definiteness in order to show universal tendencies in the development of the grammatical meaning of a definite marker. The sixth part of the dissertation presents conclusions and generalisations.

Statements to be defended

1. Definiteness marking in Lithuanian is only partly grammaticalized. The pronominal morpheme *-jis, -ji* contained in the definite adjectival form¹ can be regarded as a formal marker of definiteness. The demonstrative *tas, ta* which is undergoing the process of grammaticalization can be regarded as an emergent marker of definiteness.
2. In all cases, the pronominal morpheme contained in the definite adjectival form marks the definiteness of the noun phrase, though either definiteness on the level of individual reference or definiteness on the level of type (taxonomic) reference may be involved. For this reason, the pronominal adjectival form can be duly called ‘definite’ and the non-pronominal form can be called ‘non-definite’. The so-called

¹ In many cases, due to the fusion of the pronoun *-jis, -ji* and the adjectival stem, the borderline between the adjectival stem and the pronominal element is not easy to draw. For this reason, some researchers consider the endings of the definite adjectival forms indivisible, speaking of ‘definite and indefinite adjective declensions’ (cf. Lyons 1999: 822). On this view, the definite endings of the definite adjectival declension should be regarded as a formal marker of definiteness.

‘emphatic pronominal adjectivals’ can be regarded as having the defining function as well, since they mark definiteness on the level of type (taxonomic) reference.

3. In Lithuanian, the marking of definiteness in the adjectival form depends not only on semantic definiteness of the NP, but also on the fact whether the adnominal adjectival is perceived as presupposed, identifying or taxonomic.
4. In deictic and cataphoric contexts in Lithuanian, demonstratives (emergent articles) together with the non-definite adjectival form are used instead of definite adjectivals. In anaphoric contexts definite adjectivals can occur, but they are often replaced by emergent articles and non-definite adjectivals.
5. The development of a definite marker which becomes part of the adjectival stem differs in some respect from the development of a definite marker which is a free word or an affix of the NP. One major difference is that in languages with definite adjectivals, adnominal adjectival need not to have the definite form though it modifies a semantically definite NP. Apart from this, definiteness marker in languages with definite adjectivals develops into a marker of classifying (taxonomic) function of the adjectival. NPs with taxonomic definite adjectivals refer to definite (unique) kinds, types or categories of entities. Thus, definiteness is transferred from the level of individual reference to the level of categorial (taxonomic) reference. Taxonomic definiteness is preserved regardless of the usage context of the NP in question: taxonomic adjectivals are used in the definite form also when the modified NP on the level of individual reference is indefinite or even non-referential. If the adnominal adjectival in Lithuanian lacks taxonomic meaning, it cannot be used in the definite form with generic, indefinite or non-referential NPs.

Limitations

As the research topic is rather broad, the investigation had to be limited in the following ways:

- Implicit definiteness or the so-called ‘definiteness effects’ (Lyons 1999) were reviewed in the thesis, but not investigated separately;

- As indefiniteness marking is not grammaticalized in Lithuanian, it was left out in this study which mainly focussed on formal markers of definiteness;
- Definiteness marking in Danish has been studied extensively by many researchers and was therefore not investigated separately in the present thesis. The Danish language mainly serves the purpose of contrastive analysis, thus only those aspects of definiteness marking in Danish which become prominent in contrast to the Lithuanian data were described in the thesis.

2. THEORETICAL PREREQUISITES

Types of definiteness

According to the basis for identification of referent, the following main types of definiteness may be distinguished (cf. Chafe 1976; Hawkins 1978 and 1991; Haspelmath 1999; Lyons 1999; Hansen & Heltoft (in press), Skytte & Korzen 2000, Hansen 2004 etc.):

1. DEICTIC DEFINITENESS

In case of deictic definiteness, the intended referent is identifiable because it is present (and usually visible) in the communication situation, e.g. *Pass me the hammer, please*. Probably the hearer had no previous knowledge of the hammer, but the use of the definite article instructs him to search for the only object matching the definite description in the communication situation. Demonstratives can also be used in this function, e.g. *Pass me that hammer, please*. The deictic use of a demonstrative is usually accompanied by a gesture which helps to disambiguate the reference. DISCOURSE DEIXIS which is defined as reference to propositions or events (... *and this is the end of that/the story*) may be regarded as a subtype of deictic definiteness.

2. ANAPHORIC DEFINITENESS

In case of anaphoric definiteness, the intended referent is identifiable on the basis of previous mention of the referent in the preceding discourse. Anaphoric NPs are also called ‘second-mention definites’. The first mention of the referent (the antecedent NP) is usually an indefinite description (*a book ... the book*), but it may also be a proper name (*Tom and Mary ... the couple*) or a possessive NP (*He is visiting his mother. The old one is ill*).

3. CATAPHORIC DEFINITENESS

In case of cataphoric definiteness, the information required for identification of the intended referent is presented in the same definite NP as an explanatory modifier or complement of the NP (*the woman he went out with last night; the idea to build a bridge; the rumour that the Prime Minister is going to resign; the front page of the Guardian etc.*).

Both anaphoric and cataphoric definiteness may as well be expressed by demonstratives (though it has to be admitted that not in all cases of cataphoric definiteness demonstratives would be a possible alternative, e.g. *that woman he went out with*, but not *?that man to go and see*).

4. SITUATIONAL DEFINITENESS

Hawkins calls this type ‘the larger situation use of the definite article’ (Hawkins 1978; 1991). In case of situational definiteness, the intended referent is not present in the communication situation, neither has it been mentioned in previous discourse, but it has to be identified on the basis of the communicants’ shared knowledge. It might be **general knowledge** which all the members of a given speech community are supposed to share (*the sun, the weather, the queen*). The basis for referent identification might as well be **specific knowledge** which is shared by the inhabitants of the same town (*the mayor*), the employees of the same enterprise (*the boss*) or the members of the same family (*the cat*). All those entities are unique in a given context.

5. INFERENCEAL DEFINITENESS

In case of inferential definiteness, the intended referent is “linked to some other entity in the immediate discourse context by means of a contextual assumption (a ‘bridging inference’)” (Gundel 1996). It appears that the mention of one NP, e.g. *a room*, triggers a whole set of associations for the hearer which permits first-mentions definites, such as *the floor, the ceiling, the furniture*, etc. I shall refer to the first NP as ‘the trigger’ because it triggers the associations (Hawkins 1978) and to the first-mention definite descriptions which are dependent on this trigger as ‘the inferential NPs’. The trigger and the inferential NP(s) in many cases are linked by a meronymic (part-whole) relation, e.g. *a car ... the engine, the sea ... the waves, a tree ... the branches*, etc. In other cases the NPs in question are related by various associations which are part of the communicants’ shared knowledge, e.g. *a war ... the cause, the fighting; a book ... the author, the content; Christianity ... the faith; a taxi ... the driver*, etc.

Situational and inferential NPs cannot normally be marked by demonstratives (Himmelman 1996; Hawkins 1978; for a different view see Therkelsen 2002). Thus, the penetration of demonstratives into situational and especially inferential contexts is considered an indication of the fact that the former demonstrative has developed into an article (De Mulder & Carlier 2010).

6. GENERIC AND TAXONOMIC DEFINITENESS

The above mentioned five types of definiteness can be said to constitute the nucleus of the category of definiteness. Those usage contexts of definiteness markers represent ‘prototypical definiteness’ which pertains to the level of individual reference where the reference is made to identifiable individuals. But the definite marker in many languages can also be used to mark generic NPs in which the reference is made to a species (natural kind), class or type of individuals. Since generic NPs in many languages may be marked by definite, as well as indefinite articles, generic definiteness is considered to belong to the periphery of the category of definiteness.

Generic uses of noun phrases can be classified into two main types: ‘characterizing statements’ and ‘kind predications’ (Krifka et al. 1995; Dahl 2007). In case of characterizing statements, “the noun phrase occurs in a context in which a general, “law-like” or nomic statement is made about the species, class or type that the noun phrase denotes” (Dahl 2007), e.g. *A/the beaver is a rodent; A beaver/beavers/the beaver build(s) dams*. In case of kind predications, “the species or kind is referred to without there being a generalization over its members” (ibid.), e.g. *The biologist was studying the beaver*. Indefinite singular cannot be used in kind predications: *The biologist was studying a beaver* can only refer to a concrete individual, not to the species as a whole.

It is said in literature that generic NPs are semantically definite since they refer to identifiable kinds or types of individuals. The hearer is assumed to be aware of the existence of such kinds or types on the basis of the shared general knowledge. In this respect, generic NPs resemble situational NPs and might be considered an extension of situational definiteness.

TAXONOMIC DEFINITENESS is a term which is used to describe the cases where generic definiteness is as if ‘frozen’. In many languages, the name of a certain species or type is used in the definite form in a generic context (*The lion is a mammal*), while the indefinite form must be used when the reference is made to a specific individual of the species or type which is presented to the hearer for the first time (*We saw a lion in the zoo today*). In languages that have taxonomic definiteness, the name of a species or type of entities is used in the definite form regardless of the usage context of the NP. Taxonomic definiteness is thus not governed by discourse factors and is preserved even in indefinite and non-referential NPs, cf. the Lithuanian examples:

(1) a. *Baltas-is gandra*s yra paplitęs Rytų Europoje. (generic use);

White-DEF stork is widespread in Eastern Europe

‘**The White Stork** is widespread in Eastern Europe.’

b. *Ant mūsų daržinės stogo susisuko lizdą baltas-is gandra*s. (indefinite specific use);

On our barn roof has built its nest white-DEF stork.

‘**A white stork** has built its nest on the roof of our barn.’

c. *Ar esi kada matęs juodą-jį gandrą?* (indefinite non-specific use);

Have you ever seen black-DEF stork?

‘Have you ever seen **a black stork**?’

d. *universitetas yra kažkas daugiau negu paprasta aukštoji mokykla* SKT (non-referential use)

university is something more than just a high-DEF school

‘a university is more than just **a higher school**’

Some authors (Langacker 1999; Mikulskas 2006a; Holvoet & Tamulionienė 2006) distinguish ‘role-type definite descriptions’, e.g. *the king, the pope*, as a special definiteness type. Those descriptions can both refer to the unique role of a king or a pope and to different unique individuals who execute this role during different periods in history, e.g.:

(2) a. *The pope is elected by the College of Cardinals.* G

b. *The pope has been assaulted by a fanatic lady at his Christmas evening mass.* G

I would say it is unnecessary to distinguish a separate type of definiteness for the analysis of this kind of definite descriptions. Examples like (2a) where reference is made to the unique role of a pope could be classified as cases of generic definiteness, while examples like (2b) where reference is made to unique individuals who execute this role in a given historical period might be analysed as cases of situational definiteness.

Life Cycle of a Definite Marker

In his seminal paper, Joseph Greenberg (1978) addresses the issue of the historical development of a definite marker in languages. He divides the diachronic development into three main stages emphasizing though that many languages are in transition between two of the stages, and that the stages merely represent major shifts in the development of a definite marker.

As demonstratives are considered the most common source of definite articles cross-linguistically, they represent 0 Stage. The development begins when one of the demonstratives “has come to identify an element as previously mentioned in discourse”

(Greenberg 1978: 61). The former demonstrative has advanced to Stage I and become a definite article when “it becomes compulsory and has spread to the point at which it means “identified” in general”, e.g. *the sun* in non-scientific discourse that refers to the only object of a class (ibid.).

At Stage II, the article becomes “largely grammaticalized, being determined by syntactic construction”. Stage II article is defined as “an article which includes, along with possible other uses, both definite determination and non-definite specific uses” (Greenberg 1978: 62). This kind of article is also called ‘a specific article’ (Himmelmann 1998). It is important to stress that the specific article retains the former usage types that signal definite determination, but it also acquires new usage contexts where it merely signals specificity. Languages that have this kind of definite article are for example Abkhaz and Dagbani (Gur) (Lehmann 1995: 39), as well as some Bantu languages (Bemba, Zulu, Xhosa) (Greenberg 1978: 63) and Tagalog (De Mulder & Carlier 2010). The indefinite specific use of definite forms is also attested in some Swedish dialects (Dahl 2007).

At Stage III, the article spreads to all nominal contexts, including the non-referential ones. Eventually, the semantic contrast between the articulated form and the articleless form disappears, and the former article turns into a gender, case or nominality marker. At this point, the life cycle of the definite article is complete, which in some languages facilitates the rise of a new emergent article, and the whole cycle starts again.

The gramaticization path of the definite article can be illustrated in a following diagram:

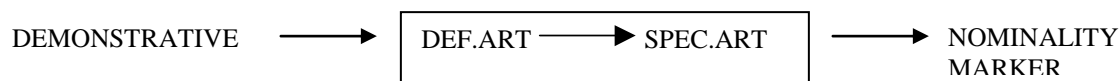


Diagram 1. *The grammaticization path of the definite article* (Greenberg 1978; Himmelmann 1998)

Hawkins presents the following stages in article development (Hawkins 2004):

1. Deictic (*Pass me the book, please!*) and anaphoric (*a book ... the book*) uses;
2. Situational (*the sun, the king*) and inferential (*a car ... the engine*) uses;
3. Generic uses (*The lion is a mammal*);

4. Indefinite specific uses.

The four stages in Hawkins' account illustrate the gradual extension of the distribution of the definite article in a language. Each stage retains the usage types of the preceding stage(s) and adds some new ones, and, as a result, the frequency of the article as well as the ambiguity of articulated NPs continues to increase. As we see, the first three stages in Hawkins' account can be subsumed under Greenberg's Stage I.

The life cycle of the definite article helps us to understand the variation in article usage in different languages. It also shows that the semantics of a definite marker changes over time.

3. DEFINITENESS MARKING IN LITHUANIAN

Definite and non-definite adjectivals

The analysis of the opposition between definite and non-definite form of the adjectivals has revealed that the definite form is the marked member of the opposition and has the coded meaning [+DEF] while the non-definite form is the unmarked member which has the meaning [\pm DEF] and is thus unspecified with respect to definiteness². This claim can be substantiated by the fact that the definite adjectival form in Lithuanian cannot be used with NPs marked by indefinite pronouns which are clearly rhematic and introduce a new discourse referent, e.g.:

(3) *Man paskambin-o kažkoks <*garsus-is> gars-us žurnalist-as.*

I.DAT phone-PST.3SG some <well-known-M.SG.NOM-DEF> well-known-M.SG.NOM.NON-DEF journalist-M.SG.NOM

'I was contacted by a well-known journalist.'

Definite adjectivals can only be used in similar contexts if the indefinite NP has taxonomic meaning and refers to an entity of a definite type or category, e.g.:

(4) *Ant mūšų daržin-ės stog-o susisuk-o lizd-q baltas-is gandr-as.*

² For this reason, I propose to call it 'non-definite' rather than 'indefinite'.

On our barn-F.SG.GEN roof-M.SG.GEN build-PST.3SG nest-M.SG.ACC white-M.SG.NOM-DEF stork-M.SG.NOM

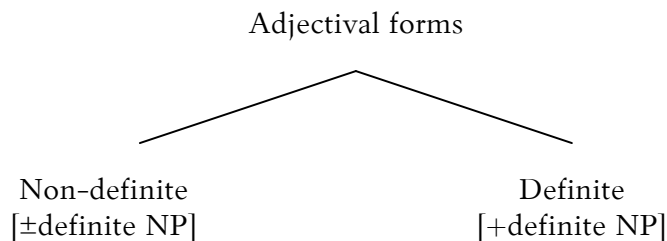
‘A white stork has built its nest on the roof of our barn.’

Taxonomic NPs are characterized by a definiteness conflict: On the level of individual reference, they are indefinite as they refer to an entity which is unknown to the hearer, but on the level of type or taxonomic reference they signal a definite type or category which is presumed to be known to the hearer on the basis of general knowledge. This validates the use of the definite adjectival form. Thus, the definite adjectival form can only be used in Lithuanian if the modified NP can yield a definite interpretation either on the level of individual or categorial (taxonomic) reference.

The analysis of the translation material confirmed that the non-definite adjectival form, being unmarked, can easily be combined both with semantically indefinite, as well as definite NPs. Consequently, the definiteness status of an NP modified by a non-definite adjectival form has to be determined from the context.

The relation between the members of any asymmetrical opposition is characterized by **participation** which means that the unmarked member can be used in the contexts where one would normally expect the marked member, but not vice versa. For this reason, the unmarked member (in our case — the non-definite adjectival form) has a wider distribution than the marked member due to the participation relation (see Diagram 2).

Diagram 2. *The opposition of definite and non-definite adjectival forms in Lithuanian*



Use of definite adjectivals with semantically definite NPs

The data from the original and the translated fiction texts were collected in the following way: only those NPs with adjectival modifiers were selected from the Lithuanian texts which corresponded to definite NPs marked either by the definite article or another definite determiner in Danish (and English) texts. Another condition for data selection was that the Lithuanian NPs were modified by an adjectival that **can** be used in the definite form³. In other words, the data had to help to reveal to what extent Lithuanian NPs that could potentially be used with definite adjectival forms due to the semantically definite interpretation of the whole NP, actually **are** marked by definite adjectival forms in written discourse. Taxonomic NPs were excluded from the sample because they are not always rendered by formally definite NPs in article languages. The results of the investigation are presented in Tables 1 and 2:

Table 1. *Lithuanian NPs with definite and non-definite adjectival forms in I. Meras' text*

NPs marked by Adef ⁴			NPs marked by Anondef		
NP structure	Number of examples	%	NP structure	Number of examples	%
Adef	3	1.4%	Anondef	-	-
Adef+N	33	15.3%	Anondef+N	110	50.9%
DEM+Adef+N	3	1.4%	DEM+Anondef+N	16	7.4%
POS+Adef	2	0.9%	POS+Anondef	-	-
POS+Adef+N	9	4.16%	POS+Anondef+N	39	18%
DEM+POS+Adef+N	-	-	DEM+POS+Anondef+N	1	0.5%
Total:	50	23.2%	Total:	166	76.8%

³ The majority of the so-called 'relational adjectives' in Lithuanian (e. g. *medinis* 'wooden', *vestuvinis* 'of the wedding') do not have a definite declension and can never appear in definite form. NPs modified by such adjectivals were not included into the sample.

⁴ Abbreviations in the table stand for: Adef — definite adjectival, Anondef — non-definite adjectival, N — noun, POS — possessive, DEM — demonstrative.

Table 2. *Lithuanian NPs with definite and non-definite adjectival forms in the translation of P. Høeg's text*

NPs marked by Adef			NPs marked by Anondef		
NP structure	Number of examples	%	NP structure	Number of examples	%
Adef	12	5.5%	Anondef	-	-
Adef+N	61	27.8%	Anondef+N	85	38.8%
DEM+Adef+N	1	0.5%	DEM+Anondef+N	12	5.5%
POS+Adef	1	0.5%	POS+Anondef	1	0.5%
POS+Adef+N	10	4.5%	POS+Anondef+N	35	15.9%
DEM+POS+Adef+N	-	-	DEM+POS+Anondef+N	1	0.5%
Total:	85	38.8%	Total:	134	61.2%

In I. Meras' text less than one forth (23.2%) of all semantically definite NPs in the sample were marked by the definite adjectival form. This means that in most cases the intended referent can be identified from the context, and a formal definiteness marker on the adjectival is not necessary. In elliptical NPs only definite adjectivals are used though. The data shows a tendency to use non-definite adjectivals in NPs marked by demonstratives. As demonstratives and possessives normally yield a definite interpretation of the NP, the use of definite adjectivals in NPs marked by demonstratives and possessives can be perceived as redundant and is therefore avoided. Still, we see that NPs of the structure 'Anondef + N' dominate in the sample (59.9%). This confirms the unmarkedness of the non-definite adjectival form.

In P. Høeg's text, i.e. a translation from Danish, the percentage of NPs with definite adjectivals is bigger than in I. Meras' text (38.8%). This can be explained by interference from the source language or by the specifics of the text (e.g. in P. Høeg's text there were some proper names with restrictive (identificational) definite adjectives the use of which is obligatory, while no such examples were found in I. Meras' text). Nevertheless, more than half of all the examples from P. Høeg's text (61.2%) contain a non-definite adjectival despite the fact that the NPs in question yield a definite interpretation. Thus, the non-definite adjectival form, being unmarked, can in many cases substitute the definite adjectival form where the definiteness of the NP is clear from the context or is marked by demonstratives.

4. SEMANTIC MAPS

A semantic map is a geometrical representation of a grammatical morpheme's functions in "conceptual/semantic space" that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a

network (see Haspelmath 1997 and 2003 for a detailed description of the methodology). The concept of “functions” is in this approach synonymous with “uses” or “senses”. The semantic-map method is a valuable tool for describing and illuminating the patterns of multifunctionality of grammatical morphemes, and definiteness markers are indeed multifunctional.

Diagram 3 presents an attempt to draw a sketch of the Semantic Space of Definiteness. The proposed configuration of functions is mostly based on the data from Indo-European languages (English, Danish, Swedish dialects, North-Frisian (Fering), Lithuanian etc.) and one Semitic language (Modern Hebrew). Though the configuration does not rely on a representative sample of genetically and typologically diverse languages, this deficiency was partially compensated by a recourse to the investigations of the diachronic development of a definite marker, since a semantic map is said to predict diachronic change and is indeed equivalent to a “grammaticalization path” (Haspelmath 1997).

Diagram 3. *Towards a Semantic Map of Definiteness*

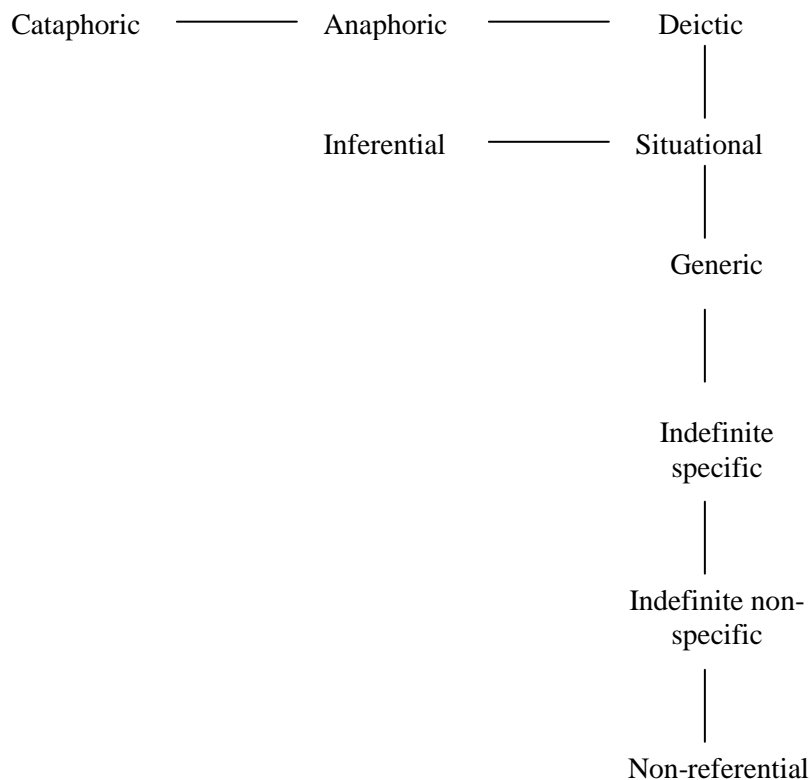


Diagram 3 shows that a definite marker normally develops from a DEICTIC element that either has ANAPHORIC use or gradually develops it. CATAPHORIC use is related to ANAPHORIC since in both cases the information required for the identification of the intended referent is given in the linguistic context. DEICTIC use eventually gives rise to SITUATIONAL use when the intended referent is not to be located in the immediate situation, but in the larger situation. INFERENTIAL use is related to SITUATIONAL since in both cases the intended referent is not present in the communication situation, but has to be identified on the basis of general knowledge. GENERIC use is considered an extension of SITUATIONAL use, though in case of GENERIC use the reference is not made to unique individuals, but to unique kinds or types of individuals. Interestingly, all the above-mentioned uses of the definite marker that were distinguished on the basis of Indo-European language data are also attested in Modern Hebrew.

Eventually, the grammatical meaning of the definite article is further extended to include also INDEFINITE SPECIFIC uses. In this way, the definite article enters the sphere of indefiniteness marking. INDEFINITE SPECIFIC use leads to INDEFINITE NON-SPECIFIC and finally NON-REFERENTIAL use. At this point, the former definite article has lost all the connections to the category of definiteness.

A Semantic Map of Lithuanian definite adjectivals

Since the development of a definite marker which becomes part of the adjectival stem differs in some respect from the development of a definite marker which is a free word or an affix of the NP, it was not possible simply to show which area of the Semantic Space of Definiteness is occupied by Lithuanian definite adjectivals. Instead, the configuration of functions had to be specified in order to clarify the usage types and semantic distinctions that pertain to the definite adjectival form in Lithuanian. The proposed configuration of functions is presented in diagram 4.

Diagram 4. A Semantic Map of Lithuanian Definite Adjectivals

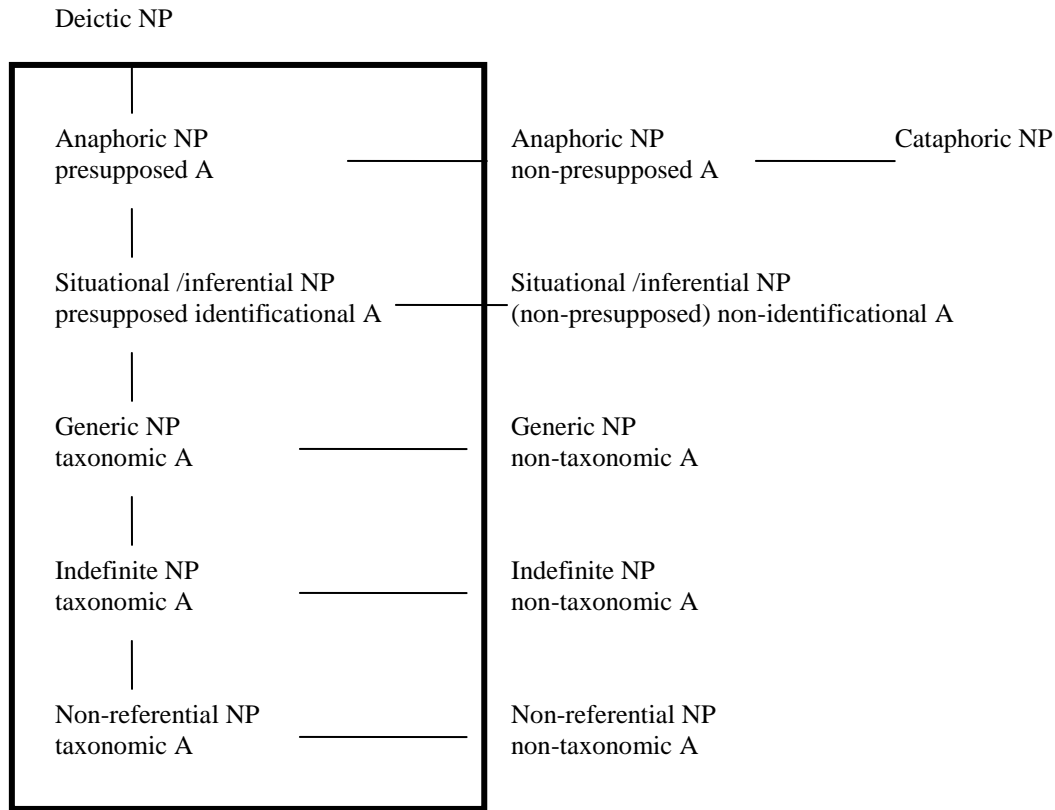


Diagram 4 illustrates the distribution of definite adjectivals in Lithuanian and shows which types of definiteness can be marked by the definite adjectival form. In DEICTIC and CATAPHORIC use, demonstratives and non-definite adjectivals are normally preferred instead of definite adjectivals⁵. A possible explanation is that in those usage types, the property denoted by the adjectival is normally discourse new, not given. In fact, an adjectival that modifies a semantically definite NP can be used in the definite form on condition that the modifying adjectival is **presupposed**. In case of ANAPHORIC definiteness, the property denoted by the modifying adjectival is normally given due to previous mention in the preceding discourse. A rivalling means of marking ANAPHORIC definiteness is the demonstrative *tas* that is used together with the non-definite adjectival form. If the

⁵ One exception is the adjective *pastaras* ‘recent; above-mentioned’ which is the only adjective that is used exclusively in the definite form (*pastarasis*) in the *Corpus of Contemporary (Written) Lithuanian Language*. This adjective is used in some (usually) fixed expressions that can be interpreted as time deixis, e.g. *pastaraisiais metais* ‘in recent years’.

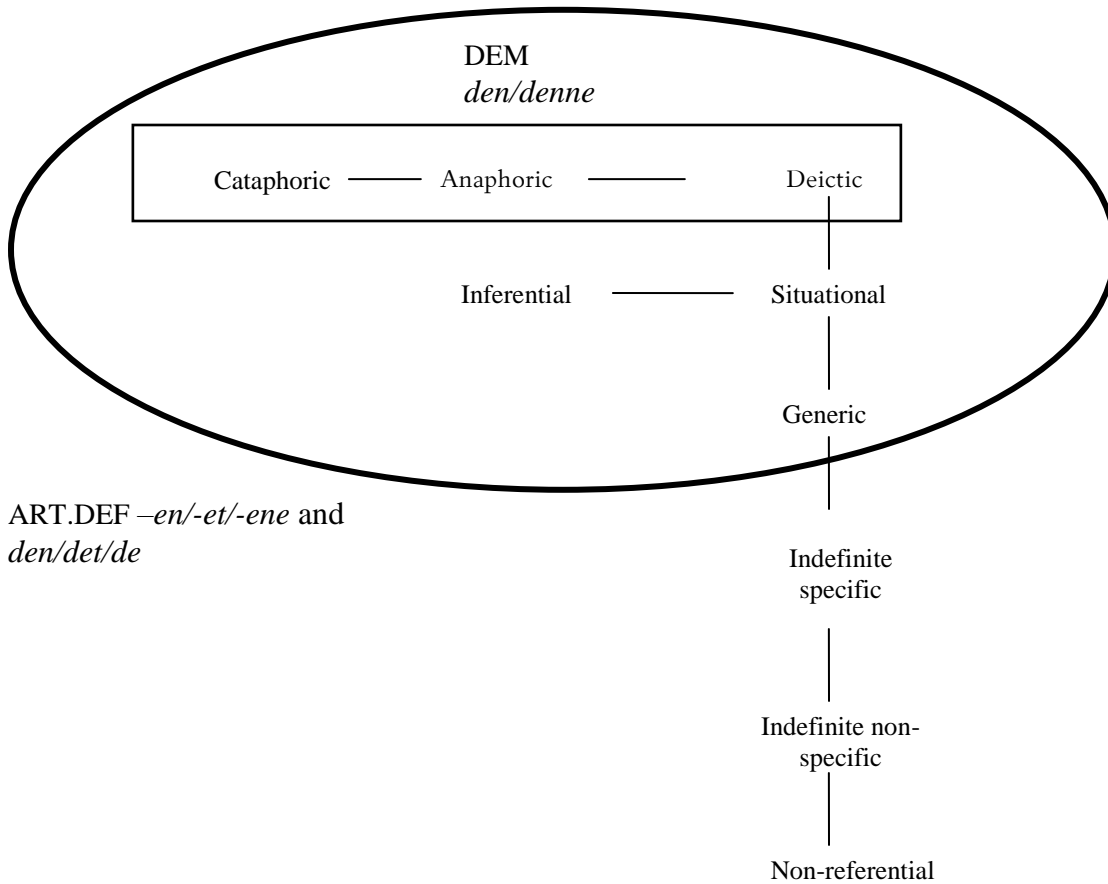
adnominal adjectival of an anaphoric NP is not presupposed, the use of the definite form would be strongly dispreferred or even ungrammatical. In case of SITUATIONAL and INFERENTIAL definiteness, the necessary condition for the modifying adjectival to appear in the definite form is that the adjectival is not only presupposed, but also **identificational**. An adjectival is considered identificational if it denotes a property which helps to identify the intended referent by singling it out from other similar entities. As for SITUATIONAL NPs, being presupposed is in some cases a sufficient condition for the modifying adjectival to be used in the definite form, which is never the case with INFERENTIAL NPs. As far as GENERIC definiteness is concerned, definite adjectivals may be used if they are not only presupposed and identificational, but also **taxonomic**. The same is true of INDEFINITE SPECIFIC and NON-REFERENTIAL NPs. Thus, the use of the definite adjectival form with semantically definite NPs is not obligatory in Lithuanian, but is highly dependent on the property denoted by the modifying adjectival. This is not the case in article languages. In Danish, which marks definiteness in the adjectival form adding an ending *-e*, the adjectival normally receives the definiteness marker automatically whenever the modified NP yields a definite interpretation. One could say that the modifying adjectival in Danish is “congruous” in definiteness with the modified NP.

The examination of the data from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian Language* revealed that 58% of all definite adjectivals in the sample perform a taxonomic function. This leads to the assumption that the main function of definite adjectivals in Lithuanian is to signal **identifiable types or kinds of entities**, rather than identifiable entities. One can say that the use of definite adjectivals in **naming** different kinds or types of entities is the most stable and productive.

Semantic Maps of Definiteness Markers in Danish

The distributional patterns of Danish definiteness markers are illustrated in two semantic maps: one for definiteness markers (Diagram 5) and another for indefiniteness markers (Diagram 6).

Diagram 5. A Semantic Map of Danish Definiteness Markers



Danish has two sets of definite articles: the postposed affixes *-en/-et/-ene* and the preposed definite articles *den/det/de* which are in complementary distribution with each other (the preposed definite articles are used in NPs with preposed modifiers (adjectivals, numerals, participles) and the affixes are used in the remaining cases). The affixes have no other function apart from marking of definiteness, while the postposed definite articles are cognate to one of the demonstratives (*den/det/de*) and some authors consider them demonstratives that perform an article function in unstressed position (Hansen & Heltoft, in press).

Demonstratives *den (det/de)* and *denne (dette/disse)* are used to mark DEICTIC, ANAPHORIC and CATAPHORIC definiteness. It is not clear though which place the recognitional

demonstrative⁶ *den der/her* should occupy on the map. According to Therkelsen (2002), the above mentioned demonstrative, which is used mostly in spoken language, can also be used in situational and inferential contexts (in case of situational NPs though, the reference has to be based upon special, rather than general knowledge, e.g. *de der nøgler til bil-en* DEM keys PREP car-ART.DEF ‘those car keys’, but not **den der dronning* DEM queen ‘that queen’).

There is a general need of more research on recognitional demonstratives cross-linguistically in order to determine their functions, establish their relation to other usage types of definite determiners and to formulate operational criteria to be able to distinguish recognitional demonstratives from emergent articles.

Diagram 5 shows that the Danish definite articles have a wider distribution than demonstratives *den/denne* including also SITUATIONAL (*den gul-e måne* ART.DEF yellow-DEF moon ‘the yellow moon’), INFERENTIAL (*kvinde-n ... det lang-e hår* woman-ART.DEF ... ART.DEF long-DEF hair ‘the woman ... the long hair’) and GENERIC (*løve-n er et rovdyr* lion-ART.DEF is ART.INDEF mammal ‘the lion is a mammal’) contexts. Their usage thus comprises both the nucleus and the periphery of the category of definiteness, but it never enters into the sphere of indefiniteness or non-referentiality.

⁶ Recognitional use is according to Himmelmann (1996; 1998) one of the universal uses of demonstratives which, as a result of the grammaticalization process, is also inherited by the definite article. NPs marked by recognitional demonstratives refer to an entity that is not accessible in the communication situation, nor has it been mentioned in the preceding discourse, but which the communicants have the knowledge of due to mutual experience or previous conversations. The identification of the referent is thus based upon shared special knowledge.

Diagram 6. A Semantic Map of Danish Indefiniteness Markers

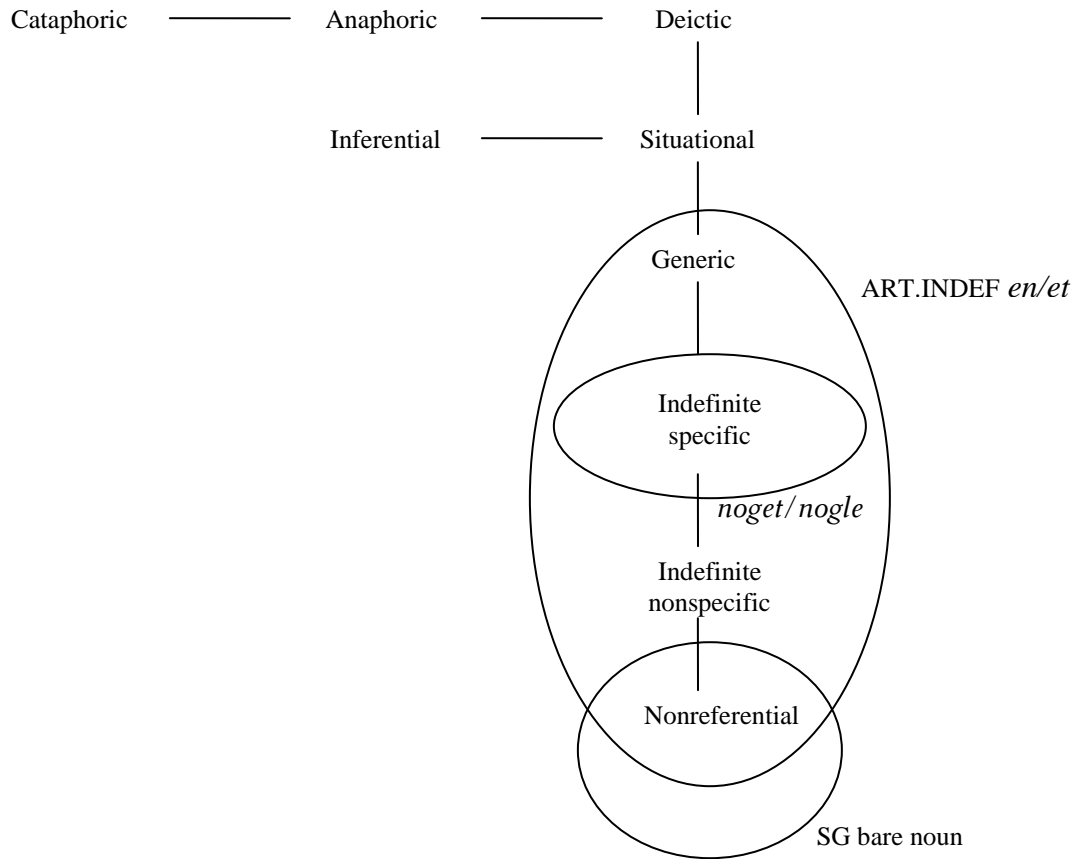


Diagram 6 shows that the Danish indefinite article *en/et* has the widest distribution: it can be used with INDEFINITE SPECIFIC (*jeg så en ræv i går* I saw ART.INDEF fox yesterday ‘I saw a fox yesterday’), INDEFINITE NON-SPECIFIC (*man kan se en ræv i vores skov* one can see ART.INDEF fox in our wood ‘one can see a fox in our wood’) and NON-REFERENTIAL predicative NPs (*Peter er en dygtig studerende* Peter is ART.INDEF clever student ‘Peter is a clever student’). Moreover, the indefinite article can also mark indefinite non-specific NPs in GENERIC contexts, e.g.: *en ræv spiser ikke gulerødder* ART.INDEF fox does not eat carrots ‘a fox does not eat carrots’.

Indefinite pronouns *noget/nogle* in unstressed position perform the function of indefiniteness markers of mass and plural NPs respectively. Their use is restricted to INDEFINITE SPECIFIC contexts, e.g. *jeg har købt noget brød* I have bought NOGET bread ‘I

have bought some bread’, *der kom også nogle danskere* there came also NOGLE Danes ‘there came also some Danes’.

Bare singulars in Danish are restricted exclusively to NON-REFERENTIAL function, mostly in predicative constructions, e.g. *hun er læge* she is doctor ‘she is a doctor’, *de læser avis* they are reading newspaper ‘they are reading a newspaper/newspapers’.

Summing up we can say that in most cases, referential NPs in Danish must be marked by either definite or indefinite determiners. In fact, bare singulars in Danish do not constitute a noun phrase and have only non-referential use. In Old Danish, bare singulars could build a noun phrase without a determiner, but they have lost this capacity due to the expansion of the article category (cf. Jensen 2007b).

5. CONCLUSIONS

- 1.1 In Lithuanian, which has a definite marker that is part of the adjectival stem, formal definiteness can only be marked in NPs with those adnominal adjectivals that **can** receive the definiteness postfix.
- 1.2 One major difference between Lithuanian definite adjectivals and definite articles of article languages is that in Lithuanian, adnominal adjectivals are used in the definite form if the adjectival is presupposed or identificational, or if it has taxonomic meaning. If this condition is not met, the use of the definite adjectival form in Lithuanian is avoided or it would be ungrammatical, despite the fact that the modified NP yields a definite interpretation. In article languages (e.g. Danish and English), the property denoted by the modifying adjectival has no impact on the definiteness marking of the NP.
- 1.3 The Semantic Map of Lithuanian Definite Adjectivals reveals some progression: in order to be used in the definite form with anaphoric NPs, the adjectival must be presupposed, in case of situational and inferential NPs, it has to be both presupposed and identificational, whereas to be used in the definite form with generic, indefinite or non-referential NPs, the adjectival must be presupposed, identificational and taxonomic.

- 1.4 Another difference between definite adjectives and definite articles is that in languages with definite adjectivals, the definiteness marker contained in the definite adjectival form develops into a marker of classifying (taxonomic) function of the adjectival. Taxonomic definite adjectivals are also presupposed and identificational, though they do not facilitate the identification of a unique entity, but of a unique category or type of entities. The use of taxonomic adjectivals in definite form is not governed by discourse factors — it is preserved also in those cases when the taxonomic NP is indefinite or non-referential. A typological parallel to this phenomenon can be seen in the so-called ‘non-delimited uses of definite forms’ in Swedish dialects where the definite form of a mass noun can be used to refer to the non-specified quantity of the mass. A similar phenomenon is the so-called ‘specific article’ in some languages which, apart from definite contexts, can be used to mark indefinite specific NPs.
- 1.5 NPs modified by the so-called ‘emphatic’ pronominal adjectivals can also be classified as NPs with definite taxonomic adjectivals because they refer to types of entities that are definite (unique) in a certain (e.g. socio-cultural) context.
- 2.1 The use of definite adjectivals in Lithuanian is influenced by the fact that the opposition of definite and non-definite adjectival forms is asymmetrical, the former are marked and have the coded meaning [+DEF], while the latter are unmarked and have the coded meaning [±DEF]. This means that the non-definite form is neutral with respect to definiteness marking: it signals neither the definiteness, nor the indefiniteness of the NP. Thus, the relation of non-definite and definite adjectival forms in Lithuanian, as the relation between the members of any asymmetrical opposition, is characterized by **participation**: the non-definite form can in many cases be used instead of the definite form, but not vice versa.
- 2.2 There is a tendency that definite adjectivals in anaphoric contexts are being replaced by demonstratives (emergent articles) that are followed by the non-definite adjectival form.
- 2.3 The use of the definite adjectival form is obligatory in proper names that are formed with identificational definite adjectivals and the so-called taxonomic NPs. Out of the

two coding strategies for reference — deictic (or contextual) pointing and naming — the Lithuanian definite adjectival form is more involved in the latter, as its main function is **naming** a unique entity or a unique type of entities. Thus, it is not surprising that definite adjectivals rarely appear in the usage contexts of the beginning of the life cycle of the definite article, namely deictic, anaphoric and cataphoric contexts.

- 2.4 The examination of the data from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian Language* revealed that 58% of all the definite adjectivals in the sample have a taxonomic meaning. This leads to the assumption that the main function of the Lithuanian definite adjectival form is marking definiteness on the level of type (taxonomic) reference since it seems to be the most stable and productive use of the definite adjectivals.
- 2.5 Summing up the results of the investigation made in the dissertation, one can claim that **in all cases** the pronominal morpheme contained in the definite adjectival form marks the definiteness of the noun phrase, even though definiteness on the level of individual reference or definiteness on the level of type (taxonomic) reference may be involved.
3. There is a reason to assume that a new definite marker is being developed from a demonstrative in Lithuanian. This process is going on more rapidly in spoken language, especially in those dialects, where demonstrative *tas* due to case syncretism performs not only the function of reference coordination, but also that of distinguishing the grammatical functions. Though, to be able to make more substantial claims about the functions and the degree of grammaticalization of these emergent articles, a thorough investigation based upon spoken language material should be conducted. It is also necessary to solve the theoretical problem, namely, to formulate valid operational criteria that would help to distinguish emergent articles from recognitional demonstratives, since both are unstressed and lack the deictic meaning.

4. The results of the investigation conducted in the thesis suggest that the correlation between the discourse prominence of the referent and the tendency to mark the NP referring to this entity with definite markers — definite adjectivals and demonstratives — does exist in Lithuanian. The amount of analyzed material is insufficient though in order to make final conclusions, thus the observed tendencies have to be examined further in a larger sample of empirical data.

DISERTACIJOS REZIUMĖ

Disertacijoje tyrinėjama apibrėžtumo raiška dviejose tipologiniu požiūriu skirtingose kalbose — lietuvių kalboje, kuri yra neartikelinė ir turi mažai sugramatintą apibrėžtumo raišką, ir danų kalboje, turinčioje išplėtotą apibrėžtumo rodiklių sistemą.

Disertacijos **tikslas** yra palyginti lietuvių kalbos apibrėžtumo rodiklius — apibrėžiamuosius būdvardžius ir artroidus — su artikelinių kalbų (danų, anglų ir kt.) apibrėžtumo rodikliais.

Disertacijoje keliami šie **uždaviniai**:

1. ištirti, koku mastu, kiek nuosekliai lietuvių kalbos apibrėžiamoji būdvardžio forma yra vartojama su semantiškai apibrėžtomis daiktavardinėmis frazėmis;
2. ištirti apibrėžiamosios būdvardžio formos distribuciją (kokuose kontekstuose ji privaloma, kada — fakultatyvi, kada — negramatiška) ir šią distribuciją lemiančius veiksnius;
3. ištirti apibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių vartojimą skirtingiems apibrėžtumo tipams reikšti;
4. atlikti apibrėžiamosios ir neapibrėžiamosios būdvardžio formų opozicijos analizę;
5. ištirti, ar būdvardžio apibrėžiamoji forma turi kitų funkcijų be apibrėžiamosios;
6. nustatyti, ar apibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių teikiamas apibrėžtumas skiriasi nuo artikelinių kalbų apibrėžiamųjų determinantų (artikelių) teikiamo apibrėžtumo;
7. ištirti artroidų distribuciją lietuvių kalboje, nustatyti, kokiems apibrėžtumo tipams žymėti jie vartojami;
8. nustatyti, ar lietuvių kalboje esama sąsajos tarp referento pragmatinio iškilumo ir apibrėžtumo žymėjimo;
9. sudaryti lietuvių kalbos apibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių semantinį žemėlapij;
10. sudaryti danų kalbos apibrėžtumo rodiklių semantinius žemėlapius.

Disertacijoje naudojamosi **kontrastyvinės analizės metodu**, **Hjelmslevo komutacijos testu** ir **semantinio žemėlapiu metodu** (Haspelmath 2003). Kontrastyvinės analizės metodas naudojamas gretinant skirtingų kalbų apibrėžtumo rodiklių vartojimą įvairiuose kontekstuose. Komutacijos testas naudojamas tiriant, ar pokytis turinio plane lemia pokytį išraiškos plane ir atvirkščiai, taip nustatant konkrečios gramatinės morfemos koduojamą gramatinę reikšmę. Semantinio žemėlapiu metodas naudojamas aprašant numanomą apibrėžtumo rodiklio gramatinės reikšmės raidą pasaulio kalbose, taip pat išryškinant apibrėžtumo rodiklių vartojimo dviejose tipologiškai skirtingose kalbose — lietuvių ir danų — panašumus bei skirtumus. Hebrajų kalbos duomenys surinkti pasinaudojus taip pat ir **anketavimo** metodu (gimtakalbio buvo paprašyta užpildyti anketa — išversti duotus angliškus sakinius, iliustruojančius skirtingus apibrėžtumo tipus, į hebrajų kalbą; užpildyta anketa pateikiama I priede).

Disertacija yra **aktuali** lietuvių kalbotyrai, nes nagrinėjama tema — apibrėžtumo raiška lietuvių kalboje — yra mažai tyrinėta. Visiškai **nauja** yra tai, kad disertacijoje į lietuvių kalbos apibrėžtumo rodiklius — apibrėžiamuosius būdvardžius ir gramatėjančius įvardžius (artroidus) — žvelgiama iš kontrastyvinės ir tipologinės perspektyvos, gretinant juos su artikelinių kalbų (danų, anglų ir kitų) artikeliais, naudojamosi semantinio žemėlapiu metodu. Su būdvardžiais suaugusių apibrėžtumo rodiklių tyrimų tarptautiniu mastu taip pat nėra gausu, todėl disertacija pateikia vertingos medžiagos apibrėžtumo kategorijos tipologijai.

Disertacijos **empirinę medžiagą** sudaro per 1000 autentiškų lietuvių kalbos pavyzdžių, rinktų iš originalios ir verstinės grožinės literatūros, sakytinės ir rašytinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynų (atitinkamai <http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/~andrius/SKT5/5SKT-paiesk.php> ir <http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/>) bei interneto. Daiktavardinių junginių (NP) su būdvardiniais modifikatoriais ir įvardžiais *tas*, *ta* pavyzdžiai rinkti iš I. Mero romano *Lygiosios trunks akimirka* (atitinkamai 216 ir 121 pavyzdys), išrinkti ir šių pavyzdžių atitikmenys iš minėto romano daniško (*Det sidste træk*) ir angliško (*Stalemate*) vertimų. 219 NP su būdvardiniais modifikatoriais pavyzdžių ir 40 pavyzdžių su įvardžiais *tas*, *ta* surinkta

iš P. Høeg'o romano *Frøkken Smillas fornemmelse for sne* vertimo į lietuvių kalbą *Panelės Smilos sniego jausmas*; išrinkti ir šių pavyzdžių atitikmenys originalo tekste. Iš *Sakytinės lietuvių kalbos testyno* išrinkti visi pavyzdžiai su įvardžiuotiniais būdvardžiais (iš viso 458). Jei cituojant nenurodytas pavyzdžio šaltinis, tas pavyzdys yra darbo autorės sugalvotas. Neautentiški danų kalbos pavyzdžiai buvo peržiūrėti gimtakalbio.

Disertacijos tema yra plati, todėl teko **apsiriboti** keletu tyrimų krypčių. Netiesioginė (implicitinė) apibrėžtumo raiška lietuvių kalboje disertacijoje tik apžvelgiama, plačiau netyrinėjama. Pagrindinis dėmesys disertacijoje skiriamas formaliesiems lietuvių kalbos apibrėžtumo rodikliams — apibrėžiamiesiems būdvardžiams ir artroidams. Reikia pripažinti, kad artroidų aprašas disertacijoje tėra fragmentiškas, daugiau keliantis probleminius klausimus nei pateikiantis atsakymus, nes surinktos medžiagos apimtis buvo per maža, kad būtų galima daryti pagrįstas išvadas. Norint nuodugniai ištirti artroidų funkcijas ir sugramatinimo laipsnį, reikia atlikti išsamų jų vartosenos sakytinėje kalboje tyrimą, o tai jau galėtų būti atskiros disertacijos objektas. Neapibrėžtumo raiška lietuvių kalboje nėra sugramatinta, todėl paliekama nuošaly. Apibrėžtumo raiška danų kalboje yra išsamiai ištirta ir aprašyta, todėl disertacijoje atskirai netyrinėjama. Danų kalba daugiausia pasitarnauja kontrastyviniam tyrimui, t.y. aprašomi tik tie danų kalbos apibrėžtumo raiškos aspektai, kurie išryškėja gretinant ją su apibrėžtumo žymėjimu lietuvių kalboje.

Disertaciją sudaro įvadas (1 skyrius) ir keturi pagrindiniai skyriai. 2 skyriuje remiantis išstudijuota literatūra nagrinėjamas apibrėžtumo kategorijos turinys ir raiška tipologiniu požiūriu, gilinamasi į apibrėžtumo ir neapibrėžtumo semantiką, apibrėžiamos disertacijoje naudojamos sąvokos, apžvelgiami apibrėžtumo tipai, aprašomas žymimojo artikelio raidos ciklas, pristatoma darbe naudojama žymėtumo teorija. 3 skyriuje supažindinama su danų kalbos apibrėžtumo sistema. 4 skyrius skirtas apibrėžtumo raiškai lietuvių kalboje. Jame visų pirma nagrinėjama apibrėžiamųjų ir neapibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių opozicija lietuvių kalboje, analizuojamas šių būdvardžių vartojimas su semantiškai apibrėžtomis daiktavardinėmis frazėmis, tiriami jų distribucijos ypatumai ir šių distribuciją lemiantys veiksniai. Atskirai nagrinėjami vadinamieji „pabrėžiamieji įvardžiuotiniai būdvardžiai“ ir predikatyvo pozicijoje einantys apibrėžiamieji būdvardžiai, apžvelgiamos

apibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių vartojimo *Sakytinės lietuvių kalbos tekstyne* tendencijos. Antroje 4 skyriaus dalyje nagrinėjamas apibrėžtumo žymėjimas įvardžiais, gramatėjantys demonstratyvai (artroidai) *tas, ta* ir jų vartojimo kontekstai, keliamos prielaidos dėl šių apibrėžtumo rodiklių sugramatinimo laipsnio ir pasiekto raidos etapo atsižvelgiant į žymimojo artikelio raidos ciklą. Trečiojoje minėto skyriaus dalyje siekiama nustatyti, ar esama ryšio tarp referento pragmatinio iškilumo ir svarbos diskurse bei polinkio pažymėti tą esinį žymintį daiktavardinį junginį apibrėžtumo rodikliais lietuvių kalboje. 5 skyriuje pristatomas semantinio žemėlapių metodas ir remiantis disertantei prieinamų kalbų duomenimis pateikiami apibrėžtumo semantinės erdvės metmenys. Taip pat pasiūlomi lietuvių kalbos apibrėžiamųjų būdvardžių semantinis žemėlapis bei danų kalbos apibrėžtumo ir neapibrėžtumo rodiklių semantiniai žemėlapiai. 6 skyriuje suformuluojamos išvados ir apžvelgiamos tyrimų perspektyvos. Pabaigoje pateikiamas disertacijoje panaudotos literatūros ir šaltinių sąrašas bei priedai.

Disertacijos ginamieji teiginiai

1. Apibrėžtumo raiška lietuvių kalboje yra tik iš dalies sugramatinta. Formaliu daiktavardinės frazės apibrėžtumo rodikliu gali būti laikoma įvardžiuotinės būdvardžio formos įvardinė morfema *-jis, -ji*⁷. Besiformuojančiu apibrėžtumo rodikliu gali būti laikomi gramatėjantys demonstratyvai (artroidai) *tas, ta*.
2. Įvardžiuotinės būdvardžio formos įvardinė morfema **visais atvejais** žymi daiktavardinės frazės apibrėžtumą, kuris gali būti tiek individo referencijos lygmens, tiek aukštesnio — tipo (arba taksonominės) referencijos lygmens. Įvardžiuotinės formos pagrindai gali būti vadinamos apibrėžiamosiomis, o paprastosios būdvardžio formos — neapibrėžiamosiomis. Vadinamieji „pabrėžiamieji įvardžiuotiniai būdvardžiai“ taip pat atlieka apibrėžiamąją funkciją — žymi taksonominį apibrėžtumą.

⁷ Kadangi įvardis *yo- yra suaugęs su būdvardžio kamienu, riba tarp būdvardžio kamieno ir prijungto įvardinio elemento ne visada yra aiški. Todėl kai kurie tyrėjai laiko įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formų galūnes neskaidomomis ir kalba apie dvi būdvardžio kaitybos paradigmas — neapibrėžiamąją ir apibrėžiamąją (plg. angl. *definite and indefinite adjective declensions*, žr. Lyons 1999: 822). Pripažinus šį požiūrį, formaliu daiktavardinės frazės apibrėžtumo rodikliu laikytinos įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formų apibrėžiamosios galūnės.

3. Lietuvių kalboje apibrėžtumo žymėjimas būdvardžio forma priklauso ne tik nuo daiktavardinės frazės semantinio apibrėžtumo, bet ir nuo to, ar atributinis būdvardis yra presuponuotas, identifikacinis ar taksonominis.
4. Deiktiniuose ir kataforiniuose kontekstuose lietuvių kalboje vartojami ne apibrėžiamieji būdvardžiai, o demonstratyvai (artroidai) ir neapibrėžiamoji būdvardžio forma. Anaforinis apibrėžtumas gali būti reiškiamas apibrėžiamaisiais būdvardžiais, tačiau iš šio vartosenos konteksto juos stumia gramatėjantys demonstratyvai (artroidai).
5. Su būdvardžiu suaugusio apibrėžtumo rodiklio raida skiriasi nuo apibrėžtumo rodiklio, kuris yra atskiras frazės žodis ar afiksas, raidos. Kalbose, turinčiose apibrėžiamuosius būdvardžius, atributinis būdvardis nebūtinai vartojamas apibrėžiamąja forma, nors jo modifikuojama daiktavardinė frazė yra semantiškai apibrėžta. Kitas skirtumas yra tas, kad su būdvardžiu suaugęs apibrėžtumo rodiklis tampa taksonominės klasifikacinės būdvardžio funkcijos rodikliu. Daiktavardinės frazės su taksonominiais būdvardžiais žymi apibrėžtą esinių rūšį, tipą ar kategoriją. Taigi apibrėžtumas čia iš individo referencijos lygmens yra perkeltas į aukštesnį — kategorinės (taksonominės) referencijos lygmenį. Taksonominis apibrėžtumas yra išlaikomas nepaisant daiktavardinės frazės vartojimo konteksto: taksonominiai būdvardžiai vartojami apibrėžiamąja forma ir tuo atveju, jei daiktavardinė frazė individo referencijos lygmeniu yra neapibrėžta ar nereferentinė. Neturintis taksonominės reikšmės būdvardis lietuvių kalboje negali būti vartojamas apibrėžiamąja forma nei su generinėmis, nei su neapibrėžtomis specifinėmis ar nereferentinėmis daiktavardinėmis frazėmis.

DISSERTANT'S PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF DISSERTATION

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Birute Spraunienė received her bachelor degree in Lithuanian Philology with Danish as the main foreign language at Vilnius University in 1996. In 2002 she completed the Master programme of Scandinavian Philology there. In 2006 – 2010 Birute was a doctoral student of linguistics at Vilnius University. During her Master and Ph. D. studies, she had several study visits to Copenhagen and Roskilde Universities. Since 2000 Birute has been working as teaching assistant at the Centre of Scandinavian Studies of Vilnius University. She is teaching the Danish language of different levels, translation from Danish to Lithuanian and Danish Theoretical Grammar. In 2010 Birute prepared a practical grammar of Danish for Lithuanians.