

Korean Heritage Speakers in Early Childhood: Code Mixing Structure and Content

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The investigation of code mixing reveals a wealth of information about what heritage speakers know: when two languages are structurally divergent, the use of both languages in a single utterance can reveal much about the speakers' grammatical knowledge. For young heritage speakers who are still in the process of acquiring their languages, code mixing gives us an insight into how children originate new strategies that do not exist in either language to negotiate the structural differences within one utterance. Investigating code mixing is also crucial because of how it is perceived in education, where children who code mix are sometimes seen as deficient, confused, or disfluent by clinicians (Valadez *et al.*, 2000), teachers (Berthele, 2012; Lacorte & Canabal, 2005; Li, 2008), and heritage language teachers themselves (Lee, 2023). To combat these harmful views of code mixing, it is crucial to shed light on what code mixing is, how it is used, and why young heritage speakers use it.

Four US-born Korean heritage speakers ages 3-7 were investigated longitudinally in naturalistic play interactions. The research questions are as follows: (1) how do children negotiate word order when intrasententially mixing two languages with differing canonical word orders (2) what word categories and phrase types are most likely to be code-mixed in children's utterances, and (3) what contexts trigger code-mixing in Korean heritage children? The children were observed for 2.5 years in monthly data collection sessions in their homes as they interacted separately with their mother in Korean and with a researcher in English.

Results revealed the following notable trends in children's codemixing structure. First, virtually no mixing was observed in the English sessions, while their Korean sessions with their mother contained an ample amount of English mixing. Secondly, of the 906 utterances containing both Korean and English, 879 utterances (97.0%) followed Korean (S)(O)V word order. Furthermore, code mixed utterances were largely the result of single word nouns (63% overall). Single word verbs and utterances that begin with English and end with Korean verb phrase were also frequent types of code-mixed utterances.

Investigation of the reason for mixing also revealed that children were more likely to use English for vocabulary that one would encounter in English such as school vocabulary animal names for more exotic animals and specific verbs with narrow meanings. Additionally, the switch to English when speaking to the mother was used (a) in order to soften the severity of a language function that be taken as a sign of disrespect, (b) when the interlocutor or overhearer had a preference for English, and (c) when utterances were directed at no one in particular (e.g., exclamations, self-talk).

Taken together, these findings point to important implications: instead of revealing gaps in their knowledge, the study of mixing showed Korean heritage children have extensive and productive knowledge of Korean syntax and morphology. Secondly, the study showed that there are specific and valid triggers for code mixing and code switching that show the astute nature of children and their keen awareness of communicative strategies.

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Non-standard subject pronoun omission in Argentine Danish

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Based on a dataset of naturalistic speech containing approx. 100 speakers (770,000 word tokens), the paper examines a non-standard increase of pronominal null subjects in Heritage Danish in Argentina. Argentine Danish represents contact between Spanish as a consistent null subject-language and Danish as a Germanic language that in most cases requires the expression of subject pronouns. The small proportion of non-standard variation (n= 50) shows that these heritage speakers in general are able to cope with the task of matching syntactic and discourse information when establishing and maintaining referential expressions. Interestingly, however, the non-standard omission of subject pronouns in Argentine Danish matches findings from other Germanic heritage language in Latin America, i.e., Misiones German (Putnam & Lipski 2016) and Misiones Swedish (Flodell 1986). The occurrence of non-standard null morphological elements in these heritage languages does not conform to the idea that heritage speakers have a ‘*silent problem*’, i.e. find it challenging to produce and understand null morphological elements (Laleko & Polinsky 2017; for an overview of similar findings, see Polinsky & Scontras 2020a: 10-11).

The talk will relate the non-standard omission of subject pronouns to sociodemographic characteristics of the Argentine Danish speaker groups as well as linguistic parameters, concluding that the cause of variation is most likely cross-linguistic influence and contact-induced expansion of existing syntactic patterns.

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Vowel Merger in Pennsylvania Dutch Definite Articles

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Introduction: Though the loss of case marking in modern varieties of Pennsylvania Dutch is well-documented (see e.g., Huffines 1989), the status of grammatical gender and number marking have received virtually no attention in recent linguistic investigations. This current work is based on preliminary evidence that the very short and highly similar lax vowels in the Pennsylvania Dutch definite articles *der* ([də]; masculine) and *die* ([di]; feminine/plural) are in the process of merging. Such a development is not surprising if one considers the parallel developments that have taken place in various closely related Germanic languages (e.g., Swedish and Danish; Lohndal & Westergaard 2016). I thus raise the following questions:

- (1) Are the definite articles *der* and *die* measurably distinguishable in modern Pennsylvania Dutch spoken in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania?
- (2) Do the Amish and Mennonites of Lancaster differ in the degree to which their article vowels are measurably distinguishable?

Methods: The data analyzed here come from forty-five native Pennsylvania Dutch speakers (28 Old Order Amish and 17 Old Order Mennonites) from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Each speaker completed a translation task which consisted of 96 noun phrases that included 32 definite prompts. Thirty-two nouns were chosen for these noun phrases including eight from each gender and eight plural nouns. Thus, each participant should have produced eight *der* articles and sixteen *die* articles (feminine and plural) in addition to eight neuter *es* articles for these thirty-two noun phrases. Instead of simply judging impressionistically which article was produced since this introduces researcher bias for the highly similar *der* and *die*, I made acoustic measurements (F1, F2, F3, and vowel duration) using Praat. Given that these vowels can be distinguished on this basis in previous studies (see e.g., Pätzold & Simpson 1997), I assume that these measurements are valid.

Results: All forty-five participants' responses have not yet been transcribed. However, a preliminary analysis of six Amish and six Mennonite participants' elicited *der* and *die* articles (some of which were also produced modifying neuter nouns) reveals that there is some overlap between the two articles in both groups (see Figures 1 and 2). This overlap is greater among the Amish than among the Mennonites. Based on Pätzold & Simpson's (1997) acoustic measurements and the vowel trapezoid, *die* [i] should have lower F1 values and higher F2 values than *der* [ə]. F2 is higher for *die* than for *der* in both groups, but F1 is around the same across all four gender/number groups for the Amish and just a bit more differentiated for the Mennonites (*die* values are a bit lower than *der* values; see Table 1).

Conclusions: The overlap shown in Figures 1 and 2 suggests that a merger between the vowels in *der* and *die* is taking place in Pennsylvania Dutch but that this merger is further advanced among the Amish. This merger will have cascading effects on the gender and number morphology of

Pennsylvania Dutch. If gender can no longer be acquired via the definite articles, that leaves only the adjectives and pronouns on which gender is marked and preliminary evidence shows that those too are undergoing change. Though this kind of syncretism is not untypical in the history of Germanic, the fact that the Amish use English more than the Mennonites do suggests that English is playing at least a reinforcing role in these developments.

Figure 1: F1 and F2 values of Amish produced definite article vowels

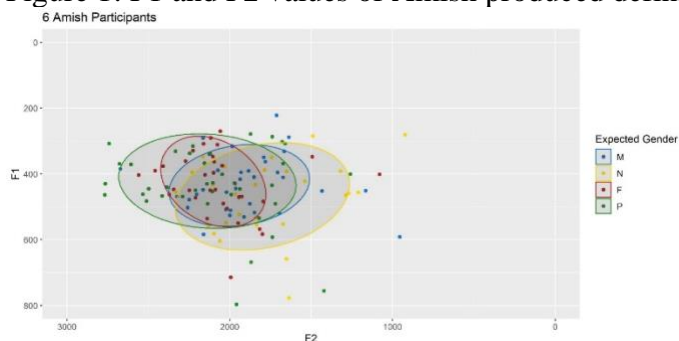


Figure 2: F1 and F2 values of Mennonite produced definite article vowels

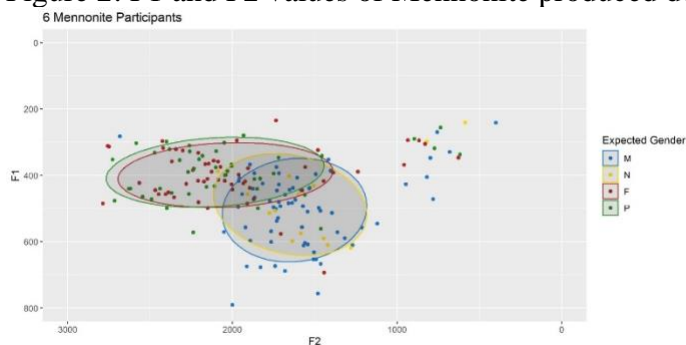


Table 1: F1 and F2 means for Amish and Mennonite definite article vowels

	Amish Participants		Mennonite Participants	
	Mean F1	Mean F2	Mean F1	Mean F2
Masculine	449.55	1887.69	500.58	1578.07
Neuter	469.82	1768.49	468.25	1558.13
Feminine	444.17	2036.12	408.28	1953.43
Plural	448.68	2078.77	390.61	2050.97

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Integration in the mental lexicon: English verbal roots in Pennsylvania Dutch participles

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Introduction. Borrowing is conceptualized as a process rather than a state that occurs when bilinguals reproduce a pattern of one language in another. Haugen's (1950) claim that borrowing occurs without the lender's consent or even awareness leads to inquiries of the coexistence and interaction of a bilingual's two languages within the mental lexicon. The bilingual mental lexicon has, due to extensive research and supporting experimental evidence (e.g., Hartsuiker et al., 2004; Dijkstra & van Heuven, 2002; Libben & Goral, 2015), been widely accepted as integrated, meaning that the items stored in the lexicon are not directly associated with a specific language, but are stored together in an integrated space. The viability of this theorized architecture in cases of bilingualism, where language borrowing occurs from one language into another, remains an open question. Pennsylvania Dutch, with its ample borrowings from English, and the status of its speakers as proficient bilinguals of the two languages, offers a valuable lens through which questions of integration of borrowed units as well as the lexicon as a whole, can be explored. In this presentation, we focus on the borrowings of English verbs into Pennsylvania Dutch, specifically the variety spoken in Holmes County, Ohio, and the way in which they are inflected in the participle form. Pennsylvania Dutch speakers' exhibited preference for a particular participle inflection over the other allows us not only document the contemporary subdialect but also investigate whether the perceived integration of a borrowed verbal root influences the choice in participle allomorph.

Empirical Focus. Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) is a North American language with over 300,000 speakers that developed from southeastern Palatine German. Due to PD's constant contact with American English (AE) over the past 240 years, there has been a noticeable increase in lexical borrowing of AE verbs into the PD lexicon (Louden, 2019). Primarily, PD participles of AE-borrowed verbs consist of the AE-borrowed verb stem combined with the weak PD participle circumfix *g(e)-/-t* (e.g., *peende/gepeendt* 'to paint/painted'; *schpelle/gschpellt* 'to spell/spelled'), but there also exist a few borrowed verbs documented in Beam's extensive documentation of PD (2004-2011) that instead receive the strong *g(e)-/-e* allomorph (*weare/gwore* 'to wear/wore', *tredde/gedredde* 'to tread/trodden'). Intriguingly, although not formally documented to our knowledge, there also exist 'bare' participles such as *avoid* and *decide* that are not inflected in either the PD or AE fashion. We posit that these bare participles are the result of a verbal root that has been only partially integrated into the PD lexicon. This talk explores the participial allomorph preference when the verbal root is borrowed. It takes a first step in documenting this preference on a dialectal basis by focusing on the preference of speakers of the Holmes County, Ohio dialect of PD. Specifically, the study asks 1) what is the participial allomorph preference in borrowing situations? and 2) to what extent does the perceived integration of a borrowed root influence the selection of allomorph?

Methods. Data collection and fieldwork will take place in the summer of 2024 with analysis immediately following. Participants will take part in two experimental tasks – one that elicits a metacognitive judgment and one that elicits production. In the former, participants will judge a nonce PD participle as acceptable across a 5-point scale. The target stimuli will consist of a nonce AE-like verb stem (e.g., *plim*, *spack*) with one of the expected PD participle allomorphs – *g(e)-/-*

e, g(e)-/-t, -e, -t as well as a zero (covert) allomorph that results in a ‘bare’ participle (e.g., Ich mei Freind un Familie. Ich hab mei Freind un Familie .) In the latter task, participants will produce the past tense version of a present tense sentence, prompting their creation of a Pennsylvania Dutch participle. The sentence will be presented auditorily in PD and the target stimuli will be real AE verbs varying in their status of integration in the PD lexicon. The results of these tasks will reveal the speakers’ preferences for weak vs. strong exponency, as well as overt vs. bare exponency. Additionally, these findings will providing insight into how integration of a borrowing into the mental lexicon influences allomorph selection.

Conclusion. An investigation of Pennsylvania Dutch participles offers a valuable empirical lens through which the proposal of an integrated mental lexicon of the bilingual speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch could be explored. Similarly, the findings of this investigation would contribute to the documentation of bilingual grammars in language contact situations in the United States.

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Norwegian-American Immigrant Letters, Language Attitudes, and Language Shift

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Throughout the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, many Norwegians immigrated to North America. Whether immediately or over time, some Norwegian-American immigrants learned English and became bilingual. Eventually many shifted to being monolingual English speakers. During the period marked by transitions from Norwegian monolingualism to bilingualism to English monolingualism, different immigrants may have held a variety of beliefs and opinions regarding language and language use. With the verticalization model of language shift (Brown and Salmons 2022)—as well as prior research on language attitudes and ideologies in the Norwegian-

American immigrant press (e.g., Moquin 2019)—in mind, this paper examines Norwegian-American immigrant letters collected in Orm Øverland's *From America to Norway: Norwegian-American Immigrant Letters, 1838-1914* (2012-2018) to explore the language attitudes of Norwegian-American immigrants who are not (heavily) involved in the Norwegian-American immigrant press and literature.

Letters provide a valuable glimpse into how individuals view themselves and their surroundings. Thus, analysis of Norwegian-American immigrant letters helps with investigating the relationships between language attitudes, ethnic identity, and language shift in those Norwegian-American communities. However, devoid of context, letters are potentially fickle sources of information. Therefore, the study of immigrant letters demands supplemental knowledge of the historical circumstances in which the letter-writers lived through. Hence this paper's use of prior research on the Norwegian-American immigrant press (Moquin 2019), which serves the double purpose of clarifying the immigrant's living context generally as well as surveying what language attitudes were prominent in the immigrant communities.

In regard to language shift, the verticalization model of language shift (Brown and Salmons 2022) provides an explanation for the trend towards English monolingualism in Norwegian-American communities. Overly brief, the model suggests that the transition to English monolingualism is induced by the shift from horizontal community structures to vertical community structures, in which control of community functions are transferred to outside actors, such as state and/or federal government. The language attitudes of Norwegian-Americans letter writers (or dictators) at times express beliefs or opinions about community structures and language shift itself, providing insight into how language attitudes connect to community structures and language shift.

The letters analyzed for this paper that contain content related to language and language use largely fall into three categories: letters that talk about language in the course of giving advice to would-be immigrants, letters that discuss language in relation to community institutions, and letters that handle language and identity. Some letters describe language as a hurdle in immigration, but solutions presented in letters range from joining pre-existing (Norwegian) monolingual Norwegian-American immigrant communities to learning English as quickly as possible to open up more economic opportunities for immigrants. Letters also comment on the language shift associated with state-owned schools requiring the learning of English in addition to the language maintenance associated with parochial schools. Finally, other letters establish a connection between language and identity, although especially in the context of the two written standards of Norwegian developed in Norway. Altogether, these letters reveal the language attitudes of ordinary Norwegian-American immigrants in regard to community structures, identity, and language shift.

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Stable or unstable determiners: proprial articles in North American Norwegian

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While proper names in standard written Norwegian occur without any articles (as in English), many spoken dialects have so-called proprial (or preproprial) articles (PA). In these dialects, proper name arguments are preceded by an unstressed article that in form looks like a pronoun: n

Olav, ho/a Tina (Faarlund et al. 1997: 84-85; Julien 2005; Johannessen & Garbacz 2014). The PA is unstressed, obligatory, and does not contribute semantic meaning, which distinguishes it from the psychologically distal demonstrative (Johannessen 2008). Apart from an area in the South, most Norwegian dialects have PAs (Johannessen & Garbacz 2014), including the dialects of the ancestors of present-day North American Norwegian (NAMNo) speakers. In syntax, the PA takes the position of determiners, i.e. D0 (Julien 2005). Contrary to claims about the stability of determiners in heritage languages (Polinsky 2018), studies on definiteness in NAMNo have shown that the definite determiner in D0 is vulnerable for omission in double definite constructions where it is combined with a definite noun (Van Baal 2020, 2024). This raises the question of whether the PA – which is combined with a semantically definite proper name – is equally vulnerable for omission. In this talk, we aim to answer this question based on (semi-) spontaneous speech data in the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS; Johannessen 2015). Proper names are anonymized in the corpus transcriptions (although not in the audio files) and replaced by ‘M’ (male names) or ‘F’ (female) plus a number. For this study, the corpus was searched for M- and F-proper names produced by 14 NAMNo speakers who participated in Van Baal (2020)’s study on double definiteness. Contexts where the PA is not allowed (vocatives, predicates) or where the participant spoke English were excluded. Remaining tokens were categorized according to whether a PA was present, or not.

The results show that the PA is generally produced with high frequency. On group level, 73.9% (261/353) of the names were combined with a proprial article, a strong contrast to the 25.9% double definiteness in Van Baal (2020). All speakers use the PA more frequently than they use the determiner in double definite phrases. Ten speakers used the PA more than 50% of the time. Two speakers do not use the PA: one of them has a dialect background where the PA is not expected, and the other produces only two proper names. It is furthermore interesting to note that many cases without the PA (35/98, 35.7%) contain a full name (first and last name). It seems that homeland dialects vary with respect to the use of PA with all names or first names only (Johannessen 2008: 170). The results indicate that not all determiners are equally vulnerable to omission in NAMNo: the PA is much more stable in use than the determiner in double definite phrases. Van Baal (2020) discusses various factors that make the determiner potentially vulnerable in a heritage language context: it is prosodically non-salient, syntactically complex, and has a low frequency. While the PA also has the first two properties, proper names are more frequent than modified definite phrases. This is especially the case for spoken language, which is the input NAMNo speakers receive. The study contributes to our understanding of stability (or vulnerability) of various determiner-like elements in heritage languages, and the factors that play a role in maintenance or loss of these elements.

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Modal verbs in North American Icelandic

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Modal verbs are typically divided into two main classes: epistemic and root modals. Epistemic modals express necessity or possibility relative to some state of knowledge or belief, but root modals convey modal forces such as permission and obligation, relative to some normative system (Wurmbrand 1999, p. 599). Given their polysemy, modal verbs constitute an optimal subject for research within the domain of heritage languages as modal verbs are usually polysemic and heritage speakers are inclined to replicate polysemy patterns from one language to another (Moro, 2015, p. 271). Moreover, scholars tend to agree that modality is more susceptible to change than for instance tense or aspect, particularly where there is language contact (see e.g. Matras, 2007, 2011), making modal expressions vulnerable in heritage languages.

Speakers of North American Icelandic (NAMIce) grew up in an English dominant environment, developing simultaneous or consecutive bilingual proficiency. Although the modal system of Icelandic and English exhibit considerable parallels, certain distinctions exist that may give rise to some transfer effects from English; subject verb agreement, auxiliary-modal stacking, as well as the form that the principal verb assumes (Thráinsson and Vikner 1995). Furthermore, according to Matras (2007), modal verbs are quite susceptible to lexical borrowings. English and Icelandic share numerous cognates with distinct contemporary meanings which can lead to transfer effects in contact language situations.

The objective of this study is to elucidate the modal verb usage patterns among speakers of NAMIce and seek answers to the following questions: 1. How do speakers of North American Icelandic use modal verbs with respect to subject-verb agreement, auxiliary stacking and the form of the main verb? 2. Are there discernible linguistic innovations within the modal verb system, and if so, in what way? 3. Are there any signs of lexical borrowings of modal verbs?

To answer these questions, elicited data derived from 88 heritage speakers of NAMIce was explored, utilizing both interviews and narrative elicitation tasks. The empirical findings suggest a high degree of resilience in the modal verb system of NAMIce, which exhibits minimal evidence of linguistic innovations. Lack of agreement between the modal verb and its subject was observed; however, these occurrences were infrequent, constituting less than 3% of the modals in the dataset, and may suggest a degree of instability in the verbal morphology rather than a direct influence from English modal constructions. There were three examples of stacking a modal verb under an auxiliary, which attests to the feasibility of such constructions for at least some speakers. The lack of more examples does not negate the potential for such constructions for other speakers as such

stacking is not common in general. Thirdly, while there are isolated instances of missing infinitive markers, these are not commonplace. However, such omissions are more prevalent in contexts where the English equivalent takes a bare noun, suggesting a possible, albeit limited, influence from English on these occurrences. Finally, the data shows some indications of lexical borrowings; the clearest example being how the Icelandic finite verb *vanta* ‘need’, which shares etymology with the English modal verb *want*, has been adopted—by some speakers of NAmIce—as a modal verb, at least partially supplanting the traditional Icelandic modal verb *vilja* ‘want’ (1).

Such linguistic development not only exemplifies the influence of English on NAmIce but also highlights the nuanced ways in which language contact can affect the syntactic and semantic roles of words within a language. The study of modal verbs in NAmIce sheds light on the intricate dynamics of language preservation and evolution within a diaspora and by examining the usage patterns and shifts in modal verbs, this research contributes to our understanding of linguistic resilience and change in heritage languages.

Example

(1) Intended reading: ‘And the dog wants to climb the tree.’

a. *North American Icelandic sentence*

Og hundurinn **vantar** að klifra upp í tréð.
And dog.DET needs to climb up in tree

b. *Equivalent Homeland Icelandic*

Og hundurinn **vill** klifra upp í tréð.
And dog.DET wants climb up in tree

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Grammaticalizing gerunds in North American Norwegian

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Introduction: Despite the widely-held, and strongly supported, claim that the syntax of heritage languages is less susceptible to substantial change and decay when compared with other domains of grammar (Lohndal, 2021), the increase in detailed studies of particular syntactic phenomena issue challenges for linguistics who apply this distinction upon all elements of syntax. In this presentation we build upon previous research on non-finite structures in syntax (e.g., infinitives, gerunds, etc.) in North American Norwegian (NAMNo) and beyond (Putnam & Søteland, 2022, 2024). Focusing primarily on gerunds, we demonstrate that the omission of the infinitival marker å ‘to’ takes place in approximately a quarter of speakers found in The Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS) (which consists of approximately 650,000 tokens from 157 speakers in the part of the corpus recorded 1987–2016.)

Data: To establish a baseline of comparison, contrast examples (1) and (2) (examples from Holmes and Enger (2018) p. 231). In structures that include aspectual complementation (e.g., begin, start, keep on, continue; Freed 1979), whereas English makes use of gerunds (without an infinitival marker to), Norwegian (Bokmål) retains the infinitival marker.

(1)	Det	har	sluttet	å	Regne.
	It	has	stopped	to	rain
‘It has stopped raining.’					

(2)	Vi	kan	ikkie	unngå	å	såre	han.
	we	can	not	avoid	to	hurt	him
‘We can’t avoid hurting him.’							

Although the data in CANS contains a majority of forms that follow this Bokmål-like pattern, there are a number of examples that deviate from it. First, in 70 examples detected so far (from around 35 different speakers) that include verbs such as begynne ‘begin’, like ‘like’, and prøve ‘try’, the infinitival marker is missing, thus resembling an English-like gerund.

(3)	graset	begynner	bli	nokså	langt	på	garden	(CoonValley-06gm)
	grass.DEF	gegins	become	quite	long	at	garden.DEF	
‘The grass starts getting quite long at the farm.’								
‘Graset begynner å bli nokså langt på garden.’ (Bokmål)								

Another noticeable trend in the CANS-data is the lack of an infinitival marker in sentences containing the predicate bruke ‘use to’, which has been found in 80 examples from approximately 35 different speakers in the corpus thus far.

(4)	jeg	brukte	bake	brød	annenhver	dag	(Sunburg-13gk)
	I	used	bake	break	second	day	
‘I used to bake bread every second day.’							
‘Jeg brukte å bake brød annenhver dag.’ (Bokmål)							

Analysis: On the surface, the instances of the omission of the infinitival marker in NAMNo resemble calls to ‘shrink’ the syntax of heritage language grammars (i.e., Representational Economy; Scontras, Polinsky, and Fuchs 2018), as an instance of pattern replication. A closer look, however, reveals that the omission of this infinitival marker is potentially connected with other syntactic phenomena (e.g., raising, control, and V2).

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North American Norwegian Tonal Accents and Nominal Morphological Alternations

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Tonal accents (TA) – a distinguishing feature of Norwegian, Swedish, and Franconian German – refer to a pitch contrast in stressed syllables. For Eastern Norwegian, Accent 1 (A1) is typically expressed as a rising contour (LH) and Accent 2 (A2) as falling then rising (HLH), where the final H in both cases marks a phrasal boundary (Kristoffersen 2000; Morén-Duolljá 2013). A1 stressed syllables are therefore L and A2 are HL. Recent work on North American Norwegian (NAMNo), building on early observations from Haugen (1941), finds TAs among some contemporary heritage speakers (Moquin & Natvig 2022; Eik et al. 2023), yet it is unclear if NAMNo TAs participate in morphological alternations. If they do, it is unknown whether or not the distributions have changed relative to inherited patterns. This presentation investigates these questions, focusing on NAMNo nominal phrase morphology.

In a common syntactic analysis of the Norwegian nominal phrase (Julien 2005), number and definiteness features are located in separate syntactic projections above the noun, NumP and ArtP, respectively (see Figure 1). The noun undergoes a series of head-movements, such that the Num- and Art-heads appear as suffixes on the noun. Previous work has shown that this syntactic structure is maintained in NAMNo (van Baal 2020, 2024). We draw on this perspective for our investigation of TA distributions, as it defines domains within which phonological operations (including TA assignment) take place. Within the relevant domain, phonological material that is monosyllabic is always A1, while disyllables, or more specifically disyllabic trochees, are always A2. For homeland Norwegian, material within a word up to and including NumP is included in TA calculations, but ArtP is not. For example, both 1bil ‘car’ and 1bil-en ‘the car’ are A1 (monosyllabic within NumP), but 2bil-er ‘cars’ and 2bil-e-ne ‘the cars’ are both A2 (disyllabic

within NumP). The same generalization holds for trochaic stems, although all forms are A2, cf. forms for ‘garden’: 2hage, 2hage-n, 2hage-r, and 2hage-ne.

We investigate three possible scenarios for NAmNo TA assignment. The first is that the TA calculations follow the same principles as in homeland Norwegian, such that material up to and including NumP is relevant. This is the ‘No change’ scenario in Figure 1. In the second scenario, only the structure of the noun as mono- or disyllabic plays a role; we refer to this as ‘Shrinking’ of the TA-assignment-domain. The third scenario is that the whole word, including ArtP, determines the TA, which we call ‘Expanding’.

The data analyzed in this study consist of audio recordings of 18 contemporary NAmNo speakers, who participated in a picture-aided production task eliciting indefinite and definite nouns in singular and plural (see van Baal 2020). Tonal accent realizations for elicited nouns are analyzed as expected or unexpected based on patterns described above and categorized according to number and definiteness. Initial results from five participants, all from Westby and Coon Valley, WI, demonstrate that they perform near ceiling (approximately 98% as a group) for expected realizations of both A1 and A2 (see Table 1). This suggests that the division of labor between syntax and phonology for TA distributions has remained stable, i.e., ‘No change’, indicating the maintenance of complex morphological and TA patterns in the heritage language. We expand upon these results by examining the remaining 13 speakers, and interpreting those patterns based on the scenarios outlined above. The results and analysis contribute to further understanding the roles that formal linguistic representations and operations (syntax and phonology) and their interactions play in modeling complex grammatical patterns, including the extent to which they may or may not remain stable over multiple generations of heritage speakers.

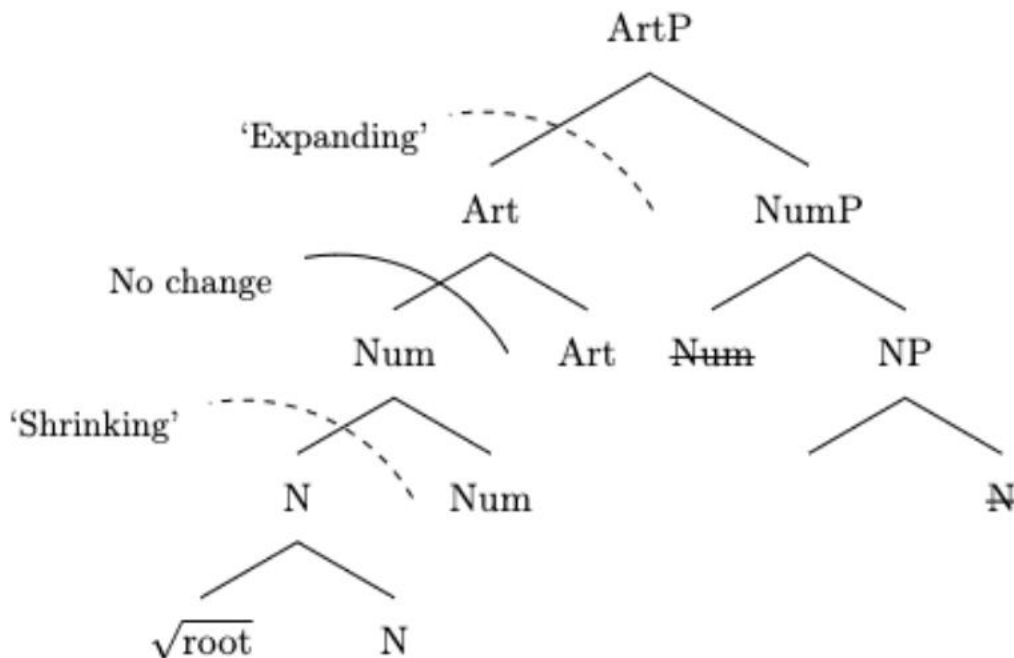


Figure 1. Syntactic structure of the Norwegian noun phrases, with hypotheses for TA-domain.
Table 1. Preliminary results for five participants.

	Expected	Unexpected	Total
Accent 1	160 (98%)	4 (2%)	164
Accent 2	101 (98%)	2 (2%)	82
Total	261 (98%)	6 (2%)	267

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Cross linguistic influence in the sound system? An acoustic analysis of realization of unstressed /e/ and /a/ in North American heritage Norwegian

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What constitutes the so-called heritage speaker (HS) accent (Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky 2013, p. 137)? In this study, we examine the extent to which there is an innovative phonetic overlap between the phonemes /e/ and /a/ in unstressed position among English- dominant speakers of North American heritage Norwegian (NAMNo), where /a/ is realized as [ə]. Such an overlap has previously been discussed due to its significance for morphology (Kinn, 2021; Lykke, 2020), however, the acoustic properties of unstressed /e/ and /a/ in NAMNo have not been systematically examined or analyzed. The goal of this study is to examine whether unstressed /e/ and /a/ are phonetically distinct in NAMNo speech, provide an analysis of the data, and thereby contribute to increase our understanding of the sound systems of heritage language (HL) speakers.

Based on previous studies of HL sound systems (see Polinsky, 2018, p. 123–124), we hypothesize a varying degree of phonetic overlap between unstressed /e/ and /a/ among NAMNo speakers. A previously argued view is that phonetic realization is under cross- linguistic influence (CLI) from an English majority language, but that the phonological oppositions in the heritage language

remain unchanged (Godson, 2004; Hjelde, 1992; Natvig, 2022). Accordingly, we expect a varying degree of innovative [ə] realization of /ɑ/ in NAmNo, but an empirical picture characterized by intra- and interindividual variation, which is common to HSs (Polinsky 2018).

We have conducted an acoustic analysis in Praat (Boersma, 2001) of speech data from the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS, Johannessen, 2015). Searches for verbs with unstressed /e/ or /ɑ/ among a selection of speakers yielded a total of 7,767 hits, unevenly distributed across the inflectional categories infinitive, present, preterit and past participle.¹ A subset for preliminary annotation and analysis was chosen. These preliminarily selected speakers exhibit innovative trends in other grammatical domains (Johannessen 2015a; Lykke 2020). 232 hits were semi-automatically segmented and labelled, and target vowel intervals were annotated in Praat TextGrids. The formants were tracked with the Fast Track plugin for Praat (Barreda, 2021). Figure 1 shows the preliminary results, with overlapping realization of unstressed /e/ or /ɑ/. Furthermore, control measurements of stressed /e/ and /ɑ/ (n=53) were also annotated for informal comparison. The control measurements, in addition to our impressionistic judgement, indicate that stressed /e/ and /ɑ/ remain phonetically distinct. The core of our explanation of /ɑ/ realized as [ə] in NAmNo is that the English- dominant HSs of Norwegian use the English rule for unstressed vowel realization. Norwegian has a distinctive opposition between /e/ [+voc] and /ɑ/ [+voc, dorsal, +low, –high] that is phonetically realized in both stressed and unstressed positions (Kristoffersen, 2000, p. 33). English, on the other hand, neutralizes distinctive features in unstressed positions (Bates, 1995, p. 26–29; Harris, 1994, p. 108–113). We adopt an approach of integrated grammatical representations in multilinguals (Natvig 2021; 2022) and thus understand CLI as non- suppression of grammatical rules associated with English (language mode) in the production of Norwegian (language mode). The distinct realization in stressed positions suggests that the distinctive opposition between /e/ and /ɑ/ in NAmNo persists. Our analysis thus aligns with Godson (2004), Hjelde (1992, p. 42) and Natvig (2022). An alternative analysis of /ɑ/ realized as [ə] in NAmNo, could be the innovative acquisition of vocabulary items/lexical items with different phonological content. Items formerly with /ɑ/ representations may have been reanalyzed as /e/ if a phonetic merger like the one demonstrated in Figure 1 were part of the emigrant and heritage speaker input of the studied speakers. However, in the absence of better knowledge about the baseline, we maintain our hypothesis of CLI from English, because this analysis finds support in the previous studies by Godson (2004), Hjelde (1992) and Natvig (2022).

1 Speakers were selected from the entirety of CANS v3.1 on the basis of several criteria: All speakers are L1 speakers of Norwegian (simultaneous or sequential bilinguals), are recorded after 2010, come from locations with three or more recorded speakers, and report dialect backgrounds which do not have /e/ as a possible preterit/participle exponent (see Venås 1974, pp. 104–105, 397–400). The selection is based on the corpus metadata, but we have excluded all speakers from Coon Valley, Westby and Blair (all Wisconsin), as any of these could have received significant input from speakers using /e/ in the preterit/participle (see Hjelde 2015; Eide & Hjelde 2015; Natvig, Putnam & Lykke 2023).

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Exploring the lexical aspect among heritage speakers of Brazilian Portuguese in the U.S.

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Goal: This pilot study aims to analyze how heritage speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) interpret the lexical aspect of different verbs in BP and to verify whether their judgments in a grammatical judgement task are the same as those of monolingual speakers. Since lexical aspect is particular to each language, and verbs and predicates may present different classifications, the incongruence in judgments may be the result of influence from the dominant language (Cuza & Pérez-Tattam, 2016). This study seeks to answer whether 1) heritage speakers acquire the lexical aspect of stative,

activity, achievement, and accomplishment verbs in the same way monolinguals do, and 2) if first- and second-generation heritage speakers behave differently.

Data: Following previous studies on the lexical aspect (Vendler, 1967; Dowty, 1979; Rappaport-Hovav, 2008; Oliveira and Amaral, 2020), our pilot study evaluated the judgements of two heritage speakers with different profiles through two one-on-one elicitation sessions to verify whether heritage speakers present the same judgments as native speakers on the lexical aspect of state (1.a-c), activity (2.a-b), achievement (3.a-b), and accomplishment verbs (4.a-b). The same tasks were conducted with two native speakers of BP as a control group.

Participants: Both heritage speakers live in the United States and speak both languages fluently. Participant 1 is a 1st generation heritage speaker, who came to the U.S. at the age of ten and, since then, only speaks Portuguese with his family. Participant 2 is a 2nd generation heritage speaker, who grew up speaking both languages at home. Participants in the control group are from the same region, have never studied other languages, and have never lived abroad.

Experiment: Elicitation sessions were conducted in different days. The first consisted of a grammatical judgement task based on Dowty's (1979) tests were used. Additional statements were added in the following session to further investigate their impressions for each type of verb. For state verbs, Oliveira and Amaral's (2020) sentences were included (1.b-c), as these categories present different syntactic-semantic properties in comparison to English.

Findings: In summary, speaker 1 exhibits the same judgments as monolingual speakers in most contexts, except for the stative verb *saber* 'to know' (1.a), which could indicate that, in general, the lexical aspect of 1st generation speakers are not affected by the dominant language, while their judgment on specific verbs may result from the influence of English, as it was the case with the verb *saber* 'to know' in the progressive form. The 2nd generation participant presented different judgments in comparison to native speakers, as it was the case with the state verb *saber* 'to know' (1.a), less common verbs, as *abundar* 'to abound' (1.b.), and with activity verbs followed by time expressions *em uma hora* 'in an hour' (2.a). Finally, the participant accepted or inferred the meaning of sentences in which syntactic-semantic properties differ in both languages (1.c). Variation was found in sentences with scalar verbs of two or multiple points (3.b), which may be a result of the contextual vagueness. For example, *trancar* 'to lock', was interpreted as a multi point scale verb by one participant, as door locks in Brazil allow a second turn of the key.

Conclusions: We find initially that heritage speakers 1) present different judgments in comparison to native speakers depending on the type of verb, specifically stative verbs, and 2) 1st and 2nd generation participants behave differently. Results corroborate the thesis that the judgments of heritage speakers are influenced by the dominant language, as well as other factors, such as the community in which they live and their translinguistic influences. For future research, it would be important to replicate this study with more participants and include tests for the inconsistencies found, especially for the stative verbs that accept the progressive in Portuguese.

Examples

(1) a. *Eva está sabendo português.* 'Eva knows Portuguese.'

b. *Abundam vídeos nas redes sociais.* 'Videos abound on social media.'

- c. Ele tem muito. ‘He has a lot.’
- (2) a. Ana brincou em uma hora. ‘Ana played in an hour.’
 b. Ana escreveu uma carta por uma hora. ‘Ana wrote a letter for an hour.’
- (3) a. As maçãs quase amadureceram. ‘The apples almost ripened.’
 b. Clara trancou a porta, mas não totalmente. ‘Clara locked the door, but not completely.’
- (4) a. Ela saiu em uma semana. ‘She left within a week.’
 b. Ela saiu por uma semana. ‘She left for a week.’

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On the stability of the heritage speaker’s core lexicon: Evidence from flora terminology in the Seifert Corpus of Wisconsin German

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This paper investigates flora terminology in the Seifert Corpus of Wisconsin German, recorded in the late 1940s. Building on Bousquette’s (forthcoming) work on fauna terminology, the current work also finds a high rate of retention of inherited, “core” terminology, with some borrowings from English filling a semantic gap in speakers’ German lexicon (Myers-Scotton 1993, Matras 2009). The pilot data analyzes 28 tokens from two speakers in the Seifert Corpus. The current study supports previous literature on borrowing in heritage language (HL) communities (Bousquette, forthcoming; cf. Annear & Speth, 2015), finding that lexical borrowing by heritage speakers (HSs) is considerably less common than the use of German-origin lexical items. These results underscore the lexical stability of heritage languages cross generationally, until and through the moribund stage of the heritage language.

Data on fauna terminology were drawn primarily from English-to-German translation tasks of sections 28 and 29 (“Trees and Flowers”) of Seifert’s Wisconsin German Questionnaire (1946); and secondarily from free conversation pertaining to life on the farm. Following previous works, tokens were divided between German and English origin; and whether the term is a core term in German, or whether it fills a semantic gap in speakers’ German lexicon (see table 1 below). Going beyond previous work, each borrowing is also coded for whether it came from a translation prompt;

whether it was a term suggested by Seifert and accepted by the speaker; or whether the term came from free conversation. This determination provides a clearer picture of where speakers use English-origin terms, as two of the three core borrowings (Lilac, Blossom) were from translation tasks, suggesting that the task type identifies lexical gaps not otherwise apparent in free speech. A third core borrowing (Oats) came from a speaker who used the German term (Hafer) three times, evidencing intra-speaker variation, notably when both the HL and L2 were active – again, likely an effect of task type. Lastly, there are two ambiguous examples, the first (1) in which the HS, Rudolph P. Monthe¹, uses *Korn* with an American English pronunciation during free conversation: it is uncertain whether he’s referring to “grain”, which would be a core German term, or to “corn/maize”, which would be a cultural borrowing. Another HS, Roy Anselm, (2) uses the term *Lember* “branches”, which has cognates related to tree branches in Old English *lim* and Old Icelandic *limr*, but is not attested in Old High German to refer to a tree limb. With the unassimilated *-mb-* (cf. timber ~ Zimmer), this may be a core retention of a non-standard North Sea or Low German form, or may be an English core borrowing (<limb), albeit with German plural suffixation, vowel mutation, and phonetic dissimilation.

In general, the data show that speakers maintain inherited, core terminology for more than 85% of the flora terminology across task type, though preliminary data do suggest that task type may have an effect on the frequency of English-origin, core borrowings. Overall, the data are consistent with recent works on Wisconsin German – and on HLs in general – suggesting high rates of HL lexical stability, even among bilingual HSs living in HL communities undergoing language shift.

Table 1 – Taxonomy of Flora Terminology

	Exists in German (core)	Does not exist in German (cultural)
German Origin	24	–
English Origin	3	1

(1) Rudolph P. Monthe: Wenn Herbst kommt, dann muss immer noch sehen, dass alles, in die richtige Zeit, alles Korn und Kartoffel und solche Sachen in Keller oder in die Korn (pronounced like “corn”) in die Shacks und Ecken und solche Sachen.

“When Fall comes, then you always have to see that everything – in the right time – all the maize/grain and potatoes and such things went into the cellar or into shacks and corners and such things.”

(2) Seifert: That tree has long branches.

Roy Anselm: Der Baum hat lange . . . Lember.

Seifert: Do you ever call them ‘Äste’ or ‘Zweige,’ too?

Anselm: Zweige.

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Volga German maintenance and shift in central Entre Ríos, Argentina

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The area of research is central Entre Ríos province in Argentina (Pop. 1.415.097). Volga Germans are the product of mid XVIII century migrations out of Germany to Russia who settled on both sides of the Volga River. Two substantial Volga German (VG) group migrations from Russia to Argentina occurred in 1877-8 and 1887, resulting in two large colonies: Colonia Hinojo, in southwest Buenos Aires province and the former Colonia General Alvear, in central Entre Ríos, where five mother colonies (aldeas) were founded. All other colonies in Entre Ríos were settled from this five. Nowadays, there are approximately 250.000 VG descendants in throughout the province of Entre Ríos.

The goal of this paper is two-fold. First, the paper summarizes findings from previous research in the region, with special attention to how the verticalization model (Warren (1978) and Salmons (2005 (a) and (b))) was useful for contextualizing the linguistic history of maintenance and shift in the area. Second, new data from bilingual prompted dialogues is presented, a format that contrasts with earlier participant-observer interviews. Prompts for the bilingual dialogues followed the sociolinguistic interview format (Tagliamonte 2006). Each participant was provided with a headset with a microphone which were connected to the recorder. The researcher was present in a far side of the room in case technical issues arose but did not participate. Even though the participants came from a pool of "friend of a friend" group who were known to have the ability to hold full conversations in VG or standard German, instructions gave them freedom to use some Spanish if they felt the conversation was breaking down. Only 3 out of 20 participants needed to use some Spanish. Participants were a mix of female and male speakers from 48 to 90 years old. Some of the language attitudes emerging from the conversations corroborate previous findings of the symbolic value of VG in that everybody expressed the necessity to preserve the heritage language even though opportunities to practice it are scant and there are no language revitalization projects in this area.

Following immigration, an extended period of language maintenance ensued, during which intergenerational transmission was high, and children attended both Spanish public and German

parochial schools (which ended during WWII). One example that is discussed in detail is religious verticalization, exemplified by the loss of community control at church and school which, at first, was avoided with priests from the Volga serving in the immigrant communities. Later, the community responded to one congregation, Divine Word, not to the national Catholic structure, so verticalization was less pronounced. While the DW congregation was an institution run from other locales, the community was strongly connected to it, and, importantly, priests were German speakers at the beginning. This illustrates how verticalization ties can solidify slowly and do not follow a straight path from A to B, while developing horizontal patterns of a different nature. Religion combined with the German language created horizontal connections that likely progressed slowly from one basic horizontal pattern, viz. at the immediate community or intra-village level, through inter-village ties (immediate area), and to a supra-regional German-speaking congregation. Verticalization and a shift to Spanish crystallized only later (the late 1960s) due to the lack of German-speaking priests, coinciding with new economic opportunities outside of the community. VG does not play a practical role in the lives of participants from Valle María. On the whole, Spanish is used much more than VG, illustrating the undeniable shift to Spanish. The villages in central Entre Ríos face a panorama of waning bilingualism in the home context, with occasional VG use in community events or gatherings. This paper is part of a larger research project which seeks to include those who still speak the variety.

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The dative case in America-Norwegian

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As a reminiscence from Old Norse, some Norwegian dialects do still have dative as a productive case. And dative in these dialects is manifested as a suffix to the noun in definite form, and not by conjugation of associated words in the nominal phrase. Examples (from Trønder dialects):

(1a) Huse er stort Han er i husi

The.house.NEU.NOM is big he is in the.house.NEU.DAT

(1b) Jenta ga guta mat Gut'n ga jent'n mat

The.girl.FEM:NOM gave the.boy.MASK.DAT food The.boy.MASK.NOM gave the.girl.FEM.DAT food

(1c) Ho sitt på stola Vi sitt på stolom
She sits at the.chair.MASK.DAT We sit at the.chairs.DAT

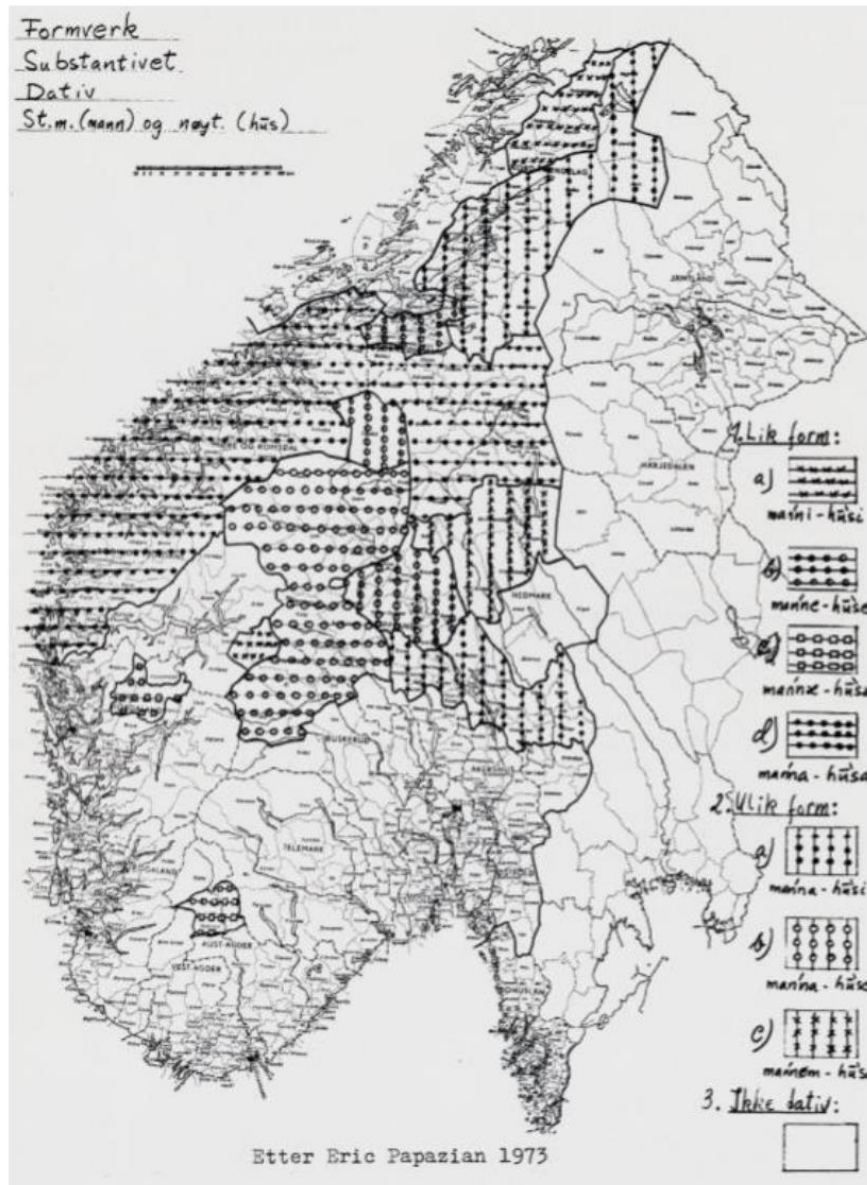
Dative marking of nouns is a feature that traditionally has been used to identify and distinguish Norwegian dialects. First of all, dative is found in the mid parts of Norway, roughly confined to a triangle between Lake Mjøsa and Sognefjorden in the south to the inner parts of Trøndelag in the north (cf. Fig. 1). Furthermore, within this dative area, there are a number of different allomorphs marking dative case and by combining these for the three genders, and adding possible differences between weak and strong nouns - and also plural - we get a fairly fine-graded grid, which in some areas can distinguish one municipality from others.

It is a general observation that the case system is disappearing in heritage languages (Polinsky 2018). Today dative is under pressure and about to disappear many places among young speakers in Norway, but hundred years ago, dative was reported to be in general use within its traditional borders (Aasen 1864). Thus, it is fair to assume that most of the emigrants from the “dative triangle” had dative as a productive feature in their vernacular, and dative is also well documented in the recordings of Norwegian-Americans. Thus, recordings from the 1980s show that the dative case was productive in at least some Norwegian-American dialects, as English loan words were assigned dative case (Hjelde 1992):

(2a) Dæm kjøpe de på ståråm (2b) Han ber ringen åt gruma
They buy it at the.stores.DAT He carries the ring for the.groom.DAT

The recordings we have of Norwegian-American speech are stretching over a period of over 90 years, with three periods of intense field work: Haugen in the 1940s, Hjelde around 1990 and Johannessen and others after 2010 (Johannessen 2015). Thereby we can study how the Norwegian-American case system is disintegrating over time. It is a methodological problem that only in a few communities the language has been documented during this time spa; typically, we have communities with recordings from two of this three époques. In this study we will focus on the dative in three different NoAm dialects: The Gudbrandsdal dialect as found in Vernon Co. WI (recorded 1940s, 1990s and 2010s); The Trønder dialect found in Goodhue Co. (MN) and Lac Qui Parle Co. (MN) (recorded 1980s and 2010s), and the Solør dialect found in Trempeleau Co., WI (recorded 1940s and 2010s). Even if there is a general observation that dative is disappearing in America-Norwegian – as it is in homeland Norwegian - we do not know anything about this process. From homeland Norwegian, we know that dative is typically assigned in four different environments; (1) after certain prepositions, (2) as indirect object, (3) as object after certain verbs and (4) in positions after certain adjectives, and that the decline of the dative follows a similar path, being most robust after certain prepositions (1) and most fragile after certain adjectives (1) (Beito 1958, Skjekkeland 1977, Skulerud 1939). This present study will investigate to what extent America-Norwegian follows a similar path or if the decline in use of dative in this variety of Norwegian is different from what we find in homeland Norwegian.

Figure 1 (from Skjekkeland, Martin. 1977)



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Grammatical Gender Over Time in Wisconsin Heritage and Immigrant Dutch

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I examine stability and change over time in gender marking in Wisconsin Heritage Dutch. Gender is often vulnerable in Germanic (Kürschner, 2020) and heritage languages (e.g. Lohndal & Westergaard 2016; Polinsky 2008). However, while heritage language studies report irregular usage and especially overgeneralization of one gender compared to the homeland language, they also report a great deal of stability in the gender system. Heritage German exhibits strong maintenance of the gender system with few deviations from homeland varieties (e.g. Bousquette 2022; Nützel 2009; Boas 2006). Heegård Petersen and Kühl (2021) also report marked stability in the definite suffix in Heritage Argentine Danish, although with more variation in prenominal determiners and complex NPs. Nonetheless, the only study so far related to gender in American Heritage Dutch found maintenance of adjective declension in 1966 that was lost 30 years later in 1989 (Smits 1996). Consequently, more work is needed on how heritage speakers of Dutch realize gender and how and why that may change over time.

This study examines recordings of 27 speakers of 3 generations from the Fox River Valley of Wisconsin, an area of extensive Dutch immigration from 1848 and continuing at least through the 1960s (Swierenga & Krabbendam, 2011). Recordings of 11 from 1966 and 16 from 2018 are analyzed. The data is, thus, real-time and allows for the examination of whether the community as a whole has changed, although not how individual speakers may have changed over their lifespans. I additionally compare immigrant and heritage speakers as well as different generations of participants as Polinsky (2018) notes that 1st generation speakers may differ from homeland speakers and generational differences have been noted in other investigations of immigrant and heritage speakers (e.g., Nagy 2014).

14 recordings from 2018 have been analyzed so far yielding 835 noun phrases. These speakers demonstrate overgeneralization of common gender *de*. 6 of 14 use *het* (the neuter definite article) at all (5 of whom were 1st generation) and *het* makes up only ~9% of all definite article tokens in the dataset (53/608). Speakers also use *de* even for diminutives, whose suffix makes the noun neuter in all Dutch dialects. This matches both Smits (1996) on heritage Iowa Dutch in 1989 and heritage languages more generally (Johannessen & Larsson 2018; Lohndal & Westergaard 2016): a tendency to overgeneralize one gender. Additionally, adjective declension (related to gender agreement in homeland Dutch) appears to have become delinked from gender as speakers show a preference for either declined or undeclined adjectives in all contexts regardless of noun gender, although more work is needed.

Preliminary analysis of recordings from 1966 indicates a more stable system than in 2018, similar to what Smits reports for Iowa Dutch. Even the lone 4th generation speaker recorded from this community uses *het*. Further analysis will explore the extent of this similarity and how much the gender system changed by 2018.

Consequently, this study helps fill a gap on gender in an understudied American heritage language with a comparison between gender agreement over time in two communities of the same heritage language.

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