

## Pronominal demonstratives in homeland and heritage Scandinavian

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In the Scandinavian languages, the pronouns *hun/han* ‘he/she’ (and corresponding forms) can be used as demonstratives (Johannessen 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, Strahan 2008) (Ex. 1). In homeland Norwegian (EurNo), pronominal demonstratives (PDs) typically express psychological distance. They are used in the spoken language in reference to a person that the speaker does not know personally or has negative feelings toward, or somebody who is known to the speaker but not to the listener. In this paper, we investigate PDs in the heritage varieties American Norwegian (AmNo) and American Swedish (AmSw).<sup>1</sup> For comparison, we use novel data from the LIA speech corpus (EurNo dialect speakers born in the 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century), and written corpus data from 19<sup>th</sup> century homeland Swedish (EurSw), in addition to data from the present-day homeland varieties. This enables us to more carefully establish the baseline for the present-day heritage varieties, and at the same time compare the development of PDs in the homeland with the heritage languages.

PDs appear to be a fairly recent phenomenon in both EurNo and EurSw. Johannessen (2008b) notes a considerable rise in their frequency in Oslo Norwegian from the 1970s to 2005. However, in the new LIA corpus, we find speakers born in the 1870s in different parts of the country, who produce PDs (Ex. 2). In the Swedish corpora, we also find scattered examples from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Ex. 3), but there are considerably more cases in the present-day corpora. We also find that PDs are attested in both AmNo and AmSw (Ex. 4–5).

Johannessen (2008a) argues that PDs do not have the same syntactic properties in EurNo and EurSw; EurSw PDs can combine with the definite determiner (or in fact, a demonstrative), whereas EurNo PDs are in complementary distribution with definite determiners (Ex. 6–7). We show that there are also differences in usage and semantics. In all investigated varieties, PDs can make a familiar referent in focus (cf. Gundel et al 1988, 1993), but when the referent is explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse, PDs are generally not used in Swedish. Moreover, Swedish can use the pronominal forms also when the referent is already in focus, and with what seems like a psychologically *proximal* (i.e. affectionate) interpretation (Ex. 8–9). Overall, AmSw patterns with EurSw, and AmNo with EurNo (note that Ex. 9, which has an affectionate interpretation, is from AmSw).

Building on Johannessen’s analysis, we suggest that PDs are true demonstratives in both EurNo and AmNo, generated in  $D_{Dem}$  (Figure 1). For Swedish, on the other hand, we propose a revised analysis whereby the relevant pronominal forms are generated in a functional projection (FP) above  $D/D_{Dem}$  (Josefsson 1999), where they spell out features that are also realized further down in the DP (Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008) and at the same time activate logophoric features encoding speaker perspective at the edge of the DP-phase (Sigurðsson 2011, 2014; Kinn 2020) (Figure 2).

It is noteworthy that the apparently subtle differences between pronominal demonstratives in EurNo and EurSwe are also reflected in the heritage varieties and have been preserved over generations. This corroborates the notion that heritage speakers are sensitive to indexicality (Polinsky 2018:64), also along the psychological dimension (proximal–distal). Moreover, our findings demonstrate how heritage language data can give us a more complete picture of diachronic developments and micro-comparative differences in the spoken, colloquial language.

<sup>1</sup> Pronominal demonstratives (PDs) are also referred to as *psychologically distal demonstratives* (PDDs). Regardless of terminology, PD(D)s should not be confused with preproprial articles (PPAs); see Johannessen (2008a:169–170). In our investigation of Norwegian, we exclude pronominal forms used with proper names, to avoid ambiguous cases. In the Swedish data, the problem does not arise, since PPAs do not occur.

- 1) *Hun dama hun blei jo helt nerd da*  
she woman.DEF she became MODPART completely nerd then  
‘That woman, she became a complete nerd then’ (EurNo, from Johannessen 2008a)
- 2) *han var kommen han e # islandspresten*  
he was come he eh Iceland.priest.DEF  
‘he had come, that priest from Iceland’ (EurNo, LIA, speaker \*1871)
- 3) *Det hade varit han Jan - fostret av patriarkens härliga*  
it had been he Jan fetus.DEF of patriarch.DEF.POSS great  
*ekonomiska uträkning*  
economical calculation  
‘It had been that Jan, the offspring of the great economical calculation of the patriarch’  
(EurSw, 1838)
- 4) *ja dere har svær bil sa han guttungen*  
yes you have large car sai he boy.kid.DEF  
‘yes, you have a large car, that kid said’ (AmNo, CANS, coon\_valley\_WI\_06gm)
- 5) *han gubben han # bara tittar*  
he. old.man.DEF he just looks  
‘that old man, he is just looking’ (AmSw, CANS, mn11\_f003)
- 6) *hon den/den där lilla tjejen* (EurSw)  
she the/that there little girl.DEF
- 7) *\*hun den lille jenta* (EurNo)  
she the little girl.DEF
- 8) *Hon jüntan fortsätter att stiga i vikten.* (EurSw)  
she girl.DEF continue to rise in weight.DEF  
‘my girl is still gaining weight’ (Bloggmix 2010)
- 9) *hon sade att han bara # går ee runt med bilen* (tx14\_f019) ...  
she said that he just goes round with car.DEF  
‘she said that he is just going around with the car’  
*det älskar han gubben #* (tx14\_f020)  
that loves he little.guy.DEF  
‘the little guy loves that’ (AmSw; *han gubben* is f019’s young son and f020’s grandchild)

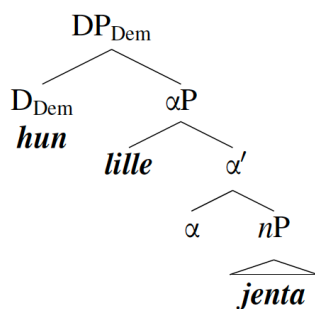


Figure 1: Syntactic structure of PDs in Norwegian (EurNo and AmNo).

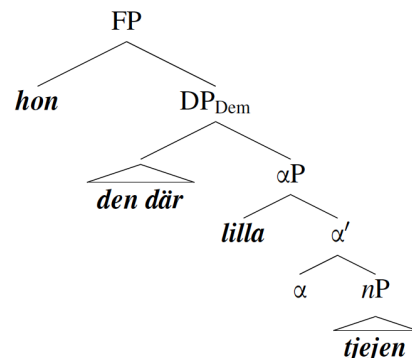


Figure 2: Syntactic structure of PDs in Swedish (EurSw and AmSw).

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