Evolution of article systems. Indirect anaphora in North Germanic.

Dominika Skrzypek

Research financed by a research grant from Polish National Science Centre (NCN) ‘Diachrony of definiteness in Scandinavian languages’ no 2015/19/B/HS2/00143.
The aim of the paper is to offer a diachronic analysis of the indirect anaphora based on a corpus study of North Germanic texts. We argue that expression of indirect anaphora is an important stage in the development of the articles and that it has not been sufficiently studied in grammaticalization studies or other studies of article evolution.
The paper is part of a project ‘Diachrony of (in)definiteness in Scandinavian languages’, financed by the NCN. The aim of the project is to map the development of articles in North Germanic on the backdrop of other elements, such as pronouns (demonstrative, possessive and possessive reflexive) and BNs; to finegrain the model of grammaticalization of the articles, especially the definite.
The corpus

The corpus used in this study consists so far of 47 texts, Danish, Swedish and Icelandic (legal texts, religious and profane prose, high narrativity passages); so far 9062 NPs (nominal) have been tagged and analyzed.
# The corpus

<table>
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DiaDef tool

13. That war en riddare som het trollius ok war the quinnonna frande som diafvlen taladhe j som nu for sagdhis aff

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<th>in</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>city</th>
<th>next to</th>
<th>the</th>
<th>woman</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>the devil</th>
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</table>

15. Han ròwadhe fà ok glordhe ther storan skadha them som waro j stadhinonm
Referent accessibility

Direct anaphora: co-reference
- a lamp – the lamp

Indirect anaphora: bridging
- a lamp – the bulb

Unique reference (the Sun)

Generic reference (A dog has four legs.)
Indirect anaphora

Bridging

*it*-clefts, *indefinite article*, *possessives*

Indirect anaphora

*meronymy*

*thematic roles*

*inferential types*
Bridging reference

- a relationship between two objects or events introduced in a text or by a text;
- a relation that is not spelled out and yet constitutes an essential part of the content of the text, in the sense that without this information, the lack of connection between the objects or events would make the text incoherent.

(e.g. Asher & Lascarides 1998)
Bridging

(1) I met two interesting people last night at a party. The woman was a member of Clinton’s Cabinet.

(2) In the group there was one person missing. It was Mary who left.

(3) John partied all night yesterday. He’s going to get drunk again today.

(4) Jack was going to commit suicide. He got a rope.

(5) Tom was locked out of the flat. He had left his keys on the kitchen table.

(examples 1-4 after Asher & Lascarides 1998:83)
Indirect anaphora vs other types of bridging: defNP without an antecedent.
The focus of studies have been mainly definite NPs without an antecedent (so-called indirect anaphora, bridging cross-reference anaphora or associative anaphora).
Problematic diachronically.
Grammaticalization of the definite article

an unclear path
(distal) demonstrative
↓
direct anaphora / familiarity, strong definiteness (F. Schwarz)
↓
indirect anaphora (bridging reference)
↓
unique / uniqueness, weak definiteness (F. Schwarz)

(Carlier and de Mulder 2011, Skrzypek 2012)
Types of bridges

meronymic relations
thematic relations
reasons/causes/consequences and other relations between events (inferential types)

Clark 1977, similar tripartite typology in M. Schwarz 2000
Meronymic relations

Part-whole relations

I walked into the room.

The ceiling was very high. → necessary
The windows looked out to the bay. → probable
The chandeliers sparkled brightly. → inducible

(Clark 1977)

Typical for meronymic relations is that the antecedent is nominal. In many cases it is also natural to substitute a possNP for defNP.
Thematic relations

For Clark and M. Schwarz this group consists of semantic roles, such as agent, object, instrument.

to murder

the murderer → necessary
the knife → optional

(Clark 1977)

The antecedent need no longer be a nominal.
Wussten Sie [...] dass der Schrei in Hitchcocks „Psycho“ deshalb so echt wirkt, weil der Regisseur genau in dem Moment der Aufnahme eiskaltes Wasser durch die Leitung pumpen ließ?

Consten (2004: 102)
Definiteness in Danish and Swedish

Definite article, postposed
- **hus-et** ‘the house’
  - Danish, Swedish

Definite article, preposed
- **det store hus** ’the large house’ Danish
- **det stora huset** Swedish
Bridging can be defined more or less broadly, depending on types of relationships, types of antecedents and types of anaphors. For the present study we have chosen to adopt the following model of bridging relations:

- the anaphor can be any nominal NP: BN, defNP, indefNP, possNP or NP with a different determiner;
- the antecedent may be nominal or verbal, but the anaphor may also be resolved within the common ground thus lacking an explicit textual anchor.
The results – an overview

We classify all indirect anaphors in the following groups:

1. meronymic relations
2. thematic roles
3. inferential types
What was expected?

We expected to see falling frequencies of BNs and rising frequencies of –IN (the incipient definite article). General results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>BN</th>
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<td>1450-1550</td>
<td>16.93</td>
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What could have been missed?

Danish – indirect anaphora

<table>
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<th>POSS-pro</th>
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<td>4,76</td>
<td>18,18</td>
<td>12,99</td>
<td>24,68</td>
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</table>
What could have been missed?

Swedish – indirect anaphora

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<th>POSS-refl</th>
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<td>11,92</td>
<td>15,23</td>
<td>27,15</td>
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</table>
The rogues 1: meronyms

Meronyms: body parts (inalienables)

I. BNs (potential lexicalizations)

badh meth **mwndh oc hiærthe** (DA_Kat)
(she) prayed with mouth and heart.

Jamwndz **hoffuit** bløde bodhe giømmen **mwn ok øren** (DA_KM)
Jamund’s head bled both through mouth and ears.
II. PossNPs

at hon varþ hauande mæþ guz son ii sino liue (SW_Bur 1330)

that she became pregnant with God’s son in her womb
Old Swedish
Kwinnan gik bort ok faldadhe han j sinom hwiff som hon hafdhe a sino hofdhe (SW_Jart 1385)
woman-DEF went away and folded him in her scarf which she had on her head

Old Danish
Æn of swa worthær at man mistær allæ sinae tændær af sin høs (DA_VL )
And so be that man lose all his teeth of his head
Jan stoppade handen i fickan.

‘John put his hand in his pocket’. 
Middle Swedish

Then bore emperor-DEF up hand-DEF and hit her at cheekbone-DEF that she fell to earth-DEF

Middle Danish

Tha begynthe løffwen som hwn war wan gladeligh at løpe i clostereth (..) eller rørdhe stiærthen for the brødhe hwn haffde icke giorth (DA_Jer 1580)

the lion - wagged tail-DEF
Then the woman’s scarf seemed all bloody and wet with blood, so that the blood flew down about the woman’s cheeks. Which the master saw, screamed, and said Who hit you i your face or hurt? And the woman raised her (own) hand and stroke herself on the face and when she took the hand down it was all bloody.
3. Ok quinnnan lypte vp **sina hand** ok strök sik vm **änlitit** ok tha hon tok nidhir **handina** tha war hon al blodhogh.
(SW_Jart 1385)

1. **the woman** : the blood, the woman’ cheeks
2. your face
3. **her hand, the face, the hand**
In Swedish, period II (1350-1450) meronyms, in particular body parts and kinship terms (inalienables), oscillate between –IN (the incipient definite article) and reflexive possessives.
The rogues 2: inferential types

A man marries and begets a child and so dies his wife, he marries again, begets a child. Marries for the third time and dies himself. If the woman (= third wife) is alive, she should remove her dowry, all that is unpolt, she or her children. Then the oldest brood (= children from the first marriage) shall demand a division and take a third part of the estate.
Accessibility

1. **Meronymic relations** – late in adopting DEF
   1. body parts: reflexive possessives
   2. parts of buildings: BNs

2. **Thematic/lexical relations**

3. **Inferential types** – early in adopting DEF
Conclusions

The indirect anaphora is a complex context, which cannot be classified as either weak or strong, but rather consists of strong definiteness uses, involving relational nouns and semantic roles and weak definiteness uses, including the majority of bridging reference (F. Schwarz).

It would therefore seem intuitively correct that the development proceeds from strong definiteness bridging (relational nouns in semantic roles) to weak definiteness bridging (other types, including, meronyms).
Conclusions

The data from the corpus bears out this assumption only in part. It is true that some types of bridging, part-whole relations involving body parts (inalienables) in particular, are later in adopting the nascent definite article. Even though they are no longer used as BNs in old Swedish (1350-1450), they show as possNPs rather than defNPs. On the other hand, the types of bridges that are found as defNPs in the oldest material include weak definiteness types, whose resolution is based on uniqueness rather than familiarity. This is found in texts, in which direct anaphora is only occasionally marked as definite.


Consten, M. 2004. Anaphorisch oder deiktisch?: Zu einem integrativen Modell domänengebundener Referenz, Niemeyer

Schwarz, F.

