V2 in non-subject-initial main clauses in Latin American Norwegian: Results from a narration task

June Osland Melvær, Kari Kinn & Marie Lund Stokka*

Abstract. This paper presents an investigation of the verb second (V2) rule in Norwegian heritage language in Latin America (LatAmNo). Using a narrative retelling task with segments from the Chaplin film *Modern Times,* data was collected from 19 LatAmNo speakers from Argentina, Ecuador and Chile, and 10 homeland Norwegian speakers as a control group. The study focuses on non-subject-initial, declarative main clauses; the results show that LatAmNo speakers generally retain V2 despite some variation, in line with previous studies of Scandinavian heritage languages. LatAmNo speakers also exhibit a lower proportion of non-subject-initial declaratives than homeland speakers. This is similar to what has been observed in North American Norwegian (NAmNo); however, in LatAmNo, the lower proportion of non-subject-initial declaratives cannot be straightforwardly explained by cross-linguistic influence, in contrast to what has been proposed for NAmNo (Westergaard et al. 2023).

Keywords. Latin American Norwegian; V2; narration task; language contact

1. Introduction. Verb second (V2) is a characteristic feature of Germanic languages (apart from English), whereby the finite verb must appear in the second position of (most) main clauses. V2 in Scandinavian heritage languages (HLs) in North America has been discussed in several recent studies (e.g., Kühl & Heegård Petersen 2018 on North American Danish; Eide & Hjelde 2018 and Westergaard et al. 2023 on North American Norwegian (NAmNo); Larsson & Kinn 2022 on North American Swedish (NAmSw); Arnbjörnsdóttir et al. 2018 on North American Icelandic (NAmIce)). A converging result is that V2 is relatively stable in the heritage varieties, although some cases of non-V2 are found.[1] The examples in (1a–b) illustrate baseline-like V2 in NAmNo, whereas (1c) illustrates a V2-violation in which the finite verb appears as the third constituent, in this case preceded by an adverbial and the subject (examples from Westergaard et al. 2023, with the speaker code given in the first line; in all examples, the finite verb is underlined and preverbal elements are in boldface).

(1) a. **jeg**　**gikk**　ikke　på　　skolen　　der　(V2, wanamingo_MN_04gk)
　　　I　　went　not　on　　school　　there
　　　'I didn't go to school there'

---

[1] Arnbjörnsdóttir et al. (2018) report somewhat less stability in NAmIce; however, this study uses a different methodology and is thus not directly comparable to the other studies. Angantýsson et al. (2023) discuss whether task effects could be involved for some of the data.

b. **tobakk** <u>**hadde**</u> vi…   (V2, coon_valley_WI_04gm)
   tobacco had   we
   'we had tobacco'

c. **når**   **jeg**   **taler norsk,**   **jeg** <u>**taler**</u>   (Non-V2, blair_WI_07gm)
   when   I   speak Norwegian I speak
   'when I speak Norwegian, I speak...'

This paper reports results from an exploratory study of Norwegian as a heritage language in a new context: Latin America, with Spanish as the majority language (LatAmNo). V2 in Scandinavian heritage languages in Latin America is an understudied area (though see Hartling 2019 on Argentine Danish). We focus on non-subject-initial, declarative main clauses and investigate V2 and V2-violations; we also consider the proportion of subject-initial clauses compared to non-subject-initial clauses (see further details in §2). We show that V2 is relatively stable, consistently with what has been found for NAmNo and other Scandinavian heritage varieties, although there is some interesting variation. Further, we show that LatAmNo speakers produce a lower proportion of non-subject-initial main clauses than the homeland control group. This is also similar to NAmNo. For LatAmNo, however, this pattern does not straightforwardly lend itself to an account based on cross-linguistic influence.

The paper has the following structure: In §2 we give an overview of previous research on non-subject-initial declarative clauses, V2-violations and cross-linguistic influence in NAmNo. In §3, we present our data and methodology. In §4 we present our results, followed by a discussion in §5, which also contains some concluding remarks.

2. Previous research: Non-subject-initial clauses, V2-violations and CLI from the majority language. A type of main clause that has received much attention in the research on V2 in Scandinavian HLs in North America is non-subject-initial declarative main clauses, such as (1b) above. Non-subject-initial main clauses are an unambiguous context for V2 in the sense that the linear constituent order does not converge with SVO, unlike subject-initial main clauses such as (1a), which *do* converge with SVO and are thus acceptable in both Norwegian and English. A finding from NAmNo (Westergaard & Lohndal 2019, Westergaard et al. 2023) and NAmSw (Larsson & Kinn 2022) is that heritage speakers overall use fewer non-subject-initial main clauses than homeland speakers. There is considerable inter-speaker variation, but many speakers display a preference for subject-initial clauses.

In two recent studies, Westergaard & Lohndal (2019) and Westergaard et al. (2023) (referred to henceforth collectively as W&L) argue that crosslinguistic influence from English plays a role, although indirectly, for V2-violations in non-subject-initial clauses in NAmNo. On the level of individual speakers, they find a correlation between low proportions of non-subject-initial clauses and V2-violations: speakers who produce many V2-violations in non-subject-initial clauses tend to also produce a (particularly) low proportion of non-subject-initial clauses (and a correspondingly higher proportion of subject-initial clauses). W&L argue that the low proportion of non-subject-initial clauses is a result of crosslinguistic influence (CLI) from the majority language English, in which main clauses are predominantly subject-initial. Yang (2001), cited in Westergaard & Lohndal (2019: 92), found that non-subject-initial clauses in English (XSV), together with subject-initial non-V2-clauses, constitute less than 10% of all

sentences in present-day English, whereas the proportion of non-subject-initial clauses in homeland Norwegian is typically around 30% (Westergaard 2009, see also Keihl Olsen 2019). On W&L's account, the decrease of non-subject-initial clauses in the HL makes the (Norwegian) syntax of this clause type difficult to access, which in turn leads to V2-violations. In other words, V2-violations in NAmNo do not (primarily) arise from direct transfer of non-V2-structures from English, but rather from more indirect influence on the frequency of *contexts* for unambiguous V2: when the proportion of unambiguous V2-contexts drops due to CLI, V2 becomes vulnerable to attrition.

On this backdrop, it becomes particularly interesting to study LatAmNo and to compare the results to NAmNo. The reason for this is that Spanish, the majority language of LatAmNo speakers, differs from English in important ways: main clauses to a greater extent have postverbal (or unexpressed) subjects (Zagona 2002; Arús 2010; Lavid 2010). If we find an increase in subject-initial clauses, and concomitant V2-violations, in LatAmNo, this cannot be straightforwardly ascribed to CLI from the majority language.

3. Data and methodology

3.1. PARTICIPANTS. The study includes 19 LatAmNo speakers. All speakers are multilingual, and they have acquired Norwegian at home as young children. Spanish is their dominant language, and they generally also speak English and/or other languages as an L2/L3. Most of the heritage speakers in the study live in Argentina (13 individuals), 5 live in Ecuador and 1 in Chile. Most of the speakers are 2nd generation HL speakers born in Latin America; however, a few emigrated as children (aged 6 or younger), and two are 3rd generation. The youngest speakers in the study are in their 20s and the oldest are in their 80s – the participants thus cover a wide range of ages. However, two relatively clear groups can be distinguished: Most of the speakers in Argentina are elderly (in their 70s and 80s), while the speakers in Ecuador and Chile are younger (20s to 40s).

In addition to the heritage speakers, the study also includes a control group of 10 homeland Norwegian speakers, born and raised in Norway. Like with the HL speakers, different ages are represented: 5 speakers in the control group are older (in their 60s, 70s and 80s at the time of recording) and 5 are younger (in their 20s and 30s).

3.2. METHOD. All participants in the study completed a narration task, which was conducted over Zoom. In this task, the participants were asked to retell a clip of approx. 5 minutes from the Chaplin film *Modern Times*. A similar design has been used in previous research by, e.g., Klein & Perdue (1997), Perdue & Klein (1992) and Bardovi-Harlig (2000); however, we made certain modifications to optimize the task for our purposes:[2] The participants were explicitly instructed to retell the story to someone who had not seen the film before (mostly a researcher who would leave the room while the clip was played), and who would draw a comic based on the narration.[3] This created a situation in which the participants could not assume much shared knowledge with the listener, thus facilitating explicit and coherent narrations. The comic-

---

[2] Thanks to Verónica Pájaro and Ann-Kristin Helland Gujord for their help.

[3] Due to practical limitations, only one researcher was present during the sessions with the control group; thus, it was not possible for anyone to leave the room. However, apart from this, the control group received the same instructions as the heritage speakers.

drawing part of the design encouraged the participants to tell the story as a sequence of consecutive events (rather than just descriptions of scenes) – this created the conditions for (certain) non-subject-initial clauses, e.g., with fronted time adverbials. The comic-drawing had an additional benefit of making the recording situation less formal; we would round off the session by looking at the comic together, which would often create a light atmosphere.

The recordings were transcribed in Elan; all declarative main clauses were extracted and analyzed manually. Well-known exceptions from V2 in homeland Norwegian (e.g., left-dislocation, the adverb *kanskje* 'maybe' and discourse ellipsis) were not classified as V2-violations; for details, see Melvær (2023).

Before we turn to the results, a methodological note on the proportion of non-subject-initial clauses in this study compared to previous studies on NAmNo is in order. Most previous studies of NAmNo, including W&L, are based on corpus data, typically spontaneous speech from semi-structured interviews and conversations (Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS, Johannessen 2015) and various homeland Norwegian corpora). As the present study is based on a narration task which creates the conditions for fronting of certain non-subjects, the proportion of non-subject-initial clauses will not be directly comparable to the proportions found in previous studies – we expect it to be higher. However, we assume that if there is indeed a preference for subject-initial main clauses in LatAmNo, this will reveal itself in the narration task as a contrast between the HL speakers and the homeland Norwegian control group, who have conducted the same task.

The differences between spontaneous speech and the narration task may also have consequences for the *types* of fronted elements. The implications of this remain to be investigated.

4. Results. In this section we present the results from the narration task. In §4.1 we provide an overview of the speech production by the two groups (LatAmNo vs. homeland speakers); in §4.2 we discuss V2-violations in non-subject-initial main clauses, and in §4.3 we discuss the proportion of subject-initial vs. non-subject initial declarative main clauses.

4.1. SPEECH PRODUCTION BY THE TWO GROUPS. As mentioned, the narration task was based on a film clip of around 5 minutes. Table 1 shows the number of main clauses produced by each LatAmNo speaker.

HL speaker	Main clauses
adrogue_AR_01gm	15
bariloche_AR_01um	153
buenos_aires_AR_01gk	69
buenos_aires_AR_02gm	45
cafayate_AR_01gm	40
cuenca_EC_01uk	58
cuenca_EC_02uk	69
cuenca_EC_03uk	85
cuenca_EC_04um	34
del_viso_AR_01gk	111
la_plata_AR_01gk	77
manso_AR_01um	55
martinez_AR_01gk	47

martinez_AR_02gk	42
quito_EC_01um	80
santiago_CH_01uk	69
tigre_AR_01uk	39
vicente_lopez_AR_02gk	88
vicente_lopez_AR_03gk	23
Total	1,199

Table 1. Declarative main clauses per speaker in LatAmNo.

As is evident from Table 1, the HL speakers (19 individuals) altogether produced 1,199 declarative main clauses in their narrations, which gives an average of 63 main clauses per speaker. However, there is much inter-individual variation; the numbers per speaker range between 15 and 153. The variation is consistent with what is typically observed for HL speakers (e.g., Montrul & Polinsky 2021; Westergaard et al. 2023).

The speakers in the homeland control group (10 individuals) produced altogether 649 declarative main clauses. This gives an average of 65 main clauses per speaker, which is similar to the HL speakers. There is, however, less variability in the control group, with numbers ranging between 41 and 92 (see Melvær 2023: 57 for a full overview).

Note that the numbers given in this section include both subject-initial and non-subject initial main clauses. In the next section, we only consider non-subject-initial main clauses.

4.2. V2-VIOLATIONS IN NON-SUBJECT-INITIAL MAIN CLAUSES IN LATAMNO. Altogether, the LatAmNo speakers produced 530 non-subject-initial main clauses, of which 62 (11.70%)[4] contained a V2-violation (i.e., V3 word order, with two constituents preceding the finite verb). All V2-violations are XSV; as we only investigate non-subject-initial clauses, SXV-patterns are not included in the study. In the homeland control group, there was one single V2-violation (out of 343 non-subject-initial main clauses); we abstract away from this and maintain the standard assumption that the V2-rule holds in the homeland baseline.

An initial illustration of the variation between V2 and non-V2 in LatAmNo is given in (2); see Table 2 for an overview of the results by speaker.

(2) a. … **så**   <u>**klarte**</u>   dem   å rømme   fra den (V2, adrogue_AR_01gm)
       … then   managed   them   to escape   from it
       '... and then they managed to escape from it'

   b. **etterpå**   **Chaplin**   <u>**går**</u>   til en   restaurant … (Non-V2, cuenca_EC_02uk)
       afterwards   Chaplin   goes   to a   restaurant …
       'afterwards Chaplin goes to a restaurant …'

---

[4] This number represents the overall proportion of V2-violations at group level. Alternatively, the group mean can be calculated as the mean of the individual means, i.e. the mean of the "V2-violations" values in Table 2, bringing the group mean up to 18.8%. This way, each speaker's individual grammar is represented equally, regardless of the number of non-subject-initial main clauses produced by this speaker.

	V2		V2-violations		Total
adrogue_AR_01gm	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	2
bariloche_AR_01um	45	100.00%	0	0.00%	45
buenos_aires_AR_01gk	44	95.65%	2	4.35%	46
buenos_aires_AR_02gm	2	15.38%	11	84.62%	13
cafayate_AR_01gm	20	100.00%	0	0.00%	20
cuenca_EC_01uk	36	97.30%	1	2.70%	37
cuenca_EC_02uk	24	60.00%	16	40.00%	40
cuenca_EC_03uk	48	97.96%	1	2.04%	49
cuenca_EC_04um	7	87.50%	1	12.50%	8
del_viso_AR_01gk	49	98.00%	1	2.00%	50
la_plata_AR_01gk	18	78.26%	5	21.74%	23
manso_AR_01um	18	72.00%	7	28.00%	25
martinez_AR_01gk	10	71.43%	4	28.57%	14
martinez_AR_02gk	23	100.00%	0	0.00%	23
quito_EC_01um	28	82.35%	6	17.65%	34
santiago_CH_01uk	25	89.29%	3	10.71%	28
tigre_AR_01uk	0	0.00%	3	100.00%	3
vicente_lopez_AR_02gk	54	98.18%	1	1.82%	55
vicente_lopez_AR_03gk	15	100.00%	0	0.00%	15
Total	468	88.30%	62	11.70%	530

Table 2. V2 and V2-violations in non-subject-initial main clauses in LatAmNo.

The overall proportion of V2-violations (11.70%) resembles the results of Westergaard et al. (2023), who found 9.6% V2-violations in non-subject-initial main clauses in NAmNo (their study included 50 speakers and was, as mentioned, based on spontaneous speech from semi-structured interviews). Hartling (2019) found a proportion of 7.6% V2-violations in Argentine Danish (34 speakers, spontaneous speech).

There is considerable inter-speaker variation regarding the proportions of V2-violations. This variation is yet to be investigated in detail; on one end of the scale, the speakers bariloche_AR_01um, cafayate_AR_01gm, vicente_lopez_AR_02gk and cuenca_EC_03uk produce zero or close to zero V2-violations. At the other end of the scale, there are speakers who produce a substantial proportion of V2-violations; buenos_aires_AR_02gm has 84.62% V2-violations, whereas cuenca_EC_02uk has 40.00%. The speaker tigre_AR_01uk is the only speaker who uses V3 consistently – however, she only produces 3 non-subject-initial clauses (see further details in §4.3). Thus, there are some speakers who produce a lot of V3, but importantly, we cannot infer that V2 is completely gone from their grammar. Most of these speakers produce *some* examples of V2, or, in the case of tigre_AR_01uk, the data is too scarce to draw any conclusions.

Looking more closely at the V2-violations, we see that many of the examples involve short, initial adverbs, typically time adverbials; see (2b) above and (3):[5]

---

[5] A reviewer remarks that there is a prosodic break (marked as #) between the initial adverbial *da* 'then' and the subject *hun* 'she' in (3a). Having listened to the example, we interpret *da* and *hun* as belonging to the same main clause (we do not think the speaker interrupts herself and restarts the clause after *da*). In (3b), it can be noted that the speaker apparently uses an English adverb (*then*). Kinn et al. (2024) note that speakers of LatAmNo occasionally draw on lexical resources that are neither Norwegian nor Spanish.

(3) a. og # da # hun **blir**   tatt   med # av bakemannen (Non-V2, cuenca_EC_02uk)
    and then she gets   taken with   by bakerman.DEF
    'and then she is taken away by the baker'

   b. ee **then**   **hun** <u>begynner</u> å gå ut   med dette brød (Non-V2, buenos_aires_AR_02gm)
      then   she begins   to go out   with this bread
    'then she walks out with the bread'

This use of short adverbs in non-V2 main clauses could be a task effect and does not necessarily mean that these adverbs as such promote V2-violations. There are also many examples of V2 with similar adverbs; additionally, it can be noted that Westergaard et al. (2023) find few V2-violations with this type of adverb.[6]

Previous studies have suggested that the length or "heaviness" of the initial constituent can influence V2, with heavier constituents promoting V2-violations (Eide & Hjelde 2018; Westergaard et al. 2023).[7] It takes further analysis to establish whether this is the case in LatAmNo. We do, however, observe some V2-violations with heavy constituents. The speaker la_plata_AR_01gk displays V2-violations in 5 out of 23 non-subject-initial main clauses; two of the examples involve what can be considered heavy initial constituents, like in (4) (an adverb modified by a relative clause):

(4) **der**   **hvor**   **de**   **satt**   **under**   **et tre**   **de**   <u>**så**</u> en… (la_plata_AR_01gk)
    there   where   they sat   under   a tree   they   saw a…
    'where they sat under a tree, they saw a…'

The inter and intra-speaker variation in the distribution of V2-violations is to be investigated further. Moreover, we plan to compare the results from the narration task to results from interviews which are currently being transcribed; this is a data type more similar to the data used in most previous studies of NAmNo and other Scandinavian heritage languages.

4.3. SUBJECT-INITIAL VS. NON-SUBJECT-INITIAL MAIN CLAUSES. While the previous section dealt with the word order in non-subject-initial main clauses (V2 vs. V3), this section discusses the extent to which LatAmNo speakers use this type of clause, compared to subject-initial clauses. Recall that many NAmNo speakers display a preference for subject-initial clauses, as demonstrated by W&L; W&L further show that there is a correlation between high proportions of subject-initial clauses and V2-violations.

An overview of the proportion of subject-initial and non-subject-initial clauses produced by LatAmNo speakers is given in Table 3; the results from the control group are given in Table 4. As is evident from the tables, there is (again) considerable inter-speaker variation. Overall, however, LatAmNo speakers display a stronger preference for subject-initial clauses compared to the homeland control group (a proportion of 55.80% compared to 47.15% in the control

---

[6] However, see Newman (2015) for a small study suggesting that time adverbials are associated with V2-violations in New York Hasidim.

[7] Note that in Westergaard et al.'s (2023) study, there is no effect of length in the sense of number of words of the first constituent, but rather an effect of phrase type, with "heavy" categories such as embedded clauses and PPs being associated with V2-violations.

group).[8] The difference is significant based on a Fisher Exact Test (p = 0.0004). In homeland Norwegian corpus data, around 30% of all declarative clauses in are non-subject-initial (cf. §2). As mentioned in §3.2, data from our study are not directly comparable to this. However, the difference between LatAmNo and the control group suggests that there is a difference between (many) heritage speakers and homeland speakers, similar to what has been found in NAmNo.

	Sub.-initial		Non-sub.-initial	
adrogue_AR_01gm	13	86.67%	2	13.33%
bariloche_AR_01um	108	70.59%	45	29.41%
buenos_aires_AR_01gk	23	33.33%	46	66.67%
buenos_aires_AR_02gm	32	71.11%	13	28.89%
cafayate_AR_01gm	20	50.00%	20	50.00%
cuenca_EC_01uk	21	36.21%	37	63.79%
cuenca_EC_02uk	29	42.03%	40	57.97%
cuenca_EC_03uk	36	42.35%	49	57.65%
cuenca_EC_04um	26	76.47%	8	23.53%
del_viso_AR_01gk	61	54.95%	50	45.05%
la_plata_AR_01gk	54	70.13%	23	29.87%
manso_AR_01um	30	54.55%	25	45.45%
martinez_AR_01gk	33	70.21%	14	29.79%
martinez_AR_02gk	19	45.24%	23	54.76%
quito_EC_01um	46	57.50%	34	42.50%
santiago_CH_01uk	41	59.42%	28	40.58%
tigre_AR_01uk	36	92.31%	3	7.69%
vicente_lopez_AR_02gk	33	37.50%	55	62.50%
vicente_lopez_AR_03gk	8	34.78%	15	65.22%
Total	669	55.80%	530	44.20%

Table 3. Proportion of subject-initial and non-subject-initial clauses in LatAmNo.

	Sub.-initial		Non-sub.-initial	
askim_01gk	22	50.00%	22	50.00%
baerum_01uk	14	34.15%	27	65.85%
bergen_01um	35	49.30%	36	50.70%
bergen_02gk	33	45.21%	40	54.79%
floroe_01gk	55	59.78%	37	40.22%
floroe_02gk	44	56.41%	34	43.59%
oslo_01uk	27	45.76%	32	54.24%
oslo_02um	21	45.65%	25	54.35%
oslo_03um	29	35.80%	52	64.20%
veggli_01gm	26	40.63%	38	59.38%
Total	306	47.15%	343	52.85%

Table 4. Proportion of subject-initial and non-subject-initial clauses in the control group.

The next question is whether high proportions of subject-initial clauses correlate with V2-violations on the level of individual speakers in LatAmNo (as shown by W&L for

---

[8] Like for the proportion of V2-violations, this number represents the overall proportion of subject-initial clauses at group level. If we consider the mean of the individual means for the two groups, the difference increases slightly, with a mean use of subject-initial clauses of 57.1% in the LatAmNo group and 46.3% in the control group.

NAmNo). We computed Spearman's correlation to assess the relationship between the proportion of subject-initial main clauses and V2-violations. There was a weak positive correlation between the two variables, suggesting that speakers with a high proportion of subject-initial clauses also have a higher proportion of V2-violations ($r_s(17) = .32$, $p = .176$).[9] This correlation can also be observed from Figure 1, showing the proportion of subject-initial clauses and V2-violations for each individual speaker (as listed in Tables 2 and 3). The solid regression line visualizes the positive correlation between proportion of subject-initial clauses and V2-violations.[10] The dashed lines represent the median values for subject-initial clauses (vertical) and V2-violations (horizontal) and show how the majority of speakers with below-median proportions of subject-initial clauses also have below-median proportions of V2-violations, and, similarly, how the majority of speakers with above-median proportions of subject-initial clauses also have above-median proportions of V2-violations. The results bear resemblance to those reported by Westergaard et al. (2023); cf. their Figure 1.
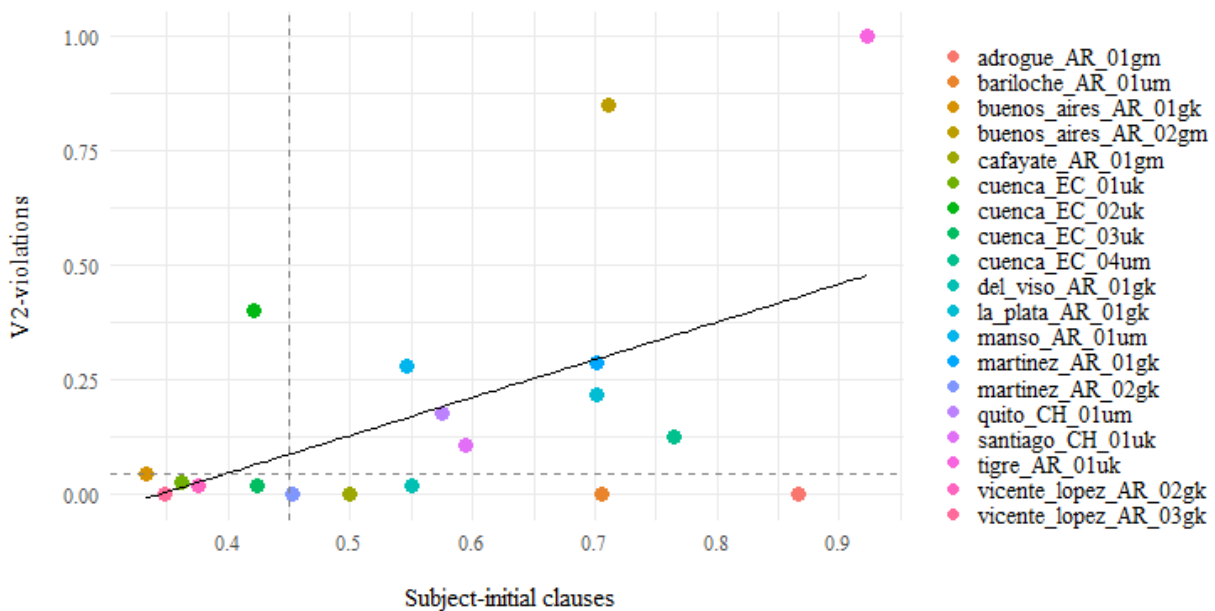

Figure 1. Correlation between subject-initial clauses and V2-violations

Looking at individual speakers, we observe that the correlation between subject-initial clauses and V2-violations appears to hold for at least some: tigre_AR_01uk produces 92.31% subject-initial clauses and only 7.69% (n=3) non-subject-initial clauses, all of which have V2-violations. Obviously, no firm conclusions can be drawn based on this speaker alone, especially since she produces very few clauses overall; however, the pattern is notable. Further, buenos_aires_AR_02gm has 71.11% subject-initial clauses and 84.62% V2-violations, and martinez_AR_01gk has 70.21% subject-initial clauses and 28.57% V2-violations. However, it requires further analysis and more data to establish whether this is a general trend. There are also apparent counterexamples: the speaker adrogue_AR_01gm has 86.67% subject-initial clauses but no V2-violations (note, however, that this speaker produces few main clauses

---

[9] The correlation was not statistically significant (p = .176), presumably reflecting the modest sample size and the considerable variation therein.

[10] Note, however, that we do not make any predictions based on the regression line, and we have included it only to visualize the trend in the observed data.

overall, only 15). Cuenca_EC_04um has a high proportion of subject-initial-clauses (76.47%), but only slightly more V2-violations than average (12.5%).

5. Discussion and concluding remarks. Two main results from the present study are the following: First, in non-subject-initial clauses, LatAmNo speakers (as a group) produced V2-violations at a rate fairly similar to speakers of NAmNo (11.70% in LatAmNo vs. 9.6% in NAmNo). This corroborates previous research suggesting that overall, V2 is relatively robust in Scandinavian heritage varieties (see §1), although some variation is found. Second, as a group, LatAmNo speakers, similar to NAmNo speakers, display a preference for subject-initial clauses. We also found a weak correlation suggesting that speakers with a high proportion of subject-initial clauses also have a higher proportion of V2-violations.

While previous research has proposed that the high proportion of subject-initial clauses in NAmNo is an effect of CLI from the majority language English, the observed preference for subject-initial clauses in LatAmNo cannot be straightforwardly explained by CLI from Spanish. Spanish exhibits greater flexibility in terms of subject placement than English; it allows more post-verbal subjects and has fewer SV constructions (Zagona 2002; Arús 2010; Lavid 2010). We acknowledge that the comparison is not entirely uncomplicated (e.g., because Spanish is also a null-subject language). However, we interpret the results as an invitation to consider alternative factors that may influence the word order of main clauses in LatAmNo – and possibly also in NAmNo. Such factors might include ease of processing, syntactic economy and a preference for SVO as a default structure (Polinsky 2018; Laleko 2021).

The present paper suggests several avenues for future research. As mentioned, interviews with the LatAmNo speakers are currently being transcribed, which will enable a comparison of the narration task to spontaneous speech. Moreover, the weak correlation between a high proportion of subject-initial clauses and V2-violations warrants further investigation. Another possible area of future research is the role of English and other languages in the multilingual repertoires of the speakers; as mentioned, many of the speakers know more languages than Spanish and Norwegian. Finally, it is highly relevant to compare the findings for V2 with findings for other grammatical phenomena, across speakers, in the future. This will give us a more complete picture of LatAmNo and how different grammatical properties interact (see, e.g., Lundquist et al. 2020).

References

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur, Iris Edda Nowenstein & Höskuldur Thráinsson. 2023. V2 violations in different variants of Icelandic. A common denominator? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, First View: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586523000148

Arnbjörnsdóttir, Birna, Höskuldur Thráinsson & Iris Edda Nowenstein. 2018. V2 and V3 orders in North-American Icelandic. *Journal of Language Contact* 11. 379–412.

Arús, Jorge. 2010. On theme in English and Spanish: a comparative study. In Elizabeth Swain (ed.), *Thresholds and potentialities of systematic functional linguistics: Multilingual, multimodal and other specialised discourses*, 23–48. EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Bardovi-Harlig, Kathleen. 2000. Chapter five: The role of discourse. *Language Learning* 50(1). 277–337.

Eide, Kristin Melum & Arnstein Hjelde. 2018. Om verbplassering og verbmorfologi i amerikanorsk. *Maal og Minne* 110(1). 25–70.

Hartling, Anna. 2019. Amerikadansk svanesang? En undersøgelse af dansk talt av efterkommere af danske udvandrere til Argentina, med fokus på leksikalsk semantik og acceptabilitet, og på verbets stilling i deklarativer med annet end subjekt på første plads. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen Ph.D. thesis.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 2015. The corpus of American Norwegian Speech. In Béata Megyesi (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics, NODALIDA 15, May 11–13, Vilnius, Lithuania*. NEALT.

Keihl Olsen, Ida. 2019. Subjektplassering i moderne norsk. En korpusbasert analyse av leddstillingsvariasjon i bokmål det siste hundreåret. Oslo: University of Oslo MA thesis.

Kinn, Kari, Marie Lund Stokka & Verónica Pájaro. 2024. Latin-Amerika-norsk: Noen første observasjoner. *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 42(1). 177–212.

Klein, Wolfgang & Clive Perdue. 1997. The basic variety (or: Couldn't natural languages be much simpler?). *Second Language Research* 13(4). 301–347.

Kühl, Karoline & Jan Heegård Petersen. 2018. Word order in American Danish declaratives with a non-subject initial constituent. *Journal of Language Contact* 11. 413–440.

Laleko, Oksana. 2021. Discourse and information structure in heritage languages. In Silvina Montrul & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of heritage languages and linguistics*, 691–727. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Larsson, Ida & Kari Kinn. 2022. Stability and change in the C-domain in American Swedish. *Languages* 7, 256. https://doi.org/10.3390/languages7040256

Lundquist, Bjørn, Merete Anderssen, Terje Lohndal & Marit Westergaard. 2020. Variation across individuals and domains in Norwegian heritage language. *Oslo Studies in Language* 11(2). 251–267.

Lavid, Julia. 2010. Contrasting choices in clause-initial position in English and Spanish: a corpus-based analysis. In Elizabeth Swain (ed.), *Thresholds and potentialities of systematic functional linguistics: Multilingual, multimodal and other specialised discourses*, 49–68. EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Melvær, June Osland. 2023. *V2 i norsk arvespråk i Latin-Amerika*. Bergen: University of Bergen MA thesis. https://bora.uib.no/bora-xmlui/handle/11250/3133623

Montrul, Silvina & Maria Polinsky. 2021. Introduction: Heritage languages, heritage speakers, heritage linguistics. In Silvina Montrul & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Heritage languages and linguistics*, 1–11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newman, Zelda Kahan. 2015. Discourse markers in the narratives of New York Hasidim: More V2 attrition. In Janne Bondi Johannessen & Joseph C. Salmons (eds.), *Germanic heritage languages in North America: Acquisition, attrition and change*, 178–200. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Perdue, Clive & Wolfgang Klein. 1992. Why does the production of some learners not grammaticalize? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 14(3). 259–272.

Polinsky, Maria. 2018. *Heritage languages and their speakers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westergaard, Marit. 2009. *Acquisition of word order: Micro-cues, information structure, and economy.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Westergaard, Marit & Terje Lohndal. 2019. Verb second word order in Norwegian heritage language: Syntax and pragmatics. In David Lightfoot and Jonathan Havenhill (eds.), *Variable properties in language: Their nature and acquisition*, 91–102. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Westergaard, Marit, Terje Lohndal & Björn Lundquist. 2023. Variable V2 in Norwegian heritage language: An effect of crosslinguistic influence? *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 13(2). 133–162.

Zagona, Karen. 2002. *The syntax of Spanish.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.