V2 and non-V2 in American Danish declarative main clauses: When, how, and why?

A much discussed feature of American Scandinavian is the word order with regard to subject and verb in declarative main clauses. The Mainland Scandinavian languages are generally characterized by V2 in declarative main clauses, and non-V2 word order in American Scandinavian caused by the non-inversion of subject and verb clearly needs an explanation. The descriptions of non-V2 word order and/or non-inversion of subject and verb range from an identification as an established feature of American Scandinavian (Hasselmo 2005: 2133) to a classification as a rarely occurring general L2 learner feature (Larsson et al 2012: 280).

In my talk, I will try to give a comprehensive account of the (non-)inversion of subject and verb that may, or may not, result in non-V2 word order in declarative main clauses in American Danish. The analyses are based on the SpAmDa Corpus: The 'Spoken American Danish Corpus' consists of 90,000 words and contains biographical narratives of Danish immigrants (1st and 2nd generation), recorded in the 1960s and 1970s. Non-inversion of subject and verb along with non-V2 word order is a most regular feature in the SpAmDa Corpus. It appears in salient type-token patterns indicating establishment throughout the speaker group. My analyses focus on which constituents and contexts are associated with (non-)inversion of subject and verb and/or non-V2 word order.

Among other features, I will address the frequently occurring lexical connector $s\mathring{a}$ 'so'. In Denmark Danish Grammar, $s\mathring{a}$ is analyzed either as an adverb or as a conjunction, involving different options of V2 and non-V2 word order in declarative main clauses. However, stable evidence from SpAmDa indicates that American Danish has lost this distinction, thus allowing for non-V2 patterns to extend beyond Denmark Danish possibilities. Favoring a semantically vague lexical connector $s\mathring{a}$ with both V2 and non-V2 options seems to be an exploitation cross-linguistically corresponding structures. Preferring interlingual patterns lead to cross-linguistic stability of common patterns, overusing common structures leads to convergence between idiosyncratic structures. Both strategies seem to ease bilingual language processing (Kühl & Braunmüller in print, Höder 2012, Matras 2009: 151, 235).

Apart from $s\mathring{a}$ 'so', I will consider other contexts of the (non-)violation of the V2 word order and/or the (non-)inversion of subject and verb, e.g. the triggering effects of sentence-initial insertions of English adverbs in otherwise Danish main declarative clauses and the absolute stability of Denmark Danish word order with referential $s\mathring{a}$ 'so'. Last, but not least, I will discuss possible data bias of the SpAmDa Corpus with regard to the high numbers of non-V2 word order following left-dislocated constituent such as adverbial and subclauses.

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