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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

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Welcome

Dear colleagues, dear participants of our conference “Dynamics of Language Contact – New Perspectives on Emerging Grammars, Variation and Change”,
We are delighted to have you join us on Zoom and Gather.town for three days of presentations, discussions and virtual meetings. Our broad range of topics revolves around language contact phenomena from the point of view of linguistic systems and speakers. In addition, we will explore methodological issues concerning the study of linguistic patterns outside standard language. As a special treat, the first day of the conference will connect with the International Mother Language Day, highlighting educational implications for multilingual settings. Hopefully, we will also meet you for a virtual coffee chat between talks!

Annika, Christoph, Hafida, Katrin, Luka, Mareike, Marvin

Organising Committee

Top row: Christoph Schroeder, Marvin Brink (student assistant), Mareike Keller, Annika Labrenz, bottom row: Katrin Neuhaus, Luka Szucsich, Hafida Boujtita (RUEG secretary)

Scientific Committee

Artemis Alexiadou, Shanley Allen, Natalia Gagarina, Anke Lüdeling, Maria Polinsky, Shana Poplack, Christoph Schroeder, Luka Szucsich, Rosemarie Tracy, Heike Wiese, Sabine Zerbian

Technology

RUEG conference technology will combine Zoom and Gather.town. Zoom will be used for the opening and sessions 1-3, including the live plenary talks. Gather.town will be used for the poster session and the final plenary concluding the conference. You can access Zoom via Gather.town or via Zoom directly. More detailed instructions on Zoom and Gather.town can be found on the conference website: https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/en/rueg/conference2021

RUEG metro station in Berlin, near Humboldt-University

Contact

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General Requests: **Coordination Team**
Opening session: **Katrin Neuhaus**
Participation: **Annika Labrenz - I**f you want to attend the conference as a guest listener, please send us an e-mail by the 18th of February 2021.

Call for Papers

In the past, language contact was often regarded as exceptional and multilingualism was either seen as a potential problem, as reflected in Jespersen's (1922) and similarly in Weisgerber's (1966) early assumptions that multilingualism poses a cognitive problem, or it was neglected, as in the structural linguistics' tradition which, beginning from Saussure (1916), focusses on an idealized, stable, and implicitly monolingual language system, also evident in Chomsky's (1965) notion of competence of an ideal speaker-hearer. Accordingly, linguistic phenomena observed in language contact situations, and linguistic practices and competences of multilingual or bilingual speakers have mostly been the domain of specialised research, and tend to be investigated from the point of view of deviations from monolingual data.

While this might seem a natural way to look at it, lately there have been more and more calls to overcome such a deficit-oriented view, feeding into a discussion that acknowledges linguistic diversity as a normal condition of human language, normalises multilingualism and regards bilinguals as regular native speakers (e.g. Grosjean 2008, Bayram 2013, Rothman & Treffers-Daller 2014, Scontras et al. 2015, Guijarro-Fuentes & Schmitz 2015, Kupisch & Rothman 2016, Schroeder 2016, Bak 2017).

This moves research on language contact and multilingual speakers from the fringes to the centre of linguistic research, and makes it fruitful for our understanding of language structure and linguistic representations, language use and language development.

A particularly interesting population for this is that of "heritage speakers", that is, of speakers who grew up bi- or multilingually with at least one minority language and a majority language (cf. among others Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018, Lohndal et al. 2019 for details). This pattern supports intense language contact in dynamic linguistic repertoires, with the heritage language typically starting as a native language at home, while the larger society's majority language usually becomes the speaker's dominant language later.

The Research Unit "Emerging grammars in language contact situations: A comparative approach" (RUEG; www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/professuren/rueg) has picked up on this with an integrated, large-scale investigation that has been driven by a positive, multilingual perspective on heritage speakers' linguistic behaviour. Under this perspective, we think of the dynamics, rather than

vulnerability, of different linguistic domains, of development, rather than incomplete acquisition, and of innovation, rather than attrition and loss in heritage speakers' languages.

This international conference marks the completion of RUEG's first 3-year-period. It aims to bring together researchers from different fields who study the dynamics of language contact from a positive, multilingual perspective.

At present, we plan to have the conference on site. However, depending on further developments in connection with the Covid-19 pandemic, we might have to move it online. Remote participation will in any case be possible.

We invite submissions on language contact phenomena from the point of view of linguistic systems (grammatical structure, linguistic architecture), and speakers (competence, choices, sociolinguistic factors). In addition to papers presenting new findings on language contact phenomena, we also welcome methodological papers with a general focus on studying linguistic patterns outside standard language. We will have three thematic sessions dedicated to different aspects of heritage speakers' language production and comprehension, and a poster session. The three thematic sessions will be introduced by invited speakers, followed by commentaries.

International Mother Language Day

Opening session

Sunday, 21 February **5 p.m.-6:30 p.m. (CET)**

Session Chair: Judith Purkarthofer, Universität Duisburg-Essen

Invited speaker: **Janet Fuller**, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Multilingual Societies, Multilingual Schools: Critical Perspectives on Language Ideologies in Educational Contexts

This presentation will challenge received wisdom about the role of education in socializing children into the mainstream culture, arguing that our aim should be to create inclusive spaces which foster the development of multilingual and multicultural competencies and the well-being of all learners. The focus is on the role of language in education, both as the medium of instruction and as the means through which ideologies about language are reproduced. It is only through a deeper understanding of the language ideologies in society, and the institutional practices which are based on them, that we can create more equitable educational opportunities.

Plenary talk and discussion. Open to the general public.

Session 1: Attrition vs. Innovation

Monday, 22 February **12 noon - 3 p.m. (CET)**

Session Chair: Luka Szucsich, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

What linguistic developments characterise bilingual speakers' productions in heritage and majority languages? Is it possible to detect systematic patterns which could best be analysed as newly emerging grammars, or is it more plausible to speak of attrition?

Keynote Speaker: **Tanja Kupisch**, Universität Konstanz

Attrition and innovation: Two sides of the same coin | **p. 14**

Commentary: **Maria Polinsky**, University of Maryland

1 p.m.

Terje Lohndal (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) **& Michael T. Putnam** (Pennsylvania State University)

Dynamic Complexity in Heritage Morphosyntax: A Case Study of Grammatical Gender | **p. 15**

1.30 p.m.

Serkan Uygun (University of Potsdam) & **Claudia Felser** (University of Potsdam)

Effects of Subject Position and Animacy in Turkish Subject-Verb Agreement | p. 17

2 p.m.

Aylin Coskun Kunduz (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) & **Silvina Montrul** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

The Role of Input in the Acquisition of Differential Object Marking by Turkish Heritage Language Children in the United States | **p. 20**

2.30 p.m.

Andrea Listanti (University for Foreigners of Siena) & **Jacopo Torregrossa** (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt): ***The Acquisition of Postverbal Subjects in Heritage Italian. How Timing of L1-Acquisition Modulates the Acquisition of Syntax-Discourse Interface Structures*** **|** **p. 22**

Break 3 p.m. – 4 p.m.

If you get back early from the break, you can join a "foyer chat" from 3:30 p.m., via Gather.town

Session 2: Transfer vs. Internal Dynamics

Monday, 22 February **4 p.m. -7 p.m. (CET)**

Session Chair: Christoph Schroeder, Universität Potsdam

What impact does language contact have? Is it plausible for certain linguistic patterns to assume direct transfer from one language to another, do non-canonical patterns in heritage speakers' production rather reflect general patterns of language contact, or do they pick up, and possibly generalise, language-internal tendencies that are also evident in monolinguals? What role do different registers play?

Keynote speaker: **Ad Backus**, Tilburg University

Contact-Induced Change in the Usage-Based Era | **p. 25**

Commentary: **Shana Poplack**, University of Ottawa

5 p.m.

Christian Zimmer (Freie Universität Berlin)

The Interdependence of Internal and External Factors inducing Grammatical Innovations in Namdeutsch | **p. 26**

5.30 p.m.

Dalit Assouline (University of Haifa)

The Emergence of Grammatical Animacy in Israeli Heritage Hasidic Yiddish | **p. 28**

6 p.m.

Grazia Di Pisa (University of Konstanz) **& Theo Marinis** (University of Konstanz)

Gender Agreement in Italian Heritage Speakers: Effects of Markedness, Proficiency and Language History | **p. 31**

6.30 p.m.

Melanie Uth (University of Cologne)

Emerging Grammar in Language Contact: Evidence from Word-Final Nasals in Yucatecan Spanish and Yucatec Maya | **p. 34**

Session 3: Methods in research on patterns outside standard language

Tuesday, 23 February **12 noon - 3 p.m. (CET)**

Session Chair: Anke Lüdeling, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

How can we best capture linguistic patterns that fall outside formal standard language? What methods in corpus and experimental linguistics are suitable to study speakers' repertoires in general? What methods in corpus and experimental linguistics are suitable to detect and capture possible heritage language grammars or other types of non-standard grammars in particular?

12 noon

Jeanine Treffers-Daller (University of Reading), **Zehra Ongun** (University of Reading), **Cise Cavusoglu** (Near East University), **Valentina Christodoulou** (University of Cyprus), **Theodosia Demetriou** (University of Nicosia, Cyprus), **Christiana Themistocleous** (University of Reading), **Julia Hofweber** (University College London) & **Michal Korenar** (University of Reading)

Can Two Unrelated Languages Be Mixed? Evidence from a New Method to Investigate Codemixing | **p. 36**

12.30 p.m.

Sally Dixon (University of New England)

Untangling Structural Patterns in Multilingual Repertoires: A Novel Application of the Variationist Framework to Grammars in Contact | **p. 38**

1 p.m.

Serkan Uygun (University of Potsdam) **& Harald Clahsen** (University of Potsdam)

Morphological Generalization in Heritage Turkish | **p. 41**

1.30 p.m.

Kari Kinn (University of Bergen) **& George Walkden** (University of Konstanz)

Investigating Historical Heritage Languages: Possessives in Norn | **p. 44**

2 p.m.

Round table:	**Maria M. Piñango**, Yale University **Anatol Stefanowitsch**, Freie Universität Berlin **Heike Wiese**, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (moderator)

Break 3 p.m. – 4 p.m.

If you get back early from the break, you can join a "foyer chat" from 3:30 p.m., via Gather.town

Poster Session

Tuesday, 23 February **4 p.m.-6:30 p.m. (CET)**

Artemis **Alexiadou** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Vicky **Rizo**u (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Foteini **Karkaletsou** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin,) & Nikolaos **Tsokanos** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *A Plural Indefinite Article in Heritage Greek: The Role of Register*

Eric **Alvarez** (Sorbonne Nouvelle University): *"Doublet Knowledge", or not? Emergence of Passive Bilingualism in Third-Generation Heritage Spanish Acquisition*

Nino **Amiridze** (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University): *Inheritance Meets Borrowing: Vocative Truncation in Tbilisi Georgian*

Ioli **Baroncini** (University for Foreigners of Siena) & Jacopo **Torregrossa** (Goethe University Frankfurt): *Cross-Linguistic Influence as Motivated by the Degree of Language Activation: Empirical Evidence from Priming Experiments Within and Across Languages with Greek-Italian Bilingual Children*

Anamaria **Bentea** (University of Reading) & Theodoros **Marinis** (University of Konstanz): *Cross-Linguistic Influence in the Production of Multiple wh-Questions*

Oliver **Bunk** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *The Impact of Standard Language Ideology on the German of Heritage Speakers: A Case Study on Lexical Choice in Formal Registers.*

Louis **Cotgrove** (University of Nottingham): *Non-Standard Syntax in Online German 'Youth Language'*

Kateryna **Iefremenko** (Universität Potsdam): *Turkish in Contact with German and Kurmanji Kurdish: From OV to VO*

Katerina **Iliopoulou** (University of Crete) & Ioanna **Kappa** (University of Crete): *Multiple Parallel Grammars in Heritage Phonotactics: The Case of Albanian Heritage Speakers in Greece*

Martin **Klotz** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *Tree Reliability Revisited*

Annika **Labrenz** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *Register Variation in Majority German*

Maria **Martynova** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *Word Order in Heritage Russian in Germany and Monolingual Russian*

Kazuhiko **Nakae** (Kansai Gaidai University): *Language Contact between Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew - Based upon Cognitive Dominance Theory and Acquisitionists' Approach*

Chaya R. **Nove** (Graduate Center at City University of New York): *Innovation and Change in Hasidic Yiddish Object Pronouns*

Anastasia **Panova** (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia) & Tatiana **Philippova** (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia): *Preposition Drop in Russian Spoken in Daghestan: Beyond Language Contact*

Tatiana **Pashkova** (Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Germany): *Does Bilingualism Influence Clause Type Usage in English Narratives Across Registers?*

Carol **Pfaff** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *Exploring and Archiving Data from Empirical Studies of Turkish, German and English in Berlin*

Carol **Pfaff** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) & Annette **Herkenrath** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland): *Agglutinativity in Varieties of Turkish in Germany: Verb-based Forms in 7th and 12th Grade Pupils in Berlin*

Maike **Rocker** (The Pennsylvania State University): *Mörgen wi kommen weer: Verb Placement Variation in Heritage Speakers of Low German*

Kathleen **Schumann** (Universität Potsdam), Ulrike **Freywald** (TU Dortmund), Irem **Duman** (HU Berlin) & Serkan **Yüksel** (TU Dortmund): *Language Contact at the Market - Patterns and Routines in Multilingual Encounters at an Urban Street Market in Berlin*

Wintai **Tsehaye** (Universität Mannheim): *Clause Type Distribution across Registers in Heritage German*

Yulia **Zuban** (Universität Stuttgart): *Word Order in Heritage Russian in the US*

Conference Closing

Tuesday, 23 February **6:30 p.m.-7 p.m. (CET)**

Abstracts

Session 1: Attrition vs. Innovation

Tanja Kupisch (University of Konstanz, Germany / UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Norway)

Attrition and Innovation: Two Sides of the Same Coin

In the relevant literature, the term "attrition" has often been used in the context of individual speakers who have become bilingual either late in life (late bilinguals or second language learners) or early in life (early bilinguals or heritage speakers), and whose linguistic performance (and arguably competence) in their L1, or one of their L1s, was more "monolingual-like" at an earlier stage compared to a later stage. By contrast, the term "innovation" is typically used in grammaticalization-oriented studies, where an entire linguistic community (monolingual or bi-/multilingual) has developed "new" patterns, i.e., patterns that differ to those of previous generations.

In this talk, I will argue that what has come to be called "attrition" and what has traditionally been referred to as "innovation" are two sides of the same coin because attrition always goes along with innovation. The difference between the cases illustrated in the bilingualism literature and those illustrated in the grammaticalization literature are primarily quantitative rather than qualitative. I will demonstrate my point on the basis of article use, comparing (i) long term diachronic change (Latin to Romance), (ii) incipient grammaticalization (German), (iii) long term language contact (Molisian Slavic) and (iv) data from heritage speakers in various language settings (Chinese and Turkish in the Netherlands, Romance Languages in contact with Germanic languages).

Definite articles tend to evolve from demonstratives, and indefinite ones from numerals. Numerous studies have shown that the grammaticalization of articles is a process of gradual expansion towards an ever wider range of grammatical contexts of use, starting in contexts of specific reference and expanding towards nonspecific reference (e.g., see Greenberg 1978, Heine 1997, Givón 1981, Renzi 1976, Breu 2012, Flick 2012). This expansion of usage contexts goes along with the disappearance of contexts in which bare nouns are still admitted (Longobardi 1999). Based on examples from the literature (e.g., Dogruöz & Backus 2011, Aalberse et al. 2017, Montrul & Ionin 2012), to which I will add fresh data, I will show that heritage speakers move −back and forth− on the same continuum. While innovation and change is slow in monolingual communities, it gets accelerated in contexts with a dominant majority language.

Terje Lohndal (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway) & **Michael T. Putnam** (Pennsylvania State University, United States):

Dynamic Complexity in Heritage Morphosyntax: A Case Study of Grammatical Gender

Morphosyntax is one of the areas in heritage grammars that is often subject to change compared with a given baseline (e.g., Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018). The dynamic nature of this area makes is a fertile domain for investigating how mental grammars change across the lifespan of an individual speaker and across generations of speakers. In this talk, we will specifically focus on grammatical gender and use this as a case study of how to model complexity in heritage speakers and beyond. Establishing a working definition of the dynamic complexity of linguistic structure and the accompanying operations responsible for generating these structures is one of the hallmark challenges of formal approaches to language. This challenge is even more daunting when modeling the grammars of multilingual speakers, due to the dynamic and integrated nature of these grammars (Putnam et al., 2018).

In general, heritage speakers face difficulties with grammatical gender. Polinsky (2008) shows that more proficient speakers of heritage Russian in the US have retained a three-gender system whereas less proficient speakers only have a two-gender system. Less proficient speakers also do not master the complex system of declension classes. Scontras et al. (2018) provide experimental evidence that heritage speakers of Spanish have restructured their grammar compared to the baseline. Importantly, they argue that both the gender features and the functional sequence of the nominal phrase are restructured in heritage Spanish. The burning question remains however what the possible outcomes of such restructuring is. This talk will advance a predictive model that addresses this question.

Adopting Miestamo's (2006, 2008) systemic definition of complexity, we provide an overview of how the connection between atomic linguistic elements can be neatly captured in an exoskeletal model of grammar. An exoskeletal model calls for a separation of the mechanisms responsible for generating syntactic structure and the insertion of lexical items (i.e., morphotactic units) into said structures. Notably, this formalism allows us to propose a new typology of possible outcomes in heritage grammars, a typology which distinguishes between features and the functional sequence itself, and whether or not these are retained or lost (a 4-way typology). To make this argument, we will present a different case study, one involving grammatical gender assignment in language mixing environments.

It is well-known in the literature on language mixing that speakers are able to assign grammatical gender to a noun which does not originally have a gender feature (e.g., Alexiadou & Lohndal 2018, Riksem et al. 2019, Valdéz Kroff et al. 2019). This often occurs when nouns from English are mixed into a grammatical gender language. The robustness of such gender assignment leads to an important research question: Is gender assignment stable in cases of language mixing or does it change across time?

Our empirical evidence will be drawn from heritage Norwegian, specifically the variety spoken in the US (American Norwegian; AmNo). Ever since Flom (1903), scholars have studied how AmNo-speakers mix English and Norwegian, and in particular, how they assign one of the three genders MASCULINE, FEMININE and NEUTER to English nouns mixed into an otherwise Norwegian noun phrase. The examples in (1) show three different indefinite articles whereas the examples in (2) illustrate three correspondingly different definite articles (often labeled declension classes) (all examples from Riksem 2018 based on the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS; Johannessen 2015)).

(1)	a.	ei **nurse**	a.$_{\text{INDF.SG.F}}$ nurse
	b.	et **shed**	a.$_{\text{INDF.SG.N}}$ shed
	c.	en **chainsaw**	a.$_{\text{INDF.SG.M}}$ chainsaw
(2)	a.	**field**-a	field$_{\text{-DF.SG.F}}$
	b.	**shed**-et	shed$_{\text{-DF.SG.N}}$
	c.	**chopper**-en	chopper$_{\text{-DF.SG.M}}$

The central question here concerns what determines gender assignment on English nouns. Haugen (1953: 44) argues that 'All nouns become masculine unless they were associated with a homophonous fem[inine] or neut[er] morpheme or a female creature', whereas Hjelde (1996) argues that it is possible to identify morphological, semantic, and phonological assignment rules. In a more recent study, Riksem (2018) argues that translational equivalence is not a guiding principle in gender assignment to English nouns, unlike what has been found e.g., when Spanish is the L1 (Liceras et al. 2008, though see Bellamy et al. 2018 on other language pairs). However, Riksem does not discuss what, if any, the assignment principles in AmNo actually are.

This talk will demonstrate that there is a substantial amount of inter-speaker and sometimes intra-speaker variability when it comes to gender assignment, and that assignment of FEMININE and NEUTER seems to be fairly random, depending on perceived phonetic similarity and associations with existing Norwegian nouns. A comparison with previous generations reveals that speakers are less consistent in their assignment of grammatical gender on English nouns in CANS, and importantly, that overwhelmingly masculine is the main gender. Gender assignment will be modelled using Kramer's (2014, 2015) approach, whereby grammatical gender is syntactically assigned via a categorizing head that categorizes a category-neutral root. Whereas Scontras et al. (2018) show that both features and the functional sequence may be restructured in heritage speakers, our data show that features can be restructured without a corresponding change to the functional sequence itself. In terms of complexity, heritage grammars can both decrease and increase: It decreases in terms of fewer features having to be acquired and used, and by simpler mapping rules between gender features and gender exponents. However, it also increased when the relationship between gender and declension class becomes less transparent.

Our talk suggests that a first critical step in establishing a working heuristic of complexity in heritage grammars is to distinguish between underlying features and their exponents. Based on the AmNo-data analysed for this talk, we have the following criteria for defining complexity: i) Number of syntactic-semantic features, ii) Number of functional projections, iii) Mapping from syntactic-semantic features to exponents (One-Form-One-Mapping mappings are simpler). Crucially, work on heritage languages provides us with important generalizations in terms of which domains of grammar that can restructure and how they may do so; however, what has alluded us to date is a straightforward and conceptually appealing way to capture 'complexity'.

Serkan Uygun (University of Potsdam, Germany) & **Claudia Felser** (University of Potsdam, Germany):

Effects of Subject Position and Animacy in Turkish Subject-Verb Agreement

Previous research with heritage speakers (HS) has shown that they experience difficulties with inflectional morphology including subject-verb agreement marking (Benmamoun et al., 2013a, b). It has been observed that HS provide incorrect verb forms in production or fail to notice morphosyntactic agreement mismatches in comprehension (Scontras et al., 2018; Polinsky, 2018). Previous HS agreement studies have mainly focused on grammatically constrained (i.e. categorical) agreement, while few have investigated sensitivity to optional agreement. Phenomena displaying gradience or optionality have been argued to be particularly affected by heritage language conditions (Benmamoun et al., 2013a, pp. 161-166).

Turkish 3rd person plural subjects can appear with verbs that are not marked for number, making these verb forms indistinguishable from the singular form. The 3rd person plural morpheme *lar/ler* is preferentially omitted from the verb, especially in spoken discourse. Plural suffix omission has previously been found to be affected by semantic factors including the degree of subject animacy (Bamyacı et al., 2014; Schroeder, 1999).

Earlier findings with Turkish HS indicate that they accept overt plural marking more readily than non-heritage Turkish speakers (Bamyacı, 2016; Lago et al., 2019). The present study investigates to what extent HS are sensitive to grammatical, surface-level and semantic constraints on Turkish plural agreement marking. We carried out a timed binary choice sentence continuation task with 47 non-heritage Turkish control speakers (CTR) resident in Turkey and 98 HS resident in Germany. Our experimental stimuli were created by manipulating both subject animacy (animate vs. inanimate) and subject position (subject-first [SF] vs. scrambled1 [SC1] vs. scrambled2 [SC2]) to test the effect of subject-verb distance on their choice of the verb form (singular vs. plural). In SF sentences, the subject is sentence-initial (e.g. **Dağcılar** dün akşam yüksek ve karlı dağdan düştü/düştüler "*Mountaineers fell (SG/PL) from the high and snowy mountain last night*"), in SC1 sentences it appears after a two-word time adverbial (e.g. Dün akşam **dağcılar**

yüksek ve karlı dağdan düştü/düştüler) and in SC2 sentences it appears just before the verb (e.g. Dün akşam yüksek ve karlı dağdan **dağcılar** düştü/düştüler). The experimental sentences were presented word by word with a presentation time of 600 ms, and participants had to choose either the unmarked or the plural form of the verb to complete the sentences.

The reaction time (RT) data revealed a significant group difference as HS responded significantly faster than CTR speakers overall (see Table 1). A significant animacy*group interaction reflects the fact that CTR speakers responded faster to sentences with inanimate subjects whereas HS responded faster to sentences with animate subjects. In addition, we obtained significant subject position*group interactions for SF vs. SC2 and for SC1 vs. SC2, indicating that HS were more affected by the subject's position: They responded significantly more slowly to SC2 sentences than to SC1 and SF sentences, whereas no significant between-condition differences were obtained for the CTR group.

The analysis of participants' verb choices (see Table 1) yielded significant main effects of group and animacy. The main effect of group shows that HS preferred plural verbs over singular verbs while the CTR group showed an overall preference for unmarked verbs. As regards the animacy effect, sentences with animate subjects elicited significantly more plural responses when compared to sentences with inanimate subjects. We also observed a significant animacy*group interaction reflecting the fact that the difference in the plural responses between the animacy conditions is larger in the CTR group than the HS group. Moreover, significant subject position*animacy interactions between SF vs. SC1 and between SF vs. SC2, which were mainly driven by the CTR group, reflect a larger number of plural responses for SF sentences compared to SC1 and SC2 sentences, except for the SF vs. SC1 comparison with animate subjects.

These results indicate that, when the RT data is taken into account, HS were significantly more affected by the subject's position than the CTR group, eliciting longer RTs for SC2 sentences (where the subject is adjacent to the verb) than for SF and SC1 sentences. On the other hand, when the verb choice data is considered, the CTR group was significantly more affected by animacy, providing fewer plural responses especially for inanimate subjects compared to the HS group. Besides confirming earlier findings indicating that Turkish HS accept plural marking more readily, their choice of verb form was not affected by animacy or subject position in the same way as was seen in the CTR group. This indicates that Turkish HS are less sensitive than non-heritage speakers to optional agreement and the factors affecting it.

Table 1. Mean reaction times (in milliseconds), standard deviations and the percentage of plural responses per condition for both participant groups

	CTR			HS		
Condition	Mean RT	SD	Plural Answers	Mean RT	SD	Plural Answers
SF-ANI	2188	1300	47.5	1480	899	77
SC1-ANI	2135	1266	55.4	1457	820	77.9
SC2-ANI	2231	1281	35.5	1698	987	55
SF-INANI	1932	1029	23.9	1722	1089	63.1
SC1-INANI	2019	1234	22	1715	1112	58.4
SC2-INANI	1990	1066	7.7	1838	1117	33.2

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Aylin Coskun Kunduz (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States) & **Silvina Montrul** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Uniteds States):

The Role of Input in the Acquisition of Differential Object Marking by Turkish Heritage Language Children in the United States

Heritage speakers are early bilinguals who acquire a minority language in a bilingual setting where the socio-politically majority language is spoken by the community (Montrul, 2015; Valdés, 1995). Since extensive exposure to the majority language takes place in childhood, heritage speakers are exposed to less input in their native language (the heritage language) than a typical monolingual child, leading to different outcomes in certain aspects of heritage grammar as compared to their monolingual counterparts (Montrul, 2002, 2004; Polinsky, 2011; Silva-Corvalán, 2018). They can also be exposed to qualitatively different input because they are growing up in a language contact situation. Many heritage speakers are monolingual or heritage language dominant before age 5 but language dominance shifts dramatically after that age, especially in the United States (Carreira & Kagan, 2011) where the majority of the heritage speakers are schooled exclusively in English.

By the time heritage speakers reach adulthood, variability in certain domains of grammar becomes more pronounced. Inflectional morphology is the area where adult heritage grammars have been found to be the most innovative (Montrul, 2016; Polinsky, 2018). Adult heritage speakers show such patterns of change as omission of required morphology in obligatory contexts, levelling of morphological paradigms, and overregularization of regular and default forms to irregular forms. If inflectional morphology is part of the lexicon, lexical acquisition is heavily dependent on language exposure and use. Therefore, the quantity and quality of input received from adult caregivers in the early years of heritage language development is critical for the language development (Daskalaki, Blom, Chondorgianni & Paradis, 2020; Jia & Paradis, 2015; Montrul, 2008; Montrul & Sánchez-Walker, 2013; Sorace, 2005). It is also possible that heritage speakers undergo changes in their heritage grammar in later childhood (Polinsky, 2011). Additionally, cross-linguistic influence from the majority language is yet another contributing force (Argyri & Sorace, 2007; Montrul, 2008; Kim, Montrul & Yoon, 2010).

If longitudinal studies are not possible, one way to understand the root of morphological variability in young adult heritage speakers amply reported in the literature is to examine children. Our recent study, on which this talk is based, contributes to this goal by investigating the acquisition of differential object marking (DOM) in child heritage speakers of Turkish (second-generation immigrants) and first-generation Turkish immigrants, who are in most cases their own parents. If child heritage speakers show significant variability in their knowledge of DOM as compared to their parents, our hypothesis is that the main cause of variability in heritage

speakers' ultimate attainment is insufficient input. However, if child heritage speakers are monolingual-like, then variability at a later age could be due to potential changes in the knowledge of DOM in later years. Finally, if first-generation immigrants show different performance from adults in the homeland, then parental input quality can be assumed to contribute significantly to morphological variability in heritage speakers.

Twenty adult first-generation and 20 second-generation Turkish immigrants (aged 7-14), as well as 20 age-matched children, 20 adults and 20 younger Turkish-speaking children (aged 3-6) in Turkey completed a story retelling task and a picture selection task. Results showed that the adult immigrants patterned with the older children and the adult Turkish speakers in the homeland. However, the child heritage speakers showed variability in both tasks, patterning with the 3-6 year-old Turkish children. These findings suggest that the variability in heritage DOM is more likely due to insufficient input in the early years of heritage language development than to changes in parental input. The innovations of this study lie in the comparison of child heritage speakers of Turkish to their input providers (their parents) who are first-generation immigrants and the use of comprehension and production measures.

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Andrea Listanti (University for Foreigners of Siena, Italy) & **Jacopo Torregrossa** (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Germany):

The Acquisition of Postverbal Subjects in Heritage Italian: How Timing of L1-Acquisition Modulates the Acquisition of Syntax-Discourse Interface Structures

Across the literature, it has been claimed that speakers of a heritage language (and bilinguals, in general) have difficulties with syntax-discourse interface phenomena (e.g., Montrul 2008; Rothman 2009; Sorace 2011). The aim of this study is to show to what extent the timing of L1-acquisition of syntax-discourse interface structures modulates the process of their acquisition by HL-speakers (Schulz & Grimm 2019; Tsimpli 2014): Syntax-discourse interface structures that are acquired early (in L1-acquisition) should not show any sign of incomplete acquisition, contrary to late-acquired ones. Furthermore, late-acquired structures should be more likely to be affected by cross-linguistic influence and possibly be the locus of the emergence of innovative structures in HL-grammars.

The acquisition of post-verbal subjects in Italian provides a valid testing ground for this hypothesis. With unaccusative verbs, verb-subject is the unmarked word order (in broad-focus contexts). However, if the subject is discourse-given, it appears in pre-verbal position (Belletti 1988). Therefore, the positioning of the subject with unaccusative verbs is motivated by information-structure. With transitive verbs, post-verbal subjects are only allowed if they have a

(contrastive or information) focus interpretation (Belletti 2004) and the object (expressed either as a clitic or a clitic-left-dislocated constituent) is discourse-given. Crucially, Italian monolingual children master the discourse conditions related to the distribution of subjects relatively early with unaccusative verbs (by age four or even earlier, according to Vernice & Guasti 2015), but at age 5 still perform at chance with post-verbal subjects in association with transitive verbs (cf., e.g., the comprehension study by Abbot-Smith & Serratrice 2015). Therefore, Italian disposes of two syntax-discourse interface structures that differ from each other in the timing of their L1-acquisition.

We analyse the acquisition of postverbal subjects by Italian heritage children living in Germany. We tested 24 children (age range 7;5-10;9, M = 8;11) attending a German-Italian bilingual school in Hamburg. Most of them were born and raised in Germany (19 out of 24) and all of them had at least one Italian-speaking parent and were exposed to German before 4 years of age (based on background questionnaire information). VS-structures were elicited by means of a narrative task (based on Schneider et al. 2005). For the analysis, the transcribed narratives were divided into units (i.e., clauses) based on the occurrence of a finite verb. We considered only clauses in which an overt subject occurred and coded them considering: 1) the position of the subject (pre- vs. post-verbal); 2) the verb class (unaccusative, unergative or transitive); 3) the informational features of the subject (referentially given, referentially new, contrastive). For the informational analysis, we relied on the fine-grained classification of information structure in spoken data by Riester & Baumann (2013).

The final dataset consists of 280 units, 34 of which containing post-verbal subjects. First, we considered the structures with unaccusative verbs (N: 44). The data show that with this verb class, children are sensitive to the conditions of use of pre-verbal vs. post-verbal subjects: pre-verbal subjects tend to be discourse given (N: 20 out of 21), while post-verbal subjects discourse new (N: 19 out of 23), as shown in (1) and (2) – where the unaccusative verb appears in first position or after an adverb, respectively:

(1) *Viene un altro elefante con la rete*.
Comes another elephant with the net.

(2) *Poi arriva un'altra elefanta.*
Then arrives another female-elephant.

The word order of (2) is consistent also with the V2-constraint in German (with the verb following an adverb). Transfer of this structure from German may account for the production of the abovementioned inappropriate discourse-given post-verbal subjects (N: 4 out of 23): In all these cases, an adverb appears in first position in the sentence, as shown in (3), where the subject *il palloncino* "the balloon" is discourse given.

(3) *#E poi vola via il palloncino.*
And then flew away the balloon.

The analysis of the clauses containing transitive verbs (N: 117 in total) shows a different picture. Most of preverbal subjects are discourse-given (N: 90 out of 106) and thus appropriate. We also found some instances of pre-verbal subjects carrying a contrastive or information focus feature (N: 16 out of 106), whose production is non-target like and probably motivated by cross-linguistic effects: given that the SV word-order is allowed in both languages, this kind of structure is expected to be produced in contexts in which the use of a language-specific structure (VS in Italian) would be more appropriate (Müller & Hulk 2001). An example is shown in (4), where the pronoun *io* "I" would be preferred in post-verbal position:

(4) *#io lo prendo con una rete*.
I it-CLIT take with a net.

Furthermore, post-verbal subjects tend to be used in an inappropriate way. Most of them (N: 9 out of 11) are discourse-given. Crucially, they all occur in clauses in which the verb is preceded by an adverb, mirroring the corresponding V2-structures in German, as shown in (5):

(5) *# poi aveva la giraffa un giocattolo.*
And then had the giraffe a toy.

Our analysis of the correlation between word-order possibilities and marking of informational categories in heritage Italian reveals that when producing unaccusative verbs, Italian heritage children master the mapping between pre-verbal subjects and given information and post-verbal subjects and new/contrastive information. This is in line with our hypothesis that early acquired syntax-discourse interface phenomena can be fully acquired by heritage children. On the contrary, the positioning of the subject in correspondence with transitive verbs, which is a late-acquired phenomenon, seems to be more vulnerable to cross-linguistic effects. In this sense, our results put the Interface Hypothesis into perspective, showing that it cannot be generalized to all syntax-discourse interface phenomena. To conclude, it should be noticed that only some of the cross-linguistic structures observed in this study are predicted by traditional accounts of cross-linguistic effects (i.e., the production of focused pre-verbal subjects). The production of structures of the type "adverb-verb-discourse given subject" suggests the emergence in Italian of innovative grammatical structures due to transfer of the V2-constraint from German.

Session 2: Transfer vs. Internal Dynamics

Ad Backus (Tilburg University, Netherlands)

Contact-Induced Change in the Usage-Based Era

As part of a growing research tradition in contact linguistics, I have been involved in several projects that apply a usage-based approach to the investigation and explanation of language contact phenomena. In this talk, I will first summarize some of that recent work, before relating it to other traditions and trends in the study of bilingualism. I will defend the position that much of this work either uses a usage-based perspective or is compatible with it. Finally, interpreting this as suggesting there is a need for the integration of disciplinary perspectives, I will sketch what such integration could look like, and to what degree this necessitates new research questions and a fresh look at some old ones. Work on language contact has taken place in various sub-disciplines and often focuses on separate phenomena that nevertheless all occur together in the everyday lived reality and in the minds of bilingual speakers. These phenomena include language mixing (or codeswitching), contact-induced structural change, the processing of bilingual speech and its implications for the cognitive organization of bilingual knowledge, and the social factors that determine language use in multilingual settings, especially language choice, and what this tells us about identity issues as well as long-term developments such as language maintenance and language shift. I will illustrate these various strands, where possible, with work on Turkish spoken as an immigrant language in the Netherlands and other parts of Western Europe. I will then argue that adopting a usage-based perspective entails the conclusion that these phenomena are not as separable as it seems, and that better, or more encompassing, explanations of linguistic knowledge and of language change could be forthcoming if we manage to integrate these research traditions more. The key, I will argue, is the closer integration of sociality and cognition as dimensions that both need to be taken into account jointly. While both cognitive sciences and social sciences, and their linguistic manifestations psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, have, of course, valuable things to say about language, the direct association between the way language is used, as determined by the needs of human sociality, and the way it is processed, as determined by the universals of human cognition, makes it necessary to address their interaction as well. In this talk I will explore this integration to account for empirical findings on Immigrant Turkish and compare the perspective to various recently popularized concepts, including Heritage Languages, simultaneous and sequential acquisition, and translanguaging. What I hope to contribute to is the contours of a model that explains why languages change, a model that uses cognitive underpinnings and the requirements of sociality as jointly contributing causal factors, and that conjures up new questions about language that help linguistics reposition itself in the broader field of human culture studies.

Christian Zimmer (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

The Interdependence of Internal and External Factors Inducing Grammatical Innovations in Namdeutsch

The German-speaking minority in Namibia comprises approximately 20,000 speakers. Almost all of them are also fluent in English (the official language of Namibia) and Afrikaans (which has/had the function of a lingua franca in certain domains). Additionally, some members of the German-speaking community also use Bantu- and/or Khoisan languages on a regular basis (cf., e.g., Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018, Wiese et al. 2017, Zimmer 2019). In this multilingual setting a variety of German has evolved that is characterised by several grammatical innovations (i.e. Namdeutsch).

For example, GO is used as future auxiliary (cf. (1)). Furthermore, HAVE is used as perfect auxiliary in contexts where it is not used in most other varieties of German (e.g. with atelic manner-of-motion-verbs, cf. (2)) and the um-zu infinitive can be used if no purpose is expressed, which is also not possible in most other German varieties including Standard German (cf. (3)).

(1) ich geh den au nie vergessn (NAM023W1)
I go it either never forget
'I'll never forget it either'

(2) die hat in der straße gelaufn (NAM066M1)
she has in the street walked
'She has walked in the street'

(3) dadurch is es schwierig um zu sagn […] (NAM164W2)
thus is it hard to tell […]
'Thus it's hard to tell […]

Different explanations have been proposed for such innovations in Namdeutsch. First of all, these features have been explained as a result of transfer from one language to another (cf. Shah 2007, Riehl 2014, Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015). Indeed, there are striking parallels between English and Afrikaans on the one hand and Namdeutsch on the other. For example, both in English and in Afrikaans there is only the HAVE perfect auxiliary and in both languages GO can be used as future auxiliary. Furthermore, the Afrikaans om te construction closely resembles the Namdeutsch um zu (cf., e.g., Shah 2007: 25). However, a significant proportion of the German speaking immigrants came from Northern Germany. These immigrants were speakers of Northern High German and/or Low German dialects (Zimmer forthc.). These varieties influenced the emerging Namdeutsch – and many features of Namdeutsch which have been explained as a

result of contact with Afrikaans (which is very closely related with Low German) could also be Northern German features that have survived dialect levelling (e.g. the HAVE perfect auxiliary with atelic manner-of-motion-verbs). Finally, it has been put forward that many characteristics of Namdeutsch are based on language-internal tendencies that are expanded in multilingual speech communities (cf., e.g., Wiese et al. 2014, 2017, Wiese & Bracke forthc.).

In my presentation, these different types of explanations will be contrasted. I will show that it is hardly possible to disentangle internal and external factors in the explanation of innovations in Namdeutsch − and I will scrutinise whether this is a meaningful endeavour at all. My focus will be on interdependencies of language internal tendencies, transfer from the major contact languages, and substrate influence of Low German (and other German varieties). For this purpose, I will analyse selected grammatical features of Namdeutsch (such as the ones outlined above). My analysis will be based on data taken from a systematically compiled corpus (cf. Zimmer et al. in press) and acceptability judgements of 211 speakers (cf. Zimmer in press). By doing so, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the interaction of different factors that influence grammatical characteristics of varieties in multilingual settings.

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Dalit Assouline (University of Haifa, Israel):

The Emergence of Grammatical Animacy in Israeli Heritage Hasidic Yiddish

Yiddish, the traditional Germanic language of Ashkenazi Jews, is maintained today as a minority language only in some Hasidic communities in the US, Israel and Europe. Yiddish enjoys great prestige in these communities, but the levels of command and use of the language vary between different Hasidic sects: In some sects, Yiddish remains the dominant language also in adulthood, whereas in others, speakers gradually switch to the majority language (Assouline 2017: 30-34). In the communities where the majority language is dominant among adult speakers, Yiddish can be defined as a heritage language (following Polinsky 2018: 9).

The present talk focuses on Hasidic Yiddish heritage speakers in Israel. In order to study the distinct traits of their language, I compare two very similar corpora (recorded in Israel) by the following groups:

1. "Heritage Yiddish speakers": 1) A recording of a Hasidic "education conference" that took place in 2005 (12 hours, 8 speakers, all male educators in their 40s, 50s and 60s). Speakers come from Hebrew-dominant sects, but the conference was conducted in Yiddish. 2) Recordings of Hebrew-dominant women lecturing in Yiddish to other women about modest behavior (2019, 2 hours, 4 speakers).

2."Yiddish-dominant speakers" – 1) A recording of a Hasidic "education conference" that took place in 2008 (8 hours, 6 speakers, all male educators in their 40s, 50s and 60s). 2) Recordings of women lecturing in Yiddish to other women about modest behavior (2015, 2 hours, 4 speakers). All Speakers come from Yiddish-dominant extremist isolated groups, ideologically opposed to the use of Israeli Hebrew (Assouline 2017: 6).

A comparison of both corpora reveals several changes in nominal morphology and in subject-verb agreement patterns among heritage speakers. Significantly, these changes are more likely to affect inanimate nouns:

a. Loss of grammatical gender - common in inanimate nouns. Animate (human) nouns are more resistant to this change and usually maintain their (biological) grammatical gender.

b. Loss of number agreement (predicate agreement) – common in plural inanimate nouns. Animate nouns are resistant to this change and always trigger plural verbal agreement.

Comparison of both corpora:

A. Yiddish of Yiddish-dominant speakers (Extremist sects)

gender:
Nouns usually manifest grammatical gender (M/F).
Grammatical gender of inanimate nouns may be unstable.

verbal agreement:
Plural nouns always trigger plural verbal agreement.
Plural inanimate nouns generally trigger plural verbal agreement.

B. Yiddish of Hebrew-dominant speakers / "Heritage Yiddish" (ideologically moderate Hasidic sects):

gender:
Animate (human) nouns usually manifest grammatical gender (Masc./ non-Masc. = Fem.)
Inanimate nouns - grammatical gender is not stable or not marked (non-Masc.)

verbal agreement:
Plural animate (human) nouns always trigger plural verbal agreement
Plural inanimate nouns usually trigger singular verbal agreement

Examples from the heritage corpus:

First, animate nouns (all referring to humans in the analyzed corpora) usually maintain their masculine grammatical gender among heritage speakers, as in (1):

1.	*der*	*gut-er*	*dokter*
	DEF.M.SG	good-M.SG	doctor

By contrast, grammatical gender of inanimate nouns in Heritage Yiddish is either unstable, or, more often, not marked at all, with an invariant definite article **de** and an invariant adjectival suffix **-e**. For example (in the nominative case):

2.	*de*	*sheyne*	*tsimer;*	*de*	*gute*	*vort;*	*de gute zakh*
	DEF	beautiful	room	DEF	good	word	DEF good thing

Second, plural animate (human) nouns maintain plural verbal agreement among heritage speakers, as in (3):

3.	*mentshn*	*kum-**en***	*dort*
	people	come.PRS-3PL	there

By contrast, inanimate plural nouns in heritage Yiddish usually take singular verbs, as in (4):

4.	*meners*	*shikh*	*klap-**t***	*keyn*	*mol*	*nisht*
	men´s	shoes	knock.PRS-3SG	not_a	time	not
	'men´s shoes never make [makes] a sound´					

It seems that animacy is gradually becoming grammaticalized in Israeli Heritage Hasidic Yiddish, since the semantic feature of animacy is evident in the marking of grammatical gender and in the triggering of plural verbal agreement. Moreover, preliminary findings from fieldwork among heritage speakers suggest a possible emergence of a new animacy-based DOM in Israeli Heritage Yiddish (where the animate DO is marked by the preposition **far** 'for'; distinct from both the documented East-European Yiddish DOM and from the Hebrew DOM), in line with similar developments in heritage Germanic languages (Yager et al. 2015).

Note that animacy is not a grammatical feature of Hebrew morphosyntax, so that this emergent Yiddish grammatical feature does not reflect the direct impact of the speakers' dominant language, Israeli Hebrew, but rather reflects language-internal dynamics, testifying to the innovative forces of heritage grammars. Significantly, such innovations are more likely to emerge when the heritage language is spoken in close-knit communities (Aalberse, Backus & Muysken 2019: 9-10).

This talk will focus on the sociolinguistic setting of heritage Hasidic Yiddish, suggesting several factors that support "complexification" processes such as the grammaticalization of animacy.

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Grazia Di Pisa (University of Konstanz, Germany) & **Theo Marinis** (University of Konstanz, Germany*):*

Gender Agreement in Italian Heritage Speakers: Effects of Markedness, Proficiency and Language History

Grammatical gender is acquired early in first language acquisition but it is notoriously difficult for second language (L2) learners (e.g., Blom, Polišenská, & Unsworth, 2008). Studies on Heritage Speakers (HSs) have shown controversial results with some reporting higher error rates for HSs compared to monolinguals (e.g., Polinsky, 2008), while others finding native-like acquisition (e.g., Kupisch, Akpinar, & Stöhr, 2013). This is not surprising given the large within-group variability in HSs and the variability along the lifespan of each individual that reflects different developmental paths due to their language history, proficiency, and language use (Benmamoun, Montrul, Polinsky, 2013). Yet, it is unclear which factors contribute most to the vulnerability of gender agreement in HSs.

Current morphological theory assumes that feature values, e.g., masculine and feminine or singular and plural, are asymmetrically represented, i.e. one member of the opposition (e.g. feminine for gender, plural for number) is assumed to be marked, and the other one, unmarked. Native speakers as well as L2 learners have been argued to use only the unmarked feature in agreeing elements during online processing of agreement (Wagers, et al., 2009; McCarthy, 2008), suggesting that grammatical representation happens earlier in unmarked forms (masculine and singular).

Studies with native speakers and L2 have shown effects of markedness on gender agreement in both groups. Grammatical violations realized on feminine (marked) adjectives showed larger P600 effects than on masculine (unmarked) adjectives, indicating that the parser can more easily detect agreement errors when the mismatching feature is marked rather than unmarked (Alemán Bañón, Miller, & Rothman, 2017). However, to date markedness in gender agreement has not been studied in HSs.

The present study fills this gap by investigating gender agreement in HSs of Italian growing up with German as the majority language. 54 adult HSs (*M age* = 28.15; *SD* = 6.20; *range* = 18-41) who acquired Italian from birth and German between 0–6 years and 40 native speakers of Italian (*M age* = 25.65; *SD* = 3.99; *range* = 18-39) living in Italy completed: 1) the DIALANG placement test (Alderson, 2005) measuring proficiency for Italian; 2) a language history questionnaire based on Lloyd-Smith, Einfeldt, & Kupisch (2019) measuring factors that have been shown to affect language development in HSs, as well as self-rated proficiency in Italian; 3) a Grammatical Judgement Task (GJT) for Italian with grammatical and ungrammatical noun-adjective gender agreement sequences addressing markedness and transfer effects; 4) a Gender Assignment (GA) task with the nouns used in the GJT measuring their knowledge of lexical gender in order to be able to exclude from the GJT nouns whose gender was known to individual HSs. Markedness

was manipulated, such that half of the critical noun-adjective sequences were feminine (marked) and the other half masculine (unmarked). Transfer was manipulated, such that half of the nouns had the same gender in Italian and German and the other half different gender. All nouns ended in -e or in a consonant to avoid gender cues through the noun endings. Table 1 includes a list of the experimental conditions related to markedness.

Overall accuracy on the GA task was high (over 85% in all conditions) and there were no effects of markedness or transfer. Nouns whose lexical gender was not known to individual HSs were not included in the analyses of the GJT. Figure 1 shows the results of the GJT. An interaction between Gender*Number*Grammaticality ($F(1,00)=26.57, p<0.001, \eta^2=.338$) was caused by the ungrammatical feminine plural (feminine marked noun+masculine unmarked adjective) showing lower accuracy (*M*=30.82%;*SD*=31.19) compared to the ungrammatical masculine plural condition (masculine unmarked noun+feminine marked adjective) (*M*=64.07%;*SD*=36.32), demonstrating a markedness effect in the plural. There was no difference between gender agreement of nouns that have the same vs. different gender in Italian and German, indicating no transfer effect. There was a significant correlation between the results of the GJT and proficiency ($r(54)=.464, p<.001$), but no correlations with language exposure/use.

These findings reveal that markedness affects gender agreement only in the plural and stress the importance of proficiency in heritage language acquisition.

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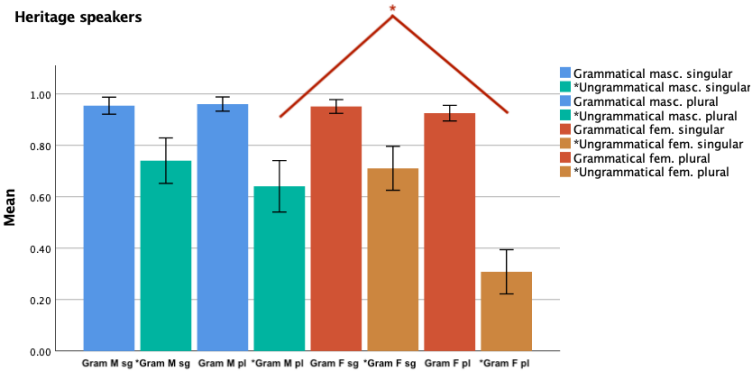
Table 1. Markedness conditions for the GJT

FEMININE-SINGULAR
Grammatical/Ungrammatical
Daniele ha fotografato una torre antica/*antico ad Amsterdam.
…torre$_{\text{-FEM-SG-marked}}$antica$_{\text{-FEM-SG-marked}}$/*antico$_{\text{-MASC-SG-unmarked}}$
Daniele photographed an old tower in Amsterdam.

FEMININE-PLURAL
Grammatical/Ungrammatical
Daniele ha fotografato delle torri antiche/*antichi ad Amsterdam.
…torri$_{\text{-FEM-PL-marked}}$antiche$_{\text{-FEM-PL-marked}}$/*antichi$_{\text{-MASC-PL-unmarked}}$
...some old towers in Amsterdam.

MASCULINE-SINGULAR
Grammatical/Ungrammatical
Alessandro ha comprato un pesce rosso/*rossa alla fiera.
…pesce$_{\text{-MASC-SG-unmarked}}$ rosso$_{\text{-MASC-SG-unmarked}}$/*rossa$_{\text{-FEM-SG-marked}}$
Alessandro bought a red fish at the fair.

MASCULINE-PLURAL
Grammatical/Ungrammatical
Alessandro ha comprato dei pesci rossi/*rosse alla fiera.
…pesci$_{\text{-MASC-PL-unmarked}}$rossi$_{\text{-MASC-PL-unmarked}}$/*rosse$_{\text{-FEM-PL-marked}}$
...some red fish at the fair.



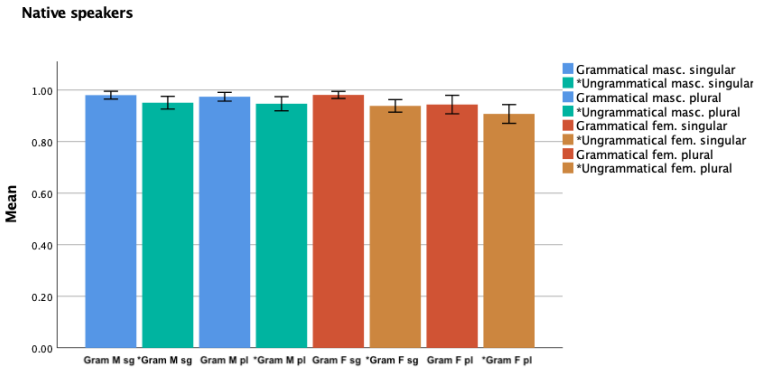


Figure 1. Mean accuracy for GJT

Melanie Uth (University of Cologne, Germany):
Emerging Grammar in Language Contact: Evidence from Word-Final Nasals in Yucatecan Spanish and Yucatec Maya

This paper discusses the role of language contact for the non-assimilatory labialization of word-final nasals in Yucatecan Spanish (Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico) based on a comparison of Yucatecan Spanish and Yucatec Maya speech data. In a nutshell, the study points towards the conclusion that language contact did indeed play a (trigger) role for the development of word-final [m] in Yucatecan Spanish at the beginning, but that there has been a contact-independent sociolinguistic development of this feature as a prosodic marker of regional identity in this area.

In Yucatecan Spanish, a nasal consonant is often pronounced as [m] if placed at the end of a word. For example, instead of saying Quiero comer [pan] ('I want to eat bread'), the speakers say Quiero comer [pam] (Cassano 1977, García Fajardo 1984, Lope Blanch 1987, Yager 1989, Pfeiler 1992, Michnowicz, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008). This phenomenon is widespread in the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico, and Yucatecan Spanish speakers both are renowned for, and partly self-identify with this feature, to the degree that it is even used for merchandising purposes by local labels or souvenir shops (¡Vaya biem!, 'Take care!'). The particularity of this feature, which is unknown in most of the other Spanish-speaking regions of the world, becomes especially evident if we consider that word-final [m] has been almost entirely eliminated from Spanish diachronically due to systematic apocopation (e.g. lat. regionem > sp. región) and alveolarization (e.g. lat. cum > sp. con), meaning that there is hardly any word-final [m] in contemporary varieties of Spanish at all. For this reason, the feature is often linked to the influence of the indigenous

contact language Yucatec Maya (Alvar 1969: 169, Klee & Lynch 2009: 124), where word-final labial nasals are more frequent. However, on closer inspection, the contact hypothesis is not as evident as it appears at first sight, and there are, still, now and then observations of similar pronunciation habits in the south of Paraguay and in Columbia.

The main aim of the talk is to shed light on this issue by drawing on the results of two empirical analyses. The first empirical study is based on 104 word-final nasals obtained by means of a production experiment on Yucatecan Spanish which was carried out 2014 in Quintana Roo. The second study analyzes 153 word-final nasals in non-assimilatory contexts in 10 sociolinguistic interviews in Yucatec Maya recorded in 2017 in the same region. Both analyses are based on forced choice perception judgments of four raters, partly combined with acoustic analyses of the second formant and the duration of the relevant segments.

The most important results of the empirical analyses are that, in our Spanish data, (i) the rate of labialization of word final nasals is highest after [-anterior] vowels ([a,o]), as in [pam], whereas labialized nasals are extremely rare after [e,i], and (ii) the labialization rate significantly increases with the length of the subsequent pause, reaching its maximum in utterance-final position. In contrast, our Mayan data set does not exhibit any of these patterns. Thus, even if it is plausible to assume that the feature was originally transferred from Yucatec Maya to Spanish, it seems to have taken on a life of its own in Yucatecan Spanish which is crucially determined by its function as a linguistic marker of right-edge prosodic prominence.

This having said, there are reasons to suppose that the emergence and entrenchment of this feature in Yucatecan Spanish is due to purposes of social indexication in a context of socio-cultural demarcation. Therefore, after briefly sketching the main evidence in favor of the social indexication hypothesis, it will be proposed to analyze the development from an integrative socio-linguistic perspective and by framing the results in a speaker-oriented socio-cognitive model of linguistic change.

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Session 3: Methods in research on patterns outside standard language

Jeanine Treffers-Daller (University of Reading, United Kingdom), **Zehra Ongun** (University of Reading, United Kingdom), **Cise Cavusoglu** (Near East University, Northern Cyprus, Cyprus), **Valentina Christodoulou** (University of Cyprus, Cyprus), **Theodosia Demetriou** (University of Nicosia, Cyprus), **Christiana Themistocleous** (University of Reading, United Kingdom), **Julia Hofweber** (University College London, United Kingdom) & **Michal Korenar** (University of Reading, United Kingdom):

Can two Unrelated Languages be Mixed? Evidence from a New Method to Investigate Code-mixing

In this paper we use a novel experimental approach to study intrasentential code-switching (the use of more than one language within one utterance) in two typologically unrelated languages, with a view to contributing to the development of the four-way typology of code-switching presented in Muysken (2013), and to advancing the discussion about ways in which linguistic patterns that fall outside formal standard language can be investigated.

One of the most intimate forms in which bilinguals can mix languages in an utterance is congruent lexicalization: in this form of mixing, speakers create a shared grammatical frame in which content and function words from two languages can be freely mixed (see example 1 below). This type of codemixing is generally found among closely related languages, and in speech communities with a long tradition of language contact.

In this paper we set out to investigate to what extent this kind of mixing can be found in typologically unrelated languages, namely English and Turkish, which have different word orders (SVO and SOV respectively) and lexica with very few cognates, which makes congruent lexicalization an unlikely option (Muysken, 2013). There could, however, be interesting differences with respect to the occurrence of congruent lexicalization, related to the intensity and time depth of language contact: Muysken's model also predicts that bilingual groups with a long tradition of co-activating two languages will engage more in congruent lexicalisation than recent immigrants. This study aims to throw further light on this issue, and to illustrate how a stigmatised marker such as codemixing can be investigated under experimental setting.

We focus on codemixing in two English-Turkish bilingual communities with different traditions of language contact with English: one from Turkey and one from Cyprus. We hypothesized, first of all, that it is the Turkish-Cypriots who will engage more in congruent lexicalization because English has been used in Cyprus for over 100 years (Issa, 2006). The island was part of the British Empire since the late 1800s and was a Crown colony until 1960. English is an integral part of the daily lives of many Cypriots (Themistocleous, 2018) much more than in mainland Turkey. Because of the longstanding contact between English and Turkish in Cyprus, SVO word order is commonly found in Cypriot Turkish, a change that has been attributed to influence from English and Greek (Demir & Johanson, 2006). Second, we assumed that the Cypriots in the UK would engage less in congruent lexicalization than those in Cyprus due to the fact that the UK-based Cypriots would be influenced by standard English norms more than those in Cyprus.

Methods

Participants were 30 UK-based Turks (mean age 32.3, SD7.9), 70 UK Turkish Cypriots (mean age 32.07, SD = 9.81). The Cypriots reported having a slightly higher proficiency in English (6.5 on a scale on 1-10, SD.81) than the Turks (5.71, SD = .91), but there were no difference in age, gender, education, or years of use of English.

Instruments

We developed a new Standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish version of a code-switching frequency task with 98 examples of code-switching representing the four different types distinguished by Muysken (2013), and control sentences with monolingual and Turkish sentences. Examples were drawn from the literature on English-Turkish code-switching, supplemented with examples of switching between Turkish and German. Switches were presented in random order, in oral form through headphones with support of the written form on a PPT slide (see Hofweber et al., 2019, for further details). Respondents were asked how frequently they encountered in their environment sentences such as those presented in the task. Following Onar Valk and Backus (2013), we asked participants about "frequency" rather than "acceptability" of sentences to avoid participants referring to norms that are prevalent in a monolingual mode rather than in a bilingual mode. As shown in Hofweber, Marinis, and Treffers-Daller (2019), there is evidence

that answers to a receptive code-switching frequency task correlate to bilinguals' productive use of code-switching. Participants answered on a Visual Analogue Scale (VAS) (Llamas & Watt, 2014), which consisted of a ten centimetre horizontal line on which the endpoints were labelled on the left as "never" and on the right as "always", which allows for collecting more subtle answers than would be possible with a Likert scale. Participants also filled in the Language History Questionnaire (Li, Zhang, Tsai, and Puls (2014). Participants were individually tested by the second author of the paper.

Results

We found that there was a significant difference between groups in their scores on items representing congruent lexicalization (ANOVA, $F(1,98) = 6.67$, $p = 0.01$), in the direction of Turkish to English as in (1).

(1) Ağustos is iğrenç
"August is disgusting." (Treffers-Daller, 2020)

In line with expectations, the UK-based Turks indicated encountering this type of code-switching least frequently ($M = 40.11$, $SD = 11.240$), whereas among the Cypriots it was the Cyprus-born Turkish-Cypriots living in Cyprus who reported encountering it most frequently ($M = 48.8$, $SD = 9.47$), although the differences among the three Cypriot groups were not significant (probably due to lack of statistical power).

Discussion

In the paper we have shown that congruent lexicalization can be found in language pairs which are typologically distinct, if there is a long tradition of language contact between both languages. It was possible to capture the subtle differences in codemixing patterns with the help of a novel task, the code-switching frequency task, which was created on the basis of corpus data, and thus has ecological validity. As this is a receptive task, validity for informants' productive codemixing behaviour cannot automatically be claimed. It is however, a good option for those researchers wishing to tap into informants' codemixing behaviour in experimental settings where collecting corpora of spontaneous speech is not an option.

Sally Dixon (University of New England, Australia):

Untangling Structural Patterns in Multilingual Repertoires: A Novel Application of the Variationist Framework to Grammars in Contact.

Since British colonial invasion, English has been inserted into the already rich linguistic landscape of Australia. Contact between English speakers and those of various Australian languages has

seeded many new English-lexified varieties such as creoles (e.g. Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo 2013; Shnukal 1991), mixed languages (e.g. Meakins 2015; O'Shannessy 2013), Aboriginal Englishes (Eades, 2014), and still others (e.g. Disbray 2008; Dixon 2017).

One of the key, under-explored, issues in the study of contact Englishes in Australia is that of the relationship between individual and community multilingualism. Both speakers of contact varieties and the varieties themselves have been said to exist on a 'continuum', from acrolectal to basilectal. Basilectal varieties bear stronger influence of substrate (Australian) languages while acrolectal varieties are more similar to English. For example, speakers may shift between hojij and hosis 'horse(s)' (Nicholls 2009). Speakers of these varieties also tend to have multilingual repertoires, with all the kinds of linguistic dexterity that that entails: code-switching (Mushin 2010), borrowing (Meakins 2011), multiparty cross-linguistic interaction (McConvell 2001).

In this context, how can we best capture the linguistic patterns of multilinguals 1) whose repertoires consist of multiple varieties that share linguistic forms (and, to some degree, structures) and 2) whose language practises often include making full use of this repertoire inside the one interactional context? How do we establish what is 'standard' in the contact language and what is 'standard' in their English? And, how does the analyst focus on only one variety (in order to describe it) and yet still capture 'natural' language use?

To explore these questions, we travel to a remote Aboriginal community in Central Australia and draw upon a corpus of 50+ hours of naturalistic video recordings, set in a range of home and school contexts. The recordings centre on six focus children, aged 5-8 years-old, whose language repertoires consist of Alyawarr English (a previously undocumented English-lexified contact variety), Standardised Australian English, and Alyawarr (an Australian language of the Arandic sub-group). The focus in this study is the relationship between the children's Alyawarr English and Standardised Australian English. Specifically, are these two varieties distinguishable as separate codes, or is it better to conceive of them as a continuum of usage, per the previous research noted above?

In this presentation I will describe the methodological process I applied to the analysis of this unique data set. The first important step was to create a valid sample of the children's repertoires. I used contextual criteria to sort the recorded utterances into two sub-corpora, reasoning that the children were most likely to use something closer to Alyawarr English when they are at home talking to fellow Alyawarr people, so utterances made in this context formed the HOME data set. Likewise, the children were most likely to use something closer to Australian English when talking to non-Alyawarr people at school, so utterances made in this context formed the SCHOOL data set. Clauses not fitting these two extremes – such as utterances that occurred in the classroom but to another child – were excluded from the analysis. In short, each language (Alyawarr English and Standardised Australian English) was operationalised as a set of clause tokens fitting a set of contextual constraints.

I then selected three variable components of the children's grammar: tense-aspect morphology (specifically variation between V, V-ing and V-bat forms), transitive marking (variation between verbs (un)marked with -im) and subject pronominals (1sg forms /ʌ/ vs. /ʌm/; and 3sg forms /ɪ/ and /ɪm/). I compared usage in the HOME and SCHOOL environments by applying an adapted form of the Comparative Variationist Method (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001). Separate multivariate analyses were conducted in Goldvarb Lion (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith 2012) and compared against a set of criteria developed for evaluating creole:substrate/superstrate relationships (Meyerhoff 2009). Through a detailed examination of the findings, this presentation will provide an account of the utility of this adapted Comparative Variationist Method in capturing 'non-standard' grammars in contact.

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Serkan Uygun (University of Potsdam, Germany) & **Harald Clahsen** (University of Potsdam, Germany):

Morphological Generalization in Heritage Turkish

A controversial issue in psycholinguistic literature concerns the question of which mechanisms are employed in morphological generalization to nonce words. Different mechanisms have been suggested for morphological generalization, in particular associative extensions of existing patterns, and/or generalization based on morphological rules or rule-like operations (see Veríssimo & Clahsen, 2014 for a review). Heritage speakers (HS) have been shown to experience difficulties with inflectional morphology particularly with irregular morphology and to frequently overapply regular morphology (Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2013), a 'resistance to irregularity' according to Polinsky and Scontras (2020).

The present study investigates morphological generalization processes in the Turkish aorist, which encodes habitual aspect or general present tense. Unlike most inflectional exponents in Turkish, the aorist is not completely regular but involves a restricted set of irregular forms specifically with respect to monosyllabic stems. Our aim is to get insight into HS' linguistic representations of inflected word forms and how these are generalized to nonce words in language production, the first study of this kind for heritage Turkish.

We carried out an elicited-production experiment with 50 non-heritage Turkish control speakers (CTR) resident in Turkey and 98 HS who had acquired Turkish from birth and were all recruited from the large Turkish/German bilingual community in Berlin and Potsdam. 78 nonce verbs were created in three 'similarity' conditions: (i) Irregular: nonce verbs similar to existing verbs with irregular aorist forms (e.g., gal in analogy to kal 'stay'), (ii) Regular: nonce verbs similar to existing verbs with regular aorist forms (e.g., yel in analogy to gel 'come'), (iii) No Similarity: phonotactically-legal nonce verbs not similar to existing Turkish verbs (e.g., vöf). Participants had to complete sentences by forming an irregular or regular aorist form of the nonce verb presented in its infinitive form.

As for the results, Table 1 provides means and standard deviations for the three similarity types and the two participant groups. Table 2 presents the results from the best-fit generalized linear mixed-effects model testing for between-group and similarity type differences of the proportions of regular vs. irregular responses. To determine potential similarity effects with existing Turkish verbs for the 'Irregular' and 'Regular' conditions, 'No Similarity' was used as the control condition. We obtained significant effects of Similarity Type for both the Irregular and Regular conditions, due to reduced proportions of regular responses in these conditions compared to the control condition. The model also revealed a significant Group-by-Similarity interaction for the Irregular but not for the Regular condition, which is due to a smaller (Irregular/No Similarity) contrast in the HS than the CTR group. Between-group comparisons for the similarity types revealed significant differences for the Irregular condition only, due to the larger proportion of regular responses in this condition for the HS than the CTR group (Table 2b).

We also explored the inter-individual variability within the HS and CTR group's generalization patterns, by calculating the difference between each individual's production of the regular aorist and the corresponding group's mean for each of the three similarity conditions. Using Levene's tests, we found similar levels of inter-individual variability in both participant groups for the two similarity conditions (Regular: $F = 1.43$; $p = 0.23$; Irregular: $F = 0.02$; $p = 0.89$), whereas for the No Similarity condition the HS group exhibited significantly more variability than the CTR group ($F = 7.56$; $p = 0.007$). This latter contrast is due to largely regular responses for the No Similarity condition within the CTR group individuals and less homogeneous performance within the HS group for this condition.

We interpret our findings as supporting the distinction between rule-based and similarity-based generalization processes. The regular (rule-based) aorist functions as a default that is applied under 'no similarity' conditions in Turkish, when associations with existing verbs fail. By contrast, verbs with irregular aorist forms yield associative (similarity-based) generalizations. Evidence for this basic distinction was found in both the HS and the CTR group data. On the other hand, we found that (relative to the control condition) the HS rely less on associative generalizations in the Irregular condition than the CTR group, in line with the idea of a 'resistance to irregularity' in HS. Furthermore, rule-based generalization processes seem to be less robust amongst HS than for non-heritage speakers, as evidenced by the HS' more heterogeneous performance in the No Similarity condition relative to the rather consistent proportions of regular responses across the CTR group's individuals in this condition.

We conclude that HS employ both similarity-based and rule-based mechanism for morphological generalization of the Turkish aorist, with subtle differences ('resistance to irregularity', 'robustness of morphological rules') to the way these mechanisms are applied by non-heritage speakers of Turkish.

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Table 1: Means and SDs (in parenthesis) of regular responses for the HS and the CTR group

	HS	CTR
Irregular	0.64 (0.48)	0.56 (0.49)
Regular	0.81 (0.39)	0.83 (0.38)
No Similarity	0.89 (0.32)	0.92 (0.27)

Table 2: Fixed effects from the model of the three similarity conditions

Fixed Effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value
(a) Overall Model			
Intercept	2.174	0.183	11.848*
Main effect: Similarity Type (Irregular vs. No Similarity)	2.729	0.307	8.890*
Main effect: Similarity Type (Regular vs. No Similarity)	0.910	0.289	3.151*
Group (HS vs. CTR)* Similarity Type (Irregular vs. No Similarity)	1.227	0.409	3.004*
Group (HS vs. CTR)* Similarity Type (Regular vs. No Similarity)	0.139	0.333	0.417
(b) Releveled by Similarity Type			
Group (HS vs. CTR, Irregular)	-0.837	0.384	-2.180*
Group (HS vs. CTR, Regular)	0.252	0.357	0.705
Group (HS vs. CTR, No Similarity)	0.391	0.387	1.009

Kari Kinn (University of Bergen, Norway) **& George Walkden** (University of Konstanz, Germany):

Investigating Historical Heritage Languages: Possessives in Norn

Research on heritage languages to date has focused almost exclusively on languages of the present day (or attested within the last century). We address the question of whether the methods and findings of modern heritage language research can be applied to languages attested further back in time, and how best to do so. To this end we draw upon a case study of possessive constructions in the extinct North Germanic language Norn.

Norn descends from Old Norse (ON) and was spoken in the Shetland and Orkney Isles north of mainland Scotland until the mid-18th century (Knooihuizen 2008). The language was introduced by settlers who primarily came from Western Norway from around 800 AD (Barnes 1998:4); until the 13th century Orkney and Shetland were ruled by Scandinavian earls, and the Isles only formally became part of Scotland in 1472. Remaining sources of Norn include the ballad of Hildina (Hægstad 1900) and a number of charters (legal documents). From at least the 14th century Norn and Scots were in contact (Barnes 1984), and from the 15th century onwards official documents start to be produced in Scots instead of Norn.

The setting in which Norn existed can be readily characterized as a heritage-language setting: from the late 15th century Norn was "spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially ... not a dominant language of the larger (national) society" (Rothman 2009:156). In the context of Norn, the dominant language of the larger society was (Older) Scots, but Norn was still learnt at home until at least 1700.

Change in heritage languages can often be related to the multilingual context: possibilities include cross-linguistic influence (CLI) from the dominant language, cross-linguistic overcorrection whereby speakers extend patterns already present in their heritage language (Kupisch 2014), and spontaneous innovation (further discussion in, e.g., Polinsky 2018).

We explore the morphosyntax of Norn from this perspective, focusing on possessive constructions. This is an area where ON and Scots differ: In ON, possessors could either precede or follow the head noun (Faarlund 2004:59–60). In Older Scots, possessors were prenominal (Moessner 1997:118–122).

Our Norn corpus consists of the 18th-century Hildina ballad and 13 charters (late 13th to early 16th centuries). This runs to 6,665 words and constitutes virtually all the available Norn textual material. As a comparator, or 'baseline' corpus, we took matching Norwegian texts: the early 19th-century Falkvor Lommanson ballad and (Western) Norwegian charters from the Diplomatarium Norvegicum (late 13th to early 16th centuries), totalling 4,949 words.

We investigate whether Norn displays any of the typical types of change that have been observed in heritage languages, or if there is stability. As a starting point, we observe that both prenominal and postnominal possessors are attested (Ex. (1)):

(1) a. ÿ hennar parth
for her part
'for her part' Norn (Goudie 1904:81) – prenominal possessor

b. Helga kona min
Helga wife my
'Helga, my wife' Norn (DN III.310) – postnominal possessor

However, the distribution of these two patterns in Norn differs somewhat from the Norwegian baseline: Overall, Norn has a significantly higher proportion of prenominal possessors (175/227, or 77.1%, vs. 129/189, or 68.2%, in the baseline corpus; $p < 0.05$). The proportion of prenominal possessors in Norn is at its highest (109/133, or 82.0%) after 1400, i.e., after Scots had become well established as a contact language. A rise in the proportion of prenominal possessors can be observed in the baseline corpus, too, although it never reaches quite as far as in Norn. One reason for the development in Norn could be that Norn scribes received training in Norway (Barnes 1998:16); however, it is also possible that CLI from Scots played a role in promoting prenominal possessors. In a study of possessives in present-day American Heritage Norwegian, which is in contact with English, Anderssen et al. (2018) relate overuse of prenominal possessors to low proficiency. (Present-day homeland Norwegian allows both prenominal and postnominal possessors, while possessors in English are prenomimal.)

We also discuss the use of reflexive vs. non-reflexive possessives, a distinction made in ON (Faarlund 2004:280), but not in Scots. In both Hildina and the Norn charters, we occasionally find non-reflexive possessive forms (hans 'his') instead of reflexive sinn/sitt (Ex. (2)). This could reflect CLI from Scots. In the baseline corpus, the use of reflexive possessives is stable (Ex. (3)).

(2) An cast **ans** huge ei fong ednar
he threw his head in lap her
'He threw his head into her lap' Norn (Hildina) – non-reflexive possessor

(3) Riddaren vaagar Live fer **si** Jomfru
knight.DEF risks life.DEF for his.REFL maiden
'The knight risks his life for his maiden'
Norwegian (Falkvor Lommansson) – reflexive possessor

In summary, we can identify Norn as a heritage language in its later stages, and tentatively suggest that features of morphosyntactic CLI may be detectable in our data. The methods and reasoning employed in this study can shed further light on properties of heritage languages by broadening the empirical basis to include historically-attested varieties; conversely, concepts from modern heritage linguistics can be deployed to better understand properties of historically-attested varieties.

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	Norn		**Norwegian baseline corpus**	
	Prenom. poss.	Postnom. poss.	Prenom. poss.	Postnom. poss.
1299–1400	66 (70.2%)	28 (29.8%)	46 (56.1%)	36 (43.9%)
1400–	109 (82.0%)	24 (18.0%)	83 (77.6%)	24 (22.4%)
Total	175 (77.1%)	52 (22.9%)	129 (68.2%)	60 (31.8%)

Table 1: Prenominal vs. postnominal possessors in Norn and the Norwegian baseline corpus.

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Well, I'm not sure whether Elif should go to prep school.
I thought she had good grades.
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Sure, I get it. That's also why Anna shouldn't go to music school.
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So what?
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