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The pronominal psychological demonstrative in Scandinavian: Its syntax, semantics and pragmatics

Janne Bondi Johannessen

The paper describes and discusses a demonstrative that has received little attention in the literature. The demonstrative can be found in many of the Scandinavian languages and dialects, and seems to be most frequent and widespread in the mainland Scandinavian languages. It has the same phonological form as third-person singular pronouns, and can be used only with nouns and have human (or human-like) specific reference. From a deictic perspective, the demonstrative is interesting because its conditions of use are linked to what I call psychological distance. Syntactically, it is also interesting because it has different characteristics in the different languages; in Norwegian and Icelandic it can be argued to be part of the DP, while the empirical facts of Swedish and Danish suggest that the psychologically distal demonstrative is DP-external in these languages.

Keywords Danish, demonstratives, dialectal differences, Icelandic, Norwegian, psychologically distal, Scandinavian, Swedish, syntactic differences

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1. INTRODUCTION

I will investigate a demonstrative that deserves more than the sparse treatment it has received so far in the literature. This demonstrative is interesting from a semantic, a pragmatic and a syntactic point of view.

While the deictic properties of demonstratives in the Scandinavian languages have generally been thought to be linked to either spatial distance or discourse (Faarlund, Vannebo & Lie 1997), I am going to present another kind of demonstrative here. It has the same phonological form as the third-person singular pronouns, and can only be used with nouns and have human (or human-like) reference. What is interesting about them from a deictic perspective, is that their conditions of use are linked to psychological distance. It is also worthwhile to look in more detail at their conditions of use, and investigate the difference between them and other demonstratives and determiners. Sections 3 and 4 focus on various semantico-pragmatic aspects of the psychological demonstrative.

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The psychological demonstratives occur in most of the Scandinavian languages, but interestingly, they have different syntactic characteristics: the languages seem to be divided into two groups, depending on whether the demonstrative is part of the DP or not. The syntactic investigation is carried out in section 5.

I will focus on Norwegian, especially the Oslo dialect, in the sections where the topic is not Scandinavian variation. However, my impression is that in the dialects and languages where this demonstrative can be found, its semantics and pragmatics do not differ from those of the Oslo dialect. The majority of the examples are drawn from two Norwegian speech corpora – the NoTa corpus and the TAUS corpus[1] – and the Danish BySoc corpus, as well as the web (for Swedish and Icelandic).

2. PRELIMINARIES

2.1 The pronominal psychological demonstrative exemplified

The pronominal demonstrative is exemplified below for Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. It does not seem to exist in Faroese, and while it does exist in the Finland-Swedish dialect of Helsingfors (Magnus Brenner, p.c.), it does not exist in the Finland-Swedish dialects of Österbotten (Jan-Ola Östman, p.c.). Further, it is also debatable whether it exists in north Norwegian. Actually, there seems to be dialectal variation in most of the languages, but I will not pursue this here.

(1) . . . og så **hun** e kvinnelige solisten og Bocelli
and then she ehm female soloist.DEF and Bocelli
som sang duetter (Norwegian)
who sang duets
'. . . and then that female soloist and Bocelli who sang duets' (NoTa, F, 74)

(2) Har du talat med **hon** Lisa? (Swedish)
have you talked with she Lisa
'Have you talked with that girl Lisa?' (Delsing 2003:23)

(3) Jeg så **hende** pigen med briller. (Danish)
I saw her girl.DEF with glasses
'I saw that girl with glasses.' (A. Wulff, p.c.)

(4) **Hún** konan virðoist allt í lagi. (Icelandic)
she woman.DEF seems very ok
'That woman seems alright.' (H. Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

These examples show that in each case, the demonstrative is a pronoun. But notice that the morphological form of the pronoun differs in the languages. This will be discussed in section 5.

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2.2 The deictic dimensions of Scandinavian demonstratives

It is known that the Scandinavian demonstratives are deictic at two levels – spatial and discourse – although not all the dialects have the latter. They are exemplified below:

(5) Jeg synes **denne** bilen er finere enn **den** vi så på i går.
I think this car.DEF is nicer than that we looked at yesterday
'I think this car is nicer than the one we looked at yesterday.'
(Faarlund et al. 1997:210)

The demonstrative *denne* is used for proximal spatial deixis, while the demonstrative *den* (here used elliptically) is used for distal spatial deixis.

The discourse-level deixis is rarer, but is used in Faroese and in Hedmark, Norway, exemplified here by the Toten dialect. The discourse-level demonstrative is used to refer to things that have been mentioned in the discourse, while the spatial one is used for things that can be pointed at. The contrast is between the spatially distal demonstrative and the discourse-level demonstrative:

(6) Veit du åkke som bor i **datta** huset (der)? (pointing)
know you who who lives in that house.DEF there
'Do you know who lives in that house over there?'
(Faarlund et al. 1971:211)

(7) Je hørte at huset hans Ola Jensen var til salgs,
I heared that house.DEF his Ola Jensen was to sale,
men **det** huset har je itte råd til å kjøpe.
but that house.DEF have I not afford to to buy
'I heared that Ola Jensen's house was for sale, but that house, I cannot afford to buy.'
(Faarlund et al. 1997:211)

To summarise, the spatial dimension is thus divided into two values, proximal (*denne* in Norwegian and *hesin* in Faroese) and spatial (*den* in Norwegian and *hasin* in Faroese) – both with morhological variants. The discourse-level dimension has only a distal value (*den* in the Norwegian Toten dialect an *tann* in Faroese). The pronominal psychological demonstrative will be discussed in the next section.

Although it is difficult to ascertain whether a particular word or construction is new or old when it is so obviously part of the spoken language, Johannessen (2006, 2008) argues that there are reasons to think that it is relatively new, and still spreading.

3. THE PRAGMATIC AND SEMANTIC DIMENSIONS OF THE PRONOMINAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATIVE

3.1 A psychologically distal demonstrative

We will see in this section that the pronominal demonstrative is distal along a psychological dimension, i.e. it is a psychologically distal demonstrative (PDD).

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There are four main conditions on its use. I should make it clear that these main conditions on use are based on my own linguistic insights as a native speaker of Norwegian. They have not been discussed in depth elsewhere. Some of the aspects relating to the conditions 1, 2 and 3 below have been discussed in Johannessen (2006, 2007, 2008), and some partly by Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999:section 31:274), Delsing (2003:23) and Lie (2008). The specificity requirement (condition 4) has been discussed by Dyvik (1979), Lødrup (1982), Faarlund et al. (1997), Johannessen (2007, 2008) and Strahan (2007).

PDD CONDITION 1: THE SPEAKER DOES NOT PERSONALLY KNOW THE PERSON REFERRED TO.

(8) jeg og Magne vi sykla jo og **han** Mikkel da
I and Magne we cycled then and he Mikkel then
'I and Magne and that guy Mikkel we cycled then.' (NoTa, M, 36)

(9) **hun** von der Lippe hun e hun e hadde lært seg skikkelig
she von der Lippe she ehm she ehm had taught herself properly
'That woman von der Lippe, she had taught herself properly.' (NoTa, F, 80)

(10) men hva med han derre m leste du om han derre
but what about he that ehm read you about he that
han tyskeren som hadde kuttet av utstyret på en fyr og spist det?
he German.DEF who had cut off thing.DEF on a guy and eaten it
'But how about the one, ehm, did you read about the German who cut off the thing of a guy and ate it?' (NoTa, M, 18)

In (8) the speaker mentions one person by name only, and another by name and the pronominal demonstrative. The former does not have to be presented in a particular way, but the latter is one that the speaker obviously needs to specify his not-so-close relationship to. In (9) the speaker talks about an actress, and the use of the demonstrative shows that the speaker needs to say that it is not a person close to her. In (10) the speaker also marks a distance to the person referred to, a person who was at one point widely reported in the papers because of an act of cannibalism.

PDD CONDITION 2: THE ADDRESSEE DOES NOT PERSONALLY KNOW THE PERSON REFERRED TO.

(11) jæ vill ikke akkrat vekke **hun** vennindn min
I will not exactly wake she friend.DEF mine
'I didn't want to exactly wake up my friend.' (TAUS, F, 21)

(12) du vet **han** kjørelæreren jeg har?
you know he driving-teacher.DEF I have
'You know that driving instructor I have?' (NoTa, F, 18)

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(13) Men **hun** søsteren min er sånn som ser auraer og
but she sister.DEF my is such who sees auras and
merker stemninger i hus.
feels atmospheres in houses
'But my sister is the kind who sees auras and feels atmospheres in houses.'
(forum.gaiaforum.com/)

In (11) the speaker knows that the listener (a recording assistant) does not know her friend, and thus uses the pronominal demonstrative to accommodate to the addressee. In (12) the speaker is uncertain as to whether the addressee knows her driving instructor. In (13) the writer writes at a web-forum where she knows that the others do not know her sister personally. Thus, the writer can help the reader when the latter might not know the person referred to.

Delsing (2003:23) has a similar understanding of the condition for the Swedish pronominal demonstrative: 'talaren är osäker på om lyssnaren vet vem som avses' [the speaker is uncertain as to whether the listener knows who is intended]. Teleman et al. (1999:§31:274) also point out that the listener's knowledge of the person referred to can be a condition on the use of this pronominal demonstrative. They say that the speaker and the listener must know of the person referred to, but that this person must not be a close acquaintance or be activated in the discourse. I agree with Teleman et al. that both the speaker and the listener should know of the third person, so that it is at all possible for the listener to identify him or her. This knowledge can be very indirect, though, as in example (14) below, where it is world knowledge that constitutes the way the listener should be able to identify the person referred to.[2]

However, I do not agree with Teleman et al. that the person should not be activated in the discourse. Like Teleman et al., Lie (2008) focusses on discourse activation, and says that the main task of the psychological demonstrative is that of bringing a new person into the discourse, and Strahan (2007) also stresses the discourse activation aspect. Given the perfect acceptability of an utterance like (14b) below, used after a person is introduced and well-established in the discourse, it is clear that discourse activation cannot be a necessary condition for the use of the PDD. A second argument against discourse activation as a factor here comes from examining key contexts for discourse activation. A central way of activating referents in the discourse is by using left dislocation (discussed in Svennevig 1995). If the key function of the PDD were to activate referents in the discourse, then left dislocation would be accompanied by the PDD. But this is not the case. They can co-occur, but the PDD then adds an element of psychological distance, and not discourse activation.[3]

Example (14) shows, on the one hand, how personally distant the listener can be from the person referred to, and, on the other hand, that repeated use of the PDD is possible with a person activated in the discourse.

(14) Wife: Can you fetch my book at the library?
Husband: OK. How do I do it? I'm never at the library.

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(a) Wife: Bare se etter **hun** dama med krøllete hår . . .
just look after she woman.DEF with curly hair
'Just look for the woman with curly hair.'
Det er Anne Jensen.
it is Anne Jensen
'That is Anne Jensen.'

(b) Husband: Og hva skal jeg si til **hun** Anne Jensen?
and what shall I say to her Anne Jensen
'And what shall I say to this Anne Jensen?'

The wife in this dialogue knows that the husband has no knowledge of the person she is talking about. However, she does know that her husband has general knowledge about libraries (people work there, they are often women, they are there to help the customers), and this is enough to introduce a finite set of librarians, and hence identify one of them, however indirectly. Thus, his slight knowledge of the person referred to makes her use the PDD.

Notice that the wife does not use the PDD when she names the library woman in (14a). The PDD would have been totally unacceptable there. Had the husband known already that the woman the wife was describing was called by that name, the PDD would have been ok, as indeed it is when he utters it. Thus, the PDD needs to be anchored either to a common memory (as in (14b)), or to something already in the utterance, as in (14a), where the preposition phrase anchors it.

PDD CONDITION 3: THE SPEAKER HAS A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO THE PERSON REFERRED TO.

(15) **hun** dama hun blei jo helt nerd da
she woman.DEF she became yes totally nerd then
'That woman, she became completely nerd, you know.' (NoTa, M, 18)

(16) Er ikke helt god **hu** mora mi altså . . .
is not totally good she mother.DEF my actually
'Actually, this mother of mine isn't totally with it.' (Woman, from a website)

In (15) the speaker expresses a negative attitude to the woman she talks about, and in (16) it is the writer's mother who is written about in a derogatory way. It is probably not far from a word being used for general psychological distance to it being used for negative attitutudes.

PDD CONDITION 4: THE PERSON REFERRED TO MUST BE SPECIFIC.

(17) **han** mannen han svarte mannen ikke sant
he man.DEF he black man.DEF not true
han hadde brukt boblejakke
he had used jacket
'That man, that black man you know, he had a second-hand jacket.'
(NoTa, F, 18)

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The PDD must refer to somebody specific, never hypothetical or non-exisiting. This feature will be more thoroughly discussed in section 4.2, where it will be compared with the spatial distal demonstrative.

3.2 The PDD in a wider pragmatic perspective

3.2.1 Psychological deixis

We saw above that the deixis that is known in the Scandinavian languages is spatial deixis and discourse deixis. Cross-linguistically, it is also common to count social deixis, often tied to honorifics ('such qualities as kinship relations, totemic relations and clan membership' (Levinson 1983:90). In addition, emotional deixis has been mentioned in the literature. One of the first to notice this kind was Robin Lakoff: 'Both *this* and *that* establish solidarity and imply shared emotions between the speaker and the listener' (Lakoff 1974: 345f.).

Our psychological demonstratives are possibly emotional in the sense described by Lakoff, because they can create shared emotions between two speakers in the situation where both refer to a person by the PDD. However, they just as often create distance between the two speakers, as in (18). If speaker 1 knows the third person well, she will refer to this person by that person's first name. However, if speaker 2 does not know this person, speaker 2 will avoid using the first name on its own, because it would indicate a personal knowledge that is not there. Speaker 2 could as an alternative use the first and the second name, but that would be unacceptable. So speaker 2, whenever he has to refer to speaker 1's friend (and cannot use a simple pronoun), will use the only possible tool: the PDD plus the first name or the PDD plus a descriptive DP. Let us illustrate:

(18) Speaker 1: You know Brad Pitt, he is actually my brother in law's friend. It's so weird to see him on the film screen. Once, Brad and I actually went on holiday together. He is really generous. He paid for me.

Speaker 2: Oi! Fortell litt da. Hvordan er **han** Brad egentlig?
wow tell a-bit then how is he Brad really
'Wow, tell me a bit then, how is this Brad really?'

Speaker 1: Grei. Men svogeren min er greiere enn Brad.
ok but brother-in-law.DEF my is nicer than Brad
'OK, but my broher in law is nicer than Brad.'

Speaker 2: Men **han** Brad, har han humor?
but he Brad has he humour
'But has that Brad a sense of humour?'

Thus, speaker 2 is in a situation where he has to show his non-personal knowledge of Brad in every utterance, unlike speaker 1. This hardly gives the two speakers a sense of solidarity.

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Brown & Levinson (1978) write about politeness theory and face-threatening acts, and how we use language to avoid them. Lie (2008) suggests that this theory can be used to explain the use of the psychological demonstrative. I agree that this is a possible reason for the use of the PDD, condition 2, where the speaker knows that the addressee does not know the person referred to, and chooses to convey this by using the PDD. In a sense, it can also be used to explain the use in condition 1, in which it is the speaker herself who is not acquainted with the person referred to. First, it gives the adressee immediate knowledge about the speaker's level of personal acquaintance with the third person, which is itself a helpful piece of knowledge for the adressee. Second, in contexts where the adressee knows the third person better than the speaker does, e.g. in a dialogue like that in (18), the PDD makes it possible for the speaker to talk about the third person by that person's first name, without coming across as somebody who is pushing their intimacy onto the adressee and his friend.

Psychological distance has also been used previously in the literature, e.g. by Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1986) to account for aspects related to Turkish evidentials and in Suzuki (2006), to analyse expressions of surprise relating to the Japanese *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside'. Now we know that it also exists in the grammar of the Scandinavian languages.

3.2.2 Whose perspective?

Deixis is a way of anchoring events in the world. Levinson (1983:63f.) says that deixis is generally (but not invariably) organised in an egocentric way. There is a deictic centre, and the central person is the speaker. Levinson says that there are some exceptions to this, and one of them is that in some languages, demonstratives can be organised around participants other than the speaker. The Philippine language Sarnal is given as an example where demonstratives are divided into four categories, of which two are the same as our PDD: 1) close to the speaker, and 2) close to the addressee.

Examples of non-speaker oriented deixis are usually taken from Latin, Turkish or languages far away from northern Europe both geographically and genetically (see e.g. Levinson 1983). It is therefore nice to see this feature in the grammar of the Scandinavian languages.

3.3 Semantic, pronominal features in the demonstratives

It is debatable whether the pronominal demonstratives are something other than the pronouns themselves. Whether they are regarded as part of the category of demonstratives or simply pronouns used exophorically (without their own reference)

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is a question of taste. But it is clear that the pronominal demonstratives have inherited their main features from the pronouns. First, their morpho-syntactic features remain:

(19) **Han** mannen / *dama / *mennene
he man.DEF woman.DEF men.DEF.PL

(20) **Hun** dama / *mannen / *damene
she woman.DEF man.DEF women.DEF.PL

Second, the in-built specificity requirement of pronouns also holds for our pronominal demonstratives:[4]

(21) ***Han** mannen som vinner fem millioner i lotto neste år, er heldig.
he man.DEF who wins five millions in lottery next year is lucky
'That man who will win five million in the lottery next year will be lucky.'

(22) **Han** mannen som vant fem millioner i lotto i fjor, var heldig.
he man.DEF who won five millions in lottery in last.year was lucky
'That man who won five million in the lottery last year was lucky.'

4. A COMPARISON WITH OTHER DETERMINERS

There are several determiners that are competing with the PDD because they are similar either in form or in distribution. Below we shall compare the PDD with the preproprial article as well as with the spatial demonstrative.

4.1 The PDD is different from the preproprial article

Many Scandinavian dialects have a preproprial article that is used with names and close family relations. In many cases, the phonological form of this article is the same as that of the PDD. One could wonder if they should be regarded as the same category. However, there are some important differences (cf. Fretheim & Amfo 2005; Julien 2005; Johannessen 2006, 2007, 2008).

i. The preproprial article can be inflected for case in Norwegian (e.g. in the Toten dialect, Faarlund 2000), while the Norwegian PDD is not – it always has the nominative form. This is the general pattern in all the languages that have both, with the exception of Icelandic.

ii. Although the PDD has the same form as the preproprial article (in some inflectional forms at least), there are important differences. First of all, the PDD has some stress, while the preproprial article is always unstressed, to the extent that it is always cliticized to its neighbouring word.

iii. In many dialects, the form of the preproprial article is quite different from that of the PDD. This is the case in the Oslo dialect, where the forms

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of the preproprial article are/were *a* (fem.) and *n* (masc.), while the PDD are *hun* or *hu* (fem.) and *han* (masc.), as we have seen in many examples of above.

(23) akkurat, der kommer taxien til **a** Gerd
exactly there comes taxi.DEF to ART Gerd
'Exactly, there comes Gerd's taxi.' (NoTa, F, 79)

(24) den har **n** Arne lånt av meg nå forresten
that has ART Arne borrowed of me now by the way
'By the way, Arne has borrowed that one off me.' (NoTa, F, 80)

iv. While the PDD adds meaning to its noun phrase, i.e. that of psychological distance, this is generally not the case with the preproprial article (Delsing 2003). In north Norwegian dialects, the general trait is that the preproprial article is used with absolutely all names, plus certain family relations like 'mother' and 'father'. In these dialects, the preproprial article offers very little meaning, other than that of signalling that a proper name follows (Iversen 1918). In other dialects, e.g. the Toten dialect, the preproprial article is used only with first names (Faarlund 2000). Since people are referred to by their first names only when they are personally known to the speaker (and addressee), it could be claimed that there, the preproprial article has a psychologically proximal meaning, i.e. one that signals closeness rather than distance.

v. The preproprial article occurs only with names (incluing family relations), while the PDD occurs with all kinds of nouns denoting humans.

vi. The preproprial article is obligatory with the category it occurs with, while the PDD is optional.

4.2 The PDD has different conditions of use from the spatial demonstrative

Here, we shall look at some differences between the PDD and the spatial demonstrative (SD). We have already seen the main conditions of use for the PDD in section 3, but it is only when we compare it with the spatial demonstrative that we really can see how they differ.

SD CONDITION 1: IDENTIFYING SOMEBODY IN A GEOGRAPHICAL DISTANCE
Let us start with a couple of sentences with the spatial demonstrative.

(25) og sånn som **den** damen som sitter borti der og
and just as that woman.DEF who sits over there and
færøyingene og islendingene, de er mer i slekt
Faroese.DEF.PL and Icelander.DEF.PL they are more in family
'And like that woman over there and the Faroese and the Icelanders, they are more related.' (NoTa, M, 62)

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(26) lurer på om **den** damen vår er fornøyd med oss nå jeg
wonder on whether that woman.DEF ours is contented with us now I
'I wonder if that woman of ours over there is contented with us now.'
(NoTa, F, 74)

These two examples are from the NoTa corpus, in which all the recordings involve just two people at a table. In both cases, the person referred to is the project assistant who is present during the recordings. These examples are interesting because they show that it is acceptable to use the spatial demonstrative in front of the people who are being referred to. The PDD would have been inappropriate: if the speakers had used the PDD it would have indicated that they wanted to underline the fact that they did not have personal knowledge of the person referred to. This would have been a rather impolite thing to insist on in front of that person.

The purely identificatory function of the spatial demonstrative is also seen clearly in the sentence pair below, where we test the two demonstratives in front of proper names:

(27) . . . for **den/denne** Fia sa at det var på søndag.
for that/this Fia said that it was on Sunday
'. . . for that particular Fia said it was on Sunday.'

(28) . . . for **hun** Fia sa at det var på søndag.
for she Fia said that it was on Sunday
'. . . for that person Fia said it was on Sunday.'

In (27) it is quite clear that there are several girls named Fia, and that the speaker refers to one of those many girls.[5] In (28) there is no indication at all that there exists more than one girl called Fia. Its condition of use is, rather, psychological distance as described in section 3.

SD CONDITION 2: IDENTIFYING NON-SPECIFIC TYPES

Further examples show that the spatial demonstrative can identify non-specific types:

(29) særlig når det er veldig kaldt blir jeg veldig sur
especially when it is very cold get I very sour
når jeg vet at **den** slemme bussjåføren sitter på
when I know that that evil bus-driver.DEF sits at
Hasle og koser seg inni den varme bussen
Hasle and cosies himself inside the warm bus.DEF
'Especially when it is very cold, I get very annoyed when I know that that evil bus driver sits at Hasle enjoying himself in the warm bus.' (NoTa, W, 30)

(30) og så sier han hvem som er i den gruppa og
and then says he who who is in that group.DEF and

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så skal de gå med **den** læreren, bort til et
so shall they go with that teacher.DEF over to a
klasserom, og så står resten igjen
classroom and then stands rest.DEF left (NoTa, F, 15)
'And then he says who is in that group, and then they shall follow that teacher to a classroom, while the rest are left behind.'

Both these sentences refer to types rather than specific tokens (persons). In (29) the speaker describes a general type of situation that annoys her, and in (30) the speaker describes a teaching system where different groups go with different teachers.[6]

SD CONDITION 3: PREDICATIVE

Whether the ambiguity between the demonstrative *den* and the determiner *den* is something more than just difference in stress is debatable (see also fn. 6). The examples we have seen with the PDD so far have been clear demonstrative usage, with the PDD modifying a noun, and being optional from a syntactic point of view. However, occasionally, the gendered pronouns can occur as adjectival determiners. Determiners are obligatory with definite adjectivees, usually it is the SD type *den* which is used, and they are often unstressed. We now face a possible opposition for the adjectival determiners just as we did for the demonstratives. Below are two examples with the SD type of determiner, used predicatively.

(31) ja Claes Gill han han han var **den** gamle presten tror jeg
yes Claes Gill he he he was the old priest.DEF think I
'Yes, I think Claes Gill was the old priest.' (NoTa, M, 80)

(32) ja Frode er jo **den** nye gullgutten da, han er jævlig smart
yes Frode is yes the new golden-boy.DEF then he is very smart
'Yes, Frode is the new favourite, of course, he's very smart.' (NoTa, M, 18)

In (31) the speaker talks about the actor Claes Gill and a role he once had as a priest. In (32) the topic of conversation is a boy called Frode, characterised as being the new favourite.

It is interesting that both these examples would have got a totally different semantics had the pronoun *han* 'he' been used as a determiner instead of *den*. We exemplify with the latter example. The definite description *den nye gullgutten* 'the new favourite' refers indirectly to an individual, attributively, and is more like a quantifier; it does not have a strong presupposition of familiarity, and is easy to accommodate. The phrase *han nye gullgutten* refers directly to an individual, referentially, as if it were a pronoun. It has a strong presupposition of familiarity, and is difficult to accommodate. Thus, *den* and *han* give very different possibilities with respect to semantic interpretation.

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5. THE SYNTAX OF THE PRONOMINAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATIVE

5.1 Introduction

Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005) both describe a syntactic structure in which the demonstrative is situated in a phrase (SemP and DemP, respectively) above, or externally to, the DP.[7] While Josefsson primarily writes about Swedish, Julien takes all the Scandinavian languages to be analysable with reference to the same structure. They suggest that the structure of the DP with the demonstrative is as in (33).

(33) [$_{\text{DemP}}$ **han** [$_{\text{DP}}$ den gamle vaktmästeren]] 'that old caretaker'

In this paper, I will argue that the pronominal psychological demonstratives have different syntactic properties in the Scandinavian languages. It turns out that Icelandic and Norwegian constitute one group, and Swedish and Danish another. For the two former languages the demonstrative is internal to the noun phrase, while for the other two, it is external to it. There is one major difference between the languages that leads to this conclusion, but there are also other facts, as we shall see. The main parameter is whether definite determiners can co-occur with the PDD:

(34) PDD $\pm$ definite determiner + adjective + noun

We will look at the four languages with attested PDD in turn and ask about the possible co-occurence of the PDD and preposed determiners, and other questions that will shed light on the syntactic structure.

5.2 Danish

5.2.1 Can the PDD and the preposed definite determiner co-occur?

We start with the main question above: can the PDD and the preposed definite determiner co-occur? The relevant examples are given below.

(35) hende den store pige
her the big girl
'that big girl' (BySoc, F, 20)

(36) *(den) store bog
the big book
'the big book' (BySoc, M, 64)

(37) *hende store pige
her big girl
'that big girl'

Danish, like the other mainland Scandinavian languages, needs a preposed determiner whenever a singular noun is modified by an adjective, as in (36). We see in (35) that

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this preposed determiner remains when the PDD is used. Leaving out the preposed determiner yields an ungrammatical result, (37). We can conclude that in Danish, the PDD and the definite determiner co-occur, which lends support for the DP-external hypothesis of Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005).

5.2.2 Does the PDD affect the rest of the DP?

In Danish, there is a general prohibition against definiteness being expressed more than once. This is something we can use to see to what extent the PDD affects the rest of the DP.

(38) pigen
girl.DEF

(39) den pige / *pigen
that girl *girl.DEF*

(40) hende *pige / pigen
her *girl* girl.*DEF*

In (38) we see how an unmodified definite noun has a definiteness suffix. In (39) we see what happens when a preposed determiner is added; the definiteness is now expressed at the preposed determiner, and it would be ungrammatical to retain the definiteness marking on the noun. Interestingly, and surprisingly, when the PDD is used, it does not allow the noun to be indefinite, (40). Thus, it seems that the PDD is outside the DP, where it cannot affect it.

5.2.3 What is the case situation for pronouns and for the PDD?

Pronouns heading their phrases are case-marked in colloquial Danish. Ordinary subjects have nominative case, while accusative case is used with a wider variety of functions: preposition complement, direct object, indirect object, coordination,[8] predicative, associate of relative clause. Nominative subjects are presented in (41)–(42), while the range of accusative pronouns are exemplified in (43)–(48).

(41) fordi **hun** ville gerne have børn
because she wanted well have children
'Because she very much wanted children.' (BySoc, F, 64)

(42) deres far **han** er vel også død
their father he is supposedly also dead
'Their father, he is, I suppose, also dead.' (BySoc, F, 64)

(43) før han blev gift med **hende**
before he became married with her
'Before he got married to her.' (BySoc, M, 60)

(44) jeg beundrer **hende** altså meget
I admire her really much
'I really admire her a lot.' (BySoc, F, 64)

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(45) så forklarede jeg **ham** hvor den gade den lå
then explained I him where that road it lay
'Then I explained to him where that road was.' (BySoc, F, 64)

(46) og hverken **hende** eller hendes mand har røget
and neither her nor her husband has smoked
'And neither she nor her husband has smoked.' (BySoc, M, 62)

(47) og det var faktisk **ham** der ødelagde det der ægteskab
and it was actually him who destroyed that there marriage
'And it was actually him who destroyed that marriage.' (BySoc, M, 60)

(48) hvad hedder hun **hende** der lige er røget
what is-called she her who just is lost
'What is she called, the one who has just lost . . . ' (BySoc, F, 37)

While pronouns have case distinctions, the PDD does not.[9] Its form is invariably the accusative *hende* 'her' and *ham* 'him', including where ordinary pronouns would be nominative, such as with subject (and dislocated subject):

(49) og **ham** den lille mand der henne har også
and him the little man there over has also
'And that little man over there has also . . . ' (BySoc, F, 20)

(50) så året efter så ringede **ham** svenskeren og spurgte om han
so the-year after then rang him Swede.DEF and asked if he
'And the year after that Swede phoned and asked if he . . . ' (BySoc, M, 60)

(51) og så **hende** vores klasselærerinde hun satt
and then her our teacher she sat
'And then our teacher, she sat . . . ' (BySoc, M, 27)

(52) men **hende** den censor hun så sig sur på
but her that examiner she saw herself annoyed at
'But that examiner, she got annoyed with . . . ' (BySoc, F, 38)

What we have seen here, then, is that Danish pronouns get case when they are heading their phrases, so that subject pronouns have the nominative form and object pronouns have the accusative form. The PDD does not vary with respect to case. This might also be support for the DP-external view; that case is distributed in the DP proper, but not to its external projections.[10]

5.3 Swedish

5.3.1 Can the PDD and the preposed definite determiner co-occur?

We recall that the PDD can co-occur with the definite determiner in Danish. This is also the case in Swedish:

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(53) eftersom jag behövde 2 nycklar, till 2 olika kunder –
since I needed 2 keys for 2 different customers
och som **hon** den ena tjejen hade . . .
and which she the one girl.DEF had
'Since I needed two keys for two different customers, and which that one girl had . . . ' (wajden.sprayblog.se/)

The fact that it is possible to have both determiner and the PDD present at the same time, as in (53), lends support for the DP-external hypotehsis suggested for Swedish by Josefsson (1994, 1999, 2005) and Julien (2005).[11]

5.3.2 What is the case situation for pronouns and for the PDD?

Pronouns are normally distinguished with respect to case in Swedish. Subjects have nominative case, while accusative case is used for direct and indirect objects, and preposition complements. Exemplified below are nominative and accusative forms of the two animate pronouns.

(54) **Hon** tjänar bara 12 800 kronor i månaden.
she earns only 12,800 crowns in month.DEF
'She earns only 12 800 crowns a month.' (www.aftonbladet.se/kvinna)

(55) **Han** vill mäta hela världen.
he wants measure whole world.DEF
'He wants to measure the whole world.'
(http://www.nyteknik.se/nyheter/innovation/forskning_utveckling/)

(56) Kommer ni ihåg **honom**?
come you in-memory him
'Do you remember him?' (blogg.aftonbladet.se)

(57) Vi ville ge **henne** allt som hörande har.
we wanted give her everything that hearing have
'We wanted to give her everything that hearing people have.'
(www.svd.se/nyheter/idagsidan/barnunga)

However, it should be mentioned that in the spoken, colloquial language the case contrast between nominative and accusative is neutralised, see examples (58)–(59).[12]

(58) Hon såg han.
she saw he
'She saw him.'

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(59) Han såg hon.
he saw she
'He saw her.'

However, unlike in Norwegian (see section 5.5 below), accusative forms cannot be used as subjects. In addition, Swedish has pronominal clitics, but they are used as objects.

(60) Hon har sett'n.
she has seen him
(61) Han har sett'na.[13]
he has seen her

Thus, the case system for Swedish pronoun seems to be rather stable, with nominative forms as subjects and accusative forms as objects. However, the form of the PDD is invariable irrespective of the syntactic function of the DP in which it belongs.[14] In (62) it is in a subject, and in (63), a direct object.

(62) **Hon** tjejen som hette Cindy var från Malmö.
she girl.DEF who was-called Cindy was from Malmö
'The girl who was called Cindy was from Malmö.'
(w2.sydsvenskan.se/postis)

(63) Hoppas att du får **hon** tjejen du har på g.
hope that you get she girl.DEF you have on g
'I hope you'll get that girl that you're dating.' (ww.sylvia.se/members/)

Thus, we can conclude for Swedish, as we did for Danish, with respect to case: the fact that there are case distinctions with the pronouns, but not with the PDD, is compatible with the idea that the PDD is DP-external, in accordance with Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005).

5.3.3 Specificity and agreement

In languages with 'double definitness', like Norwegian and Swedish, there may be some interaction between the preposed determiner and the definiteness suffix on the noun. In Norwegian, the PDD is part of DP, and it thus takes part in this interaction. In Swedish, the PDD is DP-external, and we should not think that it would interact with these features. And indeed it does not. Actually, there is no specificity agreement between the preposed determiner and the suffix. In both cases, the preposed definite determiner can be left out. The examples below are from Julien (2005:38), exemplifying non-specific and specific interpreation, respectively:

(64) Vi följer utvecklingen med (det) största interesse(*-t).
we follow development.DEF with the greatest interest.DEF
'We follow the development with the greatest interest.'

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(65) (Det) största interesse*(-t) riktas mot All-svenskan.
the greatest interest.DEF is-directed towards league.DEF
'The greatest interest is directed towards the Swedish national football league.'

What we see in these examples is that the use of the definiteness suffix is determined by the specificity conditions of the DP, while the preposed determiner is not restricted in the same way. In other words, there is no specificity agreement in Swedish, neither between the PDD and some part of the DP nor within DP.

5.4 A short summary on Danish and Swedish PDDs

In this section we have investigated Danish and Swedish with respect to the overarching question of whether or not the PDD is part of the DP proper. We have looked at whether the preposed definite deteterminer can co-occur with the PDD; whether the PDD affects the rest of the DP syntactically; whether the case system for pronouns is different from the one of the PDD, and whether there is agreement or some other interaction between the PDD and the DP. Based on the results of these considerations, we can conclude that for Danish and Swedish, the DP-external analysis of Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005) is supported.

5.5 Norwegian

5.5.1 Can the PDD and the preposed definite determiner co-occur?

We have seen that the PDD and the definite determiner co-occur in Danish and Swedish. Norwegian, too, has a preposed definite determiner when there is adjective modification, so the question must be asked for this language as well. Below are the relevant phrases.

(66) *(den) tyske ingeniørtroppen (def.det) (NoTa, M, 65)
the German engineering-troop.DEF

(67) hun gamle lærerinnen vår (PDD) (NoTa, M, 70)
she old teacher.DEF ours

(68) *han den lille mannen (PDD+def.det.)
he the little man.DEF

In (66) we see how the preposed definite determiner is obligatory when a definite noun is modified by an adjective. In (67) we see how the PDD can actually take the place of the definite determiner, yielding a grammatical result. (68) shows that co-occurence of the PDD and the preposed definite determiner is not acceptable in colloquial Norwegian, although it can occasionally be found in archaic, formal language.[15]

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We can conclude that in Norwegian, the PDD and other preposed determiners cannot co-occur, they are in fact in in complementary distribution. This sets Norwegian apart from Swedish and Danish. There is thus nothing that forces us to conclude that the PDD should be DP-external. On the contrary, the fact that the PDD and the preposed definite determiner never co-occur indicates that they occupy the same syntactic position.[16]

5.5.2 What is the case situation for pronouns and for the PDD?

We have seen that Danish and Swedish have a case system for their pronouns, while their PDDs are invariant. We shall see that Norwegian is quite different from the other two mainland Scandinavian languages.

The general rule in Bokmål for the third-person singular (3sg) feminine in the written language is that the subject form is *hun*, while the object form is *henne*. For Nynorsk, *ho* is used for both subject and object with *henne* an alternative object form.

(69) jeg spurte **henne** hva **hun** egentlig mente
I asked her what she really thought
(*Bokmålsordboka*, Wangensteen 2005)

(70) eg spurde **ho/henne** kva **ho** eigenleg meinte
I asked her what she really thought
(*Nynorskordboka*, Hovdenak 2006)

For the 3sg masculine, the Bokmål norm says that the subject form is *han*, which can also be used as the object form, alongside *ham*. In Nynorsk, too, *han* can be used as subject and object, but for the latter there is also the alternative *honom*.

(71) jeg spurte **han/ham** hva *han* egentlig mente
I asked him what he really thought
(*Bokmålsordboka*, Wangensteen 2005)

(72) eg spurde **han/honom** kva *han* eigenleg meinte
I asked him what he really thought
(*Nynorskordboka*, Hovdenak 2006)

We see that there are very few, if any, case distinctions in both written varieties. In Nynorsk, it is possible to have a system completely without subject and object distinctions, while in Bokmål, the masculine pronoun can have case syncretism.

Spoken data are not quite as easy to come by yet, but the easily accessible NoTa corpus shows that there is a tendency not to use the object form. There are 5278 occurrences of the form *han*, and only 24 of *ham*, so clearly the former is used as both subject and object forms by the abslute majority of the speakers. The Oslo dialect has two clitic 3sg pronouns that have no written counterpart, the feminine *a* and the masculine *n*. These do not differentiate between nominative and accusative

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case. They are not infrequent in the NoTa corpus: 1497 occurrences of the masculine pronoun *n*, and 303 occurrences of the feminine pronoun *a*. This situation adds to the understanding that case is strictly not a feature of 3sg pronouns.

We must look at the feminine pronouns, too, since in the written Bokmål variety these have obligatory case distinctions. It is easy to find examples showing that the written norm is not followed systematically in the spoken language. Below are four examples of the two feminine forms. The first two show the accusative case form used both as subject and as object. The last two show the nominative form used as subject and object.[17]

(73) må **henne** ha bilen hver dag eller?
must her have car.DEF every day or
'Must she have the car every day?' (NoTa, F, 67)

(74) vi bare ditcha **henne**
we just ditched her
'We just ditched her.' (NoTa, F, 18)

(75) **hun** fikk teip på halen en gang
she got tape on tale.DEF one time
'She got tape on her tale once.' (NoTa, F, 18)

(76) nei jeg kjenner ikke **hun**
no I know not she
'No, I don't know her.' (NoTa, M, 20)

The PDD is invariant with respect to case. Its occurrence in subject and object DPs are shown below.

(77) **hun** dama fikk sjokk
she woman.DEF go shock
'That woman got a shock.' (NoTa, M, 34)

(78) har du spurt **hun** Charlotte om det?
have you asked she Charlotte about it
'Have you asked that Charlotte about it?' (NoTa, F, 72)

Thus, in Norwegian, Danish and Swedish, the PDD is invariant. However, unlike in Danish and Swedish, the case system in the 3sg domain of Norwegian is unclear. It seems reasonable to claim that spoken Norwegian (of which the PDD is part) does not have a DP-internal case system as far as 3sg is concerned. The fact that even the dictionaries that reflect the official norms allow non-distinct case forms for three out of four 3sg pronouns (Nynorsk and Bokmål, masculine and feminine) supports a view that there are virtually no 3sg case distinctions. Thus, the Norwegian situation is compatible with a system in which the PDD is in the same position as pronouns are

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at other times; neither of them has case. This is in contrast to Swedish and Danish, where DP has case and the DP-external position does not. Thus, the Norwegian case system is compatible with a DP-internal PDD, and nothing suggests an outer DP-layer from a case point of view.

5.5.3 Specificity and agreement

Julien (2005:2.3) says that the definiteness suffix (a filled n position) adds a meaning of specificity to the noun, giving the contrast in (79)–(80). This claim will be countered below.

(79) Dei oppfører seg som **dei** verste bøllar.
they behave themselves as the worst rascals
'They behave as the worst rascals.'

(80) Dei oppfører seg som **dei** verste bøllan*e.*
they behave themselves as the worst rascals.DEF
'They behave as those worst rascals.'

Further, we have seen that the PDD has a specific meaning. Julien has claimed that the D position is unspecific in Norwegian. Given what we have seen so far, it is clear that the claim is wrong for Norwegian, although it may be true for Swedish (which has DP-external PDD).

However, given that it is possible to have either a PDD or an SD determiner, and the noun can have or not have a definiteness suffix, it is posible to set up a fourfold minimal pair to test the claims above. This is done below:

(81) *Han oppfører seg som **han** flittigste student.
he behaves himself as he industrous student

(82) Han oppfører seg som **han** flittigste studen**t**.
he behaves himself as he industrous student.DEF
'He behaves like that (specific) most industrious student.' (+SPEC)

(83) Han oppfører seg som **den** flittigste student.
he behaves himself as the industrous student
'He behaves like the most industrious (kind of) student.' (–SPEC)

(84) Han oppfører seg som **den** flittigste studen**t**.
he behaves himself as the industrous student.DEF
'He behaves like the most industrious student (of this group).' (+/–SPEC)

In (81) we see that the combination of a specific PDD and no definiteness suffix is unacceptable, while (82) is fine. There is, thus, an agreement requirement with respect to specificity between the PDD and the suffix. In (83) the preposed definite determiner indicates nothing about specificity, and there is no definiteness suffix to

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add specificity either. The overall meaning is one of genericity. In (84) we encounter something else: the preposed definite determiner says nothing about specificity. But the definiteness suffix on the noun gives a special meaning to this DP. (A predicate like *er* 'is' instead of *oppfører seg* 'behaves like' would give an even clearer understanding of the meaning of this DP.) It is not specific in the same way as (82), and not generic like (83), but it instead gives an idea of a presupposed, specific set of which the DP is part. The meaning we get with the constellation of the non-specific, definite determiner and the definiteness suffix is thus one of specificity as covert partitivity in the sense of Enç (1991) and van Geenhoven (1998).

The fact that there is agreement between the PDD and the noun suffix suggests that they are in the same constituent, i.e. the same DP.

5.5.4 How can there be gender disagreement DP-internally?

If the PDD in Norwegian is indeed DP-internal, we would expect agreement with respect to phi-features such as gender and number within the DP. However, a number of examples show that this is not the case with respect to gender:

(85) Han var skikkelig pingle **han** postbudet.
he was real skinny-one he.MASC postman.DEF.NEUT
'That postman, he was a really skinny one.' (www.snartmamma.com/)

(86) Han sa at **hun** læreren hadde time nå.
he said that she.FEM teacher.DEF.MASC had our now
'He said that that teacher has a lecture now.' (www.desi.no/forum/)

In order to be able to account for this apparently problematic state of affairs, I draw on Josefsson (2005: exx. (24a, b), (11) and (26)), who shows that there is gender disagreement between our PDD and the DP in Swedish:

(87) **Han** statsrådet var sjuk i går.
he.MASC minister.DEF.NEUT was ill yesterday
'That minister was ill yesterday.'

(88) **Hon** den nya professorn är mycket effektiv.
she.FEM the new professor.DEF.MASC is very efficient
'That new professor is very efficient.'

Josefsson (2005) explains the lack of gender agreement by arguing that Swedish distinguishes between grammatical and semantic gender, where *hon/han* 'she/he' have semantic gender, and do not have to agree with the otherwise grammatical gender in the DP. I take Josefsson's argument to cover Norwegian as well. The apparent gender disagreement is thus not a problem for the DP-internal PDD in Norwegian, since there are two different kinds of genders, of which only one (the grammatical one) has to agree.

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5.6 Icelandic[18]

5.6.1 Can there be co-occurrence of PDD and determiner?

Icelandic does not have a preposed definite determiner, so the question of co-occurence does not arise:

(89) fallega bókin
beautiful book.DEF

To find out whether the Icleandic PDD is DP-external or not, we have to consider other parts of the grammar.

5.6.2 What is the case situation for pronouns and for the PDD?

While the mainland PDDs are all case-invariant, the situation is different in Icelandic. Here, the case system is thriving for pronouns as well as for common nouns and proper nouns. Below are some examples of nominative, accusative and dative pronouns:

(90) **Hún** er kölluð snákurinn.
she.NOM is called snake.DEF
'She is called the snake.' (9.is/openlink.php)

(91) **Hann** hefði verið á aldrinum 38–45 ára.
he.NOM had been at age.DEF 38–45 years
'He would have been around 38–45 years old.' (www.visir.is/)

(92) Ég læddist aftan að **honum**.
I sneaked behind to him.DAT
'I sneaked up behind him.' (www.this.is/drgunni/skiki3.html)

(93) Leggðu **hana** svo á þakið.
lay her-ACC then on roof.DEF
'Then lay her on the roof.' (www.flickr.com/photos/icelandexpress)

The Icelandic case system is fully intact, as we see. Now let us turn to the PDD.

(94) Þessi gaur þarna sem **hún** stelpa var heit fyrir.
this bloke there who she.NOM girl was hot for
'This bloke who that girl was attracted to.' (vargur.blogspot.com/)

(95) Eg . . . nadi ekkert i **hana** stelpu.
I reached not in her.ACC girl
'I didn't reach that girl.' (sonjaogjoi.blogspot.com)

(96) **Hann** strákur, trompetleikari úr Jagúar var díjei.
he.NOM boy trumpet-player.DEF from Jagúar was DJ
'That boy, the trumpet player from Jagúar, was DJ.'
(dolce-helga.blogspot.com/)

(97) Haha, hermi eiginlega allt eftir
haha imitate actually all after

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Siggu eða Sverri eða **honum** strák.[19]
Sigga or Sverrir or him.DAT boy
'Haha, I actually imitate everything after Sigga or Sverrir or that boy'
(www.myspace.com/)

The case forms used with the PDD are the same as those used with the other case-inflected nominals. Thus, nothing in the case system suggests that there is a DP-external projection for the PDD.

5.6.3 Does the PDD affect the rest of the DP?

We saw that in Danish definite determiners affect the morphology of the noun, while the PDD does not. We took this to indicate that the PDD was outside the DP. In Icelandic, there is a similar restriction, however, here the PDD in fact does affect the noun. Consider the following examples.

(98) Vonandi kemur **strákurinn** fyrir miðnætti.
hopefully comes boy.NOM.DEF before midnight
'Hopefully, the boy comes before midnight.' (www.123.is/eyglosara/)

(99) **Hann** strákur, trompetleikari úr Jagúar var díjei.
he.NOM boy.NOM trumpet-player.DEF from Jagúar was DJ
'That boy, the trumpet player from Jagúar, was DJ.'
(dolce-helga.blogspot.com/)

Example (98) shows that definiteness on nouns, such as the subject here, is marked by a definiteness suffix. Example (99) (repeated from section 5.6.2 above) shows how, in contrast, there need be no definiteness expressed on the subject when it is modified by a PDD.[20] This fact supports the view of the previous section: the PDD is in the same DP as the noun, and what happens at one place in the DP affects another part of that DP; i.e. the PDD must be DP-internal.

5.6.4 What is the gender situation with respect to the PDD and the rest of the DP?

The situation with respect to gender agreement in the Icelandic DP is not unlike that of the other Scandinavian languages when it comes to the PDD.

(100) Máli mínu til rökstuðnings, þá lét hún (já, **hún** kennarinn)
argument my to reason then let she yes she teacher.DEF.MASC
okkur skrifa nöfnin okkar á blað og teikna "Óla prik
us write names our on sheet and draw a simple
sjálfsmynd" af okkur.
self-portrait of us
'To argue my case: Then she, yes, the teacher, let us write our names on a sheet of paper and draw a self-portrait of ourselves.' (blog.central.is/)

(101) Ég kippi mér ekkert uppa við að vera kölluð hann
I mind myself not up with to be called he

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eitthvað því ég er **hann** kvenmaðurinn.
something because I am he woman-man.DEF
Ég er líka maður.
I am also person
'I don't mind being called he something because I am that woman. I am also a person.' (silja.xblogg.is/)

In (100) the PDD is feminine, while the noun is masculine. This suggests that there is semantic gender agreement for some categories, as suggested by Josefsson (2005). However, in (101) there is gender agreement between the PDD and the noun. And this agreement pertains even if the person referred to is a woman. With these diverging data, we cannot draw any specific conclusions. (However, even if we were able to find homogenous data, it is unclear to me what that might have contributed to the question of DP-externality.)

5.7 Summary of the syntax of the PDD

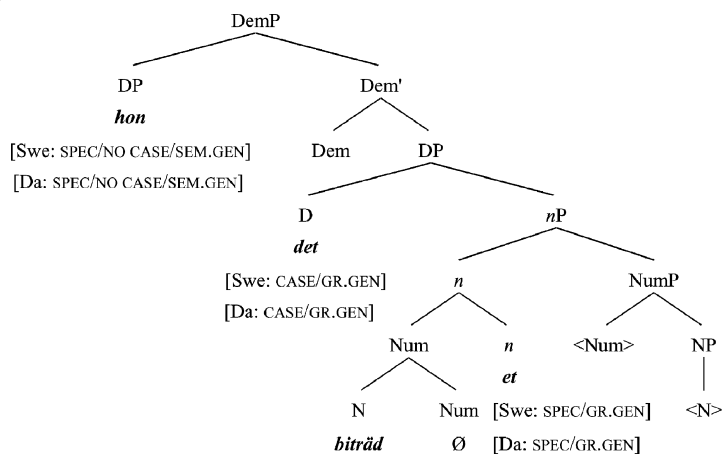
We have seen that the syntax of the PDD divides the Scandinavian languages into two groups: Danish and Swedish on the one hand, and Norwegian and Icelandic on the other. The first two languages fit into the structure in (102), in accordance with Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005), where the PDD is DP-external. I have argued, however, that there is no reason for the latter two languages to be analysed as DP-external; on the contrary, they are best analysed as DP-internal, as in (103).

(102) [$_{DemP}$ han [$_{DP}$ den gamle vaktmästeren]]
he the old caretaker.DEF
'that old caretaker'

(103) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ han [$_{NP}$ mannen]]]
he man.DEF
'han mannen'

The tree structure for the two DP-external languages, Danish and Swedish, is given in (104).

(104)



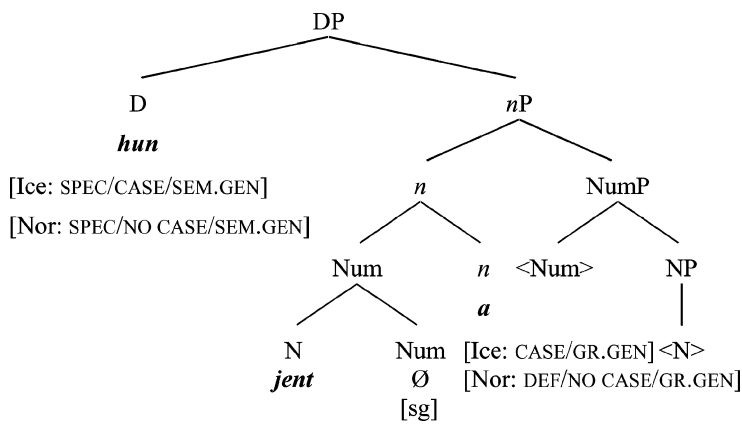
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The psychological demonstrative has its own position above DP. I assume the DP to be a phase (with Svenonius 2004), which means that there will be no grammatical interaction between the DemP and the DP. For the tree with a DemP position, this means that:

(i) the D position is free to host a preposed definite determiner, thus allowing co-occurrence between demonstrative and determiner (sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1);
(ii) the psychological demonstrative cannot affect the DP syntactically, thus allowing a definiteness suffix on the Danish noun even when a PDD is present (section 5.2.2);
(iii) there is no possibility of case agreement between the demonstrative and the DP, and it is thus possible for the DP to have full case-marking, while the PDD is invariant (nominative form in Swedish, accusative form in Danish; sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.2);
(iv) there can be no gender agreement between the PDD and the DP, allowing for the PDD to have semantic gender while the DP has grammatical gender (sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.3); and
(v) there can be no specificity agreement between the PDD and the DP, making it possible to have specificity marking on the noun, but non on the PDD (section 5.5.4).

A structure without a DemP position restricts the possibilities. It is illustrated in (105).

(105)



This tree, for a DP-internal PDD, depicts the Norwegian and Icelandic situation, and it means the following:

(i) the psychological demonstrative and the preposed definite determiner can never co-occur, so they will always have complimentary distribution (sections 5.5.1 and 5.6.1);

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(ii) if there are regular case distinctions, they will be present via agreement on all parts of the DP, including the PDD, so that the Icelandic PDD, but not the Norwegian PDD, will have case distinctions (sections 5.5.2 and 5.6.2);
(iii) if there is specificity agreement, it will be present via agreement on all relevant parts, including the PDD, so in Norwegian the PDD will never co-occur with a noun without the definiteness suffix (section 5.5.3);
(iv) if there is grammatical gender agreement, it will be present throughout the DP, including the PDD, as it is in Icelandic, but not Norwegian, where the PDD has semantic gender, as in Swedish (sections 5.5.4 and 5.6.4); and
(v) the grammatical properties of the PDD will affect the rest of the DP, and therefore, in Icelandic, the PDD will cause the noun to be bare, without a definiteness suffix (section 5.6.3).

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have investigated the pronominal psychological demonstratives in the Scandinavian languages. We have looked at them from a semantic, a pragmatic and a syntactic point of view. Semantically, they have some of the characteristics of pronouns, such as specificity and of course their number and gender features. The specificity distinguishes them from definite determiners, and also interacts in interesting ways with the definiteness suffix in some languages.

Pragmatically, there are four conditions of use: 1) the speaker does not know the person referred to, 2) the addressee does not know the person referred to, 3) the speaker may have negative attitudes to the person referred to, and 4) the person referred to must be specific. The psychologically distal demonstrative (PDD) is also compared to spatial demonstratives and the preproprial article, and a number of important differences are identified – phonological, semantic, pragmatic and syntactic.

Finally, I have looked at the syntactic characteristics of the psychological demonstratives. Taking the analyses in Josefsson (2005) and Julien (2005) as a starting point, I have loked at a range of syntactic data from the four Scandinavian languages languages that have the PDD. The data include, *inter alia*, possible co-occurrence of PDD and preposed definite determiner, case agreement, gender agreement, specificity agreement, interaction between PDD and other parts of DP. I have come to the conclusion that Josefsson's and Julien's analyses, both of which include a DemP outside the DP, can only apply to two of the languages, namely Danish and Swedish. It turns out that there are no arguments in favour of analysing Norwegian and Icelandic that way – for these two languages, the DP is itself sufficient.

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NOTES

1. The NoTa corpus is a corpus of 900,000 words of Oslo speech recorded in 2005, with a web-based user-interface that makes it possible to search in the transcribed speech with audio and video presentations. The TAUS corpus consists of 250,000 words of Oslo speech recorded in the 1970s. It is available in the same way as the NoTa corpus, however, without the video. The BySoc corpus is a corpus of 1.3 million words (transcribed speech) recorded in Copenhagen. It is transcribed from spontaneous dialogue, and is available on a web-based user interface. Audio and video are not available.
2. I am grateful to the reviewer for helping me see this point more clearly.
3. Some examples of left dislocation without the PDD illustrate this point:

   (i) men mora mi hun har aldri brydd seg om å reise noen steder
   but mother.DEF my she has never cared about to travel any places
   'but my mother, she has never cared about travelling anywhere' (NoTa, F, 18)

   (ii) Faren min... han var helt knekt psykisk
   father.DEF my he was totally broken psychologically
   for det jeg hadde gjort.
   for that I had done
   'My father, he was totally broken psychologically for what I had done.'
   (www.sikret-mot-ran.no/)

4. The specificity constraint only applies to dialects that have both the gendered pronouns *han* 'he' and *hun* 'she', and their variants, as well as the pronoun *den* 'it/that' available for human reference. Otherwise the gendered pronouns have to take on both the specific and the non-specific use. Vik & Killingbergtrø (2002:IV:1426) have examples in which the gendered pronouns can take on a non-specific meaning:

   (i) **Han** som ikkje vil høyra, får føla.
   he who not will hear gets feel
   'He who won't hear, will have to feel.'

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5. In fact, if the proximal demonstrative *denne* 'this' is accompanied by a certain intonation, it acquires a derogative meaning. This particular use will be ignored here.
6. In writing, the first word of the DP in (29), *den slemme bussjåføren* 'the/that evil bus-driver', is ambiguous between a determiner and a demonstrative. However, in speech, there is no ambiguity, given that the former is unstressed and the latter is stressed. And in the present sentence, it is stressed, and hence a demonstrative.
7. Vangsnes (1999:chapter II) proposes a comprehensive noun phrase analysis for all the Scandinavian languages. In his analysis, demonstratives are generated in the specifier of a deixis phrase (DxP) low down in the nominal structure (beneath adjectives), and they move up to the topmost DP projection. This way, he can produce an elegant account of why demonstratives and suffixed definite articles cannot co-occur in Danish (ibid.:133f.). However, Vangsnes does not mention our pronominal demonstratives, which actually do co-occur with the suffixed definite article in Danish, and it is therefore difficult to assess our data against his analysis.
8. It is often the case cross-linguistically that conjuncts have different grammatical features from what they would have had if they were not part of a conjunction phrase (see Johannessen 1998).
9. The reviewer questions my claim that the PDD has accusative case in Danish. I have this information from personal observation and from asking Danish linguists, as well as consulting the Copenhagen speech corpus BySoc. The reviewer suggests an Internet search as well. I have done this. The results are:

   (i) a. **ham** drengen 'him boy.DEF' 5140 hits.
   b. **han** drengen 'he boy.DEF' 1500 hits.

   Importantly, however, the hits with the nominative form all seem to be subjects, where the subject and object are adjacent due to subject–verb inversion because some other phrase is in the topic position of the clause, e.g.

   (ii) Så fanger **han** drengen
   then catches he boy.DEF
   'Then he catches the boy.'

Thus I maintain that Danish uses the accusative pronoun form as its PDD.

10. Exactly why case is not assigned to the external position is not something I can answer here. The data show us that the case of the PDD is invariant in Swedish and Danish (and Norwegian), suggesting that the DP-external position is not able to receive case from an external assigner, but exactly how, I do not know.
11. There are actually examples on Swedish web pages of the PDD with a noun without the definite determiner. My Swedish informants do not find them grammatical, but according to the reviewer they are grammatical in the colloquial register, and they are mentioned in Teleman et al. (1999:section 3:118), whose analysis is that the pronoun is the head of the construction with the definite noun phrase as its complement. I will simply note here that they can be found, but refrain from investigating these further. Here is an example:

    (i) **Hon** tjejen brukar vara med oss hela tiden
    she girl.DEF uses be with us all time.DEF
    'That girl is usually with us all the time.' (w2.sydsvenskan.se/postis/)

12. I am very grateful to Henrik Rosenkvist and the anonymous reviewer for this information.

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13. There are more than 200 examples of the sequence *såg'na* on the web pages in Swedish, and all of them have 'na with object function:

    (i) det var då jag såg'*na*, min första stora laaaaave . . .
    it was then I saw her my first great love (heymalin.blogg.se)

14. The reviewer says that the constructions can also occur with accusative pronouns in Swedish, e.g. *henne den rödhåriga* 'she the red-haired one' citing Teleman et al. (1999:section 3:188). However, I have used Google and found no such examples. I found:

    (i) hon den rödhåriga 303 hits
    she the red-haired
    'that red-haired one'

    (ii) henne den rödhåriga 0 hits
    her the red-haired
    'that red-haired one'

    Also, this nominative type was used in object position:

    (iii) Jag gillar hon den rödhåriga
    I like she the red-haired
    'I like that red-haired one.

15. This claim is actually somewhat controversial. Julien (2005:109–111) takes the example below to be grammatical; it contains a demonstrative followed by a preposed definite determiner:

    (i) *Desse dei* to eldste husa i byen
    these the two oldest houses in town.DEF

    But to my mind this construction (not read as an apposition) is old-fashioned, stilted and archaic. The same opinion is stated by Laake (2007:35): 'Etter min mening virker dette eksempelet foreldet og tilhører i beste fall en spesiell, boklig stil' [In my opinion this example seems archaic and belongs at best to a certain bookish style]. I have checked in the NoTa corpus of Oslo speech and found no instances of either *hun den* or *han den* in the same phrase. It seems wrong to include into the grammatical description of the modern language a variety that clearly is never used in dialogue, only – if at all – in sermons, law texts and the like.

16. The reviewer thinks it might a problem for a DP-internal analysis of the Norwegian PDD that the PDD is stressed (cf. section 4.1). However, I do not think that there is a necessary relationship between prosody and syntactic structure; for example, clearly pronouns (e.g. *her*) and full noun phrases (e.g. *Hillary Clinton*) have different stress, even though they may be in the same position in the clause.

17. Some speakers actually vary the use even within the same sentence. Consider:

    (i) og når jeg først slapp *henne* så sprang *henne* alt *hun*
    and when I first let her then ran her all she
    klarte rett fram liksom
    managed straight ahead like
    'And when I let her go she ran everything she could straight ahead.' (NoTa, W, 18)

18. I am very grateful to Kjartan Ottósson for helping me with the data in this section.

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19. The meaning of the PDD (unknown-ness) is clearly present in this example. The clause following (97) was this:

    (i) Veit ekki alveg hvað hann heitir.
    know not quite what he is-called
    'I don't know exactly what he's called.'

20. However, some people seem to accept a definite suffix to cooccur with the PDD. This apparently sounds unnatural, so I will not discuss it here (but it is exemplified in (100)–(101)). A different analysis would probably be necessary to account for such examples.

CORPORA

NoTa – Norsk talespråkskorpus-Oslodelen – Modern Oslo Norwegian speech
http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/index.html
TAUS – Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo – 1970s Oslo speech
http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/taus/index.html
BySoc – Modern Copenhagen speech
http://www.id.cbs.dk/~pjuel/cgi-bin/BySoc_ID/index.cgi

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