

Pronominal demonstratives in homeland and heritage Scandinavian

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27 October 2020

Introduction – pronominal demonstratives (PDs)

In Scandinavian, the pronouns ‘he/she’ can be used as demonstratives.¹
 Norwegian (Johannessen 2008):

- (1) a. **Hun dam-a** hun blei jo helt nerd da
 she woman-DEF she became MOD.PART complete nerd then
 ‘That woman became a complete nerd’ (Nor)
- b. Jeg og Magne vi sykla jo og **han Mikkel** da
 I and Magne we cycled MOD.PART and he Mikkel MOD.PART
 ‘Magne and I were cycling, and that guy Mikkel’ (Nor)

- ▶ PDs + definite noun referring to a person, or a proper name.
- ▶ Primarily used in the spoken language, in reference to someone...
 - ▶ that the speaker does not know personally and/or has a negative attitude towards;
 - ▶ ... that the speaker knows, but the hearer does not know

Regular demonstratives *den/denne* ‘this/that’ do not yield the same meaning and are less natural in the relevant contexts (particularly in Norwegian).

¹E.g., Delsing 1993, Johannessen 2006, 2008; Julien 2005, Strahan 2008.

Introduction – pronominal demonstratives (PDs) – cont.

PDs are found across the Scandinavian languages² – but with **some comparative differences** (Johannessen 2008).

In particular: interaction with the **preadjectival definite determiner**

- (2) a. jent-a
 girl-DEF.F
 'the girl' (Nor)
- b. **den** sterke jent-a
 the strong girl-DEF.F
 'the strong girl' (Nor)

The preadjectival definite determiner is used (in addition to the definite suffix) when a definite noun is modified by an adjective

- ▶ This holds for Nor and Swe
- ▶ Icelandic does not have the pre-adjectival determiner

²Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic – but not in Faroese

Introduction – pronominal demonstratives (PDs) – cont.

Focus here: **Norwegian and Swedish:**

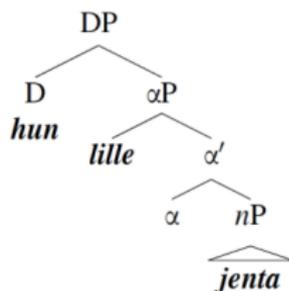
- (3) a. **hun** lille jente
 she little girl.DEF
 'the little girl' (Nor)
- b. ***hun den** lille jente
 she the little girl.DEF
 (Intended:) 'the little girl' (Nor)
- (4) **hon den** lilla tjejen
 she the little girl.DEF
 'the little girl' (Swe)

- ▶ Norwegian: PDs cannot be combined with a preadjectival definite determiner.
- ▶ Swedish: PD + preadjectival definite determiner is possible (and even preferred)

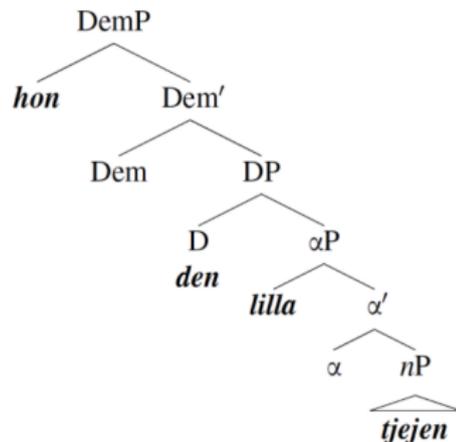
Introduction: Johannessen's (2008) analysis

(5) PDs in homeland Norwegian vs. Swedish

PDs in (homeland) Norwegian



PDs in (homeland) Swedish



Nor: PDs in D; Swe: PDs in Dem, def. det. in D. Based on Julien's (2005) framework.

Introduction – pronominal demonstratives (PDs) – cont.

This talk:

- ▶ Revisit PDs in Norwegian and Swedish
- ▶ Include **heritage varieties** in North America (AmNo/AmSw)
 - ▶ PDs in heritage Scandinavian – uncharted territory
- ▶ New homeland data
 - ▶ In order to establish the baseline for AmNo/AmSw
 - ▶ Previously unnoticed differences between Nor and Swe
- ▶ A revised syntactic analysis
 - ▶ Challenges particularly from Swedish
 - ▶ We will argue that Swedish PDs are in fact not proper demonstratives...

Introduction: AmNo/AmSwe

Large-scale emigration from Scandinavia to the US/Canada in the late 19th/early 20th century.

- ▶ Particularly many from Norway: more than 800,000 people left between 1825 and 1920
- ▶ Some of the present-day descendants are heritage speakers;
 - ▶ bilinguals
 - ▶ English is their dominant language, although Nor/Swe is their L1 in terms of order of acquisition

AmNo and AmSwe – **heritage languages**:

- ▶ Acquired by children in the home, in a naturalistic setting...
- ▶ but not the dominant language of the larger society (Rothman 2009:156, Benmamoun et al. 2013)

Terminological and conceptual clarifications

- ▶ PDs = psychologically distal demonstratives (PDDs) (Johannessen 2008)
- ▶ PDs \neq prepropral articles (PPAs) (found in many Nor dialects)

(6) Hun Gøril er jo herfra
 she Gøril is MOD.PART here.from
 'Gøril is from here' (PPA, Håberg 2010:5)³

- ▶ PPAs inflect for case \leftrightarrow PDs; different forms in a number of dialects; PPAs *only* occur with proper names; PPAs do not convey psychological distance (or other deictic meaning); different distribution (PPAs more or less obligatory in the dialects where they occur)

We excluded proper names from the Norwegian data set to avoid any ambiguity with PPAs; in Swedish, the problem does not arise.

³Rendered in the Bokmål standard

Roadmap

1. ~~Introduction~~
2. Establishing the baseline: PDs in (19h/20th century) homeland Scandinavian
3. PDs in heritage Scandinavian
4. Syntactic analysis
5. Discussion and heritage language perspectives
6. Conclusion

Establishing the baseline: PDs in
(19th/20th century) homeland
Scandinavian

What is, or should be, the baseline?

The question of the baseline e.g., Montrul (2016), Polinsky (2018):

When describing the features of a HL, particularly innovations/changes, what do you compare it to?

- ▶ The homeland variety? If so, which dialect(s)? Previous generation of heritage speakers?...

In practice, the present-day homeland variety often serves as the baseline

The ideal baseline depends on

- ▶ the research questions
- ▶ the heritage language under investigation

The baseline – cont.

AmNo/AmSwe: spoken since (approx.) the late 19th/early 20th century

We want to understand developments that have (potentially) happened **over a long time, several generations**

The baseline should, ideally, approximate/include **the language of the first emigrants**

→ We should compare AmNo/AmSwe to data from 19th/20th century homeland Nor/Swe, **not just present-day data**

- ▶ Ideally from the time when mass emigration started
- ▶ Preferably spoken language data (PDs are a phenomenon of the spoken language)

For PDs, it is particularly important to check early records! Previous literature states that it is not clear how old this phenomenon is (e.g., Johannessen 2006)

Homeland Scandinavian corpora – Norwegian

Language Infrastructure made Accessible (**LIA**)

- ▶ Speech corpus; old dialect recordings – transcribed and morphologically tagged
- ▶ Our subcorpus (approx. 485,000 word tokens):
 - ▶ All speakers born before 1880 (from all of the country)
 - ▶ All recordings of speakers from Hedmark, Oppland, Buskerud + Telemark (counties with a high rate of emigration)

+ Some spoken data from people who actually emigrated!

Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS)

- ▶ 5 speakers are 1st gen. immigrants
- ▶ Recorded by Einar Haugen, 1942

These resources are very recent (2019), and very useful!

Homeland Scandinavian corpora – Swedish

Korp infrastructure

- ▶ No speech corpus similar to LIA is available → written language data
- ▶ 19th/20th century Swe: approx. 20 mill word tokens
 - ▶ Svensk prosafiktion 1800–1900 (prose)
 - ▶ Äldre svenska romaner 1830–1940 (56 novels)
- ▶ Present-day Swe (PDs less studied than in present-day Nor): c. 10 bill. word tokens (!)
 - ▶ Focus: texts from social media (blogs etc.) → features in common with the spoken language

Methodology

Mainly qualitative method:

- ▶ PDs are not highly frequent;
- ▶ too few occurrences for interesting quantitative generalisations

We aim to establish **whether PDs are present** and **how they are used**

- ▶ Interpreting corpus data
- ▶ Native speaker competence (KK – Norwegian, IL – Swedish)

Queries

- ▶ Relevant pronominal forms 'he/she' + definite noun (and proper names in Swedish)
- ▶ We include cases with *her/här/der/där* 'her/there' as overt, reinforcing elements (Vindenes 2018, Leu 2015)

Results – homeland Norwegian

LIA corpus: PDs are robustly attested from the earliest records

- (7) a. og **han russen** nei nei eg hugsar ikkje namnet hans
 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**
 yes he was here eh he was come he eh iceland.priest.DEF
 'yes, he was here, he had come, that Icelandic priest' (selje_uib_0201,
 born 1871)

Used like in present-day homeland Nor:

- ▶ Someone that the speaker does not know personally
- ▶ Note: struggling to remember this person's name (7-a)

Results – homeland Norwegian – cont.

CANS corpus:

- (8) **han onkelen min** han lo
 he uncle.DEF my he laughed
 'my uncle laughed' (coon_valley_WI_45gk, recorded 1942)

This speaker

- ▶ emigrated from Norway at the age of 18
- ▶ spoke no English prior to arriving in the US → not a heritage speaker, although living in America
- ▶ PDs were presumably a feature of the Norwegian language that she **brought with her from the homeland**

Results – homeland Swedish

PDs are attested in the earliest records in Swedish too. Example from a novel by Almquist:

- (9) 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)

Present-day written data (large collections) – many examples:

- (10) **Hon tjejen** som sjöng lady gagas låt, vad tänkte hon??
 that girl.DEF that sang Lady Gaga.POSS tune what thought she
 'That girl who was singing Lady Gaga's song, what was she thinking?'
 (EurSwe, Bloggmix 2009)

→ PDs are clearly a part of the baseline, both for Nor and Swe – but, upon closer inspection, they are not identical in the two languages...

Differences between homeland Norwegian and Swedish

Conditions for use/semantics – special properties in **EurSwe**:⁴

- ▶ PDs can be used without a distal meaning/negative attitude.
- ▶ About referents that are already “in focus” (highest level of accessibility, Gundel et al. 1993)
- ▶ In these cases: solidarity/psychologically *proximal* rather than distal

(11) Han är då en gammal filur, **han Ola**.
 he is then an old rascal he Ola
 ‘You are an old rascal, Ola’ (EurSw. 1900, used in a cheerful reply to Ola, who just proposed)

(12) **Hon jëntan** fortsätter att stiga i vikten.
 she girl.DEF continues to rise in weight.DEF
 ‘My girl continues to gain weight.’ (EurSw Bloggmix 2010; mother about her young baby)

In EurNo, PDs do not seem to be used in this way

⁴Cf. Sigurðsson 2006 on Icelandic and Potts & Schwartz 2009 on English *this*.

Differences between homeland Nor and Swe – cont.

EurNo: PDs often used with referents that are previously mentioned/discussed

- ▶ A reminder to the listener that the referent is a part of the background knowledge/inferable; paraphrasable as ‘you know’

(13) han M3 hadde ein visargut [...] [...] men du veit eg oppdaga
 he M3 had a errand.boy but you know I discovered
 jo fort det at **han** **derre** **visarguten** ...
 MODPART quickly it that he there errand.boy.DEF
 ‘NN had an errand boy [...] I discovered that this errand boy....’ (EurNo,LIA)

In these (and other) cases, EurSwe prefers the regular demonstratives *den här/den där*:

(14) Det fanns en konstnär som hette NN [...] det har **den där** NN
 there was an artist who was.called NN it has that there NN
 skrivit ner
 written down
 ‘There was an artist called NN... This NN has written this down.’ (EurSw.
 NDC, Leksand_om1)

→ **The use of PDs is more restricted in Swedish than in Norwegian**

Differences between homeland Nor and Swe – cont.

Recall: **EurSwe**, but not EurNo, allows **PD + definite determiner**

- (15) a. **hun** lille jenta
 she little girl.DEF
 'that little girl' (EurNo)
- b. ***hun den** lille jenta
 she the little girl.DEF
 (Intended:) 'that little girl' (EurNo)
- c. **hon den** lilla tjejen
 she the little girl.DEF
 'that little girl' (EurSw, generally preferred option)

EurSwe also allows **PD + demonstrative** (*den här/den där*):

- (16) Jag såg **hon den där** lilla tjejen
 I saw she that there little girl.DEF
 'I saw that little girl' (EurSw)

Reinforcing, deictic element *här/där* → more than just “plain” definiteness

Intermediate summary

- ▶ PDs are present in EurNo and EurSw from the earliest records → part of the baseline
- ▶ Some differences wrt. how they are used in the two languages

PDs in heritage Scandinavian

Data: Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS)

- ▶ Speech corpus; recordings of AmNo and AmSwe speakers in the US/Canada
- ▶ Transcribed and morphologically tagged
- ▶ 746,000 word tokens, 227 speakers
 - ▶ **Norwegian** heritage: 710,000 tokens, 205 speakers
 - ▶ **Swedish** heritage: 45,000 tokens, 22 speakers
- ▶ Recordings from field trips (2010 onwards)
- ▶ Recent addition: **older recordings** (Norwegian)
 - ▶ 1930s/1940s (Haugen, Seip & Selmer)
 - ▶ 1990s (Hjelde)

Together, LIA and CANS make it possible to trace Norwegian across several generations, in the homeland and in America

Results: AmNo

Recall: PDs are attested in the speech of 1st generation emigrants (not heritage speakers)

Also attested in 2nd and later generations (heritage speakers) – **1940s**:

- (17) jeg kunne ikke forstå åssen **hun skolelæreren** kunne lære oss
 I could not understand how she school.teacher.DEF could teach us
 å snakke engelsk
 to speak English
 'I couldn't understand how that school teacher could teach us to speak English'
 (AmNo, spring_grove_MN_24gm, recorded in 1942)

Results: AmNo – cont.

1990s:

- (18) **hun kjerringa** kom ut og ... braska så fælt at # bjørnen
 she woman.DEF came out and made.noise so terribly that bear.def
 slapp grisen
 let.go pig.DEF
 (coon_valley_WI_17gm, recorded in 1992)

2010 and onward:

- (19) a. ja dere har svær bil sa **han guttungen**
 yes you have big car said he boy.kid.DEF
 'Yes, you have a big car, the kid said' (AmNo, cool_valley_WI_06gm)
- b. 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
 to me
 'That wife of his, she wasn't there. He had been lying to me.' (AmNo,
 coon_valley_WI_03gm)

Conditions for using PDs in AmNo

The use of PDs in both older and more recent AmNo **resembles EurNo**:

- ▶ With a definite noun and without any other pronominal determiner

- (20)
- a. han guttungen
he kid.DEF
 - b. *han den guttungen
he the kid.DEF

- ▶ About somebody that the speaker does not know personally and/or has a negative attitude towards
- ▶ Used in focus shifts, reminder of background knowledge, paraphrasable as 'you know'

Results: AmSwe

Less data on AmSw, but PDs are attested:

- (21) a. **han gubben** han # bara tittar och han # smilar
 he man.DEF he just looks and he smiles
 'that man, he just looks, and he smiles' (AmSw, mn11_f003)
- b. **han** ee %u **sonen** ljuger
 he son.DEF lies
 'that son [of mine] lies' (AmSw, mn11_f010)

The usage of PDs in AmSw seems similar to what we find in EurSw.

Results: AmSwe – cont.

We even find a **typical Swedish affectionate, proximal example** of the kind not found in EurNo/AmNo:

- (22) det älskar **han gubben**
 that loves he little.guy.DEF
 'the little guy loves that' (AmSw tx14_f020; *han gubben* refers to f020's grandchild)

Caveat: Uttered by 1st generation speaker (emigrant) – but still relevant:

- ▶ The addressee is her daughter who is a 2nd generation heritage speaker; the daughter seems to interpret it just fine
- ▶ Also, the speaker has lived away from Sweden for more than 40 years

Intermediate summary

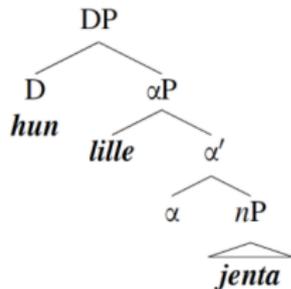
- ▶ PDs are attested in both AmNo and AmSw
- ▶ In AmNo, we can trace their presence over time using the CANS data
- ▶ The usage/semantics appears to resemble the use in the homeland varieties, including the comparative differences between EurNo and EurSw

Syntactic analysis

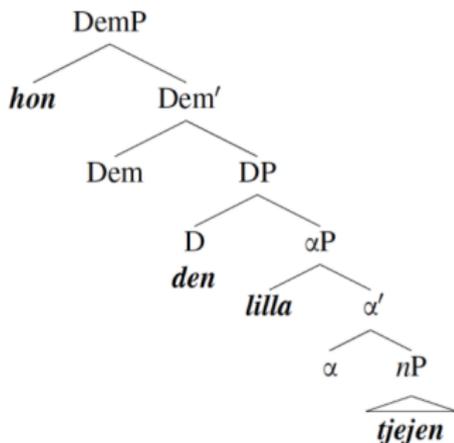
Starting points: Johannessen (2008)

(23) PDs in homeland Norwegian vs. Swedish

PDs in (homeland) Norwegian



PDs in (homeland) Swedish



- ▶ PDs can be combined with preadj. definite determiners in Swedish, but not Norwegian: **hun den lille jenta* 'she the little girl.DEF' (No)
- ▶ Julien (2005): nP – low, nominal phase ($n \neq$ nominaliser); α P hosts adj. phrases

New findings and challenges

- ▶ Our study suggests retention of PDs over time in the heritage varieties
→ no “special” structures in AmNo/AmSw
- ▶ However: **more differences between Norwegian and Swedish** than previously observed
- ▶ We propose a revision that
 - ▶ captures these differences
 - ▶ applies to both homeland and heritage varieties (EurNo + AmNo vs. EurSw + AmSw)
- ▶ In a nutshell: **PDs in Swedish are not proper demonstratives**

A challenge from Swedish

Recall: Swedish allows not only PD + def. det., but also **PD + demonstrative:**

- (24) Jag såg **hon den där** lilla tjejen
 I saw she that there little girl.DEF
 'I saw that little girl' (Swe)

Den där: (complex) demonstrative (*där* 'there' – reinforcing deictic element) → presumably in a demonstrative position, like other Swedish demonstratives.

- (25) [_{DemP} den där [_{DP} [_{αP} lilla [_{nP} tjejen]]]]

What is *hon*, and what is its position?

- ▶ Looks like a demonstrative: No case inflection. Swedish pronouns inflect for case; demonstratives do not (object form in (24) would be *henne*)
- ▶ However, Swedish does not generally allow two demonstratives to co-occur

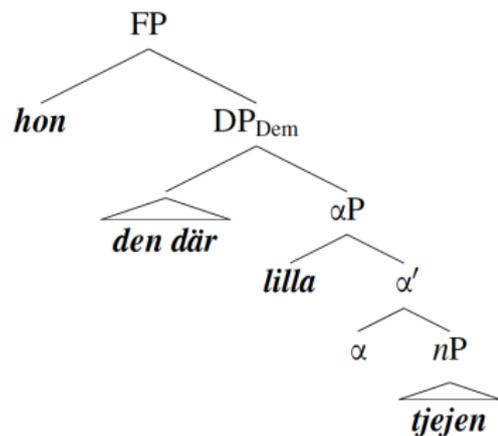
- (26) * *dessa de här fina blommorna*
 these them here nice flowers

- ▶ This weakens the motivation for assuming an extra Dem position above *den här*

Proposal – revised analysis of Swedish PDs

- ▶ Swedish *han/hon* as PDs are **not proper demonstratives**
 - ▶ This ties in with the observation that the use in Swedish is more restricted than in Norwegian
- ▶ Pronouns; **doubling** certain features within the nominal projection (Josefsson 1999, 2006; Craenenbrock & van Koppen 2008, “big DP”)
 - ▶ Semantic gender, specificity
- ▶ **Why no Case inflection?** This pronoun is syntactically reduced/underspecified (Josefsson 1999, Holmberg & Nikanne 2008)

(27) Swedish PDs

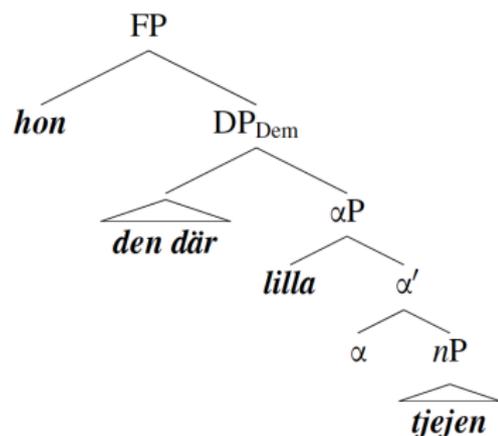


Proposal – revised analysis of Swedish PDs – cont.

What is the position of the Swedish PD?

- ▶ A functional projection (FP, Josefsson 1999) above the demonstrative *den där*; FP is **not a demonstrative position**
- ▶ Head of FP? Possibly a logophoric feature representing speaker/hearer (Sigurðsson 2011, 2014)
 - ▶ $\Lambda_{A/P}$ (Sigurðsson's notation)
 - ▶ \rightarrow speaker-perspective meaning
 - ▶ Consistent with recent research on syntacticisation of pragmatic markers/speech acts (Speas & Tenny 2003, Wiltschko & Heim 2016++)
 - ▶ Also the spirit of Josefsson 2006, who calls Swedish PDs “speaker oriented”.
- ▶ Separate Speech Act Phrase? Possible, although we do not discuss it.

(28) Swedish PDs



Proposal – revised analysis of Swedish PDs – cont.

DP vs. DemP

- ▶ We represent D and Dem in the same functional projection (DP_{Dem})
- ▶ “Proper” demonstratives generally cannot be combined with a definite determiner:

(29) ***den där den** lilla tjejen
 that there the little girl.DEF
 (Intended:) ‘that little girl’

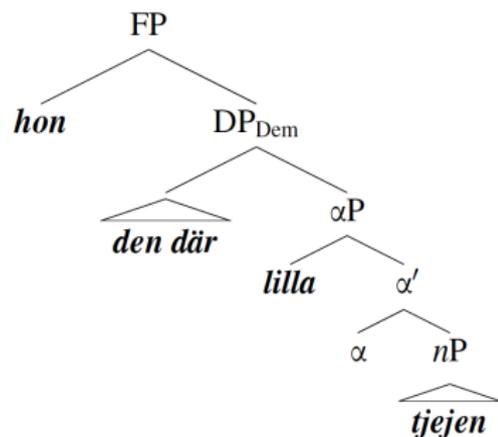
- ▶ Julien (2005) and Delsing (1993) observe some cases with demonstrative + def. det. – but very peripheral

(30) ??**dessa de** äldsta husen
 these the oldest houses

- ▶ **Complementary distr. with def. det. weakens the motivation for a separate Dem projection**

(PDs can be combined with def. det. (*hon den lilla tjejen*) – but on our account, they are not proper demonstratives.)

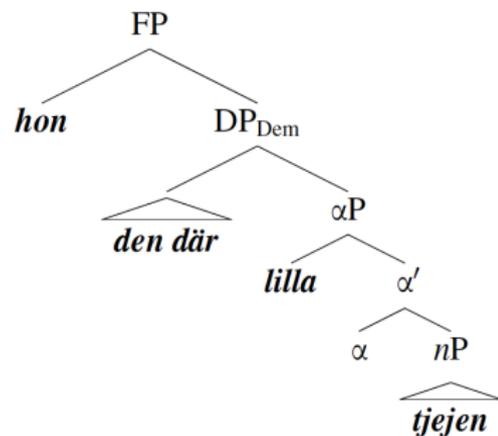
(31) Swedish PDs



Proposal – revised analysis of Swedish PDs – cont.

- ▶ DP_{Dem} : Clustering (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997); alternatively: spanning (Starke 2009)
- ▶ *Den där*: lexically complex (Julien 2005) or *där* spelling out inherent, deictic component of demonstratives (Leu 2015).

(32) Swedish PDs

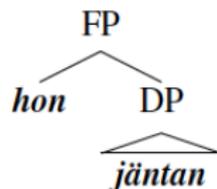


Another observation from Swedish – affectionate use

Recall: some Swe examples do not seem to involve any distal meaning/negative attitude.
Some of them: proximal/affectionate

- (33) a. det älskar **han gubben**
that loves he little.guy.DEF
'the little guy loves that' (CANS)
- b. **Hon jätan** fortsätter att stiga i
she girl.DEF continues to rise in
vikten
weight.DEF
'my girl continues to gain weight'

(34) Swedish PD –
affectionate



Proposal:

- ▶ *Hon* is still in FP
- ▶ No Dem feature is involved; *nP* moves up to Spec-DP
- ▶ Julien (2005): DemP only represented when it contains lexical material

Revised analysis of Norwegian PDs

Norwegian differs from Swedish in that

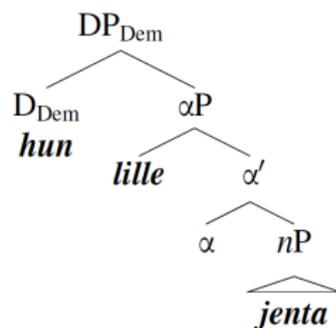
- ▶ PDs do not co-occur with definite determiners,
- ▶ and generally also not with demonstratives

- (35)
- a. ***han den** lille mannen
 he the little man.DEF
 (Intended:) 'that little man'
 - b. ***hun den (der)** lille jenta
 she that (there) little girl.DEF
 (Intended:) 'that little girl'

Norwegian PDs behave like proper demonstratives

- ▶ distribution
- ▶ conveying demonstrative/distal meaning

(36) Norwegian PDs



We maintain Johannessen's (2008) analysis (but state explicitly that DP contains a demonstrative element (D_{Dem}))

Some special cases

There are clear differences between Nor and Swe – but also some exceptions

Cases of the “Norwegian” pattern in Swedish (*han/hon* with distal meaning, sometimes reinforced with “*här/där*,” no other determiner/demonstrative):

- (37) **Hon där** Kenza?
 she there Kenza
 ‘that girl Kenza’ (EurSwe, Bloggmix 2009; “Norwegian” pattern)

Cases of the “Swedish” pattern in Norwegian (*han/hun* + demonstrative):

- (38) og så sa han det **han denne derre** skøyaren...
 and then said he that he this there rascal.DEF
 ‘and then he said that, that rascal...’ (EurNo, LIA, “Swedish” pattern)

- ▶ These cases are untypical/marginal
- ▶ Some Swe speakers seem to have access to a “Norwegian” structure – and vice versa
- ▶ For future research: incipient change or geographical variation within the countries?

Discussion and HL perspectives

Discussion and HL perspectives

- ▶ Transmission of PDs across generations in a HL context
- ▶ The role of HL data in comparative/diachronic syntax

Transmission of PDs across generations in a HL context

PDs have been retained over time in AmNo and AmSwe – this stability is interesting

- ▶ PDs convey meaning related to speaker-perspective/attitudes;
- ▶ Arguably pragmatic notions

Phenomena at the syntax-pragmatics interface have been argued to be vulnerable/unstable in heritage languages

- ▶ I.a, Benmamoun et al. (2013:161ff)
- ▶ Polinsky (2018:323): “Social pragmatics” is often divergent in heritage speakers

Transmission of PDs across generations in a HL context – cont.

PDs are not necessarily counterevidence – but they can contribute to a more refined understanding of **differences between pragmatics-related phenomena**

Possibly a relevant factor in this case: **deixis**

- ▶ PDs encode distance from the speaker
- ▶ Psychological distance instead of spatial – but still deictic nature (Johannessen 2008)
- ▶ Deictic relations have been shown to be robust in heritage languages (Polinsky 2018)
- ▶ Deictic properties may have contributed to the retention of PDs

The role of HL data in comparative/diachronic syntax

This study demonstrates how HL data can inform more general areas of research

PDs are a feature of the **spoken, colloquial language** – it can be difficult to find data, particularly going back in time

- ▶ For Norwegian – the LIA corpus is an invaluable resource
- ▶ For Swedish and many other languages – data are less available
- ▶ HL data are (with some caveats) a different route into the history of spoken dialects (see also Rothman 2007)

The role of HL data in comparative/diachronic syntax – cont.

PDs: a case of stability over time

- ▶ HL data provide additional evidence for the type of system/distinctions observed in the homeland Nor/Swe

In other cases, HLs exhibit innovations/change

- ▶ E.g., Putnam & Schwarz (2014), Larsson & Johannessen (2015), Yager et al. (2015)
- ▶ In cases of demonstrable change: HL data can help us complete the picture of syntactic variation in human languages

Conclusion

Conclusion

- ▶ Pronominal demonstratives (PDs) are used across the Scandinavian languages
- ▶ Our study has revealed previously unnoticed differences between PDs in Norwegian and Swedish
- ▶ PDs are retained in heritage Scandinavian and are used in a way that resembles the homeland varieties, including comparative differences
- ▶ We have proposed a revised syntactic analysis whereby Swedish PDs are not proper demonstratives
- ▶ Our study is as a case study of how HL data can inform more general areas of research

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