Accented and Deaccented Definite Determiners in Notker's Translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

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Abstract   In Notker's translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* definite determiners receive a graphic accent in anaphoric and endophoric contexts, while determiners are not accented when the noun they precede denotes an abstract or unical entity. The study is based on Books I, II and III of Notker's translation of Boethius' text, and on a sub-categorization of Nominal Expressions which builds on the distinction between *Semantic* and *Pragmatic Definites*. I conclude that the evidence in Notker's text supports the hypothesis of the presence of two articles in Old High German; I propose the feature of *contextual identifiability* that regulates the choice between the two forms of the article.

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Keywords   Nokter. De Consolatione Philophiae. Definite determiners. Accented articles.

1   Introduction

With this paper, I aim to study the presence of the accent on some determiners in Notker's translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*; in this text, the article receives an accent in contexts of anaphoric and endophoric reference while in Semantic Definiteness contexts the article is not accented. After excluding the instances of possible demonstratives, I investigate the instances of accented articles, taking into consideration the context surrounding the Nominal Expressions (hence NEs) under investigation. I conclude that the evidence in Notker's translation supports the hypothesis of the presence of two determiners in Old High German (hence OHG) and I propose the feature of 'contextual identifiability' that regulates the choice between the two forms of the article. In section 2, I introduce the corpus, while in section 3 I discuss the features that distinguish an article from a demonstrative and I propose a sub-categorization

of Definite Descriptions that builds on Löbner's (1985) distinction between Semantic and Pragmatic Definites; in section 4 I will present an empiric study on the grammaticalization of the definite determiners in OHG, while sections 5 to 7 are devoted to the study of the evidence in Notker's text, section 8 presents the analysis.

2 The Corpus

My study is based on Tax's edition of Notker's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (1986) and concentrates on Books I-II and a small part of Book III; the first two books are argued to follow more faithfully Notker's orthographic instructions (see Tax 1986, XXXVIII and LIII). More specifically, I have analyzed the whole of Book I, Book II up to page 70 (in Tax's edition) and book III from page 109 to 111 (in Tax's edition).

Notker's translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* has been defined as quite consistent as far as the accent system is concerned – even though Tax notes, for instance, that there are certain irregularities that are to be ascribed to scribal errors.

Notker's translation of Boethius' work is clearly pedagogic in its intentions;[1] in some cases, Notker expands the text with explanatory observations. In Book II the translation of the Latin text is suspended for two longer portions of text, which contain detailed commentaries of juridic and rhetoric nature; the sections are the following:[2] from page 54, line 21 to page 62, line 5 and from page 64, line 21 to page 65, line 12.

Since this text shows a high degree of independence from the Latin text and contains different portions inserted by Notker himself, I take it as a genuine representative of the variety of the OHG language it reports.

Another element that distinguishes Notker's work is the accuracy with which he had defined his accent system; the following quote from his letter to the Bishop of Sitten, dated around the year 1015, is illuminating: *Oportet autem scire quia uerba theutonica sine ac/centv scribenda non sunt. pręter articulos.* **ipsi soli sine accentu pronuntiantur/ acuto et circumflexo** (*Codex Bruxellensis* in Tax 1986, XXXVIII; emphasis added).

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[1] Cf. following quote from Tax (1986, XXXI): "Ein Hauptgrund war gewiß die muttersprachliche A(b)neigung des Lateins im Dienste höherer pädagogisch-monastischer und letztlich religiös-theologischer Ziele. Wie auch sonst zerlegt Notker dabei zuerst den Grundtext in kleinere Einheiten, die dann jeweils mit Hilfe von Glossen – und Kommentarmaterial übersetzt und weiter erklärt werden, nicht selten in einer kombinatorischen Ineinsverarbeitung beider Schichten".

[2] The page and the line numbers indicated here and in the following all refer to Tax's diplomatic edition (1986) of Notker's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.

This quotation witnesses Notker's awareness of the language, and, at the same time, it can be taken as an indication of the full grammaticalization of the definite determiner.[3] Empiric studies, such as those of Demske (2001) and Oubouzar (1992), agree that at Notker's time, the OHG definite article was fully grammaticalized. According to Oubouzar, in fact, it has lost its deictic[4] component and does not add any meaning to the interpretation of the noun. Its non-accentuation may point at its status of head of the functional projection DP.

However, both Tax (1986) and Oubouzar (1992) note that in certain contexts, Notker's articles receive a graphic accent, which Tax argues to indicate both vowel-length and main stress.[5] Tax notes, however, that Notker's differentiation between acute and circumflex accent may have not been transparent for the scribe(s), who were more concerned in indicating main stress rather than vowel-length. The contexts in which the article is accented are the following:[6]

a. textual reference contexts;
b. cataphoric reference with a restrictive relative clause;
c. in complex NEs with post-poned genitive;
d. before the morpheme *-sélb*;
e. before cardinal numbers.

These contexts are defined as 'deictic' by Oubouzar, while Tax speaks of clear 'Demonstrativwirkung'. Tax does not comment further on the cases of accented articles and only label them as having a 'demonstrative effect'; however, this notion is not defined and the cases of accented articles remain unexplained. This label, however, underlines a possible ambiguity of the determiner and therefore I will delineate a criterion that helps in disambiguating between an article and a demonstrative in a language like OHG, where article and demonstrative are homophone and evidence comes *per force* from written texts. A discussion about the nature of the demonstrative and the article is nevertheless necessary when studying a Germanic language, since articles are thought of having arisen from the Germanic demonstratives **sa* (masculine), **sō* (feminine) and **þat* (neuter) (cf. Buzzoni & Saibene 2006).

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3 Needless to be said, Notker's consideration alone is not enough and it has to be supported by the empiric data.

4 Oubouzar does not define her label 'deictic', which is used to describe the use of the article. This label is used both for the contexts of anaphoric and endophoric reference and when the article is used in a complex genitive phrase. I prefer to use the label 'deictic' where there is a direct reference to elements pertaining to the text-external world (cf. Lambrecht 1994). It is easy to imagine that I will hardly use the label in this sense for the present work.

5 For a more detailed description of Notker's accent system, see Tax 1986, XXXVII-XLIV.

6 Contexts a. and b. will be restated in terms of 'anaphoric' and 'endophoric' reference, following Löbner 1985.

3   What is a Demonstrative and What is an Article?

A notion that is associated with the full grammaticalization of the definite determiner is that of 'obligatoriness', 'expletiveness' or 'default marking', cf. Greenberg (1978) and Zubizarreta (1992) in Crisma (2011) and Philippi (1997). What emerges from these labels, then, is that the function of the definite article is only to signal that the noun it precedes is definite and that its reference is univocally retrievable from the Speech Participants in the Universe of Discourse. Since the definite article occupies the head of a functional projection, it is desirable that it does not add to the interpretation of the noun.

Demonstratives, on the other hand, are argued to display the feature [+ location] (cf. Wiltschko 2009); the distal demonstratives 'this' and 'that', in Present Day English for instance, identify objects in different regions. Another function of the demonstrative is to help distinguishing between two similar or identical objects (cf. Löbner 1985); the demonstrative, contrarily to the definite determiner, adds to the interpretation of the noun, since it helps in identifying the referent denoted by the demonstrative and the noun.

I propose a sub-categorization of discourse referents, which can help track the development of the OHG determiners.[7] I argue that two determiners can be observed already at the OHG stage, the non-reduced one is used with the Pragmatic Definites, and the reduced one is used with the Semantic Definites.

(1)   **The sub-categorization of Definite Descriptions:**
       Demonstratives   Pragmatic Definites   Semantic Definites
       deictic use > textual anaphoric use> anaphoric use > endophoric use
       > complex functional concepts > unical entities > abstract entities >
       Proper Nouns

	full form of the article	**reduced form of the article**

This sub-categorization builds on Löbner (1985); I think that the differentiation between Pragmatic and Semantic Definites can capture the distinction between the full and reduced forms of the definite determiner in PDG, but also in OHG.

In order to understand Löbner's (1985) definition of the definite determiner and the distinction between Semantic and Pragmatic Definites, I will illustrate three concepts that are at the basis of Löbner's study of

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7   The class of Proper Nouns is not preceded by an article in Standard PDG; in some varieties of PDG, however, articles can precede Proper Nouns (cf. Löbner 1985), this is why this class has been included in the sub-categorization.

Definite Descriptions:
- – Functional concepts are inherently unambiguous; simple functional concepts denote unical and abstract entities, such as 'sun', 'sky', 'love', 'freedom', or unique parts of entities, such as 'head', 'roof'; to this class also belong nouns that denote events that occur only once, such as 'death' or 'beginning', and superlatives.
- – Relational concepts denote objects as standing in a certain relation with respect to one another, such as kinship terms like 'sister', 'daughter' or social relationships like 'neighbour' or non-unique parts of an entity, such as 'hand' or 'eye'.
- – Sortal concepts classify entities with respect to certain characteristics they possess in a given situation, such as 'woman'.

Löbner argues that the function of the definite article is to signal that the head noun has to be interpreted as a functional concept, while the other determiners require the noun to be interpreted as a sortal or as a relational concept, i.e. they select among several objects of the same kind. The demonstrative, for instance, selects between objects of the same kind, but in different regions.

A functional concept can be established either independently or situationally; this observation leads to the two classes of definite expressions he distinguishes, namely the Semantic and the Pragmatic Definites. The non-ambiguous reference of a Semantic Definite is established independently of the situation or context, while the non-ambiguous reference of a Pragmatic Definite is established situationally.

Semantic definites are made up of functional concepts; according to Löbner, to the functional concepts also belong the combinations of a noun and a genitive phrase or adjective, such as 'the meaning of the definite article' or 'the President of the U.S.'. However, some of these complex functional concepts are not completely independent of the surrounding context for their interpretation.[8] In the sub-categorization in (1), I placed them between the endophoric reference contexts and the simple functional concepts, since they are not wholly dependent on the context for their disambiguation, as the Pragmatic Definites, but they are not totally independent from the context as the Semantic Definites.

Pragmatic Definites receive a non-ambiguous interpretation thanks to their anaphoric and endophoric use. Löbner argues that within the Universe of Discourse, the referents constitute knots which are tied to one another thanks to the relations which are built in the course of the information exchange. In the case of endophoric reference, the reference of a sortal or relational noun is made non-ambiguous by its being linked to a

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8 I thank the anonymous reviewer of this paper for pointing this to me.

relative clause, or to a prepositional or adverbial phrase.[9] While in the case of anaphoric reference, the non-ambiguous interpretation of a sortal or relational noun is obtained by its being related to the discourse. It is thanks to the relations built in this sense that sortal or relational concepts acquire non-ambiguous reference and are identified as functional concepts.

Löbner concludes that "in all its uses, the definite article has the meaning of indicating that the noun is to be taken as a functional concept" (1985, 314).

In accordance with Lambrecht (1994) and Breban (2012), I do not take definiteness to be a defining feature of the definite article, rather, I take the function of the article as that of signalling that the NEs it precedes are to be interpreted as identifiable functional concepts, both when the non-ambiguous reference is obtained contextually – as in the cases of Pragmatic Definiteness – as well as when the non-ambiguous reference is obtained independently of the immediate context – as in the cases of Semantic Definiteness.

Finally, Löbner answers a possible objection about demonstratives; one could object, for instance, that an NP with a demonstrative determiner can be taken as a functional concept (the string 'this book' unambiguously refers to a certain book). However, the role of the demonstrative is not to indicate that the noun is to be understood as a functional concept, but it directs the addressee to pick out one object out of a range of alternative objects. It is the co-occurrence of the demonstrative *and* the noun that makes up a functional concept, while the definite determiner does not add to the interpretation of the noun as a functional concept.

In the sub-categorization I propose in (1), I labelled the cases of deictic and textual anaphoric reference as instances where the determiners *ter, tiu* and *taz* are better analyzed as demonstratives, while in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness and Semantic Definiteness a definite article is found, since in both the cases of Semantic and Pragmatic Definiteness the entity denoted has non-ambiguous reference.

Coniglio and Schlachter (2014) report that in anaphoric contexts, the demonstratives *dieser* and (stressed) *DER* as well as the definite article can be found in PDG, while in these contexts in PDE only the demonstrative is found;[10] for this reason, I have excluded from my sample all the instances of determiners *ter*, *tiu* and *taz*, when these are found in a textual anaphoric context, in order to avoid possible ambiguities with a demonstrative interpretation.

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9   Below I will argue that also sortal nouns specified by a genitive phrase belong to the endophoric reference contexts.

10   They note that, unlike PDE, where the demonstratives 'this' encodes proximal referents and the demonstrative 'that' encodes non-proximal referents, and are used with different activation statuses of the discourse referents, the demonstratives *dieser*, *jener* and *DER* in

These cases are different from the anaphoric reference in the sense of Löbner; the textual anaphoric reference I am referring to in this section is a typical device used in Old Germanic texts: the determiner identifies the referent it precedes as being the entity previously mentioned in the immediate context. According to Breban (2012), this is a textual function, used for instance in texts such as Beowulf or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. On the contrary, when a determiner precedes a sortal or relational noun, whose reference is made identifiable by its being anchored in the discourse (i.e. it is described at length and not only anchored to the immediately preceding context), this is analyzed as an instance of anaphoric use in the sense of Löbner and hence as a definite determiner.

4 The Development of the Definite Article in OHG

4.1 An Empiric Study

Oubouzar (1992) directs her empiric search on the grammaticalization of the OHG definite determiner taking into consideration the differentiation between definite and indefinite nominal expressions; in sum, she argues that the article is used at the beginning of the OHG period in those contexts that she defines 'deictic', namely in anaphoric contexts, endophoric contexts and in complex nominal expressions containing a genitive phrase. Determiner-less nominal expressions refer either to non-definite referents or to abstract and unical entities; according to Oubouzar, there is no significant difference between the earlier text of Isidor and Tatian, while underlining that a new class of entities, namely those denoting identifiable groups of people, are consistently preceded by the definite determiner in the latter text. In Otfrid's text, the determiner starts to be used with abstract and unical entities, independently of a further specification and finally, in Notker, the article is the default strategy, marking all the definite nominal expressions, independently of their semantic content. She argues that the OHG determiner had lost its 'deictic' component and had become a functional category that only marks definiteness.

PDG do not seem to encode such distinctions; moreover, the definite determiner can also be used in contexts of anaphoric reference.
According to Breban (2012), the definite determiner underwent a functional shift during the history of the English language: it lost the textual anaphoric functions and is only used to signal identifiable referents, while the textual functions were taken up by the demonstratives and other complex determiners.
What emerges from Coniglio and Schlachter's observations is that in the German language, such a sharp shift may not have occurred, since in some contexts the different forms of the demonstratives and the full form of the definite determiner are likewise possible. For reasons of space, I will not pursue this observation in the present paper.

In De Bastiani (2015) I examined the same texts that make up Oubouzar's corpus and I traced the development of the definite determiner in OHG applying the differentiation between Pragmatic and Semantic Definites; it can be observed that in the earlier texts the use of the article in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness is robust, while the use of the article with cases of Semantic Definiteness is restricted in these texts to a few instances of functional concepts, but the use is not consistent.[11] The first cases in which the determiner is used with simple functional concepts is in Tatian, where nouns denoting identifiable groups of people[12] are consistently preceded by the determiner. In Otfrid's text, abstract and unical entities can be found both preceded by the definite determiner and determiner-less in similar contexts; Oubouzar argues that this text constitutes a turning point, since the article starts to be used with nouns denoting abstract and unical entities and starts losing its 'deictic' function. It can be observed, however, that the 'deictic' function is not lost, since in contexts of anaphoric and endophoric reference the article is still used in Otfrid's text. That the article is used with certain abstract and unical entities can be attributed to the gradual spreading of the article to contexts of Semantic Definiteness; let us observe the following examples taken from Otfrid's text:

(2)   *Lúdowig ther snéllo // **thes wísduames** fóllo*   (AD LUDOWICUM 1, 1)
        *Iz iuer húgu irwállo, // **wísduames** fóll*   (AD SALOMONEM 9, 8)

As can be observed from these examples, the same abstract noun, in a similar context and followed by the same adjective can appear both preceded by the determiner and determiner-less; moreover, the accents fall on *wisduam* and *foll* in both verses, regardless of the presence/absence of the determiner. The article not being compulsory in these contexts points, in my opinion, to the incomplete grammaticalization of the reduced form of definite determiner – metrical reasons, however, cannot be excluded.

Finally, the article in Notker constantly precedes definite NEs; as was already mentioned, the presence of two articles can be observed in Notker's text. Instead of arguing that the article loses its 'deictic' function, I argue that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in OHG proceeded

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11   An example of Semantic Definite in Isidor's text is: *dher hohista* (V, 4, 418). For this text, Egger's edition (1964) has been examined; the Roman number refers to the chapter, the second number to the paragraph and the third number to the line in which the nominal expression is found, as they are given in the edition examined.

12   Some examples are the following: *ther diuual* (xv, 50, 16); *thie pharisei* (xx, 58, 2). These are functional concepts, since their reference is unambiguous independently of the surrounding context. For this text, Masser's edition (1994) has been examined. The Roman number refers to the chapter, the second number refers to the folia of the manuscript and the third number to the line in which the nominal expression is found, as they are given in the edition examined.

in two separate paths: already at the early OHG stages a full form of the article was grammaticalized, while the reduced form grammaticalized later and gradually, spreading from NEs consisting of complex functional concepts to contexts of unical and abstract reference. As was argued for by Coniglio and Schlachter (2014), already during the OHG stage the first cases of cliticization of the article to a preposition can be detected; they show that the cliticization is only possible in cases of Semantic Definiteness.

4.2 A Quantitative Overview

For Notker's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, I have collected all the nominal expression containing the determiners *ter*, *tiu* and *taz*, and confronted them with the corresponding Latin nominal expression – if present – and I checked if there was a corresponding demonstrative in the Latin base text.

In Table 1,[13] the percentages for Isidor, Tatian and Notker are given, it can be observed that Notker's text presents the highest degree of independence from the Latin base text, which depends on Notker's pedagogic re-elaboration of the text, as was argued for in section 2:

Table 1[14]

Corpus	Percentage of the NEs not corresponding to a Latin Nominal expression	Percentage of the OGH NEs with a corresponding demonstrative in the Latin base text
Isidor	6,92%	11,68%
Tatian	0,80%	5,90%
Notker	42,9%	3,05%

As can be observed from the table, in Notker's text a consistent portion of the nominal expressions found does not correspond to a Latin nominal

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13   Tables 1 is adapted from De Bastiani 2015; the percentages for Notker's text differ slightly from the ones reported in Table 8.2 (De Bastiani 2015, 127) due to the correction of some errors in the classification of the NEs.

14   The percentages were calculated with the following data: the Isidor Corpus contains 231 NEs, 16 of which do not have any corresponding NEs in the Latin base text and 27 correspond to a demonstrative in the Latin base text. The Tatian Corpus contains 560 NEs, 5 do not have any corresponding Latin NEs and 33 correspond to a Latin demonstrative. Notker's Corpus contains 622 NEs, 267 of which do not correspond to any Latin NEs, while 19 correspond to a demonstrative in the Latin base text. I have examined the whole of the translation into OHG of Isidor's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* and I have used Egger's (1964) diplomatic edition and I have examined the OHG translation of Tatian's *Harmonia Evangeliorum* from chapter I to chapter LXXVIII, using Masser's (1994) diplomatic edition.

expression and, moreover, only a small percentage of occurrences of the determiners *ter*, *tiu* and *taz* depend on the presence of a demonstrative in the Latin base text. This small percentage, however, is not enough to take the occurrences of the determiners *ter*, *tiu* and *taz* as occurrences of definite articles. Such a decision can only be taken with the scrutiny of the context surrounding the NEs under investigation; moreover, there are portions of text which were added by Notker and therefore cannot depend on the Latin base text. In these portions of text, therefore, there may be occurrences of *ter*, *tiu* and *taz* which can be taken as occurrences of a demonstrative, rather than as occurrences of their article counterparts

Of the overall sample of 622 NEs I have collected for Notker's text, I have excluded 46 due to the criterion proposed in section 3; these are discussed in the next section.[15]

5   Excluded NEs

I have excluded from my sample 46 NEs, since in the contexts under consideration, the determiners *ter*, *tiu* and *taz* have a possible interpretation as demonstratives. An example is given in (3):[16]

(3)   **Tíu figura** *heizet parabole. dáz chit comparatio.*
         This *figura* means *parabola*, that means *comparatio*.
         'This *figura* is called *parabola*, it means *comparatio*.'
         (II, 47, 21-22)

This sentence is added after the following lines:

(4)   *Unde so si danne diu ding sturzen gestat. mit iro ubermuotun zeseuuun.*
         so ueret si also der uuellonto uuerbo.
         And so she then the things overthrow begins with her boisterous right
         hand, so steers REFL also the   whirling wave.
         Cum hęc uerterit uices. superba dextra. rertur more exestuantis euripi.

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[15]   There are in Notker's text also 20 instances of the demonstrative *diser*, which only in 4 cases does not have a Latin NE counterpart; in the remaining cases, the OHG demonstrative corresponds to a Latin demonstrative in 15 cases out of 16.

[16]   In the examples taken from Notker's translation, the OHG text precedes the Latin text, when present. In the Latin text demonstratives are written in italics, while the NEs under discussion in the OHG portion of text are written in bold; in the English translation I have maintained the Latin words if they are present in the OHG text. The Roman numbers between brackets refer to the Book of the *Consolatio*, the Arab numbers to the page and the line in Tax's edition.

'And she can overthrow the things with her boisterous right hand, in the same way as whirling waves do.'
(II, 47, 18-19)

This example is found in the commentaries inserted by Notker; typically, Notker describes a certain rhetoric figure or Roman institution and then gives its name or explains it. In this portion of text, the unambiguous reference of *figura* as identifying the comparison Boethius makes between the Fortune and the stream of the Euripus Strait is obtained thanks to the determiner, that links the reference of the entity *figura* to the preceding context. I take this and similar occurrences as instances of demonstratives, since it is the determiner that helps in establishing the reference of the entity it precedes, in the same way as in the NE 'this book', the demonstrative restricts the reference of the entity 'book' to a particular referent.

Moreover, to the NEs excluded from the sample belong the NEs containing the determiner, the morpheme *sélb* and a noun; the combination determiner-*sélb* points at the exact same referent which is contained in the NE and which has been mentioned earlier. For this reason, I have excluded them from my sample, since it is the combination determiner-*sélb* that identifies the reference of the noun it precedes. On the contrary, when *sélb* precedes a combination of determiner and noun, I take it as an independent morpheme meaning 'even', just like in PDG.

After having thus excluded 46 NEs, there remain 576 NEs, which I argue contain a definite determiner. Of these 576, 157 present an accented determiner, while the remaining have an unaccented determiner. These are commented on in the next sections.

6 Accented Articles

I have studied the contexts in which the accented determiners occur and I have found out that 50 of them are in a context of endophoric reference, 51 in a context of anaphoric reference (in the sense of Löbner), 51 have a genitive phrase, while 4 are neither purely anaphoric nor purely endophoric, but their reference is retrievable from the context, and 1 presents an accent, but the presence of the accent on the determiner can be neither re-conducted to a Pragmatic Definiteness context, nor to a demonstrative use of the determiner. This is likely to be a case of scribal error.

As can be seen from these figures, the majority of the accented determiners can be re-conducted to cases of Pragmatic Definiteness; the NEs containing a genitive phrase will be discussed below, where I will argue that these cases are in-between the pure cases of Pragmatic and Semantic Definiteness.

6.1   Anaphoric Reference

As opposed to the ones discussed in section 5, the NEs discussed in the present section are not cases of textual anaphoric reference, i.e. the determiner does not establish the reference of an entity by anaphorically pointing to it – as in example (3) above – but it precedes an entity, which consists of a relational or sortal noun and has been mentioned in the previous context. The reference of this entity is tied to a knot in the Universe of Discourse and is non-ambiguous thanks to its being anchored in the Discourse; the determiner that precedes these NEs only signals that their interpretation is non-ambiguous. Let us observe some examples:

(5)   *Iro uuat uuas chleine. unde uuahe. unde festes kezivges.* **Tíu uuat** *ist tiure […]*
         Her dress was small and soft and of strong cloth. The dress is precious […]
         Vestes erant perfectę tenuissimis filis. subtili artificio. indissolubili materia.
         'Her dress was small and soft and of a strong material. The dress is precious […]'
         (I, 8, 15)

After the appearance of the personification of Philosophy, Boethius describes her aspect and her dress; in example (5), the sentence *Tíu uuat ist tiure* was added by Notker to explain the symbology of the dress of the Philosophy. In this case, the article does not define the reference of the entity it precedes, since the reference of the word *uuat* is non-ambiguous, it refers to the dress of the Philosophy, which is part of the Universe of Discourse; moreover, there is no contrast with other similar entities, hence the determiner does not select one item among a set of similar alternatives. I conclude, then, that in this example the determiner is to be interpreted as a definite article, that signals that the reference of the entity *uuat* is non-ambiguous. The non-ambiguity of the reference is established by the context.

(6)   *Aber* **déro fier rationalium statuum** *heizet ter eristo coniectura.*
         But of the rationalium statuum is called the first *coniectura*.
         'The first of the four r*ationalium statuum* is called *coniectura*.'
         (II, 57, 14-5)

This example is taken from one of the longer portions of text which do not depend on the Latin base text. In this portion, Notker describes Roman juridic procedures. This example is embedded in the following context: *So ist aber ze uuizenne. dáz man ze finf uuison stritet umbe dia legem. ze fier uuison umbe dia rationem* (II, 56, 15). After having described other concepts, which may have been difficult for the young monks for whom the

translation was thought (cf. Lühr 2009), Notker describes the four *rationalium statuum*. This concept is part of the Universe of Discourse. Moreover, the determiner cannot be taken as an instance of a demonstrative, since it is preceded by the numeral four, which is the total number of the items under consideration. There is no selection out of a set of similar objects, since the whole of the objects is taken into consideration; the entity *fier rationalium statuum* is defined as non-ambiguous by the context, the numeral and the adjective, which restricts the reference to that particular kind of procedure. The role of the determiner, then, is to signal that the referent has non-ambiguous interpretation.

(7)   ***Téro brieuo*** *undriuua chame uuola uure.*
        Of the letters unfaithfulness came certainly out.
        Quarum fraus aperta patuisset.
        'The falsity of the letters would have been certainly revealed.'
        (I, 25, 17)

Also in this example, the non-ambiguous reference of the entity *brieuo* is established from the context; in this part of Book I, Boethius is telling the Philosophy that he was arrested because the emperor had received falsified letters, where he pleads for the freedom of the Senate from the emperor. The entity *letters* is mentioned three times in the preceding context and the treason of the Senate towards Boethius is described at length. The reference of the entity *letters* is non-ambiguous, since it can only refer to the false letters with which Boethius was accused of treason. Also in this case, then, the determiner signals that the noun it precedes has non-ambiguous reference.

6.2   Endophoric Reference

As was noted by Tax, the article takes an accent if it precedes a noun which is then followed by a restrictive relative clause; the restrictive relative clause establishes the reference of the noun it refers to and the article signals that the combination of noun and relative clause is non-ambiguous. Let us observe some examples:

(8)   *Uuaz habo ih nu **fone dîen luge brieuen** ze sagenne. mit dîen sie mih zihent uuellen uuidere guuunnen umbe den cheiser dia rumiskun selbuualtigi?*
        What have I now of the false letters to say with which they me accuse want back obtain about the emperor the roman freedom.
        Nam quod attinet de compositis falso literis dicere. quibus arguor sperasse romanam libertatem?

'What do I have to say about the false letters with which they accuse me of wanting back the freedom of the Romans from the emperor?'
(I, 25, 9-10)

This example is embedded in the same context of example (7): the entity *letters* has been mentioned twice and the cause of Boethius' arrest is described in details; this entity is already part of the Universe of Discourse and can only refer to the letters with which Boethius was accused of treason. Moreover, their non-ambiguous reference is defined by the relative clause. The determiner only signals that the entity *letters with which they accuse me of wanting back the freedom of the Senate from the emperor* has non-ambiguous reference.

(9)   ***Dér scado*** *dér dien sculdigen solta. dér liget ana dien unsculdigen.*
        The punishment that to the guilty should that lies on the innocent. Noxia poena debita sceleri. premit insontes.
        'The punishment that should go to the guilty goes to the innocent.'
        (I, 32, 6-7)

(10)   ***Tîe sacha*** *dîe daz uuib sament iro bringet. zuo demo man. dàz ist iro uuidemo.*
        The things that the woman with her brings to the man that is her dowry.
        'The things that the woman takes with her and brings the man constitute her dowry.'
        (II, 68, 27-28)

Similar conclusions can be drawn from these examples, where the article signals that the complex entity consisting of a sortal or relational noun and a restrictive relative clause has non-ambiguous reference. I conclude, then, that these are instances of definite articles, which receive an accent also in cases of endophoric reference.

6.3   Contextual Reference

In this subsection the instances of accented determiners, which are neither anaphoric nor endophoric, but precede an entity whose reference is retrievable from the context, are discussed.

Let us observe one example of what I will define contextual reference:

(11)   *Tér zun hiez uallum. Selben die bouma hiezen ualli ! **Tíu luccha** under zuisken boumen   hiez interuallum.*
        The fence is called *uallum*. Even the trees are called *ualli*. The hole under between trees is called   *interuallum*.

> 'The fence is called *uallum*; even the trees are called *ualli*! The cavity between the trees is called *interuallum*.'
> (I, 37, 27)

The entity *luccha* has not been mentioned in the previous discourse, however, it is retrievable from the context; in this portion of text, Notker is discussing the meaning of the words *uallum* and *interuallum* and is describing the process of the construction of a trench delimited by trees. The entity *luccha* is a 'bridging inferable', it is not directly mentioned in the discourse, but is retrievable from the context; moreover, its reference is specified by the PP that follows.

Finally, there is one instance of a determiner which presents an accent, but can be interpreted neither as a demonstrative nor as a Pragmatic Definite; in this case the accent falls on the determiner preceding an ordinal number, namely *táz dritta* (I, 39, 12). The other instances of articles preceding ordinal numbers are consistently non-accented and this particular instance can be re-conducted neither to an anaphoric use nor to an endophoric use; moreover, all the other ordinal numbers in the context in which this instance is embedded do not present an accent on the determiner, I conclude that this instance is likely to be a case of scribal error.

6.4   NEs with a Genitive Phrase

As was noted by Oubouzar and Tax, the determiners preceding a discourse referent which is followed by a genitive phrase are accented. Of all the total NEs I have collected in Notker's text, the overall number of NEs containing a genitive phrase is 97, however, only 51 present an accent. In the 51 NEs with an accented determiner, it is the determiner preceding the head noun that is accented, while the genitive phrase only presents an accented determiner if this is to be interpreted as a demonstrative or as preceding a Pragmatic Definite.[17]

The 47 NEs that do not present an accented determiner are made up of a genitive phrase consisting of a determiner and a noun, but the head noun is not preceded by the determiner; in some cases the noun has to be interpreted as non-definite, in others it does not present an article and is preceded by the genitive phrase, the opposite order of the 51 NEs that present a determiner before both the head noun and the genitive phrase. It can be hypothesized that the composition of NEs with genitive groups is unstable at this stage of the language, since Demske (2001) notes that

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17   In the computation of the accented determiners, I have only included the determiners preceding the head of the complex NEs.

the grammaticalization of genitive attributes has undergone a process that started in the OHG period and was completed during the early New High German period.

The following discussion will concentrate on the 51 NEs with a determiner before both the head noun and the genitive phrase. Of these 51 NEs, in 9 cases the head noun has anaphoric reference, and in 3 cases the head noun is further specified by a relative clause, while the others are linked to different kind of entities: from Semantic Definites (cf. *dîe uerte dero sternon*, I, 20,2), to entities previously mentioned in the Universe of Discourse, to genitive phrases containing a possessive adjective, which links the reference of the head noun to an entity belonging to the Universe of Discourse (cf. *Dîe gezirten uuende dînero buochcamero*, I, 34, 10).

Moreover, in these complex NEs with a genitive phrase, the head noun is often a sortal or relational concept, which acquires non-ambiguous reference by its being linked to the genitive phrase. Such nouns are for instance *pild*-image, (cf. *an dáz pilde dero uuarun saldo*, III, 110, 3) *uuort*-word (cf. *nah tîen uuorten sancti pauli apostoli*, PROLOGUS, 5, 12), *uuende*-walls (cf. *dîe gezirten uuende dînero buochcamero*, I, 34, 10) or *namo*-name (cf. *tér baro namo dero saldon*, II, 68, 4); I think these are better analyzed as instances of endophoric reference, since it is their being linked to a genitive attribute that renders their reference non-ambiguous.

In other complex NEs with a genitive phrase, the head noun is a functional concept, such as *nebel*-fog (cf. *mit témo nebele tero stirbigon dingo*, I, 13, 26), or *unsculd*-innocence (cf. *tîe unsculde alles tes herotes*,I , 27, 7), or *suozi*-sweetness (cf. *díu suozi des sanges*, III, 109, 3); however, in these complex NEs the entity referred to is not the functional concept as a whole, but rather a sub-type of it, and the reference to the sub-type is made non-ambiguous by the genitive attribute, which in some cases refers back to an entity previously mentioned in the discourse. The reference of these complex NEs, then, is dependent on the context and on the genitive attribute for its non-ambiguous interpretation.[18]

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[18]   It is interesting to note that, in PDE, abstract nouns – which are functional concepts in the sense of Löbner (1985) – are not preceded by the definite determiner, unless their reference is restricted by a PP or a relative clause. See for instance:

   a. It is impossible to live in a world without hope vs It is impossible to live in a world without *the hope.

   b. The hope of finding a cure for cancer is small vs *Hope of finding a cure for cancer is small. (examples adapted from Foley & Hall 2009, 273)

The complex functional concept of example b. is similar to the complex NEs containing a functional concept and a genitive attribute I found in Notker's text.

This piece of evidence supports the claim I made in § 3 that the complex NEs made up of a Functional Concept and a linking attribute are not to be analyzed uniformly as bare

7   Non-accented Articles

The remaining 373 NEs consist of either abstract or unical entities, or of superlatives; these categories belong to the Semantic Definiteness contexts and the articles preceding them are not accented, unless their reference is further restricted from a relative clause or is anaphoric. Some examples for unical entities are: *den himel*-theACC sky (I, 8, 7), *demo manen*-theDAT moon (I, 12, 2), *die sternen*-theNOM stars (I, 14, 3), *ter mennisko*-theNOM human being (I, 29, 1); an example fur a superlative is *diu iungesta*-theNOM youngest; some examples for abstract entities are under (12-13):

(12)   *Únde ímo lébendemo. ûber sîgenôta sîn méister socrates **ten dôt**. mír zûoséhentero?*
        And him living over won his master socrates the death me watching.
        Eodemque superstite. preceptor eius socrates. promeruit uictoriam iniustę mortis. me astante?
        'And while living, Socrates his master defeated death face to face with me.'
        (I, 15, 14-16)

(13)   *Sîe râment tóh álle ze_éinero stéte. uuánda sie álle râment **ze dero sâlighéite**.*
        They strive however all to one place since they all strive to the bliss.
        Sed tamen nititur peruenire ad unum finem beatitudinis.
        'But they all strive towards the same goal, because they strive towards bliss.'
        (III, 111, 11-13)

In the next section, I will propose an analysis that takes into consideration the presence of two determiners in OHG.

8   The Analysis: Two Articles in OHG

The evidence in Notker's text supports the hypothesis of the presence of two articles in OHG and in PDG. Indirect evidence for this claim comes from Ebert's study of two articles in Frisian; to summarize, the *D*-article is used:

vor Nomina, deren Referent für den Hörer nicht eindeutig identifizierbar ist. Der D-artikel verweist auf eine Information im Kontext, die den

Functional Concepts, but rather as a category which lies between pure Pragmatic Definites and pure Semantic Definites.

> intendierten Referenten aus der Menge der möglichen R e f e r e n t e n
> aussondert, wenn diese Information nicht direkt zwischen Artikel un
> Nomen steht. (Ebert 1970, 172)

while the *A*-article is used:[19]

> vor Nomina, für die jeweiligen Sprechakt nur ein einziger Referent in
> Frage kommt, oder die sich auf räumlich un zeitlich Nahes oder Be-
> kanntes ziehen. (172)

If we apply Löbner's terminology to this distinction, we can conclude that
the *A*-article is used in cases of Semantic Definiteness, while the *D*-article
is used in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness.

Moreover, other evidence for the presence of two articles comes from
PDG and from varieties of PDG; Coniglio and Schlachter (2014) argue that
the cliticization of the article on the preposition is only possible in cases of
Semantic Definiteness, while Löbner (1985) claims that in some dialectal
varieties of PDG there are two forms for the article: one can be defined as
weak – a *scwha* – while the other is strong. The weak form is used with the
Semantic Definites, while the strong form is used in Pragmatic Definite-
ness contexts; both forms are definite articles, since, according to Löbner,
they are not stressed.

As was mentioned above, Coniglio and Schlachter's (2014) investiga-
tion of the full and reduced forms of the definite article in PDG builds on
Löbner's categorization of Semantic and Pragmatic Definites. In order to
account for the synchronic phenomenon of the cliticization of the definite
article on prepositions, Coniglio and Schlachter trace a diachronic devel-
opment of the OHG definite article, which they argue already displayed
the reduced forms we can still observe nowadays in the PDG Semantic
Definites.

Following Van Gelderen (2007), they argue that an interpretable
'location' feature is associated with the (textual) deictic/anaphoric prop-
erties of the demonstrative, which is located in [Spec, DP] in her repre-
sentation. In the course of the development of the demonstrative into a
definite determiner, the demonstrative is reanalyzed as the head of the DP,
which is endowed with uninterpretable features that probe for the inter-
pretable counterparts of the same features on the noun N. This generative
approach confirms in my opinion Löbner's semantic considerations on the
characteristics of the demonstrative and the definite determiner: while the
demonstrative directs the selection of the referent denoted by the noun,

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19   Ebert differentiates between two kinds of *A*-article, one is described above, and the
second one is used as generic article (1970, 172).

the definite determiner does not add to the interpretation of the noun.

As far as the German language is concerned, Coniglio and Schlachter (2014) propose that only part of the demonstrative was reanalyzed into the head of the DP, since they observe that the dental onset *th-/d-* that characterizes both the demonstrative and the definite article disappears when the article is cliticized to the preposition, which is only possible in Semantic Definiteness contexts, but is maintained in the cases of Pragmatic Definiteness[20] and when it is not possible to contract the preposition and the article.[21] The evidence in Frisian confirms this analysis, since only the *D*-article presents the dental onset.

Thus they argue that only the inflectional ending grammaticalized into the head D and lost the interpretable features and that in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness, [Spec, DP] is activated as well, since it is associated with interpretable anaphoric features; moreover, they argue that in OHG – where the cliticization to the preposition in Semantic Definiteness cases was optional according to them – and in PDG – where in some cases the cliticization to the preposition is not possible – [Spec, DP] can nevertheless be realized as a 'dummy element'.

Their analysis for the full and reduced forms of the OHG definite article in combination with the preposition *zi* is given in (16) and (17):[22]

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20   An instance of the anaphoric use of the definite article can be observed in the following example:
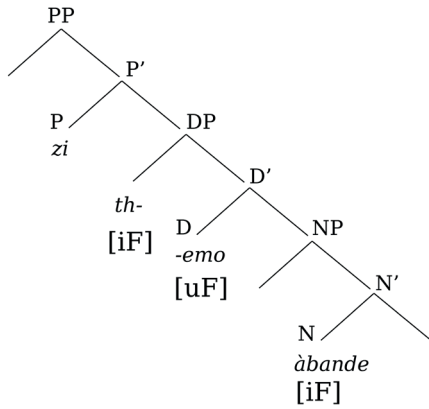
> Hans hat heute einen Freund zum Essen mit nach Hause gebracht. Er hat uns vorher ein Foto # vom / von dem Freund gezeigt (cf. Coniglio & Schlachter 2014 for further discussion).

In this example it can be observed that the reduced form of the article is ruled out, since the use of the article is to anaphorically point to a previously mentioned referent. In this case, we are not dealing with a demonstrative (which in PDG would be accompanied by a special emphasis), but with a definite article. It is the context that established that the referent *Freund* is to be unambiguously identified with Hans' friend.
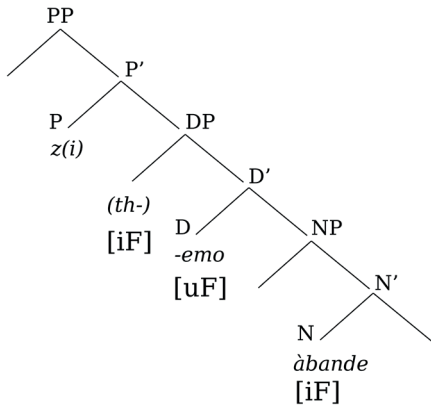
21   In PDG for instance, it is possible to contract the dative form of the definite article with the preposition *zu* in all the three genders (m. *zum*, f. *zur*, n. *zum*), but it is not possible to contract the dative form of the feminine definite article with the preposition in (m. *im*, f. **inr*, n. *im*). Coniglio and Schlachter notice that the reduced form of the definite article is restricted with certain prepositions, or is not possible for every gender or case. They attribute this restrictions either to the grammaticalization of the prepositions or to phonological reasons.

22   These forms are both attested in *Otfrid* (reported in Coniglio & Schlachter 2014, 155-6).

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(16)　　　*zi themo àbande*

PP
- P'
  - P: *zi*
  - DP
    - *th-* [iF]
    - D':
      - D: *-emo* [uF]
      - NP
        - N':
          - N: *àbande* [iF]

(17)　　　*zemo àbande*

PP
- P'
  - P: *z(i)*
  - DP
    - *(th-)* [iF]
    - D':
      - D: *-emo* [uF]
      - NP
        - N':
          - N: *àbande* [iF]

In example (16), the article *themo* refers back to an entity previously mentioned in the discourse; this example represents a Pragmatic Definiteness case and the full form of the article is found.

In example (17), on the contrary, the reference of the noun *àbande* is unique, since it refers to the concept of 'evening' as one part of the day, and not to a particular evening which has been mentioned in the discourse – contrarily to example (16). Since this is a Semantic Definiteness case, the dental onset is not realized.

In the absence of a preposition, the distinction between Pragmatic and Semantic article is nevertheless signalled in Notker's text, since the ab-

sence of accentuation on the determiner renders it prosodically lighter and thus reduced, even if [Spec, DP] is activated as a 'dummy element'.

Since the accented articles in Notker's text precede entities, whose reference is defined thanks to the surrounding context – and not only through anaphoric reference, as I have shown in sections 6.1 to 6.4 –, I propose to introduce a 'contextual identifiability' feature; this feature is responsible for the accentuation of the definite determiner in OHG, for the choice of the *D*-article in Frisian and for the spell-out of the dental onset with prepositions when the referent preceded by the article is a Pragmatic Definite.

The determiner system of the OHG language can thus be explained in terms of features: as was argued for by Coniglio and Schlachter building on Van Gelderen (2007), and Wiltschko (2009), demonstratives display location and deictic features, while the definite determiner is endowed with uninterpretable features; the two forms of the article which can be detected in PDG – in the standard language and in the non-standard varieties reported by Löbner (1985) –, OHG and Frisian call for the presence of a third feature, which is different from the location/deictic feature of the demonstrative and from the uninterpretable feature of the reduced form of the article; I think that the introduction of the 'contextual identifiability' feature can account for the empiric evidence in the languages quoted and can complete the syntactic analyses put forth by Van Gelderen (2007) and Coniglio and Schlachter (2014).

9   Concluding Remarks

Following the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in OHG, it can be observed that a definite article used in cases of endophoric and anaphoric reference already grammaticalized in the earlier stages, while a definite determiner used in cases of Semantic Definiteness grammaticalizes gradually, following the path delineated in the sub-categorization of DDs in (1): from complex functional concepts to identifiable entities, to unical entities and finally to abstract entities. Contrarily to what Oubouzar claims, the functions the article covers in the earlier texts are not lost along the grammaticalization path, because these functions are still detectable in PDG, as Coniglio and Schlachter argue.

I proposed an interpretable 'contextual identifiability' feature, that can explain the accentuation of the article in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness contexts, the spell-out of the dental onset with Pragmatic Definites in PDG when a preposition is present, the choice of the *D*-article in Frisian and of the fuller form of the article in dialectal varieties of PDG.

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