V2, non-V2, and resumption: A comparison of American Norwegian and Kiezdeutsch

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In this paper, we will discuss the emergence of V3 in two Germanic varieties, namely American Norwegian and the urban vernacular Kiezdeutsch. Both these varieties have emerged in intense contexts of language contact: Kiezdeutsch between Standard German and several languages (e.g. Arabic, Turkish) and American Norwegian with English. While they both show V3 patterns, their syntax is not identical thus placing them in different locations along a continuum away from a strict V2 grammar. Several studies of verb placement have already appeared, e.g., Eide & Hjelde (2015) and Johannessen (2015a) for American Norwegian, and Wiese (2009) and Walkden (2017) for Kiezdeutsch. In this talk, we focus especially on documenting the resumption strategies associated with non-V2 word order and V2 word order. The data will be drawn from spoken corpora of American Norwegian (Johannessen 2015b) and Kiezdeutsch (Wiese et al. 2010).

Resumption in the two varieties appears to be very limited. (1) and (2) illustrate different kinds of resumption vielding surface non-V2: German left dislocation (GLD) in Kiezdeutsch and the use of a resumptive particle (cf. Salvesen 2017 for Norwegian) in American Norwegian.

(1)	die Stars, die	sind eher so in	n Kreuzberg und so	[MuH1WD_04]
	the stars, DEM.RP.PL are more so in Kreuzberg and so			
	'the stars, they're more in Kreuzberg and that'			
(2)	når de spurte me	g noe så	kunne jeg si	[portland ND 02gk

når de spurte meg noe så kunne jeg si (2)when they asked me something so could I say 'when they asked me about something, I could say'

[portland ND 02gk]

These cases are different than the Frame Setters typically discussed for Kiezdeutsch (Wiese et al. 2006 et seq., te Velde 2016, Walkden 2017). Both GLD and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) are typical features of spoken German (Shaer & Frey 2004: 469) regularly producing both dislocated objects and subjects; yet, as we will show, there is very limited HTLD in the Kiezdeutsch corpus, and where resumption is present, it follows specific patterns. For American Norwegian, instances of V3 are predominantly adjunct-initial and there are also a few cases of OSV structures, unlike what has been found for Kiezdeutsch (cf. Walkden 2017).

In both varieties, there is a strong preference for pronominal subjects in non-V2 structures. This preference is also found with V2 structures in American Norwegian. In Kiezdeutsch, the pattern of preverbal subjects for Frame-Setter V3 also extends to resumptive dislocation structures. That is, dislocated and resumptive objects in GLD are largely missing in the data; where object-initial outliers do occur, they are all from one monolingual German speaker.

Both Kiezdeutsch and American Norwegian are contact varieties that have been moving away from the strict V2 system that their 'ancestral' language displays. Their trajectories are different, with Kiezdeutsch speakers being exposed to both a standard variety and a community variety whereas the American Norwegian speakers have been dominant in English in their entire life and not been exposed much if at all to a standard. This raises important questions about the nature of emerging grammars and the role of the sociolinguistic context.