

**Grammaticalization  
of (in)definiteness in Swedish**



UNIwersytet IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU  
SERIA FILOLOGIA SKANDYNAWSKA NR 14

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# **Grammaticalization of (in)definiteness in Swedish**



POZNAŃ 2012

ABSTRACT. Skrzypek Dominika, *Grammaticalization of (in)definiteness in Swedish* [Gramatykalizacja (nie)określoności w języku szwedzkim]. Poznań 2012. Seria Filologia Skandynawska nr 14. Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM [Adam Mickiewicz University Press]. Pp. 228. Tabs 38. Figs 11. ISBN 978-83-232-2445-7. ISSN 0208-7235. Text in English with a summary in Polish.

Modern Swedish is an article language which in the course of its history has developed both definite and indefinite articles. The present study focuses on the grammaticalization of the postposed definite -IN, etymologically the demonstrative pronoun hinn 'yon' and the indefinite EN, whose source is the numeral 'one'. Both grammaticalizations originate with textual uses of the forms: the demonstrative to mark anaphora and the numeral to mark new, persistent referents. The processes are interdependent: the indefinite article does not grammaticalize before the grammaticalization of the definite has been triggered and its development restricts the spread of the definite article to specific uses.

Since both grammaticalizations have the same sources in unrelated article languages, this detailed study of the developments in Swedish has a bearing on the studies of other languages as well.

Key words: grammaticalization, definite article, indefinite article, grammaticalization chain

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Praca powstała w ramach projektu badawczego habilitacyjnego N N104 461740  
Wydano na podstawie maszynopisu gwarantowanego

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This edition © Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu,  
Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2012

Projekt okładki: Ewa Wąsowska

Fotografia na okładce: najstarszy zachowany szwedzki manuskrypt  
zawierający *Äldre Västgötalagen* (Starsze prawo Gautolandii Zachodniej)  
z XIII wieku, B 59 w zbiorach Biblioteki Królewskiej w Sztokholmie

Redaktor techniczny: Elżbieta Rygielska

Łamanie komputerowe: Anna Marcinkaniec

ISBN 978-83-232-2445-7  
ISSN 0208-7235

WYDAWNICTWO NAUKOWE UNIWERSYTETU IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU

61-701 POZNAŃ, UL. FREDRY 10

www.press.amu.edu.pl

Sekretariat: tel. 61 829 46 46, faks 61 829 46 47, e-mail: wyd nauk@amu.edu.pl

Dział sprzedaży: tel. 61 829 46 40, e-mail: press@amu.edu.pl

Wydanie I. Ark. wyd. 12,75. Ark. druk. 14,25

Druk i oprawa: UNI-DRUK s.j., LUBOŃ, UL. PRZEMYSŁOWA 13

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# Abbreviations

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## Languages

AN	– Ancient Nordic	ON	– Old Nordic
EN	– East Nordic	OS	– Old Swedish
MS	– Modern Swedish	PGmc	– Proto-Germanic
IE	– Indo-European	PIE	– Proto-Indo-European
OI	– Old Icelandic	WN	– West Nordic

## Grammatical terms

The suffix *-in*, with sources in the demonstrative (*h*)*inn* is referred to as *-IN*. *En*, originally numeral ‘one’, the source of the indefinite article, is referred to as *EN*. *NGN* stands for the pronoun *nágon* ‘some/any’.

Apart from two very long examples, all Old Swedish and Old Icelandic examples are glossed, but the grammatical information is kept to the minimum.

ACC	– accusative	defNP	– definite noun phrase
DAT	– dative	indefNP	– indefinite noun phrase
DEF	– definite	PART	– particip
DET	– determiner	PASS	– passive
DO	– direct object	PL	– plural
FUT	– future	PP	– prepositional phrase
GEN	– genitive	PRET	– preteritum
INDEF	– indefinite	REFL	– reflexive
IO	– indirect object	SG	– singular
N	– noun	ST	– strong adjectival inflection
NOM	– nominative	W	– weak adjectival inflection
NP	– noun phrase		

Abbreviations of source text names can be found under Sources at the end of the book and in Chapter 1.3



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## Acknowledgements

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I am greatly indebted to a number of people without whom this book could never have been written.

Professor Witold Maciejewski has long supported me in my research, first and foremost as the supervisor of my MA and PhD thesis, but even after, making me realize how much there is to learn and find out about languages long after this formal role was over. He has helped me in more practical matters as well, assisting in many applications for research funds. His encouragement and friendship have meant a great deal to me in the course of the work and he is the main source of inspiration for many of the ideas presented in this book.

I have had the privilege of discussing my work with two people who are the foremost experts on the history of the Swedish language and historical linguistics: Professor Cecilia Falk and Professor Lars-Olof Delsing. Both have kindly extended invitations for me to complete parts of my research in Stockholm and Lund respectively. Apart from the great scholarly opportunities this gave me, I could also enjoy the milieu of the universities with the wide selection of seminars and courses offered there. These two long stays in Sweden would not have been possible without the financial support of the Swedish Institute, who have kindly assisted me in this.

The results given here have been presented and discussed on conferences *Svenska språkets historia* 10 and 12 in Gothenburg and in Stockholm, as well as on a number of seminars in Stockholm, Lund, Poznań, Warsaw and Greifswald. I would like to thank all the participants for the constructive critique and ideas for improvement. In particular, I would wish to thank professor Valéria Molnár of Lund university for the inspiring discussions and seminars and professor Folke Josefsson for the discussion of my research at *Svenska språkets historia 10* in Gothenburg.

I would also like to thank Professor Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson who has helped me with the Old Icelandic examples. His courses have also sparked the interest for the Icelandic language, making it somewhat more prominent in the study than originally intended.

I thank Siddharth Narayan for the proofreading of the text and ruthless eradication of all ‘interestingly enough’ which, interestingly enough, seemed to thrive in almost every paragraph.

More informally, my dear friends at the Institute of Scandinavian studies in Poznań are to be appreciated for the animated discussions of both historical linguistics and the difficult fate of a humanist in the modern world. Joanna, Paulina, Dorota, Sylwia, Aldona, Mikołaj and Piotr have always helped me through hectic times, unfailingly giving the moral support needed.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, who have shown me the joys of discovering the world and making the discovery a profession!

Poznań, May 2012

*Dominika Skrzypek*

The research presented in this book was financed by two grants from the Swedish Institute and by research grant from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education, grant no N N104 461740.

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# 1 Introduction

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## 1.1. Statement of intent

The grammaticalization of definite articles is a relatively common phenomenon within languages, and though not entirely uniform, also shows cross-linguistic similarities among unrelated languages. Grammaticalization of the indefinite article, on the other hand, is much rarer, though it also shows similar cross-linguistic patterns.

Almost 2/3rd of all languages in the *WALS* inventory have definite articles (that are distinct from demonstratives), but only ca 1/3 have indefinite articles (including, both, articles different from and identical to the numeral ‘one’). Also, while it is likely that a language will have the definite article if it has an indefinite article, the reverse does not hold, see table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of definite and indefinite articles in the world’s languages

Articles in the world’s languages	No of languages
Both definite and indefinite article	194
No definite or indefinite article	198
No indefinite, but definite article	98
No definite, but indefinite article	45

Source: *WALS*

It also seems that the indefinite articles develop after the grammaticalization of the definite ones has at least been initiated; such is the case in the Romance and Germanic languages, but cross-linguistic data show that an article language typically possesses either the definite article, or both definite and indefinite articles, but seldom only the indefinite. Studies of the grammaticalization of either definite or indefinite article so far also show that articles are a relative novelty in

languages, and rather than having to be reconstructed many of these developments can be studied in the actual texts.

The aim of the present study is to map the developments of the definite and indefinite articles in Swedish, a language representing the Scandinavian languages, the Northern branch of the Germanic languages, with particular attention paid to the interdependencies between these developments. Definiteness marked overtly by definite and indefinite articles is not part of the common Indo-European (IE) heritage, nor is it found in Proto-Germanic (PGmc). And although all modern Germanic languages have articles, their rise belongs to their separate histories. With respect to definiteness Swedish is particularly interesting since it has both a bound definite article and a free-form one, as well as the so-called weak adjectival declension (see 1.5). The bound definite article is a suffix of a different origin to the (preposed) definite articles in e.g. English and German (see Chapter 3). Swedish also has the indefinite article whose development can be studied in its entirety in the Old Swedish (OS) sources.

The grammaticalization of the definite and indefinite articles in Swedish will be presented on the basis of a detailed study of a sample of OS texts. The empirical goal is to illustrate the development of the original forms: demonstratives (*h*)*inn* ‘that’, *sá* ‘this’ and numeral *en* ‘one’ into articles. There will be focus on the spread of the forms from one function to the next. The study also has a two-fold theoretical goal: to validate and complete the models of grammaticalization of definite and indefinite articles as well as to connect the two developments to one another.

Modern Swedish (MS), like its close relatives Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese, is different from other Germanic languages in that its definite article is a suffix<sup>1</sup> and not a preposed lexeme; thus the English defNP *the man* or the German *der Mann* corresponds to the Swedish *mann-en*. The suffix is a descendant of the Old Nordic<sup>2</sup> (ON) demonstrative *hinn* ‘that’/‘yon’. In defNPs that contain an adjective apart from the noun, the adjective takes a weak form and is preceded by the definite determiner *den*, a continuant of the ON *sá*/*þen*<sup>3</sup> ‘this’. The result is therefore e.g. *den glad-a mann-en* ‘the happy man’<sup>4</sup>. The Swedish indefinite article is, like in other Germanic languages that have developed it<sup>5</sup>, a descendant of the numeral ‘one’, in ON *einn*.

<sup>1</sup> Some authors use the term suffix (e.g. Faarlund 2007, Börjars and Harris 2008) and some clitic (Syrett 2002). For a discussion of the status of -IN as either clitic or affix in Old Nordic, which is valid even for OS, see Faarlund 2007, Abraham and Leiss 2007 and a critique of both in Börjars and Harris 2008.

<sup>2</sup> For periodisation and terminology, see 1.2.

<sup>3</sup> The original nominative masculine *sá* is in OS substituted by the accusative *þen*.

<sup>4</sup> Note that there is a difference between Swedish and its close relative, Danish, which in such defNPs does not use the suffix, thus Danish counterpart to ‘the happy man’ is *den glade mand*.

<sup>5</sup> Among those that have not is one Scandinavian language, namely Icelandic.

This study will address the following questions:

1. Functionally and pragmatically, how do *(h)inn* and *en* proceed from their original functions as a demonstrative and a numeral respectively to these of articles? Which article functions appear first, and which lag behind? Are there any constraints on these developments?
2. Can the clines of grammaticalization proposed in literature be observed in the Swedish material? Can the developments be outlined in more detail?
3. Is there any interdependence between the grammaticalization of the definite article and the grammaticalization of the indefinite? What is their relative chronology?

A frequently asked question is why. Why does a change occur? What is its instigation? For all the ‘whys’, the ‘how’ often remains a secret. When it comes to the development of definite and indefinite articles in the Scandinavian languages, the why and when have dwarfed other considerations (see Chapter 3.3 for an outline of the earlier studies). Therefore a solid description of the process is lacking. The present study will hopefully fill this void.

## 1.2. Periodisation of the Swedish language

Swedish belongs to the Scandinavian languages, the northern branch of the Germanic languages. The separation of the northern branch from the rest of the Germanic languages most likely started in the early centuries AD (Bandle et al. 2002), but the language first took form around 500 AD. Around 700-800 internal differences increased in significance (and can be seen in the runic inscriptions from that period), gradually splitting the language into the western and eastern varieties.

Diagram 1. Periodisation of the North Germanic languages before 800 AD

200-450/500	Ancient Nordic	AN
450/500-700/800	Ancient/Old Nordic	AN/ON
700/800-1100	Old Nordic	ON
(ca 800 split into)	– West Nordic	WN
	– East Nordic	EN

(based on Bandle et al. 2002)

Until ca 1200 the writing system used in Scandinavia was the *fubark*, the runic alphabet, related to but distinct from the Mediterranean alphabets. There are few inscriptions from the earliest centuries, but from ca 800 AD runic sources become more numerous. Since they include a number of inscriptions carved in stone and not on small, transportable objects like pieces of wood or metal, many can be placed in Sweden and treated as the earliest sources of the language spoken on the Swedish territory. It has therefore become customary to refer to the time 800-1200 AD as Runic Swedish.

The traditional periodisation of the history of the Swedish language is based on factors external to language, mainly the publications of important texts. Thus the Old Swedish period (*fornsvenska*) begins with *Äldre Västgötalagen* (AVL, legal text dated at 1225 and the first text written in the Latin alphabet) and ends 1526 with the first complete translation of the New Testament into Swedish. The New Swedish period (*nysvenska*) which then begins is divided into the older *nysvenska*, ending 1732 when the influential *Den svenske Argus* was published, and younger *nysvenska*. Naturally all these texts are of great consequence for the development of the language. However such exact dates cannot possibly be considered dates of stages in linguistic development.

The period of interest for this study and the period of greatest change in the documented history of the Swedish language is Old Swedish. It is further subdivided into older (or classical) and younger, with an approximate border ca 1375 (e.g. Wessén 1941). 1375 is a sensible proposition from the purely linguistic point of view. The texts written before are in a clearly conservative language whereas texts from the second part of the Old Swedish period show great reductions in the original morphological system. These include, among others, the loss of the case system, as well as the final stages of grammaticalization of the definite and the indefinite articles.

It has become customary in historical linguistic studies of Old Swedish to further subdivide the younger part of the period at 1450. Such subdivision is more true to the linguistic development (Hirvonen 1987, Håkansson 2008) and this practice will be followed here, resulting in three subperiods of OS studied separately.

Diagram 2. Periodisation of the Swedish language

Runic Swedish	800-1225
Old Swedish	
Period I	1225-1375
Period II	1375-1450
Period III	1450-1526

### 1.3. The sources

The earliest documents of the Swedish language are runic inscriptions (ca 3000 have been discovered so far). Many of these are short and formulaic in character. The demonstrative *sá* and a compounded form *sjá* (*denna*) are richly represented, but only two doubtful instances of definite article and one of a possible indefinite can be found in the material (see Chapter 3.4). Runic inscriptions are here quoted with their ‘signatures’, e.g. U 136, where the letter is a symbol of the Swedish province where the inscription was found. All inscriptions can be found using the signature in the database provided by the Uppsala University (<http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forsk/samnord.htm>).

Sources from Period I are relatively few. These include mainly the legal codes for Swedish provinces of that time (excluding the then Danish Scania, Halland and Blekinge), a collection of religious legends known as *Codex Bureanus* (a translation of the famous *Legenda Aurea*), *Pentateukparafrasen*—a translation of the biblical Tora, a collection of versed tales translated from French romances (partly via Old Norwegian translations), the so-called *Eufemiavisorna*, and a versed history of Sweden, *Erikskrönikan*.

In period II the first common law for the whole country was drafted (*Magnus Erikssons landslag*, 1350) and the translation of religious prose continued. A new addition in this period are the profane narratives, also translations, mainly from Latin, like *Sju vise mästare* ‘The seven sages’ (from ca 1400).

An overview of the texts studied can be found in Table 2. The second column gives the abbreviations which will be used for a given text here, the third the full titles and the fourth the date at which the text was written. The sources are presented from the oldest to the latest, it should however be borne in mind that most of the dates are speculative. Therefore column 5 gives the dates of the manuscripts on which the excerpted editions are based. In some instances (e.g. Pent) the discrepancies are large.

An important aspect is the length of the texts studied (shown in column 6). Since the differences between texts here are large (younger texts tend to be longer), the shorter texts were studied *in extenso* (including AVL, the oldest Swedish text of considerable length), while shorter passages were chosen from the longer ones. Additionally the frequency of the definite and indefinite forms rises, rendering more empirical material in smaller samples. The lengths of the chosen passages is given in column 7.

Table 2. Excerpted texts

Periods	Abbreviation	Text title	Text dated at ca	Manuscript dated at	Total number of words	Number of words in parts excerpted for detailed study
Period I Classical Old Swedish 1225-1375	ÄVL	Äldre Västgötalagen	1225	1280	15000	complete text
	YVL	Yngre Västgötalagen	1280	1350	26746	9200
	OgL	Östgötalagen	1280	1350	53500	10220
	DL	Dalalagen (Äldre Västmannalagen)	1320	1330	16260	10750
	Bur	Codex Bureanus (Fornsvenska legendariet)	1276-1307	1350-70	36176	9770
Period II Younger Old Swedish 1 1375-1450	Pent	Pentateukparafrazen	1330	1526	145150	10077
	Bo	Bonaventuras betraktelser öfver Christi liv	late 1300s	early 1400s	68220	14350
	HML	Vitæ patrum—Helga manna lefverne	1385	1430-50	30000	10000
	Jart	Järteckensboken	1385	1430-50	29128	10620
	SVM	Sju vise mästartare	Ca 1400	1430-50 (A)	16000	complete text
	KM	Karl Magnus-sagan	Ca 1400	1430-50	12000	complete text
	JB	Stockholms stads jordeböcker	1420-1450	1420-1450	–	2400
Period III Younger Old Swedish 2 1450-1526	PK	Prosaiska kronikan	1452-1457	Ca 1460	4728	complete text
	Did	Didrikssagan	1450	1450	54000	10945
	Linc	Codex Linköping,	1480	1520	25485	11088
	JB	Jöns Budde	1480	1520	49339	ca 9800
	Linc NR Troj	Codex Linköping, Nils Ragvaldi Historia Trojana	1480 1529	1520 1529	44200	9780

The oldest Swedish texts represent the following genres: legal, religious and profane prose and poetry. An attempt was made to give the first three genres full representation. Poetry was not included as the use of the definite forms there indicates substantial influence of Middle Low German (e.g. Haskå 1972). For similar reasons the religious narrative *Själens Tröst* 'The Comfort of the Soul' was omitted.



For period I, the choice was made to include the oldest texts available apart from the runic inscriptions—mainly AVL, the most important document of the Swedish language at its earliest stages. To avoid analyzing dialectal rather than chronological variation (although by definition this is not entirely possible in historical studies), YVL was also studied as it represents the same region as AVL and is in many respects its continuation (Skrzypek 2009). To represent other genres, Bur was chosen as the oldest religious text. These were completed with the first translation of the Bible Pentateuk (Tora), *Pentateukparafrasen*.

From period II a choice of religious (HML, Jart, Bo) and profane prose (SVM, KM) was made, completed with JB, which contains legal documents within which elements of spoken language may be found (in records of court dealings).

Finally, for period III two types of texts were chosen: two religious, three profane. A detailed overview of each text is given below.

- **Period I (1225-1375)**

*Äldre Västgötalagen (AVL)*

AVL is the oldest text in Swedish written not with runes but with Latin characters. The oldest fragment which was found can be dated at 1225. The whole text is found in a later manuscript from ca 1280.

AVL is a legal codex of the province of Västergötland. It is divided into smaller parts dealing with different types of criminal offences, principles of sale and inheritance of property and regulations of religious matters such as the payment of tithes.

AVL is linguistically very archaic even in comparison with other legal texts from the same period. For this reason it is studied in its entirety (ca 15000 words) and the definite forms are presented in great detail in Chapter 4.

*Yngre Västgötalagen (YVL)*

YVL is a continuation of AVL from the same province, written down around 1280 and preserved in a manuscript dated at ca 1350. A number of passages are identical with AVL; it seems that the manuscripts of YVL and AVL are based upon a text that is now lost (Skrzypek 2009).

The whole text is ca 26000 words long, the parts chosen for this study are ca 9200 words and include *Kyrkobalken* (KB, the church codex), *Giptobalken* (GB, the marriage codex) and *þiuvabalken* (þB, the larceny codex).

### *Östgötalagen (OgL)*

OgL was written around 1280 and the earliest preserved copy can be dated at ca 1350. The text is considered to be one of the most modern among legal prose, linguistically (Stähle 1967).

The text is ca 53500 words long. The part excerpted here is 10220 words long and includes *Kyrkobalken* (KB, the church codex), *Giptobalken* (GB, the marriage codex) and *Vadamal ok sara mal, hor, ran ok styld* (Vm, the felony codex).

### *Dalalagen (DL)*

DL is also known as *Äldre Västmannalagen*; it is not clear whether it was valid in one province (Dalarna) or two (Dalarna and Västmannaland). It is preserved in one manuscript only, dated by Schlyter at 1318-1347 (Schlyter 1841), however one may assume an earlier date of its formulation, since its continuant, *Yngre Västmannalagen*, was written down ca 1350.

The whole text is ca 16260 words long, the parts chosen for this study are ca 10750 long and include *kristnu balkar* (KB, church codex), *kunungsezöre* (KE, royal codex), *manhelgis balkir* (MB, personal and property rights), *gipningen balkir* (GB, marriage codex), *um þiufnadh* (þB, on larceny), *þingbalkir* (TB, ting codex).

### *Codex Bureanus (Bur)*

Bur is the oldest OS text apart from the legal codices. It contains hagiographical legends and is a free translation of *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. The translation was probably produced at some time between 1276 and 1307 (Jansson 1934:4), the manuscript is dated at 1350-70 (Ottelin 1900:4, Jansson 1934:94).

The text is ca 36200 words long and for the purpose of the present study a shorter part was chosen, pages 133-192, ca 9770 words long.

### *Pentateukparafrasen (Pent)*

Pent is a translation of the five books of Moses (Tora), probably produced in Vadstena around 1330 (Klemming SFSS 9:1, 577, but Thorell 1959:xliiif finds it probable that the translation was made by bishop Brynolf at the end of the 13th century). There are two manuscripts of Pent available today, the so-called A manuscript dated at 1430-50 (Klemming SFSS 9:1, 588) and B manuscript dated at 1526 (according to a note at the bottom of the text, Hesselman 1927:8-9). Both are probably copies of the same original, however it is the later copy that was more faithful, as the earlier one has modernised the language (Hirvonen 1987:52). Therefore the present study is based on Pent B from which pages 156-182 were excerpted (ca 10077 words).

- **Period II (1375-1450)**

*Järteckensboken (Jart) and Helga manna leverne (HML)*

Both texts are included in the same manuscript, the so-called Codex Oxenstiernianus, written down in Vadstena and dated by its scribe at 1385. While the date is probably correct for Jart, HML is said to be some years younger and was probably written closer to 1400 (Mattsson 1957:232, Hirvonen 1987:54-55). The most important indication of their relative age is the use of the letter <þ> in Jart whereas HML uses the more modern spelling <dh> or <th>.

Jart and HML are religious texts consisting of a number of relatively short tales; in Jart they relate miracles connected among others with the host (altar bread)—*järtecken* means 'signs' or 'miracles'; HML is a collection of hagiographic tales—a translation of the Latin *Vitae Patrum*.

For the present study the following pages were chosen: from Jart 3-49 (ca 10620 words) and from HML 181-223 (ca 10000 words).

*Stockholms stads Jordebok (JB)*

JB is a collection of legal texts documenting court procedures in mediaeval Stockholm. The texts are short, some in Swedish and some in Latin, and were written more or less in the order in which they appeared before court. For each year some space was left for complementations and this was duly used, sometimes some years later (Hildebrand 1876:427). While this should not seriously influence the linguistic value of the material it is however important to bear in mind that even though a text may be dated to a particular year it may in fact have been written some years later.

JB is not available as an electronic file, therefore the choice of text had to be limited. For the purpose of this study a choice was made from texts from the earliest years (1420-1450) and includes the documents numbered 4, 6, 8, 11, 67, 75, 178, 180 in Hildebrand's edition. They are quoted as e.g. JB 178. The total amount of words is ca 2400.

*Karl Magnus (KM)*

KM is an abridged and adapted translation into Swedish of two tales of Charlemagne, based upon the Norwegian *Karlamagnús Saga*, a prose translation of a number of French poems about the king (a detailed filological analysis is given in Kornhall 1959). It has been preserved in four copies, all from the 15th century. The one that is the basis of the present study is found in a manuscript dated at 1430-50 (Geete 1903:127), some years after the translation to Old Swedish was first made (Ståhle 1967:109 gives ca 1400 as the most probable date). The tales

describe Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople and the Battle of Roncevaux. The text is about 10940 words long and was studied in its entirety.

*Sju vise mästare (SVM)*

SVM is a narrative text with a Chinese box structure, where the main character is tempted by his wife to give orders to execute his son who is protected by the seven wise men responsible for his education. Both sides tell the king short stories with a moral that is to convince him of either sparing or slaying the boy. This means that there are two levels in this story—partly short novellas and partly the superordinate tale.

SVM is a translation from Latin (manuscripts A and B, Stähle 1967:116) and German (manuscript C, Blomqvist 1941:263-264), available in three different manuscripts, all of them at least partly incomplete. The most comprehensive one, manuscript A, is dated at 1430-50 (Geete 1903:128), though the original translation is some 50 years older (Hirvonen 1987:58). The text is about 16300 words long and was studied in its entirety.

*Bonaventuras betraktelser över Kristi liv (Bo)*

Bo is the OS translation of *Meditationes vitae Christi*, written by cardinal Bonaventura (1221-1274). The text contains meditations on Christ's childhood, with stories loosely based on what is known from the Bible but giving more detail of a mainly sentimental nature.

The OS translation was compiled in Vadstena, at the end of the 14th century (Klemming SFSS 15:iii). The oldest manuscript is Codex Bergmanianus, dated at ca 1420 (ibid.).

Bo is a relatively long text, over 68000 words long. A frequency search was made on chapters 9-17 (pages 1-54 in the SFSS edition), a total of ca 14300 words.

- **Period III (1450-1526)**

*Prosaiska krönikan (PK)*

PK is an account of the history of Sweden until the reign of Karl Knutsson. It was most probably written down ca 1452, no later than 1457 (Geete 1903:119) and preserved in a manuscript that can be dated to ca 1460 (ibid., p. 118). The complete text, about 4700 words, has been studied.

*Didrikssagan (Did)*

The Swedish translation of the story of Didrik from Bern is dated at 1450 (Henning 1970:28), but the translation is based on a much older (ca 1250) translation into Old Norwegian.

The text is almost 54000 words long. For the purpose of the present study chapters 1-44 were chosen (ca 10945 words).

*Själens kloster (Linc JB) and Legenden om Sankt Amalberga (Linc NR)*

In Period III two translators were very active, namely Jöns Budde (JB) and Nils Ragvaldi (NR). Both were born ca 1440 and translated religious prose but most likely came from different parts of the country: JB from Österbotten and NR from Östergötland (Hirvonen 1987:59).

For the present study, two texts were chosen, both preserved in the so-called *Linköping legendariet* (Linc) from ca 1520. The first is *Själens kloster* 'the monastery of the soul', translated by JB ca 1480 (Linc JB), the other is the legend of St. Amalberga (Amalberga of Temse) in translation by NR from the same time (Linc NR).

From Linc JB pages 29-75 were chosen (ca 11088 words) and Linc NR was excerpted as a whole (9835 words).

*Historia Trojana (Troj)*

*Historia Trojana* is based on the Latin version of the history of Troy by Guido de Columnas (Hirvonen 1987:63). It is included in the study, even though being written down in 1529 it formally belongs to the older New Swedish period (which commences in 1526). In line with a long tradition it was regarded in this study as the last Old Swedish text (Stähle 1967:121, Hirvonen 1987:63, Delsing 1999, Håkansson 2008:21).

The whole text is over 44000 words long and chapters 1-39 (ca 9780 words) were chosen for the present study.

## 1.4. The method

Grammaticalizing items show a tendency to rise in frequency, particularly at inception (Traugott 2011:28). Therefore, frequencies of the demonstrative and the numeral will be a subject of study in the empirical chapters.

Historically, the demonstrative (*h*)*inn* cliticizes onto the noun before any texts were written down. Thus it is already a clitic -IN in period I (1225-1375). Its

functional range is however limited in comparison to the MS system (see 1.5). The spread of -IN to encompass new functions is studied in a twofold way:

1. a general frequency study—number of occurrences of -IN per 1000 words.
2. a study of frequency of particular functions: out of the first 100 definite NPs, how many are used e.g. anaphorically (see 1.5 and Chapter 2 for a description of different uses of -IN).

Apart from the overall frequency, frequency in particular contexts is also studied; the contexts are presented in Chapter 2. As the frequency of -IN gradually rises in the periods studied, one finds many instances in very short text fragments, while the older texts need to be searched *in extenso* to yield a handful of examples. Therefore the detailed study is limited to the first 100 occurrences of -IN in a given text. The exception is purely manual, since it relies heavily on the context.

Examples with -IN are sorted according to their:

- form (number, gender, case of the noun)
- function (anaphora, indirect anaphora, unique reference, generic reference)
- function in sentence (subject, object, attribute, prepositional object)

These three types of sorting allow generalizations as to:

- where in the sentence -IN occurs
- in what function it is used
- which nouns take -IN

The numeral *en* ‘one’ is used only as a numeral in the oldest sources. Its grammaticalization is therefore entirely accessible in the OS texts. The spread of the numeral through new functions is also studied in a twofold way.

1. a general frequency study—number of adnominal occurrences of EN per 1000 words.
2. a study of particular functions—how many uses are numeral, specific or nonspecific (see 1.5 and Chapter 2).

With the exception of Sthlm JB all texts chosen for the study are available in electronic form as well as in ‘paper’ editions. This makes it possible to search the text corpus by means of concordance-creating programmes, such as KWIC. It is very practical with the numeral *en* ‘one’, as just two search strings will return all<sup>6</sup> forms of its paradigm<sup>7</sup> (compare tables a and b).

<sup>6</sup> A number of words beginning with either *en* or *et*, e.g. *ensamþinn* ‘alone’ will also find their way to the concordance, which must be manually pruned.

<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, the numeral is spelled *æn*.

Table 3a. Search strings for KWIC concordance creator

Search strings	Forms returned
e(e)n	en, ena, eno, enom, enni, enne, ens
e(e)t	et, ett, eth

Table 3b. Paradigm of *en* 'one' in Old Swedish

Number	Case	m	f	n
sg	NOM	enn	en	ett
	GEN	ens	enna	ens
	DAT	enom	enne	eno
	ACC	en	ena	ett

Demonstrative (*h*)*inn* is an already cliticized form -IN in OS. Therefore the search for the marked nouns must be manual. Thus some of the longer texts could not be searched in their entirety; instead fragments of 10000-15000 words were chosen.

#### *Smaller statistical studies*

In some cases it was worthwhile to look at a particularly frequent noun, e.g. *bonde* 'yeoman' in OS legal texts, *biskop* 'bishop' in religious prose or *konung* 'king' in profane narratives, as well as unique referents such as sun, moon, world, earth. For these the concordance creator KWIC is employed.

## 1.5. (In)definiteness in Modern Swedish

### 1.5.1. NP types in MS

Definiteness in MS is marked by postposed definite article and preposed indefinite article (only in the singular, though pronoun *några* 'some' is used to some extent in this function).

(1a) Jag har köpt **en bil**.  
I have bought a car

(1b) Jag har köpt **bil-en**.  
I have bought car-DEF

(1c) Jag har köpt **några bil-ar.**  
I have bought some car-PL

(1d) Jag har köpt **bil-ar-na.**  
I have bought car-PL-DEF

Further, there is a preposed definite determiner which co-occurs with the definite article in definite NPs with an attribute:

(2a) Jag har köpt **den svart-a bil-en.**  
I have bought DET black-W car-DEF

(2b) Jag har köpt **de svart-a bil-ar-na.**  
I have bought DET black-W.PL car-PL-DEF

The preposed determiner can be omitted in lexicalized phrases, similar to proper names:

(3a) Gula floden  
yellow-W river-DEF  
'Yellow River'

(3b) den gula floden  
det yellow-W river-DEF  
'the yellow river'

Bare nouns also appear frequently in Swedish, often with amorphous reference (Swedish *dividua*). In SAG (vol. 3:43-44), all NPs that are not overtly definite are regarded indefinite<sup>8</sup>. In other words, the overt contrast is definite : indefinite/unmarked. However, in a different chapter, SAG shows that the bare nouns are not always a shortcut to an indefinite article:

(4a) skaffa sig körkort – skaffa sig **ett**  
get REFL driving licence get REFL a  
  
körkort  
driving licence  
'get a driving licence'

<sup>8</sup> *Strukturellt kännetecknas den indefinita nominalfrasen negativt, dvs. av att inte innehålla någon av definithetsmarkörerna (definita attribut, bestämd form av substantivet eller av adjektiv och adjektiviskt böjda ord).* (SAG vol. 3:43)



- (4b)    ligga    på    rygg<sup>9</sup>    –    ligga    på    ryggen  
           lie    on    back            lie    on    back-DEF  
           ‘lie on one’s back’

(SAG vol. 3, s. 175)

Both are examples of lexicalized phrases, where the noun regularly appears without an article. A paraphrase reveals whether the missing article be definite or indefinite. ‘Zero’ marking can be a proxy for either definite or indefinite marking.

A further point that should be made in connection with examples (4a) and (4b) is that not only are the nouns neutral with respect to definiteness (even though a paraphrase with either definite or indefinite article may be forced upon them), they are also neutral with respect to number. Consider these phrases with plural subjects:

- (5a)    Alla    artonåringar                    skaffade sig    **körkort**  
           all    eighteen-year-old-PL            got    REFL    driving licence  
  
           denna    sommar.  
           that    summer  
           ‘All eighteen-year-olds got driving licence that summer’.

- (5b)    Alla    tjejer    låg    på    **rygg**    och    solade  
           all    girl-PL    lied    on    back    and    sunbathed  
           ‘All girls lied on their backs and sunbathed’.

The definite article in (5b) was a result of interpreting the noun phrase as ‘one’s back’. In a sentence *han låg på rygg/ryggen* ‘he lied on back/the back’ it would be the same as *han låg på sin rygg* ‘he lied on his back’. But the form of the noun remains the same even if more than one back is involved—and the sentence *alla tjejer låg på ryggar/ryggarna* ‘all girls lied on backs/the backs’ is ungrammatical. It seems that the language does not handle such phrases in the plural very well, although the plural form is acceptable for some phrases:

- (6a)    barnets                    **ålder**    –    barnens                    **åldrar/ålder**  
           child-DEF-GEN    age                    child.PL-DEF-GEN    age-PL/age  
           ‘the child’s age’                    ‘the children’s age’  
  
           Det    här    tyget    ligger    på    olika    **bredder/bredd.**  
           this    here    fabric    lies    on    different    breadth-PL/breadth  
           ‘This fabric differs in breadth from one place to another’.

(SAG vol. 2cd:21)

<sup>9</sup> Different body parts appear in different forms, however. It is not possible to use bare noun in *ligga på mage*, only the definite form is acceptable, *ligga på magen* ‘lie on the stomach’.

Bare nouns appear also by names of professions where English requires an indefinite article, as in:

(7a) Jan är **forskare**.  
 Jan is scientist  
 'Jan is a scientist'.

(7b) Jan är **präst**.  
 Jan is priest  
 'Jan is a priest'.

The Swedish phrase lacks the indefinite article that the English phrase has. The article appears when the name of the profession is accompanied by an attribute and the NP has an attributive character.

(8a) Jan är **en fantasilös forskare**.  
 Jan is an unimaginative scientist

(8b) Jan är **en utbränd präst**.  
 Jan is a burnt out priest

Swedish uses an article only if an attribute is present (see example above). The NP *forskare* 'scientist' has an attributive function (Strawson 1950, Burton-Roberts 1976:428). It is not paraphrasable by 'a certain', as it is in other structures:

(9a) A (certain) man was lurking in the garden.

(9b) John is a (\*certain) scientist.

(9c) \*Jan är **en viss forskare**.  
 Jan is a certain scientist.

The argument becomes all the more clear when one considers the following correct sentences, where references are made to professions, also through the attributes (which are different from examples (8a) and (8b), because 'unimaginative scientist' is not a profession):

(9d) Man ska säga att han är **katolsk präst**.  
 One should say that he is Catholic priest.  
 'One should say that he is a Catholic priest'.

(9e) År 1880 blev han **legitimerad fransk läkare** i Paris.  
 Year 1880 became he registered French doctor in Paris.  
 'In 1880 he became a registered French doctor in Paris'.

(all examples from SAG, vol. 3, s. 177)

Consider also the difference between the bare noun and the indefinite article in the following examples:

- (10a) Han är **bödel**.  
 he is executioner  
 ‘He is an executioner.’
- (10b) Han är **en bödel**.<sup>10</sup>  
 he is an executioner  
 ‘He is a tormentor/tyrant.’

In (10a) it is the profession of the subject that is meant, whereas in (10b) the noun is used metaphorically.

### 1.5.2. The functions of the definite article

The definite article (suffix) in MS is used roughly like the definite article in English. It can be used deictically, to refer to objects in the speaker’s and/or hearer’s immediate presence, as in (11a) and (11b).

- (11a) Akta **bordet!**  
 Mind table-DEF  
 ‘Mind the table!’
- (11b) Kan du ge mig **boken?**  
 can you give me book-DEF  
 ‘Can you give me the book?’

It may also be used with referents that are immediately accessible within the discourse (anaphora), directly as in (12), or indirectly via a different discourse referent, as in (13).

- (12) Det var en gång en kung som hade en dotter. **Dottern** älskade att sjunga.  
 ‘Once there was a king who had a daughter. The daughter loved to sing.’

<sup>10</sup> There is a further difference between the two examples, which is only made in speech:

Han	är	<b>en</b>	<b>riktig</b>	<b>’bödel</b> .
Han	är	<b>en</b>	<b>riktig</b>	<b>bödel</b> .
he	is	a	real	executioner

In the first sentence, again the profession is meant, whereas in the second it is the metaphorical sense that is underlined.

- (13) Han har skaffat en ny bil. **Bagageluckan** är rymlig.  
 ‘He has bought a new car. The boot is spacious.’

In both deictic and direct anaphoric uses the definite article may be exchanged by a demonstrative, *denna* or *den* ‘this’. This is not possible in indirect anaphora.

- (14a) Kan du flytta på **detta** **bord**?  
 can you move on this table  
 ‘Can you move this table?’

- (14b) Han har skaffat en ny bil. \***Denna bagagelucka** är rymlig.  
 ‘He has bought a new car. \*This boot is spacious.’

In contrast to English, MS uses the definite suffix with inalienables such as body parts where English uses possessives.

- (15) Han höll **händerna** i **fickorna**.  
 He kept hand-PL-DEF in pocket-PL-DEF  
 ‘He kept his hands in his pockets’.

The definite article is also used with unique referents, such as the Sun, or, more locally, the king, the bishop etc. It may also be used to mark generic reference. However, in Modern Swedish generic reference can be expressed by a variety of forms.

- (16a) **Lejon** är ett däggdjur.  
 lion is a mammal

- (16b) **Lejon-et** är ett däggdjur.  
 lion-DEF is a mammal

- (16c) **Ett lejon** är ett däggdjur.  
 a lion is a mammal

- (16d) **Lejon** är däggdjur.  
 lions.PL are mammal.PL

- (16e) **Mammut-ar-na** var ofantligt stora däggdjur.<sup>11</sup>  
 mammoth-PL-DEF were enormously large mammal.PL  
 (ex. (e) from SAG vol. 3:162)

<sup>11</sup> A similar example can be found in Noreen 1904 (*Hästarna äro snabbfotade djur* ‘The horses are quick animals’, see Pettersson 1976:132); Pettersson remarks that plural definite generics are highly unusual in Swedish (Pettersson 1976:132).

There are thus five different ways of expressing generic reference in Swedish: three in the singular (bare noun, definite and indefinite) and two in the plural (bare noun and definite). The sixth, indefinite plural, if we take *några* ‘some’ to be a plural counterpart of the indefinite *en/ett* (see example (40c) above), is ruled out by definition as it literally refers to ‘some of’, or ‘a certain amount of’ whereas the nature of generic reference is that it refers to ‘all of’. These five structures are not fully synonymous.

The indefinite singular is only used when the description fits any arbitrarily chosen member of the class, that is, it cannot refer to a quality of the class as a whole. Therefore it is incorrect to say:

- (17a) \***En skrivmaskin** uppfanns inte i Sverige.  
 a typewriter invent.PRET-PASS not in Sweden  
 ‘A typewriter was not invented in Sweden’.

Here, the definite form is necessary:

- (17b) **Skrivmaskinen** uppfanns inte i Sverige.  
 typewriter-DEF invent.PRET-PASS not in Sweden  
 ‘The typewriter was not invented in Sweden’.

(both examples SAG vol. 3:174)<sup>12</sup>

That is because the definite generic can refer to the class as a whole with a collective meaning. This is the meaning of inclusiveness which we recognize from Hawkins 1978. The contrast between the definite and indefinite singular is one between collective and distributive reference. The definite article may be used generically when reference is made to a feature typical for the whole class, whereas the indefinite requires that the feature apply to each and every member of the class (Pettersson 1976:124, SAG vol. 3:174).

- (18a) **Den svenske socialdemokraten** lever och dör  
 DET Swedish-W socialdemocrat-DEF lives and dies  
 för sitt parti.  
 for his.REFL party  
 ‘The Swedish social democrat lives and dies for his party’.

<sup>12</sup> Similarly in English by different types of generics: one that predicts something about each member of a given class (‘individual generics’) and one that predicts something about the class as a whole.

- a. **The squid** lives on seaweed.  
 b. **Squids** live on seaweed.  
 c. **A squid** lives on seaweed.  
 a. **The dodo** is extinct.  
 b. **Dodos** are extinct.  
 c. \***A dodo** is extinct.

- (18b) **En** **svensk socialdemokrat** lever och dör för  
 A Swedish social democrat lives and dies for  
 sitt parti.  
 his.REFL party  
 ‘A Swedish social democrat lives and and dies for his party’.

After Guillaume (ref. Pettersson 1976:125) Pettersson regards the reference in (18b) as more specific, e.g. in a context where a particular member of the party has been caught thinking more of himself than the party.

Both the definite and the indefinite generics contrast with the bare noun generics. The article-less form is used in generic utterances and lacks a plural form—it is neutral not only with respect to definiteness, but also with respect to number.

- (19a) **Gärdsmyg** är en flyttfågel.  
 wren is a migratory bird
- (19b) **En** **gärdsmyg** är en flyttfågel.  
 a wren is a migratory bird
- (19c) **Gärdsmygen** är en flyttfågel.  
 wren is a migratory bird

(Pettersson 1976:128)

The contrast between the indefinite generics and the bare noun generics is not well-studied and difficult to grasp. Whereas the indefinite applies to each and every member of a given class, the bare noun present ‘the platonic ideal’ of a member of this class (Pettersson 1976:124).

### 1.5.3. The functions of the indefinite article in MS

The indefinite article in MS is used when the speaker introduces a new referent to the discourse either assuming that the hearer is unfamiliar with the referent or is himself unfamiliar with it.

- (20a) Det finns **en** **bil** jag gärna vill köpa.  
 This is a car I willingly want buy  
 ‘There is a car I would like to buy’.
- (20b) Jag har köpt **en** **bil**.  
 I have bought a car

- (20c) Jag letar efter **en** **bil**.  
 I look after a car  
 'I am looking for a car.'

In the so-called negative polarity contexts, e.g. in the scope of negation and in questions, *någon* 'some, any' is used rather than the indefinite article:

- (21a) Han har inte gjort **någon** **kaninbur**.  
 he has not made NGN rabbit-cage  
 'He has not made a rabbit cage'.

(Nivre 2002:8)

The use of the indefinite article is not incorrect, though its use renders a different interpretation:

- (22a) Han har inte gjort en kaninbur, han har  
 he has not made a rabbit-cage he has

gjort en **fågelbur**.  
 made a bird-cage  
 'He has not made a rabbit cage, he has made a bird cage'.

- (22b) Han har inte gjort en kaninbur, han har  
 he has not made a rabbit-cage he has

gjort **många**.  
 made many  
 'He has not made one rabbit cage, he has made many'.

In (22a) the classification of the product rather than its existence is questioned and in (22b) the cardinality (EN is thus treated as a numeral rather than an article).

In questions *någon* is the unmarked alternative (23a), unless the speaker expects a positive answer (23b), see SAG and Nivre 2002:10.

- (23a) Har du köpt några kläder på rea?  
 have you bought NGN clothes on sale  
 'Have you bought any clothes on sale?'

- (23b) Har du redan köpt en julgran?  
 have you already bought a Christmas-tree  
 'Have you already bought a Christmas tree?'

Other negative polarity contexts include hypothetical conditionals, comparisons and so-called verbs of volition (e.g. ‘want’). *Någon* can also appear in contexts other than negative polarity instead of the indefinite article but with a different function.

- (24a) Jag talade med **någon** **medicinsk** **expert**.  
 I spoke with NGN medical expert  
 ‘I spoke to some medical expert’

(Nivre 2002:12)

In (24a) more precise information on the expert is either unavailable or considered irrelevant.

- (24b) Vi fortsatte **någon** **kilometer** genom skogen.  
 We continued NGN kilometer through wood-DEF  
 ‘We continued one or two kilometers through the wood’.

(Nivre 2002:17)

In (24b) *någon* is an approximation of one (one or two, about one, hardly more than two, SAG: 416).

The Swedish *någon* thus has three fairly distinct uses, in which it contrasts with the indefinite article *en*:

1. in negative polarity contexts it is the unmarked determiner in noun phrases with indefinite reference;
2. in other contexts it is the marked alternative to the indefinite article in noun phrases with indefinite reference, usually indicating that the speaker is unable or unwilling to give further information about the referent;
3. in quantitative noun phrases *någon* can perhaps be described as an ‘approximate numeral’, meaning ‘about one’ and contrasting with the indefinite article in its numeral sense of ‘(exactly) one’. (Nivre 2002)

#### 1.5.4. Use of bare nouns in MS

MS nouns may be singular or plural and they are classified into *neutrum* (neuter gender) and *utrum* (non-neuter, a coalescence of the OS masculine and feminine genders). They are also divided into count (*individua*, Lat. ‘which cannot be divided’) and mass (*dividua*, Lat. ‘which can be divided’) nouns and this division is important for article usage in MS.

Generally, the presence or absence of an article (either definite or indefinite) will influence the interpretation of the noun as either count or mass. Consider the following MS examples:



- (25a) Tydliga spår både av **älg** och **hund** fanns i  
 clear traces both of elk and dog were in

den nygrusade vägbanan.

the newly-groveled road

‘There were clear traces of both elk and dog in the newly groveled road.’

- (25b) Den luktade både **får** och **get**.  
 it smelled both sheep and goat  
 ‘It smelled of both sheep and goat’.

(SAG vol. 2:19)

- (25c) Vi såg spår av **tre älgar**.  
 ‘We saw traces of three elks’.

- (25d) Vi såg **en stor älg**. **Den stora älgen** tittade på oss.  
 ‘We saw a large elk. The large elk stared at us’.

The lack of articles or other determiners/quantifiers in example (25a) renders *älg* ‘elk’ uncountable; what the observer saw was *älgspår* ‘elktraces’, without commitment to how many elks may have left them. It is possible it was just one, it is equally possible there were a hundred. In (25c) ‘elk’ is countable, by means of a numeral three. In (25d) the usage of either article again renders the elk countable.

The opposite is possible as well: by adding an article to a noun with a typical mass reading, the speaker makes it countable (and ‘divisionable’), as in (26b) and (26c) below:

- (26a) Jag gillar **vin**.  
 I like wine  
 ‘I like wine’.

- (26b) Jag gillade **vinet**.  
 I liked wine-DEF  
 ‘I liked the wine’.

- (26c) Det var **ett gott vin**.  
 It was a good wine  
 ‘It was a good wine’.

The bare noun (as *älg* ‘elk’ in (25a) above) is neutral with respect to definite-indefinite opposition—it is not definite and it is not indefinite. It is further neutral with respect to number: it is neither singular nor plural. By using a bare noun, the speaker may further withdraw gender classification, consider (27b)

- (27a) Han ska köpa **bil**.  
 he will buy car  
 ‘He will buy a car’.
- (27b) **Bil**<sup>13</sup> är dyrt.  
 car is expensive-NEUT  
 ‘It is expensive to buy a car’.

(Delsing 1997:58-59)

## 1.6. Organisation of the book

This book is organised as follows. In Chapter 2 some theoretical assumptions about grammaticalization, in particular grammaticalization of articles, are presented. Chapter 3 presents the etymologies of the articles alongside reconstructions of the cliticization of *(h)inn*, which predates the OS sources. Chapters 4 and 5 contain a detailed overview of the development in consecutive periods, of definite and indefinite articles respectively. In Chapter 6 all the results are brought together and the interdependencies between the grammaticalization of definite and indefinite article analyzed.

<sup>13</sup> Note that not all nouns can be used bare here, it seems the act of buying must be more than trivial:

\*Han ska köpa **bok**.  
 he will buy book  
 ‘He will buy a book’.

\***Bok** är dyrt.  
 book is expensive  
 ‘It is expensive to buy a book’.

(Delsing 1997:58-59)

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# 2 Grammaticalization and (in)definiteness

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## 2.1. Introductory remarks

Grammaticalization has played a vital role in historical linguistic studies of the last thirty years, with a large number of papers, monographs and conferences devoted to the phenomenon. Discussion has been both empirical, with large studies focusing on its occurrences in different languages, and theoretical, with numerous attempts to define the concept and its ingredients. Detailed accounts of both can be found in, among others, Campbell and Janda (2000) and the latest and most exhaustive overview is given in Narrog and Heine (2011) (*The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*).

The main focus of the present chapter is limited to the relationship between grammaticalization and definiteness. However, some introduction is necessary. Therefore, the chapter is organized as follows: first, grammaticalization is defined and its hallmarks discussed, together with some examples of the phenomenon. A special note is made of the role of context in grammaticalization and the types of contexts. Further, the concept of grammaticalization chains is presented. Two relevant chains—the development of the definite article out of a deictic element and of the indefinite article out of numeral ‘one’ are presented in more detail. Finally, the possible correlation between these chains is discussed.

## 2.2. What is grammaticalization?

The term *grammaticalization* was coined by A. Meillet in 1912, but the phenomenon to which it refers had already been observed and described in earlier studies, e.g. by von der Gabelentz.

Was heute Affixe sind, das waren einst selbständige Wörter, die nachmals durch mechanische und seelische Vorgänge in dienende Stellung hinabgedrückt wurden. (von der Gabelentz 1901:255)

For Meillet grammaticalization was a process whereby autonomous lexical items gained grammatical properties (*l'attribution du caractère grammaticale à un mot jadis autonome*, Meillet 1926 [1912]: 131) and in doing so changed the system.

La 'grammaticalisation' de certains mots crée des formes neuves, introduit des catégories qui n'avaient pas d'expression linguistique, transforme l'ensemble du système. (Meillet 1926 [1912]: 133)

A wider definition comes from Kuryłowicz, who observes that grammatical items may likewise undergo grammaticalization.

Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one. (Kuryłowicz 1975:52)

Later authors expand on this definition, rephrasing it or shifting the focus (for more definitions see Heine and Reh 1984:15, Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]:18, Lehmann 2004:155, Haspelmath 2004:26, Narrog and Heine 2011:2f.), though in essence it remains the same<sup>14</sup>. There is some disagreement concerning where grammaticalization starts and ends: some authors distinguish the change of a lexical item into a grammatical one from the change of a grammatical item into another—e.g. Traugott (2002:26f.), who terms the former 'primary' and the latter 'secondary' grammaticalization. The formation of the definite and indefinite articles belongs to the second group.

Two classical and widely discussed examples of grammaticalization include:

1. the development of the French *pas* 'step' into a negation marker (Meillet 1912);
2. the development English *to be going to* into a future auxiliary (e.g. Fischer and Rosenbach 2000:3).

*Pas* and *going to* illustrate two different types of change: from a lexical to a grammatical item and from a grammatical item to a more grammatical one.

The French lexeme *pas* 'step' has given rise to a negation construction *ne .. pas*. Originally it was one of several elements that could be used to emphasise the negation, comparable with the English 'not a step further'. As such it was used alongside verbs of motion, preferably verbs denoting motion measurable in steps. As its use gradually spread through other types of verbs, so has *pas* been reinterpreted as part of the negation rather than an emphatic marker.

The English *going to* develops from a literal description of an activity (motion) to a future marker. The gradual development from less to more grammaticalized meaning is illustrated by the following examples.

<sup>14</sup> With respect to the phenomenon. In the sense of view of grammar (e.g. Hopper) obviously the definition of 'grammaticalization' is wider. This is not how the term is used here.

- (1a) I am going (to Harlem) to visit my aunt.  
 (1b) I am going to marry (tomorrow).  
 (1c) I am going to like it.  
 (1d) It is going to rain.  
 (1e) I am going to go there for sure.  
 (1f) I'm gonna go.

(Fischer and Rosenbach 2003:3)

Both instances of grammaticalization reveal a number of changes on different linguistic levels:

- phonological (*going to* > *gonna*)
- morphosyntactic (*pas* develops a negative meaning and its position is fixed)
- functional (both come to be used outside their original contexts, e.g. *pas* can be used alongside any verb, not just verbs of motion that may be measured in steps though the original meaning was ‘not a step further’)

These changes may be grouped into those mainly concerning the form of the grammaticalizing item (its phonological representation, position, degree of bond-ness) and those concerning its function (becoming an auxiliary).

We can further note that we were able to illustrate the grammaticalization of *going to* exclusively using modern examples. Similarly, the lexeme *pas* still exists in French in its original meaning of ‘step’. Grammaticalization need not involve the loss of the original form, nor its preservation. The numeral *en* ‘one’ from which the indefinite article in Swedish is descended, is still used, while the demonstrative *hinn* ‘yon’, the source of the postposed Swedish definite article, is lost (apart from the lexicalized phrase *hin håle* ‘the hard = the devil’). The co-existence of different uses of a given form, representing different stages of grammaticalization, implies that grammaticalization is not limited to diachrony but has a synchronic dimension as well; the most radical interpretation of this is Hopper’s concept of *emerging grammars* (Hopper 1987) which entirely shifts the focus on to synchrony. Although we may order the constructions diachronically (from *I am going* in the purely physical sense to *I’m gonna go* with the future meaning and reduced form), we also find that they co-exist in language (Hopper 1991:22).

Grammaticalizations of lexical items are probably less common and certainly less regular cross-linguistically (how many languages have developed their negation markers from the lexeme ‘step’?). While ‘step’ does not usually develop into negation marker, constructions similar to English *going to* have developed into future markers in a number other languages (see Heine and Kuteva 2002:161ff). It seems some developments are more common cross-linguistically than others, e.g. demonstratives into definite articles and numeral ‘one’ into an indefinite article. Grammaticalizations of grammatical items show more regularities, allowing the proposition of so-called grammaticalization chains (or paths or channels), which

are similar developments, for unrelated languages. The grammaticalization of both definite and indefinite articles is an example of such changes, since both articles arise out of grammatical forms: the definite out of a demonstrative pronoun and the indefinite out of numeral ‘one’. We will also see that these developments are widely recognized examples of grammaticalization chains. But before taking up those, some major tenets of grammaticalization will be discussed.

### 2.3. Major tenets of grammaticalization

The passage from a less to a more grammatical item is characterized by a number of phenomena, some examples of which we saw above. These can be grouped into changes concerning the form of the grammaticalizing item and changes concerning its function and use. Lately, a further element, the context, has become the focus of attention (Heine 2002, Diewald 2002). An important claim much discussed in recent literature, is the unidirectionality hypothesis.

#### 2.3.1. Changes in meaning

##### *Semantic bleaching*<sup>15</sup>

In the course of change from lexical to grammatical the original lexical meaning, or some part of it, is lost. The paradigm case of this is the fate of the French *pas*, which, as a negation, has nothing in common with the lexeme *pas*.

It is less clear what form of semantic bleaching is found in cases of further grammaticalization of an already grammatical item. As the subject of this book is the grammaticalization of articles, let us look at some examples of such developments in different languages.

The source of the definite article is most commonly a demonstrative pronoun (see 2.5.1). In many languages, however, there is more than one. The semantic difference between them is typically that of increasingly precise information about the location of the referent in respect to the speaker or hearer or both. Classical Armenian allowed a threefold distinction:

Demonstrative	Reference
ays	‘this (near me)’
ayd	‘that (near you)’
ayn	‘that (near him etc.)’

(after Lyons 1999:55)

<sup>15</sup> Other frequently employed terms are semantic reduction/loss/attrition/fading/decay, depletion/impooverishment, weakening, desemanticization, generalization of semantic content, abstraction (Campbell and Janda 2000:118).

As the definite article(s) developed from these demonstratives, they retained some of the spatial reference while gaining the definite one.

Definite article	Reference
-s	'the (near me)'
-d	'the (near you)'
-n	'the (near him etc.)'

(after Lyons 1999:55)

However, the Classical Armenian system does not survive in the modern language; instead, the *-s* and *-t* forms were reinterpreted as possessives and the only definite article (and third person possessive) is the *-n/-ð*, descended from the classical *-n* (Feydit 1969, Lyons 1999:55)<sup>16</sup>. It seems that the spatial distinctions of the demonstratives are lost along with their grammaticalization into definite articles.

A more complex phenomenon is when the form in question seems to split in two: it undergoes grammaticalization and in doing so loses (some of) its original meaning, but it also survives intact without losing its meaning (a phenomenon sometimes referred to as *layering*, Hopper 1991:22). The end product seems to be two homonymous forms, as in the French *pas*, but the link between them may still be tangible, as in the English *be going to*.

The term itself, bleaching/loss/depletion etc. leads to the view of grammaticalization as 'a kind of impoverishment, or deficit' (Traugott 1988:406) (so does the terminology for the phonetic aspects of the process). This is perhaps misleading, since there is (possibly) loss on the lexical side, but there is also gain in grammatical meaning (Heine et al. 1991:109).

Semantic bleaching has in many works been closely associated with grammaticalization. However, the process as such has been rightly pointed out to be independent of the grammaticalization processes. A number of objections have also been raised regarding its indispensability for grammaticalization. In Traugott (1988) we find a modified stand on the role semantic bleaching plays in grammaticalization:

Bleaching and grammaticalization must be uncoupled (...) certainly, bleaching does occur (...) [but] only in the later stages of grammaticalization (Traugott 1988:407)

This is taken up in her later work with P. Hopper:

There is no doubt that over time, meanings tend to become weakened during the process of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, all the evidence for early stages is that initially there is a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning (Hopper and Traugott 1993:88)

<sup>16</sup> For more examples of similar developments see Lyons 1999.

Indeed, were we to imagine a grammaticalization process starting with semantic bleaching, we would have to conceive of a form first losing its meaning before gaining a new (grammatical) one. However, there is an affinity in meaning between consecutive forms as the grammaticalization proceeds. Reflexes of the original semantics are present in definite article as developed from a demonstrative pronoun, or a future marker formed out the verbs ‘to wish’ or ‘to want’<sup>17</sup>. In the same vein, Heine (2002) claims in his discussion of the different contexts in which a form may appear in different stages of grammaticalization, that there are two meanings available for the form in the stages of grammaticalization which he terms *bridging* and *switch contexts* (see 2.4): as the source and the target (Heine 2002:85)<sup>18</sup>.

This may help us better understand why the Classical Armenian definite articles retained the spatial reference of the demonstratives, but also why this reference was lost with time.

On the other hand, the grammaticalization of the indefinite article constitutes a more complex case: while the singularity of the referent is still asserted, new, additional information is captured in the original numeral: that of presenting a new referent. In this sense the original singularity, though suppressed, does not disappear entirely, whereas a new meaning is added. This shows that the concept of bleaching is not straightforward.

### 2.3.2. Changes in form

#### *Phonological attrition*<sup>19</sup>

As was the case with semantic bleaching, authors seem to agree, at least superficially, that phonological attrition is inherently connected with grammaticalization, though only some consider it a diagnostic of grammaticalization, e.g. for Heine attrition is *predicted by grammaticalization theory* (Heine 1993:106).

<sup>17</sup> A radically different view is presented by Haspelmath: *it is not so much that semantic bleaching and phonological reduction go hand in hand, but semantic generalization is in a sense the cause of the other processes of grammaticalization* (Haspelmath 1999:1062). This is taken up by Campbell and Janda: *[t]hrough a different route, Haspelmath has arrived at the same view as that of detractors of grammaticalization, namely, that the semantic change is not a crucial part of the definition of grammaticalization and can have effect even when no grammaticalization is involved at all. Given this independence, semantic loss is not diagnostic for grammaticalization* (Campbell and Janda 2000:121). That is probably an over-interpretation, as there is no claim about semantic bleaching and grammaticalization being disjoined, rather about the order being reversed as against the model proposed by Traugott and Hopper.

<sup>18</sup> It must be noted, as Heine himself does, that his model assumes a more clear-cut division between meaning and context than we usually find in language.

<sup>19</sup> Other frequently employed terms are: *phonological reduction/weakening, phonetic loss, erosion, Abnutzung* (Campbell and Janda 2000:121).



There are numerous instances of forms which lose their phonological content in the process of grammaticalization: *going to* > *gonna*, *full* > *fəl* etc. However, cases where the grammaticalized form retains its original phonological value and phonetic representation are not infrequent (e.g. German auxiliaries *haben* and *sein* (Heine 1994:109)). It may therefore be concluded, as Lessau does among others, that phonological attrition is *neither a necessary nor a sufficient property of grammaticalization* (Lessau 1994:263). The reduction follows any other phonological reduction, also independent of grammaticalization: unstressed forms tend to be reduced. Therefore the auxiliaries, maintaining a relative independence, typically continue as non-reduced forms.

The main driving force behind the reduction in phonology is the frequency of use. This phenomenon has been observed by Zipf, who formulated a statistically based rule which states that frequently used forms tend to be shortened (Zipf 1949). Such a view is generally adopted by grammaticalists:

As the meaning generalizes and the range of uses widens, the frequency increases and this leads automatically to phonological reduction and perhaps fusion (*Parallel reduction hypothesis*, Bybee and Pagliuka 1985:76).

[t]he higher frequency of use of grammatical morphemes favours what von der Gabelentz ([1891]1901) has called the *Abnutzung* (abrasion) of their phonetic substance (Heine et al. 1991:214).

The Swedish definite article is a paramount example of phonological reduction—the original demonstrative was /in:/ in its masculine form and /i:n/ in its feminine form, with either a long consonant or a long vowel. In MS (where the masculine and feminine genders have coalesced), its form is the reduced /in/. For the indefinite article, it is never stressed whereas the numeral may, but need not be, stressed.

#### *Loss of syntactic freedom*

The core tenet of grammaticalization is the change in the distributional status of the grammaticalizing form. An item that was originally lexical, gains grammatical meaning which leads to a change in the type of contexts in which it may appear. Also a grammatical item may gain additional grammatical meaning further limiting its distribution. A demonstrative may have a relatively free position against the noun, with preference for preposition, postposition, or both, while an article has a fixed location. With the grammaticalization of an originally lexical or less grammatical item, its distribution is changed. The change may depend on the change in the status of the emerging form: from a lexeme to a clitic or from a clitic to an affix and further an inflectional ending. But even when a form remains relatively free, and does not cliticize, its distribution might become constrained. Take

for instance the English definite article. Although it does not attach to either the noun or any other constituent of the NP, its position is obligatorily initial in the NP; thus the order \**great the feat* is ungrammatical.

The change in the level of bondedness of the form is presented on the so-called cline of grammaticalization

- (2) content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix  
(Hopper & Traugott 1993:7)

It has been suggested that as the first change is different from the following ones since it involves a move from an open to a closed word class, the cline should be split in two:

- (3) content word > grammatical word  
grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix  
(e.g. Faarlund 2007)

The cline of bondedness of the form is a simplification. The clitics, particularly, form a heterogeneous group—some show cliticization gaps and will only attach to certain hosts. Some affect the phonology of the host or are affected themselves<sup>20</sup>. The much cited English genitive *-s* does not have as unrestricted a distribution as it is claimed to have: it will not attach to plural nouns where the plural is marked by *-s*, while it freely attaches to singular nouns ending in *-s* (see also Börjars 2003).

As mentioned above, the first to formulate the cline of grammaticalization was Meillet, but the cline has been both reworked and extended by several authors (independently) since. These additions and changes have often fallen prey to a confusion of the different levels of analysis—e.g. in Hopper and Traugott 1993 we find the following cline illustrating the development of the final *s* in *let's*:

- (4) word > affix > phoneme  
(Hopper and Traugott 1993:13)

Though the analysis of the *s* may be correct (it is no longer a separate morpheme but has become merely a *phonemic constituent of a (monomorphemic) word* (Hopper and Traugott 1993:13)), the analysis implies that an affix is necessarily more than one phoneme, which is easily disproven by the genitive or plural *s* in English. In other words, the first two items of the cline illustrate loss of syntactic freedom, whereas the last two loss of the semantic or grammatical content.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed analysis of what is and what is not a clitic and what types of clitics there are the reader is referred to the account of Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Anderson (2005).

It is also to be noted that some traces of earlier meanings of an item are likely to survive as constraints on the distribution of the item in its new function, a principle termed *persistence*.

## 2.4. The role of context in grammaticalization

The process of grammaticalization has been described in the form of a cline which focuses mainly on the level of (in)dependence of the form in question. Although the authors using this model mention that the meaning of the item as it progresses along this cline, changes towards more grammatical and less lexical, lining up the two changes is not always possible. The fact that a clitic has become an affix does not imply any change in its meaning, nor does the fact that a clitic remains so without becoming an affix deprive it of such a change.

A proposition based entirely on the other side of the coin, namely the semantic change, is the description of the types of contexts (Heine 2002, Diewald 2002; both propositions have much in common and have appeared in the same volume, but are, to the author's knowledge, independent of each other).

Heine's proposition differentiates between bridging contexts, switch contexts and conventionalization:

- bridging contexts: trigger an inferential mechanism to the effect that, rather than the source meaning, there is another meaning, the target meaning; it is most likely to be inferred but is cancellable (Grice 1967) which means that an interpretation in terms of the source meaning cannot be ruled out; a given linguistic form may be associated with a number of contexts.
- switch contexts: incompatible or in conflict with some salient property of the source meaning; interpretation in terms of the source meaning is ruled out; the target meaning provides the only possible interpretation.
- conventionalization: meanings that need no contextual support, turn into 'normal', 'inherent', 'usual' or 'semantic' meanings. That a target meaning has been conventionalized may be seen when it can be used in new contexts, other than bridging or switch, may violate the source semantics.

(Heine 2002: 84-85)

'Source meaning' in his terminology is the meaning of the element prior to the onset of the grammaticalization process.

The notion of 'bridging context' as introduced by Heine shares some properties with the 'bridging inference' as defined in psycholinguistic literature (e.g. Clark and Haviland 1977, cf. Fraurud 1990:396). 'Bridging inference' is the processing of first-mention definite NPs, potentially time-consuming and giving

rise to potential difficulties. In these studies, anaphoric use is seen as the primary function of the definite article. Thus a definite NP lacking an antecedent will always create an interpretation problem. The similarity between the bridging context and bridging inference is conspicuous: in Heine's model it is in the bridging context that a new inference may be drawn; in other words, the interpretation of a form is not as obvious and natural as in other, more canonical contexts.

Therefore, the rise of a new grammatical meaning can be described as a four-stage scenario:

- I. initial stage: context unconstrained, source meaning
- II. bridging context: a specific context giving rise to an inference in favour of a new meaning; target meaning foregrounded
- III. switch context: a new context incompatible with the source meaning; source meaning backgrounded
- IV. conventionalization: the target meaning need no longer be supported by the context, may be used in new contexts; target meaning only.

(after Heine 2002:85)

As Heine himself observes:

The scenario rests on a clear-cut division between context and meaning, although it remains largely unclear how the two interact (Heine 2002:86).

Diewald's model is similar to Heine's; she uses the concept of 'critical context' rather than 'switch context'.

## 2.5. Grammaticalization chains

We have noted before that certain forms show a propensity to grammaticalize into certain other forms, and the tendency is strong even among unrelated languages, forming what are called grammaticalization paths, channels or chains. An extensive presentation of these can be found in Heine and Kuteva 2002.

With respect to the definiteness category the following cross-linguistic grammaticalization chains have been identified:

- |     |   |   |                    |
|-----|---|---|--------------------|
| (5) | deictic element (typically a demonstrative pronoun) | > | definite article   |
|     | numeral 'one'                                       | > | indefinite article |

The renewal of exponents is also testified: there are languages with more than one definite article, all stemming from deictic elements (e.g. Frisian, see Ebert 1971).

In 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 we will take a look at the grammaticalization chains leading to the formation of the definite and indefinite articles respectively. Since the articles always seem to grammaticalize in this particular order: first the definite then the indefinite, we will in 2.5.3 look at a possible way of combining the two chains into one: a grammaticalization of (in)definiteness.

### 2.5.1. From a demonstrative to a definite article

Definite articles are typically derived from demonstrative pronouns, usually distal, if the language shows differences between proximal and distal demonstratives (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002). Other demonstrative elements may also serve as the source of the definite article, e.g. the Sissala article *ná* has its source in the verb ‘to see’ (Blass 1990, quoted in C. Lyons 1999:331), similar in use to the English verb ‘to behold’ in utterances like *Behold the walls of Moria*, where the verb is used ostensively (corresponding to a gesture or an utterance ‘Here are the walls of Moria’). There have been some attempts to find other sources for the demonstratives, mainly among possessive pronouns, briefly presented below.

There is a certain amount of functional overlap between the definite article and the demonstrative on the one hand and the definite article and the possessive on the other, in probably all article languages. Consider the following examples (after Fraurud 2000b:246):

- (6a) Beside the barn there is a little cottage. *The/This cottage* was built in 1875.  
(but: \*Its cottage..)
- (6b) Beside the barn there is a little cottage. *The/Its roof* is leaking.  
(but: \*This roof is leaking)

Such overlaps may be found in many article languages, although some show a stronger preference for one over the other (e.g. French vs Swedish, as reported in Jonasson 1998 and 2000). In direct anaphoric contexts the demonstrative may always be used instead of the definite article, but this is not allowed in the indirect contexts—for some authors this forms the basis of telling the two apart (e.g. Himmelmann 1997). There are counterexamples, but seemingly only with marked interpretations (Fraurud 2000b:247, compare Kleiber 1990, Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin 1999).

The variation between the demonstrative and possessive cases implies that there is no overlap between the two with regard to the definite article. The overlaps between the article and demonstrative concern the direct anaphoric context (see example 6a), and may be seen as an extended deictical use of the demonstrative (Lyons 1975). The overlaps between article and possessive on the other hand mainly

concern what is often termed in literature ‘associative anaphora’ (Ch. Lyons 1999) and what is referred to here as ‘indirect anaphora’ (see example (6b)).

Practically all reconstructions of the grammaticalization of the definite article start with the demonstratives whose use gradually spreads to include even the ‘possessive’ contexts—i.e., indirect anaphora. Thus it is legitimate to ask whether the grammaticalization may start at the other end, namely with a possessive element which gradually enters the demonstrative contexts. Such attempts are presented in Bechert 1993, Frajzyngier 1997 and in Fraurud 2000b, based among others on the extensive use of possessives in many Uralic languages—a use that is often labelled ‘as definite article’ or being ‘instead of definite article’ (see Fraurud 2000b). They are also overwhelmingly bound rather than free forms, showing a certain amount of grammaticalization. They are highly frequent items and their use has partly spread to contexts other than the original indirect anaphora (Fraurud 2000b:250ff). However, the use is not obligatory and Fraurud’s conclusion is that they cannot be considered a grammaticalizing definite article. Similarly, Becher remarks:

... in this continuum (between the possessive suffixes and an emerging definite article—DS), the end seems to be never reached, at the eastern margins of Europe and in Northern Asia, the definite article remains a category in *statu nascendi*. It might even be the case that this category in Eurasian languages is a product of our Eurocentric perspective. If we reverse the perspective, we can view the European category of the definite article as a special case of a category of belonging which is denoted indirectly, in Europe, by weakened demonstratives and would be more aptly expressed by possessive suffixes, as it is in Northern Asia and its western outskirts. (Bechert 1993:37f.)

We will therefore assume the source of the definite article to be a demonstrative. The first step in grammaticalization must therefore be an extension in use of the demonstrative beyond the purely deictic use. This first extension is constituted by the use of the demonstrative in the anaphoric function, to mark deixis, but in the textual rather than situational context (Lyons 1975). Note that the contrast between the proximal and distal deixis is lost in anaphora: for instance, there is no possibility to vary the use of the demonstratives to point out referents mentioned much earlier and a little earlier in the text. The original distinction into *this* ‘near me’ and *that* ‘further away’ is thus blurred.

In this function it is still difficult to see a difference between a demonstrative and an article—in article languages there is however much variation in use between article and demonstrative in anaphora. Although the extension in use constitutes the first step of the grammaticalization process, it is not yet sufficient to make an article.

The second stage in the grammaticalization is the further extension to entities introduced into the discourse indirectly, connected with some items mentioned

earlier—referred to here as indirect anaphora. It is generally agreed that demonstratives cannot fulfil this function (however see Charolles 1990 and Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin 1999 for a different description). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, in this context the variation is between the article and the possessive pronoun.

For the indirect anaphora to operate, the first referent need not be definite (see (6b): a house—the roof). In fact, it need not even be specific (see example (7)).

- (7) When a violinist plays a solo, **the audience** often leaves the room.

Both uses discussed above may be called textual, since they rely on prior information in the text. The definite article is however used even in contexts where no such information is provided, also to introduce referents into the discourse. The article occurs with referents assumed by the speaker to be familiar or identifiable to the hearer, also on non-textual grounds.

The definite article derived from the demonstrative evolves according to Greenberg 1978 along the following grammaticalization path:

- (8) Stage 0                      Stage I                      Stage II                      Stage III  
demonstrative > definite article > specific article > noun marker  
(after Greenberg 1978, see also de Mulder and Carlier 2011:525)

The development is more likely to proceed to stage II and beyond in a language that has no indefinite article (Greenberg 1991, cf. De Mulder and Carlier 2011:525).

The development from Stage 0 to Stage I can be further subdivided into sub-stages. It originates with the use of the demonstrative in anaphoric contexts, when an exophoric (situational) marker is used intralinguistically (e.g. Lyons 1975, Diesse 1999:109-11). A closer examination of the early stages of article formation reveals that there are some limitations of the anaphoric contexts which may give rise to the grammaticalization of the definite: these will usually involve a referent that is an important participant of the narrative but is not the focus of attention (the data comes mainly from studies on the Romance languages, see de Mulder and Carlier 2011 for references).

The use of demonstrative in (some) anaphoric contexts is followed by the spread of the form to contexts that are still textual but indirect, as in (9).

- (9) We arrived in a village. **The church** was on a hill.

The referent of the defNP ‘the church’ must be retrieved indirectly through the earlier mentioned ‘a village’. This context does not allow demonstratives, al-



though occasional examples to the contrary are cited in literature (e.g. Kleiber 1990, Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin 1999). Such examples are at best infrequent and do not constitute a typical demonstrative context. It is therefore the shift from direct to indirect reference that is crucial in the grammaticalization of the article.

De Mulder and Carlier argue that this shift is possible because the source of the definite article is not just a demonstrative but a distal demonstrative (in locative systems) or the 3rd personal demonstrative (in person-oriented systems). Their argument is based on the fact that while a proximal demonstrative allows the hearer to wholly identify the referent through the context, a distal demonstrative is more vague and ‘can be understood as an invitation addressed to the hearer to mobilize previous knowledge in order to retrieve the referent’ (de Mulder and Carlier 2011:530). In this way, the distal demonstrative can denote a referent not fully identifiable and appeal to specific knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer (see also Himmelmann 2001:833).

As the distal demonstrative in its recognitional use, the definite article can denote a referent that is not accessible in the immediate context of utterance. The distal demonstrative becomes a definite article when the anchorage in the speech situation is lost and the use of the article no longer requires specific knowledge (shared by speaker and hearer) to be activated in order to identify the referent of the noun phrase. Rather, the definite article conveys the instruction that the descriptive content of the NP allows the identification of the referent univocally, by virtue of its structural links with a frame of accessible knowledge, these links often being of a stereotypical nature (de Mulder and Carlier 2011:531). The knowledge may be accessible not through the linguistic context but through the situational one—therefore identification of ‘the king’ will render no difficulties when the phrase is uttered in a monarchy. The situation of the utterance may be more local (identification of the referent of ‘the sofa’ will be limited to the lodgers of the flat where ‘the sofa’ is placed) or less local, ultimately incorporating the whole world (and the unique referents such as ‘the Sun’).

The next stage identified by Greenberg 1978 is of a specific article. The article comes to be used as an indefinite article would: to present new referents in the discourse. Definiteness becomes reinterpreted as specificity (Epstein 2002:368). Himmelmann 1997 suggests that specific articles may evolve directly from demonstratives, without first becoming definite articles (Himmelmann 1997:107). The development would be similar to that of the English demonstrative *this* (Prince 1981a, 1981b, Diessel 1999:139), as in (10), where it introduces a new, salient referent.

- (10) There came **this man** and demanded to talk to the manager.



Though the referent of ‘this man’ is new in the discourse, it is presented by means of a demonstrative. However, the presentation will only be successful if the referent is picked up again and turns out to be the topic of the story that follows. One difference from the development of the definite article and *this* in English is that whereas the former involves a distal demonstrative, the latter involves a proximal one.

Greenberg’s model shows the entire grammaticalization of a demonstrative into an article as a single step. A more detailed picture presents the grammaticalization of the definite article in the following stages:

- (11) Stage I: the (distal) demonstrative  
 Stage II: the direct anaphoric marker  
 Stage III: the indirect anaphoric marker  
 Stage IV: the uniqueness marker  
 Stage V: the generalized article

The generalized article here is meant to encompass the generic usage, which according to some authors (in particular Krámský 1972) is the hallmark of a true, full-blown definite article.

In Table 4 below the stages in grammaticalization of the definite article are combined with the types of context discussed above.

Table 4. Stages and contexts in the grammaticalization of the definite article

Stage in grammaticalization	Context	Demonstrative/Definite article—function
Stage I	Original context	Deixis
Stage II	Bridging context	Direct anaphora (textual deixis)
Stage III	Bridging context/Switch context	Indirect anaphora (textual)
Stage IV	Extended switch context	Unique reference (non-textual)
Stage V	Conventionalization	Generics (non-textual)

The original context is the (distal) demonstrative pronoun used deictically in a speech situation: when the speaker wishes to draw the listener’s attention to an item in their immediate surroundings but (since it is a distal demonstrative) not close to either of them.

The bridging context constitutes the textual use of the (distal) demonstrative—the text replaces the speech situation, with deixis applied to a linguistic item whose accessibility is grounded in the text and not in the physical situation.

In the account of J. Lyons (1975), the grammaticalization of the definite article originates with the anaphoric use. The bridging context is one where the original meaning is available, while a new meaning is also possible. In this case the original meaning is that of the demonstrative if the conversation is about something accessible through the situational context, and the new meaning is that of—accessibility through the textual context. This can be seen in article languages where the definite article is regularly used anaphorically but where, in many cases, demonstratives are also possible in this usage.

Stage III of the grammaticalization process is an extension of the bridging context: an item is accessible textually but through some other item rather than repetition of an already introduced one. At this stage a situationally motivated reference is still possible. Imagine an electrician coming to your house to examine a faulty kitchen appliance of a strange design. Unable to locate the switch on it he may ask: *Where is the switch?*—here ‘the switch’ will refer to a part of the appliance that has not been mentioned but is present in the situation. In table 4 stage III corresponds to the bridging/switch context. Demonstratives are no longer possible in this stage (see examples (6a) and (6b)). Textually, the extension from the direct anaphora to the indirect may proceed through a use of the form by the referent that is in direct anaphora—but a long distance one and therefore not immediately accessible—which may also be accessed through some other, closer referent. Consider the following OS example:

(12)	lægs	maþer	viþ	kono	giælðer	viþ	<u>barn</u>	þet	ær
	lies	man	by	woman	gets	with	child	it	is
	frillu	barn	fæstir	han	sípan	meþ	laghum	þa	ær
	mistress	child	marry	he	later	with	laws	than	is
	þet	adalkono	barn	þy	at	þaghar	han	bættræþi	
	it	wife	child	because	that	when	he	bettered	
	<u>kononæ</u>	þa	bættræþi	han	ok				
	woman-DEF	then	bettered	he	also				

**barnnit**  
child-DEF

(YVL ÆB:12)

‘If a man lies with a woman and gets her with child, it is a bastard. If he marries her later according to the laws than it is a legitimate child, because when he bettered the woman, he also bettered the child’.

The source of the definite marking here is both the direct anaphoric reference to a child, but also the indirect one through the word ‘the woman’. Such contexts give rise to the use of the definite even when the first mention is lacking but the specificity and definiteness of the referent can be inferred from the context. The inference is then based on the general knowledge and stereotypical connections between different concepts, such as marriage: wife, husband, child etc. Both direct and indirect anaphora are textual uses, though the latter also relies on some knowledge outside the text.

The next stage, herein termed the extended switch context, involves the use of the definite by unique referents. It must be noted that this use is clearly at odds with the original demonstrative use where a referent was singled out from among other similar referents, whereas here a referent is marked though it is the only representative of its kind.

Finally, conventionalization of the definite article means that it can be used generically.

### 2.5.2. From numeral ‘one’ to an indefinite article

The source of the indefinite article is not a demonstrative element but the numeral ‘one’, cross-linguistically the only confirmed source of the indefinite. Traditionally, two major uses of the indefinite are proposed: specific and nonspecific.

(13a) I bought **a car** this morning.

(13b) I am looking for **a reliable car**.

This double nature of the indefinite article has in literature been termed ‘referential opacity’ (Quine 1953). In some contexts, like (14a), the article is referentially transparent (specific), in others like (14b) it is referentially opaque and requires a wider context to be interpreted as either specific (15) or nonspecific (16).

(14a) John married **a rich woman**.

(14b) John wanted to marry **a rich woman**,

(15) ... but *she* refused him.

(16) ... but he couldn’t find *any*.

(Quine 1953)

The English indefinite article does not by itself indicate whether the nominal marked by it is intended to refer or not. The situation is similar in MS. But there are languages where this contrast is made. It has also been observed for all Creole

languages that the numeral ‘one’ (the source of the indefinite article) marks referring indefinites, while zero marks non-referring indefinites (Bickerton 1981)<sup>21</sup>.

According to Heine 1997, the grammaticalization of the indefinite article follows five stages.

Diagram 3. Model of the grammaticalization of the indefinite article according to Heine

Stage I:	the numeral ‘one’
Stage II:	the presentative marker
Stage III:	the specific marker
Stage IV:	the nonspecific marker
Stage V:	the generalized article

(Heine 1997:72-3)

As was the case with the stages of grammaticalization of the definite article, these are not discrete and it is possible for an item to have two (neighbouring) interpretations: such contexts give rise to the new functions. Ambiguity in interpretation between the numeral and the presentative and specific markers in speech is often resolved by the presence or absence of stress.

The presentative marker is in fact a subtype of the specific marker, used to introduce new referents into the discourse. It is reasonable to separate it from the wider specific marker because it seems to be the original non-numeral function of ‘one’ where there is competition from other presentative markers. Hopper and Martin note in their study of the rise of the indefinite article in Old English that there is some variation in this context between the numeral *an* and *sum* and that the variation seems to be quite systematic: while *sum* introduces new and salient referents, with numerous subsequent mentions and is located at the beginning of the text, *an* introduces less salient referents with fewer subsequent mentions and can appear anywhere in the text, not just at the beginning (Hopper and Martin 1987). The presentative marker is thus strictly connected with the textual functions. So the origin of the indefinite article lies, as the origin of the definite, in the textual use.

The specific marker also marks new referents but these need not play any part in the subsequent discourse. It is a marking contrastive to the definite article.

A nonspecific marker is used to indicate that the noun marked is not meant to refer (see example (16)). As has been observed in literature there are a number of contexts where unless the noun is definite it must be regarded as not only in-

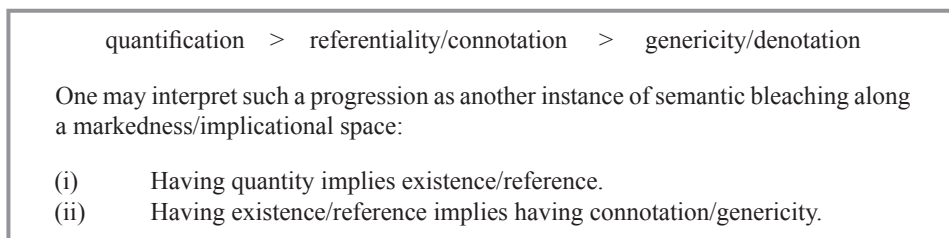
<sup>21</sup> Since the indefinite article in English does no longer differ between referring and non-referring indefinites, one may see the gradual grammaticalization of the proximal *this* (see 2.5.1) into a referring indefinite article in spoken English as a later stage in the chain of grammaticalization comprising all elements marking (in)definiteness. This renewal is by no means an obligatory part of the development.

definite but also nonspecific (e.g. Barwise and Cooper 1981). These are so-called negative polarity contexts where the noun is found e.g. in the scope of negation, hypothetical conditional, in a comparison or after a verb of volition (e.g. *to want*). Finally, the generalized indefinite article can be used in generic contexts.

For the sake of a diachronic study, where the speaker's intentions are difficult to gauge, I will differentiate in Chapter 5 between the presentative, specific and nonspecific uses based on Heim's concept of the lifespan of a discourse referent, measured by number of further mentions.

The progression of 'one' from a numeral to an indefinite article is by Givón 1981 summarized in the form of the following diagram:

Diagram 4. Model of the grammaticalization of the indefinite article according to Givón



(Givón 1981:50)

Each of the two transitions above may be viewed as removing one more marked semantic feature of 'one'; the first step bleaching out quantification, the second bleaching out existence/reference (Givón 1981:50f).

The following table brings together the contexts and the stages of grammaticalization of the indefinite article (both presented by Heine, 2002 and 1997 respectively):

Table 5. Stages and contexts in the grammaticalization of the indefinite article

Stage in grammaticalization	Context	Numeral 'one'/indefinite article
Stage I	Original context	Numeral
Stage II	Bridging context	Presentation marker
Stage III	Bridging context/	Marker of specific reference
Stage IV	Switch context	Marker of non-specific reference
Stage V	Extended switch context Conventionalization	Generalized article

The original context is the numeral. Its function is to mark that the entity referred to exists and in one exemplar.

The bridging context is the use of the numeral as a presentation marker—the quantity is admittedly still ‘one’, but this information in itself is usually redundant. Rather, a singular referent is marked as being introduced in the discourse. There is a strong likelihood that this referent will be taken up in later discourse. However, a strictly numerical interpretation is still viable.

The switch context involves the use of the form in specific contexts to present new referents important in the story including those that are not ‘persistent’ (Givón 1983).

The extended switch context involves the use of the form by nonspecific referents (in negative polarity contexts and elsewhere). It is impossible to read the original numeral within this, as it assumes non-existence and therefore non-countability.

Conventionalization for the indefinite article implies generic use just as for the definite one. Here the opposition to the original meaning of cardinality is even stronger, since generics refer to the whole class thus directly opposing the notion of there being just one individual answering to the description.

### 2.5.3. Grammaticalization of (in)definiteness—a large chain?

It has been pointed out in some studies of grammaticalization of (in)definiteness that the grammaticalization of the indefinite is not independent of the grammaticalization of the definite (Stark 2002, de Maulder & Carlier 2011). The grammaticalization of the indefinite article in particular seems dependent on the grammaticalization of the definite having reached at least stage II (direct anaphora) and possibly stage III (indirect anaphora), where the form can no longer be regarded as a demonstrative but rather as a semi-article. Only then does the numeral seem to spread to the presentation contexts. In these a regular difference is made between specific and nonspecific referents—a difference that seems to be more fundamental than the one between the definite and the indefinite. Therefore it is not unusual to find nonspecific presentation markers as well as specific ones; in Swedish *en* is limited to specific uses and in the nonspecific either a bare noun or *någon* ‘some’ is used. The question remains open as to precisely what level of grammaticalization the definite article must reach to set the scene for the grammaticalization of the indefinite one. It seems logical that it must at least be obligatory to mark the prominent referents of the discourse so that the need for properly introducing them is created.

The grammaticalization of the definite article, on the other hand, is also dependent on the existence of an indefinite article—in its later stages the definite article may grammaticalize further into a marker of specific reference and finally into a noun marker (Greenberg 1978). It seems that the presence of an indefinite

article checks this development into a marker of specificity (from Greenberg's stage I to his stage II).

Cross-linguistically, not only do the grammaticalizations discussed so far (demonstrative < definite article, numeral 'one' < indefinite article) occur, but they occur in this particular order. It is therefore reasonable to treat these grammaticalizations as parts of a larger chain of events—the grammaticalization of (in)definiteness.

## 2.6. Grammaticalization and language change

In grammaticalization studies, language change is regarded as gradual and always involves variation rather than abrupt substitution of one structure by another. A model of language change can be illustrated in the following way (after Norde 2009:16):

$$A > \{A/B\} > B$$

{A/B} symbolizes the variation between old and new forms which for some time coexist until one of them disappears or is reinterpreted. This phenomenon is known as 'gradience' (Traugott and Trousdale 2008). The model above is a simplified one, since there are more stages of change conceivable—and all or most may coexist at some point. The model would thus grow into something like the following:

$$A > \{A/B\} > \{A/B/C\} > \{A/B/C/D\} > \{B/C/D/E\} > \{C/D/E\}$$

From a synchronic point of view, stages such as stage 4, where three different structures (B, C and D) exist in parallel with the original one (A), are problematic in description, since many occurrences will be ambivalent in interpretation between say A and B or B and C. Such is the case of *be going to* in sixteenth and seventeenth century texts (in the Helsinki corpus), where the construction may be interpreted either as motion verb or as future auxiliary (Norde 2009:17, see Brinton and Traugott 2005:26ff).

## 2.7. Conclusions

Grammaticalization studies belong to the domain of study of language change. They enable a study of how a grammatical category is marked and how that marking changes in time, presenting it in the form of a model of grammaticalization in (non-discrete) stages.

For the category of (in)definiteness a number of studies reveal that the definite articles develop out of demonstrative elements and the indefinite ones out of the numeral 'one'. These two developments form grammaticalization chains—originating in a common source and progressing toward a common target. Since they concern the same category, they may be reconciled within a larger model where the grammaticalization of the indefinite article is triggered when the definite has become the obligatory marker of the textual functions.



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# 3 Sources of grammaticalization

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## 3.1. Introduction

Before we turn to a detailed study of the grammaticalization of the definite and indefinite articles in the Old Swedish period, 1225-1526 AD, we will consider in this chapter the sources of these grammaticalizations and discuss the developments which predate the OS period. The discussion is partly based on reconstructions and partly on runic material available to us today (as mentioned in Chapter 1, 1225 constitutes the onset of the use of the Latin alphabet in Sweden which supplanted the earlier *fupark*). Some parts of the grammaticalization processes however elude us completely.

Interestingly enough, it is these earliest stages of grammaticalization that have received most attention from historical linguistics of all times and confessions. With very limited and partly undeciphered material the field for speculation is wide. Some speculations seem to be better founded and argued for than others, but unless we discover some lost documents they will necessarily remain speculations.

The chapter is organized as follows: in 3.2 the etymologies of the exponents of the category of definiteness are presented, including the weak adjectival inflection, the demonstratives *(h)inn* ‘that’ and *sá* ‘this’, the numeral *en* ‘one’ and the existential determiner *nágon* ‘some’. In 3.3 we take a closer look at the relative order of events, trying to establish the chronology of the grammaticalization processes. In particular, the time of cliticization of *(h)inn* is discussed. In 3.4 the occurrences of all exponents in the runic material from 800-1225 are presented.

## 3.2. Etymologies of the articles

In a study of a grammaticalization process it is important to establish which form undergoes grammaticalization, namely what its etymology is. In the case of the definite articles in Scandinavian languages, the task is neither simple nor uncontroversial.

The double, or more accurately, triple, definiteness in MS (see 1.5) mirrors several layers of linguistic innovation. The oldest of these is the formation of a new adjectival inflectional paradigm, the so-called weak inflection. This development, dated to the PGmc period, is common to all Germanic languages and has even been termed unique to them within the Indo-European language family (e.g. Ringe 2006); though it must be noted that similar tendencies were even present in Old Church Slavonic and in the Baltic languages.

The second layer of the morphologization of the category of definiteness is the formation of the postposed definite article, common to all Nordic languages, with the notable exception of the South Jutlandic dialects of Danish which have not developed a suffixed form of the definite article (e.g. Perridon 2002:1019). The suffixed article is most commonly derived from a distal demonstrative pronoun *hinn* ‘that’, which is probably a cognate of the English ‘yon’.

The third layer of the multiple definiteness formation is the grammaticalization of the proximal demonstrative *sá* (later *þæn*) in the prepositional position. This process continues in OS, as witnessed by the oldest Swedish manuscripts and can therefore be tentatively dated at period I (1225-1375).

The indefinite article does not grammaticalize until the OS period. Its etymological source is the numeral *en* ‘one’.

### 3.2.1. The weak adjectival inflection

The oldest grammaticalization of a definite exponent we know of today is the formation of a new adjectival inflectional paradigm, the so-called weak inflection, whereby the adjectives<sup>22</sup> acquire a new set of endings, uniform with the n-stem nominal paradigm, as in (1):

- |     |         |   |   |
|-----|---------|---|---|
| (1) | strong  |   | weak  |
|     | ‘alive’ | masc. *k <sup>w</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> a-, fem. *k <sup>w</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> ō- | masc. *k <sup>w</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> an-, fem. *k <sup>w</sup> ik <sup>w</sup> ōn- |
|     |         |   | (Ringe 2006:169)  |

This development, dated to the PGmc period, is common to all Germanic and several other Indo-European languages. In Old Church Slavonic there are the ‘long’ and ‘short’ adjectival paradigms, the long made up of an adjective and a cliticized demonstrative, where each element retains its original inflection in case and number.

<sup>22</sup> Morphologically, adjectives are nouns, and in Indo-European have same declensions as the corresponding noun stems, thus *bonus* is inflected as *hortus*. Since they denote quality they usually appeared as attributes to nouns, e.g. *hortus magnus*. (Prokosch 1939:259)

- |      |                                      |                         |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (2a) | dobrъ    rabъ<br>good    servant     |                         |
| (2b) | dobra-jego<br>good.SG.GEN-DEF.SG.GEN | rab-a<br>servant-SG.GEN |
| (2c) | dobru-jemu<br>good-SG.DAT-DEF.SG.DAT | rab-u<br>servant-SG.DAT |
- (after Prokosch 1939:260)

Remnants of this system can be found in modern Serbo-Croatian, and, though limited to nom and acc sg masc, in Slovenian as well (Krámský 1972:179-180, Lunt 2001). The weak declension implies the change of all adjective stems to n-stems—technically it consists of the addition of an n-determinant. This process has a counterpart in Latin. There the masculine adjectives could be changed to n-stems to denote permanent quality, and the new stems often formed proper names: *catus* ‘sly’, *Catō*, *-ōnis* ‘the sly one’ (Prokosch 1939:260). The term ‘individualizing’ is used (e.g. Krahe 1969, Ringe 2006) in the description of the weak inflection:

Diese ‘schwachen’ n-Bildungen haben ursprünglich individualisierenden Charakter, wie etwa griech. στράβων, ‘Schieler’ (eigntl. ‘der schielende’) neben στράβός ‘schielend’; sie werden daher—im Gegensatz zum starken Adj.—mit dem bestimmten Artikel verbunden, wie noch heute der gute mann im Gegensatz zu (ein) guter mann usw. (Krahe 1969:81).

The nature of this individualization is thus to bring an object, entity or person amongst several similar objects, entities or persons into focus by naming the quality that sets it apart from the others. So for instance the ON *gamli maðr* ‘old-DEF man’ would correspond to ‘one of men, the old one’. This strategy disambiguates the referent for the hearer and makes it unique within some group of similar referents. The difference between the strong and the weak inflection can be illustrated by the following examples:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (3a) | hans    siukt    ben<br>his    sick-ST    leg |
| (3b) | hans    siuka    ben<br>his    sick-W    leg  |

(Delsing 1994)

In example (3a), the strong form of the adjective implies that it is used attributively; the meaning intended is probably ‘his leg, which, by the way, is sick’. In

the second example, the weak inflection has a contrastive function; by using the weak form the interpretation intended is more ‘the one of his legs that is sick’. The weak and strong paradigms are still used in this way in the classical Old Swedish texts. Consider the following example from YVL (ca 1280):

- (4)      Konæ    firigiær    manni    fællir    hana    **luct**  
 Woman kills    man    charge    her    closed-ST.NOM.FEM

**hæræznæmpðin.**

jury-DEF

(YVL FB:12)

‘If a woman kills a man, she shall be charged by a closed jury’.

The most probable meaning intended here is purely descriptive, not contrastive: ‘a jury that is closed’ not ‘this jury which is a closed one’ (out of a number of juries, some open). Thus, the strong form of the adjective is used, despite the fact that the NP is definite and overtly marked for definiteness by means of a definite article.

The combination of indefinite (strong) adjective + definite noun is seen by Berkov (1964) as a ‘new characteristic given to a known referent’, whereas that of definite (weak) adjective + definite noun is understood as a ‘known characteristic of the known referent’. Such examples are still found in Modern Icelandic, where the following combinations are available:

- (5a)    góður            maður  
       good-ST        man
- (5b)    góði                maður  
       good-W         man
- (5c)    góði                maðurinn  
       good-W         man-DEF
- (5d)    góður            maðurinn  
       good-ST        man-DEF

(based on Naert 1969)

The choice of strong vs weak form of an adjective is meaningful, as illustrated by the different interpretations of the adjective in (6a) and (6b).

- (6a)    Ég            horfði    upp    í            **bláan**            himininn.  
 I        looked    up    into    blue-ST        sky-DEF  
 ‘I looked at the sky that was blue’.

- (6b) Ég horfði á bláa bílinn.  
 I looked at blue-W car-DEF  
 'I looked at the blue car (and not the red)'.

(after Höskuldur Thráinsson 2007:3)

In (6a) 'the sky' is definite since it is a unique referent. Its property of being blue is however not inherent—the sky may be e.g. grey or black. Therefore the strong form of the adjective *blá* 'blue' suggests that the colour of the sky is new information. In example (6b) both the car and its colour are elements the hearer is assumed to be familiar with perhaps because the blue car in question has been discussed before. Such use of the weak vs strong adjectival inflection certainly bears some parallels to the restrictive vs non-restrictive subordinate clauses.

- (7a) I looked at the sky, which was blue (=one sky, its colour is additional information).  
 (7b) I looked at the car which was blue (=more than one car, the one I looked at was the blue one).

The use of the weak form implies that there is a choice of more than one potential referent and the one described by the quality is to be chosen ('individualizing' function). In Icelandic, it is regular to the point of ungrammaticality of the following:

- (8) **Rautt**/?rauða **nefið** á honum glóði í  
 red-ST/?W nose-DEF on him glowed in  
 myrkrinu.  
 dark-DEF  
 'His red nose glowed in the dark'.

(after Höskuldur Thráinsson 2007:3)

The ungrammaticality of the weak form of the adjective in (8) lies in the fact that it would imply that the person had more than one nose and it was the red one that glowed in the dark or at least that there is a contrast between the red nose and some other nose.

In Swedish, the weak adjectival inflection gradually turns into an agreement phenomenon and becomes obligatory in any definite NP, independent of what the other exponents of definiteness are. Therefore there is no difference similar to the difference made in Icelandic:

- (9a) Jag tittade upp i **den blåa himlen**.  
 'I looked up to the blue sky'.

- (9b) Jag tittade på **den blåa bilen**.  
 ‘I looked at the blue car’.

Weak adjectival inflections develop in several Indo-European languages. The Germanic innovation, for all adjectives excepting a few indeclinable, is that there are two paradigms available: the weak and the (original) strong. The weak is identified with definite meaning though the number of contexts for it are limited. The modern usage is purely a concord phenomenon, guided by syntactic considerations rather than semantic ones.

### 3.2.2. Demonstratives

Typologically it is usual for definite articles to be derived from demonstrative pronouns and indefinite articles from the numeral ‘one’ (see chapter 2.5.1 and 2.5.2). So is the case in Swedish. There were three, perhaps even four, demonstrative pronouns in the Old Nordic pronominal system (Noreen 1913, Krahe 1948). Those included: *sá* (nominative masculine, later substituted by the accusative form *þen*), *hinn* (or *inn*), and the compounded *sjá* (later *þenna*). The forms of the pronouns are given in the tables 5a, 5b and 5c respectively (*inn* has the same inflectional forms as *hinn*).

Table 5a. The inflectional paradigm of (*h*)*inn*

Number	Case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	<i>hinn</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>hit</i>
	GEN	<i>hins</i>	<i>hinnar</i>	<i>hins</i>
	DAT	<i>hinum</i>	<i>hinni</i>	<i>hinu</i>
	ACC	<i>hinn</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>hit</i>
PL	NOM	<i>hinir</i>	<i>hinar</i>	<i>hin</i>
	GEN	<i>hinna</i>	<i>hinna</i>	<i>hinna</i>
	DAT	<i>hinum</i>	<i>hinum</i>	<i>hinum</i>
	ACC	<i>hina</i>	<i>hinar</i>	<i>hin</i>

The demonstrative pronoun (*h*)*inn* is found in the eastern languages (Swedish and Danish) almost exclusively as *hinn* (there are five runic inscriptions where the form *inn* appears, U 226, U 1146, Hs 21, Sö 41, Sö 125, see *Rundatabasen*), whereas in Icelandic two forms are in variation: *hinn* and *inn/enn*. There they seem to be interchangeable in all contexts, though a more detailed study is called for.

- (10a) **hit**                      fyrra      sumar  
the.NEUT                      previous summer
- (10b) **et**                        sama      kveld  
the.NEUT                      same      evening
- (10c) Haraldr **hinn**                      hárfagri  
Harald the.MASC                      fair-haired
- (10d) Hákon jarl **enn**                      ríki  
Hakon earl the.MASC                      rich

(Nygaard 1966: 49–50; Faarlund 2004: 58)

This variation in texts has not been given sufficient prominence in the literature, though there have been many attempts to establish the etymologies of both *hinn* and *inn*. Some explanations for the existence of two such similar pronouns are morphological and some phonological. According to the former, *hinn* is the result of a composition of two pronominal demonstrative stems: *inn* and *h-*, both of which can also be found in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal pronouns (sg) *han*, *hon*. This demonstrative survives in modern German *heute* (lit. ‘this day’, Krahe 1948:67). Such a view of the origin of *hinn* is held among others by Krahe (1948:67), Noreen (1913:180 and 190), de Boor (1922:173 and 178), Syrett (2002:721). A minority of authors give a phonological or phonetic explanation to the presence of *h* in *hinn* (Gjerdman 1924:137, Jónsson 1901:315, Neckel 1924:407-412). For a detailed account of the disagreement see Perridon 1989:129-135.

Table 5b. The inflectional paradigm of *sá*

Number	Case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	<i>sá*</i>	<i>sú*</i>	<i>þat</i>
	GEN	<i>þess</i>	<i>þeir(r)ar</i>	<i>þess</i>
	DAT	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeir(r)i</i>	<i>því</i>
	ACC	<i>þann</i>	<i>þá</i>	<i>þat</i>
PL	NOM	<i>þeir</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>
	GEN	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>
	DAT	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>
	ACC	<i>þá</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>

\*later superceded by the acc forms *þan*, *þa*, *þat*

The nominative forms given in table 5b occur mainly in runic inscriptions and, sporadically, in the oldest Swedish legal texts. As they bear no resemblance to other forms of the paradigm they are most probably a remnant of yet another pronominal paradigm, which is found in other Indo-European languages (e.g. Slavic *s*-forms; Polish *do siego roku*). This paradigm is highly weakened in other Indo-European languages as well. Originally the *s*-pronouns determined an entity found ‘close to the hearer’ and contrasted with *d*-pronouns (close to the speaker) and *x*-pronouns (far from both the speaker and the hearer). This tripartite system is preserved in some Indo-European languages, e.g. Armenian (see Chapter 2), Ibero-Romance, some Italian dialects in Southern Italy. Whether they share a common ancestry is unclear (Bauer 2007:105, cf. Brugmann 1911:310-47, esp. 346-7).

Table 5c. The inflectional paradigm of *sjá* (*þenna*)

Number	Case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	<i>sjá*</i>	<i>sjá*</i>	<i>þetta</i>
	GEN	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>
	DAT	<i>þeima</i>	<i>þessar(r)i</i>	<i>þessu</i>
	ACC	<i>þenna</i>	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þetta</i>
PL	NOM	<i>þessir</i>	<i>þessar</i>	<i>þessi</i>
	GEN	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>
	DAT	<i>þessum</i>	<i>þessum</i>	<i>þessum</i>
	ACC	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessar</i>	<i>þessi</i>

\*later superceded by the acc forms *þán, þa*

The difference between the pronouns (*h*)*inn* and *sá* had most probably to do with marking of distance: (*h*)*inn* corresponded to English ‘yon’ (distal deixis), while *sá* marked the proximal deixis. In its paradigm remnants of a yet another proximal demonstrative are found. *Sjá* functioned as a reinforced deixis (a compound of demonstrative *sá* and intensifying *-si*).

The tripartite system which we can discern in the (*h*)*inn* and *sá/þen* paradigms can be illustrated by the Homeric Greek and Latin demonstratives (after Bauer 2007:105):

- (11a) *ó* ‘this’ (‘this, close to me’, 1<sup>st</sup> person)  
 (11b) *ούτος* ‘that’ (‘that, close to you’, 2<sup>nd</sup> person)  
 (11c) *έκείνος* ‘that’ (‘that, close to him’, 3<sup>rd</sup> person)



When *ó* grammaticalized into a definite article, a demonstrative particle was added to the original pronoun rendering *óδε* and re-establishing the original tri-chotomy (Bauer 2007:106).

The Latin demonstrative system was a tripartite as well, as illustrated in the following:

- (12a) *hic* ‘this’ (1<sup>st</sup> pers., EGO)  
 (12b) *iste* ‘that’ (2<sup>nd</sup> pers., TU)  
 (12c) *ille* ‘that’ (3<sup>rd</sup> pers., ILLE)

Interestingly, all of the demonstratives are compounds. Additionally, Latin had an anaphorically used element *is*, referring to an entity just mentioned or about to be mentioned but without a deictic value (Bauer 2007:113). This is also the element which disappears from the language, remaining only in some fixed expressions.

### 3.2.3. Numeral ‘one’

The indefinite article in Swedish is derived from the numeral *enn* ‘one’, PGmc *\*aina-* from ie. *\*oi-no* (Lat. *unus*, Greek dial. *oinós*). Its grammaticalization does not start until the beginning of the OS period and its occurrences in the runic material are exclusively as a numeral (see 3.4)

Table 6. The inflectional paradigm of *enn* ‘one’

Number	Case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	<i>enn</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ett</i>
	GEN	<i>ens</i>	<i>enna</i>	<i>ens</i>
	DAT	<i>enom</i>	<i>enne</i>	<i>enom</i>
	ACC	<i>enn</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ett</i>

There are two other elements linked with the grammaticalization of the indefinite article. The first is the *någon* ‘some’, used in nonspecific indefinite contexts (see Chapter 1.5). Its etymology clearly indicates that it is a nonspecific marker; *någon* is a relatively late formation and unlike (*h*)*inn*, *sá*, *en* or *sjá* does not trace back to a single IE element. It was formed in the AN/ON time (Hellquist 1957:713) as a contraction of the phrase *ne wait ek hwariR*, literally ‘not know I which’. In OS sources it appears as *nokorr*.

Another grammaticalized formation connected with the grammaticalization of the indefinite article is MS *ingen* ‘none’, regularly used in negated utterances (without the negation occurring a second time), e.g.

- (13) Jag köpte ingen bil.  
I bought none car.  
'I didn't buy a car'.

The form is a coalescence of *en* (the numeral and later indefinite article) and a particle *-ghi(n)*, which originally had a generalizing meaning (Hellquist 1957) and later a negating one<sup>23</sup>. In subordinate clauses it is split into the negation marker *inte* and *någon*.

- (14) Jag vet att han inte har köpt någon bil.  
I know that he not has bought NGN car  
'I know that he hasn't bought any car'.

### 3.3. The chronology of the grammaticalizations

As we stated in 3.2, the MS definite NP comprises three different grammaticalizations—of weak adjectival inflection, demonstrative pronoun (*h*)*inn* and demonstrative pronoun *sá* (*þen*). These grammaticalizations are not simultaneous in the historical development—the formation of the weak adjectival inflection belongs to the PGmc period (see 3.2.1), while the demonstratives grammaticalize later.

Of all ingredients of the grammaticalization of (in)definiteness in the Scandinavian languages, including Swedish, that of (*h*)*inn* has attracted most scholarly attention. This interest is natural, since one would wish to explain why the definite NPs in Scandinavian take the form of e.g. *bok-en* 'book-DEF' rather than *den bok* 'the book', as they do in closely related and neighbouring German, Frisian and Dutch dialects<sup>24</sup>, as well as in English. The studies of the developments are based on the West Nordic sources (see Chapter 1.2), since these are some 1000 years older than the East Nordic (Swedish and Danish) ones.

The Swedish definite article is a suffix. It is unusual and within the IE language family only found in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian. Its formation followed most likely followed the cline of grammaticalization:

- (15) lexeme > clitic > affix

Cliticization of the demonstrative predates the Swedish sources (from 1225 onward) and may belong to the common history of the Scandinavian languages. The form found in OS already shows affix-like properties (for a discussion of the

<sup>23</sup> Compare also MS *aldrig* 'never'—a coalescence of *alder* 'time' and the same particle *-ghi(n)*, literally 'not in any time'.

<sup>24</sup> And, as we have mentioned before, in some Jutlandic dialects of Danish.

status of -IN as either clitic or affix in ON, which is valid even for OS, see Faarlund 2007, Abraham and Leiss 2007 and a critique of both in Börjars and Harris 2008).

The precondition for the definite suffix/enclitic to arise is the postposition of the demonstrative—as the position of inflectional material mirrors the original constituent order within the NP<sup>25</sup>. Only when placed after the noun can the demonstrative be enclitically attached to it.

Table 7. The definite nouns in Old Swedish

Number	Case	m 'day'	f 'journey'	n 'ship'
sg	nom	<i>daghr-in</i>	<i>færþ-in</i>	<i>skip-it</i>
	gen	<i>daghs-ins</i>	<i>færþ-inna(r)</i>	<i>skips-ins</i>
	dat	<i>daghi-num</i>	<i>færþ-inne</i>	<i>skipi-nu</i>
	acc	<i>dagh-in</i>	<i>færþ-ena</i>	<i>skip-it</i>
pl	nom	<i>dagha-ni(r)</i>	<i>færþe-na(r)</i>	<i>skip-in</i>
	gen	<i>dagha-nna</i>	<i>færþa-nna</i>	<i>skipa-nna</i>
	dat	<i>daghum-in</i>	<i>færþom-in</i>	<i>skipum-in</i>
	acc	<i>dagha-na</i>	<i>færþe-na(r)</i>	<i>skip-in</i>

Two major hypotheses have been put forward regarding the cliticization<sup>26</sup>.

- (16a) N (*h*)inn Adj → N-inn Adj (Grimm 1837, Delbrück 1916)  
 (16b) N (*h*)inn → N-inn (Nygaard 1905, Pollack 1912)

Hypothesis (a) assumes that the demonstrative following the noun belonged to an adjective phrase with the adjective in the weak form, as in (17).

Hypothesis (b) is the more general of the two; it assumes that a demonstrative could be postposed and in this position unstressed, which leads to the gradual loss of deictic force and syntactic independence.

- (17) maðr                    inn            gamli  
       man.NOM            that        old.W

<sup>25</sup> 'Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax' (Givón 1971:413).

<sup>26</sup> A third reconstruction assumes the postposition of (*h*)inn analogical to MS emphatic formation such as *bonden, han var rik* 'the farmer, he was rich' (Gjerdman 1924). It is problematic since the suffixed article does not show forms of the personal pronoun paradigm. The reconstruction has largely been ignored in later literature, apart from Perridon 1989:143-149, who finds it adequate and explanatory of the origins of articles by subjects.

There is little doubt that the weak adjectives were often reinforced by a demonstrative and that it was dominantly *(h)inn* to begin with. In this function, *(h)inn* has been termed an adjective-article (e.g. Stroh-Wollin 2009).

Reconstruction (a) is different from the more general (b), since it assumes a reanalysis, in fact a re-bracketing, process. According to (a), the original structure of the NP was:

(18) [maðr] [inn gamli]

The demonstrative and the weak adjective formed one unit, which could be placed either before (19a) or after (19b) the noun, and could also be detached from it by other elements (19c)<sup>27</sup>.

(19a) ok nú mun **inn** **gamli** **úlfrinn** komaz at  
 and now could DET old-W wolf-DEF come at  
 gullinu  
 gold-DEF  
 ‘And now the old wolf managed to get to the gold’ (Musinowicz 1911:60)<sup>28</sup>

(19b) fopor Hálfðanar ens milda oc ens  
 father Haldan-GEN DET-GEN mild-W and DET-GEN  
 matar illa  
 food bad-GEN  
 ‘Father of Halfðan the mild and stingy of food’ (Musinowicz 1911:57)

(19c) Ísleifr **Gizorar** sonr **ens**  
 Isleif-GEN Gizor-GEN son-NOM DET-GEN  
**huíta** vas vígþr til byscops  
 white-W was ordained to bishop-GEN  
 ‘Isleif, son of Gizor the white, was ordained bishop’ (Musinowicz 1911:57)

However, due to a tendency to postpose attributes and modifiers, the adjective phrase was more often found after the noun. The structure in (18) came with time to be reanalyzed as (20).

(20) [maðr inn] gamli  
 (Delbrück 1916)

<sup>27</sup> All following examples are from ON texts.

<sup>28</sup> Examples quoted after Musinowicz (1911) retain the spelling given there, which is not normalized.

A number of objections to hypothesis (a) have been raised, mainly by Pollock (1912) and before him by Nyggard (1905), who proposed an the alternative reconstruction (b), in which the postposition of *(h)inn* was assumed as well, but not a *(h)inn* that belongs together with a weak form of an adjective. Their major argument against hypothesis (a) is that the postposed adjective phrases usually accompanied proper names, while the appellatives were modified by the preposed phrase. The argument is largely based on Musinowicz 1911, who in his study of the position of the adjective attribute found only 4 instances of a postposed weak adjective with *(h)inn* where the noun was not a proper name out of 102 examples (Musinowicz 1911:56).

Though Musinowicz' study is thorough and impressive, its results are hardly conclusive for the reconstruction. Firstly, the fact that, in his material, *(h)inn* + adjective are postposed almost only after proper names does not exclude tendencies to cliticization. Such tendencies are quite clear in examples such as (20), where the demonstrative seems to be understood by the writer as part of the noun rather than a separate word<sup>29</sup>.

- (20) Erikinum            hælghæ  
       Erik-DEF        holy-W  
                           (Kock 1919:98-99, also quoted in Börjars and Harris 2008:297)

Secondly, there is a general agreement that the tendency to postposition of nominal modifiers was stronger in the older stages of the development of the Scandinavian languages, and that it gradually wears off. The study of ON is based on material where both pre- and postmodification is possible, with a growing tendency to premodification. It was a time where the old preference for postmodification was being abandoned in favour of premodification. The cliticization of *(h)inn* is of an earlier date than the texts studied, which is clear from examples such as (21a) and (21b), where it occurs or in conjunction with the pre- or postposed *(h)inn*.

- (21a) En        síðan    leiddi    hann    Flóres    út        í        þann    enn  
       but        later     led        he        Flores    out      in        DET    DET

**góða    eplagarðinn**

good-W applegarden-DEF

'But later he led Flores out to the pleasant apple orchard'.

<sup>29</sup> Naturally, we may only assume that when the OS or ON writer wrote two elements as one word they formed a unit in his grammar. However, we sooner see the opposite tendencies: to write separately words that in fact are a compound (they are regularly adjacent and no intervening elements come between them, e.g. *kirchio gaardh* 'churchyard'). So, if the writer was more prone to write compounds as if they were separate words, when he does write words together they most probably function as one for him.

- (21b) sem    **pau**    sváfu    í    **hjónin**    **hin**  
 which    they    slept    in    married couple-DEF    DET

**ungu**

young-W

‘which they slept in, the young married couple’

(both after Musinowicz 1911:60)

Finally, it should be noted that the reconstruction by Nygaard and Pollack itself suffers from lack of data. The demonstrative (*h*)*inn* is found in an adnominal position only once in the runic material before 800, on the whet-stone from Strøm in Norway, dated at ca 600 AD.

- (22)    wate    **hali**    **hino**    horna  
       wet    stone    DET    horn  
       ‘Let the horn wet this stone!’

Otherwise, only *sá* or *sjá* is found in this position in the runic inscriptions, either preceding or following the noun, typically *stein* ‘stone’ on which the inscription is carved.

- (23a)    **þat azina** (By stone, ca 500 AD, Norway)  
       ‘this stone slab’
- (23b)    **stein saR** (U 10)  
       ‘stone this’
- (23b)    **þoriR ok hroða letu ræisa stæin þenna** (U 429)  
       ‘Thore and Hroda had this stone raised’
- (23c)    **astrið let ræisa þenna stæin** (U 238)  
       ‘Astrid had this stone raised’

This is understandable when we consider that the proximal deictic demonstrative is more likely to appear in inscriptions meant to read e.g. ‘this stone’. However, definite articles could also be used deictically in OS, as in (24) or in later runic inscriptions (25).

- (24)    som    her    star    í    **bokenne**    scriuit  
       which    here    stands    in    book-DEF    written

(EK)

‘Which is written here in the/this book’.

(after Larm 1936:160 and Perridon 1989:133)

- (25) a mik **hina** **kamb** nikulas  
has me DET comb Nicolas

(G 240 M)

‘Nicholas owns me, this comb’.

The runic material as well as the earliest ON texts indicate *(h)inn*, only sporadically occurring by nouns, as the adjective article and *sá* or *sjá* as the adnominal demonstratives.

We now turn to the question why weak adjectives should be accompanied by demonstratives at all, as they seem to be in many contexts, both in pre- and postposition. Hodler (1954) argues that the demonstrative was used in this position to reinforce the weakened definite reference of the adjective. However, the weak form could be used on its own, particularly in preposition. Another striking fact about the distribution of the postposed attributes is that they could easily be separated from the head (the noun) by intervening elements. However, when separated, the weak adjective required a demonstrative pronoun (a strong adjective could not be postposed in the same way), as in (26a) and (26b).

- (26a) ok má hann þá ráða **gullinu** því **inu**  
and may he then rule gold-DEF-DAT DET DET

**mikla**

large-W

‘And he may then have this large amount of gold at his disposal.’

- (26b) þetta hit sama setr hann í miðju  
DET DET same place he in middle-W

því **landtjaldinu** **hinu** **stóra**  
DET tent-DEF-DAT DET big-W

‘There in the middle he placed the tent, the big one’

(Musinowicz 1911:60)

An alternative definition of the function of the demonstrative would be of an element linking the NP together. A recent study of the origin of the definite article in Swedish, Stroh-Wollin 2009, defines its function along these lines. In Stroh-Wollin’s terminology the pre-adjectival *(h)inn* has a mediating function (Stroh-Wollin 2009:8f.) whose role is difficult to explain. There are parallels from other languages in recent research, described in Himmelmann (1997) and Diessel (1999), where a similar phenomenon is identified as a ‘linking article’. Its role is easier to understand when we realize that the NP could be split and the postposed material separated from the main noun by other elements (compare the Modern Swedish: *Handeln ökar med Frankrike* ‘Trade is rising with France’ instead of the

equally grammatical *Handeln med Frankrike ökar* ‘Trade with France is rising’; in the first example the NP is divided by the verb). In such cases the demonstrative would serve as a linking device, bringing the phrase together. As the postposed linker became obligatory, even when no intervening elements occurred within the NP, it appeared directly after the noun with increasing frequency, allowing the cliticization process to commence.

In its function of adjective article, *(h)inn* may be exchanged for *sá*, with no apparent difference in meaning, as illustrated by the following example:

- (27) (..) **respi sten** (...) **at Opinkor** (...) **þan** **dyra** **ok** **hin**  
 raised stone to Opinkor DET dear and DET

**drottinfasta**

lord-loyal

(DR 81)

‘Raised the stone in memory of Opinkor, valued and loyal to his lord.’

However, the presence of both *ben* and *hin* in the same context within one inscription may suggest some contrast between the phrases possibly referring independently to two of the people mentioned (Johnsen 1976:58). The meaning of *hinn* would then incorporate ‘the foregoing’ or ‘the other’, and it is in fact found with this meaning in the oldest texts (the adversative *hinn*). However, the linguistic material is too scanty to render any conclusive evidence of either interpretation.

The regional distribution of *(h)inn* and *þen* in this position is not identical; while *(h)inn* dominates in the western varieties (Icelandic and Norwegian), *þen* is more common in the eastern ones (Danish and Swedish). Also, the variation in form between *inn* and *hinn*, known from the Icelandic manuscripts, is not attested in Sweden, where only *hinn* is to be found<sup>30</sup>. The variation in Icelandic manuscripts has to the author’s knowledge not been studied systematically and is generally assumed to be free (e.g. Sprenger 1977).

All authors discussing the subject agree at least on one point: that the adjective article is older than the clitic -IN. They also seem to agree that the adjective article is a result of weakening of the definite meaning of the weak adjectival inflection. From that point on, opinions differ. For many, like Delbrück, Nygaard and, in recent years Ringe, the weak adjectival inflection is similar in function to the definite article. For Hodler, however, it is pure nominalization, and as such possible to use with definite, indefinite or generic meaning<sup>31</sup>. For Delbrück the ad-

<sup>30</sup> Apart from the five inscriptions mentioned earlier.

<sup>31</sup> Diese Ansicht ist—kurz gesagt—falsch. Das schwache Adjektiv ist ... eine Substantivierungsform ... Wie jedes Substantiv konnte eine solche Bildung bestimmte, unbestimmte und generelle Bedeutung haben (Hodler 1954:76). Hodler’s point-blank rejection of the definite meaning of the weak adjectival inflection is criticized among others by Møller, who writes that ‘det er dog vel rimeligt, at der har ligget noget ‘bestemt’ i den svage form, som fra at være et individualiserende, personkarakteriserende substantiv blev opfattet som adjektiv’ (Møller 1956:121)



jective article and the clitic are the same, given a time difference: his reconstruction is based on the postposition of an adjective phrase with adjective article. For others the two processes are separate and the postposition of *(h)inn* has nothing to do with its contemporary function as an adjective article (Pollack, Nygaard).

It must be noted that the adjective article in ON is definitely not anaphoric but must serve some other function. When an anaphoric reference is made another demonstrative is added.

(28a) þann inn alsvinna iotvn  
 DET DET wise-W giant

(28b) sa inn fráni ormr  
 DET DET gleaming-W snake

(examples after Nygaard 1905:87)

Delbrück's reconstruction builds upon postposition of an adjective phrase, composed of a demonstrative *(h)inn* and the weak form of an adjective whereby the demonstrative gradually cliticizes onto the preceding noun and is reinterpreted as belonging together with the noun rather than the adjective. The reconstruction was criticized heavily almost as soon as it was put forward, among others by Nygaard (1905) and Pollack (1912), who instead assumed postposition of the demonstrative alone. A study of the phrases consisting of N followed by *(h)inn* and a weak form of an adjective revealed that they consist most frequently of a proper name and not a common noun<sup>32</sup> (Musinowicz 1911). This has posed a serious challenge to the Delbrück hypothesis.

Stroh-Wollin (2009) assumes that the pre-adjectival *(h)inn* and the suffix -IN are instances of two separate grammaticalization processes, although from a common source (see also Faarlund 2007). In the pre-adjectival position *(h)inn* competes with *þen*<sup>33</sup>. Seeing pre-adjectival *(h)inn* and the suffix -IN as two separate grammaticalizations enables Stroh-Wollin to entirely escape the discussion on

<sup>32</sup> The adjective phrase after the proper name could have either a restrictive or a descriptive meaning. This is illustrated by examples from runic inscriptions: *Balli hinn rauði* 'Balli the red' (Vs 15), possibly as opposed to other carvers by name of Balli and *Kristr hinn hælgi* 'the holy Christ' (U 391) (Stroh-Wollin 2009:8).

<sup>33</sup> Stroh-Wollin uses the term 'article' for all three forms assuming thereby: 1. that there is more than one definite article in the language (interestingly enough she hesitates to term -IN an article); 2. that all forms are fully grammaticalized articles, which is a controversial viewpoint. In the present study no such assumptions are made and when relating Stroh-Wollin the term 'demonstrative' is used, which is not her intention. One of the points she makes is that the suffix is not a grammaticalization of a free article (Stroh-Wollin 2009:5), but even though I disagree with the term 'article' in regard to all OS elements I think her arguments still hold if *(h)inn* is seen as just a pre-adjectival demonstrative. To term it an article puts an unnecessarily sharp border in the cline of grammaticalization.

Delbrück. In her view cliticization of *(h)inn* is earlier than its grammaticalization in the pre-adjectival position (Stroh-Wollin 2009:7) and therefore construction of the type *maðr inn goði*, which is the cornerstone of the Delbrück analysis, cannot possibly be its source.

Another possible explanation is that the weak adjectival inflection had already lost much of its contrastive meaning, which now had to be reinforced by the demonstrative.

The date of the cliticization of *(h)inn* still eludes us. Several different hypotheses have been put forward as to why the article is suffixed. Also, different authors have proposed different dates for article formation. These are presented in table 8.

Table 8. Proposed dating of the cliticization of *(h)inn*

Proposed dating	Author
AN/ON	Delbrück 1916 <sup>34</sup> , Neckel 1924
500-1100	Syrett 2002
ON	Gjerdman 1924, Larm 1936, Barnes (cf. Börjars and Harris 2008:295f)
The Viking Age (just before the legal texts written down)	De Boor (and von Friesen) Seip 1958 <sup>35</sup>
1000-1150	Braunmüller
With the first written texts	Hansen 1927 <sup>36</sup>
Ca 1200	Delsing 2002 <sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ich bin nicht mehr der Meinung, daß der Schlußartikel in der Sondergeschichte des Altisländischen entstanden sei, sondern glaube seinen Ursprung in die urnordische Zeit verlegen zu sollen. (Delbrück 1916:4)

<sup>35</sup> Vi har ingen sikkerhet for at etterhengt artikkel er urnordisk. At den ikke fins i runinnskrifter før i en svensk ca. 1040, i noen norske fra 1100 av, taler nærmest mot det. ... Den gamle oppfatning at den etterhengte artikkel er utviklet i vikingtiden, .. har gode grunner for seg. (Seip 1958:240).

<sup>36</sup> Man maa huske paa, at talesproget ikke havde nogen videre brug for artiklen, saa længe man havde forbindelsen af demonstrativ og subst. Det er skriftsproget, der her—som i andre sprog—fremmer udviklingen af en artikel for trykket. Først da de nordiske sprog faar sig en litteratur, og især da der begynder at danne sig en skriftsprogform, begynder artiklen at brede sig og blive almindeligere brugt. (Hansen 1927:170)

<sup>37</sup> I am inclined to believe that the article developed as an innovation in the 13th century. (Delsing 2002:939)



The regional distribution of *(h)inn* and *þen* in this position is not identical; while *(h)inn* dominates in the western varieties (Icelandic and Norwegian), *þen* is more common in the eastern ones (Danish and Swedish). Also, the variation in form between *inn* and *hinn*, known from the Icelandic manuscripts, is not attested in Sweden, where only *hinn* is to be found<sup>39</sup>. The variation in Icelandic manuscripts has to the author's knowledge not been studied systematically and is generally assumed to be free.

One of the earliest examples of a Swedish runic inscription is the Rök stone (Ög 136), dated at ca 800. The inscription is relatively long (the stone is carved on all sides) and only partly read. There is still some amount of disagreement as to the correct interpretation of the text and a new reading has been recently proposed (Ralph 2007).

The inscription starts with the phrase **aft uamup stonta runaR þaR** 'after Vemund stand runes these', with the postposed demonstrative *sá*. A bit further on in the text we find the first occurrence of *hinn* from the Swedish territory, in the phrase **raipiaurikR hin þurmuþi** 'rode Tjodrik the brave'.

The indefinite article develops in Swedish in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century; *en* 'one' is therefore not found in runic inscriptions in functions other than the numeral and there is only one instance from Sweden, G 136 †\$, dated at 1000-1150 AD (*Rundatabasen*).

- (32) **þina iftir hairos han to haima auk ati totur aina han haitiR haili utr ualtika gi-erþi staina auk uab kustaR ma... tan auk botbiern ristu**

This (is placed) in memory of Heilfúss(?) He died at home and owned (=had) one daughter. She is called Heilvé. Uddr of Valdinga made the stones and he funded the monument. Dan and Bótbjörn carved. (G 136 †\$)

One instance of *en* could be interpreted as the specific marker rather than the numeral, namely U 102.

**kal|j| ||it hkua heli þisa iftiR suni sina toa auk þau ikiþora bR- (a)ina kiarþu mukit mirki furiR arkum mani**

Kali had this rock-slab cut in memory of his two sons, and he and Ingþóra made one bridge -- a great landmark for many(?) men. (U 102)

The numeral interpretation is proposed by both Bugge and Kock (see Leijström 1934:150), though on different grounds, Bugge sees a contrast between one bridge and two sons, while Kock sees a weak form of *en* (compare MS *ena*), which is to be related to **ikidhora** to emphasise that the bridge was raised on individual initiative (in contrast to bridges raised by the whole village, a custom

<sup>39</sup> Apart from U 226, U 1146, Hs 21, Sö 41, Sö 125.

familiar from Uppland). Leijström, however, interprets *aina* in U 102 as devoid of numeral meaning and signifying indefinite meaning (*indefinit betydelse synes foreligga*, Leijström 1934:150ff.)

### 3.5. Conclusions

The process of definiteness grammaticalization in Swedish before 1225 may thus be sketched in the following way:

Proto-Germanic:	formation of the weak adjectival inflection
Proto-Nordic/Ancient Nordic:	formation of the ‘adjective article’—a growing tendency to mark weakly inflected adjectives additionally with a demonstrative
Old Nordic:	cliticization of the demonstrative to the noun / competition between <i>hinn</i> and <i>sá</i> as adjective article

The research so far has mainly concentrated on the earliest stages of grammaticalization of the definite article: its origin (in *inn* or *hinn*), the relationship between *hinn* and *inn*, means of development (postposition of a demonstrative or an adjective phrase) and the age of the development. No final answers have been given to any of these questions. In the following chapter we will study the development in the OS texts.

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# 4 Grammaticalization of the definite article

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## 4.1. Introduction

We have seen in Chapter 3 that scholarly interest in the formation of definiteness in Swedish (and other Scandinavian languages) focused on the very first stages of grammaticalization of the postposed definite article. There has been little interest in the development of the form beyond its cliticization and yet it can hardly be claimed that the definite article is fully developed in OS religious and profane prose<sup>40</sup>. Admittedly, the clitic -IN is already found in the oldest text, AVL, and we have no traces of the cliticization process. It is however largely missing in unique and generic contexts and is, more interestingly, still not fully obligatory in the textual functions either.

In this chapter we will look at its gradual rise in frequency and its spread through the textual functions, direct and indirect anaphora, and beyond them, to the non-textual ones—its use with unique and generic referents. We will also look closely at uses of -IN that seem anomalous from the MS perspective.

## 4.2. General results

General results of the frequency search for -IN in OS texts are collected in Table 9. They are also compared with the results for a MS narrative.

Table 9. Occurrences of -IN in periods I-III.

-IN	Period I	Period II	Period III	MS narrative
Occurrences per 1000 words	21,06	46,4	41,32	72

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<sup>40</sup> An important exception is Larm 1936, who studied the occurrences of -IN and *den* in the classical OS (= period I) and only briefly relates the discussions on the cliticization.

As can be seen, there is a significant rise in occurrences of -IN per 1000 words from period I to period II, with the values more than doubled. Surprisingly enough the values for period III are somewhat lower than for period II and neither reach the MS frequency.

There are considerable discrepancies between the texts in all periods. Table 10 shows the frequency of -IN per 1000 words for each of the studied texts separately, along with information on text lengths and the nominal number of -IN occurrences in each. As can be seen, only of the studied texts approach two MS values, namely the religious Linc NR in period III and SVM in period II. Otherwise, the three narratives in period III show very low numbers. We see similar discrepancies in period II between the lower values for narratives (comparable with the ones in period III) and religious texts.

Table 10. Occurrences of -IN throughout the texts in Periods I-III

Period	Text	Length of the text (number of words)	Total number of occurrences	Per 1000 words
Period I	AVL	15000	24	1,6
	YVL	9200	111	12,06
	OgL	10220	262	25,6
	DL	10750	140	13,02
	Bur	9770	280	28,65
	Pent	10077	229	22,72
Period II	HML	10000	361	36,1
	Jart	10623	671	63,2
	SVM	16350	1112	68
	KM	10940	186	17
	Bo	14300	668	47
	JB	2400	113	47
Period III	PK	4728	103	21,78
	Did	10945	357	32,62
	Linc NR	9835	655	66,6
	Linc JB	11088	541	48,8
	Troj	9780	360	36,81

As can be seen, the oldest and linguistically most conservative AVL has, unsurprisingly, the lowest frequency of -IN. Of the three remaining legal texts, YVL

and DL show low frequencies as well, while OgL is close to the religious texts. This again is unsurprising since OgL is considered a legal text with relatively modern language. As we will see in 4.4 and 4.5, the lower frequencies coincide with lower level of grammaticalization of -IN in legal prose while the higher frequencies in religious prose coincide with a more advanced level of grammaticalization in period I.

In period II the text with significantly lower frequency of -IN is the narrative KM. KM is translated from French, not directly, but via an Old Norwegian translation of the text. Its conservative language (with respect to -IN) may at least partly depend, not only on the genre, but on the fact that it was translated from Norwegian, since another narrative from that period, SVM (based on a Latin original) shows the highest values for -IN among all texts in period II.

Finally, in period III, it is the narratives that show very low values in comparison with religious prose which reaches the MS frequencies of -IN.

From this overview we may conclude that the distribution of -IN is dependent on the genre and possibly on stylistic criteria. Religious prose shows high values of -IN in all periods. We will try to pinpoint the reasons for this regularity in 4.6.2, though we may state preliminarily that this is due in part to the inclusion of a large number of references to religiously 'unique' phenomena, such as 'the truth' and 'the virtue'. On the other hand, one of the reasons for lower values of -IN in the narrative texts compared to the religious ones is a higher frequency of proper names in the former. Where PK names long lists of kings and princes (see example (1)), the religious texts usually operate with appellatives (2).

- (1)
- |            |            |         |                   |                     |                |
|------------|------------|---------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Een        | hans       | son     | heet              | <u>domalde</u> (..) | <b>Domalde</b> |
| one        | his        | son     | was-called        | Domalde             | Domalde        |
| son        | heet       |         | <u>domar</u> (..) | <b>Domars</b>       | son            |
| son        | was-called |         | Domar             | Domar-GEN           | son            |
| heet       |            | attilla |                   |                     |                |
| was-called |            | Attilla |                   |                     |                |
- (PK 228)
- 'One of his sons was called Domalde (..). Domalde's son was called Domar (..)  
Domar's son was called Attilla.'

- (2)
- |                  |       |          |     |           |                 |
|------------------|-------|----------|-----|-----------|-----------------|
| I                | them  | daghomen | war | <u>en</u> | <u>hälogher</u> |
| in               | these | days     | was | a         | holy            |
| <u>biskopper</u> |       | i        | en  | stadh     | som             |
| bishop           |       | in       | a   | town      | which           |
|                  |       |          |     |           | was-called      |



traiectum (..)	Oc	nar	<b>biskoppen</b>	hört	haffde
Trajektum	and	when	bishop-DEF	heard	had

(Linc NR 281-2)

‘In these days there was a holy bishop in a town called Trajektum. (..) And when the bishop had heard..’.

In all periods there are large discrepancies between the texts, but nowhere more than in period I. Legal codices, which are the oldest texts available to us, show very low frequencies of -IN, whereas religious texts some 50 years younger show a surprisingly high -IN frequency and a variety of functions. One text in particular stands out, namely the oldest one, AVL. Since this text has only 24 instances of -IN and because of the importance of the text for our knowledge of OS, it will be discussed here in greater detail.

### 4.3. Äldre Västgötalagen (AVL)

AVL (1225) is the oldest Swedish manuscript written in the Latin alphabet and the proposed date for its formulation marks the beginning of the Old Swedish period. As it represents the oldest stage of language development that can be studied comprehensively, unlike the relatively short and formulaic runic inscriptions, it is one of the most extensively studied texts.

There are only a few examples of -IN in AVL (24 instances in a text 15000 words long). The absence of -IN in contexts that require it in Modern Swedish has been interpreted as either a consequence of the fact that the article was not yet formed by the time the law was composed (e.g. Delsing 2002), or that it was formed but belonged to the spoken rather than written register (Neckel 1924), or perhaps that it is typical of legal texts, even modern ones, to totally avoid articles and instead use bare nouns (Gunnarsson 1982). It has been noted that legal prose makes more use of bare nouns than other genres, e.g.

- (3) **Hund** skall hållas kopplad på **offentlig**  
 dog shall keep.PASS leash.PART on public

**plats.**

place

‘A dog shall be kept on a leash in public places (lit: Dog shall be kept leashed in public place)’

(quoted after Dahl 2007:36)

Yet, even if a particular style is less prone to use articles, they must be present in their basic functions (like direct and indirect anaphora) if they are fully gram-

matalized in a language. We may note that the uses in the example above are mainly non-specific, mass-like. With specific, countable referents, the articles are used even in the legal prose. The first article of the Swedish constitution (*regeringsformen*) reads:

- (4)     **Den**     **offentliga**     **makten**     utövas     under  
           DEF     public           power-DEF     exert.PASS.PRET     under

**lagarna.**

law-PL-DEF

‘The public power is exerted under the laws’.

(quoted after Dahl 2007:36)

Despite the low frequency, -IN is already found in AVL in a variety of functions, mainly textual.

#### 4.3.1. Textual uses—direct anaphora in AVL

The anaphoric usage of -IN is obligatory in MS (unless a demonstrative is used). In AVL the anaphoric contexts are mostly unmarked, as in the following example.

- (5)     Skil     þem     a     bondæ     oc     presti     kaller     **prester**     **bondi**  
           differ     them     on     yeoman     and     priest     says     priest     yeoman
- tende     oc     **bonde**     kuaper     ne     vid     byvper     firir     sik  
           lit     and     yeoman     says     no     by     offers     for     self
- tylfter     eþ     at     han     tændi     eigh     þa     er     han  
           twelve     oath     that     he     lit     not     than     if     he
- hauir     svoret     þa     skal     **prester**     bötæ  
           has     sworn     than     shall     priest     pay                                     (AVL KB:8)

‘If there is an argument between a priest and a yeoman (as to who lit the candles which started the fire in the church), and the yeoman denies having lit the candles and the priest says it was the yeoman who did it, the yeoman offers an oath of twelve that he did not light; if he has sworn then the priest shall pay the fine’.

When -IN is used, it seems to be used in order to actualize a referent mentioned some time ago and no longer easily accessible, as in (6). There are a number of syntagms between the first and the second mentions of the referent ‘man’. There is one use (underlined) of the pronoun *han* ‘he’ referring to ‘him’ in the middle of the text. There are however 3 other instances of *han*, which refer not to the man first

mentioned but to the one who injured him. Therefore perhaps the need to actualize the referent again by means of -IN.

(6)	Far gets	<b>maþær</b> man	sarr wound	liggær lies	i in	længi long	gangær goes	i in	mælli between
	ok and	dör dies	i in	þerri it	giuær gives	arui heir	sak charge	þem he-DAT	ær who
	sargæþi wounded		ok and	kallær calls	han he	banæ guilty	væræ be	þa than	
	skal shall	han he	væriæ defend	sik himself	mæþ with	luctri closed	hæræssnæmd jury		æn if
	<u>han</u> he	dör dies	innan before	nath night	ok and	iamlangæ year	gangær goes	þær it	
	iuir longer	þa then	böti pays	ængtæ nothing	falls falls	han he	at at	sak charge	
	bötæ pays	<b>manin</b> man-IN		aptær after					(AVL BB:9)

‘If a man gets wounded and lies in bed long because of the wound but gets up and walks from time to time and finally dies, the heir presses charges against the one who hurt the man. The accused shall defend himself with a closed jury if the man died before a year and a night have passed. If a longer time has passed he pays nothing, if he is found guilty he should pay’.

It would be a simplification to say that all instances of anaphora marked by -IN are similar to (6). Example (7) shows that -IN could also be used in more straightforward cases. It must be noted though that this example comes from a later addition to the text.

(7)	Varþær be	<b>lekari</b> jester	sargapær hurt	þen he	sum that	mæþ with	gihu fiddle	gangar goes	
	allær or	mæþ with	fiþlu violin	far travels	allær or	bambu drum	þa than	skal shall	
	<b>kuighu</b> heifer	taka take	otamæ untame	ok and	flytiæ lead	up up	a on	bæsing hill	
	þa then	skal shall	alt all	har hair	af of	roppo tail	rakæ shave	ok and	sipæn then

smyriæ grease	þa than	skal shall	hanum him	fa get	sko shoes	nysmurþæ newly-greased	
þa then	skal shall	<b>lekærin</b> jester-DEF		takæ take	<b>quighuna</b> cow-DEF-ACC	vm by	
roppo tail	Gitær manages	han he	haldit hold-it	þa than	skal shall	han he	hauæ have
<u>þæn</u> this	<u>gopa</u> good	<u>grip</u> animal	ok and	niutæ enjoy	sum as	hundær dog	græss grass

(AVL LR)

‘If a jester gets hurt, the one that travels with fiddle, violin or drum, an untame cow should be taken up on a hill, the hair shaved off its tail and the tail greased and the jester be given a pair of newly greased shoes. Than shall the jester take the cow by the tail; if he can hold it, the good animal belongs to him and he should enjoy it as a dog enjoys grass’.

Note that the noun *roppa* ‘tail’ should be definite, in the first instance by reference to the cow, as a body part (see 4.4.3) and in the second at least as anaphora. It is not, however. On the other hand, the noun ‘cow’ is mentioned again with -IN and for the third time, by another term, where rather than -IN a preposed determiner and a weak form of the adjective is used. Apart from -IN, the preposed determiner *den* can also be used to mark anaphoric reference in AVL. These instances bring to mind the modern use of the pronoun *denna/detta* ‘this one’ and not of the determinative *den/det*. It is typical that the prior mention is easily accessible in the discourse, preferably occurring in the preceding syntagm.

- (8)
- |                |              |                    |                     |             |                    |            |                       |           |
|----------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Læggær<br>puts | maþær<br>man | manni<br>man       | <b>fæ</b><br>cattle | sit<br>his  | in<br>in           | til<br>for | gætslu<br>safekeeping |           |
| þa<br>than     | ma<br>may    | <b>þæt</b><br>this | <b>fæ</b><br>cattle | eigh<br>not | tapas<br>lost (be) | af<br>of   | þem<br>this           | uiþ<br>by |

takar  
takes

(AVL RB:13)

‘If a man gives his cattle another man for safekeeping than the cattle may not be lost by the keeper’

Other similar examples include: *kono*, *þa kono* (AVL ÄB:8), *hus*, *þem hvsum* (AVL þB:5), *bref*, *þem bref* (AVL GB:8), *fæ*, *þæt fæ* (AVL FB:10), *mark*, *þa mark* (AVL aM:14), *grip*, *þæn grip*, *þæn grip* (AVL þB:13). These are different from those with -IN because the accessibility of the referent is higher. Though as we noted before, anaphoric reference in AVL is usually unmarked.

**4.3.2. Textual uses—indirect anaphora in AVL**

Indirect anaphora means that the referent has not been mentioned previously, but its familiarity is grounded in its connection with some other previously mentioned item or event. In example (9) the noun *sakinæ* ‘the charge’ refers to the charge of murder and its definiteness may be based on the use of the participle *dræpin* ‘killed’.

(9)	Varþær be	suþærman southerner	<u>dræpin</u> killed	allær or	ænskær maþær Englishman	þa then	skal shall
	böta pay	firi for	marchum marks-DAT	fiurum four-DAT	þem the-DAT	<b>sakinæ</b> charge-DEF-ACC	
	sökir seeks	ok and	tvar marchar two marks	konongi king-DAT			

(AVL aM:5)

‘If a German is killed, or an Englishman, the crime is paid with four marks to the one pressing the charge and two to the king’.

An even more indirect link between the definite and the textual context is found in (10). The example presents the division of inheritance after the death of a man who has been married thrice with children from each marriage. If his wife is still alive, she may first take all that is left of her dowry. The remaining estate (*bono* ‘(of) the estate’) is to be divided into three parts, one per each group of heirs (children from the first, second and third marriage). Note that although the noun ‘estate’ is definite in connection with the yeoman who died (= his estate), it is not identical with it, but refers to ‘the estate after the dowry of the third wife has been removed from it’.

(10)	Maþær man	far gets	sær himself	aþalkono wife		gætær begets	uiþ by	barn child	dör dies
	sv this	fær gets	aþra another	gætær begets	viþ by	barn child	far gets	hina that	þriðiu third
	þör dies	bonde peasant	þa than	en if	konæ woman	er is	livændi alive	þa than	skal shall
	af of	takæ take	hemfylgh dowry		sinæ her	alt all	þet that	ær which	vnöt unused
	ær is	hun she	ællær or	hænær her	börn children	þa than	skal shall	hin that	ælsti oldest

koldær	boskipti	kræfiæ	takær	af	þriþjung	af
brood	division	demand	take	of	third-part	of

**bono**

estate-DAT-DEF

(AVL ÄB 5)

‘If a man marries a woman and has a child with her, after her death marries again and fathers a child and marries for the third time and dies, leaving the woman, she or her children should retrieve her dowry—all of it that is unspoilt—then the children of the first marriage demand a part in the estate and should be awarded a third of it’.

Further examples of the indirect anaphora include: *saksöchenden* (AVL KB:14), *saksökæn* (AVL aM:5), *saksökæn* (AVL BB:7), *arwumn* (AVL ÄB:24), *rikiænnæ* (AVL KuB).

Indirect anaphora is not marked obligatorily in AVL, as follows from example (11), where two identical contexts render (a) a structure lacking -IN, (b) a structure with -IN:

(11)	Viliæ	þer	bötær	takæ	þa	skal	bötæ	niu	markær
	want	they	fines	take	than	shall	pay	nine	marks
	arvæböt	oc	tolf	markær	ættærbot	Sæx	mærkær		
	heir-fine	and	twelve	marks	family-fine	six	marks		
	skal	(a) <b>arui</b>	böta	sex	mærkær	skal	(b) <b>ættin</b>	böta.	
	shall	heir	pay	six	marks	shall	family	pay	

(AVL aM:1)

‘If they accept fines (as a reparation after a relative was killed) than the heir shall pay nine marks and the family six’<sup>41</sup>.

This variation is found when one referent is a countable noun in the singular, whereas the other either a countable noun in the plural or a mass noun (*arvi* ‘heir. pl’ and *ätten* ‘family-sg.def’).

Although it is claimed in literature that indirect anaphora is a context reserved for definite articles and possessives in which demonstratives cannot appear (see Chapter 2.5.1), there are occasional examples which include a demonstrative and whose most probable interpretation is indirect anaphora.

(12)	Uærþær	maþer	dræpin	ok	af	daghum	takin	þa	skal
	be	man	killed	and	of	day	taken	then	shall
	uighi		a	þingi	lysæ		oc	frafal	aruingiæ
	manslaughter		on	ting	announce		and	loss	heir

<sup>41</sup> The provisions are made here for the situation when both the victim and the killer are dead and the matter of fines for the manslaughter is to be resolved between their respective families.

sigjæ	ok	a	adru	Æn	a	þridia	eftyr	mælæ
tell	and	on	other	but	on	third		accuse
ællær	ær	mal	hans	spilt	þa	skal	væghændi	
or	is	case	his	lost	then	shall	killer	
til	þings	faræ	ok	vtæn vider		þing	standi	mæn
to	ting	travel	and	outside		ting	stand	men
til	þings	gæræ	griþær	at	bezas	þings	mæn	skulu
to	ting	make	peace	to	ask	ting's	men	shall
hanum	loua	þings	gangu	han	skal	uider	þy	<b>banorþi</b>
him	promise	ting's	go	he	shall	at	this	charge
gangæ								
go								

(AVL aM:1)

‘If a man is killed than (the killer) shall make the killing known on the ting and inform the heirs, so on the second ting, But on the third (the heir) must bring charges or he forfeits his case. Then shall the killer come to ting and stand outside and send men to the ting to ask for peace. Tingsmen must promise him to come to the ting. He shall admit this accusation (of killing)’<sup>42</sup>.

A special case of indirect anaphora is inalienable possession. It is usually marked with the definite article in MS and occasionally by a possessive (see Chapter 1.5). In AVL, however, it is regularly unmarked.

(13)

Værdær	maþær	huggin	i	<b>houod</b>	ma	seiaæ	<b>hinnu</b>
is	man	hit	in	head	may	see	membrane
allæ	baþi	uapa	bötæ	firi	markum III		
call	both	accident	pay	for	marks three		(AVL VS:1)

‘If a man is hit on the head so that it splits (so that membrane may be seen) and both call it accidental, (he who hit) shall pay 3 marks in fines’.

As well as direct anaphora, indirect anaphora is also typically unmarked in AVL. Example (14) contains what is definitely a link between the first and the second referent, though not inalienable possession—yet *bonda* ‘yeoman’ is unmarked.

<sup>42</sup> In the case of manslaughter, the killer could avoid a feud by confessing the crime on ting and asking the victim’s family for peace.

- (14) þræl far væþæ sar ma eighi firi **bonda**  
 thrall gets accidental injury may not for yeoman
- byærghas liggær attæ daghæ þa skal böta örtogh  
 bring-IN lies eight days then shall pay örtogh  
 (AVL VS:2)
- ‘If a thrall is injured accidentally, may not bring in (hay) for the yeoman (= his owner) and lies down for eight days, than shall (he who injured) pay an örtogh fine’.
- (15a) A **dözsægghi** ma ikki fra **aruæ** giuæ at  
 on deathday may not from heir give by
- laghmæli num **arvi** quædær sialvær ia viðr  
 law unless heir says himself yes to  
 (AVL ÄB:10)
- ‘On the day of death one may not lawfully give away (property) from the heir unless the heir accepts it’.
- (15b) MS translation:  
 På **dödsdagen** må man icke enligt lag giva bort från **arvingen**, om ej **arvingen** själv säger ja därtill.  
 (Holmbäck & Wessén 1979:77)

### 4.3.3. Non-textual functions in AVL

Even though the textual uses of -IN are only sporadic in AVL, the form does occur in non-textual contexts. Although the names of legal powers are always bare nouns (*kunungr*), there is one, used twice, that in both instances is definite, namely *pave* ‘pope’.

- (16) Allum slikum malum skal af landi skiptæ mæþ brevi  
 all such case shall of country part with letter
- til **pavæns** i rom þer skulu af  
 to pope-DEF-GEN in rome there shall of
- pavanum** bref takæ  
 pope-DEF-DAT letter take  
 (AVL GB:8)

‘All such cases are beyond the local jurisdiction and (the perpetrator) shall be sent away from the country with a letter to the Pope in Rome and a letter from the Pope (containing absolution) be taken back’.



Apart from these two instances, no examples of -IN in unique or generic function can be found in AVL. Uniques are unmarked, as in (17).

- (17) Tialdru            stenæ    skal    tua    i            **iorþ**    grawæ    þriþiæ  
 boundary            stones    shall    two    in            earth    dug        third
- a            læggiæ    þer    skulu    vitni            bærae    ar  
 on            lie        they    shall    testimony        bear        which
- i            **iorþ**    liggiæ  
 in            earth    lie
- (AVL IB:10)

‘Boundary stones shall be dug two in the earth and third placed on top. These bear witness (to where the boundary is located) which lie in the earth’.

It is not always straightforward which uses of NPs are generic—since this is a legal text it is reasonable to state that virtually all are. Therefore all uses of *man* and *bonde* could be translated as *en man*, *en bonde* meaning any man, any yeoman. One similar instance (18) is given below.

- (18) **Konongær**            vil        sær        kono    biþia    Ær        þæt        vtæn  
 king                    wants    REFL    wife    bid        is        this        without
- konongrikiz**            þa        skal        mæn    sinæ    latae    faræ    ok  
 kingdom                then     shall     men    his        let        travel    and
- ærændi    sit        vrakæ    ok        fæst                    takæ    þa        skal  
 errand    his        execute    and     engagement        take     then     shall
- konongær**            brudfærþ            gen    gærae    þa        skal  
 king                    bride-journey        toward    make    then     shall
- konongær**            gen        fara  
 king                    towards    travel
- (AVL GB:1)

‘If the king wishes to marry and the prospective bride comes from abroad, he shall send his men to present his case and secure the engagement. Then the king shall make a journey to meet his bride’.

While it would be natural in MS to use the indefinite article here, it is not yet developed in OS and a bare noun is used instead. There are, however, three instances which are difficult to classify, since these too would receive indefinite marking in MS, but in AVL appear with -IN. One is given in (19).

- (19) Havir    konæ    hor    giort    ok    givær    bondæ    kono    sinni  
 has        woman    adultery    done    and    gives    husband    wife    his

sak þa væri sik mæþ siv mannum af  
charge than defends herself with seven men of

**næmdinni.**

jury-DEF

(AVL GB:5)

‘If a woman has committed adultery and the husband charges her with it, she should defend her case with the testimony of seven men of the jury’

We shall return to this surprising use of -IN in 4.6.1.

Even with very few instances of -IN we may still describe its use in the oldest Swedish text as mainly textual though largely absent in short-distance direct anaphora, instead actualizing a referent mentioned some time ago. In none of the functions is the use of -IN obligatory, yet it is found with some unique referents.

#### 4.3.4. Distribution of -IN forms in AVL

The distribution of -IN forms in AVL across genders, cases and numbers is given in Table 11. As can be seen, -IN in AVL is well represented in the singular for all genders and cases, with a slight preference for masculine nouns in the nominative and accusative.

Table 11. The distribution of -IN in AVL by number, gender and case

Number	Gen-der	nom	gen	dat	acc
Sg	M	saksökæn kirkiudroten lekærin saksökæn	pavæns præstins	pavanum arvumn* sakinæ næmdinni	banæn saksöchenden manin skapæn
	F	bondin ættin ættin	–		svnnudaghin quighuna skyldþinæ
pl	N	–	rikiænnæ	bono	vihit
	N	–			

\*see *Excursus* below for a discussion of this particular form

In the plural only one certain instance was found, of the neutral noun *rike* ‘kingdom’, given in (20).

(20) þer tolf sættu sæx stenæ mællir **rikiænnæ**  
they twelve sat six stones between kingdom-PL.DEF.GEN  
(AVL KonB)

‘These twelve sat six stones between the kingdoms’.

**4.3.5. Excursus: on the form ‘arwumn’ in AVL and YVL**

In Table 11 we have classified the form *arwumn*, found in AVL ÄB, as singular masculine, dative case. The context in which it appears is given in (21).

(21)	Dör	landboe	firi	farðaghæ	þa	æru	tver	löter	
	dies	tenant	before	removal-day <sup>43</sup>	then	are	two	parts	
	loll	af	bolæ	hans.	Dör	kona	hans	þa	ær
	free	of	estate	his	dies	wife	his	then	is
	þriþiunger		lös	af	bolæ	hans.	Er	rughi	sait
	third		free	of	estate	his	Is	rye	sown
	a	bole	þa	skal	þæn	ær	bol	a	gialda
	on	estate	then	shall	this	which	estate	owns	pay
	<b>arwumn</b>		iammarghar		skæppur	sum	a	ær	sait.
	heir		even		measures	which	has	been	sown

(AVL ÄB:24)

‘If a tenant dies before his contract is concluded then two parts (thirds) of the estate are free. If the tenant’s wife dies, one third of the estate is free. If rye is sown then the owner of the estate shall give the heir the amount that was sown.’

This form has been the subject of many speculations and is probably one of the most frequently discussed in literature. It is the dative form, going back to:

(22)	arv(i)-om-IN-om
	heir-DAT.PL-DEF-DAT
	‘(with) the heirs’

Such lengthy forms are rarely found, instead they are simplified, the simplification different in the West Nordic (Icelandic, Norwegian) and the East Nordic (Swedish, Danish).

(23)	WN	arw- <del>om</del> -IN-om	→	arwunum
	EN	arw-om-IN- <del>om</del>	→	arwomen

Noreen, Pipping and Sjöros complete the form to *arvunum*, which is dative plural (see Larm 1936:24). However, this is the form as found in West Nordic (*fornvästnordisk*), otherwise not accounted for in the Swedish literature, so this interpretation is quite unlikely, as observed by Larm (1936:24, footnote). It is more plausible that the form should be completed to *arvumen*, masculine dative in the

<sup>43</sup> OS *farðagher* was the day when workers were released from their employment and could enter a new one; the meaning intended here is close to ‘within the valid time of the contract’.

singular, a more likely one in the context. This is proposed in Cederschiöld 1898, a proposition also motivated by a parallel in YVL.

(24)	Dör dies	lanboe tenant	firi for	fordaghæ removal-day	þa then	æru are	tuer two	löter parts	
	löser free	af of	bole estate	hans his	ær if	rughi rye	sat sowed	a on	bole estate
	þa then	skal shall	þen DET	ær which	bol estate	a has	giælþæ repay	<b>aruænum</b> heir-DAT-DEF	
	æmmanger even		skiæpur measure	sum which	ær been	a has	sat sowed	(YVL ÆB:33)	

'If a tenant dies before the contract is concluded then two parts are free of the estate. If the rye is sown than the owner of the dwelling shall repay the heir the same amount that had been sown'.

Because of this parallel and the unlikely reconstruction of the form in its West Nordic variety, it is classified here as masculine dative singular. The reconstruction is further strengthened by the fact that the definite dative plural is a relatively late addition in Swedish (Stähle 1980, Skrzypek 2005).

#### 4.4. The development of textual functions

##### 4.4.1. Direct anaphora

Direct anaphora is considered the original context of demonstrative use that ultimately results in the formation of a definite article (see Chapter 2.5.1 for discussion). One would therefore expect that -IN will be well represented here. As we have seen in 4.3.1, there are only few instances of anaphoric reference with -IN in AVL. A similar situation is found in its continuant, YVL. This partly depends on the fact that large excerpts of YVL are identical with AVL (Holmbäck and Wessén 1979:xliii, Skrzypek 2009). But other legal texts from period I: OgL and DL, are also economical with -IN in direct anaphoric functions. The situation changes first with religious prose in period I, Bur and Pent.

Generally in period I there is a great amount of variation between -IN and demonstratives in indirect anaphoric contexts. The general rule seems to be that the more easily accessible the referent is, the less likely it is to be marked with -IN

(see examples in 4.3.1). Accessibility is understood here as referential distance (Givón 1983:13f.)—the gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse and its current occurrence, measured by the number of clauses to the left of the clause in question. The minimal distance and maximum accessibility are thus equal to only 1 clause—when first and second mention appear in neighbouring clauses. What Givón terms ‘presence in the register’ (Givón 1983:14) may be expressed by anaphoric pronouns, definite descriptions, etc., but also by zero anaphora.

A system similar to MS is found in the OS religious prose. Consider the following example from Bur:

(25)	<u>En</u>	<u>vælburin</u>		<u>ungar</u>	<u>suen</u>	forlæt	værudena	ok
	one	well-born		young	boy	left	world-DEF	and
	folgþe	andream:		hans	frændar	vildo	þøm	bapa
	followed	Andreas		his	relatives	wanted	them	both
	inne	brænna	ok	tændo	<u>brand</u>	iui	þera	<u>hærbærghe</u>
	in	burn	and	started	fire	over	their	shelter
	<b>Smasuennen</b>	slækte		<b>balet</b>	mz	litlo	vatne þa	
	young man-DEF	quenched		fire	with	little	water then	
	vildo	þe	kliva	i	<b>huset.</b>	ok	wrþo	alle
	wanted	they	step	in	house-DEF	and	were	all
	iæm skyt		blinde					
	suddenly		blind					

(Bur 134)

‘A young well-born boy left the world and followed Andreas. His relatives wanted to burn them both and started a fire over their shelter. The young boy put out the flame with some water. Then they wanted to step into the house and (as they did so) they all turned suddenly blind’.

In this example, there are three instances of textual definiteness: *smasuennen* ‘the young man’, *balet* ‘the fire’ and *huset* ‘the house’. Apart from the first, which is a repetition of a similar term used to present the new referent, the others are anaphoric but do not make use of the same term (see the underlined *brand* and *herberge*).

However, not even in Bur do we find the marking consistent or obligatory. Instead, there is variation between -IN, bare nouns and demonstratives, even within one paragraph.

(26)	En	tima	þær	iohannes	prædicape	fik	han
	one	time	there	Johannes	preached	got	he

se	en	ungan	suen	vænan	ok	þo	vildan
see	a	young	boy	beautiful	and	though	wild
iohannes fik		<b>biskope</b>	suenen			ii	hand (..) Iohannes
Johannes got		bishop-DAT	boy-DEF			in	hand Johannes
kom	atar	tel	staþen		ok	sporþe	at
came	back	to	town-DEF		and	asked	about
suenenom		<b>biscopem</b>	sagþe	hanom	vm	suenen	
boy-DEF-DAT		bishop-DEF	said	him	about	boy-DEF	
som	sant	var	Johannes	gaf	<b>biskope</b>		skuld
which	true	was	Johannes	gave	bishop-DAT		guilt
for	vangømo						
for	negligence						(Bur 156)

'One time as Johannes was preaching he saw a young boy, beautiful but wild. Johannes gave a/the bishop charge of the boy. (..) Johannes returned to the town and asked about the boy. The bishop told him as true was. Johannes blamed the bishop for negligence'.

MS would have the second and third instance of *biskop* 'bishop' definite, by anaphoric reference. The first might be definite, meaning 'the bishop under whose jurisdiction the story takes place' or indefinite 'a certain bishop'. In OS, what we see can at best be described as inconsistency in the definite marking. It is only natural that in a transit phase, before the obligatorification of the definite article in anaphoric contexts, we would expect some instances to be definite and some not. However, the question is whether the variation we see in Bur is free or if there are some restraints on the use of the definite.

It is the third instance in example (25), the bare noun, that is difficult to account for. A possible interpretation takes into account the distance between the first and the second mention (7 syntagms) and between the second and third (1, as they occur in neighbouring syntagms). This example further strengthens the point made earlier that although anaphora may be considered the original context where the grammaticalization of the definite article is initiated, it is by no means as simple as obligatorification of -IN in each anaphoric context. Rather, these are divided into less and more accessible anaphora and, to begin with, -IN is only found in the former, while in the latter either a bare noun or a demonstrative is used. A similar example is given in (26):

- (26) **guz**    **ængel**    teþes    andree    ok    baþ    han    fara    tel  
 god's    angel    shown    Andreas    and    bade    him    travel    to

burgundiam	ok	hialpa	maþeo	andreas	sagþe	sik	eigh
Burgundy	and	help	Matthew	Andreas	said	self	not
vita	væghen	<u>en</u>	<b>ængel</b>	baþ	han	ganga	tel
know	way-DEF	but	angel	bade	him	go	to
strand	ok	fara	i	första	skip	han	funne
beach	and	travel	in	first	ship	he	find
<b>Engelen</b>	var	hans	leþsaghare				
Angel-DEF	was	his	guide				

(Bur 133)

‘God’s angel has appeared to Andreas and asked him to travel to Burgundy and help Matthew. Andreas said he did not know the way but the angel asked him to go to the beach and take the first ship he would find there. The angel was his guide’.

The variation between -IN and bare nouns in anaphoric contexts has been studied in Leiss 2000. Her study concerns Old Icelandic (and Old High German and Gothic), but the results and hypotheses should be valid for its close relation, Old Swedish. Leiss quotes an example much discussed in literature and used by several authors as an illustration of the instability of the use of -IN. It is similar to the Bur example quoted previously in its use of bare noun in direct anaphora. The example is given in (27).

(27)	þá	verþr	hann	varr	viþ	<b>griþungenn</b>	ok	reið
	then	became	he	aware	of	ox-DEF	and	rode
	til	ok	vill	drepa	hann	<b>griþungr</b>	snýr	
	to	and	wants	kill	him	ox	turns	
	í móti	ok	kom	konungr	lagi	á	hann	ok
	towards	and	came	king	stab	on	him	and
	skar	ór	spjótit		<b>griþungr</b>	stakk		
	cut	out	lance-DEF		ox	stuck		
	hornonom		í	síþo	hestinum	svá	at	
	horn-DEF.PL.DAT		in	side	horse-DEF.DAT	so	that	
	hann	fell	þegar	flatr	ok	svá	konungr	þá
	he	fell	there	flat	and	so	king	then
	hljóp	konungr	á	fotr	ok	vill	bregða	sverði
	jumped	king	on	feet	and	wants	draw	sword

<b>griðungr</b>		stakk	þá	hornunum				fyrir
ox		stuck	then	horn-DEF.PL.DAT				for
brjóst	honum	svá	at	á	kafi	stóð	þá	komu
breast	him	so	that	on	depth	stood	then	came
at	konungs		menn	drópu	<b>griðungenn.</b>			
to	king-GEN		men	killed	ox-DEF			

(King Egil was a great hunter, and often rode into the forest to chase wild animals. Once he rode out with his men to hunt in the forest. The king had traced an animal a long while, and followed it in the forest, separated from all his men.) He observed at last that it was the bull, and rode up to it to kill it. The bull turned round suddenly, and the king struck him with his spear; but it tore itself out of the wound. The bull now struck his horn in the side of the horse, so that he instantly fell flat on the earth with the king. The king sprang up, and was drawing his sword, when the bull struck his horns right into the king's breast. The king's men then came up and killed the bull.

(*Heimskringla*, cf. Nygaard 1905:47, Møller 1945:36, Heusler 1950:125, Leiss 2000:38-39; translation by Samuel Laing, London 1844)

This example from *Heimskringla* (ca 1230) was to the author's knowledge first cited by Nygaard (1905) in his discussion of the irregularity of the definite marking in Old Norse.

Ogsaa udefor de nævnte tilfælde, der efter analogi samler sig i større eller mindre grupper, findes ikke sjelden ubestemt form for bestemt eller afvekslende med bestemt uden forskjel i betydningen. (Nygaard 1905:47, *my highlight*)

Leiss proposes to take the position of the NP in the information structure of the sentence into account. Thus *griðungr* 'ox' appears as a bare noun in the initial subject position (theme) but in the definite form in the object position (rheme). She claims that the clause-initial position, the 'thematic position' in her terminology, is by default definite (so-called definiteness effect) and need not be marked with an article. The non-initial, rhematic position in which we find objects is, by default, indefinite (contains new information) and if the object is definite, it needs to be marked as such. Thus the hypothesis is that Old Norse was a hypo-determinative language, which marked definites only in the rhematic position.

Though this explanation is very appealing, we see immediately that it does not fit in with the OS data. In the example from *Bur* (example (25)) we see the reverse: definite marking in the thematic position and none in the rhematic<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 5, on the role of EN as a presentative marker, for a discussion of the clause-initial position as introduction of new text-topics. Contrary to the views presented in Leiss 2000, the initial position seems to have been used to introduce new, topical information, at least in periods I and II of OS.



In Møller's interpretation of the same example the unmarked form is used when the animal is the agent (*et handlende Væsen*, Møller 1945:36) like the unmarked *konungr* 'king'. He quotes another example though, where the ox is clearly agentive as well though it appears as the subject in a subordinate clause and is marked. In its non-agentive role however it is unmarked and referred to by a different term (Møller 1945:36).

Example (25) from Bur 156 with which we started our discussion introduced a new referent *biskop* 'bishop' in bare noun form, its second mention was marked with -IN and the third and last mention was a bare noun again. This variation, or inconsistency from the MS point of view, is most probably an indication of the language being in a transit phase—from one where anaphora is unmarked to one where anaphora is obligatorily marked. It is to be noted that a similar variation is found elsewhere in Bur, and usually takes the same form: introduction by a bare noun, marked forms and finally unmarked again. This is illustrated in examples (28) and (29). In (28) the use of bare nouns may depend on a different description of the referent, in (29) however the first and last descriptions are identical.

(28)	<u>En</u>	<u>syndogh</u>	<u>kona</u>	var	mz	ens	mandrapara
	one	sinful	woman	was	with	one-GEN	killer-GEN
	barne	ok	qualdes	ii	barnsiæng (..)	ok	løste
	child	and	suffered	in	childbirth	and	liberated
	<b>salogha</b>	<b>kono</b>	af	qualum.			
	blessed	woman	of	suffering			

(Bur 134-5)

'A sinful woman was pregnant by a killer and suffered in childbirth (..) and freed blessed woman from pain'.

(29)	<u>Þa</u>	<u>kom</u>	<u>goþar</u>	<u>gæstar</u>	<u>andreas.</u> (..)	ok	baþ	in
	then	came	good	guest	Andreas (..)	and	bade	in
	lata	<b>goþan</b>	<b>gæst</b>					
	let	good	guest					

(Bur 145)

'Then came Andreas, a good guest (..) and bade welcome the good guest'<sup>45</sup>.

Though OS material does not support Leiss' hypothesis, we nevertheless see that textual organization of given vs. new information may be an important factor in the rise of the articles. This will be seen more clearly in the next chapter discussing the rise of the indefinite article.

<sup>45</sup> Several mentions as *gestren* 'the guest' in between.

The textual evidence is otherwise of a system only being formed, as example (30) shows, where it is only the fourth mention of the same referent *kirkia* ‘church’ that is marked with -IN, the others appearing as bare nouns.

- (30) Uærther **kirkia** brutin oc mæssufat wt stolen thæt  
 is church broken and vestment out stolen that
- ær nithinxuærk oc niu marka sak **kirkyu** siælfue  
 is outrageous-deed and nine marks charge church self
- oc sua hæræþe oc sua kononge. Uærther han  
 and so county and so king is he
- fangen i **kirkyu** ælla annarstath mæth thy  
 caught in church or elsewhere with this
- the stalo aff **kirkyunne** tha late lijf fore  
 they stole of church then let life for
- (YVL KB:11)

‘If a church is broken into and vestments (liturgical garments) are stolen, it is an outrageous deed and the charge of nine marks payable to the church itself, the county and the king. If he (=the thief) is caught in the church or elsewhere with what they stole from the church, he must give his life’.

The laws clearly represent the oldest stage of development, with direct anaphoric marking very irregular and sporadic. Bur is more advanced with most instances of direct anaphora marked and the unmarked instances occurring in curiously uniform patterns with referents introduced by means of bare nouns, referred to by definite nouns and finally as bare nouns again. The youngest of period I texts, Pent, only rarely leaves direct anaphora unmarked. We find though a story of Abraham sending an emissary to find a wife for his son Isaak. The emissary is described several times as *svenen* ‘the boy’, *mannen* ‘the man’ and as *sændebudin* ‘the emissary’. In one instance the term *sændeman* ‘envoy’ is used, in the middle of the story, and this time as a bare noun (Pent 158). Whether the form depends on the use of a slightly different term or not, the anaphoric chain is broken here as in other cases we saw previously.

On the other hand, we find in Pent an interesting example of how -IN is used in anaphoric contexts. In the following passage jealous brothers of Joseph are plotting how to get rid of him and win their father’s favour in his stead. They propose to kill him and hide the body by throwing it into some old well. The proposal is opposed by Ruben, who, not wishing Joseph to die, suggests that he be thrown in the well alive and left to die, while secretly planning to rescue him. Consider how the passage is formed:

(31)	haffwom alle have all	en one	vilia will	oc and	dræpom han kill he	oc and	kastom throw	
	han he	dødhan dead	nidhir down	j in	<b>nakan</b> some	<b>gamblan</b> old	<b>brwn</b> (..) well	
	Ruben Ruben	hans his	ælstebroðhir eldest brother		hørde heard	tæssa these	vidhirtalan address	oc and
	læggahir lay	allan all	sin his	hugh mind	til at	at to	frælsa save	smaswennen boy-DEF
	aff of	thera their	handom hands	oc and	tala talk	til to	thera. them	Ffördarffwen Destroy
	ey not	hans his	liff life	oc and	gyutin spill	ey not	hans his	blodh vt blood out
	mz with	swærde. sword	vtan but	kastin throw	han him	liffuandis alive	j in	
	<b>brwnnen</b> well-DEF		oc and	lætin let	han him	siælff self	dø. die	

(Pent 177-178)

‘We all have one will so we shall kill him and throw him, dead, down in some well (..) Ruben, his oldest brother, overheard these plans and put all his mind to saving the boy and spoke to them. Do not destroy him and spill his blood with a sword but throw him alive in the well and let him die there himself’.

The second mention of the noun *brunn* ‘well’ is marked, though there is probably no specific well that is meant.

In period II, marking of the anaphoric reference seems to be nigh-on obligatory. There are still occasional exceptions, though. A striking example is given in (32). It shows a fragment from the beginning of the tale, which describes how king Charles became Charlemagne—when he took the seat reserved for God in the church of Our Father (*Pater Noster*), with his twelve companions filling the apostles’ places. The king is introduced in the definite form, and referred to by pronoun *han* ‘he’ as well as his name and title *Karl konung*<sup>46</sup> ‘Charles king’, a structure where the noun normally lacks an article. Two other references, however, are made by an article-less form; again the story is finished with a definite.

<sup>46</sup> Note that the nominative *-r* has disappeared by the end of period I.

32)	Tha as	<b>konungin</b> king-DEF.NOM	hafdhe had	borith borne	sina his	krono crown	(..)	tha then	
	foor went	<b>han</b> he	heem home	til to	sinna his	borgh castle	(..)	Sidhan later	
	gik went	<b>konung</b> king	til to	kirkio church	the this	som which	pater pater	noster noster	
	heter (is) called	(..) Tha then	sattis sat-self	<b>karl</b> karl	<b>konung</b> king	a on	then this	stool stool	
	som which	war our	herra lord	sat sat	a. on	(..) Tha then	kom came		
	löpande running	en a	iwdhe jew	ok and	sa saw	hwar where	<b>konung</b> king	sat. sat	(..)
	ok and	lop ran	til to	patriarchans patriarch-GEN-DEF-GEN	(..)	oc and	gik went	til to	
	kirkiona church-DEF-GEN	oc and	<b>konungin</b> king-DEF.NOM	stodh stood	op up	oc and	negh bowed		
	honum him							(KM 250-251)	

‘As the king had borne his crown (..) he went home to his castle (..) Later the king travelled to the church that is called Pater Noster (..) There sat king Charles on this stool which our lord sat on (..) There came a Jew running and saw where the king was sitting (..) and ran to the patriarch (..) and went (the patriarch) to the church and the king stood up and bowed to him’.

It is difficult to interpret this variation in form: in all instances *konung* ‘king’ or *konungin* ‘the king’ is the nominative form, fulfilling the role of a subject (once in a subordinate clause). The only regular variation may be noted in regard to the position of the noun before the main verb of the main clause (definite) or after the verb (no article). The variation is similar to one found in Bur (see example (25)), which is older than KM by some 100 years. This is the only fragment in period II where this variation is found.

Anaphoric reference may be made in OS by either the suffix -IN or the preposed demonstratives *den* or *desa*. In KM it is mostly the suffix that is employed for this purpose, sometimes reinforced by a demonstrative (see examples 33 and 34 and Table 12). Though the numbers are high for definites and low for demonstratives, the variation in their use is still similar to that seen in *Äldre Västgötalagen* (see 4.3.1)—when the accessibility is low (measured in a number of intervening syn-

tagms), -IN is more likely, as with the noun *kirkiona* ‘church’ in (32) above which takes up a referent mentioned much earlier in the text (9 syntagms, 136 words); when the referent is easily accessible, the demonstrative may be used (33).

- (33) Sidhan gik konung til **kirkio** the som pater noster  
 then went king to church this which pater noster
- heter oc toloff iämpnunga mz honom  
 (is)called and twelve contemporaries with him
- (2) J **the** **kirkio** sang war herra mässon  
 in this church sang our lord mass
- oc toloff apostoli mz honum (3) j **the** **kirkio**  
 and twelve apostles with him in this church
- standa toloff stola  
 stood twelve chairs
- (KM 251)

‘Then the king went to the church known as Pater Noster church and twelve companions went with him. In this church our lord sang (celebrated) mass and with him twelve apostles. In this church stood twelve chairs’.

A comment is due on the order of the elements in the phrases in bold in (33). It suggests that there may be a difference between postposition of the demonstrative (*kirkio the som* ‘church this which’)—introducing a subordinate clause and a preposition (*the kirkio* ‘this church’) where a demonstrative function is present. The short-distance anaphora is marked by the demonstrative *den*; the lack of stylistic variation—both sentences 2 and 3 start in exactly the same way, with ‘in this church’—may seem disappointing in a literary text. We may note, however, that sentences 2 and 3 are not connected so that they form one paragraph, rather, sentence 2 belongs together with 1, whereas 3 opens a new paragraph. This may be reflected in the use of a demonstrative rather than a definite article, a tendency well-documented in narrative texts elsewhere.

Furthermore, it may occasionally happen in the course of the text that a few mentions of a definite referent occur here and there with a demonstrative, especially at the beginning of paragraphs or on the very last mention of the same referent, especially at paragraph boundaries. One illustration of this type of sequence is found in a short story called *Golden Ox Tale* (Walls and Walls, 1983), in which we find 26 occurrences of the word *lake*.

The sequence of definite articles vs demonstratives is entirely typical of narrative texts:

A long time ago, West Lake was called Golden Ox Lake.

At that time, this lake was just one vast expanse of plain water.  
 When the farming was done, people would go to the lake [ ]  
 ~ paragraph boundary ~\_  
 At the bottom of this lake there lived a golden ox.  
 [ ] the waters of the lake would recede  
 (..)

The 19 subsequent mentions of the lake all occur with a definite article. (Cyr 1993: 206-7)

It should be noted that a reference is made to the church once more in the text, by means of -IN, after 9 syntagms, which validates the claim that a demonstrative is preferred in cases of short-distance anaphora while -IN dominates in long-distance anaphora.

- (34) oc      gik      til      **kirkiona**      oc      konungin      stodh  
          and      went      to      church-DEF      and      king-DEF      stood
- op      oc      negh      honum  
 up      and      bowed      him
- (KM 251)

'And he went to the church and the king stood up and bowed to him'.

This pattern of usage: initial mention of an entity, a second reference to it by means of den or dessi, followed by a further reference to the entity by means of -IN, is known from the West Nordic literature and has been discussed by, for e.g., Hodler (1954:102) and Johnsen (1976:80), who identify the use of the demonstrative with increased emphasis. Without necessarily agreeing with this interpretation we may bear in mind that KM was in fact translated from Old Norwegian and most likely retains some of its stylistic traits.

The demonstrative is employed whenever the distance between the first and second mention of the referent is short, even if the noun is definite in the second mention, see (35) and (36) below.

- (35) Nw      kom      k. m. k.      til      mykla      gardh      oc  
          now      came      Charlemagne      to      Miklagaard      and
- hitte      konungin      sitia      i      sinom      yrtagardhe      **Gardhen**  
 found      king-DEF      sit      in      his      herb garden      garden-DEF
- then**      war      alder      aff      gulle  
 DEM      was      all      of      gold
- (KM 253)

'Now Charlemagne came to Istanbul (*Miklagård*) where he found the king sitting in the herbal garden. This garden was wholly made of gold'.

- (36) oc      en      stolpe      stodh      vnder      hallene      ther      stodh  
          and      one      pillar      stood      under      hall-DEF      there      stood

hon	all	pa	Om	<b>then</b>	<b>stolpan</b>	stodho
she	all	on	Round	this	pillar-DEF	stood
hundradha		sma	stolpa			
hundred		small	pillars			(KM 254)

‘And there was one pillar under the hall, on which the whole hall rested. Round the pillar there were a hundred small pillars’.

The function of -IN to actualize a referent mentioned a long time ago is confirmed in SVM as well. Consider the following example, where *mörkastoffwone* ‘the dark room (= prison cell)’ picks up a referent introduced 30 (!) syntagms earlier, with a whole different story intervening between the first and the second mention<sup>47</sup>.

(37)	oc	lät	han	swa	läggia	i	mörkastoffwo
	and	let	him	so	lie	in	darkroom
							(SVM 117)

(..)	oc	the	leddo	han	wt	aff	<b>mörkastoffwone</b>
and	they	led	him	out	of	of	darkroom-DEF-DAT
							(SVM 118)

‘And (the emperor) let him lie in a dark room (..) and they led him out of the dark room’.

In the anaphoric contexts in SVM -IN and *den* are still in variation.

(38)	Mit	i	lunden	war	et	stort	trä	mz
	middle	in	copse-DEF	was	a	large	tree	with
	myken	frwkt (..)	En	fäbirdhe	kom	thiit	mz	fä
	many	fruit	a	shepherd	came	there	with	cattle
	sa	at	<b>thz</b>	<b>trä</b>	war	fult	mz	mone
	saw	that	DEM	tree	was	full	with	ripe
	oc	foor	op	i	<b>träadh</b> (..)			frwkt (..)
	and	went	up	in	tree			fruit
	Walbassen (..)	hogh	<b>trädh</b>	mz	tannomen (..)	Tha	wardh	
	boar-DEF	struck	tree	with	teeth-DAT-DEF	then	became	
	swinith	spakare	oc	aat	fast	Tha	thz	war
	pig-DEF	quieter	and	ate	quick	when	it	was
	tha	lagdhis	thz	nidher	widh	<b>träadh</b>		mät.
	then	lay	it	down	by	tree		full
								(SVM 122-123)

<sup>47</sup> It is possible that the superior story was written first and the additional small stories added later, thus the distance between the first and second mention would in fact be much shorter.

‘In the middle of the copse there was a large tree with much fruit. A shepherd came by with his flock and saw that this tree was full of the ripe fruit and climbed up on it. The boar (living in the copse) struck at the tree with its teeth. Then the beast quietened down and ate quickly. When it was full it lay down by the tree’.

Table 12. Direct anaphora in KM\* (p. 250-258)

Formal marking of anaphora	DEM den	DEF -en	DEM den + DEF -en	DEM dessa	Zero
Number of instances	3	18	3	2	2

\*Not considered: second and following mentions of a referent unique or any that was introduced by the definite form, such as patriarchen ‘patriarch-DEF’. Since it is introduced by the definite, the anaphoric usage plays no part in allotting the definite form.

In Table 12, all possible markings of anaphora are listed, together with their frequencies. As can be seen, example (32) discussed previously is the only one in KM with bare noun in anaphoric context. The dominating type of marking is by the definite article, occasionally alongside the demonstrative and the usage greatly resembles MS. Generally, it can be noted that in period II it has become obligatory to mark anaphoric reference, though -IN is not the sole exponent of that marking.

In period III it is obligatory to mark both direct and indirect anaphora and bare nouns are not found in this context. However, just as in period II, the marking need not be or include -IN. In fact, in direct anaphoric contexts -IN is often reinforced with a demonstrative.

(39)

oc and	giordhe made	ther there	til to	som like	<u>eth</u> a	<u>litet</u> little	<u>altara</u> altar	gudhi god
til to	hedhers, glory	oc and	kalladhe called	thz it	wars our	herra lord-GEN	kirkio, church	
offrandhe sacrificing	oppa upon	<b>thz</b> this	<b>altaret</b> alter-DEF				(Linc NR 279)	

‘And (she) made a form of a little alter for the glory of God and called it Our Lord’s Church and made her offers on this altar’.

In MS, such use would put an emphasis on the second mention—whether that was the case in OS we cannot know, but the high figures challenge such hypothesis—the point of an emphasis is to single out a referent, but DET N-IN is used so frequently in period III, it does not appear to serve this purpose.



Table 13. The marking of direct anaphora in Linc NR<sup>48</sup>

Type of marking	-IN	den N-IN	den ADJ -a N-IN	denna N-IN	denna ADJ -a N-IN	den N	denna N	ADJ -a N-IN
Number of instances	190	19	23	11	13	–	–	70

Table 13 presents types of anaphoric marking (by direct anaphora only) in Linc NR. The types given in bold are the same as MS types (*den N-IN* requires stress on *den*). As can be seen, in Linc NR, *denna* is always followed by -IN which is still possible in Swedish dialects today.

The anaphoric context no longer allows bare nouns and even if the noun is modified by a determiner like *den* or *denna* the definite suffix is used. One prolific type in Linc NR that is not used in MS for anaphoric functions is *ADJ-a N-en*. It is not used in anaphoric contexts in MS, but is limited to phrases denoting proper names or concepts closely resembling proper names, see examples below<sup>49</sup>:

(40) Vita                      huset  
white-DEF                  house-DEF  
'The White House (in Washington)'

(41) det            vita                      huset  
DET            white-DEF                  house-DEF  
'the white house (you know which)'

In Linc NR the majority of ADJ-a N-IN instances are references made to the heroine of the story, *hælga iomffrun* 'holy virgin-DEF', sometimes followed by her name, Amalbergha<sup>50</sup>. They may be seen as repetitive descriptions of her, equal to using her name alone, and thus nearing the MS usage of this type of defNP.

Low values of -IN in Troj are surprising. It is the youngest text, therefore we would expect anaphoric marking to be well-established. It is also a historical narrative, where we would expect higher values of anaphora than seen in the statistical results. It is reasonable to assume therefore that anaphora in Troj may be marked by means other than -IN. Similar to other historical narratives such as PK in period III, these partly include the frequent use of proper names rather than defNPs such as *kungen* 'the king' etc. There is also a competing marking by a relative clause introduced by *hwilken* 'which' instead of a second mention with -IN.

<sup>48</sup> The whole legend, ca 9835 words.

<sup>49</sup> See also Chapter 1.5.

<sup>50</sup> The modifying adjective here, *hælagher* 'holy', tends to be followed by unmarked noun, as in the two lexicalized phrases, *den helige ande* 'the holy Spirit' (in NT 1981 changed to *den heliga anden*) and *den heliga skrift* 'the holy writing = the Bible'. For more details concerning it, see Hirvonen 1997.

- (42) När drachen fik see honom komma började han  
 when dragon-DEF got see him come started he
- til mæd myken hwytzslan oc gnyslan giffwa  
 to with large hiss and squeak give
- grymt oc faseliget liwd wtaff sig **hwiked liwd**  
 grim and terrible sound out-of self which sound
- lwmmade oc aterswarade j wædered  
 blasted and resounded in air-DEF (Troj 21)
- ‘When the dragon saw him coming, he made a terrible sound with much hiss and squeak, which sound reverberated in the air’.

Such use is quite foreign to MS, although it is perfectly acceptable if the noun were omitted:

- (43) När draken fick se honom komma, lät den  
 when dragon-DEF got see him come let it
- höra ett förfarligt ljud, **vilket** dånade i luften  
 hear a terrible sound which rumbled in air-DEF
- ‘When the dragon saw him come, it let hear a terrible sound, which reverberated in the air’.

In Table 14 follows an overview of the types of anaphoric marking. Relative clauses introduced by *hwilken* ‘which’ + noun are listed in the last column.

Table 14. Anaphoric marking in Troj<sup>51</sup>

Type of marking	-IN	den N-IN	den ADJ-a N-IN	denna N-IN	denna ADJ-a N-IN	den N	denna N	ADJ-a N-IN	hwilken N
Number of instances	124	7	8	6	1	3	-	8	14

Anaphora in Troj is marked overwhelmingly by -IN, which occurs in most NPs, with no instances of *den N* or *denna N*. Parallel to Linc NR, a combination of weak adjective and noun modified with -IN is used in Troj in this context, exclusively marking the phrase *gyllene ullen* ‘the golden hide’, which is the object of Jason’s quest in the first part of the story. It may also be referred to as:

<sup>51</sup> Pages 1-39, 9870 words.

(44)	then gillena wllen (Troj 2)	the golden hide-DEF
	then gyllene wll (Troj 13)	the golden hide
	wllen (Troj 17)	hide-DEF
	thæn gul wllen oc dyra (Troj 3)	the gold hide and dear/expensive

Even in this variation, the phrase *gyllene ullen* is by far the most frequent, just as *heliga jungfrun* was in Linc NR. Since these are the main themes of the stories, the phrases may be considered similar to their role in MS, proper name-like.

#### 4.4.2. Indirect anaphora

As discussed in Chapter 2.5.1, indirect anaphora is the usage that links the anaphoric, stemming from the original demonstrative deixis, and the ‘larger situational uses’, including unique referents. It is therefore a complex context, with both straightforward and difficult examples. In this context we find variation between the definite and the possessive rather than between the definite and the demonstrative as found in the direct anaphoric contexts. -IN is used in contexts where the possessive would be equally natural, as in the following example:

(45)	Þa	sanctus	iohanes	disputeraþe	þesse	skæl	þa	
	when	saint	John	disputed	these	reasons	then	
	förþes		en	døþar	tel	graf	þrætighi	daghum
	lead.PASS		EN	dead	to	grave	thirty	days
	för	giptar	<b>møþeren</b>	ok	<b>ænkian</b>		vini	
	before	married	mother-DEF	and	widow-DEF		friends	
	ok	frændar	fiollo	for	kne	iohannis ok	bedes	þøm
	and	relatives	fell	for	knee	John and	bade	DET
	døþa lifs		næþer					
	dead life-GEN		grace					(Bur 154)

‘When John was discussing these matters, a dead (man) was being buried, one that was married thirty days earlier. The mother and the widow, friends and relatives, fell on their knees before John and bade him for the grace of life for the dead’

-IN is found in indirect anaphoric contexts as early as in AVL (see 4.3.2) and in other legal texts, though its use is far from regular. Note also that in the Old Norse example given in (27), though -IN was not regularly employed in

the direct anaphoric contexts, it was used to marked indirect anaphora such as *spjóttit* ‘the lance’ and *hestinum* ‘the horse’, definite because they belonged to one of the main characters of the story, the king. It shows that obligatorification in a certain context is not necessary for the item to grammaticalize further, but the grammaticalization can proceed even though the item is not yet obligatory in other contexts.

- (46) Wærther mather i kirkyugarþe dræpin ælla sarghather  
 be man in churchyard killed or injured
- göre sokn natta gengærþ oc þæn **gærningena**  
 make parish night provision and this deed-ACC-DEF
- gyorthe giælde ater soknamannum fult fore **kosten**  
 did pay back parishioners fully for cost-ACC-DEF
- (YVL KB:22)

‘If a man is killed or injured in a churchyard, than the parish ought to give provision and he who is guilty of the deed shall pay back the parishioners’.

The use of -IN on *gærningena* ‘the deed’ = the killing is induced here by the VP *varder dræpin* and *kosten* ‘the cost’ = the cost of providing it by earlier *gengerd* ‘provision offered to king, bishop or king’s guard on their travels’. Both marked nouns have another nominal element as their trigger (anchor, Fraurud 1990:423). However, the trigger for the defNP may also be a VP denoting some action, for which the following defNP is an agent, a patient, an instrument, a result etc. Such a relation is found in the following example, where the VP *kan præster dö* ‘can priest die’ triggers the marked forms *alt gozet* ‘all the goods (he left)’ and *arfuin* ‘the heir’.

- (47) Nv kan præster dö a þæt ar biskuper  
 now can priest-NOM die on this year bishop
- skal ey gengærþ hafua tha taki alt  
 shall not provision have then take all
- gozet** **arfuin.**  
 goods-DEF heir-DEF
- (YVL KB:73)

‘If a priest dies in the year when the bishop has no provision, the heir takes all the goods (and none are left to the bishop)’.

The trigger here is twofold: on the one hand heirs inherit only after somebody who died (*dö*), on the other hand, only provided the person who died owned some-

thing would there be something to inherit, (*præster*, as opposed to e.g. *þrel* ‘thrall (slave)’, for whose death no legal provisions are made in the OS laws).

The connection between death and inheritance is common in the legal prose, but it is not always marked. Example (47) is special since a contrast is highlighted between a potential and a real heir (the bishop vs. the relative).

Direct anaphora may be marked with a demonstrative: that is, the original use of the demonstrative that initiates the grammaticalization process. In indirect anaphora, there is no variation between -IN and demonstratives. Cross-linguistically, this context does not allow demonstratives, only definite articles. Yet there is one other item in variation with the article—namely the possessive pronoun.

(48) Beside the barn there is a little cottage. *The/Its roof* is leaking.  
(Fraurud 2000b:246)

The variation in different marking of indirect anaphora can be studied in connection with a relatively common noun *arvi* ‘heir’, which often appears in indirect anaphoric contexts (when somebody’s death has been mentioned previously) in legal texts.

Table 15. The marking of the noun *arvi* / *arvinge* ‘heir’ in period I, legal texts

Text	∅	adj	poss	-IN	Other
AVL	23	–	12	arwumn	–
YVL (incl. <i>ÆB</i> ) <sup>52</sup>	13	7	20	9	1 ( <i>þriþia arfue</i> ‘third heir’)
OgL (incl. <i>ÆB</i> ) <sup>53</sup>	1	12	26	4	–
DL	4	5	2	2	1

Table 15 illustrates the use of different types of marking by the noun *arvi* (or *arvinge*) ‘heir’ occurring in indirect anaphoric contexts. To begin with, there is strong competition between bare noun and possessive in this context (1/3 of all instances in AVL includes a possessive). The percentage of unmarked forms is lower in the younger texts: in YVL there is more of a balance with a significant number of marked nouns. In OgL the possessive dominates over both the unmarked and marked forms.

<sup>52</sup> Since *ÆB ärvdabalken* ‘the inheritance codex’ was not part of the text chosen for the study (see Chapter I, sources), and it has the highest frequency of the noun, it was added to the fragments searched for the purpose of this detailed study.

<sup>53</sup> As for YVL.

OgL appears to be the most modern text in this regard. The only unmarked instance is in fact a negative polarity context (see Chapter 2):

- (49) Nu      dör      man      þæn      sum      egh      hauær      **arua**  
 now      dies      man      this      which      not      has      heir
- inrikis  
 domestically (OgL ÆB:22)
- ‘If a man dies without an heir in the country’.

In such context the marking available is by a possessive, as in (50):

- (50) Nu      æn      man      ær      utlænzskær      ok      uet      man  
 now      if      man      is      outlandish      and      know      man
- hans**      **arua**      þa      skal      aruit      standa      þær      til  
 his      heir      then      shall      legacy-DEF      stand      there      to
- ær      hin      kombær      Nu      æn      man      uet      egh      **hans**  
 if      DET      come      now      if      man      knows      not      his
- arua**  
 heir (OgL ÆB:23)

‘If a man is a foreigner and his heir is known, the legacy shall be kept until the heir comes. If his heir is not known (...)’.

Interestingly enough, it seems as though modifying adjectives could be used instead of other marking such as -IN or a possessive. These are either *rættir* ‘right’ or *sandir* ‘true’, and can be found in all legal texts as modifiers of *arvi*. Examples (51) and (52) below are from OgL and DL.

- (51) æn      drapari      kumi      aldrih      i      friþ      föræn      **rættær**  
 but      killer      come      never      in      peace      before      rightful
- arui**      biþær      firi      hanum  
 heir      offers      for      him (OgL DB:5)

‘A killer is never at peace unless the rightful heir (of the victim) pleads for him’.

- (52) Dör      man      wtlænskær      af      andru      kunungs riki      ær  
 dies      man      foreign      of      other      kingdom      is
- æi      **ærwingi** æptir      þa      skal      arf      standa      til      nat  
 not      heir      after      then      shall      legacy      stand      to      night

oc	iamlanga	Combir	<b>rætir</b>	<b>ærwingi</b>	mep	breff
and	one year	comes	rightful	heir	with	letter

oc	skiæl	firi	þæt	taki	wp	arf
and	reason	for	this	take	up	inheritance

(DL GB:17)

‘If a foreigner from another kingdom dies and there is no heir, his legacy shall remain untouched for one year and a night (from the day of his death). If the rightful heir comes with documents to prove his right to inherit, he shall take the inheritance’.

The possessive modifier may be either a pronoun or a noun (in the genitive), as in (53).

(53)	Nu	dör	bonde (..)	þa	böte	præstrin	þrea
	now	dies	peasant	then	pay	priest-DEF	three

markær	<b>arua</b>	<b>bondans</b>
marks	heir	peasant-DEF-GEN

(OgL KB:7)

‘If a peasant dies (..) then the priest shall pay three marks in fine to the peasant’s heir’.

The results of this brief study of the noun *arvi* ‘heir’ also show that the indirect anaphora is a context where -IN is in competition, not with the demonstrative as was the case in direct anaphora, but with the possessive (compare Chapter 2). It is to be noted, however, that bare nouns *arvi* or *arvinge* are also frequently employed in this context.

(54)	<u>Uærþær</u>	<u>maþer</u>	<u>dræpin</u>	ok	af	daghum	takin	þa	skal
	is	man	killed	and	of	day	taken	then	shall

uighi	a	þingi	lysæ	oc	frafal
manslaughter	on	ting	announce	and	loss

<b>aruingiæ</b>	sigiæ
heir	say

(AVL aM:1)

‘If a man is killed than the fact shall be made known on ting and to the heir’.

Typical examples of indirect anaphora involve whole-part relation between the first and the second referent or another, usually stereotypical, connection between the two. The relation between the verb ‘to die’ and the concepts of ‘heir’

and ‘legacy’ (the latter always unmarked) is not a whole-part one. It is an instance of a stereotypical connection between the verb and the nominal. Other examples of such stereotypical connections found in period I texts are collected in table 16.

Table 16. Indirect anaphora in period I, some trigger types

Trigger type	Trigger	Translation	defNP	Translation
Nominal	sak	charge	saksökande	plaintiff
	kirkyu	church	prestin	priest
	tjuven	the thief	stölden	theft
	tjuvnad	larceny	malseghande	plaintiff
	sun manz	man’s son	fadheren	father
	fe manz	man’s cattle	eghanden	owner
	dom	sentence	domare	judge
Verbal	dör bonde (prest, landbo) /far bana af	dies yeoman (priest) / dies thereof	arfuanom	heir
	madhur drepin	man killed	gerningen	deed
	skuld krava	demand debt	guldit	gold
	brennir man mans hus/ hugger hus	if a man burns another’s house / destroys another’s house	skada	damage
	fördes död	the dead is brought	baren, liket	stretcher, corpse
	wighia	marry, ordain	vixlenne	marriage, ordination
	rida	ride	hästen	horse
	henger	hang	galghan	gallows

A typical example of indirect anaphora was given in (48). There, the trigger was ‘cottage’ of which whole ‘the roof’ is a part. Triggers in indirect anaphora in period II are collected in table 17.



Table 17. Triggers in indirect anaphora in period II

Trigger type	Trigger	Translation	defNP	Translation
Nominal	konungin	the king	drötningin (KM 251)	the queen
	kirkio	church	til Patriarchans (KM 251)	to the
	kejsaren	the emperor	drötningen (KM 254) / portane (KM 255) / harith, skäggith (KM 255)	the queen / the doorway / the hair, the beard
	all the swärdh	all the swords	oddana (KM 256)	the edges (blades)
	spiwt	javelin	iärnith (KM 257)	the iron
	anne	the river	watnith (KM 262)	the water
	swärdh	sword	oddin, hiältith (KM 268)	the blade, the
	Roland	Roland	blodhin (KM 279) / swärdhit (KM 287)	the blood / the sword
	swärdhit	the sword	hiältena, brandin (KM 287)	the scabbard
	et frwo kloster	a nunnery	altarith (KM 288)	the altar
	smiþir	a smith	äsionne (HML 190)	the hearth (forge)
	stad	a town	gatunne, folkith (HML 191, 192)	the street, the people
	eldin	the fire	lughanom (HML 192)	the flame
	kättil	a cauldron	vatnit (HML 192)	the water
	faghra kälðo	beautiful water spring	vatneno (HML 193)	the water
hws	house	dörena (HML 222)	the doors	
Prono- minal	En ther höra skulle thera athäffwer	One which should listen to what they were doing	niwsnarin (KM 255)	the spy
Verbal	hugga	stab	swärdhith (KM 255)	the sword
	Ridhu the thädhan bort stak	they rode thence stabbed	ledhena (KM 264)  oddin (KM 280)	the way  the blade
	Tha sprak henna hiärta sunder aff harm	then her heart burt from sorrow	likith (KM 288)	the corpse

As can be seen from the material presented, most of the indirect anaphora in period II are triggered by nominals and can be classified as either strict whole-part relation (*swärðh* ‘sword’—*hiältena* ‘the scabbard’) or stereotypical relation (*kättil* / *anne* ‘cauldron / river’—*vatnit* ‘the water’). There are some instances of indirect anaphora triggered by VPs. In period I, the majority of the examples include a stereotypical connection. It seems therefore that the indirect anaphora develops -IN marking in an opposite manner to the direct anaphora—it appears first in non-ambivalent contexts, and later to resolve doubts and link together parts of text; -IN is first used when the connection is easily accessible (more stereotypical). The spread of -IN leads from more to less stereotypical connections and in period II it is practically obligatory in textual contexts, including the indirect anaphoric.

- (55) Biscopir huxar wighia en klærk til præst (..) han faar  
 bishop wants ordain one clerk to priest he gets  
 enkte aff **vixlenne**  
 nothing of ordination-DEF  
 (Pent 165)  
 ‘If a bishop wishes to ordain a priest, he must not be paid to perform the ordination’.

- (56) j samu stund förþes döp vt af stapenom (..)  
 in same moment led dead out of town-DEF  
 þa böþ iohannes sætia niþar **barena**  
 then bade Johannes set down bier/stretcher  
 ok løsa **liket**  
 and loosen corpse-DEF  
 (Bur 151)  
 ‘At the same moment a dead was carried out of the town (..) Then John asked them to put the stretcher down and take the corpse off it’.

- (57) Þa sanctus iohanes disputeraðe þesse skæl þa  
 when saint Johannes discussed these motives then  
 förþes en döpar tel graf þrætighi daghum för giptar  
 led one dead to grave thirty days before married  
**möþeren** ok **ænkian** vini ok frændar  
 mother-DEF and widow-DEF friends and relatives  
 fiollo for kne iohannis.  
 fell for knee Johannes-GEN  
 (Bur 154)

‘As St. John reasoned thus, a dead man was carried to the grave, who had been married thirty days earlier. His mother and widow, friends and relatives fell to John’s feet’.

In example (57) -IN is found with singular NPs and not with plural ones although the context for both is identical. It seems that in OS the usage of -IN is already limited to complete sets—while there is a single mother and a single widow, all friends and relatives would have to appear at the funeral for -IN to be used, since its usage presupposes completeness of the set (Hawkins 1978:157ff.).

Consider first the following data.

Bring *the wickets* in after the game of cricket.

Would I be satisfied if the hearer brought me only four or five of the six wickets? I would not. *The wickets* refers to all six.

I must ask you to move *the sand* from my gateway.

Would I be satisfied if only some were moved? As before, I would not. If my hearer only moved part of the sand away I would be justified in complaining: *I thought I asked you to...*

(Hawkins 1978:159)

In period III all textual functions are obligatorily marked with -IN (or a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun, see 4.5.1), as in (58-60), which are simple examples of stereotypical connection between the first and second referent.

- (58)
- |            |                       |      |             |      |     |                        |          |
|------------|-----------------------|------|-------------|------|-----|------------------------|----------|
| Riddarin   | thänkte               | mz   | sik         | at   | han | war                    | ey       |
| knight-DEF | thought               | with | REFL        | that | he  | was                    | not      |
| tha        | <u>rätskriptadhir</u> | ok   | gik         | atir | til | <b>skriptafadheren</b> |          |
| then       | well-confessed        | and  | went        | back | to  | confessor-DEF          |          |
| ok         | scriptadhe            | sik  | fulkomlika. |      |     |                        |          |
| and        | confessed             | REFL | fully       |      |     |                        | (Jart 6) |

‘The knight thought he was not properly confessed and went back to his confessor and confessed fully’.

- (59)
- |        |                  |       |            |        |              |     |
|--------|------------------|-------|------------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Naar   | tässen           | hälga | iomffrwn   | war    | crisnat, oc  | aff |
| when   | this             | holy  | virgin-DEF | was    | baptized and | of  |
| wandh  | <b>myölkenne</b> | aff   | modherliko | bryste |              |     |
| turned | milk-DEF         | of    | motherly   | breast |              |     |
- (Linc NR 278)

‘When this holy virgin was baptized and taken away from the milk from her mother’s breast’.

(60)	Oc and	sidhan later	drogh drew	han he	swerdit sword-DEF	oc and	hiwg slashed	then this
	som who	banneret standard		förde led	a on	hans his	winstra left	axl shoulder
	oc and	klöff cleaved	hanum him	sa so	at that	swerdit sword-DEF	stodh stood	i in

**sadelen**

saddle-DEF

(Did 3)

‘And then he drew the sword and slashed the one who carried the banner on his left shoulder, and cleaved (split) him so that the sword stood in the saddle’.

#### 4.4.3. *Excursus*: inalienable possession

As we have noted previously, the most typical example of indirect anaphora is a whole-part relationship, e.g. *a house—the roof*. In this type of relationship are included instances of inalienable possession, involving body parts, clothes worn, weapons (there is a great cross-linguistic variation as to what elements may enter the inalienable possession relation), as well as kinship terms (see Chapter 2). Inalienable possession will be treated here separately, although it is a subtype of indirect anaphora, because it exhibits a different behaviour in OS. Even in MS there is a certain amount of variation between the definite and the possessive in the indirect anaphoric context. In MS the inalienable is usually expressed by the definite form of the noun but a reflexive possessive can also be used, usually within the same clause (see Chapter 1.5). In OS, however, if the noun is marked in this context at all, it is done exclusively by means of a possessive pronoun. Consider first some examples from legal prose in period I.

(61)	þa than	skal shall	<u>kuighu</u> heifer	taka take	otamæ untame	ok and	flytiæ lead	up up	a on
	bæsing hill	þa than	skal shall	alt all	har hair	af of	<b>roppo</b> tail	rakæ shave	

(AVL LR)

‘Then shall take an untame cow and lead it on a hill and shave all the hair off its tail<sup>54</sup>’.

<sup>54</sup> MS would in this sentence have *rumpan* (*svansen*) with a definite form, possessive *dess* ‘its’ is also possible.

Marked nouns are not found with human referents in legal prose:

- (62) Værdær maþær huggin i **houod** ma seiæ **hinnu**  
 is man hit in head may see membrane  
 kallæ baþi uaþa bötæ firi markum III  
 say both accident pay for marks three

(AVL VS:1)

‘If a man is hit in the head so that the membrane is visible, both (the attacker and the victim) say it was an accident, he shall pay three marks’.

Since there are few -IN forms in laws and the form is missing in many contexts (see 4.3 and 4.4) it may not be so surprising. However, even in the younger and more modern religious prose body parts and qualities are often represented as bare nouns, e.g.

- (63) han gaf þóm ængen anzsuar vtan la þre dagha  
 he gave them no answer but lay three days  
dumbe fiarþa daghen fik han atar **mal**  
 dumb fourth day-DEF got he back voice

(Bur 174)

‘He gave them no answer only lay dumb for three days, on the fourth he recovered his voice<sup>55</sup>’.

In fact, the only text where the body parts are more or less regularly marked is Pent, which again shows the more advanced spread of -IN compared to other period I texts (as was the case with direct anaphora).

- (64) Jacob swara thz monde wara gudz wili at thz  
 Jacob answers this may be god’s will that this  
 skulde skøt honom mōta som han wilde Ysaac iæwar  
 should quickly him meet as he wanted Isaac hesitates  
 æn fōr **malsins** skuld oc bidhir han ganga  
 still for voice-GEN-DEF sake and asks him go  
 fram til sin  
 forward to self-GEN

(Pent 164)

‘Jacob answers that it may have been God’s will that this should happen so quickly as he wished. Isaac still hesitates because of the voice (he is uncertain whether it is Esau or Jacob) and asks him to come closer’.

<sup>55</sup> MS: *målet* ‘the speech’, possessive less acceptable.

- (65) Hon bidhir sin hærra drikka oc førir sköt nidhir  
 she offers her lord drink and brings quickly down
- karit aff **axlomen** oc løper atir  
 vat of shoulder-DEF-DAT and runs back
- til brudzsins  
 to well-GEN-DEF-GEN (Pent 157)

‘She offers her lord a drink and brings quickly down the vat off her shoulders and runs back to the well’.

However, we also find possessives in inalienable possession contexts in Pent.

- (66) thy tordhe ey iacob tagha sik hærbærge aat  
 thus dared not Jacob take self shelter at
- quælde vtan lagdis vt a markena sidhan  
 evening but laid out on ground-DEF after
- sol war sat oc lagde en sten vndir **sith**  
 sun was sat and laid EN stone under his
- huffwodh**  
 head (Pent 168)

‘Thus Jacob did not dare find a shelter in the evening but laid down on the ground after the Sun had gone down and placed a stone under his head’.

In period II inalienable possession is almost exclusively marked by the possessive pronouns rather than the definite article; so is the case in KM. Consider the following examples:

- (67) Aff the klädhe som war herra hafdhe om **sit**  
 of this cloth which our lord had around his
- hofwdh** tha iwdha korsfesto han  
 head when jews crucified him (KM 252)

‘(He gave him some) of the cloth which our Lord had around his head when the Jews crucified him’<sup>56</sup>.

- (68) Jak hafwer en hat. tha iak hafwer han a  
 I have a hat when I have him on

<sup>56</sup> In MS the definite would be preferable (*om huvudet* ‘around head-DEF’).

<b>mino</b>	<b>hofdhe</b>	tha	seer	mik	ängin	man.
my	head	then	Sees	me	no	man

(KM 257)

‘I have a hat. When I have it on my head, no man can see me’.

The only instance where a definite is used is (69), with the definite forms *harith* ‘the hair’ and *skäggith* ‘the beard’ denoting ‘his (=the emperor’s) hair’ and ‘his beard’.

(69)	oc	komber	keysaren	wt	tha	skal	iak	bläsa
	and	comes	emperor-DEF	out	then	shall	I	blow
	aff	honum	<u>alt</u>	<b>harith</b>	oc	<b>skäggith</b>	oc	
	of	him	all	hair-DEF	and	beard-DEF	and	
	swa	<b>hans</b>	<b>klädhe</b>	oc	skal	keysaren	sta	ater
	so	his	clothes	and	shall	emperor-DEF	stand	again

nakudher  
naked

(KM 255)

‘And when the emperor comes out I shall blow off him all of his hair, beard and clothes so that he stands naked again (as when he was born)’.

Finally, (70) shows the use of a possessive in an indirect anaphorical context, which may also be included in the inalienable possession (if weapon is considered a vital part of any rider).

(70)	Ok	olifernes	ridher	ärlika	mote	honum	oc	hiog
	and	Olifernes	rides	honestly	against	him	and	struck
	til	hans	mz	<b>sit</b>	<b>swärdh</b>	oc	fälde	han
	to	he-GEN	with	his	sword	and	fell	he-ACC

dödhan                    a            iordh.  
dead-ACC                on            ground

(KM 270)

‘And Olifernes rode openly against him and struck him with his sword and fell him to the ground, dead’.

However, in comparison with KM, where the inalienable possession with animate referents was expressed mainly by possessives, there are many instances in SVM with -IN rather than possessives (e.g. *mista maalith* ‘lose one’s voice’, *mista synen* ‘lose one’s sight’). In fact, the variation in SVM is between -IN and possessive in inalienable contexts rather than possessive and bare noun.

- (71) oc fadheren tog han i hans **hand**  
 and father-DEF took him in his hand (SVM 115)

‘And his father took him by the hand’.

- (72) The togh hon kesarens son i  
 then took she emperor-DEF-GEN son in  
**handena**  
 hand-DEF-ACC (SVM 116)

‘She then took the emperor’s son by the hand’.

In the youngest text in period II, Bo, we do not find a similar variation between the definite and possessive in inalienable possession contexts such as body parts, which are instead invariably marked with -IN.

- (73) Ok räfte piltin iheſus **händrina** aat  
 and reached boy-DEF Jesus hand-ACC-DEF to  
 foghlomen vplyptande **öghonen** til himilin  
 birds-DAT-DEF uplifting eyes-ACC-DEF to heaven-DEF (Bo 9)

‘And the boy Jesus reached out his hand towards the birds, lifting his eyes to heaven’.

The examples classified here as indirect anaphora are mainly inalienable possession with body parts and two instances of the noun *altaret* ‘the altar’ in connection with offering a sacrifice in a temple.

Inalienable possession in period III is still a context where either -IN or a possessive are used (74), possibly with greater preference for the definite (75). Bare nouns are no longer found in this context.

- (74) hwilkin ther wärra kan skall mista **huffuodit** (..) tha  
 which they defend can shall lose head-DEF then  
 skulde weland mistä **sit** **huffuod**  
 should Weland lose his head (Did 46)

‘Which they can defend shall lose the head (..) then should Weland lose his head’.

- (75) tha tywffuen wträkte **höghro armen** äpther  
 when thief-DEF out-reached right arm-DEF after



offret, offer-DEF	tha then	hardhnade hardened	<b>armen</b> arm-DEF	som as	hardasta hardest
iærn steel					(Linc NR 280)

‘As the thief reached out his right hand to grab for the offer, the hand hardened as the hardest steel’.

We may conclude by saying that the use of -IN in indirect anaphora is not obligatory in period I and is mainly found by referents introduced not by another nominal, particularly not one stereotypically linked to the second referent, but mainly in connection with a VP. Neither is it established in inalienable possession, where the main variation is between possessives and bare nouns. This changes in period II when -IN starts appearing in the context and in period III all inalienable possession is obligatorily marked by either -IN or a possessive pronoun.

#### 4.5. The development of non-textual functions

We have seen in 4.4 how -IN becomes obligatory in textual functions, both direct and indirect anaphora. Though it is found in these functions as early as period I, it is first in period III that it becomes obligatory. Though it is found in non-textual functions as well, the marking of uniques lags behind textual definites, and generics are only sporadically marked as late as in period III.

We use the term non-textual here to refer to all uses of -IN which lack a textual introduction, direct or indirect. This is not to say they are entirely text-independent, as will become evident in the discussion of unique referents in the religious prose.

##### 4.5.1. Uniques

There are few instances of unique referents to be found in legal prose, which is only to be expected from their character. Those we find are usually unmarked, e.g. *iorð* ‘mark, earth’ in contexts that in MS have the definite form.

(76)	þa then	skal shall	hana her	ur from	<b>iorþ</b> earth	up up	taka take	ok and	lik corpse
	hænna her	up up	skæra cut						(OgL ÆB:7)

‘She shall than be taken up from the earth (exhumated) and her body cut open’.

Apart from the specific meaning of 'the earth' (that was bought or sold or inherited etc., the noun *iorþ* was found twice in its marked form in OgL (whole text), both occurrences in what seems to be a lexicalized phrase, roughly corresponding to 'all the earthly goods'.

- (77) þe      haura      allu      þy      foruærkat      sum      þe      aghu  
 they      have      all      this      lost      which      they      owned
- ouan      a      **iorþinne**  
 over      on      earth-DEF
- (OgL KE:8)<sup>57</sup>

'They shall then lose all their earthly possessions'.

Unique referents are more abundant in narratives, mainly in the religious prose. In Bur there are ample instances of *sol* 'sun', *iorþ* 'earth' and *weruld* 'world' alongside more specifically religious uniques like *paradis* 'paradise', *natur* 'nature', *himinn* 'heaven', *dievul* 'devil' or *helviti* 'hell'. The distribution of -IN and bare nouns is given in Table 18.

Table 18. Distribution of -IN and -ø with unique referents in Bur

Lexeme	Bare noun	-IN	Other
<i>weruld</i> 'world'	–	25	1 (all 'all')
<i>sol</i> 'sun'	10 (comparison)	7	1 (pl), 1 (numeral), 3 (compounds)
<i>iorð</i> 'earth'	30 (27 PP)	15	1 (de 'this')
<i>natur</i> 'nature'	9	1	–
<i>paradis</i> 'paradise'	6	–	–

The only instance where 'world' lacks -IN is after *all*.

- (78) ena      lund      sannas      iuþans      lygh      al      **væruld**      ær      af  
 one      place      verify      jewish      lie      all      world      is      of
- þinom      fæþar      bygd  
 your      father      built
- (Bur 78)

Otherwise 'world' is definite, also after *all*:

<sup>57</sup> The other occurrence is *allu haurær hon foruærkat þy hon a ouan a iorþinne* 'all has she lost which she has on earth' (OgL KE:26)



- (83) þe leddo mik tel **paradis** ok tepo mik þæt  
 they led me to paradise and showed me this
- ærlikast palacium nokot øgha ma se  
 glorious-SUPERL palace any eye may see
- (Bur 184)
- ‘They led me to the paradise and showed me the most glorious palace an eye may see’.

It is to be noted that the word *paradis* is by no means a recent loan in Bur, since it is found in runic inscriptions as well. It may admittedly be difficult to fit in the inflectional paradigms.

Larm, who has studied the classical OS (= period I in this study) definites in greater detail, gives the following statistics for the unique referents in legal prose (table 19).

Table 19. Unique referents in UL and OgL (after Larm 1936:117)

Lexeme	UL	OgL
kunugrin ‘the king’	0	10
landit ‘the land’	0	9
biskuprin ‘the bishop’	3	2
præstrin ‘the priest’	4	10
domarin ‘the judge’	7	9
hundarit (hæraþit) ‘the district’	10	15

The NPs are organized from applying least to most ‘locally’. While ‘the king’ applies uniquely for everybody in a given country, ‘the district’ is only unique to its inhabitants. Larm’s results are difficult to judge because he does not state how many instances of a given word are found in UL and OgL and therefore what percentage of these are marked and what percentage are bare nouns.

Table 20<sup>58</sup> shows the results of a similar study, covering three legal texts, UL and OgL studied by Larm and DL, all of approximately the same age (ca 1280). *Upplandslagen* (1297) is a relatively conservative legal text, whereas the contemporary *Östgötalagen* (1280) is much more modern linguistically.

<sup>58</sup> For the sake of comparability, I follow Larm’s choice of referents for this study. It should however be noted that we could expect, and find, some of them, ‘priest’ and ‘judge’ in particular, in purely textual contexts as well, either in direct or in indirect anaphora. This is less probably for ‘king’ or ‘bishop’. Also, the noun ‘district’ is the only inanimate among the referents, which may influence the results.

DL (1320) is the youngest and yet linguistically, it occupies a medial position between UL and OgL.

Table 20. Unique referents in UL, OgL and DL

Lexeme	UL -IN	UL bare noun	UL total	OgL -IN	OgL bare noun	OgL total	DL -IN	DL bare noun	DL total
kunugrin 'the king'	0	115 (54 gen)	115	10	189 (98 gen)	199	2	82	84
landit 'the land'	0	48	48	8	25	33	0	10	10
biskuprin 'the bishop'	3	92	95	2	77	79	0	31	31
præstrin 'the priest'	4	114	118	9	77	86	2	27	29
domaren 'the judge'	6	33	39	9	0	9	8	5	13
hundarit (hæraþit) 'the district'	9	87 (41 gen)	96	15	68	83	12	4 (gen only)	16

As can be seen in table 20, the noun *konung* 'king' is very seldom marked with -IN. One particular context for this noun is the coordinated NP, e.g. 'king and bishop and district', stating who is to receive fines for crimes committed by the one found guilty. This context is highly lexicalized, since the fines are traditionally divided into three parts, one part to be paid to the king, the other to the bishop and the third to 'all men' (for public benefit) or to the plaintiff. There are some minor variations, the fines being paid to district rather than the bishop in lay matters (non-religious). But the type is basically the same. There is also some variation in the grammatical form which may be dative, as in 'to the king etc.' or nominative, as in 'the king has/takes fines..'.<sup>7</sup>

If a highly lexicalized context shows new forms, this may be considered a sign of their advancement (in terms of grammaticalization). This particular context involves referents that may be identifiable for different reasons (the plaintiff is either mentioned before or may be indirectly inferred from the legal case discussed earlier; the district would be 'the closest one, the most relevant one, his'; king and bishop are representatives of higher power, uniquely identified in the whole country). We will now study these 'fine payment-contexts' in OS legal prose in more detail.

Both in AVL and YVL there are only sporadic instances of -IN, and most beneficiaries are unmarked.

- (84) Dræpær maþær man (..) böti huarti **konongi** allær **hæræþi**  
 kills man man pay not king or district  
 (AVL aM:6)  
 ‘If a man kills another (accidentally), he shall pay the fines neither to the king nor to the district’.
- (85) bötæ við **hæræþ** IX markær ok sva við **konong**  
 pay by district nine marks and so by king  
 (AVL SM:1)  
 ‘(He shall) pay nine marks to the district and same amount to the king’.

If some referent is marked, it will usually be the most ‘local’ one, the plaintiff rather than the bishop, the parish rather than the king.

- (86) ær præster forfalla lös böte uith **biskup** sak sina  
 is priest excuse loose pay by bishop charge his  
 oc **sacsökianum** thre marker  
 and plaintiff-DEF three marks  
 (YVL KB:28)  
 ‘If the priest has no excuse (for not giving the anointment to the dying member of his parish) he shall pay the bishop and the plaintiff three marks’.
- (87) Præster ma ingin v kirkyu uræka vtan þæn biskuper  
 priest may none out church throw without this bishop  
 hauer forbuthat. (..) Vræker annan dagh. böte mark **biskupi**  
 has forbidden throws other day pay mark bishop  
 oc sua **kononge** oc sua **hærathe**.  
 and so king and so district  
 Uræker thrithia dagh. böte nio mark **soknenne**.  
 throw third day pay nine mark parish  
 oc. IX **kononge**. ok IX **hærathe**  
 and nine king and nine district  
 (YVL KB:47)  
 ‘A priest may not throw any man out of the church, except one that has been forbidden (to enter) by the bishop. (..) If the priest throws the man on the second day, he shall pay one mark to the bishop and likewise to the king and the district. If he throws him out on the third day (for the third time), he shall pay nine marks to the parish and nine to the king and nine to the district’.

We have noted before that OgL is considered the most advanced linguistically among OS legal texts. With respect to the ‘fine payment-phrase’ it shows great variation, as examples (88a) and (88b) show.

- (88a) ok      böta      malsæghanda      ok      hæræþe      ok      kununge ok  
 and      pay      plaintiff      and      district      and      king      and
- biskupe  
 bishop
- (OgL DB:3)

‘And (he shall) pay the plaintiff, the district, the king and the bishop’.

- (88b) ok      þerra      gozs      sum      þe      aghu      skal      skiptas  
 and      their      goods      which      they      own      shall      divide-PASS
- i      þrea      lyti      en      lutin      **malsæghandanum**  
 in      three      parts      one      part-DEF      plaintiff-DEF
- annan      **kununginum**      þriþia      **hæræþinu**  
 other      king-DEF      third      district-DEF
- (OgL KE:8)

‘And the goods that they own shall be divided into three parts: one for the plaintiff, the other for the king and the third for the district’.<sup>59</sup>

DL, a text with relatively high frequency of -IN, on the other hand, does not display a single instance of *konungin* in this context though it marks others beneficiaries.

- (89) J      twæskipte      taki      half      kunungir oc      half  
 in      two-division      take      half      king      and      half
- hundurit**  
 district-DEF
- (DL Mh:20)

‘When the fines are divided in two, the king takes half and the district the other half’.

The unique marking seems to spread from the referents that are more local (like the plaintiff, also an animate referent, or the district) to those less local (the king). Animacy does not seem to play a part here, as examples such as (90), with the only inanimate noun also being the only one marked, are highly frequent.

- (90) taki      en      lut      kunungir      annan      biscopir      þriþia  
 take      one      part      king-NOM      another      bishop-NOM      third

<sup>59</sup> Note the marked form of *luter* ‘part’ in the phrase *en lutin* ‘one part-DEF’. This type of marking will be discussed in 5.9.1.

**hundarit**

district-DEF

(DL MK:19)

‘The king takes one part, the bishop the other and the district the third’.

We must assume a relatively high level of lexicalization of the phrases, since examples like (91) are also found.

- (91) giui      **kunungenum**      þæt      han      toki      oc      böti      XL  
give      king-DAT-DEF      this      he      took      and      pay      40

markir      **kununge**  
marks      king-DAT

(DL Þing 11)

‘(he shall) give the king what he took and pay a fine of 40 mark to the king’.

Apart from ‘the sun’, Old Swedish unique concepts also include *hafweth* ‘the sea’, *oknen* ‘the desert’ and occasionally even *skogen* ‘the forest’.

- (92) Langt      ær      til      kirkiu      fara      guzziuiu      sculu      barn      wacta.  
long      is      to      church      travel      caretaker      should      child      mind

Sæghia      swa      guzziuiu.      wi      ærum      æi      för      mæþ  
says      so      caretaker      we      are      not      for      with

þæssu      barnni      ywi      **scoghin**  
this      child      over      forest-DEF

(DL KB:6)

‘If it is a long way to church, the caretaker shall take care of the child. If the caretaker says: we cannot travel across the woods with this child’.

In period II they are found in both religious prose and the narratives.

- (93) Sidhan      skyndadhe      the      sina      färdh      thädhan      oc  
then      hurried      they      their      journey      thence      and

komo      til      marsiliam.      oc      komo      alle      hilbrighdho  
came      to      Marseille      and      came      all      healthy

ower      **hafwith**      oc      komo      til      ierusalem      oc  
over      sea-DEF.ACC      and      came      to      Jerusalem      and

toko      sik      ther      härberghe  
took      themselves      there      shelter

(KM 251)



‘They then hurried from there and came to Marseille and came in good health over the sea and to Jerusalem where they took shelter’.

At a first glance, (93) could be classified as indirect anaphora, since the use of the definite on the noun *haf* ‘sea’ seems to be triggered by the place name Marseille, a port, thither and whence journeys are made by sea. There is a piece of information in the text that induces the definite. However, a comparison with other texts shows that the concept could in fact be unique to the people who wrote (and read) these stories and was simply to be understood as a great mass of sail-able water. In SVM the noun *haf* is consistently definite even though no port towns are mentioned and no other (linguistic) context given.

Even though unique referents in period II are commonly marked with -IN, some variation remains, as examples (94) and (95) from KM show.

- (94)    the    waro    swa    onde    men    at    **iordhin**    opnadhis  
           they   were   so    evil    men    that    earth-DEF    opened
- fore    them    oc    swnko    swa    nidher    til    hăluitis  
           for    them    and    sank    so    down    to    hell-GEN
- (KM 270)
- ‘They were such evil men that the earth opened before them and they sank to hell’.

The usage is not yet fully obligatory, as the following can also be found in KM:

- (95)    Ok    olifernes    ridher    ärlika    mote    honum    oc    hiog  
           and    Olifernes    rides    honestly    against    him    and    struck
- til    hans    mz    sit    swärdh    oc    fälde    han  
           to    he-GEN    with    his    sword    and    fell    he-ACC
- dödhan    a    **iordh.**  
           dead-ACC    on    ground
- (KM 270)
- ‘And Olifernes rode openly against him and struck him with his sword and fell him to the ground, dead’.

It is possible though that (95) is a lexicalized phrase, since there are three more similar examples in KM, including the identical wording of ‘fell him to the ground, dead’.

A clearly unique referent, that is already definite in earlier texts, *sol* ‘sun’, appears in the same narrative (twice throughout the text<sup>60</sup>) without the article:

<sup>60</sup> There is a third occurrence in a comparative phrase *som en sool* ‘(bright) as a sun’ which does not refer to ‘the Sun’.

- (96) thy at alt fra middagh war swa mörkt  
 that that all from midday was so dark
- swa som nat ware oc ey matte  
 so as night be-KONJ and no may
- sool** skina  
 sun shine (KM 273)

‘For from midday on it was as dark as if it were night and as if the Sun did not shine’.

The unmarked form may also be due to the fact that this is a negative polarity context (after negation). We should note at this point that even if the negative polarity context influences the reading of the noun, the uniques in MS are not influenced by it.

We noted previously that the loanwords such as *paradis* do not take -IN as easily as indigenous ones. A closer look at Bo reveals this to be true—although the frequency of the suffix is very high and -IN seems obligatory with unique referents, *paradis* appears only once with the suffix and in the remaining (7) instances is a bare noun.

- (97) Gläz thy oc frygdhas som iak sagdhe  
 rejoice therefore and delight as I said
- oc thakka gudhi. (..) ok gak opta i **thätta**  
 and thank God and went often in this
- paradysit,** hulkit thu maat faa vm thu idhnar  
 paradise which you may get if you practice
- böнена.  
 prayers-DEF (Bo 118)

‘Therefore rejoice and delight as I said and thank God (..) and went often to this paradise which you may receive if you practice prayers’.

In period III we find uniques such as *sol* ‘sun’, *wæruld* ‘world’ and *iord* ‘earth’ always marked with -IN, including negative polarity contexts.

- (98) thz lyser som solen  
 it shines as sun-DEF (Linc JB 69)

‘It shines as the Sun’.

In table 21 frequencies of the different types of marking of the unique referents are given. The words studied are the inherited *veruld*, *sol*, and the loans *natur* and *paradis*. They are studied in religious texts from all periods.

Table 21. Distribution of -IN and -ø with unique referents in religious prose<sup>61</sup>, periods I-III

Lexeme	Period I			Period II			Period III		
	Bare noun	-IN	Other	Bare noun	-IN	Other	Bare noun	-IN	Other
veruld	6	206	6	–	79	1	3	69	7
sol	46	81	–	1	6	–	1	12	–
natur	260	37	–	2	8	–	1	1	–
paradis	103	–	–	13	1	–	18	–	–

As can be seen from the results presented in Table 21, the noun ‘world’ is regularly marked with -IN as early as the earliest religious prose; some unmarked instances have been found (though none in period II). It is the only unique that can be marked other than by -IN—mainly by the demonstrative *denna* or possessive *min* ‘mine’. In these cases there is a contrast implied between the world of earthly sorrows and that of the glorious future in heaven, thus it cannot quite be treated as a unique referent.

The noun *sol*, on the other hand, although also marked in the earliest texts, is unmarked in over 30% of instances in period I and occasionally unmarked in period II (99) and even in period III (100).

- (99) at han atirkom til räät samuit oc gik  
that he returned to right conscience and went
- atir til klostrit. Oc innelykte sik i  
back to monastery-DEF and in-locked REFL in
- sinom sälla swa at han ey saa **sol**  
his cell so that he not saw sun
- (HML 280)
- ‘That he came back to right conscience and returned to the monastery and locked himself in his cell so that he did not see the Sun’.

- (100) J then daghen kwnnom wi enkte swara nar  
in this day-DEF can we nothing answer when

<sup>61</sup> Period I: Bur and Pent B (complete texts), period II: HML, Jart and Bo (complete texts), period III: Linc NR and Linc JB (complete texts).

badhe both	hymeldh heaven	oc and	iordh earth	eldh fire	oc and	watn water	<b>sol</b> sun	oc and
mane, moon	dagh day	oc and	nath, night	oc and	ower over	alt all	all all	
wärlden, world-DEF		staa stand	oc and	witna witness	moth against	os, us	om about	
wara our	syndher sins							(SK 113)

‘On that day we can answer nothing when both heaven and earth, fire and water, sun and moon, day and night and everything in the whole world stand and witness against us and our sins’.

Of the two loanwords studied, *natur* ‘nature’ seems to be more easily incorporated into the inflectional system, taking -IN regularly in period II, whereas *paradis* ‘paradise’ remains unmarked throughout all periods and the only marked instance involves a strong deixis (*detta paradysit* in example (97)).

Throughout the religious prose we find uses of -IN which are clearly non-textual and are yet difficult to classify as uniques. Consider the following period III example:

(101)	oc and	främia hone	sik self	i in	<b>dygdhomen</b> virtue-DAT-DEF	oc and	godhom good	
		gärninggom deeds						(Linc NR 277)

‘And to hone oneself in the virtues and good deeds’

Also references made to the commonly known biblical characters and events are always marked with -IN.

(102)	Laudate dominum in sanctis eius, Laudate dominum in sanctis eius,		konnogxlike royal		<b>propheten</b> prophet-DEF	dawid David	
	i in	<b>psalmenom</b> psalms-DAT-DEF	sigher says	tässen these	ordhen words-DEF		(Linc NR 276)

‘Laudate dominum in sanctis eius, the royal prophet David says these words in the psalms’.

These atypical uniques can occasionally be found outside religious prose as well, e.g. in the narrative PK. However, they occur only in the introductory part

of the chronicle, presenting the world's history (among others, the flood and the raising of the Babel tower) as known from the Bible, which are presented in PK as part of the history of Sweden, since the Swedes in that text are considered to be the descendants of Noe's son, Japhet.

(103)	Hwilka which	affödha descendants	och and	äpterkomande progeny	förgato forgot	och and	änglana angels'	
	nidherstyrtilse downfall	och and	flodhen flood-DEF	som which	gangen gone	war was	öffwer over	
	alt all	mankönit mankind	och and	begynthe began	<b>högfärdhinna</b> vanity-DEF	torn tower		
	oppa upon	ena a	mark ground	som which	tha then	kalladis was-called	sennar Sennar	och and
	nw now	kallas is-called	babilonia Babylon					(PK 220)

'These descendants forgot both the downfall of the angels and the flood which came on all the mankind and began (building) a tower of vanity in a place once called Sennar and today known as Babylon'.

This use of -IN will be discussed in more detail in 4.6.3.

#### 4.5.2. Generics

Finding -IN used generically in period I is a difficult task. The use of nouns *maðr* 'man' and *bonde* 'yeoman' in legal prose can be said to be of a generic nature, since no specific 'man' is meant. However, Wessén points out that the use of the nouns in legal texts is highly specific and that they are not to be understood as generic uses. The noun *bonde* will be studied separately in 4.6.1. Suffice it to say that Wessén's ideas seem to be confirmed here.

Otherwise, isolated uses of -IN nearing generics can be found as early as in Bur (period I).

(104)	En but	af of	giri greed	ok and	lusta lust	<b>likamans</b> body-DEF-GEN	kumba comes	{heþers} honour
	spiæl ruin							(Bur 183)

'But of the greed and lust of the body comes the corruption of honour'.

- (105) þy at vtan guþ vare dōþelekar aldre vare  
 this that without god be mortal never be
- människian** udōþeleken  
 man-DEF immortal (Bur 140)

‘Therefore without God being (becoming) mortal, the man could never be (become) immortal’.

In period II, some -IN generics can be found in Bo. Note, however, the variation in the marking of generics in the short passage quoted in (106), where we find bare noun, -IN and EN with apparently the same function.

- (106) Renlekin gör af **människionne** **ängel** **Ängillin**  
 purity-DEF makes of man-DEF angel angel-DEF
- ok **een** **höuisk** **människia** the hawa en  
 and a courtly man-DEF they have a
- atskilmadh mällan siin tho ij sälikhetinne  
 difference between them though in holiness-DEF
- oc äkke i dygdhinne  
 and not in virtue-DEF (Bo 42-3)

‘Purity turns a man into an angel. There is one difference between an angel and a good man, though in holiness and not in virtue’.

Apart from the generic uses of both -IN and *en* in the previous example, we find marked forms of nouns ‘purity’, ‘holiness’ and ‘virtue’. These belong to a wider category of nouns which are almost always definite in Bo and other religious texts, although they have not been introduced linguistically before, neither is the use generic. We take a closer look at the whole group in 4.6.3.

We have seen in Chapter 1.5 that there are five different ways of expressing generic reference in MS: by bare noun, definite or indefinite singular and definite or indefinite plural (see also Pettersson 1976). As late as in period III this complex system is yet to be formed. The variation in the marking of generics is largely between -IN and bare noun in the singular, with occasional uses of EN.

- (107) thy at han är **källa** oc **opphof** til alla  
 thus that he is spring and origin to all
- hälogheter, han är **gifware** allas dygdher, oc  
 holiness he is giver all virtues and

<b>rothen</b>	til	alt	goth	
root-DEF	to	all	good	(Linc NR 276)

‘Because he is the source and origin of all holiness, he is the giver of all virtue and the root of all good’.

(108)	<b>Spegelen</b>	lather	synas	<b>änletsens</b>	skippelse,	swa
	mirror-DEF	lets	see	face-GEN-DEF	form	so

lata	oc	<b>häloga</b>	<b>iomfruors</b>	liffwerne	see
let	and	holy	virgins	lives	see

<b>siälennas</b>	stadgha	
soul-DEF-GEN	stability	(Linc NR 277)

‘The mirror lets the features of the face be seen, so also the lives of the holy virgins let see the stability of the soul’.

(109)	Thän	tidh	gudh	är	a	<b>altareno</b>	j	<b>yflätino</b>
	this	time	god	is	on	altar-DEF	in	wafer

tha	bör		hanum	aff	godhom	mannom
then	becomes		him	of	good	men

älskelikhet	ok	kärlekir	
dedication	and	love	(Jart 4)

‘The time when God is on the altar in the sacramental wafer (host) then dedication and love is due him from good men’.

#### 4.5.3. From textual to non-textual uses of -IN

We have previously seen that -IN appears in all textual contexts in the earliest texts, including indirect anaphora, but it is found in non-textual uses only in texts of later dates. The textual functions are therefore older than the non-textual ones (see also Chapter 2). The question now is what types of contexts allow the spread of -IN from textual to non-textual functions and whether these can be found in period I material.

In 4.5.1 we have discussed, at some length, the different types of unique referents to be found in legal texts, concerning more and less local authorities (the king, the bishop, the district). Among these the noun ‘priest’ belongs to the most local category, since its ‘uniqueness’ is limited to one parish. Bearing that in mind, consider the following example:

- (110) Hua inne uill ligia i kirkyu gifui hænni þre  
 who inside wants lie in church give her three  
 mark oc **præstinum** sijn læghorstath oc  
 marks and priest-DAT-DEF his burial ground and  
 spöre ey lænspræstin at  
 ask not vicar to (YVL KB:23)

‘Who wishes to be buried inside the church (and not in the churchyard) should pay three marks to the church and to the priest for the burial place, without consulting the vicar.’

In example (110) we see a context that has a twofold interpretation: on the one hand the definite form of ‘priest’ may be a matter of indirect anaphora—where there is a church, there is a priest, the priest of the church in question. On the other hand it may be ‘the closest priest’—local uniqueness.

That the more local uniques are earlier marked with -IN has already been discussed in 4.5.1. It is very clear from the example (111) below.

- (111) Ey ma kirkyu iorth sæliæ ælla skipta vtan  
 not may church mark sell or divide without  
 biskups loff oc **præstins** oc  
 bishop-GEN permission and priest-GEN-DEF and  
 soknamanna vilia vtan þa sum gifs  
 parishmen-GEN will without this which give-PASS  
 til kirkyu bygningh hana skulu soknamæn sæliæ  
 to church maintenance her shall parishmen sell  
 æn kirkia thorf bygning uith  
 if church needs building to (YVL KB:67)

‘The ground belonging to the church may not be sold or divided without the permission of the bishop and the priest and the parishioners unless the sale is to bring in the money for the maintenance of the church, then the parishioners may sell if the church is in need of maintenance’.

In this case, there is a difference between the priest and the bishop; the latter, although also unique and indirectly anaphoric (the bishop who oversees the particular church) is unmarked.

- (112) Ganger præster i annars sokn oc bær i bok  
 goes priest in other’s parish and carries in book



ok	stool	oc	læs	iuer	folke	þa	ær	han
and	stool	and	reads	over	folk	then	is	he
sæker	at	thrim	markum	böte	<b>præstinum</b>		XII	
guilty	at	three	marks	pay	priest-DAT-DEF		12	
öra	oc	sua	biscupi					
öre	and	so	bishop					(YVL KB:35)

‘If a priest goes into another priest’s parish, carried the book (the Bible), and stool with him and reads to the people, he is liable to pay a three mark fine. He shall pay 12 öre to the priest (whose parish it is) and the same amount to the bishop.’

#### 4.6. Anomalous uses of -IN

The aim of this section is to report the uses of -IN that are surprising from the MS perspective but even more so, that are difficult to account for within the model we have adopted so far—differentiating between textual and non-textual definiteness. Despite the adjective ‘anomalous’ in the headline regularity can be found in this discrepant use of -IN.

##### 4.6.1. *Bondi* in legal prose

Let us first consider the use of the noun *bonde* ‘yeoman’ in one fragment (*kirkiubalken*, ‘the church codex’) of DL (legal text, period I).

(112)	<b>Bondi</b>	skal	tiunda	præsti	sinum (..)	<b>Böndir</b>	skulu	kirkiu
	yeoman	shall	tithe	priest	his	yeomen	shall	church
	gewa (..)							
	give							
	<b>Bondin</b>	scal	ræta	tiund	giora (..)	<b>Hwar</b>	<b>bonde</b>	scal
	yeoman-DEF	shall	right	tithes	make	each	yeoman	shall
	giora							
	make							(DL KB:3)

‘A yeoman shall pay tithes to his priest (..) Yeomen shall give (money) to the church (..) The yeoman shall pay proper tithes (..) Each yeoman shall make (..)’.

In this fragment, there is great variation in expressing similar content, either by use of bare noun in the singular, bare noun in the plural, a marked noun or

a pronoun *hwar* ‘each’. No subtleties of legal prose can be attached to this variation in form and we are therefore left to surmise that the system is in a phase of change and the scribe of the text makes full use of the forms at his disposal.

The use of -IN in contexts such as (112) is particularly surprising. The example is not an aberration, however, and similar ones can be easily found.

- (113) Nu kan **bondin** stulin uarþa  
now can yeoman-DEF robbed become (ÖgL VM:32)

‘A yeoman may be robbed (=If a yeoman is robbed)’.

- (114) Nu dör husfru **bondans**  
now dies wife yeoman-GEN-DEF-GEN (ÖgL GB:17)

‘Now dies yeoman’s wife (=If a yeoman’s wife should die)’.

- (115) Nu ær þæt **klokkarans** skuld bæra bok  
now is it sacristan-DEF-GEN sake bear book

ok stol i sokn mæþ præste  
and stool in parish with priest (ÖgL KB:6)

‘It is the sacristan’s task to carry the Bible and the stool when the priest makes a round in the parish’.

- (116) Nu talar lænsman til **bondans** om bloþ  
now talks sheriff to yeoman-GEN-DEF-GEN about blood

wecneng  
spillage (VmL KB:26)

‘If a sheriff speaks to a yeoman about blood spill’.

MS would, in corresponding instances, use the indefinite rather than the definite article or possibly a bare noun. This unusual—from the MS perspective—usage of -IN is limited to the legal prose and therein mainly to the weak noun *bonde* ‘yeoman’ (frequently used as an equivalent of ‘man’), particularly in the oblique cases.

This overuse is observed in Larm 1936:100f, who wishes to see it as means of marking the case of the noun and claims it to be limited mainly to the genitive case. This interpretation is based on the fact that *bonde* being a weak noun, its marked form is clearly either genitive (*bonda-ns*), dative (*bonda-nom*) or accusative (*bonda-n*) while the bare noun is ambiguous and may be interpreted as dative, genitive or accusative depending on the context (*bonda*, oblique). According to Larm such usage of -IN is sporadic.

A closer inspection of the legal prose however reveals that the use is fairly frequent in a number of legal texts, though not in all. Table 22 shows strikingly high percentages of the marked form of the noun. In DL as much as ca 75% of all instances of the lexeme are marked with -IN, almost 50% in OgL and ca 67% in UL.

Table 22. Distribution of the noun *bonde* with and without -IN in DL, UL and OgL

Lexeme	DL -IN	DL bare noun	DL total	UL -IN	UL bare noun	UL total	OgL -IN	OgL bare noun	OgL total
bonde 'yeoman' NOM	77	26	103	88	166	254	109	118	227

Larm explains the overuse of the marked form by the desire to make the case form explicit (though he only mentions the genitive). *Bonde* is a weak masculine noun, *nd*-stem, which in the singular only differentiates between the nominative (spelled *bonde* or *bonde*) and oblique (*bonda*) forms. On the other hand, there is a maximal contrast in the 'definite' paradigm, where 8 different clusters of functions are expressed by 8 different forms. For the unmarked noun, on the other hand, the contrast is between nominative and oblique (two forms for four functions) in the singular and between the nominative/accusative, the dative and the genitive (three forms for four functions) in the plural. In other words, the definite paradigm makes the case differences clear in both numbers, while the bare noun shows a high level of syncretism in the singular.

Table 23. The inflectional paradigm of *bonde* 'yeoman'

Number	Case	Unmarked	-IN
Sg	Nom	bonde (bonde)	bonde-n
	Gen	bonda	bonda-ns
	Dat	bonda	bonda-num
	Acc	bonda	bonda-n
Pl	Nom	bønder	bønder-ni(r)
	Gen	bonda	bonda-nna
	Dat	bondum	bondum-in
	acc	bønder	bønder-na

If Larm is correct in his assumption that the use of -IN is motivated by the explicitness of the case forms, we would expect -IN in the genitive, dative and accusative, but not in the nominative, where the case form is unambiguous.

Table 24 reports the results of the search for the nominative *bonde* (in all spelling varieties) and the marked *bondin* (also spelled *bonden*). The study was made for all legal texts from period I including the first country-wide law, *Magnus Erikssons landslag* (ca 1350). Altogether 9 texts were searched *in extenso*.

Table 24. Noun *bondi* in the nominative in all OS legal texts.

Lexeme	AVL	YVL	DL	OgL	UL	HL	YVest	Sdml	MEL
bondi bonde bondæ	35	66	16	90	99	9	62	59	71
bondin bonden	1	13	32	62	46	–	17	10	23
Percentage of -IN forms	2,8%	16,5%	66,7%	40,8%	31,7%		21,5%	14,5%	24,5%

The results presented in table 24 show that a high percentage of the marked form is also found in the nominative. In DL, the most progressive text in this respect, the marked form clearly dominates the unmarked one.

The results of the search for *bondi* in oblique cases (genitive, dative, accusative) are reported in table 25.

Table 25. Noun *bondi* in oblique cases in all OS legal texts

Case marking	Case	Form	AVL	YVL	DL	OgL	UL	HL	YVest	Sdml	MEL
unmarked	gen/dat/ acc	bonda	26	21	7	27	62	56	23	47	21
marked -IN	gen	bondans <sup>62</sup>	–	3	29	30	24	8	9	27	15
	dat	bonda- nom	–	–	5	11	14	1	5	1	19
	acc	bondan	–	1	1	6	3	4	1	2	8
Percentage of -IN forms			0%	16%	83,3%	63,5%	39,8%	18,8%	39,5%	39%	66,7%

<sup>62</sup> YVL has one instance of *bondens*, probably misspelled. In DL there are three instances spelled *bondands*.



It does not seem, therefore, as if the primary function of -IN was to make the case form explicit. But to make sure we may take a look at other weak nouns of relatively high frequency, which would need some clarification: *domare* ‘judge’ and *klokkare* ‘sacristan’.

Table 27. Marked and unmarked forms of the noun *domare* ‘judge’ in OS legal texts

Case marking	Case	Form	YVL	DL	OgL	UL	HL	YVest	Sdml	MEL
unmarked	nominative	domare	1	2		19		12	7	1
	gen/dat/acc	domara	2	3		14		7	10	1
marked -IN	nom	domarin		5	9	3		1		
	gen	domarans		2		2		2	5	
	dat	domarenum		1					1	
	acc	domaran				1				

Since both nouns have lower frequency than *bondi*, only absolute values are given and no percentages. It is clear that the nouns *klokkare* and *domare* do not exhibit the same pattern as *bonde* and the use of bare nouns dominates. Admittedly, in OgL it only appears as *domarin* and in DL the -IN forms dominate over the unmarked ones, even in the nominative. These two texts prove again to be the most advanced in this particular use of -IN. In other texts the unmarked forms dominate.

The use of -IN for stating the case form clearly is too strong a hypothesis, since weak nouns have always been weak and the syncretism of forms alone has not led to the reformation of the system. Let us consider some more examples.

Definite *bondin* appears in many contexts where specific *en* would be employed in MS, e.g.

- (117) Warþir **bondin** dræpin  
be yeoman-DEF killed (DL MK:3)

‘If a yeoman is killed’.

- (118) Dör **bondin** oc barn ær ængti æpti  
dies peasant-DEF and child is none after (DL GB:12)

‘If a peasant dies without an heir’.

The usage is not definite, but it may be regarded as specific. In MS it would be natural to use the indefinite article here. The usage is not limited to the noun

*bonde*—although this has the highest frequency—but can be found with other nouns as well, e.g. *nempdemaðr* ‘juryman’.

(119)	Fylgher follows	eig not	<b>nempdæmaþrin</b> juryman-DEF	sinnæ his	gengiærþ provision	oc and		
	almenpnigs common-land		öre öre	innan before	forstæ first	endaghom day-and-year		
	böte pay	tua two	örae örae	þem him	gengiærþinæ provision	a	æller owns	or
	viti witness	forfall loss	sin his	meþ with	tolf twelve	mannæ men	eþe. oath	(YVL FB:42)

‘If a juryman does not fulfill his obligations and taxation in due time, he shall pay two öre fine where it is owned or witness the loss with the oath of the twelve’.

*Nempdemaðr* is a strong noun and in no need of clarification of the case form (there is no syncretism in the singular). It cannot be interpreted as indirect anaphora (= the closest) or unique because there were more than one juryman for each district, therefore the interpretation of -IN as an MS definite article is unsuccessful<sup>63</sup>. A specific interpretation (comparable with the MS use of the indefinite article) is however possible.

If we recall the stages of grammaticalization of the definite article as presented in Greenberg 1978 (repeated as (120) below, see also Chapter 2), we see that the development goes through stage I (the definite article) to stage II (the specific marker).

(120)	Stage 0 demonstrative	Stage I definite article	Stage II specific article	Stage III noun marker
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(after Greenberg 1978, see also de Mulder and Carlier 2011:525)

However, it has also been noted that the grammaticalization from the definite article to the specific marker may be less likely to occur in languages that have also developed indefinite article (de Mulder and Carlier 2011:534). In other words, the presence of the indefinite blocks the further grammaticalization of

<sup>63</sup> As we have noted in Chapter 1 and 2, the definite article implies completeness of reference, totality. Therefore it is correct to say

He bought a new house and had to relay **the roof**.  
because there is one roof per house. It is however incorrect to say

He bought a new house and had to change **the window**.  
because there are typically more than one window to choose from in a house.

the definite. It has further been noted that in the absence of the indefinite article, the development may proceed straight to the specific marker, and the form never becomes a definite article (in the sense of marking known/identifiable/unique information) but rather develops from a demonstrative to a specific marker (Himmelmann 2001).

Since there is no indefinite article in period I, not even in an embryonic form (as far as the sources tell us, see Chapter 5), -IN has, so to speak, more room to spread. It therefore seems to be at least partly used as a specific marker rather than a definite article<sup>64</sup>.

The overuse of -IN may therefore be interpreted in the following ways:

- an attempt at clarification of syncretic case forms. Argument against: -IN found also in the nominative; no such regularity for other weak nouns such as *klokkare* and *domare*.
- a regional (dialectal) peculiarity. Argument against: the continuation of DL (representing the same regional variety) shows quite discrepant results, and the overuse is also found in MEL.
- an early stage of -IN grammaticalization, by-passing the definite article stage and instead going straight to specific marker. The development checked by the grammaticalization of *en*, -IN reinterpreted as ‘definite’ in opposition to *en* ‘indefinite’. Argument against: the overuse limited to a handful of nouns.

Possibly, all three explanations are partly correct and none can alone explain this discrepant use of -IN. Similarly unfamiliar use of -IN can also be found in Old Icelandic—in his OI grammar Heusler describes it as ‘opposite’ (*umgekehrt*) to the definite article in Modern German (Heusler 1950:126), giving some examples:

(121)	kuezk says-REFL	eiga own	<b>dýret</b> animal-DEF	eitthuert some
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‘He says he has an animal (lit. He says himself own/be an owner of an animal)’  
(Heusler 1950:126)

We will return to this interesting use of -IN and to the possible interdependence of the grammaticalization of the definite and the indefinite article in Swedish in Chapter 6.

<sup>64</sup> I am thankful to Folke Josefsson for drawing my attention to the fact that some occurrences of -IN (quoted as (119)) in the OS material that I found difficult to account for might in fact be seen as marking specificity rather than definiteness.



#### 4.6.2. Co-occurrence of -IN with strong forms of adjectives

The use of -IN as a specific marker is one of a few surprises that the speaker of MS experiences when studying its distribution in OS, particularly in period I, at a relatively early stage of the grammaticalization. Another is the possibility for marked nouns to co-occur with strong forms of adjectives.

- (122) Konæ firi giær manni fællir hana luct  
 woman for makes man charge her closed-ST

**hæræznæmpðin**

jury-DEF

(YVL FB:12)

‘If a woman kills a man, she shall be charged by a closed jury’.

In Chapter 3.2.1 we have discussed the origins of the so-called weak adjectival inflection in Proto-Germanic and some examples of the meaningful variation between strongly and weakly inflected adjective modifying definite noun in Icelandic.

The NP *luct hærædnæmpðin* combines a strongly inflected adjective and a marked noun. Such a combination is no longer possible in MS<sup>65</sup>; instead, the weak inflection appears obligatorily in defNPs and the strong in indefNPs (see also Appendix, notes on NP types in OS and MS). Such phrases are also infrequent in OS. Their appearance may serve as evidence that the weak adjectival inflection in period I is not just the agreement phenomenon it becomes in later stages of language development; rather, it retains some of its original meaning of ‘individualization’, bordering on definiteness.

This interpretation is further substantiated by the relatively frequent appearance of the strong form of an adjective with a possessive or a genitive (in practically all possible word orders), while in MS the weak form is obligatory in these contexts.

- (123) ANP meþ konunxlikum kærlek sinum (MEL)  
 with royal-S love his  
 ‘with his royal love’

- (124) PAN hans siukt ben (Bur)  
 his sick-S leg  
 ‘his sick leg’

<sup>65</sup> Adjective *egen* ‘own’ is an exception here, it is weakly inflected after a definite determiner but strongly after a possessive, compare: *den egna bilen* ‘the own car (=one’s own car)’ and *hans egen bil* ‘his own car’.

- (125) NPA    faður    sin    goðan    (Runic Swedish)  
               father    his    good-S  
               ‘his good father’
- (126) APN    envaldughær    konunger    sweæ    ok    giötæ    (UL)  
               absolute-S    king    swear    and    götar  
               ‘an absolute king of the Swedes and the Geats’  
               (All examples after Delsing 1994)

In all four orders, there is variation between the strong and the weak form of the adjective (Delsing 1994:99-108).

It must be noted, though, that the strong inflection is much more frequent after possessives and genitives than with marked nouns. Only occasional examples of the latter have been noted.

#### 4.6.3. Co-textual uses of -IN in religious prose

When discussing the unique referents and their marking in 4.5.1 we noted a number of uses of -IN which elude simple classification as non-textual. In period II, there is a striking difference between religious prose and profane narratives when it comes to functions in which -IN is found. While there are almost no instances of non-textual use in profane prose, they constitute 1/4 of all occurrences in Bo and more than half in HML! This has mainly to do with the character of the texts: Bo describes the childhood of Jesus Christ, with stories loosely based on what is known from the Bible, but giving more detail of mainly sentimental nature. References are constantly made to concepts and facts known from the Bible, and these need no textual introduction; instead they are used in the definite form from first mention. When the reader may have doubts, an explanation follows.

- (127) Nw    tha    the    komo    fore    **stallit**    som    är    thz  
           now    that    they    came    for    stable    which    is    this
- shed    which    our    herra    var    föddir    ij  
           **skiulit**    som    var    lord    was    born    in    (Bo 1)

‘They now came to the stable, which is the shed that our Lord was born in’.

In the following example (128) the definite (*stalleno* ‘the stable’) could be antecedent-less if the noun was something like *hus* ‘house’, which is a natural place to live in. Here the source of definiteness must be the general knowledge that the reader is assumed to possess, concerning the place where Jesus was born.

- (128) Nar som fyretighinde daghen var komin äptir thy  
 when which fourtieth day-DEF was come after this  
 som i laghomen var skipat. foor varfrw  
 which in law-PL.DEF was decided went our-lady  
 bort w **stalleno** mz piltenom ihesu.  
 away of stable-DEF-DAT with boy-DAT-DEF Jesus  
 oc iosep.  
 and Joseph (Bo 6)

‘When the fourtieth day was come according to the laws, our Lady went away from the stable together with the boy Jesus and Joseph’.

-IN is frequently employed in Bo to present a new referent but one which the author considers important for the reader to be familiar with, as part of the reader’s general knowledge of the world and the Christian faith and celebrations. We saw before the case of *stall* ‘stable’; below a similar presentation with explanation can be found.

- (129) at tha hon gik ij **mönstrit** som vi  
 that when she went in temple-DEF which we  
 kallom kirkiogang  
 call kirkiogang (Bo 3)

‘So when she came in the temple which we call *kirkiogang*’.

Even though some referents are provided with an explanation, many are assumed to be familiar to the reader and no explanation is offered, with the definite form as the only mark of familiarity. These are all connected with the biblical story or with the celebrations and sacrifices made.

- (130) Ok änte talar ewangelista vm **lambit.** thy  
 and nothing says evangelist about lamb-DET this  
 at thz var rika manna offir.  
 that it was rich-PL men-PL sacrifice (Bo 6)

‘(Mary and Joseph go into a temple and buy two doves for their sacrifice). And the gospel says nothing of a lamb, since that was rich men’s sacrifice’.

If all uniques were divided into those connected with religion and others (primarily natural phenomena, like sun and moon, and names of authorities) the proportion of ‘universal’ uniques is more or less the same in Bo and HML as in other texts of period II. It is the ‘religious’ uniques that are responsible for the high percentage of uniques in the religious prose. It is interesting to note that they are not wholly disconnected from the texts, although they are not introduced (linguistically) by any other prior referents; they may be considered ‘introduced’ by the text genre—a collection of moralizing stories to be read in a convent or at a religious gathering or by a pious Christian on his or her own, but always in clear connection to religion. The definiteness of concepts such as *dygden* ‘the virtue’ or *sanningen* ‘the truth’ arises not out of the textual situation but a **co**-textual one—the context in which the text is produced and read. There are frequent references made to different virtues, like *ödmiukt* ‘humility’ and vices, like *högfärdhet* ‘vanity’, which are likewise regularly marked with -IN and cannot be explained on the basis of linguistic information in the texts. Neither is it easy to think of them as uniques or generics. Consider the following examples:

- (131) Thu      giuir      var      herra      **hugnadhin**      til      at      lätta  
           you      give      our      lord      mind-DEF      to      to      relieve
- os      mz      **hopino**      at      vi      skulum      ey  
       us      with      hope-DEF      that      we      shall      not
- vanskas      oc      **dröuilsin**      til      **ödhmiuktinna**  
       run short      and      grief-DEF      to      humility-DEF-GEN
- gömilse  
       preservation
- (Bo 11)

‘You give your mind to the lord, to relieve us with hope so that we shall not falter and grief for the preservation of humility’.

- (132) varfrw      som      **fatikdomin**      älskadhe  
           our-lady      who      poverty-DEF      loved
- (Bo 3)

‘Our Lady, who loved poverty’.

- (133) ok      thikkir      mik      thän      vara      komin      til      höxsta      oc  
           and      thinks      me      then      be      come      to      highest      and
- vansammasto      **fulcomlikhetsins**      trappo  
       most beautiful      perfection-GEN-DEF-GEN      ladder
- (Bo 31)

‘And I think I am come to the highest and most beautiful ladder of perfection’.

- (134) thy                    til        alla        thässa    fulcomnilse    hiälpir  
 this-DAT            to        all        these    perfections    helps
- enselikhetin  
 solitude-DEF
- (Bo 45)

‘Thus solitude helps in (achieving) all these perfections’.

The virtues and vices presented in (131-134) must be understood in connection with the text itself, its character and its purpose. Since Bo, as well as other religious texts, was primarily intended as moralizing reading for monks and nuns, the qualities discussed can be understood in their religious context: *the hope* therefore is ‘the hope of salvation’, *the humility* is ‘the proper/correct, Christian humility’ and *the poverty* is ‘the self-chosen, Christian negation of material goods’. Interestingly enough, the Christian interpretation is to be used also on negative qualities, like greed and indolence.

- (135) thy                    at        til        änkte    annat    dughir    **slögdhin**  
 this-DAT that        to        nothing other    serves    indolence
- vtan    at        födha    öghonin        i        **fafängonne**  
 but    to        feed    eyes-DEF        in        vanity
- (Bo 17)

‘Thus indolence serves no other purpose than to nurture vanity’.

All these instances of -IN in religious texts can be explained neither textually nor non-textually but rather co-textually—as dependent on the purpose of the text. At the same it must be noted that MS has a tendency to mark many abstract nouns expressing emotions and qualities, where English uses a bare (unmarked) noun.

- (136) **Kärleken** gör blind.  
 ‘Love makes blind’.
- (137) **Nöden** har ingen lag  
 ‘Necessity knows no law’.
- (138) Och om jag hade varit i kammaren, tror jag att jag för **kuriositetens** skull hade hållit ett försvarstal för **själv mordet**.  
 ‘And if I had been in the Chamber, I think that I would, for the sake of curiosity, have given a little speech in defence of suicide’.  
 (all examples quoted in Perridon 1989:174)

Some of these examples are proverbs or sayings, where irregular use of definite and indefinite article may be expected, but as can be seen in the (138) exam-

ple, such ‘overuse’ (from the English point of view) of the article is not limited to lexicalized phrases only.

Religious prose introduces a number of other referents absent from the legal texts and narratives. The referents are also connected with the religious character of the text and include terms such as *siäl* ‘soul’ and *licaman* ‘body’. These are typically marked with -IN without being previously introduced in the text, either directly or indirectly, which is also understandable from the MS perspective—if they are used generically.

- (139) ok      alt      thz      som      **huxsins**           roo      oc  
 and      all      that      which      mind-GEN-DEF-GEN      serenity and
- siäfleek    hindrar    fly      swa      som      etir      oc  
 calm      prevents    flee      so      as      poison    and
- siälinna**      owini  
 soul-GEN-DEF    enemy
- (Bo 46)

‘And everything that disturbs the peace of mind, flee from it like from poison and the soul’s enemy (=devil)’.

- (140) at      han      vil      **andans**      oc      äkke      **licammans**  
 that      he      wants      spirit-GEN-DEF      and      not      body-GEN-DEF
- ökno  
 desert
- (Bo 47)

‘that he wishes for the isolation of spirit and not body’.

As we can see from the examples, there are a number of concepts relating to the inner being—apart from the Nordic *hugher*<sup>66</sup> (or *hughnad*) there are the loans *ande* ‘spirit’ and *siäl* ‘soul’<sup>67</sup>, used more or less interchangeably in reference to the immortal part of human being, ‘soul’<sup>68</sup>, and the former used mainly in reference to ‘mind’, in which use *akt* ‘mind’ also occurs. The definite form may be

<sup>66</sup> *hugher* (= mind) origin unknown, also used as ‘memory’

<sup>67</sup> *själ* (sial)—ags. *sáwol* (soul) got. *saiwala*, possibly connected with slav. *sila* (power) or Greek *aiólos* moving, *ande*: (breathe), lat. *anima* (breath)

<sup>68</sup> Both *ande* and *siäl* are used in many runic inscriptions, apparently for emphasis rather than to express different concepts, as in the inscription (U 323) quoted below:

**iystin auk iuruntr auk biurn þiR byryþr risþu stin trums faþur sin kuþ ihlbi ons ont auk selu fur kifi onum sakaR auk sutiR hi (..)**

Östen and Jorund and Björn, these brothers raised (this stone after) their father. May God help spirit his and soul, forgive him sins.

interpreted generically or as an extended instance of inalienable possession (analogical to body parts' terms).

Occasionally, we find -IN used generically in a way that is foreign to MS.

- (141) vidhir **bärghit** findir thu **dalin**  
 by mountain-DEF find you dale-DEF (Bo 10)

'You find a dale by every mountain (= good and bad things go hand in hand).'

Example (141) is one where the MS would probably not use the definite, but rather *Vid varje berg finner du en dal* 'By every mountain you find a dale', with 'every' and indefinite rather than definite articles. Also in (142), MS would prefer the indefinite article.

- (142) Än här ödhiukadhe thu thik ok miswyrthe  
 yet here humbled you yourself and dishonoured  
 thik, takande vppa thik **thrälsins** ham ok  
 yourself taking upon you thrall-DEF body and  
 äkke **konungxsins** oc vardh swa som en  
 not king-DEF and became so as one  
 af os pilgrimbir oc wtländinge  
 of us pilgrims and foreigners (Bo 37)

'And yet you humbled yourself and denied yourself glory, taking upon you the body of a slave and not of a king and you became one of us, pilgrims and foreigners'.

In period III, there are only few instances of what, from the MS perspective, may be termed an overuse of -IN. They include the co-textual definites that we have discussed so far. As we have noted, the MS feel of overuse is a result of the modern reader's unfamiliarity of the texts and the conceptual world they represent, rather than a truly foreign use of the form (unlike the use of *bondin* 'the yeoman', which is indeed foreign to MS). The distribution of -IN in period III seems to be largely identical to MS.

#### 4.6.4. Co-occurrence with numeral EN

The marked form may also co-occur with numeral *en* 'one'. This is studied in greater detail in Chapter 5.9.

### 4.7. Discussion of the distribution of -IN

In 4.4 and 4.5 we have seen examples of -IN in different textual and non-textual functions. We have also seen that although the textual functions are already well-represented in period I, in particular in the religious prose, we do find numerous counterexamples where bare nouns are used—the usage is not yet obligatory. We have also seen that the overall frequency of -IN rises from periods I to III though it does not reach MS frequencies (Table 9). We are now going to look at the distribution of -IN in the textual and non-textual functions in each period. Table 28 shows the results for first 100 -IN forms in each text from periods I-III, apart from AVL, where only 24 are found. The comparison material is the first 100 definite forms (marked with -IN) from an MS short story (Mari Jungstedt *En helg på landet*<sup>69</sup>, 2006)

Table 28. Distribution of -IN in textual and non-textual functions in OS

Period	Textual functions		Non-textual functions		Other*
	Direct anaphora	Indirect anaphora	Unique reference	Generic reference	
Period I	66,2%	28,4%	1,9%	2,8%	0,7
Period II	55,5%	12%	21,7%	1,7%	9,1
Period III	48,8%	21,6%	14,2%	13%	2,4
MS	18%	61%	17%	4%	

\* Lexicalized phrases or NPs with *nästa* 'next', *första* 'first' etc.

In period I -IN is overwhelmingly used in textual functions with direct anaphora dominating heavily. This is particularly striking as only 2 out of 6 texts studied include stories where anaphoric reference is to be expected—4 texts are laws. In spite of the lack of narratives, the percentage of direct anaphora is over 66%, suggesting that this is the original function of -IN.

Proportions change gradually, although the textual use still dominates over the non-textual one, where generics come to be marked with -IN in period III.

Definite plurals lag behind definite singulars, as can also be seen in table 29. The proportions are close to MS in period III.

Table 29. Singular and plural -IN phrases in OS

Period	SG	PL
Period I	95,4	4,6
Period II	90,3	9,7
Period III	85,8	14,2
MS	84	16

<sup>69</sup> Three MS short stories were studied to compare the frequencies of -IN and EN as well as their distribution in MS with that in OS. Of these three, the one by Mari Jungstedt had the most 'average' results, therefore it was chosen as comparative material for this part of the study.





## 4.8. Conclusions

It has been shown here that although -IN appears in both textual and non-textual uses already in the oldest text, AVL, it is nevertheless possible to study its spread from strictly textual functions (direct anaphora) through indirect anaphora to unique reference and—only as the final step—to generic contexts, in which it appears only sporadically as late as period III. The textual functions, mainly direct anaphora, dominate heavily in period I. Proportions between textual and non-textual functions of -IN similar to those in MS are first found in period III. Interestingly enough, the majority of textual uses are constituted by indirect anaphora, which rely on knowledge outside the text. The original function of textual deixis is reduced (as other elements may appear in this context, mainly personal and demonstrative pronouns). Factors involved in the grammaticalization include text type, not only in the traditional sense of stylistics but also in the sense of the purpose of the text: some definite uniques are closely connected with the religious prose showing a co-textual character.

Table 31 presents the stages of grammaticalization of the definite article in Swedish based on the OS material. A difference was made between ‘spread to context’, which is to be understood as first, possibly sporadic, occurrences of -IN in a given function and ‘obligatorification in context’.

Table 31. Stages of grammaticalization of -IN in periods I-III

Stages of grammaticalization of the definite article	Functions	Spread to context			Obligatorification in context		
		Period I	Period II	Period III	Period I	Period II	Period III
Stage II	direct anaphoric marker	+	+	+	-	+	+
Stage III	indirect anaphoric marker	+	+	+	-	+	+
Stage IV	uniqueness marker	(+)	+	+	-	(+)	+
Stage V	generalized article	-	(+)	(+)	-	(+)	(+)

We have seen that -IN is found in practically all contexts as early as in period II, but its obligatorification as uniqueness marker is completed first in period III. Even then, it is not yet regularly used in generic contexts.

In Chapter 5 we will study the development of the indefinite article, which shows some similarities to that of the definite. In Chapter 6 we will try to establish a connection between the two grammaticalizations.

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# 5 Grammaticalization of the indefinite article

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## 5.1. Introduction

As noted earlier in this study, the indefinite article in MS has grammaticalized from a unitary cardinal, which is cross-linguistically the most common source of the indefinite. While in some article languages the grammaticalization has led to a new form distinct from its source (e.g. English *one* vs. *a*), the Swedish indefinite article EN is (still) formally identical to the numeral ‘one’<sup>71</sup>. Therefore, the distinction between a numeral and an article may be challenged<sup>72</sup>, just as in other languages with similar formal identity of the two, such as Spanish (see Pozas Loyo 2010 for an overview).

Since the two items—numeral and article—are identical, there is in the texts no clear dividing line between them in terms of spelling (as again, there is with English *one*—*a*). In consequence, the present study is based solely on the analysis of the functions of EN. These functions include those of the original numeral, presentative marker, and specific and nonspecific markers (see Chapter 2). They are presented in chronological order of development. It must be noted though that it is not always possible to establish with certainty the function of EN. Depending on the context, it may have different interpretations in certain instances. Drawing a sharp line between different functions is not always possible due to the limited context.

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<sup>71</sup> One difference may be that the article is never stressed, while a numeral may be, e.g. in contrastive use such as:

Det var EN student som inte kom, inte tre.

‘It was ONE student that didn’t show up, not three’.

However, numerals need not be stressed either, and are not if no contrast is intended. Therefore, formally, the numeral and the article are identical.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Terner 1922 treats EN in MS as a numeral with ‘secondary uses’ in indefinite article functions.

## 5.2. General results

In OS, EN could be used both adnominally and prenominaly (as it is in MS). Since it is the adnominal occurrences that form a context for the grammaticalization of the indefinite article, only these were considered in the frequency count.

As we have seen in chapters 2 and 4, grammaticalization of an item is often accompanied by a rise in frequency of its use, especially at the inception of the development. An analysis of the frequency of EN in consecutive periods confirms this correlation.

Table 32. Occurrences of EN (adnominal) in Period III

EN	Period I	Period II	Period III	MS narrative
Occurrences per 1000 words	3,82	8,7	9,56	23

Table 32 shows that the frequency of EN rises significantly between periods I and II when its values are more than doubled and slightly between periods II and III. In period III it still does not reach the MS values.

A detailed look at the texts (table 33) reveals differences between them, which are partly genre-dependent. Legal prose shows, quite like the runic material, low frequencies and only cardinal uses of EN—which is hardly surprising, as we would expect more numerals in a legal text than in a narrative (cf. Pozas Loyo 2010:148). For each period, the texts with the highest and the lowest values respectively are marked in bold.

Table 33. Occurrences of EN throughout the texts in Periods I-III

Period	Text	Length of the text (no of words)	Total no of occurrences (adnominal)	Per 1000 words
1	2	3	4	5
Period I	<b>AVL</b> <sup>73</sup>	15000	35	2,34
	YVL	9200	27	2,93
	OgL	10220	23	2,25
	DL	10750	62	5,77
	Bur	9770	60	6,14
	Pent	10077	35	3,47

<sup>73</sup> Excerption of AVL was further complicated by the homographic EN meaning ‘if’, which may appear in contexts where indefinite article is conceivable, e.g.

1	2	3	4	5
Period II	HML <sup>74</sup>	10000	53	5,3
	Jart	10623	240	22,6
	SVM	16350	169	10,34
	KM	10940	68	6,2
	Bo	14300	36	2,51
	JB	2400	13	5,41
Period III	PK	4728	46	9,73
	Did	10945	181	16,54
	Linc NR	9835	85	8,64
	Linc JB	11088	58	5,23
	Troj	9780	75	7,67

In period I there is little difference between the genres and the legal and religious prose are not very different from each other, as is the case with the frequency of -IN. Bur stands somewhat apart with DL also showing a relatively high frequency of EN. The low frequencies of EN in all period I texts also coincide with a low level of grammaticalization, as we will see in the rest of the chapter.

Interestingly enough discrepancies between the texts are largest in period II. In periods I and III EN shows similar frequencies across texts, but in period II Jart has 9 times as many EN as Bo! In period II Jart clearly stands out, with values double that of the nearest, SVM. Additionally, there is great discrepancy between HML and Jart, though both represent the same genre and are found in one manuscript today (dated at ca 1385, though it is likely that HML is older than Jart, see Chapter 1). The nature of both texts is similar, though the stories in Jart are decidedly shorter, more adventurous and display more characters than those in HML.

---

<b>En</b>	maþær	krævær	man	skuld
If	man	demand	man	debt

(AVL RB:7)

'If a man demands (repayment of) debt from another'.

<sup>74</sup> Reader familiar with Brandtler and Delsing 2010 will notice that the result per 1000 words here is only half of what they give (p. 30). They find 278 occurrences of en in the entire text, but my search does not confirm it—there are 258, but of everything that one gets when searching for ‘\_en’, ‘\_een’, ‘\_eet’ (‘\_et’ returns only Latin examples) and in these results a number of other frequent words beginning with en are included, e.g. ensampnin ‘alone’. Further, they do not seem to take notice of whether en appears pronominally or adnominally. Here only adnominal occurrences are considered and the concordance has been manually pruned of all words other than the inflected forms of EN.

All these factors account for the striking discrepancy between the frequencies of both articles.

In period III the text with the highest frequency of EN is the narrative Did, closely followed by PK. The text with lowest values is Linc JB, which is different from the others in many respects (see Chapter 1).

In the rest of the chapter we will look at the original cardinal uses of EN in period I as well as at its rise as a presentative marker. In connection with this we will discuss the notion of topic and the role of initial subject in establishing topics. In 5.5 we turn to the specific uses of EN and the difference between them and the presentative uses. In 5.6 we discuss the non-specific occurrences of EN. This is followed by a discussion of the variation between EN and NGN in the non-specific contexts. Other competing markers, such as -IN and ANNAR are also discussed. The chapter ends with a summary and concluding remarks.

### 5.3. Numeral EN

In the runic material adnominal EN is used exclusively as a numeral (see Chapter 3.4). By common agreement no instance of EN in the oldest OS text, AVL, can be regarded as an article (e.g. Brandtler and Delsing 2010:29). The form has also a low frequency (see 5.2). Its numeral meaning can usually be deduced from a contrasting numeral used in the context (examples (1)-(3)).

- (1)      Druknæ            tuer      baþir      a            **enu**      **skipi**      hvarghi  
             drown            two       both      on           EN       ship       each
- þærra            ær        annars    arve  
             they-GEN       is        other's   heir
- (AVL ÆB:13)

‘If two men drown on one ship, they are each the other’s heir’.

- (2)      Sva      ær      firi      gipt      at            skiliæ            þaghær    þer  
             so      is      for      marriage to      understand      from      they
- kumæ    baþi    a        **en**      **bulstær**    ok        vnþir      **ena**      **bleo**  
             came    both    on      EN      bed      and      under    EN      sheet
- þa      a        hvn      þridiungh            i            bo  
             then    has    she      third-part            in        estate
- (AVL GB:9)

‘So is marriage to be marked: from the day they both came on one bed and under one sheet then she is entitled to a third of the estate’.

- (3) Egho bröþær tver **ena** **kono** (..) þæt ær firnærværk  
 have brothers two EN woman it is crime  
 (AVL GB:8)

‘If two brothers live with one woman, it is a crime’.

In examples (1)-(3), and in the majority of other EN-instances in AVL, there is an explicit contrast between EN and some other number (two brothers—one woman, two men—one ship). It is clear that EN in AVL is a numeral and used to signal singularity. Even in the absence of contrast the numeral function is still clear, as in (4), since the fine to be paid would certainly be higher if more than one tree was destroyed.

- (4) Flar maþær **enæ** **ek** aldinbæræ i skoghe  
 skins man EN oak acorn-bearing in wood  
 manss þæt ær sæx öra sak  
 man-GEN it is six öre sake  
 (AVL FB:8)

‘If a man takes the bark off an oak bearing acorns in another man’s wood, the penalty is a six mark fine’.

Leijström 1934, in the only relatively more comprehensive study of the formation of the indefinite article in OS<sup>75</sup>, notes a few examples from the legal prose, where he proposes specific rather than numeral reading of *en*, e.g.

- (5) Nu kan man giua **enum** **manne** sak mæþ  
 now can man give EN man charge with  
 stæmdu þinge stæmnir tu þing ok sitær tua  
 summons-ting summon two ting and sets two  
 fæmtir uændir síþan atær ok stæmnir hanum þing  
 fifths turn later again and summon him ting  
 firi annat mal þæt ma han egh gæra  
 for other case this may he not do  
 gær han för æn hit malit ær ut sot  
 does he before that case-DEFis out examined  
 sum han stæmdi förra þa böte þrea  
 which he summoned before then pay three

<sup>75</sup> The study is a chapter in his thesis on indefinite article (or rather article-like uses of the numeral) in Icelandic.

markær	firi	huart	þingit	
marks	for	each	ting-DEF	(OgL RB:18)

‘Now a man can charge another on one ting (extraordinary, gathered for this particular purpose) and summon him again, with two fifths present. If he returns and summons him again he may not do this until the first charge is examined for which he summoned the first time. (If the accused is found guilty) he shall pay three marks for each ting’.

It seems that Leijström’s interpretation is too radical here, since there is a clear contrast between one man, who is to be sued and two different lawsuits against him.

#### 5.4. Some remarks on specific and nonspecific uses of EN

In Chapter 2.5.2 we have presented Heine’s model of grammaticalization of the indefinite article, repeated here as (6).

- (6)
- |            |                         |
|------------|-------------------------|
| Stage I:   | the numeral ‘one’       |
| Stage II:  | the presentative marker |
| Stage III: | the specific marker     |
| Stage IV:  | the nonspecific marker  |
| Stage V:   | the generalized article |
- (Heine 1997:72-3)

In an empirical study, there arises a practical problem of differentiating between the functions specified in the model, in particular between the specific and the nonspecific marker. The common ‘definition’ of specificity is based on the speaker’s intentions: interpretation is specific if the speaker has a referent in mind (= a certain), nonspecific if he does not (= any). Speaker intentions are nigh on impossible to study in a historical text, therefore a more practical tool is necessary.

There are a number of contexts—so-called negative polarity contexts, that induce opacity in the interpretation of the indefNP. Consider (7)<sup>76</sup>.

- (7)
- |   |
|---|
| Mary wanted to marry a <b>millionaire</b> . |
| .. but she could not find any.              |
| .. but he rejected her.                     |

Usually, if no further context is provided, the default interpretation is non-specific.

<sup>76</sup> See also Chapter 2, examples (14) and (15).



The negative polarity contexts will be studied in 5.7. There is, however, yet another strategy to avoid analysing speaker intentions (specific or nonspecific). It is based on Heim 1988. In her study of definite and indefinite NPs she proposes the notion of *lifespan* of a discourse referent. Consider first examples (8) and (9).

- (8a) I have a car. **It** is a Saab.  
 (8b) I don't have a car. \*It is a Saab.
- (9a) I wish I had a car. \*It is a Saab.  
 (9b) If I had a car, **it** would be a Saab.  
 (9c) I wish I had a car. ?**It** would be a Saab.

In (8a) the indefNP establishes a new discourse referent, which may be taken up in later discourse. In (8b), however, the same indefNP which is under the scope of negation, establishes a discourse referent which cannot be taken up in later discourse. Similarly in (9a), though in (9b) a further reference is possible—the second mention of the referent is still under the scope of the operator. In (9c) the second mention lies outside the scope of the operator. However the example is not entirely invalid because a similar operator is used in the second sentence<sup>77</sup>.

We may thus conclude that the most important difference between the specific and nonspecific EN is that the former establishes a discourse referent of (at least potentially) considerable lifespan, while the latter establishes a short-lived discourse referent which cannot be referred to outside the scope of the operator under which it is introduced.

The notion of lifespan will be of further use when we try to differentiate between the presentative and specific functions of EN.

## 5.5. Presentative EN

The use of 'one' to mark new discourse referents is its first non-numerical function and marks the inception of the grammaticalization process (see Chapter 2). A characteristic feature of this use of EN is that the referent introduced by an EN-phrase is picked up in later discourse—the original presentative function is thus limited to prominent referents with long lifespan<sup>78</sup> (see 5.4), which show discourse *persistence* (Givón 1983).

<sup>77</sup> Possibly there is an ellipsis of (If I had one) in the second sentence.

<sup>78</sup> In other words, a new discourse referent established by an EN-phrase cannot be abandoned; in this respect EN at the beginning of grammaticalization is similar to English 'this' used to present new discourse referents.

In MS, new discourse referents are typically presented by means of direct objects (DO) located postverbally. Consider the following example:

- (10) Han har köpt en bil. **Den** är röd.  
 ‘He has bought a car. It is red.’

Since the original function of the indefinite article is to present new discourse referents and since that is normally done by means of objects, we would expect to find high frequency of EN-objects in the oldest Swedish material. However, an overview of the grammatical functions of the EN-phrases (diagram 6) does not confirm this hypothesis. The dominant function of EN-phrases in periods I and II is instead subjects.

Diagram 6. Grammatical functions of EN-phrases in OS, periods I-III. [%]

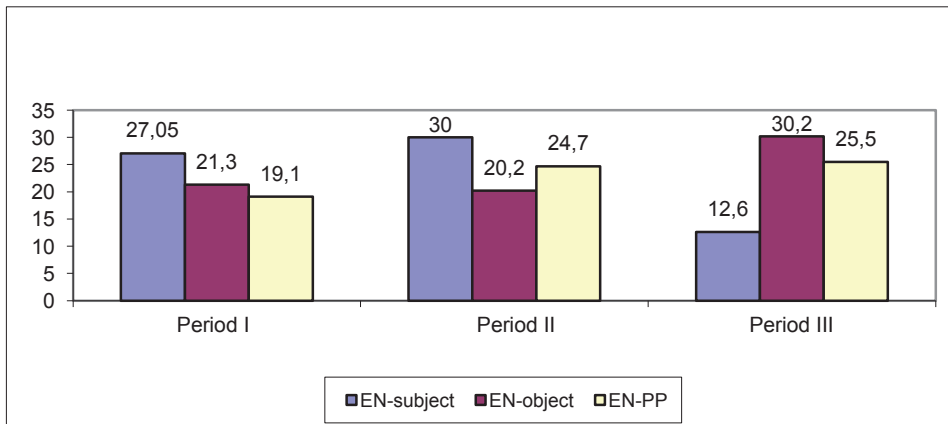
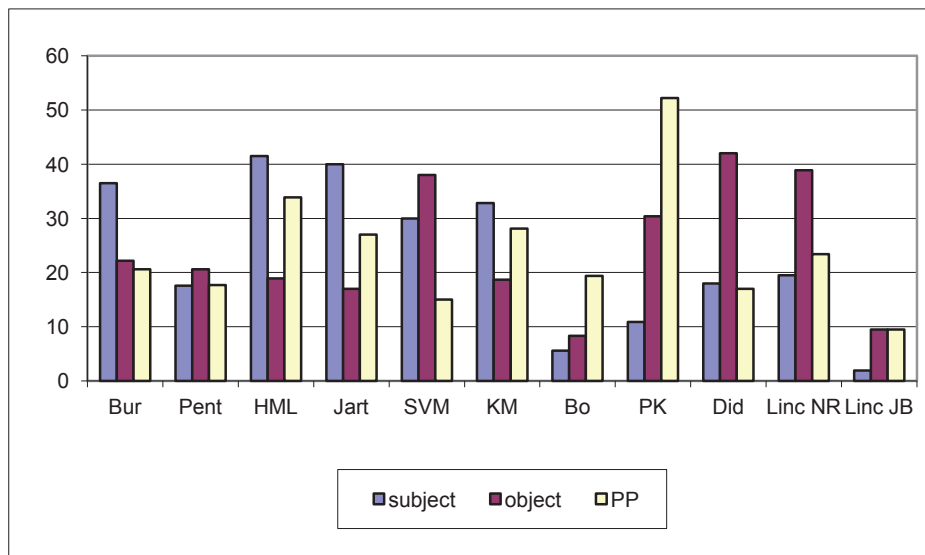


Diagram 6 shows that in periods I and II the dominant grammatical function of EN-phrases is not the object but the subject. The situation changes first in period III, when the percentage of EN-subjects among EN-phrases falls to little over 12% and is lower than the percentage of either objects or PPs<sup>79</sup>.

We can see in Diagram 7 that in Bur, the oldest text where EN is used in functions other than the original numeral one, in the religious texts HML and Jart, as well as in the narrative KM, it is not the objects but the subjects that dominate among EN-phrases. In Pent, objects are slightly more frequent than subjects but it is first in the younger texts, notably in period III (PK, Did, Linc NR and Linc JB), that objects start dominating over other grammatical functions of EN-phrases.

<sup>79</sup> Grammatical functions not included in the diagram are: adverbials, attributes, predicatives, appositions.

Diagram 7. Grammatical functions of EN-phrases in OS texts. [%]



It seems therefore that the presentative role is fulfilled mainly by subjects and not by objects in periods I and II. In MS EN-subjects are mainly found in non-initial positions: consider examples (11a-c).

- (11a) ?**En katt** satt i trappan.  
'A cat sat on the stairs'.
- (11b) I trappan satt **en katt**.  
'On the stairs (there) sat a cat'.
- (11c) Det satt **en katt** i trappan.  
'There was a cat (sitting) on the stairs.'

MS avoids sentence-initial indefinite subjects by either placing adverbials initially (11b) or by introducing a dummy subject *det* (11c). The rare sentence-initial indefinite subjects that can be found in MS prose are not text-initial, as in (12a-b). In fact, they may be considered a type of 'indirect anaphora', since they are also determined by an antecedent<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> It is impossible to treat this interesting phenomenon exhaustively here, suffice it to say that indefNPs are occasionally found in same contexts as defNPs, with an antecedent 'anchoring' them in the text. The difference, however, is that although they are connected with a prior information, they are not unique in their reference. On indefNPs with antecedents, see e.g. Fraurud 1990:404-405, Wald 1983 and Ushie 1986.

- (12a) Foten var värre. **En lukt** började kännas bara efter någon dag.  
‘The foot was worse. A smell started to be felt just after one day’.
- (12b) Hon tog rast och satte sig på kälken. En kort stund bara, hon var blöt av svett och skulle snart frysa. **En ekorre** sprang över snön precis intill, såg henne inte.  
‘She took a break and sat on the sledge. A short moment only, she was wet of sweat and would soon freeze. A squirrel ran over the snow next to her, did not see her’.  
(Larsson 2006:203 and 205)

In OS, on the other hand, the sentence-initial EN-subjects are also text-initial and antecedentless.

- (13)
- |           |                      |              |             |             |             |                   |          |        |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|--------|
| <b>En</b> | <b>vælburin</b>      | <b>ungar</b> | <b>suen</b> | forlæt      | værudena    | ok                |          |        |
| EN        | well-born            | young        | boy         | left        | world-DEF   | and               |          |        |
| folgþe    | andream: <b>hans</b> | frændar      | vildo       | <u>þøm</u>  | <u>bapa</u> | inne              | brænna   |        |
| followed  | Andreas his          | relatives    | wanted      | them        | both        | in                | burn     |        |
| ok        | tændo                | brand        | iui         | <u>þera</u> | hærbærghe   | <b>Smasuennen</b> |          |        |
| and       | lit                  | fire         | over        | their       | shelter     | small-boy-DEF     |          |        |
| slækte    |                      | balet        | mz          | litlo       | vatne       | þa                | vildo    | þe     |
| quenched  |                      | fire         | with        | some        | water       | then              | wanted   | they   |
| kliva     | i                    | huset        |             | ok          | wrþo        | alle              | iæmskyt  |        |
| step      | in                   | house-DEF    |             | and         | became      | all               | suddenly |        |
| blinde:   | þa                   | øpte         | en          | at          | allom:      | vape              | ær       | striþa |
| blind     | then                 | called       | one         | to          | all         | danger            | is       | fight  |
| viþ       | guþ                  | som          | siæluan     | haldar      | mz          | andrea.           |          |        |
| with      | God                  | which        | self        | holds       | with        | Andreas           |          |        |
| ok        | þøm                  | hanom        | følgher.    | hær         | af          | worþo             | mange    |        |
| and       | them                 | him          | follow      | this        | of          | became            | many     |        |
| crisne.   | ok                   | troþo        |             | þy          | andreas     | prædicaþe         |          |        |
| Christian | and                  | believed     |             | this        | Andreas     | preached          |          |        |

(Bur 133)

‘A well-born young man left the world and followed Andreas. His relatives wanted to burn them (alive) and started a fire over their shelter. The young man put out the fire with some water. Then they wanted to enter the house and became all suddenly blind. Then one called to all: it is dangerous to fight against God himself, who protects Andreas and all who follow him. Of this many became Christian and believed what Andreas preached’.

On the other hand, OS EN-subjects that are not text-initial are not sentence-initial either: compare the text-initial *en diäkne* ‘a deacon’ with a text-medial *en prästir* ‘a priest’ in the following example. While the former introduces the main character of the story, the latter introduces a background one.

- (14) **EN diäkne** war j enom stadh som heet montepessolanus hulkin som foor mz diäwlskap oc truldom. thän sami for annars sins kompans bö. the wilde wita tidhinde aff sino lande kalladhe til sin diäfwlen. ok diäfwlen vppinbaradhis j enna quinno liknilse ok syntis hanum idhkelika j tholiko liknilse Diäknin iäfwadhe hwat thät war häldir diäfwl hällas ey. ok tho spordhe han at diäwlin sit ärande ok han swaradhe hanum. Nu j the stundinne for ther fram vm **en prästir** mz gudz likama til en siukan man ok klokkan ringde for gudz likama. Ok ginstan wiste diäfwlen at thät war sandir gudh som prästin fördhe Ok ginstan j samu stundinne fiol han nidhir a iordhina a knä ok negh gudz likama Diäknin sa thetta ok sagdhe Nu tro iak sannelika at thz är ey diäfwl som thu kalladhe, for thy at han hafdhe ey fallit a knä som han giordhe Tha swaradhe diäfwlen ok sagdhe hanum. West thu ey hwat scriwat star j the hälgho skript som sighir J ihesu christi hedhir ok namn skulu böghias al knä. badhe j himerike ok iordhrike ok hälwite ok ginstan war han borto fran them.

(Jart 3)

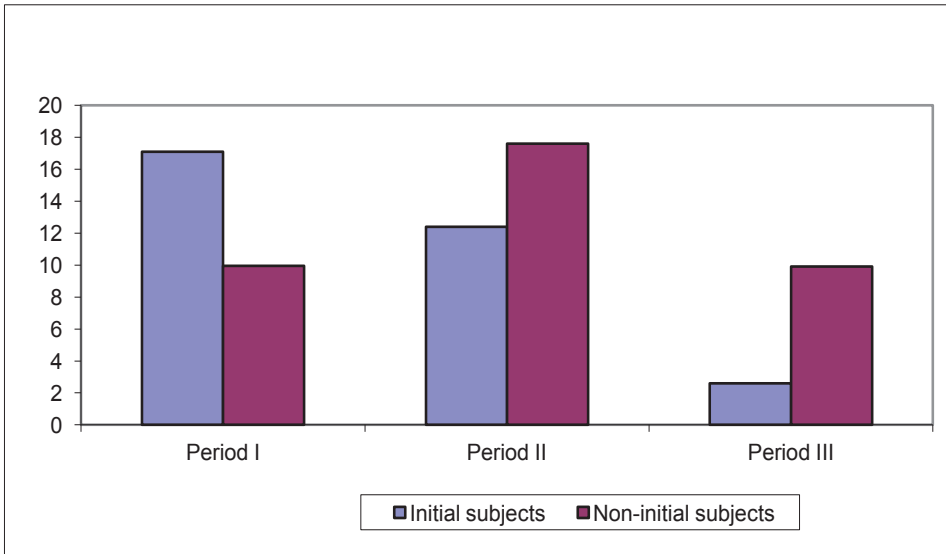
‘There was a deacon in a town called Montepessolanus, who practiced witchcraft, he called the devil asked by his friends, who wanted to know news from their land. And the devil revealed himself in a woman’s image and always appeared in such image. The deacon hesitated whether it was the devil or not and asked what he (the deacon) wanted of him (the devil) and he answered him. In this moment a priest went by with God’s body (travelling) to a sick man and the bell rang for the God’s body. And immediately the devil knew it was the true God that the priest carried. And immediately in the same moment he fell down on earth on his knees and bend for the body of God. The deacon saw this and said: Now I truly believe you are not the devil as you claimed, because he would not have fallen on his knees. Then the devil answered and told him: Do you not know what is written in the holy script which says that in the name of Jesus shall each knee bend, both in heaven and on earth and in hell. And immediately he was gone from them.’

It seems that OS allows initial EN-subjects on a greater scale than MS does. In fact, in period I, the initial EN-subjects dominate over the non-initial ones.

Diagram 8 shows the proportions between initial and non-initial EN-subjects in periods I-III. As can be seen, the initial subjects dominate over the non-initial ones in period I and their frequencies are similar in period II, though here the non-initial EN-subjects start to dominate. It is first in period III that initial EN-subjects diminish.

We could describe the difference between the two types of EN-subjects as pertaining to the character of the topic introduced by each of them. While the text- and sentence-initial EN-subjects introduce a text-topic, the text-medial EN-subject introduces a sentence-topic.

Diagram 8. Initial and non-initial EN-subjects in periods I-III. [%]



Topic is different if seen from the sentence (or clause) perspective than if seen from a paragraph/text or discourse perspective. The topic of a clause may, but not necessarily, be identical with the topic of the paragraph or the topic of the discourse. An example of this differentiation is provided by some of the OS texts studied. E.g. HML (*Helgamanna leverne*) is a collection of hagiographic tales, as its title suggests: ‘The lives of holy men’. We may say that the discourse-topic is a group of people, considered to be moral paragons, and their lives. When we look to individual stories we note that they sometimes start with a title, e.g. *Af enom munke* ‘about a monk’ and start with a sentence-initial EN-subject, e.g.

- (15) En       munk   kom..  
       EN       monk   came

Such sentence-initial EN-subjects do not introduce a discourse referent that is wholly new, rather specify a potential one. Another type of such ‘false’ introduction is found in SVM (*The seven sages*). In this text there is one superior story of an emperor whose son had been away to study under the tutelage of seven wise men. The emperor has a new wife who upon the son’s return incites the emperor to have him executed. She strengthens her demand by telling the emperor a moral tale. This tale is countered by one told by one of the seven sages. The wife and the sages continue to warn the emperor of what the future might hold for him with either course of action—to kill or spare his son. Many of the stories start with a sentence- and text-initial EN-subject but for each of them the ground is prepared in the earlier text. Consider the following example.

- (16) Ok fordarffwin i idhar son tha händەر idher som enom byman hände här i stadhin aff sinne skate Kesarin spordhe hurw honum hände Kato swaradhe Wilin i fordragha idher sons dödh tha wil iak idher thz sightha Tha sagdhe kesaren Jak wil han gerna fordragha til thäs thu haffwer thz saght Kesarins son leddis igen i mörkastoffwona. oc mästarin byriadhe sit äwintyr.

**En byman** war i thenna stadh hwilkin som haffdhe **ena skato**.

(SVM 147)

‘And if you ruin your son same thing will happen to you as happened to a man here in the town of his magpie. The emperor asked what had happened to him. Kato answered: If you wish to delay your son’s death then I will tell you. The emperor said: I will gladly delay until you have told me the story. The emperor’s son was led again to prison and the sage began his story.

A man was in this town who had a magpie..’

The initial EN-subject establishes the main topic of the story (which is normally only one or two paragraphs long). This text-topic continues over all sentences (clauses) and is picked up by either pronouns, definite NPs or, in cases of maximum accessibility, by zero anaphora. Other, more ‘local’ topics may be established as well, though usually through non-initial subjects or objects rather than sentence-initial subjects (see example (14)).

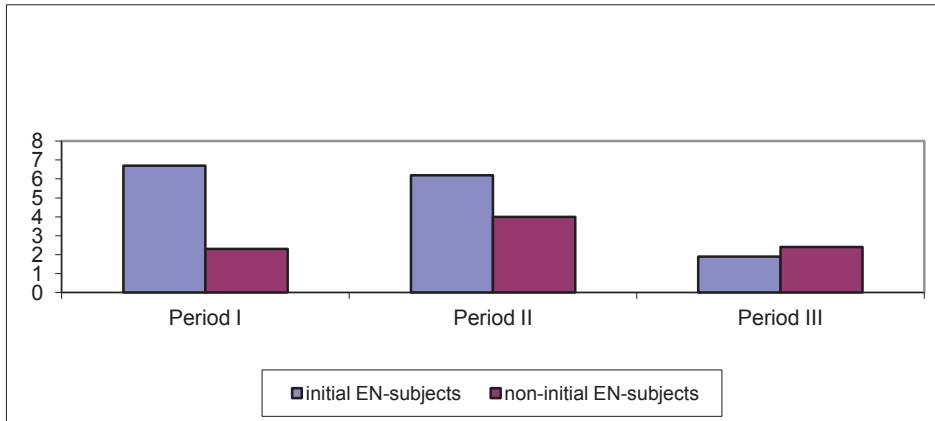
It has been claimed in literature that the initial position in the clause is reserved for ‘old’ or ‘given’ information, and that topics, usually initial, are always definite. These claims are confirmed in studies of the grammaticalization of the indefinite article in Spanish (e.g. Pozas Loyo 2010), where the presentative function of UN is first found with direct objects, placed postverbally.

The results from OS, however, show a different pattern. Far from establishing topics by postverbal direct objects, texts from periods I and II use dominantly initial EN-subjects for this purpose. This leads one to question whether these instances of EN can be considered indefinite (as we would interpret them today, with MS system in mind) or whether they are something else, and in this case, what that is.

Let us first consider the number of further references made to a discourse-referent established by EN-subjects. New referents presented by EN-phrases in subject positions can be taken up later in the text. The more numerous these further mentions, the more persistent the referent. A comparison between initial and non-initial subjects shows that the former are picked up in later discourse more often than the latter. Initial EN-subjects introduce text-topics, which is clear from the number of subsequent mentions of the referent.

As can be seen in diagram 9, initial EN-subjects introduce referents that are more persistent (are mentioned more times in the texts) than those introduced by non-initial EN-subjects. In period I, a discourse referent established by a sentence-

Diagram 9. Average number of further mentions of a referents introduced by EN-subject in OS



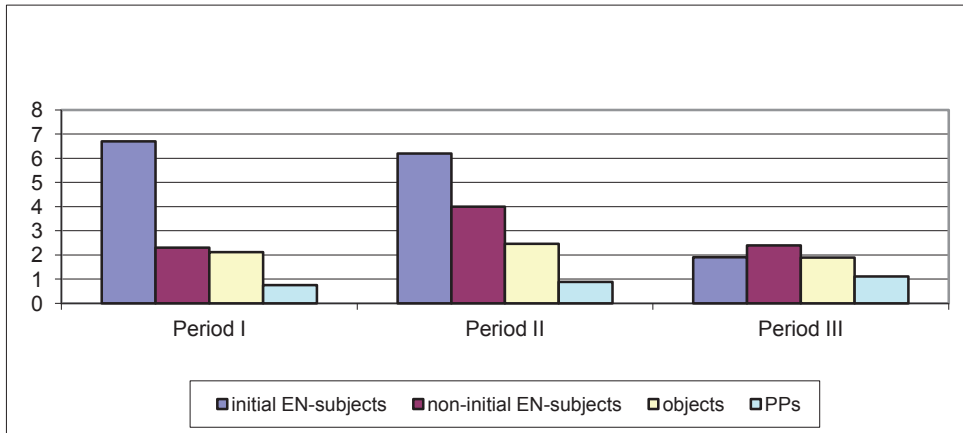
initial EN-subject is taken up 6 times on average in the following discourse, while non-initial EN-subjects establish discourse referents that are taken up only twice on average in the later discourse. This tendency is particularly clear in texts with a high percentage of the initial EN-subjects, namely religious prose of periods I and II. Coincidence of EN and the initial position is seen also in period III texts, PK and Did. In MS indefinite initial subjects are rare, and a structure *Det var en..* ‘There was a ..’ is preferred. Aggregating the results for each period allows us to see the more general tendencies. For each text, the numbers may vary dependent on other factors, such as the average length of the story where the sentence-initial EN-subject is found.

These results can be interpreted in the following way: to begin with, in period I and early parts of period II, EN is used in the subject position, to present a new referent (presentative function). The use of EN is combined with initial position, giving the new referent strong text-topicality. In late period II EN is still overwhelmingly found in the subject position, but the percentage of initial subjects has dropped dramatically. In period III, EN-phrases as subjects fall in frequency and are overwhelmingly non-initial. EN still introduces new referents to the discourse but with low text-topicality.

What of the direct object, which is the ‘natural way’ of introducing topics in MS? In diagram 10 we see a comparison between the average number of further mentions of a referent introduced by subjects and objects. It is clear that referents introduced by the objects are not as persistent as those introduced by subjects.



Diagram 10. Average number of further mentions of a discourse referent introduced by an EN-phrase, periods I-III



In period III the EN-phrases, not necessarily subjects, introduce referents that may be taken up in later discourse but are not topical.

- (17) Birka han laa vppa **ena** **öö** j mälär som  
 Birka he lay upon EN island in Mälär which

hether birköö  
 is called Birkö

(PK 226)

'He grounded Birka (the town) on an island in the Mälär lake which is called Björkö'.

- (18) Then gudhelike oc mäktoghe herran, sancta  
 this godly and mighty lord saint

amalbärgha fadher, haffdhe widh sit palacium  
 Amalbergha's father had by his palace

**en** **widhan** **oc** **wällustoghan** **trägardh** (..) oc  
 EN wide and delightful garden and

war thän trägardhen swa lusteliken at  
 was this garden so pleasant that

ythermeer wällustoghet kwnne man ey finna  
 more delight could man not find

(Linc NR 279)

'The godly and mighty lord, Saint Amalberga's father, had by his palace a wide and delightful garden (..) and the garden was so pleasant that more delight could not be found'.

Also, the text-initial EN-subjects decrease in period III, benefitting the non-initial ones.

- (19) Oppa then tidh war **eth** **closter** i beyla, iomffru  
 upon this time was EN nunnery in Beyla virgin  
 maria til hedher opbygth, i thz closter war **en**  
 Mary to honour built in this nunnery was EN  
**hälogh abbatissa**  
 holy abbess (Linc NR 282)

‘In this time there was a nunnery in Beyla, consecrated to the glory of the Virgin Mary. In this nunnery there was a holy abbess’.

To sum up, the presentative function of EN in period I is realized by sentence- and text-initial EN-subjects, which establish discourse referents of a long lifespan (ca. 6 further mentions). In period II the major presentative devices are still predominantly initial EN-subjects, though non-initial subjects also show a rise in frequency as well as establishing discourse referents of a long lifespan (ca 4 further mentions). In period III EN-phrases serving as subjects (both initial and non-initial), objects and prepositional objects establish discourse referents with similar lifespan—of ca 2 further mentions, much shorter than either period I or II.

## 5.6. Specific EN

Heim’s notion of lifespan of a discourse referent can be used to define the difference between presentative and specific markers. The main difference between the presentative and the specific marker is that the former introduces a new discourse referent which is taken up later (persistence) while the latter introduces a new discourse referent which may, but need not, be referred to again. Needless to say, the distinction is not always clear. In example (20) two new referents are introduced: ‘en stad’ *a town* and ‘en kättare’ *a heretic*.

- (20) Jac fan i **enom** **stadh** **een** **kättara** swikande  
 I found in EN town EN heretic fooling  
 folkit  
 people-DEF (HML 191)

‘I found a heretic fooling people in one place’.

The story continues with 9 further mentions of the heretic and 1 of the town. Both instances of EN may be considered as presentative markers, though there is a difference in the prominence of the discourse referents in the discourse.

We have previously seen that EN is used exclusively as a numeral in AVL but that it is nigh on obligatory as presentation marker in Bur wherein it has reached the first stage of grammaticalization. We will now consider its invasion in the next context—specific reference, which we identified in Chapter 2 as a bridging/switch context.

Presentative uses of EN discussed in the previous section are specific in the sense that the speaker has a particular referent in mind when using EN—the presupposition of existence holds. These are different from other specific uses in that though in the latter case EN signals that the referent is new, it does not necessarily signal that it is the topic. That means that the referents of specific EN-phrases need not be picked up in later discourse and may constitute back-grounded information—new, but back-grounded.

Taking the number of further mentions into account, the specific uses of EN can be located on a continuum from EN as a presentative marker, where the new referent is also the topic with numerous later mentions at one end of the continuum, and EN-phrases which rate 0 mentions in further discourse at the other end. The presence of EN usually coincides with the grammatical functions of subject or object for referents with the most number of further mentions and of prepositional object or adverbial for those with the lowest number of further mentions.

- (21) Oc      foor      ysaac   bort   til      landz            ænda   oc  
           and      went     Isaac   away   to      land-GEN       end     and
- bygde   ther     j       **en**    **dal**  
           lived   there   in      EN     valley
- (Pent 161)

‘And Isaac went away to the end of the country and lived there in a valley’.

EN-phrase in this example is a PP (and PPs rank very low in further mentions). The referent *en dal* ‘a valley’ is not mentioned again; clearly it does not constitute the topic of either the text or the sentence but only gives the background information.

We saw in the previous section that the initial position of the EN-subject coincides in periods I and II with a high number of further mentions of the referent (and there is no instance without a further mention). When it comes to non-initial subjects, the numbers are still high, but this is not so with objects.

- (22) Nw      mædhan   han   soffuir   tha   syntis   honom   **en**   **stighi**  
           now      while     he   sleeps   than   appears   him     EN     ladder

aff	iordhinne	oc	til	himelsins
of	earth-DEF	and	to	heaven-DEF-GEN

(Pent 168)

‘In his sleep he sees a ladder extending from the earth and to the heavens’.

It cannot be claimed that EN has gained ground as a specific marker even in the linguistically more modern texts from period I, namely Bur and Pent. Although it can occasionally be found in such contexts even alongside abstract concepts (see examples (23) and (24)), more often than not it is only the bare noun that can be found, even with concrete terms (example (25)).

(23)	jak	hafuer	giort	<b>ena</b>	<b>wenlika</b>	<b>sæmio</b>	mædh	minom
	I	have	made	EN	friendly	agreement	with	my

modherbrodher  
uncle

(JB 67)

‘My uncle and I have reached a friendly agreement’.

(24)	oc	var	thz	oc	<b>en</b>	<b>hæmd</b>	iffwir	faderin
	and	was	this	and	EN	revenge	over	father-DEF

(Pent 179)

‘And it was also a revenge upon the father’.

(25)	Nw	kombir	ioseph	fram	til	sinna	brødhra	oc	æmskøt
	now	comes	Joseph	forward	to	his	brothers	and	at once

fōra	the	han	aff	hans	kledhom	oc	
take	they	him	of	his	clothes		and

kastado	han	liffuandis		j	<b>vatnlōsan</b>	<b>brwn</b>	æpthir
threw	him	alive		in	waterless	well	after

rubens	radhe
Ruben-GEN	advice

(Pent 178)

‘Now Joseph comes forward to his brothers and they at once take his clothes off his back and threw him into a waterless well, still alive, as Ruben advised’.

The following quote is a good example of a bridging context, where specificity is the intention rather than information on the number of chairs the king was sitting on; as one person usually occupies one chair at a time, this information is redundant. As it is a referent not taken up in later discourse, it is not presentation either.

- (26) oc sat konungin a **enom** **gulstole**  
 and sat king-NOM.DEF on EN-DAT goldenchair-DAT  
 (KM 253)

‘And the king was sitting on a golden chair’.

Similarly in the following two examples, where the intention is specificity rather than numerical or presentative information (though the box is referred to again in a later part of the story, but as an object):

- (27) Tha lot k. m. k. göra **et** **skriin** **aff** **gul** ok  
 then let KM make EN box of gold and  
 binda mz silff bandom  
 bind with silver bands-DAT  
 (KM 252)

‘Then Charlemagne let a box of gold be made and bound with silver ribbons’.

- (28) Sidhan war han i patriarchans borggh fyra manadha  
 later was he in patriarch-GEN castle four months  
 oc lot göra **ena** **kirkio** the som heter  
 and let make EN church this which is-called  
 sancte marie latine  
 st. Mary Latin  
 (KM 252)

‘He speant four months in the patriarch’s castle and let build a church, the one called St Mary Latin’.

We saw in Chapter 4 that in the early stages of grammaticalization of the definite article a number of restrictions applied to its distribution limiting its use by, among others, plural or mass nouns. EN is not found with plural referents at all, its singularity making it impossible (unlike e.g. its Spanish counterpart UN—UNOS), but its use by mass nouns is similarly limited in the early stages of grammaticalization.

- (29) huilken förra war strangher som **hardasta** **iärn**  
 which earlier was unyielding as hardest iron  
 (Linc NR 281)

‘The former of which was as unyielding as the hardest iron’.

This restriction applies even to mass nouns used individually (fire—a fire):

- (30) Oc thy badh iac vptända **storan** **eld** a  
 and therefore asked I light large fire on  
 gatunne i hwilkin wi sculdum badhe inga  
 streen-DEF in which we should both enter  
 (HML 192)

‘And I therefore asked for a large fire to be lighted on the street, in which we would both go’.

With countable specifics, EN is regularly found already in period II.

- (31) Een munkir ny kumin i ödhkninna hafdhe ey  
 one monk new come in desert-DEF had not  
**sälla** Annar munkir hafdhe **een** **toman** **sälla**.  
 cell other monk had EN empty cell (HML 216)

‘A monk, newly arrived in the desert, had no cell. Another monk had an empty cell’.

Summing up, EN is only occasionally used in what we identify here as specific contexts in period I, though it is regular as a presentative marker for new topics. The situation changes in period II when EN is regularly used as a specific marker by all new discourse referents, including those presented in PPs or adverbials. It is however not obligatory in the so-called negative polarity contexts—as example (31) shows, the specific ‘cell’ is marked, whereas the non-specific one is unmarked. In 5.7 we will look at negative polarity contexts in more detail.

### 5.7. Non-specific EN

The last stages of grammaticalization of EN include its use as a marker of non-specificity or, in Heim’s terminology, to establish new discourse referents with a lifespan confined to the scope of the operator under which they appear. We have in chapter 2 listed a number of such operators, or contexts, so-called negative polarity contexts, which induce opacity. And thus, objects for e.g. in scope of verbs of volition (e.g. ‘plan’, ‘intend’) may be read as either specific or non-specific:

- (32) She intended to visit **a nunnery**..  
 a. but there was none in the area.  
 b. but it was too far to drive so he gave up.

We see that the interpretation of ‘a nunnery’ in (32) is dependent upon context. In historical material, we are not always so fortunate as to find such elaborations that clarify the interpretation and examples like (33) below are rare.

- (33)    han     aktadhe at     visitera **eth**     **iomffrw closter,**     huilket  
           he     planned to     visit    EN     virgin    monastery     which
- han     sialffwer fordhom haffdhe bygth    oc     stiktat  
           he     himself earlier had    built    and     grounded
- (Linc NR 281)

‘He intended to visit a nunnery which he himself had founded and built’.

Since a reference is made to ‘a nunnery’ that was founded by the person planning to visit it, it is clearly specific.

For the purpose of the present study, the potential non-specific contexts have been limited to: comparisons, negation, conditionals and verbs of volition.

As we have seen in the previous section, period II is the time when EN moves up on the grammaticalization scale, securing its position as a presentation marker and by specific referents. As we will show here, it also occurs, though sporadically, in non-specific contexts. It is not until period III that EN starts appearing more regularly in nonspecific contexts.

In MS the unmarked form in at least some nonspecific contexts is NGN ‘some/any’ (see Chapter 1.5.3). Therefore in studying the non-specific contexts, we will look at both EN and NGN and their evolution. In period I it is the only marker not found in nonspecific contexts.

- (34)    haffwom alle     en     vilia     oc     dræpom han     oc     kastom  
           have    all     EN     will     and     kill     him     and     throw
- han     dødhan nidhir    j     **nakan** **gamblan brwn**  
           him     dead    down    in     some    old     well
- (Pent 177)

‘We have all one will so we kill him and throw him dead into some old well’.

### 5.7.1. Comparison

In period I bare nouns are regular in comparison contexts (example 35). But there is some variation beginning here and EN occasionally does appear in comparisons (example 36), unsurprisingly, in Bur, which shows the most advanced level of grammaticalization of EN also in other respects.

- (35) Tha esau hører thæsse tidhende tha wart han swa  
 when Esau hears these news then became he so  
 illa widh at han øpir oc grathir oc røtar  
 badly by that he screams and cries and roars  
 som **tyur**  
 like bull (Pent 166)

‘When Esau heard this he became so angry that he screamed and cried and roared like a bull’.

- (36) huarn tima han mintes at han nekape sin  
 each time he remembered that he denied his  
 hærra runno hans øghon som **en kalda**  
 lord ran his eyes as EN spring (Bur 100)

‘Each time he remembered his denial of God, his eyes ran like a water spring’.

In period II the variation between EN and bare nouns in comparison contexts shows growing preference for EN (see table 34).

Table 34. Comparison contexts in period II

Text	Comparison marking		
	ø	En	Other
HML	2	–	–
SVM	1	1	–
KM	5	3	–
Bo	1	4 (3: en annar)	2 (annar), 1 -in

The chronology of the texts coincides with a steady spread of EN in the comparison context. No EN is found in HML, though it must be noted that the context itself is infrequent. Both narrative texts show a more or less equal distribution of unmarked and marked nouns and Bo, a clear advance of marking, which may either be EN or the pronoun *annar* ‘other’. The examples are discussed below.

The two examples from HML are introduced by *swa som* ‘such as’.

- (37) oc warþ swa som **hästir oc mule**  
 and became such as horse and mule (HML 185)







Further there is one inexplicable example of a comparison made to some apparently familiar referent, which does not appear anywhere else in the text. It comes from a part of text describing the conversation between Mary and an angel. She is encouraged to disconnect herself from her family and people.

- (47) Sit thy ensamin som **turtur dwan**  
sit therefore alone as turtle dove (Bo 46)

‘Sit therefore as alone as a turtle dove’.

Turtle doves are earlier mentioned in the text in connection with making sacrifice, but no reference is made which could explain why a turtle dove is singled out as the comparison of loneliness, still less the form with -IN. It cannot be regarded as nonspecific though, unless the use is considered similar to the use of *bondin* in period I (see Chapter 4.6.1).

### 5.7.2. Negation

NPs in the scope of negation are always bare in period I. In period II the most regular form after negation is also a bare noun, as in (48).

- (48) Han nekabe oc sagbe sik ey hawa seet **quinno**  
he denied and said self not have seen woman  
  
sipan han sik i klostre innelykte  
since he self in monastery in-locked (HML 184)

‘He denied and claimed that he had not seen a woman since he closed himself in the monastery’.

The only variation we find in this context in period II is between bare nouns and occasional uses of NGN. Not a single instance of EN after the negation *ey* has been found.

- (49) En ärliken man war i thenna stadh som ey  
one honest man was in this town who not  
haffdhe **ärffwingia** oc ey **husfru** ther honum  
had heir and not wife which him  
  
matte barn födha  
might child bear (SVM 131)

‘There was an honest man in this town who didn’t have an heir and nor did he have a wife who might give him a child’.

Examples from period III all include contexts that are a combination of negation and conditional or verb of volition. No EN was found in these either.

- (50) at han ey finghe **makt** ower mina kropp  
 that he not get power over my body  
 (Linc NR 287)

‘that he should not gain power over my body’.

- (51) Tha konung karolus saa at hans astwndan syntes  
 as king Karolus saw that his desire seemed  
 ey wilia haffua **framganh**  
 not want have success  
 (Linc NR 310)

‘As king Charles saw that his desire seemed to have no success.’

### 5.7.3. Conditionals

Just as negations, conditionals are also unmarked in period I.

- (52) haur iak bygkt **høght** **torn** þæt ær eigh skæl  
 have I built high tower this is not reason  
 at iak brytar þæt atar niþar (..) haur iak  
 that I break it again down have I  
 samulund grauit **göþan** **brun** huru ma iak han  
 likewise dug good well how may I him  
 sialuar atar tæppa  
 self again seal  
 (Bur 188)

‘If I have built a high tower, there is no reason why I should pull it down; likewise if I have dug a fine well how can I clog it myself?’

First in period II there comes some variation between bare noun and EN.

- (53) Fae keysarin mik i morghin **spiwt** thz  
 give-COND emperor-DEF me in morning javelin DET  
 som **manz** byrdhe är  
 which man-GEN burden is  
 (KM 257)

‘If the emperor would give me tomorrow a javelin that is a burden to carry for any man’.

In example (53), the NP appears in hypothetical conditional and has non-specific reference. In MS it would be marked with EN, which is not the case in OS. Now consider the following example, from the same passage of KM:

- (54) Taghe                    kesarin                    i                    morghin fyra                    kliff                    bly.  
 take-CONJ                    emperor-DEF                    in                    morning four                    parts                    lead
- oc                    stöpe                    thz                    wällande                    i                    **en**                    **kättil**  
 and                    cast                    it                    gushing                    in                    EN                    cauldron
- eller                    i                    **et**                    **kar**  
 or                    in                    EN                    tub
- (KM 257)

‘If the emperor took tomorrow four measures lead and cast it gushing into a cauldron or a tub’

In this passage the context is hypothetical as well, yet the referents are marked by EN. Possibly, this has to do with their function in the sentence, not objects (like (53)) but adverbials (in prepositional phrases) falling outside the scope of negation.

The beginnings of variation and appearance of EN even in non-specific contexts can be seen in the following sequence of examples. They are taken from the first tale in KM. Charlemagne and his twelve companions have spent a night as guests of an eastern emperor. In the evening they got drunk and bragged about how they would prove the emperor weaker and less powerful than themselves. They did not know that he had installed a spy in one of the pillars in the hall. When the spy reported to him, the emperor became furious and declared he would have them all beheaded. When Charlemagne was told of it, he replied that all their swagger was due to excessive drink and that he believes a spy must have been located near them to report of it to the emperor (example (55)). The word *niwsnare* ‘spy’ is here used non-specifically. In MS it would be obligatorily marked with the indefinite article (*att vi hade en spion hos oss* ‘that we had a spy with us’).

- (55) oc                    wänter                    iak                    at                    wi                    hafdhom                    **niwsnara**  
 and                    believe                    I                    that                    we                    had-PL                    spy
- inne                    när                    os  
 within                    close                    us
- (KM 258)

‘And I believe that we had a spy close to us’.

A little further on in the text, where an embittered Charlemagne continues his protestations, he says:

- (56)    Än       ey       giordhe    thu       wäl       thz       thu       satte  
          yet       not       did       you       well       this       you       set
- niwsnara**       a       os  
 spy                on       us
- (KM 258)

‘Yet (despite the fact that we were your guests) you did not do well and you set a spy on us’.

And yet, further on in the text, Charlemagne says the following to his host:

- (57)    tha       satte       thu       qwarran **en**       **niwsnara**       när       os  
          then       set       you       behind EN       spy                close       us
- (KM 259)

‘Then you left behind a spy with us’.

The reference is still non-specific, however EN is used. It may be due to the fact that the spy has now been debated for a while and it is not the first mention of him (yet of course the meaning is still not specific in (57)).

#### 5.7.4. Verbs of volition

EN is not found with the so-called verbs of volition, e.g. ‘to want’ etc. in period I (58), but in period II occasional examples can be found (59).

- (58)    Nw       bødth       min       hærra       mik       at       letha       sinom       syni  
          now       bade       my       lord       me       to       search       his       son
- kono**  
 wife
- (Pent 157)
- ‘My lord asked me to find a wife for his son’.

- (59)    Then       godhe       mannen                lydde       thera       raad.       oc       badh  
          DEM       good       man-DEF                obeyed       their       advice       and       bid
- them       sik       **ena**       **vnga**       **qwinno**    op       spöria  
 them       him       EN       young       woman    up       ask
- (SVM 137)

‘The good man listened to their advice and asked them to find him a young woman’.

#### 5.7.5. Predicatives

We have so far ignored the appearance of EN in predicatives. MS makes use of the indefinite article in predicatives that are descriptive, as e.g.

- (60) Han är **en tålmodig lärare.**  
He is EN patient teacher.

But predicatives that are attributive, like names of professions, appear as bare nouns.

- (61) Han är lärare.  
he is teacher  
'He is a teacher'.

In this respect, MS is different from Modern English where all predicatives are indefinite.

The use of EN in predicatives is of a relatively late date. Period I texts show only sporadic NPs here. First EN-phrases can be found in period II (62), though there is variation (63).

- (62) ok sagþe cors vara **eet valdelekt tekn**  
and said cross be EN mighty sign  
(Bur 139)  
'And he said that the cross was a mighty sign'.

- (63) han war **mäktogher konunger**  
he was mighty king  
(KM 266)  
'He was a mighty king'.

In period III EN is obligatory by descriptive predicatives (see examples (64) and (65)), but occasional exceptions may be found, as in (66) and (67).

- (64) hans fadher heth iädewarda och war **en**  
his father was called Edward and was EN  
**godher ryker bonde**  
good rich peasant  
(PK 235)  
'His father was called Edward and was a good, rich peasant'.

- (65) Naar tässen hálga iomffrwn war än **en lithen**  
when this holy virgin was still EN small  
**pigha**  
girl  
(Linc NR 279)  
'When this holy virgin was still a young girl'.

- (66) han bleff vij aar **godher konungher**  
 he became seven year good king (PK 236)

‘For seven years he was a good king’.

- (67) Han war **myket fromer oc ädela wnger man oc**  
 he was much pious and noble young man and  
**starker**, myket fagor oc wän  
 strong much pretty and fair (Troj 1)

‘He was a very pious and noble, strong young man, very handsome and fair’.

### 5.8. EN vs NGN

At the early stages of grammaticalization of the indefinite article, there is usually a certain amount of competition from other items possible in the non-numeral contexts<sup>82</sup>. One such item is OS is NGN ‘some’. We have already seen that it can appear in non-specific contexts in OS. In MS it appears in both specific and non-specific ones (see Chapter 1). We will now take a closer look at its frequency and distribution in OS.

NGN, which has a clear nonspecific etymology (‘I don’t know which’, see Chapter 3.2.4), seems from the beginning to be used mainly nonspecifically. Therefore when EN only appears in presentation and specific contexts in period I there is no conflict between the two. We see no variation here that resembles the one observed in OE between *an* and *sum* (reported in Hopper and Martin 1987, see Chapter 2.5.1). The usage is found in all texts, including the legal prose, even though the frequencies are low, much lower than those of the relatively infrequent EN.

When EN spreads through the specific contexts and starts to be used in non-specific ones, the two forms must share domain.

Frequencies of EN and NGN in period I are given in diagram 11. Only adnominal occurrences were taken into account.

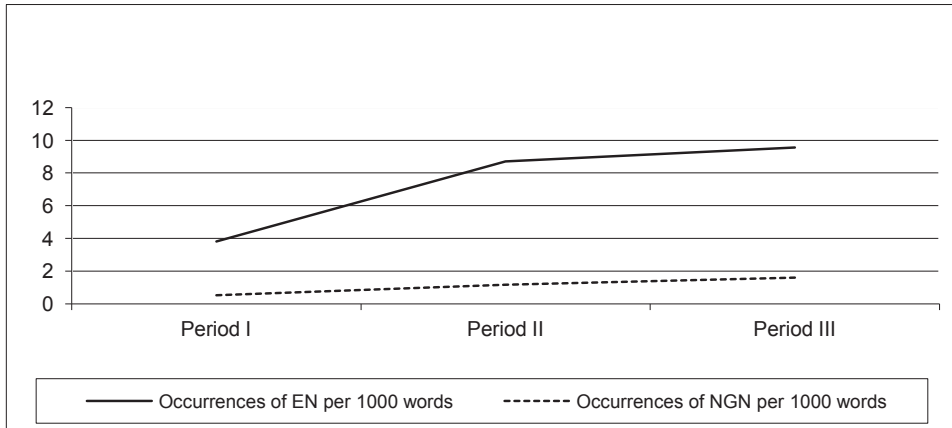
The frequencies of NGN are much lower than of EN and show very stable results compared to the increase in frequency of EN, especially in period II.

The use of NGN in OS greatly resembles the MS one; the form appears mainly in negative polarity contexts, such as questions (68), conditionals (69-71), comparisons (72) and (73) and negations (74) and (75).

<sup>82</sup> Compare studies of English (Hopper and Martin 1987) and Old Tuscan (Stark 2002).



Diagram 11. Frequencies of adnominal EN and NGN in OS



- (68) Hwi talar þu ey eller gör mik **nakan**  
 why talk you not or do me NGN

**hughnadh**

pleasure

(SVM 116)

‘Why don’t you talk or give me some pleasure?’

- (69) Löpær dræll bort allær ambut fra lawarþi sinum  
 runs slave away or slave-woman from master his  
 ok gör **nokon** skapa dræpær stial allær rænir  
 and does NGN harm kills steals or robs

(AVL RB:11)

‘If a slave (man or woman) runs away from his/her master and does some harm: kills, steals or robs?’

- (70) Vm **nakar** **pelagrim** kom in i stadhin  
 if NGN pilgrim came in in town-DEF  
 tha skynde hwar for annan at ledha han  
 then hurried each for other to lead him  
 til sit hws  
 to his house

(HML 198)

‘If a pilgrim came to the town, everyone hurried to welcome him to his house’.

- (71) Ther äpther bödh han oc radhe hennas fadher oc  
 there after bade he and advised her father and  
 modher, at the skwllō henne skyndha til nakra  
 mother that they should her hurry to NGN  
hālga samqwāmdh, i **nakot** **iomffru closter**, huilkit  
 holy congregation in NGN virgin monastery which  
 the oc snarlīka giordho.  
 they and quickly did (Linc NR 282)

‘Thereafter he bade and advised her father and mother that they should send her to some holy congregation in some nunnery, which they quickly did’.

- (72) ok spurþe huar iorþen var hōgre æn  
 and asked where earth-DEF was higher than  
**himinen** (..) hans licame sitar hōgra æn **nokor** **himil**  
 heaven-DEF his body sits higher than any heaven  
 (Bur 145)

‘He asked where earth was higher than heaven (..) his (earthly) body is higher than any heaven can be’.

- (73) Än tha han kom atir heem oc modhir hans  
 and when he came back home and mother his  
 fik se han vardh hon gladhare än **nakar** **man**  
 got see him became she happier than NGN man  
 kan sighia  
 can tell (Bo 54)

‘And when he came back and his mother saw him, she was happier than any man can tell’.

- (74) Ey hafþo þe **nakra** **vmsorgh** af kläþom älla föþo  
 not had they NGN concern of clothes or food  
 älla nakro värzliko.  
 or NGN earthly (HML 182)

‘They had not a care about clothes or food or any other earthly concerns’.

- (75) enghen aff them opplyfte sina winga, til flygha, ällar  
 none of them uplifted their wings to fly or

gaffwo	<b>nakot</b>	<b>skrii</b>	fran	sik	
gave	NGN	cry	from	self	(Linc NR:306)

‘None of them lifted their wings to fly or gave a cry’.

Examples reminiscent of the MS use of NGN include even the imperative (76-78).

(76)	Giuin	hælgom		benom	<b>nakot</b>	<b>ærlekt</b>	<b>rum</b>	
	give	holy		bones	NGN	dignified	place	(Bur 167)

‘Give the holy bones some place worthy of them’.

(77)	Herra	giff	mik	han	<b>nakan</b>	<b>tiidh</b>	tha	wil	iak
	lord	give	me	him	NGN	time	since	want	I
	oc	wål	koma	han	til	at	tala		
	and	well	come	him	to	to	speak		(SVM 115)

‘Lord, let me have some time with him since I want to encourage him to speak’.

(78)	Stath	opp	snarlika	oc	fly	til	<b>nakra</b>	<b>wärn</b>	mz
	stand	up	soon	and	flee	to	NGN	care	with
	thinne	syster							
	your	sister							(Linc NR:295)

‘Stand up quickly and flee to some protection with your sister’.

In none of the negative polarity contexts exemplified above can NGN be said to be obligatory and there is a certain amount of competition between NGN and EN in conditionals (where en is the unmarked form in MS).

Naturally NGN is also used with plural referents, since EN does not appear in the plural, see (79) and (80).

(79)	Sama	daghin	ther	greffwin	war	dödth	wordho	ther
	same	day-DEF	there	count-DEF	was	dead	were	there
	<b>nakre</b>	<b>riddara</b>	gripne	oc	dömpde	til	hängilse	fore
	NGN.PL	knight	caught	and	sentenced	to	hanging	for
	roff	skuld						
	plunder	sake						(SVM 155)

‘Same day the count died some knights were captured and sentenced to be hanged for the plunder’.

- (80) swa at om daghen aath hon at enast enfalla  
 so that at day-DEF ate she of only simple  
 bröðith, mz **nakra** **röther** allar gräs oc yrther  
 bread-DEF with NGN roots or grass and herbs  
 som wäxser ther i landet  
 which grow there in country-DEF (Linc NR:301)

‘So that at daytime she only ate some simple bread with some roots or grass and herbs which grow in the country’.

Even though NGN seems to have been originally a purely non-specific marker, we noted in Chapter 1 that in MS it can be used in clearly specific contexts with a near-numeral meaning (corresponding to ‘more or less one’) or when the speaker is unwilling or unable to provide the hearer with more exact information, or when the information is deemed irrelevant (vague). As noted in Nivre 2002 such uses of NGN are foreign to other Scandinavian languages and are either part of a common heritage that was lost in other languages but retained in Swedish, or are a Swedish innovation. The present study is only concerned with the development of NGN as far as the overlap with EN is concerned, but it can be noted that these two uses of MS are not found in period I, but are noted in periods II and III (see examples (81-84), which indicates that they may be a Swedish innovation. However, a systematic study into both OS and Old Danish is necessary to validate this claim. The examples noted from OS are given below.

- (81) the gingo til en stadh som kallas ermepolim  
 they went to EN town which is-called Ermepoli  
 oc ther legdho the sik **nakat** **litit** **hws** oc  
 and there rented they self NGN small house and  
 bodho ther siw aar  
 dwelled there seven years (Bo 14)

‘They went to a town called Ermepoli and rented there some small house and lived there for seven years’.

- (82) The platadho stafuin vidh hans graf hwilkin **nakra**  
 they planted stick-DEF by his grave which NGN  
**stund** ther äfte bar blomstir oc fruct  
 moment there after bore flower and fruit  
 (HML 216)

‘They planted the stick by his grave and some moments later the sticks flowered and bore fruit’.

Similarly, NGN can be used alongside a mass noun, meaning roughly ‘some’ or ‘a little’.

- (83)   tha      gik      en      aff      tiänisto   folket   äpther   **nakot**   **watn**,  
           then     went     one     of       servant   people   after     NGN     water
- til      hwsens            behoff,   än      tha      han      som  
           to      house-DEF-GEN   need     yet     when    he       who
- watnet            hänte   hem     kom     i       hwset,            oc  
           water-DEF        fetched   home   came    in      house-DEF        and
- slogh   thz      wth     i       eth     annat   kaar,   tha      war  
           poured   it       out     in      EN     other   bin     then     was
- watnet            omwänth            i       blodh  
           water-DEF        converted            in     blood                   (Linc NR:317-8)

‘Then one of the servants went to fetch some water for the needs of the house, yet when he who carried the water came back to the house and poured it over to another bin, then the water was changed into blood’.

- (84)   oc      togh   aff      allom   synom   storum   rikedomom      mz  
           and   took   of      all      her      large   riches           with
- sik      alzenkte, wtan   eth      klädhe   om      sit            hwffudh,  
           self   nothing            but      a       cloth   around   her      head
- oc      eth      lithet   skrin   mz      **nakot**   **gull**  
           and   EN      small   box     with    NGN   gold           (Linc NR 295)

‘And of all her large riches she took nothing with her but a cloth around her head and a small box with some gold in it’.

NGN therefore seems to be used in a variety of functions found in MS, even though the specific uses, where additional information cannot be provided or is deemed irrelevant are few and interpretable in the light of the modern usage rather than the context itself.

In period I, EN is not yet used in negative polarity contexts, so the competition is mainly between NGN and bare nouns. First in period II EN starts invading the negative polarity contexts, mainly comparisons, and in period III it can be used in all but questions and negation, where either bare noun or NGN are used. Therefore NGN’s domain becomes more limited. Yet, as we have seen in diagram 11, its frequency does not fall; on the contrary, it rises somewhat from period

I to III. One way of explaining this apparent paradox is that in period III both the definite and the indefinite articles are obligatorified in so many functions, and the domain of bare noun so restricted, that some marking is felt to be necessary.

### 5.9. Anomalous uses of EN: EN defNP

The grammaticalization of -IN into definite article is well underway in period I, with -IN occurring in all textual functions and occasionally with unique referents as well. The new form is spreading through new contexts, some surprising from the MS perspective (see Chapter 4.6 on anomalous uses of -IN). In 4.6.4 we hinted that one of the surprises, the cooccurrence with the numeral EN, will be studied in connection with its grammaticalization into indefinite article.

Let us first consider the following example.

(85)	ær	han	sandær	at	sak	böte	atta	örtoghær
	is	he	true	to	case	pay	eight	örtogh
	<b>saksöke</b>	<b>enom</b>	firir	vndiruiþ	ok	sax	öræ	firir
	plaintiff	EN	for	tree	and	six	öre	for
	aldinuid							
	oaktree							(AVL FS:2)

‘If he is guilty of the crime he shall pay eight örtogh<sup>83</sup> for the tree without fruit and six öre for the oaktree to one plaintiff’.

Collin and Schlyter edition of AVL has here *saksökæ enum* (Collin and Schlyter 1827:61). A double-check with the facsimile edition of the manuscript confirms that to be the correct reading.

A specific reading of the NP is difficult (= a plaintiff, if specific, why not definite, the plaintiff?), a numeral is more likely (= one plaintiff), though there is no contrast here (e.g. two charges—one plaintiff). More surprisingly, in a similar example in YVL, both -IN and EN are to be found within one NP:

(86)	Falder	klocka	rummi	nither	i	houoth	manni	böte	sokn
	falls	bell	room	down	in	head	man	pay	parish
	fore	III	marker	<b>arfuanom</b>		<b>enom</b>	æn	han	dör
	for	three	marks	heir-DAT		EN	if	he	dies

<sup>83</sup> About 1/3 of öre.

aff  
of

(YVL KB:18)

‘If a church bell falls down on a man’s head, the parish shall pay three marks to the heir if the man dies of it’.

The combination EN + defNP is not foreign to MS, however it is only possible with the weak form of EN, namely *ena* ‘the one’, as in the following example:

- (87) Trots att han har brutit ena benet..  
although that he has broken one-W leg-DEF

‘Although he has broken one leg (he still managed to finish the race)’.

Larm (1936) notes one such example in classical OS from a relatively late text, *Kristoffers landslag* (ca 1440):

- (88) **ena** syskionebarnet  
one-DEF sibling-child-DEF

(after Larm 1936:43)

It seems that the classical OS (period I) system allowed the combination of strong form of EN and -IN where MS only allows the weak form (compare notes on strong adjectives by definite nouns in 4.6.2). The meaning is partitive, similar to ‘one of’ or possibly ‘the first’, as it is often followed by further enumeration, see the following example.

- (89) Alt þæt guð gaf þeim at ægha skipto þe  
all that god gave them to own divided they

þrem lutum ok skipaðo: **een** **delen**  
three-DAT parts-DAT and divided EN part-DEF

tel guz mōnstar ok þiænist **annan**  
to god-GEN monastery and service other

fatøko folke þriþia sik ok sinom  
poor-DAT people-DAT third self and own-DAT

boskap  
livestock

(Bur 3)

‘All that God gave them they divided into three parts and shared: one part with God’s monasteries and services, the second with poor people and the third with themselves and their livestock’.

In (86), where no further heirs are mentioned, the intention may have been to point out that the fine was due to one heir only, even if there were more than one potential heirs meaning, more or less, ‘one of the heirs’. Such a structure is impossible in MS, but is documented both in ON (examples (90-94) and OS (example, (95); all examples collected in Perridon 1989:197):

- (90) Hundarnir .. tóku **hvern** fuglinn  
 dogs-DEF took each bird-DEF  
 ‘The dogs took each of the birds’.  
 (Heimskr. II 164, cf Lundeby 1965:105)
- (91) Hoðr heitir **einn** ásinn  
 Hoðr is called one Æsir-DEF  
 ‘One of the Æsir called was Hoðr’.  
 (Sn Edda 17, 32, cf. Nygaard 1905:32)
- (92) hann sendi apr **suman** mjoðinn  
 he sent after some mead-DEF  
 ‘He sent for some of the mead’  
 (Sn Edda 73, 29, cf. Lundeby 1965:116)
- (93) drap eg þá **marga** vargana  
 killed I then many wolves-DEF  
 ‘Then I killed many of the wolves’.  
 (Njála 139, 27, cf. Lundeby 1965:117)
- (94) Engi knút fekk hann leyst ok **engi**  
 not-one knot got he loosened and not-one  
 álarendann hreyft  
 leather-strap-DEF moved  
 ‘He could not untie any knot nor move any leather strap’.  
 (Sn Edda 29, 31, cf. Nygaard 1905:32)
- (95) Fiärdha är att **ängin** ouinnin ingange ginom  
 fourth is that not-one enemy-DEF entered by  
 portana  
 gates-DEF  
 ‘The fourth is that none of the enemies may enter through the gates’  
 (Birgitta III, 240, cf. Ågren 1912:54)



### 5.10. Conclusions

A detailed study of the functional spread of EN in OS shows that the model of grammaticalization of the indefinite article from a numeral as proposed by Heine 1997 can be applied to the OS material. The first non-numeral uses of EN are indeed as a presentation marker which is used to establish discourse referents with a long lifespan, measured by the average number of further mentions of the discourse referents. The EN-phrases found in this function are mainly sentence- and text-initial subjects. Gradually, the average number of further mentions decreases, independent of the grammatical function of the EN-phrase. EN-phrases are used to establish new discourse referents with a short lifespan (non-specific discourse referents).

The stages of grammaticalization of the indefinite article in Old Swedish are given in Table 35 below.

Table 35. Stages of grammaticalization of EN in periods I-III

Stages of grammaticalization of the indefinite article	Functions	Spread to context			Obligatorification in context		
		Period I	Period II	Period III	Period I	Period II	Period III
Stage II	Presentative marker	(+)	+	+	-	+	+
Stage III	Specific marker	(+)	+	+	-	(+)	+
Stage IV	Nonspecific marker	-	(+)	+	-	(+)	(+)
Stage V	Generalized article	-	-	-	-	-	-

We have at several points made references to the stage of grammaticalization of the definite article when discussing the development of the indefinite one. The interactions between the two grammaticalizations will be discussed in 6.4.

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# 6 Conclusions

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## 6.1. Introduction

Articles are relatively late additions to the grammars of Indo-European languages. In fact, their grammaticalizations may almost always be studied, at least in part, in the text heritage of a given language. Although the Indo-European languages are inter-related, the category of definiteness is not part of their common heritage but is an innovation in each and every one of them. We may either choose to consider this innovation as an inevitable part of some other major development—the ‘drift’ towards a particular type; or we may look upon it as an areal rather than genetic feature (Dahl 2007:34).

In fact, there is a relatively neat diachronic progression in the appearance of definite articles from the Eastern Mediterranean to north-western Europe, basically in the order Semitic → Greek → Romance → Germanic, suggesting a rather slow expansion wave which took about two thousand years to complete. (Dahl 2007:34).

Strikingly, the languages where definite articles grammaticalize are concentrated in Western Europe; the suffixal articles only appear peripherally, in Scandinavia and the Balkans whereas in the rest of the territory the definite articles are preposed.

Among Indo-European languages that have developed the definite article, most have also developed the indefinite article. The exceptions include Bulgarian and Icelandic. Cross-linguistically, languages with only definite articles are more common than those with both definite and indefinite articles, and languages with only indefinite articles are even more rare (see Chapter 1, WALS).

The present analysis is based on Swedish texts and spans from 1225 to 1529 AD, the so-called Old Swedish period (*fornsvenska*). For the purpose of the study, OS has been subdivided into three periods, period I (1225-1375), period II (1375-1450) and period III (1450-1526), based on earlier practice and tradition. The subdivision has revealed differences between the three periods, with period II being

the time of the most dramatic and radical change in the use of both -IN (the grammaticalizing definite article) and EN (the grammaticalizing indefinite article).

It has been shown in chapters 4 and 5 that the grammaticalizations of the definite and the indefinite articles in Old Swedish largely follow the assumptions made for these two developments, including the sources and the stages, as identified in the works of Greenberg 1978, Givón 1981, Lehmann 1995 and Heine 1997. The source of the definite article is the distal demonstrative (*h*)*inn* and the source of the indefinite the numeral *en* ‘one’. The development proceeds through the stages given in Chapter 2. A close inspection of the sources reveals more details of both developments.

As the statistics show, languages with both definite and indefinite articles dominate among article languages (194 languages according to WALS); there are many languages with only definite article (98); but relatively few languages with just the indefinite article (45). It seems that the indefinite article grammaticalizes when the grammaticalization of the definite article has already started and that the two articles’ developments are interconnected. In this final chapter we take a closer look at the interdependencies between the two grammaticalizations.

The chapter is organized as follows: in 6.2 we summarize the most important results concerning the grammaticalization of the definite and indefinite article presented in chapters 4 and 5. In 6.3 the models of grammaticalization of both definite and indefinite article are discussed. 6.4 presents the interplay between the two grammaticalizations and 6.5 the connection with other grammatical changes that take place in the OS period. Finally, in 6.6 the long-term perspective and possible future research are discussed.

## **6.2. Overview of the grammaticalization of the definite and indefinite articles in Old Swedish**

### **6.2.1. Summary of the developments**

The grammaticalization of the definite article seems to have started with the extension of the deixis of the pronoun from purely situational to textual and the marking of anaphora. This earliest development predates the oldest sources available (see Chapter 3) and can only be reconstructed. What is seen in the oldest texts, however, is not a clear-cut picture. It seems that -IN is more likely to appear in contexts where the referent, though introduced earlier in the text, is not easily accessible, with accessibility measured by the number of intervening syntagms. The role of -IN thus seems to have been the ‘activation’ of a referent present in

the discourse but not immediately available. The higher the accessibility, the more competition between -IN and the demonstrative *sá* (*den*). The growing dominance of -IN in direct anaphoric contexts coincides with the obligatorification of their marking and can be said to be completed first in Period II.

As early as in Period I -IN is used in contexts here termed indirect anaphora. By period III their marking is obligatory. The development is largely dependent on the ‘anchor’ of the reference which triggers the definite. The first instances of indirect anaphora involve part-whole relationships, with the exception of body parts (where the marking is either zero or a possessive pronoun), action-instrument relationships, etc.

Both direct and indirect anaphora constitute textual uses of -IN. Both become obligatory in period II. Non-textual uses, first only by unique referents, though found in period I, first become obligatory in period III. Referents whose uniqueness is more local (such as ‘the district’) are marked earlier (period I), whereas those whose uniqueness is more universal (‘the king’) remain largely unmarked in period I.

EN is largely employed as numeral ‘one’ (legal prose) and as presentation marker (religious prose) in period I. In religious texts it appears occasionally as a specific marker, but no instances of non-specific use are noted. In period II both the presentation and the specific function are obligatory and the first instances of nonspecific uses of EN are found.

In MS, generics can be marked in five different ways (bare singular, bare plural, definite singular, definite plural, indefinite singular). Such a complex system is not yet found in OS. However, as early as in period II we find the first instances of -IN used generically. In period III, the first occurrences of EN in generic-like contexts have been noted, though these may be more properly classified as ‘critical contexts’, where the generic interpretation is possible, but not necessarily intended.

### 6.2.2. Textual origins of the articles

Both the definite and the indefinite article originate as textual devices. The first function adopted by the demonstrative at the onset of the grammaticalization is the marking of referents familiar from the discourse (direct anaphora). The function is to bind the text together, making it coherent. In its role of a presentation or specificity marker, EN also seems to be a textual device which marks the discourse referents that are going to be prominent in the discourse.

Surprisingly, there is some competition between EN and -IN in the presentative role, though it is marginal and limited to one genre (legal prose), one period

(period I) and a handful of lexemes (the most prominent among them the noun *bondi* ‘yeoman’). What we often see is that high values for -IN coincide with high values for EN. This may be taken to be a hallmark of a highly narrative text, where many referents are introduced and followed up. It is particularly clear in texts like *Jart* (a religious prosaic text from period II), which is a collection of short narratives with a great number of referents (usually at least three per story). In texts of lower narrativity we find correspondingly lower values for textual -IN (though they may be high for non-textual ones, see religious prose, in particular *Linc JB* from period III).

With time, as both definite and indefinite articles spread outside the textual domain, the character of the text does not influence their frequencies that much; obligatorification of the definite and indefinite marking means that the genre, which may still play a role in the percentage of a particular type of definiteness, will not be enough to strongly reduce the frequencies. In other words, the results may differ because though the text introduces a number of discourse referents who are mentioned frequently, it does not discuss philosophical or theological questions. The values will be high for textual definites but if a non-textual definite occurs it will necessarily be marked. On the contrary, a philosophical dispute may contain a low number of textual definites, though these will likewise be necessarily marked.

### 6.2.3. Stages of the grammaticalization of the articles in OS

In Chapter 2 we have identified stages in the development of the definite and indefinite articles and applied them in Chapter 4 and 5. The results are collected in tables 31 in chapter 4 and 35 in chapter 5. These results confirm yet again that the main development in the grammaticalization of -IN into a definite article occurs in periods I and II and that period III is a time of stabilisation of the form. Interestingly, 1375-1450 seems to be the time when many other major changes are resolved (see 6.5): the case system dismantled, the word order stabilized. A detailed study of how these changes interplay falls beyond the scope of this book, but it would no doubt be a worth-while project to study them against each other and not in separation. It is to be noted here that the subdivision of *yngre fornsvenska* (1375-1526) into period II and III, which has become a more or less common practice, helps to better delimit the extensive changes in OS. By separating the earlier and later parts of the younger OS, we were able to see more clearly how the definite article undergoes a most dramatic grammaticalization, gaining ground in practically all its modern functions, and how its use within these functions stabilizes in period III. The grammaticalization of the indefinite article, on the other hand, gains momentum in period II but peaks first in period III. Study of its

stabilization period falls outside the scope of this study. From other studies it may be seen that what is here termed period II is the time of some tumult in language history, with many changes taking place at the same time<sup>84</sup>.

#### 6.2.4. Note on the co-textual definiteness

Throughout the study we have used the concept of non-textual definiteness to refer to the non-anaphoric functions of -IN (direct or indirect). In discussing the use of -IN in religious prose, in particular in period II, we have also used the term co-textual to describe the uses of -IN that were not anaphoric and yet seemed to be dependent on the text and its purpose.

The so-called co-textual definites show how intricately the grammaticalization of the articles is interwoven with texts. These definites are found even where there are no linguistic signals in the text. The text itself is however a signal on how the definites are to be interpreted. Naturally we know little about the situation in which the text was written, for whom and in what circumstances it was read, meaning that many definites that could be understood as allusions to something known to every reader at the time the text was written, may be either opaque to us or could also be misinterpreted with to our scanty knowledge of the times. Yet we are able to see that the interpretation of these definites is dependent on the text, even if it is not linguistic.

### 6.3. Discussion of the models of grammaticalization

The models of grammaticalization of articles quoted in this study are Greenberg's 1978 for the definite article, and Givón 1981 and Heine's 1997 for the indefinite article.

- (1) demonstrative > definite article > specific article > noun marker  
(after Greenberg 1978)

The model of grammaticalization of the definite article as proposed by Greenberg 1978 assumes that the development proceeds from a demonstrative pronoun

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<sup>84</sup> The present study focuses on the linguistic changes. It should be noted that they are highly dependent on the social changes. One of the most dramatic social changes in Scandinavia and Europe of that time was the plague (the Black Death), which devastated the population between 1348 and 1350. 1375, the beginning of the younger Old Swedish period, is the time when the first generation of people who were born after the plague, or who have survived it as young orphans and were probably raised by people other than their families, reached adulthood. Their language could be dramatically different from the language of their parents' generation.

to a specific article, via the definite article. The model does not specify the interim stages of grammaticalization between a demonstrative and an article.

Lyons 1975 sees the first stage of grammaticalization in the use of the demonstrative as an anaphoric marker. In his account, the text is treated as a situation within which the speaker (writer) helps the hearer (reader) to navigate. This prediction is verified by the OS data, where it can be seen that the textual uses (both direct and indirect anaphora) dominate heavily in period I and non-textual uses appear first in periods II and III.

However, -IN is found in functions other than textual as early as in period I. This may be due to the fact that at the time of writing the first texts the grammaticalization was already advanced and -IN had spread beyond its original domain.

As seen previously, in the oldest texts (legal prose), -IN can be used in contexts where MS would prefer the indefinite article. Although this use is mainly found with the weak noun *bondi* 'yeoman' and may be explained away by the wish to make a case form clear, it is frequent enough to be considered. In these contexts -IN seems to function as a specific rather than definite article which runs counter to Greenberg's model, which aims mainly to describe the final stages of the grammaticalization of the definite article and their new role as gender markers (as the title of the paper suggests). The development is studied mainly for Niger-Congo languages; and its early stages—from demonstrative to a definite article and from a definite article to a specific one, are largely reconstructions. Its application on the OS material is limited at best (see 6.4 for further discussion).

The model of the grammaticalization of the indefinite article as proposed by Heine 1997 is a more detailed version of that in Givón 1981.

(2)	quantification	>	referentiality/ denotation	>	genericity/ connotation
	I. the numeral 'one'		II. the presentative marker III. the specific marker		IV. the nonspecific marker V. the generalized article

(Givón 1981:50 and Heine 1997:72-3)

As we have noted in Chapters 2 and 5, more detailed criteria, applicable in diachronic studies, are necessary to differentiate between the presentative and specific functions on the one hand and the specific and non-specific on the other. To do this, this study uses Heim's notion of 'lifespan' of a discourse referent (Heim 1982). The study of the number of further mentions of a discourse referent established by an EN-phrase reveals that in its earliest instances, EN established discourse referents of the longest lifespan, but by period III the average lifespan

had fallen from over 6 to 2. In this respect, Heine's model of the grammaticalization of the indefinite article is confirmed in the OS material.

Yet for the OS data it must be noted that EN can be regarded as a presentative marker only in connection with the grammatical function of the EN-phrase (subject) and its position in the sentence and text (initial). EN-phrases which are not subjects and/or are not placed sentence-initially do not establish new discourse referents with a long lifespan.

Both Lyons and Heine place the origin of the articles in the textual domain: as markers of discourse referents already present in the discourse (anaphora) or to be discussed (presentation). The latter marker applies to prominent and persistent discourse referents and it is possible to hypothesise that the former did as well during the onset of its grammaticalization. A reasoning along these lines can be found in Johnsen's study of the origins of the definite article in OI (Johnsen 1976) as well as in Leiss' study of definiteness in the same language (Leiss 2000). Johnsen implies that -IN was originally used to emphasise prominent discourse referents already mentioned. Whether that was the case in OS is impossible to tell on the basis of the material available. The grammaticalization of the definite article as witnessed by OS period I texts is already advanced and it is difficult to see that prominent discourse referents are preferred and marked by -IN more often than the less prominent ones. On the other hand, the grammaticalization of the indefinite article originating with the discourse referents 'prominent-to-be' makes this hypothesis very plausible. Both developments could then be seen as originating in the need to single out important discourse referents, which is a pragmatic factor.

#### 6.4. Interplay between the grammaticalizations

In OS the grammaticalization of the indefinite article starts when there is already an embryonic definite article. Similar time difference is found in other Indo-European languages. It would be of great interest to see whether some common turning point in the development of the definite may lay the ground for the development of the indefinite. To my knowledge, there are no such studies yet. From the present study we may note that the grammaticalizations of both definite and indefinite articles originate within the textual domain and that the numeral expands into presentation contexts as -IN stabilizes in its textual functions. There is even, as mentioned above, a certain amount of functional overlap between these two forms (note also how English uses the demonstrative *this* to introduce new, salient discourse referents, showing that demonstratives—and -IN is, to begin with, a demonstrative—may serve as presentation markers). It is possible to hypothesise that this functional overlap between -IN and EN leads to an attempt at giving the two forms different interpretations, holding them apart and creating



rules for their use. In this attempt notions of given (in the discourse) vs. new (in the discourse) are employed, later extended to the wider notions of known (from the discourse or otherwise) vs unknown.

Even if the functional overlap between -IN and EN were minimal, the two grammaticalizations in Swedish seem to be dependent on each other. The primary function of the demonstrative that activates the grammaticalization chain leading to the definite article is to mark referents given in the discourse. The primary function of the numeral that initiates its grammaticalization into the indefinite article is to mark those referents that are new and topical. Both items, -IN marking anaphora and EN functioning as marker of cataphora, thus serve to create coherence and continuity in text: the presentative function more or less means that the discourse referent established by the EN-phrase will be picked up in later discourse (there is again a clear parallel to the development of English demonstrative *this*).

Although the overlaps between -IN and EN, which are unfamiliar in the MS article system, may seem incomprehensible to us, it is important to remember that the articles do not grammaticalize in a void—they appear in a system which is already capable of expressing any meaning (as the uniformitarian principle claims). Therefore the development takes place not because something is wanting; rather, the new form must establish itself against other, older ones. Therefore in the oldest texts we see high ratio of demonstratives, which are in competition with -IN, whereas in period II the conflict is resolved and the two appear within one NP and the conflict we witness is between -IN and possessive pronouns, which also show exceptionally high figures. The latter conflict is resolved in period III where a functional division is reached (e.g. by inalienable possession) and the conflict within the NP resolved so that the appearance of one within the NP excludes the other (apart from dialectal NPs with postposed possessive).

If Greenberg's model is correct and the grammaticalization goes through definite to specific article, development beyond the definite is checked in Swedish. Among the inhibitive factors are undoubtedly the further grammaticalization of the indefinite article—the presence of the indefinite narrows the scope of use of the definite article. Additionally, we note that the growth in literacy may also have played a part in freezing the development, especially in the standard language.

Yet there are Swedish vernaculars where as early as 1878 an overuse of definite article has been noted in contexts where the standard variety would prefer the indefinite one or a bare noun, e.g.

- (3) Kva ha et tjøft i stádin? **Ättren o grýnen.**  
 What have you bought in town-DEF pea-DEF.PL and grain-DEF.PL  
 (Närpes dialect, Freudenthal 1878:137, quoted in Dahl 2007:25)

It seems that in the non-standard, peripheral varieties the spread of -IN to new functions has continued to include even the contexts reserved for the indefinite article. This spread of the definite article beyond its purely ‘definite’ contexts is noted by several authors writing on Swedish dialects, among others Levander (1909, Elfdalian dialect), Hummelstedt (1934, Ostrobothnian dialect), Delsing (1993), Nicula (1997, Närpes dialect), Dahl 2007. Delsing terms this use a ‘partitive’ one (1993:50), similar to the French use of the definite article. In later work he notes that this article use is found with uncountable nouns, plurals and singulars that denote un-delimited or arbitrary quantities (Delsing 2003:15).

What we find in Scandinavian vernaculars, however, is an expansion of the range of uses of definite articles that goes in a slightly different direction and cannot be described in terms of “specificity” in any sense. The Scandinavian development therefore is of considerable interest for our understanding of the role of definite articles in grammaticalization processes. (Dahl 2007:32)

The definite and the indefinite articles are, as their names suggest, often viewed as *denoting mutually exclusive grammatical functions* (Heine 1997:70), yet they can occur in some contexts as functionally equivalent or near-equivalent items. Heine 1997 shows it with respect to the final stages of grammaticalization of both, where there is a certain overlap in the generic functions (though in MS there are still different notions attached to either the definite or the indefinite in this context). The present study has shown that the earliest stages of grammaticalization of the definite may also show a similar tendency, where the definite-to-be is used as the presentative marker, in competition with the numeral ‘one’ and other items.

### 6.5. Interplay with other grammatical changes

In periods I-III the Swedish language undergoes a series of changes involving both syntax and morphology. The case system is lost (Norde 1997, Delsing 2002, Skrzypek 2005), word order fixed as VO (Delsing 1999) and the subject becomes obligatory (Håkansson 2008). The rise of the definite article has often been placed in the context of the demise of case morphology: in the European languages the two categories are found only in a handful. Yet no studies can prove conclusively that the two processes—the rise of the articles and the decline of case, are indeed dependent on each other. If that were the case, some functional overlap between the categories would be necessary. This functional overlap may be the textual role of both: the case binds the text together through agreement and definiteness by the marking of given and new information. They may exist side by side, as in German

or Icelandic, but one of them may also be enough. Note though that the cohesion created by articles goes beyond the clause or sentence and is a discourse device, whereas case agreement operates only within clauses/sentences. Thus definiteness is a category that, though not as precise as case on the clausal level, is useful on a level which case agreement does not reach.

### 6.6. The long-term perspective

The study covers only the Old Swedish period. By the early 16th century an article system emerges, whose major properties seem very similar to the MS one. And yet the frequencies of the articles, especially the indefinite article, are significantly lower than the corresponding MS ones. Is the system emerging in the early 16th century already identical with the MS one?

For the definite article, despite the lower frequencies, its uses are identical in period III and MS. The factor that may be important is the structure of the defNP and the co-occurrence of different definite markers (see Appendix for an analysis of the evolution of the NP).

For the indefinite article, it is not yet fully obligatory in non-specific contexts in period III and is still in variation with bare noun there. A more detailed study of the negative polarity contexts may render a more detailed picture of further development.

Finally, generics seem to be mainly expressed by bare nouns through OS, which naturally lowers the frequencies of the articles, though a more detailed study is called for. The MS system, where generics can be either expressed by bare nouns (in the singular or in the plural), or by an article form (definite singular or plural or indefinite), is not yet formed in OS and its formation needs further exploration.

### 6.7. Concluding remarks

The view of definiteness presented in this book is of necessity textual—the connection between text and form is of primary importance, as the names given to different categories: textual, non-textual, even co-textual, suggest. This dependence is created by the fact that (in)definiteness in historical studies is only accessible through written texts, and cannot be studied ‘dynamically’—with native speakers giving their views and completing questionnaires. Since we have previously stated that the origins of the definite article lie beyond the textual heritage, we must conclude that what we have studied here has been the development of the article in its textual domain. The development in the spoken language could have

been quite divergent and filtered through to the written one only afterwards—maybe the ‘somewhat late’ appearances of definite uniques were in fact not late at all.

The rise of definiteness provides a highly interesting research topic because it is a relatively new phenomenon in languages and can at least partly be studied in the texts, not just reconstructed. Even in the Scandinavian languages, where, as we have seen, the cliticization of the demonstrative predates the oldest sources, its functional development can be studied in the oldest texts. The indefinite article is even younger (as we have noted before, its rise as a presentative marker is dependent on the presence of a textual marker of ‘givenness’ in the language). This shows that the articles are connected with texts—not just sentences, but texts, where longer stories with many heroes are told. The rise of the articles seems also to be connected to literacy and production of texts. It is no coincidence that the texts which show the earliest examples of article use are narratives (religious or profane) and not laws.

The study presented here is by no means exhaustive and while it hopefully answers some questions concerning the grammaticalization of the definite and indefinite articles, at the same time it raises probably just as many. In this final part I have outlined the major issues for future research, concerning the Swedish language as well as other article languages. A closer inspection may reveal more facts about the cross-linguistic similarities in the development.

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## Appendix: Notes on NP types in OS

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### NP types in period I

In contrast to the MS NP with a fixed word order, the OS NP shows much more variation in respect to both the order of the elements and their co-occurrence. This variation gradually wears off, however in period I there is still a greater preference for postposition of determiners than in later periods (where postposition gradually disappears) and a greater freedom in how the different determiners and modifiers can be combined. The types of NPs found in period I texts are collected in Table 36 below. In the first column, the MS NP types are given, in the second those found in period I and examples of the latter in the third column. The OS NP types no longer productive in MS are given in bold.

Table 36. Types of NPs in period I

MS NP types	Period I NP types	Examples
1	2	3
N	the same	
N-en	the same	
en (ADJ) N	en (ADJ) N N en en (ADJ) N-en N-en en	en syndogha kona (Bur 133) pyno ena (Pent 179) een delen (Bur 3) arfuanom enom (YVL KB:18)
ADJ N	ADJ N ADJ-a N <sup>1</sup>	vatnløsan brwn (Pent 178) søta frukt (Bur 140) suartæ slaggh (ÄVL BB:5)
ADJ-a N-en	ADJ N-en ADJa N-en	østir riken (Pent 159) myrke husit (Pent 184)

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<sup>1</sup> This type is marginally found in MS, limited to interjections only, e.g. *Gamle man!* ‘Oh, old man!’

1	2	3
DET N-en	den N <sup>2</sup> N den hin N-en den N-en N-en den	Þæn tima (Bur 149) sak þerre (ÄVL FB:9) hit malit (OgL RB:18) <sup>3</sup> thz watnit (Pent 161) þæn fiken (Bur 153)
DET ADJ-a N-en	hin ADJ-a N den ADJ-a N <sup>4</sup>  den ADJ-a N-en	hin ælsti koldær (ÄVL ÄB:5) þæt hælgha cors (Bur 140) þæn goþa grip (AVL LR) þæn hælgha mannen (Bur 188)
denna (ADJ-a) N/N-en <sup>5</sup>	denna (ADJ-a) N denna (ADJ-a) N-en	þætta bilætte (Bur 189) thænne brwnnen (Pent 162)
poss N	poss N N poss poss N-en N-en poss <sup>6</sup>	hans husbonda (DL ÞB:15) arui bondans (OgL KB:7) hæstir hans (DL ÞB:14) kunugxs soknarin (OgL GB:6) bondands sins (DL GB:2)
poss ADJ-a N	poss ADJ-a N poss ADJ N	hans storo mødho (Pent 160) hans goþar vin (Bur 146)
(DET) samma (ADJ-a) N	(DET) samma (ADJ-a) N  (DET) samma (ADJ-a) N-en	þe samu þiura (Bur 168) samu stund (Bur 175) the samma nampnen (Pent 161)

If the dominant pattern in Runic Swedish was postposition of both adjectives and pronouns in the NP, period I is the time of change from the original postposition of elements in the NP towards their preposition, which can be seen from the fact that both types are richly represented in the texts. Furthermore, the three exponents of definiteness, the weak adjectival declension, the suffix -IN and the definite determiner, which today all co-occur

<sup>2</sup> This type is only found in MS before a relative clause *den man som kom imorse* ‘that man who came in the morning’.

<sup>3</sup> Isolated occurrence, the only one in the material (whole texts of OgL, UL and DL searched)

<sup>4</sup> This type is retained in some lexicalized phrases, most connected with religion, e.g. *den heliga skrift* ‘the holy book’ = the Bible.

<sup>5</sup> Although the standard language only allows N after *denna* in MS, there are many dialects where the definite form is used (Hirvonen 1987).

<sup>6</sup> Possible in dialects.

within one NP, can be used exclusively to mark the NP in period I. Thus the type *den N*, in MS only possible before a relative clause and ADJ-a N, today limited to exclamations, is possible in period I.

### NP types in period II

In period II, the tendency to preposition is stronger than in period I, and fewer combinations are possible.

Table 37. Types of NPs in period II

MS NP types	Period II NP types	Examples
N	the same	kejsaren (KM)
N-en	the same	haffwith (KM)
en (ADJ) N	en (ADJ) N	en storan wall oc wäl kläddan (KM 251)
ADJ N	ADJ N	ärliker man (SVM)
	ADJ-a N	faghra kälde (HML 193)
	ADJ-a N-en	halte mannen (HML 191)
	den N (som)	the kirkio (KM 251)
	N den (som)	thän kärlek som (Jart 13)
	den N-en	disk then som (KM 252)
DET N-en	den N-en	thy yflätino (Jart 4)
	N-en den	kalken then (KM 252)
	den ADJ-a N	the hälghe graff (KM 252) thz litla tradh (SVM)
	den ADJ-a N-en	them siuka mannenom (Jart 8)
denna (ADJ-a) N/N-en <sup>7</sup>	hin ADJ-a N-en	hin osnialle kejsaren (KM)
	denna (ADJ-a) N	thässa kirkio (KM 251)
denna (ADJ-a) N/N-en <sup>7</sup>	denna (ADJ-a) N-en	thässa flodhena (Jart 12)
	poss N	sit hofwdh (KM 252)
poss N	(DET) samma (ADJ-a) N-en	thz sama aarith (KM 250)

### NP types in period III

We have seen that the great variation in the form of the NP, characteristic of period I, was greatly reduced in period II. Period III continues in the same vein: all determiners, attributes and modifiers are preposed. The exceptions include NPs with more than two adjective modifiers, which are then split, the first occurring prenominally and the others postnominally.

For	nordan	fjäll	ligger	et	slot	som	sågard
for	northern	mountain	lies	a	castle	which	
heter	thz	atte	<b>hin</b>	<b>rikä</b>	<b>brynild</b>	<b>hin</b>	<b>fågra</b>
is-called	it	owned	DET	rich	Brynhild	DET	beautiful
<b>oc</b>	<b>hin</b>	<b>wiisa</b>					
and	DET	wise					(Did 16)

‘At northern mountain there lies a castle, called S, owned by the rich, beautiful and wise Brynhild’.

Although NP still shows some variation in period III, the type *den gamle mannen*, which is the unmarked one in MS, starts to dominate. In his detailed study of the variation between *den gamle man*, *den gamle mannen*, *gamle mannen* Hirvonen (1997) gives the following numbers for their frequencies in all three periods (table 38).

Table 38. Variation *den gamle man*, *den gamle mannen*, *gamle mannen* in OS, after Hirvonen 1997

Period		den gamle man	den gamle mannen	gamle mannen
Period I <sup>8</sup>	profane prose	54%	14%	32%
	religious prose	63%	28%	9%
Period II		22%	37%	41%
Period III		21%	42%	37%

As can be seen from Table 38, the MS unmarked type *den gamle mannen* gradually increases in frequency from period I to period III, from least to most frequent, in Hirvonen 1997 to the most frequent. Hirvonen’s results also show that the religious literature is more ‘modern’ even in this respect, since the *den gamle mannen* type occurs twice as frequently as in the legal prose.

<sup>7</sup> Although the standard language only allows N after *denna* in MS, there are many dialects where the definite form is used (Hirvonen 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Hirvonen bases his study of period I on results presented in Larm 1936, and he divides the material into profane, religious and poetic. Profane prose includes legal texts and *Konungastýrelse*.



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- Bo – *Bonaventuras betraktelser över Kristi liv*, ed. Gustaf Edvard Klemming, 1860. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornkriftsällskapet 15. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Bur – Codex Bureanus. In: *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. Georg Stephens, 1847. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornkriftsällskapet 7:1. Stockholm: Norstedt.
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- Linc NR – Legendan om Sankt Amalberga. In: *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. Georg Stephens, 1847. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornkriftsällskapet 7:3. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- OgL – Östgötalagen. In: *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar*, ed. Hans Samuel Collin and Carl Johan Schlyter, 1827, vol. 2. Stockholm: Haeggström.
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# Gramatykalizacja (nie)określoności w języku szwedzkim

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## Streszczenie

Współczesny język szwedzki jest językiem rodzajnikowym: w swej historii wykształcił zarówno rodzajnik określony jak i nieokreślony. Grupy imienne określone używane są do opisania referentów wiadomych (Weinsberg 1983), znanych lub identyfikowalnych przez ich wcześniejszą obecność w tekście (anafora) lub poprzez odnoszenie się do zjawisk i rzeczy istniejących tylko w jednym egzemplarzu (unikatów). Grupy imienne nieokreślone odnoszą się do referentów po raz pierwszy używanych w tekście. Oprócz tego język szwedzki posługuje się grupami imiennymi bezrodzajnikowymi w zleksykalizowanych połączeniach wyrazowych oraz z rzeczownikami masowymi (*dividua*, z łac. 'dający się dzielić').

We współczesnym języku szwedzkim określoność w grupie imiennej (z przymiotnikiem) jest wyrażona trzykrotnie: przez rodzajnik prepozycyjny, słabą odmianę przymiotnika i rodzajnik postpozycyjny, np. *den korta resan* '(ta) krótka podróż'. Pod względem reprezentacji morfologicznej brak jest symetrii między grupą określoną a nieokreśloną, w której pojawia się wyłącznie prepozycyjny rodzajnik nieokreślony, *en kort resa* 'krótka podróż'.

Wszystkie wykładniki (nie)określoności w języku szwedzkim powstały w wyniku procesów gramatykalizacji (Meillet 1912, Kuryłowicz 1976). Gramatykalizacje te nie są jednoczesne: najstarszą jest wspólna dla języków germańskich wykształcenie słabej odmiany przymiotnika. W okresie prarodzyckim (ca 500-1100) następuje klityczyzacja zaimka wskazującego *hinn 'ów'* do poprzedzającego go rzeczownika. Wynikiem tego procesu jest postpozycyjny rodzajnik określony, początkowo używany w ograniczonej liczbie kontekstów. Rodzajniki prepozycyjne, zarówno określony jak i nieokreślony, wykształcają się w epoce starszwedzkiej (1225-1526).

Przedmiotem niniejszej rozprawy jest studium gramatykalizacji postpozycyjnego rodzajnika określonego oraz rodzajników prepozycyjnych: określonego i nieokreślonego. Szczególny nacisk został położony na kolejne etapy tego rozwoju pod względem funkcji jakie elementy te pełnią. Badanie obejmuje cały okres starszwedzki podzielony na trzy podokresy (1225-1375, 1375-1450 i 1450-1526). Materiał badawczy stanowią teksty prawne i religijne, przygodowe oraz historyczne (kroniki). Łącznie przebadany materiał to ok. 176800 wyrazów.

Rozdziały 1-3 stanowią tło głównego badania. Przedstawiono w nich kategorię określoności we współczesnym języku szwedzkim, periodyzację języka szwedzkiego, materiał badawczy oraz zastosowane metody. Rozdział 2 przedstawia teoretyczne podstawy badania, procesy gramatykalizacji rodzajników określonych i nieokreślonych. Jak się wydaje, procesy te są zbieżne w niespokrewnionych językach w zakresie swych źródeł (rodzajnik określony jest gramatykalizacją elementu deiktycznego, np. zaimka wskazującego, rodzajnik nieokreślony gramatykalizacją liczebnika 'jeden'). Modele gramatykalizacji rodzajników przedstawione zostały w Lyons 1975 i Greenberg 1978 (rodzajnik określony) oraz Givón 1981 i Heine 1997 (nieokreślony). Dla rodzajnika określone-

go początkiem gramatyzacji jest użycie zaimka deiktycznego w tekście dla oznaczenia anafory; dla nieokreślonego pierwszym etapem jest użycie liczebnika 'jeden' w funkcji prezentacji nowych referentów tekstowych. Ponadto rozwój rodzajnika nieokreślonego wydaje się być częściowo warunkowany rozwojem określonego – jest przesunięty w czasie wobec tego ostatniego. Z kolei rozwój rodzajnika nieokreślonego zawęża możliwe użycia określonego. Mamy zatem do czynienia z dwoma niezależnymi lecz wzajemnie się warunkującymi procesami.

Rozwój słabej odmiany przymiotnika i klitycyzacja zaimka wskazującego mają miejsce w historii przedpiśmiennej, zatem w rozdziale 3 przedstawione zostały etymologie wszystkich wykładników określoności, hipotezy na temat przyczyn klitycyzacji oraz świadectwo ich rozwoju w epoce runicznej (800-1225), przed spisaniem dłuższych tekstów pismem łacińskim.

Rozdział 4 stanowi szczegółową analizę użycia -IN w tekstach starszszwedzkich z lat 1225-1526. Użycia te zostały podzielone na tekstowe oraz pozatekstowe. 'Wiadomość' (określoność) tych pierwszych opiera się na wcześniejszym użyciu w tekście lub na inferencji z innej informacji językowej. Są to zatem użycia anaforyczne, bezpośrednie lub pośrednie (te ostatnie są w anglojęzycznej literaturze przedmiotu określane też jako *associative anaphora*). Użycia pozatekstowe -IN obejmują unikaty (np. słońce) oraz użycie generyczne. Szczegółowa analiza wykazuje, że użycia tekstowe -IN pojawiają się już w najstarszych zabytkach piśmienniczych. W pierwszych tekstach nie są jeszcze obligatoryjne, a ich dystrybucję ograniczają takie czynniki jak np. odległość między wyrażeniem anaforycznym i jego antecedensem (im dłuższa tym większe prawdopodobieństwo, że -IN zostanie użyte) lub rodzaj relacji między nimi (przy nazwach części ciała bardziej prawdopodobne jest użycie zaimka dzierżawczego). W okresie 1375-1450 tekstowe użycie -IN staje się obligatoryjne, a użycie pozatekstowe staje się coraz bardziej powszechne. Okres 1450-1526 to czas stabilizacji -IN we wszystkich wymienionych funkcjach; użycie w kontekstach generycznych nie jest jeszcze w pełni regularne. Gramatyzacja zaimka wskazującego w rodzajnik określony przebiega zatem od tekstowych do pozatekstowych funkcji, a jej pierwszym etapem jest przeniesienie wskazywania w przestrzeni na wskazywanie w tekście (anafora).

Rozdział 4 zawiera ponadto szczegółową analizę nietypowego z punktu widzenia współczesnej szwedzkiej użycia -IN, w tym przy rzeczowniku *bonde* 'chłop' w kodeksach prawnych oraz z abstrakcyjnymi rzeczownikami nazywającymi cechy np. *fatikdom* 'bieda' w prozie religijnej.

W rozdziale 5 podobnie szczegółowej analizie został poddany liczebnik 'jeden' i jego dalszy rozwój w rodzajnik nieokreślony EN. Proces ten jest późniejszy niż omawiana wcześniej gramatyzacja rodzajnika określonego; w okresie 1225-1375 EN pojawia się w funkcjach rodzajnikowych sporadycznie i tylko w prozie religijnej, w najstarszych tekstach, prawnych, EN pełni wyłącznie funkcję liczebnika. Pierwsze nieliczebnikowe użycia EN ograniczają się do inicjalnych podmiotów wprowadzających nowego referenta, do którego w dalszym tekście pojawiają się kolejne odniesienia. Takie użycie EN możemy zatem nazwać kataforycznym. Podobnie jak w przypadku rodzajnika określonego, również gramatyzacja rodzajnika nieokreślonego rozpoczyna się zatem od jego użycia tekstowych. W dalszych etapach rozwoju obserwujemy rozszerzenie użycia EN na podmioty nie inicjalne oraz na inne części zdania; EN wprowadza nadal nowego referenta jednak niekoniecznie takiego, który będzie wspomniany w dalszej części tekstu. W ostatnim etapie rozwoju EN może być użyte w kontekstach tzw. negative polarity, po negacji, w zdaniach warunkowych, po czasownikach typu *vilja* 'chcieć' czy w porównaniach.

Rozdział 6 zawiera podsumowanie wyników. Wskazuje też na współzależności między oboma gramatyzacjami. Gramatyzację rodzajnika nieokreślonego rozpoczyna użycie EN dla prezentacji nowych referentów – to użycie pojawia się w momencie, w którym już obowiązkowo oznaczana jest anafora, czyli oznaczanie referentów już znanych. Oba mechanizmy wiążą się z tekstowym użyciem rodzajników. Wyniki wskazują też na to, że zainicjowana gramatyzacja rodzajnika nieokreślonego ogranicza gramatyzację rodzajnika określonego, który w braku przeciwwagi w postaci EN by mógł rozwinąć się w rodzajnik specyficzny a nie tylko określony.

Gramatyzacja obu rodzajników przypada na okres intensywnych zmian w języku szwedzkim, towarzyszy im zanik fleksji nominalnej i kategorii przypadku, stabilizacja szyku i wykształcenie obowiązkowego podmiotu (szw. *subjektivång*). Wszystkie te zmiany są wzajemnie zależne i wzajemnie się warunkują. Intensywnym zmianom językowym w tym okresie towarzyszą gwałtowne zmiany społeczno-kulturowe: intensywna chrystianizacja i kształtowanie się szwedzkiej państwowości.