

Revisiting V3 in Kiezdeutsch: a preverbal subject constraint across different types of V3

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Introduction II

- ▶ Kiezdeutsch (KD), an urban multiethnolect of German, has XSV matrix V3 orders disallowed in V2 Standard German (SG)
(Wiese 2006, 2009.; Wiese & Rehbein 2016; Freywald et al. 2011, 2015.; te Velde 2017; Walkden 2017; Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017)

(1) in der Schule du kennst die
in the school you know them

'at School, you('ll) recognise them' (SPK9, MuH17MA_04-2-1)

- ▶ Otherwise strict V2 variety: OV/XV but *OSV/ *XOV (Bunk pc.; Wiese 2009 et seq; Wiese pc. in Walkden 2017; Freywald et al. 2015; Today)

(2) Bei mir in der Klasse haben sich ... viele aufgeregzt
by me in the class have.PL REFL ... many up-stirred

'in my class many people got upset' (MuH17MA_01)



Introduction III

(3) **in** **der** **Schule** **du** **kennst** **die**
in the school you know them

'at School, you('ll) recognise them' (SPK9, MuH17MA_04-2-1)

Structural traits:

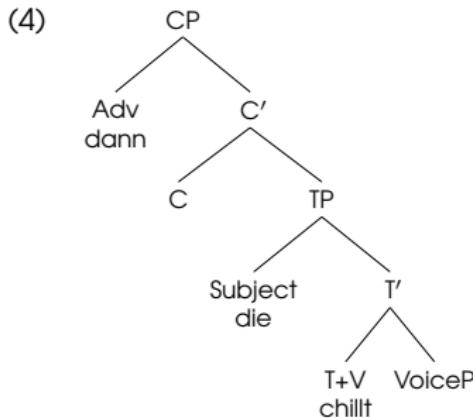
- (i) Frame-Setter > Subject > VFIN (Freywald et al. 2015)
- (ii) Frame-setting adjunct often temporal, e.g. *dann* 'then', not category specific: AdvP, CP, PP, DP (Walkden 2017)
- (iii) Subject = familiar topic: topic continuity, discourse-linked, typically de-stressed, often but not necessarily pronominal (Givón 1983; Pesetsky 1987)

- ▶ This is replicated, more or less, across similar urban varieties in V2 Germanic
- ▶ How to model the syntax of these particular systems has been the topic of considerable debate in recent years



The IP/TP analysis

- ▶ V3 arises from subject initial V2 as V-to-T (Travis 1984; Zwart 1997, 2005), adjunction in CP (or perhaps external Lohndal pc.) (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017) (see also te Velde 2016)

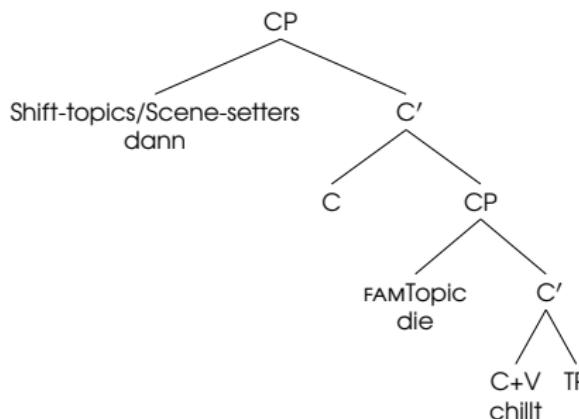


- ▶ Diachronic story: a type of grammatical default (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017)
- ▶ Predicts more frequent SV V3 and unattested *OSV V3
- ▶ No generalized V-T in German (Vikner 2005): how so here?

Expanded-CP analysis of V3 in KD and beyond

- ▶ V3 has V-to-C movement to expanded CP-domain: specialization for function on C-heads (Walkden 2017) (5)

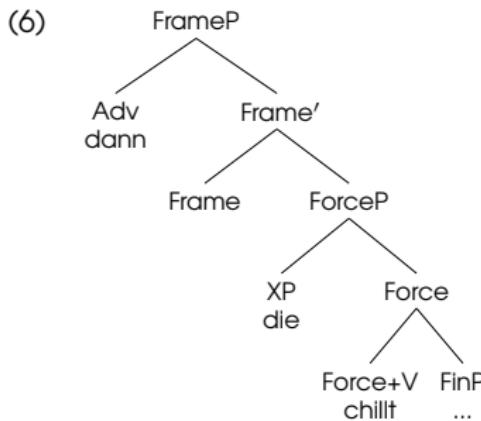
(5)



- ▶ Diachronic story: emerges in KD due to conflicting L1 and L2 Primary Linguistic Data (PLD) → complexification (Walkden 2017)
- ▶ Technically allows V3 OV (suitability is an empirical question)
- ▶ *Modification of Split-CP by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007)
ForceP > ShiftP > ContrP > FocP > FamP > FinP

V3 in Force V2

- ▶ V3 results from a high bottleneck in Force V2 and FrameP for clause external Merge of frame-setting elements (Poletto 2002, Wolfe 2015 et seq, Haegeman & Greco 2018) (6)



- ▶ Wolfe (2015, 2017): two subtypes of Force-V2 produce different V3 structures
 - i. 'Force-V2 System 1': Frame-Setter > Topic/Focus > V_{FIN}
(Late Old French & Spanish ...)
 - ii. 'Force-V2 System 2': HT/LD > Topic/Focus > V_{FIN} (Dutch, German ...)
- ▶ Diachronic story: Meelen et al (2017) find that Urban Dutch speakers have innovated type 1 system
- ▶ Also technically allows V3 OV (suitability again an empirical question)

Standard German V3 vs KD V3

- ▶ Strict V2 varieties such as German and Dutch allow V3 in (externally merged) resumptive structures, e.g. Left Dislocation and Hanging Topics (Holmberg 2015)

(7) **Den** **Keks** , **den** **hat** Fritz gegessen
The.MASC.ACC. Biscuit, RP.him has Fritz eaten
'(as for the) the biscuit, Fritz ate it'

- ▶ Meelen et al (2017) claim Urban Dutch speakers are code-switching between Force V2 types when using LD/HT (but not their focus)

Overarching Questions

- ▶ What do KD speakers actually do across all types of V3 - one system or two?
- ▶ Does the full picture for V3 in KD corroborate previous analyses or warrant yet another go?
- ▶ Does looking more closely at the meta data and sociolinguistic context shed any light?



Structure

1. Corpus Study

- 1.1. Frame V3 in KD
- 1.2. Resumption V3 Data

2. Syntactic analysis

- 2.1. Deriving V3
- 2.2. Frame C without Big DP

3. Multiethnolects: Sequential Bilingualism driving change

4. Conclusion

Appendix



Corpus and Methodology

- ▶ Corpus data from multilingual subcorpus of KiDKo 'KiezDeutsch Korpus' (Wiese et al. 2010): 228,000 tokens, c.23,506 matrix clauses
- ▶ 9th grade students, 14-17 years old
- ▶ 17 anchor speakers: 4 German monolinguals, 8 Turkish-German bilinguals, 3 Kurdish-German, 2 Arab-German, various interlocutors of unconfirmed background
- ▶ Cast the net wider than previous studies, combining parsed and POS tagging commands to overcome inconsistencies in results, i.e. cover the blind spots



- ▶ KD known to allow (Frame Setter) (subj_(FAM TOPIC)) (VFIN) ... (Wiese 2009 et seq, Freywald et al. 2015)
- ▶ Walkden (2017) finds 159 V3 instances

(8) Morgen ich geh arbeitsamt
tomorrow I go job.center
"Tomorrow I will go to the job center"

(Wiese 2009: 787)

Results: more of what we know

- ▶ New corpus analysis shows V3 pattern is **98% SV (n=194/199)** (KiDKo, Wiese et al. 2010) confirming and strengthening previous findings
- ▶ 0.85% matrix clauses (n=23,506) - still a few to catch



Resumption: German Left Dislocation I

- ▶ GLD = DP in the left periphery picked up by resumptive (RP) weak d-pronoun in the pre-verbal position (Frey 2004): can be OVS or SVO:

(9) a. Den Keks, den hat Fritz gegessen
The.masc.acc. Biscuit, him has Fritz eaten
'The biscuit Fritz ate'

b. Der Fuchs, der jagt den Wolf
the fox, dem.masc hunts the.acc wolf
'(It is) the fox, that hunts the wolf'

(Repp & Drehhaus 2011, *inter alia*)

- ▶ Dislocate and resumptive topics: (G)LD introduces topics (Jacobs 1984) / is a 'topic promoting device' (Frey 2004)
- ▶ Resumptive familiar continued topic, no prosodic break
- ▶ Assume Merged above C (Frey 2004):
 1. In Wolfe's take (2015, 2017): (FrameP LD (ForceP XP (Force VFIN...)
 2. In high CP for Walkden (2017): (CP1 LD (CP2 XP (C VFIN...
 3. We've seen in the previous talk it can be done in others ways



Resumption: German Left Dislocation II

Results

- ▶ Resumptive GLD rarer than Frame V3: 48 GLD from 266 tokens of all V3
- ▶ Most GLD has preverbal subjects (32/48) = S>SVO
- ▶ Most exceptions: LocativeAdv > *da.LOC.RP* > unaccusative/existential > subj (n=11)
- ▶ Locative elements known to often behave like DP subjects from in many languages .. so are locatives really exceptions?

(10) die Stars, die sind eher so in Kreuzberg un so
the stars, they.rp are more so in Kreuzberg and so
'the stars, they're more in Kreuzberg and that'

(MuH1WD_04)

(11) V354xxx(Strasse), da gehe ich nicht mehr
Address there go I not more
'as for xxxStreet, I no longer go there'

(SPK101 MuP6MD_14)



Resumption: German Left Dislocation III

- ▶ All OVS from one monolingual German (n=5)
 - (12) auf jeden Fall nach Amerika, das will ich unbedingt mal mit dir
on every case to America that want I really time with you
'in any case going to America, I want to do that with you'
(MuH1WD_04)
- ▶ Overall, lack of dislocated objects remarkable for a V2 language



Resumption: Hanging Topics / Free Themes I

- ▶ The dislocated and resumptive elements can be either objects or subjects, main clause generally SVO typically including prosodic break
- ▶ DP in the left periphery taken up by strong RP (er/sie/es “he/she/it”) or post verbal d-elements

(13) a. Den Fritz, ich mag den/ihn
The.masc.acc. Fritz, I like him
'Fritz, I like him'

b. Der Otto, er wollte aber schlafen
the.nom Otto, he wanted but to sleep
'Otto, he just wanted to sleep'

(cf. Shaer & Fry 2004:479)



HTLD/ Free Themes in Kiezdeutsch

- ▶ Very limited: 19 tokens (19/23506 matrix clauses = 0.08%): 15 S>SVO, 4 O>SVO
- ▶ no indisputable evidence of syntactic integration via case agreement, i.e. no dislocated *denMASC.ACC* (fem and neut same in acc and nom)

(14) SPK3, der Eimer, er hat ihn hochgeholt
SPK3, the.masc.nom Bucket, he has it.masc.acc high-fetched
'SPK3 brought the bucket up'

(MuH25MA_11)

- ▶ Too few to say much but tendency against OV and dislocated objects



Is KD V3 a typological anomaly?

- ▶ Co-occurring Frame-Setters and LD speak against code-switching between types of Force V2 (2015 et seq) and speak for a single system

(15) gestern das Spiel, das war richtig gut
yesterday the game, RP.DEM was really good
as for the game yesterday, it was really good

(SPK105, MuP6MD_13-3)

- ▶ Multiple occupation of the Frame Field by HT/ LD/ Frame-Setter (or a recursive high CP in Walkden's (2017) terms); so maybe the following analysis is appropriate?

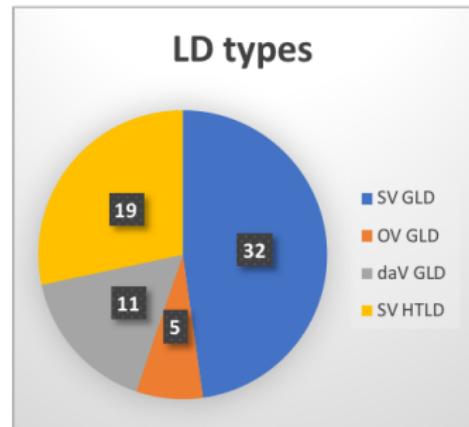
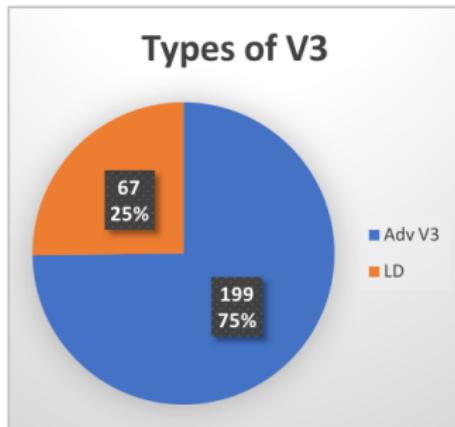
(16) (FrameP* Frame-Setter/LD/HT(ForceP XP (Force V_{FIN} (Topic/FocP (FinP ...

- ▶ But Frame all V3 types come with strong SV tendency indicating:
 1. one type of V3
 2. Maybe more going on than a Force-type (indeed split-CP type) system can account for



V3 Data Summary

- ▶ Kiezdeutsch has Frame-Setter-initial V3, and GLD/HTLD



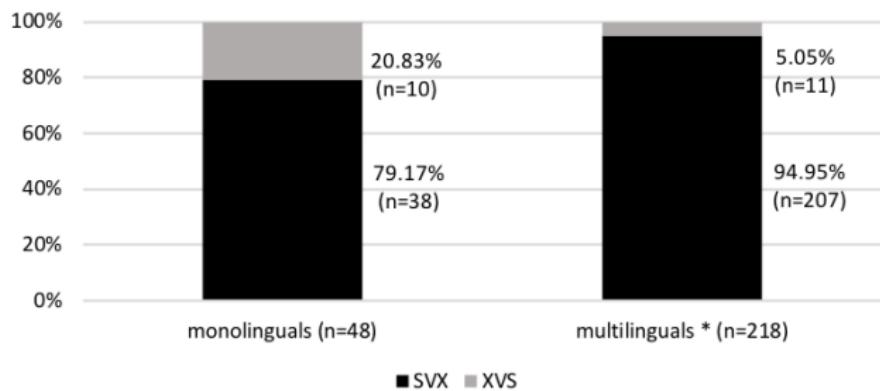
- ▶ Strong SV trend in LD like frame V3 (is da akin to DP subjects?)

	% V3: <i>da</i> as X	% V3: <i>da</i> as DP subject	% Matrix clauses
SVX	92.1% (245)	95.1% (253)	1.04% (1.07%)
XVS	7.9% (21)	4.9% (13)	0.09% (0.06%)
Total	266		1.13%

- ▶ If all the data reflected one grammar, we could assume Force V2 and innovation in frame field; but the metadata is important...

- ▶ Significant difference between multilinguals* (see Appendix) and monolinguals; $\chi^2 (1, n=266) = 13.48, p = < 0.01$

SVX vs XVS as a percentage of monolingual and multilingual* V3



- ▶ Multilinguals never produce OVS V3 with frame-setters or resumption
- ▶ But data is limited and there is some potential for skew

- ▶ **Multilingual* V3 near exclusively SV**; multilingualism appears to affect the V2 parameter (pace Walkden 2017)

Possible positions for syntactic analysis:

- a. SVO more frequent in narratives, few/no tokens in a corpus doesn't rule out X\O>OVS "if a tree falls in a forest..."
- b. We dogmatically follow the multilingual data: OV ruled out for all V3 types, reflecting underlying syntax of multilingual speakers, but not monolinguals

- ▶ Today I'm following the B type approach



What kind of syntax is appropriate?

Assumption for Standard German

1. **Full range of bundled IS-left peripheral features** (Chomsky 2008 *that footnotes*, Lahne 2009, Hsu 2016, Walkden 2017) / **or projections available** (Rizzi 1997, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, *inter alia*)
2. **FrameP** > ForceP > TopP > FocP > Top*P > FinP (Rizzi 1997 et seq, Poletto 2002 et seq, Haegeman 2006 et seq, Wolfe 2015 et seq, Samo 2018, among others)
3. **Frame adverbs merge in T-domain not FrameP** (Frey 2003)
4. Following Frey (2004) **German HTs and (G)LDS merge in Left Periphery**; assume CP-external FrameP area (cf. Wolfe's 2015, Meelen 2017)

Claim 1: KD monolinguals

Monolinguals retain familiar V2 HG syntax but have option of merging Frame-Setters in FrameP, thus allowing Frame-Setter/HT/LD instances of XOV V3.

- ▶ Previous analyses cannot/don't want to account for exclusivity of SV in KD, so what's different for the multilinguals?



Claims for KD C-Domain: Splintering CPs

Claim 2: multilinguals

Multilingual KD speakers didn't posit full range of pragmatico-semantic features in single C-domain, instead positing functionally distinct instances of matrix C:

(17) a. **ForceP > FocP > TopP > TopP* > FinP**
or syncretized/bundled on C (a la Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Hsu 2017, Walkden 2017)

b. **FrameP > C** = "Frame C"
or GLD/HTLD/Frame V3 (Force and Fin syncretized to single head)

Claim 3: multilinguals

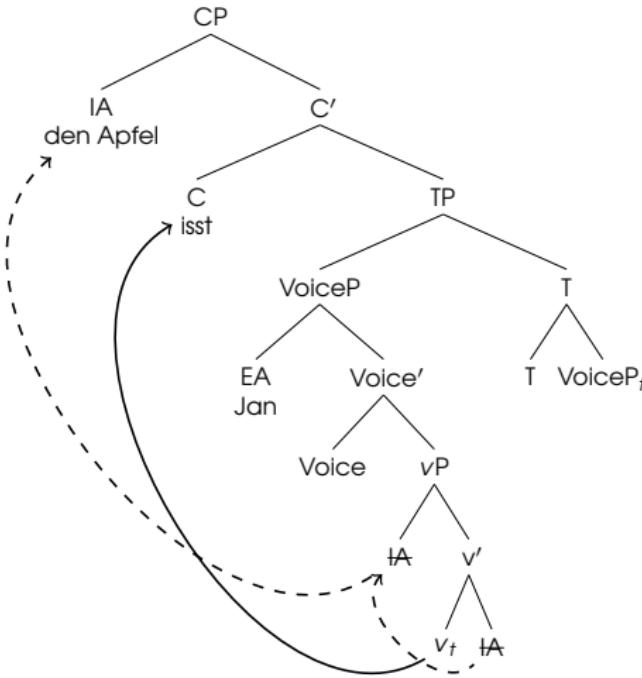
1. Frame C has no EPP, lacks $\pm V$ feature = {Force, ϕ , $uval/T$ }
2. If correct, we should account for the $_{Topic}S > V$ constraint below the C-domain

- ▶ Let's take a look out how we approach V2 in an SOV language before we account for SV V3 more explicitly



Antisymmetric SOV V2 - VoiceP to SpecTP (variations on a theme cf.

Haegeman 2001, Biberauer 2004; Biberauer & Richards 2005/6)



the apple.acc eats Jan.nom → 'Jan is eating the APPLE'

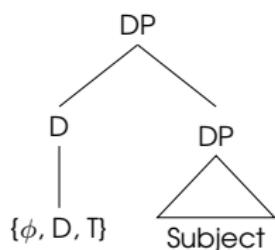
1. **T probes Voice for ϕ Fs → pied-piping VoiceP to Spec TP, v skips T** (adaptation of Biberauer & Richards 2005 head pide-piping language who have v-to-C)
2. **C probes for +V feature finding v under specTP → v smuggled to C** (no VP because $V = V + \sqrt{\dots}$): Alternative explanation of lack of v-to-T: more depth for another talk
3. **Valued C values V/T features in T via c-command**
4. **C's EPP (shorthand Split-CP) probes for appropriate element**



Regarding topic subject DPs and optionality I

- ▶ But variation limited to C doesn't explain the whole picture; how else can familiar subjects be conceived of?
- ▶ Biberauer & van Kemenade (2011) propose topic subjects in historical English merged within a "Big-DP" (Kayne 1994, Uriagereka 1995, Cecchetto 1999, Boeckx 2003, Zeller 2008, Grewendorf 2009)

(18)



- ▶ *fam*topic subjects merged under silent outer D with ϕ features; (B&K label higher layer n^* as purely ϕ , for our purposes it's not important if there is a D feature or not)
- ▶ Important: Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) subject DP carries (uval u:T)



Big-DP and optionality

- ▶ When big-DP present, ϕ goal on outer D/ n^* equidistant with ϕ goal on Voice responsible for pied-piping
- ▶ Spec-VoiceP not associated with piedpiping in German; Big-DP could optionally override piedpiping if head-piedpiping option weakened = computationally equal (along the lines of Biberauer & Richards 2006)

Hypothesis

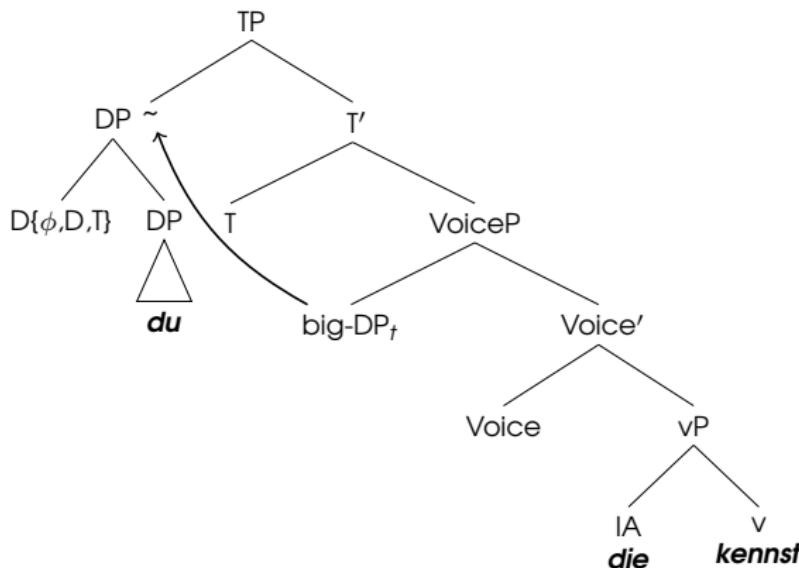
- ▶ Head-piedpiping option weakened in multilingual sample; L1 German wouldn't look in spec but KD speakers more sensitive to competing goals



Deriving V3 I

1. Big-DP → Spec-TP bleeding v-to-C

(19)



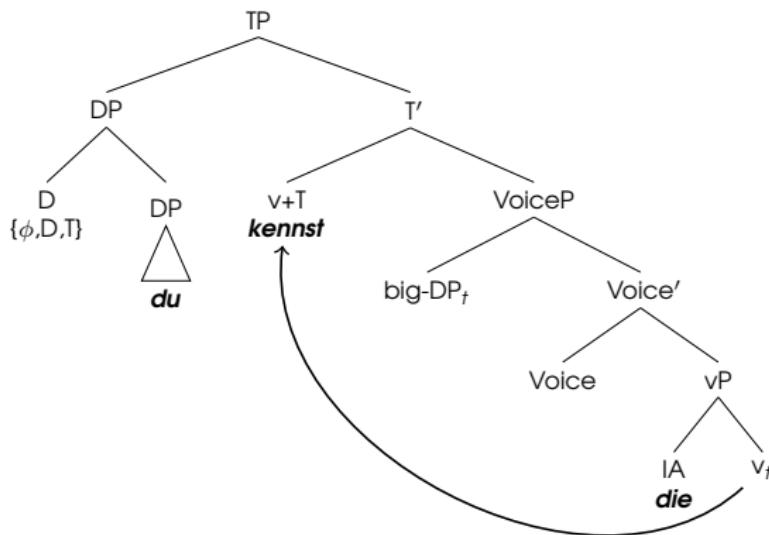
T before C

Assume T merges before C; no inheritance from C-to-T (Haegemann & van Koppen 2012)

Deriving V3 II

2. T/V Fs on T probe goals on v → v-to-T movement

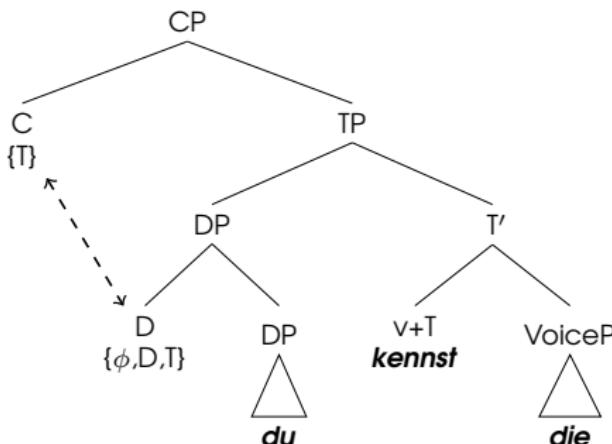
(20)



Deriving V3 III

3. v-to-T movement values T on $D \setminus n^*$;
4. v_a/T on $D \setminus n^*$ can value $u/v_a/T$ on C either via reverse agree a la Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), or incorporation of $D \setminus n^*$ into C due to lacking EPP

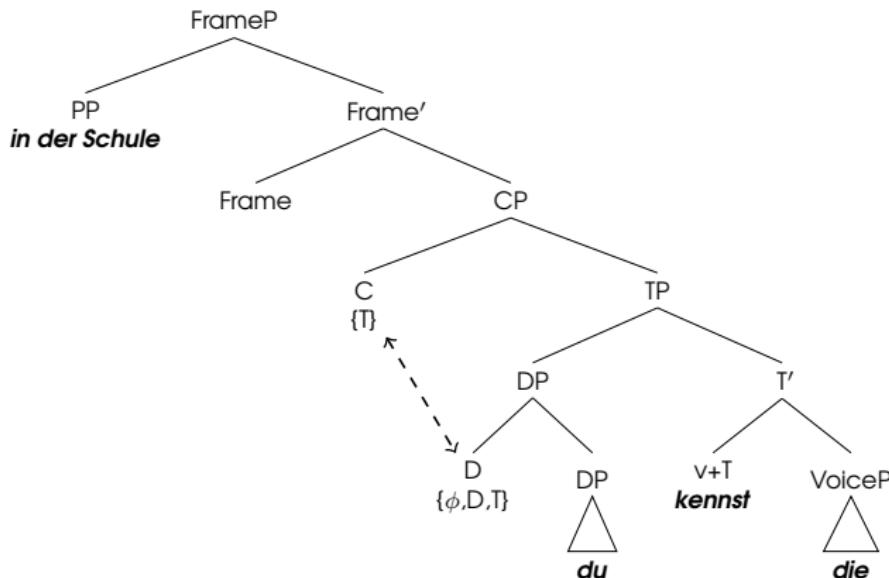
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Deriving V3 IV

5. Merge of Frame Setter gives us V3

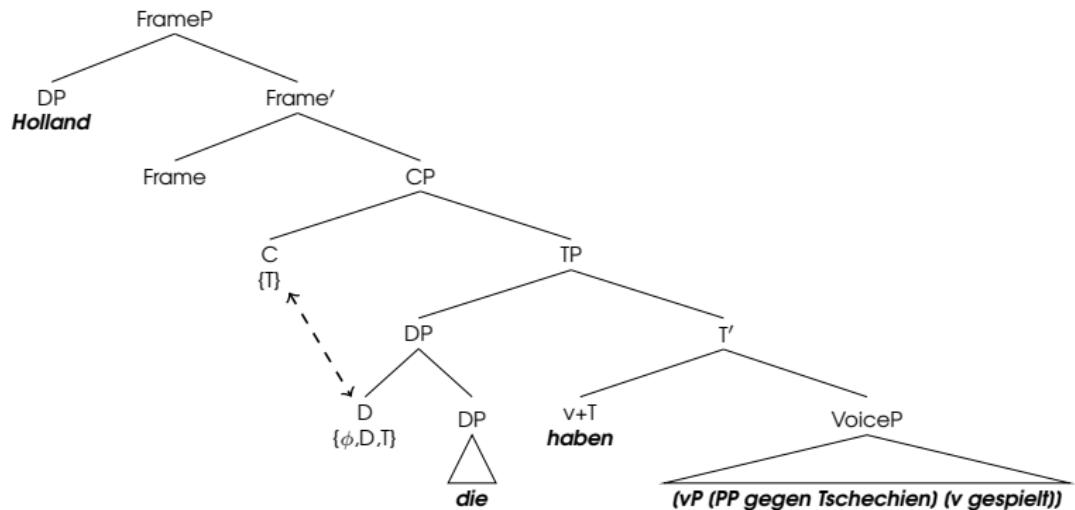
(22)



Deriving V3 V

6. Works equally for LD and HT

(23)



Holland RP.3.PL have against Czechia played
Holland, they played against Czechia



V3 Summary

- ▶ Subject initial V2 in KD can be V-to-T, but not universally!!!
- ▶ SV V3 in multilingual KD is V-to-T (but not like Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017, Te Velde 2017)
- ▶ "Frame"-C in combination with big-DP gives rise to specific type of subject initial V2 and SV V3

What happens if we merge "Frame" C but no big-DP is present?

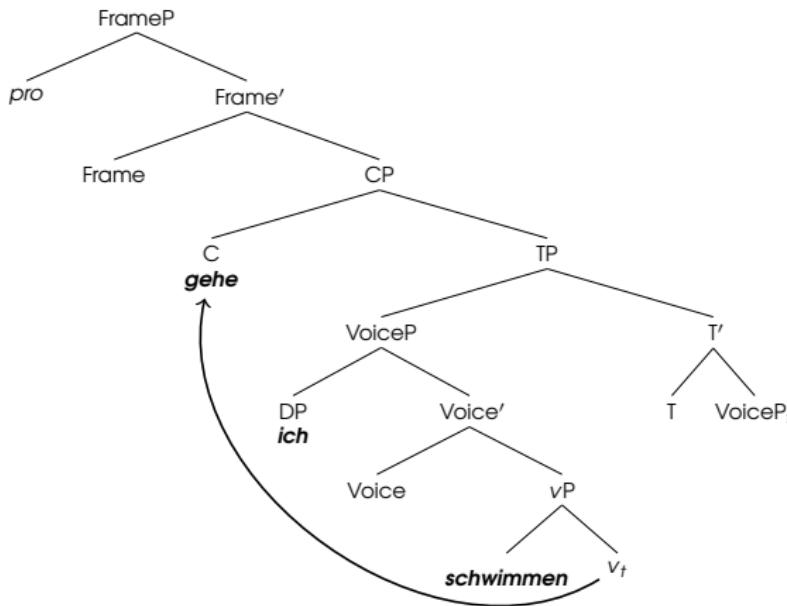
The information structure neutral V1 described by Wiese et al. (2009)



Frame C without Big DP = V1 I

1. VoiceP pied-piping
2. v-to-C (or T-to-C when Aux present) to value T features on C

(24)

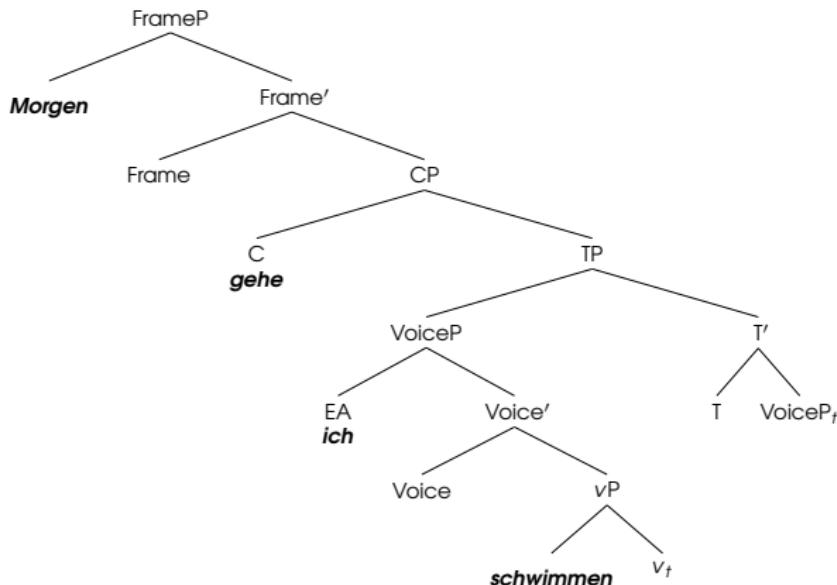


3. FrameP absent (a la Onnerförs 1997) or hosts deictic *pro* (see Wolfe 2015, 2017): temporal deictic interpretation *dann* / *da* "then" favours latter:

Frame C without Big DP = V1 II

- ▶ Merge of overt frame setter with "Frame" C and VoiceP pied-piping predicts an ordinary frame-initial V2 pattern

(25)



Vulnerable C and sequential bilingualism:

- ▶ C-domain underspecified (Müller & Hulk 2001); vulnerable in early L1, L2 (Platzack 2001) and bilingual acquisition (V3 more common)
- ▶ Age of Onset effects attested for V2/V3 (Meisel 2009, Kroffke & Rothweiler 2006) in later subsequent bilinguals: i.e., late exposure = more V3
- ▶ Later exposure and "depleted" input → Onset and Input effects across the grammar (Tsimpili 2014)

Hypothesis

Multilinguals arrived at Frame C due to effects of sequential bilingualism in multilingual setting:

1. Vulnerable C
2. Late exposure to V2 (onset effects),
3. Weakened parametrization of head node-piping, (onset and input effects?)
4. Limited exposure to non-multilingual German at Age of Exposure (input effects)



Subsequent Bilingualism and KD Speakers

- ▶ In multiethnolect acquisition young children to adolescents reject L1 and "foreign" L2 adult models in process dubbed **Group Second Language Learning** instead preferring input from peers (Cheshire et al. 2011)
- ▶ Later exposure has permanent effects (Meisel 2009, 2011a, b; Meisel et al. 2013): Onset > 4;0 → native morpho-syntactic development severely impeded
- ▶ Maturational hypotheses (Radford 1990; Meisel et al. *ibid*; Tsimpli 2014) say certain parameters acquired at certain times: onset effects expected with exposure after particular window, e.g. V2 acquired between 2/3;0
- ▶ Is there any evidence that multilingual KD speakers encounter V2 after the window, i.e. are mid-late subsequent bilinguals?



Indirect evidence for the hypothesis

- ▶ Turkish community predominantly speaks Turkish at home even in 2/3 generations (Mueller 2006, Becker 2011); Assumption: Kurdish and Arab communities similar
- ▶ KD inflectional morphology often deviant/irregular, typical of late exposure
 - (26) So viele Türken habe(n) sich gefreut
So many Turks have.1.SG REFL gladden.PTCP
'So many Turks were happy' (MuH9WT_12-2)
- ▶ Turkish-German children attend preschool later than monoethnic Germans, > 3:0, usually 4/5 (Becker 2010): monolingual V2 c. 2;5
- ▶ Children from Turkish/similar communities concentrated in preschools beyond demographic mix of the area (Biedinger & Becker 2010) → input effects



Claims for KD Multilinguals

- ▶ Multilingual KD speakers likely mid-late subsequent bilinguals exposed to German > 3;0 if not later
- ▶ If correct, untypical behaviour unsurprising w.r.t. V2, since multilingual KD children exposed to German after monolinguals set V2, mirroring V3 findings by Kroffke & Rothweiler (2006) for late subsequent/sequential bilinguals
- ▶ Good reason to pursue a bilingualism account and not reanalysis based on competing L1 & L2 PLD (see Walkden 2017) or subject initial V2 as V-to-T grammatical default (see Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017)



Conclusion

- ▶ SV V3 in KD pervasive in resumptive and frame-initial patterns with multilinguals behaving differently than monolinguals
- ▶ V3 derivable by splitting CP into standard Split-CP and EPP-less Frame CP which interacts with either T/phi-probe in outer shell of big-DP or probes VFIN
- ▶ Viewing **syntactic variation in multiethnolects** from perspective of onset effects **associated with sequential bilingualism** can/might elucidate V3 in KD and other multiethnolects
- ▶ Philosophical point: We should apply more of what we know about Onset and Input effects in bilingual acquisition to historical accounts of contact-induced change



Thank you for listening!



Order

1. V-to-T/ DP-to-SpecTP
2. V-to-C
3. "Frame" C / VoiceP-to-SpecTP

- ▶ Children likely posit V-to-T grammar (Westergaard 2009) and thus DP-to-SpecTP before V-to-C (and pied-piping)
- ▶ Early embedded SAux_{FIN} OV/SVO over SOVAux_{FIN} (Gawlitzek-Maiwald et al. 1992., Schönenberger 2001):
- ▶ Embedded SAux_{FIN} OV/SVO persists past acquisition of V2, i.e. around 3;0 (Gawlitzek-Maiwald et al. 1992., Schönenberger 2001) = V-to-C > pied-piping
- ▶ "Frame"-C must emerge before or with optionality for pied-piping; multilinguals can't resolve competition in C and T domains and posit two CPs - one for LD/HT/Frame and one for everything else



What do monoethnic Germans?

- (i) monoethnic/lingual Kids in East Berlin don't do Frame V3 (cf. Walkden 2017): a handful - probably performance errors
- (ii) They produce O>OV, but LD data unreliable as monoethnic subcorpus breaks with POS query (basic parsing not great for LD)
- (iii) Preliminary results from TüBa-D/S (corpus of spontaneous speech):
OVS LD = c.20%, 61% S>SVO, c.21% X >daVO

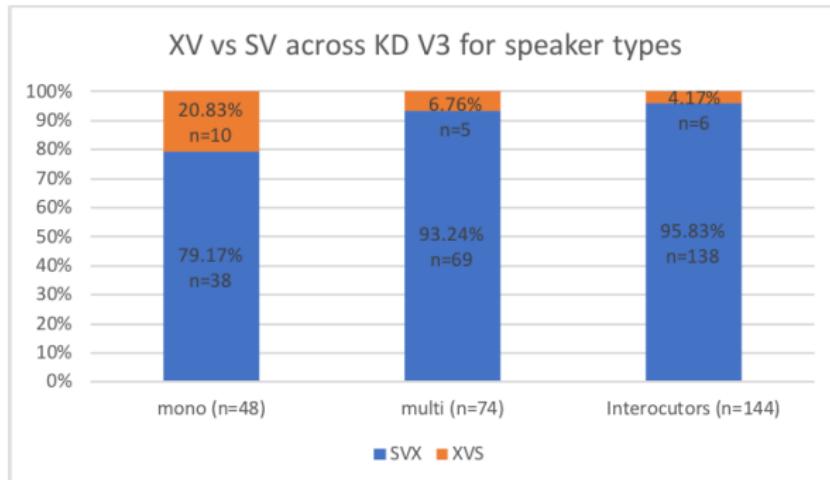


Appendix: Data I

	LD	Totals	Type Total	%LD	%V3 (n=266)	%all matrix
GLD	S	32	—	—	—	—
	O	5	—	—	—	—
HTLD	Loc	11	48	71.6%	18.1%	0.2%
	S	15	—	—	—	—
Total	O	4	19	28.3%	7.1%	0.08%
		67			25.2%	0.29%

Appendix: Data II

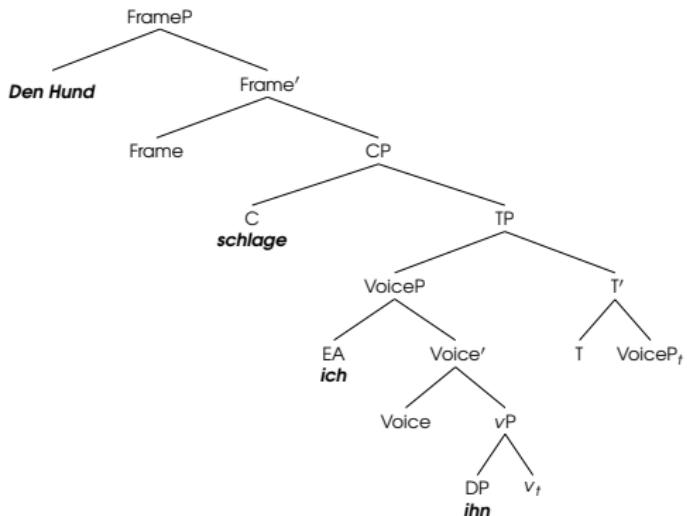
- ▶ The metadata: German monolinguals, confirmed multilinguals and interlocutors
- ▶ Without Interlocutors sample very small; multilinguals and interlocutors similar ($p=<0.05$), monolinguals pattern differently than both ($p=<0.05$)



Appendix: Problem?

- Possible problem prediction: HTs available in pattern: **HT > Aux/V_{FIN} > S > O** (> VPTCP); ungrammatical order in HG, hard to test in KD, Corpus not tagged for objects/subjects, HTLD very rare

(27)



the dog.acc hit I.nom it.acc



Appendix: A big-DP alternative

- ▶ Grewendorf (2009) argues for a big-DP analysis of GLD :
(28) (DP (DP*die Frau*) D *die*)
- ▶ This could be incorporated into the Frame-C account with small modifications:
(29) (FrameP *pro* (Frame(CP(C(TP (DP(DP*die frau*)(D ϕ (DP *die*))))(T V_{FIN} (VoiceP DP ...



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