

Icelandic Articles and Anaphora

The Free Article can be Strong!

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1 Introduction

Icelandic has two definite article items, a free (ART) and a bound (DEF) morpheme. In modified definite noun phrases involving (weakly inflected) adjectives, we find three primary surface patterns (Pfaff 2014, 2015):¹

- (1) a. **A.WK N-DEF** (I)
fransk.i heimspekingur -**inn**
French.WK philosopher -DEF
- b. **ART A.WK N** (II)
hinn fransk.i heimspekingur
ART French.WK philosopher
- c. **N-DEF A.WK** (III)
heimspekingur -**inn** fransk.i
philosopher -DEF French.WK
all: ‘the French philosopher’

The presence of a pronominal modifier is a necessary prerequisite for the syntactically well-formed occurrence of ART. Notably, ART is illicit with a bare noun, in which case simple definiteness is expressed by DEF:

- (2) a. ***hinn** heimspekingur
ART philosopher
- b. heimspekingur -**inn**
philosopher -DEF

In addition to this syntactic difference, it has often been noted that the two articles are semantically different:

- (3) a. i. *þekkti leikari -nn Clint Eastwood (Thráinsson 2007:89, fn. 2)
known actor -DEF Clint Eastwood

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¹Glosses used: ART - freestanding definite article; DEF - suffixed definite article; WK - weak adjectival inflection. For convenience, I will occasionally refer to those patterns by the Roman numbers given in (1).

- ii. hinn þekkti leikari Clint Eastwood
ART *known actor Clint Eastwood*
- b. i. *Vinsæla hljómsveit -in 4 x 100 leikur fyrir dansi (Thráinsson 2007:4)
popular band -DEF 4 x 100 plays for dance
- ii. Hin vinsæla hljómsveit 4 x 100 leikur fyrir dansi
ART *popular band 4 x 100 plays for dance*

Traditionally, this difference is described in terms of (non-)restrictiveness: adjectives with the free article can only have a non-restrictive interpretation, but a restrictive one with the suffixed article, cf. Árnason (1983, 92); Vangsnes (1999, 130, fn. 24); Thráinsson (2005, 98; 2007, 4/89); Roehrs (2006, 2009).² However, Pfaff (2007, 2009, 2014, 2015) has pointed out that, in contexts like (3), the pattern involving DEF and a postnominal adjective is fine as well:

- (4) a. iii. leikari -nn þekkti Clint Eastwood (Pfaff 2015:102)
actor -DEF known Clint Eastwood
- b. iii. hljómsveit -in vinsæla 4 x 100
band -DEF popular 4 x 100

(3) and (4) thus illustrate that, in such cases, we are rather dealing with a contrast between patterns (I) vs. (II)/(III) (rather than DEF vs. ART). Crucially, contexts where both both patterns (II) and (III) – but not (I) – are fine and semantically equivalent typically involve certain evaluative adjectives.

Pfaff (2015) argues that *anaphora* is one of two prototypical functions of ART/pattern (II), and a very common use of pattern (III). Ingason (2016a,b), on the other hand, who builds on Schwarz’ (2009) distinction between *weak articles* (uniqueness) and *strong articles* (anaphora), claims that ART is *never anaphoric*.

In this paper, I will show that the latter claim is incorrect, or at least, too strong, and that we need to distinguish different kinds of anaphoric definite descriptions. In the next section, I will introduce Schwarz’ (2009) analysis of definiteness. In section (3), I present the core data and arguments of Ingason’s analysis purportedly showing that ART is a weak article without anaphoric function. In section 4, I provide data that illustrate that pattern (II) does have unambiguously anaphoric functions, and should actually be considered a strong article. I will also show that the same holds for pattern (III) – to a certain extent. In section (5), I will take a closer look at anaphoric definite descriptions and discuss some pertinent aspects such as evaluative adjectives, and description-dependent anaphora vs. epithets.

This paper focuses on (a proper characterization of the) data; I will not discuss the respective analyses themselves (see references), nor will I attempt to provide a formal analysis.

²In a sense, the adjectives in (3a-i/b-i) lead to a “referential surplus”; the former, for instance, somehow suggests that there is another Clint Eastwood who is not (a) famous (actor). However, this contrast is not as general as these examples seem to suggest; one crucial factor is the presence of an *evaluative* adjective, see section 5.1, (26) vs. (27); see also Pfaff (2015, 104-121). The relevance of evaluative adjectives is pointed out by both Pfaff (2015) and Ingason (2016a,b).

2 Two Types of Definite Articles: Schwarz (2009)

While most analyses of definiteness have attempted to provide a unified account reducing anaphora to uniqueness (or vice versa), Schwarz (2009) argues that both kinds of analyses are independently required. Empirically, he substantiates his claim with the observation that a number of languages employ different article morphemes for different uses, and distinguishes between *weak articles* indicating situational uniqueness, and *strong articles* expressing an anaphoric relation.

In German, the weak article is a (morpho-) phonologically reduced form of the strong article; in prepositional phrases, it forms a portmanteau morpheme with a preceding preposition (*in dem* → *im*; *von dem* → *vom*; *zu dem* → *zum* etc.). The strong article, on the other hand, must spell out separately and not form a unit with the preposition. A brief illustration of both cases is given below. In (5a/b), there is a unique referent that satisfies the descriptive content of the definite noun phrase relative to a certain situation; only the weak article is licit here. In (6a/b), on the other hand, the definite noun phrases refer back to a previously mentioned discourse antecedent; only the strong article is felicitous:

(5) *Weak Article* (Schwarz 2009:40)

a. **Immediate Situation Use**

Das Buch, das du suchst, steht **im** / **#in dem** Glasschrank.
the book that you look for stands in-the_{weak} / in the_{strong} glass-cabinet
 ‘The book that you are looking for is in the glass-cabinet.’

b. **Global Situation Use**

Armstrong flog als erster **zum** / **#zu dem** Mond.
Armstrong flew as first one to-the_{weak} / to the_{strong} moon
 ‘Armstrong was the first one to fly to the moon.’

(6) *Strong Article* (Schwarz 2009:30)

a. Hans hat einen Schriftsteller und **einen Politiker** interviewt. Er hat
Hans has a writer and a politician interviewed He has
#vom / **von dem** **Politiker** keine interessanten Antworten
from-the_{weak} / from the_{strong} politician no interesting answers
 bekommen.
gotten

‘Hans interviewed a writer and a politician. He didn’t get any interesting answers from the politician.’

b. Bei der Gutshausbesichtigung hat mich **eines der Zimmer** besonders
During the mansion tour has me one the_{GEN} rooms especially
 beeindruckt. Angeblich hat Goethe im Jahr 1810 eine Nacht **#im**
impressed Supposedly has Goethe in-the_{weak} year 1810 a night in-the_{weak}
/ in dem Zimmer verbracht.
/ in the_{strong} room spent

‘One of the rooms especially impressed me during the mansion tour. Supposedly Goethe spent a night in the room in 1810.’

Schwarz captures this correlation by suggesting that, while the weak article merely denotes situational uniqueness, the strong article’s denotation equals the weak article *plus* an anaphoric index:

- (7) a. $\llbracket \text{weak article} \rrbracket = \lambda s_r. \lambda P. \iota x. P(x)(s_r)$ uniqueness
 b. $\llbracket \text{strong article} \rrbracket = \lambda s_r. \lambda P. \lambda y \iota x. P(x)(s_r) \ \& \ x=y$ additional anaphoric index
 (Schwarz 2009:264)

Overwhelming empirical support for this idea comes from a number of unrelated and typologically different languages that make distinctions essentially along the same lines as German (for instance Arkoh and Matthewson 2013; Schwarz 2013; Barlew 2014; Jenks 2015). This strongly suggests that the strong vs. weak distinction is a genuine fact about definite determiners (or definiteness).

3 ART is Weak?

Following Schwarz’ classification, Ingason argues that the suffixed article DEF is ambiguous:³ He diagnoses the individual cases according to whether they can felicitously be used to introduce a new discourse referent or whether they require a previous mention of the referent:

- (8) a. (Context: First mention of the World Wide Web)
 Tim Berners Lee introduced the world to ...
 veraldarvef -**num**
world.wide.web -the_{weak}
 b. (Previous discourse: Mary talked to a writer and a politician.)
 She got no interesting answers from ...
 stjórnmálamanni -**num**
politician -the_{strong}
 (Ingason 2016a:108)

The internet is a globally unique entity and can felicitously be introduced into the discourse without prior mentioning. Thus the article in the definite noun phrase ‘the internet’ in (8a) is weak according to Schwarz’ criteria. Conversely, in (8b), a ‘politician’ has been introduced into the discourse by an indefinite description and the definite noun phrase ‘the politician’ is anaphorically related to that antecedent. In this case, the article must be strong.

Furthermore, the same semantic distinction can be made when a restrictive adjective is present (i.e. in a pattern (I) configuration):

- (9) a. (Context: First mention of the last binding principle)
 Chomsky invented ...
 síðasta bindilögmál -**ið**
last binding.principle -the_{weak}

³Ingason segments the free article in a dummy morpheme HI + article suffix. For the sake of exposition, I will adopt his glosses in this section: HI-*the* = ART, and -*the* = -DEF.

- b. (Previous discourse: Mary talked to a young politician and an old politician.)
She got no interesting answers from ...

unga stjórnmálamanni **-num**
young politician *-the_{strong}*

(Ingason 2016a:118)

However, when it comes to ART, the Icelandic article system seems to display a visible distinction correlating with a semantic difference. Recall that ART cannot stand with a bare noun, but requires a certain kind of prenominal modifier. In order to “force” the occurrence of ART, Ingason looks at examples involving evaluative adjectives such as the following:

- (10) a. (Context: First mention of the World Wide Web)

Tim Berners Lee introduced the world to ...

hinum ótrúlega veraldarvef
HI-*the_{weak} amazing_{evaluative} world.wide.web*

- b. (Previous discourse: Mary talked to a writer and a terrible politician.)

She got no interesting answers from ...

#hinum hræðilega stjórnmálamanni
HI-*the_{strong} terrible_{evaluative} politician*

(Ingason 2016a:109)

(10) suggests that the pattern (II) noun phrase is only felicitous in a uniqueness context, not in an anaphoric context, and by extension, that ART cannot be a realization of the strong article. Based on contrasts like this, Ingason concludes that ART is unambiguously a weak article.

In order to further substantiate this claim and to show that the free article is sensitive to uniqueness contexts, Ingason shows that it occurs in the same contexts where German uses the weak article as diagnosed by preposition-article contraction, see (5) above. Two examples are given below:

- (11) a. Die Mauer fiel **am** [#an dem] 9. November 1989.

the wall fell on-the_{weak} on the_{strong} 9th November 1989

‘The wall fell on November 9, 1989.’

(Schwarz 2009:21)

- b. Múrin féll **hinn** eftirminnilega 9. nóvember 1989.

wall.the fell HI-the_{weak} memorable_{evaluative} 9. November 1989

‘The wall fell the memorable November 9, 1989.’

(Ingason 2016:127)

- (12) a. **Am** / **#an dem** Zebra kann man sehen dass die Natur symmetrisch ist

on-the_{weak} / on the_{strong} zebra can one see that the nature symmetrical is

‘The zebra shows us that nature is symmetrical.’

(Schwarz 2009:65)

- b. **Hinn** dularfulli sebrahestur sýnir okkur að náttúran er

HI-the_{weak} mysterious_{evaluative} zebra shows us that nature.the is

samhverf.

symmetrical

‘The mysterious zebra shows us that nature is symmetrical.’

(Ingason 2016:127)

Ingason (p.128) points out that an example like (11b) making reference to a date strongly supports his claim because

[it] illustrates nicely that the distribution of the weak article is based on a generalization which refers to uniqueness. Here, the free weak article must be used even if a child is not likely to hear many, if any, tokens of dates modified by evaluative adjectives during language acquisition.

Likewise, reference to kinds as in (12b) suggests that the free article is associated with uniqueness.⁴ Here the evaluative adjective *dularfullur* ‘mysterious’ in (12b) gives an assessment of the kind *zebra*, not of an individual zebra.⁵

Thus given that Schwarz’ approach is on the right track, the evidence provided by Ingason indeed seems to suggest that ART is a weak article in Schwarz’ sense that favors uniqueness contexts.

4 ART is quite Strong!

One important empirical claim underlying Ingason’s analysis is that “[t]he free form article [= ART] is **never** a realization of D_{strong} ; it is **never anaphoric**” (Ingason 2016a, 108; boldprint mine). In other words, a pattern (II) noun phrase can never be anaphoric. He does not make that claim explicitly about pattern (III), but since he gives only one example where the article type is marked in the glosses, namely as *weak*, (13a), which is furthermore the same he uses to illustrate the uniqueness use of ART, (13b), it seems that his claim carries over to pattern (III) as well:⁶

- (13) a. veraldarvefur **-inn** ótrúlegi (Ingason 2016a, 143)
world.wide.web -the_{weak} amazing
 b. **hinn** ótrúlegi veraldarvefur (Ingason 2016a, 136)
HI-the_{weak} amazing world.wide.web

In contrast, Pfaff (2015, 100) argues that anaphora is one of two prototypical uses of ART/pattern (II),⁷ and a very common use of pattern (III). Consider the following example:

⁴See Schwarz (2009, 65): “A further important use of the weak article is for referring to kinds in the sense of Carlson (1977)”.

⁵Recall that evaluative adjectives are crucial to ensure the well-formed occurrence of ART. But Ingason shows that these adjectives can also be used restrictively, in which case -DEF is used (see also (9)):

- (1) (Context: There are 9 zebras in the zoo and some consider one of them mysterious because it has been gaining weight lately.)

Dularfulli sebrahestur **-inn** hvarf á miðnætti.
mysterious_{restrictive} zebra -the_{weak/strong} disappeared at midnight

‘The mysterious zebra disappeared at midnight.’

⇒ ‘One of the zebra individuals is mysterious.’

(Ingason 2016a, 139)

⁶On the other hand, since DEF is assumed to be ambiguous between weak and strong, this claim should not carry over to pattern (III). But since Ingason does not discuss pattern (III) in detail (notably not in the context of anaphora), it is not obvious. In either case, in the following, I will provide pattern (III) data for the sake of completeness.

⁷The other prototypical function is to denote *abstract concepts or kinds*; regarding this assessment, Pfaff’s and Ingason’s proposals are at least compatible.

- (14) Noam Chomsky var fenginn í viðtal við MBL.
*Noam Chomsky*₄ was gotten for an interview with MBL (an Icelandic newspaper)
- i. #Frægi málfraeðingur -inn ...
famous linguist -DEF
 - ii. Hinn frægi málfraeðingur ...
 ART *famous linguist*
 - iii. Málfraeðingur -inn frægi ...
linguist -DEF *famous*
- ... sagðist vera mjög ánægður með nýjustu bókina sína
 'The famous linguist₄ said that he was very pleased with his latest book'
 (Pfaff 2015:102)

Here the noun phrase “the famous linguist” refers to a previously introduced antecedent, and hence is anaphoric; notably, patterns (II) and (III) are fine in this use.⁸ In order to empirically corroborate this point, in the following, I will provide some more, actual data samples that clearly refute Ingason’s claim.⁹

(15) *Pattern (II) Anaphors A*

- a. Mig langar að vitna í einn af höfuðpaurunum [...] í íslensku viðskiptalífi [...] Björgólf Jóhannsson [...] Hann sagði á fundi um daginn, með leyfi forseta: “Mér finnst það gjörsamlega út í hött að ...” Þetta sagði **hinn lífsreyndi og farsæli forstjóri**.¹⁰
*I would like to quote one of the big shots [...] in Icelandic economic life [...] Björgólfur Jóhannsson*₁ [...]. *He*₁ said at a meeting the other day, with permission of the president: “I think it is completely ridiculous that ...” This is what [ART *life-experienced and successful CEO*]₁ said.’
- b. Aðspurður hvort hann hafi þekkt Vilhjálmmur á sínum tíma segist Laddi hafa kynnt **hinum vinsæla söngvara** ágætlega.¹¹
*‘Asked whether he*₁ *knew Vilhjálmmur*₂ *in his day, Laddi*₁ *says that he got to know [ART popular singer]*₂ *quite well.*
- c. Hæstiréttur Ítalíu hefur farið sér að engu óðslega í máli Silvíu Berlusconi [...] Reiknað var með að dómsuppkvaðning yrði á þriðjudaginn, en það hefur dregist og verður líklega í dag. Þá ráðast úrslit **hins umdeilda stjórnmálamanns**, sem fær ekki að sitja lengur á þingi.¹²
*‘The Supreme Court of Italy has not been in a hurry in the case of Silvio Berlusconi*₁ [...]. *The verdict was expected for Tuesday, but there has been a delay and it is likely that it will be delivered today. Then the fate of [ART controversial politician]*₁, *who is no longer allowed to sit in parliament, will be decided.*
- d. Sú frétt barst nýlega að ástralski kvikmyndagerðarmaðurinn Steve Irwin hefði látist af sárum sem hann hlaut af völdum stingskötur [...] Stingskötur geta reynst mönnum

⁸ Compare the distribution of licit patterns in (14) with (3) and (4).

⁹ All examples below were retrieved during the first two weeks of November 2016. In some cases, the text is considerably longer; I have omitted as much material as possible while still capturing the characteristics of the discourse setting that show the relation between antecedent and anaphor. In both the Icelandic text and the English paraphrase, the anaphoric noun phrases are given in bold print, and the respective antecedents are underlined. Only the anaphoric elements are given a proper gloss.

¹⁰ <http://www.althingi.is/altxt/raeda/145/rad20161011T150010.html>

¹¹ <http://www.mbl.is/greinasafn/grein/1236121/>

¹² <http://www.visir.is/berlusconi-bidur-lokanidurstodu/article/2013708019927>

hættulegar eins og dauðsfall **hins fræga kvikmyndagerðarmanns** sannar.¹³
'Recently, the news spread that the Australian filmmaker Steve Irwin₁ had died from the wounds that he had received from the bite of a stingray [...] Stingrays may be dangerous to humans as the death of [ART famous filmmaker]₁ proves.'

(16) **Pattern (III) Anaphors**

- a. Cristiano Ronaldo er markahæsti leikmaður Real Madrid í deildinni til þessa, en **Portúgalinn ótrúlegi** er búinn að skora 18 mörk í aðeins tíu leikjum.¹⁴
'Christiano Ronaldo₁ is the goal-highest player of Real Madrid so far, [Portuguese -DEF incredible]₁ has scored 18 goals in only ten games.'
- b. Ricky Gervais blæs á þá gagnrýni sem hann hefur sætt fyrir harðskeytt grín sitt á Golden Globes verðlaunaathöfninni í fyrrinótt [...] **Grínistinn vinsæli** sagði ...¹⁵
'Ricky Gervais₁ does not give a damn about the criticism he has received for his biting sarcasm at the Golden Globes awards show last night [...] [Comedian -DEF popular]₁ said ...'
- c. Björn Bjarnason dómsmálaráðherra brá út af vana sínum og mætti í Silfur Egils. **Ráðherrann umdeildi** kom nokkuð víða við samtalinu.¹⁶
'Björn Bjarnason₁, minister of justice, broke with his habit and showed up in (the TV show) Silfur Egils. [Minister -DEF controversial]₁ touched on a number of issues in the interview.'
- d. Kannski vín þorpsbúa hafi ollið því að hingað, af öllum stöðum, kom Pablo nokkur Picasso eitt sinn en líklega þó að hreint fjallaloftið hafi haft afgerandi áhrif þar á. **Listmálarinn frægi** kom sér hér fyrir til aðhlyningar þegar hann þjádíst snemma af skarlatssótt.¹⁷
'Maybe the wine of the villagers was the cause that a certain Pablo Picasso₁ once came here, out of all places, but it is more likely that the pure mountain air was the decisive factor. [Painter -DEF famous]₁ came here for recovery when he suffered from scarlet fever early in his life.'

In these cases, patterns (II) and (III) do not simply denote a situationally unique referent that is mentioned for the first time, but are anaphoric elements that make reference to a previously mentioned discourse antecedent. Furthermore, note that German makes use of the strong article in examples of this kind:

- (17) Auf die Frage, ob er **Heino** persönlich kenne, sagte Fritz, dass er **von dem** /
upon the question if he Heino personally knew said Fritz that he from the_{strong} /
#vom beliebten Sänger schon mal ein Autogramm bekommen habe.
from-the_{weak} popular singer already once an autograph gotten had
'Asked whether he knew Heino personally, Fritz said that once he had gotten an autograph from the popular singer.'

Based on this comparison with German,¹⁸ we must conclude that not only do patterns (II) and (III) have anaphoric uses, but ART can be a strong article.

¹³<http://www.visindavefur.is/svar.php?id=6180>

¹⁴<http://www.visir.is/markasupa-ronaldo-og-felaga-myndband/article/2014141108950>

¹⁵<http://www.pressan.is/Frettir/LesaFrett/ricky-gervais-ser-ekki-efir-neinu-haestanaegdur-med-hvernig-til-tokst-framhaldid-ovist?page=2&offset=50>

¹⁶<http://www.dv.is/sandkorn/2008/2/3/ovinir-sjalfstaedisflokksins/>

¹⁷<http://fararheill.is/fotspor-meistaranna-kataloniu/>

¹⁸Recall that Ingason himself uses this method to substantiate his claim that ART is a weak article, cf. (11) and (12).

4.1 Addendum I: Attributive Uses

Recall examples (3)/(4) from the introduction, one of which is repeated below:

- (18) i. #þekkti leikari -nn Clint Eastwood
known actor -DEF Clint Eastwood
- ii. hinn þekkti leikari Clint Eastwood
ART known actor Clint Eastwood
- iii. leikari -nn þekkti Clint Eastwood
actor -DEF known Clint Eastwood

Pfaff (2015) labels noun phrases of this kind *Attributive Epithets*, and anaphoric noun phrases like the ones discussed above *Anaphoric Epithets*. He argues that both essentially have the same underlying (semantic) structure, the difference being that the index argument in the former is saturated by a proper name within the same noun phrase, whereas in the latter, it needs to be identified with an antecedent in the larger discourse domain. In this sense, both may be considered anaphoric. Relevantly, a corresponding German example uses the strong article:

- (19) Die Hauptrolle wird **von dem** / #**vom** **berühmten** Schauspieler
the lead character is by the_{strong} / by-the_{weak} famous actor
Clint Eastwood gespielt.
Clint Eastwood played

Thus once more, a comparison with German suggests that ART is a strong article. In the following, I will use the label *Comment Epithets* as a cover term for both *attributive* and *anaphoric epithets*, especially in order to distinguish them from *Genuine Epithets* (“the idiot”). The motivation for this distinction will become clearer in section 5.2.

4.2 Addendum II: A Note on Adjectival Semantics

In examples like (14) – (16) and (18), involving evaluative adjectives, patterns (II) and (III) are largely interchangeable. However, there appears to be a bottom line for interchangeability related to adjectival semantics; consider the following examples:

- (20) *Pattern (II) Anaphors B*
- a. Í fjörugum “delluverkum” sínum hefur **Bock** [...] augljóslega blásið til allsherjarsóknar gegn rökhyggjunni. Þar með mætti ætla að **hinn lærði viðskiptafræðingur** hafi sett fram andsvar við samfélagskenningum kapítalismans.¹⁹
*‘In his lively “nonsense art” **Bock**₁ [...] has obviously mounted an all-out attack against rationalism. Thus one might think that [ART trained economist]₁ has presented a reply to the capitalist theories of society.’*
- b. Serbneski stórmeistarinn Svetozar Gligoric [...] starfaði einnig sem blaðamaður og rithöfundur [...] Hann var skákskýrandi tímaritsins Skákar á meðan “einvígi aldarinnar” stóð, og ritaði vinsæla bók um einvígið. Í viðtali við **Fischer** náði Gligoric að veiða upp úr **hinum nýbakaða heimsmeistara** upplýsingar um það hvernig hann

¹⁹<http://www.mbl.is/greinasafn/grein/1012562/>

hefði undirbúið sig fyrir lokaskákina.²⁰

*‘The Serbian Grandmaster Svetozar Gligoric [...] also worked as a journalist and writer [...] He was a chess commentator of the journal Skákar during the “Duel of the Century”, and wrote a popular book about the Duel.’²¹ In an interview with Fischer, Gligoric managed to worm some information out of [ART **new-baked world champion**]₁ about how he had prepared for the final chess match.’*

In the cases in (20), the corresponding pattern (III) version is decidedly bad. Note that the adjectives involved have a strongly non-intersective/non-predicative interpretation:

- (21) a. THE *x*: *x* has been trained as an economist cf. (20a)
(not: ??? THE *x*: *x* is trained AND *x* is an economist)
- b. THE *x*: *x* has recently become world champion cf. (20b)
(not: ??? THE *x*: *x* is new(ly)-baked AND *x* is world champion)

In contrast, the (evaluative) adjectives involved in the previously discussed cases, where both patterns (II) and (III) are fine, have a predicative reading: *x* is famous, popular ..., and, at least in principle, allow for an intersective reading: *x* is incredible AND *x* is a Portuguese, cf. (16a). In other words, we can consider predicativity to be the criterial feature that determines whether or not patterns (II) and (III) are interchangeable. See Pfaff (2015) for some more discussion on the difference between the two patterns.

What remains is the fact that ART/pattern (II) does have an anaphoric use even in cases like (20), and again, German makes use of the strong article in corresponding examples:

- (22) **Fritz** hat ein kleines Büro. Wer **bei dem** / #**beim** **studierten**
Fritz has a small office. whoever with the_{strong} / with-the_{weak} studied
Ökonomen einen Termin hat, wird das gleich feststellen.
economist an appointment has will that immediately notice

5 So, what’s going on?

There are strong reasons to believe that Schwarz is on the right track, and that the distinction strong vs. weak articles is real. Ingason’s exposition of the Icelandic data is clear and seems compelling. Yet contrary to his claim, we have seen that the free article ART/pattern (II) has anaphoric uses, and should be considered a strong article. Taking a closer look at the core of the matter, it should first be noted that Pfaff and Ingason apply the notion *anaphor* to subtly different items, which can be characterized in terms of two intimately related aspects: (i) linguistic properties of the antecedent and (ii) relevance/function of the description.

As for (i): in the examples discussed by Ingason, the antecedent is introduced by an indefinite noun phrase, which establishes a description: *a (young/terrible) politician*.

²⁰<http://skak.blog.is/blog/skak/entry/1253617/>

²¹The “Duel of the Century” refers to the World Chess Championship 1972 in Reykjavík where Bobby Fischer defeated the then current world champion Boris Spassky.

In examples (14) through (20) and (22), on the other hand, the antecedent is introduced by a proper name, which only provides a referent.

As for (ii): Ingason (2016a,b) by and large discusses cases where antecedent and anaphor contain the same lexical material: ... [*a (young) politician*]₁ ... [*the (young) politician*]₁. The same goes for Schwarz (2009) for that matter (but see below). Recall from (7b), that the strong article on Schwarz' account does not merely contribute an anaphoric index, but also incorporates the uniqueness condition, which has to be satisfied by the description of the anaphoric noun phrase, usually matching that of the antecedent. In these cases, the descriptive content is clearly (referentially) relevant and can affect the truth conditions of the main proposition; in other words, it makes an *at-issue* contribution.

On the other hand, since the antecedents in examples like (14) through (20) and (22) are proper names, they do not provide descriptive content that the respective anaphors could be identified with to begin with. Moreover, Pfaff (2015, 101-104) shows that the descriptive content of comment epithets does not have a referential function, and does not make an *at-issue* contribution. Rather it provides an evaluation/additional information about the referent (possibly unknown to the hearer/reader), while reference is established simply via co-indexation. In this respect, such anaphoric noun phrases are more similar to unstressed pronouns:

- (23) ... [Noam Chomsky]₄ (p.102)
 a. he₄ said that ... AND
 b. he₄ is a famous linguist

Note that, even in examples like (20) and (22) that do not involve an evaluative adjective, the anaphor potentially provides new information that is not obviously inferable from the linguistic properties of the antecedent alone:

- (24) ... Bock₇ cf. (20a)
 a. he₇ has presented ... AND
 b. he₇ is a trained economist

Therefore, I will treat these cases as comment epithets as well. More generally, then, the free article does have anaphoric uses and clearly semantically corresponds to the German strong article in example likes (17) and (22). We have seen that, in the relevant cases, the description provided by the lexical material is not referentially relevant, and only makes a *non-at-issue* contribution, in which it is more akin to a *Conventional Implicature* (CI) in Potts' (2005,2007) sense (see below). However, those cases must be considered a subset of possible instances of anaphoric definite descriptions. If the description of the anaphor is referentially relevant (and thus *at issue*), as in the cases discussed by Ingason, ART/pattern (II) is indeed bad.

Below, I will address two relevant aspects in more detail, the role of evaluative adjectives, and epithets.

5.1 Evaluative Adjectives

Evaluative adjectives prototypically occur in patterns (II) and (III), but are bad in pattern (I) – regardless of whether the respective noun phrase is a *comment epithet*

(*anaphoric* or *attributive*), or denotes *uniqueness*, see section 3 and (13). However, when used restrictively/contrastively thus effectively contributing to identifying the referent, they must occur in pattern (I) (see also fn. 5):

(25) (Previous discourse: Yesterday, I interviewed a famous linguist₁ and an unknown linguist₂)

- i. Frægi málfræðingur - nn ...
famous linguist - DEF
 - ii. #Hinn frægi málfræðingur ...
ART famous linguist
 - iii. #Málfræðingur - nn frægi ...
linguist - DEF famous
- ‘[The *famous* linguist]₁ ... (turned out to be rather boring)’

Conversely, with purely descriptive (non-evaluative) adjectives, the choice of pattern seems to be largely a matter of style/register, compare (14)/(26) to (27):

(26) ... [Noam Chomsky]₄ ...

- i. #frægi málfræðingur -inn
famous linguist -DEF
- ii. hinn frægi málfræðingur
ART famous linguist
- iii. málfræðingur -inn frægi
linguist -DEF famous

‘[The famous linguist]₄ said ... ’

(27) ... [René Descartes]₅ ...

- i. franskí heimspekingur -inn
French philosopher -DEF
- ii. hinn franskí heimspekingur
ART French philosopher
- iii. heimspekingur -inn franskí
philosopher -DEF French

‘[The French philosopher]₅ said ... ’

It gets interesting when an evaluative adjective – in its evaluative function – is forced into an anaphoric function. Ingason gives an explicit semantics, which is encoded in the functional head ϵ

(28) $[\epsilon] = \lambda P. \lambda G. \lambda x. \lambda s. P(x)(s) \ \& \ Rel(G)(x)(s)$ (Ingason 2016a, 137)

$Rel(G)(x)(s)$ indicates that the **speaker** expresses the opinion that the DP referent x has property G (= being famous, amazing ...) in a given situation s . Note that this suggests that (proper) evaluation is new information and thus unique to a specific situation s . This is a reasonable approximation stressing the indexical component of evaluation.

Now, Ingason looks at examples where the same evaluative adjective occurs in the antecedent and in the anaphor. Recall that ART is bad in these cases; but Ingason shows that a demonstrative may be used instead:

(29) (Previous discourse: Mary talked to a writer and a terrible politician.)

Hún fékk engin góð svör frá #hinum / þessum hræðilega
she got no good answers from #HI-the_{strong} / this terrible_{evaluative}
stjórnámálamanni.
politician

‘She got no good answers from the terrible politician.’ (Ingason 2016a, 133)

Given (28), the descriptive content of the adjective in the antecedent can be paraphrased as *the speaker considers x terrible in s*. But in the case of the anaphor, it seems to mean something like *as was established in s: the speaker considers x terrible*. Thus the evaluative is anaphoric insofar as it makes reference to the original situation of evaluation. The alternative construal, which is actually expected according to (28), is that every use of the evaluative adjective involves a novel evaluation, which is presumably not what (29) is meant to convey. To illustrate this subtle ambiguity, consider the following example involving inter-speaker anaphora:

- (30) a. (Context: First mention of the World Wide Web)
 Tim Berners Lee kynnti heiminn fyrir **hinum** / **#Þessum**
Tim Berners Lee introduced world.the to ART-the_{weak} / #this
 ótrúlega veraldarvef
amazing_{evaluative} world.wide.web
 ‘Tim B. Lee introduced the world to the amazing World Wide Web.’
- b. (Context: Response to [(30a)])
 Þú veist svo mikið um **#hinn** / **#þennan** ótrúlega
you know so much about #HI-the_{weak} / this amazing_{evaluative}
 veraldarvef.
world.wide.web
 ‘You know so much about this amazing World Wide Web.’ (Ingason 2016a, 123)

The interlocutor in (30b) either gives an evaluation of her own, which happens to be the same as the one made by the speaker in (30a), or she simply adopts the speaker’s evaluation and treats it as an established part of the antecedent description. In the former case, the adjective is not anaphoric, in the latter case, it does not provide a genuine evaluation in the sense of (28).

In general, there seems to be something distinctly odd about evaluative adjectives used anaphorically as in (29) and (30b). Such apparent cases of anaphoric evaluatives are probably better described as non-indexical “**quote-unquote anaphors**”. In contrast, the evaluative adjectives in examples (14) – (16) are not used anaphorically themselves and do provide a genuine evaluation. I submit that examples (29) and (30b) are not about showing that ART cannot be used anaphorically, but about highlighting an interesting property of evaluative adjectives.

5.2 Epithets

Above it was mentioned, that the descriptive content of anaphoric DPs on Schwarz’ account, which Ingason relies on, is referentially relevant and makes an *at-issue* contribution to the main proposition. So (6a)/(9b) can be rendered as follows:

- (31) a. ... [young politician]₁ ...
 S/he didn’t get any interesting answers from (the unique young politician)₁.
 b. **[[the young politician]]** = *ix*. [*young politician*](x) & x=1

In accordance with (7b), the strong definite noun phrase anaphorically links the referent to a discourse antecedent (via anaphoric index) *and* identifies him (via description) as *the unique young politician*. Recall that the bulk of Schwarz’ and Ingason’s

examples of anaphoric definite noun phrases involve identical NP descriptions in antecedent and anaphor. Schwarz (2009, 31), however, suggests that the role played by the descriptive content is secondary: “[the NP-description of the anaphoric DP] can even be an epithet [(32)], which arguably does not contribute any descriptive content to the truth-conditional interpretation of a sentence at all”:

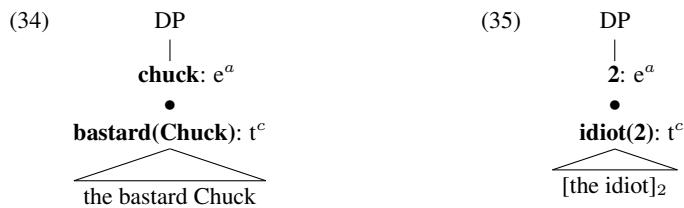
- (32) Hans hat schon wieder angerufen. Ich will #vom / von dem Idioten
Hans has already again called. I want of-the_{weak} / of the_{strong} idiot
 nichts mehr hören.
not more hear.
 ‘Hans has called again. I don’t want to hear anything anymore from that idiot.’

The problem is that Schwarz’ own concession that epithets do not contribute any descriptive content to the main proposition is at odds with the denotation of the strong article. Even an example like (32) would be expected to receive a representation like the following:

- (33) a. [Hans]₂ ... I don’t want to hear anything anymore from (the unique idiot)₂
 b. $\llbracket \text{the idiot} \rrbracket = \iota x. \text{idiot}(x) \ \& \ x=2$

That is, the description *idiot* should be subject to the uniqueness condition the same way as (*young politician* in (6a)/(9b) and make a contribution at the same semantic level (an at-issue contribution). Intuitively, however, *the idiot* has a different quality from *the politician*, and there is large agreement in the literature that epithets should be represented differently from “normal” definite noun phrases (for instance Postal 1972; Potts 2005; Corazza 2005; Patel-Grosz 2012).²²

In Potts’ (2005,2007) two-dimensional semantic analysis of *Conventional Implications* (CIs), at-issue content and non-at-issue content are represented in two distinct layers as a result of CI-Functional Application. (34) illustrates Potts’ (2005, 173) analysis of “the bastard Chuck” (somewhat simplified), and (35) is an analogous construal of “the idiot” in (32):



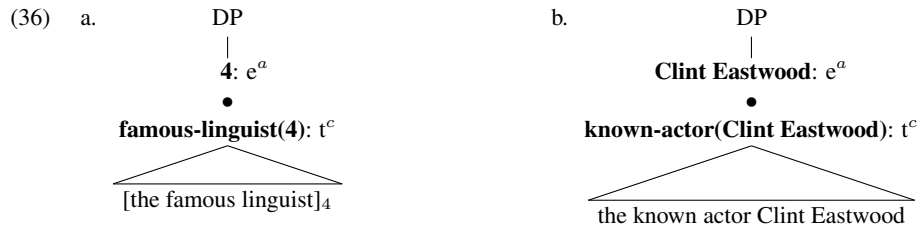
The superscript ^a indicates that e is an at-issue type (= the referent) that makes a contribution to the main proposition, whereas the superscript ^c indicates that t is a CI type, and constitutes a secondary non-at-issue proposition.²³

²²Cf. Potts (2005, 173): “unlike regular definites, epithets do not presuppose that a unique entity meets the conditions specified by their descriptive content.”

²³Pfaff (in progress) develops a formal analysis of epithetic articles that incorporates a CI component (in Potts’ sense) into Schwarz’ strong article semantics:

$$(1) \llbracket \text{strong article}_{CI} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda y \iota x. x=y \bullet P(x): t^c$$

Extending this analysis to comment epithets, we get the following parse trees:



The upshot is that distinguishing two flavors of strong articles, one of which is sensitive to non-at-issue/CI content, can give us a handle on how to classify the contexts in which pattern (II) can be used anaphorically/ART can be construed as strong article. However, the equation $\text{ART} \rightarrow \text{strong article} + \text{non-at-issue material}$ is too simplistic.

5.2.1 Classes of *Non-at-Issue Anaphors*

Genuine epithets (“the idiot/bastard ...”) express a purely subjective evaluation, and have a strongly “expressive” (Potts 2005)/“emotive” (Patel-Grosz 2012) component. Comment epithets (= pattern (II) anaphors), on the other hand, do provide objective information (or information presented as an objective fact). After all, Chomsky is (objectively) a linguist, cf. (14), and Berlusconi is (objectively) a politician, cf. (15c). Fair enough, in these examples, we do find an evaluation in form of an evaluative adjective (“famous”, “controversial”); in fact, one might argue that here the evaluative adjective is the CI-trigger. But we have also seen examples without an obvious evaluative component (“the trained economist”), where the descriptive content is entirely objective information, but is nonetheless presented as secondary (\rightarrow as a comment).

What is at issue here is not merely a matter of degrees along a scale of *non-at-issueness* (“the idiot” \gg “the controversial politician” \gg “the trained economist”), but a sharp contrast. Genuine epithets are bad/strongly deviant in pattern (II):

- (37) a. fífl -ið
idiot -DEF
- b. $\#?hið \text{ fræga / umdeilda ... fífl}$
ART famous / controversial ... idiot

Somehow, (37b) gives the subtle impression that *idiot* loses its expressive force, and rather conveys some objective piece of information, like a title or a job description.²⁴

Patel-Grosz (2012, 41-43) shows that epithets do not allow adjectival modification.²⁵ To the extent that this is correct, the badness of (37b) is accounted for. But

²⁴Akin to the characterization given in the sketch “The Idiot in Society” from *Monty Python’s Flying Circus*, episode 20: “[...] the idiot is a part of the old village system, and as such has a vital role to play in a modern rural society [...] the idiot does provide a vital psycho-social service for this community.”

²⁵This does not extend to expressive modifiers, which do, however, not occur in pattern (II) either:

- (1) a. helvítis fífl -ið
hell’s idiot -DEF
- b. $\#hið \text{ helvítis fífl}$
ART hell’s idiot

recall that the distinguishing syntactic property of ART is precisely that its occurrence is only well-formed in the presence of a prenominal modifier, typically an adjective. This means there is an inherent incompatibility between ART and genuine epithets that has grammatical repercussions.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the further ramifications, but suffice it to say that the (in-)felicity of pattern (II) suggests that we have to subdivide non-at-issue anaphors (at least) into two classes. With comment epithets, where ART/pattern (II) is fine, the lexical material is still (partly) contentful and can convey objective information, even though its *contribution* may not be at issue (in a truth-conditional sense). On the other hand, with genuine epithets, which disallow ART/pattern (II), the *content* of the lexical material itself is not at issue; instead it has expressive/emotive force and only conveys a subjective evaluation.

6 Summary

This paper has shown that ART/pattern (II) clearly has anaphoric uses, and more generally, that certain uses of the free article ART in Icelandic correspond to the use of the strong article in German. But the discussion has also shown that we must carefully distinguish between different kinds of anaphoric uses, and that pattern (II) only occurs in subset of those. In this context, we observed that the linguistic properties of the antecedent and the function of the anaphor’s descriptive content are relevant factors. This is summarized in table 1 below (relevant examples are taken from the above discussion):

Table 1: *Types of anaphors and Articles in comparison*

antecedent	description	example	Article	
			Germ	Icel
<i>indefinite DP</i>	<i>at-issue</i>	<i>the young politician</i>	<i>strong</i>	*ART
<i>proper name</i>	<i>comment</i>	<i>the known actor C. E.</i>	<i>strong</i>	ART
		<i>the famous linguist</i>	<i>strong</i>	ART
		<i>the trained economist</i>	<i>strong</i>	ART
	<i>expressive</i>	<i>the (*A) idiot</i>	<i>strong</i>	*ART

These findings have consequences beyond Icelandic: anaphoric definite descriptions are not a homogenous group, and we should recognize that there may be different flavors of strong articles, notably, strong articles that are in different ways susceptible to the distinction at-issue vs. non-at issue. Further empirical work will have to show whether we find anaphoric articles/definite noun phrases in other languages that make distinctions comparable to ART as illustrated in table 1.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Ingason’s claims about the uniqueness use of ART themselves are sound and remain unchallenged. But – given the results of this paper – that means that ART can be either a strong or a weak article; thus both DEF and ART are ambiguous in that respect. Therefore the strong/weak distinction cannot be directly associated with either article item in Icelandic.

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