Book of Abstracts
(Alphabetically, author's last name)

14th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA)
October 4-7, 2023
Europa-Universität Flensburg

Local organizers: Prof. Dr. Karoline Kühl
                      Dr. Samantha M. Litty

Complete Program Available here: https://www.workshoponimmigrantlanguages.com/wila-14.html

Plenary 1: Anke Lüdeling *(Humboldt University Berlin)*
Registers and Individual Differences in Heritage Data
This talk is concerned with intra-individual variation in the majority language German as used by bilingual speakers who also speak a heritage language in Germany. External factors, such as the social-role relationship between speaker and hearer or the purpose of an utterance influence the linguistic variation on all levels, from phonetic details to text structure. The (often tacit) assumption behind this is that the pairing between such external parameters and the linguistic variation is learned implicitly from linguistic experience. We will call the knowledge about the appropriate linguistic forms in a given situation register knowledge. It has been argued that register knowledge in heritage speakers could differ from that of (monolingual) majority language speakers because of possible cultural differences in the assessment of the parameters as well as the influence of the other language in multilingual individuals. Using the German part of the RUEG corpus as a base and word formation as the phenomenon under study, I will argue that the picture is more complex than that. First, it is unclear what parameters are actually at play in corpus collection situations. Second, even in a tightly controlled corpus such as the one here, the individual differences may be larger than the differences between the groups. This leads to interesting methodological considerations. Specifically, we will discuss the following questions: What are the varieties that are represented in a corpus? What is the role of path effects?

Plenary 2: Mogens Rostgaard Nissen *(Dansk Centralbibliotek til Sydslesvig)*
Schleswig – between Denmark and Germany
In centuries, the Duchy of Schleswig has been a border region between Denmark and Germany. In the Region, there are five different languages and three different national identities – and perhaps one common regional identity. In the 19th and 20th Century, thousands of schleswigians have left the Region and still today, many are leaving Schleswig.

Condensed Program:

Thursday, 05 October		Friday, 06 October		Saturday, 07 October	
9:00-9:30	Welcome	9:00-10:00	Session 4	9:00-10:30	Session 7
9:30-11:00	Session 1	10:00-10:30	Coffee Break	10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-11:30	Coffee Break	10:30-11:30	Session 5	11:00-12:00	Session 8
11:30-12:30	Session 2	11:30-11:45	Short Break (Poster setup)	12:00-13:00	Lunch Break
12:30-13:30	Lunch Break	11:45-13:00	Poster Session	13:00-14:00	Synthesis Discussion
13:30-14:30	Plenary 1: Lüdeling	13:00-14:00	Lunch Break	14:00-14:30	Prepare for departure or excursion
14:30-15:00	Coffee Break	14:00-15:00	Session 6	14:30	Meet for excursion
15:00-15:30	Session 3	15:00-15:30	Coffee		
		15:30-16:30	Plenary 2: Nissen		
		19:00-23:00	Conference Dinner		

Table of Contents

Sign languages in the context of migration and borders in Northern Brazil

Paulo Jeferson Pilar Araújo, *Universidade Federal de Roraima* (
Alejandro Oviedo, *University of Applied Sciences Zwickau*

This work focuses on the status of Venezuelan Sign Language-LSV as a migration and border sign language in Brazil, as proposed by some researchers (Araújo and Bentes 2020). To this end, deaf communities and their sign languages are described in border contexts resulting from migratory and refugee processes in Northern Brazil, specifically the case of Venezuelan deaf migrants. The objective is to show the reality of deaf migrants and refugees in terms of their linguistic and identity repertoire due to the migratory process. In addition, it is discussed the obstacles and challenges encountered by deaf migrants regarding the use of different sign languages and the relation of deafness to migration. Following the example of the work by Quinto-Pozos (2008), it will be used ethnographic data and case studies of two families of Venezuelan deaf migrants in the state of Roraima who use LSV and Libras (Brazilian Sign Language), the national sign language. The first case deals with the life of a deaf couple and their trajectory from leaving Venezuela to arriving in Brazil and settling in the new country. The second case concerns a family of a deaf couple and their hearing children and grandchildren for whom LSV is the heritage sign language. All these data were collected between 2020 and 2023 in actions of a university extension program that seeks to provide communication support to deaf migrants in the state of Roraima. Some linguistic phenomena are discussed, such as codeswitching and code-blending between Libras and LSV, pointed out as indicative of contact arising from the context of migration and the border between Brazil and Venezuela (Mesquita and Cruz, 2020). Some themes specific to this multilingual scenario will be discussed, resulting from a migratory flow that allows the interaction of two different deaf communities in the same territory, among which issues of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2022) and the status of Libras as a host language, a category used mainly for Portuguese for migrants (São Bernardo 2016). It demonstrates that Libras along with Portuguese have figured as host languages on the arrival of deaf Venezuelan migrants in Brazil. Finally, it is argued that the LSV should be included in works that deal with linguistic diversity in Brazil and, as such, be subject to language policies that, although timid, promote the maintenance of linguistic diversity of sign languages in the Brazilian context.

Keywords: sign languages, migration, Northern Brazil.

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Acceptability judgments in moribund heritage languages: mitigating the challenges

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This paper discusses the use of acceptability judgment tasks (AJTs) with speakers of moribund heritage languages, and North American Norwegian in particular. In theoretical linguistics, AJTs have been used much and are found to be crucial to gather explicit negative evidence, i.e., data on what is not possible in a given language (Schütze & Sprouse 2013). However, it has been argued that AJTs are not a suitable method for heritage language speakers, as their judgments are typically inconsistent and exhibit a "yes-bias" (Orfitelli & Polinsky 2017). Orfitelli & Polinsky (2017) argue that AJTs should be avoided with heritage speakers and that less explicit (comprehension) methods are to be preferred.

At the same time, AJTs are widely used in the heritage language field, too, for example by Montrul & Ionin (2012) and Scontras et al. (2018) on heritage Spanish. There are specific challenges with AJTs for elderly, 3rd+ generation heritage speakers of moribund languages like the many Germanic varieties in the US. Nevertheless, Hopp & Putnam (2015) successfully administered an oral AJT with speakers of Moundridge Schweitzer German (MSG). The speakers provided distinct judgments for various word order patterns, and a combination of spontaneous speech and judgment data shows that the speakers maintain asymmetrical V2.

The MSG speakers are in many aspects similar to speakers of North American Norwegian (NAmNo). Despite the successful use of judgment data by Hopp & Putnam (2015), an oral AJT targeting definiteness marking and word order in NAmNo proved to be challenging (Van Baal 2020). The sentences in this task were short and adapted to the dialects spoken by NAmNo speakers, but the speakers found it demanding to conduct the task. Elicited production data was easier to collect and its results more straightforward to interpret (Van Baal 2020). However, the AJT still showed two interesting effects that are insightful from a structural and a methodological perspective.

First, the task contained an element of elicited imitation (sentence repetition), which is a more implicit way of eliciting judgments (see e.g., Vinther 2002). Indirectly, the repetition data support the stability of the definite suffix observed in production data. Some spontaneously provided translations also helped interpreting the judgments. Second, the judgments on OV-VO word order were very clear and did not show a "yes-bias", while the judgment on phrase-internal definiteness marking were less clear. A similar asymmetry between word order and agreement was also observed by Hopp & Putnam (2015), suggesting that AJT with heritage speakers may be particularly suitable for certain phenomena (word order) and less for others.

Summarizing, collecting judgments from elderly speakers of moribund heritage varieties is challenging, but not impossible, as the results from Hopp & Putnam (2015) and Van Baal (2020) show. Their studies also indicate that judgment data are best combined with other types of data and are more successful for certain linguistic phenomena. Finally, adjustments are necessary to mitigate the challenges this task brings for the heritage speakers.

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Investigating South Dakota Thyian from the perspective of Jutlandic dialectology

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This study investigates the dialectal Danish formerly spoken in a heritage speech community in South Dakota, USA – South Dakota Thyian – from the perspective of Jutlandic dialectology, utilizing methods of dialect typology (along the lines of, e.g., Röthlisberger & Szmrecsanyi, 2020). The majority of Danish settlements in North America were established by immigrants from various regions of Denmark, who brought with them varieties of dialects that were more or less regiolectified (see, e.g., Petersen et al., 2021). However, in eastern South Dakota, a community formed which predominantly comprised Thyians – people originating from Thy in northwestern Jutland, Denmark – who migrated from elsewhere in the USA, as well as immigrants who arrived directly from Thy. Previous research by Petersen (2018) has focused on the phonology of South Dakota Thyian, utilizing data from semistructured interviews recorded as part of "last minute dialectology" (Kjær & Baumann Larsen, 1976: 189) conducted between 1973 and 1980, which now forms part of the *Corpus of American Danish* (CoAmDa; Kühl et al., 2017). Further groundwork is needed to establish empirically the position of South Dakota Thyian within the Danophone variation space, particularly in terms of morphological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics. To this end, as argued by Petersen (2018: 100), "it would [be] desirable to rely on descriptions of Thyian spoken in Denmark to shed light on certain features of Thyian spoken in South Dakota," as "[s]uch comparative analysis would help identify the distribution of certain variables, as well as their inclination for being (non)dialectal." Utilizing corpus analysis and drawing upon the research tradition of Jutlandic dialectology, we present a dialect-typological analysis in which we compare South Dakota Thyian with the homeland Thyian dialect. We examine a subset of features in the CoAmDa data with diagnostic value in relation to Jutlandic dialectal variation as categorical variables for approx. 30 speakers, including the use of pronouns, Western Jutlandic stød ("V-stød"), preposed articles, epenthetic stød, and selected lexical features. We discuss the data and results in relation to dialectological research (e.g., Skautrup, 1946; Arboe, 1986, 2006, *fc.*; Rasmussen et al., 2000 ff.), and we relate our findings to developments in other cases of language/dialect islands (e.g., Flodell, 1996; Putnam, 2011; Page & Putnam, 2015; Rosenberg, 2023).

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"Language Mixing": Lexical Borrowing in Wisconsin Heritage German

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Lester W. J. "Smoky" Seifert's *Wisconsin German Questionnaire* (1946) was part of a years-long project not only to document German spoken in Wisconsin, but also to find instances of "language mixing" (Seifert 1951). This presentation focuses on Wisconsin German words for animals, comparing English-to-German translations from six speakers in Seifert's recordings from the late 1940s to a guided picture narration task completed by ten consultants in eastern Wisconsin, between 2010-2014. Preliminary results parallel Annear & Speth (2015), with speakers incorporating *cultural* loans for North American animals not indigenous to Europe, though the data also includes evidence of dialectal terms from non-standard German varieties, as well as English imposition of lexical items that replace existing pre-immigration German vocabulary. These results suggest that the Wisconsin German lexicon does not exhibit a diachronic progression along a clear maintenance-loss cline; rather, data suggest a combination of lexical maintenance, lexical borrowing, and semantic shift characteristic of tendencies for language change in contact varieties.

The Lexicon is known to be more vulnerable to change than other aspects of grammar, like syntax or phonology, with a further hierarchy of terms which are typically quite stable across languages, including: kinship terms, body parts, pronouns, hydronomy and toponomy, etc.; and some which are more regularly borrowed, such as *cultural* terms from one language that fill semantic gaps in another. These can include a range of innovations, but frequently include: technology, religious and cultural practices, and flora and fauna – especially in migratory populations, who borrow new terminology corresponding to new concepts (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 163; Matras 2009: 110-113). Further innovation includes semantic shift, or the shift of the reference of a lexical item, despite the maintenance of that cognate. For example, the term "robin" is shared in both Europe and North America, but refers to an old world flycatcher in the former, and a red-breasted thrush in the latter (Salmons 2018).

For the current study, the point of reference is a specific animal in North America, provided either by Seifert's translation prompt, or by the pictures provided in the children's book *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer 1969). Interviews and guided picture narrations were transcribed and parsed for animal terminology. Because the points of reference are North American fauna, the use of German presents two main points to consider: 1) that the term may or may not exist in the pre- immigration lexicon; and 2) that the speaker may use the inherited German, or local English term for more immediate referents. This 2x2 grid therefore distinguishes which terms are 'core' lexical items, i.e. that exist in the pre-immigration German lexicon, versus 'cultural' lexical items that fill semantic gaps in the new community; and second, whether the heritage speaker uses an English- origin, borrowed term, or a German term from the pre-immigration variety (if such a term existed). Preliminary analysis suggests the possibility of all four outcomes (see Table 1): 1) maintenance of pre-immigration core terms (*der Hirsch* 'deer/stag', *Bienen* 'bees', *Rotschimmel* 'pale horse'); 2) use of English-origin terms in place of core terms (*der Hawk* cf. der Habicht cf. example 1); 3) use of approximations, e.g. *das Reh* ' European roe deer' for 'White-tailed deer', and *der Marmot* (<die Marmotte 'the marmot', to refer to 'groundhog'); and 4) use of the English term for cultural borrowings with no direct German equivalent, e.g. *der Groundhog* 'Groundhog'.

These findings suggest that the lexicon tends to follow attested, cross-linguistic patterns of lexical maintenance and shift in contact varieties, but with notable exceptions of preserved dialectal terms (*Kicker* 'frog') and pronunciations (*de Hond* 'the dog') retained by at least one fifth- generation speaker recorded in 2012. Whether a heritage speaker uses the German or English term appears to be determined primarily by lexical category, and not by diachrony.

Table 1 – Outcomes of Lexical Maintenance/Borrowing in Wisconsin Heritage German

	Lexeme exists in German (core)	Lexeme does not exist in German (cultural)
German term used (maintenance/calque)	der Hund/Hond 'dog', der Frosch 'frog', der Hirsch 'deer/stag'; die Bienen 'bees'; Rotschimmel 'pale horse'	der Marmot (< die Marmotte, 'Marmot'); das Reh 'European roe deer'
English term used (innovation)	der Hawk (cf. Habicht); die Crows (cf. Krahe, Rabe)	der Groundhog

(1)
Seifert: The hawk caught a chicken.
Consultant: **Der Hawk** hat ein Huhn gefangen.
Seifert: Do you ever call him 'Habicht?'
Consultant: Habicht?
Seifert: Ja, 'der Habicht' for the hawk? Some people call him 'der Habicht.' Consultant:
I've never heard that.

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On the baseline notion in language acquisition and maintenance

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The term *baseline* is widespread in the literature on language acquisition, development and maintenance, and traditionally has been used without much debate, as if the notion is self-explanatory, also within heritage language research. The recent turn away from the native monolingual speaker as the unequivocal norm of comparison and towards a much more nuanced view entailing a continuum of variation patterns within a society of language users also necessitates a discussion on how to understand the notion of baseline and indeed whether it still serves as a useful term. In second language studies it has often been observed that the native control group regularly scores less than 100 % in elicitation tests, whereas the second languages test subjects sometimes score higher than "baseline".

What was traditionally used as the starting point for comparison in heritage language studies is the monolingual standard of the homeland. Later attempts were made to qualify the notion of baseline to approach the variety spoken by the first generation of immigrants (Polinsky 2018). At pointed out by e.g. Serratrice (2019) however, the term baseline is used ambiguously throughout seminal papers like Polinsky and Scontras (2019) as "the monolingual standard of comparison", the language "that served as the input for acquisition", and the "diasporic variety spoken by first-generation immigrants".

The latter makes sense as a definition of baseline in a context where the variety under study is the variety of the "first generation of heritage speakers", i.e. the second-generation immigrant, and in an immigrant society where there exists some kind of standard norm or common dialectal variety which would serve as a gold standard for comparison. However, when studying the heritage language in older communities, like Norwegian North American Heritage Language (NorNAHL) in the American Midwest, we mostly find third and fourth generation speakers. To make matters worse, the typical Norwegian immigrant would be subject to a range of different spoken dialects regularly spoken in the settlement and even several different written standards via the church services, the Bible, newspapers, hymns, letters from the homeland, etc.

On thorough examination, a lot of the the variation in the input can also be observed in the production of heritage speakers, and the range and type of variation is observed in our rich material of recordings spanning more than 80 years of Heritage Norwegian spoken in the Midwest. Separating these 80 years into five cohorts representing idealized generations, we can trace specific changes in the input as observable features of the production of these speakers. The pertinent question then is what should count as the baseline for each of these cohorts. The homeland monolingual standard? The dominant dialect of the society at the the time (since we find fluctuations across times within the same settlement)? The (archaic) written norm of the standard bokmål? Or the relevant nynorsk standard (which clearly served as the baseline for Einar Haugen)?

Or is it time to replace baseline with other, more specific notions and terms?

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Tonal accents and language mixing in North American Norwegian compounds

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Michael T. Putnam, *Penn State University / University of Greenwich*
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The opposition between two tonal accents (Accent 1 and Accent 2), a contrast between two pitch contours, is a core component of the realization of stressed syllables in Norwegian, and one that displays complex alternations in word-formation processes (e.g., Kristoffersen, 2000; Wetterlin, 2010). This phenomenon is furthermore distinct from English stress realization and is reported for North American Norwegian (NAmNo) speakers, at least up until the middle of the 20th century (Haugen, 1941, 1969). Although there are indications that some contemporary NAmNo speakers from Westby and Coon Valley, WI, produce tonal accents in mostly expected ways for nouns and verbs (Moquin & Natvig, 2022), we have yet to ascertain whether accent patterns associated with compounding have been maintained in NAmNo more generally. Haugen (1941) finds tonal accents in loaned English compounds, with various degrees of consistency in their patterning. As far as we are aware, there has been no investigation of tonal accent distributions in NAmNo compounds with 'mixed' content, where material from both source grammars are compounded together. We therefore set out to test the following hypotheses in this presentation:

> (H$_1$) Tonal accent contrasts are maintained in NAmNo compounds; and

> (H$_2$) Tonal accents are maintained even with mixed compounds, such that Englishorigin content still receives a tonal accent when hosting stress (usually as the first member).

We analyze compounds that are manually selected from the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS, Johannessen, 2015) following the method in Eik and Riksem (2022). This procedure produces a total of 700 compounds, of which 150 involve mixed content. The compounds are categorized based on 'compound type', e.g., whether they are composed of only Norwegian-origin content or are mixed, with Norwegian and English as either the first or second member of the compound. These are then further annotated for tonal accent realizations based on native-speaker judgments. Initial results demonstrate tonal accents in all compound types investigated, although without evidence of Accent 2 in English-initial compounds (see Table 1). These data support both hypotheses in a broad sense. The realization of stressed syllables signals a recognizable tonal accent, and English-origin initial members receive Norwegian-like stress in the form of Accent 1. For the presentation, we analyze the full data set and argue that the presence of tonal accents in compounds supports a late-insertion, modular architecture of grammar (e.g., Embick & Noyer, 2007), where (morpho)syntax (i.e., combinatorics) is distinct from phonology (i.e., stress and tonal accent assignment), which is further distinct from phonetics (i.e., realization of pitch associated with stress and tonal accent contrast). The results and analysis further contribute to approaches that view (heritage language) multilingualism in terms of integrated representations (López, 2020; Natvig, 2021; Putnam, Carlson, & Reiter, 2018) rather than as discrete grammatical systems. This work furthermore discusses methodological issues in categorizing languageorigin, particularly among cognates, e.g., *school* and *skule*, under the assumption of a single, integrated lexicon.

Compound	Gloss	Accent	Compound Type	Speaker
[1]*kaffe-kopp*	coffee cup	1	Norwegian-Norwegian	coon_valley_WI_03gm
[2]*skødd-vær*	fog weather	2	Norwegian-Norwegian	coon_valley_WI_06gm
[1]*only-barn*	only child	1	English-Norwegian	albert_lea_MN_01gk
–	–	2	English-Norwegian	–
[1]*tobakk-shed*	tobacco shed	1	Norwegian-English	ferryville_WI_02gm
[2]*bil-accident*	car accident	2	Norwegian-English	appleton_MN_01gm

Table 1: Sample NAmNo compounds by tonal accent and type.

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Cam anam? The keystones of Majorcan Catalan as a heritage language variety in Argentina

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Catalan-speaking communities are to date encountered throughout Argentina (e.g., Bolívar, Bahía Blanca, San Pedro). After providing an overview of this understudied topic, my presentation will focus on the variety of Majorcan Catalan that has been spoken since the 1850s in San Pedro, Buenos Aires, in contact with Spanish. Though scarce, prior literature seems to point at San Pedro Catalan as an endangered variety (Montoya & Jofre, 2003; Montoya, 2017b). Based on such sources, three research questions were formulated to establish the level of endangerment of San Pedro Catalan (RQ #1), provide first-hand documentation of the variety by eliciting relevant sociolinguistic and anthropological emergent categories (RQ #2), and establish a course of action in terms of revitalization efforts for implementation within the community (RQ #3).

With the earliest documentation of on-site Majorcan presence dating back to the mid-19th century, the existence of the Catalan language in San Pedro has largely flown under the radar for the community of researchers, with a number of exceptions (Jofre, 1996; Jofre & Montoya, 1997; Montoya & Jofre, 2003; Montoya, 2003, 2017b). As well as in other areas where Catalan is—or has been— spoken as a minority language (e.g., Algeria; Isla Mayor, Seville, Spain), cross-generational transmission of the heritage language appears to have largely ceased in San Pedro, yielding to attrition in the linguistic system of Catalan and the ongoing or complete loss thereof to the majority language (cf. Velázquez, 2008).

The first research question was answered based on Wurm's (1975) and—relatedly—UNESCO (2009) scales (see also Bradley & Bradley, 2019: 17). The process involved a review of the salient sociolinguistic indicators (e.g., interruption in cross-generational transmission), as specifically applied to the community of interest. To answer the second and third research questions, 60-minute sociolinguistic interviews were individually conducted between the summer of 2021 and the spring of 2022. Participants were San Pedro locals of Catalan-speaking—esp. Majorcan—descent (N=49), who had been snowball-recruited (see Tagliamonte, 2006) from local cultural association Agrupación Mallorca. Interviews, which were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis purposes, provided the foundation for establishing a five-scale Performative Language Competency (PLC) level for each of the informants.

Within the theoretical framework of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019), a number of emergent or emic categories (see Xia, 2011) were identified in terms of the sociolinguistic (N=8) and anthropological (N=9) underpinnings of the community under study. These were further analyzed in the light of participants' first-hand accounts and Bordoy (1994). Resulting knowledge of the community ultimately allowed for establishing a roadmap for prospective revitalization efforts of San Pedro Catalan.

Results seem to confirm prior literature, evincing interruption in cross-generational transmission of the heritage language, in spite of institutional efforts seeking to provide Catalan with more visibility within the community. Further echoes of this can be found on the fronts of the language-society-identity continuum, language policy, and sociolinguistic attitudes.

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An Analysis of Chain Vowel Shift in Heritage and Homeland Korean Speakers

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The back vowel space in Seoul Korean is currently undergoing a chain shift with /u/ fronting and /o/ raising (Figure 1) (Han and Kang 2013, Kang 2016). This vowel shift appears to be age-graded, with younger female speakers producing more fronted and raised realizations of /u/ and /o/ (Han and Kang 2013). This shift has been largely uninvestigated in diaspora Korean populations. I compare spontaneous speech of homeland and heritage Seoul Korean speakers and show that heritage Korean speakers participate in the vowel shift, sharing a similar vowel space to homeland speakers.

Interview data comes from the Heritage Language Variation and Change Corpus (Nagy 2009, 2011): 8 first generation and 8 second generation heritage speakers in Toronto and 10 homeland speakers in Seoul. Vowels with duration >5 ms and <200 ms (n = 60,082) and their formant values were extracted from Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2014) by script with 5,941 tokens of /o/ and 2465 tokens of /u/. Data was not normalized due to low token numbers per speaker.

Linear mixed effect models in R using RStudio (RStudio Team 2020, R Core Team 2022) tested for effects on F1 and F2 values with speaker as a random intercept and generation (Homeland, Gen1, Gen2), gender, preceding and following manner and place of articulation as factors. Age and phonological factors are not significant main effects for F1 or F2 values, suggesting that the vowel shift is stable. Gen1 and Gen2 speakers produce less peripheral realizations of /u/ and /o/. Generation is not a significant effect for F1 value of /o/, suggesting that the chain vowel shift began with /o/ in the homeland and that this shift has been completed. Figure 2 presents a comparison of average F1 values of /o/ across gender and generation, showing that heritage speakers pattern closely to their homeland counterparts.

Heritage speakers of both genders have overall lower F2 of /u/ than of their homeland counterparts, but only Gen2 female speakers and Gen1 male speakers have significantly lower realizations ($p < 0.05$). Figure 3 presents a comparison of average F2 values of /u/ compared to homeland speakers. Gen2 female speakers have an average F2 value of 1423 Hz while homeland speakers have an average F2 value of 1541 Hz. Male Gen1 speakers have an average F2 value of 1192 Hz compared to an average homeland value of 1267 Hz, which may be negligible.

These results show that heritage Korean speakers participate in the chain shift, exhibiting /o/-raising and a slightly lower degree of /u/-fronting. Generation and age are generally not significant factors, indicating that the vowel space is stable in spontaneous speech. Heritage Korean speakers do not have more conservative vowel spaces and instead pattern similarly to homeland speakers, suggesting that heritage speakers receive enough input to participate in the chain shift. The popularity of Korean media may contribute to the amount of input received. First- and second-generation speakers' lesser degree of /u/-fronting demonstrates that the shift may not be completed but is still progressing.

Figure 1: Seoul Korean Vowel Shift, replicated from Kang (2016: 11)
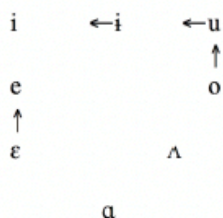
Figure 2: Average F1 of /o/ in Hz for Homeland, Gen1 and Gen2 Speakers
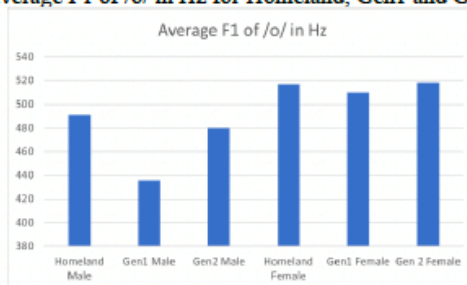
Figure 3: Average F2 of /u/ for Homeland, Gen1 and Gen2 Speakers
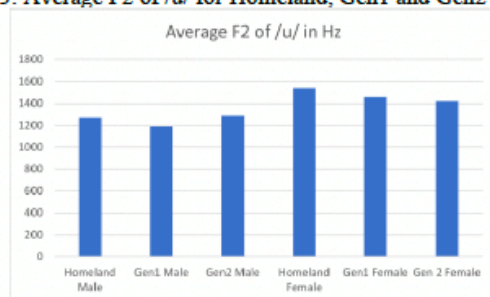
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Not a Start and an End but VOT at 2 Timepoints in the Life of a Heritage Speaker

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I examine voice onset time (VOT) of the same speaker from the Fox River Valley of Wisconsin recorded in 1989 and again in 2018. I compare the VOT of both their Dutch and English stops to see how decreasing use of Dutch and increasing influence of English has affected their speech.

The speaker was born in 1931 and continued to reside in the Fox River Valley of Wisconsin for their entire life. This is an area that received several waves of Dutch immigration from 1848 through the 1960s (Swierenga & Krabbendam, 2011). However, by 2018, Dutch had ceased to be a community language and had instead taken on a postvernacular role (Brown & Hietpas, 2019). Additionally, the speaker notes already in 1989 hardly speaking Dutch anymore, sentiments repeated in the 2018 recording. Consequently, this study is not a comparison between a start and end point of language use, but rather a comparison between two timepoints in an individual linguistic history. This is, thus, a real-time panel study (Sankoff, 2006) comparing recordings of the same speaker from two time periods separated by more than 30 years.

My focus is largely phonetic in examining VOT, one cue relevant to the phonological contrast of the laryngeal systems of the two languages examined here. Dutch marks voiced stops phonologically (e.g., Iverson & Salmons 1995, Honeybone, 2005) while English marks voiceless/aspirated stops. Consequently, changes in the phonetics may indicate either changes to or maintenance of the phonology depending on the exact nature of the change. However, this should be treated with caution as different phonological systems can lead to the same surface phonetics (Natvig, 2021).

352 tokens of stops were identified between the 2 recordings, and VOTs were marked and extracted via Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2020). While in 1989 both the voiced and voiceless stops displayed a large degree of overlap between languages (Table 1 and Figure 1), by 2018 there is a greater degree of differentiation. Prevoicing disappeared for the English voiced stops with 0% of tokens being prevoiced compared to 33% in 1989. While prevoicing also decreased for the Dutch voiced stops, 45% of tokens were still produced with prevoicing. For voiceless stops, while the mean and median values in 1989 are nearly identical between the two languages, in 2018, the Dutch stops have lengthened more than the English ones. Consequently, this speaker appears to have gone from a Dutch-influenced English system where a decent percentage of English voiced stops are prevoiced (which has not been noted as a feature of the area, e.g., Walker, 2020) to a more "standard-like" English system (e.g., Lisker & Abramson, 1964) and a Dutch system with an enhanced contrast between the two sets of stops but maintained prevoicing.

This study expands on previous heritage language research by providing a rare, though not first, longitudinal look at how a heritage speaker's speech has changed over their lifetime while also concurring with previous studies' findings of phonological maintenance (e.g., Hjelde, 2018; Johannessen, 2015; Wagener, 2004).

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Table 1: Mean, Quartile 1, Median, Quartile 3, and % Prevoiced VOT (ms) values by Year, Language, and Voicing

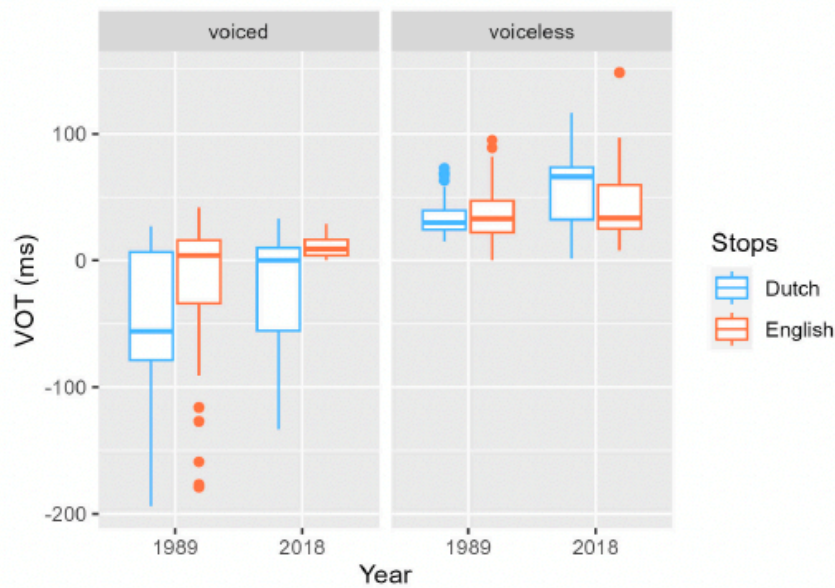|			Mean	Q1	Median	Q3	% Prevoiced
Voiced	1989	Dutch	-50.3	-78.8	-56	6.75	64.58%
		English	-13.1	-34	4	16	32.91%
	2018	Dutch	-23.1	-55.5	0	9.9	45.24%
		English	10.5	4	9	16.5	0%
Voiceless	1989	Dutch	35.9	24.2	30	39.5	-
		English	35.2	22	33	47	-
	2018	Dutch	58.7	32.3	66.1	73.5	-
		English	42.9	25	33.5	59.5	-

Figure 1: Box plots of VOT (ms) tokens by Year, Language, and Voicing.

Writing skills among Norwegian Americans

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For more than hundred years, the Norwegian language in America has been studied and documented. However, this work has for the most part focused on the spoken language, and there is scarce knowledge about the Norwegian-Americans ability to write Norwegian. The emigration from Norway to America started in 1825, and at that time most Norwegians' writing skills were probably limited. Children had about two months of school a year, and the main purpose of the education was to prepare the children for confirmation. Thus, the curriculum focused on religion and reading, but not much on writing. Still, from early on, writing letters became fundamental for keeping in contact across the Atlantic. These America letters became a very important source of information for those who considered to emigrate. America letters continued to keep the contact between America and Norway for many years, probably until digital means like e-mail and Zoom became widely accessible.

Many of these letters are today found in archives, and they represent a unique source to gain insight into the emigrants' writing skills. Since writing represents thoroughly planned language production, we also might get some insight into which structures they think represent "Norwegianness". The present study will investigate features we know to be typical for spoken heritage Norwegian, and our aim is to detect if these features and tendencies are found in the written language as well. One trait where we know that spoken heritage Norwegian (HN) has deviated from baseline, is topicalization and V2, where we find that the tendency to utilize topicalization has been reduced. For some speakers this is more in line with the tendencies we find in English, and this takes place at the same time as the tendency to produce V3 structures is increasing (Eide & Hjelde 2015). Another innovation documented in spoken HN is an increased tendency to produce postnominal possessive constructions, while prenominal possessive constructions are most frequent in written Norwegian (bokmål) (and predominant in English) (cf. Westergaard & Anderssen 2015). A third feature reported on in HN is changes in so-called compositional definiteness, phrases consisting of a prenominal determiner and a suffixed adjective, where we can find innovations where the determiner is avoided (van Baal 2022). In addition, we should also expect to find different kinds of lexical transfer as this is the most noticeable change in HN (Haugen 1969).

The data used in this preliminary study is a selection of letters collected at The Norwegian Emigrant Museum as well as the National Archives. These letters are already transcribed and partly made available in digital form (more than 500 letters available at the National Library), and partly in print (Øverland & Kjærheim 1992-2011). From this pool we will make a selection of documents to make sure that letters written by America-born HN speakers are well represented, as it is among them such innovations are most likely to be found.

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When and How Heritage Swedish was Acquired and Learned in Kansas: Historical Sociolinguistic Analyses of Educational Opportunities and Their Ideologies

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For more than a century in Lindsborg, Kansas, Heritage Swedish has been acquired and learned in various ways. In oral history interviews carried out in the town and in surrounding farming communities in the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s, many residents explained that Swedish was the language spoken in their childhood homes. Their acquisition of Swedish was also supported by Swedish-language Sunday Schools and "Swede Schools" in the summer. Some residents who moved to the community first as young adults could learn Swedish at Bethany College, an evangelical Lutheran liberal arts college founded by Swedes and Swedish Americans. So learning opportunities could and did vary, as did the motivations for having fluency in Swedish, which this paper explores.

This investigation applies the analytical framework of verticalization (Warren 1978) to understand the interplay between Heritage Swedish, the community structures, and views on educational opportunities. As articulated in Brown (ed.) 2022, when the verticalization model is applied to language shift, "it attributes shift to a change from local control of tightly interconnected ['horizontal'] institutions to more external or 'vertical' control of those increasingly interdependent institutions [outside the community]" (Brown & Salmons 2022: 20; emphasis added; see also Salmons 2005a, 2005b).

Lindsborg, founded in 1868/69, was influenced by English-language verticalizing structures, including the Kansas State Board of Education, early in its settlement history. Yet there were decades of sustained horizontal support of Swedish. In addition, vertical ties—in this case for Swedish—were maintained by the Augustana Lutheran Synod (headquartered in Illinois) and influenced the Kansas town. A stream of Swedish teaching materials published by the Synod reached the local community in the 1890s (possibly earlier), and at least some of these materials were distributed by Sunday School teachers to children.

The aims of the investigation are the following:

- to establish a timeline showing when learning opportunities in Swedish were available to children and young adults;
- to collate information from oral history data on how, when, and why the respondents explained that they grew up speaking Swedish in their homes;
- to determine how vertical and horizontal ties appear to have influenced the acquisition and learning of Swedish, and
- where possible, identify the ideologies linked with learning Swedish.

The analysis in the investigation is qualitative and focuses on findings from the historical materials that are currently known and accessible to the researcher:

TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS of speakers born between 1888 and ca. 1930.

RECORDS from Bethany Lutheran Church, mainly data on confirmation and Sunday School classes.

PRINTED SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOKS in Swedish, published in Illinois.

BETHANY COLLEGE CATALOGS and YEARBOOKS indicating courses and extra-curricular activities in Swedish.

LINDSBORG HIGH SCHOOL YEARBOOKS indicating (some) courses in Swedish.

The methods used to analyze the materials are close readings and content analyses of the historical materials and the interviews.

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Past tense morphology of North American Icelandic

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Heritage speakers undergo a shift in language dominance with the onset of schooling in the majority language, which can have considerable effects on their language development (Montrul, 2003). Studies in Icelandic show that at the age of six, Icelandic children have only reached 74% accuracy for the past tense (Ragnarsdóttir, 1998). Heritage speakers of Icelandic have therefore not yet fully grasped the past tense morphology of Icelandic before English takes on a prominent role. The focus of this study is on the past tense morphology of heritage speakers of Icelandic and the research questions are as follows:

> *How accurate is the past tense construction of heritage Icelanders?*
> *What kind of mistakes do they make?*
> *Do they overgeneralize one verb formation over another?*

The data comes from interviews with 83 second- and third-generation heritage speakers of Icelandic (average age 75.7) from elicited conversations and storytelling tasks. Everything was recorded and transcribed, and a linguist then read through the texts, marking all past tense sentences and all sentences that should, based on context, be in the past tense. The accuracy rate for each sentence was calculated and then divided into morphological groups, based on verb types, and compared.

Results show that the past tense formation process of these speakers is quite strong, although there are certainly individual variations and 65% of all speakers deviated from the expected past tense in one or more cases. However, the total accuracy rate for the expected forms was 95.53%, which is only slightly lower than for the Norwegian data in Natvig, Putnam and Lykke (2023). That is in line with previous research (e.g., Thomason, 2001:70-71; Matras 2009; Gardani et al., 2015) that have shown stability in the domain of verbal inflectional morphology, which in some ways is surprising as morphology has been considered the most vulnerable domain of grammar in heritage languages (see e.g., Putnam et al. 2021). However, Natvig, Putnam and Lykke (2023) explain this stability in terms of this exponency of tense in Heritage Norwegian with late-insertion approach (Lykke 2020) to the syntax-phonological interface in combination with *events, features and precedence* phonology (e.g. Raimy 2000). That approach seems also to work for Heritage Icelandic, a language closely related to Norwegian.

Icelandic verbs can be either strong or weak, and weak verbs are further divided into a-verbs and i-verbs. In addition, there is a mixed pattern which includes a morphological ending and a vowel change. Icelandic children first learn the a-verbs along with a few common strong verbs and when they make mistakes, they usually overgeneralize the verbal morphology of the newest verb class they have learned. However, there are only a handful of examples of overgeneralization in the heritage data, and in such cases, it's always the weak a-verb-ending they overgeneralize. This might indicate transfer from English, with only one past tense ending, however, the examples are too few to imply a pattern of simplification. Moreover, when the heritage speakers don't know the correct past tense form, they simply use a form they already know—mostly the infinitive but also e.g., singular instead of plural—something that is not seen in the data of Icelandic children. This indicates that unlike the children, they are not trying out different past tense rules. Children overgeneralize because they know the rules but don't know exactly where to apply them—their rules are active. As the heritage data mostly lacks overgeneralization of any past tense ending it might indicate that the past tense rules are no longer active, and that the speakers have simply memorized the past tense of each verb.

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Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Finnish America

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Attitudes and ideologies, much like language and identity, are ever-evolving. In heritage communities, such as the Finnish Heritage Community in Hancock, Michigan, Finnish[1] and Finnishness are expressed linguistically and meaningfully to a strong degree. While the Finnish language may not be verbally present (at least not publicly), Finnishness is indexed linguistically and through everyday material culture (Remlinger 2016, 2017; Remlinger and Karinen, 2022). These indexes include the use of the Finnish national colors, blue and white, the overwhelming presence of the Finnish lion, or even lexical features such as sauna, pannukakku, and sisu. As the Finnish culture and language grow more distant, and as we move beyond fifth-generation Finns, how do attitudes towards Finnish(ness) compare among generations? The way young, multi-generation Finnish Americans engage with their Finnish heritage is different from their parents and generations past, of whom many grew up speaking "Finn" and attending church service in Finnish. While gathering data on a Finnish heritage community in 2022, the cultural capital that comes with claiming Finnish heritage quickly became evident. This local prestige associated with Finnishness simultaneously exists in a juxtaposition with paradoxical negative attitudes associated with the "Finnish accent," more specifically, the impact of Finnish on the local variety of English (Remlinger 2017; Rankinen & Ma 2020). In one interaction, a consultant exclaimed, "my partner had to lose his Yooper[2] accent, he sounded too Finnish… and uneducated". How could it be that there are such positive attitudes associated with Finnish identity but not local language use, which has been influenced by Finnish-English language contact? This example and similar interactions led to this research that explores the language attitudes (Sallabank 2015) and ideologies (Woolard 2020) associated with Finnish(ness) on a wider scale across heritage communities throughout the Upper Midwest in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. This study takes place in July 2023 and employs research methods grounded in ethnography and qualitative analysis, including recording oral histories, participant observation, and archival research. These methodologies have been chosen to excavate the language-related attitudes and ideologies that exist toward Finnish(ness) in Finnish America with the following objectives:

1. To critically analyze the contemporary language-related attitudes and ideologies from several Finnish heritage communities across the Upper Midwest.
2. To evaluate the role of heritage events like FinnFest[3] in connecting Finnish Americans and determine language-related attitudes and ideologies that are present on a wider scale.
3. To raise discussion and awareness of Finnish heritage and highlight "Stories from Finnish America," this includes recording videos and content to be shared on social media outlets as well as in the form of a blog with consultants' permission to ensure this project goes beyond academic circles.

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[1] Finnish is one among the numerous languages, such as Sami, Karelian, and Swedish (among others), that immigrants brought from the area referred to as modern-day Finland to the United States among other regions.

[2] *Yooper* is the term used to refer to residents of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. This term is derived from the pronunciation of the acronym for Upper Peninsula (UP). The Yooper and Finn identities overlap significantly (Remlinger 2017).

[3] FinnFest is an annual festival celebrating Finnish and Finnish American culture and heritage in the United States.

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Investigating a low-frequency phenomenon in nearly extinct HLs: embedded verb placement in Argentine Heritage Norwegian/Swedish

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In homeland Norwegian/Swedish, the finite verb generally stays *in situ* in embedded clauses: the verb follows negation/other sentence adverbials, which mark the border between vP and TP (e.g., Platzack 2011). The order is thus Adv-V (1).

Larsson & Johannessen (2015a,b) (L&J) show that Norwegian/Swedish as HLs in North America (NAmNo/Sw) differ from the homeland baseline: Many speakers produce V-Adv, which is analyzed as V-to-T-movement (2).[1] In this paper, we investigate embedded verb placement in **a novel HL context**: **heritage No/Sw spoken in Argentina (ArgNo/Sw),** with data from a field trip in 2022. We also expand on L&J's study by adding more NAmNo/Sw data from CANS and compare the two HL contexts – this can shed new light on the effects of different majority languages (English vs. Spanish) and other factors shaping HLs.

The population of ArgNo/Sw speakers is small. Our data set of 20 individuals (mostly 2nd-gen, elderly heritage speakers) nearly exhausts the HL population in the places we have visited. Additionally, the contexts for diagnosing embedded verb placement are infrequent in spontaneous speech. To face these challenges, we conducted a production task targeting relative clauses with negation/'always/never' (a type of embedded clause suited for diagnosing verb placement). The method, based on Novogrodsky & Friedmann (2006), was adapted to elderly heritage speakers by using pictures, by only targeting subject-relatives, and by keeping the task short. The task included 11 test items and 9 fillers. The speakers produced a median of 6 clauses with negation/'always/never' each (they followed the instructions for the task to varying degrees).

Overall, the ArgNo/Sw speakers produced Adv-V (the baseline pattern) at a proportion of 79.5%, and 20.5% V-Adv (Table 1). NAmNo/Sw speakers in CANS produced 53.5% Adv-V and 46.5% V-Adv. The methodological differences can hardly fully account for the different results; it appears that **Adv-V is more stable in ArgNo/Sw than in NAmNo/Sw; however, even in ArgNo/Sw there is a non-negligible amount of V-Adv,** unacceptable in the homeland (3). ArgNo/Sw speakers show some intra-individual variation which remains to be investigated; the NAmNo speakers in our sample generally used one order consistently (though with fewer items per speaker).

We argue that CLI can only play a limited role for the innovative V-Adv orders in ArgNo/Sw. The most common adverb is negation, which is invariably preverbal (Adv-V) in Spanish (although there is more variation with other adverbs, Zagona 2002).[2] Instead, we propose an account based on divergent attainment (Polinsky 2018), similar to L&J for NAmNo/Sw – monolingual, homeland children also produce V-Adv as a step in acquisition, but eventually abandon it (see L&J for details).

We propose that the difference between ArgNo/Sw and NAmNo/Sw is primarily due to differences in the HL communities. NAmNo/Sw speakers are typically 3rd–4th-generation; their parents were also heritage speakers. Moreover, they generally have a low level of literacy in No/Sw. These factors may lower the frequency of complex structures such as embedded clauses in the input. ArgNo/Sw speakers, on the other hand, are mostly 2nd-generation, i.e., their parents grew up in the homeland; they also read more in their HL. This may contribute to a higher degree of stability.

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[1] Anderssen et al. (forthcoming) also discuss embedded clauses in NAmNo.

[2] English has V-Adv with auxiliaries; however, we see no significant difference between auxiliaries and other verbs in our NAmNo/Sw sample. Anderssen et al. (forthcoming) argue for this sort of correlation based on a different sample from CANS.

(1) mannen [CP som [TP {*røyker} [vP **ikke** {**røyker**}]]]
    man.DEF   RC   smokes   not   smokes
    'the man who doesn't smoke' (Norwegian)

(2) en... som **forstår**   **ikke** så mye norsk
    one RC understands not   so much Norwegian
    'one who doesn't understand much Norwegian' (NAmNo, from L&J)

(3) den   som **er ikke** syk
    the.one RC is not ill
    'the one who isn't ill' (ArgNo, martinez_AR_01gk)

	Adv-V	V-Adv	Total
NAmNo/Sw	38 (53.5%)	33 (46.5%)	71 (100%)
ArgNo/Sw	89 (79.5%)	23 (20.5%)	112 (100%)

Table 1 Relative clauses with Adv-V vs. V-Adv word order in ArgNo/Sw (production task) vs. NAmNo/Sw (CANS). Only subject relatives are included. Number of speakers in ArgNo/Sw: 20. Number of speakers in NAmNo/Sw: 39.

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Methodological approaches to studying the language contact situation of Volga Germans in Argentina

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While there are numerous studies on language contact among German, Spanish and Russian in different social context, the language contact situation of Volga Germans in Argentina has only been studies by four authors so far (Cipria 2007, Hipperdinger 2007, Ladilova 2015, Schmidt 1997). This group has a situation of unique social multilingualism due to its dual migration history, first from German-speaking countries to Russia, where they settled at the Volga River in 1763 and then to Argentina in 1874. Despite living outside German-speaking areas for over 250 years and being exposed to contact with Russian in Russia and Spanish in Argentina, the group has maintained parts of their original culture and language to this day, due to a conservative lifestyle until 1950. This is due to the fact that contact with the Argentine majority society only increased to such an extent after 1950 that acquiring Spanish became necessary. As a result of an intensified contact with the Spanish-speaking majority society and the experience of discrimination due to the poor knowledge of Spanish, the German varieties gradually gave way to Spanish. However, since the centennial celebration of the arrival of the Volga Germans in Argentina in 1978, there has been an increasing interest among the members of the studied community in preserving and transmitting their own culture and language, indicating an ethnic revival of the group. This lead to language loyalty with the German variety, which therefore acquired a strong covert prestige among the group members, while Spanish kept its overt prestige, as the majority language in Argentina. Additionally, lexical elements of Russian such as "pirok" (a filled bun) or "nuzhnik" (a toilet outside the house), although often not recognized as such by the speakers themselves, are part of the linguistic repertoire of the studied group. This situation leads to linguistic hybridity that reflects the cultural composition of the Volga Germans in Argentina and fulfills socio-discursive functions, such as marking group identity (through the use of the German variety) or referring to the majority society (through the use of Spanish).

In order to study the current language contact situation of Volga Germans in Argentina I conducted a study based on a mixed methodology design, consisting of several stages.

1. During the first stage I researched the online presence of Volga Germans in Argentina, including blogs, social media (particularly Facebook), Volga German associations and other sites on the history and genealogy of Volga Germans in Argentina.
2. During the second stage I got in touch with the main Volga German associations and blog writers and exchanged information with them via e-mail and skype in the sense of qualitative open interviews on the topic.
3. Then I conducted a quantitative online questionnaire as a pre-study, which was distributed through a mailing list among the members of the community of Volga Germans in Argentina (Ladilova 2011).
4. Based on the pre-study, I developed the research methodology for the field study, which I conducted in March 2010 in the provinces Entre Ríos, Buenos Aires and La Pampa in Argentina, which consisted of semi-structured narrative interviews, questionnaires, fieldnotes and pictures.
5. After analyzing the data I conducted a final follow-up study via e-mail and skype, which helped me in the process of interpreting the data.

Although I collected over 90 narrative interviews and almost 500 questionnaires in Argentina, I ended up using only 12 narrative interviews 381 questionnaires for the main study. I will discuss the processes of (a.) developing of the methodology during the study, (b.) selection of the data, which I finally decided to include into the analysis, and (c.) the bringing together of the different types of data in my presentation giving examples of the data and their interpretation.

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V2 in non-subject-initial main clauses in Latin American Norwegian: results from a narrative task

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Introduction: Verb-second (V2) in Scandinavian HLs in North America has been discussed in several recent studies (e.g., Eide & Hjelde 2018, Westergaard et al. 2021; Larsson & Kinn 2022; Kühl & Petersen 2018). A converging finding is that V2 is relatively stable – however, some deviations are found (ex. 1). Westergaard and Lohndal (2019) and Westergaard et al. (2021) (W&L) argue that crosslinguistic influence (CLI) from English plays an indirect role for V2-violations in North American Norwegian (NAmNo), notably in nonsubject- initial clauses: the speakers who produce many V2-violations in non-subject-initial clauses tend to also produce a low proportion of non-subject-initial clauses overall; they prefer subject-initial clauses. W&L argue that the low proportion of non-subject-initial clauses is a result of CLI from the majority language English. The decrease of non-subject-initial clauses makes the (Norwegian) syntax of this clause type difficult access, which in turn results in V2-violations.

This paper presents data from a Norwegian as a HL in a new context: Latin America, with Spanish as the majority language (LatAmNo). We focus on non-subject-initial clauses. By comparing LatAmNo to NAmNo, we can shed new light on the role played by different majority languages: while English main clauses are predominantly subject-initial, Spanish main clauses to a much greater extent have post-verbal (or unexpressed) subjects (Arús 2010; Lavid 2010; Zagona 2002). If an increase in subject-initial clauses and concomitant V2-violations are observed in LatAmNo, this is less likely to be an effect of CLI from the majority language.

Data/methodology: The population of LatAmNo speakers is small. The study includes 19 heritage speakers, mainly 2nd-generation, in Argentina, Ecuador and Chile. To target non-subject-initial clauses (e.g., with fronted time/place adverbials) a narrative task was conducted over Zoom, whereby the speakers retold a sequence from the Chaplin film Modern times (Perdue & Klein 1992; Klein & Perdue 1997; Bardovi-Harlig 2000). Data was also collected from a control group of 10 monolingual homeland speakers who completed the same task.

Results: V2 appears to be relatively stable also in LatAmNo, although with considerable inter-speaker variation, and some violations (ex. 2). In non-subject-initial clauses, we observe 11.70% V2-violations (Table 2, N=530). This resembles Westergaard et al. (2021:13), who report 9.6% V2-violations in this context (N=1773).[1] Interestingly, similar to NAmNo, LatAmNo speakers overall exhibit a preference for subject-initial clauses. In the narrative task, 55.8% of the main clauses were subject-initial (with considerable interspeaker variation, Table 1, N=1199), compared to 47.15% (N=649) in the control group (the difference is significant, p=0.0004). Whether there is a correlation between individuals with a very low proportion of non-subject- initial clauses and many V2-violations remains to be investigated in detail, but for some speakers, this seems to hold (e.g., tigre_AR_01gk, buenos_aires_AR_01gm)

The preference for subject-initial clauses in LatAmNo calls for other explanations than CLI, which might turn out to be relevant also in NAmNo and other HLs. Possible factors include ease of processing, syntactic economy and a preference for SVO as a default structure (Polinsky 2018; Laleko 2021).

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[1] W&L's data is from interviews/conversations, which probably has consequences for the type of fronted elements found, compared to our narrative task. The implications of this remain to be investigated.

Ex. 1: NAmNo *(from Westergaard & Lohndal 2019 and Westergaard et al. 2021)*

a.) **tobakk hadde** vi... (V2, coon_valley_WI_04gm)
   tobacco had we
   'We had tobacco'

b.) **Når jeg taler norsk,** jeg **taler** . . . (Non-V2, blair_WI_07gm)
   when I speak Norwegian, I speak . . .
   'When I speak Norwegian, I speak . . .'

Ex. 2: LatAmNo *(from narrative task)*

a.) ... **så klarte** dem å rømme fra den (V2, adrogue_AR_01gm)
   ... then managed them to escape from it
   'And then they managed to escape from it'

b.) **etterpå Chaplin går** til en restaurant ... (Non-V2, cuenca_EC_02uk)
   afterwards Chaplin goes to a restaurant ...
   'Afterwards Chaplin goes to a restaurant ...'

Table 1: Subject–initial vs. non-sub-initial main clauses

	Sub.-initial		Non-sub.-initial	
adrogue_AR_01gm	13	86,67 %	2	13,33 %
bariloche_AR_01um	108	70,59 %	45	29,41 %
buenos_aires_AR_01gk	23	33,33 %	46	66,67 %
buenos_aires_AR_02gm	32	71,11 %	13	28,89 %
cafayate_AR_01gm	20	50,00 %	20	50,00 %
cuenca_EC_01uk	21	36,21 %	37	63,79 %
cuenca_EC_02uk	29	42,03 %	40	57,97 %
cuenca_EC_03uk	36	42,35 %	49	57,65 %
cuenca_EC_04um	26	76,47 %	8	23,53 %
del_viso_AR_01gk	61	54,95 %	50	45,05 %
la_plata_AR_01gk	54	70,13 %	23	29,87 %
manso_AR_01um	30	54,55 %	25	45,45 %
martinez_AR_01gk	33	70,21 %	14	29,79 %
martinez_AR_02gk	19	45,24 %	23	54,76 %
quito_EC_01um	46	57,50 %	34	42,50 %
santiago_CH_01uk	41	59,42 %	28	40,58 %
tigre_AR_01uk	36	92,31 %	3	7,69 %
vicente_lopez_AR_02gk	33	37,50 %	55	62,50 %
vicente_lopez_AR_03gk	8	34,78 %	15	65,22 %
Total	669	55,80 %	530	44,20 %

Table 2: V2 vs. V2-violations in non-subject-initial clauses

	V2		V2-violations		Total
adrogue_AR_01gm	2	100,00 %	0	0,00 %	2
bariloche_AR_01um	45	100,00 %	0	0,00 %	45
buenos_aires_AR_01gk	44	95,65 %	2	4,35 %	46
buenos_aires_AR_02gm	2	15,38 %	11	84,62 %	13
cafayate_AR_01gm	20	100,00 %	0	0,00 %	20
cuenca_EC_01uk	36	97,3 %	1	2,70 %	37
cuenca_EC_02uk	24	60,00 %	16	40,00 %	40
cuenca_EC_03uk	48	97,96 %	1	2,04 %	49
cuenca_EC_04um	7	87,5 %	1	12,50 %	8
del_viso_AR_01gk	49	98,00 %	1	2,00 %	50
la_plata_AR_01gk	18	78,26 %	5	21,74 %	23
manso_AR_01um	18	72,00 %	7	28,00 %	25
martinez_AR_01gk	10	71,43 %	4	28,57 %	14
martinez_AR_02gk	23	100 %	0	0,00 %	23
quito_EC_01um	28	82,35 %	6	17,65 %	34
santiago_CH_01uk	25	89,29 %	3	10,71 %	28
tigre_AR_01uk	0	0,00 %	3	100,00 %	3
vicente_lopez_AR_02gk	54	98,18 %	1	1,82 %	55
vicente_lopez_AR_03gk	15	100 %	0	0,00 %	15
Total	468	88,3 %	62	11,70 %	530

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Language's role in Norwegian heritage identity: Survey results from Norwegian heritage communities in North America

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Heritage languages and the symbolic relationships that communities and individuals have to them after the point of language shift have been investigated with *postvernacularity* (Shandler 2006) as a central theoretical point, especially at previous WILA conferences (see Brown & Hietpas 2019; Rocker 2021; Vanhecke & Hietpas 2021; Fisher 2021; Moquin & Wolf 2023). This study provides an analysis of heritage language and identity within Norwegian heritage populations across North America but is not limited to post-shift symbolic relationships to Norwegian. This study also reconsiders what constitutes *practical* value of a heritage language and offers a focused dataset from Norwegian Americans with ties to geographic areas settled by Norwegian immigrants.

In 2022, I developed, published, and distributed a research survey called "Linguistic and Cultural Identity among North Americans with Norwegian Heritage", adapted from a series of similar surveys built from collaborative efforts between researchers within the WILA network. I further reworked the present survey to include new questions and to meet new research goals, including the development of a *rootedness* scale adapted from Reed (2016, 2018) to gauge how closely connected respondents' sense of Norwegian heritage identity is intertwined with the place in which they grew up, or currently live.

The survey was available for completion in two online formats—one through the survey software Qualtrics and one through Google Docs. The survey has 50 questions, many of which are open-ended to allow for detailed individual responses. The objective was to understand how Norwegian Americans feel connected to Norwegian language and culture, and how these contribute to feelings of heritage and regional identity. This survey has accumulated 632 responses across North America. This paper focuses on a subset of respondents (297/632); those who currently live, or have previously lived, in a geographical area historically settled by Norwegian immigrants, but offer some points of comparison with the entire survey dataset. Although the survey data includes detailed responses on a variety of points of connection to heritage identity (e.g., cultural traditions, cultural artifacts, etc.), this study focuses specifically on how respondents expressed connection to the Norwegian language.

Preliminary analysis indicates that at least 70% of respondents in this community-oriented subset find the Norwegian language to be meaningful, or to have symbolic value (Table 1). Themes of symbolic importance include feeling close to relatives and ancestors, viewing the language as an essential element of heritage, culture, or personal history, and sentimental memories and emotions associated with hearing the language itself. In terms of usefulness, at least 54% of respondents report that they find the Norwegian language is of practical value (Table 2). With only 15% of respondents reporting "Fluent", "Near Fluent" or "Fair" Norwegian language skills (all others reporting either "Limited" or "Non-Existent"), the sense of practical value seems to extend beyond the language's use for communication. Respondents name alternative practical applications for knowledge including genealogical research, travel, professional applications, translation, awareness of community history, keeping up with current affairs in Norway, accessing recipes—among many others.

Table 1. *Is the Norwegian language meaningful to you or anyone close to you, that is, does it have symbolic value?*

Answer	Percentage	Count
Yes	70%	188
No	18%	48
Unrelated answer	12%	34

Table 2. *Is the Norwegian language useful to you or anyone close to you, that is, does it have practical value?*

Answer	Percentage	Count
Yes	54%	153
No	33%	95
Unrelated answer	13%	37

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Grammatical gender in New Denmark Danish (New Brunswick, Canada)

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An often raised claim in studies of language contact and heritage languages that have grammatical gender is that gender is particularly vulnerable, e.g., Polinsky (2018: 206): "The main errors in heritage speakers' production are observed in agreement in gender" (also Montrul 2012: 174).

This paper investigates gender marking in Danish spoken by immigrants in New Denmark (ND, New Brunswick, Canada; Kühl 2019). The data come from the Corpus of Canadian Danish, which consists of 104,288 word tokens (Kühl et al. 2019). The dataset includes interview speech of 39 speakers from ND, spanning from immigration speakers (1st generation) to third generation heritage speakers (4th generation). The dataset includes a total 2,242 examples of common and neuter gender marking, on the definite suffix (1), the indefinite article (2), the demonstrative pronoun (3), and the possessive pronoun (4).

		Common	Neuter
(1)	Definite suffix	*katt-en* 'the cat'	*hus-et* 'the house'
(2)	Indefinite article	*en kat* 'a cat'	*et hus* 'a house'
(3)	Demonstrative pronoun	*den kat* 'that cat'	*det hus* 'that house'
(4)	Possessive pronoun	*min kat* 'my cat'	*mit hus* 'my house'

Out of 2,424 examples, only 47 (1,9%) deviate from expected Standard Danish (SD) gender marking, as in (1)-(4). The definite suffix shows least deviation with only 2 examples out of 871 (0.2%) that do not follow the SD pattern. This questions a general assumption of gender marking as particularly vulnerable.

In the paper we will discuss the statistical methods used in describing the variation between what from a SD perspective is expected, like in (2)-(4), and unexpected gender marking, e.g., en hus, in the remaining 1,553 examples. At first sight, both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors contribute to the variation: (a) neuter nouns in SD are more likely to get unexpected gender marking than common gender nouns; (b) complex NPs (min røde hus 'my red house') have more unexpected gender marking than simple NPs; (c) women have less unexpected gender marking than men.

However, the solidity of these observations is questioned by the facts that only 24 out of 270 lemmas and only 19 of 39 speakers show variation between expected and unexpected gender marking. These observations have two consequences. First, they suggest that lemma and individual speaker must be considered when studying changes in grammatical gender marking. Second, from a sound statistical principle of measuring "the envelope of variation" (Tagliamonte 2011), i.e., the speakers and lemmas which vary, not the ones which are stable, we should establish smaller data subsets. One such subset would include only the lemmas that do show variation and another subset only those speakers who once or more assign unexpected gender to a noun. This forces the study to be conducted along parallel lines, each of which gives slightly different results.

The paper will take the audience through this stepwise methodological process of investigating a variable with only a small amount of variation. It will give special emphasis on the results from the different lines of investigation that comply with other studies, e.g., the relevance complex NPs, and on the results that are surprising in light of previous research, e.g., the fact that generation never appears as a significant factor, no matter which of the exploratory lines are followed.

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Aspect realization in heritage Greek, Russian and Turkish

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Greek, Russian and Turkish (GRT) mark grammatical aspect (perfective and imperfective) in different ways, viz. by suppletion and affixation [1]. Whereas imperfective forms are unmarked in Greek and Russian, perfective forms are unmarked in Turkish. Additionally, heritage varieties of GRT are claimed to show interesting dynamics in terms of aspectual formation and use, including increased use of periphrasis and a decrease of morphologically complex synthetic forms [2, 3, 4, 5]. Our study investigates aspect use in heritage GRT in the US from the perspective of the reorganization of the linguistic repertoire. Based on previous research on aspect use in GRT, we formulated the following research questions and hypotheses:

- RQ1: Do heritage and monolingual speakers of GRT align in their use of aspect?

– H1: We expect heritage speakers to opt for the unmarked forms more frequently compared to monolinguals. Thus, we predict an increase of imperfective forms in heritage Greek and Russian, but not in Turkish.

- RQ2: How do formality and mode variation affect the frequency of perfective and imperfective aspect forms in the narration tasks across GRT?

– H2: There are no previous accounts of formality and mode effects on aspect use. However, as [6] points out, using the imperfective can be used as a stylistic mean in narratives (i.a., praesens historicum). This creates immediacy and might be used as an element of informal and spoken narratives more than in formal and written narratives.

To answer these questions we used ecologically valid semi-spontaneous data elicited in two different levels of formality (formal vs. informal) and mode (spoken vs. written) following the Language Situations method [7]. In our analysis, we applied three binomial GLMMs on the high scaled data (ca. 24,000 observations) produced by 548 participants in total. Specifically, we modulated the speakers' choice of perfective vs. imperfective aspect forms with the independent variables country of elicitation, language, mode, formality. The slope was specified by speaker, to account for the in-group-variance.

Regarding RQ1, heritage and monolingual speakers align in their overall use of aspect: The use of the perfective aspect forms is much higher than the imperfective ones, which provides support for the results of the previous studies on narration tasks. Contrary to H1, the results showed that perfective forms are used significantly more by HSs of Greek and Russian in the US meaning that the marked form is preferred. Given non-significance, we cannot make inferences about heritage and monolingual speakers of Turkish. Moreover, we confirm H2 in finding significant effects of formality and mode were observed in the Russian data, while effects of mode were observed in Turkish data only. No effects for Greek are observed as aspect is one of the core features of grammar and it isn't influenced by extra-linguistic factors.

Our contribution provides cross-linguistically comparable data and motivates discussions about novel perspectives in this unexplored field. The study offers a comparative approach of different groups of GRT heritage speakers regarding the realization of grammatical aspect.
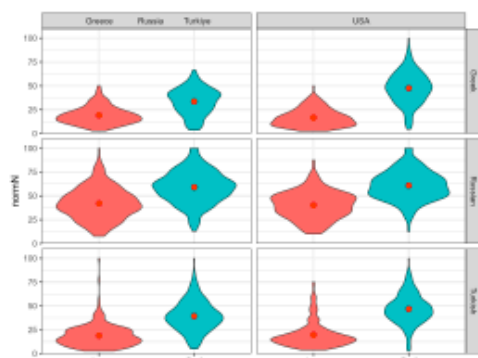
Figure 1: Distribution of the normalized number of use of aspectual categories per group. Red dot represents the mean.

	Greek	Russian	Turkish
USA	0.43 (0.08)***	0.11 (0.04)*	ns
Homeland	-0.30 (0.07)***	ns	ns
Formality - formal	ns	0.07 (0.02)***	ns
Mode - spoken	ns	-0.14 (0.02)***	-0.11 (0.02)***

Note: ns=not significant; *=p<0.05; ***=p<0.001
Each cell reports the mean estimate as well as the standard deviation in brackets.
Negative estimate: more imperfective
Positive estimate: more perfective

Table 1: Regression table for three models investigating aspect use.

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Problematizing 'language dominance' in historical immigrant communities

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Definitions of heritage languages (HLs) often assume some notion of 'dominance', like Rothman's (2009:156) definition of an HL as a language that "is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society". Much research treats and often defines various kinds of 'dominance', from psycholinguistic to social and political dominance, and how these connect to issues of identity and race (e.g., Aalberse et al. 2019, Montrul 2015, others). Little if any work, though, addresses how these fit together. Drawing on historical US data, this presentation takes an initial step toward this, starting from the question of who has how much exposure to what linguistic varieties and assuming, with Wiese et al. 2022, that these bilinguals are native speakers of both their languages.

Consider two ends of a spectrum. First, in some communities, English was not widely known as late as the 1910 Census. In French-speaking Vermilion Parish, Louisiana, Ward 4 shows under 10% of respondents reporting knowledge of English over the first 14 pages of records (over 500 people). Spanish shows similar percentages in Mercedes, Hidalgo County, Texas, District 0063. For most individuals in these communities French and Spanish were dominant in most senses, but extra-community forces already complicated that, where the ideologies of the broader society were already invested in English dominance, something enforced legally in the same era, e.g., with the legal requirement of English schooling in Louisiana beginning in 1921 (CODOFIL).

Second, even where English was widely known and verticalization was advancing, much evidence indicates that it was thoroughly possible to participate broadly in community life without knowing English, as with German in Wisconsin (Wilkerson and Salmons 2008, Salmons 2022). Even where knowledge of English was almost universal, like in many Norwegian-American communities, children and adults were exposed to a range of styles, registers, regional and other variation what a monolingual speaker would be exposed to (Salmons in review). That is, while English was in many senses dominant in an area and widely known, many individuals were surely dominant in their HLs. This finally erodes only with the final generation of speakers, who acquire their HLs at home and moved into an overwhelmingly English-dominant world beyond the home and who eventually become primarily English speaking.

The various senses of dominance are relevant, but problematic; a focus on what learners were and were not exposed to can provide a nexus for connecting them. Millions of Americans lived for generations in worlds where their community languages were the main or exclusive language of the home and neighborhood but also vehicles for education, media, religion and even government. When English came in, it often took generations for it to become central, sometimes first in community-external ideologies and policies, and often finally in the psycholinguistic profile of last-generation speakers. If this abstract is accepted, a group of people may propose a panel for WILA15, including how to incorporate these findings into a verticalization model (Brown 2022).

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Slavic-English Lexical Hybridization in North American Immigrant Communities

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The present paper reports on unfolding research project devoted to lexical hybridization among North American Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) – English bilinguals. As rightly noted by Polinsky (2018), the lexicon remains largely disregarded field of study in heritage language research. The present research aims at making a modest contribution to filling this conspicuous gap, looking into the issue of hybridization, i.e., using in the immigrant setting English lexical borrowings that are not common in the target countries of this language (the phenomenon other authors, such as Schmid and Jarvis, 2014, call first language attrition). The first step in this project was an initial survey of BCS speakers in four US metropolitan areas (reported in Šipka 2017). The next step was analysis of the list of lexical borrowings from English, collected among BCS heritage speakers in Canada by Surdučki (1978), using theoretical underpining layed out in Šipka (2019). The analysis of this list of 3805 words has revealed the following distribution of English lexical borrowings used by heritage speakers that are were used in the target country at the time:

Category	Number	Percent
New concept	2044	54%
Legal and labor relations	788	21%
Idioms	144	4%
Other	829	22%
Total	3805	100%

As can be seen, hybridization most commonly happens when a concept is previously unknown to heritage speakers, but there is also a sizeable group of borrowings related to their legal and professional functioning. To see if these finding will hold true in a repeated research with different respondents and fifty years after the original research, I have developed a structured interview where the first three prompts are supposed to elicit responses about the fields where one would encounter new concepts as well as concepts related to legal and labor issues, while three other pertain to the fields where one is likely to encounter less of those concepts. The questions are as follows

1. Describe your current job
2. Describe how did you get that job
3. What was the procedure like when you purchased/rented your current home/condo?
4. What do you like to do at your free time?
5. What kind of food do you usually eat, what do you like and dislike to eat and drink and why?
6. How do you spend your vacation, what do you do then?

If this research, which has IRB approval and which is schedule to be completed during 2024 with 50-100 respondents shows that there are significantly more English lexical borrowings in the narratives elicited by prompts 1-3 than by prompts 4-6, the hypotheses about new concepts as well as the legal and labor sphere (as opposed to the home and personal sphere) will be confirmed.

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Task effects in an oral production study of Heritage Norwegian

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Previous research on effects of task modality in heritage language research has to a large extent focused on how heritage language speakers (HLSs) perform across various task modalities (oral vs. written, reception vs. production, online vs. offline) compared to second language speakers and monolingually raised speakers (e.g., Montrul, 2008; Montrul, Foote and Perpiñán, 2008; Iranzo, 2022; Romano, 2022). This paper raises related, yet different questions regarding task effects. To what degree does the modality of a task, specifically, the level of metalinguistic awareness, influence oral production? To what degree can elicited data supplement spontaneous speech data in research on small populations of speakers?

I review novel data from ongoing research on grammatical gender in HL Norwegian spoken by adult 2nd–3rd-generation Norwegian speakers in Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador. By comparing preliminary results from two contexts of oral production, a semi-structured interview and a picture-aided elicitation task, I look for possible effects of increased metalinguistic awareness in the production of indefinite articles and definite singular suffixes across seven speakers of Latin-American Norwegian. The data presented is a subset of data from recorded interviews carried out during fieldwork in Argentina (2021 and 2022) and from virtual interviews (2021).

Studying a moribund heritage variety primarily spoken by elderly people with low literacy in Norwegian poses certain challenges in data collection. Speakers are scarce, and many are reluctant to participate in linguistic experiments. In the current project, picture-aided elicitation tasks have been used to supply the interview data with phrases containing relevant gender information. While the interview data itself may be unsuited for quantitative analyses, ascertaining that the elicited data converges with the spontaneous speech data allows a joint analysis of all the phrases produced by each speaker, enabling quantitative analyses even on smaller groups of speakers. As the informants were not corrected when using other nouns or phrase types than the target, the data can be said to be elicited, however not strictly experimental. In this way, it has been possible to collect extensive targeted data while simultaneously lowering the cost of participation.

Figures 1 and 2 present the distribution of indefinite articles and definite singular suffixes produced by one speaker across the two different contexts. Looking at the realisations of indefinite articles for each expected gender (Figure 1), we observe a near-complete two-gender system with masculine forms for expected feminines and masculines, and neuter forms for expected neuters in both the interview data and in the elicited. Similarly, the graphs in Figure 2 mainly converge and display a two-gender system with occasional elements of the feminine suffix across both tasks, indicating that effects of task design and level of metalinguistic awareness is minimal or not present for this speaker.

In this paper, I present corresponding data from six additional adult speakers of LatAmNo. Although some variation can be observed, the results generally pattern with those presented in Figures 1 and 2, indicating that in this particular study, task effects are minimal. Observations like these highlight the advantages of taking a flexible and informal approach when dealing with small populations of elderly heritage speakers.
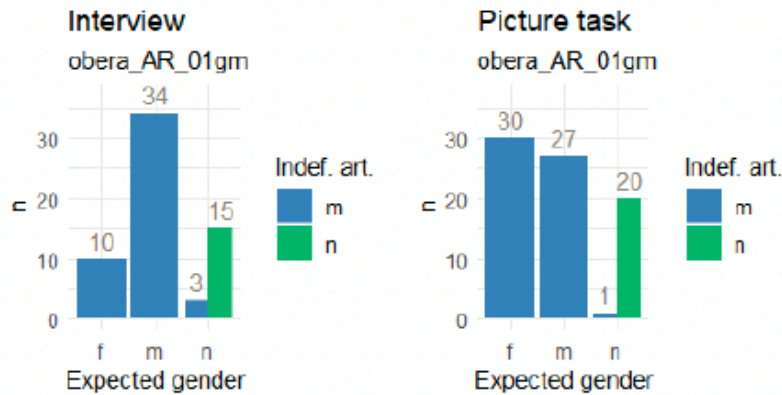
Figure 1: Distribution of indefinite articles by expected gender of noun, produced by one speaker across two speech contexts
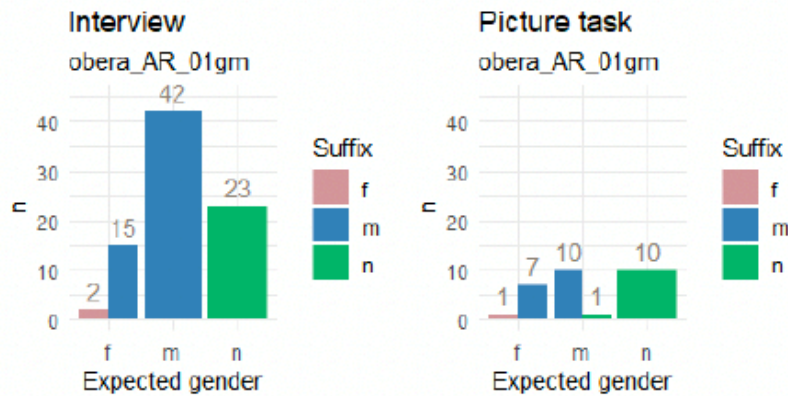

Figure 2: Distribution of singular definite suffixes by expected gender of noun, produced by one speaker across two speech contexts

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Embedded V2 in Norwegian Heritage Language

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There have been several studies investigating V2 word order in main clauses in the moribund variety of Norwegian spoken by descendants of Norwegian immigrants in North America (Eide, 2015; Westergaard et al., 2021). In contrast, relatively little is known about verb placement in embedded clauses in the same population. Investigating the data of only a few speakers, Johannessen & Larsson (2015), found certain examples of embedded V2 in structures where it is not accepted in non-heritage Norwegian. Studies on German varieties in North America have found mixed results (Hopp & Putnam, 2015; Stolberg, 2015). The current study aims to fill this gap by considering verb placement in the embedded structures produced by speakers in the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (Johannessen 2015).

Norwegian is traditionally considered an asymmetric V2 language, with V2 word order in main (1-2) but not embedded clauses (3-4). English, on the other hand, has non-V2 in both main and embedded clauses, but there is an asymmetry between lexical and auxiliary verbs, as shown in the translations of (1)-(3) vs. (2)-(4).

1) *Han **spiser aldri** kake*
   he eats never cake
   He never eats cake.
2) *Han **har aldri** spist kake*
   he has never eaten cake
3) *Hun sa [at han **aldri spiser** kake]*
   she said that he never eats cake
4) *Hun sa [at han **aldri har** spist kake]*
   she said that he never has eaten cake
   She said that he has never eaten cake.

Norwegian also allows V2 word order in some embedded structures, but generally only in asserted clauses (Bentzen, 2017; Ringstad, 2019), as illustrated by a comparison between (5)-(6) and the relative clauses in (7)-(8).

5) *Hun sa [at han **spiser aldri** kake]*
   she said that he eats never cake
6) *Hun sa [at han **har aldri** spist kake]*
   she said that he has never eaten cake
7) **Hun så mannen [som **spiser aldri** kake]*
   she saw the man who eats never cake
8) **Hun så mannen [som **har aldri** spist kake]*
   she saw the man who has never eaten cake

Our RQs are: 1) Do heritage speakers produce more embedded V2 than non-heritage speakers (i.e., like L1 Norwegian children; cf. Ringstad & Kush, 2021)?, 2) If so, does this affect both asserted as well as non-asserted contexts?, 3) Does this affect auxiliaries more than lexical verbs?, and 4) Is this related to proficiency?

Our investigation of 50 speakers in CANS reveals that the heritage speakers produce a significantly larger proportion of embedded V2 compared to non-heritage Norwegian speakers, both in asserted clauses (i.e., V2 contexts, approx. 70%) and in non-asserted clauses (i.e., non-V2 contexts, e.g., approx. 50% in relative clauses); see Tables 1-2. They also produce more embedded V2 with auxiliaries. Furthermore, speakers who produce more embedded V2 seem to have a lower proficiency in the heritage language. We discuss these findings in terms of the following concepts: language-internal drift towards a symmetric system, incomplete/differential acquisition, crosslinguistic influence from English, and co-activation of both languages in processing.

Table 1

Results: V2 contexts
- 72 sentences
- 27 speakers
- 67 sentences with V2 (85%)

Verb types (V2%)
- Auxiliaries: 24/27 (89%)
- Copula 14/17 (82%)
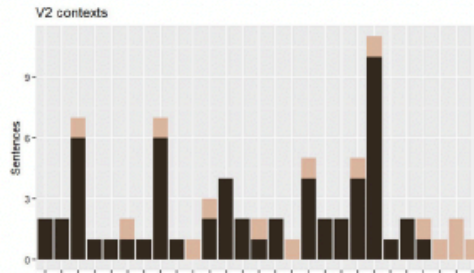- Lexical verbs 23/27 (85%)
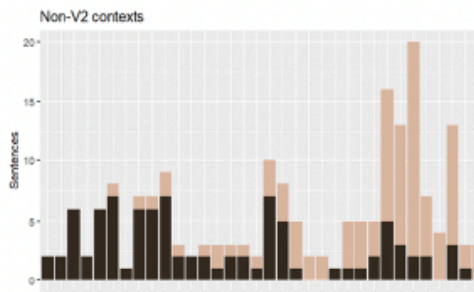➤ No difference between verb types

Table 2

Results: Non-V2 contexts
- 192 sentences
- 34 speakers
- **94 sentences with V2 (49%)**

Verb types
- Auxiliaries: 36/53 V2 (68%)
- Copula: 24/82 V2 (62%)
- Lexical verbs: 24/82 V2 (29%)
➤ A much stronger tendency for V2 with auxiliaries and copula: CLI?

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