

## 8th 'Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas' at the University of Copenhagen, October 12–14, 2017

### Keynote

#### Immigrant languages in the British colonies and the USA (1683-1924): Who got to keep theirs, why and for how long?

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In 1751, Benjamin Franklin famously asked: "Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will soon be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our anglicizing them." This statement often props up the argument that, for most of the country's history, American authorities were either actively hostile or condescendingly indifferent towards alien tongues brought to their shores.

Yet we shouldn't forget that Franklin was not only a politician but also an entrepreneur: fully aware that German was a commodity, he printed the first German-language Bible in the colonies and numerous German hymnals, catechisms and textbooks. In 1732, he even edited, albeit unsuccessfully, a German-language newspaper *Philadelphische Zeitung*. These publications had gone a long way to support the maintenance of the language whose dominance he was so concerned about.

The ambiguity of Franklin's attitudes exposes a problem with the broad brush picture that paints different periods, distinct languages and diverse communities in similar shades of grey. The purpose of this talk is to consider these contradictions and to unpack the unified notion of 'immigrant languages', highlighting demographic, political, and commercial forces that favored some languages over others.

#### Language Choices and Language Ideologies among Hasidic Jews in New York

Gabi Abramac (New York University)

This research addresses language attitudes, choices, ideology and policy in Hasidic communities in New York. It is situated at the intersection of the sociology of religion, anthropology, and sociolinguistics. The methodology is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Hasidic communities of New York from 2012 to 2017, on digital ethnography, qualitative in-depth interviews with community members, and on discourse analysis of Hasidic press.

At the core of Hasidic seclusion is the idea of sheltering oneself from the contamination of the secular world. In the attempt to preserve their pious state of existence, Hasidim uncompromisingly reject potential change of ritual, language, education and the established way of life. The ideology of seclusion has also reinforced preserving the Yiddish language and using it in all possible domains. Seemingly stable and unchanged, Hasidic community have been going through a lot of changes, especially since the advent of the digital media. Three major factors are reshaping American Hasidic communities: Hasidic demographic expansion, neoliberal political economy, and the Internet. This has created fluidity and discontinuity in the midst of which Hasidic society seeks to integrate notions associated with mobilities, movements and flows on the one hand with notions of fixity, groundedness and situatedness in particular settings (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013: 375). The exposure to modernity is also changing the language use and the perception of sociolinguistic ideology, bringing about the diversity of genres, styles, and registers.

I show how Hasidim creatively restructure their social practices and adapt to new and overlapping linguistic spaces, and how the speakers evaluate and negotiate their identities, positioning themselves against the background of both Jewish ultra-orthodox community, and world at large. My research also includes an in-depth examination of the multilingual processes by which Hasidim who leave the fold construct the social landscapes and build conceptual common ground. Investigating contemporary diversity in Hasidic communities can contribute significantly to modern theories of multilingualism and can enhance our understanding of relationships between religion, ethnicity, and language use.

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## Complexity, Frequency and Cross-linguistic Influence in Heritage Language: Subject Shift and Object Shift in Norwegian

Merete Anderssen & Marit Westergaard (University of Tromsø)

This study investigates two word order phenomena in Norwegian Heritage Language (HL) in the US, compares this to non-heritage Norwegian, and discusses which factors may account for differences between the two. Norwegian exhibits variation with respect to the position of subject and object pronouns relative to negation, so-called subject shift (SS) and object shift (OS). SS is found in non-subject-initial clauses with V2: In main clauses, pronominal subjects typically occur in front of negation (1a) and DPs after (1b). In embedded clauses, both pronouns and DPs mainly appear in the shifted position. In non-heritage Norwegian, the percentage of shifted subjects is 85-90% in both clause types (Westergaard 2011). OS is found in contexts in which the verb moves out of the VP. DP objects always appear after negation (2a); pronominal objects with nominal antecedents precede negation (2b), while pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents follow (2c) (Anderssen & Bentzen 2012). Pronominal objects with nominal and non-nominal antecedents shift at different rates, 87% vs. 5% (Bentzen et al. 2013).

HL typically has “simplified,” non-standard characteristics (Scontras et al. 2015). However, economy of movement tends *not* to be a crucial factor (Westergaard & Anderssen 2015). Instead, frequency has been considered to be more important, protecting against attrition. Furthermore, while structural similarity has often been found to be a factor in bilingual acquisition, structural *difference* seems to play a role in HL (Kupisch 2014).

If structures involving syntactic movement are vulnerable to attrition (*pace* Westergaard & Anderssen 2015), we expect both SS and OS to be affected. If frequency plays a major role, OS and SS in embedded clauses should be more vulnerable than SS in main clauses. And since both SS and OS involve V2, there is little overlap with English, and cross-linguistic influence should play no role (cf. Müller & Hulk 2001).

We investigate the CANS-corpus (Johannessen 2015) and find that the heritage speakers behave like Norwegian adults with regard to SS in subordinate clauses, shifting at 86.1% (Table 1). In main clauses, however, subjects are shifted only 59.3%, and non-target-consistent examples are attested (3). An examination of OS reveals that the heritage speakers shift pronominal objects with nominal and non-nominal antecedents at 61% and 11% (Table 2), clearly distinguishing between the two. Surprisingly, the most vulnerable structure is SS in main clauses, particularly in *yes/no*-questions or tags (4).

Consequently, complexity and/or frequency are not important factors. We therefore consider cross-linguistic similarity/difference. There are two exceptions to the lack of overlap between Norwegian and English: SS in embedded clauses (the two languages are identical) and in questions with auxiliaries or *be*, where English has residual V2 and subject-auxiliary inversion. Thus, both English and Norwegian display word order variation in these questions – with preferences that go in opposite directions, with S-Neg being preferred in Norwegian and Neg-S in English (5).

Cross-linguistic influence thus seems to be responsible for our results, causing SS to be unproblematic in embedded clauses (positive transfer) and vulnerable in questions with *aux/be* (negative transfer).

- (1) a. *I går spiste han ikke (?han) middag.* yesterday ate he not dinner  
 b. *I går spiste (Jon) ikke (Jon) middag.*  
 yesterday ate John not John dinner
- (2) a. *Peter så ikke bilen.*  
 Peter saw not car.def  
 'Peter didn't see the car.'  
 b. *Peter så **den ikke**.*  
 Peter saw it not  
 'Peter didn't see it.'  
 c. *Mari synes den er fin, men Peter synes ikke det.* (det = 'that it is nice')  
 Mari thinks it is nice but Peter thinks not it  
 'Mari thinks it is nice, but Peter doesn't think so.'
- (3) *nei jeg veit da vi begynte på skolen så # kunne ikke vi # snakke engelsk at all*  
 no I know when we started at school so could not we speak English at all  
 'No, I know that when we started school, we couldn't speak English at all.'
- (4) *ja ## er rart hvor fort disse åra har gått forbi er ikke det ?*  
 yes is strange how fast these years have gone bye is not it
- (5) a. *Isn't he clever?/Is he not clever?*  
 b. *What didn't he like?/What did he not like?*

	S-Neg	Neg-S
Main clauses	59.3% (86/145)	40.7% (59/145)
Embedded clauses	86.1% (31/36)	13.9% (5/36)

Table 1. Pronominal subjects in CANS (n=50)

	O-Neg	Neg-O
Nominal antecedents	61% (25/41)	39% (16/41)
Non-nominal antecedents	11% (11/100)	89% (89/100)

Table 2. Pronominal objects in CANS (n=50)

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- Westergaard. 2011. Subject positions and information structure: The effect of frequency on acquisition and change.

## Do you speak Swedish? American Swedish in the Corpus of American Nordic Speech

Maia Andréasson, Henrietta Adamsson Eryd, Ida Larsson & Sofia Tingsell (University of Gothenburg)

This paper describes the American Swedish contribution to the Corpus of American Nordic speech (CANS) and illustrates the usefulness of this (sub-)corpus by investigating a number of linguistic phenomena (vocabulary, gender, word order) studied in other Heritage Scandinavian sources.

Hitherto, CANS has included transcriptions, sound, and video of (currently) 50 Norwegian heritage language (HL) speakers in North America (see Johannessen 2015). To this corpus has now been added recordings of 17 speakers of American Swedish recorded in 2011–2014 in Minnesota, Illinois, and Texas. Like the Norwegian recordings, the Swedish data has been manually transcribed in a phonetic way, manually with additional orthographic transcription using the Oslo semi-automatic transliterator and links to the original audio files. The recordings include a semi-structured interview (typically about the speakers' general and linguistic background and Swedish heritage). Many speakers (depending on proficiency etc.) also tell a short story on the basis of a cartoon strip, a task designed to elicit comparable data for all informants. Furthermore, some informants are recorded when discussing with each other, without the participation of an interviewer. Metadata provides information about genre, the informants' place of birth, relation to Sweden in terms of geographic area and generations since emigration, as well as information about language acquisition and use of English and Swedish.

In order to find informants, we used the question *Do you speak Swedish?* to generate contacts with all kinds of Swedish speakers. Like the American Norwegian speakers in the corpus, most of the Swedish speakers are heritage speakers, i.e. they acquired Swedish as children, in a naturalistic setting at home and without formal training, but in the American context, where English is the dominant language (cf. e.g. Valdés 2000). All speakers had English as their strongest languages at the time of recording. Most of these speakers were 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants, and over 70 years old at the time. The ancestors of these speakers were among the 1.3 million Swedes that emigrated during the period from around 1850 to 1920, and CANS therefore documents the last remnants of the American Swedish described by Hasselmo (1974) and recorded by Hedblom & Ordéus around 50 years ago. Since the older recordings are still available through the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, CANS makes it possible to study linguistic change in real time (cf. Larsson et al. 2015). Unlike the American Norwegian recordings, the Swedish contribution to CANS includes speakers that are descendants of more recent immigrants; a few are children whose parents emigrated around the turn of the 20th century. Like the other heritage speakers, these acquired Swedish in the American context, but unlike the older speakers they are not part of the rural American Swedish settlements, and they have not gone many years (decades) without using their Swedish, like many of the old speakers. By comparing the new heritage speakers with the old, we can disentangle some of the factors that can affect variation and change in American Swedish. In the young speakers, some of the typical older American Swedish vocabulary is missing and we see no effects of koineization. On the other hand, the finite verb sometimes precedes negations in embedded clauses (cf. Larsson & Johannessen 2015) and, in the nominal domain, common gender is sometimes generalized (cf. Johannessen & Larsson 2015, Lohndal & Westergaard 2016); this appears to be general features of Swedish in a heritage linguistic context, rather than features of e.g. an American Swedish koiné. Also unlike the American Norwegian data, the Swedish contribution includes a couple of emigrant Swedish speakers, i.e. speakers that emigrated from Sweden themselves. Unlike the heritage speakers, these speakers acquired Swedish in a context where Swedish was also the dominant language (in Sweden). This makes it possible to investigate to what extent the properties of Heritage Swedish are due to the acquisitional context, or to other factors that relate to bilingualism and contact with English; we can to a larger extent control for variation in the input for the emigrant speakers. In Emigrant Swedish, we do not find the change in embedded word order that is typical of the heritage language, but we do see some generalization of the common gender in the nominal domain. Emigrant speakers were included also in the recordings by Hedblom & Ordéus, so again, CANS offers a possibility of studies of linguistic change in real time.

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## URLs

- CANS: <http://tekstlab.uio.no/norskiamerika/english/corpus.html>  
 The Oslo Transliterator: <http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/english/about/organization/text-laboratory/services/oslo-transliterator/>

## Preserving Swiss Dialect Features in the Diaspora: The Case of New Glarus

Anita Auer & Alexandra Derungs (University of Lausanne)

When many people from different nations left Europe for North America during the so-called “Age of Mass Migration” (1850-1920s), a great number of Swiss also left their homeland in search of betterment in North America. A Swiss settlement of particular interest is New Glarus, Wisconsin as (a) it started as a colony in 1845, and (b) the town has retained its Swiss identity – being known as *America’s Little Switzerland* – until today. While German dialects in the diaspora have already received a fair amount of attention (cf. for example Salmons ed. 1993; Boas 2009), in comparison, Swiss German dialects have hitherto been marginalized, i.e. the only existing studies we are aware of are those by Lewis in relation to New Glarus (cf. Lewis 1968, 1970, 1973). Usually, historical sociolinguists can only rely on surviving letters and diaries by migrants in order to get a partial insight into their language use, the maintenance of the homeland variety, and the possible shift to the new language. In the case of New Glarus, however, recordings made in the 1960s of heritage speakers born as early as the late 1900s (now held in the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies), notably made by the previously mentioned Brian Lewis, allow us to better trace the development of a Swiss heritage dialect, as well as processes such as dialect leveling, attrition, and gradual language shift in the diaspora.

This paper will thus be concerned with what happened to a couple of Glarner dialect features, notably phonological and lexical variables, in the diaspora, i.e. in the New Glarus dialect. To this purpose, the New Glarus recordings by Brian Lewis will be compared to Glarus baseline data that is held in the Zurich Phonogrammarchiv. In addition, we will base ourselves on Catharina Streiff’s 1915 study of the Glarner sound system. The comparison of New Glarus heritage data to Glarus homeland data - combined with socio-historical information on New Glarus – will allow us to shed light on what happened to specific Glarus dialect markers in the diaspora.

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## Mon Language and Well Being: A Case Study in Community-Based Research and Heritage Language Maintenance in the US

Shannon Bischoff, Jens Clegg, Harold Odden & Chad Thompson (Purdue University Fort Wayne)

We present a case study and preliminary findings from a community-based research project (Rice 2010, 2011; Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; among others), involving Mon refugees in Fort Wayne Indiana. The Mon are an ethnic group indigenous to Burma (Myanmar) and speak the Mon language (ISO 639-3/monn1252). Since the end of British colonial rule in 1948, the ethnic Burman have dominated Burma politically, culturally, and linguistically. This has led to civil war, the displacement of various other ethnic groups, and Burmanization within the country (South 2013). As a result Mon culture and language have been under threat within the national borders of Burma and elsewhere where Mon refugees and their children have assimilated to local cultures such as in Thailand (Mon 2010). In response, Mon activists established language and cultural education efforts to preserve and maintain linguistic, literary, and cultural knowledge and practices of the Mon community. These practices have been brought to refugee communities in Thailand, Singapore, and the United States.

Mon refugees began arriving in Fort Wayne Indiana in the US in 1993. Today there are perhaps 1,000 Mon community members in Fort Wayne with approximately 600 youth under 18 years-of-age, many of whom were born in the US. By 1999 the Fort Wayne community had established Mon language classes which today serve over 100 students. The Mon school has been modeled after similar endeavors in Burma associated with Mon Theravada Buddhist temples, and is today housed in Fort Wayne at the community temple. The classes focus on language instruction through community developed resources and curriculum grounded in Buddhism with an emphasis on spoken and literary Mon. In 2013 we began working with refugees of Burma in Fort Wayne collecting data on linguistic practices and attitudes. Out of this research a relationship developed between Mon leaders and the project leader of the linguistic survey. Community leaders expressed a desire to find measureable ways to study the broader impacts of the summer language programs on the community in the hopes of demonstrating the value of Mon language education. Additionally, older Mon speakers in the community were concerned that younger speakers were not learning the language fluently. This led to the development of the project under discussion. Working in consultation and collaboration with Mon leaders, the research team developed a study intended to shed light on the linguistic abilities of Mon language students, their wellbeing, and any correlations between the two. Research (see Wakefield & Hudley 2007; Phinney et al. 2001; among others), has shown that there is correlation between heritage language attitudes and use and aspects of individual wellbeing, such as academic outcomes. We believed a study in the Mon community could add to our understanding of such correlations as the Fort Wayne Mon community has a number of characteristics that make such research of interest in the US context. These characteristics include:

- a long literary tradition that is considered a key aspect of their culture;
- fluency in Mon as a defining attribute of ethnic/national identity;
- the language and culture is threatened in their homeland and so steps had been taken to preserve it before coming to Fort Wayne; language classes have been conducted in Fort Wayne for thirteen years; and
- language and culture are tied to Theravada Buddhism, and the Buddhist temple is the location of the language classes and cultural activities.

The research involved assessing fluency, literacy, and general wellbeing of 100 bilingual (to varying degrees) Mon youth (8 – 25 years of age) involved in the language school community. The team used a variety of techniques to measure phonological production of specific phones found in Mon but not English that community leaders believed were not productively found in the speech of youth (e.g., voiceless sonorants and implosives). In addition, participants were given lexical tasks and other linguistic tasks designed to measure community defined fluency. Further, a medical anthropologist on the team developed protocols (e.g. survey data, blood pressure, academic transcripts), to collect data on various dimensions of physiological, psychological, and social wellbeing. Preliminary findings from the study suggest a positive correlation between prosocial behavior and various measures of fluency and literacy in Mon adolescents. This is of particular significance to the community as leaders expressed that a primary

factor for developing the language school was to promote behaviors consonant with Mon values and Theravada Buddhism. In addition, early findings suggest that there is correlation between greater fluency in Mon and other aspects of well-being such as greater academic success and lower level of externalizing behaviors. While the data is still being analyzed, preliminary findings suggest that the language and cultural program in general is having a positive impact on the youth of the community. The study also demonstrates the potential for such collaborative projects for preservation of minority languages as well as fostering refugee/immigrant community relations with the broader community.

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## Compositional Definiteness in Heritage Norwegian

Yvonne van Baal (University of Oslo)

In this paper I show that speakers of Heritage Norwegian have non-target-like definiteness marking in modified definite NPs. This provides insights in both heritage languages and in the construction of Norwegian modified definite phrases.

**Background:** The study of Heritage Norwegian (HN) is important for two reasons. First, the current speakers of HN are the last generation, which means both that the language is dying and that the speakers do not have many people around them to speak Norwegian with. Second, HN is an a-typical heritage language: while much research focuses on second generation immigrants (Montrul 2012), the current speakers of HN are third or fourth generation immigrants (Johannessen & Salmons 2012, 2015).

This paper studies the linguistic competence and performance of speakers of HN with regard to Compositional Definiteness (CD). CD is found in Norwegian NPs, where definiteness is expressed with a suffix on the noun (1a), but with both a suffix and a pronominal determiner when the noun is modified (1b-c).

- |     |    |                           |                                 |             |                   |
|-----|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>hest-en</i>            | 'horse-DEF.SG'                  | "the horse" |                   |
|     | b. | <i>den hvit-e hest-en</i> | 'DEF.SG white-DEF horse-DEF.SG' |             | "the white horse" |
|     | c. | <i>*hvit-e hest-en</i>    | 'white-DEF horse-DEF.SG'        |             |                   |

Since monolingual Norwegian children need a relatively long time to acquire CD (Anderssen 2007), and modified definite structures are not very frequent (Dahl 2015:121), the question rises how heritage speakers behave with respect to CD. Previous research on the spontaneous speech of HN speakers (collected in the *Corpus of American Norwegian Speech (CANS)*, Johannessen 2015a) has shown that many of them use patterns that are ungrammatical in homeland Norwegian (Anderssen & Westergaard in press), and at least one of the speakers in the corpus has been argued to be attrited (Johannessen 2015b).

**Experiment:** To complement the studies on spontaneous speech, this paper presents results from an experimental study. In a translation task, speakers of HN were asked to translate sentences from English to Norwegian. These sentences contained both simple and modified noun phrases in both indefinite and definite contexts, as in the following examples

- (2) a. “flowers”  
 target: *blomst-er*  
 ‘flower-INDEF.PL’  
 simple indefinite
- b. “the kitchen”  
 target: *kjøkken-et*  
 ‘kitchen-def.sg.n’  
 simple definite
- c. “a little girl”  
 target: *ei lita jente*  
 ‘indef.sg.f little.f girl’  
 modified indefinite
- d. “the red apples”  
 target: *de rød-e epl-ene*  
 ‘def.pl red-def apple-def.pl’  
 modified definite

The translation task was conducted during fieldwork in the US (fall 2016). Nineteen speakers participated in the experiment. Spontaneous speech of six of these speakers is included in the CANS.

**Results:** The responses of the participants are analysed as target-like or non-target-like (i.e. grammatical or ungrammatical in homeland Norwegian). Results are shown in figure 1. It is clear that while 18 out of 19 speakers perform at ceiling with respect to definiteness marking in simple definite phrases ( $\geq 95\%$  of their utterances target-like), none of them performs at ceiling with respect to CD in modified definite phrases.

There is however large variation between speakers, both in amount and type of deviations. Four speakers never produce CD when it is obligatory, seven speakers perform target-like in 50% or more of their utterances (highest percentage of target-like utterances: 77%) and seven speakers in less than 50% of their utterances.

Different types of deviations are found. Almost all participants (18 out of 19) leave out the prenominal determiner in some or all of their utterances. This is by far the most common non-target-like structure. Only a few participants (6 out of 19) leave out the suffixed article in some cases, but 5 of them also leave out the determiner in other cases.

**Conclusion:** These results clearly show that the production of CD of heritage speakers deviates in systematic ways from that of homeland speakers. It is also clear that for these speakers, the prenominal determiner is most often left out. The paper discusses possible explanations for these deviations.

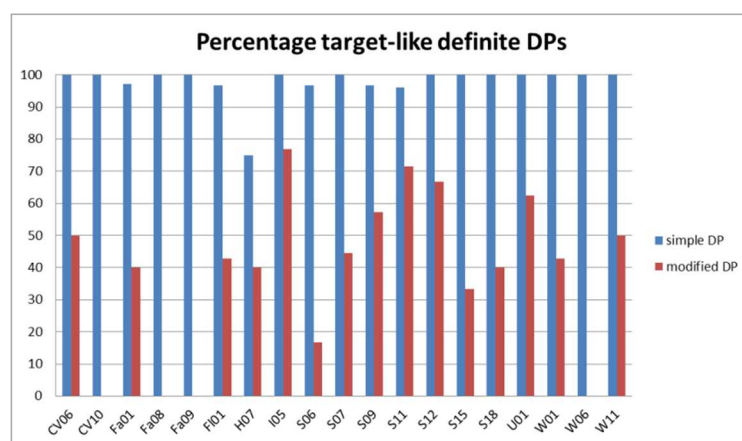


Figure 1. Percentage target-like definite DPs in simple (blue) and modified (red) contexts.

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## Case on pronouns in heritage Norwegian and European Norwegian

Janne Bondi Johannessen (University of Oslo)

Background and goal: A substantial amount of work has been done on nominal categories in heritage Norwegian in recent years, but the focus has been mainly on gender and agreement (see Johannessen & Larsson 2015, Lohndal & Westergaard 2016, Riksem 2017 and Rødvand 2017). Case is only a marginal morphological category in the modern Scandinavian (mainland) languages, which is probably why it has not been the focus of study so far. In this paper I will show the results of a study of pronominal case in heritage Norwegian and European Norwegian.

What constructions will be studied: In European Norwegian, though the case system is dwindling, most dialects have morphological case distinctions (nominative vs. accusative) in the 1st person singular and plural, 2nd person singular, and 1st person plural. The extent to which the remaining persons and numbers have case distinctions depends on the dialect. The paper will mainly look at the heritage Norwegian case following locative prepositions like *på* 'on' and *i* 'in', in which all dialects choose the accusative case (accusative): *på meg/\*jeg*. In addition, the case following prepositions of comparison like *enn* 'than' and *som* 'that/who/which/' will be studied. For these prepositions, there is variation in European Norwegian (*enn meg/jeg*), possibly a dialectal phenomenon in which some use the nominative case (nominative) and some the accusative case (Faarlund et al. 197:319). Dative case exists in some dialects, but will not be the main focus of this paper.

Method: The Corpus of American Norwegian Speech and the Nordic Dialect Corpus will both be used to discover the use of these prepositions and their complements pronouns in European and heritage Norwegian. Other corpora (of American English and the Corpus of Oslo Speech) will also be consulted.

Why study pronominal case: The paper fills a gap in our knowledge of pronominal case in both varieties of Norwegian. Importantly, the results will also tell us about mechanisms of stability and change. If the speakers use non-target case forms after the locative prepositions, this is a new development that has arisen in the American context. Since English, like Norwegian, has the accusative case following locative prepositions (*on me /\*I*) in the relevant pronouns, any use of nominative pronouns in Norwegian would be a development which would have to find some other explanation than copying a pattern from English. If they use the accusative case, morphological case, in this position, it must be regarded as a stable feature.

For the prepositions of comparison, on the other hand, there is already variation in the baseline European Norwegian. The results of the study of the heritage speakers will show whether the variation is the same as at home, or whether there has been a change in a different direction. Data from an American English speech corpus (Coca) show that, though both case forms are acceptable in English, only the accusative is used after the preposition of comparison. The language use of the heritage speakers will therefore be of interest to investigate whether speakers with a dialect background where the nominative form is used, have kept this feature, or whether they have changed towards the English system. A complicating factor may be the status of the phenomenon in the Norwegian dialects today.

Preliminary findings suggest that there are differences between European and heritage Norwegian. The preposition of comparison *enn* 'than' occurs only with the nominative case in heritage Norwegian while there is variation in European Norwegian. This and the rest of the results will be discussed with perspectives such as transfer, acquisition and attrition, as well as external factors, especially regarding the linguistic situation in the dialects at the time of emigration.

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- Norwegian Speech Corpus - the Oslo part (NoTa-Oslo): <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/english.html>

## On population- and community-based approaches to heritage language shift: a case study of 4 Wisconsin communities

Joshua Bousquette (University of Georgia)

Previous research on language shift in Wisconsin shows a high degree of heritage language (HL) monolingualism as recently as 1910. However, within two generations, the community shifts to English dominant, or monolingual. Population studies on Creoles suggest that bilingual communities would maintain at least a stable bilingualism, when considering comparable ratios of HL/L1 to L2 speakers within the community. Correlating self-reported language proficiency with relevant data on demographics (immigration, household composition) and social structures (churches, schools), the shift to English dominance and eventual monolingualism in HLs has been accounted for through the increased orientation of these communities to community-external or *verticalized* institutions (Warren, 1963; Salmons 2005a, b). This community theoretic model accounts for a shift in the orientation from community-internal to community-external, which precedes language shift itself. This presentation first provides an expanded, descriptive and comparative overview of heritage language use over the time period 1900-1940 in four previously-studied communities; and second, derives an early 20th century timeline in which paradigmatic shifts in social institutions result in a shift away from HLs, even in communities where more than half the population was proficient in the HL.

Research on Creole formation suggests that a more equitable division of Creole/African vs. European (target language) speakers promotes a more or less stable bilingualism, while a more lopsided ratio leads to a higher degree of emergent (i.e. Creole) phenomena. For instance, a 2:1 ratio of African slaves to European-born individuals, as seen in Surinam in 1665, would allow for an 'absolute' acquisition of the European-origin L2 among slaves (Chaudenssen 1995); the 20:1 ratio of Africans to Europeans following the 1667 Dutch coup calls into question whether slaves would have any exposure to the European L2 at all, let alone sufficient input and frequency of use to acquire any more than a creolized version of primarily lexemes from the L2 (Arends 1992). And while Satterfield (2007) does note emergent phenomena within the first generations in an agent-based computer model of this population, the model i) assumes a uniform population with equal access to speakers of the target variety, without any internal hierarchy; and ii) does not account for birthrates and child language acquisition in a mixed input situation.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Wisconsin and the Upper Midwest saw a large influx of immigration from Europe, including notably large numbers of settlers from German(ic)-speaking lands. In both urban and rural areas, immigrants established locally-oriented communities in which a majority language other than English could be maintained across multiple generations in the domains of Church

(Wilkerson & Salmons 2012), School (Petty 2013), and Press (Lucht, Salmons & Frey 2011). Self-reported monolingualism in 1910 was as high as 28% in Kiel, WI (Frey, 2013), and 24% in Hustisford, WI (Wilkerson & Salmons, 2012). In Lebanon, WI, 13.6% (171 of 1254 individuals) were foreign-born, from German-speaking countries; 89 individuals – including 12 who were born in Wisconsin – reported German monolingualism (Lucht 2007: 17, 25). Within the home domain, extrapolated language proficiency is even more striking. In Hustisford in 1910, 13% of households were exclusively monolingual, where all members were monolingual speakers; fully 58% of all households contained at least one monolingual speaker, suggesting that German was the medium of communication at least some of the time, and between some members of the household (Wilkerson, Salmons & Livengood, 2014). In the Frisian community of Randolph, WI, this same diagnostic reveals 272 individuals as 'demonstrably proficient' (DP), including 102 monolinguals. In Randolph, WI, DP speakers account for approximately 24.9% of the entire population, which included also Germans and Welsh; but within the geographically-centered, socially-linked West Frisian community, this accounted for 69% of speakers (Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010).

Assuming a maintenance of the social networks and institutions of these communities, language shift would not be expected. Shift to English, however, would be a logical outcome in even the agent-based models, if the HL communities were increasingly integrated into the English-speaking community at large, such that the ratio of HL speakers to English monolinguals was less balanced. Within social networks, this shift occurs over time, as second- and third-generation immigrants move off the farm, to work wage labor positions – often derived as secondary agricultural industries – e.g. in canning factories, cheese factories, furniture factories, or breweries (Lucht 2007, Frey 2013); or as acculturation to American farming practice aligned German farmers with their English-speaking neighbors (Townley 2006). These effects compound as decisions regarding language use were increasingly affected by economic factors, such as the overhead cost of printing German-language newspapers with lower circulation than their English-language counterparts; or increasingly limited access to German-proficient teachers, pastors, and printed liturgical and educational materials.

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## Pennsylvania High German in the American Civil War

Joshua Brown (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire)

Among the most educated of eighteenth and nineteenth century Pennsylvania Dutch speakers, European German held strong literary appeal—it was the language of their books, their newspapers, and their schools. Yet being far from the European homeland created a hegemonic shift in the linguistic lives of the early German Americans; they were adopting an American regional identity. Along with their shift in identities and in linguistic hegemony, structural aspects of the languages they used also changed: their literary German was in contact with English and with their spoken German varieties. In addition, the limitations of formal education in German at rural public schools meant that the emphasis among most Pennsylvania Dutch was on the receptive knowledge of European German and not on productive control of the language. In time, a variety of European German called Pennsylvania High German emerged in the publications, writings, and schools of Pennsylvania. It still held literary prestige, but was more easily understood. It infuriated others—like Johann David Schöpf, chief surgeon of the Hessian troops deployed during the American Revolution, who wrote directly against the “pitiful” German he read in Pennsylvania’s newspapers. Moreover, the Speaker of the House of Representatives Frederick Muhlenberg suggested in a speech in Philadelphia that the Pennsylvania Dutch should switch to using just English, as their German was simply not good enough (Louden 2016).

To date very little has been written about Pennsylvania High German. The first and only single scholarly piece devoted to the subject is Ralph Wood’s (1945) article “Pennsylvania ‘High German’,” which appeared in the *Germanic Review*. Wood’s focus is largely on the phonetics of Pennsylvania High German gleaned from German language textbooks printed for the German Americans. Yet, Pennsylvania High German and, consequently, the verbal repertoire available to the Pennsylvania Dutch thrived elsewhere in their newspapers and other writings. It is characterized by its lexical borrowings from English and Pennsylvania Dutch, its spelling influenced by Pennsylvania Dutch phonetics, and its grammar showing both Pennsylvania Dutch and archaic German forms.

Keller and Valuska (2004), in their work on Pennsylvania Dutch soldiers in the American Civil War, noted that the exclusive language, in which they wrote was English. Indeed, they only cite three letters written in a variety of Pennsylvania High German by a soldier to his family at home; all others writings were in English. Several years later another letter surfaced and was described linguistically by Sauer (2006); however, this letter was drafted by a scribe and meant to be an artistic representation of penmanship. Since that time, careful research has shown that Pennsylvania High German writing among the rurally educated Pennsylvania Dutch was far more common than previously thought. This presentation discusses the linguistic features unique to Pennsylvania High German in a two-year diary and a series of letters recently discovered. Both data sources were written by Pennsylvania Dutch soldiers during the American Civil War and increases the corpus of written Pennsylvania High German by Civil War soldiers in excess of 2700%.

Forms such as the following give us insight into the linguistic repertoire of the Pennsylvania Dutch:

- (1) mir hen ader grieg vor zu mertschen  
we have orders gotten for to march  
‘We received orders to march.’
- (2) auf diesen brief ich möchte auch hören von dir  
on this letter I would like also to hear from you  
‘I’d like to receive your reply to this letter.’

Pennsylvania High German stands apart from the most recent scholarship in historical sociolinguistics in that its sociolinguistic history “dismantles” a European standard language, rather than focusing on the creation of a standard. The language was an important tool for the formation of Pennsylvania Dutch identities in their new American homeland; it represented a tenacious yet precarious hold on their European roots and a bridge to their new sociocultural and linguistic identities. This presentation discusses both the morphosyntactic and phonological aspects of Pennsylvania High German in these writings and places them within larger conversations of historical sociolinguistics and the negotiation of immigrant identities.

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## Small Fishes in a Big Pond: Language Practices and Ideologies among Catalans in North America

Eva Juarros Dausa (University of Groningen)

The United States of America is a rich multilingual society. However, due to the dominant ideology promoting the hegemony of English, intergenerational transmission of other languages is oftentimes weak. I present a study of linguistic practices and ideologies by multilingual families residing in New York City, in which one of the parents is born in Catalonia. Potential languages for transmission are: two locally available and globally projected languages, English and Spanish; and Catalan, not only a minoritized language at home, but also one with no presence in the American landscape. In the sample of 62 families, parents transmitted Catalan in a surprising proportion, and in many cases at the cost of Spanish. A motivational analysis revealed that the determinant factor was the distribution of integrative and personal values among the languages and the symbolic role that the languages had in the construction of identity. This population is briefly compared with the NYC Galician community, which presents similar sociolinguistic characteristics, but opposite linguistic choices. An analysis of language ideologies reveals that the spreading ideology of *minority cosmopolitanism* in Catalonia, but not Galicia, might also be influencing language choices in the diaspora.

## Verb Placement in American Norwegian: The Emergence of a New System

Terje Lohndal (University of Trondheim, University of Tromsø) & Artemis Alexiadou (Humboldt University Berlin)

**Introduction:** It is well known that varieties of Germanic do not display a strict V2 system whereby the finite verb is in the second position in main clauses. Dialects in e.g., Norway display a rich pattern of variation (Westergaard & Vangsnes 2005, Westergaard 2009), and modern urban vernaculars (often called ethnolects) often do not have V2 (see Wiese et al. to appear, Walkden 2017 for a recent overview). In this paper, we present a case study of verb placement in American Norwegian, showing that it behaves very similarly to urban vernaculars.

**Background:** American Norwegian is a heritage language of Norwegian spoken in the US. Data have been collected by Haugen (1953), Hjelde (1992), and more recently though the spoken corpus CANS

(Johannessen 2015). Eide and Hjelde (2015) investigate V2 in American Norwegian based on the CANS corpus. The corpus consists of 50 speakers so far, and Eide and Hjelde have examined five informants in total. (1) provides an example of V2 whereas (2) is an example of V3. Norwegian, including all dialects, has V2 in both instances.

- (1) Ja, å da **likte** dem itte kattlikken. (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 86)  
Yes and then liked they not Catholic.def  
'Yes, and then they didn't like the Catholics.'
- (2) nå je **flotte** nerri her, kjinner alle her, veit du. (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 86)  
now I move down here, know everyone here, know you  
'Now I'm moving down here, I know everyone here, you know.'

Focusing on one specific speaker, Eide and Hjelde note that there are a lot of V2 violations in topicalization structures (3-4), but no V2 violations in subject-initial clauses (Eide and Hjelde 2015: 94; ex. from pp. 91-2). It should be noted that in written and spoken Norwegian, about one third of main clause declaratives are topicalization structures (Eide and Hjelde 2015: 88).

Thus this is perceived to be a 'Norwegian' trait for speakers of American Norwegian.

- (3) Fyste gong vi hadde bisøk ifrå Nårge vi var på en tjørke oppi Taylor  
first time we had visit in.from Norway we were at a church up.in Taylor  
'The first time we had visitors from Norway we were in a church up in Taylor.'
- (4) Og så da neste år, fir-og-forti, je var egg eating champion før to år.  
and so then next year, four-and-forti, I was egg eating champion for two years  
'And then next year, in forty-four, I was an egg eating champion for two years.'

**Current study:** We studied 16 speakers in the CANS corpus, excerpting all occurrences of V2 and V3 speaker-by-speaker. Our results show that V2 is quite stable, but that in cases of V3, the structural patterns are close to identical to patterns observed in urban vernaculars. Walkden (2017) provides a detailed overview of verb placement in learner varieties of various Germanic languages. He focuses among others on Kiezdeutsch and the Mainland Scandinavian urban vernaculars, cf. the examples in (5) and (6).

- (5) morgen ich **geh** arbeidsamt (Kiezdeutsch)  
tomorrow I go job.center  
'Tomorrow I will go to the job center.' (Wiese 2009: 787)
- (6) med limewire det tar én to dager (Norwegian urban vernacular)  
with Limewire it takes one two days  
'Using Limewire it takes one or two days' (Freywald et al. 2015: 84)

Walkden argues that the similarity across geographically isolated areas should be analyzed in terms of what he labels sequential simplification and complexification. Our results from American Norwegian suggest that the factors favoring V3 in Germanic are uniform, involving adjunct initial clauses.

**Analysis and Discussion:** We see that in both urban vernaculars and heritage languages, the V2 requirement is relaxed. In American Norwegian, we find a lot of V3 in structures with topicalization. In Kiezdeutsch, only adjuncts can appear as the initial constituent, unlike standard V2 grammars. Thus, a common trait appears to be that V3 structures appear more easily with adjuncts as the initial constituent. These adjuncts are typically either temporal adverbs or adverbial clauses. If we assume that there is no T-to-C movement in either urban vernaculars (Opsahl & Nistov 2014, te Velde to appear) and variable T-to-C movement in American Norwegian for non-subject initial sentences, we get a unified analysis of these varieties: Adjuncts can be first-merged in the CP, unlike arguments (cf. Walkden 2017), and since the verb does not move to C, a V3 structure appears as a result, cf. (7).

- (7) [CP adjunct [C' C [TP subject [T' verb [VP ... ]]]]]

We will discuss implications concerning the nature of V2 and the discrepancy between subject-initial and non-subject initial clauses and their syntactic representations.

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## A quantitative corpus based approach to profiling heritage speakers

Gert Foget Hansen (University of Copenhagen)

Heritage speakers are notorious for the variation in competence. This presents a problem for heritage language research if a comparable and reasonable level of fluency among the speakers is assumed a priori. In addition, a rather intuitive rating of fluency is used to rate the competence of speakers and to group them together. Robust speaker profiles, including differences in lemma production, amount and type of code-switching, speech rate, hesitations repetitions and self-interruptions, is thus a desideratum.

It has previously been shown how structural attrition i.e. attrition of grammar and lexicon goes hand in hand with attrition at the performance level as expressed by the occurrence of cognitive disfluency markers such as empty pauses, hesitations, repetitions and self-interruptions (Montrul 2009, Johannessen 2015) and how cognitive disfluency markers and semantic disfluency markers (empty pauses) are affected differently by attrition (Schmid & Fägersten 2010).

The aim of the talk is to qualify the discussion of the connection between the various disfluency markers and the connection to linguistic attrition. Based on the CoNAmDa (Corpus of North American Danish) and CoSAmDa (Corpus of South American Danish), we will use factor analysis to gain insight into how phenomena of disfluency and attrition co-occur across a large dataset (see below) and to look for possible trends across different speaker categories (based on speaker metadata). Among the structural (attrition) phenomena which we include in the analysis are:

- Gender simplification
- Occurrence of certain discourse markers (well, you know)
- Ratio of hypotactic to paratactic constructions
- Lexical diversity (type-token-ratio)
- Language switching at three different levels: word-internal, clause-internal, and clause to clause

The CoSAmDa (Argentine Danish) corpus amounts to 858,000 tokens produced by 90 speakers (born between 1911 and 1971). The CoNAmDa (North American Danish) corpus consists of 614,000 tokens produced by 230 speakers (born between 1876 and 1965). Basic speaker metadata like gender, birth year, time of emigration, home town and residence at the time of the recording are registered for each speaker.

Both corpora have the same (rich) set of annotations. The speech is orthographically transcribed, and aligned with sound. The transcription includes all verbal events: hesitations, filled pauses, self-interruptions and other such as laughter.

At the word level, each token is annotated for language; primarily Danish, English and Spanish. Words with word-internal switching (either between stems or between stem and suffixes) are coded as 'hybrid'. Words which cannot be assigned unambiguously to one language due to similarity in form and pronunciation between two languages are coded as 'ambiguous'. Given names, filled pauses, self-interruptions and other discourse phenomena are coded as such. All words have received an automatically based PoS-tagging. Further, the corpora are currently being annotated with a basic syntactic coding identifying main and subordinate clauses, including a distinction between Danish and non-Danish clauses.<sup>1</sup>

Combining the syntactic annotation and the word-level annotation of language enables us to distinguish between non-Danish words inserted into otherwise Danish clauses and non-Danish words forming non-Danish clauses. Thus, we are able to distinguish between language switching at three different levels: word-internal, clause-internal, and clause to clause switching across the whole corpus. Based on the syntactic coding, empty intervals occurring clause-internally can be classified as pauses, whereas empty intervals outside of clauses are disregarded.

It should be emphasized that the coding of the disfluency markers is automatic and/or derived from the syntax coding and thus strictly quantitative; In a more qualitative approach one might for instance distinguish between pauses with different functions, or different reasons for repetitions.

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## Real time change in a Minnesota-Norwegian dialect; 1980s – 2010s

Arnstein Hjelde (Østfold University College)

In the late 1980s fieldwork was done in Minnesota, North and South Dakota with the purpose to document the Norwegian Trønder dialect as spoken there by heritage speakers. During the last few years, two of these communities, Wanamingo/Zumbrota in Goodhue County, MN and Madison/Appleton in Lac Qui Parle County, MN have been visited again and more material has been collected as a part of the CANS project. Both these communities had a substantial group of immigrants from Stjørdal and Hegra in Trøndelag, and this is also two rather old communities, the Trønders settled down in Goodhue County around 1850, while they came to Lac Qui Parle in the 1860s.

In the 1980s the language was still in daily use among some of the speakers, who typically were 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants, born during the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The structure of the

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<sup>1</sup> In our syntactic coding, a clause minimally requires a finite verb. As a consequence, some utterances are classified as non-clauses. These also include well-formed utterances, in particular simple replies such as "yes" and "no" or matter of fact information such as "in New Brunswick in 1953". As the classification of a clause as Danish or non-Danish hinges on which language the subject and the verb can be attributed to, the non-clauses are not specified for language (at clause level).



language was surprisingly intact when compared to the Norwegian baseline. The syntax and morphology appeared extremely robust, with only a few single instances of deviations, even the dative case was still in use among most speakers. Phonology, on the other hand, showed more signs of change. For several speakers, the rounded and high fronted vowel /y/ showed strong tendencies towards delabialization, while the apical vibrant /r/ and the retroflex flap /ɾ/ often could have a realization similar to an ‘American r’. However, the most striking difference between the America Trønder and the Europe Trønder dialect was the vocabulary, many words of English origin had become a part of the America-Trønder vernacular, and the way these words were incorporated and used was in general in line with what Haugen (1953) found in his study.

In the 1980s it was hard to find speakers of this particular dialect in the Midwest – and if we judge the situation today based on census data, one should hardly expect any Norwegian speaker left at all. However, even today there are still a few to be found; in this presentation I will focus on the language of what can be seen as the traditional heritage speakers, i.e. those who learned Norwegian at home, and who have not received any formal training in this language. In this two Norwegian communities, and especially in Goodhue County, we find quite a few re-learners and others who have taken classes at the neighboring St. Olaf College, but these will be ignored here.

The scope of this presentation will be to focus on how this heritage language has changed during the last 30 years, and the main focus will be on changes in syntax, morphology and phonology. Based on observations from other Norwegian-American communities, as well as tendencies seen in dialects in Norway, we can expect a number of changes to take place, such as:

- Reduced tendency to topicalize adverbials and an increasing instability of V2 as found in the speech of other America-Norwegians (Eide & Hjelde 2015)
- Strong tendency towards elimination of the dative case, which would be in line with a process taking place in many dialects in Norway (Sandøy 2011)
- Merge of /i/ and /y/ into one vowel phoneme; in the 1980s /y/ could be found with a rounded allophone, as well as an unrounded one, and these two were in free distribution (Hjelde 1992). One could anticipate that this was a part of a process where /i/ and /y/ merges, something we also find in several traditional dialects in Norway.
- Merge of /r/ and /ɾ/ into one consonant phoneme realized as [ɾ] (Hjelde 1992).
- Loss of circumflex tone: Many dialects in Trøndelag, unlike other Norwegian dialects, have tone distinction associated to one syllable words; in America-Trønder in the 1980s circumflex tone was seldom assigned to loanwords, and since the realization of circumflex is not very prominent in this part of Trøndelag, one could expect it to be lost.

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## Resisting contact-induced sound change in Heritage Swiss German

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The obstruent series in Swiss German (as spoken in Switzerland) lack voicing contrasts. These consonants are instead differentiated on the basis of a FORTIS-LENIS opposition. Because neither voicing nor aspiration provide reliable phonetic cues for determining a consonant's phonological status, the notions of articulatory strength and closure duration have been used to characterize the fortis-lenis distinction in Swiss German consonants. As 'fortis' consonants have longer closure durations than the relatively shorter 'lenis' consonants in Swiss German, the difference may therefore be viewed as one of a geminate-singleton distinction. While this distinction persists in Swiss German, it is unclear whether such a geminate-singleton contrast has been maintained among heritage speakers of the language in Ohio, given extensive linguistic contact with English. Of primary interest to this study is the phonetic realization of the inherited fortis/lenis plosives in Swiss and whether they maintain the geminate-singleton contrast or have undergone a contact-induced sound change to approximate their English counterparts. Preliminary results suggest that the Swiss plosives have resisted approximation in regards to closure duration, maintaining the unique fortis-lenis (i.e. geminate-singleton) distinction.

Kraehenmann & Lahiri (2008) found that this length contrast for obstruents can be found in all phonological positions (i.e. word-internally, -medially, and -finally) in Thurgovian Swiss German. Additionally, the differences in duration are the only reliable phonetic cues that signal an obstruent's phonological fortis/lenis status. Similarly, Fleischer & Schmid (2006) confirmed Zurich Swiss German's lack of voiced obstruents, with obstruents contrasting by closure duration instead. Contrary to the phonetic realization of obstruents in Swiss German, English plosives employ the feature [SPREAD GLOTTIS] to distinguish between phonologically 'voiceless' and 'voiced' plosives (e.g. orthographic <t> and <d>, respectively). In a context of widespread bilingualism and contact between two such systems, it would not be surprising to find the effects of contact-induced change in the heritage language.

Kidron, Ohio, in Wayne County is home to such a linguistic island of Swiss German speakers, descendants of Swiss emigrants from the Tramelan region in the Canton of Bern that came to Ohio in the early 19th century. These speakers have had significant contact with both English and Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) historically and contemporaneously, with all remaining Swiss speakers being English-Swiss bilinguals, with many exhibiting English linguistic dominance. Because neither English nor PD have duration contrasts in their obstruent series, the prolonged contact between languages may be hypothesized to have initiated a sound change in the moribund Swiss variety of the type approximation or complete transfer, as suggested by Babel (2008) and Zirak & Skaer (2013).

In this paper, we will present findings from two production tasks (word list and story-telling) and free discourse collected from 28 heritage speakers of this variety of Swiss German. To test the predictions of phonetic approximation/transfer, the phonetic realizations of inherited fortis/lenis plosives in Swiss will be analyzed to ascertain whether the geminate-singleton contrast has been maintained or if sound changes have occurred, as a result of contact with English (and to a lesser extent PD). Preliminary results from participant SG\_20 (seen below) suggest that the Swiss plosives have resisted both approximation and complete transfer (i.e. assimilation) in regards to closure duration in an intervocalic environment, meaning that in such an environment, the areally unique fortis-lenis (i.e. geminate-singleton) distinction has been maintained. Similar to Kraehenmann (2001), preliminary data also shows that closure duration is a reliable phonetic determiner of phonological status. 101 67 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 geminate singleton SG\_20 Intervocalic Closure Duration in ms.

Kraehenmann (2001)'s results from looking at voice onset time (VOT) in Swiss German obstruents showed that no significant difference in VOTs exists between geminates and singletons (i.e. fortis-lenis obstruents) indicating that neither voicing nor aspiration is contrastive. Our preliminary data show that voicing and aspiration may similarly be noncontrastive in our variety of heritage Swiss German, as shown in measurements of speaker SG\_20, where the 6.7ms VOT difference between fortis-lenis plosives is likely not perceptible though additional measurements are needed to determine statistical significance. Furthermore, the contrast is maintained intervocalically in foot-internal position in SG unlike the participants' English in which the contrast between /t/ and /d/ is neutralized and both are realized as

[r]. 19.7 13 05 10 15 20 25 geminate vot singleton vot SG\_20 Intervocalic VOT for Geminate and Singletons in ms.

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## Heritage Swedish, English, and Textual Space in Rural Communities of Practice

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We know that English has replaced Swedish in most domains in the Swedish heritage communities in the U.S. Yet no matter where linguists have looked in Swedish-American communities, they have seen that language shift was never abrupt but rather a dynamic, protracted process (Hasselmo 1974; Hedblom 1983; Hoffman Karstadt 2003; cf. Haugen 1953 [1969]) involving the co-existence of multiple linguistic systems, among them Standard Swedish, dialects of Swedish, English, and hybridized intermediary forms that are akin to language intertwining (cf. Rickford 1987; Bakker & Muysken 1995; Valdés 2001). In other words, linguists see evidence for the presence of a bilingual continuum that has been available to varying degrees for speakers and writers in Swedish-American communities.

From previous research on language shift as observed in the genre of cookbooks (Hoffman & Kytö forthcoming 2017), we know that communities make proportionately different uses of features drawn from points along the continuum. In cookbooks, we have accounted for the different language patterning visible from one community to another within the framework *enregisterment* (Remlinger 2009; Johnstone 2016). Our current investigation aims to identify stages of transition (cf. Schneider 2003; 2007) in language shift as perceptible in another type of written records.

The data under investigation range from the mid-1800s to the early 2000s. We investigate rural, Mid-western communities founded by Swedish pioneers, namely four places where the Swedish-American Lutheran church gained an early foothold (Blanck 1997). Further, we use to our analytical advantage the comparability of not only the settlement histories of the towns but also the similar types of texts that were produced in their Lutheran congregations. We examine historical records from the following places: Andover and Sandwich, Illinois; and Lindsborg and Marquette, Kansas. In particular, we access parallel sets of written genres: *church records* ranging across many decades, i.e., meeting minutes, ministerial acts, and lists of members, and numerous *community cookbooks* compiled and printed by women in some of the communities of practice (Wenger 1998; Morgan 2014) affiliated with the same Lutheran congregations.

In this paper, we pursue a number of questions pertaining to language transition and language shift: (1) What factors have been at work to promote or (at times) slow down the language shift from Swedish into English? More precisely, what roles have been played by genres, localities, and communities of practice? (2) In the texts under investigation, what evidence reveals that Heritage Swedish and English continue to inhabit different textual spaces? (3) And finally, to what extent is there evidence, if any, to suggest that one so-far under-explored factor in Swedish-American communities, namely gender, has played a role in the dynamic processes of language shift?

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### Time transitions in North American Icelandic narratives

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When telling a story, the speaker uses various transitional words to connect e.g. events, times, characters, locations, and point of view. Time transitions, such as *meanwhile*, *afterwards*, *next day*, tell the reader how the story unfolds in time; they move the story from one logical point to another. Additionally, they show the relation between events, whether the events take place simultaneously or sequentially. The importance of time transitions is particularly relevant when temporal information is not easily available through aspect. Consider the examples below in (1) and (2):

- (1) The boy looked down the hole **while** the dog checked out the tree. (simultaneous)
- (2) The boy looked down the hole. **Then** the dog checked out the tree. (sequential)

This paper presents the results of a preliminary investigation into the use of time transitions in North American Icelandic narratives. It contributes to our understanding of how heritage speakers locate their events in time and how they move the storyline forward. By comparing the results to narratives of fully competent speakers of European Icelandic, we gain further understanding of what makes heritage speakers' narratives different, if anything.

As Aarsen (2001) has pointed out, the concepts *simultaneous*, *before*, and *after* are core notions of temporality. Furthermore, children find it easy to understand the idea that two things happen at the same time, or that one happens after another, and North American Icelanders who mostly spoke Icelandic in their childhood should therefore have acquired an adequate knowledge of the concept before English more or less took over. However, simultaneous events are more marked than utterances that express sequential order and it is therefore possible that the speakers avoid them (di Luzio 1994:249). In a study

such as this one, it is also of importance that both simultaneous and sequential events can be expressed in several ways.

The results are based on interviews with 28 North American Icelanders (NAMIce) telling the Frog Story (Mayer 1969), both in Icelandic and English, and five Icelanders telling the story only in Icelandic.

Preliminary results show that the heritage speakers do indeed avoid expressing simultaneity; only one time transition was used by only one speaker, *á meðan* ‘meanwhile’. Instead, the NAMIce used the conjunctions *og* ‘and’ and *en* ‘but’ to indicate simultaneous events:

- (3) Hann byrjar að horfa í skónum í **og** hundurinn fe- setur hausinn í flöskuna.  
‘He starts by looking into the shoes and the dog puts the head into the bottle.’

These conjunctions can also indicate sequential events and usually do so when there is only one agent. However, the two separate agents (usually the boy and the dog) give rise to the simultaneous reading.

There is more variety in the speech of NAMIce when the story needs to move forward. The most common ones were:

- a. Indicative pronouns: *hér/hérna* ‘here’ and *þar/þarna* ‘there’ while pointing, (see 4).
  - b. Time adverbials: *svo* ‘then’, *þá* ‘then’, *næst* ‘next’, *skyndilega* ‘suddenly’, and *þegar...þá* ‘when...then’, (see 5)
  - c. Verbs of motion used as inceptives, particularly *fara* ‘go’ and *koma* ‘come’, (see 6)
- (4) Ó, **hérna** er stráksi farinn að sofa.  
‘Oh, here the boy has gone to sleep.’
- (5) Jæja þá **allt í einu** fyrir aftan steinn kemur regndeer how do you say that? Reindeer.  
‘Well then suddenly behind the rock comes a regndeer, how do you say that? Reindeer’
- (6) Ja hann **fer** út til þess að ganga líklegast og kalla og reyna finn froskinn.  
‘Well he goes out to walk probably and call and try to find the frog.’

The high use of indicative pronouns is partly a problem with the method; the pages of the story act as a crutch that the speakers can use to locate their events in time. This was in fact also common among the Icelandic speakers and the NAMIce speakers when telling the story in English, and should, therefore, not be considered particularly characteristic of the NAMIce language. However, the fully competent speakers, both the Icelanders and the NAMIce speaking English, used a greater variety of transitions overall, as well as using more varied ways to show overlapping events or move the storyline forward.

The main conclusions are that the heritage speakers’ narratives mostly consisted of simple structures and a limited number of ways to express these temporal concepts which indicates a significant reduction in the temporal forms used by the NAMIce speakers. As the preliminary results don’t seem to indicate any kind of rise in the number of English-based tokens emerging in the Icelandic narratives by the NAMIce speakers, the overall temporal inventory has been reduced.

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## Object Shift in North American Icelandic

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Object Shift (OS) is a well-known phenomena in Scandinavian syntax (see Holmberg 1986 and Thráinsson 2001). Nevertheless, many aspects of OS in Icelandic remain unexplored. This study on OS in North American Icelandic (NAI) is an attempt to rectify that situation but also to illustrate how an investigation of NAI can raise important questions about European Icelandic (EI). The data reported here are based

on written transcripts of interviews with speakers of NAI conducted in the seventies and eighties, consisting of 484.574 words.

OS in NAI is very similar to OS in EI. In particular, it always obeys Holmberg's Generalization in that it is dependent on movement of the main verb out of the VP. However, there are some differences, the most important one being that OS of unstressed pronouns is optional in NAI, but obligatory in EI. Thus, alongside examples like (1a-c), examples like (2a-b) are also attested in NAI:

- (1) a. Og ég gleymi því aldrei.  
And I forget it.DAT never 'And I will never forget it.'  
b. og svaraði mér ekki.  
and replied me.DAT not 'and did not reply to me'  
c. þegar menn skilja þetta ekki  
when people understand this.ACC not
- (2) a. En mér líkaði ekki það.  
but me.DAT liked not it.NOM 'But I didn't like it.'  
b. að fólkið nú á dögum, það trúir ekki þessu  
that people nowadays, it believes not this.DAT  
'that people nowadays, they don't believe this'

Although a systematic study is lacking, it is well-known that Icelandic children have a hard time learning that pronominal OS is obligatory (but see Anderssen et al. 2010, 2012 on Norwegian). For instance, I recently heard a young boy saying (3) on national television:

- (3) Ég veit ekki það.  
I know it.ACC not 'I don't know it.'

This suggests that the optionality of pronominal OS in NAI is due to imperfect language acquisition. At least, it is not likely that this is due to direct influence from English where main verbs do not undergo verb raising and the negation triggers *do*-support.

All the examples of no OS with unstressed pronouns in NAI involve the negation and the neuter pronoun *það* 'it' or the demonstrative *þetta* 'this'. This may not mean much with respect to the first two items because of their high frequency in the NAI corpus. However, it is quite striking that the demonstrative has a clear tendency not to undergo OS in NAI. In all likelihood, this has to do with the fact that the demonstrative is more naturally stressed in Icelandic than e.g. personal pronouns. Pronominal OS is clearly linked to stress as all unstressed pronouns must undergo OS in Icelandic whenever they can.

The NAI corpus has some examples of a full DP undergoing OS and they seem to obey the restrictions that apply in EI, both with respect to semantics/pragmatics (Diesing 1996) and phonological weight:

- (4) a. við fáum Iceland Review alltaf.  
we get Iceland Review always 'We always get Iceland Review.'  
b. en Gunnar sótti krakkana aldrei.  
but Gunnar fetched kids.the.ACC never 'but G. never picked up the kids.'  
c. Ég lærði söguna ekki  
I learned story.the.ACC not 'I did not learn the story.'

Interestingly, (4c) is the only example that I have found in NAI where OS of a full DP crosses negation. Ásgeirsdóttir (2000) found that OS of full DPs across negation only occurs only about 14% of the time where it is possible; importantly, this number is higher for at least some other adverbs. Given these statistics, there should have been 8-9 examples like (4c) in the NAI corpus. Whether this suggest a real difference or not, the problem in EI and NAI may be that negation is typically unstressed, e.g. when it immediately follows the finite verb or an unstressed object pronoun. Thus, moving a full DP object to the left of negation forces an intonation pattern that is slightly awkward.

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## Kinship nouns in American Norwegian: split possession in a heritage language

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Recent studies have observed that Norwegian, as spoken in Norway (EurN), has a relatively rich system of split possession whereby certain syntactic constructions are reserved for certain kinship nouns denoting close family relations (Lødrup 2014, Johannessen et al. 2014).<sup>1</sup> This sets Norwegian apart from English, which does not have split possession to the same extent. The present paper presents novel data from American Norwegian (AmNo), a heritage language spoken by bilingual (mostly 3rd generation) Norwegian immigrants in North America. The main research question is to which extent split possession, a lexically restricted phenomenon, is retained in AmNo; investigations into this topic can shed new light on syntactic change in situations of language contact and reduced L1 input. I will focus mainly on two possessive constructions reserved for certain kinship nouns in EurN: indefinite kinship nouns with i) a postposed possessive pronoun, and ii) a postposed PP. Both constructions are special in that the kinship noun may appear without the definiteness suffix, which is required for other nouns. Cf. 1–2:

- (1) mor mi  
mother my  
'my mother'
- (2) mor til Mari  
mother to Mari  
'Mari's mother'

Drawing on CANS<sup>2</sup> and additional speech data, I will argue that split possession is not only retained, but productively extended to *new* kinship nouns in AmNo.<sup>3</sup> Example 3a involves a noun borrowed from English; 3b involves a kinship noun that does not license the special constructions in EurN.<sup>4</sup>

- (3) a. ...var gift med auntie mi  
...was married with auntie my (westby\_WI\_01gm)
- b. det var hos e # kusine til han  
it was with ee cousin to him  
'It was at X's cousin's place' (harmony\_MN\_02gk)

Other kinship nouns that, somewhat surprisingly, seem to license the special constructions in AmNo are e.g. *barnebarn* 'grandchild', *kone* 'wife', and *jente* 'girlfriend'.<sup>5</sup> The absence of the definiteness suffix in these cases does not seem to indicate of a general decline of the definiteness category in AmNo. However, kinship nouns stand out in terms of appearing in their bare form in certain contexts *additional* to the constructions discussed above; like in 4:

<sup>1</sup> To some extent, other relational nouns also exhibit special properties; they will not be discussed here.

<sup>2</sup> <http://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa/html/?corpus=amerikanorsk>

<sup>3</sup> Westergaard and Andersen (2015) note this for construction 1, but do not discuss split possession more generally.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Julien (2005:92); I have also queried the Nordic Dialect Corpus.

<sup>5</sup> The wide range of kinship nouns involved in split possession makes AmNo resemble Icelandic (Stolz et al. 2008:119). One might ask whether AmNo exhibits diachronic continuity since Old Norse instead of extension. However, the Norwegian dialect literature and available EurN data do not appear to corroborate such a claim.

- (4) Når jeg får brev fra **firmenning**...  
 when I get letter from third.cousin...  
 ‘When I get a letter from my third cousin...’ (sunburg\_MN\_06gm)

This supports the idea that kinship nouns are treated as a natural class in AmNo, and that this class may be affected by syntactic change. The retention of split possession may be related to frequency; we can reasonably assume that the relevant kinship nouns and constructions were robustly attested in the input when the AmNo speakers acquired their Norwegian. The extension to new contexts highlights that change in heritage languages is not always best understood in terms of *loss*; changes can be innovative in the same way as in non-heritage languages (Yager et al. 2015). A motivation for the change under discussion here might be found in the concept of *cross-linguistic overcorrection* (Kupisch 2014): bilingual speakers sometimes overstress what is *different* between their two languages, and as split possession is characteristic of Norwegian, but not English, this property was extended.

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## Periphrastic passives of transition verbs in North American Danish: Loss and stability

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It has been stated by Hasselmo (2005: 2133) that North American Scandinavian is characterized by the overuse of *være/vara* ‘be’ (at the expense of *blive/bli* ‘become’) in forming the periphrastic passive of transition verbs, e.g. *hon var tagen till hospitalet* (instead of *hon blev tagen till hospitalet*) ‘she was taken to the hospital’ (examples from *ibid.*). However, the early research on North American Danish by Kjær and Baumann Larsen that Hasselmo refers to in his overview publication does not concern itself with the formation of passives. Thus, it seems that the statement that North American Scandinavian passive formation is characterized by an overuse of *være/vara* ‘be’ relies mainly on studies of American Swedish and North American Norwegian. For American Swedish, the *vara*-effect has been confirmed by more recent studies, e.g. Larsson, Tingsell og Andréasson (2015: 378), but North American Danish remains terra incognita (but see Kühl & Heegård Petersen *forthc.*).

European Danish distinguishes between stative passives and transitional passives in the use of auxiliaries: The use of *blive* ‘become’ denotes transition, the use of *være* ‘be’ denotes a state: *Soldaten blev skudt* ‘the soldier became shot’ denotes the transition from not being shot to being shot. In contrast, *Soldaten var skudt* ‘the soldier was shot’ indicates that the man has reached a state of shot-ness (he is dead) as a result of the transition of being shot (Juul Nielsen 2015: 445–448, Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 630).

The analysis of passive formation is based on a sample of the Corpus of North American Danish (CoNAmDa) of 348.825 words by 146 elderly emigrant and heritage speakers. The recordings, obtained by different researchers between 1966 and 1998, consist of loosely structured sociolinguistic interviews



with a focus on the consultants' lives (for further details of the corpus see Kühl et al. *forthc.*). Thus, beyond being interviews, the American Danish data contain many biographical narratives. As a means of comparison, we have used the LANCHART-corpus of spoken Danish which, at the time of the analysis, consisted of 8.756.000 words. The LANCHART-corpus also consists of sociolinguistic interviews with a focus on the informants' lives (for details see Gregersen & Kristiansen 2015).

Preliminary studies of the CoNAMDa-sample indeed indicate a salient (over)use of *være* in forming the periphrastic passive, but mainly with the biographical transition verbs *født* 'born', *konfirmeret* 'confirmed' and *gift* 'married', and only in the past tense (preterite). The range of verbs seems to be caused by the text type of the interviews (biographical narratives). Both *var konfirmeret* 'was/were confirmed' and *var gift* 'was/were married' is used in contexts where European Danish uses *blev konfirmeret/gift* 'became confirmed/married', i.e. together with adverbials specifying points of time, place, agent or statement of the language used. In the case of *var født* 'was/were born', we do not observe a use that is considered ungrammatical in European Danish, but very salient overuse at the expense of *blev født* 'became born'. This can be considered a case of Frequential Copying according to Johanson's *Code Interaction Framework* (e.g. Johanson 2002) where a frequency distribution is copied from the source language to the target language without actual changes in the construction.

The talk aims at presenting a first survey of passive formation in North American Danish, but also in refining Hasselmo's statement mentioned above for North American Danish: In general, the distinction between transitional and stative passives by auxiliary choice auxiliaries is retained, but we do observe loss to a certain degree, yet only in very specific contexts. In addition, language contact also has the effect of stabilizing one existing option, resulting in the simpler, yet stable construction *var født* 'was/were born'.

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## Verbal Morphology and V2 word order in Heritage Norwegian

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**Introduction:** This paper explores morphologically marked finiteness (FIN) and verb-second word order (V2), in North American Heritage Norwegian (HN), and a possible link between them. A theory put forth by Eide (2009), claims that in English the loss of the productive FIN-marking on main verbs of the weak inflection, has led to a categorical loss of morphological FIN, causing a subsequent loss of V2 in main clause declaratives. These developments separate English from other Germanic languages, e.g. Norwegian. In my work, I study morphological finiteness marking on verbs, and verb placement in main clause declaratives in the speech of speakers of HN, whose dominant language is English. In the present material, the link between FIN-morphology and V2 is not apparent, and both categories seem close to the relevant baselines.

**Data:** The survey is based on experimental data from 10 participants, who each produce approx. 15 main clause declaratives with topicalization. The participants show some variability with regards to production of V2. Three participants produce no non-baseline word order. A second more tenuous grouping of five participants, produce a majority of target-like syntax, but have non-V2 in 7%–33% of their sentences. The last two participants show idiosyncratic tendencies: One, Fargo\_ND\_01gm, produces non-target word order in 10 out of 15 instances (67%). The other, Coon\_valley\_WI\_12gm has an unusually high amount of rephrased sentences. Only 6 out of the target 17 are relevant for the study. Only 2 of these 6 clauses (33%), however, are non-V2.

With regards to FIN-morphology, no participant shows a clearly non-baseline system. Firstly, there are no instances of unambiguously inconsistent or non-target-like use of the morphological forms, i.e. there is no use of an unambiguous infinitive for the present, perfect participle for the preterite or vice versa. Secondly, the observed verbal paradigms are almost formally identical to what is found in the baseline Norwegian dialects. One possible exception is the previously mentioned Coon\_valley\_WI\_12gm.

**Discussion:** The results do not show a clear correlation between (absence of) FIN-morphology and (absence of) V2 in these experimental data. E.g., two speakers with no V2 violations, Sunburg\_MN\_03gm and Sunburg\_MN\_12gk, show different morphological FIN-systems: Sunburg\_MN\_03gm has a system with the FIN-distinction even in the least formally differentiated class (the a-class), whereas sunburg\_MN\_12gk has a system without the finiteness distinction in this same class. Indeed, there are Norwegian baseline dialects, notably from the Southern Gudbrandsdal area, which lack the morphological FIN-distinction in the a-class (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 78–79), where the status of V2 has never come into question. Sunburg\_MN\_12gk has some ancestral ties to the Gudbrandsdal area. Fargo\_ND\_01gm (with 67% non-V2), does not seem to have a morphological system markedly different from that of sunburg\_MN\_03gm, who has target-like V2. Coon\_valley\_WI\_12gm produces a majority of V2 clauses, but has a low number of items. I have not found other linguistic factors correlating with non-V2. Eide & Hjelde (2015), studying V2 in HN, report a higher degree of V2 violations when the topic is more syntactically complex. Fargo\_ND\_01gm, the participant with the most non-V2, does not show any such tendency. Furthermore, there is no apparent correlation between the type of topic (e.g. adverbial/object etc.) or the type of subject (e.g. pronominal/nominal) and the non-V2 syntax.

**Conclusion:** The finiteness and/or tense morphology appears to follow the baseline for most of the participants, possibly excepting Coon\_valley\_WI\_12gm. This is in keeping with a reported tendency for tense morphology to be stable in heritage grammars, even though morphology can be vulnerable to change (Benmamoun et al. 2013: 141–144). Furthermore, my study shows that V2 (i.e. V-to-C movement) in main clause declaratives is relatively stable despite the fact that syntax pertaining to the CP layer is reportedly susceptible to change in heritage grammars (see e.g. Benmamoun et al. 2013: 148–149). My results are in line with Håkansson (1995), who shows that V2 is at baseline level in data from five heritage speakers of Swedish.

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## Resisting change: *Get*-passives in Pennsylvania Dutch

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Overview: As discussed by Wood and Sigurðsson (2014), *get*-passives with two arguments as in (1) are apparently found in all Germanic languages whereas the *get*-passive constructions in (2) are found in English but are typically impermissible in other Germanic languages. Here we explore the availability of *get*-passives in Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) in a variety of structures similar to those in (1) and (2) in both monotransitive and ditransitive verbs:

- (1) a. John got a package delivered yesterday. (Wood & Sigurðsson 2014: 493) (English)  
 b. Sie bekommt/kriegt den Katalog zugeschickt. (German)  
 She gets/gets the.ACC catalog sent  
 ‘She gets the catalog sent to her.’ (Diewald 1997: 32)
- (2) a. The package got delivered to John. (English)  
 b. \*Der Katalog hat der Frau zugeschickt gekriegt. (German)  
 the.NOM catalog has the.DAT woman sent gotten  
 ‘The catalog got sent to the woman.’

PD also has a *get*-passive construction that uses the verb *griegen* ‘to get, receive’, which is cognate to the German verb *kriegen* ‘to get, receive’. Burrige (2006) provides the examples in (3) and (4):

- (3) Ich hab e Buch gewwe griegt. (Pennsylvania Dutch)  
 I have a Book given gotten  
 ‘I got given a book.’ (Burrige 2006: 186)
- (4) Mir griege gesaagt. (Pennsylvania Dutch)  
 we get told  
 ‘We get told.’ (Burrige 2006: 186)

Though German *get*-passives are most common with ditransitive verbs in German, sentences as in (5) that combine *kriegen/bekommen* with a monotransitive verb to form the *get*-passive are permissible in German, though their acceptability varies dialectally.

- (5) Er bekommt/kriegt geschmeichelt/geholfen/auf die Füße getreten.  
 He gets/gets flattered / helped / on the.ACC feet stepped  
 ‘He is getting flattered/helped/his feet stepped on.’ (Diewald 1997: 32)

Wood and Sigurðsson (2014: 495) note that the subjects of *get*-passive constructions in German are limited to the thematic roles of beneficiary, maleficiary, or recipient, which are also the thematic roles available to datives. Note that (2b) is impermissible in German, where the subject of the *get*-passive has the thematic role of patient and would appear in the accusative case in the active voice.

**Methodology:** We present results from a production task and an experimental comprehension task conducted with 11 PD speakers in Ohio who have an Old Order Amish (OOA) background and live in the world’s largest Amish settlement, established in 1808 and centered in the Holmes-Wayne County area of Ohio with a population of 29,862. All of the participants in PD may be considered balanced English-PD bilinguals, and PD is their first language. PD as spoken by sectarian OOA has lost the dative case. Intense contact with English over the last two centuries and the loss of the dative case in PD raises the possibility that the *get*-passive in PD may differ from German and permit sentences like (2a).

In our study, we presented participants with recordings of PD sentences using the *get*-passive combining the PD verb *griegen* ‘get’ with intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. The subjects of the *get*-passive constructions also varied with regard to the thematic role of the subject. Informants listened to and evaluated sixty ( $n=60$ ) token sentences, with half ( $n=30$ ) consisting of filler sentences, half ( $n=30$ ) using *griegen*. Of the *griegen* sentences, twelve were non-canonical passives with subjects assigned a recipient/beneficiary/maleficiary role ( $n=12$ ), twelve were non-canonical passives with subjects assigned a thematic role of theme/patient ( $n=12$ ), and six were active sentences ( $n=6$ ). Recorded stimuli were presented to the participants in PsychoPy. Participants evaluated the acceptability of these tokens on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 6 (absolutely). Participants also performed a production task by watching videos and responding to questions about the videos such as the following: “What is the woman doing?” or “What is happening to the woman?”

**Results:** Preliminary results show that the *get*-passive in PD was completely acceptable with all verbs when the subject assigned a thematic role of recipient, maleficiary, or beneficiary as in other varieties of German. In contrast, when the subject had the thematic role of patient or theme, the sentences were generally rated unfavorably, although there was variation by participant and item. In the production task, participants readily used the *get*-passive with a subject assigned the thematic role of recipient/beneficiary/maleficiary when describing what was happening to the woman in the film. Despite the loss of morphosyntactic markings of dative case, the production and comprehension of *get*-passives in PD display a pattern of resistance rather than shift toward English forms.

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## Approximative *mere eller mindre* ('more or less') in Argentine Danish as a case of frequential and combinatorial copying

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Argentine Danish, i.e. Danish as spoken by descendants of Danish immigrants to Argentina, show a number of features that makes it different from Danish spoken in Denmark. Among these features are code-switching in terms of lexical borrowings, borrowed grammatical structures, lexical and phrasal calques (Hartling 2016; Heegård & Kühl, submitted) as well as frequential copying (Johanson 2002: 264–265). Frequential copying denotes the copying of a frequential distribution of a certain element from a source language (here Spanish) to a target language (here Danish), with the consequence that the borrowed element appears more or less frequently than would be expected in the target language (Johanson 2008: 66). An example of this in Argentine Danish is the use and distribution of the approximative construction *mere eller mindre* 'more or less', considered as influenced by the Spanish approximative construction and lexical equivalent *más o menos*.

The paper will give an account of the distribution in *mere eller mindre* and its near-synonyms in a corpus of Argentine Danish (Corpus of South American Danish; Kühl et al., accepted) and in a corpus of spoken Denmark Danish (the LANCHART corpus; Gregersen 2009). A simple count of *mere eller mindre* in these two corpora shows a considerable overuse in Argentine Danish (compared with European Danish) at the expense of its synonyms *omtrent* 'about, approximately', *cirka* 'about, roughly', *omkring* 'about' and *godt og vel* 'approximately'. A syntactic analysis shows that Argentine Danish speakers in comparison with spoken Standard Danish speakers tend to prefer *mere eller mindre* in short responses to questions, (cf. 1), and as right-located 'comments' to a clause (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1139–1144), (cf. 2):

- (1) Interviewer:           *var du der i hele perioden*  
                                  'were you there the whole period'  
      Informant:           *ja, mere eller mindre*  
                                  'yes, more or less'
- (2) *jeg blev opereret d. 8. januar, mere eller mindre*  
      'I was operated the 8th of January, more or less'

Whereas both syntactic functions are also observed in spoken European Danish, Argentine Danish has developed a combinatorial capability that is almost never seen in spoken Standard Danish, namely as modifying expressions of quantity, (3), age, (4), and period, (5):

- (3) *for herfra, der er mere eller mindre 70 km*

‘because from here, there are more or less 70 km’

- (4) *vi er mere eller mindre på samme alder*  
‘we are more or less at the same age’

- (5) *jeg kom til Danmark og blev et år, mere eller mindre*  
‘I came to Denmark and stayed one year, more or less’

This indicates that *mere eller mindre* is not only an example of frequential copying but that it has also expanded its semantic domain and therefore also is an example of combinatorial copying (Johanson 2002: 264–265). The paper will show how *mere eller mindre* by this expansion of usage domain has come to take over the use of its synonyms.

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## Discourse about coffee (and other Mormon taboos) and the demise of Danish in Utah

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At WILA 6 in Uppsala, Sweden, Professor Christopher Hale noted a key finding in a student’s work on a heritage Danish and Mormon community in Alberta, Canada: when the people in the community stopped drinking coffee, they also stopped speaking Danish (personal communication, September 25, 2015<sup>1</sup>).

Until 1921, coffee was advised against as part the “Word of Wisdom,” a set of health guidelines proposed by leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS Church, commonly known as “the Mormons”). Along with drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco, and eating excessive amounts of meat, faithful members of the LDS Church were advised to not drink “hot drinks,” which included coffee.

In 1921, the strength of the Word of Wisdom increased from advice to become a “commandment,” meaning that it became a basic tenet of the Mormon lifestyle. From this point, faithful Mormons who did not comply with the Word of Wisdom risked sanctions such as not being allowed to participate in ceremonies at LDS temples. This is still the case today.

Early Mormon settlements in the American West, such as those in Utah--and, later in Alberta, Canada--comprised thousands of immigrants from Scandinavia, especially Denmark. The Danish immigrants are the focus of this paper. The ritual of drinking coffee has been an integral aspect of Danish social life, first in the upper classes and then expanding to the lower classes, for a few hundred years. Naturally, the coffee ritual came with the Danish Mormon immigrants to the American West. Like the use of their native language, social rituals were not easily abandoned, as there was no immediate replacement: an

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a copy of the thesis on the topic.

immigrant does not immediately shed a native language, nor does one immediately lose the norms and rituals that create the blueprint for day-to-day life.

For these immigrants, however, assimilation was mandated by the new territory and also by the Mormon Church (Henrichsen et al, 2006). In their new surroundings, there were relatively few domains, especially public domains, where Danish immigrants and subsequent generations could speak Danish with each other. The home domain, especially in instances of endogenous marriage, created such an opportunity, and, as argued in this paper, so did cultural rituals that took place in the home, such as drinking coffee together.

It is well known in studies on language death (e.g., classic works such as Dorian, 1980; Fishman, 1991) that cultural ritual is often linked to the preservation of the dying language within the context of those specific rituals. In the case of Danish in Utah, it is argued that the coffee ritual was one of the final rituals in which Danishness - and therefore the use of the Danish language - was preserved.

The data presented as evidence to support this claim come from interviews which took place in Sanpete County, Utah--a Danish stronghold in the Mormon context--with “rememberers” of Danish and Danish customs. In other words, the data consists of meta-language about language and customs. In most of the interviews, elderly members of the Sanpete County community offer recollections of their parents and grandparents. Thus, the interview data comprises first-hand recollections of rituals and language use that took place in the interviewees’ childhood. To date, there have been 15 interviews, totaling approximately 18 hours of audio-recorded material. The interview data is supplemented by historical written records, including personal written histories. The method employed for the investigation of the data is content analysis, with a presentation of passages of the interviews that highlight the connection of cultural rituals such as drinking coffee (with some mention of other Mormon taboos such as alcohol consumption and swearing) with the use of Danish as a heritage language.

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## The definite suffix as a gender clue – evidence from American Norwegian

Linn Iren Sjønes Rødvand (University of Oslo)

Two recent papers – Johannessen & Larsson (2015) and Lohndal & Westergaard (2016) – have discussed the status of gender in American Norwegian (AmN) by considering noun phrase-internal agreement in CANS (Corpus of American Norwegian Speech). Both papers take Hockett’s (1958: 231) definition of gender as point of departure: “Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words.” Still, the two papers reach different conclusions. Lohndal & Westergaard (2016) – who explicitly reject that the singular definite suffix could indicate gender – conclude that the gender category in AmN is vulnerable. Johannessen & Larsson (2015), on the other hand, argue that gender is retained since they treat the definite suffix as an exponent of gender.

The research reported in this paper was conducted in 2016–2017, and investigates the gender system in AmN by looking at the indefinite article and the personal pronoun, in addition to the definite suffix. The data were collected during fieldwork in the American Midwest, using elicitation tasks consisting of pictures depicting items corresponding to the three grammatical genders. In total, the analysis includes data from 25 speakers between the age of 58 and 92 (average: 79 years), most of which are 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> generation immigrants. This paper contributes to a broader understanding of gender in AmN in two

ways. Firstly, the personal pronoun has not been investigated as a gender agreeing element in AmN before. Secondly, this is the first time the gender system in AmN can be investigated at the level of the individual, since the elicitation method ensures more data on each participant than what is found in CANS. By focusing on the individuals, these data shed new light on the relation between the definite suffix and the gender system.

Arguably, the gender system has to be analyzed at the level of the individual. In doing so, great inter-individual differences are revealed. However, all speakers show at least relicts of the original three-gender system, and there is no sign of a complete restructuring of the gender system, nor a break-down of gender altogether. As many as 11 of the 25 participants clearly have retained the original three-gender system and show little or no difficulty with grammatical gender. 4 more speakers have retained all the original gender distinctions, but these speakers are less target-consistent. The remaining 10 speakers have lost the three-way gender distinction in some, but not all, gender agreeing elements. However, the original three-way distinction is retained for all speakers in the definite suffix, and the use of definite suffix is to a great extent target-like.

In this paper, I argue that the retention of the definite suffix could explain the overall retention of the gender system. That speakers use the definite form as the basis for classifying nouns into genders seems to be the best explanation for the retention of the gender distinctions found in this study. If we accept the definite suffix as a gender clue, the evidence for the gender system in Norwegian will be pervasive. We can thus expect the gender system to be quite robust.

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## What Heritage German bilinguals say about language

Joe Salmons (University of Wisconsin – Madison)

Heritage language communities can provide key data for debated issues of language and immigration. Past work, for instance, shows that history is often misunderstood or misrepresented, e.g. Wilkerson & Salmons (2012) on German speakers not learning English. But what do speakers say about language in their own communities? I explore this among contemporary speakers, the last generation of bilinguals in their communities.

In previous WILAs and associated publications, language attitudes have been discussed in the context of understanding language structure, change or the construction of identity, e.g. Golden & Lanza, Johannessen & Laake, Hjelde on Norwegian, Larsson et al., Forlani, Hoffman & Kytö on Swedish, Kühl & Peterson on Danish, and Avineri on Yiddish. I build on that work, especially meta-linguistic commentary.

Drawing on folk linguistics, which “seeks to discover non-linguists’ beliefs about language in general” (Preston 1993:181), I examine what Wisconsin Heritage German speakers say about language in the course of semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews. All comments about language have been catalogued, about 150 meta-linguistic comments. Issues raised range widely, showing rich awareness of dialectal and sociolinguistic variation, standard language ideology, the value of bilingualism, and so on. I focus especially on comments that have implications for current issues of language and immigration in the U.S. Speakers comment often on the value of bilingualism, e.g. “My mother encouraged us, well she thought it was fine that we could speak German, too. She said it's always good to know another language.” Another frequent topic is language maintenance, past and present: “Whether you were Norwegian, Swedish, German, Swiss, French, Polish, people like to hang on to their *Muttersprache* as long as they could and they wanted their *Kind auch zum lerne*.”

These bilinguals typically show high awareness of linguistic variation, social and regional, and express positive attitudes toward bilingualism in general. These findings support a major strand of folk linguistic work: Non-linguists understand a tremendous amount about language. The perspectives of such speakers can inform not only linguistic research but inform pressing social concerns in the US today.

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## Insertional code-switching in North American Danish

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For my MA-thesis, I performed an explorative examination of intrasentential morphologically integrated single word code-switching (cf. (1a & 1b), examples of insertional code-switching in terms of Muysken 2000) and bilingual composita (cf. 2a & 2b for examples), as well as single word insertional code-switching in the Corpus of North American Danish (CoNAMDa) (Kühl et al. *forthc.*).

- (1) a. Creek-en  
       Creek-SG.DEF  
       ”the creek”  
       b. turn-ede  
       turn-PST  
       “turned”
- (2) a. blackbær  
       black.berry  
       “blackberry”  
       b. apartmentbygning  
       apartment.building  
       “apartment building”

The sample of the CoNAMDa that my analyses are based on consists of 1305 instances of code-switching produced by 123 speakers (60 men, 63 women; age range 43–96) from the US and Canada. The analysis consisted of two parts. First, structural analysis, leading to a quantitative account of the code-switches occurring in the corpus with regard to their (token) distribution across word classes, derivational and inflectional morphology, and metalinguistic context. The code-switching data in the sample are distributed in accordance with traditional hierarchies of borrowing, in that the vast majority of the code-switching is done with content words – specifically nouns and verbs. In addition, there are more than double the instances of code-switching with nouns than with verbs. This is true for all the code-switching types accounted for in this study, except for single Danish words inserted into an English context.

The second part of the analysis consisted of a variationist sociolinguistic approach to the data. I compared and contrasted the linguistic variables that emerged from the structural analysis – distribution of code-switching type, word class, and metalinguistic context – with social factors (Gardner-Chloros 2010) – informants’ reported gender, place of birth, and where in North America they resided.

The study showed that the CoNAMDa-informants follow expected patterns for code-switching, and this is generally true across social groupings. However, informants born in the United States show different patterns of codeswitching. This difference, along with historical records, supports the notion that Danish was the subject of gradual language death.

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## Finnish in Misiones

Eeva Sippola (University of Bremen)

This study focuses on Finnish in the utopian communities of Colonia Finlandesa and Villa Alborada in the Misiones region in Argentina and the neighbouring region in Paraguay. The aim is to provide an account of the sociolinguistic history of the communities and documentation of their language(s). Today, Finnish is no longer spoken or transmitted to new generations, as the communities have shifted to Spanish (and to Guaraní and/or other migrant languages). Based on archival sources from the collections of the Institute of Migration (Finland), we provide an analysis of the sociolinguistic factors that led to language shift and the death of Finnish as a community language. We also discuss the linguistic influences that resulted from this process.

Finnish as a migrant language has previously been studied in contact situations involving English and Swedish (e.g. Virtaranta & al. 1993, Jönsson-Korhola & Lindgren 2003). Studies on Finnish in contact with Spanish and Portuguese outside Finland are nearly absent. Documentation of Finnish in the communities under study provides insights into the outcomes of contact situations between typologically different languages, and sheds further light on the sociolinguistic factors that condition language vitality.

On the basis of Giles & al.'s (1977) framework of ethnolinguistic vitality, the sociolinguistic analysis focuses on demography, status, and the lack of language institutionalization as explanatory factors. The analysis of contact influences is based on language material retrieved from private letters and written accounts from first- and second-generation migrants. These are complemented with spoken language data that consists of interviews and video recordings done in the communities in the 1970s and late 1990s.

The results of the analysis show that ethnolinguistic vitality has been affected most strongly by the low number of speakers, their socioeconomic status, and a dispersal of the communities after the foundational ideologies of the communities were lost, starting in the 1950s. Additional factors are the status of the language in the (inter)national context and Argentinian language policies that have affected the institutional support of migrant languages since the 1950s. Regarding linguistic contact effects, the first generation's Finnish shows limited contact influences in the lexicon. New lexical items borrowed into Finnish are connected to the migrants' new surroundings, professions, and activities, e.g. *mantiokka* 'mandioca' (< Spa. *mandioca*) and *sakra* 'farm' (< Spa. *chacra*). Second-generation speakers show a clear tendency of shifting to Spanish, with moderate morphosyntactic and phonological attrition. Characteristic traits include code switching to Spanish, and when speaking Finnish, a regularization of paradigms towards more frequent types, e.g. *laki* > *lakit* 'law(s)' instead of *lait*, or new verbs formed with the suffix *-ta*, as in *plantata jerbaa* 'to plant yerba (mate)'. In addition, conjugation shows mixed patterns, as in *kielit/kielet* 'language(s)'. However, individual variation is high and cannot be assessed based on the existing archival materials. From the third generation onwards, the material shows evidence of a nearly complete shift to Spanish. Similar tendencies have been observed for North American Finnish (Martin 1989, Hirvonen 2001). Consequently, these traits do not seem specific to the Finnish-Spanish contact situation but rather reflect more general tendencies of language attrition situations before community language shift. These findings contribute to research on Finnish language contact in migrant settings and to the documentation of linguistic practices in migrant communities in Argentina and in minority settings in general.

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## Small steps in language shift: Language choice in private documents

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Being able to speak several languages is considered desirable from a political perspective, and it is often the goal of individual speakers as well. In modern migration settings, various resources are often provided to support the immigrants' acquisition of the new majority language but also to help them preserve their language of origin. Nevertheless, what is observed frequently is a language shift within three generations, from a monolingual command of the language of origin via bilingualism to monolingualism in the new majority language. This process, then, seems to depend at least in part on individual preferences and not only on infrastructural and societal conditions.

The current paper focuses on the role of precisely these individual language preferences in a historical immigration setting in order to achieve a better understanding of the process of language shift over several generations.

The geographical focus is on the region of Kitchener/Waterloo in Ontario, Canada, an area offering a continuous history of German-speaking immigration over the past 200 years. With this constant stream of immigration, German is still present in the cultural and language mosaic of the area. Historically as well as currently, the German-origin community falls into two major groups that have preserved German to diverging extents. One group, mainly consisting of conservative Mennonites, continues using varieties of German up until today. Their presence in the area dates back to early 19th-century immigration from Pennsylvania, preceded by 17th- and early 18th-century immigration from German-speaking areas in Europe to Pennsylvania. Among this group, German is still in use with many speakers.

Non-Mennonite speakers of German, on the other hand, began immigrating into the region around the mid-19th century. Several German-origin families played an important role in the economic and political public life of Waterloo County and, in particular, in the town of Berlin (renamed Kitchener in 1916). Archival materials show that German was preserved by this group of immigrants as well. It was not only a family language but also important in business and in schools where it was, in several cases, the language of instruction. In this community, the language shift to English occurred in the early 20th century when it was sped up, although not triggered, by the political climate around WW I.

The extended use of German in Berlin, Ontario, is evidenced by written documents from the 19th and early 20th century. The archive of the University of Waterloo hosts a large amount of private as well as official papers from some of the most influential families of the region several of which used German in diaries and family communication for a number of decades after immigrating to Canada. Among these families is the Breithaupt family who arrived in North America from Hesse, Germany, in 1843 and started business dealings in Berlin (now Kitchener) in the 1850s. The family moved to Berlin, Ontario, in 1861; from then on, it was an influential player in the business and political matters of the town. The current paper focuses on one member of the Breithaupt family in particular, Louis Jacob (1855 – 1939), who kept a diary for most of his life, beginning at the age of 12. In order to gain insight into the process of shift from German to English, this study investigates L. J. Breithaupt's language choices over a period of almost 70 years, using textual analysis and language coding. While his business correspondence seems to be in English throughout, some of his private letters are in German, some are in English, and a number of them contains both languages. Since Breithaupt's language preference in the letters appears

to depend on the addressee(s), an analysis of his private network is carried out, including his correspondence with his parents, siblings, wife, and children. His language choice in the diaries changes repeatedly, in part depending on changes in his personal circumstances (e.g., a shift to English occurs when he moves to Toronto to start college).

L. J. Breithaupt is one representative of the German community of Berlin/Waterloo at the turn to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was a member of an influential family; therefore, his language choice certainly did not go unnoticed and may have influenced others. At the same time, it reflected a pattern of language use that was not exceptional, as can be gathered from historical reports. At the end of Breithaupt's life time, Kitchener/Waterloo was English speaking, at least in public. What this paper investigates are the small - and not always straightforward or unidirectional - steps of individual choice that in sum contribute to language shift drawn out over more than half a century.

## Polish dialects in Chicago – diglossia preserved

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Unlike early immigrants from the Polish lands, who spoke very distinct Polish regional varieties (Gruchmanowa, 1988), the language of more recent Polish immigrants from different regions is very similar (Kamusella, 2016). There are, however, some Polish dialects that have resisted the nationwide tendency of dialectal disappearance, for example, the Oravian and Podhale dialects. Nevertheless, due to postwar mass migrations and government education policy, even these dialects are used alongside standard Polish, and the linguistic situation in these regions can be described as diglossia (Karaś, 2009). The results of the present study show that this diglossia is not only preserved in the first generation of immigrants but also occurs among heritage speakers.

29.9% of all Polish immigrants in the US live in the Chicago area (Paral, 2004). The city and its environs have been a home for immigrants from urban and rural Poland alike. Some groups in the latter category, for example, the Highlanders (*Górale*), have been large enough to colonize neighborhoods of their own (Field Museum, 2010). Highlanders, whose culture attracts considerable attention due to its distinctive music, architecture, and customs, speak a particular dialect called the Podhale dialect. The Oravian culture – that of a small population (twenty-five villages in Poland and Slovakia) – is less known to the general public; but linguists count the Oravian among Polish's best-preserved dialects (Karaś, 2009). The Oravian and Podhale dialects both belong to the Lesser Poland dialect group, and share many linguistic features: *mazurzenie* (the replacement of alveolar consonants with dental consonants), closed vowels, the lack of the front nasal in the word-final position, and word-initial stress, among others.

This paper focuses on the Polish language of two heritage speakers, one each of the Oravian and Podhale dialects. Both participated in a large-scale study conducted in Chicago that investigated the Polish language of twenty-five heritage speakers and fifteen first-generation immigrants. In addition to providing a general overview of Polish as spoken in Chicago, the study examined the knowledge of Polish cases in the two generations of speakers. The study consisted of four different tasks. The first two, an oral proficiency exam (based on ACTFL guidelines) and a story elicitation, provided samples of natural and semi-natural speech; the other two, a case elicitation task and a grammaticality judgment, showed these speakers' knowledge of cases.

Despite having grown up in households where the Oravian and Podhale dialects were spoken, the two participants were assessed as advanced speakers of standard Polish, and on average exhibited better knowledge of grammatical structures than the study's other heritage-speaker participants. The Polish Saturday school and frequent contacts with other Polish speakers are credited as the main factors that helped them acquire standard Polish.

Featuring the largest Polish population in the US (Paral, 2004), the city of Chicago provides optimal conditions for Polish heritage-language maintenance. The great number of speakers of the language affords opportunities for everyday use. Moreover, the city's numerous Polish Saturday schools offer a chance to learn the language in formal settings (Nowicka McLees & Dziwirek, 2010). Opinion is divided as to the role the Saturday schools have played in the development and maintenance of the language of

heritage speakers (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013); but in the case of the two considered here, this instruction undoubtedly played a significant part in the acquisition of the standard language. It is also possible that good knowledge of the Oravian and Podhale dialects aids in learning standard Polish.

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## Latina/o Dual Identity Evolution: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

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The proposed paper addresses the transition of the Latina(o) cultural identity through the prism of bi-culturalism and bilingualism; the author analyzes the data selected from fictional and non-fictional works of Latina/o immigrant writers. At the core of the research is Latinx integration into the U.S. mainstream in terms of dual intercultural identity, which is studied with regard to the specificity of the female and male gender national characters (*marianismo* and *machismo*). The notions of *marianismo* (female national character) and *machismo* (male national character) are explored from the point of view of gender role reconsideration while deconstructing identity in the course of integration into the U.S. society. The empirical data includes essays, novels and short stories of Latina(o) authors (*Gloria E. Anzaldúa, Juan Cadena, Judith Ortiz Cofer, Rose del Castillo Guilbault, Richard Rodriguez, etc.*).

Apart from gender and cultural identity shift the paper traces the specificity of the “domestic conflict” between Latina/os and Euro-Americans, based on typical social attitudes about Latina/o people in the U.S. The mentioned conflict is actualized via specific *communicative strategies* and *tactics* used by Latina(os) and Euro-Americans. It is noteworthy that speakers often do not base their judgments on facts and reality, but are guided by the «crucial strategy» used in «*model building* for ethnic situations» which is qualified by Teun van Dijk as *negative extension*. Van Dijk calls *negative extension* «a very flexible strategy» which is «often part of the attribution process» (Dijk T.A., p. 31). The negative extension as a rule includes unjustified criticism and attribution of generalized exaggerated insulting characteristics without any reason in a groundless way.

The present paper investigates the role of Spanish in English writings of Latina/o first-generation immigrant authors. The research aims to study the Latina/o phenomenon from linguistic and gender perspectives and identify the specificity of the Latina cultural and gender identity evolution by researching the *language* and *discursive* indicators of these transitions.

One of the ways to explore the Latina/o identity transition is to observe the use of Spanish in Latina/o immigrant discourse. Whereas the verbalized negative social attitudes are actualized through semantic derogation of vocabulary borrowed from Spanish, Latina(o) authors often incorporate Spanish into their English writing for a variety of reasons.

It is argued that *Spanish words* used in Latina/o writings in English serve as certain code-switching to emphasize alienation (*la gringa, Los Estados*); describe the specificity of Hispanic life in ghettos (*barrio, El Building*); reflect the Latina original humility, submissiveness and subservience to men (*Así es la vida, Niña*); show rebellion against patriarchal values (“*Why did I have to advertise my sexual status by the color of the mantilla I was told to wear: white for señoritas and black for married women?*” (“My Rosetta”, J.O.Cofer, p. 75); serve as indicators of patriotism and loyalty to one’s own Latina community, and affectionate love for certain aspects of home culture (*mi casa es su casa, Compadre/Comadre patria, compañeros*); hostility of the adopted culture (*la lucha*), create playful linguistic hybrids (*barrio-as-island* fantasy); stress the vulnerable and hopeless position of an immigrant Latina woman (*la mojada, la mujer indocumentada*: “*How many times have I heard mothers and mothers-in-law tell their sons to beat their wives for not obeying them, for being bociconas (big mouths), for being callajeras (going to visit and gossip with neighbors)*... (Anzaldúa, G. E., p.16).

Unmasking of the home culture symbols is of great importance, too, because something meant to protect turns out to be oppressive: “*La gorra, el rebozo, la mantilla are symbols of my culture’s “protection” of women. Culture (read males) professes to protect women. Actually it keeps women in rigidly defined roles* (Anzaldúa, G. E. p.17).

First-generation Latina immigrants in the U.S. while adjusting to the mainstream culture are unlikely to retain their heritage gender ethic, but rather act as rebels demonstrating feministic views and women's empowerment. The indicator and result of the reconsidered and deconstructed authenticity is the newly generated *dual culture discourse*.

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