

## / MAIN ARGUMENT

In heritage language, pragmatic structure may be just as vulnerable as pure syntax.

## / VERB-SECOND (V2) IN NORWEGIAN

- Relatively robust property of Germanic languages (except English): Finite verbs appear in second position. V2 word order distinguishable from SVO in non-subject-initial clauses.

(1) I går **spiste vi** fisk til middag. [XP – V<sub>fin</sub> – S]  
yesterday ate we fish to dinner  
'Yesterday we had fish for dinner.'

- English: Residual V2 as S-Aux inversion in questions:

(2) What **will you** eat for dinner?

- The proportion of non-subject-initial declaratives relatively high in V2 languages (approximately 30%; e.g. Lightfoot 1999, Westergaard 2009) – much lower in English.

## / PREVIOUS RESEARCH L1, L2, DIACHRONY &amp; HL

## L1

- Finite verbs occur in second position from early on in German, Swedish, Norwegian etc. (Clahsen 1990/1991, Santelmann 1995, Bohnacker 1999, Blom 2003, Westergaard 2009, Waldmann 2012).
- Verb placement errors quite rare (Santelmann 7 1995:200–212); virtually always involve lack of verb movement, never overgeneralization to non-V2 contexts (Westergaard 2009a:86).

## L2

- Bohnacker & Rosén (2008): V2 languages may vary considerably with respect to the pragmatic structure of declaratives, reflected in the type of elements typically appearing in initial position:

- Swedish: Mainly informationally light (thematic) elements clause-initially.
- German: Initial position often filled by informationally heavy (rhematic) elements.
- Their study of L1 Swedish – L2 German acquisition: Target-consistent V2 syntax attested from early on, learners found to transfer the L1 pragmatic structure into the L2 for an extended period of time.

## Heritage language

- Strømsvåg (2013), Eide & Hjelde (2015), Johannessen (2015a), Khayitova (2016) on Norwegian HL: V2 word order intact in many speakers, but strongly affected in others.

(3) Og der **dem lager** vin. [ ... XP – S – V<sub>fin</sub> ]  
and there they make wine  
'And there they make wine.' Target: Og der **lager de(m)** vin. (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 89)

## Diachrony

- In history of English, loss of V2 is correlated with a considerable reduction in non-subject-initial declaratives, resulting in clause-initial position increasingly being defined as a subject position.
- Unclear what is cause and effect: Speyer (2008): Loss of V2 causes a reduction in non-subject-initial declaratives; van Kemenade & Westergaard (2012): Loss of V2 is due to loss of information structure effects & reduction of non-subject-initial clauses precedes the loss of V2 syntax (i.e. fewer contexts for V2 in the input), leading to unclear cues.

## / RESEARCH QUESTIONS / PREDICTIONS

- Is the pragmatic structure of declaratives affected in a heritage language situation, similar to what has been found for L2 acquisition?
  - Pragmatic structure is more vulnerable than syntactic movement in American Norwegian heritage language.
- If so, what is the relationship between the reduction of contexts for V2 and the loss of the syntax of V2?
  - The lower the proportion of the context, the more non-target-consistent word order should be produced.

## / PARTICIPANTS &amp; METHODOLOGY

## DATA

- Corpus of American Norwegian Speech (CANS; Johannessen 2015b) compared with the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC; Johannessen et al. 2009).
- CANS: Data from 50 2-4th generation immigrants; age approx. 70-90; L1 Norwegian from birth; today very English dominant.
- NDC: Data from 400 informants from approximately 100 different locations in Norway.
- Corpora composed of transcribed speech collected through structured conversations and interviews.

## PARTICIPANTS

- CANS: 16 informants (6 female, 10 male).
- NDC: One female and one male speaker from Dalsbygda (Norway).

## METHODOLOGY

- Transcribed files investigated manually; subject-initial and non-subject-initial declaratives identified, the latter also as V2 or (non-target-consistent) non-V2.
- Well-known exceptions to the V2 rule discarded (e.g., initial *kanskje* 'maybe' and *så* 'so'; see Eide 2011).

## / RESULTS

## NDC

	Subject-initial	Non-Subject-initial (all V2)	Total
dalsbygda_03gm	224	149 (39.9%)	373
dalsbygda_04gk	214	94 (30.5%)	308

## CANS

	Subject-initial	Non-Subject-initial (V2+non-V2)	% Non-V2	Total
westby_WI_02gm	68	31 (31.3%)	-	99
coon_valley_WI_07gk	115	33 (22.3%)	1/33 (3%)	148
westby_WI_06gm	178	45 (20.2%)	4/45 (8.9%)	223
westby_WI_01gm	509	160 (19.6%)	2/160 (1.3%)	669
zumbrota_MN_02gm	137	33 (19.4%)	-	170
coon_valley_WI_06gm	260	57 (18%)	2/57 (3.5%)	317
zumbrota_MN_01gk	326	62 (16%)	5/62 (8.1%)	388
fargo_ND_01gm	174	31 (15.1%)	6/31 (19.4%)	205
westby_WI_05gm	85	15 (15%)	-	100
westby_WI_03gk	350	57 (14.0%)	-	407
portland_ND_02gk	157	25 (13.7%)	-	182
webster_SD_02gm	52	8 (13.3%)	-	60
blair_WI_04gk	217	23 (9.6%)	3/23 (13%)	240
chicago_IL_01gk	483	49 (9.2%)	4/49 (8.2%)	532
blair_WI_07gm	199	19 (8.7%)	2/19 (10.5%)	218
webster_SD_01gm	330	19 (6.0%)	8/19 (42.1%)	349

Tables 1 and 2: Mean value of the 16 CANS speakers is 15.9% (SD 6.5%). A one-sample t-test shows that this is significantly lower than the expected 30% ( $p < 0.001$  \*\*\*).

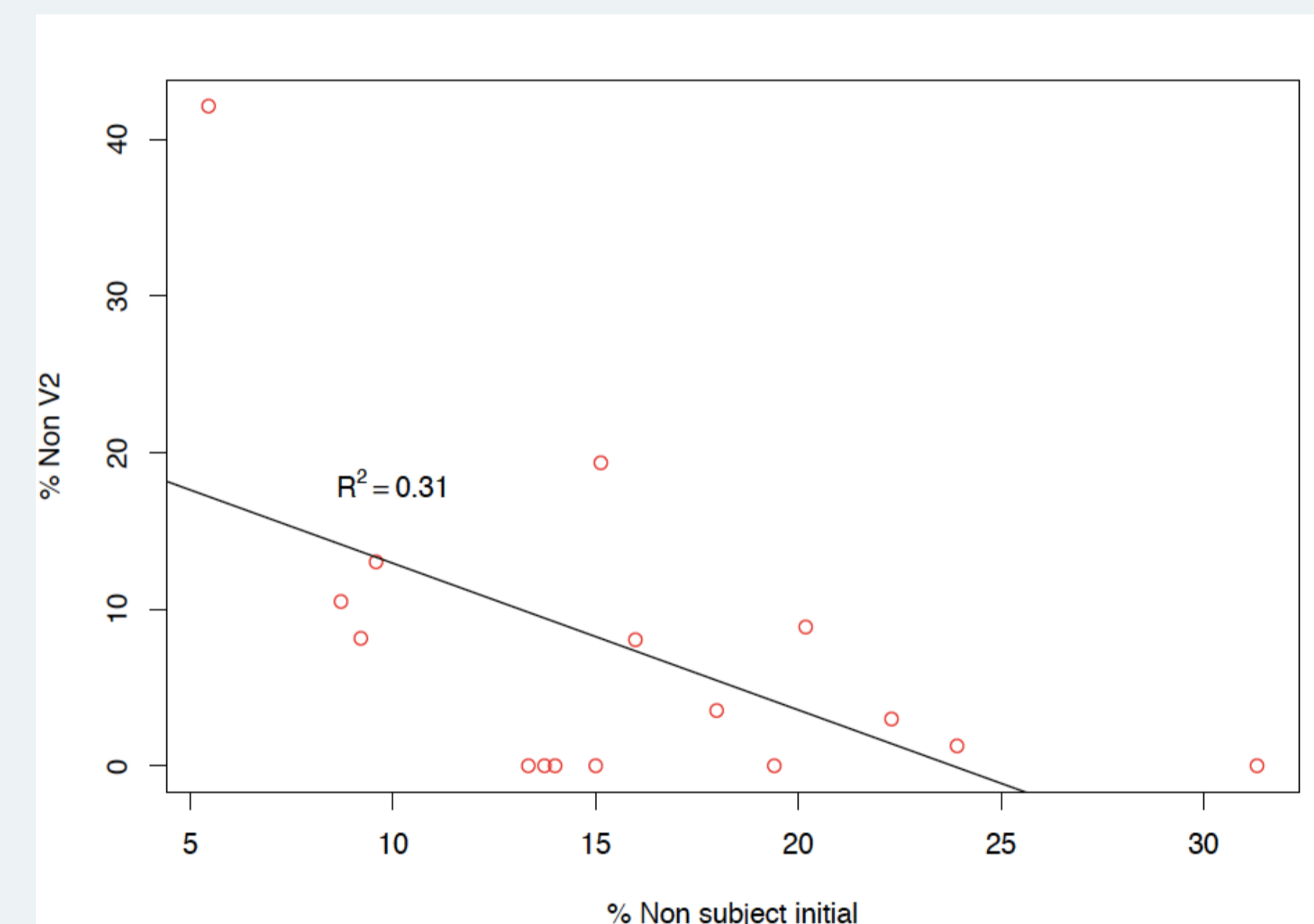


Figure 1: Non-target-consistent non-V2 word order correlates statistically with low production of context for V2 (non-subject-initial declaratives) –  $p < 0.05$ .

## / DISCUSSION / CONCLUSION

- Considerable reduction in the production of context for V2 in HL (at least in speakers who are old & dominant in English). Cause of this:
  - Crosslinguistic influence from English? OR:
  - SVO is chosen because it is less complex?
- Pragmatic structure often (severely) affected in this bilingual situation, just like in L2A.
- Like in the history of English – clear correlation between loss of context for V2 and the loss of V2 syntax. Order of development?
  - Loss of V2 -> Loss of non-S-initial declaratives? (cf. Speyer 2008)
  - Loss of non-S-initial declaratives (due to CLI, complexity) -> Loss of V2 (cf. van Kemenade & Westergaard 2012).

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