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Generated Definite Article*

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The uses of the definite article (UA) can be classified into those that are memorized (as for instance the DA with names of seas) and those that must be "generated" for every particular situation. This essay deals with this latter group of the uses of the DA where it distinguished several subgroups. One set of subgroups has in common a formal element of some kind that can be utilized as a comparatively reliable signal for the use of the DA. These elements are either within the nominal group in which the relevant noun appears (Contextual DA) or they are outside the group (Cotextual DA). When they are within the nominal group they can either precede the relevant noun or follow it. When the signals suggesting the use of the DA in preference of some other article are outside the nominal group, they take the form of a "first-mention" element. This element can be the same noun that occurs in the nominal group (- king ... the king) or some other noun but with the same referent (— king... the monarch; John... the boy), or a whole situation. A very frequent case is that the first-mention element and the relevant noun form a whole (— town... the bus station). Another subtype of the generated DA has no formal signal in the cotext or the context, but the implied signal is some kind of a common background shared by a group of speakers (the sun, the children are playing in the street). With plural nouns, this "interpretative" DA indicates that all the members of a set are referred to (a star — stars, the stars).

The signals listed are of a limited value; what is decisive for this type of the DA is whether the referent is conceived of as "unique" (the only such referent in a given situation at a given time) or not.

^{*} The general introduction to this particular approach to the definite article appears in *Reports 10* (1976) of the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian — English Contrastive Project, Zagreb, pp. 121—136.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Under this heading we treat of those uses of the DA where the speaker has to decide, on the basis of what he knows of the semantics of the DA and his interpretation of the context in which a referent occurs, whether to use the DA or not. In this type of the DA there is no obligation arising from the nature of the referent itself for the occurrence of the DA, as there is with most "memorized" uses. (These uses are the subject of another paper which is still being prepared.) In the frame

He sailed on —— "Queen Mary" a definite determiner is obligatory, and most frequently it is the DA. On the other hand, in a frame like

Open — window there is no obligation for the appearance of a definite determiner arising from the use of the noun window. The reason for the appearance of the DA (as it is the definite article we are interested in) will be semantic; that is the presence of the DA makes the noun refer to a particular extralinguistic situation which the speaker has in mind. This semantic element responsible for the DA explains why the reasons for the occurrence of the generated DA have to be sought in longer stretches of text, as it is only in such streches that the meanings of constituent elements become focused. Naturally, the context determining the meaning of the constituents, in addition to being explicit, can be only implied, or it can be "understood", which means that the speaker and the listener can refer to the same thing without a linguistic indentification of the thing.

1.2. The DA is very frequent in the frame " $N_1 ldots$... the $N_1 ldots$." as in

Once upon a time there lived a king. The king had three sons.

Although in this particular case the DA will be used by most speakers it is by no means obligatory in this frame type and if the situation does not require it some other determiner will be used instead:

He was looking for a wife, but — wife was hard to find. In this case, the slot before the second wife will be, as the first choice, filled with the indefinite article. Similarly in

John read a book and Mary read a book/a house is for sale on Derby Road but Smith does not want a house

- 1.3. In these and similar instances, as we have tried to show, the speaker uses the DA according to what kind of meaning he wants to convey; which means that he bases his decision on the semantics of the DA. In this way, we are faced with a situation where we cannot any longer avoid a discussion of the meaning of the DA, as with this article type our decision will have to be based on that meaning rather than on some accompanying element as in the case of the memorized DA; which is quite a formidable task for a speaker of SC.
- 1.4. We believe that the meaning of the DA can be most usefully defined by stating what its presence does to the noun it modifies. The DA imparts to the modified noun the meaning of uniqueness, in the sense that a noun modified by the DA can refer to only one referent, or a group of identical referents, at a given time in a given place. We will see that the relative duration of the time during which a referent is regarded as unique has considerable psychological effect on SC speakers and that they often fail to recognize basically identical situations because of its relative shortness.
- 1.5. In this situation, the SC speaker trying to cope with the uses of the DA in English seems to be left with no help from elements which he has in his own language and which could serve as more or less reliable guides for the use of this type of the DA. Fortunately, that is not quite so. In certain situations, some signals can be isolated which point toward the advisability of using the DA in preference to other articles—indefinite or zero, or no article at all. These signals are not so reliable as those we were able to isolate with the memorized DA; they are based mostly on statistical probability—if one of the signals is present it is statistically more likely that the DA is the correct determiner; althought the final decision rests with the presence or absence of the meaning of temporal and spatial uniqueness of the referent.
- 1.6. The signals are linguistic items present in the text. They are present either in the text outside the nominal group concerned or they are contained within the group itself. When they are outside the group we speak of the "cotextual DA". An example of the cotextual DA is seen in

I saw a boy. The boy had a big head

1.7. The noun whose DA is attributed to the presence of some element in the text (in the example above the presence of the first noun boy) will be referred to as the "second-

-mention noun", although in some cases there will be no "first-mention" noun; but there always will be some formal antecedent "responsible" for the DA.

- 1.8. The occurrence of the DA (in the above example) with the second-mention boy is explained from the presence of the first-mention boy with the indefinite (or, in other instances, some other) article.
- 1.9. In cases where the signal for the statistical probability of the DA being the correct article is within the nominal group itself, we speak of the "contextual DA". The signal can 1. precede the noun, in which case we have a relevant modifier, as in

the direct **London** — **Australia** fare and the example suggests, very tentatively, that the DA is to be expected in cases where a noun is modified by a proper noun or a proper adjective;

2. follow the noun, in which case we speak of a relevant qualifier, as in

the man who arrived yesterday where the example suggests that with nouns modified by a relative clause the DA is to be expected.

- 1.10. We distinguish a third type of the generated DA which we have termed the "interpretative DA". It concerns those instances of the DA for which there are no formal signals of any kind and which are explained from the identical interpretation of a given situation by all concerned, as when the DA in the sun is explained by the fact that both the speaker and the listener know that our planetary system has only one sun and it is this sun that is referred to. This is really a kind of cotextual article but the term "interpretative" has been adopted to indicate the absence of any formal linguistic element which could help to explain the presence of the DA.
- 1.11. We will now procede to consider these signals, formal and interpretative, in detail.

COTEXTUAL DA

2. The simplest situations of the cotextual DA are those in which the same noun is repeated:

John ordered a book and the book has just arrived / one wall of the house faced straight to the west and by the

time the sun went down into the Pacific the wall was always very warm to the touch / laying a single egg and lacking nesting material in the Antartic wastes the egg is balanced on its (penguin's) feet and held securely by a fold of skin on the lower part of its body / once upon a time there lived an old tailor in a small village. The tailor was known all over the village as "Old ' / there lived once in this old castle a powerful Harry' king. The king had a lovely daughter / one night a wolf fell in with a dog. The wolf wass all skin and bones, while the dog was as fat as could be that there in a void in a millionaire's life in not disproved by anyone showing that a number of millionaires do not recognize the (this, that such) void / A: "My name is Montgomery S. Epstein." B: "What's the S stand for?" A: "Nothing. My father dropped a noodle on my birth certificate."

- 2.1. Notice that the second-mention noun and its DA can be, and often are, substituted by a personal pronoun:

 John ordered a book and it has just arrived.
- 2.1.1. The DA does not occur automatically with the repeated noun. It occurs only if the repeated noun and the first-mention noun have the same referent. This can lead to a confusing situation of a second-mention noun requiring the indefinite article, when the two nouns have different referents, as in

John ordered a book and a book has just arrived where the second-mention book is not necessarily the book John ordered. Notice that in this case it cannot be used to substitute the second book; the acceptable pro-form is the indefinite pronoun one.

2.1.2. A frequent case of indefinitely modified second-mention nouns is when nouns are intentionally used in such a way as to avoid reference to any particular referent. This is the so-called generic use where a noun, singular or plural, refers to a class of things rather than to individual members of the class. An instance of the generic use is seen in:

A horse is a useful animal, and whenever I see a horse (or one) I take off my hat to it (the one I saw).

2.1.3. Specifying modification, i.e. modification that does not change the class of the referent, is repeated with the second-mention noun or dropped:

sleeping out of doors on a camp bed, he awoke to find a lion walking round and round the (camp) bed (see also some of the examples in 2.)

2.1.4. Plural count nouns or singular mass nouns preceded by quantifier + of + DA are always second-mention:

both of the answers / (n)either of the books / one of the boys / some of the cities / most of the words /much of the water

2.1.5. When the noun following the expression "quantifier + + of" is preceded by some other determiner, the noun need not be second-mention:

one of ten books / one of several letters / some of many names

2.1.6. In jokes, first-mention nouns are often represented as if they were second-mention in order to create a kind of tension:

the panhandler approached Uncle Stanley... / the Wall Street man... / the lifeguard approached...

- 2.1.6.1. Another device for achieving a similar effect is to use this without an antecedent: "This panhandler approached..."
- 2.2. The cotextual use of the DA is present also when different nouns have the same referent:

his glance was at once calculatory and pugnacious and Lennie squirmed under the look / the other day I saw a nice table in a shop window. I wanted very much to buy it but the damn thing was too expensive for me to buy / he cut off his own right hand and threw the bleeding member in a wide arc ashore / he took night glasses from their case and raised the binoculars to his his eyes / Bowie leaned against the stone wall ... the youth under the arches was just twenty-two / Paris . . . the capital of France / the cavemen must have thought if they made a painting that looked real and then "killed ', it was almost like killing the animal itself / the Pacific breakers are audible, and the wash of the waves can be heard from any point within this small camp / their kings, the Pharaons had statues of themselves placed in their tombs / the tall and narrow shape of our panels indicates that they are the wings of a small altar / "How much are these melons?" - "Sixpence, and cheap at the

price" / visit Germany... well-kept highways — from modern "Autobahns" to quiet cross-country roads — and an up-to-date network of railways take the traveller quickly to any part of the country.

2.3. Another reason for the occurrence of the DA can be the fact that the second-mention noun repeats the meaning of the first-mention element which is not a noun but is obviously connected with the second-mention noun by derivational ties; as when the first-mention adjective strong is the reason for the occurrence of the DA with the second-mention noun strength. The following examples illustrate the point:

of all the spots in London which may fairly be described as back-waters, there is none that answers so completely to the description as Arundell Street / the scores of detection problems that surged to the surface every day were all different. But the difference merely added up to the ennui of an eternal job / she made up her face by the aid of a compact... Having completed the make-up to her satisfaction... / the area of the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the areas of the squares on the two sides which contain the right angle.

2.4. The first-mention element can take the form of a sentence to which the second-mention noun refers:

the big apes were all around him, baring their huge molars and snarling. The situation was desperate / it looked as if the jungle would soon push the houses into the water. The thought didn't bother him very much / he sipped from his glass and when the drink was gone he chewed on the ice

2.5. The cotextual DA is present also in situations where the second-mention referent is part of the first-mention referent, forming some kind of unit with it, or the referents are in a complementary relation. Thus, having mentioned a jacket we say "the buttons", "the pockets", "the lapels", "the tailor", "the material", etc .This type of cotextual DA is very frequent:

in Paris, the water is filtered and sterilized / we have just visited your garden; the grapes are splendid / we arrived at Hermance, a beautiful little village, containing a ruined tower built, the villagers say, by Julius Caesar / the Museum was given up to Indian arts and manufactures

and anybody who sought visdom could ask the curator to explain / I took a cab to big Brad's house... The three little dogs rushed out as soon as the door opened / there is something else, too, that makes the "Lamentation" such a powerful work of art: its composition - by which the figures and other forms are arranged inside the frame / as we stand before the painting, we again marvel at the rich play of light and shade, which gives us the "feel" of every surface, from the stubble of the beard on the chin to the crinkly fabric of the turban / it had been raining in Vienna when she left that morning and people had been hurrying through the streets / he stepped into the control room. He paused and wearily scanned the bulky correlator machines, the clerks and technicians scurrying about like distressed ants, the video-communication operators, the endless procession of control crewmen / everything in the picture plays a part in this message, even such apparently unrelated details as the hen with her chicks in the foreground / he sipped from his glass and when the drink was gone he chewed on the ice / he gave her a small slap on the behind / one of his legs, the right one, did not function properly, the foot tending to turn inward / (a painting) the setting may strike you at first as rather too elaborate, but if you study it more closely you will find that almost every detail has a meaning related to the main figures: the stone carvings on the arched portal tell us about other events in the life of the Virgin, and in the distance we see Christ leaving His tomb while the soldiers on guard are asleep / he examined the car. The front was slightly damaged / ... dipping the free ends into water. Two streams of tiny bubbles rise to the surface

2.6. Explicit reference to the first-mention noun is made when the second-mention noun is preceded by words such as (afore)-said, before-mentioned, and similar:

The said face indicated an independent dignity

2.6.1. The larger unit can follow the smaller unit and occur in a prepositional phrase of the same nominal group:

attaching two wires to the poles of a dry-cell battery / the vase in figure 8 was made about 500 B.C. /the beer drinkers at the counter in Wendell's cafe / the boar-hunt in figure 6 is a Cretan painting

2.7. Uniqueness. In all these types of the cotextual DA, as in all other instances of the generated DA, what is decisive for the appearance of the DA is the principle of uniqueness. The second-mention noun is unique more frequently than not by the logic of the situation; and this is the reason for the appearance of the DA rather than the fact of second-mentionedness. With the most frequent type of cotextual DA, the unit type (2.5.), it is quite easy to imagine a situation in which some other article will be used, despite the fact that the second-mention noun is part of the unit expressed by the first-mention noun, if the principle of uniqueness is not satisfied:

— house... a window was reflecting the light of the setting sun

It just happens, by extralinguistic logic of the situation, that the referent of the second-mention noun in this type of cotextual DA is frequently the only one of its kind or, when noun is used in the plural form, the referents are the only such group of referents:

- house ... the roof was reflecting, etc.
- house... the windows were reflecting, etc.

2.8. At this point it seems necessary to refine the meaning of the notion of uniqueness as used in this paper. We have said that this term is used to refer to a situation in which a referent is the only one such at a given time in a given place. The noun river becomes the river when used by someone to refer to the only flow of water near the place where the user lives. But in a situation like "he entered a room and saw that it had a dirty little window" the window is undoubtedly signaled as the only one of its kind in that particular situation; still, the indefinite article occurs. I believe that there is not one single reason that can explain this situation, and the occurrence of the indefinite article is, as frequently also result of elsewhere. the combination а considerations. First of all, it it not quite clear whether the word a is the indefinite article pure and simple (as in "I saw a man"); the numerical value of a can be the prominent element (as in "a hundred"), and a numeral cannot take the form of the cotextual DA. Another reason, probably decisive for the occurrence of a in preference to the, is the intention present in the use of all articles: they are used for the benefit of the listener, and the presence of the generated DA always means "you, my listener, should be able to identify the referent." This fact is occasionally utilized by writers to create tension or expectation by signaling, by means of the DA, a

referent as identifiable by the reader without giving him a possibility to identify it, as when a novel begins "The shot was fired . . ." without any anaphoric explanation for uniqueness value attributed to the referent of the noun shot by the presence of the DA. In our example, with a window, we have a situation where the reader, or listener, is obviously not expected to identify the particular referent of the noun window, therefore the idefinite article. Grammars frequently refer to this situation as the first introduction of a referent. but this is only part of the truth as the noun moon will take the DA even if it is introduced for the first time. The third element that may be in part responsible for the indefinite article is a vague, generic meaning of the noun window such as in frequently found with nouns following stative (descriptive) verbs (have in our case). It seems that the meaning "a class of things" rather than "a member of a class of things" is present to a certain extent.

- **2.8.1.** Even in cases like the river when there is only one river near a place, the DA, to continue our discussion of the notion of uniqueness, is different from, let us say, the DA preceding the noun "table" in "put the book on the table" as said in a situation where there is only one table. Although the listener does not necessarily have to know what river is referred to, he concludes, from the presence of the DA and the meaning of the noun river, that there must be only one such river in the experience of the speaker and which the listener can identify if he wants by simply going there. The DA, in this case, conveys the meaning of uniqueness of the referent without necessarily identifying it directly. In this and similar cases we could speak of latent identification — the identification is possible although not necessary. In the case of the table, on the other hand, the referent in actually identified by the DA, and the identification is actual — the listener knows exactly which table is involved. In other words, the generated DA is used either because the referent is obviously unique (the table) or in order to signal the uniqueness of a referent that is not obviously unique (the river). We use the adverb obviously from the point of view of the listener.
- 2.8.2. Let us illustrate these two different meanings of the DA by another example. A, who is in the hall, hears B, who is in a room with the door closed, say, "Open the window". From the occurrence of the DA, A concludes that in the room there is either only one widow, which is closed, or that, if there

are several windows, one of them differs from all others by the fact that it can be opened. In other words, he knows that in that particular room at that particular time there is a window which is unique, but he does not know the nature of the uniqueness, nor can he conjure a mental picture of that window. For the listener in the room, the uniqueness of the window is quite apparent and actual (he is expected to open a definite window).

- 2.8.3. For a speaker of SC the "visible" uniqueness is much easier to grasp than the implied uniqueness.
- 2.9. These considerations bring us to the second major class of the generated DA.

CONTEXTUAL DA

- 3. As we have said previously, the cases of contextual DA are those where the possible signal for the learner that the DA is probably the correct form of the article is in the same unit as the noun concerned. We distinguish two such situations: (a) the signal precedes the noun and (b) the signal follows the noun.
- 3.1. The signal precedes the noun. The basic assumption is this: if a noun is modified by a modifier of unique reference, the noun and the modifier will be preceded by the DA. An example is a connotative name (discussed among the memorized uses of the DA) like the Atlantic Ocean, where the common noun ocean is modified by the proper adjective (or noun?) Atlantic which typically has only one referent, therefore the common noun ocean is also restricted to only one referent, hence the DA. Our research, however, seems to point to the fact that if a modifier is typically used of only one referent it does not necessarily follow that the modified noun must be used also of only one referent; although we speak of the Atlantic Ocean we can speak also of an Atlantic fish; therefore this signal is only of a comparative usefulness. Of course. proper adjectives are not the only modifier type but with other types (epithets, attributive common nouns) their value as DA signals is even less. On the whole, the fact that a noun is modified is of little value as an indication for the use of the DA. The only positive conclusion is that with unique--reference modifiers (proper adjectives, proper nouns, etc.)

the occurrence probability of the DA seems to be somewhat higher than with other modifiers:

it might be almost anywhere along the Dutch coast / the whole Aegean area / the Minoan-Mycenaenan civilization / passenger ships on the South African run / the Christian era / the Antartic wastes / the direct London - Australia fare / the Alder estate / the Arizona sand / the University of Maryland Law School

3.1.1. Connotative proper names (names using other than proper nouns in the head position) are frequently of this type: the Tyne Gap / the Severn Tunnel / the Sistine Chapel / the Mesolithic (period) / the Albert Hall / the Bedford (Hotel) / the Atlantic (Ocean) / the Adriatic (Sea) / the Bering Strait / the Yucatán Peninsula / the Saint Lawrence (River) / the Panama Canal / the Bristol Channel / the Oxford Road / the Tate (Gallery / the Ashmolean Museum / the Bodleian (Library) / the George Washington Bridge / the Victoria Club

(For cases like the cruel Macbeth see Emotional Modification in the Memorized DA.)

- 3.2. The co-occurrence probability of a signal and the DA will be described as "high" when it is at least .75; it is "fair" when its value is not lower than .6; at any value lower than that it is "low".
- **3.2.1.** Under the "Memorized Uses of the DA" we give a list of modifiers (superlative adjectives, ordinal numerals and assorted individual adjectives) whose co-occurrence with the DA is very high.
- 3.3. The signal follows the noun. The term "qualifier" is used to refer to postonominal elements of the nominal group (this does not include appositive constructions like (the) poet Smith for which see "Memorized DA").
- 3.3.1. The most frequent qualifiers are of the following types:
 - a. Prepositional group:
 - the march to the sea was a success / the car was instantly swallowed in the trees of a negro settlement
 - b. Clauses and abbreviated clauses: it lay in a small crook of the hills that rose to the south of the large Shumadia plain / he smiled tolerantly at the children he passed / the initials stamped on

the bag in Gothic characters were not his / the black iron pots already steaming

- c. Infinitives:
 you are just the people to go with the Red-Cross unit /
 he displayed a notable diffidence and the liability to
 panic
- 3.3.2. We shall now discuss these qualifier types and their co-occurrence probability with the DA.
- 3.3.3. Prepositional group. The probability that the DA will occur with a nounqualified by a prepositional group is fair (.65). Among the various prepositional groups there is one, introduced by of, wich differs from the other groups in the complexity of its functions. An overall survey shows that the co-occurrence probability with this particular prepositional group is only slightly higher than with other prepositional groups. But when the of-group is broken into subgroups showing some common characteristics, the co-occurrence probability with some of these subgroups is very high indeed.
- **3.3.3.1.** The largest such subgroup is the one which conveys the meaning of possession or belonging. With **of**-groups having this meaning, the co-occurrence probability is over .9, as in

the dark waters of the Sound / the foot of the table / when history, and particularly the history of our country, furnishes a case in point / the God of Israel / during the Easter of that year / John was the genius of the family / I am standing in the bar car of the 5.11 out of Grand Central / attaching two wires to the poles of a dry-cell battery

3.3.3.2. This situation is basically a variation of the "unit" cotextual DA (2.5.). In the example

the Museum was given up to Indian art, and anybody who sought wisdom could ask the curator to explain

the curator is the curator of the museum. Therefore it is not surprizing that in this construction, too, the percentage of the DA is high.

3.3.3. The co-occurrence probability of the DA with appositions of the type "the city of Paris" is very high indeed.

In fact, I have not come across an example which would have some other article. A few more examples of this apposition are

and what wonders the science of archaeology has given us / the town of East Joloppi / the State of Maine / the colour of "Old Ivory" / the force of gravity / the game of chess / the art of sculpture / the color of red / the figure of a rhombus / the health resort of Innerleithen / the village of Guanadera ribboned along the shore

3.3.3.4. With this appositive construction the first element can be dropped without a substantial change of meaning:

(the city of) Paris is large / he drew (the figure of) a triangle / (the village of) Guanadera ribboned along the shore

- 3.3.3.5. Appositions containing proper nouns of persons occur without of ((the) pilot Smith); appositions containing proper nouns of non-persons have an obligatory of (the city of Paris); with appositive constructions containing only common nouns, two forms are possible the form with of (the force of gravity) and the form without of (the force gravity) if the meaning of the first noun is more general than the meaning of the second noun.
- **3.3.4.** The co-occurrence probability is .8 in nominalizations of the type

time passes — passing/passage of time as illustrated by the following examples:

in the comparative stillness that followed the subsidence of its mighty voice / the automobile's original appeal shrank in inverse proportion to the growth of her demands / the dry growths of shrubs come close to the house there / the three Negroes were momentarily blotted out in the whirl of dust / the flourishing of a plant / the winning of a game by a team

3.3.5. In the construction "Verb + Object \rightarrow — Noun (\leftarrow Verb) + of + Object" (to waste resources \rightarrow — waste of resources) the co-occurrence probability is, at .53, low; but if "Noun (\leftarrow Verb)" stands for an actor, the probability is considerably higher, as in

to publish — book → the publisher of — book

3.3.6. Some types of of-group with very high co-occurrence probability have not been included here as they are treated as instances of the memorized DA. They are

a. of-groups occurring as an element of connotative

proper names of any type, such as

the U.S. Undersecretary of State (antonomastic proper name) / the House of Commons / the District of Columbia / the Isle of Man / the Lake of Lucerne / the Cape of Good Hope / the University of Edinburgh

b. of-groups used to distinguish two stages in the history of the same referent, whose, non-connotative, name is expressed by a proper noun:

the Paris of today is vastly different from the Paris of the

Middle Ages

3.3.6. Notice that a definite determiner is always present in

the phrase "one of the + plural noun", as in

he will be transferred to one of the bigger hatcheries / this is actually Camp Delmar, one of the subsidiaries of Camp Pendleton / one of the barracks radios is picking up cool dance music from Hollywood

3.3.7. Other types of of-group with low co-occurrence probability are illustrated by the following examples:

a. "containing", "consisting of": a bottle of beer / big

slabs of stone (probability: .26)

b. expressions of quantity, number and similar: a twentieth of a roentgen (probability: .06)

c. various unclassified instances with occurrence probabi-

lity of the order of .3:

the rest of us / terrible state of health / an advanced kind of infantry training

- **3.3.8.** It has been suggested that the co-occurrence probability of the DA with qualifiers is higher if the qualifier, any qualifier, itself contains a nominal element presented as definite. We propose to test this assumption on prepositional groups introduced by prepositions other than **of** which have an average co-occurrence probability of .5.
- 3.3.9. We interpret the term "definite" to mean that —
- a. the noun of the qualifier is preceded by the DA: "the water in the bay became orange". In this case the probability is .63;

- b. the noun of the qualifier is preceded by a possessive or demonstrative word: "the door to my room", "the sometimes odd happenings in these pages". In this case the probability is .3;
- c. the noun of the qualifier is a proper name: "the intersection above Sudwich Square". In this case the probability is .86;
- d. the qualifier contains a personal pronoun, as a personal pronoun always stands for a noun which, if it were not substituted, would be preceded by the DA (if it can accept the DA): "Many of the characters in it". In this case the probability is .76.
- **3.3.10.** With the exception of the low probability with possessives and demonstratives, with all other instances of a definite nominal material in the qualifier the co-occurrence probability is rather high, considerably higher than with qualifiers lacking the definite element.
- **3.4.1. Clause.** The most frequent clause types in the qualifier position are the relative and the *that* clause, full or in various abbreviated forms.
- **3.4.1.1. Relative clause.** With full relative clauses the co-occurrence probability is .74:

he crossed the brown-green grass to the pole that had once been a ship's mast / the hills that rose to the south of the large Shumadia plain / he looked down at the small bay where the village of Guanadera ribboned along the shore

- 3.4.1.2. With contact relatives the probability is .85:

 the moment any craft approached within ten feet an alarm sounded automatically / he smiled tolerantly at the children he passed / the prudence he showed saved him / the pleasures we enjoy are lost by coveting more
- **3.4.1.3.** A probability as low as .5 has been found with relative clauses having deleted both the relative word and the linking verb **to be:**
 - a brief glimpse of the Venus rocket squat and silvery on the Arizona sand / women often have ideas so unorthodox that men would hardly dare to entertain them

3.4.1.4. With relative clauses reduced to the present participle (if that is their underlying structure) after the deletion of the relative connector and the auxiliary verb, the probability is only .5:

the black iron pots already steaming / he looked exactly what he was: a retired tailor, thoroughly lacking in what

3.4.1.5. In elliptical relative clauses resulting from the deletion of the relative word and the auxiliary verb of the passive, the co-occurrence probability is .65, as in

the initials stamped on it were not his / nothing has changed... Not the desk... not the one wall covered with prints / at the dinner given in honour of the French Ambassador the Lord Mayor made an important speech

3.4.1.6. The probability is high when the abbreviated relative clause contains an explicit indication that a referent has already been mentioned:

the figure above / the lines listed above / the life des-

cribed above

- **3.4.1.6.1.** An indefinite determiner is usual when a further modification follows:
 - a year designated as the year of depression
- 3.4.1.7. We have said (3.1.) that with nouns modified by adjectives co-occurrence probability is low. It is also low with elliptical relative clauses consisting of an adjective, present participle or past participle (see above '1.3, 1.4, 1.5), kept in the postnominal position by their complements. With full relative clauses the co-occurrence probability is somewhat higher, approaching the "high" value on our scale of co-occurrence probability, and it is high with contact relative clauses.
- 3.4.1.8. Notice that relative clauses containing a prepositional group of place show the same probability value as prepositional groups introduced by prepositions other than of, as in the first barrier (that stood) between the President and the man in the street / Fowler pointed to the lean man (who was standing) next to Winston / the dusty car had gained the highway, entering it at a point (which was) near a large roadhouse / the book (which is) on the table
- **3.4.1.9.** Instances of proper nouns followed by relative clauses are not included here, regardless of whether they have no article

I am Mary Smith who loves you or are preceded by an article

this is not the Mary Smith I was speaking of / she was a Mary Smith he no longer recognized

3.4.2. That clause. Here the co-occurrence probability reaches the value of .85, as in

how does the author explain the idea that the measure of one's education is not obtaining knowledge so much as using it? / in Julius Caesar you have a chance to test the rule that character is revealed in three years / but it is real in the sense that we find there truths about life / he expressed a hope that you would soon be well again

3.4.3. Infinitive. It seems that an infinitive as a qualifier has little co-occurrence relation with the DA:

I have a large family to keep / you are just the people to go with the Red Cross unit/ he displayed a notable diffidence and the liability to panic / there is not a girl to go with the Red Cross unit / he displayed a notable awe-inspiring sight, if one but takes the time to watch it carefully

3.4.3.1. Constructions with an infinitive, of whatever derivational history, used as qualifier are comparatively infrequent, and the small number of instances collected does not warrant any but highly tentative, therefore unprofitable, conclusions.

INTERPRETATIVE DA

- 4.1. Under this heading we discuss those uses of the generated DA for which there are no formal signals, either cotextual or contextual, and where the decision to use the DA rests exclusively on the speaker's and the listener's interpretation of a referent as unique. This interpretation depends on the speaker's and listener's having a common background or sharing a common experience. The DA with the sun is due to the speaker's and the listener's knowledge of the uniqueness, within the solar system, of that celestial body.
- **4.2.** As the interpretation of a situation as unique or otherwise frequently depends on whether the noun concerned is in the singular or in the plural number, we shall keep these two numbers apart.

- 4.3. Singular. The size of the group of interlocutors interpreting a referent as unique varies a great deal with various referents. It ranges from the whole of (English-speaking) mankind to a small group of people or to an individual. The referent is generally interpreted as unique in cases like the sun, the sky; or there is a small group of people who interpret a referent as unique, as in the case of people living in the same house and speaking of the garden.
- **4.3.1.** In most cases speakers of SC do not find it too difficult to produce the interpretative DA when the uniqueness of a referent is generally recognized, as in

the universe / the sky / the earth / the axis (of the earth) / the past / the present / the future / rendez-vous at midhight with the sun in Iceland / the queen / the army / the navy / the Cretans were conquered, and their palaces destroyed, by warlike tribes that came into Greece from the north around 1100 B.C. / France is bounded on the north-west by the Channel / he promised them the moon from heaven / he came to worship the sun, the moon, the stars, trees, rivers, springs, fire, winds and animals which he feared / the van Eycks have mastered the light and air of the natural world / these fireworks in the sky suggest a last salute at the burial of a dead hero who is going down in glory, like the sun itself / their main task, they thought, was to shock the public into the same unsettled frame of mind / an island connected with the mainland by a fifty-foot bridge / he is a free-lance writer on the environment

4.3.2. Notice that this usage is very similar to what we have described as "connotative proper names" (Memorized DA), such as the Tower, the Milky Way, and similar. One noun of this group has even reached the articleless stage: "the earth—the Earth—Earth" (compare: a/the god—the God—God):

only two constellations could be recognized as seen from Earth / every noncommitted — and trembling — nation on Earth / Mother Earth / (from a science-fiction novel) she has been returned to Earth — the human Earth (where the implication seems to be that the articleless form sands for one's native planet) / I turned the ship around and started back to Earth

(Compare also Father, Mother, Sister, etc., discussed in the Memorized DA.)

4.3.3. The difference between connotative names and nouns preceded by the interpretative DA is that the interpretative DA requires some kind of context, which connotative names do not. One can say the Armada or the Bull's Eye without any kind of context and the interlocutor knows, or — because of his ignorance — does not know, what is meant. The interpretative DA cannot be understood without an appropriate context (common cultural background and similar), which in actual communication situations is, quite often, not at all implied but very much present, and the following example shows the misunderstanding arising from the wrong use of the implied context faced with a quite real context:

Welch had all the time been talking about the public library of the city, and, since this was clear to him, naturally hadn't thought of the confusion he might cause by talking about "the library" within five feet of a totally different building known in the area as "the library"

- **4.3.4.** With connotative proper names like the Big Dipper such confusion is not possible: the listener may not know what the Big Dipper is but he is not likely to confuse it with some other big dipper.
- **4.3.5.** A referent is treated as unique also when it is the only such at regular intervals:

it is Fowler's custom to hold the weekly Board conference fifteen minutes before the regular opening of the business

4.3.6. As soon as the meaning of uniqueness disappears, an indefinite determiner is possible with these nouns:

some believed in a stationary earth, a few argued for a moving earth / a band of dedicated men, patiently laboring with pick and shovel under blazing suns (the sun in various places at different times)

4.3.7. The type of implied uniqueness depends on the number of speakers sharing the meaning of uniqueness of a referent and on the length of time during which a referent is regarded as unique. If the number of speakers is all inclusive we speak of "general uniqueness"; if the number of speakers is small we speak of "local uniqueness". General uniqueness is usually permanent uniqueness, whereas local uniqueness is frequently of short duration. An example of general (and permanent) uniqueness is "the sun"; local (and short-term) uniqueness is exemplified by the sentence "Open the door" as said in a room where there is only one door, or only one door that can be

opened; and "the children are playing in the street" (that is the street in front of the speaker's house — if the meaning is not generic).

- 4.3.8. When the uniqueness of a referent is local rather than general, a speaker of SC, who has produced a correct the sun, may fail to recognize this restricted uniqueness and come up with some article other than the DA. The situations with restricted uniqueness are those in which people living in the same house speak of "the garden"; people living in the same seaport speak of "the harbor"; people living in the same province speak of "the province", etc.
- 4.3.9. The restricted temporal value of uniqueness is also likely to obscure the meaning of uniqueness of the referent. The moon is permanently present, and permanently the only one such referent, but the window, although the only one such referent at a given time, will not always be produced with the required DA because its uniqueness can be, and often is, of short duration, and some other window, in a different place and/or at a different time, will be referred to as the window. In a room with ten window can be the window in the course of a short period of time. Another important distinction is that in the experience of speakers there is only one moon but there is a large number of windows.
- 4.3.10. A few examples may help to clarify the point we have been trying to make; they are arranged from implied uniqueness for an individual, through the uniqueness for a group, to the uniqueness recognized by all civilized peoples:

John came home from work. First he read the paper (he usually reads) for a while, then he got up from the chair (in which he was sitting while reading the customary paper) and turned on the radio (which was in the room in which he was sitting while reading the paper) / at times when we are sick and have nothing to do, we may find that if we stare at acrack in the ceiling for a long time it will suddenly begin to look like an animal or tree the children are playing in the street (in front of the speaker's and his neighbor's houses) / he went to the river (near the speaker's and other inhabitants' town)

I have the command of the market The king is the supreme head of the church the sun the universe

- **4.3.11.** This type of the DA is, basically, the same as the "unit" type. The difference is that with the unit-type cotextual DA the larger unit (the first-mention noun), whose part the second-mention noun is, is in the text; with this type of the interpretative DA the first-mention noun is implied. Thus we can have a situation like: "— town (first-mention element)... the bus station" or "he went to the bus station" without any mention of a town and the implication is "he went to the only bus station of the unidentified town in which he happened to find himself at that particular time."
- **4.3.12.** Natural phenomena are frequent with the interpretative **DA**:

the wind was blowing / the wind is quite chilly / what do you think the weather will be like tomorrow? / the chill wind whipped in and out in gusty breaths / the light-weight aluminium blades respond nimbly to change in the wind

4.3.13. With plants and animals (as parts of nature) the interpretative DA is frequent if the progressive form of the verb somehow localized the plant or the animal. The noun has to be in the plural (the principle of totality, see next section):

(the) birds were singing / (the) elephants were trumpeting / the bees were buzzing

4.3.14. Occasionally, the verb is in the simple form: the birds sang

but the noun has to be in the plural:

*the bee was buzzing / *the bee buzzed is ungrammatical without anaphoric identification.

4.4. Plural. Some nouns acquire the meaning of uniqueness only if they are in the plural form. While individuals may not be unique, a group of these individuals may be the only such group. We call this the "principle of totality" because a group can be unique only if it comprises all the relevant members. Thus, speaking of the visible celestial bodies we may refer to one of them as "a star", to several as "stars" but to all of them as "the stars". Similarly

the heavens (but with the singular: "he went to heaven", "he promised them the moon from heaven") / the planets (all the planets of the Solar system) / the poles / the senses / the passions / a young castrated animal fails to develop the male characteristics / he came to worship

the sun, the moon, the stars, trees, rivers, springs, fire, winds and animals which he feared / loss of elasticity in the walls of the arteries / the Baroque masters had never painted landscapes out-of-doors / the hypothalamus integrates the many automatic adjustments that the body makes / they stress the typical qualities of things / the Carolinas / the Smiths (all the relevant members of the Smith family, not all Smiths) / the Americas / such Northern painters as the Limburg brothers / the picture shows the Virgin Mary being carried to Heaven after her death, in the presence of the Apostles

4.4.1. Occasionally, the actual number of individuals making up a totality is stated, as in

Atropos is one of the three Fates / we rehearsed for hours at a time the four positions of fire

4.4.2. Also plural names of nations, tribes, ethnic groups, as similar:

the Germans / the Bellovaci, a tribe of the Belgae When the reference is not to the whole nation, etc., some other determiner is possible:

Germans smoke pipes

4.4.3. This principle accounts for the DA with plural forms of proper nouns when the reference is to all the members of an implied or stated group, as in

the three Johns in my class / the Cummingses have always been on the side of good government

- **4.4.4.** A plural noun not used for totality can acquire that meaning when modified or qualified. Thus, the noun **countries** without a context, does not have the meaning of totality, but **the developing countries** does.
- **4.4.5.** The principle of totality is also present in singular nouns when they are used as synonyms for plural nouns in which the principle of totality is present. In the following illustration the noun **world** and the plural noun **countries** are synonymous and interchangeable:

the failure of expectations that the increased wealth in the developed world would automatically trickle down to those in the developing countries

4.4.6. Once the reference is not to totality, although the noun is in the plural, there is no DA if the referents are not anaphorically identified:

you will find Cummingses active in the various benevolent activities of our city

4.4.7. This principle probably accounts for the DA with plural geographical names, such as

the Straits / the Bermudas / the West Indies / the Sierras / the Midlands

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PROIZVEDENI ODREĐENI ČLAN

Upotrebe određenog člana (Oč) mogu se podijeliti na one koje se pamte (kao na primjer, zapamti se činjenica da se određeni član javlja s imenima mora) i one koje se moraju "proizvesti" za svaku danu situaciju. Ovaj se članak bavi ovom potonjom skupinom upotreba OC; i tu se razlikuje nekoliko podskupina. Jedan skup tih podskupina kao zajedničku osobinu ima pojavu nekakvog formalnog elementa koji se može koristiti kao znak da se može upotrijebiti OC. Takav se formalni elemenat nalazi ili unutar nominalne grupe u kojoj se pojavljuje relevantna imenica (kontekstualni Oč) ili je izvan te grupe (kotekstualni OČ). Ako je unutar grupe, onda može dolaziti ili ispred ili iza relevatne imenice, s time da su elementi iza imenice mnogo pouzdanija indikacija za upotrebu OČ nego elementi ispred imenice. Kad se signal koji govori u korist upotrebe OČ radije nego kakvog drugog člana nalazi izvan nominalne grupe, on se pojavljuje u obliku 'prvospomenutog" elementa. Taj element može biti ona ista imenica koja se pojavljuje u nominalnoj grupi ili neka druga imenica, ali s istim referentom. Prvospomenuti element može bit i čitava neka situacija izražena frazom ili cijelom rečenicom. Vrlo je čest slučaj da su prvospomenuti elemenat i relevantna imenica dio neke cjeline ili zajedno tvore cjelinu (kao kad se govori o gradu a onda se spomene zajedno tvore cjelinu (kao kad se govori o gradu a onda se spomene autobusni kolodvor, tj. autobusni kolodvor koji je dio tog grada). Druga podskupina upotreba proizvedenog Oč nema nikakvog formalnog signala u kotekstu ili kontekstu, nego je zajednička pozadina skupine govornika implicirani signal. Tako se imenica "sunce" (sun) pojavljuje s Oč zato što svi članovi neke određene skupine interpretiraju to nebesko tijelo kao jedino takve vrste, tj. "naše sunce". Kod imenica u množini, ovakav "interpretativni" Oč kazuje da se misli na sve članove neke skupine.

Svi ti signali za upotrebu OČ relativne su vrijednosti; odlučno jest uvijek da li se referent neke imenice smatra "jedinstvenim" (jedinim takvim referentom na nekom određenom mjestu u neko određeno vrijeme) ili ga se ne smatra takvim.