Chapter 1

Uniqueness and maximality in German and Polish: A production experiment

Radek Šimík
Charles University in Prague

Christoph Demian
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

According to a prominent hypothesis word order manipulations in Slavic languages without articles can correspond to the use of definite or indefinite articles in languages that have them. We test this hypothesis using a production design in which participants build sentential picture descriptions from provided constituents. The crucial question is whether articles in German and word order in Polish are sensitive to visually depicted uniqueness or maximality of reference. We fail to find support for the article–word order correspondence; while the use of articles in German is sensitive to uniqueness/maximality, the use of word order in Polish is not.

Keywords: uniqueness, maximality, definiteness, articles, word order

1 Introduction

If a language lacks definite articles, call it an ARTICLELESS LANGUAGE, does it also lack the semantics carried by definite articles? This question is standardly answered in the negative: articleless languages do not lack the pertinent semantics, they just have other formal means of expressing it (see e.g. Krámský 1972). This answer is in line with the common view that all languages are equal in their expressive capacity (e.g. Aronoff 2007). The opposite view, namely that the lack of articles translates to the lack of article-related semantics, is a minor one, but it is not non-existent. Heim (2011), for instance, suggests that the semantics of bare NPs in languages without articles always corresponds to semantics of indefinites

(existential and presupposition-free), no matter whether they correspond to (are translated by) definite or indefinite NPs in languages with this distinction.

The dominant tradition gave rise to a significant body of literature characterizing what we call here DEFINITENESS CORRELATES (following Šimík & Demian to appear) – morphological or syntactic devices whose semantics is claimed to correspond to definite articles. These devices include perfectivity (in its semantic impact on internal arguments; see Krifka 1989; cf. Filip 1993; 1996), topicality (whether manipulated by word order, prosody, subjecthood, or otherwise; see Li & Thompson 1976; Geist 2010; Jenks 2018), certain types of adjectival declension (in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian or Baltic languages; see Hlebec 1986; Progovac 1998; Leko 1999; Holvoet & Spraunienė 2012; Šerekaitė 2019; cf. Trenkic 2004; Stanković 2015), and others, such as grammatical number, classifiers, case-marking, or the position of NP-internal attributes.

In this paper we concentrate on word order as a definiteness correlate and test whether it has the capacity to convey the same meaning as definiteness. The result of our production experiment does not support this hypothesis. Articles in German and word order in Polish behave very differently: while the former is sensitive to uniqueness and maximality, the latter is not. This result sheds doubt on the idea that the semantics of definiteness is universal.

The paper is organized as follows. §2 introduces the idea of word order being a definiteness correlate. §3 presents the experiment. §4 concludes the paper.

2 Word order as a definiteness correlate

The consensus in the literature is that sentence-initial bare NPs in Slavic languages correspond to definite descriptions and are translated as such. Sentence-final bare NPs have either been considered indefinite or ambiguous/underspecified. A few examples are provided below.

(1)   a.   Na stole je kniha.
          on table is book

          'There is a book on the table.'

     b.   Kniha je na stole.
          book   is on table

          'The book is on the table.'   (Czech; Krámský 1972: 42)

(2)   a.   Na stole stojala lampa.
          on table stood   lamp

          'There was a lamp on the desk.'

b. Lampa stojala na stole.
   lamp stood on desk
   'The lamp was on a/the desk.' (Russian; Chvany 1973: 266)

(3) W pokoju siedziała dziewczyna.
     in room sat   girl

'There was a girl sitting in the room.'

a. Wszedł chłopiec.
   entered boy

   'A boy entered.'

b. Chłopiec wszedł.
   boy   entered

   'The boy entered.' (Polish; Szwedek 1974a: 215)

Although the above observations are half a century old, similar ones have been re-iterated and the idea of a more or less strict correspondence between word order and definiteness has gained the status of a truism (see e.g. Szwedek 1974b; 2011; Hlavsa 1975; Birkenmaier 1979; Gladrow 1979; 1989; Weiss 1983; Yokoyama 1986; Hauenschild 1993; Junghanns & Zybatow 1997; Nesset 1999; Leiss 2000; Brun 2001; Biskup 2006; Kučerová 2007; 2012; Topolinjska 2009; Geist 2010; Titov 2012; 2017; Czardybon 2017; for a recent dissenting view see Bunčić 2014).

What is behind this word order–definiteness correspondence? For most researchers it is not word order alone that determines the interpretation. Sentence-initial, prosodically non-prominent bare NPs are considered topical (in the sense of aboutness topicality; Reinhart 1981) and this property imposes a referential interpretation on bare NPs; the idea is that sentences can only be "about" referents and therefore cannot be quantificational (cf. Endriss 2009). And while referential NPs can in principle be indefinite, particularly if they are "specific" (as in Fodor & Sag 1982), a specific indefinite construal has been argued to be unavailable for bare NPs in articleless languages (Dayal 2004; Geist 2010; cf. Borik 2016; Seres & Borik to appear). Referential bare NPs can thus only correspond to definites.

In formal Neo-Carlsonian approaches like Geist's (2010) (see Chierchia 1998 or Dayal 2004 for influential Neo-Carlsonian accounts), a bare NP like *chłopiec* 'boy' in (3), starts its semantic life as a property – (4a), which, if used as an argument, can be type-shifted either to a DETERMINATE meaning – (4b) – or to an INDETERMINATE meaning – (4c).[1]

---

[1]We follow the terminological convention introduced in Coppock & Beaver (2015). The terms

(4) a. ⟦chłopiec⟧ = $\lambda x[\text{BOY}(x)]$ lexical

b. ⟦chłopiec⟧ = $\iota x\, \text{BOY}(x)$ IOTA-shifted

c. ⟦chłopiec⟧ = $\lambda Q\exists x[\text{BOY}(x) \wedge Q(x)]$ EX-shifted

Type-shifting is a non-compositional semantic process which can be motivated or constrained by various factors. The primary motivation is a type-mismatch. In sentences (3a)/(3b), *chłopiec* is used as the argument of an intransitive verb, which is of type $\langle e, t\rangle$ and therefore expects an *e*-type expression as its argument. Since *chłopiec* is lexically of type $\langle e, t\rangle$, it must shift. Both IOTA- and EX-shift will do; the former yields an expression of type e, the latter yields a quantifier (type $\langle\langle e, t\rangle, t\rangle$) and the argument slot of the verb is filled by the *e*-type trace left behind by quantifier raising. Which type-shift is used is thus decided outside of the realm of semantics. According to Geist (2010), a sentence-final bare NP, as in (3a), can be both determinate and indeterminate. A sentence-initial (prosodically non-prominent) bare NP, on the other hand, can only be determinate because the NP is topical and topical NPs must be referential (rather than quantificational).

In effect – and that is important for our purposes – the utterance in (3b) carries the so-called UNIQUENESS PRESUPPOSITION, the presupposition that there is exactly one boy (in some relevant evaluation situation). The presupposition is brought about by the IOTA-shift. The resulting semantics of (3a) is provided in (5).

(5) ⟦Chłopiec wszedł⟧ = ⟦The boy entered⟧ = $\text{ENTERED}(\iota x\, \text{BOY}(x))$
     Presupposition: There is exactly one boy (in the evaluation situation).

The examples so far involved bare *singular* NPs. There is little reason to assume, at least on the type of analysis proposed by Geist (2010), that they would behave differently from bare *plural* NPs.[2] Let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that the determinacy contrast is replicated in (6) – the sentence-initial NP corresponds to a definite NP in languages with articles and the sentence-final one to an indefinite (or more precisely bare) NP.

(6) a. Weszli   chłopcy.
         entered boys

         'The boys entered.'

---

definite and indefinite refer solely to *forms* – NPs with definite and indefinite determiners, respectively, while the terms determinate and indeterminate refer to *meanings* – entities and existential quantifiers, respectively.

[2]See Dayal (2004), who postulates an important difference between singulars and plurals. We set the issue aside here, but see Šimík & Demian (to appear) for an experimental evaluation of Dayal's (2004) proposal.

b. Chłopcy weszli.
  boys   entered
  'Boys entered.'   (Polish)

The determinate interpretation, implicated in (6b), involves not the uniqueness presupposition, but rather the so-called MAXIMALITY PRESUPPOSITION – the presupposition that there is a non-atomic entity containing all the atomic entities in the extension of 'boy', the so-called MAXIMAL PLURAL ENTITY (Sharvy 1980; Link 1983). It is this entity that the determinate bare plural NP refers to. The semantics of (6b) is provided in (7).[3]

(7) $[\![$Chłopcy weszli$]\!]$ = $[\![$The boys entered$]\!]$ = ENTERED$(\sigma x\, \text{BOY}(x))$
    Presupposition: There is a maximal group of boys (in the evaluation situation).

In summary, sentence-initial, prosodically non-prominent bare NPs in articleless languages are assumed to be topical and hence – via referentiality – correspond to definite NPs in languages with articles. This is what makes word order a definiteness correlate. In formal-semantic analyses like Geist's (2010), the pertinent word order (and prosodic) configuration gives rise to a presupposition on a par with what definite NPs contribute, particularly the uniqueness presupposition (bare singulars) or the maximality presupposition (bare plurals). It is the presence of these presuppositions that we test in our experiment.

3 Experiment

The goal of our experiment is to test the hypothesis that word order in articleless languages (here: Polish) can correspond to articles in languages that have them (here: German). The expectation is that word order production (in Polish) and article production (in German) will be affected by the uniqueness or maximality of reference. We will see that this expectation is borne out for article production but not for word order production, shedding doubt on the idea that word order is a definiteness correlate.

3.1 Design

We tested the impact of visually represented UNIQUENESS and MAXIMALITY (the main independent variables with binary values – ±uniq/max – and used for sin-

---

[3]In Link's (1983) formalism the formula $\sigma x\, P(x)$ indicates reference to the maximal plural entity in the extension of the plural predicate $^{*}P$.

Table 1: Manipulation of independent variables

	UNIQ/MAX	NUMBER	CONVERSATION
	within items within subjects visual	within items within subjects linguistic	within items between subjects by instruction
1	+unique	singular	+conversation
2	−unique	singular	+conversation
3	+maximal	plural	+conversation
4	−maximal	plural	+conversation
5	+unique	singular	−conversation
6	−unique	singular	−conversation
7	+maximal	plural	−conversation
8	−maximal	plural	−conversation

gulars and plurals, respectively) on the production of WORD ORDER (subject ≺ predicate vs. predicate ≺ subject) in Polish and DEFINITENESS (±definite) in German.[4] We expect unique/maximal reference (as opposed to non-unique/non-maximal reference) to be matched by an increased proportion of definite description production in German and preverbal subject production in Polish. More particularly, we expect a higher proportion of subj ≺ pred order in the +uniq/max condition; for German, we expect a higher proportion of +def NPs in the +uniq/max condition (both as compared to the −uniq/max condition).

The UNIQ/MAX manipulation correlated with GRAMMATICAL NUMBER of the clausal subject: UNIQUENESS was manipulated for singular subjects and MAXIMALITY for plural ones. In addition, we included – for exploratory reasons – the binary variable CONVERSATION (±conversation). The variable was manipulated (between subjects) in the instructions to the experiment: the +conv group received a brief instruction that they should imagine that they look at the visual stimulus together with a conversation partner and the description they produce is directed to her/him. The −conv group did not receive this instruction; they were simply asked to provide a description of the visual stimulus.

As summarized in Table 1, the experiment involved a 2×2×2 design, although the prediction only concerned the effect of UNIQUENESS/MAXIMALITY; NUMBER

---

[4]Throughout the paper, we type experimental variables by SMALLCAPS and their levels by sans-serif.
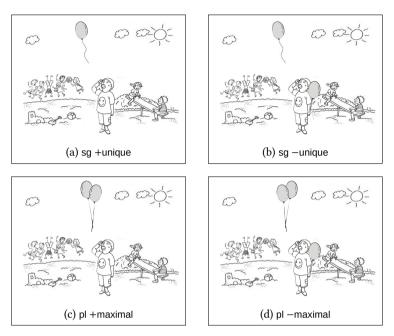
Figure 1: Visual part of token set of item 4 in both UNIQ/MAX conditions divided by NUMBER

and CONVERSATION have been included for exploratory reasons. For this reason, the core statistical analysis only included UNIQ/MAX as predictor. Nevertheless, more complex models have also been fitted, esp. due to the large effect of NUMBER and its interaction with UNIQ/MAX.

3.2 Materials, procedure, and participants

We constructed 16 experimental items. The stimuli were selected and modified from Šimík & Demian (to appear).[5] An example of a token set is provided in Figure 1 (picture stimuli, manipulating UNIQ/MAX) and in (8) (linguistic building blocks, for Polish and German, respectively). The number of affected entities (here: balloons that flew away) always matched the grammatical number used in the building blocks (marked on nouns, predicates, or both). The picture and the building blocks were presented side-by-side, as illustrated in Figure 2. The building blocks were pseudo-randomly distributed in a field, avoiding a bias in the ordering presented (in both left-right and top-down direction). There were two kinds of building blocks – simple blocks, such as BALONIKI , and "switch blocks",

---

[5] All materials, experiment instructions, results, and analyses are available at https://osf.io/kstbz/?view_only=91707c9496554d63b8b92f0af9d307fc.

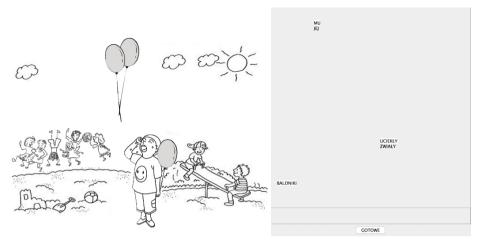Figure 2: Presentation of item 4 in condition pl −maximal (Polish)

such as MU | JEJ , which presented the participants with a choice between two values.[6] There were two kinds of operations available to the participants: (i) clicking on a switch block in order to switch the value of the block, whereby the selected value appeared on the top, on a white background; (ii) all blocks could be drag-and-dropped anywhere in the field.

(8)   Linguistic part of token set of item 4 divided by NUMBER
    a. Polish
       i. BALONIK   MU | JEJ   UCIEKŁ | ZWIAŁ   sg
          balloon him | her escaped | flew.away.SG
       ii. BALONIKI   MU | JEJ   UCIEKŁY | ZWIAŁY   pl
          balloons him | her escaped | flew.away.PL
    b. German
       i. DER LUFTBALLON | EIN LUFTBALLON   IST   IHM | IHR
          the balloon | a balloon   AUX.SG him | her
          DAVONGEFLOGEN   sg
          flew.away
       ii. DIE LUFTBALLONS | LUFTBALLONS   SIND   IHM | IHR
          the balloons | balloons   AUX.PL him | her
          DAVONGEFLOGEN   pl
          flew.away

---

[6]One of the two values was pre-selected upon item presentation. Which value was pre-selected was pseudo-randomized and balanced across the experiment.

The task of the participant was to produce a description of the picture, selecting the appropriate values (by clicking on switch blocks), and ordering the blocks one after another in the pane located in the bottom part of the field (by drag-and-dropping). The participants indicated that they are finished by clicking on the GOTOWE / FERTIG ('done') button located below the target pane.

Both the German and the Polish version of the experiment made use of both operations – switching block values and drag-and-dropping. In German, the target value of the dependent variable (DEFINITENESS) was achieved by switching block values; in Polish, the target value of the dependent variable (WORD ORDER) was achieved by drag-and-dropping. The operations not essential for the core measure (drag-and-dropping in German, switching non-essential values in both German and Polish) had two functions: bringing the two language versions closer together and distracting the participants from the experimental manipulation. The distractor switches typically involved either synonyms (making the choice non-essential) or a clear match vs. clear mismatch (making the choice easy).

With a single exception, all the experimental items involved intransitive predications, which readily allow for both subject ≺ predicate and predicate ≺ subject orders in all new contexts in Slavic languages (Junghanns 2002). Word order is thus free to be used for other than information-structural purposes.

Apart from the 16 critical items, one of which has just been exemplified, the design involved 32 filler items (partly containing additional miniexperiments). All the items were distributed in multiple versions of the experiment following the Latin square design. Each participant saw exactly one token from each item, more particularly 8 items in the +unique/maximal condition and 8 in the −unique/maximal condition. Data from 2 items (3 and 8) have been excluded from the Polish dataset (post-hoc) because of aspects of the language–picture correspondence which (might have) affected the critical manipulation. In addition, 6 datapoints have been excluded from the Polish dataset because they were ungrammatical.

The analyzed dataset contained data from 29 Polish participants (students from Wrocław) and from 15 German participants (students from Berlin). The intention was to have 32 Polish and 16 German participants, in order to have the same number of data-points for each individual condition.[7] One German and one Polish participant were missing for technical reasons. Two Polish participants were excluded from the dataset because of low data quality; one formed more than 3 ungrammatical sentences and both never used the switch function, suggesting

---

[7] The reason for a larger number of Polish participants is that we expected the effect of UNIQ/MAX to be less robust in Polish than in German. These expectations are based on the effect sizes found in Šimík & Demian (to appear).

the lack of attention or non-cooperative behavior. The German participants received a compensation of 5€; the Polish participants did the experiment as part of their course requirement.

The experiment was presented in computer pools within scheduled sessions, using Java-based software developed by one of the authors. The experiment itself was preceded by instructions (which included the manipulation of the CONVERSATION variable, as described above) and by an act-out illustration of the procedure, in which the participants were forced to make use of both operations – switching the value of switch blocks and drag-and-dropping. There was no time limit. Most participants completed the experiment in 20–30 minutes.

3.3 Predictions and results

3.3.1 Effect of UNIQ/MAX

The sentences in (9) illustrate the possible grammatical outcomes of the Polish and German version of item 4 in the singular condition.[8]

(9) a. Polish

    i. Balonik mu zwiał.   subj < pred
        balloon him flew.away.SG

        By hypothesis: 'The balloon flew away (from him).'

    ii. Zwiał   mu balonik.   pred < subj
        flew.away.SG him balloon

        By hypothesis: 'A balloon flew away (from him).'

  b. German

    i. Der Luftballon ist   ihm davongeflogen.   +definite
        the balloon   is.AUX him flew.away

        'The balloon flew away (from him).'

    ii. Ein Luftballon ist   ihm davongeflogen.   −definite
        a   balloon   is.AUX him flew.away

        'A balloon flew away (from him).'

Figure 3 illustrates the predicted main effect of the UNIQ/MAX variable on the WORD ORDER in Polish and DEFINITENESS in German.[9] In Polish, we expect a higher proportion of subject < predicate outcomes in the +uniq/max condition than

---

[8]Ungrammatical outcomes such as *się okno zbiło* in Polish or *das Fenster zerbrochen ist* in German were possible but extremely rare (in Polish) and not attested (in German).

[9]The absolute numbers (set to 0.8 and 0.3) are immaterial in these diagrams, what is important is the differing proportion.
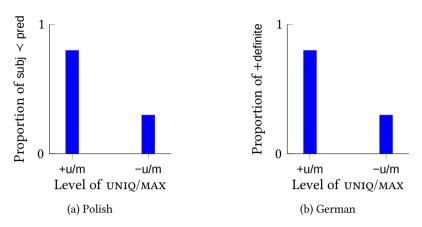
(a) Polish

(b) German

Figure 3: Prediction: Main effect of UNIQ/MAX on WORD ORDER in
Polish and DEFINITENESS in German

in the −uniq/max condition. Analogously, in German, we expect a higher propor-
tion of +definite outcomes in +uniq/max condition than in the −uniq/max condition.

Figure 4 shows the result. Polish participants mostly produced the subj ≺
pred order, independently of the UNIQ/MAX manipulation. German participants
were sensitive to the UNIQ/MAX manipulation: they produced significantly more
+definite NPs if the picture they described satisfied uniqueness or maximality
(+u/m) than if it did not (−u/m). We fitted generalized linear mixed-effects mod-
els (one for German and one for Polish), using the glmer function from the lme4
package (Bates et al. 2015) of R (R Core Team 2017). The models predicted the
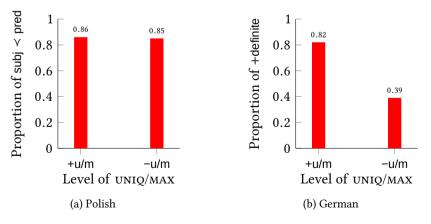

(a) Polish

(b) German

Figure 4: Result

subj < pred response for Polish and the +def response for German as a function of uniq/max (baseline: +u/m) and included random intercepts for subjects and items. The model for German revealed an effect of uniq/max on definiteness (Table 2); the model for Polish revealed no effect of uniq/max on word order (Table 3).

Table 2: Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) for German (N = 240; predictor: uniq/max; log-likelihood: −136.9)

Fixed effects				
	Estimate	SE	z value	p value
Intercept	−0.4604	0.2175	−2.117	0.03
uniq/max	2.0079	0.3160	6.354	< 0.001
Random effects				
	Variance	SD		
subject	0.0000	0.0000		
item	0.1666	0.4082		

Table 3: Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) for Polish (N = 400; predictor: uniq/max; log-likelihood: −119.2)

Fixed effects				
	Estimate	SE	z value	p value
Intercept	3.6821	0.9653	3.814	0.001
uniq/max	−0.0131	0.3756	−0.035	0.972
Random effects				
	Variance	SD		
subject	0.9962	0.9981		
item	6.5611	2.5615		

3.3.2 Interaction with NUMBER and CONVERSATION

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show how UNIQ/MAX interacted with the two exploratory factors included in our design – NUMBER and CONVERSATION, respectively. A plain visual inspection reveals that there is no interaction between UNIQ/MAX and CONVERSATION (Figure 6), only a tendency for +conv to yield more subj ≺ pred in Polish and less +def in German. This effect is significant in Polish, though only in a model using CONVERSATION as the only predictor ($z = 2.496, p = 0.013$). There is a clear interaction between UNIQ/MAX and NUMBER (Figure 5), especially in German, where the expected effect of UNIQ/MAX on DEFINITENESS is much more
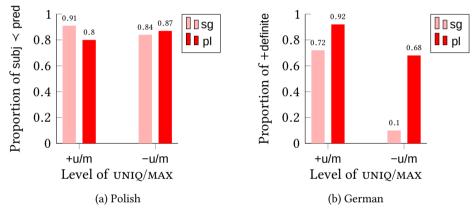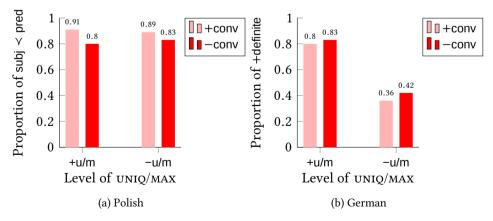
Figure 5: Results divided by NUMBER

Figure 6: Results divided by CONVERSATION

Table 4: Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) for German (N = 240; predictors: UNIQ/MAX and NUMBER; log-likelihood: −107.6)

Fixed effects

	Estimate	SE	z value	p value
Intercept	0.8681	0.3628	2.392	0.02
UNIQ/MAX	1.7860	0.5698	3.134	0.002
NUMBER	−3.2997	0.5756	−5.733	< 0.001
UNIQ/MAX∗NUMBER	1.7073	0.7880	2.167	0.03

Random effects

	Variance	SD
subject	0.1782	0.4221
item	0.4657	0.6824

Table 5: Generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) for Polish (N = 400; predictors: UNIQ/MAX and NUMBER; log-likelihood: −115.5)

Fixed effects

	Estimate	SE	z value	p value
Intercept	3.9876	1.0544	3.782	< 0.001
UNIQ/MAX	−0.8331	0.5291	−1.575	0.12
NUMBER	−0.3347	0.5341	−0.627	0.53
UNIQ/MAX∗NUMBER	1.8286	0.8018	2.281	0.02

Random effects

	Variance	SD
subject	1.184	1.088
item	7.082	2.661

clearly pronounced in sg than in pl. In addition, definite descriptions were generally used more in plurals than in singulars. A model that included UNIQ/MAX and NUMBER as predictors and random intercepts for subjects and items (Table 4) confirmed the effect of UNIQ/MAX on DEFINITENESS and additionally revealed an effect of NUMBER (baseline: sg), as well as an interaction between UNIQ/MAX and

NUMBER. We fitted an analogous model for Polish (Table 5), which revealed an interaction between UNIQ/MAX and NUMBER.

3.4 Discussion

3.4.1 Overall results

The experiment showed that the uniqueness/maximality of reference (as compared to non-uniqe/non-maximal reference) gives rise to increased production of definite NPs in German, but not of preverbal subjects in Polish. The hypothesis that word order in articleless languages can correspond to definiteness in languages with articles has thus not been confirmed. The present results corroborate those reported in Šimík & Demian (to appear), who used similar items but a different experimental paradigm (covered box).

3.4.2 German results

The effect of uniqueness/maximality on German definiteness is fairly robust and consistent across singulars (uniqueness) and plurals (maximality). In addition, an exploratory analysis (§3.3.2) revealed a major effect of grammatical number: participants used definites more in the plural condition than in the singular condition, to the extent that the frequency of plural definites in the −maximal condition (68%) almost matched the frequency of singular definites in the +unique condition (72%). By contrast, singular definites were almost entirely avoided in the non-unique condition (10%) (which resulted in a significant interaction between UNIQUENESS/MAXIMALITY and NUMBER). This result lines up with the observation that plural definites often allow for non-maximal reference (Fodor 1970; for recent discussion see Brisson 1998, Lasersohn 1999, or Križ 2016). What is puzzling is that no such effect of/interaction with number was found Šimík & Demian (to appear), where definite plurals were sensitive to maximality to the same extent as definite singulars to uniqueness. The contrast must be due to the different designs – sentence production vs. comprehension+picture choice or possibly the absence vs. presence of preceding context – but at present, we have no particular speculations to offer.

3.4.3 Polish results

What is striking about the Polish results is the extremely high proportion of preverbal subjects – 86% of all the produced sentences involved preverbal subjects,

with only very little variation across the different data subsets (divided by NUM-BER or CONVERSATION). While sv(o) is the canonical and most frequent order in Polish (Siewierska & Uhlířová 1998), the vs order is quite common in matrix sentences with intransitive verbs; Siewierska 1993 reports 32% of vs for intransitives (compare to our 14%). We can think of the following two reasons for the high proportion of sv in our results: a topical nature of the subject and a bias against verb-initial sentences. We discuss these in turn.

The referent of the subject was always (independently of the experimental condition) presented in the picture and was therefore visually salient. It is possible that the participants treated it as the topic of the sentence that they produced. The tendency to place topics preverbally or sentence-initially could then have contributed to the surprisingly high proportion of the subj < pred outcomes. Notice that if this conjecture is on the right track, there would have to be a strict dissociation of topichood and the uniqueness/maximality of reference (counter to Geist's 2010 proposal): subjects were placed sentence-initially, no matter whether they referred uniquely/maximally or not. Notice also that the observed pattern is consistent with the idea that topical referents should be identifiable to the discourse participants (Lambrecht 1994). In our design, the target referent was always (regardless of its uniqueness/maximality) identifiable to the experiment participant and one could hypothesize that the participant assumed the identifiability by a potential conversation partner, too. This view is corroborated by the weak but significant effect of the CONVERSATION factor: the participants who were explicitly instructed to imagine a conversation partner with a shared visual experience produced a slightly higher proportion of sv orders (90%) than those without this instruction (81%).

Let us now turn to the other reason – the problem of verb-initiality. The majority of our items made use of just two major constituents: the subject and the predicate. The participants thus faced the choice between producing an sv or a vs sentence. Only five out of the 16 items contained an additional constituent – typically an adverbial (call it x) – which was a reasonable candidate for the sentence-initial position. This gave the participants the option to produce xvs orders. Upon a closer look at the data, we find that most of the few pred < subj outcomes can be attributed to these cases. While vs in the absence of x was produced in only 6% of the cases, vs in the presence of x was produced in 29% of the cases and virtually all of these were xvs orders.[10] This frequency of vs matches

---

[10]Despite the higher word order flexibility in the presence of adverbials, participants did not show any sensitivity to the uniqueness/maximality manipulation: the frequency of sv orders was equal (71%) in both the −u/m and the +u/m condition.

Siewierska's (1993) numbers. Additionally, it matches the finding of Jacennik & Dryer (1992), who noticed that verb-initial vs orders are very infrequent in Polish: in 91% of vs orders there is some constituent preceding the verb; i.e., the majority of vs orders are instances of xvs. This suggests that there is a bias against verb-initial sentences in Polish, which could explain the low frequency of vs in our results.[11]

4 Conclusion

Our experimental investigation failed to find support for the common assumption that word order in articleless languages can correspond to definiteness in languages with articles or, in the present terms, that word order is a definiteness correlate. While German participants were sensitive to the uniqueness/maximality of reference in their production of (in)definite NPs (definites were used more if their referents were unique/maximal), Polish participants were insensitive to uniqueness/maximality in their production of word order (initial subjects were not used more if their referents were unique/maximal). This result corroborates the finding of Šimík & Demian (to appear) and further strengthens the position that definiteness and word order are not comparable when it comes to their semantics.

At the same time, the results are consistent with the assumption that preverbal/sentence-initial arguments are topical. The very high proportion of initial subjects could suggest that Polish participants treated the subject as the topic of the sentence they formed, though crucially, this happened independently of whether the referent was unique or maximal. As it appears, in order for a referential argument to be topical/sentence-initial, it was sufficient that the participant (and potentially his/her conversation partner) could identify the referent (Lambrecht 1994). The stronger condition for it to be unique or maximal (postulated e.g. by Geist 2010 for Russian) played no role. That said, our experiment manipulated identifiability only very weakly and indirectly (via the CONVERSATION factor), so this claim remains a speculation and calls for a proper experimental justification.

What – if anything – underlies the "definiteness intuition" of the numerous scholars who have dealt with word order in articleless languages is an open question. Referent identifiability (or possibly familiarity) certainly is a plausible option and future empirical work might shed some light on this. What seems

---

[11]The corpus-based support from Jacennik & Dryer (1992) is limited, though, because there is no single sv order without anything *following* the verb. This in turn suggests a bias against verb-final sentences in Polish, something that is by no means matched by our results.

increasingly implausible, given the present results and the results of Šimík & Demian (to appear), is that topicality, encoded by word order, conveys uniqueness or maximality.

Abbreviations

PL plural   SG singular

Acknowledgements

References

Aronoff, Mark. 2007. Language (linguistics). *Scholarpedia* 2(5). 3175. DOI:10.4249/scholarpedia.3175

Bates, Douglas, Martin Maechler, Ben Bolker & Steve Walker. 2015. Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software* 67(1). 1–48. DOI:10.18637/jss.v067.i01

Birkenmaier, Willy. 1979. *Artikelfunktionen in einer artikellosen Sprache: Studien zur nominalen Determination im Russischen*. München: Fink.

Biskup, Petr. 2006. Scrambling in Czech: Syntax, semantics, and information structure. In Seok Koon Chin & Atsushi Fujimori (eds.), *University of British Columbia Occasional Papers in Linguistics 1: NWLC 21: Proceedings of the 21st Northwest Linguistics Conference*, 1–15. Vancouver, WA: University of British Columbia.

Borik, Olga. 2016. Constraints on the position and interpretation of bare singular indefinites in Russian. In Gašper Ilc, Frančiška Lipovšek, Tatjana Marvin & Andrej Stopar (eds.), *Linguistica 56(1): current trends in generative linguistics (proceedings of sinfonija 8)*, 9–23. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press. DOI:10.4312/linguistica.56.1.9-23

Brisson, Christine. 1998. *Distributivity, maximality, and floating quantifiers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University dissertation. https://ling.rutgers.edu/images/dissertations/10.1.1.121.4641.pdf.

Brun, Dina. 2001. Information structure and the status of NP in Russian. *Theoretical Linguistics* 27(2-3). 109–135. DOI:10.1515/thli.2001.27.2-3.109

Bunčić, Daniel. 2014. Definitheit als 'verborgene Kategorie' im Russischen? In Hagen Pitsch (ed.), *Linguistische Beiträge zur Slavistik: XXI. JungslavistInnen-Treffen in Göttingen, September 2012*, 75–96. München: Otto Sagner. http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/id/eprint/7495.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6(4). 339–405. DOI:10.1023/A:1008324218506

Chvany, Catherine V. 1973. Notes on root and structure-preserving in Russian. In Claudia W. Corum, Thomas Cedric Smith-Stark & Ann Weiser (eds.), *You take the high node and I'll take the low node*, 52–290. Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Coppock, Elizabeth & David Beaver. 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38(5). 377–435. DOI:10.1007/s10988-015-9178-8

Czardybon, Adrian. 2017. *Definiteness in a language without articles: A study on Polish.* Düsseldorf: de Gruyter.

Dayal, Veneeta. 2004. Number marking and (in)definiteness in kind terms. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27(4). 393–450. DOI:10.1023/B:LING.0000024420.80324.67

Endriss, Cornelia. 2009. *Quantificational topics: A scopal treatment of exceptional wide scope phenomena.* Berlin: Springer. DOI:10.1007/978-90-481-2303-2

Filip, Hana. 1993. *Aspect, situation types, and noun phrase semantics.* Berkeley, CA: University of California dissertation.

Filip, Hana. 1996. Integrating telicity, aspect, and NP semantics: The role of thematic structure. In Jindřich Toman (ed.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 3: The College Park Meeting 1994*, 61–96. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Fodor, Janet Dean. 1970. *The linguistic description of opaque contents.* Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/12970.

Fodor, Janet Dean & Ivan A. Sag. 1982. Referential and quantificational indefinites. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 5(3). 355–398. DOI:10.1007/BF00351459

Geist, Ljudmila. 2010. Bare singular NPs in argument positions: Restrictions on indefiniteness. *International Review of Pragmatics* 2(2). 191–227. DOI:10.1163/187731010X528340

Gladrow, Wolfgang. 1979. *Die Determination des Substantivs im Russischen und Deutschen.* Leipzig: Enzyklopädie.

Gladrow, Wolfgang (ed.). 1989. *Russisch im Spiegel des Deutschen: Eine Einführung in den russisch-deutschen und deutsch-russischen Sprachvergleich.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien.

Hauenschild, Christa. 1993. Definitheit. In Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann (eds.), *Syntax: An international handbook of contemporary research*, 988–998. Berlin: de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110095869.1.15.988

Heim, Irene. 2011. Definiteness and indefiniteness. In Klaus von Heusinger, Claudia Maienborn & Paul Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning*, vol. 2, 996–1025. Berlin: de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110255072.996

Hlavsa, Zdeněk. 1975. *Denotace objektu a její prostředky v současné češtině*. Praha.

Hlebec, Boris. 1986. Serbo-Croatian correspondents of the articles in English. *Folia Slavica* 8(1). 29–53.

Holvoet, Axel & Birutė Spraunienė. 2012. Towards a semantic map for definite adjectives in Baltic. *Baltic Linguistics* 3. 69–99. http://www.balticlinguistics.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/full_texts/BL3_Holvoet-Sprauniene.pdf.

Jacennik, Barbara & Matthew S. Dryer. 1992. Verb–subject order in Polish. In Doris L. Payne (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, 209–241. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. DOI:10.1075/tsl.22.09jac

Jenks, Peter. 2018. Articulated definiteness without articles. *Linguistic Inquiry* 49(3). 501–536. DOI:10.1162/ling_a_00280

Junghanns, Uwe. 2002. Thetisch versus kategorisch aus slavi(sti)scher Perspektive. In *Linguistische Arbeitsberichte 80: Untersuchungen zur Syntax und Informationsstruktur slavischer Deklarativsätze*, 163–192. Leipzig: Leipzig University.

Junghanns, Uwe & Gerhild Zybatow. 1997. Syntax and information structure of Russian clauses. In Wayles Browne, Ewa Dornisch, Natasha Kondrashova & Draga Zec (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 4: The Cornell Meeting 1995*, 289–319. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Krámský, Jiří. 1972. *The article and the concept of definiteness in language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Krifka, Manfred. 1989. *Nominalreferenz und Zeitkonstitution: Zur Semantik von Massentermen, Pluraltermen und Aspektklassen*. München: Wilhelm Fink.

Križ, Manuel. 2016. Homogeneity, non-maximality, and *all*. *Journal of Semantics* 33(3). 493–539. DOI:10.1093/jos/ffv006

Kučerová, Ivona. 2007. *The syntax of givenness*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/39580.

Kučerová, Ivona. 2012. Grammatical marking of givenness. *Natural Language Semantics* 20(1). 1–30. DOI:10.1007/s11050-011-9073-y

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511620607

Lasersohn, Peter. 1999. Pragmatic halos. *Language* 75(3). 522–551. DOI:10.2307/417059

Leiss, Elisabeth. 2000. *Artikel und Aspekt: Die grammatischen Muster von Definitheit.* Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110825961

Leko, Nedzad. 1999. Functional categories and the structure of the DP in Bosnian. In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Lars Hellan (eds.), *Topics in South Slavic syntax and semantics*, 229–252. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI:10.1075/cilt.172.11lek

Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and topic: A new typology of language. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 457–489. New York: Academic Press.

Link, Godehard. 1983. The logical analysis of plural and mass terms: A lattice theoretical approach. In Rainer Bäuerle, Christoph Schwarze & Arnim von Stechow (eds.), *Meaning, use, and interpretation of language*, 302–323. Berlin: de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110852820.302

Nesset, Tore. 1999. The realization of (in)definiteness in Russian. *Poljarnyj Vestnik* 2. 84–109.

Progovac, Ljiljana. 1998. Determiner phrase in a language without determiners. *Journal of Linguistics* 34(1). 165–179. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4176455.

R Core Team. 2017. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing.* Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. https://www.r-project.org.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics. *Philosophica* 27(1). 53–94. http://logica.ugent.be/philosophica/fulltexts/27-4.pdf.

Šerekaitė, Milena. 2019. Strong vs. weak definites: Evidence from Lithuanian adjectives. In Ana Aguilar-Guevara, Julia Pozas Loyo & Violeta Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado (eds.), *Definiteness across languages*, 83–111. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:10.5281/zenodo.3252016

Seres, Daria & Olga Borik. to appear. Definiteness in the absence of uniqueness: The case of Russian. In *Advances in formal Slavic linguistics 2018*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Sharvy, Richard. 1980. A more general theory of definite descriptions. *The Philosophical Review* 89(4). 607–624. DOI:10.2307/2184738

Siewierska, Anna. 1993. Subject and object order in written Polish: Some statistical data. *Folia Linguistica* 27(1–2). 147–170. DOI:10.1515/flin.1993.27.1-2.147

Siewierska, Anna & Ludmila Uhlířová. 1998. An overview of word order in Slavic languages. In Anna Siewierska (ed.), *Constituent order in the languages of Europe*, 105–149. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110812206.105

Šimík, Radek & Christoph Demian. to appear. Definiteness, uniqueness, and maximality in languages with and without articles. *Journal of Semantics*.

Stanković, Branimir. 2015. *Sintaksa i semantika određenog i neodređenog pridevskog vida u srpskom jeziku.* Kragujevac: University of Kragujevac dissertation.

Szwedek, Aleksander. 1974a. A note on the relation between the article in English and word order in Polish (Part 1 and 2). *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 2. 213–225.

Szwedek, Aleksander. 1974b. Some aspects of definiteness and indefiniteness of nouns in Polish. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 2. 203–211.

Szwedek, Aleksander. 2011. *The thematic structure of the sentence in English and Polish: Sentence stress and word order.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Titov, Elena. 2012. *Information structure of argument order alternations.* University College London dissertation.

Titov, Elena. 2017. The canonical order of Russian objects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48(3). 427–457. DOI:10.1162/ling_a_00249

Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 2009. Definiteness (synchrony). In *Die Slavischen Sprachen / The Slavic languages: Halbband 1: Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 176–187. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110214475.1.3.176

Trenkic, Danijela. 2004. Definiteness in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and some implications for the general structure of the nominal phrase. *Lingua* 114(11). 1401–1427. DOI:10.1016/j.lingua.2003.09.005

Weiss, Daniel. 1983. Indefinite, definite und generische Referenz in artikellosen slavischen Sprachen. In Hans Mehlig (ed.), *Referate des VIII. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, Kiel Sept./Okt. 1982*, 229–261. München: Otto Sagner.

Yokoyama, Olga T. 1986. *Discourse and word order.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI:10.1075/pbcs.6