Indirect anaphora in a diachronic perspective. The case of North Germanic.

In this poster we would like to consider a system that is half-way between non-article and article language, namely Old and Middle Danish and Old and Middle Swedish (1200-1550). The incipient articles, definite and indefinite, begin to appear in almost all contexts of their modern use, but are not obligatory and can be easily exchanged for other forms, such as possessive pronouns. Of particular interest is the indirect anaphora (also termed *bridging reference*, *associative anaphora*), a context in which a new discourse referent is introduced, grounded in the preceding discourse. In Heine's terminology it is the bridging context of article grammaticalization (Heine 2002, see also de Mulder and Carlier 2011 and Skrzypek 2012), the turning-point in the evolution of article system, located between the direct anaphora (co-referentiality) and unique reference. However, none of the models so far has been able to account for the fact that indirect anaphora is in itself a heterogenous context and the grammaticalization of the definite article may progress through it also in a certain sequence. The aim of the poster is to place the indirect anaphors in a diachronic context of article grammaticalization.

Indirect anaphora has so far mainly been studied synchronically, beginning with Clark 1977. Here, we follow the typology of indirect anaphors in terms of their type of anchoring as proposed in Schwarz 2000 and address the question of the diachronic development from demonstrative pronoun through anaphoric marker into definite article and its relation to the typology of indirect anaphors proposed. We group indirect anaphors in three major types: meronyms (part-whole relations), thematic roles (e.g. patient, instrument etc.) and inferential types.

The corpus used in this study consists so far of 25 Danish and Swedish texts (legal, religious and profane prose, from which high-narrativity passages have been chosen); so far 5000 NPs (nominal) have been tagged and analyzed.

Preliminary results show expected processes – falling frequency of BNs in indirect anaphoric reference as well as rising frequency of –IN, the incipient definite article. However, they also show that possessives in bridging are on the rise. Detailed analysis of examples shows that while inferential types can occur as defNPs as early as 13th century, meronyms are either BNs or possessives, in particular inalienables.

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

This is in contrast to modern Scandinavian languages, where such inalienables are regularly expressed by the definite article. Examples of definite inalienables are found in Middle Swedish as well.

Middle Swedish
Tha bar keysarin vp **handena** oc slogh hona widh **kinbenit** at hon størte til iordhinna (SW_ST 1420)
Then bore emperor-DEF up hand-DEF and hit her at cheekbone-DEF that she fell to earth-DEF

With a yet more detailed analysis of indirect anaphors and a greater choice of examples, we hope to refine our understanding of the development of articles, a process set against the changes in other expressions of (in)definiteness.

References
Givón, Talmy. 1981. On the development of the numeral 'one' as an indefinite marker. *Folia Linguistica Historica* II: 35-53.

Greenberg, J. 1978. How does a language acquire gender markers? In: Greenberg, J. (ed.) *Universals of Human Language 3*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 47-82.

Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar*. Oxford: OUP.

Heine, Bernd. 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In: Wischer, Ilse and Gabriele Diewald (eds) 2000. New Reflections on Grammaticalization. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 83-101.

De Mulder, Walter and Anne Carlier. 2011. The grammaticalization of definite articles. In: Narrog, Heike and Bernd Heine (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: OUP, p. 522-534.

Schwarz, Monika. 2000. *Indirekte Anaphern in Texten*. De Gruyter.

Skrzypek, Dominika. 2012. *Grammaticalization of (in)definiteness in Swedish*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.