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\(_{\text{fin}}\)
- The V2 constraint in German declaratives
- A violation of the V2 constraint: AdvXV\(_{\text{fin}}\)
- Grammatical characteristics of AdvXV\(_{\text{fin}}\)

## The information-structural motivation
- AdvXV\(_{\text{fin}}\): frame setter and topic
- AdvXV\(_{\text{fin}}\): 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefield</th>
<th>Left sentence bracket</th>
<th>Middlefield</th>
<th>Right sentence bracket</th>
<th>Postfield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (1) **die**  
They | **werden**  
will | **wahrscheinlich**  
probably | **zuhaben**  
close.have | **am**  
at.the  
**Abend** . |

‘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$_{\text{fin}}$

Violation of V2 in spoken German: AdvXV$_{\text{fin}}$

(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\textsubscript{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<sub>fin</sub> 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) \textit{Irgendwann in Schule} \ [ich] \textit{fang an zu schlafen, ich schwöre.}
\textit{sometime in school} \ I \textit{start PTCL to sleep} \ I \textit{swear}
\textit{‘At some stage, I’ll fall asleep at school, I swear.’} [KiD Ko, transcript: MuH9WT]
AdvXV<sub>fin</sub> in Kiezdeutsch

**Grammatical characteristics** (Wiese et al. 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic category of the preverbal constituent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Overwhelmingly a pronominal DP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rarely a full DP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic function of the preverbal constituent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Predominantly subject of the clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Exceptions: object and expletive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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\textsubscript{fin} in Kiezdeutsch

Quantitative analysis (Schalowski et al. 2010)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>multiethnic/main</th>
<th>monoethnic-supplementary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>danach</td>
<td>41 (129)</td>
<td>7 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nachher</td>
<td>8 (25)</td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gestern</td>
<td>38 (120)</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- With respect to the 3 adverbials: AdvXV\textsubscript{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  
normally one goes to youth.club  = ‘Normally you attend the youth club.’

**(Quist 2008: 47)**

**Sweden:** multiethnic areas of Stockholm

(2) [**då**] [**alla**] börja(de) hata henne  
then everyone started hate her  = ‘Then everyone started hating her.’

**(Ganuza 2008: 53)**

**Norway:** multiethnic areas of Oslo

(3) [**Eigentlig**] [**alle**] kan bidra  
actually everyone can contribute  = ‘Actually everyone can contribute.’

**(Opsahl/Nistov 2010: 58)**

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

(4) [**daarom**] [**ik**] heb dat probleem niet  
that’s why I have that problem not  = ‘That’s why I don’t have that problem.’

**(Freywald et al. [to appear])**
AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} outside a multiethnic setting

Informal spoken standard German

(1) \textit{[jetzt]} \textit{[ich]} \textit{wollte} Sie treffen, um mit Ihnen […] \textit{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) \textit{[Im Winter]} \textit{[das]} \textit{war} der erste Baum, den […] \textit{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) \textit{[Im Gehirn]} \textit{[das Sprachverstehen]} \textit{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\textsubscript{fin} in informal spoken German: comparable grammatical characteristics like its usage in Kiezdeutsch
- AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} seems to be a general construction of informal spoken German
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 Baumbank 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
Outlook

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The information-structural motivation

- AdvXV\textsubscript{fin}: frame setter and topic
- AdvXV\textsubscript{fin}: discourse connective

The syntactic/pragmatic analysis

- Frame setter and topic: the split CP approach
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Information structure of AdvXV\text{fin} in spoken German

• Left sentence periphery is sensitive to the assignment of information-structural categories (Rizzi 1997; Grohmann 2003; Benincà/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] \text{ war } gestern \text{ betrunken} .
I was yesterday drunk = ‘Yesterday I was drunk.’

(2) [Gestern] \text{ war } ich \text{ betrunken} .
Yesterday was I drunk = ‘Yesterday I was drunk.’
The information-structural motivation

Information structure of AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} in Kiezdeutsch


1) \textit{Ich will nur nur Latschen, ich schwöre.}  
\begin{center}
\textit{frame > topic}
\end{center}

\begin{verbatim}
Ich will nur nur Latschen, ich schwöre.
\end{verbatim}

‘I only want slippers, I swear.’

\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
jedes & Jahr & ich & kauft & mir & bei & Deichmann \\
every & year & I & buy & me & at & Deichmann
\end{tabular}

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

2) A: \textit{Ich warte noch bis Monatsende}. B: \textit{Auf was?}  
\begin{center}
\textit{frame > topic}
\end{center}

\begin{verbatim}
A: [Ab jetzt] [ich] krieg immer zwanzig Euro.
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Ab & jetzt & ich & krieg & immer & zwanzig Euro \\
from & now & I & get & always & twenty euros
\end{tabular}

‘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”]

\[
\text{In anderen Städten} \quad \text{das} \quad \text{gibt} \quad \text{es} \quad \text{nicht}.
\]

‘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: \text{Immer wenn ich am Flughafen bin} \quad \text{das erste, was ich mache} \quad \text{ist in den Buchladen zu gehen}.

‘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]
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\textsubscript{frame}: host for frame setters

Top\textsubscript{P}: 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\textsubscript{fin}
- Information-structural explanation of AdvXV\textsubscript{fin}: frame setter > topic

\[(1) \text{[Nicht langhe darna]} \text{[der sone]} \text{volghete na vor ludeke}\]

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\textsubscript{fin}: frame setter > topic

\[(2) \text{[Jm 6886. Jar] [der Großfu\text{"e}rst Demetri]} \text{hat den maechtigen} [...]\]

in the 6886\textsuperscript{th} year the grand duke Demetri has the mighty

‘In the 6886\textsuperscript{th} year the grand duke Demetri has [...] the mighty [...]’

(Speyer 2008: 479)
## Outlook

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

- Connective adverbials like *dann* ‘then’ and *danach* ‘afterwards’ in AdvXVfin
- 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\textsubscript{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.*

‘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 shouting.’ [KiDKo, transcript: MuH9WT]
Information-structural status of the adverbial II

Temporal adverb *dann* ‘then’ in AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} as a discourse marker

- KiDKo: 1406 tokens, 26 uses in AdvXV\textsubscript{fin}
  - Frequent in narrative contexts
- TüBa-D/S: 5903 tokens, 27 uses in AdvXV\textsubscript{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-Giovanni von Mozart
then I see now Don-Giovanni from Mozart
‘Then I’ll see Don-Giovanni by Mozart.’ [TüBa-D/S, s2852]
Temporal adverb *danach* ‘afterwards’ in AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} as a discourse marker

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

(1) Context: She makes friends with blablabla.

```
[Danach] [du] hast sie angeschrien.
```

‘Afterwards you shouted at her.’

```
und [danach] [sie] hat zurück angeschrien.
```

‘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.’ [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 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: Modifiee 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

Host

modifiee

the talk will be cancelled

Orphan

modificator

V if you want to know

utterance processing/contextualization
The analysis II: connective > topic

Syntax and pragmatics of discourse connectives

**Contextual unit**

- **Ich meinte nur so: „Ach so! Dein Ernst?“**
  - ‘I simply said like: “I see! Are you serious?”’

**Orphan**

- **Danach**
  - ‘Afterwards’

**Host**

- **sie fängt an zu schreien.**
  - ‘she starts screaming.’

Utterance processing/contextualization
Support from history II

Connectives in AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} in Middle Low German

• Asymmetric OV/V2-language

(1) \textit{[Vortmer] [deme koninghe van bulgherien] deden se des geliken}

\hspace{1cm} afterwards the-DAT king-DAT of Bulgaria did they the same

\hspace{1cm} ‘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\textsubscript{fin})
• AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} adheres to information-structural preferences
• AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} can be separated into 2 different types of information packaging
  – AdvXV\textsubscript{fin}: frame setting > topic
  – AdvXV\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{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) \textit{Im Winter} \textit{fängt} \textit{der Mann} \textit{wahrscheinlich} \textit{Enten}.

\textit{In winter} \textit{catches} \textit{the man} \textit{probably} \textit{ducks}

(2) \textit{Im Winter} \textit{der Mann} \textit{fängt} \textit{wahrscheinlich} \textit{Enten}.

\textit{In the winter} \textit{the man} \textit{catches} \textit{probably} \textit{ducks}

‘In winter, the man probably catches ducks.’

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

(3) \textit{Der Mann} \textit{fängt} \textit{im Winter} \textit{wahrscheinlich} \textit{Enten}.

\textit{The man} \textit{catches} \textit{in the winter} \textit{probably} \textit{ducks}
AdvXV$_{\text{fin}}$: 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.$\text{thetic V1}$
then am I to.the bakery went

(2) [Dann] [ich] bin zum Bäcker gegangen.$\text{categorical V2}$
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!’
References


References


References

_Linguistische Berichte_ 205. 1-35.


Appendix I: Evidence against SVO

Expletives in AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} 

(1) \textit{[Bei mir] [es] gibt Abitur}.
\hspace{1cm} at me it gives diploma
\hspace{1cm} ‘With me, there is a diploma.’ [audio proof, 2009]

OV in embedded clauses 

(2) \textit{Ich wusste ganz genau, dass er das versteht}.
\hspace{1cm} I knew quite accurate that he understands
\hspace{1cm} ‘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 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.

‘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] [jedochn] 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 Flamish)

(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\textsubscript{fin} vs. other V2 deviations

AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} is...

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

(1) \textit{[Gestern]} \textit{[ich]}\textit{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) \textit{Und [danach]} \textit{[er]} \textit{sagt} zu meiner \textit{Cousine} : „\textit{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 word in Izmir, Turkey 2010

• Rel. frequent occurrences of AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} in spoken as well as in written data
• Often introduced by dann ‘then’ and danach ‘afterwards’

(1) \textit{[Dann] [sie] \underline{waren} im \textit{Wald} [...]}
then they were in the forest
‘Then they were in the forest.’ [Ege16WT]

• But also violations of V2 that deviate from AdvXV\textsubscript{fin} an cannot be attested
  for Kiezdeutsch as well as spoken German

(2) \textit{[Mit diesem Hund] [sie] \underline{laufen}.}
with this dog they run
‘They are running with this dog.’ [Ege04WT/Ege05WT]
Appendix IV: *dann* ‘then’ in conditionals

*dann* ‘then’ in AdvXV\textsubscript{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,*

yes this stays nothing against

*weil das ja die Firma trägt, die Kosten.*

because this PTCL the company carries the costs

‘Yes. Nothing preludes 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]