

(Haegeman & Greco this volume, to appear; Greco & Haegeman 2016). See also Catasso (2015) on German.

More recently, it has also been shown that several urban vernaculars across Europe display non-V2 structures, more specifically V3. An example is provided in (2).

- (2) Morgen ich **geh** arbeitsamt (Kiezdeutsch)
tomorrow I go job.center
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to the job center’ (Wiese 2009: 787)

Urban vernaculars, like Kiezdeutsch, emerged as part of urban immigrant communities but they are not confined to these communities today.

In the present paper, we will first present previous work on verb placement in urban vernaculars, to a large extent building on Walkden’s (2017) study of Kiezdeutsch. Then we will compare verb placement in urban vernaculars with verb placement in a heritage language, American Norwegian. We will point at similar trends and tendencies in the two types of varieties, urban vernaculars and heritage languages, and discuss the question of how V3 orders emerge.

2 Verb placement in urban vernaculars

We have already seen that urban vernaculars often display a lack of V2. In (3)–(5) further examples from multiple urban vernaculars illustrate that this seems to be a fairly general phenomenon of such varieties.

- (3) med limewire det **tar** én to dager (Norwegian)
with Limewire it takes one two days
 ‘Using Limewire it takes one or two days.’ (Freywald et al. 2015: 84)
- (4) Normalt man **går** på ungdomsskolen (Danish)
usually one goes to secondary.school
 ‘Normally, you attend secondary school.’ (Quist 2008: 47)
- (5) Igår jag **var** sjuk (Swedish)
yesterday I was sick
 ‘Yesterday I was sick.’ (Kotsinas 1998: 137)

Freywald et al. (2015: 84) point out 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’. Based on Walkden (2017: 54–55), we will illustrate that in what follows using data from the KiDKo corpus (KiezDeutsch-Korpus; Rehbein, Schalowski & Wiese 2014).

Kiezdeutsch (‘neighborhood-German’) in Berlin is the most extensively studied variety of urban vernaculars (Wiese 2006, 2009, 2012, 2013, Wiese & Rehbein 2016, Freywald et al. 2011, 2015), although these varieties exist in many

European capitals and large cities. As Wiese (2009: 784) points out, Kiezdeutsch is also used by ethnic Germans and can in that regard also be considered a dialect (Wiese 2012).

Walkden (2017) is the most recent publication studying verb placement in Kiezdeutsch. Lowell-Sluckin (2017) largely confirms Walkden's findings, and adds some crucial numbers: Out of 23 506 matrix clauses, Lowell-Sluckin finds 266 instances of V3 (1.1%). This indicates that there is a large amount of V2 in Kiezdeutsch, although we do not know what the distribution of XP-V-S versus S-V is. Future research will hopefully address this issue.

2.1 The initial constituent

The initial constituent in urban vernacular V3 environments is not categorically restricted. It can be a DP (6), a PP (7), a CP (8) or an AdvP (9).

- (6) [DP JEdes jahr] (.) ich=ch **kauf** mir bei DEICHmann
every year I buy me at Deichmann
 'Every year I buy (shoes) at Deichmann's.'
 (KiDKO, transcript MuH9WT, Walkden 2017: 54)
- (7) [PP ab JETZT] ich **krieg** immer ZWANzig euro
from now I get always twenty euros
 'From now on, I always get twenty euros.'
 (KiDKo, transcript MuH17MA, Walkden 2017: 54)
- (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, Walkden 2017: 55)
- (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, Walkden 2017: 55)

However, Walkden (2017: 55) points out that the initial constituent is typically a temporal adverb like *jetzt* 'now' or *danach* 'afterwards' in Kiezdeutsch, *nu* 'now' or *i går* 'yesterday' in Swedish Urban Vernacular, or *nå* 'now' or *etterpå* 'afterwards' in Norwegian Urban Vernacular. For Kiezdeutsch, Walkden says that 96 out of 159 V3 clauses have a temporal adverb as their initial constituent, which includes 28 instances of *dann* and 29 instances of *danach*. Different adverbs, such as conditional, modal or causal adverbs are also found. In Freywald et al. (2015), an information-structural account is given, building on Wiese (2006, 2009). The initial constituent provides an 'interpretational frame or anchor' for the proposition that follows; this corresponds to what Chafe (1976) calls a frame-setter.

Interestingly, what is not found in Kiezdeutsch are OSV structures: '[...] according to Heike Wiese (p.c.), object fronting to initial position in V3 clauses is judged as unacceptable by native speakers of Kiezdeutsch' (Walkden 2017: 55). This is similar to West Flemish V3, as discussed in the work of Haegeman & Greco. It is relevant to note that there are instances of OVS in the corpus, cf. (10).

- (10) Ein Apple hab ich geholt
an apple have I taken
 'An apple, I took' (MuH11MD_04) (Lowell-Sluckin 2017)

However, no one has investigated the distribution of V2 word order in Kiezdeutsch in a quantitative manner, making it impossible to say anything about the frequency or proportion of object-initial V2 clauses compared to adjunct-initial V2 clauses.

2.2 The immediate preverbal constituent

When it comes to the immediate preverbal constituent, there is also a clear pattern: the subject is almost always preceding the verb. We have seen this in all the examples presented so far. Despite this clear tendency, the pattern is not absolute: Light adverbials (11) can also appear in the preverbal position.

- (11) 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, Walkden 2017: 56)

Furthermore, the subject is usually pronominal, as in the examples above, even though it can also be a full DP (12–13).

- (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, Walkden 2017: 56)
- (13) jetzt der Friesi kommt
now the Friesi comes
 'Now Friesi is coming.'
 (KiDKo, transcript MuP1MK_08-1, Walkden 2017: 56)

The same pattern holds for the other urban vernaculars.

2.3 Environments where V3 is banned

There are also cases where V3 is ruled out. Walkden (2017: 57–58) mentions three instances. The first is the sociolinguistic context. V3 structures are only used in specific contexts and with a specific audience. This means that all users of V3 also have V2 as an option, i.e., V3 is a register phenomenon. Then there are two syntactic contexts where V3 is ruled out. The first involves object fronting, as already mentioned. The second is *wh*-interrogatives. The KiDKo corpus contains 2065 examples of a *wh*-constituent followed directly by a finite verb. However, there are only two examples of interrogatives with V3, here given in (14) and (15) (Walkden 2017: 57).

- (14) warum du **machst** DINGS
why you do thing
 ‘Why are you doing that?’
 (KiDKo, transcript MuH12MD_05)
- (15) wieso er **is** nich gegangn
why he is not gone
 ‘Why didn’t he go?’
 (KiDKo, transcript MuP6MD_03)

As Walkden (2017: 57) observes, these two examples both involve a *wh*-constituent with the meaning ‘why’. Such *why*-questions are cross-linguistically exceptional (Rizzi 1990: 46–48, 2001, Hornstein 1995: 147–150, Ko 2005, Stepanov & Tsai 2008), suggesting that they may also be exceptional in Kiezdeutsch and other urban vernaculars.

Lastly, V3 word orders are not found in subordinate clauses. In Kiezdeutsch, subordinate clauses are verb-final just like standard German subordinate clauses. As Walkden (2017: 58) discusses, there are examples of V3 in clauses starting with *weil* ‘because’, but as he also points out, this order can also be found in colloquial German (Antomo & Steinbach 2010, Reis 2013), cf. (16).

- (16) Weil heute ich **habe** geguckt
because today I have looked
 ‘because today I have looked’
 (KiDKo, transcript MuH17MA_04-2-4, Walkden 2017: 58)

In the next section, we will discuss the heritage language American Norwegian before comparing it to Kiezdeutsch in section 4.

3 American Norwegian: Previous work on verb placement

This section is concerned with the heritage language American Norwegian. Rothman (2009: 156) defines a heritage language as follows:

A language qualifies as a *heritage language* if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society.

This means that children who grow up with a heritage language in their home, either as an exclusive first language or co-existing with the majority language, are labeled heritage speakers (see Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky 2013 for different definitions).

Following this definition, American Norwegian can be defined as a heritage language. It is the variety spoken by immigrants to the US between 1825 and the 1920s, and their descendants. They typically had Norwegian as their home language until the age of six when they started school. From that point on, English typically became their strongly dominant language, even though Norwegian sometimes was the dominant language in the local community (Haugen 1953). Today there are still speakers of this variety left, generally over 70 years of age, and mostly residing in the Midwest. Even though their English is extremely dominant, the majority of the speakers today still speak a variety that is unmistakably Norwegian. Most of them are also fairly fluent (Johannessen & Salmons 2012, Johannessen & Laake 2017).

3.1 American Norwegian and verb placement

American Norwegian has been studied since the early 20th century beginning with Flaten (1900) and Flom (1900, 1903, 1926), mostly focusing on the interplay between Norwegian and English. The most influential work, however, was the two volumes published by Einar Haugen (1953). In these books, Haugen presents a rich picture of the sociolinguistic setting as well as detailed overviews of grammatical features of American Norwegian. Later, Hjelde (1992) provides a detailed morphological and phonological investigation of how speakers of a specific Norwegian dialect (*trøndsk*, from the area surrounding Trondheim) now speak American Norwegian. The most recent investigations started with the establishment of the Corpus of American Norwegian Speech (CANS; Johannessen 2015b). This tagged corpus consists of semi-structured conversations and interviews conducted since 2010, and both transcriptions and sound files are available. More than 50 speakers are part of the corpus so far, and most conversations and interviews generally last for about half an hour.

One of the areas in which Norwegian and English differ is in the domain of verb placement. Both languages are SVO, but Norwegian is V2 whereas English is not. In spoken and written Norwegian, about 60-75% of main clause declaratives are subject-initial (Bohnacker & Rosén 2008, Westergaard 2009, Eide 2011, Eide & Sollid 2011, Søfteland 2014, Eide & Hjelde 2015). There are also well-known exceptions to the V2 rule across dialects of Norwegian, see Westergaard (2009) and Eide & Hjelde (2015) for an overview. English, on the other hand,

does not have V2, except in a limited set of cases which Rizzi (1996) dubs ‘residual V2’, which occurs for auxiliaries and never for main verbs. In English, subjects are clearly preferred in initial position.

This difference in verb placement makes it particularly interesting to study American Norwegian and its different speakers, as this can tell us a lot about how different grammars interact and how potentially a new variety emerges. There is also some previous recent work that shows that V2 is found to be somewhat vulnerable (Strømsvåg 2013, Eide & Hjelde 2015, Johannessen 2015a, Khayitova 2016, Westergaard & Lohndal in press), that is, some speakers have a lot of V2 whereas some also have V3 structures. So far, no speaker has been found that does not have V2 at all, rather they all have V2 and then some of them also have V3.

3.2 Previous work on verb placement in American Norwegian

Given the difference between English and Norwegian when it comes to V2, one would have expected Haugen (1953) to address the issue based on his informants. Surprisingly, Haugen does not do that. Concerning syntax, Haugen (1953: 457) says the following:

N[orwegian] word order is similar to E[nglish], and offers no serious problems in the adaption of [loanwords]. Each [loanword] was used in a N[orwegian] sentence in the position to which its word class entitled it. N[orwegian] has the same kind of propositional and adverbial constructions as E[nglish], and the same order of modifiers before nouns. It was thus natural for Am[erican]-N[orwegian] to import phrases consisting wholly or partly of E[nglish] [loanwords], more or less completely adapted.

However, as Eide & Hjelde (2015: 81) point out, the quote is only concerned with the syntax of borrowed lexical items. They mention, though, that there is other evidence suggesting that there was some reduced usage of V2. The following quote from a newspaper shows that the professors Didrik Arup Seip and Ernst W. Selmer, who conducted fieldwork in 1931, claimed to observe differences (taken from Eide & Hjelde 2015: 81, their translation):

Dr. Selmer thinks that the most common mistake in the Norwegian language among people who have stayed in the US for a long time is the tendency to place the adverb in front of the verb, e.g. “I just saw him a while ago” instead of “I saw him just ...”.

As Eide & Hjelde point out, this fact about adverbials makes it somewhat surprising that Haugen (1953) did not comment on V2 more generally. They examined Haugen’s recordings from Blair and Coon Valley/Westby and found no data confirming Selmer’s claim. They only found three examples of V3 with non-subject initial clauses (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 82). (17a) is from Coon Valley/Westby and (17b, c) are from Blair.

- (17) a. En syndagsmårå e skull gå åt kjørkja, e **kom** nedpå
one Sunday.morning I should go to church.DEF I came down.on
 brua.
bridge.DEF
 ‘One Sunday morning I was going to the church, I came down onto the bridge.’
- b. Før det meste dem **bruker** å ha juletre.
for the most they use to have christmas.tree
 ‘For the most part they usually have a Christmas tree.’
- c. Ja, da dei **bli** jifte.
yes then they become married
 ‘Yes, then they get married.’

Eide & Hjelde (2015: 82) argue that similar violations may appear in the Norwegian baseline and they discuss possible reasons why there is a discrepancy between Selmer’s statement and Haugen’s data.

There are also recordings of American Norwegian from the 1990s. Eide & Hjelde (2015: 82–85) discuss these data from the Coon Valley/Westby area and find a few instances of non-subject initial V3. A couple of examples are provided in (18) (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 83–84).

- (18) a. Og no ungan **krabbe** på bordet.
and now kids.DEF crawl on table.DEF
 ‘And now the kids crawl on the table.’
- b. I Texas det e digert alt.
in Texas it is big everything
 ‘In Texas everything is big.’

It is important to note that these V3 structures are infrequent: ‘However, even in the 1990s material, instances of obvious V2 violations are rather scarce and occur less frequently than once per hour of recording. Therefore, we can hardly talk about profound changes in the language structure at this point’ (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 84).

When it comes to the CANS corpus, several speakers have been investigated by Eide & Hjelde (2015), Johannessen (2015a), Khayitova (2016), and Westergaard & Lohndal (in press). Eide and Hjelde consider five speakers from Blair and Coon Valley/Westby. They find that V2 is still by and large intact. The data in (19) are from a male speaker from Blair with two examples of V2 and ‘only scattered examples of non-subject initial V2 violations occur’ (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 86).

- (19) a. Ja, å da **likte** dem itte kattlikken.
yes and then liked they not Catholic.DEF
 ‘Yes, and then they didn’t like the Catholics.’

- b. (Talking about flying, which he does not much care for:)
 Går opp, går opp, da er det all right, men gå, komme ned ...
goes up goes up then is it all right, but go come down
 ‘Going up is all right, but coming down ...’
- c. Nå je fløtte nerri her, kjinner alle her, veit du
now I move down here, know everyone here, know you
 ‘Now I’m moving down here, I know everyone here, you know.’
 (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 86)

Eide & Hjelde (2015) consider one speaker in great detail. They find a lot of V3 in what they label topicalization structures, but none in subject-initial clauses (Eide & Hjelde 2015: 91–92).

- (20) a. Fyrste gong vi hadde bisøk ifrå Nårge vi var
first time we had visit in.from Norway we were
 på en tjørke oppi Taylor.
at a church up.in Taylor
 ‘The first time we had visitors from Norway we were in a church up in Taylor.’
- b. Og så da neste år, fir-og-førti, je var egg eating
and so then next year four-and-forty I was eff eating
 champion for to år.
champion for two years
 ‘And then next year, in forty-four, I was an egg eating champion for two years.’

These structures involve adjuncts as the first constituent, and we see that a pronominal subject is the second constituent, preceding the finite verb.

4 Comparing verb placement in American Norwegian with Kiezdeutsch

In this section, we will compare data from American Norwegian with the properties found in Kiezdeutsch. We have looked at 16 speakers from the CANS corpus, the same 16 speakers as in Westergaard & Lohndal (in press). The codes for these speakers are listed in (21).

- (21) blair_WI_04gk, blair_WI_07gm, chicago_IL_01gk,
 coon_valley_WI_06gm, coon_valley_WI_07gk, fargo_ND_01gm,
 portland_ND_02gk, zumbrota_MN_01gk, zumbrota_MN_02gm,
 webster_SD_01gm, webster_SD_02gm, westby_WI_01gm,
 westby_WI_02gm, westby_WI_03gk, westby_WI_5gm,
 westby_WI_06gm

Of the 16 speakers, 9 produce V3 structures, ranging from 1 occurrence (westby_WI_06gm, webster_SD_02gm, blair_WI_07gm) to 7 (fargo_ND_01gk)

and even 9 (webster_SD_01gm). Westergaard & Lohndal (in press) report a total of 37 instances of V3 among a total of 667 instances of non-subject-initial clauses. That gives a V3 percentage of 5.5. Our focus in the present paper is on the comparison of the American Norwegian speakers and the Kiezdeutsch speakers, notably focusing on the structural properties of their V3 structures.

4.1 The initial constituent

The initial constituent in American Norwegian can be an AdvP, a CP, or a PP. Illustrative examples are provided in (22).

- (22) a. [AdvP nå] jeg **får** (westby_WI_01gm)
now I get
 ‘Now I get’
- b. [CP Mange ganger da vi kom], vi **var** ... (webster_SD_01gm)
many times when we came we were
 ‘Many times when we came, we were ...’
- c. I Norge de **ville** ... (chicago_IL_01gk)
in Norway they would
 ‘In Norway, they would ...’

The initial constituent in V3 cases is mostly an adjunct: adverbs (location or temporal), prepositional phrases, or initial temporal clauses. In all these cases, an adjunct appears at the beginning of the clause, either as an adverb, PP, or as a clause. As shown in section 2.1., this is very similar to the patterns seen in the urban vernacular Kiezdeutsch.

We also saw in section 2.1 that Kiezdeutsch does not allow object initial V3 structures. Among the 16 speakers, there are only 2 sentences that look like OSV. They are provided in (23).

- (23) a. “Ja” jeg **sa** (zumbrota_MN_01gk)
yes I said
 ‘“Yes”, I said’
- b. ei tobakksseng de **kalte** det (westby_WI_06gm)
a tobacco.bed they called it
 ‘A tobacco bed, they called it.’

The first example is a quotative whereas the second example is a predication structure where *ei tobakksseng* ‘a tobacco bed’ is the object predicate of *det* ‘it’. Two examples are not a lot, yet they suggest that speakers of American Norwegian are able to produce object-initial V3 sentences. There are very few of these sentences, which may be related to the scarcity of object-initial V2 sentences more generally: Westergaard (2009: 92) reports a figure of 9.8% (26/265) based on a sample of spoken language. Considering our 16 speakers, there are only 35 instances of OVS (5.8%, 35/601). These are almost all adjuncts of various sorts.

- (24) a. Det **trur** jeg (coon_valley_WI_07gk)
it believe I
 ‘That I believe’
 b. Han hadde rett **sa** han (westby_WI_01gm)
he had right said he
 ‘He was right, he said’
 c. Fisk **hadde** vi (chicago_IL_01gk)
fish had we
 ‘Fish we had’

As noted above, there are instances of OVS structures in Kiezdeutsch too, even though Kiezdeutsch does not exhibit OSV. We will get back to this issue in the discussion.

4.2 The immediate preverbal constituent

Turning to the immediate preverbal constituent, this constituent is always a subject. We have not found any exceptions to this generalization for the 16 speakers at hand. The subject is also by and large a pronoun, there is one example where the subject is a name, as shown in (25c).

- (25) a. Nå **jeg får** (westby_WI_01gm)
now I get
 ‘Now I get’
 b. Da vi kom heim att i juni og så **vi alle**
when we came home again in June and so we all
arbeida (fargo_ND_01gm)
worked
 ‘When we returned back home in June, then we all worked’
 c. Da vinteren kom så **M2 sa** (fargo_ND_01gm)
when winter.DEF came so M2[name] said
 ‘When winter arrived, M2 said’

One note is in order regarding the subject in (25d), *vi alle* ‘we all’. This is not a licit structure in Norwegian and quite likely transfer from English *we all*. The sound file reveals that the name in (25c) is a bisyllabic name.

As for V2 structures, there are both pronominal and DP subjects. (26) provides a set of examples of DP subjects from the CANS corpus.

- (26) a. Så **synker** trucken (westby_WI_02gm)
so sinks truck.DEF
 ‘So the truck sinks’
 b. da **ble** hestene (westby_WI_06gm)
then was horses.DEF
 ‘Then the horses were’

- c. så **rant** springen (westby_WI_01gm)
so ran tap.DEF
 ‘Then the tap was running’
- d. der **hadde** han bestefar (westby_WI_01gm)
there had he grandfather
 ‘There grandfather had’
- e. så flyr hundene (westby_WI_06gm)
so fly dogs.def
 ‘So the dogs run fast’

(26d) involves a pronoun in front of a noun, typical of many Norwegian dialects.

In sum, the preverbal constituent in American Norwegian V3 structures appears to be even more restricted than in Kiezdeutsch, in that, with the exception of one name, only pronominal subjects are found.

4.3 Environments where V3 is banned

Comparing American Norwegian to Kiezdeutsch, as far as we can tell the particular sociolinguistic aspect that characterizes the use of V3 for Kiezdeutsch speakers does not obtain. That is, it does not seem like there is a specific sociolinguistic context in which V3 utterances are more easily produced. The 9 instances of V3 all appear in the same contexts in which the speakers also produce a lot of V2.

Turning to *wh*-questions, there is very little data since the speakers generally answer questions rather than asking them. Larsson & Johannessen (2015a) report that there are instances of *wh*-questions with V3 syntax. They do not provide any figures but give the example in (27).

- (27) Hå e ska seia
what I should say
 ‘What was I going to say?’ (westby_WI_03gk)

Larsson & Johannessen claim that V3 order is subject to the same type of restrictions as in the relevant Norwegian dialects (see also Larsson & Johannessen 2015b).

Finally, Larsson & Johannessen (2015a) investigate verb placement in subordinate clauses. They do not provide any examples of V3 structures of the sort that we find in main clauses, and we also have not found anyone in the CANS corpus.

4.3 Summary

The following table summarizes the comparison of Kiezdeutsch and American Norwegian. ‘%’ means that this type occurs rarely in the corpus data.

Variety	V2	V3	
		Initial constituent	Preverbal constituent
Kiezdeutsch	√	Adjunct	Pronominal and DP subjects %Light adverbs
American Norwegian	√	Adjunct DP object	Pronominal subject %DP subjects

Table 1: Kiezdeutsch and American Norwegian in comparison

For both varieties, we know that V2 is the main pattern. As the table shows, structurally there are also parallels for the V3 structures in both varieties. The question to be addressed is whether or not the source of these structural parallels is the same, or whether they are converging based on different trajectories. We will discuss this in the next section.

5 Discussion

In both urban vernaculars and American Norwegian, the V2 requirement is relaxed. We will first discuss previous analyses of Kiezdeutsch before discussing how American Norwegian can be analyzed.

5.1 Previous analyses of V3 in Kiezdeutsch

One approach to Kiezdeutsch may be to argue that the syntactic patterns, and in particular V3, are due to language contact. Walkden (2017: section 5) argues that language contact by itself cannot be what is behind V3, and that we are dealing with the emergence of a new grammar for the urban vernaculars. One of the arguments in favor of this is the structural uniformity of these urban vernaculars, having emerged in different sociolinguistic and language contact settings across European cities. It is not clear how contact, if at all, could yield the generalization that Walkden observes for Kiezdeutsch and other varieties, namely (28).

- (28) V3 predominantly appears with clause-initial adjuncts and pronominal subjects.

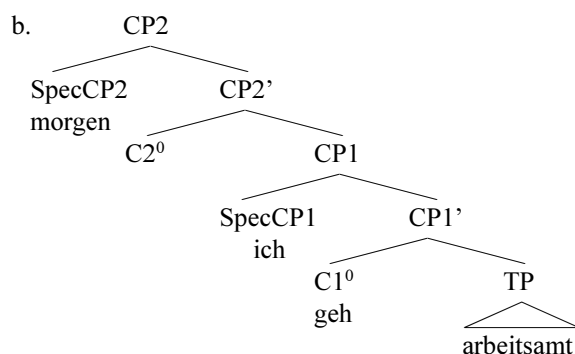
Given this, other hypotheses for V3 in Kiezdeutsch need to be explored. We will first consider an analysis in terms of different verb movement, and then another analysis which assumes a richer left periphery.

The first analysis to be reviewed holds that in cases of V3 in urban vernaculars, there is verb movement only to T (Opsahl & Nistov 2014, te Velde 2016), meaning that the speakers have lost V-to-C movement. Instead, there is only V-to-T movement, with the initial element placed in SpecCP. This analysis yields V3, but it does not yield the additional properties that we have seen, namely the generalization formulated in (28).

Furthermore, Walkden (2017: 59–60) argues against the V-to-T movement analysis based on two arguments. The first concerns the headedness of the TP in German. He points out that the TP would have to be head-initial to get the correct word order. However, given that even in Kiezdeutsch, the verb is head-final in embedded clauses, this provides less support for a head-initial TP.

Walkden's second argument is that the preverbal constituent in Kiezdeutsch is not always a subject. As we have seen above, it can also be a light adverb. Instead, he argues for a split-CP approach in the spirit of Rizzi (1997) and many others. He provides the structure in (29b) for the sentence in (29a) from Kiezdeutsch (Walkden 2017: 62).

- (29) a. morgen ich **geh** arbeitsamt
tomorrow I go job.center
 'Tomorrow I will go to the job center'



Walkden comments on the fact that this may seem like a notational variant of ‘CP-recursion’ proposals (cf. de Haan & Weerman 1986, Iatridou & Koch 1992, Vikner 1995, see also Nyvad, Christensen & Vikner 2017), although for Walkden, the two CPs actually have distinct properties (cf. de Cuba 2006 and McCloskey 2006). CP1 hosts familiar topics, whereas CP2 is what Walkden calls ‘more multifunctional’ (2017: 63). See Walkden (2017: 62–64) for further discussion, including of the nature of the labels in (29b).

We will assume that Walkden's (2017) analysis covers the facts about Kiezdeutsch. His analysis entails that V3 is part of the grammatical representation of speakers of Kiezdeutsch. A closer study of the corpus would however be desirable before this conclusion is fully warranted, since that would necessitate a detailed study of V2 structures and how they compare to the V3 structures discussed by Walkden and others.

5.2 V3 in American Norwegian

In order to analyze V3 in American Norwegian, we have to ask a more general question, namely how V3 in American Norwegian emerges. There are at least three options: i) it is a hybrid system in the sense of Aboh (2015), ii) it is a default system in the sense of Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky (2013), Scontras, Fuchs & Polinsky (2015), or iii) it is the result of cross-linguistic influence from English (cf. Westergaard & Lohndal *in press*). We will now discuss each of these options.

Aboh (2015) develops an approach to hybrid grammars whereby recombination of features from different inputs yield hybrid mental grammars. These hybrid grammars are new grammatical systems that are internalized by the speaker. In the case of American Norwegian, such a hybrid system could emerge due to the interaction of English and the varieties of Norwegian that are spoken in the US. However, the scarcity of V3 in American Norwegian suggests that we are not dealing with a hybrid system in its own right. If so, one would have to answer the question of why V2 is still so dominant in the grammar of the speakers.

As for the second option, Scontras, Fuchs & Polinsky (2015: 5) introduce the concept of a default system as follows:

In heritage grammars, where speakers are limited in their deployment of complex grammatical phenomena, language structure sometimes follows what looks like a default design, employing a seemingly restricted set of grammatical categories and operations.

The fact that we see similar patterns across varieties may suggest a default system approach. Such a default system would be a V3 system with an adjunct initial constituent generally followed by a subject pronoun. Properties of the discourse would then account for why adjuncts appear sentence-initially, as they serve to frame the rest of the utterance, cf. Freywald et al. (2015), Walkden (2017) and Haegeman & Greco (this volume, to appear). However, a concern would be why speakers do not choose a default system more often than they seem to do. An account of why the patterns we have seen in this paper would count as a default system, as opposed to other possible patterns, would also be required.

The last option to be considered is cross-linguistic influence from English. Such an analysis is developed by Westergaard & Lohndal (*in press*) for American Norwegian. They consider the relationship between the contexts for V2 and the disappearance of V2 word order. Based on the 16 speakers that the current paper also is based on, they find a statistically significant correlation: Non-target consistent V3 correlates with low production of the syntactic context for V2 (that is, non-subject initial declaratives). Put differently, speakers who have problems with V2 word order also produce very few syntactic contexts for this word order. Westergaard & Lohndal argue that since all speakers also have V2, this suggests that the syntactic representation of V2 is intact and that V3 structures are due to cross-linguistic influence from English in production. In other words, instances of V3 are the result of these speakers being highly English-dominant, struggling to suppress their English grammar when speaking American Norwegian. That suggests that speakers are essentially using an English-like grammar for these

structures. There are plenty of structures in English with V3 similar to American Norwegian, cf. (30).

- (30) a. In Norway, they like salmon
 b. When we returned, we had to go shopping.
 c. “She is very smart”, he said.

This analysis entails that speakers do not have a separate internalized grammar of V3 in American Norwegian, rather they transfer from English now and then. The fact that there seems to be an increase of V3 diachronically, cp. Sections 3 and 4, also provide additional support in favor of this: As speakers are increasingly becoming more and more English-dominant, cross-linguistic influence is more likely to take place.

5.3 A unified analysis of V3?

The previous two sections have presented two different views on V3 in two different populations: The urban vernacular Kiezdeutsch and the heritage language American Norwegian. Whereas V3 in Kiezdeutsch has been argued to be part of the grammar of Kiezdeutsch, V3 in American Norwegian is most likely the result of cross-linguistic transfer (see also Alexiadou, Lohndal & Lowell-Sluckin 2017 on V3 and resumptive adverbials). This suggests that despite a surface similarity in V3 patterns in both varieties, the similarity is only apparent. The grammars underlying V3 in the two varieties are different, in one case the pattern is part of the grammar of the speakers of the variety, in the other the pattern is due to influence from the speakers' majority language.

For Kiezdeutsch, previous research argues that V3 is part of the grammatical knowledge of the speakers of this variety. We have qualified this analysis above, since no one has carefully compared V3 with V2 structures in Kiezdeutsch. However, the patterns are unlikely to be due to cross-linguistic influence from the contact languages as such. That would seemingly not account for the systematic patterns we see across urban vernaculars, although future work on urban vernaculars and the structural relationships between V3 and V2 is highly warranted.

6 Summary

We have compared verb placement in urban vernaculars and in heritage languages, exemplified by Kiezdeutsch and American Norwegian. The comparison was motivated by both varieties exhibiting V3 in what seems like structurally comparable environments. Despite surface similarities between the two varieties, these V3 patterns seem to arise in different ways in the two varieties. This shows that language contact involving different languages can give rise to structurally similar outputs, where some are more stable and entrenched than others.

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