Resumptives and V3 in Kiezdeutsch

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Like most Germanic languages, German is analyzed as a V2 language, that by default places the verb in the second position in declaratives. However, there are structures that violate this V2-constraint, such as the resumptive V3 pattern, as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. Wenn ich nach Hause komme, (dann/so) möchte ich etwas   trinken.
        when I to   home come   (RP)   like   I something drink
        'When I come home, I would like to drink something.'

    b. Weil   ich krank bin, (deswegen) solltest du nicht herkommen.
        because I sick am, (RP)   should you not   here.come
        'Because I am sick, you should not come here.'

The phenomenon is often analyzed as a left dislocation-construction (LD-construction) in standard German, where it has been the focus of investigation for many decades (cf., among others, Altmann 1981, Zifonun 1997, Frey 2004, Reis & Wöllstein 2010). In contrast, very little is known about the structure in Kiezdeutsch, an urban variety mainly spoken in multilingual areas in major German cities. Kiezdeutsch is characterized by placing the verb in the third position in specific contexts, evoking a sequence of the kind *adverbial – subjects – finite verb*. This structure is also attested in other Germanic languages (Freywald et al. 2015). Wiese (2011) attributes the productivity of this structure to language contact, which might motivate a weakening of the V2-constraint in Kiezdeutsch. Even though Schalowski (2015) reports that this structure also occurs in informal standard German, it seems to appear more frequently in Kiezdeutsch. Taking into account these two observations, 1) standard German displaying V3 in LD-constructions and 2) the flexible verb placement in Kiezdeutsch in specific environments, one could ask whether Kiezdeutsch differs from standard German in terms of the frequency, structure, function, and types of LD-constructions.

In this paper, I present data from a corpus study, analyzing the distribution of resumptive V3 structures in Kiezdeutsch. In the analysis I focus on sentential left peripheral elements and their resumptives. First results indicate that in Kiezdeutsch the resumptive particle *so* is completely absent, whereas *dann* ('than'), *danach* ('afterwards') and *da* ('there') occur frequently, preferably with conditional clauses. As a second step, I investigate in detail the types of the adverbial clauses, their resumptives, and deviations from the structure of LD found in standard German sentences such as in (1).

References

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