

***Han mannen* and his neighbours**
A contrastive study of *han mannen*'s constructional neighbourhood in Bokmål, Danish, and Swedish.

In the mainland Scandinavian languages, the third person pronouns *han* and *hun/hon* can be used in determiner position with common nouns with human reference (Delsing 2003, 23; Julien 2005, 124; Johannessen 2008; Strahan 2008). This is exemplified in (1-3).

- (1) *Da tenker jeg nok at **han mannen** i butikken har helt rett.* (NoTenTen 17, Bokmål)
- (2) *Men som Fluesmækkeren sikkert siger, så er der penge i lortet.
Hvorfor hedder **ham manden** Fluesmækkeren?* (DaTenTen 14, Danish)
- (3) *Om detta vill inte Fredrik statsministern prata, **han mannen** som de arbetslösa ungdomarna i Eskiltuna tykte var kall efter att ha träffat honom.* (SvTenTen 14)

This construction will here be called the *han mannen*-construction, or *han mannen* for short. This study compares *han mannen*'s sequential relations in Bokmål Norwegian with its relations in Danish and Swedish. By doing this, the study aims to gain insight into differences and similarities in the make-up of constructional neighbourhoods of closely related languages.

In a previous study (Bloom 2019), the Norwegian *han mannen*-construction was analysed in a nested-network approach (Diessel 2019). Based on data from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009), *han mannen* was shown to have features from two other definite human referring expressions: *den mannen* and *mannen*. *Han mannen* behaved as *den mannen* in its co-occurrence with deictic intensifying adverbs (*her/der*) and was used for recognitional reference. Recognitional reference is reference to an entity that is new in the discourse, but nevertheless identifiable because of private, shared knowledge between speaker and addressee (Himmelman 1996). Simultaneously, *han mannen* had characteristics of *mannen* which *den mannen* lacked: both *mannen* and *han mannen* easily combine with post-nominal possessive pronouns and are used for associative anaphoric reference (Hawkins 1978, 123ff.). *Han mannen* thus shares sequential and symbolic relations with both *den mannen* and *mannen*, and *han mannen* was argued to live at the intersection of these expressions.

The current study builds on this research and compares the *han mannen* construction in Bokmål Norwegian with the corresponding constructions in Danish and Swedish. The aim is to investigate whether *han mannen*'s constructional neighbourhood is organized differently in the different languages.

More specifically, this study focusses on the constructions' sequential relations to deictic intensifying adverbs (*her/här/der/där*), post-nominal possessive pronouns, post-nominal prepositional phrases and relative clauses. Based on data from the TenTen-web corpora for Norwegian, Danish and Swedish (Jakubíček et al. 2013), it is tested whether the construction – *den mann(en)*, *mannen*, or *han mannen* – can be predicted by the sequential relations by means of random forests (Tagliamonte and Baayen 2012). Partial dependence plots (Greenwell 2017), which are based on these random forests, then show whether particular sequential relations are associated with only one construction, or are shared

amongst the constructions. These results provide information about the similarity and distinctiveness of the constructions, which defines their position in the neighbourhood (Diessel 2019, 200). The results for Danish and Swedish are then compared to the results for Bokmål Norwegian to gain insight into the language-specific aspects of the neighbourhood of the *han mannen*-construction.

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