

Language contact and the loss of strict V2

George Walkden

University of Manchester

[http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/george.walkden/
george.walkden@manchester.ac.uk](http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/george.walkden/george.walkden@manchester.ac.uk)

Starting point of this talk

- Uniformitarian Principle (Labov 1972: 161):
 - ‘the claim that the same mechanisms which operated to produce the large-scale changes of the past may be observed operating in the current changes taking place around us’

Aims of this talk

1. Introduce data from a number of innovative modern Germanic varieties
2. Provide an analysis of those data
3. Outline the diachronic development of these varieties
4. Draw parallels with the (pre-)history of English

1. Data

Verb-second (V2)

- Most modern Germanic varieties obey the V2 rule/constraint in main clauses.

1) Ich **gehe** morgen einkaufen
I go tomorrow shopping

2) Morgen **gehe** ich einkaufen
tomorrow go I shopping

3) *Morgen ich **gehe** einkaufen
tomorrow I go shopping

‘Tomorrow I am going shopping.’ (Std. German)

Verb-second (V2)

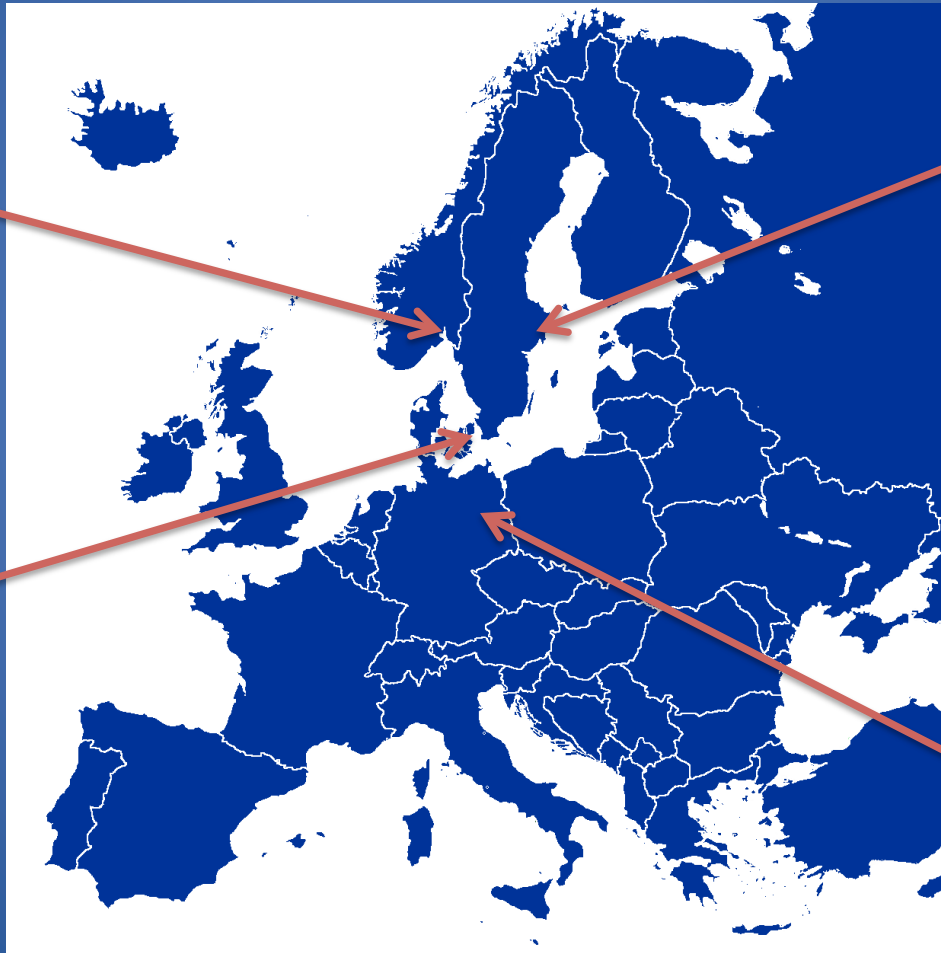
- Most modern Germanic varieties obey the V2 rule/constraint in main clauses.
- These include:
 - Standard German
 - Standard Danish
 - Standard Dutch
 - Standard Norwegian (Nynorsk, Bokmål)
 - Standard Swedish

Focus of today's talk

- Germanic varieties that appear to violate strict V2. These are:
 - **Kiezdeutsch**, a new German dialect (Wiese 2009, 2013)
 - **Rinkebysvenska**, a new dialect of Swedish (Kotsinas 1998; Ganuza 2008)
 - **københavnsk multiethnolect**, a Danish multiethnolect (Quist 2008)
 - **Multiethnolectal Norwegian** (Nistov & Opsahl 2014)

Geographical distribution

Multiethnolectal
Norwegian
Oslo
(you are here)



Rinkebysvenska
Stockholm

københavnsk
multietnolekt
Copenhagen

Kiezdeutsch
Berlin

Kiezdeutsch (Wiese 2009, 2013)



- ≈ '(neighbour)hood German'
- Used in informal, everyday communication in multiethnic areas of Berlin, e.g. Neukölln, Kreuzberg, Wedding; signals group identity
- Used also by ethnic Germans
- Displays other linguistic changes characteristic of contact languages, e.g. loss of noun phrase concord markers

Rinkebysvenska (Kotsinas 1998, Ganuza 2008)



- Originally studied in Rinkeby, a multilingual suburb of Stockholm – but much more widely spread
- Label has acquired negative connotations
- Variety used by both L1 and L2 Swedish speakers

københavnsk multietnolekt (Quist 2008)

- Studied in multiethnic areas of Copenhagen (Avedøre, Vesterbro, Nørrebro)
- Features similar to those found by Kotsinas for Rinkebysvenska:
 - Extended use of common gender
 - Loanwords from Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, Serbian



By Ellyodd. commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Norrebro.jpg

Multiethnolectal Norwegian

(Nistov & Opsahl 2014)



- Spoken in multiethnic areas of Oslo
- Data collected from Gamle Oslo and Søndre Nordstrand as part of UPUS project
- Not restricted to speakers with migrant background
- Speakers have variety of registers available

Exceptions to V2

- 4) morgen ich **geh** arbeidsamt
tomorrow I go jobcentre
'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre'
(Kiezdeutsch; Wiese 2009: 787)
- 5) igår jag **var** sjuk
yesterday I was sick
'Yesterday I was sick' (Rinkebysvenska, Kotsinas 1998: 137)
- 6) normalt man **går** på ungdomsskolen
usually one goes to youthclub
'Normally you attend the youth club'
(københavnsk multietnolekt, Quist 2008: 47)
- 7) med limewire det **tar** én to dager
with Limewire it takes one two days
'Using Limewire it takes one or two days.'
(Multiethnolectal Norwegian, Freywald et al. 2013: 9)

Corpus evidence

- Non-V2 examples in corpora of informal peer conversations (Freywald et al. 2013: 3–6):
 - Kiezdeutsch: **55**
(KiDKo)
 - Rinkebysvenska: **218**
(SUF Corpus sample)
 - Multiethnolectal Norwegian: **194**
(UPUS/Oslo Corpus sample)

Systematic exceptions

- The four varieties in question behave extremely similarly.
 - See Wiese (2009: 786–788) and Freywald et al. (2013: 7–10) for comparison.
- I will focus on Kiezdeutsch as representative of all four.
- The occurrence of deviations from V2 is not random, but systematic.

2. Analysis

Initial hypotheses

- Assuming den Besten's (1977) analysis of V2 as V-to-C⁰, possible analyses of this data are:
 - loss of V-to-C⁰ movement (see e.g. Nistov & Opsahl 2014: 91)
 - shift to “SVO” word order (common in L2 acquisition of German, as shown by Clahsen 1984)
- Neither can be right!

Problems for SVO

- Loss of V-to-C⁰ would predict free occurrence of SV... in subordinate clauses.
 - This does not occur except in isolated *weil*-clauses (Wiese, p.c.) where V2 would normally be permitted.
- SVO word order would predict head-initial VPs:
 - 8) Ich habe **verstehen** auch nix
I have understood also nothing
'I have not understood anything either.'
(Clahsen 1984: 225)
 - This does not occur (Wiese 2013: 17); verbal bracket is preserved.

V3, not SVO

- Wiese (2009, 2013), Freywald et al. (2013: 12–14): We are dealing with information-structurally conditioned V3.
 - Initial constituent is an adverbial
 - **Constituent preceding the verb** is usually the subject (Freywald et al. 2013: 12)
 - German: 51/55
 - Swedish: 217/218
 - Norwegian: 194/194

Initial adverbial (Freywald et al. 2013: 9–10, 12)

- Can be PP, DP, CP, or simple adverb:
 - 9) [wenn der mann dis HÖRT] er wird sagen ...
if the man this hears he will say
'If the man hears this, he will say...'
(KiDKo, MuH9WT)
 - 10) [JEdes jahr] isch=sch kauf mir bei DEISCHmann
every year I buy me at D.
'Every year I buy [shoes] at Deichmann's.'
(KiDKo, MuH9WT)
- Usually temporal or conditional adverb
- Provides an 'interpretational frame or anchor'

Preverbal constituent (Freywald et al. 2013: 9, 12)

- Almost always the subject.
 - Usually pronominal:
 - German: 41/51
 - Swedish: 191/217
 - Norwegian: 170/194
 - Can be DPs otherwise, but ‘virtually always unaccented’
 - Familiar topic/given information.

Split CP

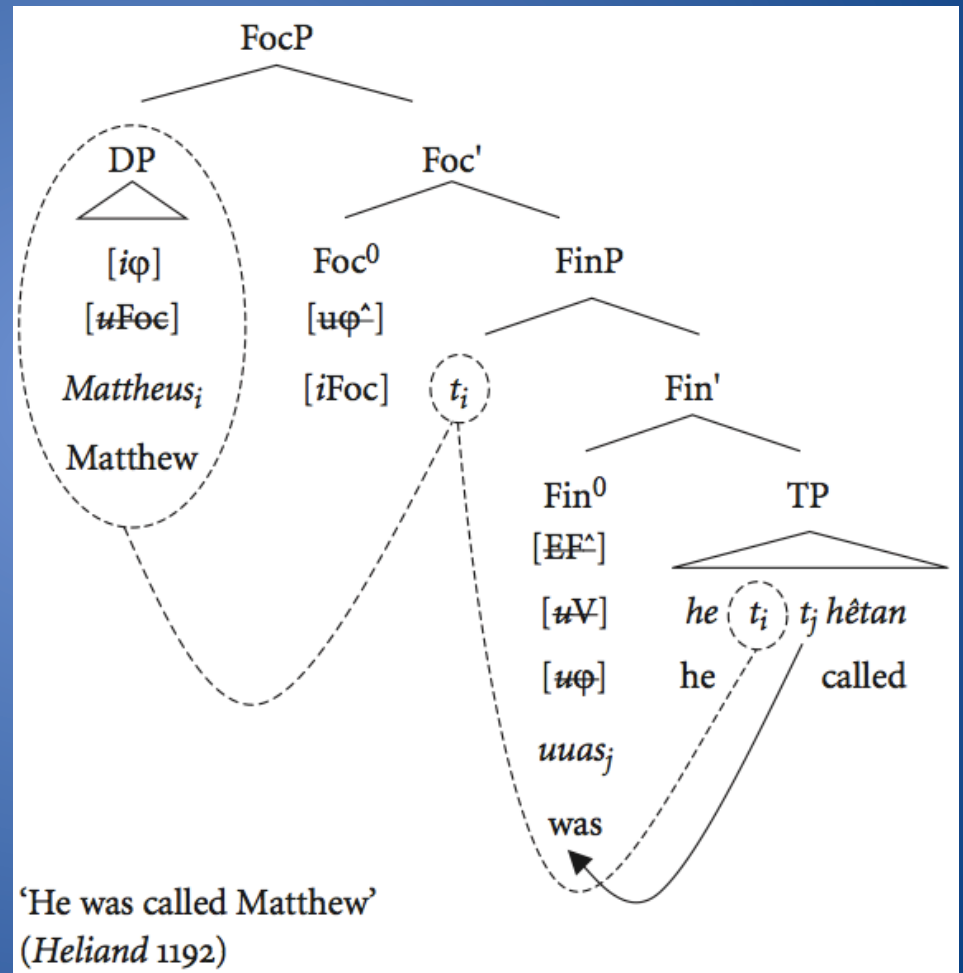
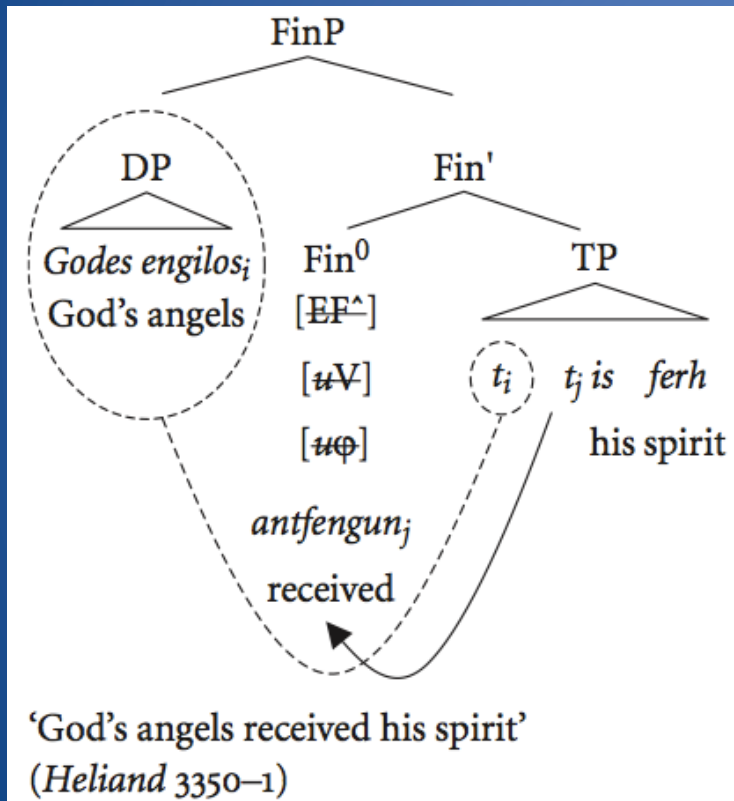
- These facts suggest adoption of a split-CP analysis in the tradition of Rizzi (1997), Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007).
- This is the only way of accounting for both clause type asymmetry and V3.
- Template for the left periphery, from F&H (2007: 112–113):
 - ForceP > ShiftP > ContrP > FocP > FamP* > FinP
 - ShiftP: for shifting (aboutness) topics
 - FamP: for familiar topics (given constituents)

Bottleneck analysis of V2



- ‘Bottleneck’ analysis of early Germanic V2 vs. V3 (Walkden 2014: 84–88, building on Mohr 2009, Rizzi 2006, Roberts 2004):
 - All left-peripheral projections fully available in V2 and V3 languages. In both, the verb is in Fin⁰.
 - In V2 languages:
 - Fin⁰ bears a feature triggering ‘formal movement’ of a constituent to its specifier (Frey 2000; Fanselow 2003).
 - Other left-peripheral heads bear [$u\phi$] probes. DP constituents in SpecFinP, and the finite verb in Fin⁰, act as interveners by Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990), preventing any other constituent from entering the left periphery.

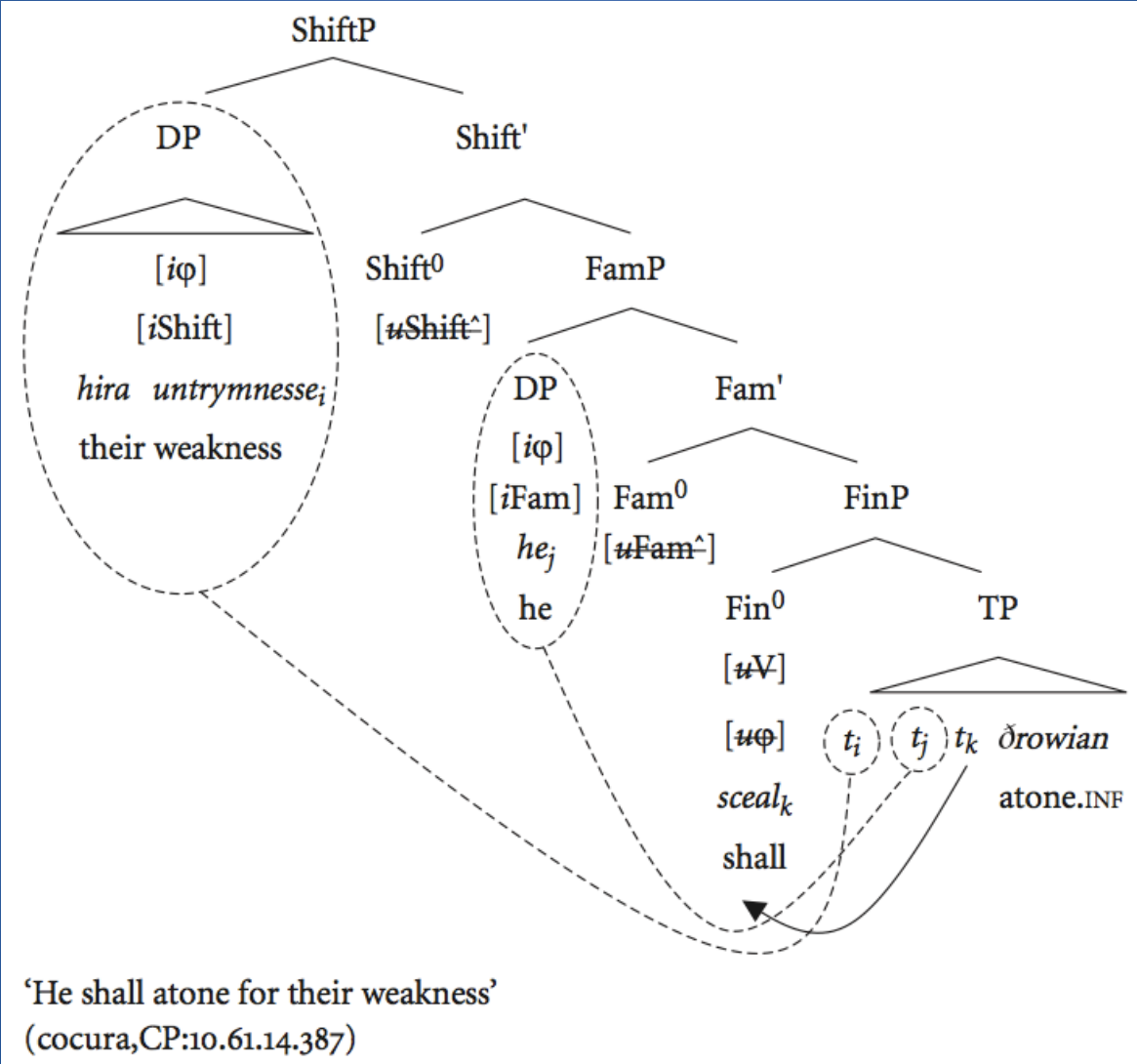
V2 derivations



V3

- In V3 languages, unlike V2 languages:
 - Left-peripheral heads bear specific information-structural probing features (e.g. [*uFoc*]).
 - Fin^0 is thus no longer an intervener (no bottleneck).
 - The whole left periphery becomes, in principle, available for movement.
- Less evidence for a filled-specifier requirement on Fin^0 , so no such requirement. (?)

V3 derivations



3. Diachrony

What caused the change from V2 to
V3?

Facts to bear in mind

- V3 varieties are used by native speakers
- V3 has arisen separately in (at least) four different locations
- These locations are all socially and ethnically mixed, and characterized by multilingualism, but do not all feature the same languages
- These languages are not always similar

Very unlikely causes

- **Transfer** (imposition or borrowing).
 - Adstrate languages are not the same.
 - Adstrate languages are not alike (e.g. Turkish head-final, agglutinating, vs Arabic, head-initial, synthetic)
- Purely **internal** factors.
 - Fails to explain independent parallel development in different areas with similar sociolinguistic conditions.

L2 acquisition

- A more general process of **simplification** (Trudgill 2011) via L2 acquisition may be at work.
 - V2 languages are hard to acquire as L2 (Clahsen & Muysken 1986), even for native speakers of V2 languages (Håkansson, Pienemann & Sayehli 2002)
- But this can't be the whole story:
 - The Germanic multiethnolects have V3, not SVO.
 - Native speakers of the relevant Germanic standards also have these varieties at their disposal.
 - Didn't happen for Dutch (Freywald et al. 2013: 11)

Simplification + appropriation

- V3 order is a **stereotyped** feature of all four Germanic multiethnolects under consideration (Freywald et al. 2013: 11; Quist 2008), used as a marker of **identity** (Wiese 2009: 790).
- **Innovation** in a context of contact-induced simplification, plus appropriation and **diffusion** (in the sense of Labov 2007), can account for the spread of the feature.

4. Early Germanic

Similarities

- A language which behaves much like the modern Germanic multiethnolects: Old English (OE). Features in common:
 - Clause type asymmetries in verb placement (van Kemenade 1997; Salvesen & Walkden 2013)
 - Information-structurally conditioned V3 (Bech 2001; van Kemenade & Los 2012)
 - Preverbal constituent must be familiar topic (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009: 324–325)

Differences between OE and vernaculars

- OE requires V2 with discourse-connectives (*þa, þonne*)
 - vernaculars prefer V3 precisely here
- OE allows object fronting with V3
 - vernaculars do not, as confirmed by acceptability tests (Wiese, p.c.)
- These facts are not accounted for under the present analysis.

Implications

- Of the early Northwest Germanic languages, only OE has robust V3.
 - Old Saxon and Old Icelandic: V2 from earliest records
 - Old High German: mostly V2, though limited V3 in some texts.
- Which should be reconstructed: V2 or V3?

Reconstruction

- Walkden (2014: 89–92): V3 should be reconstructed, because:
 - Old High German and OE do not form a subgroup to the exclusion of Old Saxon.
 - But: Old Saxon and Old Icelandic also do not form a subgroup to the exclusion of Old High German and OE.
 - Too little is known about directionality in this type of change for it to be a reliable criterion.
 - But: if $V2 > V3$ is a common change in instances of language contact, then maybe ...

Celts

- OE's prehistory has one thing that the other early Germanic languages don't: mass L2 acquisition by speakers of Brythonic Celtic languages.
 - See e.g. Hickey (1995) for arguments.
- Simplification, plus subsequent adoption, as in the case of modern Germanic multiethnolects, could have led to replacement of V2 by V3.

Conclusion

- Several modern Germanic multiethnolects have independently innovated V3 from V2.
 - This cannot be analysed as simply SVO.
 - V-to-T⁰ analyses also face problems.
 - L2 acquisition, plus adoption as identity marker.
- Recent and ongoing changes may inform our understanding of changes long past.
 - OE V3 is strikingly similar to modern multiethnolectal Germanic V3.
 - This suggests a possible parallel development.

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