
Definiteness in diachrony: Romance vs Germanic

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Definiteness and determiners lie at the intersection of three, all too often independent, research traditions: semantic, syntactic and diachronic. For the first two, the issues turn on the nature of the conceptual primitives and the kinds of structures they map onto, whereas for the last the key question is the way links between form and meaning shift over time and what historical trajectories are discernible (König, in press). The challenge then is to find ways of integrating the results which emerge from these different lines of inquiry, and it is this challenge which I will take up in my talk. The theoretical perspective builds on the approach set out in Börjars *et al* (2016) in which neither cartographic structure (as for example in Giusti 2015) nor a universal spine (Wiltschko 2014, especially ch. 6) is assumed to pre-exist the development of articles.

Placing Romance and Germanic developments within a broader typological picture (Dryer 2014), I will focus on three case studies: (a) the different diachronic trajectories and hence synchronic distributions of Romance articles deriving from Latin *ipse* and *ille* (see data and references in Vincent 2017); (b) the contrasting patterns of development and eventual status of end articles in North Germanic and Romanian; (c) the evolution of the indefinite article in Romance and Germanic and the place of plural indefinites such as Spanish *unos/-as*.

References: • Börjars, K., P. Harries & N. Vincent (2016): Growing syntax: the development of a DP in North Germanic. *Language* 92, e1–37. • Dryer, M. (2014): Competing methods for uncovering linguistic diversity: the case of definite and indefinite articles. *Language* 90, e232–249. • Giusti, G. (2015) *Nominal Syntax at the Interfaces: A Comparative Study of Languages with Articles*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press. • König, E. (in press) Definite articles and their uses: diversity and patterns of variation. • Vincent, N. (2017): Determination and quantification. In: Andreas Dufter & Elisabeth Stark (eds) *Manual of Romance Morphosyntax and Syntax*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 725–770. • Wiltschko, M. (2014) *The Universal Structure of Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.