

Pragmaticalised uses of *sånn* and *slik* in American Norwegian

In homeland Norwegian (hence EurNo), the determiner *sånn* ‘such, like that’ may, in addition to its basic comparative/deictic function, carry information about the speaker’s attitudes and speaker-hearer relations (Simonsen and Christensen 1980, Lie 2008, Johannessen 2012; see also von Heusinger 2011, Ekberg et al. 2015 on other Germanic varieties). Ex. (1a) illustrates a basic deictic use of *sånn*; the second type of use, hence referred to as *pragmaticalised* (pragm.), is shown in (1b). Typically, pragm. *sånn* marks hedging; it is used when the speaker is uncertain about the modified noun or wants to signal reservation (cf. Ekberg et al. 2015 for further uses of *sånn* that are not discussed here). Pragm. det. are primarily found in spoken, colloquial language.

- (1) a. *Se der! Sånn sykkel vil jeg ha.*
 look there SÅNN bike want I have
 ‘Look over there! I want a bike like that.’ DEICTIC
- b. *...det var bare en sånn # e motgreie trur jeg...*
 ...it was only a SÅNN eh counterthing think I...
 ‘it was only sort of a counteraction-thing I think’ (NoTa, from Johannessen 2012) PRAGMATICALISED

This paper explores the extent to which pragmaticalised determiners (pragm. det.) are found in American Norwegian (AmNo), a heritage variety spoken by 2–5th generation immigrants in USA/Canada. Probing into this area can shed new light on the history of pragm. det., and also enhance our knowledge about phenomena at the syntax/pragmatics interface in heritage languages. Moreover, while previous studies have exclusively focused on *sånn*, I will also deal with the lexical variant *slik*, which is widespread in certain Norwegian dialects, and which may also be used as a hedge (I base this on data from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC), Johannessen et al. 2009).

The AmNo data are drawn from CANS (Johannessen 2015). I show that AmNo speakers generally use *slik* rather than *sånn*, as opposed to EurNo speakers (Table 1). *Slik* can clearly be a hedge; as a hedge, it is often accompanied by switching to English, hesitation and meta comments about the modified noun; cf. (2) (pauses marked by #):

- (2) a. *jeg bruker ei slik # turkey cooker*
 I use a SLIK turkey cooker
 ‘I use a turkey cooker’ (westby_01gm)
- b. *...slik # diaper rash vi kaller det*
 SLIK diaper rash we call it
 ‘diaper rash, as we call it’ (sunburg_03gm)

Although pragm. det. are found, both *sånn* and *slik* are generally much less frequent in AmNo than in EurNo (Table 2). My interpretation of this is that pragm. det. were an incipient change in the language of the emigrants that left Norway in the late 18th/early 19th century, but that it never spread in AmNo to the extent that it did in EurNo.¹ The fact that *slik* is the predominant form in AmNo can be related to migration history: many of today’s AmNo speakers descend from the areas in Norway in which *slik* is still widely used, i.e. the South-East, and particularly the valleys (Johannessen and Salmons 2015:10).

Phenomena at the syntax/pragmatics interface are said to be vulnerable in heritage languages (Benmamoun et al. 2013:161ff and ref. there; see also Polinsky 2018:323). From this perspective, it is interesting that pragm. det. have been retained in AmNo. Factors relevant for retention could be the following: i) pragm. det. are used in spoken, colloquial language, i.e. registers that heritage speakers are typically exposed to. ii) Heritage speakers often struggle with lexical retrieval (e.g. Montrul 2008:65). This may have promoted the use of *slik* as a hedge, preventing loss.

¹Our access to spoken dialect data from EurNo from the late 19th/early 20th century is limited, but queries into the LIA corpus corroborate this scenario (<https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/lia>).

	AmNo	EurNo
<i>Sånn</i> + noun	16 (24.6%)	1775 (84.8%)
<i>Slik</i> + noun	49 (75.4%)	317 (15.2%)
Total	65 (100%)	2092 (100%)

Table 1: *Sånn* vs. *slik* in AmNo and EurNo. EurNo represented by NDC, regions *Østlandet*, *Vestlandet* and *Trøndelag*. For AmNo, only speakers that, according to the corpus metadata, have been to Norway ≤ 3 times were included. Queries cover occurrences of *slik/sånn* directly followed by noun, including cases where a hesitation marker or prosodic pause intervenes.

	AmNo	EurNo
Tokens per <i>sånn</i> + noun	29,294.1	830.4
Tokens per <i>slik</i> + noun	8,912.4	4,649.9

Table 2: Tokens in sample per *sånn/slik* + noun in AmNo and EurNo. Sample size AmNo: 436,706 word tokens. Sample size EurNo: 1,474,013 word tokens. Queries cover occurrences of *sånn/slik* directly followed by a noun.

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