

PRONOMINAL CASE RE-OPENED

Some notes on Pronominal Inflection and Object Shift in Mainland Scandinavian

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1. Absence of pronominal inflection in Danish

- Topicalisations out of a dependent clause:

- (1) Ham tror jeg ikke kommer
'Him believe I not comes'
I do not think he comes

- Coordinated pronouns in subject function:

- (2) Ham og mig vältede klaveret
'Him and me turned-over piano-the'
He and I turned over the piano

- If a pronoun is stressed, it will not undergo 'object shift':

- (3) Jeg kender ⁰ham ikke
'I know him not'
(4) Jeg kender ikke 'ham
'I know not him'
I do not know him

2. The conjunction of inflection and Object Shift

	Rich pronominal inflection	Sparse pronominal inflection
+ object shift	Standard languages, many dialects	
- object shift		Certain dialects

	Rich pronominal inflection	Sparse pronominal inflection
+ object shift	Standard languages, many dialects	No clear case
- object shift	Als (DK), Lolland (DK), Malax (SF)	Øvre Årdal (N)

3. Object Shift

- in Danish (pronouns only)

- (5) Jeg kender ikke Erik Hansen

'I know not Erik Hansen'

I do not know EH

- (6) Jeg kender ham ikke

'I know hm not'

I do not know him

- (7) Jeg kommer ikke på kroen

'I come not at inn-the'

I do not go to the inn

- (8) Jeg kommer der ikke

'I come there not'

I do not go there

- in Icelandic (pronouns and full NP's)

- (9) Hvers vegna lasu stúdentarnir ekki allir greinina?

'Why read students-the not all the article?'

Why didn't all the students read the article?

- (9') Hvers vegna lasu stúdentarnir greinina ekki allir?

- (10) Guðrún þekkir ekki ykkur two.

'G. knows not you two'

G. doesn't know you two

- (10') Guðrún þekkir ykkur two ekki.

4. Rich and sparse inflection

Standard Danish:

Singular	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. utrum	3. Pers. neutrum
Nom.	jeg	du	han	hun	den	det
Obl.	mig	dig	ham	hende	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	I	de (De)			
Obl.	os	jer	dem (Dem)			

Standard Swedish:

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. utrum	3. Pers. neutrum
Nom.	jag	du	han	hon	den	det
Obl.	mig	dig	honom	henne	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	ni (Ni)	de			
Obl.	oss	er (Er)	dem			

Standard New Norwegian:

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	eg	du	han	ho	det
Casus obl.	meg	deg	han / honom	ho / henne	"
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	me, vi	de	dei		
Casus obl.	os	dykk	"		

Standard Dano-Norwegian:

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. utrum	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	jeg	du	han	hun / ho	den	det
Casus obl.	meg	deg	ham / han	henne / ho	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	dere	de, De			
Casus obl.	oss	"	dem, Dem			

Colloquial North Swedish (after Eklund 1982, Holmberg 1986b):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. utrum	3. Pers. neutrum
Nom.	jag	du	han	hon	den	det
Obl.	mej	dej	"	"	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	ni	dom			
Obl.	oss	er	"			

Västra Nyland (SF) (after Lundström 1939):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Person	2. Person	3. Person mask.	3. Person fem.	3. Person neutrum
Nom.	ja, jag	du, tu, et, 't	an	un, hu	he, e, det
Obl.	me, mej	dej	an, han, honon, 'n	un, henna, na	he, e
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	vi	ni	dom		
Obl.	oss	er	"		

Nederkalix and Töre (S) (two paradigms, one stressed, one unstressed; after Rutberg 1924-31):

Betont <i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutrum
Nom.	je	dœu	hən	hœu (hœ)	he
Akk.	mɪ	di:	"	hœu, hœ	"
Dativ	"	"	", hœnu	henar	"
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	ve	I:	dəm		
Akk.	ɔ:s	"	"		
Dativ	"	"	", dəmu		

Unbetont <i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutrum
Nom.	je	dœ, du	ən, en	hœ, a, u	e
Akk.	me	de	"	a, na	", ne
Dativ	"	"	nu, u	"	", "
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	ve	I	di		
Akk.	ɔ:s	"	du		
Dativ	"	"	"		

Valle in Setesdal (N) (after Ross, Hannaas, Storm appr. 1880-1920):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	eg	du:	han	hu	de
Akk.	meg	deg	"	hæ	dei
Dativ	me,mì	de,dì	ho	henni	di
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	me,mì	de,dì	dei		
Akk.	okko	dikko	"		
Dativ	"	"	"		

Lom in Oppland (N) (after Sandøy 1987):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	e:	dø	hain: /øn	hu: /u	dæ: /dø
Akk.	me:	de:	"	"	"
Dativ	"	"	honom /om	hena /øn	di:
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	os:	døk:	døm:		
Akk.	"	"	"		
Dativ	"	"	"		

Møre and Romsdal (after Sandøy 1987):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	æi: / i	dø	haŋ / aŋ	hou: / hu	dæ:
Casus obl.	mæi: / mi	dæi: / di	hɔnɔ / nɔ	hjɛ / ne	"
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	vi:, mi:	de:	dei:		
Casus obl.	os:	doke	"		

East Oslo (after Sandøy 1987):

<i>Singular</i>	1. Pers.	2. Pers.	3. Pers. mask.	3. Pers. fem.	3. Pers. neutr.
Nom.	jæi: / jæ	dæ: / ræ	han / en	hɛ, ̄hener, hɛn / a	de: / re
Casus obl.	mæi: / mæ	dæi: / dæ, ræ	"	"	"
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	vi:	̄de:re	dem, døm, dom / rem, røm, rom		
Casus obl.	vof	"	"		

Øvre Årdal

Judgment of two speakers were obtained, one a trained philologist born in Øvre Årdal but living outside the township (I1), the other a municipal employee born, living and working there (I2). Their judgments differ considerably. I1 gives certain responses that point to lack of OS:

- (11) E kjenne nåkk (h)an
'I know certainly him [=it]'
I am sure I know it
- (12) E saog ikkj 'an
'I saw not him [=it]'
I did not see it
- (13) Me tok ikkj'an opp
'We took not him [=it] up'
We did not take it up
- (14) E kjenne nåkk 'an Per
'I know certainly DEF Per'
I do know Peter
- (15) Dei ga han nåkk te gjenta
'They gave it certainly to girl-the'
The certainly gave it to the girl
- (16) E be 'an nåkk kåmma
'I ask him certainly come'
I will certqainly ask him to come
- (17) Dei ga 'na nåkk sykkedl
'They gave her certainly bike-the'
They certainly gave her the bike
- (17') Dei ga nåkk 'na sykkedl

- (18) ' They gave certainly her bike-the'
They certainly gave her the bike
 Dei ga 'na nåkk 'an
 'They gave her certainly it'
They certainly gave it to her
- (19) Dei ga 'na nåkk 'an låll
 'They gave her certainly it nevertheless'
Nevertheless they certainly gave it to her

Øvre Årdal according to I2:

- (20) Eg kjenne 'an ikkje
 'I know it not'
I do not know it
- (21) Eg saog 'an ikkje
 'I saw it not'
I did not see it

Malax

- (22) Jag såg inte den
 'I saw not it'
I did not see it
- (23) Jag känner nog den
 'I know certainly it'
I certainly know it
- (24) Jag ber nok han komma
 'I ask certainly him come'
I will certainly ask him to come
- (25) Dom ga henne nog den än
 'They gave her certainly it nevertheless'
Nevertheless they certainly gave it to her

Als

- (26) Jeg så ikke den <-OS>
 'I saw not it'
I did not see it
- (27) Jeg så den ikke <+OS>
 'I saw it not'
I did not see it
- (28) Jeg kender den nok
 'I know it certainly'
I do know it
- (29) Jeg kender nok den

- 'I know certainly it'
(same meaning)
- (30) De gav hende den nok
'They gave her it certainly'
- (31) De gav nok hende den
'They gave certainly her it'
They certainly gave it to her (same meaning for 30 and 31)
- (32) Jeg beder ham nok komme (+OS)
'I ask him probably come'
I probably ask him to come
- (33) Jeg beder nok ham komme (-OS)
(same meaning as 32)
- (34) De gav hende cyklen nok
'They gave her bike-the certainly'
They certainly gave her the bike
- (35) De gav den hende nok
'They gave it her certainly' (DO before IO)
They certainly gave it to her
- (36) De gav den hende nok alligevel
'They gave it her certainly nevertheless' (DO before IO)
Certainly they nevertheless gave it to her

Lolland

- (37) Vi tog ikke den op
'We took not it up'
We did not take it up
- (38) De gav cyklen hende nok
'They gave bike-the her certainly'
They certainly gave her the bike

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