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Kiezdeutsch as a Test Case for the Interaction between Grammar and Information Structure

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Preface

This is the 12th issue of the working paper series *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure* (ISIS) of the Sonderforschungsberich (SFB) 632. This online version contains the paper contributed by **Heike Wiese, Ulrike Freywald and Katharina Meyr (B6)** on Kiezdeutsch as a Test Case for the Interaction between Grammar and Information Structure. It investigates the question how information structure is realized in a newly emerging variety that is spoken by young people from a multitude of ethnic backgrounds. As Kietzdeutsch is an example of a dynamic linguistic system in which grammatical constraints are weakened, it provides a basis to investigate the extent to which information structural conditions determine the organisation of utterances and sentences in natural discourse.

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Kiezdeutsch as a Test Case for the Interaction between Grammar and Information Structure

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This paper deals with Kiezdeutsch, a way of speaking that emerged among adolescents in multiethnic urban neighbourhoods of Germany. We show that, in Kiezdeutsch, we find evidence for both grammatical reduction and new developments in the domain of information structure, and hypothesise that this points to a systematic interaction between grammar and information structure, between weakened grammatical constraints and a more liberal realisation of information-structural preferences. We show that Kiezdeutsch can serve as an interesting test case for such an interaction, that this youth language is a multiethnolect, that is, a new variety that is spoken by speakers from a multitude of ethnic backgrounds, including German, and forms a dynamic linguistic system of its own, thus allowing for systematic developments on grammatical levels and their interfaces with extra-grammatical domains.

Keywords: interface between grammar and information structure, focus particle, left periphery, multiethnolect, acceptability study

1 Introduction

Kiezdeutsch is a way of speaking that emerged among young people in multiethnic urban areas of Germany and resembles multiethnic linguistic practices found in other European countries, e.g. *rinkebysvenska* 'Rinkeby-Swedish'[1] in Sweden (Kotsinas 1992, 1998; Fraurud 2003), *straattaal* 'street language' in the Netherlands (Appel 1999; Nortier 2001), or the *københavnsk multietnolekt* 'Copenhagen multiethnolect' in Denmark (cf. Quist 2000, 2008).

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[1] Named after Rinkeby, a Stockholm suburb with a large immigrant community.

In both the academic and the public discussion, a number of alternative terms have been used besides 'Kiezdeutsch', most prominently 'Kanak Sprak', a term that first became popular through political novels and interview collections by Feridun Zaimoğlu (e.g. Zaimoğlu 1995), who intended to reclaim the initially pejorative, xenophobe term 'Kanake'. While it is used in some sociolinguistic investigations as well as in popular accounts of this multiethnolect, this term still carries the pejorative connotations of 'Kanake' (cf. Androutsopoulos 2007 on language ideology aspects of this), and emphasises a 'foreign' association. In contrast to this, 'Kiezdeutsch' (lit. "[neighbour-]hood German", cf. Wiese 2004a, 2006) does not carry such associations and does not imply any ethnic restrictions, unlike, for example, the term 'Türkendeutsch', "Turks' German", that can also be found in the literature.

Another reason to prefer 'Kiezdeutsch' is that this term emphasises that this way of speaking belongs to a "Kiez", a *'hood*, it belongs to informal, every-day communication in a (multiethnic) neighbourhood. In this multiethnic setting, it is used independently of the speaker's ethnic background, that is, by adolescents of the majority ethnicity as well as those with a migrant background. The following quote from a Berliner of Turkish background illustrates this:[2]

(1)   When you look how many Germans in Kreuzberg do not speak German anymore, that is, they speak this Kiezdeutsch, so that, when you do not see them, you think there are Turks or Arabs speaking, but then you turn round, and they are totally normal German kids, then you notice, really amazing, how this has developed.

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[2] From an interview on Kiezdeutsch conducted with the director of "Tiger Kreuzberg", a video series that plays on stereotypes about youth culture in Kreuzberg and is created by two young Berliners of Turkish origin, Murat Unal (actor) and Serkan Cetinkaya (director), who grew up in Kreuzberg and Wedding, two multiethnic neighbourhoods of Berlin.

In this article, we investigate the status of Kiezdeutsch from the point of view of the grammatical system and its interaction with information structure. Most studies on Kiezdeutsch so far have focused on sociolinguistic aspects (cf. Eksner 2006; Androutsopoulos 2007; Keim 2007), but there is also a number of investigations that have contributed converging evidence for characteristic linguistic features of Kiezdeutsch (cf. Füglein 2000; Auer 2003; Dirim & Auer 2004; Wiese 2006). While a number of these characteristics point to grammatical reduction, there is also evidence for new developments, in particular on the level of information structure (Wiese 2006, 2009; Kern & Selting 2006a). Is there a relationship between these two domains, between weaker grammatical constraints and the emergence of new options to express aspects of information structure?

Such a relationship would make Kiezdeutsch an interesting test case for the way the grammatical system integrates information-structural preferences. The investigation of new information-structural developments in Kiezdeutsch could then contribute not only to our understanding of Kiezdeutsch and its characteristics in their own right, but it could also, from a more general perspective, contribute to our understanding of the interface between grammar and information structure in novel ways.

In order to confirm that Kiezdeutsch can indeed provide such grounds, we have to demonstrate that this youth language constitutes a variety of its own, that is, we have to demonstrate that the findings reported for Kiezdeutsch are not just random deviations from standard German, but point to systematic developments within an emerging linguistic system. This is what we are going to do in this paper. Specifically, we are going to show that Kiezdeutsch can be characterised as a multiethnolect, a dynamic variety spoken by speakers across ethnic boundaries, including the majority one, German.

In what follows, we first outline an architecture for the interface between grammar and information structure as a conceptual background for our investigation (section 2), and then give an overview of some characteristics of Kiezdeutsch at the levels of grammar and information structure (section 3). We then make clear what we understand by 'multiethnolect' (section 4), and on this basis report findings from a perception study that tested the processing and evaluation of Kiezdeutsch features in order to pin down its status as an identifiable, distinct variety spoken across ethnic backgrounds, a dynamic variety that can support systematic new developments of its own (section 5).

2   The interface between grammar and information structure

As a general background for our investigation, we assume a Tripartite Parallel Architecture for the grammatical system and its interfaces with extralinguistic domains, as developed in Jackendoff (1997, 2002; Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). Within this framework, three autonomous derivational systems are responsible for the generation of phonetic-phonological structures, syntactic structures, and semantic-conceptual structures: the modules PHON, SYN, and CS respectively. Following Wiese (2003, 2004b), we identify grammatical subsystems as designated linguistic interface systems within these three modules: they integrate information from PHON, CS, and SYN into the linguistic system and thus account for language-specific organisations of sound, meaning, and syntax, respectively. In this context, "language-specific" is understood as covering both universal aspects that are specific to language in general (as opposed to other cognitive domains) and aspects that are specific to individual linguistic systems (say, that of English).

Within PHON, the identification of such a linguistic interface system reflects a distinction between general phonetic-acoustic aspects on the one hand,

and language-specific phonological aspects on the other hand. Within CS, the linguistic interface system can be characterised as a level of lexical semantics, allowing us to distinguish grammatical-semantic representations from general, non-linguistic conceptual structures.[3] In the domain of syntax, we can regard the syntactic system of language as being the linguistic interface $Syntax^L$ of a more general generative-computational module SYN. This general module is responsible for linguistic as well as non-linguistic correlations of linear and hierarchical structures and has non-linguistic interfaces for instance with musical cognition.

Taken together, we can regard grammar as a system consisting of three subsystems that serve as linguistic interfaces of more general cognitive modules. Figure 1 summarises this graphically:
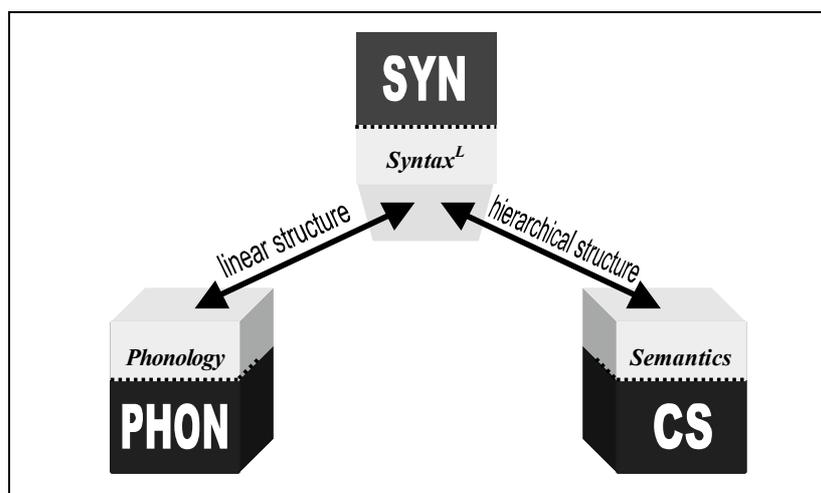
Figure 1:   Underlying linguistic architecture: Grammatical systems as parts of general cognitive modules

Investigating the interaction between grammar and information structure, this model, with its distinction between extralinguistic and linguistic domains, allows us to systematically tease apart (a) extralinguistic cognitive aspects that are relevant for the constitution of information-structural preferences, and (b)

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[3]   This hence allows us to account for a distinction prominently proposed within Two-Level models of semantics, e.g. Bierwisch (1983), Lang (1994); similarly in Pinker (1989).

the realisation of such preferences in linguistic expressions, which is subject to language-specific grammatical restrictions.

Taking as our point of departure an understanding of information structure as a way of packaging information that takes into account communicative needs of speaker and hearer,[4] this, then, allows us to account for the fact that there is no direct mapping between information-structural preferences and their linguistic implementation. General, language-independent cognitive aspects, such as the organisation of conceptual representations and extra-linguistic conditions of the communicative situation, bear on communicative needs, and thus on preferences of information packaging. These preferences reflect communicative strategies of a speaker who then crucially has to make use of the grammatical and lexical conditions of a language in order to implement them (cf. Féry 2007; Fanselow 2007). Hence, in order to enter the linguistic system, information-structural preferences for the organisation of a message have to pass a grammatical "filter"; they have to be adapted to the possibilities offered and restrictions imposed by particular grammatical system. Figure 2 illustrates this:

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[4] Cf. Chafe (1976); cf. Krifka (2007) for an explication in terms of Common Ground management.
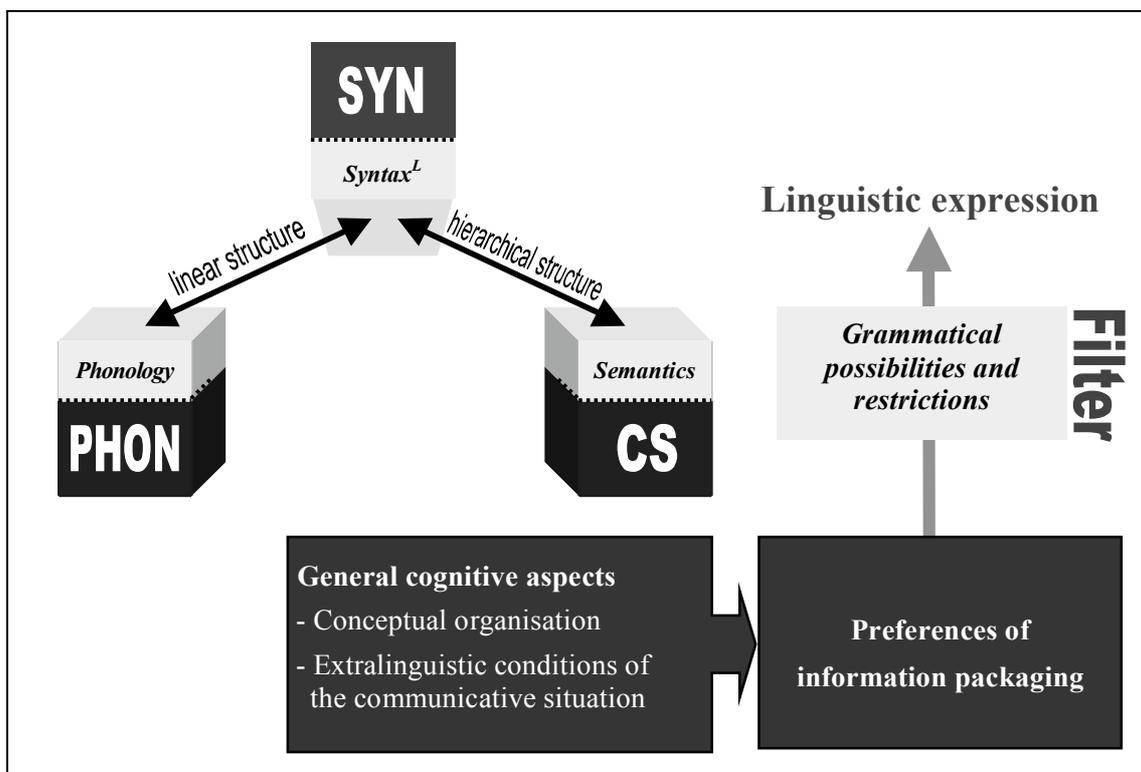
Figure 2: **The interface between grammar and information structure within a linguistic architecture**

The expression of information structure, hence, crucially involves the adaption of information-structural preferences to the grammatical corset of a particular language. Approaching this the other way round, this means that, if there is a linguistic system where grammatical constraints are weakened, we might expect a more direct implementation of such preferences, due to the stronger permeability of a linguistic system that is more liberal in regulating the linguistic expression of information packaging. This is where Kiezdeutsch becomes interesting: if we can show that Kiezdeutsch indeed constitutes such a linguistic system, then new developments in this system can be investigated under the perspective of information-structural realisations and their interaction with grammatical reductions, and thus contribute to our understanding of the interface between grammar and information structure.

For some other kinds of contact languages, namely pidgins and Basic Varieties, information-structural strategies have been suggested as major driving forces, e.g., for the regulation of word-order regularities. For pidgins, Bickerton (1981) assumes a general strategy "Topic First" that contributes to an information-structurally governed word order where topic expressions stand in sentence-initial positions. This strategy is supported by a general cross-linguistic preference for given information to precede new information.[5] In the framework of File Card models, this preference has been accounted for by the fact that first a file, the topic, has to be chosen, before new information can be added to it (cf. Reinhart 1981; Heim 1982). For Basic Varieties in second-language acquisition, Klein & Perdue (1997) suggest a strategy "Focus Expression Last" that can be regarded as a counterpart of "Topic First". This strategy refers to information focus; it causes focused expressions to be positioned in a sentence-final position.[6]

Jackendoff (2002) characterises strategies like Topic First and Focus Last as protolinguistic "fossil principles" (2002: 249) that go back to an evolutionarily earlier level of language and do not presume syntactic structures. This goes further than what we expect for Kiezdeutsch: rather than lacking a syntactic system altogether, or at least one that is fully developed, Kiezdeutsch, we are going to argue, represents a fully-fledged grammatical system, albeit one with looser restrictions, due to the linguistic dynamics that are supported by its multi-ethnic status. Hence we do not expect to see a purely information-structurally

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[5] Cf. already Weil (1844); also Chafe (1976), Krifka (2007).

[6] This does not necessarily mean that we should observe a strict order Topic > Focus in such contact languages, though. As Givón (1988) and Gundel (1988) argue from a functional perspective, we also have to take into account a general principle "Attend to the most urgent task first" (Givón 1988: 252) or "First things first" (Gundel 1988: 229), which can lead to a later (or even non-) expression of predictable or well introduced topics. Given suitable syntactic conditions for the integration of topic and focus expressions, we should hence expect an interaction of this principle with Topic First and Focus Last.

driven word order, but an interaction of information structure with grammar: in the presence of weaker grammatical constraints, we expect to see the development of new patterns that reflect general, information-structural preferences more directly than would be possible within the grammatical system of, say, standard German.

3 Linguistic characteristics of Kiezdeutsch: Grammar and information structure

In the present section, we first summarise findings on some core grammatical (3.1) and information-structural developments (3.2). Note that in doing so, we will not provide a comprehensive overview of Kiezdeutsch, or an in-depth discussion of its grammatical and pragmatic characteristics,[7] but will focus instead on core developments in order to show what is at stake if we regard Kiezdeutsch as a test case, that is, what Kiezdeutsch would have to offer for our understanding of the interface between grammar and information structure. Based on this overview, in the following section (4), we will then present results from a processing study that supports a view of Kiezdeutsch as a dynamic linguistic system of its own, which can be distinguished from standard German as well as from random grammatical errors.

3.1 Grammatical developments

While there is certainly variability both between and within speakers, the evidence from linguistic descriptions of Kiezdeutsch so far suggests a converging set of characteristic features on the lexical and on the grammatical level (cf. Auer 2003). In what follows, we briefly illustrate lexical innovations before we turn to grammatical characteristics of Kiezdeutsch.

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[7] Cf. Wiese (2006, 2009) for a more thorough grammatical analysis of Kiezdeutsch phenomena.

On the lexical level, the integration of lexical material from migrant languages is salient in Kiezdeutsch: processes of lexical integration take place particularly in the field of discourse particles, including noun-based terms of address, such as *lan* 'man, guy', *moruk* 'old man' (both of Turkish origin), introductory and closing remarks (sometimes involving ritualised insults), such as *çüş* 'Play up! / You fool!' (lit.: 'Whoa!', said to stop a donkey; Turkish origin), *hadi* 'Come on!' (Turkish; initially *haydi*), *yallah* 'Go!' (lit.: "oh, Allah"; Arabic origin), and affirmative particles such as *wallah* 'indeed' / 'really' (lit.: "and God"; Arabic origin).

(2) a. isch will mit   dir spielen **lan**
         I   want with you play   man
         'I want to play with you, man!'
         (Kallmeyer & Keim 2003: 33)

     b. **moruk   moruk**   guck dir das doch mal   an
         old.man old.man look you that PTCL PTCL at
         'Man, have a look at that!'
         (Dirim & Auer 2004: 190)

     c. **wallah** isch kann nich OHne   sie
         really   I   can   not   without her
         'Really, I can't do without her.'
         (Kiezdeutsch Corpus[8], transcript MuH9WT)

     d. ey wie die AUSsieht **wallah**
         ey how she looks   really
         'Ey, how she looks, really!'
         (Kiezdeutsch Corpus, transcript MuH9WT)

A second area of changes that might, at least in part, go back to influences from background languages as well, is the phonological/phonetic level. In Kiez-

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[8] Corpus of spontaneous speech in multiethnic neighbourhoods, based on self-recordings of adolescents from Berlin-Kreuzberg (Wiese et al. 2008ff).

deutsch, this includes the coronalisation of the palatal fricative [ç] as well as some phonetic reductions, e.g. use of [s] instead of [ts] in word initial position (Tertilt 1996; Androutsopoulos 2001a; Auer 2003; Dirim & Auer 2004).

Findings on the morphological and syntactic levels so far point in particular to changes in the area of functional categories, which are indicated; at the morphological level, by inflectional deviations affecting gender, case, and number endings; and at the syntactic level, by bare NPs lacking determiners and/or prepositions, by nominal sentences lacking a copula verb, and by verb-first declaratives as well as the preservation of SVO word order after sentence-initial adverbs in declaratives (which would require an order Adv VSO according to the verb-second rule in standard German).[9]

(3)   Inflectional deviations:
    a.   aber   ich   HAB   verGESsen   **mein   nAme**   raufzuschreiben
        but   I   have   forgotten   my   name   down.to.write
        'But I forgot to write my name down.'
        (Kern & Selting 2006a: 246)
                (standard German: 'mein$_{MASC.ACC}$ Namen$_{ACC}$')

    b.   aber   **mein schwester**   hat   mich   von   klein   an   schon
        but   my   sister   has   me   from   small   on   already
        immer   fertig   gemacht
        always   finished   made
        'But even from the time I was little, my sister has always treated me badly.'
        (Dirim & Auer 2004: 441)   (standard German: 'meine$_{FEM}$ Schwester')

    c.   man   kann   **kein kinder**   sammschlagen
        one   can   no   children   up.beat
        'One {can't / must not} beat up children.'
        (Wiese 2004a)   (standard German: 'keine$_{PL}$ Kinder')

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[9]   Cf. Füglein (2000), Keim & Androutsopoulos (2000), Androutsopoulos (2001a,b), Kallmeyer & Keim (2002, 2003), Auer (2003), Dirim & Auer (2004), Wiese (2006), Kern & Selting (2006a).

(4)   Bare NPs:
      a.   hast   du   **problem**?
           have you problem
           'Do you have a problem?'
           (Auer 2003: 258)

      b.   daNACH   vor   meinem   FENster   is   so   **BRIEF**
           then   in.front.of   my   window   is   PTCL   letter
           isch   GUCK   so   isch dachte   erstmal   so   **STRAFzettel**
           I   look   PTCL   I   thought   at.first   PTCL   parking.ticket
           'Afterwards, there is a letter in front of my window; I had a look,
           at first I thought, a parking ticket.'
           (Kern & Selting 2006a: 245)

      c.   die   muss   **bahnhof**   gehn
           she   must   train.station   go
           'She must go to the train station.'
           (Kallmeyer & Keim 2003: 42)

(5)   Lack of copula:
      a.   münchen   weit   weg,   oider
           Munich   far   away   man[10]
           'Munich is far, man.'
           (Füglein 2000: 89)

      b.   ja,   ich   aus   wedding
           yes   I   from   Wedding
           'Yes, I'm from Wedding [= district of Berlin].'
           (Wiese 2006: 257)

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[10]   *Oider* is a South German variant of *Alter* 'old man'.

(6) Adv SVO and V1:

    a.   ich wollte   heut   zu ze: und A: gehn
           I   wanted today to C&A   go
           wollt   mir ein TI: shirt kaufen
           wanted me a   T-shirt   buy
           danach   isch muss zu mein VAter   **[Adv SVO]**
           afterwards I   must to my   father
           'Today, I want to go to C&A, I want to buy a T-shirt;
           afterwards, I've got to go to my father.'
           (Kiezdeutsch Corpus, transcript MuH28MK)

    b.   isch wusste GANZ genau   dass er das verSTEHT
           I   knew very   exactly that he that understands
           und darum   hab ich das   auch   gesagt
           and therefore have I   that   PTCL   said
           aber jetzt isch HASse ihn   **[Adv SVO]**
           but   now I   hate   him
           'I knew absolutely that he understoods that, and that's why I said that,
           but now I hate him!'
           (Kiezdeutsch Corpus, transcript MuH2WT)

    c.   jetz   ich bin 18   **[Adv SVO]**
           now I   am 18
           'Now I am 18.'
           (Auer 2003: 259)

    d.   da   tut   der   DAUernd   zu mir RÜberblinzeln verstehs   du;
        there does he   continuously to me over.wink   understand you
        da   LACHT er meint=er KOMM steign wer AUS und so;
        there laughs   he says=he   come   get   we off   and so
        so   SAChn;
        such things
        na   hab=isch gemeint der=s hörsch   einfach WEG;
        well have=I   said   he=s hear   simply away
        nemmis nich ERNST und so ne,
        take.it not   seriously and so QUESTION-TAG
        weil   da   SASsen beKANNte   und=so von mir
        because there   sat   acquaintances and=so of   mine
        drinne hinten;
        inside at.the.back
        wollt   isch keine HEKtik machen da   drinne   **[V1]**
        wanted I   no   hectic   make   there   inside
        'He kept winking at me, you know, and laughs, and says, "Come on,
        let's get off" and so on, such things, well, I thought, he's – just don't
        listen, don't take it seriously and so on, because there were
        acquaintances of mine sitting at the back, I didn't want to make any
        stress in there.'
        (Dirim & Auer 2004: 206; transcription simplified)

While these phenomena point to a weakening of morpho-syntactic restrictions, there is also some evidence from the grammatical-semantic domain. In particular, we find changes in the argument structure of verbs that indicate that verbs referring to conceptually similar predicates are also treated similarly grammatically, suggesting that grammatical-semantic restrictions on the obligatory or optional realisation of arguments are weakened. (7) and (8) give some examples (Wiese 2006): in (7), the direct object of *sagen* 'to say', which would have appeared in standard German, is missing, leading to a construction analogous to one with e.g. *sprechen* 'to speak'. In (8), *gucken* 'to look' appears with a direct object, expressing an argument that would have to remain implicit in standard German, which makes the construction analogous to one with e.g. *sehen* 'to see'.

(7)   *sagen* 'to say' with an argument structure like that of *sprechen* 'to speak':
erst   wenn   der   trainer sagt
only   when   the   trainer   says
'Not before the trainer says [so/it].'

(8)   *gucken* 'to look' with an argument structure like that of *sehen* 'to see' or *angucken* 'to look at':
a.   ich   will   so   make-up gucken
I   want   PART make-up look
'I want to look [at] make-up.'

b.   ich   guck   dich
I   look   you
'I am looking [at] you.'

Similar morpho-syntactic as well as semantic findings have been reported from linguistic practices in multiethnic neighbourhoods of Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands,[11] suggesting that what we are seeing here are general — rather than idiosyncratic — linguistic processes that work in similar ways in similar settings.

While these processes might lead to a weakening of morpho-syntactic and semantic restrictions, grammatical reductions are only part of the story: as Wiese (2006, 2009) has shown, we also find grammatical innovations in Kiezdeutsch, suggesting that these reductions do not reflect random simplification, but display a systematicity that can give rise to new grammatical forms. In particular, such forms can arise via an elaboration and generalisation of patterns that draw on grammatical options that the linguistic system of German offers in principle, but that are realised in a more restricted way in other German varieties. The follow-

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[11] Cf. Kotsinas (1998), Appel (1999), Nortier (2001), Braak (2002), Cornips (2002, 2004), Quist (2005, 2008).

ing list summarises some examples of this (cf. Wiese 2009 for a more detailed discussion):

- *Bare NPs occurring with semantically reduced verbs* (as in (4a) above), which make use of the light verb pattern that German offers, reflecting an interaction of morpho-syntactic economy (lack of determiner, high-frequency verbs) and pragmatic support (the interpretation draws on linguistic and extralinguistic context instead of lexicalisation, rendering the construction synchronically productive);

- *Bare NPs used as local expressions* (as in (4c) above), which generalise a pattern that is also found in other variants of colloquial German, but is there restricted to names for public transport stops;

- *Development of a new system of directive particles*, "musstu" (speaker-exclusive) and "lassma" (speaker-inclusive),[12] which are similar to a standard particle like *bitte* 'please' in some respect, but occupy a fixed sentence-initial position, drawing on a generalised pattern of verb-first-declaratives that occur as directives with a soothing/placating status in colloquial spoken German (cf. Simon 1998); in Kiezdeutsch, there is no restriction to the soothing/placating subdomain anymore.

This points to a general way in which linguistic innovations can emerge in Kiezdeutsch starting from grammatical reductions. If we can show that these reductions constitute a systematic pattern, we might also expect an interaction with information-structural aspects. In what follows, we summarise evidence for new developments that might be rooted in such an interaction.

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[12] Literally "must.you" and "let.(modal particle)". "Lassma" is a speaker-inclusive form that fulfils the same function as standard German "lass uns mal" (lit. "let.us.(modal particle)").

3.2 Information-structural developments

In order to illustrate new developments in the way information-structural preferences can be realised, we concentrate on two areas in Kiezdeutsch: the organisation of the left periphery in declaratives, and the functional extension of the particle *so*.

As mentioned in the previous section, we find declaratives with an Adv SVO order in Kiezdeutsch, which is at variance with the verb-second-pattern of standard German, which requires exactly one constituent in front of the finite verb in declarative clauses. This might not be an unsystematic phenomenon, though — say, a random syntactic simplification — but could be functionally motivated and linked to information-structural preferences. Judging from the evidence available so far,[13] one restriction on this construction is that not just any constituent can be placed in front of the subject in the pre-field, but this pattern seems to be restricted to the type *Adv* SVO.

As Kern & Selting (2006a) have shown in a conversation-analytic study, in some of these cases, we find temporal adverbials in the left-most position that are pre-positioned in front of V2 clauses and packaged in separate prosodic units with primary accents. They argue that these separated, prosodically exposed pre-positionings are used as focusing devices in narratives.[14] Hence these cases might not just reflect a simplified sentence structure without subject inversion, but rather the systematic use of a particular kind of phrases, temporal adverbials, in a position separated from the sentence proper, which serves information-structural ends.

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[13] See data in Auer (2003), Kern & Selting (2006b), Wiese (2006); for comparable data from Sweden and Denmark, cf. Kotsinas (1998), Quist (2000, 2005).

[14] Cf. also Kern & Selting (2006b), who find similar focusing functions for prosodically separated post-positioned constituents.

In a similar vein, the left periphery of intonationally integrated sentences might be accounted for by information-structural preferences as well. Prima facie, this domain seems to be subject to great syntactic variation, seemingly unmotivated from the grammatical point of view: as mentioned in the previous section, studies so far have not only reported Adv SVO, but also verb-first declaratives[15], and we find also common verb-second declaratives. (9) brings some examples together:

(9) a.   jetz   ich **bin** 18   cf. (6c) above
          now   I   am   18
          'Now, I am 18.'
          (Auer 2003: 259)

     b.   **wollt**   isch keine HEKtik machen da   drinne   cf. (6d) above
          wanted I   no   hectic make   there inside
          'I didn't want to make any stress in there.'
          (Dirim & Auer 2004: 206)

     c.   die **muss** bahnhof   gehn   cf. (4c) above
          she must   train.station go
          'She must go to the train station.'
          (Kallmeyer & Keim 2003: 42)

However, a closer look at the different realisations of the left periphery reveals another interplay of word order and information structure. Note that the domain in front of the finite verb, the "pre-field" in German sentences, is the preferred position for the sentence topic.[16] As the abundance of standard V2 constructions in Kiezdeutsch shows, this structural characteristic is an integral part of Kiezdeutsch as well, as opposed to, say, a change to an SVO pattern. If we look at

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[15] Note that these are verb-first constructions other than the directives discussed for colloquial German in the previous section (e.g. Simon 1998), that is, they occur in contexts where they would not be found in other varieties of German (Dirim & Auer 2004: 207).

[16] Cf. Speyer (2007), though, who argues that the placement of phrases in the pre-field is also mediated by other factors than topicality, in particular by coherence relations.

the sentences in (9) from this perspective, we can account for the different word orders we find here by a unified pattern, namely as different options to allocate topics to the pre-field domain: in the verb-second sentence (9c), we find one element in topic position, as is also common outside Kiezdeutsch.

Under the account that grammatical constraints are somewhat loosened here, there should then also be other options, viz. the ones illustrated in (9b) (no topic in left periphery) and (9a) (two elements in left periphery). In (9b), there is only a weak candidate for the topic position, namely a pronominal aboutness topic, and this topic then does not occupy a sentence-initial position, but is cliticised to the finite verb (the preferred realisation of pronominal subjects in spoken German), leaving the topic position empty and thus yielding verb-first.

In (9a), the fronted adverbial is best be interpreted as a frame setter. Frame setters combine some aspects of focus with those of a topic; they are often referred to as "frame-setting topics".[17] While this terminology might be seen as problematic due to the absence of aboutness features, frame setters usually behave like topics: they are marked by morphological topic markers in some languages, for instance (see Jacobs 2001: 655-658). On the other hand, the function of frame setters is "to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain" (Chafe 1976: 50). Hence these adverbials bear a contrastive meaning: they choose a certain point of time out of possible alternative time spans, that is, they choose from a set of alternatives, which implies focusing. The focus within frame setters is not the main focus of a sentence, however, cf. Krifka (2007: 45), and that is why, though they can be prosodically marked by a rising accent, frame setters do not carry the main accent and tend to be in topic position. What the Adv SVO order achieves in intonationally

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[17] Accordingly, Jacobs (2001: 658) considers topicality a "polysemous category". Krifka (2007: 47f) subsumes contrastive topics and frame setters under one superordinate term, "delimitation".

integrated sentences, then, is that a frame setter can be realised in the sentence-initial position, while at the same time a regular topic expression can occur there as well. Again, this points to a functional exploitation of weakened syntactic restrictions, a systematic pattern that yields a broader range of possibilities to realise information-structural preferences.

Another case in point is a new development in the use of the particle *so* in Kiezdeutsch. This particle is a multifunctional lexical item in German.[18] In Kiezdeutsch, it occurs in functions that are known from German in general, but also in new contexts. In particular, *so* occurs in a usage where it is semantically reduced and does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence, and is combined with phrases from a range of different syntactic categories that carry the main sentence stress, while *so* itself remains unaccented. (10) through (13) give some examples (data from informal conversations with adolescents from multiethnic neighbourhoods of Berlin; Wiese 2004a):

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[18] On the functions of *so* in German (including informal speech) see for instance Hole & Klumpp (2000), Thurmair (2001), Weinrich (2003), Lenerz & Lohnstein (2005), Auer (2007a).

(10)   Interviewer: könnt ihr n bisschen erzählen aus   eurer freizeit
                                  could you a little.bit tell   from your leisure.time

               Speaker: wir sind imma bei haus der   JUgend da   (.)
                                  we are always at   house of.the youth   there

                                  da   gibs **so CLUB** imma   bei [h.]
                                  there is   SO club   always near [PLACE]

                                  wir sin imma   da
                                  we are always there

                                  für JUgendliche so
                                  for   adolescents SO

                                  zum beispiel da   gibs **so BILliard-raum**
                                  for   example there is   SO snooker-room

'Can you tell me a little bit from your leisure time? — We are always at House of Youth, there is always SO club, close to [PLACE], we are always there, for young people SO, for example, there is a snooker-room there.'

[male, 15 years old, Turkish background, interview in Berlin-Wedding, in the street, about hobbies and activities in leisure time]

(11)   dicker isch hab isch   weiß   nisch also
        fatty I   have I   know not   well

        die stadt is nisch mein **DINGS so** weißt was   isch meine
        the city is not   my   thing SO know what I   mean

        ich bin mehr **so naTURtyp** für natur dorf
        I   am   more SO nature.type for nature village

        so im   GRÜnen das is mein ding
        SO in.the green   that is my   thing

'Buddy, I have, I don't know, well, the city is not my thing SO, you know what I mean? I am more SO nature type, for nature, village, SO on the country side, that is my thing.'

[male, 28 years old, Turkish background, conversation with a German-background friend of about the same age, in the apartment of the latter, about places where he likes to live]

(12)   ich   höre   alpa gun   weil   er **so aus   SCHÖneberg** kommt
        I   listen.to Alpa Gun   because he so from   Schöneberg   comes
        'I listen to Alpa Gun [rap singer], because he comes so from Schöneberg
        [Berlin district].'

   [male, 19 years old, Arabic (Palestinian) background, informal interview in
   Berlin-Kreuzberg about his music preferences]

(13)   die   HÜBschesten   fraun   kommn von   den   schweden
        the   most.beautiful women   come   from the   Swedes

        also   ich mein **so BLOND so**
        that.is I   mean so blonde   so

        'The most beautiful women come from Sweden, I mean so blonde so.'

   [male, ca. 20 years old, Arabic background, informal interview in Berlin-
   Kreuzberg about the soccer world cup 2008 in Germany]

From a purely syntactic point of view, the behaviour of *so* seems erratic: it com-
bines with bare nouns, where it occupies the canonical position of a determiner
(*so club*, *so billiardraum*, *so naturtyp*, cf. also the examples in (4b) above), with
prepositional phrases (*so im grünen*, *so aus schöneberg*, *für jugendliche so*), and
with adjective phrases (*so blond so*), and it can precede its argument (*so natur-
typ*) as well as follow it (*für jugendliche so*, *mein dings so*), and it even
occasionally brackets it (*so blond so*).

   As the examples show, though, *so* in this usage is always combined with
the focus constituent of the sentence, which carries the main accent. If one takes
information-structural aspects into account, then, this seemingly erratic behav-
iour can be subsumed under a unified account of *so* as a focus marker, a particle
that attaches to the respective focus constituent in a sentence. Under this view,
the semantic and phonological peculiarities of *so* in this usage (semantic bleach-
ing, no stress) do not seem unrelated anymore, but fit in as typical characteristics
of focus markers. The variability in the relative position of *so* and its argument,
where *so* can mark either or even both of the edges of the focus domain, could

be a sign for a construction in development, or might point to further functional differentiations.

Under this account, linguistic innovations in the domain of particles take place not only in the field of speaker-hearer-interaction (as in the case of *musstu* and *lassma,* mentioned in the previous section), but also in the domain of information packaging. This account of Kiezdeutsch is further supported by evidence for similar developments in informal varieties of related Germanic languages. Underhill (1988) and Meehan (1991) show that in colloquial North American English, the particle *like* serves as a means to focus "the most significant new information" (Underhill 1988: 238).[19] According to Toril Opsahl (p.c.), *sånn* 'true' in Norwegian Youth Language can be interpreted along similar lines, and *bara/ba'* 'only/exclusively' in Swedish Youth Language has been characterised as a conversational/discourse marker that can "highlight certain parts of the discourse" by preceding the focused element (cf. Erman & Kotsinas 1993: 83).

Taken together, what we find in Kiezdeutsch, then, are new information-structural developments going together with grammatical reductions indicating a relaxation of morpho-syntactic and semantic constraints. The question that arises now is: are these two kinds of phenomena related, do they indicate a systematic interaction between grammatical and extra-grammatical domains, and do they thus make Kiezdeutsch a test case for the interaction between grammatical restrictions and the way information-structural preferences can be implemented? In order to argue for such a view of Kiezdeutsch, we will now show that the grammatical reductions we find in Kiezdeutsch are not just random deviations from standard German, but part of a linguistic system, a new variety of German that stands on its own and can be distinguished from standard German as well as from mere grammatical errors. In particular, we are going to show that Kiez-

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[19] Beyond this usage, *like* fulfils several other functions, mainly similar to *so,* cf. Dailey-O'Cain (2000) and Fox Tree (2006).

deutsch constitutes a *multiethnolect*: a variety that forms a system that can be distinguished from others, and is characterised by a linguistic dynamics that derives from the multitude of its speakers' ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and is particularly well suited to support new developments.

4 A dynamic variety: Kiezdeutsch as a multiethnolect

In what follows, we clarify what it would mean for Kiezdeutsch to be a multi-ethnolect. In doing so, we distinguish two aspects: first, we discuss what it means to identify a linguistic phenomenon as a *-lect*, and second, we make clear what the *multiethnic* character of this -lect implies.

4.1 -lects

The term "-lect" is traditionally closely related to that of a variety (cf. Bailey 1973): by calling a linguistic phenomenon a "-lect", one approaches it from the point of view of a variety, that is, one takes a grammatical perspective and expects it to be characterised by linguistic features that establish a system that stands on its own, with some evidence for systematic relations between its linguistic variables. While different varieties will not necessarily be fully discrete, but could rather best be seen as conventionally defined dots of compression on a continuum (Berruto 1987: 265), a variety should display linguistic features that support a characteristic way of speaking which is recognised by its speakers and by other members of the larger community and which marks it as distinctive (cf. Gumperz 1975).

Traditionally, a certain degree of homogeneity within the grammar of a -lect has been considered crucial, leading to objections against this term in approaches that emphasise the variability between speakers and even within one speaker's speech (cf. Fraurud & Bijvoet 2004). Against this background, multi-ethnic ways of speaking are characterised rather as styles or stylistic practices,

which emphasises their use as an expressive behaviour that is connected to the social identity of groups and which can be operationalised according to different social situations (Kallmeyer 1994: 30f; Irvine 2001; Kern & Selting 2006a,b). Social style as a holistic and multilevel phenomenon is considered to be a challenge to a more traditional approach to linguistic variation that focuses on single variables, which is seen as insufficient to account for the linguistic basis of social categorisation (cf. Auer 2007b), particularly when we adopt a view that treats identity as a communicated phenomenon, allowing for "the possibility of multiple and flexible, inherently contingent selves that only have coherence from specific points of view and in specific contexts" (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2007: 478).

If we want to describe the way of speaking that is involved in a particular style, though, we need to include linguistic variables in our investigation, and accordingly one often finds both concepts, variety and style, used side by side in studies on multiethnic ways of speaking.[20] Accordingly, Androutsopoulos (2001b: 324) talks of "new sociolectal varieties" ('neue soziolektale Varie-täten'), based on converging evidence from different studies for a core set of characteristic grammatical and lexical features (cf. also Deppermann 2007: 325 who speaks of "a new ethnolectal variety of German", and the characterisation of Rinkeby-Svenska in Kotsinas 1988: 136 as variety).

In a unified approach combining the concepts of "variety" and "style/stylistic practice" under the label of "multiethnolect", Quist (2008) interprets the use of a "-lect" term rather as a signal that this phenomenon is not something exotic, but shows parallels to other -lects (like sociolects, traditional dialects, etc.). She argues that choosing to view multiethnic ways of speaking either as

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[20] Cf. for instance Androutsopoulos (2007: 9) who characterises ethnolects as "bundles of varieties or speech styles with 'family resemblances'." ('Bündel von Varietäten bzw. Sprechstilen mit 'Familienähnlichkeiten'').

linguistic varieties or as stylistic practices is a question of perspective: studies that take a variety approach aim to provide a formal description of adolescents' speech in relation to other varieties (e.g., the standard national language), while studies that take a practice approach focus on the ways in which their speech is used as a resource for self-positioning within a social space. Following this approach, we will understand "multiethno*lect*" as a term that regards Kiezdeutsch as a phenomenon that involves characteristic linguistic features and emphasises the fact that it forms a linguistic system of its own, without neglecting its social relevance within a complex, heterogeneous setting where its speakers engage in a range of different communities of practice.

4.2   *Multiethno*-lects

Characterising this -lect as "multiethno-" points to the heterogeneous ethnic backgrounds of its speakers. Clyne (2000: 86) defines ethnolects as "varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups who originally used another language or distinctive variety". According to him, a '*multi*ethnolect' is used by "several minority groups […] collectively to express their minority status and/or as a reaction to that status to upgrade it" (Clyne 2000: 87). While this characterisation initially restricts multiethnolects to minority speakers, he also subsumes developments under this term where members of the dominant ethnic group, especially young people, share this way of speaking in a 'language crossing' situation (cf. Rampton 1995, 1998) that leads to the expression of a new kind of group identity.

It is in this broader sense that we will understand "multiethno-"lects: as ways of speaking that emerge in multiethnic neighbourhoods and, rather than being linked to *one* ethnic group, include speakers of different ethnic backgrounds, including those coming from the country's majority (non-migrant)

ethnicity. Hence, as Quist (2008: 58) points out, there is no clear one-to-one correspondence between ethnic background and the use of a multiethnolect.

A related term is "ethnolect", when used in a broader sense, as e.g., in Androutsopoulos (2001b, 2007) and Auer (2003). Auer (2003: 256) speaks of a 'new ethnolect of German' that has emerged in 'ghettos' in German cities and is used primarily by male adolescents with Turkish roots, but can be acquired by non-migrant background speakers, too, when they have close social ties with the primary speakers. Such a distinction might account for the early stages of such ways of speaking, although, to our knowledge, there is no empirical evidence showing a diachronic primacy of Turkish-background speakers — as opposed to dominance in terms of quantity and visibility. However, at present, speakers of a multitude of ethnic backgrounds are involved in these linguistic practices and contribute accordingly to their development. By using the term "multiethnolect", we therefore do not commit ourselves to a distinction of primary and secondary users, and make explicit the contribution of different ethnicities, which makes this -lect a particularly dynamic linguistic variety, one that provides an ideal basis for the development of new linguistic patterns.

4.3   Criteria for a multiethnolect

Against this background, then, in order to identify Kiezdeutsch as a multiethnolect, we have to show that it meets the following criteria:

1. There are linguistic features that are characteristic of this particular way of speaking and distinguish it from the standard, from other varieties, and from unsystematic errors (→ *-lect*).

2. Its speakers come from different ethnic backgrounds, including the (non-migrant) majority ethnic group (→ *multiethno-*).

This is the goal of the sequel: we are going to show that the grammatical features one finds can indeed identify Kiezdeutsch and distinguish it from other varieties (to meet criterion 1), and that this holds across ethnicities in multiethnic neighbourhoods (to meet criterion 2). For this purpose, we report results from a perception study that employed a core set of Kiezdeutsch features (as identified in the literature), investigating their recognition, distinction, and evaluation by speakers from both within and outside the expected speech community.

5   Processing evidence for a linguistic system in its own right: Recognition, distinction, evaluation

Against the background sketched in the previous section, we investigated the acceptability and evaluation of Kiezdeutsch stimuli by asking a two-fold question:

1. Is Kiezdeutsch a -lect? Are these stimuli recognised as familiar in a multiethnic neighbourhood, and do they distinguish Kiezdeutsch from standard German as well as from random grammatical errors?
2. Is Kiezdeutsch multiethno-? Is it spoken by adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds in multiethnic neighbourhoods, including the majority ethnicity (= German)?

In order to answer these questions, we tested adolescents in a study targeted at a multiethnic and a monoethnic neighbourhood of Berlin, thus allowing us to involve the relation between Kiezdeutsch and multiethnic settings. We investigated possible differences in the acceptability of sentences with typical Kiezdeutsch features in contrast to standard German sentences and random grammatical errors, and compared neighbourhoods as well as ethnic/linguistic backgrounds across neighbourhoods. Differences in responses to Kiezdeutsch

compared to the two other kinds of stimuli were taken as a defining factor for its distinctiveness; a higher acceptability of Kiezdeutsch in the multiethnic neighbourhood compared to the monoethnic neighbourhood, and the absence of differences for German vs. non-German background in the multiethnic neighbourhood, were taken as a defining factor for its multiethnicity.

5.1 The study

5.1.1 Methods

We conducted a perception study that tested the acceptability of linguistic characteristics from Kiezdeutsch in contrast to standard German samples and to random grammatical deviations. The form of an acceptability study offered us a controlled way to elicit judgments that provides a legitimate basis for statistical analysis (Schütze 1996). Given the problem that socially superordinate norms can take precedence over dialects in direct judgments tasks, leading to mismatches between speakers' intuitions and their actual linguistic behaviour (cf. Labov 1996), we employed indirect instead of direct judgments, that is, we asked speakers to tell whether they or their friends might say a sentence like the one we presented as well, rather than asking them to judge whether it is grammatical. This was done to diminish the effect of explicit, prescriptive notions of speakers[21], which is particularly important in the case of a low-status variety, where speakers tend to have a high level of "linguistic insecurity" (Labov 1966), that is, they consider the form they use themselves as the incorrect form if it deviates from the standard. Given the general low social status of multiethnic neighbourhoods in Germany (see also data in section 4.1.2 above), we expect

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[21] Cornips & Poletto (2005), Cornips (2006). Cf. also Silverstein (1998), who notes the ideological alliance of speakers to the standard register.

Kiezdeutsch to have a low prestige in line with the general phenomenon that attitudes towards linguistic varieties are tied to those towards their speakers.[22]

The acceptability test was based on a non-graded, binary, task that did not elicit relative judgments[23] or magnitude estimations (cf. Sorace & Keller 2005), in order to keep the stimuli list short and to make it possible for participants to handle the task without elaborate instructions and training sessions, thus avoiding long testing sessions that might lead to exhaustion effects (cf. Schütze 1996 on this problem).[24] Testing was done in individual, single-subject sessions, which, together with the comparably short stimuli list, allowed us to complement yes/no responses by free comments on the sentences that participants could give after each response. This way, we combined the advantages gained from a controlled questionnaire method with those of interviews that can give an insight into participants' motivations for their answers and thus help spotting possible problems that arise from judgments based on e.g. content or on pragmatic considerations, rather than on grammatical intuitions (cf. Cornips & Poletto

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[22] Cf. Preston (2002). This is supported by findings as those in Niedzielski & Preston (2003), who show that African American English is judged incorrect by the speakers themselves, who relate this incorrectness to "'laziness', 'low class' or an inability (or unwillingness) to perform otherwise" (ibid.: 131). Kroskrity (2004) observes similar processes in the Puerto Rican community in New York, where the command of two languages, Spanish and English, creates a group identity among bilingual children at first. But later on, "[a]s children become more exposed to the pejorative view of their language skills that is promoted by educational and other dominant bloc institutions […] they display the language-ideological compliance of subordinated groups by accepting, even partially, the negative images of themselves presented by the dominant society" (ibid.: 510). Cf. also Irvine (2001: 33) who notes that "linguistic differences appear to be iconic representations of the social contrasts they index — as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence".

[23] That is, it did not ask e.g. which of a set of similarly constructed sentences might be most common.

[24] Cf. also the findings in Weskott & Fanselow (Ms.) that indicate that binary categorical judgments, graded judgments (e.g. involving a 7-point scale) and judgments based on magnitude estimations provide the same amount of information on acceptability, as well as Sorace & Keller (2005: 6) who state that the data elicited using a binary or 7-point scale "correlate well with magnitude estimation data".

2005). In addition, participants' comments revealed some of their attitudes towards the stimuli we presented to them. Unlike the common practice in linguistic attitude research,[25] the focus in this setting was on the perception of linguistic samples directly, rather than the perception of their speakers (via such samples).

The stimuli were presented auditorily, rather than in writing, given that Kiezdeutsch is an informal way of speaking that is generally restricted to spoken language. This thus further helped avoid prescriptive notions about written standard German to interfere with the judgments. For the oral presentation, the sentences were recorded, which allowed us to (a) control for a uniform intonation, and (b) to choose a young speaker who would ensure plausibility for the Kiezdeutsch stimuli, given that Kiezdeutsch tends to occur as a youth language in in-group situations among adolescents.

5.1.2 Participants

Participants were adolescents from schools in two different kinds of neighbourhood: (1) a *multiethnic* neighbourhood where 84.4% of the pupils had a home language other than German[26] and 25.3% of under 18 year olds living in the area do not hold a German citizenship, and (2) a *monoethnic* neighbourhood where only 4.8% of the pupils had a non-German home language and only 1.7% of under 18 year olds living in the area do not hold a German citizenship.

Since one aspect we wanted to investigate were possible differences between participants from multi- vs. monoethnic neighbourhoods, we had to make sure that there were no other, external, factors coming into play in this

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[25] For an overview cf. Giles & Coupland (1991).
[26] This feature (German: 'nicht-deutscher Herkunftssprache') is determined via questionnaires that the Berlin Senate for Education sends out to parents: children count as having a "non-German home language" if parents state that the main language spoken at home is a language other than German (in a dual choice of possible answers "German" and "other than German").

comparison. In the case of nonstandard language use, especially the social background of speakers might play such an additional role for the responses, and the risk that this will be a confounding factor is particularly pronounced given that in Germany, we find a strong correlation between ethnic and social factors: for inhabitants with migrant background compared to those without a background of migration, the statistics give over-all lower educational achievements, higher school drop-out rates (almost 10% compared to 1.5%), a nearly doubled rate of employment in low-skilled domains (48.5% manual workers compared to 24%), and nearly twice as high unemployment rates (13% compared to 7.5%).[27]

Accordingly, in order to make sure that the differences we might find would indeed be related to multi- vs. monoethnic neighbourhoods, rather than to aspects of social class, we recruited participants from two state schools of the same educational status (both were "Oberschulen", ie., general secondary schools) that were located in areas with comparable socio-economic indicators (similar unemployment rate, similar percentage of households receiving social benefits), that is, the neighbourhoods differed with respect to multi- vs. monoethnicity, but not with respect to general socio-economic factors. That we were able to identify a monoethnic neighbourhood for our study that satisfies these criteria, is due to an idiosyncrasy of Berlin. While it is generally rare in Western Europe to find predominantly monoethnic urban neighbourhoods with a social profile that is similar to that of a multiethnic inner city neighbourhood, we do find such areas in some Eastern districts of Berlin that still have a very small intake of residents with migrant background.

Table 1 provides the relevant figures for the two schools and their neighbourhoods (data from the Berlin Senate for Education, Science, and Research (=

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[27] Sources: German Federal Office for Statistics, Microcensus 2005 on the population with a migrant background in Germany; German Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, Report of the Independent Committee on Immigration.

school administration), and the Berlin Senate's Administration for City Development (= demographic monitoring)):

	pupils nGh	for-eigners under 18	recip-ients of social benefits	children in house-holds receiving social benefits	unem-ploy-ment rate	long-term unem-ployed	unem-ployed adoles-cents	develop-mental index
multi-ethnic	84.4%	25.3%	25.2%	59.4%	14.8%	6.0%	10.8%	*middle to very low*
mono-ethnic	4.8%	1.7%	13.3%	41.7%	14.3%	6.9%	10.2%	*middle to very low*

"nGh":   'non-German home language' (after Berlin Senate for Education)

"foreigners":   inhabitants who do not hold a German citizenship (after Berlin Administration for City Development)

"children":   under 15 years old

"adolescents":   18-25 years old

"long-term unemployed":   people who have been without employment for an uninterrupted period of more than 12 months (after Federal Employment Agency)

Table 1: Ethnic/linguistic and social demographic data for the selected neighbourhoods

Altogether 48 adolescents, who were recruited and tested at the two schools, participated in the experiment. All participants were in the 9th grade and were 14 to 17 years old, with an average of 15.2 years for participants from the multi-ethnic neighbourhood and 15.3 years for those from the monoethnic neighbourhood. Participation in the study was voluntary and took place outside class. Participants represented a random sample in the sense that no conditions were placed on the ethnic background of the pupils to take part in the study. 30 participants (9 female, 21 male) were from the school in the multiethnic neighbourhood, while 18 participants (7 female, 11 male) were from the school in the monoethnic neighbourhood. These figures were chosen as a kind of compromise that would enable us to compare both responses between participants from the multi- vs. the monoethnic neighbourhood *and* responses between German-back-

ground participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood vs. those from the monoethnic neighbourhood: while all participants from the monoethnic neighbourhood were of German background, participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood were all born in Germany, but had different ethnic backgrounds and different home languages (Turkish (19), German (6), Arabic (3), Kurdish (1), Polish (1)). "Home language" was determined from a questionnaire that was presented to participants after the study and asked about the language participants dominantly spoke at home (with parents and siblings) and with their friends (in addition to background information about age, gender etc.). In all cases, the language spoken with parents was also used with siblings and/or friends — even though it was usually not the only language used in that context.

5.1.3 Materials

Stimuli consisted of 25 short sentences, each consisting of 4 words, which would diminish parsing difficulties (which can reduce, but under some conditions even increase acceptability; cf. Fanselow & Frisch 2006), and allow us to keep testing sessions short enough for the participants. The sentences were subsumed under three categories: 'kiezdeutsch', 'standard', and 'false'. Our main interest was in responses to 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli, while 'standard' and 'false' sentences served as fillers, but also provided a basis for comparison against which to determine the distinctness of the 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli. In order to provide a reasonably balanced set for speakers who might perceive 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli as more similar to 'false' ones as well as for speakers for whom they might fall in-between 'false' and 'standard' sentences, we constructed 10 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli, 10 'standard' stimuli, and 5 'false' stimuli (for a complete list see the appendix).

(a) 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli. Using spontaneous speech samples from adolescents in multiethnic neighbourhoods as a model, we constructed 10 sentences with

features that have consistently been reported as characteristic for Kiezdeutsch in the literature (a complete list of the stimuli is in the attachment). Several examples were chosen for each domain, with two examples for each structure:

- *syntactic level:* lack of articles (= bare objects NPs), lack of prepositions (= bare local expressions), lack of copula
- *morphological level*: characteristic inflectional deviations (gender, case in NPs)
- *lexical level:* word borrowings (from Arabic and Turkish)

(b) 'standard' stimuli. 10 sentences that showed no deviations from spoken standard German in informal situations.

(c) 'false' stimuli. 5 sentences with deviations from standard German that were of a similar general type as the deviations found in Kiezdeutsch, but have not been attested for Kiezdeutsch in the literature, representing random deviations rather than the systematic deviations found in Kiezdeutsch:

- *syntactic level*: wrong word order within the noun phrase (= article in wrong position, vs. Kiezdeutsch: NP without article), double allocation of the subject position, incomplete sentence (vs. Kiezdeutsch: local expression without expansion to PP)
- *morphological level:* agreement violation between subject and verb (number, person) (vs. Kiezdeutsch: inflectional deviations in the NP)
- *lexical/morphological level:* wrong construction of complex predicate (vs. Kiezdeutsch: sentence without copula)

The sentences were mixed in a semi-random order such that the appearance of 'standard', 'kiezdeutsch', and 'false' sentences was balanced, and 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli of the same subcategory — that is, reflecting the same kind of feature — were at least 6 sentences apart.

Sentences were recorded by a male adolescent (24 years old) speaker of German background who was familiar with Kiezdeutsch and was chosen because of his ability to produce a "compromise" form of a salient phonological Kiezdeutsch feature, the coronalisation of [ç]. Since we concentrated on grammatical, rather than phonetic indicators in our study and did not want to prejudice participants in a particular direction, we decided to use an intermediate pronunciation in between standard and Kiezdeutsch for [ç] in all stimuli.

In order to check our stimuli, we conducted a pre-test with 6 participants. Based on the results, we replaced two sentences: (1) "Nee, ich aus Spandau.", a 'kiezdeutsch' sentence with a missing copula, was exchanged because Spandau, a district of Berlin, was not well known by the participants, so that they got sidetracked by the content. (2) "Er ich singt gerne.", a 'false' sentence with double subject allocation, was exchanged because it got corrected in perception, such that the two adjacent subjects "Er ich" were understood as one constituent, the proper name "Erich".

5.1.4 Procedure

The mixed set of sentences was presented auditorily to the participants via a dictaphone with an internal loudspeaker, Olympus DS 2300. Participants were tested individually in a controlled setting in a separate room at their school. Each testing session lasted about 20 minutes. Participants were asked to listen to the sentences one by one and to give their opinion on them, according to the following instruction:

> "This is not a German test, and you will remain anonymous. We would like to know how you speak in every-day life. We will play 25 sentences to you and want to know your opinion on them. When you hear a sentence that you or your friends might say so too, say 'yes'. If you think the sentence sounds strange or wrong, say 'no'. After each sentence, you have the opportunity to comment on it. If you want a sentence to be replayed, you can say so."

Two experimenters conducted the experiment; one of them was the main inter-actor with the participants, the other one stayed in the background. Responses were coded by both experimenters: the main interactor took hand-written notes on participants' responses (yes/no) and comments, while the experimenter in the background typed them in on a laptop. Since there were no deviations between the two protocols, all responses were included in the analysis.

5.1.5 Analysis of potential problems

An exploratory error analysis, based on the free comments and on clarification requests by participants during the testing sessions, revealed two potential problems:

(1) Participants did not always distinguish between acceptability/gram-maticality and content. As a result, a slightly old-fashioned proper name like "Kai" in one of the 'kiezdeutsch' sentences was corrected by participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood, who gave comments like "Yes, but with another name. I often hear that." or "Yes, not with "Kai", though, but with another name." Similarly, cycling does not seem to be a part of their every-day life, so the 'kiezdeutsch' sentence "Mein Fahrrad wieder da." ('My bike back again', lack of copula) got corrected, e.g. in "Yes, but I would say "My father back again" ('Mein Vater wieder da.'), not "My bike back again"."", or commented upon as in "We actually do not speak about bikes."

(2) There were two sentences that were initially corrected in perception by some participants: "Kauft Katja gleiche Jacke?" ('Does Katja buy same jumper?', 'kiezdeutsch' stimulus, lack of determiner) was interpreted as "Kauft Katja gleich die Jacke?" ('Does Katja buy the jumper right away?', would be standard German), and "Paul kauft Auto das." ('Paul buys car the/that.', 'false' stimulus, wrong word order) was interpreted as "Paul kauft Autogas." ('Paul buys car gas.', would be standard German). In both cases, participants

commented on this and asked for a replay of the sentence, leading to rejections, e.g. for the first sentence "Kauft Katja gleich die Jacke? Can I hear that again?" [sentence replayed] "No. 'kauft gleich *die* Jacke' would be OK.", and for the second sentence "Autogas? Can I hear that again?" [sentence replayed] "No! Not this way!" and "Can I hear that again?" [sentence replayed] "No! Honestly, where did you get this from?"

Hence, free comments and the option of replaying sentences helped avoiding potential problems such that phonetic misunderstandings could be clarified and possible influences of pragmatic considerations or content could be spotted.

5.2   Results and Discussion

Results were analysed from a quantitative perspective, where we compared numbers of yes- (vs. no-)responses to sentences (as the dependent variable) for the different groups of participants and the different categories of stimuli (using Mann-Whitney's U, a common non-parametrical test suited for ordinal scales), and additionally from a qualitative perspective, where we analysed the different evaluations of 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli that became apparent from the free comments provided by participants from the multi- and the monoethnic neighbourhood.

5.2.1   Quantitative assessment

A statistical analysis of yes/no-responses in the acceptability task revealed three main patterns:

(1) Distinction of 'kiezdeutsch' sentences from 'standard' and 'false' stimuli. There were highly significant differences between responses for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences and those of the other two categories, 'standard' and 'false' across neighbourhoods (cf. Table 2): 'kiezdeutsch' vs. 'standard' sentences for

all participants: Mann-Whitney's U = 0, Z = -3.835, p = 0.000; for participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood: Mann-Whitney's U = 11.5, Z = -2.918, p = 0.003; for participants from the monoethnic neighbourhood: Mann-Whitney's U = 0, Z = -3.916, p = 0.000. 'kiezdeutsch' vs. 'false' sentences for all participants: Mann-Whitney's U = 0, Z = -3.078, p = 0.002; for participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood: Mann-Whitney's U = 0, Z = -3.076, p = 0.002; for participants from the monoethnic neighbourhood: Mann-Whitney's U = 0, Z = -3.136, p = 0.002

multiethnic neighbourhood

monoethnic neighbourhood
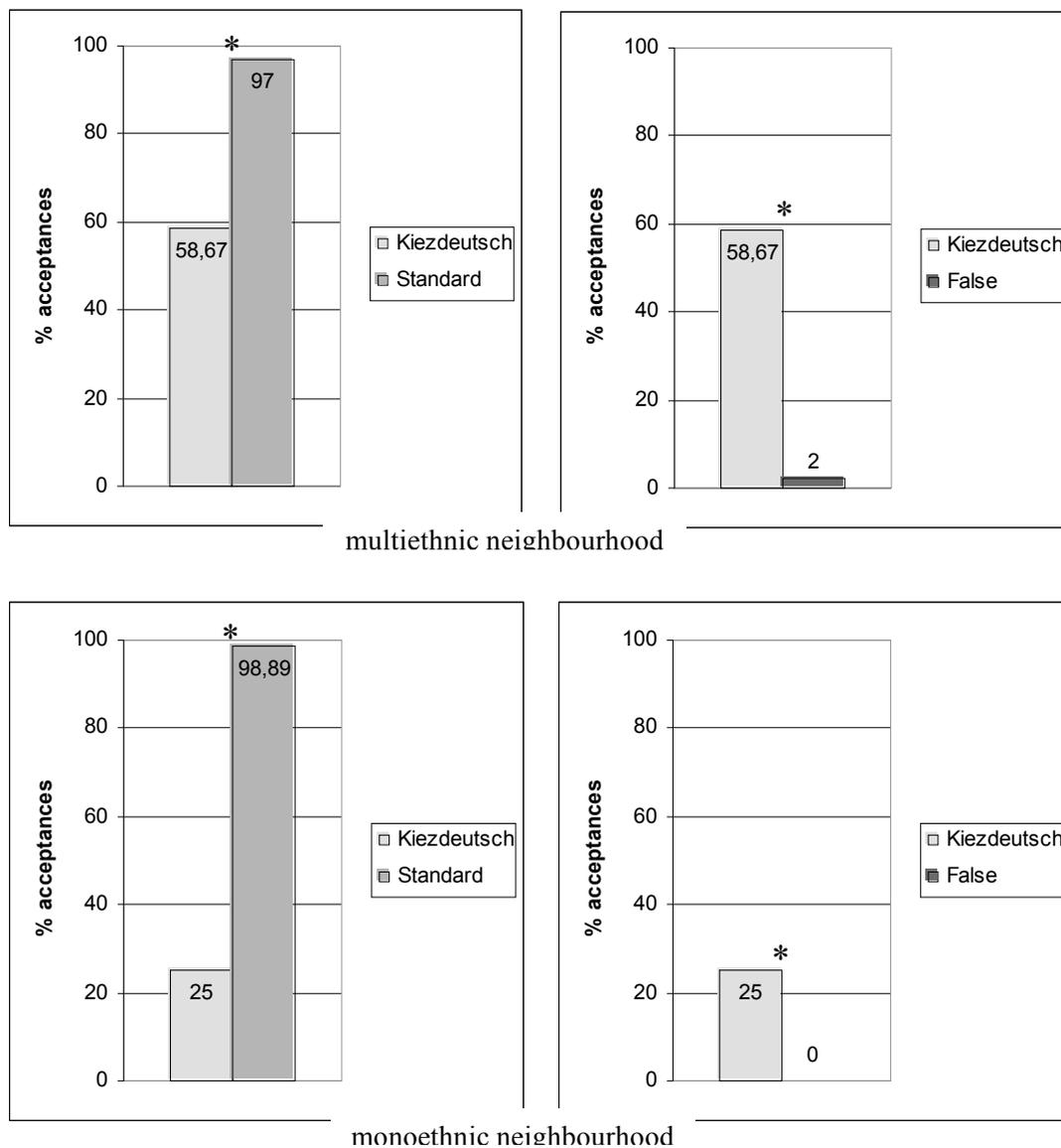
Table 2:   Acceptance rates for 'kiezdeutsch' vs. 'false' and 'standard' sentences

This result supports our distinction of the three kinds of stimuli. It shows that the features we selected as Kiezdeutsch characteristics are clearly distinguished from standard German as well as from random grammatical deviations by speakers across neighbourhoods.

(2) Differences between participants from mono- and multiethnic neighbourhoods only with respect to 'kiezdeutsch' sentences. There were no significant differences between participants from mono- vs. multiethnic neighbourhoods with respect to 'standard' and 'false' sentences: Mann Whitney's U = 235, Z = - 1.098, p = 0.272 for 'false' sentences, U = 243, Z = - 1.371, p = 0.170 for 'standard' sentences. In contrast to that, there were highly significant differences between participants from mono- vs. multiethnic neighbourhoods for responses to 'kiezdeutsch' sentences, which were accepted more than twice as often in the multiethnic neighbourhood (59% vs. 25%, see Table 2 above): Mann Whitney's U = 43.5, Z = - 4.884, p = 0.000 for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences.
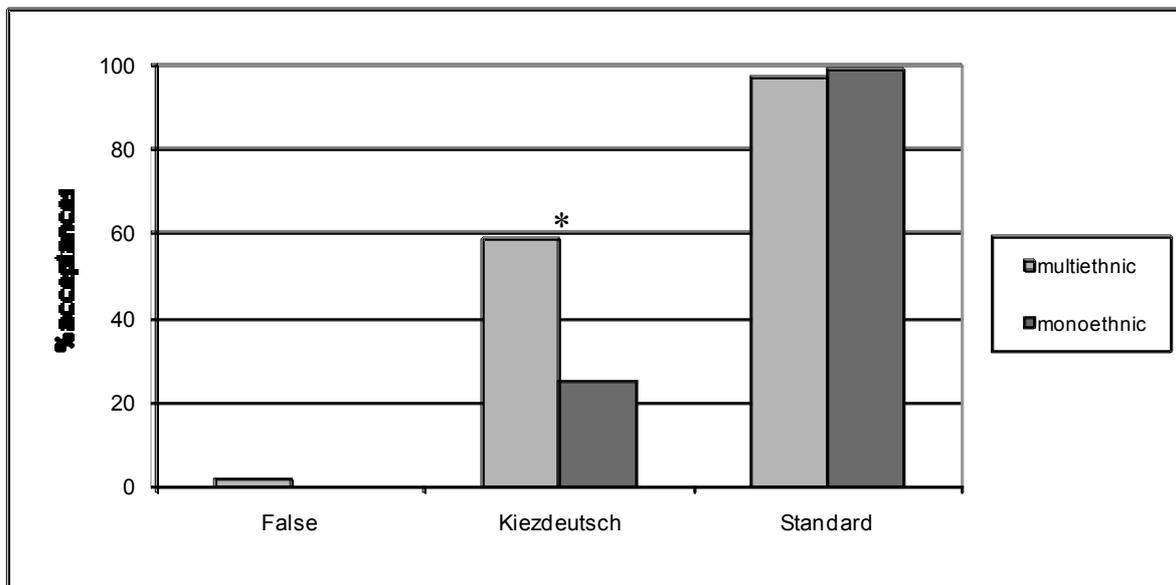
Table 3:   Responses from mono- vs. multiethnic neighbourhoods for 'kiezdeutsch' vs. 'false' and 'standard' sentences

This sets 'kiezdeutsch' sentences apart from false and standard ones in the comparison of neighbourhoods; it indicates a clear distinction in the acceptability for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences, but not for sentences with random grammatical errors, which were overall rejected by participants from mono- and multiethnic neighbourhoods alike, and for standard German sentences, which were overall accepted by participants from mono- and multiethnic neighbourhoods alike: it is only for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences that we find differences, and these differences are in a direction that clearly indicates their association with the multiethnic, rather than the monoethnic neighbourhood.

(3) Differences between neighbourhoods, not between ethnicities. On the one hand, there were no significant differences in the multiethnic neighbourhood between participants of German vs. migrant background, neither in their overall responses in general (Mann Whitney's $U = 55$, $Z = -0.9$, $p = 0.368$), nor in their responses for 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli in particular (Mann Whitney's $U = 62.5$, $Z = -0.506$, $p = 0.613$). On the other hand, there were highly significant differences between participants from the monoethnic (German) neighbourhood and German-background participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood with respect to the 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli (though not with respect to the 'false' and 'standard' sentences, in line with the general pattern summarised in (2) above): comparison for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences: Mann Whitney's $U = 6$, $Z = -3.235$, $p = 0.001$ (for 'false' sentences: Mann Whitney's $U = 54$, $Z = 0.000$, $p = 1.000$; for 'standard' sentences: Mann Whitney's $U = 48$, $Z = -0.835$, $p = 0.404$).
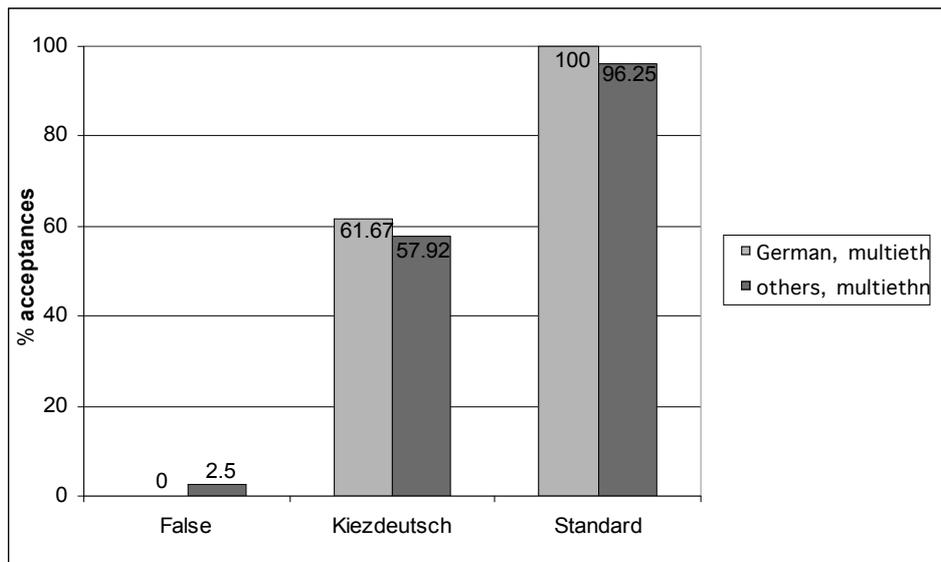
German vs. other languages of origin,
multiethnic neighbourhood
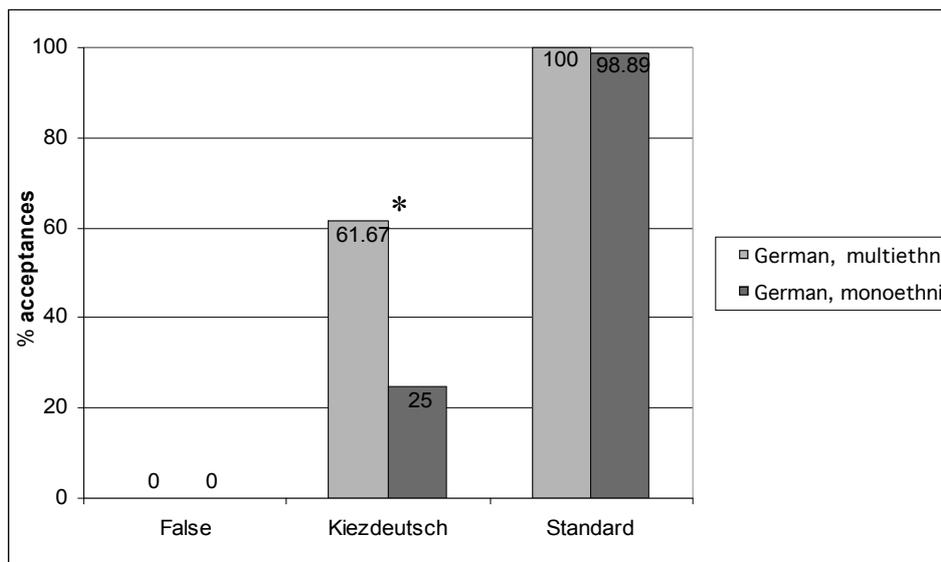
German language of origin,
across neighbourhoods

Table 4: Responses from German-background participants from multiethnic neighbourhood compared to migrant participants and to participants from monoethnic neighbourhood

These figures show that, when it comes to 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli, adolescents with a non-migrant, German background who live in the multiethnic neighbourhood pattern with their migrant peers, rather than with German-background adolescents from the monoethnic neighbourhood: we found a clear distinction

between participants from mono- and multiethnic neighbourhoods that goes across linguistic/ethnic boundaries and applies to linguistic samples with grammatical features found in Kiezdeutsch, but not to standard German samples or random deviations.

Taken together, these results support a view of Kiezdeutsch both as "multiethno-" and as a "-lect": they indicate a distinctive variety by showing that the characteristics we employed distinguish Kiezdeutsch from standard German as well as from random grammatical errors in the perception of speakers both from multi- and monoethnic neighbourhoods, and they indicate a multiethnic, rather than an ethnic variety by showing that Kiezdeutsch is accepted in multi- rather than monoethnic neighbourhoods, and that this acceptance is related to the neighbourhood rather than to a particular linguistic background or ethnicity, and specifically not to a migrant vs. non-migrant background.

5.2.2 Qualitative assessment

When we have a look at the free comments participants made on the 'kiezdeutsch' sentences and analyse the attitudes that become apparent from them, we find some interesting patterns that indicate further differences between participants from the monoethnic and the multiethnic group and support a view of Kiezdeutsch as a variety that is associated with multiethnic speech communities.[28]

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[28] Note that comments were optional, that is, not all sentences were commented upon by each participant. Altogether, participants volunteered comments in 943 out of 1200 possible cases (25 sentences x 48 participants), with participants from the monoethnic neighbourhood providing comments for 82% of the stimuli they heard, and those from the multiethnic neighbourhood in 77% of the cases. Most comments were given for 'kiezdeutsch' sentences (comments on 94%), followed by 'false' sentences (comments on 81%), and 'standard' sentences (comments on 62%). Most participants (= all but three) commented on at least 60% of the sentences, and all but four sentences were commented upon by at least 71% of the participants.

There is a striking contrast between the monoethnic and the multiethnic group with respect to what they focus on in their perception of this association: while the monoethnic group tended to focus on ethnicity, the multiethnic group associated 'kiezdeutsch' stimuli with (multiethnic) neighbourhoods. In this context, participants from the monoethnic group made a 'we' vs. 'they' distinction, with comments like "We don't use it because we are Germans.", and tagged 'kiezdeutsch' sentences as "non-German" or "language of foreigners": 50% referred to "foreigners" at least once, four of the participants specifically mentioned "Turks". In contrast to that, multiethnic participants related 'kiezdeutsch' sentences to their own group, to their friends, school class, or neighbourhood (park, street, etc.), giving comments like "My friends speak like that.", "We speak like that.", or "I am not sure whether I say this, but it is frequently used in my environment."

We interpret this as an indication for a higher degree of familiarity with Kiezdeutsch in the multiethnic group: evaluations in the multiethnic neighbourhood focus less on surface differentiations like 'foreigners' — 'non-foreigners' and more on classifying the variety and oneself within the practicing group and its repertoire, i.e., on categorising oneself as a (non-)user of this specific way of speaking.

Categorisations following the pattern 'language of foreigners' in the monoethnic group were formulated in a way that sometimes revealed strong negative stereotyping, with comments like "wog German", or "These typical foreigners again.", a formulation that indicates a language-ideological shift from first to second order indexicality in the sense of Silverstein (2003), where instances of speech perceived as characteristic for members of a certain group become associated with *types* of people (cf. also Woolard 1998).

Additional deprecative comments indicating strong negative attitudes towards the speakers of 'kiezdeutsch' samples relate to areas like education

("something for stupid people") and social class ("prole-like"). There was also a participant from the monoethnic group, though, who connected the evaluation 'foreigner language' with positive aspects of speech economy: "Foreigner language. Well, I speak like that, too. It's a shortcut. It's better this way. The Germans adopt this from the foreigners."

From language attitude research in general we know that there is a tendency to judge a way of speaking deprecatingly when it is associated with a group of speakers of (alleged) lower status (cf. Preston 2002), and to evaluate their speech as wrong. This holds for the monoethnic neighbourhood, where nearly 20% of the comments on 'kiezdeutsch' sentences explicitly characterised them as 'wrong' or 'bad German'.

To a lesser degree this also holds for participants from the multiethnic neighbourhood, where 10% of the responses involved explicit evaluations as 'wrong German', with comments like "I hear this very often, that's Kreuzberg after all, children are not well educated there with their languages, they keep bad company". This supports findings on 'linguistic insecurity' as mentioned in section 4.1.1 above, i.e., the observation that lower class speakers might consider the form they use as the incorrect form if it deviates from the standard, leading to potential mismatches between speakers' intuitions in judgment tasks and their actual linguistic behaviour (Labov 1966, 1996).

Note, though, that sentences evaluated as 'wrong' were nevertheless accepted as part of their own speech by 6 participants at least once. Altogether, sentences considered incorrect were accepted in 20.7% of the cases. Furthermore, as reported in the previous section, we found highly significant differences between the acceptability rates for sentences with random grammatical errors ('false' stimuli) and those with Kiezdeutsch features in both neighbourhoods. This suggests that in spite of these attitudes, participants did make a difference between true grammatical errors and Kiezdeutsch sentences. The

view that speakers in the multiethnic neighbourhood might make a difference between something like 'wrong, but nevertheless part of our language' and 'just wrong', is supported by the following comment, given by a member of the multiethnic group on a 'kiezdeutsch' sentence he accepted: "Yes, we say that [laughs], although it's not formulated correctly. We say it anyway." This account is also in accordance with findings from a study on attitudes towards Rinkebysvenska conducted by Bijvoet (2003) who reports that some of its speakers "are of the opinion that it is incorrect to speak Rinkeby Swedish, even for peer-peer interaction, but they use the variety anyway."

This further underlines that Kiezdeutsch is not characterised by random grammatical errors, but, as a multiethnolect, forms a system that is part of a broader linguistic repertoire serving different social functions. This is in line with findings from multiethnic youth languages in other European countries. For the københavnsk multietnolekt, Quist (2008) reports "a manifest awareness among the participants of their speech style as a specific 'language' (their words, *et sprog* 'a language'). They formulated opinions and attitudes about its use — by whom and in what situations — and they talked about it as something distinct from 'normal Danish' and also different from the Danish language of their first-generation immigrant parents." (Quist 2008: 48). Similarly, Godin (2005/2006) states for multiethnic linguistic practices in Botkyrka, a suburb of Stockholm, that this youth language serves as "a way of speaking and relaxing among friends, as something to have in common with them" (ibid.: 134), and accordingly is not used outside the peer group, where speakers switch to a more standard form of Swedish. Nevertheless, like in the case of Kiezdeutsch, speakers often regard their language as "a form of 'bad' or 'improper' language", as "something one grows out of" (ibid.: 135).

Using Kiezdeutsch reflects a choice, a self-positioning of its speaker within a complex multiethnic urban setting. It signals that the speaker belongs to a

certain group, and several of the comments show that this multiethnolect is bound to a peer-group, emphasising its status as a youth language, with participants from the multiethnic neighbourhoods volunteering comments like "Sometimes I say this, but not that often, my friends as well. Not to everyone, not to adults, but to my friends I do." This awareness is also reflected in a comment from the monoethnic group, by a participant who commented on a 'kiezdeutsch' sentence: "Typical youth language at a lot of schools.", while distancing himself from such schools, however, and rejecting the sentence.

Taken together, the free comments participants gave on test stimuli support the findings from the acceptance figures that indicate a marked difference between the multiethnic and the monoethnic neighbourhood and characterise Kiezdeutsch as a variety that is associated with multiethnic speech communities, while they also provide further insights into the status this multiethnolect has, namely as a way of speaking that might be considered 'wrong German' and be subjected to negative attitudes, but has its place in a multiethnic community, where it can be used for social positioning in peer-groups. Here is a final quote, a comment from a participant from the multiethnic group, that summarises this nicely: "My friends talk like that, but consciously. We do as if we don't know German. It is not so hip when one speaks fluent German, so we pretend this."[29]

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[29] Note that this shows also parallels to adolescent speakers of African-American English, who use this variety consciously among themselves and are also able to switch to some variety closer to the standard, as becomes apparent in the following quote describing a teacher's assessment of her pupils: "They change when they speak to her [the European-American teacher], particularly, she says, 'if they want something'" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 132).

6 Conclusions

In this paper, we have argued that Kiezdeutsch provides an interesting test case for the investigation of the interface between grammar and information structure. We took as our point of departure a model of linguistic architecture that accounts for the distinction of grammatical and extragrammatical structures and for their interaction under the umbrella of a tripartite parallel architecture. For the domain of information structure, the interesting interaction is that of, on the one hand, extralinguistic cognitive aspects that bear on communicative needs and thus on preferences of information packaging, and on the other hand, the realisation of such preferences via linguistic expressions, which is subject to language-specific grammatical restrictions.

Against this background, we summarised findings on grammatical reduction for Kiezdeutsch that point to a relaxation of morpho-syntactic and semantic constraints, that is, to a more liberal grammatical system. We argued that such a relaxation at the grammatical level can affect the implementation of information-structural aspects: if grammatical restrictions are weaker in impeding the linguistic realisation of communicative strategies, information-structural preferences can be reflected more freely. So if the evidence for grammatical reduction in Kiezdeutsch points to a systematic phenomenon, that is, to a linguistic system in its own right, rather than to random deviations from standard German, then it follows that Kiezdeutsch can provide an interesting test case for the investigation of systematic interactions between grammatical and extra-grammatical domains, of the interplay of grammatical reduction and linguistic innovation in the realisation of information-structural preferences.

In order to show that this is indeed the case, we demonstrated that in Kiezdeutsch, we see a *multiethnolect*, a dynamic new variety of German, with

grammatical characteristics that constitute a distinct linguistic system that gains a special dynamic from the multiplicity of its speakers' ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and so is particularly well suited as a basis for new developments arising from the interaction of grammar and information structure.

To this end, we presented evidence from a perception study conducted in a multiethnic and a monoethnic neighbourhood in Berlin that elicited acceptability judgments and free comments on three kinds of linguistic stimuli that (i) reflected characteristic grammatical features of Kiezdeutsch, or (ii) came from standard German, or (iii) showed random grammatical errors. We conducted a qualitative analysis of free comments, and quantitative comparisons of judgments between the different kinds of stimuli and between participants from the multi- vs. monoethnic neighbourhood.

Our results support a view of Kiezdeutsch as a distinct way of speaking, with grammatical features that distinguish it both from standard German and from random grammatical errors, a way of speaking that is, furthermore, linked to multiethnic rather than monoethnic neighbourhoods and holds across ethnicities there, including speakers with non-migrant background (who patterned with their migrant peers, not with their ethnic peers from the monoethnic German neighbourhood). This way of speaking is subjected to negative attitudes, in particular, it is regarded as 'bad' or 'wrong' German, from without, but to some part also from within the speech community (in accordance with what we know from attitudes towards low-class dialects in general), but it is part of a larger linguistic repertoire where its choice is an integrated part of social practices that serve to position the speaker in a peer-group context in multiethnic urban settings.

Taken together, these results support a view of Kiezdeutsch as a new variety of German that, despite its inherent variability, constitutes a linguistic

system that distinguishes it from other varieties or dialects, and supports perceptions that recognise it as the speech of a multiethnic urban neighbourhood.

As a multiethnolect in this sense, then, Kiezdeutsch provides an interesting domain for the investigation of the interplay between grammar and information structure. The systematicity we find on the linguistic level suggests that its characteristics are not limited to grammatical reduction, and that patterns of morpho-syntactic and semantic deviations from standard German on the one hand, and of innovations in the expression of information structure on the other hand, are not unrelated phenomena, but are linked up in a systematic way, pointing to a specific interplay of grammar and information structure, where a relaxation of grammatical constraints that arises from the dynamic character of this new variety, allows for a more liberal way of implementing information-structural preferences. Further investigations into the information-structural innovations we find in Kiezdeutsch will reveal what particular kind of patterns in the expression of information structure this interplay supports, what restrictions we find, and what linguistic subsystems may be involved at the different levels.

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Stimuli used in the perception study

'kiezdeutsch' stimuli

Kauft Katja gleiche Jacke?	'Does Katja buy same coat?'	[*bare object NP*]
Kai hat andere Meinung.	'Kai has different opinion.'	[*bare object NP*]
Mein Fahrrad wieder da.	'My bike back again.'	[*lack of copula*]
München weit weg, Alter!	'Munich far away, man!'	[*lack of copula*]
Gehst du jetzt Aldi?	'Do you go Aldi now?'	[*bare local expression*]
Wir sind grade McDonald's.	'We are McDonald's right now.'	[*bare local expression*]
Ich mag andere Leuten.	'I like other people$_{\text{DAT}}$.'	[*inflectional deviation*]
Meine Vater geht spazieren.	'My$_{\text{FEM}}$ father goes for a walk.'	[*inflectional deviation*]
Wallah, den kenn ich!	'Wallah, I know that guy!'	[*word borrowing*]
Lan, so geht's nich!	'Lan, that doesn't work!'	[*word borrowing*]

'standard' stimuli

Komm mal her, Alter.	'Come here, man.'
Das Eis schmeckt gut.	'The ice cream is tasty.'
Ich bin bei Katja.	'I am at Katja's.'
Im Kühlschrank ist Cola.	'There is cola in the fridge.'
Es geht jetzt los.	'It's about to start.'
Echt, der macht das!	'Honestly, he does that!'
Der Akku ist leer.	'The battery is empty.'
Siehst du den Roller?	'Do you see the scooter?'
Ich komm später vorbei.	'I'll drop by later.'
Ich fahre zum Bahnhof.	'I'm driving to the station.'

'false' stimuli

Das versucht niemand zu.	'Nobody tries that to.'	[*incomplete sentence*]
Paul kauft Auto das.	'Paul buys car the.'	[*wrong word order within NP*]
Ich trinke spazieren gewesen.	'I drink walking gone.'	[*wrong construction of predicate*]
Wir ich lachst gerne.	'We I like laughing.'	[*double allocation of subject pos.*]
Wir gehst ins Kino.	'We goes to the cinema.'	[*agreement violation*]

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