The Diachrony of Pronouns and Demonstratives

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This paper provides a description and account of some of the changes involving the DP, namely anaphoric marking in English (and Scandinavian). I argue that Old English personal pronouns are not deictic/referential but that demonstrative pronouns have this function. This situation reverses itself in early Middle English, due to both internal and external factors. The internal factors are the shift towards the use of demonstratives before noun, i.e. the introduction of an article; the external factors are language contact that introduces new personal pronouns. I also look at Old Norse where the use of pronouns and demonstratives is similar to that in Old English. This remains the case to a lesser degree in its modern descendants.

The structure of the DP is a very popular topic in Scandinavian linguistics. Having both a prenominal and postnominal `article' makes Scandinavian unique among its Germanic relatives. The rich variation across Scandinavian languages has fueled much synchronic research. Faarlund (e.g. 2004, 2008) has added substantially to the debate on the structure of the Scandinavian DP but especially to its development through history. Various people (Abraham & Leiss 2007, Lohndal 2007, van Gelderen 2007) have responded to this work with modifications.

In this paper, I will build on the changes described for the DP in Scandinavian and English and see what happens to the anaphoric `system' when the demonstrative is reanalyzed as an article and how that can be phrased in Minimalist terms. I use a Minimalist Feature Economy approach (van Gelderen 2008; 2011) to account for the changes in demonstratives but the paper can be read without assuming such an approach. It may look as if the increase in features of the personal pronouns would go against feature economy but I argue that the shift towards a special feminine pronoun and a plural one in the history of English were caused externally, through Scandinavian
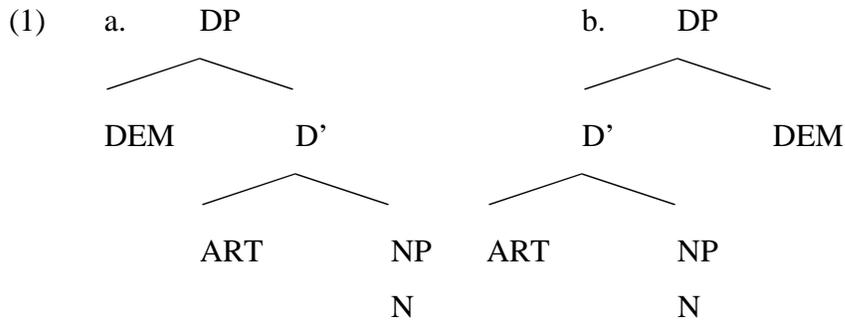
influence. The shift is therefore not one where one lexical item gains semantic features but one where a lexical item is replaced by another. The third person pronoun loses its reflexive character at the same time. These changes then enable the third person pronouns to shift topic and be more deictic.

The system in Old Norse is very similar to that of Old English in that the third person paradigm is `mixed' with the demonstratives. The pragmatic rules on when to use a pronoun or a demonstrative are similar as well. These rules are fluid as an example from Dutch, which frequently uses demonstratives in lieu of personal pronouns, shows. Modern Scandinavian is in between Old Norse and Dutch, with a less frequent use of demonstratives.
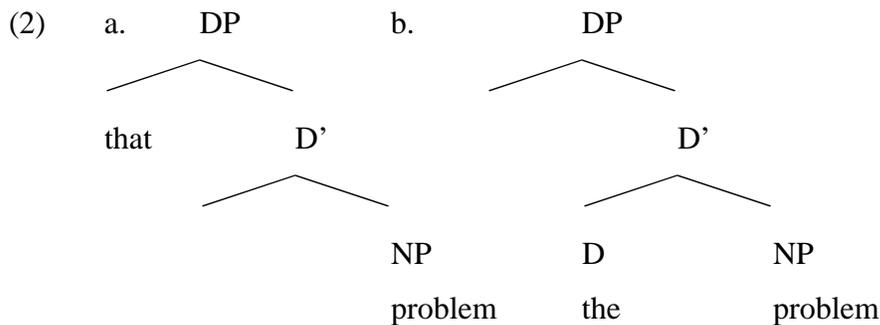
The outline is as follows. In section 1, I provide some background on the structure and function of the DP. In section 2, I briefly describe what changes occur in the English DP, based on van Gelderen (2011, in progress), and then go into the function of demonstratives and pronouns. Section 3 provides a preliminary look at the function of demonstratives and pronouns in other Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch, the Old Norse Poetic *Edda,* and Modern Norwegian. For practical purposes, I will restrict myself to demonstratives and pronouns that refer to animate antecedents (but note that *s/he* used to refer to inanimate nouns as well) and also to those pronouns used independently, i.e. without a noun following.

1.   Demonstratives and pronouns as DPs

Cross-linguistically, if both a demonstrative (DEM) and article (ART) appear, the order is [DEM ART N] or [ART N DEM], according to Rijkhof's (2002: 179-180) list of languages. Using a DP, as in (1), the [DEM ART N], attested in e.g. Abkhaz, Guariní, and Hungarian, would be the base order with the specifier in initial position and [ART N DEM], attested in e.g. Berbice Dutch Creole and Galela, would be a specifier-last structure. (It is of course also possible to use a right-branching structure only with (1a) as a base and left-ward movement of the article and the noun).

(1)   a.   DP   b.   DP

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(1)   a.        DP                          b.        DP
             /      \                              /      \
          DEM        D'                         D'         DEM
                   /    \                     /    \
                ART      NP               ART       NP
                          N                          N
```

Since the mid 1980s, this DP has served as the structure for the nominal (e.g. Abney 1987), with the demonstrative in the Specifier of the DP, as in (2a), and the article in the head of the DP, as in (2b).

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(2)   a.        DP                 b.          DP
             /      \                        /      \
          that       D'                              D'
                   /    \                          /    \
                        NP                     D         NP
                        problem              the         problem
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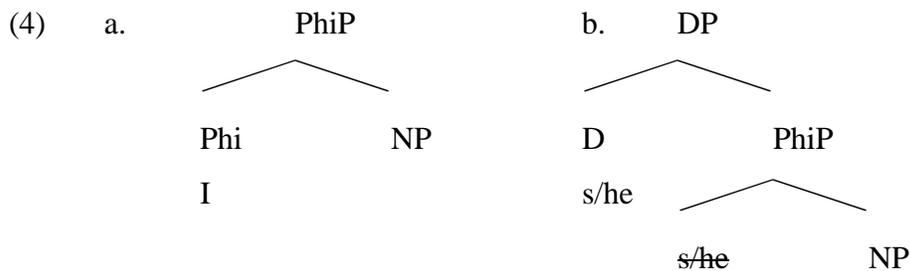
There are restrictions on the co-occurrence of definite markers. Thus, in English, either the specifier or head can be present but not both, as (3a) shows, and *that,* but not *the,* appears independently, as (3bc) shows.
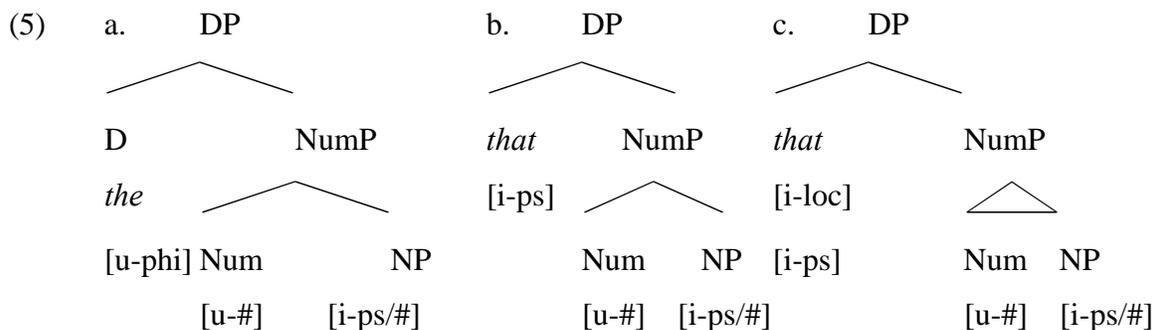
(3)   a.   *That the dog loves their the toys.

       b.   I saw that.

       c.   *I saw the.

Although the complementary distribution of the English demonstrative and article, shown in (1a), might lead one to think that they both occupy the same position in (2), the differences shown between e.g. (3b) and (3c) make that unlikely. The structure in (2) can be expanded with agreement and Case features, e.g. through a Num(ber), Phi, or a Kase Phrase, and I will do so below where necessary.

Pronouns are also DPs but their exact structure is debated (see e.g. Cardinaletti & Starke 1996, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, and van Gelderen 2011). I will argue that first and second person pronouns consist of pure phi-features (person and number) whereas third person pronouns have more (deictic) features. I also argue that third person pronouns vary cross-linguistically in their features. They can include gender and can be +/- referential (deictic), as in (4).

(4)   a.   PhiP   b.   DP

            Phi   NP   D   PhiP

            I   s/he

                                                           s/he   NP

In the analysis provided below, I depend on the features of demonstratives and pronouns and therefore quickly review what is assumed for Modern English. Assuming a minimalist analysis (e.g. Chomsky 2007), articles are clear probes located in D, as in (5a), with uninterpretable features probing the phi-features of the noun. Since *the* has [u-phi], it cannot occur on its own, as shown in (3c). The demonstrative can occur on its own, as in (3b), and I therefore assume it has interpretable person features ([i-ps]), as in (5b), or interpretable person and deictic features ([i-loc]), as shown in (5c). Number in (5bc) has to be checked, as I have indicated[1], but the exact probe on the demonstrative still has to be determined. That probe might be [u-#] in the NumP.

(5)   a.   DP   b.   DP   c.   DP

            D   NumP   *that*   NumP   *that*   NumP

            the   [i-ps]   [i-loc]

            [u-phi] Num   NP   Num   NP [i-ps]   Num   NP

                   [u-#]   [i-ps/#]   [u-#] [i-ps/#]   [u-#] [i-ps/#]

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[1] Diessel (1999: 25) provides percentages of inflection on demonstratives in 68 languages that have inflection and shows that number marking is the most frequent, followed by gender and Case.

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The phi-features of pronouns in (4) are interpretable for first and second but variable for third, as we'll see below.

The function of the pronouns, (articles,) and demonstratives depends on the features. I show that Old English personal pronouns are typically used anaphorically to topical antecedents; demonstrative pronouns can shift topic and are referential (deictic).

2.   Old English to Middle and to Modern English

In this section, I show that Old English uses demonstratives widely: (a) optionally before nouns, (b) independently to refer to nouns, and (c) as relative pronouns. Personal pronouns are used (a) to refer to previous nouns and (b) as reflexives. Traugott (1992) and Kiparsky (2002) discuss this in terms of different discourse function. In late Old English, the relationship between demonstrative and personal pronouns shifts.

2.1   Old English

Old English uses demonstratives to accompany nouns as in (6), as well as independently, as in (7). Note the use of *he* in (7) to refer to *se*. A third use is that of a relative pronoun, as in (8).

(6)   *hu*   **ða**   *æþelingas*   *ellen*   *fremedon*
       how   DEM.NOM.P nobles-NOM.P courage did
       'how those nobles performed heroic acts.' (*Beowulf* 3)

(7)   *X.*   *Huelc* **se** *beon sceal*   *ðe*   *to*   *reccenddome cuman sceal.*
               which he be   shall   who   to   power   come   shall
               `What kind of man he shall be who is to rule?'

       XI.   *Huelc* **se** *beon sceal*   *se*   *ðærto cuman ne sceal.*
               which he be   shall   who   thereto come not shall
               `What kind of man he shall be who is not to rule?'

XII.　*Hu **se** se　ðe　gedafenlice & endebyrdlice　to cymð,*

how he who　that　properly and　regularly　to comes

*hu　**he**　ðæron　drohtian scyle.*

how　he　thereon　conduct should

`How he who properly and regularly attains thereto should conduct himself therein.'

(Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, Hatton, 11. 18-21, Sweet edition)

(8)　*Æghwæþres　sceal　scearp scyldwiga　gescad witan　worda*

every　shall　sharp　shield-fighter　difference know words

*ond　worca **se**　**þe**　wel　þenceþ*

and　works he　that　well　thinks/judges

`Every sharp shield fighter, who judges well, must know the difference between words and works.' (*Beowulf* 287-9, Fulk et al's edition)

The (distal) demonstrative forms used are provided in Table 1 [2]; they are the same whether they are used pronominally or independently.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nom	se	seo	þæt	þa
Gen	þæs	þære	þæs	þara
Dat	þæm	þære	þæm	þæm
Acc	þone	þa	þæt	þa

Table 1: Demonstratives in Old English

The personal pronouns are used for reference to topical elements. For instance, the passage in (9) is about *Scyld Scefing*, the mythical ancestor of Danes, and *he* and *him* are used. A demonstrative *þæt* is also used for extra emphasis or because it is an identificational demonstrative (according to Diessel 1999).

(9)　*Oft　**Scyld　Scefing** sceaþena　þreatum　monegum mægþum*

often　Scyld　Scefing shadows　crowd　many　family

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[2] I will not discuss proximal demonstratives.

meodosetla	*ofteah*		*egsode eorlas*		*syððan ærest*	
mead-benches	away-took		scared brave-men		since	early
wearð feasceaft		*funden* **he**	*þæs*	*frofre*		*gebad*
became poor		found he	that	consolation		waited
weox	*under*	*wolcnum*	*weorðmyndum*		*þah*	*oðþæt*
grew	under	clouds	honor		grew	until
him	*æghwylc*	*þara*	*ymbsittendra*	*ofer*	*hronrade*	
him	every	that	sitting-around	across	sea	
hyran	*scolde | gomban*		*gyldan* **þæt**	*wæs*	*god*	*cyning*
obey	should | tribute		pay that	was	good	king

`Scyld Scefing often drove away troops from the mead-halls and terrified many. He had once been a foundling but he found consolation and grew in glory until everyone had to pay tribute to him. That was a good king'.   (*Beowulf* 4-11)

Old English personal pronouns differ from their modern counterparts in that they can function as reflexives, as in (10) and (11), indicating a lack of referential or deictic properties.

(10) | *No* | **ic** | **me** | *an* | *herewæsmun* | *hnagran* | *talige* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| not | I | me | in | prowess | smaller | consider |

guþgeweorca,	*þonne*	**Grendel**	**hine**
war-deeds	than	Grendel	himself

`By no means do **I** consider **myself** smaller in prowess and war-deeds than **Grendel** does **himself**.' (*Beowulf*, 677-8)

(11) | **him** | *bebeorgan* | *ne* | *con* |
|---|---|---|---|
| him | hide | not | can |

`He could not hide himself.' (*Beowulf* 1746)

The introduction of *self* occurs in late Old English and is an internal change that starts with third person and then spreads to first and second person. In Northern Middle English texts such as the *Ormulum* it is frequent in all persons.

Pro-drop, as in (11) and (12), also occurs in Old English, but for more on that see van Gelderen (in progress). (12) is taken from a passage where the narrator talks about monsters stalking in the sea.

(12)   *þæt   syðþan na   ymb   brotne ford   brimliðende   lade ne letton*
       that   since never on   broad water   seafarers   passage not let
       `that **they** after that never kept people from passing that water.' (*Beowulf* 567-9)

Pintzuk (1996) claims that pronouns are clitics and this would fit with reduced referentiality. The pronominal forms are found in Table 2, with the dual increasingly rare towards later Old English and the third person forms very phonologically variable.

		S	Dual	P
First	NOM	ic	wit	we
	GEN	min	uncer	ure
	DAT	me	unc	us
	ACC	mec	uncet	usic
Second	NOM	þu	git	ge
	GEN	þin	incer	eower
	DAT	þe	inc	eow
	ACC	þec	incit	eowic
Third	NOM	he/heo/hit	--	hi
(M/F/N)	GEN	his/hire/his	--	hira
	DAT	him/hire/him	--	him
	ACC	hine/heo/hit	--	hi

Table 2:   Old English personal pronouns

As just mentioned, demonstratives and pronouns could both be used anaphorically. Traugott (1992) accounts for the choice between a pronoun and a demonstrative in terms of information structure, as does Kiparsky (2002). Kiparsky argues that Old English personal pronouns are not used deictically, do not head restrictive relative clauses, and are not used as predicates. Pronouns, according to him and Traugott (1992: 171), express the discourse topic whereas demonstratives indicate a change of topic. They both quote (13) as evidence for the different roles of the demonstrative and personal pronouns. The

first two pronouns *hi* and *him* continue previous topics but the demonstrative *se* changes the topic to the angel.

(13) ***Hi*** *habbað* *mid* ***him*** *awyriedne* *engel*
        They   have   with   them   corrupt   angel
        mancynnes *feond and* ***se*** *hæfð andweald on...*
        mankind's enemy, and he [the angel] has   power   over...
        `They have with them a corrupt angel, the enemy of mankind, and he has power
        over ....' (Ælfric, *Homilies* ii.488.14, from Traugott 1992: 171)

This complementary function can also be seen in (7) above and, for the most part, in (14) and (15), where I have not given a word-by-word gloss but have bolded the antecedents, the demonstrative *se* pronouns, and personal *he/him* pronouns.

(14) *þæt fram ham gefrægn* **Higelaces þegn***, god mid Geatum, Grendles dæda*
        '**Hygelac's thane** heard about Grendel's deeds while in Geatland'
        se *wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest on þæm dæge þysses lifes*
        '**he** (=Hygelac's thane) was mankind's strongest man on earth'
        æþele ond eacen. Het ***him*** *yðlidan godne gegyrwan, cwæð,*
        'noble and powerful. (**He**) ordered **himself** a good boat prepared and said'
        he guðcyning *ofer swanrade secean wolde, mærne þeoden,*
        'that **he** wanted to seek **the king** over the sea'
        þa ***him*** *wæs manna þearf. ðone siðfæt* ***him*** *snotere ceorlas lythwon logon,*
        'since **he** (=the king) needed men. Wise men didn't stop **him** (=Hygelac's thane)'
        þeah ***he*** *him leof wære.*
        'though **he** was dear to them.' (*Beowulf* 194-98)

In (14), the first demonstrative *se* (line 2) can be used because the antecedent (*Hygelac's thane*) is no longer clear (*Grendel* is a possible antecedent) or for emphatic reasons. A subject is left out before *het* because the topic is the same and repeated through the personal pronoun *he*. The topic shifts to the *guðcyning* which is then referred to as *he*.

After this, the reference of *him* and *he* shifts back to *Hygelac's thane* without the use of a demonstrative.

In passage (15), from a later work, each antecedent is introduced before it is referred to by a personal pronoun, as expected.

(15)　*þis ærendgewrit Agustinus ofer sealtne sæ suðan brohte iegbuendum,*
'This message, Augustine brought over the salty sea from the south to the islanders'
　　　swa hit ær fore adihtode dryhtnes cempa, Rome papa.
'as the Lord's champion before had decreed it, Rome's pope'
　　　*Ryhtspell monig **Gregorius** gleawmod gindwod ðurh sefan snyttro,*
'The wise **Gregorius** was versed in many true doctrines through the wisdom of his mind'
　　　*searoðonca hord. Forðæm **he** monncynnes mæst gestriende*
'his hoard of cunning thought. Because **he** gained over most of mankind,'
　　　rodra wearde, Romwara betest, monna modwelegost, mærðum gefrægost.
'the guardian of heaven, Rome's best, wisest of men, most gloriously famous'
　　　*Siððan min on englisc **ælfred kyning** awende worda gehwelc,*
'Afterwards **King Alfred** translated every word of mine into English'
　　　*and me his writerum sende suð and norð, heht **him** swelcra ma brengan*
'and **he** sent me to his scribes south and north. **He** ordered more to be brought to **him**'
　　　*bi ðære bisene, ðæt **he** his **biscepum** sendan meahte, forðæm **hi** his sume ðorfton,*
'after that example that **he** might send these to the **bishops** because **they** needed it'
　　　ða ðe lædenspræce læste cuðon.
'who knew little Latin.' (Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, Hatton, 9. 8-16, Sweet edition)

The reasons behind the distribution of the pronoun and demonstrative are not well understood (a similar indeterminacy involves explaining exactly when pro-drop appears in e.g. Spanish). In Old English, demonstratives don't always change the topic and pronouns don't always continue the topic. Thus, (a) the demonstrative in (14) above and the second *se* in (16) are emphatic but don't change the topic, (b) the pronouns *he* in (14) and (16) shift the topic, and (c) the number of pronouns is much higher than that of demonstratives.

(16)   *Ða æt nehstan se cyning, se ðe Seaxna gereorde an cuðe,*

        `Then the king, who knew only Saxon'

        wæs aðroten his elreordre spræce: aspon þa in Westseaxe

        'was tired of his (=the bishop's) foreign speech (and) invited into Wessex'

        oðerne biscop, se ðe his gereorde cuðe:

        'another bishop who knew his (=the king's) language'

        se wæs Wine haten & se wæs in Gallia rice gehalgod

        'He (=the new bishop) was wine called and he was in Gaul consecrated'

        Ond he þa todælde in twa biscopscire Westseaxna mægðe,

        'And he (=the king) then divided Wessex into two bishoprics'

        ond þæm Wine gesealde biscopseðl in Wintaceastre.

        'and he gave the bishopric in Winchester to Wine.' (Bede, Miller edition, 186-70)

I will not attempt a refinement of the distribution of the two types of pronouns but will focus on the changes starting in late Old English and account for those.

2.2   Late Old and Early Middle English

In this section, I first outline the changes (in 2.2.1) that are happening to the pronominal system and then provide a case study of these changes in one text (in 2.2.2).

2.2.1   The Changes

In late Old English, the distal demonstrative pronoun *se* is reanalyzed as the definite article. The first clear articles based on the demonstrative appear in the middle of the 12[th] century [3]. The evidence for the reanalysis is first that *se* and its variants need to be followed by a nominal (Wood 2003: 69) whereas beforehand this form had been optionally followed by a noun and secondly most nouns are now preceded by a demonstrative or article whereas earlier they appear on their own. Good examples of articles come from the *Peterborough Chronicle* and the slightly later *Ormulum*, as in (17).

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[3] Although Christhophersen (1939: 86-7) claims it was much earlier.

(17)   *& gaddre-sst swa   **þe**   clene corn   All fra **þe** chaff togeddre*
           and gather-2S so   the   clean wheat   all from the chaff together
           `and so you gather the clear wheat from the chaff.'
           (*Ormulum* 1484-5, Holt edition)

Other shifts in the pronominal system occur. The Old English third person pronouns show an initial *h-* (see Table 2), but are very variable (*hi* can be singular and plural, etc.). In the late Old English period, a new third person feminine singular pronoun *she* and third person plural *they* appear. This change occurs in the middle of the 12th century, in fact in the same texts as the articles first appear.

      The origin of the feminine *she* is controversial. One theory is that it derives from the demonstrative *seo/sio* and another that it first appears in areas with Norse contact. According to the *OED*,

> the districts in which *she* or *sho* first appears in the place of *heo* are marked by the abundance of Scandinavian elements in the dialect and place-names; and in Old Norse the dem. pron. (of all genders) is often used as a personal pron. It is also noteworthy that in OS. and OHG. the fem. pers. pron. nom. sing. was *siu* (mod.G. *sie*, Du. *zij*), corresponding to OE. *sío* (the oblique cases, and the masc. and neut. in the sing., being f. the stems *hi-*, *i-*); and in OFris. *se* 'she' occurs beside *hiu*.

In the *Peterborough Chronicle*, females are referred to infrequently by *heo, seo*, and *scæ*. Between the years 1090 and 1140, for instance, I found one demonstrative *seo* used for `she', as in (18). After that, the form changes to *scæ*, as in (19), which the *OED* cites as the first instance of modern *she*.

(18)   *þæræfter toforan Candelmæssan on Windlesoran him to wife forgyfen **Aðelis** &*
           *syððan to cwene gehalgod. **seo** wæs þæs heretogan dohtor of Luuaine.*

`thereafter before Candlemas at Windsor was given him Adela as wife and after (she was) hallowed queen. She was the duke of Louvain's daughter.' (PC 1121, Thorpe edition)

(19)   *And te Lundenissce folc hire wolde tæcen & scæ fleh.*
         `And the people of London wanted to take her, and she flew.' (PC 1140)

(20)   *He brohte his wif to Engleland. & dide hire in þe castel on Canteberi. God wimman **scæ** wæs. oc **scæ** hedde litel blisse mid him. & Crist ne wolde ðæt he sculde lange rixan. ... & his sune Henri toc to þe rice. & te cuen of France todælde fra þe king. & **scæ** com to þe iunge eorl Henr&e;. & he toc hire to wiue.*
         `He brought his wife to England and put her in a castle in Canterbury. She was a good woman but she had little bliss with him. And Christ didn't want him to have a long rule … and his son Henry took the throne and the queen of France parted from the king and she came to the young count Henry and he took her to wife.' (PC 1140)

In the Ormulum, from 1200, females are referred to more frequently and always through *ʒho*, as in (21).

(21)   *ʒho wass … Elysabæþ ʒehatenn*
         `She was called Elisabeth.' (*Ormulum* 115)

The introduction of *they* is, according to the *OED* and most handbooks, due to Scandinavian influence. This fits the time period and texts in which it was first introduced.

(22)   *& swa þeʒʒ leddenn heore lif Till þatt teʒʒ wærenn alde*
         `and so they led their lives until they were old.' (*Ormulum* 125-6)

From the late Old English through the Middle English period, special reflexives are also introduced (see van Gelderen 2000) and the *Ormulum* uses them frequently (thought the

Peterborough Chronicle does this much less). I see this as extra evidence for the anaphoric strengthening of the personal pronoun.

Personal pronouns also start being used demonstratively, as the *OED* puts it, in (23).

(23)   *For **he and he** had samen ben, forwit selcuth wrath.*
        `Because they had together been debating.'
        (*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton 16161, Morris edition)

Thus, the demonstratives and pronouns are no longer helping dissolve pragmatic ambiguity. Up to the current period the excessive use of personal pronouns leads to ambiguous reference, although there is an alternative. (*The) latter* is first used in the 11[th] century to mean `later' in time, according to the *OED*, and (*the) former* is used in the 12[th] century to mean `earlier' in time. The early Middle English (24) and (25) seem to me to be the earliest examples and this is a text we have encountered earlier as using articles and *she* and *they*.

(24)   *Rihht swa summ he þe **forrme** mann Ær oferrcumenn haffde*
        just so as he the former man earlier overcome had (*Ormulum* 12494-5)
(25)   *þin **forrme** win iss swiþe god, þin **lattre** win iss bettre.*
        `Your earlier wine is very good, your later wine is better.' (*Ormulum* 15409)

So, the situation in Old English is one where pro-drop occurs, the personal pronoun is used to refer to a continuing topic, and also reflexively. It does not function as a relative pronoun and. The demonstrative, by contrast, is used as relative pronoun and (often) for topic-shifting. The changes that occur at the end of the Old English period are a reanalysis of the masculine singular demonstrative as article (through internal change), an introduction of new third person pronouns (through external change, i.e. contact), and the introduction of the reflexive (through internal change). Figure 1 summarizes these.

Internal	External

se --> the		seo --> she
that --> that		hi --> they
him/her --> him/herself		

Figure 1:   Changes in Late Old English

In other work (van Gelderen 2011), I have argued that grammaticalization, such as the reanalysis of a demonstrative as an article, involves a loss of interpretable features. Without going into that in too much detail, I would like to suggest that the Old English demonstrative *se* was reanalyzed without deictic interpretable features, as in (a) of Table 3, and also without gender and number. (The [u-T] features represent the case features but nothing hinges on that). The changes in (b) are external, triggered by the new plural and feminine third person forms.

	Old English		Middle English
a.	*se*	>	*the*
	[i-loc]/[i-phi]		[u-T]/[u-ps]
b.	*he/hi*	is replaced by	*he*
	heo/ha	is replaced by	*she* (possibly via *seo*)
	hi/hie	is replaced by	*they* [4]
	[i-phi]		[i-phi]/[i-loc]

Table 3:   Changes in terms of features

In 2.2.1, I have provided a scenario for changes involving demonstratives and pronouns. In the next subsection, I present a study of demonstratives and pronouns in a transitional text. This will also show that the *þe* in e.g. (17) is indeed an article.

2.2.2   The *Peterborough Chronicle*

The language of the *Peterborough Chronicle* is often seen as representing the change from Old to Middle English. The main change comes around the entry for the year 1122, when the scribe starts adding new information (where before he was copying from an

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[4] There are many other forms but I just give the most frequent ones.

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earlier manuscript); a second change starts with the year 1132 when the second scribe takes over. There are also some additions that the first scribe made throughout the text. I will examine an excerpt from the beginning of the Chronicle (the preface), i.e. without articles and with few demonstratives, an excerpt from the changing part (the year 1130), i.e. with articles and demonstratives, and then for a year in the Final Continuation (the year 1137) with clear articles and also new pronouns (see (19) and (20)).

In (26) and following, from the beginning of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, the pronouns are in bold and the translation is from the online medieval and classical library (http://omacl.org/Anglo/part1.html) so as not to be biased by my own translation on the use of articles etc. In (26), the first mention of *Scottas* has no demonstrative preceding it but the second does, and in (27), the *Pihtas* also get a demonstrative since they have been mentioned before, as does the *land* in (27). As for pronoun use in (26), there is a pro-drop to the topic of the passage and the first *hi* goes back to the topic. The next instances of *hi* show that they do not straightforwardly refer back to the topic: the second *hi* switches the topic, the subsequent *hi* doesn't, and the last *hi* refers to both groups of people.

(26)   *& þa coman ærost on norþ Ybernian up. & þær bædon **Scottas***
        'and, landing first in the northern part of Ireland, (**they** =Picts) told the Scots'
        *þæt **hi** þer moston wunian. Ac **hi** noldan heom lyfan.*
        'that **they** (=Picts) must dwell there. But **they** (=Scots) wouldn't give them leave'
        *forþan **hi** cwædon þæt **hi** ne mihton ealle ætgædere gewunian þær.*
`for the Scots told them that **they** (=Scots and Picts) could not all dwell there together;
        *& þa cwædon **þa Scottas**. we eow magon þeah hwaðere ræd gelæron.*
        'But, said the Scots, we can nevertheless give you advice.'
(27)   *We witan **oþer egland** her be easton. þer ge magon eardian gif ge willað.*
        `We know another island here to the east. There you may dwell, if you will'
        & gif hwa eow wiðstent. we eow fultumiað. þæt ge hit magon gegangan.
        'and whosoever withstandeth you, we will assist you, that you may gain it'
        *Ða ferdon **þa Pihtas**. & geferdon **þis land** norþanweard.*
        'Then went the Picts and entered this land northward'
        *& suþanweard hit hefdon **Brittas**. swa we ær cwedon.*

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'and Southward the Britons possessed it, as we before said.'

For the transitionary period (the First Continuation), I randomly selected the beginning of the entry of the year 1130. There is a real increase in demonstratives and these demonstratives are often phonologically lighter. Notice that all the nominals in (28) are preceded by a D-element; the names are not since they are themselves definite.

(28)　　***Ðis geares*** *wæs* ***se mynstre of Cantwarabyri*** *halgod* ***fram þone ærcebiscop***
　　　　`This year was the monastery of Canterbury consecrated by the Archbishop'
　　　　Willelm ***þes dæies*** *iiii Nonæ MAI. Ðær wæron* ***þas biscopes***.
　　　　'William, on the fourth day before the nones of May. There were the Bishops'
　　　　Iohan of Roueceastre. Gilbert Uniuersal of Lundene. Heanri of Winceastre.
　　　　Alexander of Lincolne. Roger of Særesbyri. Simon of Wigorceastre. Roger of
　　　　Couentre. Godefreith of Bathe. Eourard of Noruuic. Sigefrid of Cicaestre.
　　　　Bernard of Sancti Dauid. Audoenus of Euereus of Normandige Iohan of Sæis.
　　　　`John of Rochester,Gilbert Universal of London, Henry of Winchester, Alexander
　　　　of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Geoffry
　　　　of Bath, Evrard of Norwich, Sigefrith of Chichester, Bernard of St. David's, Owen
　　　　of Evreux in Normandy, John of Sieyes.'

In (29), all arguments are preceded by a demonstrative except *Sancti Andreas mynstre* `St. Andrews monastery' but this is because *Sancti Andreas* functions as D. Inside PPs, there is typically no D, an indication that the demonstrative is used for structural Case.

(29)　　***Ðes feorðe dæges*** *þæræfter wæs* ***se king Heanri*** *on Roueceastre.*
　　　　`On the fourth day after this was the King Henry in Rochester'
　　　　& ***se burch*** *forbernde ælmæst. &* ***se ærcebiscop Willelm*** *halgede*
'when the town was almost consumed by fire; and the Archbishop William consecrated'
　　　　Sancti Andreas mynstre *&* ***ða forsprecon biscop*** *mid him.*
　　　　'the monastery of St. Andrew, and the aforesaid bishops with him.'
　　　　& ***se kyng Heanri*** *ferde ouer sæ into Normandi on heruest.*

'And the King Henry went over sea into Normandy in harvest.'

In (30) and (31), all the arguments are preceded by demonstratives. The only exception seems to be the quoted proverb. The prepositional objects, such as *ouer sæ* and *on heruest* in (29), lack a demonstrative or article. In (30), there are two possible instances of pro-drop and two *he* pronouns and their use as expected. The same is true in (31).

(30)   ***Ðes ilces geares*** *com **se abbot Heanri of Angeli** æfter æsterne to Burch.*
       `This same year came the Abbot Henry of Angeli after Easter to Peterborough'
       *& seide þæt **he** hæfde forlæten **þone mynstre** mid ealle.*
       'and (he) said that he had relinquished that monastery withal.'
       *Æfter him com **se abbot of Clunni** Petrus gehaten to Englelande*
       'After him came the Abbot of Clugny, Peter by name, to England'
       *bi **þes kynges** leue & wæs underfangen ouer eall swa hwar swa*
       'by the king's leave; and was received by all, whithersoever'
       ***he** com mid mycel wurðscipe.*
       'he came, with much respect.'

(31)   *To Burch he com & þær behet **se abbot Heanri** him þæt he*
       `To Peterborough he came; and there the Abbot Henry promised him that he'
       *scolde beieton him **þone mynstre of Burch** þæt hit scolde beon*
       'would procure him the ministry of Peterborough, that it might be'
       *underðed into Clunni. Oc man seið to biworde. **hæge** sitteð*
       'subject to Clugny. But it is said in the proverb, The hedge abideth'
       *þa **aceres** dæleth. **God ælmihtig** adylege **iuele ræde**.*
       'that acres divideth. May God Almighty frustrate evil designs.'
       *& sone þæræfter ferde **se abbot of Clunni** ham to **his ærde**.*
       'Soon after this went the Abbot of Clugny home to his country.'

The real change comes in the final part: demonstratives are used pragmatically in the early parts but grammatically, marking subjects and objects, in the later parts. Some examples from this entry are given in (32) and (33), which are from the start of the entry

for the year 1137. Note that names such as *þe king Stephne* and *Henri king* show that the article is in complementary distribution with the preposed name, i.e. the article and name are both in D. The articles occur in subject and object position; the pronouns are used as in Modern English.

(32)   *ðis gære for **þe king Stephne** ofer sæ to Normandi & ther wes underfangen*
'This year, (**the) King Stephen** crossed the sea to go to Normandy and was received
*forþi ðæt **hi** uuenden ðæt **he** sculde ben alsuic alse **the eom** wes.*
'there because they thought **he** was like **the uncle** (i.e. his uncle)'
*& for **he** hadde get his tresor. ac **he** todeld it & scatered sotlice.*
'And because **he** still had his treasury, but **he** divided and scattered it stupidly'
Micel hadde Henri king gadered gold & syluer. & na god ne dide me for his saule thar of.
'King Henry has gathered much gold and silver and no good did men with it for his soul.'

(33)   *Ða **þe king Stephne** to Englalande com þa macod **he** his gadering æt Oxeneford.*
'When King Stephen came to England, **he** held a gathering at Oxford'
*& þar **he** nam **þe biscop Roger of Sereberi** & Alexander biscop of Lincol*
'and there **he** took bishop Roger of Salisbury and Alexander bishop of Lincoln'
*& **te Canceler Roger** hise neues. & dide ælle in prisun. til **hi** iafen up here castles.*
'and the chancellor Roger, his nephews. And put all in prison until **they** gave up their castles.'

The three stages analyzed in 2.2.2 show an initial increase in demonstratives and then the reanalysis of demonstratives as articles. The difference between the use of demonstratives in (26) and (27) on the one hand and in (32) and (33) is very noticeable. Personal pronouns are sometimes used as topic shifters and, from (19) and (20), we know that a special feminine pronoun *she* was being introduced in the last part.

2.3   Middle and Modern English

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We have seen that the masculine demonstrative *se* is reanalyzed as the definite article, e.g. in (17). The neuter *that* becomes the distal demonstrative (initially in complementary distribution with the article[5]), as in (34) and (35).

(34)   7 o **þatt** allterr haffdenn þeȝȝ Glowennde gledess ȝarkedd.
       `and on that altar had they prepared glowing coals.' (*Ormulum* 1066-9)

(35)   *þe Laferrd haffde litell rum Inn all **þatt** miccle riche.*
       `The lord had little room in all that great kingdom.' (*Ormulum* 8489-90)

The independent use of the demonstrative, as in (36), from the early 14th century continues.

(36)   *Pryue synne and sacrylage,* ***That*** *loue y moste.*
       `Secret sin and sacrilege. That, I love the most'.
       (*Handlyng Synne* 12560, from the *OED*)

Middle and Modern English use personal pronouns, even when the topic is not clear, as in (37), or *the former/latter*, but not a demonstrative as in (38) if it refers back to a noun.

(37)   Obama met Putin at the Kremlin. **He** wanted to discuss Afghanistan.

(38)   Obama met Putin at the Kremlin. ***That (one)** wanted to discuss Afghanistan.

As mentioned, since the early Middle English period, *the former* and *the latter* have been used in formal writing/speech to disambiguate the antecedent, as in (39).

(39)   Wisedome and Fortune combatting together, If that **the former** dare but what it
       can, No chance may shake it. (Shakespeare, *Antony & Cleopatra* III. xiii. 80, from
       the *OED*)

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[5] In *Ormulum* and the *Peterborough Chronicle*, the article is used when assigned structural Case and the demonstrative in oblique position, e.g. it appears after a preposition.

Modern English has a limited use of independent demonstratives.

In conclusion to section 2, I have shown that changes occur in demonstratives, the main one being the increase in use of the demonstratives and their reanalysis as articles. As a result of this and external changes in the pronoun system, pronoun ended up doing some of the duties that demonstratives used to do.

3.   Pronominal variation: Dutch and Scandinavian

In this section, I provide a few comparisons between English, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages. The latter is partly motivated by a possible influence of Old Norse on Old English, e.g. in the *Ormulum* and the *Peterborough Chronicle*. This is obviously a preliminary look. Contact may have accelerated the grammaticalization of the demonstratives but the actual realignment of the functions of the demonstratives and personal pronouns is unique to English.

There has been sporadic work on the difference between pronouns and demonstratives in the other Germanic languages (Kirsner 1979, Comrie 2000, and van Gelderen 1998). For instance, Comrie (2000) argues that, in Dutch, demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to non-topical antecedents, very similar to the situation in Old English discussed above, whereas personal (and possessive) pronouns refer to topical ones. Dutch reference grammars (e.g. Geerts et al 1984: 215; 219) make similar observations about the demonstrative introducing new information and being used for emphasis. To show some of the complexities of this system, take a look at (40), which has *Brandaan* as the topic referred to with the first *hij* `he'. The two demonstratives *deze* `this one' shift the topic to the giant, but the second *deze* could be replaced by *hij*. The instances of *hij* cannot be replaced by *deze.*

(40)   Op de dag van de afvaart, vond **hij** het hoofd van een dode man op het strand. Het was een zeer groot hoofd en Brandaan vroeg aan het hoofd wat **hem** was overkomen. **Deze** antwoordde dat **hij** vroeger ver de zee in liep (**hij** was wel honderd voet lang) om schepen te beroven, maar op een dag kwam er een

vloedgolf, waardoor **hij** gedood werd. Brandaan vroeg nu, of **hij** God moest bidden om de reus weer te laten leven, als **deze** Christen wilde worden. De reus sloeg dit aanbod af, zeggende dat **hij** dan weer moest sterven en dat **hij** nu minder gestraft werd door de duivel, omdat **hij** voordien nooit van Christus gehoord had en dus ook niet kon weten hoe **hij** had moeten handelen.

`On the day of the trip, **he** found the head of a dead man on the beach. It was a very large head and Brandaan asked the head what had happened to **him**. **This/he** answered that **he** used to go out very far into the sea (**he** was 100 feet tall) to rob ships but that one day a wave had come where **he** had been killed. Brandaan asked if **he** (=Brandaan) should pray to God to let the giant live again if **this/he** (=the giant) would become a Christian. The giant turned the offer down saying that **he** would have to die again and that **he** would be punished less now by the devil because **he** (=the giant) had never before heard of Christ yet and was ignorant to know how **he** should have behaved.'(from home.planet.nl/~werff632/boeken/brandaan.htm)

In Old Norse, there are a number of anaphoric strategies, e.g. both the demonstrative *sa* and pronoun *hann* are used in (41) from the Poetic *Edda*. This seems to follow the pattern in Old English and Dutch.

(41)   *Ominnis   hegri heitir **sa**   er   yfir   alþromþrvmir,*
       forgetting   heron called he   who   over   beer   quiet-lies;
       ***hann** stelr geði gvma*
       he steals mind man
       `Forgetting is the name men give to the heron/bird; he steals the minds of man over beer.' (*Havamal* 13; http://etext.old.no/Bugge/havamal.html)

Faarlund (2004: 35-6) provides a list of the demonstrative and personal pronouns in Old Norse, as in Tables 4 and 5.

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masc	Fem	Neu
Nom	sa	su	þat	þeir	þær	þau
Gen	þess	þeirar	þess	þeira	þeira	þeira
Dat	þeim	þeiri	þvi	þeim	þeim	þeim
Acc	þann	þa	þat	þa	þær	þau

Table 4: Demonstratives in Old Norse

		Singular	Dual	Plural	reflexive
First	NOM	ek	vit	ver	
	GEN	min	okkar	var	
	DAT	mer	okkr	oss	
	ACC	mik	okkr	oss	
Second	NOM	þu	it	er	
	GEN	þin	ykkar	yðar	
	DAT	þer	ykkr	yðr	
	ACC	þik	ykkr	yðr	
Third	NOM	hann/hon	--	--	--
(M/F)	GEN	hans/hennar	--	--	sin
	DAT	honum/henni	--	--	ser
	ACC	hann/hana	--	--	sik

Table 5:   ON personal pronouns

There are differences and similarities between Old English and Old Norse in the morphology and in the organization of the paradigm. A notable difference is that third person pronouns are not used reflexively but that a special reflexive form is used (*sik* in the accusative). Like Old English, however, the paucity of forms is obvious in the third person paradigm: there are no neuter and plural third person pronouns because the demonstrative is used, as shown in (42) for *þeir* `they' (I have also bolded the other pronouns).

(42)   *Osnotr maþr hyggr **ser** alla vera viðhloiendr vini hitki **hann** fiþr,*
        fool man thinks his all be laugh friend that-one he finds

        *þot **þeir** vm **hann** fár lesi, ef **hann** meþ snotrom sitr.*
        although they around him evil contrive when he with smart sits

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`The fool thinks that those who laugh at him are all his friends although when he sits with wiser men he hears they speak ill of him.' (*Havamal* 24; http://etext.old.no/Bugge/havamal.html)

The situation in the Modern Scandinavian languages is quite different. Wessén (1968) writes that third person pronouns and demonstratives are close in meaning ("kommer till betydelsen varandra nära" 1968: 51) and that mostly both can be used but that demonstratives give more clarity ("ger store tydlighet" 1968: 64) whereas the pronoun continues the subject of a preceding clause, as in e.g. (43), from Norwegian.

(43)   .. tænkte Helge og smilte -- for der **han** stod med frakkekraven brettet op for kulden, hadde **han** følt en underlig historisk stemning stryke gjennem **sig**. Men saa tok **han** til at nynne med ... og fortsatte nedover gaten i den retning, som **han** visste, Corsoen skulde ligge..
`thought Helge and smiled – because there he stood with his coat-collar turned up against the cold, a special historical atmosphere had come to him. But then he started to hum along … and continued in the direction where he knew the Corso was.' (Sigrid Undset *Jenny*, p. 1)

Faarlund et al (1997: 210-212; 317) explain that the demonstratives *denne* and *den* are common in bokmål and nynorsk, two major varieties of modern Norwegian, and refer to persons or things. In most pedagogical and descriptive grammars of Swedish and Norwegian, the list of pronouns is given as in Table 6 for Swedish; the *den, det, de*, and *dem* forms also function as demonstratives next to more emphatic ones such as *den här* `this here'.

	subject	object
3MS	han	honom
3FS	hon	henne
3S (common)	den	det
3S (neuter)	det	det

3P	de	dem

Table 6: Third person pronouns in Swedish

Searching some Swedish and Norwegian sites, the *den* is not used to refer to persons, however. *Den*, in e.g. (44), always refers to a book or a video. Reading modern Scandinavian as a Dutch native speaker, the personal pronoun definitely predominates, as (43) shows.

(44)   *Den har jag inte ...*   Swedish
         `That have I not ..

Different varieties have slightly different systems. For instance, nynorsk uses *han* `he' and *ho* `she' also to refer to non-human antecedents.

4.   Conclusion

In Old English, we have a system of pronominal reference that differs significantly from that of Modern English. Both personal pronouns and demonstratives can be used anaphorically but with different functions in terms of information structure. One of the demonstratives, the masculine singular *se*, is reanalyzed as article; another, the neuter singular *that*, is reanalyzed as the regular demonstrative. Replacing the independent demonstrative are the externally renewed personal pronouns. Once *the* appears, it cannot be used independently and certainly not as topic shifter.

Pronouns vary enormously between languages. The features can be interpretable or uninterpretable,the pronoun can occupy a specifier or head position, and have person as well as deixis features. Old Norse and Modern Dutch are similar to Old English but in Modern Scandinavian the demonstrative is used less to independently refer to persons.

Abbreviations

F	feminine
i-	interpretable
M	masculine
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (online version used)
P	plural
PC	*Peterborough Chronicle*
ps	person
S	singular
u-	uninterpretable
#	number

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