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## Evolution of article systems. Indirect anaphora in North Germanic.

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Dominika Skrzypek  
Adam Mickiewicz University  
dosk@amu.edu.pl

In the present paper 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 AD). 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. The aim of the paper is to place the indirect anaphors in a diachronic context of article grammaticalization. We follow a typology of indirect anaphors presented in Schwarz 2000: 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 as well as EN, the incipient indefinite article. Detailed analysis of examples brings at least one surprising result: in the material studied the type of bridging that is not expressed by –IN in Old Danish and Old Swedish are part-whole relations involving body parts and items of clothing (inalienables). They are instead expressed by either BNs or possessives.

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:** • Heine, B. (2002): On the role of context in grammaticalization. *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, 83-101. • De Mulder, W. and A. Carlier (2011): The grammaticalization of definite articles. *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, 522-534.