BETWEEN A DEMONSTRATIVE AND AN ARTICLE.

THE STATUS OF -IN IN OLD SWEDISH

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ABSTRACT. The definite article in the Modern Nordic languages is a suffix, etymologically related to a demonstrative. The form is not attested in runic inscriptions, the oldest linguistic sources, but first appears in Icelandic sagas as well as in Swedish and Danish legal codices from 13th century onwards. However, in these texts it does not appear with the same regularity as in modern languages. The Old Swedish form constitutes an intermediate form between a demonstrative, from which it is derived, and the article it has become in Modern Swedish. In the oldest texts it appears in contexts where demonstratives can only be found sporadically and its form suggests it no longer is a demonstrative. At the same time it is not yet obligatory. The aim of this paper is to show the grammaticalization of the definite article as a gradual, dynamic process, involving changes in the form and functional scope of the grammaticalizing item and to consider the properties of the Old Swedish form -in, derived from the distal demonstrative hin ‘that’.

1. INTRODUCTION

In most languages of the world which have definite articles, these are historically derived from demonstrative pronouns. A typical source is the demonstrative pronoun, distal if the language shows differences between proximal and distal demonstratives (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2002). Even other demonstrative elements may serve as the source of the definite article, although this is rather less frequent. An example is
the Sissala article *ná* which has its source in the verb ‘to see’ (Blass 1990, quoted in C. Lyons 1999:331), comparable with the use of the English verb ‘to behold’ in utterances like *Behold the walls of Moria*, where the verb is used ostensively (corresponding to a gesture or ‘Here are the walls of Moria’).

The Swedish language has in the course of its history acquired a definite article, which today is a suffix, derived from the distal demonstrative *hinn* ‘that’ (e.g. Wessén 1941, Syrett 2002, Skrzypek 2009).

(1a) *Brevbärare-n* kom med ett paket.
postman-DEF came with a package

(1b) *Vi har fått en ny brevbärare i vår-t område.*
we have got a new postman in our-NEUT area

The original pronoun is lost in Modern Swedish (MS) and can only be found in lexicalized phrases like *hinn hål*, literally ‘that hard’, meaning ‘the devil’.

Although Swedish has a well documented history (the oldest texts in the Latin alphabet are from the early 13th century and are of considerable length), the very origins of the definite form evade study, as its formation predates these texts. The form found in there is already cliticized onto the noun and retains its own inflection for gender, number and case (see examples 2 a and b below). However, by the beginning of the 13th century, it does not appear in all contexts where modern usage would demand it.

(2a) *þa sæmi meþ grann-om-en.* (YVL My)
then agree with neighbour-DAT.PL-DEF
‘Shall then make peace with the neighbours’

(2b) *þa taki huar þerræ sum iorp-en-æ* (YVL FB:36)
then take each they-GEN which earth-DEF-ACC
‘Shall then each of those who bought the earth take (the ownerless land lying in between their estates)’

The aim of this paper is to consider the properties of the Old Swedish (OSw) *-in*, which in the oldest texts seems to be what Lehmann terms the ‘weakly demonstrative definite determiner’ (Lehmann 1995:55), an intermediate form half-way between a demonstrative and an article. In the following text the term semi-article will be used to denote this intermediate
form. It emphasizes the goal of the process rather than its source (as the term semi-demonstrative would), as the form studied exhibits more properties of an article than a demonstrative.

The paper is organised as follows: first a contrastive study of demonstratives and articles is presented, then some aspects of the grammaticalization of the definite forms are discussed, and finally the OSw -in and its functions are studied in detail, as well as its contemporary demonstrative pronoun, þen ‘this’. The source text of the study is Äldre Västgötalagen (1225), Sweden’s oldest legal codex.

2. DEMONSTRATIVE VERSUS ARTICLE

Any study of the gradual transformation of the demonstrative into an article must start with establishing the major differences between the two.

Two formal criteria that allow a distinction between a demonstrative and an article are the following:
- articles occur only in nominal expressions, whereas demonstratives may appear as pronouns, adverbials, predicates or adnominal modifiers;
- within the nominal expressions articles occupy a fixed position, either consistently to the left or to the right of the noun, whereas demonstratives may occur on either side of the noun in many languages;
- articles are obligatory in grammatically definable contexts, such as superlatives or nouns taking complement clauses (Himmelmann 2001:832), therefore, articles tend to be high frequency items.

Functionally, there is some overlap between demonstratives and definite articles. They are partly interchangeable, even though the exchange is not possible in all contexts. It is readily accepted in anaphora:

(3) There was a lamp in the room. On the lamp there was.
There was a lamp in the room. On this/that lamp there was.

Cross-linguistically, demonstratives seem to be excluded in the so-called larger situational uses (with unique referents) and in so-called associative-anaphoric uses, where the definite article marks an entity mentioned for the first time, but connected to another entity mentioned earlier, see example (4):

(4) The man drove past our house in a car. The exhaust fumes were terrible.
(Himmelmann 2001:833)

Marginally, demonstratives can be allowed in the associative contexts, one finds instances such as the following:
(5) He has been estranged from his son for many years. This business (=his having been estranged from his son) made him a sad old man.

The demonstratives are not allowed with unique or generic referents, *that president (‘local’ uniqueness), *that Sun or *that lion is a mammal are impossible constructions. A form appearing in either of these contexts, with a regularity and in a fixed position, would certainly be an article and not a demonstrative.

The interchangeability of demonstratives and articles forms a scale from the anaphoric context through the associative and locally unique to unique and finally generic (in many article languages generics are not definite). The question is whether this scale may be taken to represent the diachronic development of the article out of the demonstrative.

3. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE DEFINITE

The development from a demonstrative to an article is an example of a process known as grammaticalization, one whereby lexical items acquire grammatical functions or grammatical items acquire even more grammatical functions.

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)

The term has most probably originated with Meillet’s studies of the development of the French negation (Meillet 1912) and has been defined by numerous authors. The advance of the grammaticalizing morpheme has been put on a scale by Givón:
The scale contains two major changes (as given in Kuryłowicz’s definition):

1. from a lexical item to a grammatical item
2. from a grammatical item to a more grammatical item

These two steps are termed primary and secondary grammaticalization, where the core of the secondary grammaticalization is the degree of morphological bonding/fusion (Traugott 2002:26f.). The development of the definite article out of the demonstrative is an example of the latter type.

The advancement of a morpheme from less to more grammatical status is typically accompanied by

- phonological reduction and coalescence (Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1994:4-9), whereby some of the phonological substance is lost and a lexeme may become a clitic, a clitic an affix, and an affix may be finally reduced to zero (Heine and Reh 1984:17-28);
- increased distributional restriction: it may only occupy certain slots in syntactic structures or become obligatory in a number of contexts;
- change in meaning or functional scope (Heine and Reh 1984:15, Hopper and Traugott 1993:4-6).

A demonstrative grammaticalizing into an article will thus most likely become fixed in a position either before or after the noun, lose the stress and prominence, and finally cliticize onto the noun. If that happens, the further development may be affixation rather than cliticization. Functionally, it will gradually conquer contexts which allow articles and do not allow demonstratives and come to be used by unique or generic referents (cf. section 2 above).

Certain developments are more frequent than others, among others the development of demonstrative pronouns (typically distal demonstrative pronouns) into definite articles. Such developments have in the literature been termed ‘grammaticalization channels’ (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a:221), ‘grammaticalization paths’ (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:14ff) or ‘chains’ (Heine 2005:589). They typically lead from the same source to the same target in different, unrelated languages. Identification of the paths makes no claim on the inevitability of the change, however, if a language does develop definite article, its source will most probably be the (distal) demonstrative pronoun or an ostensive/deictic element of some other kind (see C. Lyons 1999 for discussion of terms ostension and deixis).

The process of grammaticalization is a gradual one, i.e. it involves a number of ‘micro-changes’ (Traugott & Trousdale 2010:23). The
gradualness of the process implies that at any given point in the development the grammaticalizing item may pose classification difficulties. A form that is, say, half-way between a demonstrative and an article may exhibit some properties of each and lack others. Of late, the gradualness of language change, in particular with regard to grammaticalization processes, has been set against the gradience (e.g. Aarts 2007) of grammatical categories (Traugott & Trousdale 2010). However, gradience need not be the result or by-product of the grammaticalization processes, nevertheless it draws attention to the fact that an unambiguous classification of an item as a demonstrative or an article may be tricky when it undergoes grammaticalization.

4. OLD SWEDISH – IN. THE FORM

The ancestor of OSw, Old Nordic as attested in runic inscriptions found throughout Scandinavia, was a language with no articles, definite or indefinite. There were a number of demonstratives: *sá, sjá, hin* and *in*, which probably go back on the PIE tripartite demonstrative system. The source of the definite article in OSw is a distal demonstrative pronoun *hin*. In the Nordic languages its form and position (postposed bound morph) suggest the original constituent order noun + demonstrative.

In morphology, a bound morpheme derives historically from a free lexical or grammatical morpheme and generally inherits the same order relative to its stem that was assigned to the earlier free morphemes by syntax. (Hawkins 1990:102-103).

However, only the pronouns *sá* and *sjá* (*þenne*) appear with nouns, whereas *hin* is only found with weak adjectives: *hin* + *A*, *sá/sjá* + *N*. A notable exception is the runic inscription (ex. 6)

(6) **wete**  **hali**  **hino**  **horna**  (Strøm whetstone)

wet.3sg.opt  stone.acc  this.acc horn.nom

‘Let the horn wet this stone.’

In extant texts, *hin* may be used before the weak adjective and such a cluster is usually placed after the noun.

(7) **mirki**  **it**  **mikla**  (Sö 41)

monument-ACC  DEM  large

‘that large monument’

Two reconstructions of the cliticization process have been proposed in the literature. The first, given in Grimm 1837, is further developed in
Delbrück 1916. To account for the demonstrative *hin* as the source of the definite suffix, it assumes the postposition of an adjective phrase consisting of a weak adjective and a demonstrative:

(8) maðr  inn  gamli  
    man  that  old-DEF

The demonstrative, which originally belonged with the weak adjective, cliticizes onto the noun. The theory is identical with the reconstruction proposed for Rumanian (‘homo-ille-bonus’), which was possibly inspired by the Nordic one.

The second, developed by Nygaard (1905) assumes a postposition of the demonstrative, as found in the Strøm inscription.

Both reconstructions have their weak points: the first disregards the fact that the postposed adjective phrases with *hin* typically accompanied proper names not common nouns (Musinowicz 1911); the second finds no support in the empirical material, where the postposition of *hin* seems to always be the postposition of the adjective phrase.

As observed by other authors (Delbrück 1916, Neckel 1924, Syrett 2002), the clitic -*in* must have come about earlier than the oldest extant texts can exhibit it. Also, it must have been first and foremost an oral development, thus a discrepancy may have existed between the oral and the written standard.

The form found in OSw texts is already a fully-fledged clitic. The semi-article is always spelled as one word with the noun it modifies, a striking feature, since the spelling of many compound nouns in ÄVL is inconsequent and they can either be spelled as one or as two separate words, e.g.:

(9) þingsmanna.  (..)  þings mannae  
    ‘members of the ting’  

(ÄVL aM:3)

The clitic appears in the singular in all or almost all genders and cases:

Singular, masculine:

(10) þa  skal  lekærin  take  quighuna  vm
    then shall  jester-DEF.NOM  take  cow-DEF  about
    roppo  tail
    (ÄVL LR)

‘Then the jester shall take the cow by the tail’.

(11) þa  skal.  preestins  tiundæ  læte  after  standæ.
    Then shall  priest-DEF-GEN  tithes  let  after  stand
    allæn  all-ACC
    (ÄVL KB:20)

‘Shall then let the priest’s tithes all remain’.
(12) þer skulu af pavanum bref take
(ÅVL GB:8)
they shall of pope-DAT-DEF-DAT letter take
‘They shall take a letter from the Pope’.

(13) falls han at sak bötæ manin
fall-PASS he at charge pay man-DEF
(ÅVL BB:9)
‘If he is found guilty, he shall pay for the man’.

Singular, feminine:

(14) sex mærkær skal ættin bota
six marks shall family pay
‘The family shall pay six marks’.

(15) þa skal bota firi marchum fiurum.
then shall pay for mark-PL.DAT four-PL.DAT
þem sakine sökir
this.DAT charge-DEF-ACC seeks
‘Shall then pay for (this crime) with four marks to the one bringing charges’.

(16) take quighuna vm roppo
(ÅVL LR)
take cow-DEF-ACC by tail
‘(he shall) take the cow by the tail’.

Singular, neuter:

(17) takær af þriþing af bono
take of thrid of estate-DEF-DAT
‘takes a third part of the estate’.

(18) Biscuper skal viþ sopn mælæ. æn þer
bishop-NOM shall by parish charge if they
viper þen vihit uan
by him killing-DEF did
(ÅVL KB:12)
‘The bishop shall bring charges against the parish and they (the parish) against the one who did the killing’.

The representation in the plural is more narrow, still the following forms were testified:

(19)þa skal þen ær bol a gialda
then shall he who estate owns pay
arwumm. iammarghar skeppur
heir-DAT-DEF even bushel-PL
‘Then he who owns the estate shall pay the heirs with equally many bushels’
Between a demonstrative and a pronoun. The status of in in Old Swedish

(20) oc all vtlandin (ÄVL ßl)
and all outland
‘And all the land without’.

(21) per tolf sættu sæx stenæ mellir rikiænnæ (ÄVL KuB)
they twelve place six stones between country-DEF-DAT.PL

Though the overall number of the forms with semi-article is low (there are only 24 instances in the text that is 15000 words long), they are distributed among all numbers, genders and cases and seem well-established. From this point of view the form in question, -in, is no longer a demonstrative.

5. OLD SWEDISH –IN. THE FUNCTION

In the OSw texts that we have to hand today, there is a considerable variation in the functional scope of the semi-article -in which seems to be genre-dependent. The oldest texts, legal codices, are very economical with the form, which may have to do with the genre as well as the age of the texts (compare the results for modern legal texts in Swedish in Gunnarsson 1982). Religious prose shows a substantial rise in the frequency of -in only 50 years or so later.

The aim of this section is to map the different uses of the semi-article and compare them with those of the Modern Swedish article -in. Such a study will reveal the medial position the form occupies between a demonstrative and an article. The occurrences are grouped according to the contexts in which they appear, namely anaphoric, associative anaphoric, locally unique, unique and generic. The source text is the oldest known Swedish text, Äldre Västgötalagen, from ca 1225 AD.

Consider first the following example. The phrases marked in bold would in MS receive definite marking.

(22) Varþær barn til kirkiu boret oc belpiz
is child to church-GEN brought and asks

cristnu. christening þa scal faþir ok moþer fa
godfather oc and guþmoþor oc salt oc
guþfæþur godfather and guþmoþor oc salt oc

uatn. þæt scal bæræ til kirkiu þa
water it shall bear to church-GEN then

scal a prest kallæ han skal a kirkiu
shall on priest call he shall on church
bole boæ. barn scal brymsignæ firi utan
ground live child shall bless for outside

kirkiu. dyr. Sipen scal font wigyæ.
church-GEN door later shall font consecrate

prester barn döpæ. oc gudfaþir a
priest-NOM child christen and godfather on

haldaæ. gudmoþer til namms sygiæ. (ÄVL KB:1)
hold godmother to name-GEN say

‘If a child is brought to church and (parents) ask for baptism then father and mother shall find godfather and godmother, salt and water. The child shall be brought to the church and they shall call on the priest that lives on the church ground. He shall bless the child outside the door of the church, consecrate the font, baptize the child. The godfather shall hold the child and the godmother say its name.’

In the first part of the text, new referents are introduced. In MS they would normally be marked by the indefinite article. In the second part, the same referents are used again, e.g. barn ‘child’ or gudfaþir ‘godfather’, which in MS would be marked by the definite article. There are also other nouns which in MS would be definite since the referents would be identified by their unique connection with the church, e.g. prest ‘priest’, font ‘baptizing font’.

The example quoted in (22) constitutes the very beginning of the codex. Not a single instance of the semi-article is to be found in it. Its absence in the anaphoric context is striking, as it is at least here we would expect the form to appear.

On closer inspection it is revealed that in anaphoric contexts, bare nouns, nouns with the demonstrative þen ‘this’ or nouns with the semi-article may be used. Bare nouns are by far the most common (ex. 22); also demonstrative þen ‘this’ is found in this context (ex. 23). Semi-articles occur in this context in the final part of the codex, LR, lekarerätten, whose text is only found in a later manuscript than the other parts of ÄVL (Holmbäck & Wessén 1979:198). However, there is a difference between the anaphoric reference by the demonstrative, which occurs in neighbouring syntagms and the semi-article, where there is a number of syntagms intervening between the first and the second mention (see ex. 24).

(23)Værþær bornæ a mark abyrd
is dug on ground secretly planted corpse

ma se bloð ok bend hinnugh
may see blood and slay marks thither
Between a demonstrative and a pronoun. The status of in in Old Swedish

sum  dræpit  var.  þa  skal.  þen  böta
which killed was then shall this(he) pay

sum.  þa  mark.  a.  (ÄVL aM:14)
which  this.FEM.ACC  ground  owns

‘If a corpse is hidden on somebody’s ground (planted on this person), blood may be seen towards the place where the crime was done, he shall pay who owns this ground’

(24) Far  mæber  sarr  ligger.  i  længi  ganør  i
get  man-NOM  wound  lies  in  length  goes in

mælli.  ok  dør  i  þéri  giuar  arui  sak
between and dies in these give heir charge

þem  ær  sargæþi  ok  kallær  han  banae
this-DAT which  hurt-PAST  and  calls  he-DAT  slayman

vaere.  þa  skal  han  væriæ  sik  meþ  luctri
be then shall he defend himself with closed

hæressnæmd  æn  han  dör  innan  nath  ok
jury  if he dies before night and

iamlangæ.  ganger  þer  iuir.  þa  bøti
year  goes it over then pay-KONJ

ændæ  falls  han  at  sak  bøtæ
nothing finds guilty he on charge pay

maninn  aptær.  (ÄVL BB:9)
man-DEF.ACC  after

‘If a man is wounded, lies long and goes from time to time and dies of wounds then shall the heir accuse the one who wounded. He shall defend himself with a closed jury if he died before a year and a day. After that time nobody pays fines. If he is found guilty he pays fines for the man’

Other examples include: kono, þa kono (ÄVL ÄB:8), hus, þem hvsum (ÄVL ßB:5), bref, þem bref (ÄVL GB:8), fæ, þæt fæ (ÄVL FB:10), mark, þa mark (ÄVL aM:14), grip, þen grip, þen grip (ÄVL ßB:13).

In associative anaphoric contexts, like in anaphora, bare nouns are most common. There are, however, some instances with semi-article.

(25) Varþær  superman  dreipin  allær  enskær  mæber.  þa
is  southernman  killed or  english man  then

skal  böta  firi  marchum  fiurum.
shall  pay  for  mark-PL.DAT  four-PL.DAT
If a southerner is killed or an Englishman, then shall (the guilty party) pay for it four marks to the one pressing the charge and two marks to the king.

Somewhat surprisingly, a demonstrative is also found in this context (see ex. 26). This is against the predictions made e.g. by Hawkins 1978 (see above).

Further examples of the associative definiteness include: saksöchenden (ÄVL KB:14), saksökæn (ÄVL aM:5), saksökæn (ÄVL BB:7), arwumn (ÄVL ÄB:24), rikiaænæ (ÄVL KuB), kirkiudroten (ÄVL KB:10). That associative definites need not be signalled by means of a
The status of in in Old Swedish

suffixed article follows from the example below, where two identical contexts render (1) a structure lacking the definite article, (2) a structure with the definite article:

(27) Viliæ þer böter take. þa skal böte niu
want they fines take then shall pay nine
markær arvæböt. oc tolf markær ættærbot. Sax
marks heir-fine and twelve marks family-fine six
mærkær skal (1) arui böta. sex mærkær skal
marks shall heir pay six marks shall
(2) ættin böta. (..) Sva skulu allir böte. ok
family-DEF pay so shall all pay and
skulu sva alli taka. a huar halwu minna til
shall so all take on each half less to
sættæ mans. (..) Sax mærkær skal (1) arvi taka
seventh man-GEN six marks shall heir take
af ættærbot. ok sex. mærchær skal
of family-fine and six marks shall
(2) ættin takæ. þrer a føðerni. ok
family-DEF take three on fatherside and
þrer a möþerni. (ÄVL aM:1)
three on motherside

‘If they want to take fines, then nine marks fine paid by the killer (arvebot) and twelve marks paid half by the killer and half by the killer’s family (ätterbot). Six marks shall heir (to the killer) pay and six the family. All shall pay and all shall take, each man half as much as the previous until the seventh man. Six marks shall the heir (of the victim) take of the ätterbot and six marks shall the family (of the victim) take, three on the father’s side and three on the mother’s side.’

It is surprising how regular the presence of the semi-article by the noun ätt ‘family’ is and how regular its absence by the noun arvi ‘heir’.

There are only two instances of a unique referent in ÄVL (both within the same paragraph), iorþ ‘ground, earth’. Both are unmarked and there is similar evidence from other legal texts of the period. In MS both would be definite.

(28a) Tialdru. stenæ. skal tua i iorþ grawæ.
boundary stones shall two in earth dig
þriþiæ a læggæ. þer skulu vitni bæræ ar i
third on lay they shall-PL witness bear which in

iorp liggæ. (ÄVL IB:10)
earth lie

‘Boundary stones shall be two, buried in the earth, the third put on them. These shall bear witness which lie in the earth’

(28b)Av råmärkestenar skall man gräva två i
of boundary stones shall one dig two in

jorden och lägga den tredje på dem.
earth-DEF and lay the third on them

De skola bära vittne, som ligga i jorden.
they shall bear witness which lie in earth-DEF

(Holmbäck & Wessén 1979:136)

Local uniqueness is expressed by the bare noun – the names of all authorities (the king, the bishop etc.) are always lacking the semi-article. Two remarkable exceptions have been noted: pavanum ‘pope-DAT-DEF-DAT’ and pavæns ‘pope-GEN-DEF-GEN’.

(29) Allum slikum malum skal af landi
of such-DAT case-PL.DAT shall of land-DAT

skiptæ mæþ brevi til pavæns
part with letter-DAT to pope-GEN-DEF-GEN

i rom þer skulu af pavanum
in Rome they shall.PL of pope-DAT-DEF-DAT

bref takeæ. (ÄVL GB:8)
letter take

‘In all such cases shall leave the country with a letter to the pope in Rome, they shall a letter from the pope take.’

The definite form pavanum ‘pope-DAT-DEF-DAT’ is the sole instance of a (locally) unique referent marked for definiteness, though an argument for why just this term appears with the semi-article may be that the Pope does not (and did not) have the residence in Sweden, was outside the local frame; the reference is the church.

There are no instances of the generically used semi-article. One could argue that a number of references in the ÄVL are generic, as in (30). They are all expressed by bare nouns. In Modern Swedish they would rather have an indefinite article.
The OSw semi-article is well-represented in associative anaphora but far less frequent in direct anaphora. This is contradictory to the predictions that see the evolution of the form from deictic through anaphoric to associative anaphoric and further unique reference. It also sporadically appears in contexts which constitute a local unique reference, e.g. pavanum. In contexts with unique or generic referents, it is non-existent.

The demonstrative þen is on the other hand mainly found in anaphoric contexts. The functional overlap between the demonstrative and the semi-article is therefore only partial. The usage of the semi-article seems to be limited to cases where the reference may be unclear.

The text above illustrates a manner of settling a legal dispute: after the death of a man who had three wives and children by each of them, the estate is to be divided into three parts, but only after the still living wife and her children have removed what amounts to her dowry. ‘The estate’ is thus not what the man left after his death but only a part of it.
In anaphoric contexts, the original domain of the demonstrative (by extension from situational deixis), the semi-article may be used, but only when its reference will be unique (there is only one possible referent). Anaphora is a direct continuation of the deictic function, though within text rather than in space. Here the interchangeability of the two forms seems unquestionable. However, with the associative anaphora, the interchangeability is far more limited and the semi-article is preferred. The unique and generic referents are inaccessible for the demonstratives and seem to be the last contexts to be acquired by the -\textit{in} form.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The formation of the definite article out of a demonstrative is a lengthy process, whereby the original demonstrative on one hand becomes fixed in relation to the noun (and may become a bound form like in Swedish) and on the other hand gradually spreads through new contexts. The original deictic function is extended onto textual deixis – anaphora (J. Lyons 1977), and further onto associative anaphora, local uniqueness and uniqueness. The last stages of the process involve the generic reference (e.g. Krámský 1976).

The form discussed in this paper, the OSw -\textit{in}, is one that cannot easily be classified. It is a bound form, cliticized onto the noun and the cliticization seems to be advanced to the point where the language users no longer see the two elements, the noun and the original demonstrative, as two separate words. Spelled consistently as one word, the combination of noun and clitic seems to have become a well-established structure (note that there is no similar consistency in the somewhat older Old Icelandic material, Sprenger 1977). Formally speaking, -\textit{in} is no longer a demonstrative.

On functional grounds, however, -\textit{in} as found in the Old Swedish text \textit{Äldre Västgötalagen} is still at the first stages of the grammaticalization – it is possible in anaphoric and associative contexts (see examples 24-25), sporadically occurs with local uniqueness (see examples 29), is however absent in unique and generic contexts. Further, it does not seem obligatory, as for each instance of the semi-article, numerous counterexamples with bare nouns or demonstratives may be found. Being non-obligatory and irregular in use, the form is not yet an article. Appearing in article contexts, unavailable for the demonstratives, it already cannot be classified as a demonstrative.

This mismatch of the formal and functional developments, which instead of progressing parallelly take place at quite different points in time, is an important point to be considered in the grammaticalization studies.
Between a demonstrative and a pronoun. The status of in in Old Swedish

Do the elements involved in the process, the changes of the form (increase of bondedness etc.) and the changes of the function (new grammatical meanings gained) need to go hand in hand?

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄVL  Äldre Västgötalagen
ÄVL KB  kirkiu bolkær
ÄVL aM  af mandrapí
ÄVL BB  bardaghe bolkær
ÄVL ÄB  árfþær bolkær
ÄVL GB  giptar bolkær
ÄVL IB  iorþær bolkær
YVL FB  fornæmis bolkær
ÄVL LR  lecara retar
ÄVL KuB  conongs bolkær
ÄVL þl  Horo þing lot skal skiptæ.

YVL  Yngre Västgötalagen
YVL My  huru mylnu skal gæræ

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