

The position of adjectives and double definiteness

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In this paper we present a new way to analyze the development of double definiteness in Norwegian. Instead of analyzing the emergence of double definiteness as a change of the status of the definite marker, we propose that double definiteness emerges due to a different ordering of adjectives in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian respectively. This, we claim, has several advantages, among others because it allows us to account for certain movement differences between Old Norse and Modern Norwegian, which have proven difficult to handle. It also means that the change in question can be reconciled with a formal approach to grammaticalization, where this change represents an instance of the Late Merge Principle.

1. Introduction*

Recently there has been a lot of discussion in the literature of how to account for the development of double definiteness in Norwegian (Roehrs 2006, Abraham and Leiss 2007, Faarlund 2007, Lohndal 2007, van Gelderen 2007; see Börjars 1998 for Swedish). Two main views are found in the literature: Faarlund and Lohndal claim that this change is an instance of “downward” grammaticalization, whereas Abraham and van Gelderen claim that the change adheres to the view which says that all instances of grammaticalizations are “upward” grammaticalizations (Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004, 2007). All agree that the definite marker is a clitic in Old Norse, as shown in (1) and (2) with *-inn*, whereas its successor *-en* in (3) and (4) is a suffix in Modern Norwegian.

- (1) *sá inn gamli hestr* (Old Norse)
that DEF old horse
‘the old horse’
- (2) *hestrinn*
horse.DEF
‘the horse’

* Thanks to Werner Abraham, Jan Terje Faarlund, Christer Platzack, and the audience at GLAC 14 in Madison.

- (3) den gamle hesten (Modern Norwegian)
 that old horse.DEF
 ‘the old horse’
- (4) hesten
 horse.DEF
 ‘the horse’

The disagreement is twofold: On the one hand people do not agree on the ontology of language change and on the other hand they have different views on the phrase structure in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. In this paper we will provide a fresh take on this issue, and suggest that we have not looked in the right place when trying to explain how double definiteness emerged.¹ We will argue that instead of trying to accommodate the suffix/clitic distinction, we should look at the position of adjectives in the two languages. The change from clitic to suffix does not explain why there are different orders of adjectives and nouns in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian, whereas an account of the movement patterns will be shown also to account for double definiteness. In short, we will propose that (both weak and strong) adjectives are base generated very low in Old Norse, whereas they are higher in Modern Norwegian. This means that a grammaticalization of the adjective has taken place (given the view of *syntactic* grammaticalization in Roberts and Roussou 2003 and van Gelderen 2004), which we also claim explains why the definite affix changed from a clitic to an inflectional affix.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we present the data showing the change from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian, and the essence of the proposals put forward in the literature as to how to account for the change. Section 3 discusses the data more in depth, and argues that the change in question involves a reordering of adjectives internal to the nominal phrase.² Section 4 shows how this fits a formal theory of grammaticalization. Section 5 summarizes and concludes the paper.

¹ In this paper we will not be concerned with the grammaticalization of the definite articles from the demonstrative. See van Gelderen (2007) for a suggestion compatible with the present one.

² Since we are not discussing islands in this paper, we will not have anything to say about the fact that left branch extraction in Old Norse is possible (i).

(i) góðan eigum vér konung
 good have we king

³We have a good king’

(Platzack 2008: 357)

See Platzack (2008) for discussion.

2. The development of double definiteness

In this section we will present what appears to be the common and accepted analysis of how double definiteness developed from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian.³ We will focus on the syntactic properties (for semantic considerations, see e.g. Lundeby 1965 and Dyvik 1979) and use Faarlund (2007) and (Lohndal 2007), who both argue that the development of double definiteness is an instance of what they call “downward grammaticalization” which occurred due to the grammaticalization of the suffix from a clitic to an inflectional affix (though see also e.g. Roehrs 2006, Abraham and Leiss 2007 and Laake 2007). There are several ways to test whether the suffix is a clitic or an affix; see Faarlund (2007) for a comprehensive discussion.

Both Faarlund (2007) and Lohndal (2007) argue that what happened from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian was that the clitic in e.g. (2) became an inflectional affix in (4) by moving down from the D head and into a lower functional projection (into an *nP*, following Julien 2005). We can illustrate this change as in (5) (the structure is taken from Julien 2005: 281).

- (5) $[_{DP} D [_{POSSP} POSS [_{CardP} Card [_{\alpha P} \alpha [_{nP} n [_{NumP} Num [_{NP} N]]]]]]]$
 |_____ clitic > affix _____↑

The problem with (5), as Abraham (2007b) points out, is that it goes against almost all formalist implementations of grammaticalization (Longobardi 2001, Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004, 2007; though see Faarlund 2008 for a different view), where grammaticalization is interpreted as economy. As a consequence of this perspective, all grammaticalizations literally go “upwards” in the syntactic trees. Two relevant economy principles are (6) and (7).

(6) **Head Preference Principle (HPP)**

Be a head, rather than a phrase

(7) **Late Merge Principle (LMP)**

Merge as late as possible

These are assumed to be principles (or ‘third factors’ in e.g. Chomsky 2007) guiding the child in acquisition, that is, if the primary linguistic data allow the child to use either (6) or (7), it will. Both these principles can in fact be collapsed into one more general principle, namely (8) (van Gelderen 2007).

³ Nygaard (1906: 33, 54) claims that (2) above is infrequent in Old Norse. However, we do not think that this bears any significance to the diachronic analysis we are suggesting.

(8) **Economy of Features**

Minimize the interpretable features in the derivation

This principle entails that it is preferable to decrease the interpretable features in a derivation. Uninterpretable features can often replace the interpretable features (van Gelderen 2007). Uninterpretable features are located on heads, and as such, (8) is a reinterpretation of (6). The LMP principle follows from considerations of derivational economy. Move or remerge is more costly than just Merge, even if they are both an instance of Merge (Chomsky 2004). The reason is that you have to Merge twice instead of once, which arguably requires more effort on the grammar.

Summarizing, there are theoretical problems with the proposals in Faarlund (2007) and Lohndal (2007). Furthermore, there are also some important differences between the internal structure of the Old Norse and the Modern Norwegian DP. In the next section we will consider some of these and we will propose that an account of the difference in adjective placement can also account for the change in the status of the definite article. Before we can proceed to that, there is another change we need to discuss first, namely the emergence of the new prenominal article.

The Modern Norwegian prenominal article *den* is the contemporary descendent of the Old Norse demonstrative *sá*, a variant of which appears as *þau* in (9). In (later) Old Norse it was possible to have both a demonstrative and a definite article, as shown in (9) and (10).

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (9) | þau in stóru skip
those DEF big ships
'those big ships' (Hkr I.437.13) | (Old Norse)

(Faarlund 2004: 82) |
| (10) | þeir hinir íslenzku menn
those DEF Icelandic menn
'those Icelandic men' (Hkr II.281.6) |

(Faarlund 2007) |

Faarlund (2007) argues that the demonstrative is a head in a separate phrase above the DP. The main argument is empirical: There are examples where an element has moved to what Faarlund takes to be SpecDP. A couple of examples are provided in (11) and (12) where *kvistr* and *fé* have been preposed.

- (11) kvistr sá inn fagri (Old Norse)
 twig that DEF beautiful
 ‘that beautiful twig’ (Bárð 3.8)
- (12) fé þat it mikla ok it góða
 money that DEF big and DEF good
 ‘that great sum of money’ (Nj 97.25) (Faarlund 2007b)

Faarlund also assumes that the definiteness marker is in D, which then necessitates two specifiers for both the demonstrative and the fronted noun. However, van Gelderen (2007) argues that the demonstrative can be both a head and a specifier because of examples such as (10) and (12), and that the definite marker is lower in the *nP*.

We have seen that the definite article (e.g. *inn* in (1)) changes from a clitic in (2) to an inflectional affix in (3) and (4) between Old Norse and Modern Norwegian, and that the demonstrative (e.g. *sá* in (1)) grammaticalized into an article. In the next section we will take a close look at the internal make-up of the nominal phrases in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian.

3. Reordering of adjectives

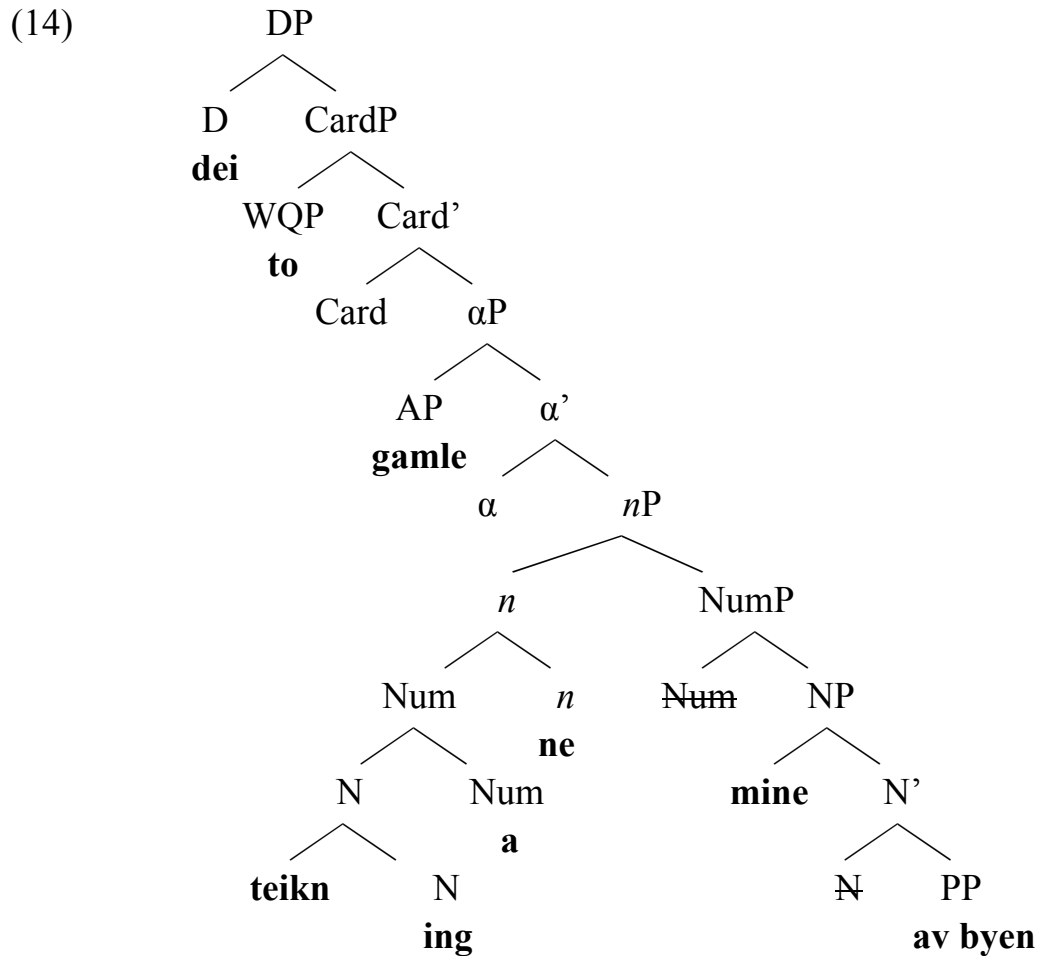
In the previous section we presented the traditional account of how double definiteness developed from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian. Now we will consider some ordering differences internal to nominal phrases, and we will see that there is a crucial difference between Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. Section 4 goes on to argue how a proper understanding of this difference also makes the clitic to affix change crop out.

As our starting point, we will take Julien’s (2005) comprehensive study of nominal phrases in Norwegian.⁴ Julien adopts a strong formulation of the nonlexical approach to morphology (cf. Baker 1988, Marantz 1997, Cinque 1999, Julien 2002), and proposes that the Modern Norwegian nominal phrase in (13) has the structure in (14).

- (13) dei to gaml-e teikning-a-ne mine av by-en
 DEF.PL two old-W drawing-PL-DEF my.PL of town-DEF.MASC.SG⁵
 ‘my two old drawings of the town’

⁴ There are a number of different proposals in the literature that we cannot review here; see e.g. Taraldsen (1990), Delsing (1993), Kester (1993), Santelman (1993), Sandström & Holmberg (1994), Vangsnes (1999, 2004), Zamparelli (2000), Giusti (2002), Vangsnes, Holmberg & Delsing (2003), Anderssen (2005), Doehrs (2006), Svenonius (2006).

⁵ This sentence is glossed according to the glosses in Julien. w = weak inflection. We assume the other glosses to be self evident.

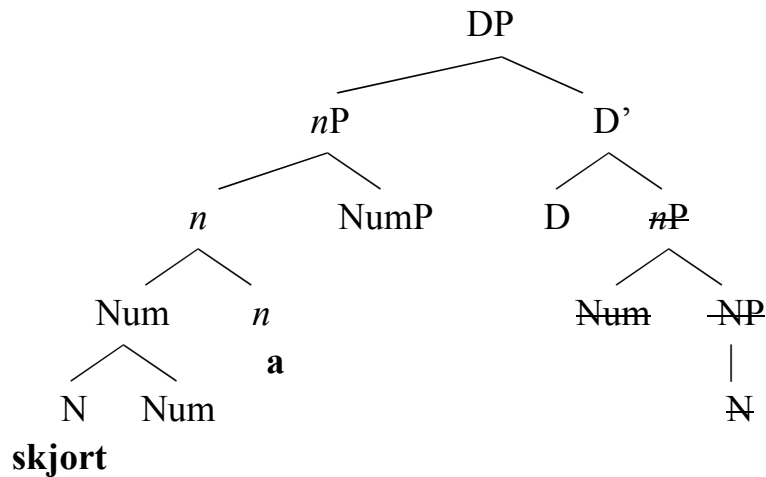


Many researchers have argued that there is a close parallel between the clause and the DP, which also was one of the main motivations behind the DP-hypothesis at the outset (see in particular Szabolcsi 1983, 1987; for recent research see amongst others Kayne 1994, Koopman 2005, Giusti 2006 and Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007 for much valuable discussion). This is partially implemented in the structure in (14), and it is reasonable to see *nP* as the nominal counterpart of *vP*. Julien also builds on the assumption that there is a semantic difference between the *nP* and the DP. We would like to think of this as a distinction between specificity and definiteness (cf. Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Abraham 2007a, though see Julien 2005 and Roehrs 2006: 73 for slightly different implementations), where *nP* encodes specificity and DP definiteness.

Concerning definiteness, Julien (2005: 28) assumes that a Modern Norwegian nominal phrase like (15) has the structure in (16).

- (15) skjort-a (Modern Norwegian)
 shirt-DEF.FEM.SG
 'the shirt'

(16)



In other words, the *nP* moves to SpecDP where, she argues, the D agrees with the *n*.⁶ As Julien points out, this is in accordance with the Agree system of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007) where Move can be part of Agree. Julien's way of deriving the ban on moving the inflected noun across the adjective, as in (17), is by saying that an AP merged in Spec α P will agree with α , which in turn agrees with *n*.

(17) *teikningane gamle (Modern Norwegian)
 drawings.DEF old

This means that when an AP is present, this AP will be a closer goal for D, thus the Probe cannot look past this Goal (Julien 2005: 29). The impossibility of *nP* moving above AP is thereby derived.

Having presented the structure of the DP that we will be assuming for Modern Norwegian, let us now turn to Old Norse. Structures such as (17) are possible in Old Norse and are crucial for an understanding of the difference between Old and Modern varieties. Above we have implicitly assumed that all adjectives are prenominal in Modern Norwegian. There are two exceptions that need to be mentioned (cf. Laake 2007: 54-55). One is where we have a proprium and an adjective, as in (18).

⁶ Julien assumes that the DP projection needs to be identified (cf. Giusti 1997, Roberts and Roussou 1999a, Vangsnes 1999), hence the projection cannot be phonologically empty.

- (18) Olav den hellige (Modern Norwegian)
 Olav DEF holy
 ‘the holy Olav’

The other exception is where an adjective has its own complement:

- (19) en bok full av eksempler (Modern Norwegian)
 a book full of examples
 ‘a book full of examples’

These examples are construction-specific, and especially examples like (18) are infrequent. For Modern Norwegian, we assume these to be historical relicts, i.e. constructions that no longer are productive. Importantly, we find both of these constructions in Old Norse (as well as (17). (20) contains the same pattern as in (18), and (21) - (22) have the same structure as in (19).

- (20) Óláfr *digri* (Old Norse)
 Olaf stout.DEF
 ‘Olaf the stout’ (Hkr II.85.15) (Faarlund 2004: 68)
- (21) þar fylgði segl *stafat með vendi*
 there followed sail adorned with stripe
 ‘a striped sail came with it’ (Hkr II.244.9) (Faarlund 2004: 71)

Some further examples of postnominal adjectives are provided in (22) to (26).

- (22) á Orminum langa (Old Norse)
 on Serpent.DEF long.DEF
 ‘on board “The Long Serpent”’ (Hkr I.414.10) (Faarlund 2004: 71)
- (23) í eilífri dýrð fǫður ok sonar ok andans helga
 in eternal glory father and son and spirit.DEF holy.DEF
 ‘in the eternal glory of the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit’
 (Hóm 31.23) (Faarlund 2004: 71)
- (24) þá fann hann Vinland it góða
 then found he Vinland DEF good
 ‘then he found Vinland the good’ (Hkr I.428.3) (Faarlund 2004: 70)
- (25) Hákonar jarls ins ríka
 Hakon earl DEF mighty
 ‘of Earl Hakon the mighty’ (Hkr I.4.18) (Faarlund 2004: 70)

- (26) engi maðr mátti nefna hann annan veg, en jarl inn illa
 no man could mention him other way than earl DEF evil
 ‘nobody was allowed to refer to him in any other way as “the evil earl”’
 (Hkr I.355.16) (Faarlund 2004: 70)
- (27) ok mintisk á ævi sína ina fyrri
 and remembered.REFL on time his DEF former.DEF
 ‘and remembered his former life’ (Hkr II.146.23) (Faarlund 2004: 71)
- (28) Hrafnkell lét gera hof mikit
 Hrafnkell let make pagan.temple big
 ‘Hrafnkell let it be made a big pagan temple’ (HS 145) (Laake 2007: 53)

Given that both possibilities exist in Old Norse and only the prenominal one in Modern Norwegian, there is obviously a difference between these two languages. If the internal structures of the DP in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian were identical, it would be difficult to come up with a good explanation of this difference. Another way would be to say that adjectives simply are not interveners in Old Norse but that would threaten the entire syntactic structure for nominal phrases, because that would imply that there no longer is agreement between the D head and the adjective. There is, however, adjectival agreement in ON, as illustrated in (29) where we have weak (definite) declension and in (30) where we have strong (indefinite) declension.

- (29) ok gaf at eta inum sárum mannum
 and gave to eat DEF.DAT wounded.DEF.DAT men.DAT
 ‘and gave (it) to the wounded men to eat’ (Hkr II.503.13)
 (Faarlund 2004: 67)
- (30) ok sá þar mikinn her
 and saw there big.ACC army.ACC
 ‘and saw a big army there’ (Hkr II.229.7) (Faarlund 2004: 68)

We think these data provide evidence against treating the DP in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian as identical. Instead we will propose a different way to accommodate these data in the next section.

4. Formalizing the change

Section 3 showed some differences between the Old Norse and the Modern Norwegian nominal. In particular we looked at the position of adjectives. We will now provide some suggestions concerning the internal make-up of the DPs

in these two languages, and furthermore suggest a formal implementation of the development of double definiteness and the reordering of adjectives.

We will assume what Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007: 290) call a “separationist” (as opposed to a “reductionist”) view regarding the position of adjectives cross-linguistically:

Reductionist proposals reduce two different superficial positions of the adjectives, pronominal and postnominal, to a single underlying position of the adjectives, deriving the variation in position by movement [...]

Separationist proposals assume different underlying positions at the basis of the different surface positions of the adjectives.

A reductionist view would e.g. be the view advocated by Cinque (1994, 2005, in press). We will first provide some background on Cinque’s theory and then show that this theory does not work for Old Norse and Old English. Cinque describes adjectival positions in Romance and Germanic and notes that they display some mirror effects:

In English (Germanic) the pronominal position is systematically ambiguous between the two values of each property [stage-level and individual-level, etc], while the postnominal one (when available) has only one value: stage-level, restrictive, implicit relative clause, and intersective readings [...] In Italian (Romance), instead, it is the postnominal position that is systematically ambiguous between the two values of each property, while the pronominal one only has the individual-level, nonrestrictive, modal, nonintersective, absolute, absolute with superlatives, specific, evaluative, and NP dependent, readings (Cinque in press: chapter 2).

The differences can be expressed in (31) and (32) (RC stands for Relative Clause).

- (31) English (Germanic)
 AP from reduced RC > “direct modification” AP > N > AP from reduced RC
- (32) Italian (Romance)
 “direct modification” AP > N > “direct modification” AP > AP from reduced RC

Some properties related to reduced relative clauses are a stage-level interpretation and discourse anaphoric characteristics. In the examples from English in (33) and (34) provided by Cinque, the capitalized adjective is the reduced relative clause one, and is paraphrasable as 'that is currently visible'.

- (33) Every **VISIBLE** visible star
 (34) Every visible star **VISIBLE**

The adjective immediately preceding the N in (33) and (34) is the one with the individual-level interpretation and cannot appear postnominally. This direct-modification AP can be further divided, as in (35).

- (35) A_{size} > A_{color} > A_{nationality} > N

Cinque's analysis for the two kinds of APs is to propose the same underlying structure for Germanic and Romance, with the reduced RC merged high. In Romance, the NP could move before the direct modification AP but the AP and NP could also snowball in front of the Reduced RC AP. In Germanic, either the original order as in (33a) remains or the AP and N move to a position before the Reduced RC, as in (33b).

For Romance, Cinque says that "the entire constituent made up of the NP and its direct modification adjectives [...] has (obligatorily) raised above the indirect modification AP found in the reduced RC" (Cinque in press: ch. 7). Below, we adopt the basic intuition behind Cinque's proposal for Old Norse, namely that the two types of adjectives have different positions.

Laake (2007: 59-62) proposes to analyze the difference between Old Norse and Modern Norwegian in terms of a Split-IP parameter (cf. Thráinsson 1996, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998). In her analysis, Old Norse has what corresponds to a double *nP* (IP for Laake, as she assumes a DP-IP-NP structure) in the structure we are assuming. The adjective is an adjunct in Laake's opinion, and adjoined to the *nP*. There are two important problems with Laake's analysis. First, adjectives seem in fact merged as specifiers of functional projections (cf. Cinque 2005, Julien 2005, Cinque in press). Julien presents several empirical arguments in favor of this for Scandinavian. Building on Delsing (1993), she mentions that there are some dialects of Northern Swedish where indefinite articles may appear after prenominal adjectives. This is also marginally possible in Norwegian (cf. Vannebo 1972), as illustrated in (36).

- (36) ?eit stor-t eit styg-t eit hus
 INDEF big-N INDEF ugly-N INDEF house.N
 ‘a big ugly house’

These articles do not represent the adjectival agreement since the adjectival agreement is spelled out by the suffixes on the adjectives. Hence Julien concludes that these articles are realizations of functional heads that have the adjectival phrases in their specifiers, i.e. they lexicalize the α heads.

A second problem with Laake’s Split-IP parameter is that it is empirically problematic. Researchers have sought for correlations between morphology and syntactic processes for years without too much success. It seems to be clear that the strong version of what Bobaljik (2003) dubs the Rich Agreement Hypothesis fails (see van Gelderen 2000, chapter 4). Instead, Thráinsson (2003: 159) argues in favor of a weaker condition, stated in (37) (see also Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2007).

- (37) If a language has rich verbal inflection [...] it has V-to-I movement in embedded clauses. The converse does not necessarily hold, however.

However, many questions still remain unanswered. We will therefore remain skeptical about the claim concerning correlations between morphology and syntax until further convincing evidence is presented.

For these reasons, we think that it is necessary to provide a different account of the change from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian, avoiding these problematic assumptions. Following van Gelderen (2007), we assume that the definite marker is merged as head of the nP , not the DP. In this paper, we emphasize the position of the adjective in Old Norse. The inspiration for this comes from Spamer (1979) and more recently Fischer (2000, 2006):

in Old English the weak adjectives are used attributively and come closer to the nominal category (it could be said that adjective and noun together form a kind of compound), while the strong adjectives are used predicatively, and hence closer to the verbal category. It follows in both cases that these noun- and verb-like adjectives cannot be stacked, just as one cannot stack nouns or full verbs (Fischer 2006: 268).

We adopt this proposal since it also seems to work for Old Norse. There is for example no stacking of adjectives in Old Norse, unlike in Modern Norwegian. This implies that the base order for the nominal phrase in Old Norse was one where the adjective followed the noun, i.e. [N + weak adjective] and [N + strong adjective], not [adjective + N] as argued by Faarlund (2004).⁷ Although we have seen that the order of adjectives in Old Norse apparently is optionally pre- or postnominal, according to Faarlund (2004: 69), when the adjective is emphasized or focused, it precedes the noun. If this is true, one can then easily assume that this order is due to a feature triggering the movement of the adjective to the pronominal position. However, this is an area for further work since focus with adjectives is a little unclear.

Before providing an analysis for adjectives, let's briefly review weak and strong inflection on the adjectives. Strong adjectives are used when there is no definiteness marker or a demonstrative; weak ones are used when there are definiteness markers. The strong form is therefore also called the indefinite and the weak one the definite. Examples of weak adjectives can be found, for instance, in (9) to (12) above, and (38). They are most often prenominal and can be seen as individual level adjectives, e.g. in (38).

- (38) hold ok hjarta var mér in horska mær
 body and heart was me the wise maiden
 'My life was the wise maiden' (Hav. 96, from Nygaard 1906: 48)

Nygaard (1906: 48) formulates the individual-level character of the weak adjective as "[a]djektivet betegner da en bekjendt egenskap ... eller en egenskap, der tillhører gjenstanden efter dens natur og væsen" ('the adjective denotes a known characteristic ... or a characteristic that belongs to the thing according to its nature').

Strong adjectives have been shown above to be both pre- and postnominal in Old Norse. If strong adjectives are prenominal, they are often generic, as in (39), or predicate-like, as in (40)-(42), i.e. stage-level and not individual-level, which weak adjectives often are.

- (39) Ósnotr maðr ef eignaz getr fé
 unwise man if own gets money ...
 'The unwise man, if he gets money ... for himself, ...' (Hav. 79)

⁷ Although it is hard to rely too much on how the situation in Proto-Nordic is assumed to have been, it is interesting to note that Antonsen (1981) argues that there are no examples of adjective-noun in the runic inscriptions, only noun-adjective has been found.

- (40) auðgom manni fyrir
 wealthy man-DAT before
 'before a wealthy man' (Hav 70)
- (41) Gefendr heilir
 givers healthy
 'Safe hosts' (Hav 2)
- (42) hof stor
 seas big
 'big seas'

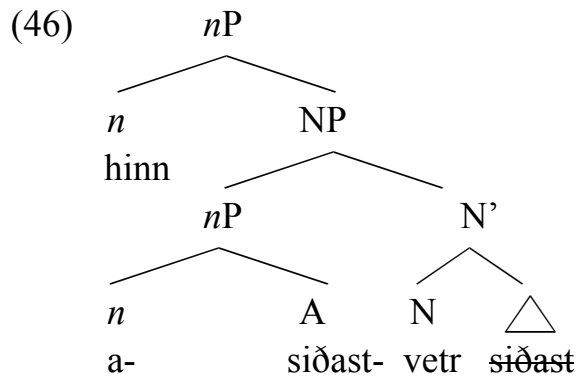
(Faarlund 2004: 68)

As expected under the analysis we provide, the strong form is also used predicatively, as in (43):

- (43) At hyggiandi sinni scylit maðr hræsinn vera
 In thought his should-not man boastful be
 'A man shouldn't be boastful in his thought'. (Hav 6)

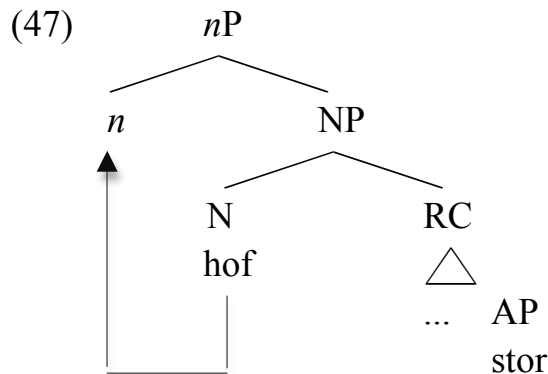
Based on Spamer, Fischer and more recently Cinque (in press), we propose that the structure of a simple noun phrase with a weak adjective as in (44) or (45) should look like (46).

- (44) inn vari gestr
 the knowing-W guest
 'The knowing guest' (Edda, *Hávamál* 7)
- (45) hinn síðasta vetr
 DEF last winter
 'the last winter' (Gordon 1956)



In (46), the adjective *siðast* merges with its weak definiteness marker *a*. The definiteness marker works like a nominalizer, which we have labeled *nP* following the convention in the literature. The two *nPs* appear in different positions, and thereby perform different functions. Assuming that the adjective head-moves to *n*, we get *siðasta*.

For post-nominal adjectives, as in (42), the structure would look like (47) with the structure of the relative clause depending on one's favorite theory.



For prenominal strong adjectives, we suggest a movement of the AP into a higher position and this position is then grammaticalized in Modern Norwegian as in (5).

In addition to these straightforward patterns, we also noticed some cases where a noun moves above the definiteness marker without cliticizing onto it ((24)-(26)). A reduced version of example (26) is repeated here as (48).

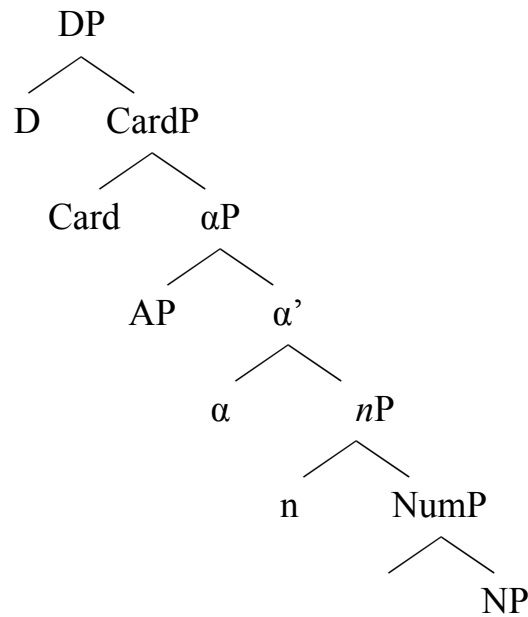
- (48) jarl inn illa
 earl DEF evil
 ‘the evil earl’ (Hkr I.355.16) (= (26))

We stated above that this is movement to a specifier position, because we also find entire phrases preceding the article.

- (49) Hákonar jarls ins ríka
 Hakon earl DEF mighty
 ‘of Earl Hakon the mighty’ (Hkr I.4.18) (= (25))

Summarizing, we argue that (46) and (47) represent the correct DP structures for Old Norse. Compare that to Modern Norwegian, as in (14) above, repeated here as (50) without the movement.

(50)



The crucial difference between these two stages is the position of the adjectives. In Old Norse, adjectives are either noun-like when they are weak, that is, the noun and the adjective together form a compound, or verb-like when they are strong, that is, they are base-generated post-nominally and are more predicative. In Modern Norwegian adjectives are base generated much higher; they are merged as a specifier of a functional head, as in (50). In other words, we see a change conforming to the Late Merge Principle. It seems reasonable to view the loss of the older system in relation to the loss of inflection that happened from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian (cf. Fischer 2006 for English). We hypothesize that when the noun and adjective inflection were almost gone, the adjective was analyzed as a pure adjective and no longer a nominalized (in (46)) or verbalized (in (47)) form. Furthermore, we have seen that the location of the definiteness marker has not changed; it is merged as the head of *nP* in both Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. The only change that has happened is a lexical change: the marker has changed from being a head to being a suffix.

In this section, we have seen that assuming the definiteness marker in Old Norse to be merged in *n* instead of *D* makes it possible to view the change from a clitic to a suffix in relation to the change from having both prenominal and postnominal adjectives in Old Norse to only having prenominal adjectives in Modern Norwegian. We have suggested that adjectives have different Merge sites in the two languages. The change is thus an instance of the Late Merge Principle in van Gelderen's theory of grammaticalization, whereby adjectives are merged higher in Modern Norwegian than in Old Norse.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to take a fresh look at the current debate concerning the emergence of double definiteness in Modern Norwegian. We have argued that one's perspective on the structure of the DP is an important issue when interpreting the change, and more importantly, that it is important and necessary to look at other DP-internal properties in Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. Looking at changes in adjective ordering, we have argued that it is possible to relate the development of double definiteness to the reordering of adjectives that happens between Old Norse and Modern Norwegian. Specifically, building on work by Spamer, Fischer, and Cinque, we have argued that adjectives in Old Norse were more nominal and that they actually enter into a compound-like configuration together with the noun.

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