BETWEEN A DEMONSTRATIVE AND AN ARTICLE.

THE STATUS OF *-IN* IN OLD SWEDISH

DOMINIKA SKRZYPEK

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

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
	we	have	got	a	new	postman	in

vår-t område.
our-NEUT area

The original pronoun is lost in Modern Swedish (MS) and can only be found in lexicalized phrases like *hin håle*, 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	**iorþ-en-æ**
	then	take	each	they-GEN	which	earth-DEF-ACC
	haua	köpt				(YVL FB:36)
	have	bought				

'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 <u>a lamp</u> in the room. On **the** lamp there was..
    There was <u>a lamp</u> 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):
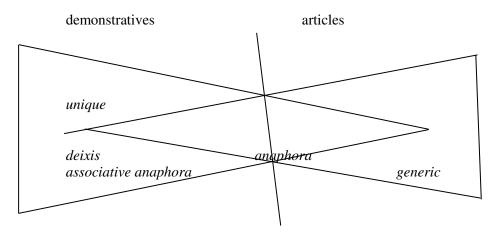
(4) The man drove past our house in <u>a car</u>. **The exhaust fumes** were terrible.
    (Himmelmann 2001:833)

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.

demonstratives   articles

unique

deixis   anaphora
associative anaphora   generic

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:

discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero
(Givón 1979:209)

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 of 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 cxan either be spelled as one or as two separate words, e.g.:

(9) **þingsmannæ**.   (..)   **þings mannæ**   (ÄVL aM:3)
'members of the ting'

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

Singular, masculine:

(10) þa   skal   **lekærin**   takæ   quighuna   vm
     then   shall   jester-DEF.NOM   take   cow-DEF   about
     roppo   (ÄVL LR)
     tail
'Then the jester shall take the cow by the tail'.

(11) þa   skal.   **præstins**   tiundæ   lætæ   aftær   standæ.
     Then   shall   priest-DEF-GEN   tithes   let   after   stand
     allæn   (ÄVL KB:20)
     all-ACC
'Shall then let the priest's tithes all remain'.

(12) þer   skulu   af   **pavanum**   bref   takæ
     (ÄVL 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
     aptær   (ÄVL BB:9)
     after
'If he is found guilty, he shall pay for the man'.

Singular, feminine:

(14) sex   mærkær skal   **ættin**   böta   (ÄVL aM:1)
     six   marks   shall   family   pay
'The family shall pay six marks'.

(15) þa   skal   böta   firi   marchum   fiurum.
     then   shall   pay   for   mark-PL.DAT   four-PL.DAT
     þem   **sakinæ**   sökir   (ÄVL aM:5)
     this.DAT charge-DEF-ACC   seeks
'Shall then pay for (this crime) with four marks to the one bringing charges'.

(16) takæ   **quighuna**   vm   roppo
     (ÄVL LR)
     take   cow-DEF-ACC   by   tail
'(he shall) take the cow by the tail'.

Singular, neuter:

(17) takær   af   þriþiung   af   **bono**   (ÄVL ÄB 5)
     take   of   thrid   of   estate-DEF-DAT
'takes a third part of the estate'.

(18) Biscuper   skal   viþ   sopn   mælæ.   æn   þær
     bishop-NOM   shall   by   parish   charge   if   they
     viþer   þen   **vihit**   uan   (ÄVL KB:12)
     by   him   killing-DEF   did
'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   þæn   ær   bol   a   gialda
    then   shall   he   who   estate   owns   pay
    arwumn.   iammarghar   skæppur   (ÄVL ÄB:24)
    heir-DAT-DEF   even   bushel-PL
'Then he who owns the estate shall pay the heirs with equally many bushels'

(20) oc   all   **vtlandin**   (ÄVL þl)
     and   all   outland
'And all the land without'.

(21) þer   tolf   sættu   sæx   stenæ   mællir   **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   beþiz
     is   child   to   church-GEN   brought   and   asks

     cristnu.   þa   scal   faþir   ok   moþer   fa
     christening   then   shall   father   and   mother   get

     guþfæþur   oc   guþmoþor   oc   salt   oc
     godfather   and   godmother   and   salt   and

     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**.	Siþen	scal	**font**	wigyæ.	
church-GEN	door	later	shall	font	consecrate	

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

haldæ.	**gudmoþer**	til	**namns**	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	boræn	a	<u>mark</u>	abyrd	
is	dug	on	ground	secretly planted corpse	

ma	se	bloð	ok	bænd	hinnugh
may	see	blood	and	slay marks	thither

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	<u>maþær</u>	sarr	liggær.	i	længi	gangær	i
get	man-NOM	wound	lies	in	length	goes	in

mælli.	ok	dör	i	þérri	giuær	arui	sak
between	and	dies	in	these	give	heir	charge

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

være.	þa	skal	han	væriæ	sik	mæþ	luctri
be	then	shall	he	defend	himself	with	closed

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

iamlangæ.	gangær	þær	iuir.	þa	böti
year	goes	it	over	then	pay-KONJ

ængtæ	falls	han	at	sak	bötæ
nothing	finds guilty	he	on	charge	pay

manin	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 þB:5), *bref, þem bref* (ÄVL GB:8), *fæ, þæt fæ* (ÄVL FB:10), *mark, þa mark* (ÄVL aM:14), *grip, þæn grip, þæn grip* (ÄVL þB:13).

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

(25)Varþær	suþærman	dræpin	allær	ænskær	maþær.	þa
is	southernman	killed	or	english	man	then

skal	böta	firi	marchum	fiurum.
shall	pay	for	mark-PL.DAT	four-PL.DAT

þem	**sakinæ**	sökir.	ok	tvar.	marchar
this-DAT	charge-DEF-ACC	presses	and	two	mark-PL

konongi.	(ÄVL aM:5)
king-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).

(26) Uærþær	maþer	dræpin	ok	af	daghum	takin.
is	man	killed	and	of	day-PL.DAT	taken

þa	skal	uighi	a	þingi	lysæ	oc
than	shall	killing	on	ting-DAT	proclaim	and

frafal	aruingiæ	sigiæ.	ok .	a.	adru.	Æn
loss	heir-PL.GEN	say	and	on	other	if

a	þridia	eftyr	mælæ	ællær	ær	mal
on	third	after	charge	or	is	case

hans	spilt.	þa	skal	væghændi	til	þings
his	lost	then	shall	slayman	to	ting-GEN

faræ	ok	vtæn	vider	þing	standi	mæn	til
ride	and	without	outside	ting	stand	man-PL	to

þings		gæræ.	griþær	at bezas.	Þings		mæn
ting-GEN		send	peace	to ask	ting-GEN		man-PL

skulu	hanum	loua	þings		gangu	han	skal
shall-PL	him	promise	ting-GEN		go	he	shall

uider	**þy**	**banorþi**	gangæ.	(ÄVL aM:1)
by	this-DAT	accusation-DAT	go	

'If a man is killed, the killing shall be made known to the heir and made public on first ting and on the second. But on the third shall accusation be made or he (the heir) loses his case. The killer shall come to the ting and stand outside and send men to ask for peace. The tingsmen shall promise him ting. He shall confess **this accusation**'.

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

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	bötær	takæ.	þa	skal	bötæ	niu	
want	they	fines	take	then	shall	pay	nine	
markær	arvæböt.	oc	tolf	markær	ættærbot.		Sæx	
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	bötæ.	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.	(..)	Sæx	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	fæðærni.		ok	
family-DEF		take	three	on	fatherside		and	
þrer	a	möþærni.			(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	læggiæ.	þer	skulu	vitni	bæræ	ar	i

third	on	lay	they	shall-PL	witness	bear	which	in

iorþ   liggiæ.   (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

     all-DAT 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   takæ.   (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.

(30) Varþær	barn	til	kirkiu	boret	(ÄVL KB:1)
is	child	to	church	brought-NEUT	

'If a child were brought to church'

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.

(31) Maþær	far	sær	aþalkono	gætær	uiþ	barn
man-NOM	gets	himself	wife	begets	by	child
dör	sv.	fær	aþra	gætær	viþ	barn.	far
dies	this (she)	gets	another	begets	by	child	gets
hina	þriðiu.	þör.	bonde.	þa	en	konæ	er
that	third	dies	man	then	if	wife	is
livændi.	þa	skal	af	takæ.	hemfylgh		sinæ
alive	than	shall	of	take	dowry		her
alt	þet	ær	vnöt	ær.	hun	ællær	hænær
all	that	which	unused	is	she	or	her
börn.	þa	skal	hin	ælsti	koldær	boskipti.	kræfiæ.
children	then	shall	that	oldest	marriage	division	demand
takær	af þriþiung	af	**bono.**			(ÄVL ÄB:5)
take	of third part	of	estate-DEF-DAT			

'A man takes a wife, begets children, she dies. Takes another, begets children. Takes a third, the man dies and the wife is still alive. She shall then take her dowry, all that is not used, both she and her children. Then shall the children from the first marriage demand a division of the estate and take a third part thereof'.

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 *-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 *-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, *-in* is no longer a demonstrative.

On functional grounds, however, *-in* as found in the Old Swedish text *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.

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 mandrapi
ÄVL BB	bardaghe bolkær
ÄVL ÄB	ärfþær bolkær
ÄVL GB	giptar bolkær
ÄVL IB	iorþær bolkær
YVL FB	fornæmis bolkær
ÄVL LR	lecara rætar
ÄVL KuB	conongs bolkær
ÄVL þl	Horo þing lot skal skiptæ.

YVL	Yngre Västgötalagen
YVL My	huru mylnu skal gæræ

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