

Ka e de mot avleijing? Derivational morphology in American Norwegian-English contact

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Heritage languages (HLs) reliably exhibit morphological patterns prone to change and restructuring (Yager et al. 2015; Bousquette & Putnam 2020). Yet, American Norwegian (AmNo) varieties appear structurally stable, although with surface variability (Johannessen & Larsson 2015; Lohndal & Westergaard 2016; Rødvand 2018; van Baal 2020; Lykke 2020). Still, contact patterns have long been observed for AmNo, where an original English loanword receives Norwegian inflectional morphology: *blåff-er* ‘bluff-s’ and *stæbl-ar* ‘stable-s’ (Haugen 1969:450). Although there is robust evidence for *inflectional* patterns undergoing both variation and language mixing, there is less work on the outcomes of *derivational* processes in language contact and diachronic studies (see however Haugen 1950:221; Riksem 2018:90–91). In this talk, we investigate the extent to which HL-bilingualism may affect AmNo derivational patterns.

We use CANS data (Johannessen 2015), querying restricted sets of derivational affixes of Norwegian (e.g. *-het*, *-lig*) and English origin (e.g. *-able*, *-ly*, *-ment*) for speakers recorded 1931–2016. These data confirm that derivational affixes combine with language-consistent roots. We find English derivational affixes on English roots in Norwegian sentences (*vi levde i et norsk settlement* ‘we lived in a Norwegian settlement’) and Norwegian roots with Norwegian affixes (*den er bruk-bar* ‘it is use-able’). However, there appears to be no Norwegian-English derivations, with one possible exception: *family-aktig* ‘family-like’. Other types of hybrid forms are nevertheless frequent. Derived English words occur often with Norwegian inflectional morphology (*disse Amish-ene* ‘these Amish-es’; *government-et* ‘government-DEF’) and in compounds with Norwegian forms (*business-plass-er* ‘business-place-s’; *hundre-års-celebration* ‘hundred-year-celebration’).

The lack of mixing in derivations supports a long-standing observation in contact linguistics that this material is borrowed as whole lexical items rather than individual morphemes (Winford 2005). Incorporation of English derivational affixes into Norwegian, then, would require a longer period of contact for speakers to generalize them as productive AmNo forms (see Trips 2014). Furthermore, these patterns present a theoretical puzzle for late-insertion theories of morphosyntax to model how these speakers distinguish between inflection and derivational morphology with respect to language mixing. We investigate the extent to which this distinction involves operations that match syntactic-semantic features to the forms in the hybrid grammar and how those processes distinguish between competing affixes (allomorphs). This work contributes to our understanding of the relationship between grammatical representations and contact-induced change, further demonstrating the insights into the architecture of bilingual morphosyntax that (moribund) heritage languages provide (Lohndal & Putnam, forthcoming).

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