

ARTICLE

Pronominal demonstratives in homeland and heritage Scandinavian

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Abstract

This paper discusses pronominal demonstratives (PDs) in homeland and heritage (American) Norwegian and Swedish. We establish a baseline approximating the language of the early emigrants, based on 19th/20th century Norwegian dialect recordings and Swedish texts. Baseline Norwegian had a fully established PD expressing psychological distance (see Johannessen 2008a). In Swedish, however, PDs do not quite behave like (distal) demonstratives: they can combine with a definite determiner or a regular demonstrative, and they do not fully have the pragmatic functions that demonstratives have. We propose that the Swedish PD is a pronoun rather than a demonstrative, without the full set of regular pronominal features, but with logophoric features that activate knowledge shared between the speaker and addressee. Data from AmNo show that PDs are preserved in this heritage language, across several generations. On the assumption that PDs are indexical and that speech act participants are represented in narrow syntax, it comes as no surprise that they are retained (Polinsky 2018:63–65), although this may, on the face of it, appear to be at odds with the Interface Hypothesis (e.g. Sorace & Filiaci 2006, Sorace 2011).

Keywords: heritage languages; logophoric features; Norwegian; pronominal demonstratives; speech act participants; Swedish; syntactic doubling

1. Introduction¹

In the Scandinavian languages, third person singular pronouns (Bokmål Norwegian *han/hun*, Nynorsk Norwegian *han/ho*, Swedish *han/hon* ‘he/she’) can be used as demonstratives; we refer to these demonstratives as pronominal demonstratives (PDs) (see e.g. Delsing 1993; Julien 2005; Johannessen 2006, 2008a, b, 2012, 2020; Lie 2008; Strahan 2008). Norwegian (No) examples are given in (1) (from Johannessen 2008a; originally from the NoTa-Oslo corpus,² translations adapted).

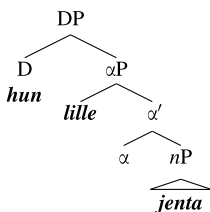
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- (1) a. **Hun dama** blei jo helt nerd da (No)
she woman.DEF became MODPART totally nerd MODPART
 ‘That woman, she became a complete nerd, you know.’
- b. Du vet **han kjørelæeren** jeg har? (No)
you know he driving.teacher I have
 ‘You know that driving instructor I have.’
- c. Jeg og Magne vi sykla jo og **han Mikkel** da (No)
I and Magne we cycled MODPART and he Mikkel MODPART
 ‘Me and Magne and that guy Mikkel, we cycled.’

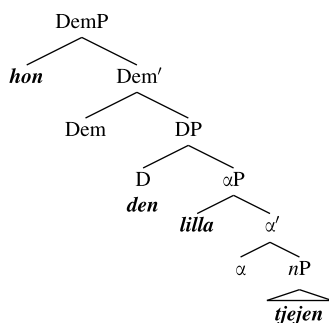
In Norwegian, PDs typically express psychological distance. They are used in the spoken language to refer to a person that the speaker does not know personally, or has negative feelings toward, or somebody who is known to the speaker but not to the listener (Johannessen 2008a). PDs are combined with a definite noun referring to a specific human individual, as in (1a) and (1b), or a proper name, as in (1c). Like other demonstratives, and unlike pronouns, they do not inflect for case (see Johannessen 2008a for discussion): in Swedish and Norwegian, the subject form is invariantly used (e.g. *hun dama* ‘she.NOM woman.DEF’ in (1a), see further below), whereas Danish uses the object form (the Danish equivalent of (1a) would be *hende damen* ‘she.ACC woman.DEF’; see further Johannessen 2008a on PDs in Danish). Note that PDs are different from preproprial articles, which are used exclusively with proper names (and a few kinship nouns) in many Norwegian dialects. Unlike preproprial articles, PDs are never obligatory, they do not inflect for case, and they have a demonstrative meaning (see Johannessen 2008a).³

The most influential syntactic analysis of Scandinavian PDs thus far was proposed by Johannessen (2008a); she refers to PDs as PSYCHOLOGICALLY DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES (PDDs). Based on the observation that PDs can co-occur with a prenominal definite determiner in Swedish (and Danish), but not in Norwegian, Johannessen suggests that the PD is DP-internal in Norwegian, but in a demonstrative phrase (DemP) above DP in Swedish; only in the latter case can it co-occur with a determiner in D. A simplified representation of Johannessen’s analysis is given in (2).

- (2) Johannessen’s (2008a) analysis
 a. Pronominal demonstrative in Norwegian: *hun lille jenta* ‘that little girl’



b. Pronominal demonstrative in Swedish: *hon den lilla tjejen* ‘that little girl’



In this paper, we offer a new, comparative view on PDs in Scandinavian, based on data sets that were not available at the time of Johannessen’s seminal works. In the first part of the paper, we present new observations on the history of PDs in Scandinavian, differences between PDs in Norwegian and Swedish, and a revision of Johannessen’s account. We show that Swedish has a more restricted use of PDs than Norwegian, but in fact allows the PD to co-occur not only with a determiner, but also with another demonstrative. Based on these observations, we propose that Swedish *han/hon* in the relevant contexts are not true demonstratives (although, for simplicity, we keep referring to them as PDs). On our account, Swedish PDs are syntactically reduced pronouns, located in a high position (above demonstratives), doubling certain features that are found further down in the extended nominal projection (see Josefsson 1999, 2006; van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008). We further assume that they have logophoric features (Sigurðsson 2011, 2014) that activate shared knowledge between the speaker and addressee.

In the second part of the paper, we extend our perspective to heritage varieties of Scandinavian,⁴ in this case, Norwegian/Swedish spoken by the descendants of emigrants who left Scandinavia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and settled in the US and Canada (see Johannessen & Salmons 2015a for an overview). We focus mainly on American Norwegian (AmNo), which is currently the only Scandinavian heritage variety for which we have enough data to systematically investigate PDs.

The use of PDs in AmNo is uncharted territory. While previous literature on the syntax of nominals in AmNo suggests a relatively high degree of stability (Anderssen, Lundquist & Westergaard 2018, van Baal 2020 on possessive constructions and double definiteness; Kinn 2020a on predicate nouns),⁵ PDs are of particular interest because they are, at least on the face of it, a phenomenon at the syntax-pragmatic interface (their distribution is in part governed by pragmatic factors such as psychological distance). Previous studies have argued that interface phenomena are vulnerable in bilinguals, including heritage speakers; this view is often referred to as the INTERFACE HYPOTHESIS (IH; see Sorace 2011 for an overview). At face value, the IH would predict that PDs are a vulnerable phenomenon in AmNo. We, however, contend that there is considerable stability in this area, even with respect to the subtle features that are particular to PDs in Norwegian, as opposed to PDs in Swedish. We argue that all (apparent) interface phenomena are not the same, and that retention of PDs in AmNo is to be expected in the context of our analysis, which entails that speech act participants (speaker and hearer) are

encoded in narrow syntax. We also make the case that the deictic properties of PDs may have contributed to stability (Polinsky 2018:63–65).

The availability of new corpus data has been a precondition the study of PDs in AmNo. The Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS; Johannessen 2015) allows us to study how heritage speakers of AmNo use PDs in spontaneous speech. We have used version 3.1 of this corpus (released in January 2021), which, in addition to data from present-day heritage speakers, includes freshly transcribed data from the 1930s and 1940s, recorded by Einar Haugen, Ernst W. Selmer and Didrik A. Seip, and data from the 1980s and 1990s, recorded by Arnstein Hjelde. This recent addition allows us to trace the use of PDs over several generations in America in a way that has not been possible before.

New corpus data have been crucial not only to study if and how AmNo speakers use PDs, but also in order to establish a BASELINE to which the heritage variety can be compared. Ideally, the baseline should approximate the language of the first emigrants (Polinsky 2018:10–13); this is the best way to know whether seemingly special properties (or apparent loss of properties) in a heritage language are actually a result of changes that happened away from the homeland. Establishing this sort of baseline has been a challenge for previous studies of heritage Scandinavian (see e.g. Johannessen & Larsson 2015, Lohndal & Westergaard 2016, and discussion in van Baal 2020:Chapter 3), and it has been fairly common to use present-day homeland varieties as the basis for comparison. In this study, however, we use novel data from the speech corpus LIA (established in the project Language Infrastructure made Accessible; homeland Norwegian (EurNo) dialect speakers born in the 19th/early 20th century), and also written corpus data from 19th century homeland Swedish (EurSwe). By going as far back in time as the late 19th/early 20th century, we can reveal the status of PDs at the time of mass emigration from Scandinavia to the United States. This takes us very close to the ideal baseline (and in fact, we also have data from a few individuals who left Norway and immigrated to the US themselves).

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2, we discuss PDs in homeland Scandinavian. Here, we present new observations that challenge Johannessen's (2008a) analysis of PDs, and show that there are further differences between Norwegian and Swedish, which we take into account in a revised analysis. This section also shows that PDs were clearly present in homeland Scandinavian at the time of mass emigration. In Section 3, we discuss PDs in heritage Scandinavian, focusing on American Norwegian. We show that PDs are attested throughout the history of this heritage variety, and that they are used in a way that resembles the use in the homeland, down to the subtle details that distinguish Norwegian PDs from Swedish ones. Section 4 discusses the retention of PDs in AmNo in further detail, in the context of the IH; we also argue that the findings from AmNo can inform the discussion about the syntactic representation of speech act participants. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Revisiting pronominal demonstratives in homeland Scandinavian

In this section, we revisit PDs in homeland Scandinavian.⁶ Based on new observations, particularly concerning the interaction between PDs and (other) demonstratives, we propose a revised syntactic analysis of PDs (Section 2.1). We also offer new comparative and diachronic perspectives on the use of PDs in

homeland Norwegian and Swedish, based on data from the Norwegian LIA-corpus and the Swedish corpus infrastructure Korp (Section 2.2).

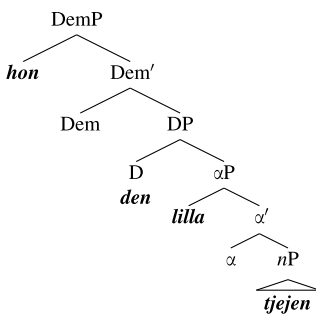
2.1 The syntax of PDs: A challenge and a new proposal

A clear difference between Norwegian and Swedish, which motivated the different syntactic structures proposed by Johannessen (2008a), concerns the interplay between PDs and pronominal definite determiners (see Section 1 above; the pronominal definite determiner is used when a noun is modified by an adjective). In Swedish (Swe), as opposed to Norwegian, a PD and a pronominal definite determiner can be combined, as illustrated in (3) (see also Johannessen 2008a:176, 178):

- (3) a. *hon den lilla tjejen* (Swe)
she the little girl.DEF
 ‘that little girl’
- b. **hun den lille jenta* (No)
she the little girl.DEF
- c. *hun lille jenta* (No)
she little girl.DEF

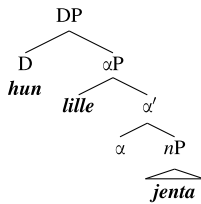
The pattern in (3a) is fully acceptable (and, we add, generally preferred) in Swedish, whereas Norwegian speakers do not accept it (see (3b)); Norwegian speakers must use the alternative in (3c).⁷ The pattern in (3a) suggests that Swedish PDs are generated in a high position, and Johannessen (2008a) refers to them as ‘DP-external’. In her analysis, the pronominal definite determiner sits in D, and the PD in DemP above DP; the Swedish structure can thus accommodate both elements at the same time, as shown in (4) (= (2b), repeated for convenience).⁸

(4) PD in Swedish: *hon den lilla tjejen* ‘that little girl’ (Johannessen 2008a)



Swedish PDs contrast with Norwegian PDs, which are analyzed as D elements; see (5) (= (2a)). Norwegian PDs are in complementary distribution with pronominal determiners (also generated in D); the two elements cannot co-occur.

- (5) PD in Norwegian:
- hun lille jenta*
- ‘that little girl’ (Johannessen 2008a)



Now, a challenge for Johannessen’s analysis of Swedish consists in the fact that not only definite determiners, but also regular demonstratives, can co-occur with the PD. This is shown in (6) ((6a) is modelled on (3a) above; (6b) is from Korp; see further in Section 2.2 on this corpus infrastructure):

- (6) a. Jag såg **hon den där lilla tjejen** (Swe)
I saw she that there little girl.DEF
 ‘I saw that little girl.’
- b. **Hon den här Charlotte** sa ju att hon ville
she that here Charlotte said MODPART that she wanted
stanna på ön (Swe)
stay on island.DEF
 ‘That Charlotte said that she wanted to stay on the island.’
 (Korp, Social media 2008)

In (6), the reinforcing, deictic elements *där/här* ‘there/here’ make it clear that *den där* and *den här* encode more than just definiteness; they are (complex) demonstratives.⁹ While there is general agreement that the prenominal definite determiner *den* sits in D, the most obvious assumption for *den där/den här* is that they are located in DemP, similar to other demonstratives. This poses the question of the status and position of the PD *hon*. On the face of it, it looks like a demonstrative; one reason for this is that there is no case inflection. In Swedish, pronouns, but not demonstratives, inflect for case; in (6a), the PD *hon* is in object position, but it does not have the object form (which would be *henne*). However, against a demonstrative analysis it can be objected that it is not generally possible for two demonstratives to co-occur in Swedish, as illustrated in (7):¹⁰

- (7) **denna den här fina blomman* (Swe)
this this here nice flower.DEF

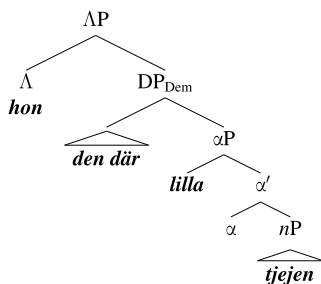
Because of the general pattern illustrated in (7), it does not seem well motivated to assume an additional demonstrative position above DemP (recall that in (6a–b), DemP would be occupied by *den där/den här*). One could possibly imagine that *hon* in (6a–b) was not formally part of the same extended nominal projection as

den där tjejen/den här Charlotte, but instead a very loosely connected apposition or independent, doubling pronoun (see Vangsnes 2008). However, as mentioned, *hon* does not have case inflection, as one would expect if it was a pronoun and syntactically independent of the following phrase.¹¹

To meet the challenge of examples like those in (6), we propose an alternative account whereby Swedish PDs are neither demonstratives nor independent, phrase-external pronouns. Instead, we suggest, inspired by Josefsson (1999, 2006) and van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2008), that Swedish PDs represent a type of doubling that happens WITHIN the nominal projection. The PD doubles features that are located further down in the nominal: semantic gender (Josefsson 1999:737–741) and presumably also specificity; these features are found in *nP* and below (see Julien 2005).¹² Doubling ('double spell-out') of features within the nominal (a 'big DP') has previously been proposed for a number of other languages and dialects (see van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008 and references therein for an overview).

On our account, the Swedish PD is best characterized as a pronoun rather than a demonstrative. However, we propose that it is underspecified compared to regular personal pronouns; it does not have a full set of formal features (see also Josefsson 1999, Holmberg & Nikanne 2008) and therefore it does not inflect for case. At the same time, we propose that PDs have features that represent the speech act participants (speaker/addressee). This is in the spirit of Josefsson (2006:1358), who points out that *han/hon* as PDs are 'speaker oriented'. We assume with Sigurðsson (2011, 2014) that this type of feature (logophoric feature, labelled Λ in our tree diagrams) is represented at the edge of phases in the syntactic derivation.¹³ We further propose that logophoric features, in the case of PDs, activate knowledge that is shared between the speaker and addressee. *Han* and *hon* in the relevant constructions thus bear some resemblance to recent uses of the determiner *sånn* in Norwegian and Swedish (see Johannessen 2012 and Ekberg, Opsahl & Wiese 2015).¹⁴ A sketch of the revised analysis of Swedish PDs is given in (8):

(8) PD in Swedish: *hon den där lilla tjejen* 'that little girl', revised analysis



As is evident from the structure in (8), we assume a functional projection above the demonstrative *den där*; the Swedish PD is located in this projection.¹⁵ We propose that the head of this projection is a logophoric feature (Λ); for simplicity, other features, such as the doubled gender/specificity features have been left out. The

crucial point is that the position is not a demonstrative position; the Swedish PD, on our analysis, is not formally a demonstrative. We assume that the distal, demonstrative meaning that is conveyed in examples like those in (6) is contributed by *den där/den här* and not by *hon*.¹⁶

As is also evident from (8), our revised analysis differs from that of Johannessen (2008a) in one other respect: Instead of positing a DemP above DP, we are representing Dem and D in one functional projection, which we have labelled DP_{Dem}. The motivation for this is primarily empirical: in general, demonstratives and the pronominal definite determiner are in complementary distribution and cannot be combined.¹⁷ This is shown in (9):

- (9) *den där den hemska tjejen (Swe)
 that there the horrible girl.DEF

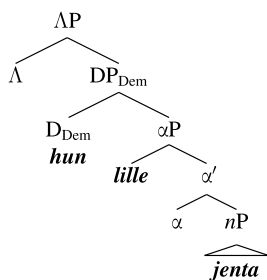
The pattern in (9) does not hold for PDs, which, as we have shown, CAN be combined with a definite determiner. The fact that PDs and unambiguous demonstratives such as *den där* behave differently in this respect is in accordance with our proposal that Swedish PDs are not proper demonstratives. With regard to the label DP_{Dem} and the distribution of features in the nominal spine, we do not go into further detail about the theoretical implications in this paper. D and Dem being represented in one head could be conceptualized as an instance of ‘clustered’ features in the sense of Giorgi & Pianesi (1997); alternatively, one could analyze it as ‘spanning’ (Starke 2009).

Having proposed a new analysis of PDs in Swedish, we now turn to PDs in Norwegian. Norwegian differs from Swedish in that PDs do not co-occur with the pronominal definite determiner (see 10a); they also do not co-occur with (other) demonstratives (10b):

- (10) a. *han den lille mannen (No)
 he the little man.DEF
 b. *hun den jenta (No)
 she that girl.DEF

Thus, for Norwegian, unlike Swedish, there are weighty reasons to assume that PDs are proper demonstratives, i.e. that they lexicalize features conveying demonstrative and distal meaning. By and large, we maintain Johannessen’s (2008a) analysis; however, we state explicitly that D, in the case of PDs, contains a demonstrative element. We express this by using the label D_{Dem}, implying that Dem and D are represented in one head and not two, just like in our analysis of Swedish. The revised analysis of PDs in Norwegian is sketched in (11). Like other demonstratives, and unlike the Swedish PD, the Norwegian PD expresses deixis, but along a psychological dimension. As in the Swedish structure, DP_{Dem} is embedded under a functional projection that encodes logophoricity, providing the deictic center.^{18,19}

(11) PD in Norwegian: *hun lille jenta* ‘that little girl’, revised analysis



To sum up, we have presented two syntactic structures, one for Swedish PDs and one for Norwegian PDs. The Norwegian structure, in which *han/hun* sits in D_{Dem} , clearly implies that the pronoun *han/hun* has taken on a function as a proper demonstrative; PDs are different from other demonstratives in that they can only be used in reference to persons and in that they convey a psychologically distal meaning, but in terms of structure, they are very similar. For Swedish, it follows from our analysis that the term ‘pronominal demonstrative’ is not entirely justified, as the pronouns *han/hon* are not in a demonstrative position; recall (8) above.

Having discussed the syntactic structure of PDs in homeland Scandinavian, we now turn to their distribution and use, comparatively and diachronically, based on new corpus data. As we will show, the conditions on use of PDs lend additional support to the syntactic difference between Swedish and Norwegian proposed above.

2.2 PDs in use: Comparative and diachronic perspectives

As mentioned in Section 1, we have explored the use of PDs in Norwegian and Swedish in a set of corpora that were not available when Johannessen (2006, 2008a, b) conducted the first in-depth studies of PDs. When selecting corpus data, we gave special priority to speakers born in the (late) 19th and early 20th century, and texts from the same time period. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, it enables us to shed new light on the history of PDs. Johannessen (2006:104) laments that it is difficult to establish exactly how old PDs are because of the lack of speech corpora that go further back in time than the 1970s; this has, however, changed dramatically after the appearance of the LIA corpus²⁰ in particular. Secondly, by going as far back in time as the late 19th/early 20th century, we can reveal the status of PDs at the time of mass emigration from Scandinavia to the United States (see Haugen 1953 on AmNo and Hasselmo 1974 on AmSwe). This means that we are able to establish a baseline closely approximating the language of the first emigrants (Polinsky 2018:10–13), to which we can compare the use (or non-use) of PDs in heritage Scandinavian (we return to this in Section 3).

We limit our attention to certain aspects of the distribution of PDs, particularly in the early sources, and differences between Norwegian and Swedish (for a more detailed account, we refer to Kinn & Larsson 2020). In Section 2.2.1, we describe the corpus searches and give an overview of the results. Section 2.2.2 discusses

differences between Norwegian and Swedish (further to the differences that were demonstrated in Section 2.1).

2.2.1 Queries in LIA and Korp and diachronic results

The LIA corpus contains old dialect recordings from all of Norway. We queried a subset of the corpus, based on criteria relating to age and geography: To reach as far back in time as possible, we included all speakers born before 1880; this amounts to 29 individuals who, altogether, produce approximately 105,000 word tokens. In terms of geography, we limited our search to the (former) counties Oppland, Hedmark, Telemark and Buskerud. These counties are located in the interior of South-East Norway, a part of the country from which many people emigrated, and whose regional linguistic features have been influential in shaping the AmNo language spoken in the American Midwest today (Johannessen & Laake 2012; Hjelde 2012, 2015). We included all speakers from these counties, a total of 165 individuals, who, altogether, produce approximately 384,000 word tokens. Our total subcorpus, including both the speakers born before 1880 and the speakers from inner South-East Norway, amounts to 478,000 word tokens, produced by 192 speakers.²¹

To find pronominal demonstratives, we queried for the pronominal forms *han* ‘he’ and *ho* ‘she’ followed by a definite noun.²² The query does not include proper names, as these are not tagged as definite. Although PDs are often used with proper names (see e.g. example (1c) in Section 1), there are some advantages to excluding them from the query: in this way, we avoid any ambiguous examples in which *han/ho* could potentially be interpreted as either a PD or a preproprial article (see Section 1). We included examples containing *der* ‘there’ as a reinforcing element in addition to *han/ho* (Leu 2015:18; Vindenes 2017, 2018). All hits were manually checked in their surrounding context to exclude mistagged or irrelevant examples.

In the LIA subcorpus, we found 58 examples that we analyze as PDs; 39 were produced by speakers from inner South-East Norway, and 19 produced by speakers born before 1880. The number of individual speakers producing PDs was 38; 30 of them are speakers from inner South-East Norway and eight are speakers born before 1880. In other words, only a small portion (38 out of 192) of the speakers in our subcorpus produce PDs. Moreover, the examples are not evenly spread across the speakers that use them. In the subcorpus of speakers born before 1880, two individuals from Målselv in Northern Norway are responsible for 10 out of the 19 PDs.²³

Some examples of PDs are given in (12) (the symbol # in these and other examples marks a pause):

- (12) a. og **han russen** nei nei eg hugsar ikkje namnet hans (No)
and he Russian.DEF no no I remember not name.DEF his
 ‘and that Russian, no no, I don’t remember his name.’
 (andoeya_ma_05, born 1871)
- b. jo han var her e # han var kommen **han e # islandspresten** (No)
yes he was here he was come he eh Iceland.priest.DEF
 ‘Yes, he was here, he had come, that Icelandic priest.’
 (selje_uib_0201, born 1871)

- c. var **han** # **svenskekongen** som var kongen e kva heiter han (No)
was he Swedish.king.DEF who was king.DEF eh what is.called he
 ‘It was that Swedish king who was king, what is he called?’
 (maalselv_uit_1101, born 1878)
- d. det høyrer med i historia at **han ekspeditøren** hadde svært
it belongs PART in story.DEF that he clerk.DEF had very
 lite hovud (No)
small head
 ‘It is part of the story that that clerk had a very small head.’
 (biri_uio_0104, year of birth unknown, recorded 1977)

In all the examples in (12), it is clear from the context that the PD is used to refer to someone that the speaker does not know personally. In (12a) and (12c), this is highlighted by the fact that the speaker is struggling to remember the name of this person. The use of PDs in these older data resembles the use in present-day Norwegian, as described by e.g. Johannessen (2008a), and this can be taken to suggest that PDs were established in the language around the time when the ancestors of today’s heritage speakers emigrated.

For Swedish, speech corpora like LIA are not available.²⁴ Therefore, we have drawn written language data from the corpus infrastructure Korp (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012). We have used the corpora *Svensk prosafiktio* 1800–1900 (Spf: ‘Swedish prose fiction’), comprising of 16.27 million word tokens from the 19th and 20th centuries, and *Äldre svenska romaner* (‘Older Swedish novels’), comprising of 56 novels from the period 1830–1940, amounting to 4.35 million word tokens. These corpora contain passages that approximate the spoken language, e.g. dialogue, and they do not include poetry. As present-day Swedish is less studied than present-day Norwegian with respect to PDs, we included a present-day corpus in addition to those from the 19th and 20th century. The present-day corpus contains social media texts (more than 10 billion word tokens); these texts often have features in common with informal speech. For the earlier Swedish period, we manually checked the relevant hits in their surrounding context.

To extract PDs, we searched for *han/hon* ‘he/she’ in the sentence-initial position, directly followed by a noun.²⁵ We also searched for *han/hon* directly followed by a proper name (irrespective of position in the sentence). As mentioned in Section 2.1, examples with proper names were excluded from the investigation of Norwegian, in part to avoid potential ambiguity between PDs and preproprial articles, which are common in many present-day Norwegian dialects. In written Swedish, on the other hand, preproprial articles would be unexpected; thus, there is no strong motivation to categorically exclude proper names from this part of the study.²⁶

We found examples of PDs in all of the Swedish text collections. For the purposes of this paper, we focus on the earlier Swedish period. In this period, PDs are clearly attested, although they are very uncommon (less than 20 relevant hits in a corpus of approximately 20 million words); keep in mind, however, that the corpus consists of written texts and that PDs are only expected to occur in contexts where the authors approximate the spoken language.²⁷ Our earliest attestation is from 1838 (a novel by Almquist); apart from that, most occurrences are from the beginning of the 20th century. Some examples are given in (13):

- (13) a. Det hade varit **han Jan** – fostret av patriarkens härliga
it had been he Jan featus.DEF of patriarch.DEF great
 ekonomiska uträkning – som förlett den där “morfadern” (Swe)
economical calculation who misled that there grandfather.DEF
 ‘It had been that Jan – the offspring of the great economical calculation of
 the patriarch – who had misled that grandfather.’
 (Äldre svenska romaner, 1838)
- b. hur kunde han veta, **han Sven**, att hon väntat på
how could he know he Sven that she waited on
 honom så länge (Swe)
him so long
 ‘How could he know, that Sven, that she had waited for him for so long.’
 (Äldre svenska romaner, 1916)
- c. en sådan uppsyn folk skulle få om **han Staffan**
a such expression people would get if he Staffan
Nilsson i Vågom ställde sig på kyrkvallen (Swe)
Nilsson in Vågom placed REFL on church-hill.DEF
 ‘what an expression people would get if that Staffan Nilsson in Vågom placed
 himself on the hill by the church.’
 (Spf, 1900)

The examples in (13a) and (13c) have a psychologically distal meaning, and (13a) clearly conveys a negative attitude; this is what we expect from what we know about PDs in present-day Scandinavian. We return to example (13b) below, in Section 2.2.2.

To sum up the diachronic results based on new corpora, we found that Swedish, like Norwegian, has had PDs as an established part of the grammar for at least a century. Although we do not have the same type of data available for both languages in all time periods, we can say that, in general, the way that PDs are used in the earlier sources for each language resembles the way they are used in more recent sources (see further Kinn & Larsson 2020). There are, however, differences between the two languages.

2.2.2 Differences between Norwegian and Swedish

In Section 2.1, we demonstrated that there are differences in the way that PDs interact with (other) demonstratives and definite determiners in EurNo and EurSwe. In this section, we show some further differences between the two languages; we argue that these differences, too, are consistent with to the underlying syntactic structures that we have proposed.

Firstly, considering cognitive status (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1988, 1993), demonstratives are typically used about referents that are part of the background knowledge (i.e. FAMILIAR), but which are not activated or in focus in the context. In EurNo, PDs can be used with referents that are previously mentioned in the

discourse, as in the example in (14) (see also Johannessen 2020 for more examples and elaboration).

- (14) han M3 hadde ein visargut # som også skulle vaske ...
he M3 had an errand.boy that also would wash
 så heldt eg på med bokføringa for han
so was.doing I on with book-keeping.DEF for he
 M3 ... men du veit eg oppdaga jo fort
M3 but you know I discovered MODPART quickly
 det at **han derre visarguten** ... (No)
it that he there errand.boy.DEF
 'M3 had an errand boy that was also supposed to clean up ... so I was doing
 the book keeping for M3 ... but, you know, I quickly discovered that that
 errand boy ...'

(LIA, drammen_uib_0102)

In (14), the PD functions as a reminder that the referent is part of the background knowledge. The errand boy is mentioned earlier in the discourse, but he is not in focus (and he is not personally known by the speaker and listener). When the speaker returns to the boy (to say something negative about him), a PD is used.

In EurSwe, it is difficult to verify this type of use: PDs are rarely used with referents that have been mentioned previously in the discourse (see also Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 1999/Vol.2:274 for a similar observation). Examples can be found (such as (13b) above), but they are few and far between in our corpora (and as we will see below, they do not necessarily have a distal meaning, as they would in Norwegian). While it might be possible that this difference between EurNo and EurSwe is partly due to the different type of data (spoken – written) available for the two languages, that is hardly the full explanation. In the Swedish part of the Nordic dialect corpus (where a single EurSwe example of a PD can be attested, see note 24), we find contexts similar to that in (14) above; see (15). Notably, EurSwe has an ordinary demonstrative (*den där* 'that') here.

- (15) Det fanns en konstnär som hette NN ... det har **den där**
there was an artist who was.called NN that has that there
 NN skrivit ner (Swe)
NN written down

'There was an artist who was called NN... That NN has written it down.'

(NDC, Leksand_om1)

Thus, in contexts such as (14) and (15), the use of PDs appears to be more restricted in EurSwe than in EurNo. We contend that this follows from the underlying structure proposed in Section 2.1: as Swedish PDs are doubling, syntactically reduced pronouns, and not true demonstratives, Swedish resorts to a regular demonstrative (*den där*) in (15). In Norwegian, on the other hand, the PD can straightforwardly be used, as it lexicalizes demonstrative features with deictic power.

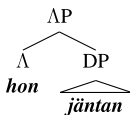
While the use of Swedish PDs seems more restricted in contexts like (14) and (15), there is a different sense in which Swedish PDs have a WIDER distribution.

In Norwegian, PDs are used with psychologically distanced referents that might be part of the background. In Swedish, they can also be used with referents that are already in focus (in the sense of Gundel et al. 1993, i.e. they have the highest possible level of accessibility), and in those cases, they are compatible with a proximal meaning, implying solidarity. Consider the examples in (16):

- (16) a. hur kunde han veta, **han** Sven, att hon väntat på
how could he know he Sven that she waited on
 honom så länge (Swe)
him so long
 ‘How could he know, that Sven, that she had waited for him for so long.’
 (Äldre svenska romaner, 1916)
- b. **Hon jäntan** fortsätter att stiga i vikten. (Swe)
she girl.DEF continues to rise in weight.DEF
 ‘My girl continues to gain weight.’
 (Social media, 2010)

The early 20th century Swedish example in (16a) (= (13b) above) is used by a woman to refer to a loved one, who has just left her after an intimate conversation between the two. The example in (16b), from present-day Swedish, is used by a mother; it refers to her baby girl. Examples like (16b) appear to be typical in social media texts written by parents discussing their very young children; they seem to imply proximity/solidarity, and the child is clearly in focus. We do not find examples like these in our EurNo data.²⁸ With their lack of demonstrative/distal meaning, the existence of PDs such as those in (16) corroborate our conclusion that Swedish PDs are not proper demonstratives. We propose that cases such as (16) are structurally similar to the regular Swedish PDs in the sense that *han/hon* is a doubling, reduced pronoun. The difference between examples like (6a) above (*hon den där lilla tjejen*) (with the structure in (8)), and cases such as (16), is that in (16), there is no other demonstrative element present. An illustration of the structure of (16) is given in (17):

- (17) Swedish PD without demonstrative/distal meaning: *hon jäntan* ‘that girl’



In (17), there is a simple DP instead of DP_{Dem}. This is in the spirit of Julien’s (2002, 2005) framework, in which DemP is only present when it contains lexical material with a demonstrative meaning. On our analysis, the structure in (17) is syntactically underspecified for psychological distance. This means that it can be used even with referents that are psychologically close to the speaker.²⁹

To sum up Section 2, PDs seem to behave more like demonstratives in EurNo than in EurSwe, both with respect to (in-)compatibility with other demonstrative

forms (Section 2.1), and discourse distribution/semantics (Section 2.2). There is some (possibly inter-individual) variation that blurs the picture somewhat (certain Swedish speakers seem to have access to a ‘Norwegian-like’ structure and vice versa; see Kinn & Larsson 2020 for discussion), but the overall picture is rather clear: PDs in EurNo and EurSwe have partly different syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, even beyond what was demonstrated by Johannessen (2008a). We have also shown that PDs have been established in both languages for at least a century; they are attested in the speech of individuals born in the late 19th/early 20th century and in texts from the same period. With this in mind, we now turn to heritage Scandinavian, with AmNo as our primary focus.

3. Pronominal demonstratives in American Norwegian

The fact that PDs are attested in homeland Scandinavian speakers born as early as the late 19th and early 20th century, i.e. the time of mass emigration from Scandinavia to the United States (see Haugen 1953 on AmNo and Hasselmo 1974 on AmSwe), makes it relevant to ask whether PDs are still found in the heritage varieties AmNo and AmSwe. PDs constitute a particularly interesting phenomenon in the context of heritage languages: as their distribution depends on both syntactic and pragmatic factors, they can, at least apparently, be characterized as a phenomenon at the syntax-pragmatic interface. Interface phenomena have been shown to be vulnerable in heritage languages (see e.g. Sorace 2011 and further discussion in Section 4). Thus, one might expect to see changes in the use of PDs, although previous studies suggest a relatively high degree of stability in the structure of heritage Scandinavian nominals (see Anderssen et al. 2018, Kinn 2020a, van Baal 2020).

For AmSwe, the amount of available speech data that can shed light on the status of PDs is, unfortunately, quite small; CANS includes 22 Swedish speakers, producing 45,000 word tokens. As expected in a sample of this size, there are not many PDs to be found. We note that PDs are attested in AmSwe with one example, uttered by a third-generation heritage speaker, shown in (18):³⁰

- (18) och **han gubben** han # bara tittar och han # smilar och han #
and he old.man.DEF he just looks and he smiles and he
 han är så glad (AmSwe)
he is so happy
 ‘And that old man, he just looks and smiles and he is so happy.’

(mn11_f003)

We refrain from drawing any firm conclusions about PDs in AmSw because of the small sample size; further investigations are left for the future. For AmNo, on the other hand, CANS offers a more substantial amount of data both from present-day speakers and from previous generations of immigrants and heritage speakers. In the remainder of this section, we explore PDs in AmNo. We present our corpus (CANS) and queries in Section 3.1; the results are presented in Section 3.2. Our main finding is that PDs seem to be licensed in a way very similar to the baseline of (older) Norwegian dialect recordings from the LIA corpus.

3.1 Queries in CANS

The Norwegian part of CANS (version 3.1) contains transcribed and tagged recordings of 246 speakers of Norwegian heritage, producing approximately 729,000 word tokens. When querying the corpus, we used the same search criteria that we used for the Norwegian part of LIA (see Section 2.1 above for details); in other words, we searched for the relevant pronominal forms (*han/hun*) followed by a definite noun, excluding proper names.³¹ Most of the CANS data was recorded from 2010 onward by Janne Bondi Johannessen and colleagues (152 speakers producing 615,000 word tokens); in addition, there are also a number of recordings made in the 1980s and 1990s (by Arnstein Hjelde; six speakers producing 36,000 word tokens)³² and in the 1930s/1940s (by Einar Haugen, Didrik Arup Seip and Ernst Selmer; 88 speakers producing 78,000 word tokens). This enables us to trace the use of PDs in AmNo over time, across generations of heritage speakers.

3.2 Results

Our queries in the Norwegian part of CANS yielded 22 hits that we analyze as PDs. PDs are attested both in the earliest recordings from the 1940s and in the more recent data (10 examples from the 1940s, one example from the 1990s and 11 examples from 2010 onward). Two of the examples from the 1940s were uttered by speakers who were born in Norway and thus do not count as heritage speakers; one of these examples is given in (19) (the speaker introduces her uncle, who is not mentioned in the previous discourse).

- (19) **han onkelen** min han lo (No)
he uncle.DEF mine he laughed
 'My uncle, he laughed.'

(coon_valley_WI_45gk, first-generation immigrant)

We exclude speakers who were born in Norway from our further discussion of AmNo; note, however, that the examples of PDs produced by these speakers align with the findings from the LIA corpus (Section 2) and provide unambiguous support to the notion that PDs were a part of the language that the first emigrants brought from the homeland. The remaining 20 examples were uttered by heritage speakers (altogether 19 individuals); most are second- or third-generation immigrants.

We note that the number of occurrences of PDs in AmNo is lower than what we found in EurNo (20 hits in a 712,000 word corpus for AmNo (first-generation immigrants excluded) in comparison to 60 hits in a 478,000 word corpus for EurNo). We also note that the number of PDs is higher in the sample from the 1930s/1940s than in the later periods (the absolute number of PDs is fairly similar in the 1940s and the 2010s, but the sample from the 2010s is bigger, see Section 3.1).³³ However, we remain cautious with regard to which conclusions can be drawn about the grammar of AmNo based on this. PDs are a low-frequency phenomenon in Norwegian generally, which means that quantitative results based on spontaneous speech are highly sensitive to factors such as individual variation and

discourse situation. As mentioned above, two individuals are responsible for 10 out of the 19 PDs in the LIA subcorpus of speakers born before 1880. Collection methods can also influence the PD data, as PDs are more likely to occur in long narratives and anecdotes, which appear to be common in the LIA recordings and Haugen's data. The sociolinguistic context also matters; while previous generations of AmNo speakers often lived in Norwegian-speaking societies of a substantial size (Hjelde 2015), where everyone presumably did not know each other personally, today's speakers do not necessarily have this frame of reference when discussing matters relating to their Norwegian heritage (as they typically do in the CANS interviews). In other words, there are several possible explanations for the differences in frequencies of PDs that do not involve grammatical change. For the moment, we focus on the fact that PDs are attested in AmNo throughout the investigated period at rates that are too high to be dismissed as random errors or idiosyncrasies. In the remainder of the section, we illustrate how PDs are used, starting with some examples recorded in the 1940s, in (20):

(20) a. jeg kunne ikke forstå åssen **hun skolelæreren** kunne lære
I could not understand how she school-teacher.DEF could teach
 oss å snakke engelsk da vi ikke forsto engelsk (AmNo)
us to speak English when we not understood English
 'I couldn't understand how that school teacher could teach us English, when
 we didn't understand English.'

(spring_grove_MN_24gm)

b. å ja gammelost ja da **hun nabokjerringa** er så flink til
oh yes old.cheese yes then she neighbor.woman.DEF is so good to
 å lage gammelost (AmNo)
to make old.cheese
 'Oh yes, traditional cheese, yes, that woman next door is so good at
 making traditional cheese.'

(blair_WI_28um)

In (20a), the speaker seems to be distancing himself psychologically from the mentioned teacher (the speaker is talking about a challenging phase in his childhood, starting school without any prior knowledge of English). In (20b), a woman next door is introduced; she is never mentioned by name and is not familiar to the listener. In both (20a) and (20b), the use of PDs is very similar to what we find in the homeland baseline.

Example (21) was recorded in the 1990s:

(21) **hun kjerringa** kom ut og ... braska så fælt at #
she woman.DEF came out and made.noise so terribly that
 bjørnen slapp grisen (AmNo)
bear.DEF let.go pig.DEF
 'That woman came out and made such terrible noise that the bear let go of the pig.'

(coon_valley_WI_17gm)

The woman in the story in (21) is not mentioned by name and is clearly not known personally by either the speaker or the listener. Again, this is the same type of use that we find in the homeland baseline.

Some present-day AmNo examples of PDs are given in (22); all of these examples were recorded in 2010 or later:

- (22) a. ja dere har svær bil sa **han guttungen** (AmNo)
yes you have big car said he boy-kid.DEF
 ‘Yes you have a big car, that kid said.’
 (coon_valley_WI_06gm)
- b. og så kom **han e mannen** ned ... du veit de saga
and so came he eh man.DEF down you know they sawed
 slaben av i stål den gangen (AmNo)
slab.DEF off in steel that time.DEF
 ‘And so that man came down ... you know, they sawed the slab off in steel that time.’
 (iola_WI_09gm)
- c. hun var ikke der **hun kona hans #** han hadde sittet og løyet
she was not there she wife.DEF his he had sat and lied
 til meg (AmNo)
to me
 ‘She wasn’t there, that wife of his, he had been sitting there, lying to me.’
 (coon_valley_WI_03gm)
- d. **han mannen** han snakka engelsk ... når han var framfor
he man.DEF he spoke English when he was in.front.of
 oss (AmNo)
us
 ‘That man, he spoke English ... when he was in front of us.’
 (wanamingo_MN_04gk)
- e. **han e broren** min var først (AmNo)
he eh brother.DEF my was first
 ‘That brother of mine was first.’
 (coon_valley_WI_14gm)

In (22a)–(22c), the PD is used with a definite noun to refer to somebody that neither the speaker nor the listener knows personally. In the context leading up to (22a), a couple of boys are introduced for the first time (and without names). In (22b), the man is introduced for the first time, and clearly with psychological distance; the man hired the speaker (as a boy) to do a hard job that the speaker was really too young to do. In (22c), the PD signals psychological distance to the wife of an acquaintance (later in the conversation it turns out that the wife has left him). The example in (22d) refers to a priest from Norway that the listener does not know; the PD seems to be used to reinforce how unusual the man is (speaking both English and Norwegian). The example in (22e) is slightly different, as the speaker clearly knows his own brother personally. The use is, however, still distal; the brother is unfamiliar to the listener and has not been mentioned explicitly previously in the discourse.

As shown in Section 2, PDs in EurNo are not only used to introduce referents, but also with referents that have been mentioned previously in the discourse (see Johannessen 2020; recall that this is less common in Swedish). This use is found in AmNo, too; two examples, one from the 1940s and one from the 2010s, are given in (23) ((23b) = (22c)):

- (23) a. og e han gikk ut til gamlen og # tok han borttil³⁴ der
and eh he went out to old.DEF and took him PART there
 og da han e gamlingen kom bort til gutten
and then he eh old.man.DEF came PART to boy.DEF
 så reiste gutten seg på ryggen (AmNo)
so rose boy.DEF REFL on back.DEF
 ‘and he went out to the old man, and took him over there, and when that
 old man came over to the boy, the boy rose on his back’
 (new_auburn_WI_03um)
- b. sa han det at # kjerringa hans # kona hans ville ikke #
said he it that wife.DEF his wife.DEF his wanted not
 ta skyss # på b-Greyhound-buss og han ville ikke ta
take ride on Greyhound-bus and he wanted not take
 skyss på # fy- flyet # til Las Vegas # så vi kjørte på
ride on flight.DEF to Las Vegas so we drove on
 Greyhound-buss ... og da e kom vi til Las Vegas da #
Greyhound-bus and then eh came we to Las Vegas then
 hun # hun var ikke der hun kona hans (AmNo)
she she was not there she wife.DEF his
 ‘He said that his wife didn’t want to go by Greyhound bus and he didn’t
 want to fly, so we took the Greyhound bus. And when we came to
 Las Vegas, she wasn’t there, that wife of his.’
 (coon_valley_WI_03gm)

In (23a), recorded in 1942, the speaker is talking about a father and a son that were well known in the local community, but that he does not seem to be personally close to. The psychological distance is emphasized by the fact that he refers to the father as *gamlen* and *gamlingen* ‘the old man’; this comes across as mildly derogatory. The father has already been introduced into the story when the PD is used to re-activate him as a referent. In (23b), a PD is again used with a referent that is not personally known by the speaker or listener (and who is never mentioned by name). The PD reminds the reader that the referent is previously mentioned and part of the background.

There are no examples of PDs with definite noun phrases with adjectival modification in our heritage language data.³⁵ Since we do not have access to acceptability judgments for AmNo, we cannot know for certain that PDs in AmNo are incompatible with a pronominal determiner or demonstrative, as they are in EurNo (see Section 2.1).³⁶ However, given that the usage in AmNo looks very much like EurNo, rather than EurSwe, we expect AmNo PDs to have the same syntax as PDs in EurNo; nothing suggests grammatical change with respect to PDs. Notably, the fact that AmNo PDs can be reinforced with a locative *der* ‘there’ as in (24) also

corroborates the analysis of the PDs as proper demonstratives; the example in (24) was recorded in the 1940s.

- (24) også var han nå der presten veit du og leste åt
 also was he now there priest.DEF know you and read to
hun der kjerringa (AmNo)
 she there woman.DEF
 ‘and he was also there now, the priest, you know, and read to that woman’
 (spring_grove_MN_18um)

Overall, the conditions on the use of PDs in the AmNo data are very similar to what we find in homeland Norwegian. Thus, the picture that emerges from the Norwegian CANS data is one of continuity. PDs clearly exist in present-day AmNo, and they are used in the same way as in the EurNo baseline. Moreover, we can trace the use of PDs among heritage speakers several generations back; they are attested both in the 1990s and in the 1940s. In formal syntactic terms, there is no reason to posit any special structures for AmNo. This is in line with previous studies which suggest a relatively high degree of stability in the structure of AmNo nominals (see Anderssen et al. 2018, Kinn 2020a, van Baal 2020).

4. Heritage language perspectives

In this section, we consider some of the results of our study from a heritage language perspective. In Section 4.1, we discuss the transmission of PDs over generations in a heritage language context, in light of the Interface Hypothesis (IH). In Section 4.2, we argue that the findings from AmNo can shed light on the division of labor between syntax and pragmatics, and the syntactic representation of speech act participants.

4.1 Transmission of PDs across generations and the Interface Hypothesis

In Section 3 above, we showed that PDs are attested in present-day AmNo; we argued that they have been present throughout the history of this heritage variety, and that they have the same syntax and use as in EurNo. This implies that PDs have been transmitted across generations. We noted some quantitative differences between the samples (the samples from LIA and early AmNo have a higher proportion of PDs than present-day AmNo); however, as PDs are a low-frequency phenomenon in all of the samples, and as there are a number of factors that could potentially influence the quantitative comparison between these data sets (see Section 3.2), we cannot draw any firm conclusions about the status of PDs in the grammar of AmNo based on this. Instead, we contend that the stability that we can observe in terms of the way PDs are used, down to the more subtle details that are particular to Norwegian PDs, is remarkable.

PDs convey meaning related to speaker-perspective and attitudes; thus, their distribution is governed by factors that can be thought of as pragmatic, in addition to syntactic conditions. Previous studies have argued that phenomena at the interface between syntax and other cognitive domains are vulnerable in bilingual

speakers (see Sorace 2011 for an overview and also Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky 2013:161–166 and references therein).³⁷ Interface phenomena, for example the choice between overt and null subjects in a null-subject language like Italian, which relies on pragmatic/information-structural notions such as topicality, are less likely to become fully acquired by L2 speakers (e.g. Sorace & Filiaci 2006), and more likely to undergo attrition in L1 speakers; Tsimpli et al. (2004) found that L1 Italian speakers who had near-native competence in English, and a minimum of six years of residence in Britain, would overextend the use of overt subjects in Italian. The view that interface phenomena are vulnerable is referred to as the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (the term was first coined by Sorace & Filiaci 2006). On the face of it, retention of PDs, with their subtle conditions for use, would seem like a counterargument to the IH. However, we suggest that this is not necessarily the case, and that the stability of PDs in AmNo does not need to be at odds with the predictions of the IH. Instead, it can contribute some refinement in terms of distinguishing between different pragmatics-related phenomena.³⁸

We take the stance that not all pragmatics-related phenomena are equally vulnerable, and we propose that the stability of PDs in heritage Norwegian can be understood in the context of a different aspect of their meaning, namely deixis. Johannessen (2008a) describes PDs as demonstratives that, similar to other demonstratives, encode distance from the speaker, i.e. a deictic perspective. What distinguishes PDs from other distal demonstratives is the dimension along which distance is encoded; this dimension is psychological rather than spatial, but that does not alter the deictic nature of these demonstratives.³⁹ While phenomena at the syntax-pragmatics interface are generally considered to be vulnerable in heritage languages, expressions of deictic relations have been shown to be robust (Polinsky 2018:63–65). Polinsky (2018) relates this to saliency and illustrates the point with examples from heritage English and other heritage languages, in which demonstratives, and also inherently indexical grammatical categories such as tense and person (in particular the persons relating to speech participants), are stable, while, for example, aspect, voice and number are more vulnerable. The argument can be generalized to Norwegian PDs, whose demonstrative nature is very clear. It is possible that the deictic properties of these PDs have contributed to their retention.

The stability of PDs in AmNo can also be interpreted in a more general context, which has more fundamental theoretical implications: if one considers notions such as speaker perspective to have a structural representation in syntax, then the stability in the way PDs are used comes across as less surprising than if they are treated as more or less purely pragmatic phenomena. This is the topic of the next section.

4.2 PDs in AmNo and the representation of speech act participants

The behavior of PDs in AmNo, and in particular the stability of the conditions on their use across generations, can potentially inform the discussion about the division of labor between syntax and pragmatics. As noted in Section 4.1, retention of PDs, with the same, subtle properties as in EurNo, is perhaps not what one would expect, given the IH and the observation from other studies that pragmatics-related phenomena are vulnerable in heritage languages. However, a recent line of research

within generative grammar, revisiting and revising Ross's (1970) PERFORMATIVE HYPOTHESIS, argues that the Speech Act, and its participants (Speaker, Hearer), traditionally thought of as pragmatic notions rather than narrow syntax, are structurally encoded in the syntactic spine; on the clausal spine, see e.g. Tenny & Speas (2003), Giorgi (2010), Hill (2014) and Wiltschko & Heim (2016); on the nominal spine, see e.g. Ritter & Wiltschko (2018, 2019). Sigurðsson's (2011, 2014) model relates the representation of speech act participants (logophoric features) to phasehood, and it can thus be applied to both the clausal and the nominal domain. Our formal analysis (Section 2.1) draws on some of the ideas in this framework (in particular, Sigurðsson's logophoric features). For the purposes of this article, we do not go into any further detail about the various technical implementations that have been proposed. Instead, the point we would like to make is the following: If one accepts the idea that pragmatics-related phenomena are vulnerable in heritage languages while core syntax is generally more stable, then the stability of PDs could be taken to corroborate the notion that PDs, with their speaker and hearer-related interpretive effects, are encoded in syntax. More research is required to establish this connection, but regardless of the outcome, this shows that heritage language data can generate hypotheses and shed new light on fundamental questions in theoretical syntax and linguistics more generally.

5. Conclusion and outlook

In this paper, we have argued that although PDs in Norwegian and Swedish look superficially similar, they differ both with respect to syntax and usage. Building on Johannessen's (2008a) seminal work, we have proposed a modified analysis, whereby PDs in Swedish are in fact not proper demonstratives, as they are in Norwegian. Importantly, in Swedish, the PD can combine with an ordinary demonstrative; this is not possible in Norwegian. Moreover, unlike Norwegian PDs, Swedish PDs do not seem to have all the pragmatic functions of a demonstrative and do not necessarily have a distal interpretation. We have therefore suggested that the Swedish PD is best characterized as a pronoun rather than a demonstrative, but without the full set of formal features of pronouns (see Josefsson 1999, Holmberg & Nikanne 2008). In addition, we propose that it has logophoric features that activate knowledge that is shared between the speaker and addressee. For Norwegian, we have maintained the main features of Johannessen's (2008a) analysis, and treat PDs as true demonstratives. Our corpus studies show that PDs can be attested in both Norwegian and Swedish as far back in time as the late 19th/early 20th century, i.e. at the time of mass emigration from Scandinavia to the United States, with the same properties as in the present-day languages.

Previous work on heritage Norwegian has shown a high degree of stability in the nominal domain (see Anderssen et al. 2018, Kinn 2020a, van Baal 2020), and this is also what we find with respect to PDs. American Norwegian has retained PDs across several generations; PDs can be attested both in older and recent recordings, and they are used in the same way as in the homeland baseline, down to the subtle details that distinguish Norwegian PDs from Swedish PDs. On the face of it, this seems to go against the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (e.g. Sorace & Filiaci 2006, Sorace 2011),

which predicts that phenomena at the syntax-pragmatics interface are vulnerable. We do not, however, suggest that IH should be discarded; instead, we argue for a distinction between different (apparent) interface phenomena, and we suggest that PDs have some special properties that contribute to stability. One such property is deixis, which has been shown to be stable in heritage languages (Polinsky 2018:63–65). Moreover, our syntactic analysis draws on the idea that speech act participants (Speaker and Hearer) are encoded in narrow syntax as logophoric features (Sigurdsson 2011, 2014). In the context of this assumption, it is not surprising to see transmission of PDs over generations of heritage speakers. In fact, given the IH, the retention of PDs over generations in AmNo can be seen as an argument in favor of the structural representation of speech act participants in syntax, and our study serves as an example of how heritage language data can feed into more general areas of research, beyond Heritage Linguistics.

Several questions remain, also more specifically with regard to Scandinavian PDs. While we have observed some evidence for PDs in American Swedish, the available data is too scarce to draw any conclusions. With respect to European Swedish, there is also a lack of spoken language corpora that are large enough. Another issue is the interaction between PDs and other available demonstratives in the different varieties of Scandinavian. For instance, Swedish appears to have a general preference for *den här/där* ‘this/that’, while the use of the Norwegian equivalents (with human referents) seems more restricted; it seems likely that the use of PDs depends in part on this. We have, however, not systematically investigated the use of all demonstratives with human referents. This remains to be studied in further detail; such investigations may provide a more complete picture of PDs and nominal determination in general in both homeland and heritage Scandinavian.

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Notes

1. Key abbreviations in this paper: ACC = accusative, DEF = definite, DP = determiner phrase, FEM = feminine, MASC = masculine, MODPART = modal particle, NOM = nominative, PART = particle, PD = pronominal demonstrative, REFL = reflexive, SG = singular.

2. *Norsk talespråkskorpus – Oslo-delen* [Norwegian speech corpus: The Oslo part], available at <https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/>.

3. As pointed out by Johannessen (2008a:170), the form of preproprial articles can also be quite different from that of a PD. In the (earlier) Oslo dialect (as in many other dialects), for instance, the preproprial forms are *a* (FEM) and *n* (MASC) whereas the PD is *hun/hu* and *han*. The forms *a/n* are, as expected from a preproprial article, used only with proper names and certain kinship terms, without adding any demonstrative meaning, whereas *hun/hu/han* can combine with any definite noun referring to a person, and adds demonstrative meaning.

4. The term heritage language, or heritage variety, refers, standardly, to a language acquired naturalistically as a first language in a society where a different language dominates; see e.g. Rothman (2009), Polinsky (2018).

5. Anderssen et al. (2018) and van Baal (2020) demonstrate an interesting innovation involving optional absence of the pronominal determiner in contexts that require double definiteness in EurNo (*hvite hest-en*

‘white horse-DEF’ instead of *den hvite hest-en* ‘the white horse-DEF’). However, their analyses of this phenomenon do not imply fundamental change in the grammatical representation of DPs. Riksem (2017) also points out some developments, in particular with respect to plural marking; however, her study is limited to noun phrases with both Norwegian and English lexical material.

6. This section is based on Kinn & Larsson (2020); however, in the present paper we elaborate on certain points in the syntactic analysis.

7. The equivalent of (3c) is possible in Swedish too, but most likely for independent reasons; in Swedish, the pronominal determiner can be omitted in certain contexts, also in the absence of a PD (see Teleman et al. 1999/Vol.3:19). Moreover, some (possibly inter-individual) variation regarding the interaction of PDs and pronominal determiners can be found in both Swedish and Norwegian; see the end of Section 2.2.2 and Kinn & Larsson (2020:218–219) for further discussion.

8. The structure is based on the architecture of nominals proposed by Julien (2005). The *nP* projection hosts the definite suffix, while the αP hosts adjectival phrases.

9 We remain agnostic with regard to the internal structure of *den där/den här; där/här* could be lexicalising an inherent, deictic component in demonstratives (Leu 2015), or *den där/den här* could be lexically complex (Julien 2005:116–117, see also Börjars 1998:19–22).

10. A reviewer suggests that the example in (7) might be out on independent grounds, as the demonstrative *denna* does not co-occur with the suffixed definite article, unlike the complex demonstrative *den här*. However, there are dialects (e.g. in the Gothenburg area) where *denna* does in fact combine with the definite suffix, and where (7) is still ruled out. Moreover, other demonstratives cannot be combined either; consider the demonstrative *den* (which is accented, unlike the determiner *den*) with *den här* in (i). Demonstrative *den* always combines with the suffixed definite article.

- (i) **den här den blomman.*
this here this flower.DEF

11. There are some very scattered examples, particularly in Swedish, in which *hon* actually does inflect for case. An example from our data is provided in (i) below; this phenomenon is also mentioned by Teleman et al. (1999/Vol.3:118).

- (i) *Han ropade efter henne Margreta, men hon hörde det icke.*
he called after her Margreta but she heard it not
 ‘He called for her, Margreta, but she didn’t hear it.’

(Spf, 1900)

As a reviewer points out, the object form *henne* would be expected in a Danish system, but there is no reason to assume that examples like (i) are due to Danish influence; on the contrary, such influence would be highly surprising in a published text in Standard Swedish.

As far as we can tell, examples like (i) do not have a distal meaning, and we assume that the pronoun is entirely DP-external; it is not part of the extended projection of the noun. In present-day Swedish, this construction seems very marginal; Johannessen (2008a:footnote 14) found no examples when querying with Google.

12. Note that the gender of the PD corresponds to the natural gender of the referent, not the grammatical gender of the modified noun.

13. We take DP to be a phase; this is relatively uncontroversial (see e.g. Bošković’s 2012 overview of this discussion).

14. Johannessen (2012) points out that both PDs and *sånn* can be seen as nominal parallels to modal verbs; Kinn (2020b, c) proposes a different formal analysis.

15. An anonymous reviewer points out that several dialects of Swedish have grammaticalized a personal pronoun followed by a determiner into a regular pronominal definite determiner/distal demonstrative. For instance, in the dialect of Malax *ande hesti* ‘that horse’, the first part of the demonstrative is, etymologically speaking, the personal pronoun *an* ‘he’ (Vangnes 2003:157–161). This corroborates the notion that Swedish can fill more positions than Norwegian in the left periphery of the DP.

16. In cases where no additional demonstrative is present in Swedish (*hon lilla tjejen*), we assume that the Swedish structure is syntactically underspecified for distal features; see further discussion in Section 2.2.2.

17. There are some exceptions to this; in certain contexts, pronominal definite determiners can marginally be combined with some demonstratives, yielding examples such as (i). This is one of the main motivations behind splitting DP and DemP (see Delsing 1993:138; Julien 2005:Chapter 4).

- (i) *dessa de äldsta husen*
 these the oldest houses

We consider these examples very peripheral both in Swedish and Norwegian, and *dessa* (Norwegian *disse*) does not seem to fully contribute its normal demonstrative meaning (for example, it would seem rather unnatural to use this construction for situational deixis).

18. Kinn (2020b, c) proposes a slightly different implementation which does not involve a separate projection for the logophoric feature, but the accounts generally have much in common.

19. An anonymous reviewer asks what lexicalizes or licenses this functional projection if it is not spelled out by a pronoun. In Sigurðsson's (2011, 2014) framework, logophoric features at the phase edges (along with other features that Sigurðsson refers to as edge linkers) are a general property of language; they link nominals in the phase to other phases and to the broader context and thus play a crucial role for establishing reference. The presence of logophoric features and other edge linkers can be motivated by empirical phenomena such as indexical shifts (see Sigurðsson 2014); Julien (2020) invokes logophoric features (or operators, in her terms) in her analysis of long-distance binding of anaphora in Norwegian. In Sigurðsson's model, logophoric features are generally silent; in fact, our analysis of PDs in Swedish takes his approach one step further by suggesting that Λ is lexicalized.

20. Accessible at https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/liia_norsk.

21. Two individuals from Hedmark satisfied both of the selection criteria (age and geography) and are thus included in both groups. However, none of them produced PDs in this sample.

22. The LIA corpus is transcribed in Nynorsk Norwegian; as mentioned in Section 1, *ho* is the Nynorsk form of the 3RD.SG.FEM pronoun. The maximal interval between *han/ho* and the noun was set to 2; thus, the query captures cases in which another word (e.g. a simple adjective), a pause and/or a hesitation marker intervenes between the PD and the noun.

23. A reviewer points out that the dialect in Målselv could be considered a 'heritage dialect', as Målselv was settled by speakers from Eastern Norway. Note, however, that PDs can be attested also in other parts of Northern Norway.

24. The Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC; Johannessen et al. 2009) includes recordings of present-day Swedish speakers; however, this part of the corpus is too small for a study of PDs – Johannessen (2014) finds only one single occurrence.

25. This search is fairly narrow; because of the size of the Swedish corpora, more general queries would yield too many hits to process, and presumably a substantial amount of irrelevant results.

26. Our results corroborate this: the relevant occurrences of *han/hon* + proper name are few and scattered; they are never systematic in the way that we expect from preproprietary articles and, typically, the proper name is also used without a preceding pronoun in the same text.

27. Moreover, recall that the searches are clearly not exhaustive. It should also be mentioned that the Swedish corpora are tagged using resources developed for present-day Swedish, and that a large majority of the hits are irrelevant due to mistagging (they involve pronoun + finite verb (often *blef* 'became') rather than pronoun + noun).

28. Again, the Norwegian data set contains spoken data instead of written, but this is hardly the whole reason. Illustratively, Johannessen (2012:163) observes that in Norwegian, one cannot use the PD with a noun such as *mamma* 'mother' unless there is a strained relationship.

29. It would in principle also be possible to use it with referents that are more distant, although, on our analysis, the distal meaning would not be specified as a syntactic feature in those cases. In practice, when investigating corpus data, one might come across Swedish examples that are compatible with either a Norwegian-like structure (as proposed for the Norwegian PDs in (11) above) or an underspecified structure such as (17). Disambiguating the possible analyses requires detailed knowledge about the speaker's intentions in the particular discourse situation, and also about which syntactic structures they have at their disposal. At the moment, we can only note that there is some individual variation.

30. There is also one example produced by a first-generation immigrant speaker; see (i).

- (i) *det älskar han gubben*
 that loves he little.guy.DEF
 ‘the little guy loves that’

(AmSwe; tx14_f020)

Here, the speaker is referring to her grandchild using a PD. This looks very similar to what we find in EurSwe social media, where PDs are also often used to refer to young children (compare (16b) above).

31. A reviewer asks if it is possible that AmNo speakers omit the definite suffix in PDs, and if the search string should be changed to capture this. Previous research suggests that the suffix is generally stable in AmNo (Anderssen et al. 2018, van Baal 2020), and we have run control queries in CANS confirming that this also holds for PDs.

32. For one of these speakers, metadata about year of recording is missing, but properties of the sound files suggest that the speaker belongs in this group.

33. When first-generation immigrants are excluded, the sample from the 1940s amounts to approximately 61,000 words.

34. The CANS transcription has *bort att* ‘PART back’. Having listened to the example, we believe this word is the dialect/Nynorsk particle *bortåt*, which has a somewhat different meaning. The Bokmål rendering of *bortåt* is *borttil*. We have changed the rendering of this example to be able to provide an accurate gloss and translation.

35. More generally, there are very few definite noun phrases with prenominal adjectives in CANS (see Anderssen et al. 2018; van Baal 2020:64), and even in the available examples, the prenominal determiner can be left out (as discussed by Anderssen et al 2018 and van Baal 2020).

36. There is one example with a PD and a prenominal adjective from a first generation immigrant (i.e. not a heritage speaker); see (i). As expected, there is no prenominal determiner.

- (i) *han gamle tyskeren* var snill med meg han
 he old German.DEF was kind with me he
 ‘that old German was kind to me, he was’

(blair_WI_34gm)

37. Relatedly, Polinsky (2018:323) notes that ‘social pragmatics’ is often divergent in heritage speakers.

38. Note that we do not wish to argue against the IH; on the contrary, we believe that there are reasons to maintain the IH as a working hypothesis, but possibly make further distinctions between different pragmatic and syntactic phenomena. In on-going work, we explore the possibility that stability and change in the clausal left periphery in AmNo can be explained partly by the IH: whereas syntactically driven verb movement to C is stable in AmNo (see e.g. Eide & Hjelde 2018), the pragmatic function of Spec-CP is vulnerable leading to a higher frequency of SV-clauses (as observed by Westergaard & Lohndal 2019).

39. PDs can also use the hearer as their ‘anchor’; in this regard, they seem to differ from regular, spatial demonstratives in Norwegian. Cross-linguistically, however, it is not uncommon for spatial demonstratives to encode distance from the hearer; see Lander & Haegeman (2018) for a recent account.

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