Language contact and V3 in Germanic varieties new and old

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Abstract

Certain recently-attested varieties of Germanic V2 languages are known to deviate from the strict V2 requirement characteristic of the standard. This is the case, for example, for Kiezdeutsch, a new German dialect, as well as urban vernacular varieties of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish: descriptively speaking, in these varieties, subject-verb inversion may be absent under certain well-defined conditions. In this article I outline those conditions and the type of syntactic analysis required to account for them, claiming that an articulated left periphery is needed to account for the findings. The similarity of the V3 patterns found in these new varieties, which are geographically isolated from each other but which share a characterization in terms of the demographics of their speaker groups, invites a diachronic account in terms of language contact. I argue that transfer cannot account for V3, but that a scenario of sequential simplification and complexification is able to do so. Finally, turning to Old English, which exhibits similar (though not identical) V2/V3 alternations, I argue that a similar synchronic analysis can be upheld and that its diachronic origins may well also have been similar – a case of using the present to inform our approach to the past.

Keywords

language contact, verb-second, verb-third, new Germanic varieties, Old English

1. Introduction

Most modern Germanic varieties, with the notable exception of English, are characterized by the well-known verb-second (V2) constraint in main clauses: (1a–c) illustrate for standard German. The finite verb is given in bold. (1a) and (1b) show subject-initial and non-subject initial V2 respectively, and (1c) shows that SV order is generally ruled out when it would result in a violation of V2. Holmberg (2015) provides a general overview of the V2 phenomenon.

(1)	a.	Ich	**gehe**	morgen	einkaufen
		I	*go*	*tomorrow*	*shopping*
	b.	Morgen	**gehe**	ich	einkaufen
		tomorrow	*go*	*I*	*shopping*
	c.	*Morgen	ich	**gehe**	einkaufen
		tomorrow	*I*	*go*	*shopping*
		'Tomorrow I am going shopping.'			

The focus of this article is on varieties that under certain circumstances do not obey this constraint. Examples (2)–(5) illustrate.

(2)	morgen	ich	**geh**	arbeitsamt			
	tomorrow	*I*	*go*	*job.centre*			
	'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre.'						
	(Kiezdeutsch; Wiese 2009: 787)						
(3)	normalt	man	**går**	på	ungdomsskolen		
	usually	*one*	*goes*	*to*	*youth.club*		
	'Normally you attend the youth club.'						
	(Danish Urban Vernacular; Quist 2008: 47)						
(4)	med	limewire	det	**tar**	én	to	dager
	with	*Limewire*	*it*	*takes*	*one*	*two*	*days*
	'Using Limewire it takes one or two days.'						
	(Norwegian Urban Vernacular; Freywald et al. 2015: 84)						
(5)	igår	jag	**var**	sjuk			
	yesterday	*I*	*was*	*sick*			
	'Yesterday I was sick.'						
	(Swedish Urban Vernacular; Kotsinas 1998: 137)						

The deviation from V2 in these varieties is a salient and much-remarked-upon linguistic feature; nevertheless, recent work has shown that the exceptions to V2 (henceforth 'verb-third', V3) are systematically conditioned rather than random. Section 2 of this article introduces the varieties in question; section 3 outlines the generalizations that govern the distribution of V2 and V3, and section 4 presents and justifies a syntactic analysis in terms of a partially-articulated split CP.

More needs to be said to explain why these extremely similar patterns arose, apparently independently, in various different urban settings across Europe. Section 5 addresses the question of why and how the V3 variant was innovated, invoking language contact as a potential explanatory factor. Section 6 introduces comparative data from West Saxon Old English (OE), which exhibits a strikingly similar verb-third structure, and argues that the analysis developed for the modern urban vernacular varieties is applicable to OE too, *mutatis mutandis*. I suggest that West Saxon OE V3 may have been an innovation, and that the circumstances under which it developed may have been somewhat similar to those of the modern urban vernaculars. Section 7 summarizes and concludes.

2. Urban vernaculars in present-day Germanic

The four varieties that will be the focus of the first part of this article are Kiezdeutsch ('(neighbor)hood German') and Danish, Norwegian and Swedish urban vernaculars. Terminology for these varieties is rather problematic, since many of the commonly-used labels have pejorative connotations. In the case of Kiezdeutsch, the term has no such negative associations, and is used by speakers to refer to their own language (Wiese 2009: 783). In the case of the other three varieties, following Rampton (2010, 2015), I will use the simple term 'urban vernacular', for want of a better term. 'Urban' is justified since the varieties are used exclusively in urban areas, and 'vernacular' since they are non-standardized varieties that form part of a heteroglossic spectrum. The terms 'ethnolect' and 'multiethnolect' are

often also used for these varieties; I avoid them here since, as will become clear in the discussion of the individual varieties below, it is not clear that ethnicities, multiple or otherwise, are the key feature that characterizes the speakers and use of these varieties.

2.1 Kiezdeutsch

Kiezdeutsch, also known as Kanak Sprak in a literary reclamation of an otherwise pejorative term (Zaimoğlu 1995),[1] has been studied quite extensively over the last twenty years, most recently in a series of works by Heike Wiese, Ulrike Freywald and colleagues (e.g. Wiese 2006, 2009, 2012, 2013; Wiese & Rehbein 2016; Freywald et al. 2011, 2015). The variety studied in these works, from which the data in the present article is taken, is used in informal, everyday communication in multiethnic areas of Berlin such as Neukölln, Kreuzberg and Wedding. Restricted mostly to in-group situations, its use is a strong signal of group identity. Importantly, the use of Kiezdeutsch is not restricted to speakers of migrant backgrounds: the variety is used natively also by ethnic Germans (Wiese 2009: 784), and Wiese has argued extensively that it qualifies as a dialect under the usual understanding of the term (Wiese 2012). Wiese emphasizes, however, that there are no 'monolingual' Kiezdeutsch speakers, in the sense that for all of its users it is just one variety in a repertoire that will also include either German or a minority language at the very least, and its use is determined by style and situation; in this sense, it is no different from traditional dialects. Another important feature is that, though the neighborhoods where Kiezdeutsch is spoken may be dominated by one ethnicity, for instance Turkish, Kurdish or Arabic, there is never only one involved, and this has led to the term 'multiethnolect' being used to characterize Kiezdeutsch (Freywald et al. 2011). Finally, Kiezdeutsch displays a number of changes that are characteristic of contact languages: Wiese (2009: 785–790) provides an overview. These are not limited to lexical borrowings but include zero articles and pronouns and loss of noun phrase concord.

The Kiezdeutsch data are drawn from the KiDKo corpus (Rehbein et al. 2014), which is accessible online for research users on request. It contains spontaneous self-recorded peer-group dialogues by adolescents from a multiethnic neighborhood (Berlin-Kreuzberg; around 345,000 tokens) as well as one that is largely monoethnic (Berlin-Hellersdorf; around 147,000 tokens). For the purposes of this article, the multiethnic subcorpus will be the source of most of the data. In addition, the judgment survey carried out by Freywald et al. (2011) is reported on where relevant.

2.2 Danish Urban Vernacular

What is termed Danish Urban Vernacular here is the variety that has been studied by Quist (2000, 2005, 2008, 2012) under the name of *københavnsk multietnolekt* (Copenhagen multiethnolect). Her data is taken from ethnographic investigations into high schools in Avedøre, Vesterbro and Nørrebro, all multiethnic areas of Copenhagen. Again, it forms part of a user's linguistic repertoire rather than being anyone's sole means of communication, and Quist (2008: 49–51) questions on this basis whether it is better described (and studied) as a variety or as a practice. Its users are all fluent in at least one other language, including Turkish, Somali, Arabic, Serbian, Urdu and Danish itself; some speakers are from ethnically Danish backgrounds. These users are aware that they are using a distinct variety (Quist 2008: 48). Linguistic features that set Danish Urban Vernacular apart from the standard include extended use of the common gender where standard Danish has the neuter, and, on a phonological level, reduced vowel length (Hansen & Pharao 2005) and the absence of the suprasegmental unit *stød*, as well as lexical borrowings from a variety of languages (Quist 2008: 47–48). For the patterns reported in this article I have relied on Quist's data, which originate from interviews, group recordings, and self-recordings by six 12–17-year-old speakers in various informal situations (Quist 2000), as well as five months of participant observation at an inner-Copenhagen school, focusing on 54 15–16-year-old high school pupils, including questionnaires alongside all the types of data mentioned above (Quist 2005).

2.3 Norwegian Urban Vernacular

Norwegian Urban Vernacular, studied as multiethnolectal Norwegian by Opsahl & Nistov (2010) and Nistov & Opsahl (2014) as part of the UPUS project,[2] is the most recently described of the urban vernaculars in question. These authors and colleagues collected data, consisting of recorded semi-

[1] Unlike Kiezdeutsch, Kanak Sprak can also refer to a strongly stylized, stereotyped form of the language, and the term has accrued negative associations through its use in the popular debate surrounding the variety (Wiese 2012: 16).

[2] The term 'Kebab Norwegian' is often used for this variety in the media, though has strong derogatory overtones, and speakers of the variety on the whole do not identify with it (Aarsæther 2010).

structured interviews and informal peer conversations, from young people in youth clubs in two areas with above-average immigrant population: the inner-city district of Gamle Oslo (Old Oslo) and the suburban district of Søndre Nordstrand. The sample of 22 speakers aged 13–19 used by Opsahl & Nistov (2010) form the basis for the generalizations made in the present article; see Svendsen (2010: 14–16) for more details of the UPUS project methodology. As for the Danish and German urban vernaculars, speakers are strongly aware that their linguistic practice forms a distinct variety, and are able to characterize in broad terms the lexical and prosodic features that set it apart from the standard (Opsahl & Nistov 2010: 42). These speakers also use the urban vernacular as just one variety at their disposal, as part of a wider repertoire of styles and registers. Some of the speakers are not from migrant backgrounds, and these speakers too use V3 word order in peer conversations (Nistov & Opsahl 2014: 98). As with its Danish counterpart, Norwegian Urban Vernacular displays lexical borrowings and levelling of gender. Opsahl & Nistov (2010: 63) claim that this levelling, like V3 word order, resists a simple explanation in terms of second-language (L2) acquisition: instead, we are dealing here with an independent variety, and to some extent an act of identity.

2.4 Swedish Urban Vernacular

The last of the four urban vernaculars is the one that received the earliest attention in the literature. Work by Ulla-Britt Kotsinas (e.g. 1988, 1994, 1998) inspired a wave of research on new urban vernaculars in Scandinavia, including the varieties discussed above. The variety that Kotsinas describes is Rinkebysvenska, the Swedish of the multilingual Stockholm suburb of Rinkeby. This particular label has acquired negative connotations (Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004), but more importantly for my purposes the variety is not limited to Rinkeby: the recent SUF project has investigated urban vernaculars in multilingual areas of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Unsurprisingly, the Swedish Urban Vernacular shares many of the characteristics adduced above for its German, Danish and Norwegian counterparts: it is used by both L1 and L2 Swedish speakers, including ethnic Swedes; there are a number of minority languages coexisting with it, including Arabic, Greek, Kurdish and Turkish; it is used as part of a broader palette of linguistic varieties; its use can be an act of asserting identity and group membership (Ganuza 2008: 147–150); and it is rich in lexical borrowings and other non-standard grammatical and phonological features (Kotsinas 1988, 1998; Wiese 2009: 785–789), some of which have now been studied in detail as part of the SUF project. Ganuza's (2008) dissertation on subject-verb order in Swedish Urban Vernacular will be of particular importance for the purposes of this article (see also Ganuza 2010). Her data are drawn from 127 adolescents who carried out a retelling task, a composition task, and a grammaticality judgment test, as well as a sub-sample of twenty focus participants for whom oral data from group conversations and self-recordings was collected; see Ganuza (2008: ch. 4).

3. The distribution of V2 and V3: the role of information structure

As shown by examples (2)–(5), these four Germanic urban vernaculars permit violations of strict verb-second order. Having established that, the obvious next step is to examine the contexts in which V3 is used in order to see whether any generalizations can be made. Freywald et al. (2015) have conducted a corpus-based study examining the status of the two preverbal constituents in such examples.[3] Their data are taken from Kiezdeutsch and Norwegian and Swedish Urban Vernaculars, using the KiDKo (KiezDeutsch-Korpus; Rehbein et al. 2014), a sample of the UPUS corpus for Norwegian Urban Vernacular, and a sample of the SUF corpus for Swedish Urban Vernacular. Their sample consists of 55, 194, and 218 V3 clauses from each of these varieties respectively. In this section I report the findings of Freywald et al. (2015) with regard to the status of the initial and preverbal constituents in these varieties; the reader is invited to consult that article for more examples and further details of their methodology. They conclude that 'the elements that precede the finite verb show a rather coherent behaviour with respect to their syntactic functions, their semantics and their discourse pragmatics across the languages considered here' (2015: 84).

[3] Given the sociolinguistic status of these varieties, acceptability judgments are not easy to obtain. Freywald et al. (2011) have carried out a judgment-based survey for Kiezdeutsch, and Ganuza (2008) has carried out such a survey for Swedish Urban Vernacular. Where relevant, the findings of these surveys will be reported alongside the corpus results.

3.1 The initial constituent

Like the initial constituent in Germanic V2, the initial constituent in urban vernacular V3 clauses is not categorially restricted: it may be a DP, as in (6), a PP, as in (7), a CP, as in (8), or a simple adverb, as in (9).

(6) [$_{DP}$ JEdes jahr] (.) ich=ch **kauf** mir bei DEICHmann
every year I buy me at D.
'Every year I buy shoes at Deichmann's.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH9WT)

(7) [$_{PP}$ ab JETZ] ich **krieg** immer ZWANzig euro
from now I get always twenty euros
'From now on, I always get twenty euros.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH17MA)

(8) [$_{CP}$ 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, transcript MuH9WT)

(9) danach er sagt zu O., geh mal WEG
afterwards he says to O. go PTCL away
'Afterwards, he says to O. [= name], go away.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH9WT)

What unifies these elements is that they are invariably adjuncts rather than arguments in the attested examples (Freywald et al. 2015: 84); in addition, according to Heike Wiese (p.c.), object fronting to initial position in V3 clauses is judged as unacceptable by native speakers of Kiezdeutsch. In this respect, the initial position in urban vernacular V3 clauses differs from the initial position in Germanic V2 more generally, in which fronted objects (for instance) are perfectly acceptable.

Most typically, the initial constituent is a temporal adverb, such as *jetzt* 'now' or *danach* 'afterwards' (Kiezdeutsch), *nå* 'now' or *etterpå* 'afterwards' (Norwegian Urban Vernacular), or *nu* 'now' or *i går* 'yesterday' (Swedish Urban Vernacular). In Ganuza's (2008: 97–98) Swedish data, 95 of 218 V3 clauses began with the connective adverb *(å) sen* 'then'.[4] In the KiDKo, 96 of 159 V3 clauses begin with a temporal adverb, including 29 instances of *danach* and 28 instances of *dann*. Conditional adverbs are also found in this position, along with local, modal and causal adverbs, albeit less frequently. Freywald et al. (2015) provide an information-structural characterization of this initial constituent: they argue that it provides 'an interpretational frame or anchor' for the following proposition, either in terms of time, place, or condition (a frame-setter in the terms of Chafe 1976), or in terms of discourse-linking, as a contextualizer. These are functions that the initial constituent in V2 structures in the urban vernaculars may also have, when no constituent intervenes between it and the finite verb.

3.2 The preverbal constituent

The immediately preverbal constituent in urban vernacular V3 clauses is much more restricted than the initial constituent. It is almost always the subject (Kiezdeutsch: 51/55; Norwegian Urban Vernacular: 194/194; Swedish Urban Vernacular: 217/218), as in the examples presented so far, though it need not be: (10) and (11) below are examples of V3 with light adverbials from the KiDKo.

(10) und dann hier **ist** auch noch ein Loch
and then here is also still a hole
'And then here is another hole.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH27WT_07)

(11) und dann da **ist** doch n die U-Bahn und so
and then there is though (filler) the U-Bahn and so
'And then there is the subway and so on.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH2WT_03)

[4] A reviewer suggests that these extremely frequent initial elements might be undergoing grammaticalization as a conjunction. This is plausible, and in line with Schalowski's (to appear) argument that *dann* and *danach* in certain varieties of German may have become pure discourse-connectives. Since this analysis clearly cannot account for all initial constituents, however, I leave this possibility aside in what follows.

In addition, if the element is a subject, it is usually pronominal (Kiezdeutsch: 41/51; Norwegian Urban Vernacular: 170/194; Swedish Urban Vernacular: 191/218), though this also is a strong tendency rather than a requirement: (12)–(15) below involve non-pronominal examples, and (15) is a constructed sentence judged to be acceptable by a number of Ganuza's (2008) informants. The more important generalization is that the preverbal constituent is 'virtually always unaccented', whether it is pronominal or not (Freywald et al. 2015: 84). The information-structural analysis that Freywald et al. (2015) provide is straightforward: it is a familiar topic, referring to a contextually given or otherwise salient discourse referent. Since these are typically not prominent prosodically, often realized with a flat contour (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 106–107), and often represented by pronouns (see Krifka 2008: 262–264), this characterization fits the attested examples of preverbal constituents perfectly.

(12) heute der tag **ist** für mich so schnell vorbeigegangen
today the day is for me so fast past.gone
'Today the day went by so quickly for me.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH17MA_04-2-5)

(13) jetzt der Friesi **kommt**
now the F. comes
'Now Friesi is coming.'
(KiDKo, transcript MuP1MK_08-1)

(14) då alla **börja(de)** hata henne
then everyone started hate.INF her
'Then everyone started hating her.'
(Swedish Urban Vernacular; Ganuza 2008: 53)

(15) Då det är påsklov i skolan många familjer **åker** till Åre
when it is Easter in school many families go to A.
'When it is Easter break in school, many families go to Åre.'
(Swedish Urban Vernacular; Ganuza 2008: 132)

3.3 Cases in which V3 is ruled out

There are also a number of contexts in which verb-third clauses are not possible. First and foremost is a sociolinguistic context: the V3 structures are heavily restricted in terms of the audience with which they will be used and the registers in which they can appear. Essentially, all users of V3 structures switch to standard-like V2 in more directed and formal situations; Ganuza (2008: 109–130) provides detailed discussion. In addition, however, even in the sociolinguistic situations in which V3 is permitted, there are a number of syntactic contexts in which it does not occur.

The first instance of this is with fronting of an object, yielding the word order Object-Subject-V_{fin}. This order is not found in production data in the varieties in question, and in addition is judged bad by native speakers of Kiezdeutsch in acceptability judgment tasks (Heike Wiese, p.c.). A second context in which V3 is not found is *wh*-interrogatives. In Ganuza's focus group, all 1015 *wh*-interrogatives produced were V2 (2008: 71), and in her larger sample only one *wh*-interrogative displayed V3 order out of 693 produced ((16) below). As for Kiezdeutsch, while the KiDKo corpus contains 2065 examples of a *wh*-word followed directly by the finite verb, there are only two examples of direct interrogatives with V3 word order: (17) and (18) below. Ganuza sets interrogatives aside as an invariable context, and I will do the same.

(16) Varför han **skulle** ti(ll)baks?
why he should back
'Why was he going back?'
(Swedish Urban Vernacular; Ganuza 2008: 62)

(17) warum du **machst** DINGS
why you do thing
'Why are you doing that?'
(KiDKo, transcript MuH12MD_05)

(18) wieso er **is** nich gegangn
why he is not gone
'Why didn't he go?'
(KiDKo, transcript MuP6MD_03)

Interestingly, all three of these exceptional examples involve a *wh*-word with the meaning 'why'. In view of the cross-linguistic exceptionality of *why*-questions (see e.g. Rizzi 1990: 46–8; Hornstein 1995: 147–50; Ko 2005; Crain, Goro & Thornton 2006; Stepanov & Tsai 2008; Shlonsky & Soare 2011; Walkden 2014: 118–121), this may not be an accident. If *why* may be merged directly into (the highest) SpecCP rather than moved there, as proposed by Ko (2005), the possibility of such examples in fact falls out from the analysis proposed in the following section.

A third context in which V3 word orders of this type are not found is in subordinate clauses. Ganuza (2008: 62–64) analyses 10,953 subordinate clauses produced by her large sample of Swedish Urban Vernacular informants, and finds that 99.9% of them are standard-like in their word order; her focus group also did not produce deviations from standard Swedish word order in the direction of V3 (2008: 71). Similarly, in Kiezdeutsch, subordinate clauses display the verb-final word order characteristic of standard German; occasional examples of V3 are found in clauses introduced by *weil* 'because' (Heike Wiese, p.c.), as in (19) and (20), but this is a context in which it is well known that main clause word order may occur in colloquial usage (see recently Antomo & Steinbach 2010; Reis 2013). I therefore conclude that V3 of the type discussed in this section is a main clause phenomenon.[5]

(19)	weil	dafür	die	**ham**	das	erste	spiel	schon	verLOREn
	because	*that.for*	*they*	*have*	*the*	*first*	*game*	*already*	*lost*
	'because they have already lost the first game for that'								
	(KiDKo, transcript MuH1WD_04)								
(20)	Weil	heute	ich	**habe**	geguckt				
	because	*today*	*I*	*have*	*looked*				
	'because today I have looked'								
	(KiDKo, transcript MuH17MA_04-2-4)								

4. Analysis: evidence for a split CP

4.1 Lack of V-to-C movement?

The standard generative analysis of asymmetric V2 since den Besten (1977) and Evers (1981) has assumed that the verb moves to C^0 in all main clauses, while in subordinate clauses the presence of the finite complementizer blocks this movement. This analysis has been challenged (Travis 1984; Zwart 1991, 1993), particularly on the grounds of asymmetries between subject-initial and non-subject initial clauses; however, it is still the most widely-accepted account due to its formal simplicity and to empirical problems that arise for other approaches (Schwartz & Vikner 1996).

An obvious direction to pursue for the urban vernaculars discussed in this article is to assume that they have lost V-to-C movement, and that the verb only moves as far as T^0. This is suggested by Nistov & Opsahl (2014: 91) for Norwegian Urban Vernacular, and te Velde (to appear) develops this idea for Kiezdeutsch in what is, to my knowledge, the only worked-out formal analysis of one of these varieties. In this article I will adopt a different approach, for two main reasons.

First, in order to get the correct word order, the TP approach must assume that main clause TP is head-initial. However, the status and headedness of TP in German in particular is a matter of some debate. All three logically possible views have been defended: i) that TP is head-final (with string-vacuous movement of the finite verb in subordinate clauses; Grewendorf 1988; Zepter 2003); ii) that TP is head-initial (and the finite verb does not move to T^0; Vikner 2001; Haider 2010); and iii) that TP is absent entirely (Abraham 1993; Haider 1993). There is clear empirical evidence against the first possibility (Vikner 2001: 87–124; Haider 2010: 54–67), which in any case is incompatible with a head-initial TP in main clauses unless one is willing to countenance the possibility that headedness may differ according to clause type. Empirically there is little to distinguish between possibilities ii) and iii), though see Light (2015) for evidence of SpecTP expletives throughout the history of German. Only possibility ii) is compatible with a TP approach to Kiezdeutsch V3 word order. However, an important fact about this word order is that it is a main clause phenomenon, as established in the previous section: the verbal bracket, and verb-final word order in subordinate clauses, is maintained in Kiezdeutsch (Wiese 2013), as in examples (12) and (18) above. If there were verb movement to T^0 in a head-initial

[5] As a reviewer notes, if this is true we might expect a contrast between that subset of embedded environments that permit main clause phenomena (see Heycock 2006 and Aelbrecht, Haegeman & Nye 2012) and those that do not. This is likely to correlate with whether the urban vernaculars are 'well-behaved' or limited embedded V2 languages in the sense of Vikner (1995: 65), i.e. whether they permit embedded V2 in this subset of contexts (like the Mainland Scandinavian standard languages) or not (like Dutch). I leave this question for future research.

TP, we would expect embedded SVO word order by default. This conclusion can only be avoided if we stipulate that the verb moves to T^0 in main clauses only – but then the insight of den Besten (1977), that it is the presence of the lexical complementizer that blocks verb-movement, is lost.[6]

The argumentation in the previous paragraph carries over, *mutatis mutandis*, to Mainland Scandinavian urban vernaculars. In the corresponding standard varieties the VP is head-initial, and V-to-T^0 movement is also clearly absent in subordinate clauses (Vikner 2001);[7] these properties do not appear to differ in the urban vernaculars.

A second issue with the TP approach to V3 is that it does not account for the special properties of the preverbal constituent outlined in section 3.2. SpecTP is a subject position, yet the preverbal constituent is not always the subject, a fact which is problematic for the TP approach. A reviewer suggests that the comparatively rare non-subject examples may be performance errors, which is certainly a possibility. In the absence of native speaker judgments on this issue, however, I will assume that they are genuine, and predict that these and similar examples should be judged acceptable. Moreover, the preverbal constituent is always deaccented, and usually – but not always – pronominal, a fact which is at least unexpected under the TP approach.[8]

While none of these issues with the TP approach may be irresolvable, in light of these *prima facie* problems I consider it worthwhile to explore an alternative which does not require that the verb move to a position lower than C^0.

4.2 A split-CP approach

Over the last two decades it has become increasingly clear that a single functional projection at the clausal left periphery is insufficient to capture the number and variety of elements that may occur here cross-linguistically, and moreover that robust generalizations can be made about the information-structural status of such elements. Rizzi (1997) influentially proposed a decomposition of the C-domain, given in (21).

(21) ForceP > TopP* > FocP > TopP* > FinP
(Rizzi 1997: 297)

ForceP encodes the semantics of clausal force; FinP of finiteness. Between these two is an information-structural field: this consists of one or more projections for topics, dominating a single projection for foci, which in turn dominates one or more further projections for topics. More recently, Rizzi's (1997) hierarchy has been further expanded by Benincà & Poletto (2004) and by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007). Their revised decompositions are given in (22) and (23) respectively. (See also Haegeman 2003, 2006.)

(22) ForceP > Hanging Topic > Scene Setting > Left Dislocated > List Interpretation > Contrastive Focus (adverbs/objects) > Contrastive Focus (circumstantial adverbs) > Information Focus > FinP
(Benincà & Poletto 2004: 71)

(23) ForceP > ShiftP > ContrP > FocP > FamP* > FinP
(Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 112–113)

Both of the revised hierarchies aim at clarifying the role and number of information-structure-related projections, and both decompose the upper topic field, assumed by Rizzi (1997) to be recursive, into a number of unique projections. Benincà & Poletto (2004) argue for a position for hanging topics, dominating a position for scene-setting adverbials, dominating a position for left-dislocated elements, dominating a position for list-interpretation XPs; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) argue for a distinction between shifting or aboutness topics and contrastive topics, with the former higher than the latter. Benincà & Poletto (2004) also decompose Rizzi's (1997) FocP into two contrastive focus

[6] Zwart (1993: chapter 4) proposes AgrS-to-C^0 movement in subordinate clauses to address this problem, but this is stipulative and must rely on additional assumptions. I will return to how the important asymmetries between subject-initial and other V2 main clauses can be derived in a consistent V-to-C account in the next subsection.

[7] Unlike for German, there is no possibility of a head-final TP for these languages, since movement to this position would not be string-vacuous. Besides, it has been argued that a head-final TP is universally ruled out with a head-initial VP (Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2014).

[8] te Velde's (2013) analysis incorporates a syntactic account of prosodic deaccenting, and hence the latter criticism does not apply to it.

projections, the lower one specialized for circumstantial adverbial elements, and an information focus projection. With regard to the lower topic field, Benincà & Poletto (2004: 54–57) argue that it does not exist, while Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) recharacterize Rizzi's (1997) lower recursive TopP as a position hosting familiar topics.

An important debate in the cartographic literature concerns whether all projections posited are present in all languages (and all clauses), or whether projections may be absent or syncretized in the grammars of individual languages. Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), Cormany (2015), and Hsu (2016) argue for a variant of the latter view: the hierarchy of projections is universal, but contiguous segments of the hierarchy may be instantiated as a single projection in individual grammars. In particular, Cormany (2015) shows that the diachronic variation found in the left periphery of Friulano can be neatly captured under an account in which projections may be syncretic and these syncretisms may change over time.

Adopting this type of account allows us to explain an otherwise mysterious phenomenon in English: only one fronted element may occur in the left periphery (Fukui 1993: 405–406; Breul 2004: 199–205; Biberauer & Roberts 2015: 309–310).[9] Similarly, in modern Germanic V2 varieties such as Norwegian and German, only one element may (in fact, must) occur preverbally. This can be straightforwardly captured in an account in which the different possible left-peripheral projections are all syncretized into a single multifunctional one, CP, in these languages.[10]

I assume, following Rizzi (1996, 1997), Haegeman (1995) and much subsequent work, that certain heads may be associated with Criteria that require them to enter into a spec-head configuration with an appropriate XP, and that this motivates interpretively-driven movement in the case of topicalization (in the information-structural sense), focalization, *wh*-questions, etc. In a language with a syncretized left periphery, it is evidently not possible for more than one of these criteria to be satisfied at once by different XPs. Such languages must then have non-movement strategies for the expression of e.g. multiple topicalization and multiple *wh*-questions. A strict V2 language will allow only one Criterion to be active at any one time.[11] In case no Criterion is active, as in the case of neutral subject-initial declaratives, an Edge Feature will cause the highest XP in the TP domain to be fronted with no interpretive effects ('formal movement'; Fanselow 2003, 2004, Frey 2004, Light 2013). This type of account derives the differences between subject-initial and non-subject-initial main clauses that prompted the two-structure analyses of Travis (1984) and Zwart (1991, 1993), by appealing to different motivations for movement rather than different structural positions: see Frey (2004: 6–14) for the details.

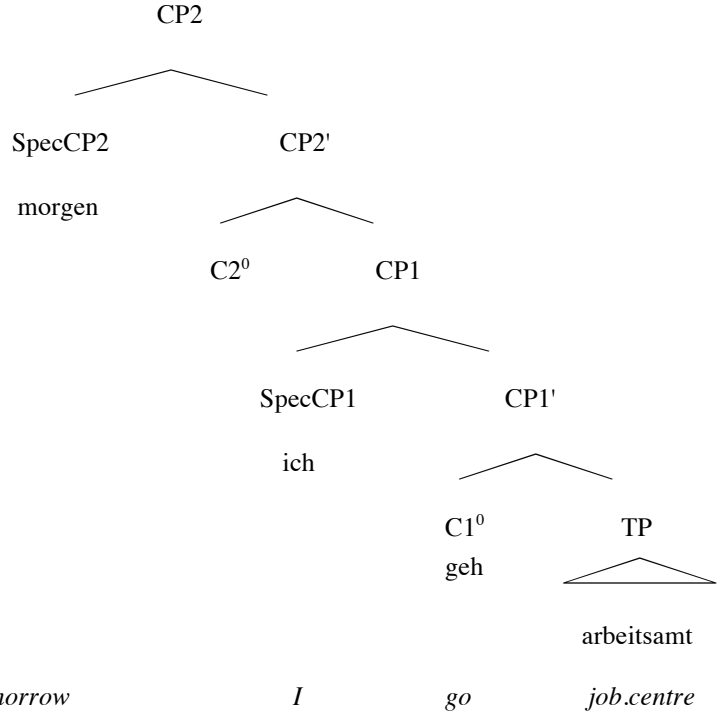
For the Germanic urban vernaculars in question, only a simple tweak is needed to account for V3 word orders: instead of a single left-peripheral projection, we can posit that these varieties have two. The lower projection, which I will label CP1, combines FinP with Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) FamP; the higher projection, CP2, combines everything from the focus field upwards to ForceP. The structure for a simple example, (2) from Kiezdeutsch, is given in (24).

[9] For some speakers of English, according to these references, only one *argument* may occur in the left periphery, but adverbial elements may occur here more freely. This may indicate that more projections are available, but that additional restrictions hold, of the kind to be discussed later in this subsection for the Germanic urban vernaculars.

[10] There are other formal mechanisms that are capable of accounting for these facts, however. The 'bottleneck' approach to V2, which uses locality to prevent more than one element from moving to the left periphery despite all projections being in principle available, is one of these: see Roberts (2004), Mohr (2009), and Walkden (2014: 84–87).

[11] Or potentially more than one, in the case that a single XP can satisfy more than one Criterion simultaneously. The idea that specifier positions of conflated heads are 'multifunctional' in cases of syncretism, in the sense that they can be used to satisfy the criterial requirements of any one of the heads conflated, is the tacit assumption in the literature on conflation (e.g. Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Hsu 2016). A reviewer raises the question of why an XP in such a specifier position is able to 'pick one' criterion to satisfy and is not required to satisfy the requirements of *all* the conflated heads simultaneously, which would obviously be impossible in most cases. I have no answer to this at present.

(24)



tomorrow *I* *go* *job.centre*
'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre'

This analysis straightforwardly permits the generation of clauses in which two (and no more than two) elements precede the finite verb. It also predicts a clause type asymmetry and the absence of such structures in subordinate clauses, assuming, as is standard in the cartographic literature (e.g. Roberts 1996: 60, 2004: 300), that the complementizer is first Merged under Fin^0 (here $C1^0$). Moreover, it can account for the information-structural properties of the constituents in SpecCP1 and SpecCP2.

The analysis schematized in (24) is very similar to – and might even appear to be a notational variant of – the 'CP-recursion' proposals of de Haan & Weerman (1986), Iatridou & Kroch (1992), and Vikner (1995). It certainly shares the notion that clauses may contain exactly two functional projections that together play the role that a single CP might normally play. It differs, however, in that what is proposed here is not recursion in the sense of self-similar embedding but rather two different projections with distinct properties (as in de Cuba 2006, and McCloskey 2006, though the latter does not distinguish them by means of labels). This is advantageous since, if CPs were freely able to take other CPs as their complements, we would predict a potentially infinite number of CPs in positions where CP-recursion is licensed, giving rise to structures like **I think that that that* …. (see also de Cuba 2006: 4); since the two CPs are distinct in the present analysis, this problem does not arise.[12]

CP1 is a conflation of FinP, whose specifier is not associated with any particular elements, and FamP, a projection whose specifier is a position for familiar topics. As we have seen in section 3.2, this is exactly the characterization of preverbal elements in V3 constructions that Freywald et al. (2015) provide. Familiar topics in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) are simply given information, D-linked (Pesetsky 1987) constituents. They are often subject pronouns because these represent 'the canonical instance of a given nominal' (Westergaard & Vangsnes 2005: 137), but they do not have to be. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) show for Italian and standard German that familiar topics are realized with either a flat intonational contour (when not an independent prosodic unit) or an L* contour, which maps well onto the deaccenting that we find in the Germanic urban vernaculars in this

[12] Iatridou & Kroch (1992) and McCloskey (2006) acknowledge this problem, and appeal to a haplology constraint along the lines of Ross's (1972) 'doubl-ing' constraint, which prohibits sequences of multiple forms ending in *–ing* in English, as in **It is continuing raining*. This is not entirely satisfactory, however, since doubl-ing constructions are subject to a hierarchy of acceptability (Ross 1972: 178) whereas double complementizer constructions of the *I think that that that* … type are always glaringly ungrammatical. On the other hand, it has been suggested in the literature that unbounded recomplementation with a filled specifier is in fact possible in English: see Radford (2013) for examples and discussion.

position. CP1 does not bear an Edge Feature triggering formal movement, and so can only be filled when a familiar topic moves there due to the Topic Criterion.

CP2 is more multifunctional. This multifunctionality is observed by Freywald et al. (2015) for the Germanic urban vernaculars, and is captured by the different natures of the projections conflated under CP2, including at least focus and some (high) types of topic. Relevant here are Benincà & Poletto's (2004: 66–67) Scene Setting position, which provides the type of interpretational frame discussed by Freywald et al. (2015), or Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) Contrastive Topic phrase. Benincà & Poletto (2004: 67) analyse (25) from Italian as involving a Scene Setting adverbial; this seems parallel to the examples found in (2)–(5). The prevalence of temporal adverbs in this position in the urban vernaculars – which, recall, is a notable tendency but by no means categorical – is, under this account, simply because these elements make excellent scene-setters.

(25) Domani Gianni lo vedo
tomorrow *G.* *him* *see-1SG*
'Tomorrow I will see Gianni.'

CP2 elements might also be focalized circumstantial adverbs in the sense of Benincà & Poletto (2004: 60–61). By hypothesis, CP2 is the bearer of the Edge Feature triggering formal movement (Frey 2004), and hence SpecCP2 must be filled.

The split CP account does not suffer from the twin problems of failing to predict the clause type asymmetry and failing to predict the nature of the preverbal elements, then. However, more must be said in order to account for the non-embedded cases in which V3 is *not* found: in interrogatives, and in cases of argument fronting to SpecCP2. I will make two further assumptions, both fairly standard, given in (26) and (27).

(26) Adverbial elements may be first Merged in the C-domain; argumental elements may not be.
(27) Only one constituent may move to the left periphery.

The assumption in (26) is shared with te Velde (to appear), and follows essentially from the UTAH (Baker 1988) or some similarly restrictive theory of the mapping from syntax to argument structure: arguments, but not adverbials, must be first Merged in a domain where they can receive a theta-role, and this domain is lower than the C-domain (cf. also Willis 1998: 67). Moreover, elements will be first Merged as late as possible, subject to the structure being consistent with the intended interpretation (see Chomsky 1995: 348 and van Gelderen 2008 for discussion). When their interpretation is that of scene-setting or similar, then, adverbial elements are first Merged in the left-peripheral position SpecCP2.

The restriction in (27) can be formalized in more than one way. If CP1 is a strong phase in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2005), and if each projection admits only a single specifier position as is standardly assumed in the cartographic literature, then only one element will be able to move through SpecCP1, regardless of whether it will remain there or end up in SpecCP2. (See Branigan 2005 and López 2009 for the proposal that FinP is a phase.) Alternatively, the finite verb or the constituent in SpecFinP could have featural properties that cause it to act as an intervener with respect to Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990, 2001), as in 'bottleneck' approaches to V2 (Roberts 2004; Mohr 2009). I will adopt the phase-based approach here, though nothing rests on it.[13]

(26) and (27) together have the effect of ruling out structures in which both CP1 and CP2 are occupied by arguments. I assume, following Rizzi (1997), that the head which bears the Criterion responsible for *wh*-movement is Foc, which is subsumed under CP2 in the urban vernaculars. If *wh*-questions always involve movement to SpecCP2, perhaps for scopal reasons, then (26) and (27) also rule out V3 *wh*-questions – except in *why*-questions, assuming that *why* is first Merged in the C-domain rather than moved, as suggested in section 3.3 and the references cited there. Thus, the analysis sketched in this section derives the attested and unattested V2 and V3 word order patterns in the Germanic urban vernaculars, using only theoretical ingredients that have been independently motivated elsewhere in the literature.

[13] I will not take a stance on whether this restriction is universal or specific to the languages in question. It may be that phasehood is parameterized; alternatively, it may be that in languages such as Italian in which the left periphery can be occupied more liberally, the apparent left-peripheral arguments are in fact first Merged high and coindexed with a (potentially phonologically null) resumptive.

5. The origin of V3 in present-day urban vernaculars

In this section I discuss what kind of diachronic account is necessary to explain the emergence of V3 structures in Germanic urban vernaculars. I take it that the crucial fact to be accounted for is that essentially the same V3 pattern, as described in sections 3 and 4, has emerged independently in Danish, German, Norwegian and Swedish varieties under similar sociolinguistic conditions, and that this rules out an account that relies *solely* on internal, universally-instantiated principles (e.g. processing pressures, L1 acquisition strategies, or principles of efficient computation). As Schalowski (2015, to appear) has shown, V3 patterns of the kind discussed in the previous sections can be found sporadically in spoken discourse in German more broadly, which might be said to argue for continuity rather than innovation, and occasional examples can be found in Early New High German too, though V2 is 'close to categorical' here (Speyer 2010: 213). However, such examples are judged marginal by most German native speakers, and moreover are extremely rare: Wiese & Rehbein characterize it as 'more readily available in multilingual contexts' (2016: 56). A search of the KiDKo[14] reveals only 16 examples out of 8945 main clauses (0.2%) in the monoethnic subcorpus, some of which appear to involve false starts, as opposed to 159 out of 23,506 (0.7%) in the multiethnic subcorpus. The difference is clearly significant (X^2 with Yates' correction = 28.769, 1df, $p<0.0001$), indicating that an external explanation should be sought for the higher frequency in the urban vernaculars – as, of course, does the fact that the V3 order is perceived to be characteristic of *all* the urban vernaculars in question, not just Kiezdeutsch. In the following subsections I consider two hypotheses – transfer and imperfect learning – which I argue to be implausible for other reasons, before proposing my own account in section 5.3.

5.1 Transfer?

The varieties in which V3 is found have all been characterized as multiethnolects, and, as outlined in section 2, are all spoken in communities that feature a substantial proportion of immigrant members, and in which other languages are spoken. This being the case, it is reasonable to ask whether the V3 pattern has been transferred from another language.

Following van Coetsem (1988, 2000), Winford (2003, 2005), and Lucas (2012), I use 'transfer' to refer to the replication of a pattern or feature from one language in another language, and assume that there are two types of transfer: 'borrowing' and 'imposition'. Borrowing, in this framework, is transfer under recipient-language agentivity, i.e. transfer in which the speaker of the language which is to receive the feature actively employs material from a source language in which s/he is less proficient. In imposition, the roles are reversed: material is transferred into the recipient language from a source language in which the speaker is more proficient, i.e. we are dealing with source-language agentivity.

Borrowing of V3 structures is unlikely in principle. This is because speakers tend to preserve structural features of the language in which they are more proficient, especially where these fall below the level of awareness: hence, borrowing tends to be lexical, while imposition is more often syntactic and phonological. While borrowing of structure in this sense is not impossible, Winford (2005: 385–388) demonstrates that it is not the norm, and that its occurrence is heavily constrained (though see Lucas 2012 for some possible examples). I will therefore set borrowing aside.

Imposition, on the other hand, is not inherently implausible in this situation: syntactic patterns can be transferred from a speaker's dominant language to a secondary language. Winford gives examples of German learners of English as an L2 who impose German argument structure onto English verbs (2005: 380), and of SOV structures in Cappadocian Greek that are plausibly reflections of Turkish word order (2005: 407). First-generation immigrants to Germany, Denmark, Sweden or Norway who learn a Germanic language as an L2 might well transfer structures from their L1 via imposition during production. However, there are two reasons why this kind of imposition is unlikely to be the source of the V3 structure. First, the relevant multiethnolects are spoken in communities where no single heritage language dominates, as discussed in section 2; instead, many languages are spoken in close proximity and in close contact. Secondly, and more importantly, 'transfer' presupposes a source construction, and it is difficult to find such a construction in the languages that are most often found alongside the Germanic urban vernaculars. These languages are highly diverse, and differ between Copenhagen, Berlin, Oslo and Stockholm: for instance, Serbian is well represented in the communities where Danish urban vernacular is spoken, but less so in the other cases. Two languages stand out as represented in multiethnic communities in all four cities: these are Arabic and Turkish. Neither presents an obvious source construction for imposition, however. In Turkish there is a certain amount of discourse-conditioned word-order flexibility, but the finite verb is clause-final in the

[14] For the purposes of replicability, the search string I used is: *cat="LA" & cat="VF" & #1 . #2*

unmarked case, with the immediately preverbal position specialized for foci (Erguvanlı 1984), and the agglutinative morphology of the language also makes it an unlikely source language for syntactic structures. Arabic, meanwhile, is typically verb-initial, with SV order also a possibility (Aoun, Benmamoun & Choueiri 2010: 46–49), and nothing resembling V3.

In sum, since there is no clearly identifiable source construction, a diachronic account of V3 in terms of transfer (specifically, imposition) of a syntactic pattern does not seem promising.

5.2 Imperfect learning?

As Winford (2005: 376, fn. 3) notes, transfer of linguistic material from one language to another is not the only possibility in cases of language contact. Another logical possibility is restructuring, as defined by Lucas (2009: 145): 'changes which a speaker makes to an L2 that cannot be seen as the transfer of patterns or material from their L1'. Notably, this includes simplification, as explored in Trudgill (2011): if there are features of a language that are hard or impossible for L2 learners to acquire, then in a situation in which L2 learners constitute a sizeable proportion of the population it is more likely that those features will be lost. For this it is necessary to identify features that are L2-difficult regardless of the learner's L1. Lucas (2009: 135–138) presents a variety of examples from the literature.

Verb-second may well be such a feature. Clahsen & Muysken (1986) demonstrate that German V2, although acquired quickly and robustly by child L1 learners,[15] is difficult for adults to learn regardless of their L1: their conclusions are based on adult learners with Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Turkish language backgrounds. Adding further support to this conclusion, Håkansson, Pienemann & Sayehli (2002) show that even adult L1 speakers of Swedish (a V2 language) learning German (another V2 language) as an L2 also have difficulty in producing target-like V2. In all cases, failure of subject-verb inversion is found, yielding SVO structures of the kind found in Modern English even when another constituent (such as an adverb) is in initial position. Ganuza (2008: 11–15) provides an overview of research on the acquisition of inversion in V2 languages, including Swedish, Danish and Norwegian; all studies indicate that 'the incidence of non-inversion in contexts for inversion is often long-lived in learner language' (2008: 11). Attested examples from L2 German are given in (28)–(30).

(28) dass er **kaufen** in de strass
that he buy in the street
'He sells [*sic*] that in the street.'
(L1 Romance speaker; Clahsen & Muysken 1986: 107)

(29) meine bruder er **helfen**
my brother he help
'He helps my brother.'
(L1 Turkish speaker; Clahsen & Muysken 1986: 108)

(30) Dann er **waschen** eh der Schlange
then he wash eh the snake
'Then he washes the snake.'
(L1 Swedish speaker; Håkansson, Pienemann & Sayehli 2002: 257)

However, it is very clear that the Germanic urban vernaculars are not merely interlanguages. First and foremost, those speakers who use V3 also have perfect mastery of the standard V2 structure, and their use of the two varieties is socially and stylistically conditioned, as already discussed. Secondly, these varieties do not resemble interlanguage in other respects: te Velde (to appear) observes that the features of Turkish-German interlanguage as described by Sundquist (2005) differ markedly from those of Kiezdeutsch. Wiese (2013: 17) also observes that the verbal bracket structure characteristic of standard German, which is intact in Kiezdeutsch, tends to be absent in L2 German (Clahsen 1984). As regards V3, examples like (28) and (29) produced by L2 learners involve fronted objects, which are not grammatical in the urban vernaculars, as mentioned in section 3.3. It is also not clear that the profile of preverbal subjects in L2 varieties is that of familiar topics; rather, SV order seems to be more general in interlanguage.[16]

[15] Including bilingual child acquirers, who even at a very early age almost never produce V3 utterances: see Müller (1993: 133–135).

[16] However, Ganuza (2008: 12–13) reports that, though Hyltenstam's (1978) study found no evidence for the type and nature of the subject as a conditioning factor in the V2/V3 alternation among L2 learners of Swedish, Bolander (1988a,b) found that non-pronominal subjects favoured inversion and

Another indication that imperfect L2 acquisition cannot be the whole story is that Dutch Urban Vernacular, despite being in many respects similar to the other Germanic urban vernaculars discussed in this article both linguistically and sociolinguistically, does *not* productively feature V3, and is not stereotypically associated with this word order (Freywald et al. 2015: 86–87). This is despite the fact that L2 learners of Dutch are reported to produce V3 structures robustly (Appel & Muysken 1987: 91). It is likely, then, that L2 acquisition of Germanic standard languages is an ingredient in what we find in Danish, German, Norwegian and Swedish urban vernaculars, but not a sufficient condition for the emergence of the V3 pattern described in sections 3 and 4.

5.3 Emergence of a new grammar

The varieties that exhibit V3 do not behave like interlanguages, either linguistically or sociolinguistically. A three-stage scenario seems most plausible for the origin of this pattern.

In the first stage, second language learners of a standard Germanic V2 variety fail to acquire verb movement to C^0. This results in SVO word orders of the type found in English, including word orders that exhibit surface verb-third, and also a lack of asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses, so that SVO word order is found in both (a well-known phenomenon in the L2 acquisition literature: see Clahsen & Muysken 1984: 109–110).

The second stage involves L1 learners (for instance, the children of first-generation immigrants) being exposed to utterances generated by this interlanguage grammar. These learners will, however, also have access to utterances generated by the relevant standard grammar among their peers and in the wider social context.[17] I hypothesize that V3 as found in the Germanic urban vernaculars, with a split CP consisting of two projections CP1 and CP2, is innovated at this stage, as the L1 acquirer attempts to reconcile evidence for movement to the C-domain (e.g. the verbal bracket, and clause type asymmetries) with evidence for two preverbal phrasal positions. In other words, examples like (30) above, with a structure as in (31a), are reanalyzed as involving a structure as in (31b).

(31) a. $[_{CP}$ Dann $[_{TP}$ er $[_{vP}$ waschen …]]]
b. $[_{CP2}$ Dann $[_{CP1}$ er waschen $[_{TP}$ …]]]

Presumably CP is not split in this way unless the acquirer has positive evidence for doing so (cf. Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998): though the functional sequence is itself given by UG, the acquirer starts off assuming as little articulated syntactic structure (and as much conflation) as possible following some principle of economy (e.g. Rizzi's 1997: 314 'Avoid Structure'), and will learn to split the syncretized heads when the primary linguistic data give them a reason to do so. The combination of two preverbal elements in conjunction with verb-movement to the C-domain is exactly the kind of positive evidence required. If so, this would be a case of *complexification* in the sense of Trudgill (2011), following on from earlier simplification, as the acquirers end up (initially unintentionally) exploiting the word order patterns found in their primary linguistic data to develop a new construction that allows fine-grained information-structural distinctions to be made based on syntactic position. This would support Wiese's (2009: 790) view that the Germanic urban vernaculars involve 'grammatical elaborations that are based on morpho-syntactic reductions'. Here, the reduction is caused by L2 speakers failing to acquire verb movement, and the elaboration involves use of a split rather than unitary CP by L1 acquirers in order to analyse the primary linguistic data that they receive.

The third stage involves propagation rather than innovation. As mentioned in the previous section, V3 is not found in Dutch urban vernacular, and hence acquisition alone, whether L1 or L2, is unlikely to be the whole story. In the third stage, then, for whatever reason, the V3 structure has been appropriated across communities of practice, and successive generations incrementally increase their use of it. In support of this, Kotsinas (1992: 57) observes that the 'deviant' features used in Swedish urban vernacular seem to occur more frequently in adolescent usage than in that of younger children, and Wiese (2009: 790) quotes a Berlin primary school teacher stating that a twelve-year-old has increased her usage of Kiezdeutsch forms over time. The overt social evaluation of V3 may be a factor here: it is a stereotyped feature in all four urban vernaculars (Ganuza 2008: 128–130; Quist 2008;

V2 more than pronominal subjects, which is similar to what was reported in section 3.2 for the Germanic urban vernaculars.

[17] A reviewer questions the likelihood of L1 acquirers adopting and adapting the usage of L2 speakers. In some situations, of course, exactly such a scenario must be envisaged: creolization is the most extreme example. More generally, scenarios in which imperfect acquisition shapes the primary linguistic data for subsequent generations are well documented in the literature on language change: see Roberts (2007: 236–242, 388–389) for discussion from a generative perspective.

Freywald et al. 2015: 87 with references). In Dutch urban vernacular, this last stage has not (yet) occurred.

Though some parts of this account are necessarily speculative, it is compatible with what we know about the linguistic and social situation of the Germanic urban vernaculars. In particular, under this account V3 is a likely, but not a necessary, consequence of an environment in which L2 speakers' output may form part of the primary linguistic data for a new generation of L1 acquirers, and results from simplification followed by complexification followed by propagation through the speech community.

6. V2 and V3 in Old English

A natural question to ask is whether the split-CP V3 system of Kiezdeutsch and the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish urban vernaculars is found in any other languages of the world. Of the modern Germanic standard languages, only English does not exhibit strict V2 in neutral declarative clauses (abstracting away from 'residual V2' in the sense of Rizzi 1996), but English also lacks verb-movement to the left periphery in such clauses, unlike the urban vernaculars. Mòcheno, a variety of German spoken in northern Italy, also deviates from strict V2 (Cognola 2013), but not in ways that resemble the V3 of the urban vernaculars; this is unsurprising, as the contact situation is very different from that of the urban vernaculars, involving long-term co-territorial balanced bilingualism, and there is no reason to assume that L2 German learners would ever have constituted a significant proportion of the population. The urban vernaculars, however, are all characterized by a backdrop of substantial migration to the areas during the twentieth century, and many of these first-generation migrants would have been adult second-language learners of German.

Looking to the history of the Germanic languages, however, one language stands out as similar: West Saxon Old English (henceforth OE). OE has a V2/V3 alternation that has been the subject of substantial research, starting with Canale (1978) and van Kemenade (1987); see Taylor (2014: 396–420) and Walkden (2014: 67–89) for further discussion and references. (32) and (33) are examples of V2, and (34)–(36) of V3.[18]

(32) þa **genam** hine se awyrgda gast
then took him the accursed spirit
'Then the accursed spirit took him.' (coblick,HomS_10_[BlHom_3]:27.8.358)

(33) Þær **heriaþ** englas & heahenglas þone ecan Dryhten
there worship angels and high-angels the eternal Lord
'There angels and archangels worship the eternal Lord.'
(coverhom,HomM_13_[ScraggVerc_21]:253.2801)

(34) æfter his gebede he **ahof** þæt cild up
after his prayer he lifted the child up
'After his prayer he lifted the child up.' (cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_2:14.70.320)

(35) Þeah hweðer his hired men **ferdon** ut
though whether his household men went out
'Nevertheless his retainers went out.' (cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1087.26.2994)

(36) Fela spella him **sægdon** þa Beormas
many stories him told the Permians
'The Permians told him many stories.' (coorosiu,Or_1:1.14.27.243)

These do not seem to be simply surface similarities. OE shares the following properties with the modern Germanic urban vernaculars, as outlined in section 3:

i. The initial constituent in V2 and V3 clauses may take a variety of forms: it may be a CP, a DP, or a PP, and may serve a variety of functions (van Kemenade 1987; van Kemenade & Los 2006: 229)
ii. The immediately preverbal constituent in V3 clauses is usually a subject, but not always (Koopman 1996; Pintzuk 1999), and usually pronominal, but not always (Bech 1998, 2001; Haeberli 2002)
iii. The immediately preverbal constituent in V3 clauses is always given information that can be characterized as a familiar topic (Bech 1998, 2001; Westergaard 2005; Hinterhölzl & Petrova

[18] All references to examples are given as token IDs from the YCOE (Taylor et al. 2003).

2009; Speyer 2010; van Kemenade & Milićev 2012), and is rarely prosodically prominent (as far as we are able to determine given our lack of access to spoken OE; Speyer 2010)

iv. V2 and V3 are found in main clauses, but not in subordinate clauses (except potentially in a small subset of root-like subordinate clauses; van Kemenade 1997)

v. Only V2, and not V3, is found in *wh*-questions (van Kemenade 1987; Eyþórsson 1995)

These parallels make it possible for the split-CP V3 analysis developed in section 4 to be applied to OE virtually unchanged. There are, however, three differences which stand in the way of a unified analysis.

First, OE main clauses do not always involve verb-movement to the left periphery; 'verb-late' main clauses in OE are a low-frequency but robust and non-negligible phenomenon (see Koopman 1995 and Pintzuk & Haeberli 2008). The conditions under which verb-late is found are not well understood, and no existing analysis can satisfactorily account for these clauses; mine is no exception. These verb-late main clauses have no parallels in the urban vernaculars.

Secondly, in OE there is a class of discourse-connective adverbs which trigger V2 regardless of the information status of the subject. The most prototypical members of this class are the short adverbs *þa* and *þonne*, with an original temporal meaning of 'then'. The V2 pattern with these adverbs 'is as frequent and well-known as it is puzzling' (van Kemenade & Los 2006: 226), and has so far resisted insightful analysis. Following the literature, I propose to treat this simply as a case of lexical idiosyncrasy: specifically, I stipulate that these adverbs may not be first Merged in the left periphery but must instead be raised there from a lower position, like *wh*-phrases.[19] That there are minor lexical differences between OE and the modern urban vernaculars should not be surprising. What is striking, though, is that clauses containing similar adverbs – originally temporal, but functioning as discourse connectives – are the prototypical environment for V3 in the urban vernaculars (cf. example (8), section 3.1, and te Velde to appear). It is at least strange that V3 in OE should be ruled out with precisely these adverbs.

Finally, object fronting does not seem to require V2 in Old English. Though there are 28 examples in the YCOE that involve subject-verb inversion with a full nominal object in initial position, a non-negated finite verb, and a postverbal pronominal subject, as in (37) and (38), there are 700 examples that lack such inversion, as in (39) and (40).

(36) Þis ylce galdor **mæg** mon singan wið smeogan wyrme
this same charm may man sing against penetrating worm
'One can sing this same charm against a penetrating worm.'
(colacnu,Med_3_[Grattan-Singer]:27.1.132)

(37) Laðlice eardunge **hæfde** ic on þe
loathsome dwelling had I in you
'I had a loathsome dwelling in you' (coverhom,HomU_9_[ScraggVerc_4]:284.784)

(38) manega yfel þu **wyrcest**
many evils you work
'You work many evils.' (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:14.132.19.1595)

(39) Fyr ic **sende** on eorþan
fire I send to earth
'I send fire to earth.' (cowsgosp,Lk_[WSCp]:12.49.4719)

V3 with fronted objects appears to be a robust phenomenon and the default constituent order in OE, then. This differs from the urban vernaculars, in which, as discussed in section 3.3, only V2 is produced (and accepted) when an object is in initial position. This is the main difference standing in the way of a unified analysis of OE and the modern urban vernaculars. A possible approach is to treat fronted objects in OE as base-generated in SpecCP2 and coindexed with a null resumptive element lower in the clause. An alternative, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, would be to maintain that

[19] It is not entirely obvious how to enforce this stipulation formally, or what it would follow from, as a reviewer notes. *þa* and *þonne* are treated by van Kemenade & Los (2006: 226) as forming a natural class with *wh*-phrases semantically, with movement required to create an operator-variable relationship. If so, then it could be the case that *þa* and *þonne* are in fact semantically very different from the surface-similar temporal adverbs in the urban vernaculars – but comparing them in detail to test this prediction is beyond the scope of this paper.

CP1 is not a phase in OE, and that the verb moves higher to C2 in *wh*-questions.[20] As far as I am aware, both approaches lack independent motivation. Leaving this question for future research, I would nevertheless like to claim that the core of the analysis developed in section 4 – involving verb-movement to the C-domain, and two CP projections rather than one – is as applicable to OE as it is to the modern urban vernaculars.

The type of analysis in which the verb always moves to the C-domain in main clauses has its roots in van Kemenade (1987), and a split CP account of OE word order was first proposed in Roberts (1996). It stands in contrast to another tradition of analysis in which the verb only moves as far as I^0/T^0 (Eyþórsson 1995, Pintzuk 1999, Haeberli 2002, Speyer 2010). Walkden (2014: 74–89) summarizes the arguments that the verb is in the C-domain: most importantly, there is a clear clause-type asymmetry in finite verb position and embedded topicalization (van Kemenade 1997), and the immediately preverbal constituent has the profile of a familiar topic without any requirement that it be the subject (see example (35)).

How did these V2/V3 alternations come about in OE, then? The prehistory of OE word order is not a settled matter. While most authors now accept that the verb must have moved to the C-domain in main clauses at an earlier stage (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009; Speyer 2010: 217–227; Walkden 2014, 2015), views differ on whether V3 was an innovation (Westergaard 2005; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009) or a retention (Walkden 2014, 2015). The comparative evidence is not conclusive: among the earlier Northwest Germanic languages, strict V2 is found in Scandinavian texts from the earliest records onwards, and in Old Saxon and most Old High German texts, as well as in 10th-century Northumbrian Old English and northern Middle English (Kroch & Taylor 1997). V3, on the other hand, is only found in Old English (of which the corpus is mostly West Saxon or Mercian), and also in two early Old High German texts, *Isidor* and the Monsee Fragments (Tomaselli 1995; Axel 2007). The early Runic Northwest Germanic evidence is too fragmentary, and the interpretations too disputed, to be of much value in resolving the issue.

Walkden (2014: 89–91) argues that V3 is a retention on the grounds of its distribution: if Proto-Northwest Germanic had been V2, then V3 would have been innovated twice, once in OE and once in Old High German. This conclusion is not inescapable, as it relies on diachronic parsimony in the absence of any evidence about the likely direction of the change. However, if we can identify a scenario in which strict V2 is likely to give way to V3, and we can show that that scenario was present in the earliest stages of OE, then the case can be made that the development was the opposite of what Walkden (2014, 2015) suggests.

If the argumentation in section 5 is along the right lines, then a certain type of contact situation provides just such a scenario. In the modern urban vernaculars, V3 has arisen from V2 where a substantial proportion of non-native speakers (L2 acquirers) are present in the speech community, whose production has then served as the input for a new generation of native speakers. These speakers have reanalyzed it as information-structurally conditioned and involving a split CP, and this new structure has been appropriated and propagated through the community.

In the case of OE, but not of the other early Northwest Germanic languages, we can see this scenario instantiated. The current consensus among historians and archaeologists is that, upon the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons from the continent, 'a significant proportion of the British population survived the "conquest" and hence must have lived side-by-side with the immigrants' (Green 2011: 3). Since the Brythonic Celtic language does not now survive in most of England, this implies a situation of diglossia with eventual language shift (Green 2011: 6). Linguists have been slow to accept these conclusions, instead preferring the traditional view that the Britons were displaced or died out, though in recent years some have argued vocally for Celtic influence (e.g. van der Auwera & Genee 2002; Tristram 2004; Laker 2008; Lutz 2009; McWhorter 2009; Trudgill 2011). The traditional linguistic argument against extensive Celtic contact is that English shows few lexical borrowings from Celtic, and this view was adopted by Victorian historians (e.g. Freeman 1871). However, under the lens of modern language contact theory this problem dissolves: in the terms of Winford (2005), transfer from Celtic to OE would have been mediated by imposition rather than borrowing, and hence the rarity of lexical borrowings is to be expected. See Laker (2008: 21) and Lutz (2009: 229) for variants of the same point.

The innovation of V3 in OE is somewhat different to the cases mentioned above, in that it does not involve transfer of a feature. But this should not come as a surprise, as neither does the innovation of V3 in the modern urban vernaculars, if section 5 is on the right track: L1 speakers of

[20] Positing a higher movement site for the finite verb in OE *wh*-questions than in neutral declaratives is the standard approach in the literature: see e.g. Eyþórsson (1995), Pintzuk (1999), van Kemenade & Milićev (2012).

Turkish or Arabic, for instance, do not have a model for V3. Rather, it seems that V3 is likely to emerge in this type of contact situation if the target language is strictly V2, regardless of the learners' L1.

To summarize: the development I propose involves imperfect L2 acquisition of pre-OE strict V2 by L1 speakers of Brythonic Celtic, resulting after complexification in V3. Since we know relatively little about the exact sociolinguistic circumstances of early Anglo-Saxon England, the narrative inevitably contains some element of speculation. Still, it is consistent with what we do know: that the Anglo-Saxon invaders fairly rapidly achieved social dominance, and that there were a substantial number of Celtic speakers living alongside them, for whom it would have been advantageous to learn the Germanic language of the incomers and to pass it on to their children. It also explains the origin of a feature which among the early Northwest Germanic languages is aberrant, and does so with reference to a particular language contact situation not shared by the Continental West Germanic or North Germanic languages.

7. Summary and conclusion

In this article I have presented data on deviations from strict V2 found in several relatively new Germanic varieties, as well as in one very old one. The modern Danish, German, Norwegian and Swedish urban vernaculars have rarely been the subject of formal analysis, and I have proposed an analysis that exploits a minimal difference between these varieties and the respective standard languages, namely the availability of an additional position in the left periphery, in order to capture the contexts in which V2 is and is not found.

From a comparative and diachronic perspective, an important question is why essentially the same structure has arisen independently in more than one place. No narrative which ties this to purely language-internal tendencies is able to give a satisfactory answer to this question. I have suggested that the answer lies in the sociohistorical circumstances that gave rise to these varieties, specifically a population containing a high proportion of L2 speakers whose production then serves as the input to a new generation of L1 learners, who then adopt the V3 grammar as their own. I have also suggested that a similar situation gave rise to the strikingly similar V3 grammar found in West Saxon Old English.

If this line of argumentation is on the right track, it makes diachronic predictions for other syntactic structures too. Any structure that is difficult for L2 acquirers should be liable to loss in languages where such acquirers come to represent a significant proportion of the population. For instance, omission of determiners is also a common feature of adult L2 acquisition – particularly, though not exclusively, when the learner's L1 lacks these elements (Parodi, Schwartz & Clahsen 2004: 688–690). Bare NPs are robustly attested in the urban vernaculars in question, unlike the respective standard varieties (Wiese 2009: 788–795) – though, like V3, the distribution of bare NPs is not the same in Kiezdeutsch as it is in L2 German, and nor would we expect it to be given the scenario outlined above. The predictions for bare NPs and other similar structures cannot be assessed here in detail, but may be a worthwhile area for future research.

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