±Object shift and *es/das*: Form and position of pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents in Norwegian and German

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This paper explores parallels between the placement of pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents in Norwegian, and the use of pronouns es (it) and das (that) in German. In Norwegian, while pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents generally do not shift across adverbs, this is not the case when these elements refer to a continuing topic in the discourse. This is reminiscent of a pattern observed in German. However, this is not related to object scrambling, but rather to the form of the pronominal element referring to a clausal antecedent. In German, das is generally used to refer back to nonnominal antecedents, however, es is also sometimes available. In this study, we find parallels between the use of OS and es, on the one hand, and lack of OS and das, on the other. Based on judgements of dialogues, we propose that -OS/das is preferred when referring to a proposition that is not yet established as part of the common ground. In contrast, when referring to a proposition that is part of the common ground in the discourse OS/es is preferred. This ties in nicely with previous research on Norwegian OS, as in order for a proposition to constitute a continuing topic in the discourse, it has to be established as part of the interlocutors' common ground.