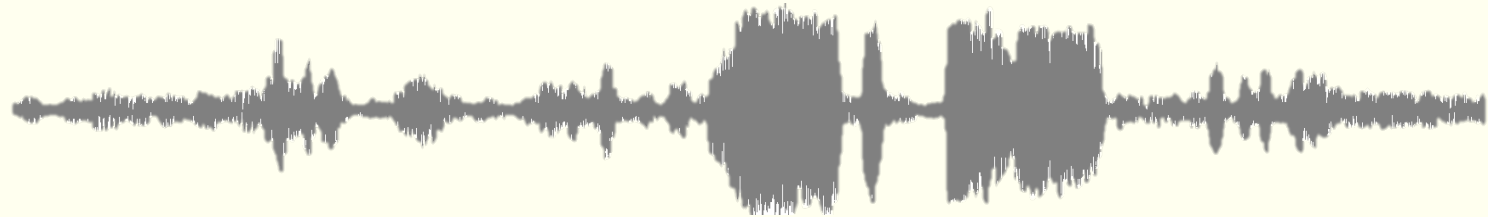


How German sentences begin

On an information-structural typology of multiple prefields
in spoken German



Sören Schalowski
University of Potsdam
SFB 632 “Information structure”
[soeren.schalowski@uni-potsdam.de]

Meertens Institute
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Outlook

The Phenomenon: AdvXV_{fin}

- The V2 constraint in German declaratives
- A violation of the V2 constraint: AdvXV_{fin}
- Grammatical characteristics of AdvXV_{fin}

The information-structural motivation

- AdvXV_{fin}: frame setter and topic
- AdvXV_{fin}: discourse connective

The syntactic/pragmatic analysis

- Frame setter and topic: the split CP approach
- Discourse connective: an orphan analysis

Conclusion

Future

German topology and the V2-constraint

Topological fields in German

- Depending on the position of the verb, a canonical German sentence can be divided into three topological fields (Drach 1937)

Prefield	Left sentence bracket	Middlefield	Right sentence bracket	Postfield
(1) <i>die</i> They	<i>werden</i> will	<i>wahrscheinlich</i> probably	<i>zuhaben</i> close.have	<i>am Abend.</i> at.the evening
'Probably, they will be closed in the evening.' [TüBa-D/S, s102]				

(2) * [*Am Abend*] [*die*] werden *wahrscheinlich* *zuhaben*.
 at.the evening they will probably close.have

Standard assumption for standard German declarative main clauses:

- Exactly one constituent can precede the finite verb, regardless of its syntactic function (Bierwisch 1963)

The phenomenon: AdvXV_{fin}

Violation of V2 in spoken German: AdvXV_{fin}

(1) [*Gestern*] [*ich*] war Ku'damm .

yesterday I was Ku'damm

'Yesterday I was at the Ku'damm [= street in Berlin].' [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]



(2) [*In anderen Städten*] [*das*] gibt es nicht .

in other cities that give it not

'In other cities that doesn't exist.' [RTL show "Extra", 15.10.2012]

(3) Und [*danach*] [*er*] sagt zu meiner Cousineso : „*Fettsack Mettsack* . “ .

and afterwards he says to my cousin like fatso matso

'And afterwards he said to my cousin like: "fatso matso!"' [KiDKo, transcr.: MuH27WT]



(4) [*dann*] [*ich*] werde da um vier rum fertig sein ,

then I will there at four about done be

'Then I'll be done there at about four.' [TüBa-D/S, s. 2057]

AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

Kiezdeutsch ('hood German) (Wiese 2009, 2012)

- Everyday language spoken in a specific neighborhood (“Kiez”)

Speakers

- Adolescents of various ethnicities (e.g., Turkish, Kurdish, Persian, Arabic), including the majority ethnicity, German

General Characteristics

- Association with a certain kind of “Kiez”, not with a certain ethnicity
- Linguistic variation and emergence of new linguistic patterns at different grammatical levels
- Part of a larger linguistic repertoire

Distribution

- Urban areas with a large immigrant population (e.g., districts in Berlin: Kreuzberg, Neukölln)

AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

KiezDeutsch Corpus (KiDKo) (Wiese et al. 2012)

Data

- Self recordings of every-day conversations between adolescents
- Current status: transcribed, aligned with audios, stored as .xml
- Further processing: orthographic normalization, PoS-Tagging, Parsing

Design

- Main corpus
 - 17 adolescents of various ethnicities in multiethnic Berlin-Kreuzberg
 - Approx. 48 hours of recordings
 - Approx. 228.00 tokens
- Supplementary corpus
 - 6 adolescents of German ethnicity in monoethnic Berlin-Hellersdorf
 - Approx. 18 hours of recordings
 - Approx. 105.000 tokens

AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

Grammatical characteristics (Kern/Selting 2006; Wiese et al. 2012)

Prosody of the adverbial

- Can be detached or fully integrated

Semantics of the adverbial

- Overwhelmingly temporal
- Very rarely local, modal or causal

Syntactic category of the adverbial

- Predominantly AdvP or PP
- Occasionally DP or CP

(1) *[Irgendwann in Schule] [ich] fang an zu schlafen, ich schwöre.*
 sometime in school I start PTCL to sleep I swear
 ‘At some stage, I’ll fall asleep at school, I swear.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

Grammatical characteristics (Wiese et al. 2012)

Syntactic category of the preverbal constituent

- Overwhelmingly a pronominal DP
- Rarely a full DP

Syntactic function of the preverbal constituent

- Predominantly subject of the clause
- Exceptions: object and expletive

(1) [Dann][*sie*]sagt so : “Ich schrei so , wie ich will . “ .

then she says like I scream such as I want

‘Then she said like: “I scream as I want.”’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

Quantitative analysis (Schalowski et al. 2010)

- Comparison between the multiethnic main and the monoethnic supplementary corpus with respect to 3 adverbials: *danach* (afterwards), *nachher* (later on), *gestern* (yesterday)

<u>Adverbial</u>	multiethnic/main		monoethnic/supplementary	
	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>AdvXV_{fin}</u>	<u>Tokens</u>	<u>AdvXV_{fin}</u>
<i>danach</i>	41 (129)	7 (23)	17 (19)	0 (0)
<i>nachher</i>	8 (25)	2 (5)	23 (25)	0 (0)
<i>gestern</i>	38 (120)	1 (3)	23 (25)	0 (0)

[Results normalized per 40 000 tokens, absolute numbers in parenthesis]

- With respect to the 3 adverbials: AdvXV_{fin} seems to be a construction of multiethnic language use

AdvXV_{fin} in other urban vernaculars of Europe

Denmark: multiethnic areas of Copenhagen

(1) *[Normalt] [man] går på ungdomsskolen* (Quist 2008: 47)
 normally one goes to youth.club = 'Normally you attend the youth club.'

Sweden: multiethnic areas of Stockholm

(2) *[då] [alla] börja(de) hata henne* (Ganuza 2008: 53)
 then everyone started hate her = 'Then everyone started hating her.'

Norway: multiethnic areas of Oslo

(3) *[Egentlig] [alle] kan bidra* (Opsahl/Nistov 2010: 58)
 actually everyone can contribute = 'Actually everyone can contribute.'

Dutch: multiethnic areas of Utrecht (Freywald et al. [to appear] for a critical discussion)

(4) *[daarom] [ik] heb dat probleem niet* (Freywald et al. [to appear])
 that's.why I have that problem not = 'That's why I don't have that problem.'

AdvXV_{fin} outside a multiethnic setting

Informal spoken standard German

(1) [*jetzt*] [*ich*] wollte Sie treffen, um mit Ihnen [...] **temp. AdvP > pron. SUB**
 now I wanted you meet for with you
 ‘Now I wanted to meet you to [...] with you.’ [TüBa-D/S, s159]

(2) [*Im Winter*] [*das*] war der erste Baum, den [...] **temp. PP > pron. SUB**
 in.the winter that was the first tree, that
 ‘During winter, that was the first tree that [...].’ [KH, 05.2010]

(3) **loc. PP > full SUB**
 [*Im Gehirn*] [*das Sprachverstehen*] ist wechselseitig organisiert.
 in.the brain the language.understanding is bilaterally organized
 ‘In the brain the understanding of language is bilaterally organized.’ [IW, 05.06.2010]

- AdvXV_{fin} in informal spoken German: comparable grammatical characteristics like its usage in Kiezdeutsch
- AdvXV_{fin} seems to be a general construction of informal spoken German

Used data: overview

KiezDeutsch-Korpus (KiDKo) (Wiese et al. 2012)

- Self-recordings of informal in-group conversations
- 17 adolescents of various ethnicities in multiethnic Berlin-Kreuzberg
- 6 adolescents of German ethnicity in monoethnic Berlin-Hellersdorf
- **Main corpus (multiethnic):** ≈ 48h
- **Supplementary corpus (monoethnic):** ≈ 18h
- **Current status:** transcribed, aligned with audios
- **To do:** normalization, PoS-tagging, parsing

Tübinger Baubank des Deutschen/Spontansprache (TüBa-D/S) (Stegmann et al. 2000)

- Spontaneous dialogues based on role plays
- German speakers
- **Domain:** appointment scheduling (meetings, dinner etc.)
- **Size:** 38.000 sentences, 360.000 tokens
- **Processing:** transliterated, parsed

Every-day conversation

- Randomly collected from German native speakers

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The information-structural motivation

Information structure of AdvXV_{fin} in spoken German

- Left sentence periphery is sensitive to the assignment of information-structural categories (Rizzi 1997; Grohmann 2003; Benincia/Poletto 2004 inter alia)
 - Typically, **topics** (= what the utterance is about (Reinhart 1981)) tend to occur at the left periphery in German (Hocket 1958; Molnár 1993)
 - **Frame setters** (= delimitation of the applicability of the main predication (Chafe 1976)) also prefer the leftmost position (Jacobs 2001; Maienborn 2001; Krifka 2007)
- Conflict with the V2-constraint: only one preverbal constituent

(1) [*Ich*] war *gestern* *betrunken* . **topic**
 I was yesterday drunk = 'Yesterday I was drunk.'

(2) [*Gestern*] war *ich* *betrunken* . **frame setter**
 Yesterday was I drunk = 'Yesterday I was drunk.'

The information-structural motivation

Information structure of AdvXV_{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

- Analysis proposed for Kiezdeutsch: weakening of the V2 rule in a multilingual setting allows for a more liberal realization of information-structural strategies (Wiese 2009; Wiese et al. 2009; Wiese 2011; Wiese et al. 2012)

(1) *Ich will nur nur Latschen, ich schwöre.*

frame > topic

‘I only want slippers, I swear.’

[Jedes Jahr [ich] kaufe mir bei Deichmann .
every year I buy me at Deichmann

‘Every year I buy them for me at Deichmann.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

(2) **A:** *Ich warte noch bis Monatsende.* **B:** *Auf was?*

frame > topic

‘I will wait until the end of the month.’ ‘For what?’

A: *[Ab jetzt] [ich] krieg immer zwanzig Euro .*
from now I get always twenty euros

‘From now on, I’ll always get 20 euros.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH17MA]

The information-structural motivation

Information structure of AdvXV_{fin} in spoken German

- Extension to spoken German: interactive and time-constrained nature of spoken language, independent of a multilingual setting, allows for a more liberal expression of information structure

(1) [Context: Interview with a taxi driver about the subject “tip”]

[In anderen Städten] [das] gibt es nicht. **frame > topic**
 in other cities that give it not
 ‘In other cities it doesn’t exist.’ [RTL show “Extra”, 15.10.2012]

(2) **A:** *Warum stellen sie ihr neues Buch in einer Flughafenbuchhandlung vor?*

‘Why do you present your new book at a book store at the airport?’

B: *[Immer wenn ich am Flughafen bin] [das erste, was*
 always when I at.the airport am the first what

ich mache] ist in den Buchladen zu gehen. **frame > topic**
 I make is in the book.store to go

‘Every time I’m at the airport, the first thing I do is going to the book store.’

[ZDFinfo, 14.08.2011]

Information-structural status of the adverbial I

Temporal frames

- Scope: limited to the predication of the subsequent utterance

(1) *[Irgendwann in Schule] [ich] fang an zu schlafen, ich schwöre.*
 sometime in school I start PTCL to sleep I swear
 ‘At some stage, I’ll fall asleep at school, I swear.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

(2) *[Im Winter] [du] hast ab drei Uhr kein Licht mehr.*
 in.the winter you have from three o’clock no light more
 ‘During winter, there is no light from 3 o’clock on.’ [IR, 04.07.2012]

(3) *[jetzt][ich] wollte Sie treffen, um mit Ihnen [...]*
 now I wanted you meet for with you
 ‘Now I wanted to meet you to [...] with you.’ [TüBa-D/S, s159]

Information-structural status of the adverbial I

Local frames

- Scope: limited to the predication of the subsequent utterance

(1) *[Zu Hause] [ich] kann nicht schlafen .*
 at home I can not sleep
 ‘At home I can’t sleep.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

(2) *[In der Mitte des Zuges [...]][sie] können sie gerne benutzen .*
 in the middle the train you can it gladly use
 ‘In the middle of the train [...] you’re welcome to use it.’ [announcement, 29.06.2011]

(3) *[Im Gehirn] [das Sprachverstehen] ist wechselseitig organisiert .*
 in.the brain the language.understanding is bilaterally organized
 ‘In the brain the understanding of language is bilaterally organized.’ [IW, 05.06.2010]

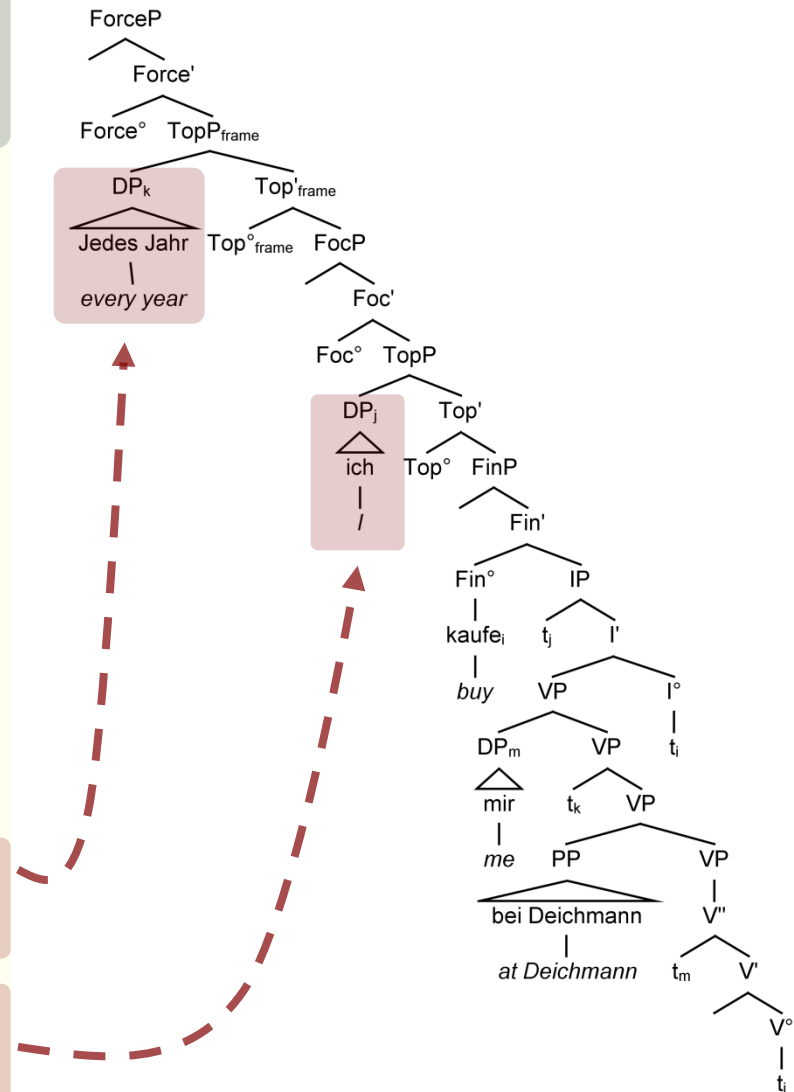
The analysis I: frame > topic

A cartographic approach to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997)

- Different functionally motivated Xbar projections within a split CP domain
- Movement to these projections is driven by information-structural features
- Observed variation can be analyzed according to the distribution of information-structural categories and their explicit marking

TopP_{frame}: host for frame setters

TopP: host for aboutness topics



Support from history I

Middle Low German (Petrova 2012)

- OV language with superficial V2 properties: inter alia root clauses
- Displays violations of the V2 constraint: inter alia AdvXV_{fin}
- Information-structural explanation of AdvXV_{fin}: frame setter > topic

(1) *[Nicht langhe darna] [der sone] volghete na vor ludeke*
 not long after.that the son followed PTCL for Lubeck
 ‘No long after that the son followed towards Lubeck.’ (Petrova 2012: 174)

Early New High German (Speyer 2008)

- Asymmetric OV/V2-language
- Information-structurally licensed AdvXV_{fin}: frame setter > topic

(2) *[Im 6886. Jar] [der Großfu^erst DEMETRI] hat den maechtigen [...]*
 in.the 6886th year the grand.duke Demetri has the mighty
 ‘In the 6886th year the grand duke Demetri has [...] the mighty [...]’
 (Speyer 2008: 479)

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Information-structural status of the adverbial II

Usage of adverbials as contextualizers (Schalowski 2011; Schalowski [in preparation])

- Connective adverbials like *dann* ‘then’ and *danach* ‘afterwards’ in AdvXV_{fin}
- Discourse-structuring function: chronologically connecting larger pieces of discourse explicitly (Roßdeutscher/Stutterheim 2006 for a canonical usage)
- Can be regarded as discourse markers

(1) *Ich habe gestern gesehen [...] was sie geschrieben haben.*

‘Yesterday I have seen what they have written.’

Ich meinte nur so: „Ach so! Dein Ernst?“

‘I simply said like: “I see! Are you serious?”’

[Danach] [sie] fängt an zu schreien . Ich meinte zu ihr : „
 then she starts on to shout I meant to her

Schrei nicht so!“ und so. Ja?

‘Don’t scream like that. Okay?’

Und [dann] [sie] sagt so : „Ich schrei so , wie ich will . “ .
 and then she says like I shout such as I want

[KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

Information-structural status of the adverbial II

Temporal adverb *dann* 'then' in AdvXV_{fin} as a discourse marker

- Syntax of discourse markers: peripheral syntactic position = before or after independent syntagms (Auer/Günther 2005)
- Function: organization of texts, conjunction of utterances (Auer/Günther 2005)

(1) Context: *We have to buy lunch and dinner on our own. Only breakfast is included.*

[Auf jeden Fall] [ich] freue mich schon .
on every case I got.excited me already

'In any case, I'm already excited.' [KiDKo, transcript: MuH1WD]

(2) Context: *Yesterday I have seen what they have written. I simply said like: "I see! Are you serious?"*

[Danach] [sie] fängt an zu schreien .
then she starts on to shout

'Then she starts shouting.' [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

Information-structural status of the adverbial II

Temporal adverb *dann* ‘then’ in AdvXV_{fin} as a discourse marker

- KiDKo: 1406 tokens , 26 uses in AdvXV_{fin}
 - Frequent in narrative contexts
- TüBa-D/S: 5903 tokens, 27 uses in AdvXV_{fin}
 - Also used in the narration of events

(1) Context: *Gestern waren wir schon voll drauf. Mann!*

‘Yesterday we’ve been totally on, man!’

[Dann] [die] sind weg .

then they are away

‘Then they disappeared’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH11MD]

(2) *[dann] [ich] sehe jetzt Don-Giovannivon Mozart*

then I see now Don-Giovanni from Mozart

‘Then I’ll see Don-Giovanni by Mozart.’ [TüBa-D/S, s2852]

Information-structural status of the adverbial II

Temporal adverb *danach* ‘afterwards’ in AdvXV_{fin} as a discourse marker

- Comparable distribution to *dann* ‘then’: narration (of direct speech)
- KiDKo: 165 tokens, 47 uses in AdvXV_{fin}
- TüBa-D/S: 129 tokens, 0 uses in AdvXV_{fin}

(1) Context: She makes friends with blablabla.

[Danach] *[du]* hast *sie* *angeschrien* .
 afterwards you have her on.shout

‘Afterwards you shouted at her.’

und [danach] *[sie]* hat *zurück* *angeschrien* .
 and afterwards she has back on.shout

‘And afterwards she shouted back at you.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH11MD]

(2) Context: Soon, she will receive her degree.

[Danach] *[ihr]* *Traum* ist *die* *Bühne* .
 Afterwards her dream is the stage

‘Afterwards her dream is the stage.’ [ZDFinfo, 14.08.2011]

The analysis II: connective > topic

- Discourse marking connective adverbials tend to occupy the leftmost (peripheral) position
- Occurring between the two connected units marks the status as a discourse connective syntactically
- Discourse linkers differ from frame setters with respect to the degree of integration into the subsequent utterance
 - Frame setters: scope over an individual utterance/proposition
 - Discourse connectives: establish a relation between to contextual units
- Syntactic assumptions for discourse connectives:
 - Discourse connectives are outside the syntactic representation of a single sentence, like discourse markers
 - Their interpretation follows from general principles of utterance interpretation, here the temporal order of narrated events or event bundles

The analysis II: connective > topic

The orphanage approach (Haegeman 2009)

- Assumption: grammar provides a partial basis for determining the proposition of an uttered sentence and needs support from processing
- Adopted to model the interpretation of peripheral adverbial clauses
 - Peripheral adverbials that do not directly modify the clauses that they accompany are interpreted at the discourse level rather than in the syntax,
 - They are treated as orphans, associated with the core sentence on the processing level
- Syntax: Orphans not associated with the host, but contain an open variable to be bound at the post-syntactic level of discourse
- Discourse: Modifree of the Orphan is established at the level of utterance processing → contextualization

(1) *The talk will be cancelled **if it rains**.*

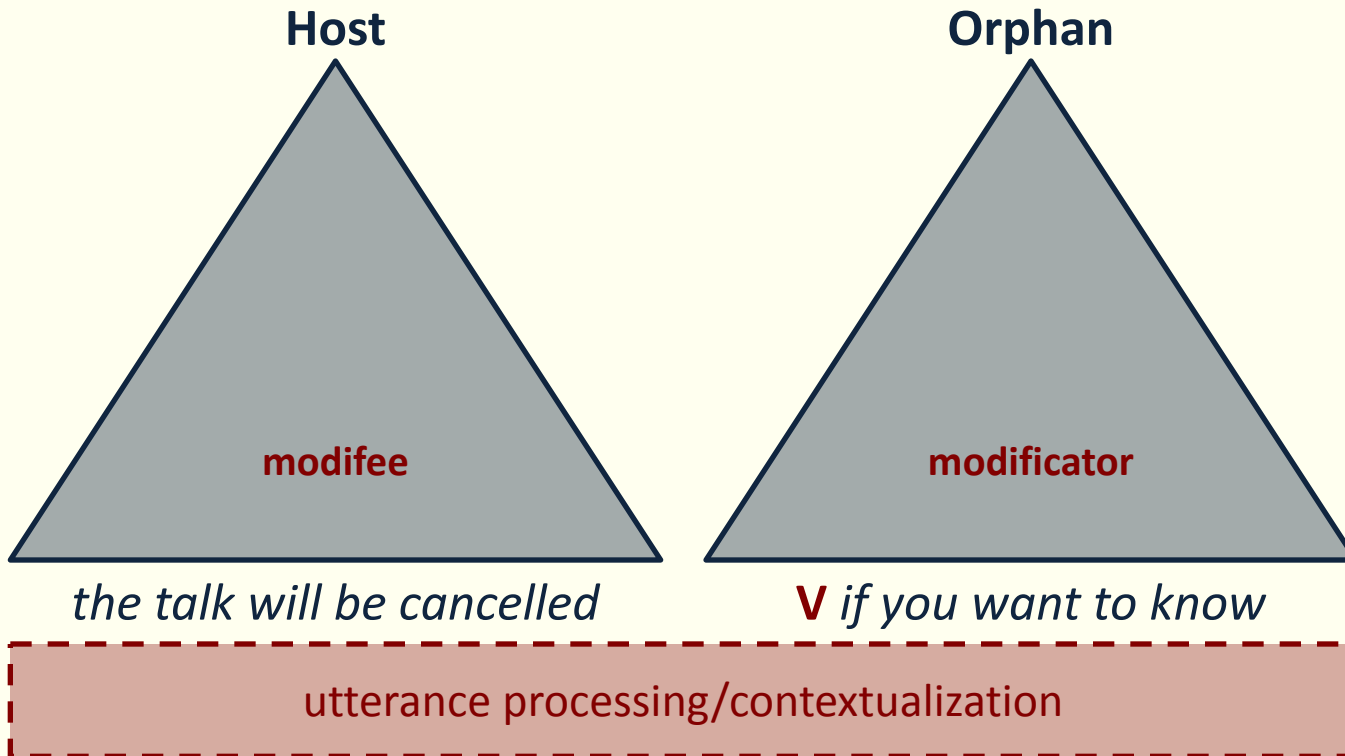
central

(2) *The talk will be cancelled **if you want to know**.*

peripheral

The analysis II: connective > topic

Syntax and discourse pragmatics of peripheral adverbials



The analysis II: connective > topic

Syntax and pragmatics of discourse connectives

Contextual unit

modiffee

Ich meinte nur so: „Ach so! Dein Ernst?“

‘I simply said like: “I see! Are you serious?”’

Orphan

discourse
connective

V *Danach* **V**
‘Afterwards

Host

modiffee

sie fängt an zu schreien.
she starts screaming.’

utterance processing/contextualization

Support from history II

Connectives in AdvXV_{fin} in Middle Low German

- Asymmetric OV/V2-language

(1) *[Vortmer] [deme koninghe van bulgherien] deden se des geliken*
 afterwards the-DAT king-DAT of Bulgaria did they the same
 ‘Afterwards they did the same to the king.’ [Petrova 2012: 171]

Conclusion

- Standard German adheres to the V2 constraint
- In informal spoken German, independent from a multilingual setting, it is possible to deviate from the V2 constraint and to place two discrete constituents before the finite verb
- Construction: Adverbial > preverbal constituent > finite verb (AdvXV_{fin})
- AdvXV_{fin} adheres to information-structural preferences
- AdvXV_{fin} can be separated into 2 different types of information packaging
 - AdvXV_{fin}: frame setting > topic
 - AdvXV_{fin}: explicit marking of a discourse connective
- Syntax of the frame-topic construction: functionally split CP
- Syntax of the connective construction: contextually bound orphan

The future: discussion

AdvXV_{fin}: frame setter > aboutness topic

Assuming that topics can be realized above sentence adverbials in the upper middlefield (Frey 2000), a multiple prefield is not the only option to mark a frame setter and an aboutness topic simultaneously. Under this assumption, how can the non-canonical variant be explained? IS still the driving force?

Context: *What happens in winter?*

(1) [*Im Winter*] fängt [der Mann] wahrscheinlich Enten.
 in.the winter catches the man probably ducks

(2) [*Im Winter*] [*der Mann*] fängt wahrscheinlich Enten.
 in.the winter the man catches probably ducks

‘In winter, the man probably catches ducks.’

Do frame setter necessarily need access to the prefield to gain a frame-setting interpretation?

(3) [*Der Mann*] fängt [*im Winter*] wahrscheinlich Enten.
 the man catches in.the winter probably ducks

The future: discussion

AdvXV_{fin}: discourse connective

Also in its canonical position, *dann* 'then' and *danach* 'afterwards' would appear in between two connected units and might function as a connective. Does the adverb occupy the orphan position in both cases?

Context: *First I went to the supermarket.*

(1) [*Dann*] bin [ich] zum Bäcker gegangen.]_{thetic V1}
 then am I to.the bakery went

(2) [*Dann*] [ich] bin zum Bäcker gegangen.]_{categorical V2}
 then I am to.the bakery went

Is it possible for the adverb to get the discourse connective function in both slots? How can we explain the variation?

(3) [*Dann*] bin [ich] zum Bäcker gegangen.
 then am I to.the bakery went

(4) [*Dann*] [ich] bin zum Bäcker gegangen.
 then I am to.the bakery went

Jetzt ich danke für ihre Aufmerksamkeit!
now I thank.you for your attention
'Thanks for your attention!'

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Appendix I: Evidence against SVO

Expletives in AdvXV_{fin}

(1) *[Bei mir] [es] gibt Abitur .*

at me it gives diploma

‘With me, there is a diploma.’ [audio proof, 2009]

OV in embedded clauses

(2) *Ich wusste ganz genau , dass er das verstht.*

I knew quite accurate that he that understands

‘I knew exactly that he understands that.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH2WT]

Appendix II: Deviations from V2 in German

Left dislocation and hanging topic construction (LD/HT)

- Topicalized (prosodically separated) constituent picked up by a resumptive in the subsequent sentence (Altmann 1981)

(1) *[Die Holländer], [die] spielen vor allem richtig ähm kräftig .*
 the Dutch they play above all really PTCL heavy
 ‘The Dutch, they especially play really physical.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH13MT]

Apparent multiple fronting (AMF)

- Multiple preverbal non-subject arguments analyzed as part of a VP with an empty head (Müller 2005)

(2) *[[Kurz] [die Bestzeit]] hatte der Berliner [...] gehalten .*
 short the best.time has the Berliner hold
 ‘The Berliner has held the best time shortly.’ [Müller 2005: 300]

Appendix II: Deviations from V2 in German

Connectives (CON)

- Elements connecting two propositions in “post-first” position (= after another initial constituent (Breindl 2008))

(1) *[Seinen Arbeitsplatz] [jedoch] verlässt er nicht .*
 his workplace but leaves he not
 ‘But he doesn’t leave his workplace.’ [DeWaC, 90150093]

Speech-act adverbials and adjectives (SAAA)

- Metacommunicative speech-act oriented adverbials and adjectives in the leftmost position (Meinunger 2009; Heageman/Hill 2010 on West Flemish)

(2) *[Ehrlich], [mir] ist beinahe der Kragen geplatzt .*
 honestly me is almost the collar burst
 ‘Honestly, I almost blew my top.’ [DeWaC, 153672030]

Appendix II: AdvXV_{fin} vs. other V2 deviations

AdvXV_{fin} is...

- ≠ LD/HT: no resumptive element
- ≠ AMF: not multiple arguments of the verb
- ≠ SAAA: no speech-act orientation
- ≠ DM: no metacommunicative properties

(1) *[Gestern] [ich]war Ku'damm .*

yesterday I was Ku'damm

'Yesterday I was at the Ku'damm [= street in Berlin].' [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]

≈ CON: connectivity effects but not in post-first position

(2) *Und [danach] [er] sagt zu meiner Cousine : „ Fettsack Mettsack . “ .*

and afterwards he says to my cousin fatso matso

'And afterwards he said to my cousin: "fatso matso!".' [KiDKo, transcript: MuH27WT]

Appendix III: L1 Turkish & L2 German

Data from field work in Izmir, Turkey 2010

- Rel. frequent occurrences of AdvXV_{fin} in spoken as well as in written data
- Often introduced by *dann* ‘then’ and *danach* ‘afterwards’

(1) [*Dann*] [*sie*] waren im Wald [...]

then they were in.the forest

‘Then they were in the forest.’ [Ege16WT]

- But also violations of V2 that deviate from AdvXV_{fin} an cannot be attested for *Kiezdeutsch* as well as spoken German

(2) [*Mit diesem Hund*] [*sie*] laufen .

with this dog they run

‘They are running with this dog.’ [Ege04WT/Ege05WT]

Appendix IV: *dann* ‘then’ in conditionals

dann ‘then’ in AdvXV_{fin} resulting in a conditional reading

- Nearly exclusive usage of *dann* in the TüBa-D/S data, but also in KiDKo

(1)A: *ja, dem steht nichts entgegen, weil das ja die Firma trägt, die Kosten.*
 yes this stays nothing against because this PTCL the company carries the costs
 ‘Yes. Nothing precludes it because the company will bear the costs.’

B: *[dann] [wir] reservieren zwei Einzelzimmer*
 then we reserve two single.rooms
 ‘Then we will reserve two single rooms’ [TüBa-D/S, s2840]

(2)A: *ja, schlagen sie doch mal Hotel vor, das ihnen*
 yes hit you PTCL PTCL hotel before that you
 ‘Yes. Propose a hotel that you’

B: *ja, [dann] [ich] empfehle ihnen das Hotel Loccumer-Hof.*
 yes then I recommend you the hotel Loccumer-Hof
 ‘Yes. Then I recommend the hotel Loccumer-Hof.’ [TüBa-D/S, s2909]